

FORM AND FUNCTION
OF THE
PAULINE THANKSGIVINGS

BY

PAUL SCHUBERT

Dr. phil. (Bonn); Ph. D. (Chicago)
Dean and Professor of the New Testament
of the School of Theology
of Yankton College



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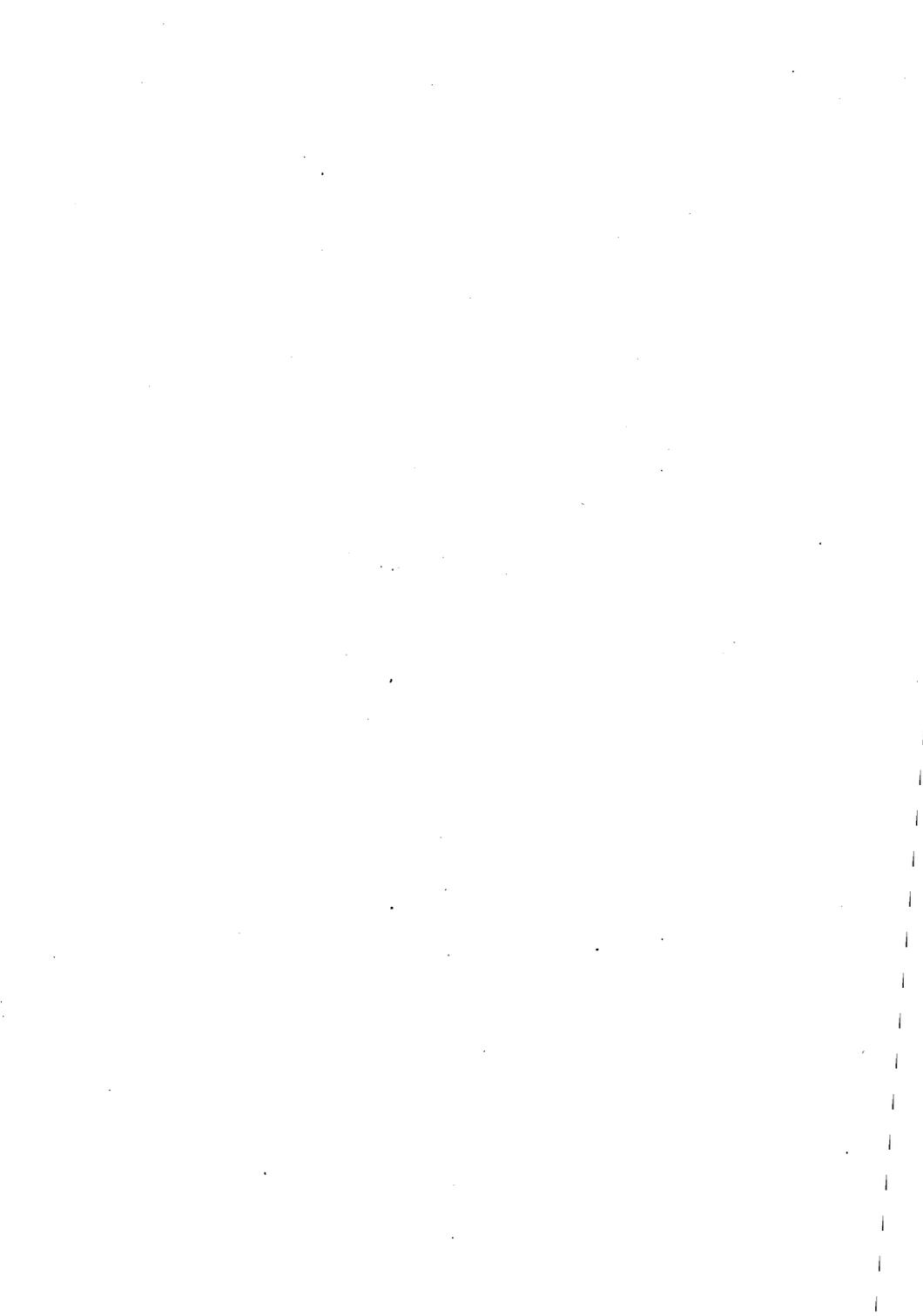
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TO MY PARENTS



P R E F A C E

In view of the well-known fact that all letters of Paul — Galatians alone excepted — begin with an extensive and formal thanksgiving, it is strange that these thanksgivings have not yet been studied comprehensively. The present study is a first attempt to fill the gap.

Basically, the task is one of literary, formal analysis and comparison. It becomes an historical one when the question concerning the antecedents of the form and function of the thanksgivings arises. To answer it a full, comparative and genetic study must be made of all pertinent linguistic, social, intellectual and religious data to be observed in the Hellenistic world, of which Paul was a citizen.

The results, broadly speaking, are fourfold. First, in the study of a concrete detail the literary critic may observe that formal, literary usages may be the precipitate of rather involved but definite historical processes. Second, the exegete of the letters of Paul is provided with certain specific criteria of interpretation. Third, the historian of Paul may note how this early Christian missionary in a specific and typical instance is related to his environment. Fourth, the present study may suggest similar research in other comparable sections of the Pauline letters.

In the choice of subject matter as well as in the development of methods I have been deeply conscious of the characteristic contributions to Pauline research made by several of my teachers, of whom I would with a sense of special debt mention Professors C. Clemen, of Bonn, and M. Dibelius, of Heidelberg.

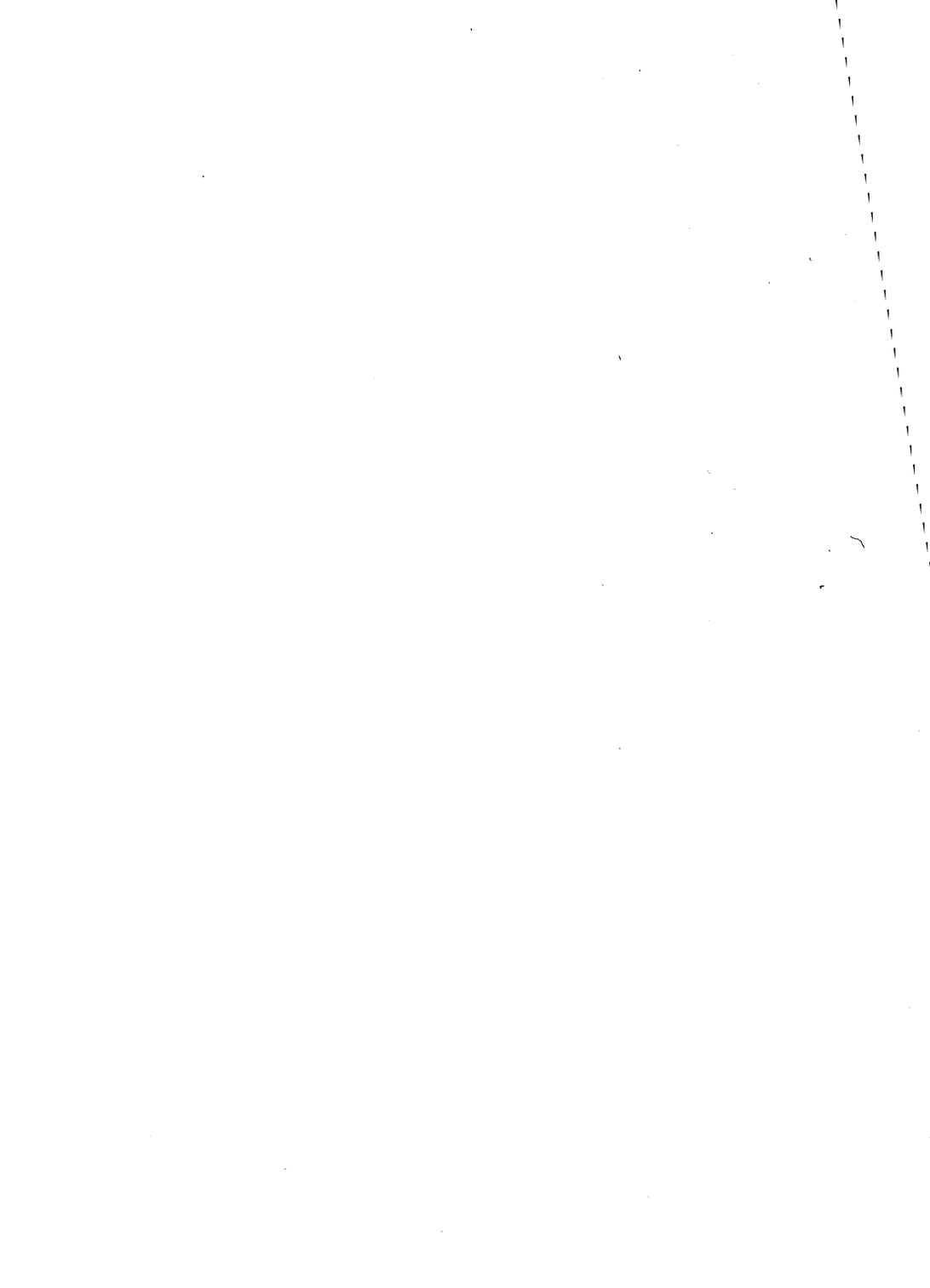
Grateful acknowledgment must be made of the help which Professors H. R. Willoughby and D. W. Riddle, of the University of Chicago, have given to my work.

I am also gratefully indebted to Professors H. Lietzmann and W. Eltester, the editors of the ZNW, for their kind acceptance of this study for publication in the Beihefte.

For obvious reasons it should be stated that the present study was completed, in substance if not in form, three years ago.

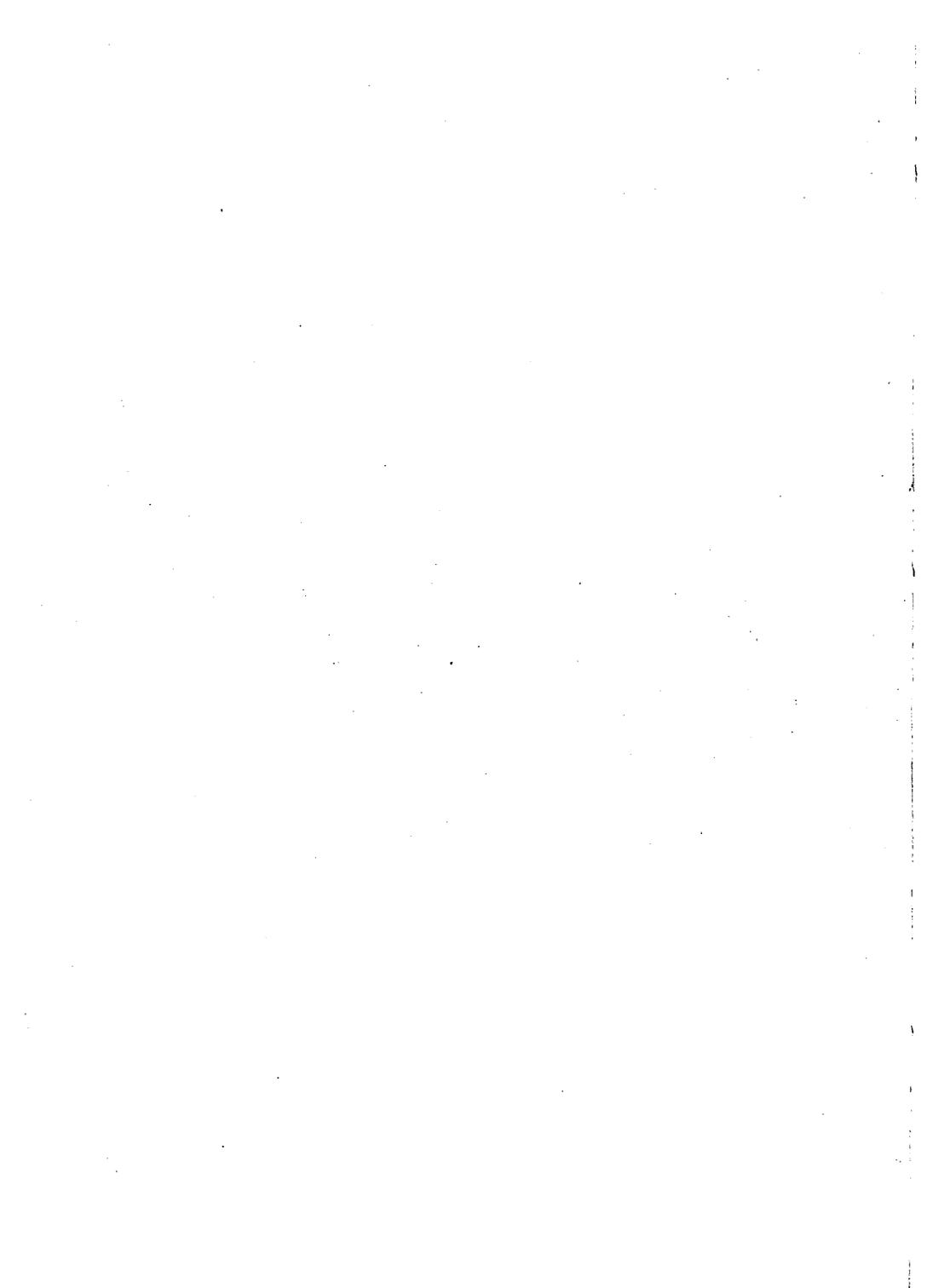
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Paul Schubert



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INTRODUCTION

The criteria of form and function have been successfully employed in the field of synoptic research by the proponents of the formgeschichtliche method. Formgeschichte received a powerful impetus from Gunkel's form-analysis of Genesis¹, which led to the well-established conclusion that the book contains a large collection of short stories and legends, independent of one another in origin, which were circulated separately before they were collected and edited.

Certain types of NT and other early Christian literature, which genetically and functionally belong together—prayer, liturgy in general, paraenesis, etc.²—have been fruitfully studied in the light of form-critical methods adapted, in each case, to the particular subject matter under investigation. In view of the impressive results obtained—not to mention other reasons—it is surprising that as yet no detailed and comprehensive study of the letters of Paul from the point of view of their form and function has been made. We have a collection of at least seven fairly extensive letters (counting them in the form in which they have been preserved) which present-day NT scholarship with practical unanimity ascribes to Paul. They are I Thessalonians, I and II Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Philippians and Philemon. A large majority of scholars, with little hesitation, adds II Thessalonians and Colossians.

The importance of the study of the style of these letters is attested by the fact that during the last decades many notable programmatic suggestions in this connection have been made³ and some details have

¹) Cf. especially the introduction to his *Die Genesis übersetzt und erklärt* (Göttingen, 1901); it is separately translated into English under the title *The Legends of Genesis* (Chicago, 1901); see especially p. 78. ²) Cf., e. g., Ed. von der Goltz, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit* (Leipzig, 1901); Th. Schermann, *Griechische Liturgien* (Kempten, 1912), and other publications by the same author; the well-known studies by M. Dibelius and K. Weidinger on early Christian paraenesis.

³) Cf. especially Joh. Weiß, "Beiträge zur Paulinischen Rhetorik", *Theologische Studien für B. Weiß* (Leipzig, 1897); Ed. Norden, *Die Antike Kunstprosa* (Leipzig, 1898); and C. F. G. Heinrici, *Der Literarische Charakter der Neutestamentlichen Schriften* (Leipzig, 1910).

been worked out more carefully¹. Just at this time the tremendous impact of the new science of papyrology on NT research made itself fully felt. The best of the recent commentaries on the various NT books, especially on the gospels and the Pauline letters, are characterized by numerous citations of pertinent lexicographical parallels from the papyri. J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan have produced an admirable and impressive lexicon for NT study². It is in fact a papyrological lexicon.

A. Deißmann, one of the leading pioneers in this field has gone much farther and insists emphatically that the papyrus letters of the Hellenistic age prove a basic fact, that Paul's letters are private, non-literary and personal. "Ich gebe zu, es mag beim ersten Hören wohl befremdlich klingen, wenn ich sage, daß ich aus armseligen Papyrussetzen oder Tonscherben mit Brieffragmenten unbekannter Ägypter das Wesen der Paulusbriefe, ja letztlich den literarischen Werdegang des Urchristentums begriffen habe³." "Nach alledem halte ich die These entschieden aufrecht, daß sämtliche Paulusbriefe wirkliche, unliterarische Briefe sind. Der Apostel Paulus ist Briefschreiber, nicht Epistolograph. Er ist noch kein Mann der Literatur⁴."

This is a radical thesis. It has been misunderstood as well as contradicted. But no comprehensive study of the style of Paul or of the *briefliche* character of his letters has appeared definitely to prove or disprove Deissmann's unequivocal judgment. The specific difficulties which this task involves and its wide ramifications explain, at least in part, the fact that no one has as yet undertaken it. Furthermore, many considerations, some of a factual nature, seriously discourage such an undertaking.

On the one hand, it may be argued that close study of the Pauline letters reveals a confusing variety of form and content; that the various letters were written years apart; that Paul wrote each letter under specific and unique circumstances, in widely different, unrelated states of mind; that the very essence of epistolary form and function precludes a typical, uniform and continuous style; that epistolary form is so comprehensive as to include every kind of stylistic expression and exclude none; hence, that any attempt to study the style of the Pauline letters comparatively and in detail can result in nothing more than the

¹) E. g., R. Bultmann, *Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt und die Kynisch-Stoische Diatribe* (Göttingen, 1910). ²) *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament Illustrated from the Papyri and Other Non-literary Sources* (London, 1914—29).

³) *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), p. 166. ⁴) *Ibid.*, pp. 203f.; cf. the entire section, pp. 116—213.

restatement of a few rather external and obvious generalities with which everybody is already familiar.

On the other hand, one may argue with at least equal force that there is a quite definite common denominator for the form and content of the Pauline letters; that all nine served the same function, namely, to maintain effective contact between the apostle and his churches; that all were written within the brief span of a single decade; that the versatility of Paul's mind and of his power of expression is an additional reason for studying in detail the style of his letters; and, finally, that the question whether and in what sense we can speak of a definite, characteristically epistolary aspect of the style of the Pauline letters, can be decided only through a detailed examination of them from this very point of view.

One of the first and most obvious observations to be made in regard to form is that, with the significant exception of Galatians, all Pauline letters, immediately following the "opening formula"¹, begin with a "thanksgiving". This fact is indeed a challenge to a thorough comparative analysis of the Pauline thanksgivings from the point of view of their stylistic form and of their functional position in the letters. It is already clear from their length and consistent position that they are not mere ornaments. Indeed it is to be expected that comparative analysis of them will yield important insights into the style of the Pauline letters, and valid criteria for further style-critical studies of the letters.

But first of all such an analysis must show whether the thanksgivings are essentially epistolary in form and function, or whether they must be considered capricious, foreign accretions, borrowed from liturgical practice or from literary sources, such as the Septuagint or others.

¹) This is a convenient though rather general term adopted from F. X. J. Exler, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter* (Washington, D. C., 1923), pp. 13 and 23. It designates as a formal unit the statement of addressant and addressee together with the initial, epistolary salutation with which every Greek letter normally begins and which is not to be confused with the "address" on the verso of the papyrus. — On the subject of the opening formula of the Pauline letters see E. Lohmeyer's valuable article, "Probleme Paulinischer Theologie", *ZNW* (1927), pp. 158—73.

CHAPTER I

DELINEATION OF THE THANKSGIVINGS

It is impossible to miss the opening of any one of the thanksgivings. Those of I Corinthians, Philippians and Philemon begin with εὐχαριστῶ; those of I Thessalonians and Colossians with εὐχαριστοῦμεν; that of II Thessalonians with εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν and that of Romans with πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ; II Corinthians begins its proemium with εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός.

In some cases, however, it is not so easy to say where the thanksgivings terminate. With I Corinthians we encounter no difficulty. Here the thanksgiving reaches an effective climax of eschatological content in 1 8; verse 9 is of the nature of a confirming climax; but with verse 10 we are abruptly in mediis rebus of the letter. Thought and style reveal an abrupt change. No reference at all was made in the thanksgiving to the stern, thorough rebuke of the Corinthian party spirit (1 10—4 21). The thanksgiving of I Corinthians, then, clearly extends from 1 4-9.

In Philippians, as in I Corinthians, the central thought of the thanksgiving rises to the ultimate heights of eschatological expectation in 1 10 f. If anything, the climax is here sharper, for no secondary climax eases its effectiveness and the break is equally abrupt: without the least attempt at a transition Paul proceeds, most informally, to acquaint his readers with the effect of his arrest on the progress of the missionary enterprise. The Philippian thanksgiving, then, extends from 1 3-11.

Likewise we encounter no difficulty in identifying the end of the thanksgiving of II Thessalonians. The eschatological climax was reached in 1 10. But for some reason Paul adds an intercessory prayer which directs attention away from "that day" (1 10) to the achievements he desires in the present religious experience of the Thessalonians (1 11, 12). Then he enters abruptly into a discussion of the rash eschatological expectation to which at least some of the Thessalonians had fallen victims.

In Philemon we would naturally expect to find at best a very brief thanksgiving, not so much because Philemon is the briefest of the Pauline letters, but because it is formally and functionally much more closely related to the ordinary private, personal letter than are the others, which are addressed to a community or to a group of communities (Galatians). Indeed, we should be surprised to find in Philemon a formal, fully developed thanksgiving. The climax is clearly

reached in v. 6. The eschatological note which the thanksgivings generally carry is wanting here—as, incidentally, it is wanting also in Romans ¹. v. 7 must be taken as a transition to the main purpose of the letter, a purpose Paul immediately sets forth, vv. 8ff. v. 7 is indeed a smooth and effective transition from the specific style and thought of the thanksgiving to the quite different style and thought of the main section of the letter and, by virtue of its very smoothness and simplicity, is a stylistic masterpiece. We shall take it here, of course, as part of the thanksgiving, which thus extends from vv. 4-7.

The observation made in the case of Philemon—that a transition may link the thanksgiving to the main body of the letter—will be useful as we examine the remaining thanksgivings with respect to their conclusions and transitions. It will be particularly appropriate and instructive to proceed from Philemon, the briefest, most personal and private, to Romans, the longest and most impersonal letter. This paradoxical procedure serves to emphasize the curious fact that the Roman thanksgiving has the most informal tone and, in its detail, the most informal structure of all Pauline thanksgivings, while that of Philemon, in spite of its modest function shows a simple, homogenous, classical form.

In Romans we search in vain for the carefully built climax which is so typical of the Pauline thanksgivings. The most effective and most general statement we find at the very beginning, v. 8b: *ὁτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ . . .* It is clearly made ad hoc; it is a skillful *captatio benevolentiae* like much else in this thanksgiving. The verses which follow (9-13) contrast sharply with the even flow and calm dignity which usually characterize the style of Paul's thanksgivings. One can readily see how Paul struggles in a rambling, self-conscious manner to convey to the Romans his eagerness to acquaint them with his particular view of the gospel.

Then, at last (vv. 14-16), he succeeds in building up an effective climax, which is the statement of the theme of the letter. But, we ask, is it still part of the thanksgiving? Must we content ourselves with the observation that vv. 10-17 are somewhere in the uncertain twilight between the receding thanksgiving and the rising theme of the letter? These are questions to be answered in the course of our detailed analysis of the style and function of the Pauline thanksgivings. At

¹) E. Lohmeyer should, therefore, have added Philemon to Romans as the second exception to the rule that "solcher Hinweis auf den Tag der 'Erfüllung' fehlt keinem Proömium ganz". See his *Der Brief an die Philipper* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 13 and n. 3. It is, however, more important to observe that no thanksgiving is without some eschatological allusion (see below, p. 33).

present it suffices to note the difficulty of determining the length of the Roman thanksgiving. It is clear, however, that we must include in our analysis Rm 1 3-17.

The difficulty in marking off the thanksgiving of Colossians is of a different nature. There is no lack of climaxes here. It is rather a matter of choosing between two possibilities. At all events v. 12 must be included; the occurrence of the term εὐχαριστοῦντες and other good reasons demand that. With vv. 13f. an eschatological climax is reached; but the exposition, in the style of a liturgical credo (vv. 15-20), of Christ' cosmic significance which follows immediately is closely and smoothly knit to the preceding vv. 12-14. Syntactically these verses constitute an inseparable unit: vv. 13. 14 and 15 are three relative clauses directly succeeding one another: ὃς (scil. πατήρ) ἐρύσατο . . . ; ἐν ᾧ (scil. υἱός) ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν . . . ; ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ¹. The question, then, is whether we have in Colossians the anomalous case of a thanksgiving without a well-rounded and clear-cut final climax, passing imperceptibly from the form of the thanksgiving to the form of the creed.

The alternative is that the thanksgiving extends through v. 23. vv. 21-23 state the conclusion that Christ (the reconciler of the universe, cf. vv. 15-20) has included the Colossians in his work of reconciliation. This climax is noticeably colored and heightened by eschatological ideas and terminology: παραστήσαι ὑμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους κατενώπιον αὐτοῦ . . . ; . . . καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ εὐαγγελίου . . . τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει κτλ. The language as well as the thought of this passage remind us of the conclusions of other thanksgivings. We shall do well to give our full attention to the larger section from 1 3-23.

In connection with this preliminary and external survey of the Colossian thanksgiving it is highly instructive to compare the "outlines" of the first chapter of Colossians offered by some representative commentators². Reconstructions of a literary document are of course notoriously prone to be subjective, a fact which accounts for the glaring and vital incongruities among the proposals cited. More serious is the consideration that some of these reconstructions must be wrong

¹) E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 75, n. 1, has pointed out that relative clauses are a construction characteristic of Colossians. His enumeration of them is, of course, far from complete; there are in the section with which we are concerned (1 12-20) no less than four relative clauses, namely, vv. 13. 14. 15 and 18.

²) T. K. Abbott, *To the Colossians* (New York, 1905), p. 1x; J. B. Lightfoot, *To the Colossians* (London, 1890), pp. 123ff.; M. Dibelius, *An die Kolosser* (Tübingen, 1927), pp. 1 and (to v. 21) 15; E. Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Kolosser* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 15.

because they exclude one another, while others are so vague as to be of little value.

Indeed, examination of these reconstructions emphasizes the necessity of establishing on a broad basis some definite, objective criteria which will make possible more adequate judgment of form and structure. But such criteria can be set up only through methodical study of all pertinent facts—in our case, through the comparative analysis of all Pauline thanksgivings. It is well known that Dibelius and Lohmeyer pay a great deal of attention to matters of form and structure. It is therefore all the more significant and disappointing that their outline reconstructions differ so completely as to invalidate each other. One cannot help but feel that Lohmeyer superimposes his “plans” on the document instead of educating them from it. Be that as it may, this disagreement between two eminent specialists on a matter of such vital importance brings home the urgent need for comprehensive studies of the form and structure of the Pauline letters.

If we hesitated to let the Colossian thanksgiving extend from 1 3-23 because of the unusual length of the passage, so disproportionate to the main body of the letter, we shall be even more perplexed when we turn from this late imprisonment letter (assuming its Pauline authorship) to the earliest of all Pauline letters, I Thessalonians. The difficulty of identifying the end of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians is reflected in the varying reconstructions of its formal plan suggested by Frame¹, Dobschütz², and Dibelius³. Dibelius, a discerning judge of style-critical matters, makes some penetrating observations on the formal characteristics of the thanksgiving without discussing directly the problem of where it really ends. To him it seems a matter of course that 2 16 marks the end. Frame is not at all interested in delineating the thanksgiving, but he regards 1 2—3 13 as the first section of the letter and calls it apology. This section he divides into two disproportionate parts, the thanksgiving, from 1 2—3 10, and the prayer, from 3 11-13. Dobschütz expresses himself in this connection as follows: “Formell betrachtet ist dieser ganze Teil (i. e., 1 2—3 13), der die größere Hälfte des Briefes umfaßt, Briefeingang, indem die Danksagung sich bis auf 3 13 ausdehnt; sachlich enthält er alles, was Paulus über sein persönliches Verhältnis zur Gemeinde auf dem Herzen hat⁴.” At all events we have here another relatively extensive thanksgiving, whether it ends with 2 16 or with 3 10 or with 3 13.

¹) To the Thessalonians (New York, 1912), p. 17. ²) Die Thessalonicher-Briefe (Göttingen, 1909), pp. 27f. and 62f. ³) An die Thessalonicher I und II (Tübingen, 1925), p. 1. ⁴) Op. cit., p. 62.

To complete this preliminary survey of the authentically Pauline letters with reference to the length of their thanksgivings it remains to examine Galatians and II Corinthians. As regards Galatians, it is sufficient to note here that the thanksgiving is lacking—a singular and curious fact which demands explanation. Such an explanation may throw light on the question of the function of the Pauline thanksgivings in general.

II Corinthians has a well-defined proemium, 1 3-11. Its terminology and structure, however, are quite different from the basically identical form observable in all other Pauline thanksgivings. While this proemium might well be called a thanksgiving, it may be more advisable to call it a "praise-giving" or eulogy, terms which express more precisely the formal peculiarity of this proemium and correspond directly to its key-phrase, εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός (1 3). Lietzmann¹ has apparently no scruples in calling it a thanksgiving, even though he notes its formal peculiarity. Heinrici² designates it a *herzgewinnender Eingang*; Plummer³ a "preamble of thanksgiving and hope." Thus at any rate there is unanimity in the delineation of this proemium.

The curious fact that the form of the eulogy of II Corinthians is imitated in Ephesians (1 3-14) and in I Peter (1 3-12)⁴ is worthy of notice and gives rise to interesting speculations; and the observation that the Ephesian eulogy is immediately followed by a thanksgiving of the "normal" Pauline form and structure, extending from 1 15 to at least 19, makes the problem even more intriguing.

This completes our quantitative survey of thanksgivings in the authentically Pauline letters and in two post-Pauline epistles of which one is pseudo-Pauline, the other pseudo-Petrine. There are traces of formal thanksgivings in the Pastorals, especially in II Tim 1 3-5; cf. also I Tim 1 12-17. Undoubtedly these are materials pertinent for some phases of our study, but they cannot contribute to an understanding of the form and function of the genuine Pauline thanksgivings. Their value from the point of view of form-criticism is that, genetically speaking, they are vestiges of the original and complete Pauline pattern. The feeble echoing of the Pauline thanksgiving in pseudo-Pauline epistles is quite in keeping with the general significant

¹) An die Korinther I und II (Tübingen, 1931), pp. 97 and (to vv. 3-7) 99.

²) Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther (Göttingen, 1900), p. 59. ³) To the Corinthians II (New York, 1915). ⁴) It can only be due to some unintentional

error that von Dobschütz (op. cit., p. 62) makes the statement that the eulogy of II Corinthians is imitated by Ephesians and by Galatians. He must have meant I Peter instead of Galatians.

fact that the epistolary Christian literature of the second century shows only sporadic and fragmentary imitations of the Pauline thanksgivings, while the non-epistolary Christian literature of that period shows none whatsoever.

When we add the further observations that I Peter is the only document among the so-called Catholic epistles which has a full thanksgiving; that II Peter has a proemium which disregards the formal and functional features of the Pauline thanksgiving entirely; and that James, I—III John and Jude have no proemia at all, we have mentioned all epistolary and pseudepistolary documents contained in the NT¹.

It has already become clear in the course of this preliminary survey that a final decision on the length of some of the thanksgivings can be reached only if we can discover the general laws which govern the style and determine the function of the Pauline thanksgivings, and, further, if these laws prove to be sufficiently definite to be applied to the thanksgivings whose extent is not readily determinable by other criteria. In other words, in the case of Romans, Colossians and I Thessalonians, determination of the end of their thanksgivings must be preceded by a thorough stylistic and functional analysis of all Pauline thanksgivings.

One other problem arises as a direct result of our quantitative survey. It has become clear that there is not even an approximately uniform proportion between the length of any given letter and its thanksgiving. Moreover, comparison of the thanksgivings shows great variation in length—from four verses (Philemon) to forty-three (I Thessalonians, if we accept 3 13 as the end). Chronology, it is hardly necessary to point out, has no bearing on length, nor—we may anticipate—on formal perfection. We must ask therefore, Can we discover any definite and generally valid reasons which determined for Paul the length (or the complete absence) and also the formal quality of the thanksgiving?

¹) The "Epistle to the Hebrews" has no trace of epistolary form in its beginning. The fact that there are a few epistolary phrases elsewhere in Hebrews, and that the conclusion (13 18-25) is apparently epistolary, is, of course, of great interest to the student of NT epistolography. I John is in no sense epistolary.

CHAPTER II

STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF THE THANKSGIVINGS

Disregarding for the present the praise-giving of II Corinthians because of its singular formal structure, we must now inquire how far the structural and functional similarity between the other Pauline thanksgivings goes and what is the general significance of this similarity. Syntactical structure is unquestionably one of the most elementary and objective criteria of stylistic form, the choice of specific words and phrases being a second dependable criterion. All other criteria of style are definitely subjective and often vague, and are based on psychological guess-work—the “moods” and “intentions” of the author and the like. We shall do well, therefore, to rely on the objective criteria and to use others only with caution.

It seems desirable at this point to state somewhat more precisely the methodological principles on which this analysis will be made, principles suggested by the more recent work in this field. The study of the formal aspects of the NT writings and more particularly of the Pauline letters is, of course, as old as the scientific study of the NT in general. Present-day research in this field owes its particular interests and methods to such researches as those of G. Heinrici, J. Weiss, E. Norden¹, R. Bultmann² and others. The work of these scholars is characterized by the employment of the conventional literary method and by the literary preoccupation which are so typical of much of the philological work of the latter part of the nineteenth century. Newer methods like *Formgeschichte* and the social-historical method, and newly discovered materials like the papyri, have brought about a neglect of this older method which is still indispensable and basic. The urgent need is to put these recent findings and techniques into the service of a more adequate and broader method of literary style criticism. We have already mentioned that this demand is recognized and to a considerable extent complied with in Dibelius' and Lohmeyer's commentaries on various Pauline letters. Lohmeyer's systematic endeavor to rediscover the

1) G. Heinrici, *Der Zweite Brief an die Korinther* (Berlin, 1890), contains an appendix (pp. 436 ff.), “Zum Hellenismus des Paulus”, in which H. takes issue with E. Norden on the problem of the genetic relation of Hellenistic literary style and the style of Paul. Cf. also above, p. 1, n. 3. 2) See above, p. 2, n. 2. Bultmann's study, *Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe*, is distinguished by simplicity of method and sane judgment.

prose rhythm of the Pauline style is an outstanding characteristic of his recent work on Philippians, Colossians and Philemon ¹.

Two brief studies by Roland Schütz ² are also symptomatic of the trend toward a comprehensive study of Paul's style. Schütz' work is largely methodological and programmatic; apparently, this writer has not pursued his initial studies further. Nevertheless they are of significance, because they suggest a fruitful methodological criterion for our structural analysis of the Pauline thanksgivings, namely, the "colon," the κῶλον of the ancient grammarians and rhetoricians, a "member or clause of a περίοδος ³." The graphic arrangement and comparison of the Pauline thanksgivings according to cola will enable us to judge, readily and objectively, whether or not there is a significant formal likeness between them, and how far this likeness is significant for further study of the style of the Pauline letters.

One essential point with reference to the colometric method needs further clarification. We must make a clear distinction between large-unit and small-unit cola. Small-unit cola, which ordinarily consist merely of adverbial phrases and the like, or of plain adverbs and objects doubled or multiplied, are less important structurally and less characteristic stylistically than are large-unit cola. The large-unit colon is a syntactical whole; i. e., it has a verb and a subject-expressed or understood. Generally speaking, large-unit cola are of greater importance for the analysis and characterization of style, for the reason that, if they show characteristic constructions in a given document or group of documents, they make possible objective judgment of the basic type and qualities of the style, its function, its genetic relation to other documents of the same type, etc. Similarity of larger syntactical units always presupposes a firmer formal pattern, one highly developed by the author, and typical of him as well as of the type of "literature" he produces and of its function. Similarity of small-unit cola is often the result of momentary caprice or fleeting inspiration or misplaced playfulness. When it exists over areas of a given author's writings, it undoubtedly becomes more important, though generalization based on it cannot approach the value of generalization based on similarity of large-unit cola. Moreover, in prose literature the large-unit colon is not only more funda-

1) Die Briefe an die Philipper, Kolosser und an Philemon (Göttingen, 1930).

²) Der parallele Bau der Satzglieder im Neuen Testament und seine Verwertung für die Textkritik und Exegese (Göttingen, 1920). For his article, "Die Bedeutung der Kolometrie für das Neue Testament", see below, p. 12, n. 2.

³) Liddell and Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (Oxford, 1925), sub voce.

mental but also more frequent. We shall therefore concern ourselves primarily with the large-unit colon¹, utilizing the small-unit colon whenever we are confronted with problems of stylistic detail.

We begin with the briefest of the full thanksgivings, that of Philemon. Its basic structural characteristics are readily observable from the colometric² arrangement of its entire text:

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε
 μνεῖαν σου ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου,
 ἀκούων σου τὴν ἀγάπην καὶ τὴν πίστιν
 ἣν ἔχεις εἰς τὸν κύριον Ἰησοῦν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους,
 ὅπως ἡ κοινωνία τῆς πίστεώς σου ἐνεργῆς γένηται ἐν ἐπιγνώσει
 »παντός ἀγαθοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰς Χριστόν³.

This thanksgiving is syntactically dominated by one finite verb form which constitutes its sole principal clause—εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου. It is followed by two participle constructions, the participles retaining the subject of the finite verb—εὐχαριστῶ . . . μνεῖαν ποιούμενος . . . ἀκούων. Then comes a relative clause dependent on one of the two direct objects of ἀκούων, either ἀγάπη or πίστις. Then the period, bringing the thanksgiving to an end with a final clause introduced by ὅπως, which, on exegetical grounds, must be considered as governed by the participle construction μνεῖαν ποιούμενος.

This is as well-built a period as we can find anywhere in Paul. The same basic structure forms the backbone of all Pauline thanksgivings, as the subsequent colometric exhibits will show. There are, to be sure, variations, additions and omissions, sometimes slight, sometimes more elaborate, but the relatively simple, one-period thanksgiving of Philemon shows the essentially identical structural skeleton. Some thanksgivings, to be sure, exhibit other syntactical features, certain of which will prove just as typical formally and functionally; and most thanksgivings show individual features.

¹) It will not be necessary in the subsequent colometric exhibits to reproduce the full text, but merely those syntactical elements which characterize and delineate the colon. Omitted parts of the text are indicated by . . . ; the arabic numbers in () indicate chapter verses. ²) R. Schütz, in an article on "Die Bedeutung der Kolometrie für das Neue Testament", ZNTW (1922), pp. 161—84, bases his colometric definitions on those of the Greek rhetoricians and grammarians; he quotes (p. 172)

Suidas' definition κῶλον οὖν ὁ ἀπηρτισμένην ἔνοιαν ἔχων στίχος. In this sense the terms "colon" and "colometric" will be generally used herein, i. e., to denote a relatively "complete thought-unit" graphically arranged in one line. ³) The sign » is used to indicate that what follows belongs colometrically to the preceding line. When colometric lines are counted lines so marked must therefore be disregarded.

It is natural to proceed from Philemon to Philippians and Colossians, the other two imprisonment letters. The fact that the formal similarity throughout these three documents is particularly great has often been noted. The colometric arrangement of the Philippian thanksgiving is as follows:

- (3) εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐα ὑμῶν πάντοτε ¹
 ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου
 »ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν
 »μετὰ χαρᾶς
 »τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος
 »ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν
 »εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον
 »ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, ²
- (6) πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο
 ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος . . . ἐπιτελέσει . . .
 καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν,
 διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς,
 »ἐν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου . . . συνκοινωνοῦς μου . . . ὑμᾶς ὄντας·
 μάρτυς γὰρ μου ὁ θεός,
 ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχθοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ.
- (9) καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι
 ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη . . . περισσεύῃ . . .
 εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα,
 ἵνα ᾗτε εἰλικρινεῖς . . . πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης . . .

We find here, as we would expect, prominent differences from the Philemon thanksgiving; but the structural similarities are by far more basic. First of all, we have here the same principal clause in the same dominant syntactical position as in Philemon. This is followed, again as in Philemon, by two participle constructions, . . . δέησιν ποιούμενος . . . and πεποιθῶς . . .

The difference is that both constructions have become much more elaborate, the first one through the inclusion of six small-unit cola (adverbial phrases), the second through the addition of five large-unit cola (subordinate and principal clauses). Thereupon, again

¹) The wide spacing as employed in this line between μου and ἐπὶ will be occasionally employed to call attention to noteworthy small-unit cola within a large-unit colon. No attempt will be made to do so systematically; in many instances omitted parts of the text (. . .) are small-unit cola.

²) Because this is one of the neatest examples within the Pauline thanksgivings of a large-unit colon containing six well-balanced small-unit cola, an attempt has been made to exhibit its structure in an adequate graphic picture. The large-unit colon extends from ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου to νῦν (vv. 3^b-5).

in the manner of the Philemon thanksgiving, follows the climax of the thanksgiving (vv 9b-11), introduced by a final clause, ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη... περισσεύη...

But because of the long strung-out developments of thought that intervene Paul, in order to reach this "required" point, was obliged to make a new syntactical beginning to make it clear that he now comes to the statement of the purpose of his prayer for the Philippians (vv 3f., ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν... τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος). This is the reason for the new principal clause, καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι ἵνα... (v 9), which links the end of the thanksgiving with the beginning; προσεύχομαι is meant to recall the attention of the reader to εὐχαριστῶ, δέησιν ποιούμενος and πεποιθώς. προσεύχομαι expresses the combined meanings of these three verb forms. Thus, by a simple syntactical device, the final clause is given its due place of climactic prominence in the thanksgiving. It is no accident that this ἵνα-clause can be read without any sense of lacuna following directly the δέησιν ποιούμενος-colon after v 5, or after the πεποιθώς-colon after v 6.

The peculiar structural additions in the Philippian thanksgiving as compared with Philemon will require our attention as soon as and as often as we meet with their structural parallels elsewhere.

Next comes the colometric reproduction of the thanksgiving of Colossians:

(3) εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ
» πάντοτε

περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι,

ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν... διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα...

ἣν προηκούσατε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ εὐαγγελίου...

καθὼς καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐστὶν καρποφορούμενον...

καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν¹

ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσατε... τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ...

καθὼς ἐμάθετε ἀπὸ Ἐπαφρᾶ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ συνδούλου ἡμῶν,

ὃς ἐστὶν πιστὸς... διάκονος...

ὁ καὶ δηλώσας ἡμῖν τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγάπην...

(9) διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς,

ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν²,

(διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς) οὐ παυόμεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι

» καὶ αἰτούμενοι

¹) καθὼς καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν is a complete, coordinate, though elliptical clause, parallel to the preceding καθὼς clause, and it must therefore be taken as a complete large-unit colon. ²) Compare with this colon three other cola within the Colossian thanksgiving which are constructed around forms of ἀκούω: v. 4 ἀκούοντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν... v. 6b ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσατε... and v. 28 (τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,) οὐ ἠκούσατε. Note also v. 5

ἵνα πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ . . . ,
 περιπατῆσαι ἀξίως τοῦ κυρίου . . .
 καρποφοροῦντες καὶ αὐξανόμενοι τῇ ἐπιγνώσει . . . ,
 ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι . . . ,
 μετὰ χαρᾶς εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ . . . ,
 ὃς ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς . . . καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν
 »τοῦ υἱοῦ . . . ,

ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν . . . ,
 (15) ὃς ἐστὶν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου . . . ,

ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα
 »ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς,
 »τὰ ὄρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα
 »εἴτε θρόνοι
 »εἴτε κυριότητες
 »εἴτε ἄρχαι
 »εἴτε ἔξουσίαι·

τὰ πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ . . . ἔκτισται·
 καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων
 καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν,
 καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ . . . τῆς ἐκκλησίας·
 ὃς ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
 ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων,
 ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα
 »κατοικῆσαι καὶ . . . ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα . . . ,
 εἰρηνοποιήσας . . . εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς . . .

(21) καὶ ὑμᾶς . . . ἀποκατήλλαξεν . . . διὰ τοῦ θανάτου,
 παραστήσας ὑμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους καὶ ἀνεγκλήτους . . . ,

(23) εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε . . . μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος
 »τοῦ εὐαγγελίου,

οὓ ἠκούσατε . . . ¹,

»τοῦ κηρυχθέντος ἐν πάσῃ κτίσει . . . ²,

οὓ ἐγενόμην ἐγὼ Παῦλος διάκονος.

This colometric picture of the Colossian thanksgiving reveals the same basic structural pattern which we found in Philemon and Philipians, but also a great many striking traits which are peculiarly its own. For our immediate purpose however we are concerned only with the basic formal pattern.

ἦν (sc. ἐλπίδα) προηκούσατε. These cola represent collectively one particular formal characteristic of the Colossian thanksgiving. This and other formal phenomena of the same type will be discussed more fully in subsequent sections of this study.

¹) Compare with this colon vv. 4. 6^b and 9.

²) This line is, of course, part of the colon two lines above, εἴ γε ἐπιμένετε κτλ.

Just as in Philemon and Philippians we observe the principal clause dominating a long period (vv 3-8) somewhat loosely constructed in its second half. We must at least note the difference that here the 1. ps. pl. is used instead of the 1. ps. sg., as in Philemon and Philippians—εὐχαριστοῦμεν (instead of εὐχαριστῶ) τῷ θεῷ. Then the period continues with two participle constructions in the same structural sequence and position within the period as in the thanksgivings of the other imprisonment letters. The first is brief and without any subsequent subordinate cola—περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, in the position of μνείαν ποιούμενος in Phm. and of δέησιν ποιούμενος in Phil.¹ The second participle ἀκούσαντες corresponds to ἀκούων in Phm. and to πεποιθώς in Phil. This colon, however, is followed by a number of other cola which are syntactically as well as logically dependent on it.

This seeming digression in the second part of the first half of the Colossian thanksgiving (vv 5-8) necessitated the introduction of a new period if the formal pattern was to be maintained; that is to say, the first principal clause of the thanksgiving (v 3) had to be supplemented with a final clause. This was simply and effectively accomplished by introducing a repetitive variant to the first principal clause; it appears in v 9: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς . . . οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι ἵνα πληρωθῆτε . . . The significant fact is that the same syntactical device is employed—in the interest of form-preservation—both in the thanksgivings of Philippians (1 3 and 9) and of Colossians. Indeed, we shall make the same observation in other Pauline thanksgivings.

The ἵνα-clause (v 9b) and the subsequent infinitive and participle construction subordinated to it (vv 10-12) constitute, structurally speaking, the transition to the second, peculiar part of the Colossian thanksgiving. The peculiar form of this part—it is to all intents and purposes a Christological creed—becomes apparent with the relative clauses of vv 13 and 14; its full-toned beginning is in v 15. For our present purpose, which is the discovery of basic structural likenesses in the Pauline thanksgivings, the second half of the Colossian thanksgiving offers no data.

Closest to the thanksgivings of the imprisonment letters in basic structure as well as in much formal detail is the thanksgiving of

¹) These differences in the choice of words suggest the possibility that Paul uses προσεύχομαι, μνείαν ποιῶμαι and δέησιν ποιῶμαι interchangeably, though, of course, they are not synonyms to him. The observation (stated, above p. 14) that Paul in Phil 1 9 reintroduces the original idea expressed through δέησιν ποιῶμαι (14) by προσεύχομαι leads to the same conclusion.

I Thessalonians, a fact which directly contradicts expectations based on the chronological relations of these letters. That the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians has a number of very striking and important peculiarities in form and function is immediately suggested by its excessive length. It comprises, as we have seen, 43 verses, if its maximum possible length be taken into account, and it constitutes almost exactly three-fifths of the entire letter. A detailed formal analysis of this thanksgiving would be impressive confirmation of the fact that it has a great many peculiar characteristics and that these in turn raise a great many problems which we must discuss later on. Our present concern, however, is merely with the complete colometric picture of those portions of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians which our analyses of the thanksgivings of Phm, Phil and Col have proved to be structurally basic.

12 εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε

περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν μνεῖαν ποιοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν,
ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου . . . κόπου . . . ὑπο-
μονῆς . . .

εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν,
ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον . . .
καθὼς οἴδατε οἱοὶ ἐγενήθημεν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς (end of v. 5).

This last colon, introduced by καθὼς, forms an effective transition by way of contrast to the description which follows of what the Thessalonians had become on their part (vv. 6-10). This paragraph is succeeded, again antithetically, by Paul's apology for his missionary work and methods (2:11-12). But it is altogether unwarrantable to call the entire section from 1:2-3:13 "apologia," as Frame¹ does.

In 2:13 we encounter again the typical terminology and structure of the Pauline thanksgiving:

2:13 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως,
»ὅτι

παραλαβόντες λόγον ἀκοῆς παρ' ἡμῶν τοῦ θεοῦ
»ἐδέξασθε οὐ λόγον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ

»(καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἐστίν)
»λόγον θεοῦ,

ὅς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν.

14 ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε . . . τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν . . . ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ . . .
ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε . . . ὑπὸ τῶν . . . ἰδίων συμφυλετῶν
καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων . . .
»κωλυόντων . . .

1) See above, p. 7 and n. 1.

εἰς τὸ ἀναπληρῶσαι αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας πάντοτε.
ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὄργη εἰς τέλος.

Then Paul proceeds to tell the Thessalonians that he had sent Timothy to them, because he himself, though eager, had been unable to come, 2 17—3 8. Thereupon we encounter for the third time the basic thanksgiving formula:

3 9 τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι
»περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς
(1) (2) (3)

»ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν,
(4)

νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι

εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ . . .

11 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ θεὸς . . . καθευθῆναι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς·

ὑμᾶς δὲ ὁ κύριος πλεονάσαι . . . τῇ ἀγάπῃ ἡμῶν καὶ εἰς πάντας,
καθάπερ καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς,

εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν . . . ἔμπροσθεν . . .

»ἐν . . . μετὰ . . .

This colometric analysis leads to two general observations as to the formal organization of the entire section from 1 2—3 13. First, there are what at first glance look like three separate thanksgivings, namely, (1) 1 2-5; (2) 2 13f.; and (3) 3 9-13. Second, the "first" thanksgiving turns into an intimate recital of the official and personal relationship between Paul and his Thessalonian church, 1 6—2 12; there is a similar "digression" between the "second" and "third" thanksgivings, namely, the discussion of Timothy's recent visit to Thessalonica, 2 17—3 8.

However, the question arises, Are there really three separate thanksgivings and two real digressions? We recall that two thanksgivings of such moderate length as those of Philippians and Colossians exhibit the simple stylistic device of repeating the basic formula in order to preserve the formal unity of the thanksgiving and to complete the basic structural pattern. Indeed, we are forced to view 2 13ff. and 3 9ff. as such repetitions, serving to unify formally the entire section from 1 2—3 13, when we recognize that the two "digressions" are by no means digressions but, from the point of view of form, function and content are on the contrary fully legitimate and indeed constitutive elements of the general Pauline thanksgiving pattern.

These two intimate and personal discussions are not foreign in content of form to the basic thanksgiving formulas by which they are so neatly framed. Without anticipating here the detailed formal

analysis of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians it must be pointed out that the theme of the first "digression" is clearly announced in 13 ("your energetic faith, your loving service and your unwavering expectation of our Lord Jesus Christ") and fully developed in orderly sequence in vv 6-10. Paul's "apology," the second part of this first "digression," is announced with equal clarity in 15b and fully developed in 21-12. And now it becomes obvious that 213f. is a stylistically effective climax of the entire "digression" which immediately precedes it. It expresses the same thought clothed in the heightened language of the familiar thanksgiving pattern.

οἰοί ἐγενήθημεν ἐν¹ ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς (15b), then, is a topic sentence; its explicit development follows, as we have pointed out, in 21-12. How central this clause was in the thought of Paul is readily deducible from the fact that ἐγενήθημεν occurs three times in the section 21-12, namely, in vv 7 and 10. To these occurrences must be added οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν (sc. ἡ εἴσοδος ἡμῶν) in 21. Thus there are in all five occurrences of forms of γίνομαι; in four of them Paul is the grammatical subject, in the fifth (21) he is at least the logical subject. In the same context (15b—214) we also find, four times, the antithetical (from an epistolary point of view it would be more adequate to say complementary) form ἐγενήθητε (ὑμεῖς) (16 28 and 14 and ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς in 17). All nine of these forms are directly derived from and logically dependent on the very first occurrence of γίνομαι in 15a, which brings the total of occurrences to ten: τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν . . . ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν δυνάμει . . . ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ. It is more than worth the effort to exhibit this structural sequence, a master-piece of unaffected but well-organized prose-style, in a diagram:

15a	τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν . . . ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς . . . ἐν δυνάμει κτλ.
15b	οἰοί ἐγενήθημεν ὑμῖν
16	μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε
21	οὐ κενὴ γέγονεν (sc. ἡ εἴσοδος ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ὑμᾶς)
7	ὥστε γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς τύπον
25	οὔτε γὰρ ἐν λόγῳ κολακείας ἐγενήθημεν, καθὼς οἴδατε
27	ἀλλὰ ἐγενήθημεν νήπιοι ἐν μέσῳ ὑμῶν
210	ὡς ὁσίως . . . ὑμῖν . . . ἐγενήθημεν
28	διότι ἀγαπητοὶ ἡμῖν ἐγενήθητε
214	ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν . . . ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ

1) ἐν is omitted by XACP 31. 33. 39. 49. 67, etc.

There can be no doubt that our analysis, graphically exhibited in this diagram, proves the section from 12—214ff. to be an indivisible entity structurally, formally and functionally. In order to achieve pictorial simplicity only the briefest contexts have been reproduced in the diagram, but a closer scrutiny of the syntactically complete contexts forcefully sustains the conclusion that we have here an indivisible formal unit, i. e., one, and only one, well-organized thanksgiving. In the complete contexts each form of the 1. ps. pl. of γίνομαι is accompanied by a form of the personal pronoun in the 2. ps. pl.; and vice versa, in the context of each 2. ps. pl. of γίνομαι appears a form of the personal pronoun in the 1. ps. pl.—214 only excepted.

Indeed, the progression of thought in the consistent repetition of the "antithesis" between writer and addressees unmistakably characterizes the thanksgiving from beginning to end, i. e., from 12—318. It would of course be a fundamental error to see in this "antithetical" style an example of that literary or oratorical use of the antithesis which is so characteristic of later Cynics and Stoics—and also, unquestionably, of a number of Pauline passages. But here in I Thessalonians the "antithesis" is plainly and exclusively the direct expression of the epistolary situation. What we have here is not a literary or oratorical antithetical style, but a typical, definite—though not inevitable—epistolary style.

If, against the significance which we attached to the 10 occurrences of forms of γίνομαι between 15 and 214, the objection should be raised that γίνομαι being such a common word cannot possibly be absent from any page, we reiterate emphatically that there is nothing common in the fact that eight of these ten forms are aorist passives and that one group of five forms is in the 1. ps. pl. and the other group of four forms in the 2. ps. pl. Moreover, there are only two more forms of the "common" verb γίνομαι in the entire letter. Both these forms occur at a distance which renders them irrelevant, in 34.5, and are middle aorist forms in the third ps. singular and thus on an entirely new functional and stylistic level.

It may be shown with equal facility and stringency that 217—318 is in itself a strict formal unit and that it in turn is inseparable from the preceding part (12—216) of the thanksgiving—that, indeed, it constitutes its final climax. In 217—318 Paul explains why it was impossible for him to revisit the Thessalonians and that for this reason he had sent Timothy. Timothy's return to Paul occasions the latter's expression of joy over the good report on conditions in Thessalonica in the third and last occurrence of the thanksgiving

formula, 3 9: τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣν χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς. This leads immediately to Paul's prayerful desire to visit the Thessalonians, v. 10: νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν. In this "final" part of the entire thanksgiving appears eventually the final clause—(δεόμενοι) εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον—which, we have found, is characteristic of the basic thanksgiving structure. The prayer which follows is logically final, though not grammatically so, because it is only the final infinitive construction which brings the ultimate eschatological climax of the entire thanksgiving, in accordance with the general pattern we have so far recognized, 3 13: εἰς τὸ στηρίξαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας ἀμέμπτους ἐν ἀγιωσύνῃ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἡμῶν ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ.

Because of its excessive length and seemingly loose organization the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians demanded a somewhat detailed structural analysis—to show its unity and its conformity to the orthodox pattern. The intimate and personal, i. e., the strictly epistolary element, is nothing unusual in the Pauline thanksgivings. We shall see that it is definitely present in all of them. We met with it in the thanksgiving of Philippians (1 5 7b-8), and we have already alluded to it in the Roman thanksgiving (Rm 1 10b-13), whose informal tone is particularly striking. In the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians we have merely the most elaborately developed example of it. The full implications of this observation for the stylistic evaluation and the functional understanding of the Pauline thanksgivings—indeed of the whole of his letters—will become clearer as we observe and interpret all pertinent facts.

We are now in a position to state fully the case for the assertion that the basic thanksgiving terminology and structure, as we derived it from the imprisonment letters, is characteristic of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians also. The leading principal clause (1 2), εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ, is followed, not by two participle constructions as in Philemon, Philippians and Colossians, but by three. That statement summarizes the essential agreement and the slight variation—a merely arithmetical variation which is negligible. (1) μνείαν ποιούμενοι (as μνείαν σου ποιούμενος in Phm.; cf. δέησιν ποιούμενος in Phil.; and προσεύχομαι in Colossians); (2) μνημονεύοντες (as ἀκούων in Phm, ἀκούσαντες in Col and πεποιθώς in Phil); (3) εἰδότες ὅτι. This third participle construction is syntactically, functionally and logically most closely related to the πεποιθώς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι of Phil 1 6.

We are no longer surprised at the failure to find at this point of the period a final clause such as we found in the imprisonment letters. There is no final clause until the end of the thanksgiving is reached with 3 11ff. The final infinitive construction at the end of the first "digression" (2 12), εἰς τὸ περιπατεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ κτλ., is at face value part of Paul's reminiscence of the purpose of his missionary and pastoral activities during his first stay at Thessalonica. It is, indeed, a skilful conclusion of his "apology" and a smooth transition to the first repetition of the basic thanksgiving formula of 2 13: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι κτλ.

There is but one more telic construction in the thanksgiving, namely, in 2 9, πρὸς τὸ μὴ ἐπιβαρῆσαι τινα ὑμῶν, which we recognize at once as part of another reminiscence, or rather of the same reminiscence as 1 12. The conclusion to be drawn from this observation—namely, that neither the first thanksgiving period (1 2-5) nor the second (2 13f.) is rounded out by a final clause, but that this is very emphatically the case in the third and last occurrence (3 9-13)—is that one or more final clauses have their proper place at the very end of the Pauline thanksgiving pattern. The thanksgivings of the imprisonment letters prove the point conclusively and simply; the detailed scrutiny of the extensive thanksgiving of I Thessalonians confirms it.

The first repetition of the basic thanksgiving construction shows the same familiar formula, εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ. It is closely linked to the preceding thought by the coordinating conjunction καὶ διὰ τοῦτο. Thus the whole clause reads: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι κτλ. The context shows that καὶ ἡμεῖς has no antithetical emphasis—indeed that it has no emphasis at all; it was merely added to achieve greater fulness without flat repetition. For the same reason the adverb ἀδιαλείπτως was happily added. Thereupon the principal clause is followed by a causal ὅτι-clause, which embraces a participle construction, a short parenthesis (καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἔστιν), and is followed by a relative clause, in which θεός is the subject referred to.

The structure of this period is distinctly different from that which we have recognized as typical in the thanksgivings of the three imprisonment letters as well as in I Thess 1 2-5. We shall soon have occasion to see that the thanksgiving of I Corinthians duplicates every one of these structural elements, adding however two more members to the period. The thanksgiving of Romans likewise shows basic structural resemblance to I Thess 2 13 in that a causal ὅτι-clause immediately follows the principal clause. The significance of

these facts is as great as it is obvious. We have here a second structural type, or rather a variant on the first type, since both types have the same basis, namely the principal clause: εὐχαριστῶ (or εὐχαριστοῦμεν) τῷ θεῷ.

Although I Thess 2 13 is structurally related to the thanksgivings of I Cor and Rom, it is not, as is each of the latter, an independent or complete thanksgiving. This follows conclusively from the analysis of I Thess 1 2—3 13 made above, and is confirmed by a full comparative analysis of it with the thanksgivings of I Corinthians and Romans. The continuation of this second thanksgiving formula of I Thessalonians (2 13-16) is very peculiar as to both form and content, and therefore need not occupy our attention here beyond our taking note of the fact.

The second repetition of our basic thanksgiving construction achieves a properly heightened climactic effect through its fuller language. Instead of the simple εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ we read here, in the form of a rhetorical question, τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι. Four adverbial phrases modifying εὐχαριστίαν ἀνταποδοῦναι add their considerable stylistic appeal to strengthen the climax—περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν. The main clause is followed, in orthodox fashion, by the participle construction νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι, and then by the equally orthodox final infinitive construction εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν. The prayer which comes next is structurally another peculiarity of this thanksgiving. It predicates Paul's highly developed sense of form. This long drawn-out thanksgiving very much needed some such double climax.

In our analysis of the structure of this highly complex though formally orthodox thanksgiving we should also note the absence of a formal transition between the section which closes with 2 16 and that which begins with 2 17. Previous to 2 17 no allusion had been made to the question which Paul now begins to discuss, namely, his longing to visit Thessalonica, his failure to have done so and his undiminished hope of paying the visit in the near future. Of course, in a general way this topic follows most naturally upon the reminiscences of his former relations to the church (2 1-12). Moreover, the particle δέ in v 17 has undoubtedly transitional force, such as it is. And third, it may be said that the new beginning takes up the same stylistic rhythm which the opening of the preceding paragraph (2 13) shows—if the feeling be justified that ἡμεῖς δέ, ἀδελφοί... ἔσπουδάσαμεν is structurally modeled after καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν in 2 13.

The passage would seem to be an example of Paul's practice—one frequently encountered in his correspondence—of going from one item of personal information to the next without a well-built transition, even if some extraneous matter (as vv. 14-16 here) has come between the items. The problem was briefly discussed here because we must beware of emphasizing exclusively those impressive formal structures of which we have seen some examples while neglecting to observe that informal, intimate, epistolary "conversation" is just as typical of Paul's letters in general and of his thanksgivings in particular.

Finally, our analysis of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians—one of special importance because of its size, contents and structure—gives rise to several problems, a brief statement of which is desirable. First, the problem of the function or purpose of the thanksgiving. This problem, of course, arises in connection with all Pauline thanksgivings, but in the case of I Thessalonians it is more urgent on account of the length of that letter's thanksgiving. Generally speaking, it may be said that the Pauline thanksgivings, with the exception of I Thessalonians, serve as a rather formal introduction to the body of the letter. More detailed description of how and how well they fulfil this function must be postponed, but their broad introductory function is generally recognized.

Lohmeyer¹ in his discussion of the Philippian thanksgiving uses the rather neutral term *Proömium* (= introduction) for it; his general remarks in this connection on the formal character of the Pauline thanksgivings are very penetrating. Lietzmann² calls the Roman thanksgiving an *Übergang* (= transition). This term happens to be permissible, though it is not very enlightening, in the case of Romans, because Romans has a singularly long opening formula from which a "transition" to the main subject matter of the letter might conceivably be made. Lietzmann's description of the thanksgiving of I Corinthians³ as a *briefstilmässige Danksagung* (= a thanksgiving in epistolary form) is however a very apt characterization of the Pauline thanksgivings in general.

But it would be a mistake fraught with serious consequences to assume that the function of the Pauline thanksgivings is unimportant or negligible because it is introductory. A number of facts warns us against such an assumption: First, the very presence of a thanksgiving after the opening formula in every Pauline letter (the obvious

¹) Der Brief an die Philipper (Göttingen, 1928), pp. 13ff.

²) An die Römer

(Tübingen, 1928), p. 27, to Rm 1 8.

³) An die Korinther I und II (Tübingen, 1923)

p. 5, to I 1 4.

reason for its absence in Galatians argues the same point; so does the singular structure which sets apart the thanksgiving of II Corinthians). Second, the separate thanksgivings reveal a close relationship of basic structure, which is good proof that for Paul a thanksgiving was a *conditio sine qua non* of letter-writing. Third, each thanksgiving reveals a great many peculiar traits as to structure, style and contents, which is good proof that the thanksgivings are no mere formal, meaningless devices, but an essential functional element within each letter.

In order to determine the function of any one thanksgiving we must first of all examine and interpret the data contained in it. The most obvious structural peculiarity of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians—its excessive length in proportion to the “remainder” of the letter—undoubtedly implies a functional peculiarity. On methodological grounds, however, the function cannot be radically different from that of the other Pauline thanksgivings; there is merely a quantitative increase in importance. To state it explicitly, length is the only important structural peculiarity here, and length can cause only quantitative differences; furthermore, as the basic structural elements are the same as in the other thanksgivings, it follows again that there can be no essential difference of function.

The correctness of these methodological principles, which are based on our previous observation, is again confirmed when we look at the pertinent data here. Let us suppose a text in which I Thessalonians 3 13 is immediately followed by 5 25-28: on the basis of this (imaginary) text there could be no feeling of original incompleteness and no suspicion of editorial or accidental excision. Such suspicions could only arise from a comparative study of the structural organization of other Pauline letters and the setting up of that organization as the norm by which to judge I Thessalonians. It would then be discovered—correctly—that I Thessalonians has no “main body,” either of doctrinal information (like Rm, Gal, Col and II Thess), or of practical information (like I and II Cor and Phil). But it would be incorrect and methodologically unjustified to conclude that therefore something is wrong with I Thessalonians.

Now it is clear that what follows immediately upon the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians (4 iff.) is in the strictest sense of the word the conclusion of the letter, clearly marked as such by its contents and form as well as by its first, transitional phrase, *λοιπὸν οὖν, ἀδελφοί, ἐρωτῶμεν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν*. B. Weiss¹ and Dobschütz²

¹) *Textkritik der paulinischen Briefe* (Leipzig, 1896), p. 121. ²) *Die Thessalonicherbriefe* (Göttingen, 1909), p. 155.

show that οὖν, the reading of the Codex Vaticanus, belongs in the text; Dobschütz¹ and Bultmann² convincingly demonstrate that λοιπὸν (οὖν) is not just an ordinary transitional particle but specifically a locutio properans ad finem.

Thus the conclusion is inevitable that the thanksgiving itself constitutes the main body of I Thessalonians. It contains all the primary information that Paul wished to convey. There is no other subject matter in the letter which equals in importance, from the point of view of its author, the extensive and intimately personal description of his constant anxiety and longing desire for the Thessalonian church. The suggestion is frequently advanced that Paul's primary purpose in I Thessalonians was to enlighten the church on one specific question concerning eschatological expectation (4 13 to 18, or to 5 11), but this is no more the purpose than are the other paraenetical paragraphs. In view of the obviously paraenetical tenor of 5 1-11 and of the significant conclusion of the first part in 4 18, ὥστε παρακαλεῖτε (sic) ἀλλήλους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις (sic), I refer advisedly to the entire section 4 13—5 11 as a piece of paraenesis rather than of dogmatic indoctrination, in spite of its secondary speculative features. Thus Frame's outline of I Thessalonians³ is correct in so far as it groups everything from 4 1—5 22 under the head of "exhortations." The mistake of describing eschatological indoctrination as the purpose of I Thessalonians is obviously due to interpretation of this letter in the light of II Thessalonians, which actually was written for that purpose. This is merely an example of the superficial kind of "comparative" study which rather than comparing harmonizes the disharmonious.

It is quite clear, then, that the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians has a singularly important—epistolary—function. In fact its function is the function of the letter as a whole: the thanksgiving is the letter, i. e., the "main body" of the letter. The paraenetical section 4 1—5 22 is its "conclusion", just as chapters 12 to 15 are the conclusion of the letter to the Romans. The other Pauline thanksgivings, as we begin to see, have essentially the same function, though in view of their relative brevity the function is definitely introductory. But we are entirely safe in saying that the significant, characteristic and primary function of the Pauline thanksgivings is decidedly not to furnish a liturgical or semi-liturgical proemium, a literary or semi-literary introduction, but that the thanksgivings are functionally

¹) Ibid. ²) Der Stil der Paulinischen Predigt (Göttingen, 1910), p. 101.

³) The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians (New York, 1915), p. 17.

an essential constitutive element of the Pauline epistolography. Their province is to indicate the occasion for and the contents of the letters which they introduce. In I Thessalonians the indication has grown into the full development of the contents.

A second problem arising from our analysis of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians may be briefly formulated here, even though its solution must wait till our study has furnished all the data: What determines the length of a thanksgiving relative to the length of the whole letter of which it is so regularly the first important part? Will chronological considerations provide a clue—i. e., did the “first” (?) Pauline thanksgiving grow to such large dimensions because perhaps Paul had not yet mastered the form?

Our structural analysis of the thanksgiving of I Thessalonians was concerned only to discover its basic traits and its formal and functional unity or lack of unity. Its length and its obvious importance for the interpretation of the entire letter account for our having gone quite deeply into detail.

Naturally we turn next to the thanksgiving of II Thessalonians. We recall that it extends from 13-12 and that determination of its length involved no difficulties. Here is its colometric picture:

- 13 εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί,
(καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν)
ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν
καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη . . . ,
ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἐν ὑμῖν ἐνκαυχᾶσθαι . . . ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑπομονῆς
»ὑμῶν . . . ἐν πᾶσιν . . . ταῖς θλίψεσιν,
αἷς ἀνέχεσθε.
- (5) ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ
εἰς τὸ καταξιωθῆναι ὑμᾶς τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ θεοῦ,
ὑπὲρ ἧς καὶ πάσχετε,
εἶπερ δίκαιον παρὰ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι . . . θλίψιν καὶ . . . ἄνεσιν . . .
»ἐν τῇ ἀποκαλύψει τοῦ κυρίου . . . ἐν πυρὶ φλογός,
διδόντος ἐκδίκησιν τοῖς μὴ εἰδόσιν θεὸν καὶ . . .
οἵτινες δίκην τίσουσιν . . .
ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐνδοξασθῆναι . . . (ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ)
ὅτι ἐπιστεύθη τὸ μαρτύριον ἡμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς . . .
- 11 εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν,
ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἀξιώσῃ . . . ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πληρώσῃ . . .
ὅπως ἐνδοξασθῇ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ κυρίου . . .

Again we have the well-known basic principal clause in a singular variation: εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ. However slight this variation,

it clearly has definite significance, as two facts show unmistakably: First, this variation is literally repeated (save for a change in word order) in 2 13, ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περι ὑμῶν . . . , ὅτι κτλ.; second, the peculiar parenthetical καθὼς-clause following immediately this principal clause in v 3 expressly asserts the peculiar significance of the variation εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν.

The principal clause is immediately followed by a causal ὅτι-clause, which states Paul's reason for his gratitude to God. This is a construction which we have already met in I Thess 2 13 and which we shall meet again in the thanksgivings of I Cor and Rm. Then the causal clause is followed by a consecutive one, introduced by ὥστε. We shall have a complete picture of this type of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving pattern after we have examined its examples in I Cor and Romans.

A syntactical problem of great stylistic interest confronts us in v. 5, indeed from v. 5 to v. 10. Its solution in terms of syntactical theory is fascinating, though not all-important. The problem arises from the fact that we have here a period, or what should be a period, in a hopeless state of disorder and obscurity, reminding us that even in this thanksgivings Paul is no literary academician. These verses are as interesting and problematic to the exegete of the Pauline letters and to the historian of early Christian theology and its antecedents as they are to us.

The suspicion is probably justified that the obscure and obscurantist theology is here to blame for the syntactical obscurity. One has the feeling that Paul was fully aware and even a bit proud of this Jewish-pharisaical specimen of theology. We need lose no time over the theological problem involved in the syntactical one beyond stating the interrelation. Our task is to decide on syntactical terms suitable for defining with some degree of adequacy what is not at all syntactical. The most urgent question is how the phrase in v. 5a, ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, should be "construed." Goodspeed's translation of the passage¹ is obviously based on the most adequate syntactical theory. Dibelius² formulates this theory and his translation of the passage (vv. 5-10) follows exactly the same syntactical interpretation as Goodspeed's: with v. 5 begins a new period whose first phrase, ἔνδειγμα τῆς δικαίας κρίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, is its principal clause; the ellipsis is due to the omission of, perhaps, ὃ ἐστίν (ἔνδειγμα κτλ.).

¹) The New Testament, An American Translation (Chicago, 1923).

²) An die

Thessalonicher I und II (Tübingen, 1925), p. 35.

From the point of view of this syntactical interpretation, vv. 5-10 take on the traits of a fairly well-organized though clumsily progressing period. Its content is eschatological, its formal purpose in the thanksgiving to prepare the climax of vv. 11 and 12, which is also eschatological; the language of the period is strongly influenced, if not primarily inspired, by the Septuagint. What we have here is Jewish eschatology—more specifically, the Jewish theory of divine retribution in the language of the Hellenistic-Jewish Holy Scripture.

This period (vv. 5-10) is, to be sure, a constitutive element of the regular Pauline thanksgiving pattern. Indeed it has such climactic force that it might very well have ended with v. 10. But if the final climax was yet to come, and if the thanksgiving structure was to be preserved, some repetitive variant of the basic thanksgiving formula had to be used to introduce the final period. Thus v. 11 takes up the initial εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν of v. 3 with εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα κτλ. (v. 11), in the same manner which we observed in Col 1 9 Phil 1 9 I Thess 2 13 and 3 9 (cf. also in Rm 1 9 μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιῶμαι πάντοτε, parallel in structural form and position to εὐχαριστῶ in v. 8).

This repetitive principal clause of v. 11 is in orthodox fashion immediately followed by a ἵνα-clause; compare in other thanksgivings the structurally and functionally parallel ἵνα-clauses, Phil 1 9. 10 Col 1 9 Eph 1 17; and the ὅπως-clause in Phlm 6. Then in v. 12 the ἵνα-clause is modified by another telic ὅπως-clause subordinate to the first. This clumsy construction reminds one of the similar but even more awkward passage in I Cor 7 5, where one ἵνα-clause is directly subordinated to another one. The change from ἵνα to ὅπως and the greater length of both clauses do not jar the ear so harshly as does I Cor 7 5.

We must not overlook the second occurrence of the εὐχαριστῶ formula in II Thess 2 13f.:

ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί
 »ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου,
 ὅτι εἶλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπαρχὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν . . .
 εἰς ὃ ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἡμῶν, εἰς περιποίησιν . . .
 15 ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε . . ., καὶ κρατεῖτε τὰς παραδόσεις,
 ἃς ἐδιδάχθητε εἴτε διὰ λόγου εἴτε δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἡμῶν.
 16 αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ κύριος . . . παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας καὶ στηρίξαι
 »ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ἀγαθῷ.

This is another example of the structural pattern in which the causal ὅτι-clause follows immediately upon the εὐχαριστῶ clause. Of

course, this is not a complete thanksgiving; the causal clause is followed by an ostensibly relative clause introduced by εἰς ὃ. But it is difficult, grammatically as well as exegetically, to say to which part of speech the relative ὃ refers; most likely it refers to the entire thought of the ὅτι-clause, namely, God's saving of the Thessalonian Christians (ὅτι εἴλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπαρχὴν εἰς σωτηρίαν). There may also very well be a telic force in εἰς ὃ, a force which is indeed obvious in the second εἰς of the clause (ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς) εἰς περιποίησιν δόξης τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. This last member of the εὐχαριστῶ period is a peculiar feature here. The next verse (15) confronts us with the most striking problem. Its structure and style are strictly paraenetic, characterized by the two imperatives στήκετε and κρατεῖτε. This brief paraenesis is directly followed by a benediction which has its exact structural parallel in I Thess 3 11-13.

It cannot be denied that this entire section (II Thess 2 13-17) is an inseparable formal unit. The three structural elements which constitute it are the εὐχαριστῶ period, the imperative clause and the benediction—a unique sequence. Dibelius¹ has pointed out the formal and functional similarity of this paragraph with various passages in I Thessalonians and has made some pertinent observations. But the comparison most significant structurally and functionally would be a comparison of the whole paragraph II, 2 13-17 with I 3 9-13.

The structural analysis of the thanksgiving of I Corinthians presents less difficulty than that of any thanksgiving we have thus far dealt with, except the thanksgiving of Philemon. The brevity, the structural simplicity and calmness of the thanksgiving of I Corinthians are especially noteworthy, but in view of the length and the great vitality of the letter, especially in its first chapters (1-6), they also demand explanation.

14 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ . . .
ὅτι ἐν παντὶ ἐπλουτίσθητε . . .

(καθὼς τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐβεβαιώθη ἐν ὑμῖν),
ὥστε ὑμᾶς μὴ ὑστερεῖσθαι . . . ἀπεκδεχομένους . . . Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ·

ὃς καὶ βεβαιώσει ὑμᾶς ἕως τέλους ἀνεγκλήτους ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
»τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

9 πιστὸς ὁ θεός

δι' οὗ ἐκλήθητε εἰς κοινωνίαν τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ
»Χριστοῦ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν.

¹) An die Thessalonicher (Tübingen, 1925), pp. 43f.; note particularly the Exkurs on p. 44.

We have already pointed out that the basic εὐχαριστῶ-period (vv 4-6) is essentially the same as that in Thess 2 13 and in II Thess 1 2 and 2 13f., the significant difference being that the period here is more elaborate. The reason for this is obvious: the Thessalonian occurrences represent merely repetitions of the first occurrences at the beginning of the letters, while here in I Cor 1 4-9 we have a complete thanksgiving. The εὐχαριστῶ principal clause is effectively enriched by four adverbial modifiers; it is immediately followed, according to the pattern, by a causal ὅτι-clause. The subsequent consecutive clause (ὥστε c. inf.), and a relative clause which brings the eschatological climax, round out the period. v. 9, πιστός ὁ θεός κτλ., has confirmatory force and the style of a benediction (cf. I Thess 5 24).

Although we are at present concerned only with the basic structure of the thanksgivings, we may take note here of a structural feature which is particularly prominent in the thanksgiving of I Corinthians, but appears with disconcerting regularity in all Pauline thanksgivings except that of Philemon. It is the paratactic clause introduced by καθώς. Its construction is elliptical in Rm 1 13. 17 and in Col 1 6; but in both cases the verb may readily be supplied from the immediately preceding context. Here is the full list of all occurrences of the καθώς-clause in the Pauline thanksgivings: I Cor 1 6 II Cor 1 5 (καθώς—οὕτως) Rm 1 13 Phil 1 7 I Thess 1 5 2 13 II Thess 1 3 Col 1 6 (bis), 7 Eph 1 4. Even a cursory glance at these passages and their preceding contexts convinces us that this regular occurrence of the καθώς-clauses in the Pauline thanksgivings is not accidental, but that a very definite formal and functional significance within the thanksgiving pattern attaches to it. To be sure, these καθώς-clauses to some extent differ among themselves in formal as well as functional detail.

The thanksgiving of Romans is the last of the εὐχαριστῶ pattern to be analyzed as to its basic structure. It will be recalled that we encountered serious difficulties in our preliminary attempt to delineate its extent. The analyses which we have now completed furnish us with valid methodological criteria to overcome these difficulties. We can no longer doubt that vv. 11-13 (of Rm 1) constitute formally and functionally an integral part of the thanksgiving, for we have seen that the discussion of intimate personal topics enters more or less into all thanksgivings, not by accident, but according to a definite structural pattern. The note of personal, conversational intimacy we found particularly prominent in the thanksgivings of Philippians and I Thessalonians, and entirely absent in no thanksgiving.

If, then, vv. 11-13—which express Paul's strong desire to come to Rome and give the Romans the benefit of becoming acquainted

with his gospel¹—are a constitutive element of the thanksgiving pattern structurally as well as functionally, the same is true of vv. 14 and 15, because vv. 14 and 15 (οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ εὐαγγελίσασθαι) show the Romans that Paul feels an apostolic obligation to preach his gospel to them, while in v. 11 he spoke, with great tact, merely of his personal desire to do so (ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν εἰς τὸ στηριχθῆναι ὑμᾶς). Whether vv. 16 and 17 should be considered the final climax of the thanksgivings or the transition to the letter's theme (1:18—8:39) is perhaps hard to decide. v. 17 is certainly the topic sentence of the doctrinal theme, but v. 18 belongs unquestionably to the thanksgiving, because its vocabulary as well as its thought link it closely to the preceding verses. In view of these facts it seems best to include both verses in the thanksgiving.

18 πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ περὶ πάντων
»ὑμῶν,

ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

9 μάρτυς γὰρ μου ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, ᾧ λατρεύω ἐν πνεύματί μου...
ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν
»προσευχῶν μου,

δεόμενος εἴ πως ἤδη ποτὲ εὐοδωθήσομαι . . . ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς.

11 ἐπιποθῶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν ὑμᾶς,
ἵνα τι μεταδῶ χάρισμα ὑμῖν πνευματικὸν . . .
τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν συνπαρακληθῆναι . . . διὰ τῆς ἐν ἀλλήλοις
»πίστεως ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐμοῦ.

13 οὐ θέλω δὲ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν, ἀδελφοί,
ὅτι πολλάκις προσθέμην ἔλθειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς (καὶ ἐκωλύθη
»ἄχρι τοῦ δεῦρο),
ἵνα τινὰ καρπὸν σχῶ καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν (καθὼς καὶ ἐν τοῖς
»λοιποῖς ἔθνεσιν).

Ἐλλήσιν τε καὶ βαρβάρους . . . ὀφειλέτης εἰμί·

15 οὕτω τὸ κατ' ἐμὲ πρόθυμον καὶ ὑμῖν . . . εὐαγγελίσασθαι.
οὐ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον,
δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν . . .
δικαιοσύνη γὰρ θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀποκαλύπτεται . . .
καθὼς γέγραπται . . .

¹) Already in 1:5 Paul has made an effort to show that he is obligated as the apostle for "all the nations" to include also the Roman church in his work (ἐλάβομεν χάριν καὶ ἀποστολὴν εἰς ὑπακοήν (sic!) πίστεως ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν . . . ἐν οἷς ἐστε καὶ ὑμεῖς. Nowhere does Paul formulate his own conception of his life work more universally and more soberly.

The most striking peculiarity of the structure of the Roman thanksgiving is also very obvious. An attempt has been made to visualize it adequately in the colometric picture. The peculiarity is that the thanksgiving is broken up into a large number of comparatively short periods and that the number of coordinating conjunctions considerably outweighs the number of subordinating conjunctions. Thus is produced the very noticeable ruggedness and laboriousness of this thanksgiving's style.

Apart from this chief formal peculiarity the basic structure of the Roman thanksgiving conforms to type. In the εὐχαριστῶ period of v. 8 we recognize the pattern observed in I Corinthians, in II Thess 1 3 and 2 13 and in I Thess 2 13; i. e., the principal clause is immediately followed by a causal ὅτι-clause which expresses the reason for gratitude. The next period brings the equally familiar basic formula from the other pattern, μνείαν ποιείσθαι, not in a participle construction but in the first person singular of the present middle tense. This principal clause is followed, as usual, by the participle construction δεόμενος εἰ πως κτλ.

vv. 11-15b correspond functionally and structurally to I Thess 2 17—3 8, because in both paragraphs Paul discusses his future plans and expectations with reference to the Roman and the Thessalonian churches respectively.

The second important peculiarity in basic structure of the Roman thanksgiving consists in the fact that its climax, although a very effective as well as an eschatological one (in view of the eschatological significance of such terms as σωτηρία, εὐαγγέλιον and δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ἀποκαλύπτεται), is not introduced, as usually, by a repetitive variation of the basic thanksgiving formula. There is, of course, a reason for this fact, and also an adequate answer to the problem involved in it.

It will not be amiss to include in our analyses the only occurrence in the NT of a εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving outside of the letters of Paul. Significantly, we find this εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving in the epistle to the Ephesians, 1 15-19. Its mere presence here and its puzzling position—immediately following the real introduction to the letter (1 3-14), which may from its initial key-phrase (εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός) be properly called a eulogy—at once raise a number of interesting problems, especially problems concerning the literary relationship of these two "introductions" (1 3-14 and 1 15-19) to the thanksgivings of the genuine Pauline letters. At this point, however, we take note only of the basic structure of the second introduction.

- 1 15 διὰ τοῦτο κἀγώ,
 ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν . . . ,
 (διὰ τοῦτο κἀγώ) . . . οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν¹
 μνεῖαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου,
 ἵνα ὁ θεὸς . . . δῶῃ ὑμῖν πνεῦμα σοφίας . . . πεφωτισμένους τοὺς
 »ὀφθαλμοὺς . . . ,
 18 εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς . . . , τίς ὁ πλοῦτος . . . ,
 »καὶ τί τὸ ὑπερβάλλον μέγεθος . . . (to end of v. 19).

Strangely enough this thanksgiving, as far as basic structure is concerned, resembles most closely not that of Colossians, though it belongs to the same pattern, but that of Philemon. Here as there we have the εὐχαριστῶ principal clause with the same two participle constructions, these latter, to be sure, in reversed order: ἀκούσας—μνεῖαν ποιούμενος in the one case, μνεῖαν σου ποιούμενος—ἀκούων in the other. Here as there the participle constructions are followed by a final clause, introduced in Ephesians by ἵνα, in Philemon by ὅπως. Ephesians adds another final construction in v. 18b, εἰς τὸ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς τίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐλπίς . . .

At the end of v 19 the conclusion of the basic thanksgiving structure (with an eschatological climax, vv. 18 and 19) is reached, although not the end of the period, which continues with a relative clause extending through v. 21, the end of the period. We observed the same structural sequence at the end of the Colossian thanksgiving, vv. 14 ff.

It is now indicated that we summarize the essential observations made in the course of our structural and functional analysis of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgivings and that we formulate some general conclusions.

1. The formal and functional homogeneity of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgivings is clearly demonstrated by the invariable occurrence of the initial principal clause in which εὐχαριστῶ is the characteristic and the characterizing verb; the addresant is always the grammatical subject. We found this thematic clause at the very beginning of each thanksgiving: Phm 4 Phil 1 3 Col 1 3 I Thess 1 2 2 13 (in 3 9 we have instead of the verb the corresponding noun εὐχαριστία construed as an object of the verb ἀνταποδίδωμι, the whole phrase, of course, being merely a stylistic variation of the simple verb εὐχαριστῶ); II Thess 1 3 2 13 I Cor 1 4 Rm 1 8 and Eph 1 15.

¹) Cf. Dibelius, *An die Epheser* (Tübingen, 1927), p. 48 on construing ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν with οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν and not with μνεῖαν ποιούμενος.

2. There are discernible two general types, structurally speaking, of the εὐχαριστῶ period. The first group is characterized by one or two or three participle constructions immediately following and modifying the principal verb εὐχαριστῶ. The participles are always in the singular or plural of the nom. masc., a construction which is merely the grammatical way of saying that the addressant is the subject of the action expressed by them.

The second characteristic of the first type is that these participle constructions are regularly and without exception followed by a final clause which is subordinate to them. The final clause (or clauses) may be introduced by ἵνα or ὅπως or εἰς τὸ c. inf. Philemon: μνεῖαν ποιοῦμενος—ἀκούων—ὅπως; Philippians: δέησιν ποιοῦμενος—πεποιθώς, ὅτι—προσεύχομαι—ἵνα—ἵνα; I Thess 1 2ff.: μνεῖαν ποιοῦμενοι—μνημονεύοντες—εἰδότες, ὅτι—; 3 9f.: δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ c. inf.; II Thess 1 11: προσευχόμεθα—ἵνα; Eph 1 15: ἀκούσας—μνεῖαν ποιοῦμενος—ἵνα.

The second type is structurally characterized, first, by a causal ὅτι-clause immediately following and subordinate to the principal εὐχαριστῶ-clause and, second, by a consecutive clause, following and subordinate to the ὅτι-clause, introduced by ὥστε. This second type is exemplified by the thanksgivings of I Corinthians, Romans and II Thessalonians, as follows: I Corinthians: εὐχαριστῶ—ὅτι—ὥστε—ὅς καί. Romans: εὐχαριστῶ—ὅτι. II Thess 1 3: εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν—ὅτι—ὥστε. 2 13: ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν—ὅτι—ἄρα οὖν. I Thess 2 13: εὐχαριστοῦμεν—ὅτι—ὅς καί. In a form not fully developed we also encountered this second structural type in the repetitive occurrence of the εὐχαριστῶ formula in I Thess 2 13f. These statistics take into account every Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period plus Ephesians. They show clearly that this basic structural distinction exists; that the thanksgivings of I Thessalonians, Philemon, Philippians, Colossians (and Ephesians) represent the first type, while II Thessalonians, I Corinthians and Romans represent the second.

3. We have just observed under (2) that in I Thessalonians we find traces of both types. The first εὐχαριστῶ period (1 2-4) follows the first type, the first repetition (2 13) follows the second type and the second repetition (3 9f.) again follows the first type. This observation alone suggests that it is not possible to explain the difference of the structural patterns in terms of chronology. That is to say, it cannot be said that Paul used one of the two patterns in his earlier letters and the other in the later letters. This conclusion is indeed fully established if the genuineness of II Thessalonians is presupposed. (The present study is made on this reasonable assumption, which

can do no harm if we are careful not to overstep the border-lines of the legitimate comparative method.)

Not only do we find both structural types of the εὐχαριστῶ period in I and II Thessalonians; we also find evidence of the mixture of both types in the thanksgiving of Romans. This begins with the pattern represented by the second type (v. 8) and continues (v. 9f.) with a period which conforms structurally to the first type. In v. 8 we have the structural pattern εὐχαριστῶ—ὅτι . . . ; in vv. 9f., μείων ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι—δεόμενος—εἰ πως. The conjunction εἰ πως is structurally in the same position as the final εἰς τό c. inf. in I Thess 3 10: εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι—δεόμενοι—εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον. Moreover, it is structurally in the same position as every final clause in the first type of the basic εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving structure.

It is clear, then, that the first type, characterized by the structural sequence: principal clause (εὐχαριστῶ), participle constructions, final clause—is the fuller one and is more frequently used (in I Thess., Phm., Phil., Col. and Eph.; and traces of it in II Thess 1 11) than the second type, which is characterized by the structural sequence: principal clause (εὐχαριστῶ), causal ὅτι-clause, and, in the case of I Corinthians, a consecutive (ὥστε) construction. While the distinction between the two structural types cannot be explained on the basis of chronological considerations, it has nevertheless very definite and significant functional causes and consequences.

4. The exact and comprehensive analysis of the characteristic grammatical elements of the basic thanksgiving structure leads to a further conclusion, one of the greatest significance for the formal as well as the exegetical interpretation of the Pauline thanksgivings. Indeed, this conclusion defines not only the fundamental but also the central characteristics of the Pauline thanksgivings, both as to form and function. In it the majority of the structural, stylistic, functional and exegetical problems raised by the thanksgivings find their solution. It is, fortunately, not a new thesis; but it may be safely said that its full significance has not yet been understood and its important implications for the study of Paul's style in general have not yet been fully realized.

The central importance of this conclusion requires a full statement of the grammatical observations on which it is based. It will also be well to keep in mind that it will be amply confirmed in subsequent phases of our analysis of the Pauline thanksgivings.

(a) The verb εὐχαριστῶ itself, or the finite verb form with which it is construed (as in II Thess 1 3, εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν; 2 13,

ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν; I Thess 3 9, τίνα εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα . . . ἀνταποδοῦναι; and Eph 1 16, οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν), appears without exception in the 1. ps. either sg. or pl. of the present indicative.

(b) This verb εὐχαριστῶ is with mechanical regularity modified by the object τῷ θεῷ. The only notable exception is in the pseudo-Pauline Ephesians (1 5), where εὐχαριστῶ is construed without a personal object. But even here the context, and expressly the subject of the typical ἵνα-clause (= ὁ θεός, v. 17), leaves no room for doubt that the same personal object was "understood" by the writer and supplied by his readers. Or, to state it negatively, the Pauline thanksgivings are not "addressed" to God, as we would expect in liturgical sentence structure. In a liturgical thanksgiving of the εὐχαριστῶ pattern we might expect, e. g., εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὦ θεέ κτλ., or some other liturgical structural pattern.

(c) This leads to the corresponding positive observation. The Pauline thanksgivings do have a definite addressee. This addressee is a structurally characteristic trait of the thanksgivings. The addressee is consistently referred to in personal objects, mostly in the dative of the second person of the personal pronoun, or, less frequently, in vocatives, ἀδελφοί or ἀδελφοί ἀγαπητοί, etc. When we collect and classify the endings of the finite verb forms and the personal pronouns occurring in the thanksgivings, it becomes impressively obvious that the rhythmical interchange between the first and second persons is a structurally basic and characteristic element of the thanksgiving pattern.

In other words, the thanksgiving structure is characterized by a basic bipolarity, a double focus around which all thoughts center: the addressant and the addressee. Furthermore, whenever there is a finite verb in the third person it is as a rule modified by an oblique case of the personal pronoun in the first or second person. Thus perfect structural and logical consistency is achieved and no extraneous influences are allowed to disturb the fundamental bipolar pattern. This pattern may be equally well observed in any thanksgiving. The thanksgiving of Philippians may here serve, quite arbitrarily, as an example (Phil 1 3-11).

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάση τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν πάση δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καθὼς ἔστιν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, διὰ τὸ ἔχειν με ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμᾶς, ἔν τε τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου

συνκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας; μάρτυς γάρ μου ὁ θεός, ὡς ἐπιποθῶ πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι ἵνα ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον καὶ μᾶλλον περισσεύῃ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει καὶ πάσῃ αἰσθήσει, εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν ὑμᾶς τὰ διαφέροντα, ἵνα ᾗτε εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἀπρόσκοποι εἰς ἡμέραν Χριστοῦ, πεπληρωμένοι καρπὸν δικαιοσύνης τὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς δόξαν καὶ ἔπαινον θεοῦ.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that this thanksgiving (like the others) is structurally characterized—as far as finite verb forms and personal pronouns are concerned—by the first and second persons, the former denoting the addressant, the latter the addressee. There can also be no doubt that these grammatical persons require each other.

These observations (a—c), then, inevitably lead to the conclusion that we have in the Pauline thanksgivings a definitely epistolary style. Theirs is the epistolary form. The facts speak for themselves even without contrast with the possible alternative, e. g., a liturgical form. In the latter we would have to expect at least some structural traces of the liturgical tripartition, "God, the minister and the people." What we actually have is the direct syntactical expression of the epistolary situation before "Paul, as he writes his letters to this or that church."

To state the most important thesis of this study concisely: the Pauline thanksgivings are characteristically and basically epistolary in form and function.

5. The recognition of the epistolary character of the Pauline thanksgivings is of importance not only for their exegesis and for the exegesis of the entire letters, but even more for our immediate purpose, because in the light of this recognition the thanksgivings are invaluable and comparatively extensive materials, specific and homogeneous in form and function, which may and must be studied collectively and comparatively.

6. Finally, such a study will provide us with definite criteria which can be fruitfully applied to other sections of the Pauline letters which are formally and functionally comparable. The paraenetic sections, which have been studied from various points of view, are a vital example of what we have in mind. Such a procedure would put the all-important study of the style and form of the Pauline letters on a broad and solid basis. It would have to be rigorously inductive, observing homogeneous sections, determining their extent, discovering the significance of identical basic structure and function

and accounting adequately for agreements as well as for individual variations.

The temptation to overwork a sound methodological principle must be guarded against, lest it distort rather than explain the facts under observation. It is essential to exercise the utmost care in using such methodological tools as, e. g., "epistolary terminology," "epistolary style," "epistolary function," "epistolary situation," etc., notwithstanding, or perhaps on account of, the fact that they have not yet been employed to the full extent of their usefulness. However, there is no need to engage in a discussion of methodology in vacuo. The data themselves, objectively observed, always point the way to the solution of the problems involved in them.

CHAPTER III

STRUCTURAL AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF THE USAGES OF ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ. ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΙΑ, AND ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

The fact that Paul derived the lexicographical and structural elements of his basic thanksgiving structure from patterns with which his Hellenistic and Jewish environment had familiarized him is no longer questioned. The more recent commentaries on the letters of Paul, the standard lexica of Hellenistic and NT Greek, as well as some lexicographical and other monographs, attest the fact profusely and effectively. The naive conception that language and style are purely or at least essentially individual creations has long been abandoned. Not only sociologists and psychologists, but even historians and philologists have indeed come dangerously near to abandoning altogether the concept "individual," so much have they been impressed by the ever increasing empirical evidence of the fundamentally social and "environmental" character of human life in all its aspects. This trend in modern science has proved very fruitful to literary and historical research. It helps to appreciate and to interpret more correctly the continuity of literary and historical development as well as its changes and their causes; exegesis is no longer a matter of psychological subjectivism, but of social objectivism.

In NT science as well as elsewhere this "socialization" of method has already led to a new kind of dogmatism which claims to have established literary or social dependence on the basis of very flimsy and insufficient facts, or roundly postulates it without the support

of any data whatever. Lexicographers sometimes show a deplorable lack of concern in the face of many important, glaringly missing links. To be sure, the validity of such postulates cannot be doubted, but their usefulness to the historian is practically nihil. The historian and the literary critic are concerned ultimately with the adequate interpretation of concrete, specific documents; generalities are of little value for them. This in no way implies disregard for the social forces that produced this or that writing, but rather the necessity of studying these forces more rigorously with reference to each concrete product.

In the course of the last decades the students of the style of Paul, e. g., have been forced to penetrate further and further into the wide field of Hellenistic usage in quest of the concrete antecedents of Paul's style. The basic structure of the Pauline thanksgivings represents merely one small, specific item of that larger problem. The problem with which we are to deal in this section is this: To what extent can we trace concretely the antecedents in Hellenistic Greek of the basic structure of the Pauline thanksgivings?

Simply stated, our task is to trace the occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ and of other word forms derived from the adjective εὐχάριστος throughout the Hellenistic period and so discover whether earlier and contemporary usage can shed light on the specific structure which Paul employs in his thanksgivings. Much work on this problem has already been done. Our particular responsibility is threefold: First, it will be desirable to summarize and evaluate critically the facts already assembled and the results deduced from them—material which is dispersed in various monographs, commentaries and lexica, but nowhere comprehensively dealt with. Moreover, the data so far observed and discussed are quantitatively insufficient.

It is therefore necessary, second, to make a systematic search for more relevant data in order to arrive at valid and really instructive conclusions as to the origin of Paul's εὐχαριστῶ structure. This search will lead us through the papyri, because we naturally expect to find in them the clearest examples of its usage on the level of epistolary style and function. The inscriptions will prove of almost equal value, because they also include examples of epistolary, liturgical, and other related forms. Likewise, the Septuagint and other documents of Jewish-Hellenistic life must be scrutinized and, finally, a representative number of Hellenistic "authors" whose use of εὐχαριστῶ is in any way instructive for our purposes.

Our third responsibility is perhaps the most imperative and certainly the most difficult, because it involves the exercise of judg-

ment. It is not enough to enumerate and collect promiscuously the occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ (and related forms); it is necessary to identify and define in the case of each occurrence the functional and formal level which the whole document or its particular parts represent. This means merely that we must apply to all relevant occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ which we find the same methodological criteria wherewith we isolated and defined the basic structure of the Pauline thanksgivings in the preceding section (II). The importance of this procedure is obvious. As a rule only occurrences on the same structural and functional level can be brought into a genetic relation to one another.

Theodor Schermann, a philologist well known for his work on early Christian liturgy, has written a lexicographical study on "Εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν in ihrem Bedeutungswandel bis 200 n. Chr."¹ His special interest in liturgy explains the fact that he devotes only eight pages to early Hellenistic usage, three to Jewish-Hellenistic usage, and four to NT usage (two of these last to Paul), and that he gives the largest part of his article to discussion of the usage by the Apostolic Fathers and their successors². The conclusion of the whole monograph³—its title is really much too ambitious—is the rather meager one that under the influence of Philo the Christian theologians of the second and third centuries came to use εὐχαριστεῖν, and particularly the substantive εὐχαριστία, almost exclusively for the sacrifice of the Eucharist.

This was most likely a foregone conclusion. In spite of his distinct interest in liturgy Schermann does not define anything like a liturgical structural type or function of εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν. He limits himself throughout to classifying—rather unsystematically at that—the various prepositional, personal or direct objects with which εὐχαριστῶ may be construed, but attempts no further definite structural or functional distinctions. His failure to exploit papyrus documents (he makes only one or two incidental references to them) may perhaps be excused on the ground that at the time this monograph was written (before 1910) papyrology was to some philologists a mere novelty.

From the point of view of traditional lexicography Schermann has done a creditable piece of work, but it offers little for the more concrete and rigorous problem we have formulated. Schermann deals with specimens of εὐχαριστῶ; we are interested in constructions with

¹) Philologus, Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum, LXIX (Leipzig, 1910), 375—410.

²) Ibid., pp. 375—83; 383—86; 386—90; and 390—410.

³) Ibid.,

and functions of εὐχαριστῶ. Thus we will be able to achieve completeness by representation at least. Schermann's treatment of the Pauline usage of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία is particularly disappointing for our purposes, because he fails to recognize that Paul's use of εὐχαριστῶ in his thanksgivings represents a distinct structure and function, and because he offers only an incomplete resumé of Erwin Preuschen's summary treatment of εὐχαριστῶ in the latter's now antiquated dictionary ¹.

However, Schermann makes one statement concerning Paul's usage of εὐχαριστῶ ² which we will presently be able to verify: "Paulus legt sich dagegen in der ihm jeweils beliebigen Verwendung keine Grenzen auf, so daß der ursprüngliche schrankenlose Gebrauch von εὐχαριστέω wieder aufzuleben schien." This judgment, which takes cognizance of the obvious and important fact that Paul not only uses εὐχαριστῶ more frequently but also with a greater variety of meaning (= *Bedeutung*) than other NT writers, supports us in our plan to begin our survey of the Hellenistic usage of εὐχαριστῶ with a complete enumeration and classification according to function and structure of all occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ and related word forms in Paul.

As a matter of fact, Paul uses these terms more frequently per page than any other Hellenistic author, pagan or Christian. Thus the necessity of tracing the origin of the terms as well as of the ideas which they convey is rendered all the more urgent. Furthermore, we do well to make Paul's writings the starting point of our survey because in them the terms occur in large number and in great functional variety.

Following our study of the Pauline usage (A) we shall deal as a unit with all other Christian writings and the Septuagint, considering the non-Pauline writings of the NT, the Apostolic Fathers and the early apologists (B). Next we shall turn to the most representative Hellenistic authors, Philo and Epictetus in particular (C). Finally we shall examine the evidence of the inscriptions and of the papyri (D). At each step of this analysis the bearing of every detailed datum on the Pauline usage, particularly on his thanksgiving structure, must be determined. The bearing may be either negative or positive; if positive, it may shed light on the direct origin of the Pauline usage, or merely on its exegetical interpretation, or on both. It will prove desirable to conclude the entire survey with a resumé of these conclusions (chap. iv). The methodological justification of this plan of procedure can of course be tested only by its practicability and by the validity of the conclusions to which it leads.

¹) Vollständiges Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch der Schriften des Neuen Testaments (Gießen, 1909). ²) op. cit., p. 410.

A
USAGES IN THE PAULINE AND PSEUDO-PAULINE WRITINGS
OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

In order to procure a sufficiently broad and solid foundation we shall include in our treatment every occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ, εὐχαριστία and εὐχάριστος in the Pauline letters. These occurrences we must attempt to classify according to their functional usage. The various functional types we shall identify by the use of Roman numerals. Then we must closely examine and define the syntactical construction of every occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ, etc.¹. Therefore, the immediate syntactical clause of which it is a part will always be reproduced in full; the structure of the entire period will always be at least indicated; and other parts of the preceding and subsequent contexts will be reproduced whenever it is necessary to identify the functional and structural types to which the specific example belongs.

1. The Thanksgiving Periods

We have already stated that the occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ in the Pauline thanksgivings represent a definite functional usage within the letters—in fact the most frequently represented functional type. We have also observed that there are, from the point of view of syntactical construction, two distinct types of εὐχαριστῶ-periods. We shall therefore list the examples of the first type under (Ia) and those of the second under (Ib):

- Ia (1) I Thess 1 2-5: εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν μνεῖαν ποιοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν, ἀδιαλείπτως μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου . . . , εἰδότες . . . τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, ὅτι . . .
- (2) I Thess 3 9f.: τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ καταρτίσαι τὰ ὑστερήματα τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν;
- (3) Phil 1 3-11: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖᾳ ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δέήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν, μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιοῦμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν . . . , πεποιθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι . . . (9) καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι ἵνα . . . εἰς τὸ (c. inf.) . . . , ἵνα . . .

¹) "εὐχαριστῶ, etc." shall here and subsequently be understood to mean: εὐχαριστῶ, εὐχαριστία and εὐχάριστος.

- (4) Phlm 4-6: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε μείαν σου ποιού-
μενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, ἀκούων σου τὴν ἀγάπην . . . ,
ὅπως . . .
- (5) Col 1 3-12: εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν
Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι, ἀκούσαντες
τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν . . . (9) διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας
ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτού-
μενοι ἵνα πληρωθῆτε . . . περιπατῆσαι ἀξίως . . . καρποφοροῦν-
τες καὶ αὐξανόμενοι . . . δυναμούμενοι . . . εὐχαριστοῦντες . . .
- (6) Eph 1 15-19: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ, ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίσ-
τιν . . . οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν μείαν ποιούμενος
ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, ἵνα . . . εἰς τὸ (c. inf.) . . .

The thanksgiving of the pseudo-Pauline Ephesians is included here, because it represents the only occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ of the "thanksgiving type" in the whole NT outside of the genuine Pauline letters and is moreover obviously a conscious imitation of the genuine Pauline thanksgiving, particularly influenced (as is everything in Ephesians) by Colossians. The fact that it is superfluous after the liturgical proemium (1 3-14) indicates that it is a highly conscious effort on the part of the author to omit nothing which he considered formally essential in Pauline epistolography. The formal and functional characteristics of the first and proper proemium, of course, served much better the purposes of this pseudo-Pauline document.

- (7) Rm 1 10: . . . ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μείαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι πάντοτε
ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, δεόμενος εἶ πως . . . (11), ἵνα . . .

This passage is clearly parallel in structure and function to the examples listed under (1-6) and is therefore placed here, while the beginning of the Roman thanksgiving is an example of the $\delta\tau\iota$ -structure (listed under Ib, 9). We have already had occasion to observe the "mixed" structure of the Roman thanksgiving.

A similarly mixed type appears in the thanksgiving of II Thess. Its beginning belongs to the type Ib, i. e., the $\delta\tau\iota$ -structure (see 11); but in 1 11 appears the second half of the Ia structure:

- (8) II Thess 1 11f.: εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν,
ἵνα . . . , (12) ὅπως . . .

- Ib (9) I Cor 1 4-8: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ
χάρτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ
ἐπλουτίσθητε ἐν αὐτῷ . . . , (7) ὥστε . . . (8) ὃς καὶ βεβαιώσει
ὑμᾶς (sc. Ἰησοῦς Χριστός (v. 7) οἱ ὁ θεός (v. 4 (?)) . . .
- (10) Rm 1 8: πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου διὰ Ἰησοῦ
Χριστοῦ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καταγγέλλεται
ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ.

- (11) II Thess 1 3-4: εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, καθὼς ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ὑπεραυξάνει ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν καὶ πλεονάζει ἡ ἀγάπη ἐνὸς ἐκάστου πάντων ὑμῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους, ὥστε (c. inf.) . . .
- (12) II Thess 2 13-15: ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοί ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ κυρίου, ὅτι εἴλατο ὑμᾶς ὁ θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς εἰς σωτηρίαν . . ., εἰς ὃ ἐκάλεσεν ὑμᾶς . . . εἰς περιποίησιν . . . (15) ἄρα οὖν, ἀδελφοί, στήκετε . . .
- (13) I Thess 2 13ff.: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἀδιαλείπτως, ὅτι . . . ἐδέξασθε . . . (καθὼς ἀληθῶς ἐστίν) λόγον θεοῦ, ὃς καὶ ἐνεργεῖται ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πιστεύουσιν. ὑμεῖς γὰρ μιμηταὶ ἐγενήθητε . . . τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν . . . ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ . . .

There are two more cases of "mixed" structure of which we have not yet taken notice. In two thanksgivings of the type Ia has been incorporated a ὅτι-clause introduced by a participle (Paul being the subject of the action) of a verb of knowing: εἰδότες ὅτι in I Thess 1 4f., and πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι in Phil 1 3-6. To be sure, this is grammatically speaking not a causal but merely a recitative ὅτι. But examination of the construction and the logic of the entire period discloses that the participles (εἰδότες and πεποιθῶς) describe the reasons which Paul had in mind when he offered thanks to God; thus the grammatically recitative ὅτι is logically a causal ὅτι. The correctness of this observation is demonstrated by Phil 1 3ff.—εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου—, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ—and I Thess 1 2-5—εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ—, ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ. Additional confirmation comes from comparing the contents of these two ὅτι-clauses with those in the examples (9—13) above. The identity of content insures the identity of function; the identity of function insures the identity of structure. The text of these clauses reads as follows:

- (14) I Thess 1 4f.: εἰδότες, ἀδελφοί ἡγαπημένοι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν ἐκλογὴν ὑμῶν, ὅτι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἡμῶν οὐκ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐν λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν δυνάμει καὶ ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πληροφορίᾳ πολλῇ, καθὼς οἴδατε οἳοι ἐγενήθημεν ἐν ὑμῖν δι' ὑμᾶς.
- (15) Phil 1 6: πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καθὼς ἐστὶν δίκαιον ἐμοὶ τοῦτο φρονεῖν ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν . . .

The detailed structural similarity of these two clauses to each other and to the ὅτι-clauses of the regular Ib type is nothing short

of striking. The phrase τοῦτο φρονεῖν with the typical prepositional object ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν is one more clear indication that the entire ὅτι-καθώς-clause is a constitutive element of the thanksgiving period. The presence of a καθώς-clause in these particular passages may be accidental, but we have already observed that Paul employs such clauses liberally in the thanksgivings as well as elsewhere in his letters. It is a construction characteristic of informal epistolary style¹ and is frequent in the papyrus letters².

There is one more occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ in the Pauline thanksgivings. Its structural position, however, is so strikingly different that it calls for a specific analysis. It is the very last period of the εὐλογία-proemium of II Corinthians, 1 10f. That this strange εὐχαριστῶ-period nevertheless reflects in some way the typical Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-thanksgiving period is indicated by the prominent rôle it plays formally and ideologically as the impressive climax of the proemium; it must therefore be listed as the final example of the εὐχαριστῶ-thanksgiving periods.

(16) II Cor 1 10f.: ὃς (sc. ὁ θεός) ἐκ τηλικούτου θανάτου ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ῥύσεται, εἰς ὃν ἠλπικαμεν ὅτι καὶ ἔτι ῥύσεται, συνυπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῇ δεήσει, ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῇ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.

Close scrutiny of the syntactical units which make up this conclusion reveals that these small units are exactly the same as those which we have found to be the constitutive elements of the regular εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving clause. With συνυπουργούντων ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῇ δεήσει compare Phil 1 3, (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου . . .) πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν. Again, in both cases there is a ἵνα-clause, but here with a curiously inverted content: the ἵνα-clause has the verb εὐχαριστῶ, while ordinarily that clause states the purpose of Paul's intercessory prayer. More is presently to be said of the formal and ideological inversions in this passage of II Corinthians.

Lietzmann has correctly pointed out³ that διὰ πολλῶν is structurally an unnecessary doublet or repetition of ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων,

¹) Lohmeyer, *An die Philipper* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 22, makes this observation and suggests that perhaps Paul follows here a pattern typical of Jewish epistolography. This assumption, however, is clearly refuted by the positive evidence of the Hellenistic-pagan papyri. Much of Lohmeyer's work is characterized by his endeavor to stress Jewish rather than Hellenistic origins in the New Testament. ²) See F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden* (Berlin, 1925), s. v. καθώς; only a small selection of the examples is quoted by Preisigke. ³) *An die Korinther II* (Tübingen, 1931), p. 101.

just as ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν unnecessarily repeats εἰς ἡμᾶς in τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα¹. It is a question, however, whether this clumsy accumulation of repetitive phrases is due to the dictating author's effort to correct himself, as Lietzmann suggests, or to his more or less conscious attempt at plerophory in order to make the climax of the proemium more emphatic.

The question may well be asked whether the habit of bringing a εὐχαριστῶ-clause into the proemium does not account for the clumsiness of this final period. Another possible explanation is that Paul here endeavored to formulate an unusual religious conception of thanksgiving, one more fully and clearly expressed in the same letter, 4 15 and 9 11f. At any rate, we must beware of leaping to extreme conclusions. Here as elsewhere the careful exegesis of the passage itself cannot be dispensed with. A comprehensive scrutiny of all other pertinent examples of the same construction in Paul is imperative for the solution of the problem.

The passive construction ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῆ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν is, quite apart from the awkward adverbial phrases, very unusual, to say the least. Lietzmann, however, makes the problem even more confusing than it is with the comment, "Die Konstruktion εὐχαριστεῖν τι = 'für etwas danken' ist bisher nur durch Hippokrates epist. 17, 46 Hercher belegt." In the first place, our passage (II Cor 1 11) has nothing at all to do with the construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι (= to thank for something). In the second place, the Hippocrates passage is not a structural parallel to either II Cor 1 11 or to the construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι. In the third place, the active construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι does not occur at all in the NT. It is however attested more than once in other sources, though it never attains to the status of a grammatically approved usage. The correct construction throughout remains εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τινι (= to thank for something).

First, the Corinthian construction, ἵνα ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα . . . εὐχαριστηθῆ, is not the passive rendering of the active εὐχαριστεῖν τι, but simply of the orthodox active εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ τινι (= to thank for something). In the German language, to be sure, only the direct object of an active transitive verb can be the subject in its passive construction. But in the more elastic Greek idiom an indirect object may just as readily become the subject of the passive verb-form². According to all laws of Greek syntax the active equivalent

¹) For parallels to the construction εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ or περὶ ὑμῶν in the thanksgiving clauses see the Table II, below, pp. 54f.

²) See Kühner-Gerth, Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache (Leipzig, 1898 bis 1904), II. Teil, Band I, Paragraph 378, 6.

of the construction II Cor 1 11 is simply ἵνα πάντες ὑμεῖς εὐχαριστήσητε ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισματι.

Second, the Hippocrates passage, like II Cor 1 11, attests the rare passive use of εὐχαριστῶ, but here it is not the cause for which thanks are offered which appears as the subject, but the person to whom thanks are offered. Lietzmann does not quote the Hippocrates passage; it is more than probable that he was simply misled by Schermann's assertion that the active construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι is closely related to the passive construction as an example of which he quoted the Hippocrates passage¹—an almost unpardonable error because obviously the passive equivalent to εὐχαριστεῖν τι would be εὐχαριστεῖται τι = "thanks are offered for something." The Hippocrates passage, however, is an example of the construction εὐχαριστεῖται τις = "a person is offered thanks," which is an entirely different thing. It is the passive rendering of the active construction εὐχαριστῶ τιμι = "I offer thanks to a person."

Schermann, furthermore, fails to grasp the meaning of the Hippocrates passage when he asserts that it is a thanksgiving to Hippocrates². Let us therefore quote the passage in question (Hippocr. epist. 17, 46) more fully than Schermann does and interpret it correctly: ὁ σὸς πρόγονος Ἀσκληπίος νοθησία σοι γενέσθω. σώζων ἀνθρώπους κεραυνοῖσι εὐχαρίστηται. οὐχ ὄρησ' ὅτι καὶ γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς μοίρης εἰμί— "Your ancestor Asclepius should be a warning to you. He saved men and as a reward he was killed by thunderbolts. Don't you see that the same fate awaits me?" This is, of course, a reference to the well-known myth³ which is reported in connection with several of Asclepius' healing miracles. The gods, being jealous of Asclepius, killed him by lightning, but he—so the myth says—was each time promptly resurrected. Hence this is anything but a "thanksgiving to Asclepius"; it is merely the confession of a disillusioned physician that he cannot expect gratitude for his work. The fate of Asclepius serves as a telling illustration of this experience.

An exact parallel to the Hippocrates construction is Philo Quirer. div. heres 174: ἵνα . . . ὑπὲρ . . . τῶν . . . ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστήται— "that for all the good things God be given thanks." In both cases we have the construction, εὐχαριστεῖται τις = "a person is given thanks."

Third, while we have seen that Lietzmann's statement that the Asclepius passage and II Cor 1 11 are the only examples of the con-

¹) Op. cit., p. 379.

²) Ibid.

³) See the article "Asclepius" in Pauly-Wissowa, Realenzyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft (Leipzig, 1912).

struction εὐχαριστεῖν τι = "to thank for something" rests on an error, it is true that a few examples of that construction do exist. Oddly enough, however, Schermann¹ errs again in quoting as an example of it Dittenberger, OGIS, II, p. 456 (= Nr. 717): ταῦτα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Σαράπιδι τῷ Μινιεῖ. The preceding context of this inscription clearly shows that this clause means "all these things (namely, a sanctuary with a fully equipped well) I have dedicated to Sarapis Minieus"².

The only examples of the construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι (for εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπί τινι) which I have found are Hermas Sim. vii. 5, καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίσται τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἄξιόν σε ἠγήσατο τοῦ προδηλώσαι σοι τὴν θλίψιν—"and thank the Lord for this, that he considered you worthy to reveal this tribulation to you in advance"; the famous passage Didache 10 7, τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν—"but permit the prophets to say as many prayers of thanks as they wish"³; and, a third example, Pap. Gießen 85 (of the time of Trajan or Hadrian), τοιοῦτό σοι μόνῳ εὐχαριστῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ καὶ οὐ διαλείπω τὸ προσκύνῃμά σου ποιῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν—"and for this I give thanks to you alone before the Lord Hermes . . ."⁴

The results of this discussion, so far as the structural analysis of II Cor 1 11 is concerned, are rather negative in that we have been forced to refute the pertinency of certain allegedly parallel constructions. At the same time, however, we have obtained a proper view of some of the unorthodox constructions of εὐχαριστῶ.

Yet there are at least two further passages which may be considered parallels to the construction of II Cor 1 11. They occur in close proximity (and with the same function) in Justin's Apologia, 65. 5 and 66. 2: μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου, and τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ κυρίου) εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν . . . ἐκείνου . . . σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. The only difference is that here we have the aor. pass. ptc. in adjective position, while in II Cor 1 11 we have a finite form of the aor. pass. The second passage is particularly relevant, because it introduces the logical subject through διά c. gen., δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ, just as Paul does, διά πολλῶν (= ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων).

¹) Op. cit., p. 379. ²) For full proof of this interpretation see the detailed discussion of this inscription below, section D, p. 155. ³) The author of the Did. apparently does not think very highly of the prophets. The phrase ὅσα θέλουσιν seems to express a rather pointed disregard for their claim of divine inspiration. Undoubtedly, if he could have his way, he would have eliminated them altogether from participation in church activities. ⁴) For the full treatment of this important papyrus passage see below, under section D, pp. 168 f.

It remains, then, to state that the passive form of εὐχαριστῶ in II Cor 1 11 is an extremely rare construction. It stands in singular contrast to the Pauline use of the active throughout. This structural inversion, we have seen, characterizes the entire period. Ordinarily, Paul is the subject of the verb action, here it is the Corinthians; ordinarily, the addressees are referred to in the adverbial phrases, here it is Paul (ὕπερ ἡμῶν—twice; εἰς ἡμᾶς); ordinarily, the principal εὐχαριστῶ-clause is followed by a final clause, here εὐχαριστῶ is the verb of the final clause; ordinarily, the εὐχαριστῶ-clause forms the beginning of the proemium, here it forms the conclusion; ordinarily, the verb is used in the active voice, here it is used in the passive.

This strangely consistent structural inversion seems to lead to the conclusion that Paul, compelled by a strong habit of epistolary form, could not refrain from bringing the εὐχαριστῶ-clause into the proemium of II Corinthians, although, for some reason, he departed from his normal pattern by using it here in the conclusion rather than at the beginning of the proemium, and correspondingly inverted every detail of its construction. The reason why Paul did not begin II Corinthians with the regular εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving and chose the more liturgical, less personal εὐλογία (εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεὸς κτλ., 1 4-11), must be looked for in the particular epistolary situation which called forth this letter.

We are now ready to discuss the structural problems contained in the list of 16 passages from the Pauline (and Ephesian) thanksgivings. The first observation to be made from this list¹ is that its items represent a distinct usage of εὐχαριστῶ within the general Pauline usage, the usage in epistolary form and function.

Another general observation presents itself forcefully in the form of a vexing question which has kept the commentators and exegetes guessing, the question, namely, how the numerous adverbs and adverbial phrases are to be construed—whether they modify the principal verb εὐχαριστῶ or (in type Ia) the first participle form. How, for example, are πάντοτε, περὶ ὑμῶν, ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀδικαίπτως, ἐπὶ τῇ μνηίᾳ ὑμῶν (Phil.), ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, to be construed? To be sure, each of these terms or phrases is to be found in constructions of εὐχαριστῶ in non-Pauline biblical and in extra-biblical Christian and pagan usage.

But whatever light it may throw upon the proper construction of the Pauline thanksgiving period, analysis of the Pauline constructions themselves must be our first concern. For it is clear that the difficulties arise, in part at least, from the fact that Paul often piles

¹) See above, pp. 43—46.

up modifiers to one verb form. This fondness for pleonasm is a familiar characteristic of the Pauline style in general, and certainly of the initial thanksgiving period, a fact, however, which does not excuse the student from subjecting each individual clause to careful syntactical analysis.

The most appropriate procedure will be to start with those examples which offer no serious difficulties to syntactical analysis, i. e. those which allow of no alternate syntactical definition. Equipped with the observations thus made we shall be in a better position to determine those constructions which seem capable of more than one syntactical definition. Some examples, we shall see, will even then defy unequivocal description, and nothing would be gained by veiling the fact. But in these cases—and only in these cases—the responsibility rests squarely on Paul for his failure to express himself unambiguously for the benefit of his exegetes. Eventually, indeed, we shall be able to clarify some of these doubtful constructions in the light of extra-Pauline Hellenistic usage.

The fortunate fact that the εὐχαριστῶ-clauses of the Ib type can without exception be unequivocally described syntactically is due their characteristically simple structure. The accompanying Table I convincingly exhibits the structural simplicity and sameness of all full examples of the thanksgiving type Ib. The type consists of five essential syntactical units, as follows: (1) A finite verb form in the 1. ps. sg. or pl. of εὐχαριστῶ (in II Thessalonians, both times of ὀφείλω); it is immediately and invariably followed by (2) a personal object in the dative case, denoting the object toward which the verb action is directed, which always is τῷ θεῷ (μου); this is followed invariably by (3) a temporal adverb—πάντοτε as a rule; ἀδicia-

TABLE I. — EXHIBITING THE ESSENTIAL STRUCTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE THANKSGIVING TYPE Ib.

I Cor 14	εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ	μου	πάντοτε (πρῶτον μὲν)	περὶ ὑμῶν περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν,	ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ . . .	ὅτι
Rm 18	πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ		πάντοτε			ὅτι
II Thess 12	εὐχαριστοῦμεν ὀφειλομέν	τῷ θεῷ					ὅτι
* II Thess 213	ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφειλομέν εὐχαριστοῦμεν	τῷ θεῷ		πάντοτε	περὶ ὑμῶν,		ὅτι
I Thess 213	καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν	τῷ θεῷ		ἀδικαίεπτος,			ὅτι

λείπτως in I Thess 2 13 is obviously due to the desire for stylistic variety, as πάντοτε had already been used in 1 2. We shall see that ἀδικαλείπτως and πάντοτε in the same construction and on the same functional level are interchangeable synonyms in a number of pagan documents. πρῶτον μὲν in Rm 1 8 is on the face of it also a temporal adverb, although it has taken on a much wider meaning, as is well known; but basically it retains its temporal force, however it may be translated.

How erroneous would be a resort to the psychologizing explanation that Paul could not very well say that he "always" gave thanks to God in behalf of a church to which he had as yet no personal relations at all, is made plain through vv. 9f. Here Paul shows no least compunction in asserting in the most emphatic terms that he prayed for the Romans ἀδικαλείπτως and (!) πάντοτε in his regular daily prayers: μάρτυς γὰρ μου ἔστιν ὁ θεός . . . , ὡς ἀδικαλείπτως μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι πάντοτε ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου. Several papyrus letters will convince us that we have here a formula which had become a firmly established convention for letters of a certain type ¹.

Next in the structural sequence of type Ib comes (4) an adverbial phrase, invariably consisting of the preposition περί with the genitive of the pers. pron. in the 2. ps. pl., indicating the persons concerning whom Paul gives thanks to God, namely, his addressees. That I Thess 2 13 omits this phrase proves nothing, because it was previously employed (1 2) and occurs again in 3 9. Furthermore, the content of the ὅτι-clause (2 13) shows plainly that Paul has his addressees definitely in mind (ὅτι . . . ἐδέξασθε . . . λόγον θεοῦ).

It is well to realize that nothing is gained by translating the preposition περί with some smooth English preposition, because περί in this as in most other constructions is anything but smooth and definite. The rendering "concerning", or at best "about," adequately takes into account the vagueness of περί. E. J. Goodspeed ² properly translates "about" in the case of Rm 1 8 and I Cor 1 4. The rendering, "I thank God for you," which he employs in the Thessalonian examples (I 2 13 II 1 2 and 2 13), is really too smooth and too definite. There is no reason to treat the latter passages differently.

The last member of the Ib structure is (5) the causal ὅτι-clause. Its content is definitely determined by the specific epistolary situation which obtained in the case of each letter. This principle explains the invariable basic structural likeness of all these ὅτι-clauses as well as the fact that from here on a greater variety of form and thought obtains in the thanksgiving periods.

¹) See below, section D, pp. 158ff.

²) The New Testament, An American Translation (Chicago, 1925).

The simplicity of these observations classified under (1—5) must not deter us from stating them fully and clearly, and from appreciating the importance of this structural and functional analysis for the interpretation of the Pauline thanksgivings. Moreover, they will presently assist materially toward analysis of the structurally more complex and ambiguous examples of the thanksgiving type Ia.

It is also proper to point out that we have here discovered a truly surprising example of "fixed" form and of uniform function over a representative cross section of the Pauline letters, binding together the early letters to the Thessalonians and those two important "main" letters, Romans and I Corinthians.

The syntactical analysis of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods which we have grouped as type Ia is much more difficult, but not at all impossible. The accompanying Table II is the final outcome of several attempts to exhibit effectively the structural pattern of this type, and even a superficial consultation of it shows that all structural elements of this complex type fall readily into one uniform pattern. The esthetically most sensitive style-critic could not possibly, on the basis of mere "impressions," feel the high degree of "fixed" form which all examples share.

It must be kept in mind that the various syntactical units exhibited in the 7 columns of Table II do not immediately indicate the syntactical relations which obtain among the units. But the table unquestionably may serve as a convenient and highly objective clue toward the solution of these problematic relations, because it is an absolutely complete record of the syntactical units of all full εὐχαριστῶ-periods of the Ia type as well as of its fragmentary examples within the thanksgivings. The few omissions in the reproduction of the text are always conscientiously indicated through a dotted line (. . .). They are, from the point of view of structure and function, of very secondary importance—are in fact, with one very minor exception¹, structural extensions of the syntactical unit exhibited in col. 6. Positively stated, this means that the text is reproduced word for word in cols. 1—5. It also means that a certain amount of formal variation begins only with col. 6, increasing in the wording of the "final" clause, indicated by col. 7. But it must not be forgotten that even these two columns give striking evidence of basic structural and functional identity².

¹) This exception is Col 13, namely, the singular apposition to τῷ θεῷ (col. 2): πατρὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

²) In order to show conveniently and effectively how types Ia and Ib agree (and disagree) the examples of the latter type (see Table I) have been included in Table II.

TABLE II. — EXHIBITING THE SYNTACTICAL UNITS OF THE

I, principal verb		II, pers. obj. III, temp. adv.		IV, pron. obj. phrase
TYPE Ia:				
Phm 4ff.	εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ μου πάντοτε		
I Thess 1 2ff.	εὐχαριστοῦμεν	τῷ θεῷ	πάντοτε ἀδιαλείπτως	περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν
Rm 1 10			(ὡς) ἀδιαλείπτως πάντοτε	
Eph 1 15f.			οὐ παύομαι	
Col 1 3f.	(οὐ παύομαι) εὐχαριστῶν εὐχαριστοῦμεν	τῷ θεῷ . . .	πάντοτε	ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν περὶ ὑμῶν
9f.			οὐ παύομεθα	ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
Phil 1 3ff.	εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ μου	πάντοτε	ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν
9f.				
I Thess 3 9f.	τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα ἀνταποδοῦναι	τῷ θεῷ		περὶ ὑμῶν
II Thess 1 11ff.			νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας	
II Cor 1 11			πάντοτε	περὶ ὑμῶν
	ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων διὰ πολλῶν εὐχα- ρισθηθῆ			ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (εἰς ἡμᾶς)
				ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
TYPE Ib:				
I Cor 1 4f.	εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ	πάντοτε	περὶ ὑμῶν
Rm 1 8	πρῶτον μὲν εὐχαριστῶ	τῷ θεῷ μου	(πρῶτον μὲν)	περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν
II Thess 1 2f.	εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν	τῷ θεῷ	πάντοτε	περὶ ὑμῶν
II Thess 2 13	ἡμεῖς δὲ ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν	τῷ θεῷ	πάντοτε	περὶ ὑμῶν
I Thess 2 13	καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν	τῷ θεῷ	ἀδιαλείπτως	

V, temp. ptc. clause with temp. adv. phrase	VI, causal ptc. clause or adv. phrase	VII, "final" clause
<p>μνείαν σου ποιοῦμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου</p> <p>μνείαν ποιοῦμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν ἡμῶν</p>	<p>ἀκούων σου τὴν ἀγάπην . . . ,</p> <p>μνημονεύοντες ὑμῶν τοῦ ἔργου . . . ,</p> <p>εἰδότες, ἀδελφοὶ ἠγαπημένοι</p>	<p>ὅπως . . .</p>
<p>μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου</p> <p>δεόμενος, (διὰ τοῦτο κάγω,) ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν . . . ,</p>	<p>ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν . . . ,</p>	<p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>εἴ πως . . .</p>
<p>μνείαν ποιοῦμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, προσευχόμενοι (διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς,) ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἐν . . . ,</p> <p>προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν</p>	<p>ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἐν . . . ,</p> <p>ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν</p>	<p>ἵνα . . .</p> <p>ἵνα . . .</p>
<p>μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιοῦμενος ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς . . . ,</p> <p>(καὶ τοῦτο) προσεύχομαι, πεποιοῦώς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι . . .</p>	<p>ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς . . . ,</p> <p>πεποιοῦώς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι . . .</p>	<p>ἵνα . . .</p>
<p>ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι (εἰς ὃ καὶ) προσευχόμεθα εἰς τὸ c. inf.</p> <p>συνυπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν ἵνα . . . , ὅπως . . .</p> <p>τῇ δεήσει</p>	<p>ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς,</p> <p>τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα (is logically causal object)</p>	<p>εἰς τὸ c. inf.</p> <p>ἵνα . . . , ὅπως . . .</p>
<p>ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι (εἰς ὃ καὶ) προσευχόμεθα εἰς τὸ c. inf.</p> <p>συνυπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν ἵνα . . . , ὅπως . . .</p> <p>τῇ δεήσει</p>	<p>ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ . . . ,</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p>	<p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p> <p>ὅτι . . .</p>

The seven syntactical units or small cola which constitute the εὐχαριστῶ-period are readily defined.

Col. 1 exhibits the various verb forms of εὐχαριστῶ, the principal verb of the entire period. The simplest and most frequent form is the 1. ps. sg. or pl. of the pres. ind. act., which occurs seven times. The other forms are slight variations; but there is always a verb form of the 1. ps. sg. or pl. of the pres. ind. act. plus the ptc. or the infinitive of εὐχαριστῶ. The total of such forms (including the 3. ps. sg. aor. subj. pass. in II Cor 1 11) is five. Thus we have a grand total of twelve forms of εὐχαριστῶ in eight Pauline thanksgivings plus Ephesians. In each case it constitutes the principal verb form of the entire period. The repetitions of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods in I Thess 2 13 and 3 9 and in II Thess 2 13 account for the three additional occurrences.

Col. 2 exhibits the personal object of the principal verb; it is invariably τῷ θεῷ (μου is added in Phm., Rom., and Phil.; but never ἡμῶν). The apposition to this object in the Colossian thanksgiving was just noted (see p. 53, n. 1). Of the twelve full εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods ten have this personal dative object immediately following the principal verb form. The two exceptions are Ephesians, which is pseudo-Pauline, and that strangely inverted εὐχαριστῶ-period of II Cor 1 11. In both these cases, however, the reader is left in no doubt that here also God is the object of the thanksgiving; indeed the immediate contexts dissipate even the slightest shadow of doubt. In the Ephesian thanksgiving ὁ θεός is the subject of the ἵνα-clause (v. 17, ἵνα ὁ θεὸς τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ πατὴρ τῆς δόξης δῶῃ ὑμῖν κτλ.). In II Cor 1 9f. are several explicit references to God. These two "exceptions", then, in no wise detract from the striking consistency of the construction εὐχαριστῶ—τῷ θεῷ (μου), which is illustrated by cols. 1 and 2. Even the three repetitive occurrences of the εὐχαριστῶ-period in the Thessalonian letters have this full construction.

Col. 3 exhibits invariably a temporal phrase, most often the simple temporal adverb πάντοτε. It occurs in the same sequence, i. e., immediately after the dat. obj. in every initial, full εὐχαριστῶ-period—in Phm., I Thess 1 2 Rm 1 10 (but not in 1 8:), Col 1 3 Phil, and II Thess 1 3; also in the repetitive formula of II Thess 2 13 and in II Thess 1 11, where the initial εὐχαριστῶ-period (1 2ff.) is completed with the typical ἵνα-clause, εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα κτλ. Thus we have a total of eight occurrences of πάντοτε. As a synonym of πάντοτε must be considered ἀδιάλειπτως, which occurs in the same structural position and in the same function

in I Thess 1 2 and Rm 1 10 (both times in the immediate neighborhood of πάντοτε), and in the repetitive clause of I Thess 2 13—three times altogether.

The only εὐχαριστῶ-period in which this structural unit is entirely absent is II Cor 1 11; and even here it is the only unit which is lacking. In the repetitive clause, I Thess 3 9, we have νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ δεόμενοι). Because the εὐχαριστῶ-period is here cast in the form of a rhetorical question it was formally difficult to employ πάντοτε as a modifier of εὐχαριστίαν ἀνταποδοῦναι. The temporal and intensive adverbial forms, νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, and ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ, used to modify δεόμενοι, may thus be considered compensations for the absence of πάντοτε in its normal position.

We may also note in passing that ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ and μετὰ χαρῶς (τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος) (both in the same structural position, namely, col. 5), which occurs in this clause, are the only examples of adverbs of manner in all εὐχαριστῶ-periods of the Pauline thanksgivings. These two isolated exceptions help us to appreciate more adequately the singularly fixed structure of the εὐχαριστῶ-period—or, more specifically, the singularly fixed number and types of speech-forms which constitute the characteristic structure of that period.

Singular is the use in Rm 1 8 of the basically temporal adverb πρῶτον μὲν, which here modifies εὐχαριστῶ as usually πάντοτε does. The reason is obvious. The unusually lengthy "opening formula" (1 1-7) made a transition to the thanksgiving desirable, if not necessary. After Paul had already written such a lengthy opening formula, it was quite natural for him to introduce the thanksgiving, which usually begins much sooner, with πρῶτον μὲν. We have seen, however, that πάντοτε as well as ἀδιαλείπτως occurs in the immediately following period (v. 10), which is an integral part of the typical εὐχαριστῶ-period¹.

Finally, the Colossian thanksgiving shows an interesting variation at this point. In 1 9, where the initial εὐχαριστῶ-period (vv. 3ff.) is resumed in order to complete it according to the fixed structural pattern, we read instead of πάντοτε ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι . . . , ἵνα: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἄφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι ἵνα κτλ. It is quite clear that the relative clause ἄφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν plus οὐ παύομεθα here takes the place and fulfils the function of the usual πάντοτε. Thus, if Colossians is a genuine Pauline letter, we may confidently say that with this

¹) Compare the two parts of the Roman thanksgiving in Table II, v. 8 under 1b and v. 10 under 1a.

variation Paul explicitly defines what he usually only implies with the brief πάντοτε, namely, that the variation makes direct reference to the epistolary situation. The Colossian variation, and therefore, the normal πάντοτε also, may be aptly paraphrased as follows: "Always, i. e., ever since I have heard news about you (or since I have received your letter) I give thanks to God about you."

Just as striking and illuminating as this interpretative relative clause plus οὐ παύομεθα in Col 1 9 is the curious fact that the pseudonymous writer of Ephesians promptly picks it up for use at the beginning of his εὐχαριστῶ-period; 1 15. This is, of course, but one instance of the well-known literary relationship existing between Colossians and Ephesians throughout¹. In order to show this particular relationship effectively both passages are here set side by side:

Col 1 9

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς,
ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν,
οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσ-
ευχόμενοι . . .

Eph 1 15

Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γὰρ,
ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν . . .
οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν . . .

The second line of the Ephesian passage (ἀκούσας τὴν καθ' ὑμᾶς πίστιν ἐν . . .) is, of course, more particularly modeled after Col 1 4: ἀκούσαντες τὴν πίστιν ὑμῶν ἐν . . . (see col. 4 of Table II for both these clauses).

Summing up the data presented by col. 3, we see that πάντοτε occurs nine times in the thanksgivings of the seven Pauline letters which have a εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving; once each in Phlm., Rom., I Thess., Col., Phil., I Cor., and three times in II Thess. (1 2 1 11 2 13). ἀδιαλείπτως as an alternate synonym occurs three times; it is obviously employed for stylistic variety, because wherever it occurs πάντοτε had been previously used in the usual position and function. νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας (ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ) takes the place of πάντοτε in I Thess 3 10; πρῶτον μὲν displaces it in Rm 1 8; οὐ παύομεθα and οὐ παύομαι express and define its idea in Col 1 9 and Eph 1 15. When we add that πάντοτε (or its equivalent) is entirely absent only from the "inverted" thanksgiving period of II Cor 1 11 we have covered the whole ground, and we cannot evade the conclusion that πάντοτε (or its equivalent) represents an important and regular syntactical unit in the structure of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period.

¹) The most recent and penetrating study of Ephesians from this central point of view is E. J. Goodspeed, *The Meaning of Ephesians* (Chicago, 1932). See especially the conspectus of the texts of Eph. and Col., pp. 82—164; for Eph 1 15, see p. 88.

It must, however, be borne in mind that as yet nothing has been determined about the manner in which πάντοτε or its equivalent must be construed in individual contexts. Even a cursory scrutiny of the examples reveals that there are differences. Before we can approach this problem, however, we must define and classify the remaining syntactical units listed in cols. 4—7.

Col. 4 exhibits a pronominal object phrase introduced either by the preposition περί (8 times) or by the preposition ὑπέρ (5 times) with the gen. pl. of the pers. pronoun of the 2. ps. pl. It refers to the persons (invariably the addressees of the letter) "about whom" the thanksgiving is offered to God or "in whose behalf" the intercessory prayer is made. In detail, we observe the following facts: περί ὑμῶν (including the περί πάντων ὑμῶν in I Thess 1 2) occurs four times within the type Ia, namely, in I Thess 1 2 Col 1 3 I Thess 3 9 and II Thess 1 11. Neither form nor any functional equivalent of it occurs in Phm. and Rm 1 10. In both these cases the omission is due to the cause which we shall have occasion to state when we discuss the syntactical construction of the εὐχαριστῶ-period. Four of the five examples of type Ib have περί (πάντων, Rm 1 8) ὑμῶν. The repetitive period in I Thess 2 13 omits the phrase altogether. Apparently, the fact that this is merely a repetitive period accounts for the omission. ὑπέρ (πάντων, Phil 1 3) ὑμῶν occurs in type Ia only, five times in four separate periods, namely, Phil., Col 1 9 Eph 1 15, and (twice) in II Cor 1 11.

It must be noted that all examples of type Ib have περί ὑμῶν and that of the initial periods of type Ia Phil 1 3 is the only one among the genuine Pauline thanksgivings which has ὑπέρ ὑμῶν instead. Another ὑπέρ ὑμῶν occurs in Col 1 9, where the initial εὐχαριστῶ-period is completed after a lengthy digression. From this occurrence, as we have seen, Ephesians borrowed its ὑπέρ ὑμῶν. And finally, we have ὑπέρ ὑμῶν twice in II Cor 1 11.

The important and frequently discussed question how the grammarian should construe this pronominal object phrase—whether with εὐχαριστῶ or with the participle exhibited by col. 5—is an involved one which can be profitably taken up only after we have defined the syntactical identity of the remaining units.

The syntactical units exhibited in cols. 5, 6 and 7 are characteristic of type Ia only; indeed they distinguish this structural type from type Ib. Only I Cor 1 4ff. contains a colon which must be classified in col. 6.

Col. 5 exhibits a participle construction plus a temporal adverbial phrase (usually ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, occurring four times). The ptc. is in the nom. msc. sg. or pl.; i. e., it has the same subject as the

preceding finite verb (col. 1)—Paul. Only in three cases of fragmentary εὐχαριστῶ-periods do we have a finite verb form instead of a ptc. Here the finite verb form was required to complete the interrupted initial εὐχαριστῶ-period. In Phil 1 9 we read καὶ τοῦτο προσεύχομαι ἵνα . . . ; and in exactly the same structural position we read in II Thess 1 11 εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα πάντοτε περὶ ὑμῶν, ἵνα . . . Similarly we read in Rm 1 10 μείαν ὑμῶν ποιούμεναι. Over against these three finite verb forms we have in this column ten participle forms. All thirteen verbs, however, are verbs denoting prayer. Indeed, the function of this syntactical unit is to assure the addressees that the writer engages in intercessory prayer in their behalf regularly, i. e., ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου.

The most characteristic phrase is μείαν ποιούμενος; τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος (Phil 1 4) is only a negligibly slight variation. Thus we are justified in speaking of five occurrences of this particular phrase, μείαν (δέησιν) ποιούμενος. It occurs in the initial and full εὐχαριστῶ-periods of Phm., I Thess., Rom., Phil. and Eph., i. e., in all examples of the structural type Ia with the notable exception of the Colossian thanksgiving, which reads instead simply προσευχόμενοι. Romans, we have observed, is an example of mixed structure—indeed the outstanding example; and Ephesians is pseudo-Pauline.

Besides μείαν ποιούμεναι and προσεύχομαι we find represented in this column three more verbs expressing prayer: αἰτούμαι, δέομαι and συνυπουργῶ τῇ δεήσει (in II Cor 1 11).

This participle construction, which invariably expresses intercessory prayer by the writer in behalf of his addressees, is of course a basically important element in the structure of the εὐχαριστῶ-period of type Ia. It is the first verbal modifier of the principal verb (εὐχαριστῶ). The more detailed syntactical function of this ptc. construction, however, must wait upon the completion of our descriptive and statistical survey of the two remaining columns.

In col. 6 we find a syntactical unit which obviously expresses a causal relation. It is either a causal participle construction or a causal adverbial phrase. Each of these two types usually excludes the other. Only in Phil. do both units occur side by side (v. 5f.): τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν . . . , πεποιοῦσθε αὐτὸ τοῦτο. Indeed, the Philippian thanksgiving has another adverbial phrase of the same type (v. 3), (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου) ἐπὶ τῇ μείᾳ ὑμῶν. Most interpreters, however, deny the causal force of this phrase and assert its temporal force, an issue which will soon engage our full attention. At any rate it is clear that on the whole the participle construction fulfils the same function as the adverbial phrase.

Col. 6 lists five such causal adverbial phrases—if we assume, until proof is forthcoming, that the thanksgiving of Philippians has two such phrases. The third example of this phrase is in I Cor 14: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ . . . ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, ὅτι κτλ. This example happens to be the only occurrence of a causal adverbial phrase in type Ib. The fourth example is in I Thess 3 9: τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς . . . ("for the joy which you have caused us").

The grammatical subject in the construction of II Cor 1 11—(ἴνα) τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα . . . εὐχαριστηθῆ—*is*, as we have already remarked, the passive "inversion" of the active constructions εὐχαριστεῖτε . . . ἐπὶ τῷ χαρίσματι ἡμῶν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ . . . Therefore this passage must be classed as the fifth example of the causal adverbial phrases in col. 6.

It is worth noting that in all these passages the genitive attached to the dative is a subjective genitive: in I Cor 14, ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ (= "for the blessing which God bestows"); in Phil 1 5, ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (= "for the cooperation which you manifest in the gospel"). Accordingly, Phil 1 3, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνησίᾳ ὑμῶν, should mean, "for each occasion when you remember me." The force of the subjective genitive is expressed by δι' ὑμᾶς in I Thess 3 9 and by εἰς ἡμᾶς in II Cor 1 11.

All five phrases are immediate modifiers of the principal verb (εὐχαριστῶ). A glance at Table II will show this statement to be indisputable in all cases except possibly Phil 1 5—ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον—because in the first four cases there is no structural alternative. In the case of Phil 1 5 the same construction—namely, with εὐχαριστῶ—alone makes sense, while the other theoretically possible construction—with the immediately preceding participle construction, τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν—in the light of the epistolary situation which called forth the letter to the Philippians makes no sense at all. Most exegetes and translators have clearly recognized this fact¹, one which is of methodological importance also because it suggests examination of all units of col. 6 to determine whether they are too to be construed with the principal verb rather than with the first participle (col. 5).

¹) See the well-known translations by Goodspeed and by Weizsäcker; also the rendering by Lohmeyer and by Dibelius in their respective commentaries on Philippians. Dibelius' translation is in this respect particularly clear: "Ich danke meinem Gott so oft ich euch (im Gebet) erwähne — bitte ich doch für euch alle . . . — (danke ihm) ob eurer Teilnahme am Evangelium . . ."

The secondary participle clauses listed in col. 6 also express the cause for which Paul gives thanks "to God about his addressees." This participle clause is more typical of the full initial εὐχαριστῶ-period of type Ia than is the causal adverbial phrase. It occurs in every one of the full periods which constitute type Ia—Phm., I Thess. (two of them), Eph., Col., and Phil. The verbs show a remarkable similarity of meaning; they are all "verbs of learning"—ἀκούειν, μνημονεύειν, εἰδέναι, and πείθεσθαι. Ἀκούειν occurs in no less than three periods, in Phm., Eph., and Col.

Again, the five periods which contain this second causal ptc. construction are the very ones which also have the ptc. construction μνείαν (δέησιν, Phil.) ποιούμενος. These three observations are effective evidence of the fact that in these four letters, which cover the decade from 50—60 A. D., Paul used a single, rigidly fixed structural pattern.

Col. 7 exhibits the type of subordinate clause which terminates the εὐχαριστῶ-periods of both types Ia and Ib. This subordinate clause in the examples of Ib is invariably a causal ὅτι-clause, while in the great majority of the examples of Ia it is a final clause introduced by ἵνα or ὅπως or εἰς τό c. inf. The εὐχαριστῶ-clauses of I Thess 1 2ff. and of Phil 1 3ff. have a "mixed type" construction, as we have observed; they terminate with a ὅτι-clause. But we must not overlook the fact that in every other structural respect they are full representatives of type Ia. Indeed, the final clause is not lacking, it is merely postponed; in I Thess. it comes 3 10b (εἰς τό c. inf.); in Phil in 1 9f. (ἵνα . . . , εἰς τό c. inf. . . . , ἵνα . . .).

No doubt the final (Ia) and causal (Ib) ὅτι-clauses might profitably be subjected to a detailed comparative analysis as regards their function and their structure. It is also clear that here in the εὐχαριστῶ-periods the point is reached where the specific epistolary situation begins to influence form and content more strongly, a fact which accounts for the greater variety of form and content observable in the thanksgivings from this point on. Such an analysis of final and causal ὅτι-clauses would however exceed the limits of our study; we are primarily interested in the more basic—i. e., the uniform—features of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods.

The problem of grammatical construction is of course as pressing for these terminal clauses (col. 7) as it is for the parts of speech represented by cols. 3—6. More specifically stated, the question is whether the terminal clauses modify one particular unit of the preceding part of the period, or all of it.

Having completed the definitive analysis and the quantitative statistics for each of the seven columns, we are now in a position to

point out certain structural characteristics, which are to be observed by horizontally rather than vertically oriented comparison. We do this mainly for the sake of giving proper emphasis to some basic observations made above; but this is the place to state them more fully, in order to bring out their significance.

First, types Ia and Ib have the same syntactical units in the first four columns. But here the identity ends. The differences are of four chief kinds: (1) the structural relations of units 3 and 4 differ in the two types; (2) there are no syntactical equivalents or even substitutes for the parts of speech represented by cols. 5 and 6 in type Ia; (3) instead of a final clause (Ia) a causal ὅτι-clause terminates the period of type Ib; (4) because of this greater structural simplicity and of the practically identical wording the examples of type Ib show among themselves a thoroughgoing uniformity of construction and choice of words.

Second, the structural type Ia is represented by the εὐχαριστῶ-periods of three genuine Pauline thanksgivings, Phm., I Thess 1 2ff., and Phil. Its basic structural pattern consists of three main syntactical units: εὐχαριστῶ—μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου and a second, causal ptc. construction with a verb of knowing. The Ephesian thanksgiving (1 15) is built in exactly the same manner, and the Colossian thanksgiving differs merely in that the simpler προσευχόμενοι is substituted for the more elaborate (and more epistolary) μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου. The Roman thanksgiving, being of the mixed type, exhibits the structural units characteristic of type Ia (cols. 5 and 6) in 1 10, and those of type Ib in 1 8.

Our statistical survey of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods has yielded objective findings on the basis of which we can discuss in detail the problems of the structural relations of the units. Table II not only permits us to observe that the εὐχαριστῶ-periods consist of no more than seven syntactical units; it also enables us to read each thanksgiving in the exact order of the text. Horizontally the table shows that only the thanksgivings of Phil. and Ephesians vary appreciably from the others in word order. The "normal" word order is most effectively exemplified by the thanksgiving of Phm., which for this reason was chosen as the "standard".

It may safely be said that the frequent difficulties and controversies about the construction of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period are largely due to the failure of scholars to observe the fact of its fixed structural pattern objectively over the whole range of the available data, and to take this fact with sufficient seriousness.

The circumstance that there is an appreciable though small amount of variation in structure and vocabulary does not in the least detract from the validity of this judgment. Mechanical word-for-word identity is the last thing we should expect. The presence of these variations and the consideration that there are good reasons for them (arising out of the epistolary situation in so far as it differs for each letter) renders all the more impressive the fact that basically the fixed number of syntactical units and the fixed structural pattern which correlates them are so consistently maintained.

It is questionable though frequently practiced procedure to select quite arbitrarily one specific thanksgiving period and then to hunt for "parallels." Of course the chase is always successful; the methodological error, however, lies in the fact that the chase does not cover the whole territory.

The claim is here confidently made that our objective and comprehensive analysis of the form and function of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods offers the only hope of solving the structural problems contained in any one of them, as far as they can ever be solved. The methodological difference is that we do not start arbitrarily with one particular unit in one chosen period, but rather with the structural characterization of all the thanksgivings and of their basic pattern. The danger against which we must guard is that of forcing features which are really unique into the strait-jacket of an imaginary structural unity.

Thus our first task is to consider the εὐχαριστῶ-period as a whole and thereby to identify its fundamental structural pattern. Second, we shall examine those examples which allow of no alternate structural definitions. Thus we will be in a position, third, to see clearly the syntactical units which still defy unambiguous description. Then, however, we may reasonably expect to achieve such a description, if it is possible in the nature of things.

(1). The structural simplicity of type Ib we have already observed and analyzed in detail; it remains only to state the results in concise fashion. There are but five syntactical units (cols. 1-4 in Table II). The first unit is the principal verb (εὐχαριστῶ); the next three units (cols. 2, 3 and 4) all modify it, and so does the causal ὅτι-clause (col. 7), which follows immediately and ends the period. Thus we have invariably the simple structural scheme: I thank—God—always—about you—, because—. The only case of amplification of this pattern is the causal adverbial phrase in I Cor 14, ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ. This phrase, we have seen, has four parallels in three examples of type Ia (see col. 6); it always modi-

fies εὐχαριστῶ. The conjunction ὅτι, finally, introduces a subordinate, causal clause which modifies the entire principal clause (cols. 1—4), not any one of its secondary elements.

The question now arises whether we are not justified in setting up the structural pattern found in type Ib as a standard by which to define the structural relations obtaining between these units (cols. 1—4) in type Ia. In this over-simple form the suggestion must be emphatically rejected, for the decisive reason that in type Ib no alternate construction is possible because of the absence of the first participle construction (col. 5). To be sure, the commentaries give evidence of this sort of parallel hunting¹; it was possible only because the existence of the two distinctly different structural types Ia and Ib was not realized. The effort to define the structural relations obtaining in type Ia must of necessity begin with the examination of its own examples.

Fortunately, it is not at all difficult to determine unequivocally the structural relations among the most important syntactical units of type Ia. The units of such primary importance are, of course, the verb forms which express the verb—subject relation. Thus we have the simple structural pattern, εὐχαριστῶ—μνησίων ποιούμενος—ἀκούων—, ὅπως as exemplified by the thanksgiving of Phm. I Thess 1 2ff. Col 1 3 Phil 1 3, and Eph 1 15f. exhibit the same structural sequence. These five thanksgivings constitute type Ia. The other examples listed under Ia in Table II are either fragmentary (repetitive) periods or examples of mixed type. Since there are within these five examples some lexicographical differences, we shall formulate the structural pattern in abstract terms which adequately fit each example, as follows: (1) The principal verb (εὐχαριστῶ); (2) a participle (in the

¹) A few particularly violent examples may here be pointed out. Von Dobschütz, *Die Thessalonicherbriefe* (Göttingen, 1909), p. 63, claims correctly that πάντοτε here modifies εὐχαριστῶ, but bases this claim on the assertion that "die Verbindung des πάντοτε mit εὐχαριστοῦμεν ist durch II 1 3, I Cor 1 4 gesichert, die unserem Briefe näherstehen als Rm 1 10 Col 1 3 Phil 1 4". We have here a classical example of the wrong kind of comparative form-criticism. Irrelevant chronological criteria are employed, while objective, structural characteristics and distinctions are disregarded. Rm 1 10 is entirely irrelevant, because there is no εὐχαριστῶ in that clause; II Thess 1 3 and I Cor 1 4 are examples of the type Ib, while the structure under discussion (I Thess 1 2) belongs to the type Ia. — The same error is committed by M. R. Vincent, *To the Philippians* (New York, 1905), p. 6, and by T. K. Abbott, *To the Colossians* (New York, 1905), p. 195. Thus a good cause is consistently weakened by resort to arbitrary and indiscriminate parallel-hunting. No attention is paid to the basic structural pattern, principal clause — first ptc. constr. — second ptc. constr. This pattern alone can serve as a dependable clue to the problem of how the minor structural units within this period must be construed.

nominative case) construction expressing the fact that the author offers an intercessory prayer in behalf of the addressees; (3) a second participle construction (also in the nominative case) expressing some knowledge which the author has obtained; and (4) a final clause reporting the content of the intercessory prayer. In the case of Phil. (see 1 9) and of I Thess. (see 3 10b) the final clause is delayed but not suppressed. The same is true of Col. (see 1 9). In these cases, as in Phm., the $\iota\upsilon\alpha$ -clause appears where it ought to appear, namely toward the end of the thanksgiving.

What, then, is the structural relation between these four basic units which constitute and characterize the structural type Ia? Obviously, both participle constructions define and modify the principal verb. Beyond the shadow of doubt, the first participle construction (col. 5) is a temporal one. Dibelius very properly paraphrases I Thess 1 2ff.¹ in a manner which is directly applicable to the four remaining examples of type Ia: "Ich bekomme immer neuen Anlaß zum danken, wenn ich euer in meinem täglichen Fürbittengebet gedenke." In terms of syntactical theory, then, it is clear that the first participle clause has temporal force and that it defines $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ as a whole (cols. 1—3), and that in so doing it also defines $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$, namely as: always = when I think of you ($\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$) in my daily prayers ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$). This structural relation holds true in the case of all $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ -periods of the Ia type. There is no reason for questioning the adequacy of this judgment, since we have arrived at the formulation of this structural pattern through objective examination of all examples and, more particularly, since we have recognized the temporal force of the first participle construction (col. 5) and its definitive force in interpreting $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ as well as $\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$. This basic structural pattern may be effectively exhibited as follows:

Phm.	$\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ — — $\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \sigma\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$
I Thess.	$\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ — — $\mu\upsilon\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$
Col.	$\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \dots\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ — $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$
Phil.	$\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\ \mu\omicron\upsilon\ \dots\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omicron\tau\epsilon$ — $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\ \delta\epsilon\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \mu\omicron\upsilon$ — $\tau\eta\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\sigma\iota\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$

¹) An die Thessalonicher (Tübingen, 1925), p. 3, on vv. 2ff. See the entire "Exkurs" on "Die Versicherung der Fürbitte für den Adressaten", pp. 2f. It represents probably the best concise statement ever made on the form and function of the Pauline thanksgivings.

Eph. οὐ παύομαι εὐχαριστῶν—

—μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου.
Rom. (type Ib) —μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιῶμαι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου
δεόμενος

We have already observed that the second participle construction has causal force. Its content in the case of each individual thanksgiving¹ establishes beyond doubt the fact that it modifies not the preceding participle (col. 5) but most directly the principal verb: I thank God . . . because I have heard (I remember, I know, I trust).

The basic structural pattern of the εὐχαριστῶ-period may now be summarized as follows: The principal verb (εὐχαριστῶ) is first temporally defined by the first participle clause (col. 5) and then causally defined by the second participle construction (col. 6); finally the telic clauses (col. 7, introduced by ὅπως, ἵνα or εἰς τό c. inf.) clearly modify the first participle construction (col. 5), because they record the content of the intercessory prayer. This undeniable special structural dependence of the final clause on the first participle construction is, however, quite puzzling from the point of view of lucid syntactical order and theory. But, apparently, no serious handicap has arisen to prevent the reader from following Paul's thought.

The reason for this fact—that no logical queerness has resulted from the syntactical queerness—is not difficult to find. Intercessory prayer (col. 5) and thanksgiving (col. 1) are not only syntactically closely related, but Paul considers them two inseparable aspects of the same religious or liturgical act. Thus we may say that, in a wider sense, the final clause modifies the entire principal clause (cols. 1—6).

From the point of view of the religious conception here involved we can do no better than quote an exhortation of Paul's to which he himself in his thanksgivings has strictly given heed, Phil 4 ε μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ (!) καὶ τῇ δεήσει (!) μετ' εὐχαριστίας τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν. The term on which all emphasis is gathered is μετ' εὐχαριστίας. "Thanksgiving," too, is the key-term of the thanksgiving period, but not in abstracto, at least not in type Ia; it is the spirit in which all prayer (προσευχή) and all petitions (δεήσεις) are offered.

The significance of this Pauline exhortation can hardly be overestimated. Its presence in one of the typical paraenetic sections of the Pauline letters (Phil 4 4-9) and its ideological independence of the other items of exhortation in this particular collection lead to the con-

¹) In order to examine the content of the second ptc. clause and of the ἵνα-clauses, consult cols. 6 and 7 of Table II.

clusion that the thought, and possibly even its form, are not Paul's own. This passage is an anonymous, collectively effective religious aphorism¹. Our subsequent survey of the functional (and formal) usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the entire Hellenistic world will clearly show how familiar this particular εὐχαριστία-concept was in Hellenistic religious thought and practice. Thus we have in Phil 4 6 a first indication that full understanding of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving involves much more than merely tracing a conventional (epistolary) structural pattern. We must include in our investigation all characteristic functional usages of εὐχαριστῶ, etc.

Our identification of the basic structural pattern of type Ia (consisting of the units listed in Table II, cols. 1, 5, 6, and 7) thus directly implies that the units listed in cols. 2, 3, and 4 are those of secondary importance. That the dative object (τῷ θεῷ, col. 2) modifies εὐχαριστῶ goes without saying. The temporal force of the first participle construction (col. 5) firmly establishes the fact that πάντοτε (col. 3), too, directly modifies εὐχαριστῶ, since the temp. ptc. construction defines the temp. adv. πάντοτε = "as often as I think of you in my (daily) prayers" (μνεῖν ὑμῶν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου).

Thus, by a process of incidental elimination, we arrive at a place where the pronominal object phrase (περὶ or ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, col. 4) is the only unit still in need of syntactical description. A glance at the leading commentaries on the Pauline letters suffices to show how the opinions of the interpreters differ on this point. Does this phrase modify the principal verb, as the structure of type Ib might suggest, or does it modify the temp. participle construction (col. 5), which it immediately and invariably precedes?

(2)². The obvious procedure is to examine first those examples which allow of no alternate syntactical description. They are the following:

1) Dibelius' comment on Phil 4 6 is very suggestive, apart from the fact that it incidentally confirms our judgment: "Es ist möglich, daß das Herrenwort Mt 6 25 Lc 12 22 in dieser Form (μηδὲν μεριμᾶτε, P. S.) in die gemeinchristliche Paränese übergegangen und so an Paulus gelangt ist. Die Fortsetzung (ἀλλ' ἐν παντὶ τῇ προσευχῇ κτλ., P. S.) wäre dann ein praktischer Kommentar zu dem Spruch". It is our contention, however, that such a specific "comment" might be added to the initial example of communal Christian tradition more easily if it, too, was such an example. On Phil 4 8 Dibelius remarks that one sees here "wie schon Paulus geläufige Begriffe populärer Moralphilosophie in seine Paränese aufnimmt". It is my judgment that Paul did so also in v. 6. I would not say, however, that he deliberately "adopted" Hellenistic ideas, but rather that many of them were part and parcel of his own Hellenistic religious heritage as well as of that of his Hellenistic Christian communities. 2) Cf. above, p. 64.

Col 1 9

διὰ τοῦτο . . . οὐ παύομεθα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν προσευχόμενοι καὶ αἰτούμενοι

II Thess 1 11

εἰς ὃ καὶ προσευχόμεθα

πάντοτε

περὶ ὑμῶν

ἵνα . . .

II Cor 1 11

συνυπουργούντων καὶ ὑμῶν

ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

τῇ δεήσει,

ἵνα . . .

τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα . . .

εὐχαριστηθῆ

ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

It will be observed that two of these examples (Col 1 9 and II Thess 1 11) are "fragmentary," complementary εὐχαριστῶ-periods which serve to introduce the final clause. Their value is simply that in them the pron. obj. phrase modifies the verb which is represented as typical for type Ia in col. 5. In II Cor 1 11 we have two occurrences of the pronominal obj. phrase ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, which is the exact structural equivalent of ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν in the normal active constructions; the first ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν modifies the temp. ptc. clause, while the second modifies εὐχαριστηθῆ. At any rate, we have within type Ia three examples where περὶ or ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν modifies the verb which expresses intercessory prayer (col. 5). They strongly suggest that the same structural relation obtains in all other examples of the same type. The one exception (II Cor 1 11) has no weight, because this passage is characterized by the inversion of all structural features of the normal εὐχαριστῶ-period.

For the sake of completeness we must not overlook the fact that I Thess 3 9f., too, allows of no alternate construction of περὶ ὑμῶν; here, indeed, it does modify εὐχαριστίαν ἀνταποδοῦναι. τίνα γὰρ εὐχαριστίαν δυνάμεθα τῷ θεῷ ἀνταποδοῦναι περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣ χαίρομεν δι' ὑμᾶς. The reason for this construction is obvious: the following participle does not express intercessory prayer in behalf of the addressees, but a direct petition to God on the part of Paul, δέομενος εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον.

Next we consider the significant evidence furnished by those examples of type Ia which do not have the pronominal object phrase:

Phm. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ

μου πάντοτε μνεῖαν σου ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου

Rm 1 10 ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνεῖαν ὑμῶν ποιούμαι

πάντοτε

ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου

We readily see why the pronominal object phrase is omitted: the genetivus objectivus to μνεῖαν (σου and ὑμῶν) takes its place and fulfils the same syntactical function as περὶ (or ὑπὲρ) ὑμῶν would have filled. The literal rendering of the ptc. clause with the gen.

obj. is, "as often as we think of you in our (daily) prayers," while with the pron. obj. phrase the literal rendering is, "as often as we think about you in our (daily) prayers"; that is the whole difference. The syntactical function of the genetivus objectivus and of the pronominal object phrase, however, is the same. The very definition of these two syntactical units suffices to show that. And the fact that, among the five examples of type Ia which have *μνείαν ποιούμενος*, Phm 4 and Rm 1 10 have the genetivus objectivus and do not have the pron. obj. phrase, amounts to conclusive proof that the syntactical force of these two units is the same. They may therefore be used interchangeably, as they actually are used; both modify the temp. ptc. construction in the same manner.

(3) The syntactical force of the pron. obj. phrase in the remaining examples of type Ia may now be correctly exhibited as follows (Phm 4 and Rm 1 10 are again added to the list in order to exhibit graphically the conclusion just reached):

I Thess 1 2

εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ

πάντοτε—περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν μνείαν ποιούμενοι ἐπὶ τῶν πρ. ἡμῶν

Col 1 3

εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ

πάντοτε—περὶ ὑμῶν

προσευχόμενοι

Phil 1 3

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου . . .

ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου

πάντοτε—

ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος

Eph 1 15

οὐ παύομαι

εὐχαριστῶν—ὑπὲρ

ὑμῶν μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν πρ. μου

Phm 4

εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου

πάντοτε—

μνείαν σου ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν πρ. μου

Rm 1 10

ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως

μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιῶμαι πάντοτε

ἐπὶ τῶν πρ. μου

Again, it is important to observe that this group includes all full representatives of type Ia, with the single addition of Rm 1 10, which we have described as an example of a mixed type construction.

We have now analyzed all examples of type Ia. There can be no doubt that we have succeeded in determining the fundamental pattern which they have in common and which therefore characterizes

them as a particular structural type (Ia). The most prominent syntactical division within the first six units (cols. 1—6) comes between the temporal adverb (col. 3) and the pron. obj. phrase (col. 4); i. e., cols. 4—6 modify 1—3, and col. 7 (the "final" clause) is dependent on the temp. ptc. clause and more generally on the entire sequence 1—6.

It remains to add an explicit statement concerning two questions of detail. First, we have assumed throughout that *περί* has the same function as *ὑπέρ*. This assumption is in a general sense justified by the overwhelming evidence from all sources of Hellenistic Greek that *ὑπέρ* c. g. has heavily encroached on the force of *περί* c. gen.¹ Second, most commentators on the Pauline letters and most translators fail to recognize or to admit the structural identity of the pron. obj. phrase (col. 4) with the gen. obj. of *μείζων* (col. 5). This leads to the inconsistency that in the case of Col 1:3 and Phil 1:3 they usually construe it correctly, though for no valid reason, while in the case of I Thess 1:2 and Eph 1:15 they view it as modifying the principal verb (col. 1). The reason for such arbitrary distinction is most probably that they interpret these examples of type Ia in the light of those of type Ib. This was of course a pardonable procedure as long as the existence of these two distinct structural types of the *εὐχαριστῶ* thanksgiving period was not realized².

Before we pass on to the structural and functional analysis of *εὐχαριστῶ*, etc., in other sections of the Pauline letters, it is imperative that we pay some detailed attention to the structure of the *εὐχαριστῶ*-period of the thanksgiving of Philippians (1:3ff.). It is the most verbose of all *εὐχαριστῶ*-periods, i. e., within the area of cols. 1—6. It is all the more surprising, then, that every syntactical unit may readily be classified in one of these six columns, with the structurally insignificant exception of the adverbial phrase of manner *μετὰ χαρᾶς (τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος)*. From the point of view of the specific epistolary situation which called forth the letter this little phrase has a very characteristic significance³. J. B. Lightfoot⁴

¹) See the most recent and comprehensive statement in E. Mayser's monumental *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Vol. II, 2 (Berlin-Leipzig, 1933), p. 456 and especially pp. 450—52.

²) See especially Dibelius, *An die Epheser* (Tübingen, 1927), p. 48, to 1:15, and the translations of the pertinent passages by Goodspeed and Weizsäcker.

³) Lohmeyer, *Der Brief an die Philipper* (Göttingen, 1930), p. 16, n. 3, and especially pp. 49f. states the well-known significance of terms like *χαρά* and *χαίρειν* in Philippians very convincingly. Yet we must not overlook *μετὰ χαρᾶς εὐχαριστοῦντες* in Col 1:12.

⁴) In his *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* (London, 1869), p. 80.

TABLE III. — EXHIBITING THE ACCUMULATION OF SYNTACTICAL UNITS
IN THE ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΩ-PERIOD OF PHIL.

Phil 1 3 f.	εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου	πάντοτε	ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος	ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου	ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν
Phm. 4 f.	εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου	πάντοτε (σου)	μυσίαν σου ποιούμενος	ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου	ἀκούων σου τὴν ἀγάπην . . . ὅπως

has so well characterized the Philippian thanksgiving that his remarks may profitably be quoted:

The thanksgiving in this epistle is more than usually earnest. The apostle dwells long and fondly on the subject. He repeats words and accumulates clauses in the intensity of his feeling. As before in the omission of his official title, so here in the fulness of his thanksgiving, the letters to the Thessalonians present the nearest parallel to the language of this epistle ¹.

These noteworthy peculiarities may be exhibited most effectively, as far as the structure of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods is thereby affected, by comparing their structure with that of Phm., because the latter may well be considered the simplest complete εὐχαριστῶ-period of type Ia (see the accompanying Table III).

Table III shows that the Philippian period differs from the "normal" period, represented by Philemon, not only in the number of syntactical units but also in their relative sequence, although our contention is that the most important division in the case of Philipians also comes immediately after πάντοτε (col. 3, Table II). As compared with Phm., Phil. has three additional syntactical units: (1) ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν, (2) μετὰ χαρᾶς, (3) ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωσίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν. Instead of the structurally simpler gen. obj. to μυσίαν (= σου, Phm 4) Phil. has the pron. obj. phrase in its fullest form, ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν . . . This is the quantitative difference.

¹) This last observation, on the stylistic similarity between Phil. and the Thessalonian letters, is also a very shrewd and pertinent one, especially with reference to I Thessalonians.

To it must be added an interesting inversion of syntactical sequence as regards the two parts of the temporal participle construction. Normally, as in Phm., it reads *μνείαν . . . ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου*. To this second part, the temp. adv. phrase *ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου*, corresponds in Phil. the temp. adv. phrase *ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου*; but here it follows immediately on πάντοτε and precedes ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν; then comes the temp. ptc. construction proper, *μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος*, which corresponds exactly to the normal *μνείαν ποιούμενος*. This striking singularity in syntactical sequence affects, however, only the units of cols. 4 and 5 (see Table II). Indeed, the evidence of the Philippian *εὐχαριστῶ*-period confirms in the most desirable manner the judgment we have reached in regard to the syntactical relation of the pron. obj. phrase (col. 4, Table II), namely, that in type Ia it always modifies the temporal participle phrase (col. 5). The fact that this pron. obj. phrase is in Phil. preceded by the second part of that participle clause (*ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου*) allows of no other syntactical description here¹.

The most peculiar structural feature of the Philippian *εὐχαριστῶ*-period, however, is the two adverbial phrases, *ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν* and *ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, especially the first. There is no doubt that *ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον . . .* has causal force. All interpreters agree that it means "for your cooperation in the gospel." Goodspeed's translation² implies his correct judgment that this causal phrase modifies the characteristic *μετὰ χαρᾶς* (*τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος*): "Whenever I pray for you all I do it with joy, over your cooperation in the good news." While we do not question the adequacy of this judgment, we yet maintain that this late causal phrase refers also quite definitely to *εὐχαριστῶ*, just as does the subsequent causal ptc. construction *πεποιθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο*. We are merely pointing out of the Philippian example what we have found to be true of all *εὐχαριστῶ*-periods, namely, that the principal verb (*εὐχαριστῶ*) very definitely dominates the entire period as well as the various ideas expressed by its parts.

The modern interpreters of Paul agree with almost complete unanimity that the first adverbial phrase, *ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν*,

¹) It may be remarked in passing that the exhibit in our Tables II and III immediately and forcefully suggests this construction as most objective. It is gratifying, too, to find that Dibelius (*An d. Phil.*, p. 52) also conceives of the entire phrase as a unit: ". . . bitte ich doch für euch alle beständig in jedem meiner Gebete mit Freuden . . .". However, Dibelius also draws the immediately preceding πάντοτε into this phrase. The reason for this error will reveal itself in the course of our analysis. ²) The New Testament, An American Translation, Phil 13.

is temporal and means "whenever I think of you"¹. But in the light of our comparative analysis of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods this interpretation can and must be challenged; it should be considered a causal adverbial phrase modifying εὐχαριστῶ and meaning "I thank God for every (actual²) expression of your remembrance of me."

We shall state in detail the objections to the temporal interpretation as well as the reasons for the causal interpretation of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν. Two objections to its interpretation as a temporal clause: (1) We get a cumbersome and clumsy aggregate of temporal phrases in direct succession, (a) ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν, (b) πάντοτε, (c) ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δεήσει μου, (d) τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος. It may be argued, of course, that with the causal interpretation of (a) we also get three causal phrases; but the three causal phrases do not accumulate in direct succession; they are well distributed over the entire period. Table III, indeed, affords a strikingly impressive picture of a well-balanced periodization: cols. 1 and 6 are represented on the first horizontal line, cols. 3 and 5b on the second, and cols. 4 and 5a on the third.

(2) ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν as a temporal adv. phrase would be the only major structural peculiarity within the entire syntactical area represented on Table II, comprising both types Ia and Ib. This objection must be considered most effective, indeed decisive, against the construction of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν as a temporal phrase. To be sure, we have stated that the Philippian thanksgiving has peculiarities of structure. But it is not peculiar in its basic structural characteristics. πάντοτε as well as ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν may be—and in the light of our study must be—construed in accordance with the common pattern of all εὐχαριστῶ-periods of type Ia. The burden of proof, at all events, lies squarely upon those who would claim that the Philippian εὐχαριστῶ-period vitally differs in basic structure from the other examples of type Ia, as is the case if ἐπὶ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν is construed as a temp. phrase. As an inevitable consequence of this construction πάντοτε must be taken as modi-

¹) See, e. g., the commentaries by Lohmeyer, Dibelius, and Vincent, ad loc.; and the translations by Goodspeed, Moffatt and Weizsäcker.

²) The text of this entire phrase reads: εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν πάντοτε. — A. Debrunner, in Friedrich Blaß' Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Griechisch, paragr. 275, 2, on πᾶς with and without the article quotes II Cor 14, because it exhibits both constructions and the difference in meaning ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ θλίψει ἡμῶν = the actually happening examples of θλίψις as a whole) εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς παρακαλεῖν τοὺς ἐν πάσῃ θλίψει (= any potential case of θλίψις). Accordingly, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν = "for every actual expression of your remembrance of me".

fying the temporal participle construction (col. 5), against the normal construction with the principal verb (col. 1).

These objections are implicitly positive arguments for the causal interpretation of the crucial phrase. Specifically, the positive arguments in favor of the causal interpretation may be stated as follows:

(1) Causal adverbial phrases introduced by ἐπί c. dat. are typical of a number of Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods, namely, Phil 1 5: ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν . . . ; I Thess 3 9, ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ χαρᾷ ἣν χάριζομεν δι' ὑμᾶς; I Cor 1 4, ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ δοθείσῃ ὑμῖν. In II Cor 1 11, the passive construction, ἵνα . . . τὸ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισμα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστηθῆ, is the exact inversion of the active construction, ἵνα εὐχαριστήσητε ἐπὶ τῷ εἰς ἡμᾶς χάρισματι.

(2) These four passages represent all examples of ἐπί c. dat. within the εὐχαριστῶ-periods of the Pauline thanksgivings. Their causal force has never been and never can be questioned. On the other hand, temporal phrases introduced by ἐπί are also typical of the εὐχαριστῶ-periods, but it is always ἐπί c. gen., namely, ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου (see col. 5, Table II, Phm., I Thess., Rom., and Eph.).

(3) In the light of the causal ἐπί c. dat. phrases quoted under (1) it is imperative to test whether or not the Philippian phrase takes its place with them as a typical syntactical unit of the normal thanksgiving structure, modifying, as those four examples unquestionably do, the principal verb εὐχαριστῶ¹. We have already had occasion to observe that even ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον (Phil 1 5) qualifies εὐχαριστῶ, at the very beginning of the period, as well as the phrase μετὰ χαρᾶς in its more immediate vicinity.

(4) When a Pauline thanksgiving period contains a prominent, structurally significant feature, real or apparent, the first step is to seek its explanation in the epistolary situation which produced the specific letter. For the temporal interpretation of our phrase this test has an entirely negative result, because it merely presents us with

¹ It may be remarked here that this suggestion forced itself on me as soon as I had completed Table II, namely, to "try" the causal interpretation of our crucial phrase. After some initial enthusiasm for it I abandoned this disagreeably controversial matter. But new facts and new doubts forced me to test the possibility more thoroughly, with the result that complete conviction followed. Indeed, it proved impossible to make out any sort of case for the temp. interpretation in the light of the clamoring facts. Only the consensus of opinion and the habit engendered by it are in favor of the temp. interpretation. Not even the sanctity of the King James' Version may be appealed to, because it is (very much to the credit of those pioneer translators) ambiguous enough to allow of the correct interpretation: "I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, always in every prayer of mine for you all making request with joy".

an awkward and needless duplication of the temporal participle clause, ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει . . . τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος. On the other hand, this test convincingly supports the causal interpretation. It is a well-known fact that a money gift from the Philippian church had just been delivered to Paul by Epaphroditus, a transaction clearly and fully recorded in 4 10-20.

It would be a mistake to underestimate the functional importance of this section for the composition of the letter to the Philippians. There were just two motives for its composition, namely, to express Paul's appreciation of (and joy over) that gift to the givers (cf. 4 17, οὐχ ὅτι ἐπιζητῶ τὸ δόμα, ἀλλὰ ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν), and to report to the anxious Philippians his present circumstances and prospects as a prisoner in Rome. In 4 15 Paul fortunately tells in a detailed manner (obviously because of his satisfaction with and pride in the Philippians) how the church of Philippi had officially rendered him financial support on several previous occasions. In the light of this reference (to official financial dealings with the Philippians) that singular and otherwise puzzling mention of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι in the opening formula (1 1) becomes at once natural and intelligible, indeed inevitable, from the point of view of both writer and addressees, because not only were the latter aware of the specific epistolary situation, but they had produced it and thus were immediately involved in it.

Hard upon the brief opening formula with its explicit mention of the ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι follows the εὐχαριστῶ-period; and immediately after the principal verb, εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου, the reason for which Paul gives thanks is stated. These facts can be understood only in the light of the epistolary situation¹, which we are able to reconstruct from 4 10-20.

Indeed the functional relation of the thanksgiving to 4 10-20 is much closer and much more definite than we have as yet indicated. The thanksgiving, we have seen, states two reasons for Paul's gratitude, first, (1 3) every actual instance of the Philippians' remembrance of him, and second, (1 5) their cooperation in the gospel from the

¹) This argument from the epistolary situation and, more specifically, from the closeness of ἐπίσκοποι and διάκονοι to ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείλῃ ὑμῶν, is brought forward by A. von Harnack, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1889), col. 419, in favor of the causal interpretation of this clause. But Harnack's was a lone voice in the wilderness of the temporal interpretation of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείλῃ ὑμῶν. His methodology is sound; it matters little that he calls a historical argument what we have called the argument from the epistolary situation. To the criteria of construction, of course, Harnack has paid no attention, but they most strongly supplement the "historical" argument.

founding of their church to the present "moment" (τὸ νῦν). These reasons are not just in a manner of speaking, but are rather definitely topic sentences which find their development in the body of the letter. And 4 10-20 is more than an incidental appendix; chapters 2 and 3 are much more "incidental"¹ from the point of view of the epistolary situation. The following graph effectively brings out the point:

Compare

1 3 εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου	with	ἐχάρην δὲ ἐν κυρίῳ (4 10)
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐᾳ ὑμῶν	with	ἀνεθάλλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ φρονεῖν
Δίκαιον ἔμοι τοῦτο φρονεῖν		
	with	ἀνεθάλλετε τὸ ὑπὲρ ἑμοῦ φρονεῖν
	and with	ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ἐφρονεῖτε . . .
ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεΐᾳ ὑμῶν	with	δεξάμενος . . . τὰ παρ' ὑμῶν, ὁσμήν εὐοδίας, θυσίαν δεκτὴν, εὐάρεστον τῷ θεῷ (4 18)
ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν . . . (1 5)	with	καλῶς ἐποιήσατε συνκοινωνήσατες μου τῇ θλίψει (4 14)
	and with	οὐδεμία μοι ἐκκλησία ἐκοινωνήσεν . . . εἰ μὴ ὑμεῖς μόνοι (4 15)
ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν	with	ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, ὅτε ἐξῆλθον ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας (4 15)

Thus we have here a most convincing and instructive example of the fact which holds true in every case, that each thanksgiving not only announces clearly the subject-matter of the letter, but also foreshadows unmistakably its stylistic qualities, the degree of intimacy and other important characteristics².

(5) Our data of relevant occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ in non-Pauline biblical and extra-biblical Hellenistic sources will show that the construction εὐχαριστῶ ἐπὶ τινί is that most commonly used to express the cause for which thanks are offered. The characteristic frequency of this construction in the Pauline thanksgivings has already been pointed out.

(6) The formal peculiarities of the Philippian thanksgiving are most adequately emphasized, but also explained (without being ex-

¹) If, indeed, chap. 3 originally belonged to this letter at all. ²) The section 1 12—2 30 also is "announced", or at least alluded to, in the thanksgiving, 1 7b, ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς μου καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ καὶ βεβαιώσει τοῦ εὐαγγελίου. The fact that there is no allusion at all to the vehement contents of chap. 3 may perhaps be taken as an argument for excluding this chapter from the original letter, which then consisted of chapters 1, 2, and 4.

plained away), when we admit, as we must, that its fundamental structural traits are entirely typical, i. e., conforming to the basic pattern of type Ia: principal verb—temporal, definitive ptc. clause—causal ptc. clause (πεπιοθῶς κτλ.).

Peculiar, indeed, is the fact that the cause for Paul's thanksgiving is expressed through three separate, structurally (and ideologically) well-balanced phrases: (1) ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείξ ὑμῶν, (2) ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν, (3) πεπιοθῶς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὁ ἐναρξάμενος ἐν ὑμῖν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐπιτελέσει ἄχρι ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ¹. The first phrase mentions the most specific reason and therefore to us the most obscure; it is an allusion, clear enough to us and unmistakable to the addressees, to the recent money gift. In the second phrase Paul views the concrete cases (ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείξ) under the broader scope of "cooperation in the gospel" (κοινωνία εἰς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον). The third phrase, finally, rises to the ultimate height of eschatological hope for the full perfection of the Philippians.

Thus the three causal phrases present a well-built climax, rising from the specific and the present to the general and eschatological. The structural balance of the entire period is achieved by the "insertion" of the singularly verbose temp. ptc. clause (ἐν πάσῃ δέξῃ μου . . . μετὰ χαρᾶς τὴν δέξῃν ποιούμενος) between the first and second causal ἐπί-phrases, and through the addition of the temporal appositive phrase ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἄχρι τοῦ νῦν (5b) between the second and third causal phrases.

Extremely characteristic of the Philippian thanksgiving is, furthermore, the brief phrase μετὰ χαρᾶς modifying τὴν δέξῃν ποιούμενος. It too finds its explanation and justification in the epistolary situation. Lohmeyer² thinks that χαρά "im ganzen Philipperbrief die Freude am Martyrium bedeutet; so mag dieses Moment schon hier angedeutet sein." This is an explanation made at least partly from the point of view of the epistolary situation. But Lohmeyer has undoubtedly overstressed the martyrological motif here, although we have reason to be appreciative of his fresh treatment of the letter. Indeed it must be granted that Paul's experience and state of mind as a "prisoner of Jesus Christ" (Phm 9) had something to do with the fervent emphasis on χαρά and χαίρειν in Philippians. But the primary cause for Paul's joy is undeniably not the recent money gift

¹) Dibelius, *An die Philipper*, p. 53, sees in ἔργον ἀγαθὸν — correctly — another "allusion to the money gift". His subsequent remarks (*ibid.*) on the general relation between thanksgiving and letter are quite pertinent but not sufficiently positive.

²) *Der Brief an die Philipper*, p. 16, n. 3.

as such, but the evidence which it furnishes of the Philippians' cooperation in the gospel (cf. 4 17f.). Μετὰ χαρᾶς in 1 4 and ἐχάρην in 4 10 have nothing to do with martyrdom; they are (to the addressees at least) explicit references to the concrete instances of active Christian work on the part of the Philippians.

Μετὰ χαρᾶς, which is structurally speaking a singular intrusion into the εὐχαριστῶ-period, becomes entirely natural if ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείῃ ὑμῶν means "for every expression of your remembrance of me." That is why Paul could make his intercessory prayer μετὰ χαρᾶς. Otherwise this phrase can only be vaguely justified. Our entire study of the form and function of the εὐχαριστῶ-period suggests that there are quite definite motivations (in the epistolary situation) which account for the presence of each structural unit, peculiar or normal. Incidentally, Lohmeyer himself makes the shrewd guess¹ that μετὰ χαρᾶς may well be a conscious play of words on εὐχαριστῶ.

(7) With the causal interpretation of ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μείῃ ὑμῶν the temporal adverb πάντοτε receives the full syntactical force which it has in all the full Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-periods, i. e., modifying εὐχαριστῶ and in turn being defined by the temporal participle clause. Then πάντοτε and πάσῃ (τῇ μείῃ) are a simple and effective example of alliteration and of the familiar word-play on πᾶς: "I thank God always for all your remembrances of me." The insertion of a causal phrase between cols. 2 and 3 (Table II) is thus a structural peculiarity of the Philippian thanksgiving, which, however, does not destroy the standard pattern.

Finally, two specific arguments which have been brought forward in favor of the temporal interpretation of the phrase under discussion must be dealt with.

(8) Vincent² says, "To make ὑμῶν the subjective genitive, 'your thought of me,' with an allusion to their gift, is against usage, and would require a definite mention of the object of remembrance". First of all, the alternative—i. e., taking ὑμῶν as the genitivus objectivus, denoting "remembrance of you (by some one else)"—is surely against usage. The tacit assumption underlying the temporal interpretation, that μείῃ ὑμῶν is the abstract substantive equivalent of the concrete verbal construction μείαν ὑμῶν ποιοῦμαι, is without documentary support. Whether ὑμῶν be construed as a gen. obj. or subj., the phrase μείῃ ὑμῶν is elliptical, allusive and suggestive rather than explicit. However, the construction εὐχαριστῶ ἐπὶ τινι is typical of Pauline as well as of general Hellenistic usage and, therefore, not obscure.

¹) Ibid., n. 2.

²) Op. cit., p. 6, to Phil 1 3.

As a matter of fact, Vincent's specific assertion that the genitivus subjectivus with *μνεία* "is against usage" is, to say the least, too sweeping. That usage occurs in a document which belongs to Paul's closest literary and linguistic environment ¹, Bar 55: ἀνάστηθι, Ἱερουσαλήμ, . . . καὶ ἴδε σου συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν ἕως ἀνατολῶν τῷ ῥήματι τοῦ ἁγίου, χαίροντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μνείᾳ ("see thy children assembled . . ., rejoicing in the remembrance of God"). τοῦ θεοῦ is a gen. subj. and there is no "definite mention of the object of remembrance." The two clauses, χαίροντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ μνείᾳ and εὐχαριστῶ . . . ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν, are perfect structural parallels, as far as the type of verbal action and the subject-object relation to it is concerned.

The term *μνεία* also occurs with the objective genitive ὑμῶν; but it is precisely in this case that the author found it necessary to make "definite mention" of the subject of remembrance, Bar 427: θαρρήσατε τέκνα, καὶ βοήσατε πρὸς τὸν θεόν· ἔσται γὰρ ὑμῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπάγοντος (sc. θεοῦ) μνεία. Thus Bar 55 is a direct parallel to the causal interpretation of our Philippian phrase and its subjective genitive ὑμῶν, while Bar 427 merely proves, if it proves anything, that it is the objective genitive with *μνεία* which makes definite mention of the subject of remembrance necessary.

The definition of *μνήμη* and *μνεία* which Ammonius Grammaticus ² (I-II A. D.) gives fully justifies our interpretation of *μνεία* as "act of remembrance." He writes: μνήμη ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ μνημονικῷ ἀέν συνοῦσα· μνεία δὲ προγεγονότος τινος ὑπόμνησις, ὥστε ὁ τοιοῦτοις ἐναλλάξ χρώμενος ἀμαρτῆσεται—"Μνήμη signifies the psychological ability of the person who remembers; *μνεία* implies some preceding action of remembrance (ὑπόμνησις) . . ."

(9) Lightfoot, Dibelius and Lohmeyer stress the point that the word-play on πᾶς in Phil 13f., ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνείᾳ ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν μετὰ χαρῆς τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος, binds these phrases structurally together ³. The fact is that none of these interpreters carries through this principle, because they attach the first phrase to εὐχαριστῶ. The question as such is not of great importance, but it is of far-reaching importance for the detailed study of Paul's style to distinguish between real rhetorical instances

¹) This statement holds true even if the composition of the book of Baruch was not completed till after 70 A. D. But the general judgment is that its basic sections belong to the Maccabean period (see E. Kautzsch, *Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testamentes* (Tübingen, 1900), pp. 215f.). ²) Περὶ ὁμοίων καὶ διαφόρων λέξεων, ed. L. C. Valckenaer (Leipzig, 1822). ³) See particularly Lightfoot and Lohmeyer, *opp. cit.*, ad loc.

of paronomasia and structures where epistolary situation and convention, or Paul's own epistolary manner, produce a style which looks rhetorical without being so. We have seen that in the phrase ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν, πᾶς is very specifically due to the epistolary situation; πάντοτε and ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν (see I Thess 1 2 and Rm 1 8) are all typical epistolary terms characteristic of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-period. It may safely be said, to be sure, that Paul was conscious here of producing a word-play on πᾶς; however, this was not the motive which produced the structure, but rather an incidental by-product of it.

Finally, a reference to Lohmeyer's rythmical and symmetrical arrangement of the Philippians thanksgiving should be made¹. It goes without saying that the suggestions of this scholar, whose sense of form is so keen, are always interesting, but they do not always escape the curse of esthetic subjectivism. Lohmeyer considers the two participle constructions (see Table II, cols. 5 and 6) as transitional cola between three "Doppelzeiler" (= double lines), symmetrically arranged, which, in his opinion, constitute the structural pattern of the Philippian thanksgiving. Such judgments will no longer be tenable when it is recognized that all full Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-periods of type Ia have as their basic structural pattern εὐχαριστῶ—temp. ptc. clause—causal ptc. clause.

The same esthetic subjectivism causes Lohmeyer to separate ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου from τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος. Our Table II shows beyond the shadow of doubt that ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου . . . τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος is the exact structural and functional (!) equivalent of τὴν μνεῖαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου, which appears as the temp. ptc. clause in the other examples of type Ia. This is, incidentally, one more indication that ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα μου is in no sense the equivalent of that temp. ptc. clause, because it appears in its full form as quoted.

The results of our analysis of the structural relations obtaining in the first part of the Philippian thanksgiving (1 4-6) may now be summarized as follows:

(1) The characteristic structural pattern exhibited by all Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods is fully maintained in Phil:

- (a) εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ μου ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ μνεῖα ὑμῶν πάντοτε
- (b) ἐν πάσῃ δεήσει μου ὑπὲρ πάντων ὑμῶν τὴν δέησιν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ ὑμῶν εἰς . . .
- (c) πεπειθὼς αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι κτλ.

¹) Op. cit., pp. 14f.

(2) There are two causal adverbial phrases (ἐπί c. dat.), expressing the reasons for which Paul gives thanks. This construction is characteristic of several other εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods, besides being a very common one in Hellenistic usage.

(3) Μετὰ χαρᾶς is, besides ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ (in I Thess 3 9), the only adverbial phrase of manner in all Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-periods; the specific epistolary situation which called forth the letter accounts for its presence, as it accounts for the presence in I Thess. of ὑπερεκπερισσοῦ (δεόμενος εἰς τὸ ἰδεῖν ὑμῶν τὸ πρόσωπον) ¹.

(4) Quantitatively speaking, the Philippian thanksgiving has three phrases in addition to those which normally constitute the structure of type Ia, namely, the two causal adverbial phrases and the adverbial phrase of manner μετὰ χαρᾶς; but only this last brief phrase is unique in the Pauline thanksgiving structure.

2. *The Pauline and Pseudo-Pauline Usages Outside the Thanksgivings*

With the detailed analysis of the interesting εὐχαριστῶ-period of the Philippian thanksgiving we have completed our examination of the structural relations obtaining between the seven syntactical units which constitute the εὐχαριστῶ-period of the Pauline (and the Ephesian) thanksgiving. On the basis of the results we shall be able to proceed more rapidly in analyzing structurally and functionally the occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. outside of the thanksgivings.

A thorough analysis of Paul's general usage of these terms is of paramount importance for the interpretation and understanding of his usage in the thanksgivings. We have found 11 occurrences of the verb εὐχαριστῶ and one occurrence of the substantive εὐχαριστία (I Thess 3 9, εὐχαριστίαν ἀνταποδοῦναι = εὐχαριστεῖν) in twelve full, initial and fragmentary repetitive periods; in all of them (except II Cor 1 11) εὐχαριστῶ is the principal verb. Five thanksgivings start with the structural type of the εὐχαριστῶ-period which we have designated Ia, i. e., the thanksgivings of Phm., I Thess., Eph., Col., and Phil. The three remaining thanksgivings begin with the structural type we have called Ib.

The participle εὐχαριστοῦντες (Col 1 12) occurs, to be sure, within the thanksgiving, but not as the key-term of the thanksgiving period. We shall presently observe that its function is distinct.

¹) This desire of Paul's to revisit the Thessalonian church was one of his chief concerns while he wrote the letter and one of his chief topics in the letter. This small, unique structural feature shared only by the Philippian and the I Thessalonian thanksgivings is a significant illustration of Lightfoot's characterization of the specific formal resemblance between the two letters.

The subsequent lists will include every occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ, εὐχαριστία and εὐχάριστος in Paul, including the pseudo-Pauline writings of the NT, not only because they are pseudo-Pauline but especially because they were indisputably composed under real Pauline influence. These lists will discuss 20 separate passages containing 25 occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., classified in three further distinct functional types. Only 5 of these 25 occurrences are from pseudo-Pauline sources: 1 εὐχαριστῶ in Eph 5 20; and 4 εὐχαριστία in Eph 5 4, in I Tim 2 1 and (twice) in I Tim 4 3f.

Of the remaining writings of the NT only the four gospels¹, Acts and Revelation use our terms, the verb 10 times and the noun 3 times. Thus we have a grand total of 37 occurrences in the Pauline letters (including 5 in the pseudo-Pauline writings) against only 13 in the remaining portions of the NT. These simple statistics tell a highly significant story. It is strange that they have not yet claimed the attention of the interpreters of Paul.

The passages in the Pauline and pseudo-Pauline writings (exclusive of those discussed under I) which have εὐχαριστῶ, etc., fall from a functional point of view into three distinct further types, the thanksgiving type (Ia and Ib) being the first and the most prominent. Where examples are quoted special care will be taken to reproduce consistently the environing context to the extent necessary for the full and ready recognition of the functional level and the structural characteristics of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. Lexicographical study has all too often suffered from the neglect of this important principle. We have met with several instances of it.

Type II. (1) Rom 16 3-4, ἀσπάσασθε Πρίσκαν καὶ Ἀκύλαν τοὺς συνεργούς μου ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, οἵτινες ὑπὲρ τῆς ψυχῆς μου τὸν ἑαυτῶν τράχηλον ὑπέβηκαν, οἷς οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος εὐχαριστῶ ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τῶν ἔθνων, καὶ τὴν κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν ἐκκλησίαν.

(2) I Cor 14 18, εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ.

(3) I Cor 1 14, εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι οὐδένα ὑμῶν ἐβάπτισα εἰ μὴ Κρίσπον καὶ Γαῖον . . .

These three passages exemplify in Paul the use of εὐχαριστῶ for expressing gratitude on the colloquial, conversational level. Even the presence of the pers. dat. obj. τῷ θεῷ in (2) does not exclude this

¹) Doublets within the gospels are, of course, not counted; each of the synoptic gospels has εὐχαριστῶ once in the story of the miraculous feeding of the multitude (John twice) and once in the record of the Last Supper. Consequently, we counted of these occurrences only two from the synoptists and two from John.

example from this formal and functional type. Hence Goodspeed's translation of it with the corresponding American colloquialism is felicitous: "Thank God, I speak in ecstasy more than any of you." Lietzmann's¹ very common German colloquialism, "Gott sei Dank, ich rede mehr in Zungen als ihr alle," does equal justice to Paul's functional usage of the term here. Goodspeed translates (3), "I am thankful that I never . . ."; this rendering, too, brings out the colloquial force of εὐχαριστῶ. His translation of (1) is equally apt—"not only I but all the churches among the heathen thank them."

The fact that in (1) human beings are the object, in (2) God (with no meaningful accent!), and that in (3) there is no object at all, is insignificant in comparison with the fundamental fact that all three passages are examples of colloquial usage. Indeed, informal looseness and structural variety are exactly what we should expect, if not require, in examples of such usage, and in these three cases we certainly have them to a remarkable degree. (Note the informal colloquial omission of ὅτι in (2).)

Example (1), however, is in a very definite sense unique in that the whole context clearly shows that here the general colloquial usage is specifically limited to the conventionally epistolographical level. The entire chapter (Rm 16) is epistolographical in the most technical sense of the word. There is, e. g., little essential difference of function, from the epistolographical point of view, between εὐχαριστῶ (sc. Πρίσκα καὶ Ἀκύλα τοῖς συνεργοῖς μου) and συνίστημι δὲ ὑμῖν Φοίβην τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἡμῶν in Rm 16.1. This judgment becomes especially convincing when we observe the final remark about Phoebe (v. 2b, which brings Priscilla and Aquila to the writer's mind), καὶ γὰρ αὐτὴ προστάτις πολλῶν ἐγενήθη καὶ ἐμοῦ αὐτοῦ. It is impossible not to perceive the gratitude which vibrates in this generous tribute to her.

Type III. (1) Rm 14 6b, καὶ ὁ ἐσθίων κυρίῳ ἐσθίει, εὐχαριστεῖ γὰρ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ ὁ μὴ ἐσθίων κυρίῳ οὐκ ἐσθίει, καὶ εὐχαριστεῖ τῷ θεῷ.

(2) I Cor 10 30, εἰ ἐγὼ χάριτι μετέχω, τί βλασφημοῦμαι ὑπὲρ οὗ ἐγὼ εὐχαριστῶ;

(3) I Tim 4 3ff., (βρώματα) ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν εἰς μετάληψιν μετὰ εὐχαριστίας τοῖς πιστοῖς . . . ὅτι πᾶν κτίσμα θεοῦ καλόν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπόβλητον μετὰ εὐχαριστίας λαμβανόμενον, ἀγιάζεται γὰρ διὰ λόγου θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως.

(4) I Cor 11 23b f., ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ἣ παρεδίδοτο ἔλαβεν ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν . . ., ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι . . .

1) Op. cit., ad loc.

What binds these four examples together as a distinct functional type within the Pauline usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., is that all denote the "blessing" pronounced over food. The substantive εὐχαριστία in (3) both times clearly means "grace," or "thanksgiving for food": "... food which God created for the believers to eat with thanksgiving; . . . and nothing need be refused, if grace is said for it; for then it is consecrated by (this!) prayer and the scripture used in it" ¹.

An interesting historical problem is suggested by these four passages. It is usually taken for granted that saying grace at table was an exclusively Jewish custom, and was transferred from Judaism to Hellenistic Christian communities such as those of Corinth and Rome. There are, however, several circumstances which lead to the suspicion that all four passages (even including I Cor 11 23b) have reference to a general pagan custom of the same kind.

First, there is even in the widest context of Rm 14 1-23 not the slightest indication that the controversy between vegetarians and meat eaters was basically Jewish; indeed, it looks much more Neo-Pythagorean. Similarly, the problem under discussion in I Cor 10 14-30 is the relationship of the Christians to pagan ceremonial and ritualistic customs, and there is no reference to Jewish standards.

Second, there is sufficient evidence that Jewish dietary laws and customs were not peculiar in the Hellenistic world, but that many religious and racial groups held actively to such standards. Epictetus (Diss. 1. 11. 11-15) mentions the food laws of Syrians, Egyptians, Romans, and Jews in this order and comes to the characteristically rationalistic conclusion: εἰ ὀρθά ἐστι τὰ (sc. τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς τροφῆς) Ἰαγυπτίων, μὴ ὀρθά εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ καλῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἰουδαίων, μὴ καλῶς ἔχει τὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

Third, it is a safe rule that Paul, whenever he discusses at length a problem springing from Jewish tradition or opposition, becomes either apologetic or controversial after the manner of a Jewish rabbi. There is no trace of that sort of thing in either of these lengthy discussions (Rm 14 and I Cor 10). The custom of εὐχαριστία at table is so incidentally and unconditionally presupposed for both contending parties that the question arises whether the saying of grace over meals was not after all a widespread Hellenistic custom. These considerations will, at any rate, make us receptive to any evidence which the sources may reveal.

¹) This translation is adapted from Goodspeed's rendering, which is particularly apt in v. 5b.

It is probably worthwhile to state explicitly that (4) belongs to the same functional usage as (1—3). To be sure, second century Christian usage has given a much more narrow and technical function to εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία when used in connection with the Lord's Supper; indeed, the Synoptists' usage represents the first stage in that development, because they also confine their use of εὐχαριστῶ to the story of the miraculous feeding and of the last supper. Only Luke shows a somewhat wider usage.

From the point of view of construction, we observe in the four examples of type III the same simplicity which we found in type II. This is merely the structural expression of the functional simplicity. The basic construction is (1) with the pers. dat. obj. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ; (2), εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος = I thank for something, is clearly an example of the encroaching of ὑπὲρ on the function of περί; (3) is the absolute construction εὐχαριστήσας. (4) μετὰ εὐχαριστίας in I Tim 4 3f. has no modifiers attached to it.

For reasons which will appear in the discussion of the next type (IV) it should be noted that Paul in I Cor 10 30ff. proceeds, in a manner characteristic of him¹, from the tedious discussion of dietary customs to the broad paraenetical generalization, εἴτε οὖν ἐσθίετε εἴτε πίνετε εἴτε τι ποιεῖτε, πάντα εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ ποιεῖτε. Obviously, ποιεῖν τι εἰς δόξαν θεοῦ is a paraphrase, for the sake of stylistic variety, of εὐχαριστεῖν.

All remaining examples (6 of εὐχαριστῶ, 10 of εὐχαριστία and the hapax legomenon εὐχάριστος) in thirteen passages may properly be treated as one type (IV). This type represents a group of passages which are highly important for determining and defining the wide range of function to which Paul puts these terms. That a few of these passages might perhaps better be classed separately is only to be expected. But on the whole the grouping which we offer is fully supported by the data; a broad but quite definite functional likeness binds these examples together. It will be advisable, however, to divide this type into the subgroups (a) and (b).

IVa Rm 1 21, διότι γνόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἡυχάριστησαν, ἀλλὰ . . . ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδιά.

(2) II Cor 4 15, τὰ γὰρ πάντα (i. e., Paul's preaching) δι' ὑμᾶς, ἵνα ἡ χάρις πλεονάσασα διὰ τῶν πλειόνων τὴν εὐχαριστίαν περισσεύσῃ εἰς τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ.

¹) Cf. Dibelius, *An die Thessalonicher* (Tübingen, 1925), to I, 1 3, p. 3: "Paulus liebt es, einen Gedanken bis zum Ursprung oder Ziel in Gott zu verfolgen, s. II Cor 5 18 Phil 1 11 2 11".

(3) II Cor 9 11f., ἐν παντί πλουτιζόμενοι εἰς πᾶσαν ἀπλότητα, ἥτις κατεργάζεται δι' ἡμῶν εὐχαριστίαν τῷ θεῷ, — ὅτι ἡ διακονία τῆς λειτουργίας ταύτης οὐ μόνον ἐστὶν προσαναπληροῦσα τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν ἀγίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περισσεύουσα διὰ πολλῶν εὐχαριστιῶν τῷ θεῷ.

(4) I Cor 14 16-18, ἐπεὶ ἐὰν εὐλογῆς ἐν πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ Ἄμην ἐπὶ τῇ σῆ εὐχαριστίᾳ; ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδεν. σὺ μὲν γὰρ καλῶς εὐχαριστεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ ἕτερος οὐκ οἰκοδομεῖται (εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ, πάντων ὑμῶν μᾶλλον γλώσσαις λαλῶ cf. type II, 2).

(5) I Tim 2 1, 2, παρακαλῶ οὖν πρῶτον πάντων ποιεῖσθαι δεήσεις, προσευχάς, ἐντεύξεις, εὐχαριστίας, ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὑπὲρ βασιλέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντων, ἵνα ἡρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν ἐν πάσῃ εὐσεβείᾳ καὶ σεμνότητι.

IV b (6) I Thess 5 16ff., πάντοτε χαίrete,

ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε,

ἐν παντί εὐχαριστεῖτε· τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.

(7) Phil 4 6, μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε, ἀλλ' ἐν παντί τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει μετ' εὐχαριστίας τὰ αἰτήματα ὑμῶν γνωρίζεσθω πρὸς τὸν θεόν.

The remaining examples form a particularly closely related group, as is immediately suggested by the observation that they are all found in Col. and Eph. The first passage (8), which we have mentioned above because it occurs within the thanksgiving of Col., may properly be considered as striking the theme with which all subsequent passages of this special group deal.

(8) Col 1 9-12, ἵνα πληρωθῆτε τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ... περιπατῆσαι ἀξίως τοῦ κυρίου εἰς πᾶσαν ἀρεσκίαν

ἐν παντί ἔργῳ ἀγαθῷ καρποφοροῦντες

καὶ αὐξανόμενοι τῇ ἐπιγνώσει τοῦ θεοῦ,

ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει δυναμούμενοι...

μετὰ χαρᾶς εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἰκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς... ὃς ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς κτλ.

(9) Col 2 6f., ὡς οὖν παρελάβετε τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν τὸν κύριον, ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖτε,

ἐρριζωμένοι καὶ

ἐποικοδομούμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ

βεβαιούμενοι τῇ πίστει (καθὼς ἐδιδάχθητε!)

περισσεύοντες ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ.

(10) Col 3 14-17, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὴν ἀγάπην, ... καὶ ἡ εἰρήνη ... βραβευέτω ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν, ... καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε. ὁ λόγος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνοικεῖτω ἐν ὑμῖν πλουσίως ἐν πάσῃ σοφίᾳ

διδάσκοντες καὶ νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψαλμοῖς, ὕμνοις, ᾠδαῖς
πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι,

ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ.

καὶ πᾶν ὅτι ἐὰν ποιῆτε ἐν λόγῳ ἢ ἐν ἔργῳ,

πάντα ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου Ἰησοῦ,

εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ πατρὶ δι' αὐτοῦ.

(11) Col 4 2f., τῇ προσευχῇ προσκαρτερεῖτε,

γρηγοροῦντες ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν εὐχαριστίᾳ

προσευχόμενοι ἅμα καὶ περὶ ἡμῶν,

ἵνα ὁ θεὸς ἀνοίξῃ ἡμῖν θύραν τοῦ λόγου, . . .

(12) Eph 5 3f.,

πορνεία δὲ καὶ ἀκαθαρσία πᾶσα ἢ πλεονεξία μηδὲ ὀνομαζέσθω ἐν ὑμῖν,

καθὼς πρέπει ἁγίοις,

καὶ αἰσχροτήης καὶ μωρολογίας ἢ εὐτραπελίας,

ἃ οὐκ ἀνήκεν,

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστία.

(13) Eph 5 18-21 ,

ἀλλὰ πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι,

λαλοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς ψαλμοῖς καὶ ὕμνοις καὶ ᾠδαῖς πνευματικαῖς,

ᾄδοντες καὶ ψάλλοντες τῇ καρδίᾳ ὑμῶν τῷ κυρίῳ

εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν

Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρὶ,

ὑποτασσόμενοι ἀλλήλοις ἐν φόβῳ Χριστοῦ.

In this group of 13 passages all Pauline letters are represented with the exception (probably accidental, as far as we can tell) of Gal., II Thess. and Phm. Besides, I Tim. is represented with one passage (5) and Eph. with two (12 and 13). The distinction between IVa and IVb was made on the basis of function. It may be said that examples 1—4 are intended to convey certain rather definite theological, speculative ideas, notwithstanding the obvious fact that these ideas are immediately applied to practical situations. This statement applies particularly to (2) and (3). I Tim 2 1 was placed here because at all events it serves instructional purposes, concerning not speculative theory, to be sure, but liturgical practice in the church service. All five passages occur in the main body of the respective letters, not in secondary, paraenetical sections. This observation, however, was not the criterion of the classification, but is rather an instructive and suggestive result of it.

Under IVb were grouped all passages in which εὐχαριστῶ, etc. definitely serve the function of practical religious—i. e., paraenetic—instruction. Again the functional classification made clear that every one of these passages is an inseparable part of the strictly paraenetical

section of its letter. The validity of this observation is readily recognized in all cases, except Col 1 9-12 (8) and 2 6f. (9); but closer scrutiny of the context and functional significance of these two passages shows that the observation holds true here also.

All Pauline thanksgivings have either explicitly or implicitly paraenetic function. This is definitely true of the $\text{iv}\alpha$ -clauses of the $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$ -periods. Col 1 9-12 is, structurally speaking, the $\text{iv}\alpha$ -clause of the Colossian thanksgiving and is very explicitly paraenetical. Col 2 6. 7 is an interesting example of paraenesis employed as a transition between two topics, namely, between 1 24—2 5 (Paul's introduction of himself to the unknown addressees) and 2 8—3 4 (his discussion of the Judaistic-gnostic heresy in Colossae). With 3 5 begins the paraenetic instruction, conventionally so called, extending to 4 6.

The readiness with which we were able to place the examples of IVa and IVb in their significant environment is an indication of the legitimacy and fruitfulness of our method, one which pays to functional and structural criteria attention equal to that it gives mere lexicographical word-identity.

Neither the functional nor the structural differences between IVa and IVb are sufficiently significant to warrant a segregation into two independent types. On the contrary, their common structural and functional characteristics outweigh by far the differences. The speculative $\epsilon\upsilon\chi\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}\alpha$ -theories, which are explicitly—though to us obscurely—stated in examples 1—4, underlie the examples of paraenesis listed under IVb. Conversely, the ethical exhortation explicit here is at least implicit in the examples of IVa.

What, then, are the theological theories propounded in the examples under IVa? G. H. Boobyer has written a careful study on "Thanksgiving' and the 'Glory of God' in Paul"¹. It is a good example of what a "lexicographical" study should be. The author started out with the observation (first made by Dibelius) that in II Cor 1 11 4 15, and 9 11f. a special theory concerning the significance and desirability of "thanksgiving" is advanced. This led him to a thorough examination of pertinent theories in Hellenistic religious and popular-philosophic sources (pp. 15—72). The lexicographical study has become a religio-historical, i. e., a functional one; without leaving the solid ground of lexicography Boobyer traces and compares ideas rather than mere words.

¹) Borna-Leipzig, 1929. This study was made as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Heidelberg under M. Dibelius, who himself had pointed out the desirability of such a study in *An die Thessalonicher*, to I 3 10, pp. 15f.

In the light of this extensive comparative survey he returns (p. 79) to the Pauline passage concerning εὐχαριστία in II Corinthians and finds that Paul's missionary labors (II Cor 4 13-18) and sufferings are not only for the benefit of the Corinthians and of other, prospective believers, but "for a yet bigger purpose . . . , namely, the increasing of the glory of God by the missionary labors of himself and the other apostles. Διὰ, says the apostle, οὐκ ἐγκακοῦμεν ¹." "The apostle seems to go out of his way in order to get εὐχαριστία for God, and so to make it a special object to obtain as much as possible ²."

Boobyer finds the same speculative thanksgiving theory back of I Cor 14 16 ³. He says that this passage, taken together with II Cor 1 20 and Rm 15 5ff., "gives ground for thinking that probably special liturgical thanksgiving was practiced in the Pauline churches for 'glorifying' God . . . The 'Amen' of the ἰδιώτης assists in adding to the glory of God."

Rm 1 21 (1), too, is briefly referred to by Boobyer, though he does not give it the emphasis which it deserves in the support of his thesis: διὸ γρόντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχ ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἠύχαριστησαν, ἀλλὰ . . . ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία. It is surprising indeed that the pagans' failure to serve the true God should be so narrowly defined as the failure to "glorify or thank" him. Obviously, in accordance with Boobyer's view, ἡ ἠύχαριστησαν is a subsequent correction of ἐδόξασαν, or rather the explicit explanation of how the realistic glorification is to be achieved, namely, through "thanksgiving".

It has often been emphasized—quite justly—that Paul in this famous criticism of pagan idolatry (Rm 1 18-32) employs the terminology and arguments of the Stoic diatribe ⁴; that is to say, the ideas here are rationalistic rather than mystic, pragmatic rather than speculative. But it is well to remember that the distance from rationalism to mysticism is short and easily traveled; Paul particularly often takes this short cut and Philo of Alexandria is another example in point. The latter is indeed the eloquent advocate of a Stoic-rationalistic theory of thanksgiving as well as of a speculative-mystical one.

To be sure, the lexicographer who confines himself to the mechanical enumeration and classification of words will find nothing noteworthy in a phrase like ἐδόξασαν ἢ ἠύχαριστησαν. But his real task is well illustrated by this example. It is imperative for him to consider the statements of any individual author (1) as specific, often frag-

¹) Ibid., p. 79.

²) Ibid., p. 80.

³) Ibid., pp. 81f.

⁴) See, e. g.,

Lietzmann, *An die Römer* (Tübingen, 1928), pp. 31f., to vv. 19-23, and particularly p. 33, the generalization.

mentary statements of larger ideas which may be quite characteristic of his general thought; (2) as the specific result of all environmental forces which have created and modified his experience as well as his views; (3) as attempts to convey to his own public the ideas and experiences desirable for it from his point of view as well as from its own¹. Thus, indeed, does the most adequate lexicographical method become a specific and therefore highly objective discipline of the social historical method. A thorough knowledge of the social setting of his literary sources is an indispensable prerequisite for the lexicographer; and, in turn, the use of objective, lexicographical precision is a most fruitful technique for the social historian.

Boobyer's monograph has convincingly shown that εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν play a large and important rôle in many strata of religious life in the Hellenistic world. We shall presently bring forward material support for his observation, which is obviously of signal importance for our immediate purpose of tracing in Paul's environment the origin of his epistolary thanksgiving. Even if we can convincingly show that Paul here adopted a conventional epistolary formula, we should still have to ask why he adopted this particular formula, and why he imparted to it those particular structural and functional characteristics which we have noted; above all, how we can determine accurately the exact "meaning" and function of the Pauline thanksgiving. To answer these questions adequately we are compelled to make an extensive examination of Hellenistic functional and structural usage on all representative levels.

Thus we shall take note that the examples under IVa attest the important rôle which a certain realistic, speculative εὐχαριστία-theory played in the thought of Paul, in religious Hellenism in general and in Paul's Hellenistic churches in particular. The fact that the Corinthian letters contribute the most important passages in this connection (I Cor 14 13-19² II Cor 1 11 4 15 9 11ff., etc.) is certainly not without significance. It may be said safely that a great many types of religious experience and of liturgical practice were in vogue in the Christian community of Corinth in its earliest days. It is not only Pauline Hellenism which speaks on the pages of the Corinthian letters, but quite often and emphatically Corinthian Hellenism.

¹) That Paul's was a mind sufficiently keen and cosmopolitan to be immediately aware of such principles (which have been elevated to the status of scientific laws by modern sociology) may be observed, e. g., from his famous, prominently placed confession (Rm 1 14): "Ἑλληνιστὶν τε καὶ βαρβάρους, σοφοῖς τε καὶ ἀνοήτοις ὀφειλέτης εἰμί." ²) For

numerous other pertinent passages from the Corinthian as well as from other Pauline letters see Boobyer, op. cit., pp. 73—89.

Similarly, the 8 passages listed under IVb strongly suggest that "thanksgiving to God" occupied a prominent place in Paul's own practical religious experience as well as in that of his (Christian and pagan) Hellenistic environment, and consequently in the apostle's missionary and paraenetical instructions.

Dibelius has claimed that Paul's speculative "thanksgiving" theory (εὐχαριστία being an oratio infusa, originating from and directed toward God, and aimed at the increase of his δόξα) is at the basis of some of the passages we quoted under IVb¹. That this theory was responsible for the paraenetical emphasis on εὐχαριστώ, etc., throughout may well be doubted, especially because Phil 4 6 (7) and I Thess 5 17 (6) show no trace of the magico-mystical theory. Of course, these passages do not contradict the theory either; the emphasis on εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν is here as distinct as in the corresponding exhortations in Col. and Eph. However, the structure and choice of words in examples 6 and 7 suggest that they are examples of traditionally fixed paraenetical formulas. This is especially obvious in I Thess 5 17; three succinct imperatives are each modified by a succinct temporal adverb:

πάντοτε χαίρετε,
ἀδιαλείπτως προσεύχεσθε,
ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε. τοῦτο γὰρ θέλημα θεοῦ ἐν Χρῆ Ἰοῦ εἰς ὑμᾶς.
Joy, prayer and thanksgiving are here held up as Christian virtues.

The unusual construction εὐχαριστεῖν ἐν τινι we shall find again in Aristides, Philo and Epictetus. Examination of these parallels (see below, pp. 106 f., 129 and 141) will show that ἐν in all these cases is used for ἐπί c. dat. and that, therefore, Dibelius is correct in translating ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε, "dankt für alles."

We have already observed that according to Dibelius the imperative, μηδὲν μεριμνᾶτε (Phil 4 6), may represent the form in which the logion of Mt 6 25 (μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε κτλ.) was known to Paul and his Christian communities. The continuation in Phil 4 6, however, is so specific that it, too, must be understood as a familiar piece of paraenetical instruction: "Do not worry, but make all your wants known to God in prayer and entreaty, with thanksgiving." Clearly, it is the attitude of thanksgiving which is contrasted to worry.

The outstanding feature of the examples under IVb from Col. and Eph. is the fact that all contexts here are part of rhythmically

¹) See Dibelius' comments on these passages, *An die Kolosser und Epheser*, and *Die Pastoralbriefe*; especially those on I Thess 3 9 and on I Tim 2 1.

built periods—these latter are a well-known characteristic of both letters. There is much rhythmic and symmetric sentence structure in Paul, but in Colossians it is certainly more prominent than in the other letters. Perhaps this is the reason why this Pauline letter appealed to the author of Ephesians more than the others. To be sure, the εὐχαριστῶ-periods of the Pauline thanksgivings are without exception carefully built, a fact accounted for by the epistolary situation, more specifically the need for a certain epistolary dignity of form. In the case of the Colossian (and Ephesian) letter, however, it is the desire for liturgical solemnity which accounts for the rhythmical and symmetrical sentence structure to be observed throughout both documents.

It is significant to note with what other ethical and practical religious terms εὐχαριστῶ, etc., is associated or contrasted in the examples of IVb. In I Thess 5 17 it is the trilogy of joy, prayer and thanksgiving; in Phil 4 6 worry and thanksgiving are contrasted; in Col. 1 9ff. καρποφορεῖν, αὐξάνεσθαι, δυναμοῦσθαι and εὐχαριστεῖν define what it means "to walk worthily of the Lord" (περιπατῆσαι ἄξιως τοῦ κυρίου, v. 10). Col 2 6f. suggests that firmness and strength of faith coupled with thanksgiving describe the Christian way of life (ἐν αὐτῷ περιπατεῖν). Eph 5 4 contrasts such vices as immorality, impurity, greed, indecency and inconsiderate speech with thanksgiving. Surely it is clear from these observations that "thanksgiving" was considered by the Pauline Christians a vital ethical and religious attitude.

The syntactical constructions of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., throughout type IV are typically simple, as in types II and III; hence no further comment is necessary. But it is desirable at least to mention that every example of εὐχαριστία in Paul may be rendered as "thanksgiving," and that in the great majority of cases it cannot be rendered otherwise. Only a few examples possibly allow the more general denotation "gratitude" or "thankfulness". At any rate, than, "thanksgiving" is the prominent if not the exclusive meaning of εὐχαριστία. Similarly, it appears that εὐχαριστῶ always means, "I give thanks (to God)." Here only the examples of type II are the exceptions. In them we have the denotation, "I thank," or "I am grateful."

The results of our analysis of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the Pauline and pseudo-Pauline writings may be summarized as follows:

From the point of view of function certain facts appear definitely: (1) εὐχαριστῶ is the key-term of all Pauline letters with the significant exception of II Cor. and Gal. "Thanksgiving" is the first note

Paul strikes in addressing his correspondents (see type Ia and Ib). (2) Type II is represented by just three examples which show that the colloquial connotation of εὐχαριστῶ = "I am thankful" was, of course, familiar to Paul. The scarcity of this usage may perhaps be taken as an indication of the fact (which is anyway beyond doubt) that Paul's letters are not so informally colloquial as has sometimes been assumed. (3) The four examples listed as type III illustrate a highly specific function of which we would have no record had it not been necessary for Paul to discuss certain controversies in his churches concerning dietary matters. Included in this type is Paul's only explicit reference to the Christian ritual of the Lord's Supper. (4) The numerous examples (17 occurrences in 13 separate contexts) which constitute types IVa and IVb convey an impressive sense of the vital significance of "thanksgiving" as a term expressing theological speculation as well as a type of religious experience shared by Paul and his Christian and pagan Hellenistic environment.

From the point of view of syntax the functional differences are structurally reflected with surprising and significant accurateness. (5) The typical εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period at the beginning of Phm., I Thess., Col., Eph., Phil., I Cor., Rom., and II Thess. shows the structurally most developed and most careful "fixed" syntactical character, a conventional and typical vocabulary. The influence on this structure of the epistolary situation and of Hellenistic epistolary convention remains to be demonstrated. (6) Conversely, the examples of type II which serve to express "thanks" in a conversational (or epistolary) manner exhibit correspondingly simple, rudimentary (even elliptical) constructions. (7) Structural simplicity, too, is characteristic of the highly specific functional type III. (8) The examples of type IV, in accordance with their highly important and wide function to express vital religious experience and practical instruction, exhibit a large variety of constructions and are usually imbedded in contexts which are always well built, either as aphorisms or (in Col. and Eph.) as semi-liturgical periods. But none of these structural examples can compare with the well-balanced periodic structures of the epistolary εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods.

B

USAGES IN NON-PAULINE CHRISTIAN LITERATURE
AND THE SEPTUAGINT

It is inevitable that we should next turn to the non-Pauline writings of the NT. As was already stated, the examples of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in these writings are few. It is by no means accidental that this scarcity is also characteristic of the works of the Apostolic Fathers and of the Apologists. This negative evidence calls for an explanation. Furthermore, these literary documents not only exhibit the same scarcity of εὐχαριστῶ, etc.; they show an equally surprising and significant agreement in what usage of these terms they do exhibit. For these reasons the non-Pauline writings of the NT, the Apostolic Fathers and the early Apologists will be treated together. Thereupon we shall examine the evidence of the Septuagint, a work which—not in the sense of literal fact or logic but yet in a very real sense—may be called, and should at least be treated as, the beginning of Christian literature.

1. Non-Pauline New Testament Usages

Turning first to the non-Pauline writings of the NT we find that in them εὐχαριστῶ in epistolary function does not occur at all. Its complete absence from the catholic epistles is indicative of the wide difference of function between them and the Pauline letters. The latter are genuine letters, the former are literary essays or sermon copies. The fact that the Pastorals are, functionally speaking, handbooks of church order and administration certainly explains the absence from them of the Pauline thanksgiving. There are very definite limits to faithfulness in reproducing an original which even a pseudonymous writer may not transgress, unless he has no real purpose in copying it.

Positively speaking, we observe that all occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the non-Pauline writings of the NT represent functionally just one type of usage. (This statement essentially holds true even when we include the Apostolic Fathers and the Apologists; in them other usages are attested, but only sporadically.) All connote the directly liturgical act of "giving thanks to God," either in speaking of prayer or in quoted prayers. The occurrences in the Synoptic records of the Last Supper and of the miraculous feeding of the multitude constitute a definite sub-group within this type.

For clarity and convenience we shall reproduce the contexts of all occurrences under the three functional sub-headings: (A) the Last Supper, (B) blessing of food, and (C) general liturgical function.

(A) The Last Supper:

- (1) a) Mc 14 22f., καὶ ἐσθιόντων αὐτῶν λαβῶν ἄρτον εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς . . . καὶ λαβῶν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, . . .
- b) Mt 26 26f., ἐσθιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν λαβῶν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἄρτον καὶ εὐλογήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ δούξ τοῖς μαθηταῖς εἶπεν . . . καὶ λαβῶν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων . . .
- c) Lc 22 17ff., καὶ δεξάμενος ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας εἶπεν . . . καὶ λαβῶν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων.

(B) Blessing of food in general:

- (2) Act 27 34ff., διὸ παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς μεταλαβεῖν τροφῆς . . . εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ λαβῶν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθιῖν. εὐθυμοὶ δὲ γενόμενοι πάντες καὶ αὐτοὶ προσελάβοντο τροφῆς.
- (3) a) Mc 8 6f., καὶ λαβῶν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν . . . καὶ εἶχαν ἰχθύδια ὀλίγα· καὶ εὐλογήσας αὐτὰ εἶπεν καὶ ταῦτα παρατιθέσθαι.
- b) Mc 6 41, καὶ λαβῶν τοὺς πέντε ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς δύο ἰχθύας ἀναβλέψας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν εὐλόγησεν (!) καὶ κατέκλασεν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἵνα παρατιθῶσιν αὐτοῖς, . . .
- c) Mt 15 36, ἔλαβεν τοὺς ἑπτὰ ἄρτους καὶ τοὺς ἰχθύας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἐδίδου τοῖς μαθηταῖς, οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ τοῖς ὄχλοις.
- d) Joh 6 11, ἔλαβεν οὖν τοὺς ἄρτους ὁ Ἰησοῦς καὶ εὐχαριστήσας διέδωκεν τοῖς ἀνακειμένοις, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀψαρίων ὅσον ἠθελον.
- e) Joh 6 23, ἐγγὺς τοῦ τόπου ὅπου ἔφαγον τὸν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντος τοῦ κυρίου.

These nine passages report only three separate incidents, the Last Supper, Paul's heroism in the shipwreck, and the miraculous feeding of the multitude. The incident of the famous shipwreck is in so far unique, as we have here the description of an ordinary meal (though under extraordinary circumstances, which make it a good story) with an ordinary "table blessing." The truly surprising feature of all nine passages is their remarkable degree of structural and lexicographical likeness; the invariable basic pattern is λαβῶν ἄρτον—εὐχαριστήσας—κλάσας—ἔδωκεν, with only slight variations. The inference can hardly be avoided that this terminology, used even in the vividly narrated story of the shipwreck, is deeply influenced by the fixed terminology of the record of the Last Supper,

which played so important a rôle in the religious experience and liturgical practice of the early church. The functional (and structural) relation between the stories of the miraculous feeding and of the institution of the Lord's Supper has often been pointed out. Some scholars have gone so far as to maintain that the Fourth Evangelist actually projected the latter into the former (Joh 6).

It is interesting and important that Mark and Matthew plainly use εὐλογέω and εὐχαριστέω as synonyms in the same context (see 1a and b and 3a). One is tempted to think that Luke's use of εὐχαριστήσας exclusively (1c) is a conscious "Hellenization" on the part of this most Hellenistic of the Synoptists. The fact, however, that he often and freely uses εὐλογέω (but never with the connotation "I thank") ought, perhaps, to warn us against such a judgment. But it may well be that formula as he has it (22 17) is a completely Hellenized form which was the one most familiar to him, i. e., the authoritative version in that particular stream of tradition in which Luke stood. εὐλογέω is a Jewish-Hellenistic term (profusely used in the LXX), while εὐχαριστέω is a characteristic pagan-Hellenistic term.

The special significance of these passages (1—3) for our purposes is that Matt., Mark, and even John exhibit εὐχαριστέω only in this extremely limited and highly specialized function. The substantive is entirely absent from their books.

(C) General liturgical function:

- (4) Lc 17 15ff., εἰς δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν δέκα λεπρῶν), ἰδὼν ὅτι ἰάθη, ὑπέστρεψεν μετὰ φωνῆς μεγάλης δοξάζων τὸν θεόν, καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ . . . καὶ εἶπεν (sc. ὁ Ἰησοῦς) αὐτῷ Ἐννοῦστος πορεύου· ἡ πίστις σου σέσωκέν σε.
- (5) Lc 18 11ff., ὁ Φαρισαῖος . . . ταῦτα πρὸς ἑαυτὸν προσηύχετο Ὁ θεός, εὐχαριστέω σοι ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ὡσπερ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων . . . ὁ δὲ τελώνης . . . Ὁ θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῷ ἁμαρτωλῷ.
- (6) Act 28 15, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ . . . ἦλθαν εἰς ἀπάντησιν ἡμῖν . . . οὓς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ ἔλαβε θάρσος.

These three passages from Luke-Acts, together with a fourth occurrence of εὐχαριστήσας in (11) and with its double occurrence in Luke's record of the institution of the Lord's Supper (see above, pp. 96 f. A 1c), illustrate in one small but objective detail the more thorough Hellenization which distinguishes Luke from Mark and Matthew. It is significant, too, that (4) and (5) occur in Luke's "Sondergut" (or special source). These two occurrences materially support our hypothesis (see above, p. 97) that Luke was not so

much an individualistic and arbitrary Hellenizer but rather the willing mouthpiece of a thoroughly Hellenized Christian community. He wrote not only for it, but through it¹.

Weinreich² has pointed out that a thanksgiving to God or to his human intermediary is a typical element of many pagan-Hellenistic aretological stories (see no 4).

It is very likely that the full liturgical function of εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ has in Act 28 15 (6) been reduced to denote gratitude as an emotional attitude; it is probably just as figurative a phrase as ἔλαβε θάρσος.

The remaining occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία with liturgical function are found in the Johannine writings, mainly in the Apocalypse—a fact quite in keeping with the pronounced liturgical interest of this book.

- (7) Joh 11 41, ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἤρεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἄνω καὶ εἶπεν Πάτερ, εὐχαριστῶ σοι ὅτι ἤκουσάς μου, ἐγὼ δὲ ἤδειν ὅτι πάντοτε μου ἀκούεις.
- (8) Arc 11 16f., καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι . . . ἔπεσαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ λέγοντες Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, κύριε, ὁ θεός, ὁ πάντοκράτωρ, ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν, ὅτι εἴληφας τὴν δύναμίν σου τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ἐβασίλευσας.
- (9) Arc 7 11f., καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι . . . ἔπεσαν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου ἐπὶ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν καὶ προσεκύνησαν τῷ θεῷ λέγοντες Ἀμήν· ἡ εὐλογία καὶ ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ σοφία καὶ ἡ εὐχαριστία καὶ ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν.
- (10) Arc 4 9ff., καὶ ὅταν δώσουσιν τὰ ζῶα δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ καθημένῳ ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου, . . . πεσοῦνται οἱ εἴκοσι τέσσαρες πρεσβύτεροι ἐνώπιον τοῦ καθημένου ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου,

¹) To be sure, a highly conscious esteem for the Septuagint, far surpassing its unsophisticated use by Mark and Matt., also characterizes Luke-Acts. The "psalms" of Lc 1f. and the speeches of Acts are evidence to the point. In Lc 24 27 and in Act 28 23 this esteem is programmatically formulated as a theological theory, namely as "the proof-text" theory. With it Luke becomes the direct predecessor of such highly Hellenistic writings as the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Epistle of Barnabas, and of Justin's Dialogue with Trypho. This characteristic attitude of Luke's toward the LXX is, of course, an indication of the increasing complexity, stability and respectability of early Christianity. The Christian Hellenists appropriate the Jewish-Hellenistic Scriptures by dispossessing the Jewish Hellenists. ²) Otto Weinreich, *Antike Wundererzählungen* (Gießen, 1909). See below our own treatment of such parallels, pp. 156 ff.

καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν τῷ ζῶντι . . . , λέγοντες . . . "Ἄξιός εἰ, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, λαβεῖν τὴν δόξαν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὄτι . . .

These passages are, of course, of great significance for the study of early Christian liturgy, along with many other liturgical passages from the Apocalypse wherein εὐχαριστῶ or εὐχαριστία does not occur. For us it is interesting to note that in (7) and (8) the construction is εὐχαριστῶ—ὄτι.

In (10) the triad δόξα—τιμὴ—εὐχαριστία is noteworthy; the prayer itself has the variation δόξα—τιμὴ—δύναμις. In (9) appears a sevenfold substantive parataxis, εὐλογία—δόξα—σοφία—εὐχαριστία—τιμὴ—δύναμις—ισχύς—an example, of course, of the conscious arithmetical symmetry which is so characteristic of the Apocalypse. The Koiné addition to the Lord's Prayer (after Mt 6 13), ὅτι σοῦ ἔστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, must have sprung from the same liturgical ancestry as that exemplified by these passages from the Apocalypse¹.

Finally, there is in Act 24 3 an occurrence of εὐχαριστία which represents the only example of non-liturgical function in the non-Pauline writings of the NT; but this use is amply illustrated in general Hellenistic writings, in documents with "official," public function, namely, to express gratitude to public personages for (real or fictitious) services rendered to the public. The Acts example is of course merely a highly specialized case of that functional usage which expresses "gratitude" on any level—colloquial, epistolary or official.

(11) Act 24 2f., ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν ὁ Τέρτυλλος λέγων Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες διὰ σοῦ καὶ διορθωμάτων γινομένων τῷ ἔθνει τοῦτοφ διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας παντῆ τε καὶ πανταχοῦ ἀποδεχόμεθα, κράτιστε Φῆλιξ, μετὰ πάσης εὐχαριστίας.

This period is obviously composed in accordance with the conventional formal pattern used for such occasions. Broadly speaking, the Pauline examples listed as type II (see above, p. 83) exhibit the same usage, namely, to connote polite gratitude.

In the non-Pauline parts of the NT we have, then, only eleven passages in which εὐχαριστῶ or εὐχαριστία occur. All of them have direct liturgical connotation with the single exception of Act 24 3 (11). More specifically, they have reference to the Lord's Supper, or to "grace at table," or to prayer in general. This last group is signi-

¹) An analysis of the liturgical parts (and the liturgical function) of the Apocalypse would undoubtedly reveal a characteristic fusion of Hellenistic and Jewish (Septuagint) elements.

ificantly confined to Luke-Acts and to the Apocalypse, with the single exception of Joh 11 42. In Luke-Acts as well as in the Apocalypse these occurrences must be considered specific evidence of the Hellenistic traits which generally characterize these writings.

From the point of view of structure we observe that εὐχαριστῶ throughout is used without adverbial modifiers: such modifiers are characteristic of a higher stylistic level than that reached in these examples. The causal ὅτι-clause is as a rule used to express the cause for which thanks are given—syntactically the most simple way of doing it.

2. *The Apostolic Fathers*

Among the writings of the Apostolic Fathers the letters of Ignatius are the most noteworthy for our purpose, because of their specific identity in form and function with the Pauline letters. That there are also essential formal and functional differences between the two collections even a casual comparison reveals. These differences however are those of the specific epistolary situations. Paul's eight letters were written within a decade or more, and each was called forth by a specific and independent occasion; the Ignatian letters, on the other hand, were written within a few weeks, under the violent stress of the author's one great experience—a fact which accounts for the striking identity of form and function, down to the last detail, which characterizes them.

This identity indeed amounts to monotony. Ignatius' letters may be called his testament to the churches of Asia. Hence we cannot expect to find in them (or behind them) a fair picture of their author's full personality (such as we do find in the case of the Pauline letters); we see him only in the tense pose of one dramatic moment. Another essential difference between Paul and Ignatius lies in their respective environments. The evidence suggests that the latter was a provincial Syrian Hellenist, while the former was most decidedly a cosmopolitan Mediterranean Hellenist. Ignatius went to Rome with the will to die a martyr's death (Ign. Rm. IV 1ff.); Paul went to preach the gospel (Rm 15 22ff.).

These basic differences and similarities between the two men are reflected in their use of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in their letters. For Ignatius the most important function of εὐχαριστῶ and especially of the substantive εὐχαριστία is to denote the "celebration of the Lord's Supper," or even more narrowly "the matter (bread and wine) used in the celebration." The most explicit and familiar statement of this usage is Justin's famous definition, Apol. i. 65f., καὶ ἡ τροφή αὐτῆ καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία.

But we shall first list and discuss those occurrences in which εὐχαριστῶ functions on the strictly epistolary level, because they are without parallel in the Apostolic Fathers, even in the epistolary (and pseudepistolary) documents which belong here (e. g., I Clem., Polycarp, Diognetus and Barnabas).

(A) Epistolary usage:

- (1) Ign. ad Phil. xi. 1, περί δὲ Φίλωνος τοῦ διακόνου ἀπὸ Κιλικίας, ἀνδρὸς μεμαρτυρημένου, ὃς καὶ νῦν ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ ὑπηρετεῖ μοι ἅμα ῥέῳ Ἀγαθόποδι, ἀνδρὶ ἐκλεκτῷ, ὃς ἀπὸ Συρίας μοι ἀκολουθεῖ, ἀποταξάμενος τῷ βίῳ, οἱ καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν ὑμῖν, κἀγὼ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἐδέξασθε αὐτούς, ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ κύριος.
- (2) ad Smyr. x. 1, Φίλιωνα καὶ ῥέον Ἀγαθόπου, οἱ ἐπηκολούθησαν μοι εἰς λόγον θεοῦ, καλῶς ἐποιήσατε ὑποδεξάμενοι ὡς διακόνους Χριστοῦ θεοῦ· οἱ καὶ εὐχαριστοῦσιν τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι αὐτούς ἀνεπαύσατε κατὰ πάντα τρόπον.
- (3) ad Eph. xxi. 1, Ἀντίψυχον ὑμῶν ἐγὼ, καὶ ὧν ἐπέμψατε εἰς θεοῦ τιμὴν εἰς Σμύρναν, ὅθεν καὶ γράφω ὑμῖν, εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἀγαπῶν Πολύκαρπον ὡς καὶ ἡμᾶς.

At first sight the constructions of εὐχαριστῶ in examples (1) and (2) look exactly like those of type Ib of the Pauline epistolary εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period (see Table II). But as a matter of fact their precise functional use, though epistolary, is quite different. These Ignatius passages are not epistolary “thanksgivings”; they are not at the beginning of their letters, but, on the contrary, at the very end, the place customarily reserved for final exhortations, recommendations, greetings and the like. If Ignatius instead of εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ὅτι, had said εὐχαριστῶ ὑμῖν, ὅτι, we would not doubt that we had here the exact functional and structural parallel to the Pauline passage, Rm 16 sf. (type II, 1, p. 83). But the type of epistolary usage illustrated in the Ignatian passage—a type which is merely a specific case of colloquial usage—is amply exemplified in papyri, where it always occurs at the end of the letter. Thus the conclusion is inevitable that Ignatius borrowed from Paul’s letters a formally and functionally prominent formula and put it to another use in his own letters. That Ignatius shows a considerable literary dependence on Paul in other respects also cannot be denied, just as it cannot be denied that he prefers a full phrase to a simple phrase, compound words to simple words, pomposity to clarity.

The same colloquial function of εὐχαριστῶ, but without direct reference to the epistolary situation and hence without epistolary function in the technical sense, is illustrated also by Ignatius, ad

Phil. vi. 3, the exact structural and functional Pauline parallels of which are I Cor 14 18 and 1 14 (type II, 2 and 3). The Ignatian passage cited is the only passage exemplifying this use in the Apostolic Fathers:

(B) General colloquial usage:

- (4) ad Phil. vi. 3, εὐχαριστῶ δὲ τῷ θεῷ μου, ὅτι εὐσυνειδητός εἰμι ἐν ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει τις καυχῆσασθαι οὔτε λάθρα οὔτε φανερώς, ὅτι ἐβάρησά τινα ἐν μικρῷ ἢ ἐν μεγάλῳ ¹.

The remaining examples of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in Ignatius are so typical of their functional usage in the other patristic writings that they will be dealt with together with these.

(C) The Lord's Supper (or Eucharist):

Here the Didache, Ignatius and Justin furnish the data. It is worthwhile to quote first, and at length, the well-known passage from the Didache,

- (5) Did. ix. 1—x. 6: περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε. 2. πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαυεὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· 3. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 4. . . . 5. μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα κυρίου ². καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἶρηκεν ὁ κύριος· Μὴ δώτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς कुσί . . . x. 1. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· 2. Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, . . . καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. 3. σύ, . . . τροφήν τε καὶ ποτόν ἐδώκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν, ἵνα σοὶ εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφήν καὶ πότον καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ παιδός σου. 4. πρὸ πάντων

¹) Almost every word and every phrase of this period remind one of Paul. It seems not unreasonable to infer from this passage (as from many others) that Ignatius' literary dependence on the letters of Paul is appreciable. A comprehensive examination of this problem — i. e., of the extent of the formal dependence of Ignatius on the Pauline letters — would be a worthwhile undertaking. It can, however, be successfully accomplished only after Paul's style, and specifically his epistolary style, has been more thoroughly and objectively studied than is the case at present. Generalizations on the basis of unrelated "impressions" are as easy to make as they are misleading.

²) Contrast this ritualistic condition for participation in the Eucharist with the ethical stipulation made by Paul, I Cor 11 28.

- εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ. σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
 5. . . . 7. τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.
 (5) Did. xiv. 1: κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον
 καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν,
 ὅπως καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ᾗ. 2. . . ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν.

In these two passages from the Didache the substantive εὐχαριστία unmistakably means "the Eucharist," or "the Lord's Supper," i. e., the material elements of which it consists, exactly in the sense in which Justin a few decades later explicitly defined εὐχαριστία. These two passages present the only occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία in the Didache. The functional specialization of these terms has progressed tremendously since the time of the Synoptists. Still, it must be noted that the verb εὐχαριστεῖν retains the denotation "to give thanks." But its use is more and more rigidly confined to the special liturgy of the Eucharist.

Noteworthy from the point of view of construction is the use, that most common in the Didache, of εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ with an impersonal genitive = "to give thanks for something." This construction does not occur in the NT (except in Eph 5 21); and εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος in II Cor 1 11 and Eph 1 15 is quite different; it means "I thank (God) about you," thus is not causal. The causal use of ὑπὲρ with εὐχαριστῶ in the Didache is not singular; it is quite common in general Hellenistic usage also. The causal relation is expressed by a ὅτι-clause in x. 5. That εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν (x. 7) means quite literally "to make as many prayers of thanks as they (the prophets) wish," is apparent from the essential purpose of the entire section on the Eucharist (Did. ix and x), namely, to specify and limit the prayers of thanks which the regular church officiants at the Eucharist are to say¹. Did. xiv. 1f. shows that the consecration of the elements was preceded (προεξομολογεῖσθαι) by a public confession of sins. Very noteworthy is here also the fact that θυσία = εὐχαριστία.

Ignatius accurately duplicates this usage of the Didache in the following passages:

- (6) ad Smyr. vii. 1, εὐχαριστίας καὶ προσευχῆς ἀπέχονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμολογεῖν τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.
 (7) ad Smyr. viii. 1, ἐκείνη βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἠγείσθω, ἢ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὔσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ . . . 2. . . οὐκ ἔξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν.

¹) See our reference to Did. x. 7 above, pp. 48f., where the unusualness of the construction, εὐχαριστεῖν τι = "to give thanks for something", was discussed.

- (8) ad Philad. iv. 1, σπουδάσατε οὖν μιᾶ εὐχαριστία χρῆσθαι· μία γὰρ σὰρξ . . . καὶ ἓν ποτήριον . . . ἓν θυσιαστήριον . . . εἰς ἐπίσκοπος . . .¹
- (9) ad Eph. xiii. 1, σπουδάσετε οὖν πυκνότερον συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν. ὅταν γὰρ πυκνῶς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γίνεσθε, καθαιροῦνται αἱ δυνάμεις τοῦ σατανᾶ.

That the first εὐχαριστία in Smyr. vii. 1 means "Eucharist" in the full technical sense of the word is established beyond doubt by the second occurrence in the same period, τὴν εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα ἐναι τοῦ σωτήρος. This is plain sacramentarianism. Ignatius, like the Didache, is interested in making the churches conform to the celebration of the Eucharist and to public liturgy in general (= προσευχή, in Smyr. vii. 1) controlled and administered by the bishop. This is his great burden and his testament to the churches of Asia. This passage (ad Smyr. vii. 1), therefore, proves that εὐχαριστία means "Lord's Supper" or "Eucharist"².

While Ignatius alone among the Apostolic Fathers attests at least one form of epistolary usage of εὐχαριστώ, and while Ignatius and the Didache agree³ in their narrow technical use of εὐχαριστία as "Eucharist," the rest of the Apostolic Fathers show neither of these two specific usages. But they do use εὐχαριστώ with the broadest liturgical and paraenetical function, meaning "to give thanks," while the Didache and Ignatius, significantly, fail to exhibit this wider usage.

(D) General liturgical usage:

- (10) Hermas Sim. v. 1, νηστεύων καὶ καθήμενος εἰς ὄρος τι καὶ εὐχαριστῶν τῷ κυρίῳ περὶ πάντων ὧν ἐποίησε μετ' ἐμοῦ, βλέπω τὸν ποιμένα . . .
- (11) Hermas Sim. vii. 5, καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίστει τῷ κυρίῳ ὅτι ἀξιόν σε ἠγήσατο τοῦ προδηλώσαι σοι τὴν θλίψιν, ἵνα προγονοὺς αὐτὴν ὑπενέγκῃς ἰσχυρῶς.
- (12) Hermas Sim. ix. 14. 3, ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἠὲχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἐσπλαγχνίσθη ἐπὶ πᾶσι . . ., καὶ ἔξαπέστειλε τὸν ἄγγελον . . ., καὶ ἀνεκαίνισεν . . . καὶ . . . ἀνενέωσε τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν.

¹) Note the similarity of form, μιᾶ—ἐν—ἐν—εἰς, in the canonical Eph 4 5, εἰς κύριος, μιᾶ πίστις, ἐν βάπτισμα, εἰς θεός, and the equally significant distance in thought between the two formulas. ²) W. Bauer, Die Briefe des Ignatius (Tübingen, 1920), to Eph. xiii. 1, asserts that it is sufficient to point to the usage of εὐχαριστία in the Didache in order to prove that the term has the same meaning for Ignatius. To point to Smyr. vii. 1 is much more conclusive.

³) This striking specific agreement between Ignatius and the Didache may well be considered as lending strong support to Streeter's attractive hypothesis that Syria is the home of the Didache. See B. H. Streeter, The Primitive Church (New York, 1929), chap. v, "The Church in Syria".

(13) *Hermas Vis. iv. 1, 4*, καὶ δοξάζοντός μου καὶ εὐχαριστοῦντος αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ κυρίῳ), ὡς ἤχος φωνῆς μοι ἀπεκρίθη.

Of constructional interest in these passages is (11), καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίσται τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι. It is an example of εὐχαριστεῖν τι = to thank for something. (12) has the accurate form of this construction, ἐπὶ τούτοις πᾶσιν ἠὲ εὐχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι. εὐχαριστῶ περὶ τινος in (10) = ἐπὶ τινι; it is a quite common construction. Paul's εὐχαριστῶ περὶ τινος in his thanksgiving periods is something quite different; it means not, "I thank for you," but "I thank about you." Paul's genitive is a personal pronoun, *Hermas'* is a neutral genitive. Paul's usage is specifically epistolary, *Hermas'* is generally liturgical. It should also be noted that *Hermas* feels no hesitancy in directing his "thanksgiving" to Christ (τῷ κυρίῳ), something NT authors dared not yet do. The only parallel in the NT is *Lc 17 15ff.* (see above, pp. 97f., C 4).

(E) Paraenetical function:

(14) *Barn. 7 1*, οὐκοῦν νοεῖτε, τέκνα εὐφροσύνης, ὅτι πάντα ὁ καλὸς κύριος προεφανέρωσεν ἡμῖν, ἵνα γινώμεν ᾧ κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστοῦντες ὀφείλομεν αἰνεῖν.

(15) *Hermas Sim. ii. 6*, ὁ πένης δὲ ἐπιχορηγούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλουσίου ἐντυγχάνει αὐτῷ, τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν περὶ τοῦ διδόντος αὐτῷ.

(16) *I Clem. 38. 2*, ὁ ἰσχυρὸς τῆμελεῖτω τὸν ἀσθενῆ, ὁ δὲ ἀσθενὴς ἐντρέπεται τὸν ἰσχυρόν· ὁ πλούσιος ἐπιχορηγεῖτω τῷ πτωχῷ, ὁ δὲ πτωχὸς εὐχαριστεῖτω τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δι' οὗ ἀναπληρωθῆ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ὑστέρημα.

(17) *I Clem. 38. 4*, ταῦτα οὖν πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔχοντες ὀφείλομεν κατὰ πάντα εὐχαριστεῖν αὐτῷ.

(18) *II Clem. 18. 1*, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὖν γενώμεθα ἐκ τῶν εὐχαριστοῦντων, τῶν δεδουλευκότων τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μὴ ἐκ τῶν κρινομένων ἀσεβῶν.

There are two structural features of particular interest in these examples of paraenetical usage. First, εὐχαριστεῖν κατὰ πάντα: quite obviously the paraenetical function of εὐχαριστῶ called forth the adverbial modifier κατὰ πάντα. It is a construction as vague as ἐν παντί εὐχαριστεῖν, which Paul uses, also in a paraenetical context, in *I Thess 5 17*. Second, ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν in (14) and (17) is a literal parallel to Paul's phrase in *II Thess 1 3* and *2 13*. *Epictetus* and *Philo* also show this construction.

The identity of content in (15) and (16) should be noted; *Hermas* and *Clement* offer the same pious solution of the struggle between the rich and the poor. It is not a good Christian solution, to be sure, but a good Roman one.

3. *The Earlier Apologists*

The earlier Apologists Aristides and Justin also attest the paraenetical usage of εὐχαριστῶ. Justin however is an important witness to a wider and more significant understanding of our terms than is any other early Christian writer except Paul.

(19) Arist. Apol. xv. 10, ἔτοιμοί εἰσιν ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν προέσθαι· τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες (καθὼς κύριος ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς προσέταξεν), εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

As in the paraenetical (ethical) passages in Paul and the Apostolic Fathers we meet here with the same surprising and significant emphasis placed on "thanksgiving" as a primary manifestation of religious experience. Aristides as well as Justin (see 20) makes his appeal deliberately to the opponents of Christianity, an appeal which would be at this point entirely ineffective, indeed entirely unintelligible, if the writers had not been sure that the ideal of religious thanksgiving (or ethical gratitude in a wider sense) would strongly attract those opponents of the new Christian cult whom they specifically address.

Now it is a familiar fact that the Apologists attempt to appeal to the enlightened element of the pagan world, i. e., to those people who were predominantly under the influence of the pervasive Stoic-Cynic philosophy, as the Apologists themselves had been and, for that matter, still were. Their training in the eclectic philosophy of their day manifests itself on every page of their apologies, a fact which is, significantly, true of almost every term and phrase of Aristides' passage (19). Thus Aristides and Justin are two important witnesses to the emphasis which pagan religion even on its highest levels placed on thanksgiving and on the virtue of gratitude. Essentially, these two writers differ in no way from Paul at this point, save in the fact that they were Hellenists trained in Hellenistic thought, and deliberately made use of their training, while Paul was a much less self-conscious Hellenist¹. We shall observe that Philo, Epictetus and other Hellenistic authors add their clear and emphatic testimony to this conclusion.

Again, there are some significant and instructive observations from the point of view of construction to be made in the passage quoted from Aristides' Apology (19). Aristides says that the Christians thank God (εὐχαριστοῦντες) κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν and, more specifically,

¹) The same distinction holds true as between Paul on the one side and his compatriots Philo and Josephus on the other.

ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῶ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς. The adverbial phrase κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν is obviously temporal, and there can be no doubt that ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῶ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς is causal, because the idea of giving thanks to God for food, drink and all other goods is a typically Stoic one, frequently attested to by Justin, Philo and Epictetus. Both Philo and Epictetus also use the construction εὐχαριστῶ ἔν τινι (see below, pp. 129, 138 and 141).

Justin Apol. xiii. 1—4 is a passage of such significance for our purposes that we shall reproduce it as well as translate¹ it in full:

(20) xiii. 1. *Ἄθεοι μὲν οὖν ὡς οὐκ ἔσμεν, τὸν δημιουργὸν τοῦδε τοῦ παντὸς σεβόμενοι, ἀνευδεῖ ἀϊμάτων καὶ σπονδῶν καὶ θυμιαμάτων, ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν, λέγοντες, λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα πᾶσιν, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες, μόνην ἀξίαν αὐτοῦ τιμὴν ταύτην παραλαβόντες, τὸ τὰ ὑπ' ἐκείνου εἰς διατροφήν γενομένα οὐ πυρὶ δαπανᾶν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις προσφέρειν, 2. ἐκείνῳ δὲ εὐχαρίστους ὄντας διὰ λόγου πομπᾶς καὶ ὕμνους πέμπειν ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ γεγονέναι καὶ τῶν εἰς εὐρωστίαν πόρων πάντων, ποιότητων μὲν γενῶν καὶ μεταβολῶν ὥρων, καὶ τοῦ πάλιν ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ γενέσθαι διὰ πίστιν τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ αἰτήσεις πέμποντες—τίς σωφρονῶν οὐχ ὁμολογήσει; 3. τὸν διδάσκαλόν τε τούτων γενόμενον ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τοῦτο γεννηθέντα Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, τὸν σταυρωθέντα ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πιλάτου, τοῦ γενομένου ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ ἐπὶ χρόνοις Τιβερίου Καίσαρος ἐπιτρόπου, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ

¹) The following translation is adapted from *The Antenicene Fathers* (New York, 1899), I, 166: "What sober-minded man, then, will not acknowledge that we are not atheists, worshipping as we do the maker of this universe and declaring, as we have been taught, that he has no need of streams of blood and libations and incense; whom we praise (αἰνοῦντες) to the utmost of our power by the exercise of prayer and thanksgiving for all things wherewith we are supplied, as we have been taught that the only honor that is worthy of him is not to consume by fire what he has brought into being for our sustenance but to use it for ourselves and those in need (2) and with gratitude to him to offer thanks by invocations and hymns for our creation, and for all the means of health, and for the various qualities of the different kinds of things, and for the changes of the seasons; and to present before him petitions for our existing again in incorruption through faith in him. (3) Our teacher of these things is Jesus Christ, who also was born for this purpose and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judea in the times of Tiberius Caesar; and that we reasonably (rationally = μετὰ λόγου) have learned that he is the son of the true God himself, and holding him in the second place, and the prophetic spirit in the third, we will prove. (4) For they proclaim our madness to consist in this that we give to a crucified man a place second only to the unchangeable and eternal God, the creator of all; for they do not discern the mystery that is herein, to which, as we make it plain to you, we pray you to give heed."

τοῦ ὄντως θεοῦ μαθόντες καὶ ἐν δευτέρᾳ χώρᾳ ἔχοντες, πνεῦμά τε προφητικὸν ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει ὅτι μετὰ λόγου τιμῶμεν ἀποδειξομεν. 4. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ μανίαν ἡμῶν καταφαίνονται, δευτέραν χώραν μετὰ τὸν ἄτρεπτον καὶ αἰεὶ ὄντα θεὸν καὶ γεννήτορα τῶν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων σταυρωθέντι διδόναι ἡμᾶς λέγοντες, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ἐν τούτῳ μυστήριον, ᾧ προσέχειν ὑμᾶς ἐξηγουμένων ἡμῶν προτρεπόμεθα.

It is clear that this chapter (xiii) is of programmatic importance for Justin's entire Apology. Here the issue with which he is to deal is concisely (from his point of view at any rate) formulated. The chapter culminates with the statement of Justin's creed. (It is not unreasonable to assume that this creed represents an adaptation—of the pagan understanding—of the Roman creed of the early second century.)

First, Justin makes the negative point that crude, ritualistic and sacrificial polytheism is repudiated and vigorously opposed by the Christians, a statement which, he justly assumed, would be favorably received. Then he contrasts with this statement the positive description of the central Christian religious experience. He couches his description in intellectualistic terms, to be sure, but does not immediately make a statement of dogmatic beliefs; this comes only later (xiii. 3). The Christian religion, Justin says, consists of the "utterance of prayer and thanksgiving, by praising him for all things with which we are provided" (λόγῳ εὐχῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας ἐφ' οἷς προσφερόμεθα, ὅση δύναμις, αἰνοῦντες), and in being "thankful to him by offering rational processions and hymns for our having come into being, and for all the means of health, for the qualities of all created things and for the changing seasons, and in making petition for our rebirth in incorruptibility through faith in him" (xiii. 2). It is well-known that Justin himself was a typical product of the religious and intellectual forces so characteristic of the intellectualistic, sophisticated middle classes in late Hellenistic society. He adopts here their own arguments for a rational (διὰ λόγου, μετὰ λόγου, λόγω) religious experience which consists—surprisingly—not in the pursuit of home-made, homely virtues, but in thanksgiving to the one God and in a grateful attitude toward him in all things.

This explicit and prominently placed statement of Justin's is an expression of the same religious view and of the same rationalistic criticism which characterize Paul's strictures on polytheism in Rm 1 18-32. And, most significantly, Paul too speaks of "thanksgiving" (εὐχαριστεῖν, Rm 1 21) as the central attitude which characterizes the service of the true God (ἢ τε αἰδῖος αὐτοῦ δύναμις καὶ θεϊότης, Rm 1 20).

Both Paul and Justin—the latter more technically—express the relatively enlightened religious theories of the younger Stoic philosophy and of Cynic-Stoic eclectic missionary propaganda. Philo and Epictetus, too, are prominent witnesses to the same type of religious experience and its intellectual propagation.

In connection with these important data from Aristides and Justin may appropriately be mentioned a passage from the so-called Second Apology of Justin, which illustrates in a concrete situation the religious attitude we have observed:

- (21) II Apol. xi. 1, οὐκ ἄν δὲ οὐδὲ ἐφονευόμεθα οὐδὲ δυνατώτεροι ἡμῶν ἦσαν οἱ τε ἄδικοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ δαίμονες, εἰ μὴ πάντως παντὶ γεννομένῳ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ θανεῖν ὠφείλετο· ὄθεν καὶ τὸ ὄφλημα ἀποδιδόντες εὐχαριστοῦμεν.

The entire context of this passage confirms its significance. It expresses the Stoic view that death is inevitable for all men; we pay this price for life not only in the spirit of resignation—as in the older, sterner view of Stoicism—but even with gratitude.

From the point of view of construction this passage is of interest. It shows a temporal definitive participle clause with εὐχαριστῶ, a construction we found to be characteristic of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period of type Ia ("Wherefore, when we pay the debt, we do so with thanksgiving"). It is, to be sure, the heroic attitude of the Christian martyr which is here described, but this is not a specifically Christian attitude; it is rather one with which Stoicism provided Christianity. Justin describes it for the benefit of his Stoic public and is certain that they will approve of it.

The remaining occurrences of εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστῶ in the writings of Justin have reference to the sacrament of the Eucharist and must, therefore, be considered as a continuation of the lists A 1 (see above, p. 96) and C (see above, p. 102).

- (22) Dial. 117—18 (passim): πάσας οὖν . . . θυσίας, ἃς παρέδωκεν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς γίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, . . . προλαβὼν ὁ θεὸς μαρτυρεῖ εὐάρεστους ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ. 2. καὶ . . . λέγετε (i. e., Grypho and his like), ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ . . . θυσίας οὐ προσδέχεται ὁ θεός, τὰς δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ διασπορᾷ τότε δὴ ὄντων ἀπὸ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου ἀνθρώπων εὐχὰς προσίεσθαι αὐτὸν εἰρηκέναι, καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς αὐτῶν θυσίας καλεῖν. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι, ὑπὸ τῶν ἀξίων γινόμεναι, τέλειαι μόναι καὶ εὐάρεστοί εἰσι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι, καὶ αὐτός φημι. 3. ταῦτα γὰρ μόναι καὶ Χριστιανοὶ παρέλαβον ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀναμνήσει δὲ τῆς τροφῆς αὐτῶν ξηρᾶς τε καὶ ὑγρᾶς, ἐν ἧ καὶ

τοῦ πάθους, ὃ πέπονθε δι' αὐτοῦς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, μέμνηται . . . 5. οὐδὲ ἐν γὰρ ὅλως ἐστὶ τι γένος ἀνθρώπων . . . ἐν οἷς μὴ διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ σταυρωθέντος Ἰησοῦ εὐχαὶ καὶ εὐχαριστίαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῇ τῶν ὄλων γίνονται . . . 118. 2. . . μὴ δόξητε λέγειν Ἡσαίαν ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας θυσίας ἀφ' αἰμάτων ἢ σπονδῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἀναφέρεισθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀληθινούς καὶ πνευματικούς αἶνους καὶ εὐχαριστίας.

This passage from the Dialogue with Trypho reflects clearly the speculative theory of the thanksgiving and its practical religious value as these are expressed by Justin in Apol. xiii. 1—4 and also by Paul in Rm 1 18ff. Especially interesting in this respect is Justin's statement (117. 2): "That prayers and thanksgivings, when offered by worthy people, are the only perfect and pleasing sacrifices to God, I also assert." This view receives its proper significance through the last phrase, καὶ αὐτός φημι, which reveals that Justin is here merely appropriating (in the manner of a good apologist) the very theories of his opponent, a decidedly Hellenistic diaspora Jew. This statement, and the other (117. 5), "there is no human race in which prayers and thanksgivings are not offered to the maker of the universe," we shall almost literally find again in Philo. Characteristic of the same rationalistic religious view is also 118. 2, "to offer true and spiritual songs of praise and thanksgivings."

(23) Dial. 41. 1 ff., καὶ ἡ τῆς σεμιδάλεως δὲ προσφορά . . . τύπος ἦν τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας, ὃν εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ πάθους . . . Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς παρέδωκε ποιεῖν, ἵνα ἅμα τε εὐχαριστῶμεν τῷ θεῷ ὑπὲρ τε τοῦ τὸν κόσμον ἐκτικέναι σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας . . . ἠλευθερωκέναι ἡμᾶς, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας καταλελυκέναι τελείαν κατάλυσιν διὰ τοῦ παθητοῦ γενομένου κατὰ τὴν βουλήν αὐτοῦ . . . 3. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν τῶν ἔθνῶν προσφερομένων αὐτῷ θυσιῶν, τοῦτ' ἔστι τοῦ ἄρτου τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου ὁμοίως τῆς εὐχαριστίας, προλέγει τότε, εἰπὼν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ δοξάζειν ἡμᾶς, ὑμᾶς δὲ βεβηλοῦν.

(24) Dial. 70. 1 and 4, ὅταν δὲ οἱ τὰ τοῦ Μίθρου μυστήρια παραδιδόντες λέγωσιν ἐκ πέτρας γεγενῆσθαι αὐτὸν, καὶ σπήλαιον καλῶσιν τὸν τόπον ἐνθα μεῖν τοὺς πειθομένους αὐτῷ παραδιδούσιν, ἐνταῦθα οὐχὶ τὸ εἰρημένον ὑπὸ Δανιήλ, ὅτι λίθος ἄνευ χειρῶν ἐτήθη ἐξ ὄρους μεγάλου, μεμιῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐπίσταμαι, καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ Ἡσαίου ὁμοίως, οὗ καὶ τοὺς λόγους πάντας μιμήσασθαι ἐπεχείρησαν; δικαιοπραξίας γὰρ λόγους καὶ παρ' ἐκείνοις λέγεσθαι ἐτεχνάσαντο . . . 4. ὅτι μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ προφητείᾳ περὶ τοῦ ἄρτου, ὃν παρέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ ἡμέτερος Χριστὸς ποιεῖν εἰς ἀνάμ-

νησιν τοῦ τε σωματοποιήσασθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς πιστεύοντας εἰς αὐτόν, δι' οὓς καὶ παθητὸς γέγονε, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου, ὃ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ παρέδωκεν εὐχαριστοῦντας ποιεῖν, φαίνεται.

In this last passage (24) Justin takes pains to prove that those representatives of the Mithra cult who claim that their sacrament is the fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel and Isaiah are wrong; that, on the contrary, the Christian Eucharist has been foretold by these prophets. It is an astonishing fact that such claims were made by at least a certain group of Mithra propagandists. At all events the fact goes to prove that the Jewish, Christian and Mithraic cults lived in close contact and interrelation. Implied as well as explicit opposition to the Mithra cult is a distinguishing and unmistakable element in the closing chapters (lx—lxvii) of Justin's Apology as well. (See especially Apol. lxvi. 4, quoted below, and lxvii. 7; in this latter passage the Christian celebration of the "Day of the Sun" is justified by speculations which are obviously borrowed from Mithraic cosmology.)

Justin's concept of the "Eucharist" as expressed in the three passages from the Dialogue (22, 23, 24) is worthy of close scrutiny. Taken by themselves, they show not the slightest trace of sacramentarianism. The Lord's Supper is strictly a memorial meal (ἐπ' ἀνάμνησιν, 117. 3; εἰς ἀνάμνησιν, 41. 1 and 70. 4). Justin here follows closely the Pauline tradition, I Cor 11 24 and 25, εἰς τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνάμνησιν. In his Apology, however, he advances a solidly sacramentarian view of the Eucharist, as subsequent quotations will show (see 25).

It would however be erroneous to see in this undeniable and serious difference evidence of a change or an evolution in Justin's thought. These two interpretations of the Eucharist are merely evidence of the fact that, in the middle of the second century, the issue between the rationalistic and the sacramental interpretation of this Christian ritual was not yet felt. It was felt still less in the days of Paul, and therefore the question whether Paul's conception of the Lord's Supper (I Cor 11) was rationalistic or sacramental is, at least from his point of view, an idle one. So far as Justin is concerned, however, we must account for his advancing two distinct views in two different books. The problem thus put suggests its own answer: the difference is the result of the particular apologetic purpose of each writing. The Dialogue represents a system of apologetic theology based on and dealing with scriptural exegesis¹ of a rationalistic sort; it defends

¹) Dial. 71 ff. clearly shows that Justin claims the Greek version of the Hebrew Scripture as the Christian Scripture.

Christianity against diaspora Judaism. The Apology defends Christianity not against scripturally entrenched Judaism, but against Stoic enlightenment and against institutional pagan religion. While in the one case Justin defends Christianity with the weapon of Jewish rationalism, in the other he defends it with the weapons of Stoic enlightenment and pagan sacramentarianism. This is clearly to be seen in the following extracts of Apol. lxxv—lxxvii ¹.

(25) Apol. lxxv—lxxvii:

lxxv. 3. ἔπειτα προσφέρεται τῷ προεστῶτι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος καὶ κράματος, καὶ οὗτος λαβὼν αἶνον καὶ δόξαν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων διὰ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἀναπέμπει καὶ εὐχαριστίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατηξιωθῆναι τούτων παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πολὺ ποιεῖται· οὐ συντελέσαντος τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν πᾶς ὁ παρῶν λαὸς ἐπευφημῆι λέγων Ἄμην . . . 5. εὐχαριστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ἐπευφημήσαντος παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ οἱ καλούμενοι παρ' ἡμῖν διάκονοι διδῶσιν ἐκάστῳ τῶν παρόντων μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαρισθηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἴνου καὶ ὕδατος καὶ τοῖς οὐ παροῦσι ἀποφέρουσιν. lxxvi. 1. Καὶ ἡ τροφή αὕτη καλεῖται παρ' ἡμῖν εὐχαριστία, ἧς οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ μετασχεῖν ἐξόν ἐστιν ἢ τῷ πιστεύοντι ἀληθῆ εἶναι τὰ δεδιδαγμένα ὑφ' ἡμῶν, καὶ λουσαμένῳ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἀφέσεως ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ εἰς ἀναγέννησιν λουτρον, καὶ οὕτως βιοῦντι ὡς ὁ Χριστὸς παρέδωκεν. 2. οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι. 3. οἱ γὰρ ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκεν ἐντετάλαθαι αὐτοῖς· τὸν Ἰησοῦν λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἶπεν· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου, τοῦτ' ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου· καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἶπεν· τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου· καὶ μόνοις αὐτοῖς μεταδοῦναι. 4. ὅπερ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Μίθρα μυστηρίοις παρέδωκεν γίνεσθαι μιμησάμενοι οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες· ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μυστηρίου τελεταῖς μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἢ ἐπίστασθε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε . . . lxxvii. 5. . . . καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν,

¹) These paragraphs (lxxv—lxxvii) complete the list of occurrences of εὐχαριστώ, etc. in Justin.

παισαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προσετώσ εὐχὰς ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ, ἀναπέμπει, . . . καὶ ἡ διάδοσις καὶ ἡ μετάληψις ἀπὸ τῶν εὐχαριστηθέντων ἐκάστῳ γίνεται . . .

In both the Apology and the Dialogue Justin betrays that he is much upset over the striking similarity of the Mithraic and the Christian cult meals. He treats the former as an unwelcome rival. The apparent intolerance of the early Christian propagandists as contrasted with the tolerant attitude of the propagandists of the contemporary mystery cults has often been commented upon. Justin must be considered as one of the first to exhibit intolerance on the level of intellectualistic controversy. The puzzling fact noted in regard to Dial. 70. 1 and 4, that there were Mithraic missionaries who based their arguments on the Jewish prophecies, was particularly obnoxious to Justin, who considered the Greek version of the Hebrew canon the exclusively Christian Scripture.

But in the Apology Justin does not contrast the sacramental meal of the popular Persian mystery cult with a rationalistic (Jewish) memorial meal. He makes plain that the Christian Eucharist is a full-fledged sacramental meal (lxvi. 2) in which only the "initiated" members of the cult may participate (lxvi. 1). The Mithraic rite is ungenerously put aside as a demoniac imitation (lxvi. 4). That the latter is not an imitation of the Christian rite in any sense is, of course, a historical fact. If indeed the demons indulged in any imitating, they did so in the Christian rite; at least, Justin does his conscientious bit to make the Pauline and Synoptic memorial meal look a great deal more like the Mithraic sacrament. How else, for example, can we account for the curious fact that, according to Justin, bread, water, and wine are the elements used in the Eucharist, than by considering this formula an adaptation to the Mithraic elements, which were bread and water? (lxvi. 4. ὅτι γὰρ ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον ὕδατος τίθεται ἐν ταῖς τοῦ μουμένου τελεταῖς (sc. τοῦ Μίθρα) μετ' ἐπιλόγων τινῶν, ἢ ἐπίστασε ἢ μαθεῖν δύνασθε. lxxv. 5. μεταλαβεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐχαριστηθέντος ἄρτου καὶ οἶνου καὶ ὕδατος. lxxvii. 5. ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ.)

From the point of view of the constructions with εὐχαριστώ, etc., some interesting features may be observed in Justin (see examples 22—25). Generally speaking, Justin's constructions here do not differ from those in the NT and in the Apostolic Fathers. Structural simplicity and little periodization are the most general common characteristics. For the well-built, periodized εὐχαριστώ-periods of the Pauline thanksgivings we have as yet found no significant parallels.

But Justin exhibits some "new" constructions which well illustrate the higher literary style and purpose that distinguish his writings from most early Christian documents. Note, for example, such constructions as (a) ἀναφέρεισθαι and ἀναπέμπειν εὐχαριστίας, Apol. xiii. 1-4—the technical religious terminology of Hellenistic religion; (b) the frequent phrase ἄρτος καὶ ποτήριον εὐχαριστίας or εὐχαριστία τοῦ ἄρτου καὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου.

4. *The Septuagint.*

From the Apostolic Fathers we retrace our steps to the most influential of the Greek versions of the Hebrew Scriptures, the Septuagint, which, in addition to the then just emerging "canon" of "apostolic" writings, represents the direct literary heritage of the second century Christian writers. What are the functional and structural usages of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the Septuagint?

Hort and Murray¹ make the statement that "εὐχαριστία is unknown to the LXX in all senses, as it is also to the Apocrypha as applied to sacrifices". This distinction between "LXX" and "Apocrypha" is, of course, merely an evaluating distinction (first made by rabbinic Judaism and adopted by Jerome and by orthodox Protestantism) between the earlier and the later portions of the Greek Bible which was created and used by the Hellenistic Alexandrian Jews. For them, as well as for the Christians of the first few centuries, this distinction for all practical purposes did not exist. The fact, however, that the words εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία are completely absent from the earlier (and largest) part of the Septuagint translation—although the Psalms particularly furnished ample opportunity for their use—simply proves two things. First, these terms had (around 200 B. C.) not yet fully come into their own even in "pagan" usage and, second, they were as yet too typically pagan and modern to appeal to the conservative Jewish-Hellenistic translators.

All the more significant therefore is the fact that the latest books to be included in the Alexandrian Bible exhibit a remarkable and wide usage of our terms. This is, of course, merely one specific indication of the rapidly increasing Hellenization of the Jewish community in Alexandria during the next two or three centuries. At the height of this development we find Philo and Paul using these terms with perfect freedom and building important religious theories on them.

¹) F. A. Hort and J. O. F. Murray, "Εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν", *Journal of Theological Studies*, III (1902), 595.

The varieties of usage are quite wide in the "Apocrypha"; we have examples (A) of liturgical usage, (B) of paraenetical usage, (C) of colloquial usage (formal as well as informal) and (D) of epistolary usage. In the case of II Maccabees indeed we can speak of a remarkably frequent and functionally multiple usage.

(A) Liturgical usage:

- (2) II Macc 10 7f. (vv. 1-8 tell the story of the institution of the festival of the "purification" of the temple),
διὸ θύρσους καὶ κλάδους ὠραίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φοίνικας ἔχοντες,
ἠὺχαρίστουν τῷ εὐδῶσαντι καθαρίσαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τόπον.
- (27) III Macc 7 16, αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ μέχρι θανάτου¹ τὸν θεὸν ἐσχηκότες,
παντελεῖ σωτηριᾶν ἀπόλυσιν ἐσχηκότες, ἀνέzeugσαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως
παντοίοις εὐωδεστάτοις ἄνθεσιν κατεστεμμένοι μετ' εὐφροσύνης
καὶ βοῆς ἐν αἶνοις καὶ πανμελέσιν ὕμνοις εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ θεῷ
τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἀγίῳ σωτῆρι τοῦ Ἰσραήλ.
- (28) Jud 8 25, παρὰ ταῦτα πάντα εὐχαριστήσωμεν Κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ
ἡμῶν, ὃς πειράζει ἡμᾶς καθὰ καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν.

These three examples describe liturgical actions. The language and the construction of (27) are definitely Hellenistic; note (a) the parallel participle construction,

κατεστεμμένοι μετ' εὐφροσύνης . . . ,

ἐν αἶνοις καὶ πανμελέσιν ὕμνοις εὐχαριστοῦντες . . . ,

and the typically Hellenistic phrase (b) πανμελέσιν ὕμνοις. The force of ἐν is instrumental.

(B) Paraenetical usage:

(29) Sap 16 27ff.:

τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πυρὸς μὴ φθειρόμενον

ἀπλῶς ὑπὸ βραχείας ἄκτινος ἡλίου θερμαινόμενον ἐτήκετο,

ὅπως γνωστοῦν ἦν ὅτι δεῖ φθάνειν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπ' εὐχαριστίαν σου
καὶ πρὸς ἀνατολήν φωτὸς ἐντυγχάνειν σοι.

ἀχαρίστου γὰρ ἐλπίς ὡς χειμέριος πάχνη τακῆσεται,
καὶ ῥυθῆσεται ὡς ὕδωρ ἀχρηστον.

(30) Sap 18 2:

ὅτι δ' οὐ βλάπτουσιν προηδικημένοι, εὐχαριστοῦσιν,
καὶ τοῦ διενεχθῆναι χάριν ἐδέοντο.

1) With μέχρι θανάτου (τὸν θεὸν ἐσχηκότες) compare the only NT parallels, to be found in one chapter, Phil 2 7 and 30: γενόμενος ὑπήκοος μέχρι θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ. — 30, διὰ τὸ ἔργον κυρίου μέχρι θανάτου ἠγγισεν. All three examples of this phrase are in martyrological contexts!

(31) Sir 37 10ff.:

μή βουλεύου μετὰ τοῦ ὑποβλεπομένου σε,
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ζηλούντων σε κρύψον βουλήν·
μετὰ γυναικὸς τῆς ἀντιζήλου αὐτῆς
καὶ μετὰ δειλοῦ περι πολέμου
καὶ μετὰ ἐμπόρου περι μεταβολίας
καὶ μετὰ ἀγοράζοντος περι πράσεως,
μετὰ βασκάνου περι εὐχαριστίας
καὶ μετὰ ἀνελεήμονος περι χρηστοθείας,

μή ἔπεχε ἐπὶ τούτοις περι πάσης συμβουλίας.

(32) Prov 11 16, γυνὴ εὐχάριστος¹ εἰρεῖ ἀνδρὶ δόξαν.

What distinguishes these examples of paraenesis (29—32) is that in them εὐχαριστία is always “gratitude” as a virtue, and εὐχαριστῶ (30) is “I am thankful.” In (29) εὐχαριστία is thus contrasted with ἀχάριστος (“the ungrateful”); in (30) εὐχαριστῶ is a parallel (almost a synonym) to χάριν δέομαι (“I seek pardon”). In (31) “gratitude” and “kindness” characterize the two parts of a parallelismus membrorum. In (32) εὐχάριστος is obviously “grateful” or “appreciative”—“a grateful wife is her husband’s glory.” The adjective εὐχάριστος never means anything else but “grateful.” All these examples are structurally extremely simple, as the form of paraenesis requires. Noteworthy is furthermore the objective genitive in εὐχαριστίαν σου (29).

(C) Colloquial usage, formal and informal:

(33) II Macc 2 27 (from the “prologue” of the redactor, on the purpose and method of his work), ὅμως διὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν εὐχαριστίαν ἠδέως τὴν κακοπάθειαν ὑποίσομεν.

(34) II Macc 12 30ff., ἀπομαρτυρησάντων δὲ τῶν ἐκεῖ καθεστώτων Ἰουδαίων ἦν οἱ Σκυθοπολεῖται ἔσχον πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίαν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀτυχίας καιροῖς ἡμερον ἀπάντησιν, εὐχαριστήσαντες καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες καὶ εἰς τὰ λοιπὰ πρὸς τὸ γένος εὐμενεῖς εἶναι, παραγενήθησαν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, τῆς τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἑορτῆς οὕσης ὑπογύου.

In both these examples “gratitude” (or “appreciation”) is expressed in the manner of formal politeness, which functionally is not to be distinguished from cases of informal, colloquial expression. In (33) the author (or rather the redactor) of the work says that he counts on the gratitude of his prospective readers. In (34) he employs εὐχαριστῶ to express the good political relations between the citizens

1) This is a hapax legomenon in the LXX; cf. Col 3 15 for the NT.

of Scythopolis and of Jerusalem. Both usages (33 and 34) are standard and are amply documented in the inscriptions.

There is in II Macc (cf. 28, 33, and 34) another occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ which is structurally as well as functionally of great significance for our purposes. The two letters at the beginning of this book (1 1—10 and 1 11 to 2 18) are obviously fictitious, but they are instructive in that they show to what extent a Jewish Hellenist (ca. 100 B. C.) was able to express himself in the conventional forms of official Hellenistic epistolography.

(35) II Macc 1 11ff., καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ ἡ γερουσία καὶ Ἰούδας Ἀριστοβούλῳ διδασκάλῳ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ὄντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν χριστῶν ἱερέων γένους, καὶ τοῖς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ Ἰουδαίοις, χαίρειν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν. ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένοι μεγάλως εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἂν πρὸς βασιλέα παρατασσομένῳ¹. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐξέβρασεν τοὺς παρατασσομένους ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ πόλει εἰς τὴν Περσίδα.

The importance of this example of a thanksgiving at the beginning of a letter for the understanding of the genesis of the Pauline epistolary thanksgivings can hardly be overestimated. It is functionally and structurally the closest parallel to the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period which the extant documents (including the papyri) exhibit. We have here not an ordinary letter, but a letter specifically addressed to a religious community, namely, the Jewry of Alexandria—fictitiously so addressed, to be sure, but functionally and structurally that consideration makes little difference, because the letter is written “as if” to that community.

The Aristobul of the address is merely a figurehead; in the letter itself the addressees are referred to in the plural; cf. 1 18 and 2 16. Furthermore, the letter purports to be written by “the citizens of Judea, the Synhedrion and Judas,” just as the letters of Paul are written by him in his official capacity as a Christian apostle, and the names of other “addressants” are added to his own in some of the opening formulas. In both these specific functional respects II Macc 1 11—2 18 is a perfect parallel to the Pauline letters. It must be realized that such fundamental factors in the epistolary situation make a considerable difference, functionally as well as formally, in the composition of a letter, therefore of this letter also.

¹) The emendation παρατασσομένῳ for παρατασσομένοι, as the MSS and Swete read, is adopted, following R. H. Charles, APOT (Oxford, 1913), ad loc. The context (v. 12b) requires it imperatively. παρατασσομένους in v. 12b probably explains the origin of the corruption.

The structural similarities between the εὐχαριστῶ-periods in the Pauline thanksgivings and in the thanksgiving of II Macc 1 11ff. may in detail be stated as follows:

(1) The εὐχαριστῶ-period follows immediately after the opening formula.

(2) Its primary epistolary function is to introduce the subject-matter of the letter.

(3) The principal verb of the period (εὐχαριστῶ) is in the 1. ps. pl. of the pres. ind. act.

(4) The thanksgiving is offered to God by the addressant.

(5) A causal participle construction gives the reason for the thanksgiving (ἐκ μεγάλων κινδύνων ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένοι εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ). It is structurally as well as functionally a perfect parallel to the causal participle clause in the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ-period of type Ia (see Table II, col. 6); it lends emphasis and dignity to the period.

(6) μεγάλως εὐχαριστοῦμεν resembles the Pauline εὐχαριστοῦμεν . . . πάντοτε; the only difference is that II Macc has an adverb of manner, Paul one of time.

(7) αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐξέβρασεν τοὺς παρατασσομένους corresponds closely to the causal ὅτι-clause in the Pauline period of type Ib; instead of the subordinating ὅτι we have in II Macc the paratactic γὰρ.

Indeed, the formal similarities between the two letters in II Macc 11—218 are not confined to these details. The first letter (11-10) begins with an intercessory prayer which is structurally characterized by a sequence of desiderative optatives (from ἀγαθοποιῆσαι in v. 2 to ἐγκαταλείπει in v. 5). It reminds us immediately of the similarly construed prayer at the end of the thanksgiving of II Thess 2 16f., ὁ θεὸς . . . παρακαλέσαι ὑμῶν τὰς καρδίας and of I Thess 3 11f., ὁ θεὸς . . . κατευθῆναι . . . , πλεονάσαι καὶ περισσεύσαι . . .

This intercessory prayer in II Macc 1 ends with the words (v. 6), καὶ νῦν ᾧδέ ἐσμεν προσευχόμενοι περὶ ὑμῶν, a clause which reminds us forcibly of the clauses represented in cols. 4 and 5 of Table II, type Ia. It may be said that the "thanksgiving" of the second letter (II Macc 1 10ff.) extends from 1 11-17. Within the thanksgiving form it narrates the story of the defeat of Antiochus in Nanea; the closing clause is (v. 17) κατὰ πάντα εὐλογητὸς ἡμῶν ὁ θεός, ὃς ἔδωκεν τοὺς ἀσεβήσαντας. It calls to mind the beginning of the proemium to II Cor (1 3), εὐλογητὸς ὁ θεός . . . , ὁ πατὴρ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν . . . , ὁ παρακαλῶν ἡμᾶς. Both cases are examples of the liturgical style so familiar to the reader of the Septuagint, especially of the Psalms. The noteworthy "prayer of joy" (προσευχὴ εἰς ἀγαλλίασιν) in Tob

13 1-18 is an interesting example of a typical εὐλογία in the later books of the Septuagint.

Compared with the striking and close similarities of structure and function between the thanksgiving of II Macc 1 11f. and the Pauline thanksgivings the differences are indeed slight, though obvious. The thanksgiving of II Macc 1 11f. is not so much a structural and functional parallel to, but rather a prototype of, the Pauline epistolary thanksgiving. From the genetic point of view, however, a prototype is much more significant than a mere "parallel".

In this connection it must also be kept in mind that the two letters in II Macc, and some others incorporated in the "Apocrypha," can be considered only meager and accidental survivals of the strongly developed epistolary and literary technique developed in Alexandria among the Jewish Hellenists—or in Tarsus for that matter, if Böhlig's sketch¹ is at all correct. At all events, the world in which the later books of the Septuagint were produced was, in the strictest sense of the word, the immediate cultural environment of Paul, the diaspora Jew. Indeed, we may go a step further and say that in the Jewish Hellenistic epistolographic patterns, of which II Macc has fortunately preserved a few examples, are to be found the immediate antecedents of the Pauline thanksgivings and, probably, of other functional and structural features of the Pauline epistolographical technique. This judgment, however, does not excuse us from widening the scope of our survey, i. e., of searching for the more basic epistolographic patterns in the pagan-Hellenistic world, which quite directly provided the writers of the "Apocrypha" as well as Paul with their thoughts and thought-forms.

Paul is no deliberate, slavish imitator of any literary form or epistolographic convention, Jewish or pagan, as is amply demonstrated by the fact that he either disregards or strongly modifies many typical, commonly used patterns. But it is impossible to explain such apparent peculiarities by facile catch-phrases like "creative individual genius" or "creative personality." The conscientious literary critic as well as the historian cannot hope to obtain valid results by such unscientific shortcuts. The methodological aim of the historical scholar is to take faithful account of the sum total of the social forces, their causes and their effects in any given, concrete historical situation. This principle does not by any means dissolve the concept "personality," but rather reinstates it in its truly scientific, sociologically valid meaning. Otherwise, however, this much abused concept is

¹. H. Böhlig, *Die Geisteskultur von Tarsus* (Göttingen, 1913).

merely a cloak which barely conceals failure to discover the concrete social and cultural factors which in every concrete society produce every concrete personality.

Application of these general considerations to the relationship existing between the Septuagint and Paul of Tarsus permits certain definite conclusions. Even a cursory reading of the so-called Old Testament Apocrypha (the later books of the Septuagint) reveals that they differ widely in vocabulary and syntax from the earlier portions of the Septuagint. The ever increasing Hellenization of diaspora Judaism is well exemplified by this difference. It is, roughly but quite definitely, the difference between the language of the Ptolemaic and Roman papyri and the language of the translation Greek of the Pentateuch in the Septuagint. The apocryphal books, however—those translated from Semitic idioms as well as those directly composed in Greek—exhibit a striking likeness in vocabulary and syntax to the papyri. The most astonishing fact is the use common to both sets of documents of a multitude of idioms and technical terms, religious, legal, commercial, political, literary and epistolary.

There appears to be a similar difference between the language of Paul and that of the Apocrypha, corresponding to the difference between the Apocrypha and the older portions of the Septuagint. Paul is as much more Hellenized in thought and language than the Apocrypha as are these compared with the oldest parts of the Septuagint. Paul's language is less laboriously imitative than that of the Apocrypha; indeed, it is not imitative at all (one of the greatest authorities on classical and Hellenistic Greek¹ has called Paul a classical representative of Hellenism for the spontaneity of his use of the Greek language).

This twofold comparison (of the LXX with the Apocrypha, and of the Apocrypha with Paul) indicates, indeed, a straight line of steadily progressing Hellenization. The particularly close dependence of Paul's language and thought on certain apocryphal writings has long been noticed, and careful study of the whole problem should yield many additional important results. The complete absence of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., from the earliest portions of the LXX, the incipient use of these terms in the Apocrypha, and their fully developed, free and significant use by Paul is one concrete example of this progressive Hellenization.

¹) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1912), pp. 232f., "Die Kultur der Gegenwart", Part I, Section VIII.

The fact that on the other hand all other Christian writers of the first two centuries exhibit a much less frequent use of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. is due to two definite causes: First, the growing importance of the Christian cult meal brought about a tendency to monopolize εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία as technical terms; second, once the Septuagint had achieved such high dignity and theological influence as is attested, for example, by Justin, it became more and more a conservative and conserving factor in the life of the Christian society, and the language of Christian writers tended to become more "biblical" and less contemporary. εὐλογεῖν, ἐξομολογεῖσθαι, αἰνεῖν, and similar terms, forcefully suggested by the highly esteemed Psalms and the Pentateuch, supplanted εὐχαριστεῖν.

5. Conclusions.

Our functional and structural analysis of all occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the Christian literature from Paul to Justin and in the Septuagint (which last is virtually the beginning of this literature) strongly suggests certain conclusions, as follows:

(1). We have found in Paul (including a few passages from Ephesians and the Pastorals) 32 more or less independent contexts in which the terms εὐχαριστῶ, etc., occur. In all other Christian writings we have found a total of 25 such contexts, and 10 in the later books of the Septuagint. The value of quantitative statistics is rarely very high, and it would be dangerous to draw precipitate conclusions from them. However, our statistics eloquently call attention to certain historical facts which may be recognized even without them. εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία are strictly Hellenistic words. They were Koinê-products (derived from χάρις, χαρίζομαι, εὐχάριστος) which were not in existence before 300 B. C. ¹ They came to be widely used in the entire Hellenistic world in a variety of functions and with correspondingly differing connotations ². Thus they enter only into the later books of the Septuagint.

In the non-Pauline books of the NT (with the exception of the Apocalypse) the usage of these terms appears to be even less significant than in the OT Apocrypha. One important reason for this phenomenon lies in the fact that the writers of II Macc, Wisdom of Solomon and Jesus Sirach were unquestionably more highly Hellenized than were the social strata in which, for example, the Synoptic tradition ex-

¹) Cf. Schermann, *op. cit.*, p. 479. ²) Substantial further evidence for this assertion will be forthcoming from our examination of the use of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in various Hellenistic authors, the inscriptions and papyri.

perienced its rise, growth and literary fixation, while, on the other hand, Paul's assimilation to Hellenistic life and its forms of expression far surpassed that of any Septuagint author as well as that of any other NT author.

(2). Of the second century Christian authors Ignatius alone shows moderate and narrow use of εὐχαριστῶ in its epistolary function. But most characteristic of him as of the other Apostolic Fathers (especially in the Didache) and of Justin the Apologist is the increasingly technical use of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία for the Eucharist and the liturgical procedure connected with it. Yet, like Paul, Justin betrays that he moves in the wide and deep current of a religious experience and concept centrally important in the pagan Hellenistic world, for which εὐχαριστία (= thanksgiving) and εὐχαριστῶ (= to give thanks) were the termini technici.

(3). It is now clear that, if we could trace to their ultimate origins the cultural influences which shaped Paul's usage of these terms, we must include in our study the pagan witnesses to the use of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. So far as we know, the author of II Maccabees was an Alexandrian Hellenistic Jew; Ignatius a Syrian provincial Hellenist; Justin a Roman eastern Hellenist. Paul was a cosmopolitan Hellenist; as such his own letters reveal him—his language, his thought, his mode of living and his career—quite unintentionally and incidentally, to be sure, but all the more convincingly.

C

USAGES IN NON-CHRISTIAN HELLENISTIC AUTHORS

1. *Philo of Alexandria*

Philo of Alexandria is to be sure no pagan; he is by his own affirmation a loyal Jew. Yet, next to Paul, he is the most thoroughly Hellenized of the Jews whom we are in a position to know intimately. In the strictest sense of the phrase he is a Hellenistic Jew, while Paul, also in the strictest sense, is a Jewish Christian Hellenist. Philo remained loyal to Judaism; Paul abjured it. Only in so far as Philo is an intellectualist may he be properly called a Jewish Hellenist, for his great aim as a literary apologist of Judaism is not to prove that pagan Hellenism is like Judaism, but that Judaism is like pagan Hellenism. He resolves Judaism into Hellenism, not Hellenism into Judaism. All this however is hardly more than secondary rationalization; it does not change the fact that Philo remained a Jew.

He represents indeed the acme of intellectualistic Hellenization in the Alexandrian Jewry of his day. Like many other non-Jewish

Hellenists of his time, Philo is an eclectic; mysticism and rationalism, idealism and empiricism, traditionalism and criticism find in him an enthusiastic and persuasive advocate, but not a rational *modus vivendi*. One example of his versatile eclecticism is his earnest championship of at least two radically different speculative theories on εὐχαριστία. That both theories are non-Jewish is already indicated by the fact that εὐχαριστία does not appear in Philo's great textbook, the Greek version of the Hebrew Bible. Their positive characteristics readily betray their origin in specific spheres of pagan-Hellenistic religion and philosophy. Just as Justin availed himself of such εὐχαριστία speculations to lend dignity to his Christian sacramentarianism, so Philo used them to rationalize (via the allegorical method¹) and exalt the Jewish sacrificial ceremonialism. θυσία becomes—along with other spiritual qualities—εὐχαριστία. Thus Philo is of supreme importance for the appraisal of the rôle played by εὐχαριστία as a central experience in certain Hellenistic religious groups and as a theme for the speculations of philosophical and theological thinkers.

Leisegang's admirable and useful index² lists well over 100 occurrences of εὐχαρ-ιστεῖν, -ιστητικός, -ιστήριος, -ιστία, -ιστικός and εὐχάριστος. The very frequency of these terms and the striking number of derivatives from εὐχάριστος indicate how important a part the ideas expressed by them had in Philo's thought. In determining what is his functionally and structurally characteristic usage of εὐχαριστώ, etc., we shall confine ourselves to examination and discussion of his most notable and typical passages. Boobyer³ has commented on a number of representative Philonic passages which contain εὐχαριστία, but he failed to observe that Philo entertains two mutually exclusive theories about εὐχαριστία; indeed he misses entirely the highly characteristic passage which advances the more astounding of the theories, *Quis rer. div. heres* 226. But he is correct in his general judgment⁴ that "Philo puts a big emphasis upon the value and necessity of εὐχαριστία." Boobyer was looking for a certain εὐχαριστία speculation in Philo; we must attempt to characterize the εὐχαριστία speculations of Philo.

1) The allegorical method is Philo's supreme and indispensable methodological stock-in-trade. It, too, is part of his pagan-Hellenistic, intellectualistic heritage, practiced as it was for nearly three centuries especially in Alexandria by the interpreters and critics of Greek mythology and ritual.

2) *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*, ed. L. Cohn and P. Wendland; Vol. VII, Indices, by J. Leisegang (Berlin, 1926).

3) "Thanksgiving" and the "Glory of God" in Paul (Leipzig, 1929), especially pp. 19 (text and n. 5), 31f., and 61.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 31.

The passage referred to is here offered in translation because of its fundamental significance (Quis rer. div. heres 226): "The following facts do not deserve to be passed over in silence: Of the three objects in the sanctuary—the candlestick, the table, and the incense altar—the latter gives thanks in the place of the elements (τὸ θυμιατήριον εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν στοιχείων εὐχαριστίαν ἀνάγεται), as was shown above¹; then the table offers thanksgiving in the place of the mortal creatures (εἰς τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν θνητῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων); . . . then the candlestick offers thanksgiving in the place of all heavenly bodies, so that no part of the universe may be accused of ingratitude, but that we may perceive that every single part offers its own thanksgiving (ἵνα μηδὲν μέρος τοῦ κόσμου δίκην ἀχαριστίας ὀφλη, ἀλλ' εἰδῶμεν ὅτι πάντα τὰ μέρη τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐχαριστεῖ)." That this is even for Philo an amazingly speculative theory cannot be denied. Moreover it is so explicitly stated that it cannot possibly be misinterpreted. The speculative conception is here advanced that the universe in all its parts is actually and continually engaged in thanksgiving to God; the objects of the ritual in the temple are merely symbols—paragr. 227, τὰ μὲν στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ θνητὰ ἀποτελέσματα, ὧν ἡ τράπεζα καὶ τὸ θυμιατήριον σύμβολα, . . . ὁ δ' οὐρανός, οὗ σύμβολόν ἐστιν ἡ λυχνία. They are instituted "so that we may perceive" (ἵνα . . . εἰδῶμεν) that grand fact of an endless cosmic thanksgiving to the creator. It is syntactically and exegetically impossible to translate εὐχαριστία ὑπέρ τινος with "thanksgiving for" or "for the sake of," as we found it necessary to do in the Didache and in Justin. The last doubt that Philo intends this theory seriously vanishes when we turn to paragr. 199 of the same essay: τὴν δὲ τούτων ἐμμελῆ σύνθεσιν τε καὶ κρᾶσιν τὸ πρεσβύτατον καὶ τελειότατον ἔργον ἅγιον ὡς ἀληθῶς εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν κόσμον, ὃν διὰ συμβόλου τοῦ θυμιάματος οἶεται δεῖν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ πεπονηκότι, ἵνα λόγῳ μὲν (= seemingly) ἡ μυρεψικῆ τέχνη κατασκευασθεῖσα σύνθεσις ἐκθυμιάται, ἔργῳ δὲ (= actually) ὁ θεῖα σοφία δημιουργηθεὶς κόσμος ἅπας ἀναφέρεται πρῶι καὶ δειλινῆς ὀλοκαυτούμενος. βίος γὰρ ἐμπρεπῆς κόσμῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ποιητῆι συνεχῶς καὶ ἀδιαστάτως (= continuously and without interruption) εὐχαριστεῖν, μονονοῦκ ἐκθυμιῶντι καὶ ἀναστοιχειοῦντι ἑαυτὸν πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ μηδὲν θησαυρίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὄλον ἑαυτὸν ἀνάθημα ἀνατιθέναι τῷ γεγεννηκότι θεῷ. It seems obvious that this theory of cosmic thanksgiving is an application of Pythagorean, or rather of Neo-Pythagorean cosmology, a cosmology with a strongly religious, mystical² strain.

¹) The reference is to paragraph 199 of Quis rer. div. heres. ²) For a characterization of Philo the mystic see H. R. Willoughby, *Pagan Regeneration* (Chicago, 1929), chap. ix, pp. 225—62.

Closely related to this realistic and (!) mystical εὐχαριστία speculation is the Philonic view that "thanksgiving" is not a human effort, but the most spontaneous and genuine expression of man's inner nature, i. e., of God in man, Leg. Alleg. I. 82: ὅταν γὰρ ἐκβῆ ὁ νοῦς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀνεπέγκη θεῶ . . . τηνικαῦτα ὁμολογίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ὄντα ποιεῖται . . . καὶ αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι νοητέον ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ εὐχάριστον ("this very confession must not be regarded as the work of the soul, but as the work of God, who arouses in the soul the attitude of thanksgiving"). This is exactly the conception which Dibelius¹ has defined as an oratio infusa. Philo advances it also in De plant. 126—131, an impressive and eloquent statement of the central importance of εὐχαριστία: ἐκάστη μὲν γε τῶν ἀρετῶν ἐστὶ χρῆμα ἅγιον, εὐχαριστία δὲ ὑπερβαλλόντως· θεῶ δὲ οὐκ ἔνεστι γνησίως εὐχαριστῆσαι δι' ὧν νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ κατασκευῶν ἀναθημάτων θυσιῶν, . . . ἀλλὰ δι' ἐπαίνων καὶ ὕμνων . . ., οὓς ὁ ἀειδῆς καὶ καθαρῶτατος νοῦς ἐπιπήχησει καὶ ἀναμέλψει . . . 131. μαθόντες οὖν, ὡς ἐν ἔργον ἡμῖν ἐπιβάλλει μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τιμὴν θεοῦ, τὸ εὐχάριστον, τοῦτο αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ μελετῶμεν . . .

This last paragraph (131) is especially emphatic in its declaration that man's entire religious duty may be described as "thanksgiving". We can, therefore, no longer be surprised that Paul in a very incidental way expresses the same idea (Rm 1 21; see above, pp. 90f.).

In the light of this mystical εὐχαριστία speculation of Philo's and, more specifically, in the light of the construction εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος (meaning, with the full substitutionary force of ὑπὲρ, "to give thanks in the place of someone else"), it becomes highly probable indeed that the Pauline construction εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος in II Cor 1 11 must be so interpreted too. This suggestion receives additional force from Boobyer's observation (following Dibelius) that II Cor 1 11 4 15 and 9 12 are the chief passages in Paul which clearly describe εὐχαριστία as an oratio infusa.

Philo's other thanksgiving theory is in principle quite independent of the first. Its origin lies unmistakably in Stoic teaching, particularly that of the period which immediately precedes and includes Philo. It is strictly rational in that it advocates the ethical attitude of gratitude to God for his gifts, an attitude the possibility of which on the part of man is staunchly denied by the first Neo-Pythagorean εὐχαριστία speculation (Leg. alleg. I. 82, ὅτι ἔργον ἐστὶν οὐχὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φαίνοντος αὐτῇ θεοῦ τὸ εὐχάριστον). Not only is this second

¹) An die Thessalonicher (Tübingen, 1925), to I, 39.

theory rational, i. e., humanistic, it is also rationalistic, i. e., it maintains that the ritualistic sacrifices on pagan or Jewish altars must be superseded by, or at least explained as symbols of, that gratitude on the part of the worshiper which is the only sacrifice acceptable to God. De spec. legg. i. 197 is the topic sentence for the section, which is often quoted as De victimis (extending from 162—256). Three kinds of sacrifices are here distinguished. The first, and to Philo by far the most important, is ἡ ὀλόκαυτος θυσία. This sacrifice is offered δι' αὐτὸν μόνον τὸν θεόν, ὃν καλὸν τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ δι' ἕτερον. The term τιμᾶσθαι may here properly be considered as expressing the same kind of worship as εὐχαριστεῖν expresses¹; thus the holocaust is a symbol of wholehearted, complete thanksgiving. Presently Philo states this thesis explicitly (209f.). But first he gives a description of the Mosaic instruction concerning the manner in which the whole burnt offering (ἡ ὀλόκαυτος θυσία) must be brought (198—208), and, in his characteristic manner, appends to it an allegorical interpretation of the instructions (209—11). This interpretation clearly sums up his rationalistic, ultimately Stoic εὐχαριστία theory:

On closer examination all this seems to me to reveal the following doctrine: the soul which honors the divine being for its own sake must do so not without reason and comprehension, but with understanding and intelligently. A rational procedure requires an analysis and distinction for each of the divine powers and virtues. For God is good, and the maker and creator of all things, and provides for his creatures as a savior and benefactor, full of blessing and of all happiness. Each of these traits deserves reverence and praise for its own sake as well as for its relation to the other kindred traits. 210. The same principle² holds true throughout: Whenever thou wilt, oh soul, give thanks to God for the creation of the cosmos (ὅταν βουληθῆς . . . εὐχαριστήσαι περὶ γενέσεως κόσμου θεῶ), give thanks for the universe as a whole and for its basic parts, as for the parts of the most perfect organism³. I name, for instance, the heavens, the sun, the moon, the planets and the fixed stars; then the earth with its animal and plant life, then oceans and rivers, brooks and mountain creeks with their inhabitants; then the air with its changes; for winter and summer, spring and fall; the seasons which support life and happiness are but changes of the air, which produces the mutations for the benefit of those who live below the moon⁴. If, sometime, you give thanks for men (εὐ-

¹) Cf. de plant. 131, ἐν ἔργον ἡμῖν ἐπιβάλλει μόνον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τιμὴν θεοῦ, τὸ εὐχάριστον. ²) I. e., the principle of distinguishing in one's thanksgiving between separate parts and all parts conceived as a whole.

³) ὡς ἂν ζῶον τελειοτάτου μελῶν. — The conception of the cosmos as a living organism here advanced is a characteristically Stoic doctrine. Philo's terminology and thought are in this entire context saturated with Stoic ideas of the more popular type. ⁴) This enumeration

χαριστεῖν περὶ ἀνθρώπων), do so not only for the human race as a whole, but also for its several races and necessary groups, men, women, Greeks, barbarians †, continentals and islanders. And if you give thanks for one particular person, organize your thanksgiving rationally (τέμε τῷ λόγῳ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν), not down to the very negligible details, to be sure: but embracing the main constituent elements, body and soul first; of them he is made up; then reason and mind and sense perception (λόγος, νοῦς αἰσθησις). For none of these individual thanksgivings would be unworthy of God's acknowledgment.

It will be remembered that Justin's discussion of εὐχαριστία in Apol. xiii. 1—4 is so closely related to this Philonic theory that it might very well be considered an epitome of the present account. That, however, is not the case; both Philo and Justin follow a familiar pattern provided by the popular Stoic religio-philosophic teaching of the age. Paul stood under its influence; but in contrast to Philo and Justin he is no mere intellectualist who copies hand- and textbooks.

To illustrate more fully Philo's structural and functional usages of εὐχαριστώ, etc., and to bring out in more detail the nature of his Stoic-rationalistic εὐχαριστία theory, we shall quote and discuss a number of further representative passages.

Philo's style is not concise and epigrammatical. All the more interesting, therefore, is the concise and epigrammatical formulation of the ethical significance of thanksgiving as he states it, De plant. 136: τῷ γὰρ εὐχαρίστῳ μισθὸς αὐτὸ τὸ εὐχαριστεῖν αὐταρκέστατος.

In Quis rer. div. heres 226 ff. we have observed several examples of the construction εὐχαριστεῖν ὑπὲρ τινος, in which ὑπὲρ has the full force of "in the place of someone else." Philo also uses this same construction with its more common causal meaning, "to thank for," when ὑπὲρ has the force of περὶ, and the causal construction εὐχαριστεῖν ἐπὶ c. dat. would have been the quite correct construction. Some examples of this looser and more common construction ² in Philo are the following: Quis rer. div. heres 174, πρῶι γὰρ τὰ ἡμίση τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ τὰ ἕτερα δειληνῆς ἐκέλευσεν ἱεουργεῖν ὁ νόμος, ἵνα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν νύκτωρ ἀρδομένων ἅπασιν ἀγαθῶν ὁ θεὸς εὐχαριστήται ³. —De congressu erud. gratia 96, τὸ γὰρ ὄρᾶν καὶ ἀκοῦειν καὶ ὀσφραίνεσθαι καὶ γεῦεσθαι, ἔτι δὲ ἄπτεσθαι δωρεὰ θεῶι,

of the constituent elements of the cosmos is Stoic in every detail of form and substance. "Life below the moon" is in accordance with Stoic physics life on earth. ¹) Com-

pare with this classification of mankind (men, women, Greeks, barbarians) Paul's variants in Gal 3:28 Col 3:11, etc. ²) Paul exhibits the construction, εὐχαριστεῖν ὑπὲρ τινος, only once, II Cor 1:11; cf. also Eph 5:21. ³) This passive construction

is a perfect grammatical parallel to Hippocrates Epist. 17. 46. See above, pp. 48ff.

ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐχαριστητέον.—De mutatione nom. 222f., μηδεις οὖν τῶν ἀφανεστέρων καὶ ταπεινοτέρων εἶναι δοκούντων ἐλπίδος ἀπογνώσει τῆς ἀμείνονος ἀποκησάτω ἰκέτης εὐχάριστος γενέσθαι θεοῦ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι προσδοκᾷ τῶν μειζόνων, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὧν ἔλαχεν ἤδη κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν εὐχαριστεῖτω. μυρίων δ' ἔλαχε, γενέσεως, ζωῆς, τροφῆς, ψυχῆς, αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας, ὀρμῆς, λογισμοῦ.

This list of gifts (in De mut. nom. 222f.) is made up of characteristically Stoic terms, though the order of listing is most likely Philo's own. It is obvious that the list is formally organized in four pairs of terms according to unrelated principles: γένεσις and ζωή are logically related terms; τροφή and ψυχή follow ζωή because they, too, are nouns of the first declension; αἰσθησις and φαντασία are again logically related terms, characteristic of the Stoic theory of sense perception; ὀρμή and λογισμός are logical opposites in the Stoic system of psychology. Thus we should read:

μυρίων δ' ἔλαχε,

γενέσεως, ζωῆς,
τροφῆς, ψυχῆς,
αἰσθήσεως, φαντασίας,
ὀρμῆς, λογισμοῦ.

If this observation in regard to form is correct, and if the arrangement may be ascribed to him we may consider this "original contribution" as showing typically wherein the originality of Philo consists, namely, in more or less arbitrary formal shuffling of his source material.

The phrase κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν in the same paragraph is deserving of attention because it is the grammatically correct form for the elliptical, syntactically careless ὄση δύναμις (εὐχαριστεῖν) which we found twice in Justin Apol. xiii. 1, ὄση δύναμις αἰνούντες and lxvi. 4, ὄση δύναμις (προσφέρειν εὐχαριστίας). That this same adverbial phrase occurs, on the one hand, in two widely separated contexts of Justin's and on the other hand in its correct form in Philo suggests forcefully that both authors are witnesses to a formula which was familiar in Stoic ethico-religious thought and practice, namely, κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν εὐχαριστεῖν.

Because of the infrequency of the construction εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος = I give thanks in the place of someone else, with the full substitutionary force of ὑπὲρ, we quote De spec. leg. i. 229, (ὁ ἱερεὺς) ὑπηρέτης ἐστὶ τὰς κοινὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ποιούμενος εὐχαριστίας ἐν ταῖς ἱεροτάταις εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐαγεστάταις θυσίαις. It is not necessary, however, to read into this passage the same mystical theory which is so typical of Quis rer. div. heres 226 (see above, p. 124), where the same construction is employed.

The most correct causal adverbial construction, we have seen, is εὐχαριστῶ ἐπὶ τινι. εὐχαριστῶ περὶ τινος and ὑπὲρ τινος are also used in this sense by most writers, but the most accurate construction, ἐπὶ c. dat., is quite typical of some of the Pauline thanksgivings (see col. 6 of Table II). This usage is illustrated in Philo, e. g.: Quis rer. div. heres 31, τὸ δὲ "τί μοι δώσεις," οὐκ ἀποροῦντός ἐστι φωνὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει ὧν ἀπήλαυκεν ἀγαθῶν εὐχαριστοῦντος. — De spec. leg. i. 67, ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἀγαθοῖς εὐχαριστεῖν. — 283, εὐχαριστῶν ἐπὶ προὔπηργμέναις εὐεργεσίαις. — 284, εἴτε γὰρ ἐπὶ προὔπηργμένοις εὐχαριστεῖ, μὴ ἀχαριστησάτω φαῦλος γενόμενος — σπουδαίῳ γὰρ ἐδόθησαν αἱ χάριτες (= favors). — ii. 185, ἐφ' οἷς ἄξιον γεγηθότας εὐχαριστεῖν, ποιουμένους ἀοράτου τῆς περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν εὐπαθείας αἰσθητὴν διὰ τῶν ἐζυμωμένων ἄρτων εὐχαριστίαν.

An example of εὐχαριστῶ followed by a causal ὅτι-clause is De spec. leg. iii. 6, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις θεῶ προσῆκον εὐχαριστεῖν, ὅτι καίτοι κατακλυζόμενος οὐκ ἐγκαταπίνομαι βύθιος.

Finally, a few infrequent and unusual constructions may be considered. They illustrate Philo's constructional variety and also illuminate some of Paul's unusual constructions. Most interesting among them is De spec. leg. ii. 175, οὐθ' ὅσιον ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τινος τῶν πρὸς ἐδωδὴν μὴ ἐν οἷς εὐπρεπὲς καὶ θέμις εὐχαριστήσαντας. This is another example of the unusual construction εὐχαριστῶ ἐν τινι which we found in Paul, I Thess 5 17 (see above, pp. 92f.). The simple emendation of ἐν οἷς for ἐφ' οἷς would relieve us of a serious syntactical and exegetical problem¹, but the MS evidence is in both cases (Philo and I Thess 5 17) solidly in favor of the lectio difficilior. Moreover, the Philonic construction is at all events elliptical; ἐν οἷς εὐπρεπὲς καὶ θέμις is an incomplete relative clause, which requires ἐστὶν εὐχαριστεῖν. This predicate was omitted because of the following εὐχαριστήσαντας. There can be no doubt that here as in I Thess 5 17 ἐν has causal force: "To partake with pleasure of any food is impious of those who do not give thanks for it" (see below, pp. 138 and 141).

In De spec. leg. ii. 204 we read: καὶ τὸ προσῆκον μετὰ τὴν ἀπάντων καρπῶν τελείωσιν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ τελεσφόρῳ θεῶ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίῳ. Here as well as in iii. 6 of the same treatise (quoted above) appears the construction προσῆκόν (ἐστὶν) εὐχαριστεῖν. It is superfluous to point out that προσῆκόν ἐστὶν c. inf. and τὸ προσῆκον are technical terms characteristic of Stoic ethics. With Philo's προσῆκόν (ἐστὶν) εὐχαριστεῖν may well be compared the Pauline εὐχαριστεῖν ὀφείλομεν in II Thess 1 3 and ὀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν in 2 13.

¹) This emendation has been suggested by older editors of Philo's text; see the apparatus for the passage in Cohn-Wendland's edition.

A more precise parallel to these passages from II Thess is to be found in De spec. leg. i. 224, ἀναγκαίως ὀφείλει τὸν κυβερνήτην θεὸν . . . ὕμνοις τε καὶ εὐδαιμονισμοῖς καὶ εὐχαῖς θυσίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις εὐχαριστίαις εὐαγῶς ἀμειβεσθαι. These Philonic and Pauline constructions all serve to convey the idea that thanksgiving is an ethical duty. Of particular interest in De spec. leg. 224 is the view that hymns, beatitudes and sacrifices (ὕμνοι, εὐδαιμονισμοί, θυσίαι) are merely special forms of thanksgiving—a view which is reminiscent of the identification of the Eucharist (εὐχαριστία) with θυσία in the Didache xiv. 1 (see above, pp. 102f.).

Philo explicitly identifies “thanksgiving” with “sacrifice” also in De spec. leg. i. 297, ἐτέρου δὲ (sc. χάριν) τοῦ καὶ νύκτωρ ἀδελφόν τι καὶ συγγενές ταῖς μεθμεριναῖς θυσίαις ἐπιτελεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀρέσκειαν θεοῦ καὶ μηδένα χρόνον ἢ καιρὸν εὐχαριστίας παραλείπειν· ἐπιτηδειοτάτη δὲ καὶ προσφυστάτη νυκτὶ τῆς εὐχαριστίας θυσία—θυσίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν ἄξιον καλεῖν—ἢ τοῦ ἱερωτάτου φέγγους ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις αὐγῇ. The idea of a continuous thanksgiving advanced excites attention; it is an explicit theological statement of what is implied in such formulas as πάντοτε and ἀδιαλείπτως εὐχαριστεῖν, which are so frequent in Paul and in other documents of Hellenistic piety. Philo here puts forward the specific idea that “the most proper and fitting thanksgiving sacrifice for the night . . . is the brilliance of the most sacred light in the innermost sanctuary”. It is quite likely that he is employing the Hellenistic concept of the δόξα θεοῦ as a light-substance¹ in the allegorical interpretation of the night services of the Jewish temple.

Philo’s two non-philosophical writings, the political pamphlets In Flaccum and the Legatio ad Gaium, fail to exhibit the philosophic-liturgical usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., but show such functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ as corresponds to the general function of these documents. In Flaccum (98ff.) uses our terms to express gratitude to public officials, a usage observed in Acts 24 v (see above, p. 99): ἀποδέχομαι πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἔφη, τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ πέμπω, καθάπερ αἰτείθε . . . , ἵν’ αἰσθηταὶ Γάιος τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχαριστίας . . . ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς ὑποσχέσεσι γεγηθότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὡς ἤδη ταῖς ἐλπίσι παρανεγνωσμένον Γαίῳ τοῦ ψηφίσματος. The same functional usage, though more specifically on the epistolary level, is attested in the Legatio ad Gaium, within the letter of Agrippa to Caligula, paragr. 284: ὅπως διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ἄδηταί σου τὸ κλέος καὶ οἱ μετ’ εὐχαριστίας ἔπαινοι συνηχῶνται.

¹) Described by Boobyer, op. cit., pp. 7—14.

This completes our survey of the common as well as of the singular occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in Philo. It is in perfect accord with Philo's general literary purpose that this use of our terms is most exclusively confined to their speculative function on the basis of liturgical and ritualistic data. While in a few, though outstanding, passages we have met with a distinctly Neo-Pythagorean εὐχαριστήρια-speculation, the large majority of the passages discussed reveal Philo as a disciple of sorts of the Stoicistic thought of his own day. They have disclosed a fundamental fact which holds true for Philo's thought and thought-form in general: Stoicism, in its diluted, popularized version (i. e., first century Stoicism) was the characteristic form which Philo's Hellenization took. His Hellenism is clearly a matter of intellectualistic, rationalistic adaptation to certain dominant fashionable ideas rather than spontaneous and complete cultural assimilation. But his Stoicism is neither the classical system of Zeno or Chrysipp or Cleanthes, nor the system of Panaetius or Posidonius, but that of the numerous and more obscure expounders, the popularizing and adulterating eclecticists of the first century B. C. In all likelihood Philo's teachers were residents of Alexandria; and Alexandria, while it enjoyed the leadership in many cultural endeavors of the Hellenistic age, was in the pre-Christian centuries only second-rate as a philosophic center.

Philo is therefore mainly a mouthpiece of popularized academic school-wisdom shot through with much non-academic ideology extracted from the socially effective philosophical and religious currents of his Hellenistic surroundings. It is this fact which makes his testimony to the εὐχαριστήρια-speculations of his day so important. Like most philosophic authors of his day Philo is not a philosopher in his own right; and his literary effectiveness is observable only a hundred and fifty years after his death, in Clement and Origen of Alexandria. To look for literary influences that emanate from Philo in earlier Christian authors or communities is vain. But he is, if properly interpreted, a valuable and eloquent witness to the intellectual and religious forces which were at work in the immediate environment of early Christianity¹.

¹) If the report about Apollos in Act 18 24-28 may be historically trusted and taken to mean that this Christian propagandist was a product of the highly Hellenized group of the Jewish community of Alexandria — i. e., of the group of which Philo is somehow representative — we may consider Apollos a particularly typical representative and active sponsor for the Alexandrian theology in the apostolic age. The first-hand evidence furnished by I Cor 1—4 bears out the essential features of the story in Acts as well as our conclusion from it.

2. *Epictetus and the Old Stoa*

There is, indeed, no more conclusive proof of the fact that Philo's εὐχαριστία-concepts are in essence and origin definitely non-Jewish than a comparison of the testimony of this Hellenistic Jew with the testimony of the Hellenistic "pagan" Epictetus. Both are Oriental by descent. But Philo remained culturally as well as geographically Eastern, while Epictetus went to Rome and turned completely Western. Philo remained mystical and speculative; Epictetus became fully pragmatic and rational without becoming an ultra-rationalist. This general characterization also defines the difference between the form and contents of Philo's voluminous writings on the one hand, and of the succinct *Dissertationes* of Epictetus, as recorded by Arrian, on the other hand.

However, what Philo and Epictetus have in common is more basic (and more obvious) than what separates them. Indeed, the differences only render the resemblances more significant. Both men are essentially Stoic, though Epictetus is not so much an eclectic as is Philo. Both testify forcefully to the socially powerful religious and philosophical movement which Stoicism was in the Hellenistic world during the first and second centuries.

Our analysis of Epictetus' usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., will illustrate specifically the relationship existing between him and Philo. Proportionately Epictetus fully matches Philo's extensive use of our terms. The group of passages cited from him includes practically all occurrences of these terms in the *Dissertationes* and the *Encheiridion*, and gives a representative picture of his usage and the ideology behind it, and of the significance of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in his thought and in that of his immediate religio-philosophical milieu.

That emphatic significance attaches to our terms in the thought of Epictetus may be deduced from a highly representative chapter of the *Dissertationes*, i. 6. This deals with the all-important Stoic school topic, one equally important in Epictetus' own philosophy of life, *περὶ προνοίας*. It begins as follows, i. 6. 1 ff.: ἀφ' ἑκάστου τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ γινομένων ῥάδιόν ἐστιν ἐγκωμιάσαι τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἂν δύο ἔχη τις ταῦτα ἐν ἑαυτῷ, δυνάμιν τε συνορατικὴν τῶν γεγονότων ἑκάστῳ καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον. εἰ δὲ μή, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ὄψεται τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δ' οὐκ εὐχαριστήσῃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἂν ἴδῃ. ("From everything which happens in the world, it is easy to praise providence, if a man possesses these two faculties, the faculty of seeing what happens with reference to the observer, and the attitude of gratitude. If the first faculty is lacking in a man, he will not see the usefulness

of things; if the second faculty be lacking, he will not give thanks for them, even if he does see them.") The entire chapter (6) is devoted to showing that the δύναμις συνορατική is the God-given ability which enables man to cope successfully with all possible and actual difficulties¹, and that τὸ εὐχάριστον (and εὐχαριστεῖν) is the fundamental ethical attitude without which even the δύναμις συνορατική is worthless. Thus Epictetus forcefully attacks and ridicules the opposite of "gratitude," namely, the human tendency to "whine and to groan" (6. 29). Positively, he says (6 28f.) that it is τὸ εὐχάριστον which makes for the familiar Stoic virtues: μεγαλοψυχίαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; ἀνδρείαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; καρτερίαν οὐκ εἰλήφατε; καὶ τί ἔτι μοι μέλει μεγαλοψύχῳ ὄντι τῶν ἀποβῆναι δυναμένων; . . . οὐ χρήσομαι τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς ἃ εἰλήφα αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποβαινουσιν πενήθῳ καὶ στενάξῳ;

That this is not mere rhetorical sentimentalism on Epictetus' part is demonstrated by the fact that in discussing the same subject (περὶ προνοίας) elsewhere he advances the same idea with the same terminology—a fact that would indicate that this is a deliberate and central concept of his. The sixteenth chapter of Book I also is entitled περὶ προνοίας. Here Epictetus begins with the thought that the animals are furnished by providence with all they need (16. 1—5). Then he continues (6 f.): νῦν δ' ἡμεῖς ἀφέντες ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστεῖν (namely, for providence's care of the animals), ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἴσην ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελούμεθα², ἐφ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκαλοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ. καίτοι νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν τῶν γεγονότων ἀπήρκει πρὸς τὸ αἰσθῆσθαι τῆς προνοίας τῷ γε αἰδήμονι καὶ εὐχαρίστῳ. ("But now we, instead of giving thanks that we need not take care of the animals as of ourselves, complain of God on our own account; and yet, in the name of Zeus and the gods, any one thing of those which exist would be enough to make a man perceive the providence of God, at least a man who is modest and grateful.") Thereupon Epictetus proceeds to enumerate the various reasons why thanks should be given to God (16. 8—14). In 15 we find the topic sentence of the final paragraph of this essay on providence: καὶ τίς ἐξαρκεῖ λόγος ὁμοίως αὐτὰ ἐπαινεῖσαι ἢ παραστῆσαι; εἰ γὰρ νοῦν εἶχομεν, ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον καὶ εὐφημεῖν καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τὰς χάριτας; The climax and conclusion of the essay is reached in 21, νῦν δὲ λογικὸς εἰμι· ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸν θεόν. τοῦτό μου τὸ ἔργον ἐστίν, ποιῶ αὐτὸ οὐδ'

¹) See i. 6. 28, "Well, have you not received these faculties by which you will be able to bear all things that happen?"

²) Be it remarked in passing that the phrase ἐπιμέλειαν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι when it is found in the NT or in the LXX is by some "Aramaists" pronounced to be a "plain" Aramaism.

ἐγκαταλείψω τὴν τάξιν ταύτην, ἐφ' ὅσον ἂν διδῶται, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φῶδὴν παρακαλῶ.

This is a truly instructive and significant passage. It goes without saying that for Epictetus ὑμνεῖν τὸν θεόν is the same as εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ. It is the business (ἔργον) of the modest and the grateful (αἰδήμων καὶ εὐχάριστος) and the rational person (λογικός). In Philo, especially De plant. 126—31 (see above, p. 125), we found the same view advanced with equal rhetorical fervor, even with much verbal agreement, although Philo writes as a speculative cosmologist, Epictetus as a preacher of religious ethics. Both are rooted in the same—Stoic—soil. Here as elsewhere Epictetus conceives of life (τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μου) as one continuous song of gratitude to God (οὐδ' ἐγκαταλείψω τὴν τάξιν ταύτην). His final appeal, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φῶδὴν παρακαλῶ, reminds us forcefully of the numerous paraenetical occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in Col. and Eph. as well as in I Thess 5 17 and Phil 4 6. (See the full list of these examples above, pp. 86 ff.; compare especially Col 3 15 ff.: καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε . . . νουθετοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ψάλμοις, ὕμνοις, ψδαῖς πνευματικαῖς ἐν χάριτι, ᾄδοντες ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν τῷ θεῷ, and Eph 5 18 ff.)

Again, we find the same view with the same terminology in Epictetus, Diss. iv. 1. The topic of this characteristic chapter is περὶ ἐλευθερίας. In paragr. 104 he asks the pointed question: τίς ὢν καὶ ἐπὶ τί ἐληλυθώς; . . . οὐχὶ τὸ φῶς ἐκεῖνός σοι ἔδειξεν; . . . ὡς τίνα δὲ εἰσήγαγεν; οὐχ ὡς θνητόν; οὐχ ὡς μετὰ ὀλίγου σαρκιδίου ζήσονται ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ θεασόμενον τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ συμπομπέουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ συνορτάσσοντα πρὸς ὀλίγον; 105. οὐ θέλεις οὖν, ἕως δέδοται σοι, θεασάμενος τὴν πομπὴν καὶ τὴν πανήγυριν εἶτα, ὅταν σ' ἐξάγη, πορεύεσθαι προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας καὶ εἶδες; 106. 'οὐ' ἀλλ' ἔτι ἑορτάζειν ἤθελον.' καὶ γὰρ οἱ μύσται μνεῖσθαι, τάχα καὶ οἱ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἄλλους ἀθλητὰς βλέπειν· ἀλλὰ ἡ πανηγυρις πέρας ἔχει· ἔξελθε, ἀπαλλάγηθι ὡς εὐχάριστος, ὡς αἰδήμων . . . 108 . . . τῶν συνορταζόντων δεῖται, τῶν συγχορευόντων, ἵν' ἐπικροτῶσι μᾶλλον, ἐπιθειάζωσιν, ὑμῶσι δὲ τὴν πανήγυριν.

"Who are you, and for what purpose did you come?" Epictetus asks his hearer. "After you have watched the procession and the festival (i. e., after you have lived your life), as long as you were permitted, will you not then depart when he leads you out, and worship and give thanks for what you saw and heard?" „No," comes the answer, "I want to celebrate some more." "So does the mystery devotee wish to be initiated into some more mysteries," replies Epictetus, "and the fans at Olympia wish to see more athletes; but the celebration is over. Leave and be gone; be grateful and modest."

Viewing and living life with the detachment of the spectator is a Stoic principle. Epictetus, however, has definitely modified the older principle of absolute ἀταραξία. Man should not be just a θεατῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῦ, but also an ἐξηγητῆς αὐτῶν (i. 6. 19). We observe the same teaching in the central chapters of the Dissertations, i. 6. 1ff.; 16. 1ff.; and iv. 1. 104ff. Thanksgiving (εὐχαριστεῖν) and gratitude (τὸ εὐχάριστον, also ὁ εὐχάριστος) are the distinguishing marks in the behavior of his disciple, of man at his best.

Noteworthy is Epictetus' reference to the mystery devotees in iv. 1. 104f., because it is an illustration which in this context is really out of place. The main figure of speech is the "spectator" of the πομπή and of the πανήγυρις, i. e., of processions in public festivals of any kind—Epictetus seems to think mainly of athletic festivals (ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ); thus the suspicion seems justified that he brings in the mystery initiate in order to make his point more emphatic. (οὐ θέλεις οὖν . . .) πορεύεσθαι προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας ὑπὲρ ὧν ἤκουσας καὶ εἶδες: . . . ἐξελθε, ἀπαλλάγηθι ὡς εὐχάριστος καὶ αἰδήμων—Do not these exhortations sound like mystery cult formulas? If so, they are testimony for a ritualistic "thanksgiving" as part of a mystery liturgy.

The verbal phrase, προσκυνήσας καὶ εὐχαριστήσας, is at all events well documented as a fixed religious formula in authors, in inscriptions, in papyrus letters. Often another verb denoting prayer of some kind is substituted for προσκυνεῖν. In our passage προσκυνεῖν is "to worship." Quite often, however, it means specifically "to make an intercessory prayer¹," and in these instances it becomes a direct synonym to the Pauline formula μνησθαι τινὸς ποιῆσθαι, which is characteristic of the Pauline thanksgiving formula of type Ia (see Table II, col. 5). With the Epictetus formula may well be compared the Lukan formula in the story of the ten lepers (see above, pp. 97 f.), καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ (= προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ) εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ).

In any case, these three key-passages from the Dissertations (i. 6 and 16, and iv. 1. 104ff.) show how central in Epictetus' own experience and thought were "gratitude" and "thanksgiving" of a spiritualized, ethical kind. Indeed, we are safe in saying that it is not only Epictetus who speaks here; he is merely expressing in his own way an idea and a type of religious experience which had become increasingly influential in the Hellenistic world. We have already traced its various expressions in the later books of the Septuagint, in Philo,

¹) See the examples of this usage of προσκυνέω in Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s. v.

Paul, the NT in general, the Apostolic Fathers and Justin. The assumption that this similarity bespeaks some direct literary relationship among these authors is of course unjustified. They are all giving voice to the same religious practice, experience and belief, one which was widespread throughout the Hellenistic world.

It must be remembered that this emphasis on the desirability of thanksgiving and gratitude is, so far as Stoicism is concerned, Neo-Stoic. Incontestable proof of this statement is the fact that εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχάριστος do not occur a single time in the three volumes of the Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta¹. The substantive εὐχαριστία occurs once only, in Vol. III, No. 273, p. 67, a fragment from περι παθῶν by Andronicus, who is a younger Stoic of the first century B. C. But it is quite probable that Andronicus copied this entire catalogue of virtues from a somewhat older Stoic source:

ἐλευθεριότης ἐστὶν . . . χρηστότης,
δικαστικὴ εὐγνωμοσύνη,
εὐσέβεια δὲ ἐπιστήμη θεῶν θεραπειάς,
εὐχαριστία δὲ ἐπιστήμη τοῦ τίσι καὶ πότε παρεκτέον χάριν καὶ
πῶς καὶ παρὰ τίνων ληπτέον,
δοσιότης δὲ ἐπιστήμη παρεχομένη πιστοῦς καὶ τηροῦντας τὰ πρὸς τὸ
θεῖον δίκαια.

“Gratitude is the science of whom and when thanks should be given, and how and from whom it should be accepted”: nothing in this typically rationalistic definition suggests religious connotation for εὐχαριστία. True, it is listed between the two central religious “virtues”, piety and holiness, which are included in all earlier Stoic catalogues of virtues. But εὐχαριστία is a later addition to the Stoic philosophy of life.

Nevertheless, older Stoic thought had pointed the way toward the larger significance which εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστεῖν were to attain in later Stoicism. It is noteworthy that Cleanthes (331—233), Zeno’s first successor, the most heterodox and most individualistic of the old Stoics, should have struck this note of thanksgiving first in his justly famous hymn to Zeus². This contains all the elements though not the terminology of the later teaching:

line 3 σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαιδᾶν.
line 6 τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν αἰέσω.
ll. 37—40 ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές, ὡς ἐπέοικε
 θνητὸν ἐόντ’ ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μείζον,
 οὔτε θεοῖς, ἧ κοινὸν αἰὲ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

¹ Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta, ed. J. von Arnim (Leipzig, 1903ff.), Vols. I—III. ² Ibid., Vol. I, No. 537.

It is well known that Cleanthes with his religious spirit and his marked individualism exerted a stronger influence on the so-called intermediary Stoicism (Panaetius and Posidonius) and on the younger Stoicism (Seneca, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius) than did Zeno and Chrysipp. But even his influence cannot at all account for the astonishing emphasis which the younger Stoics place on εὐχαριστῶ, etc. Our examination of Philo, Epictetus and Justin has made that clear. It can be said merely that the older Stoic system, pragmatic and utilitarian in spirit as it was, would readily receive new suggestions and assimilate new ideas. But these new ideas came, as they always do, from the changing spirit of the changing times. Examination of inscriptions and papyri will provide impressive evidence of the fact that, beginning about 300 B. C., εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία became increasingly influential concepts in the social, political and religious spheres of Hellenistic life throughout. This is whence the younger Stoics took their cue. This wide and general usage, together with the emergence of individualistic piety, account directly for the eminent rôle which εὐχαριστία as a speculative and ethical term begins to play in the thought of Philo, Paul, Epictetus, Justin, Plutarch, and others.

Substantial confirmation of this view is afforded by Epictetus himself, Diss. i. 4. 29—32, where he strives to spiritualize the ritualistic thanksgiving practices of contemporary institutional religion, and to point the way toward the conception of thanksgiving as an ethical attitude:

ὦ μεγάλης εὐτυχίας, ὦ μεγάλου εὐεργέτου ¹ τοῦ δεικνύοντος τὴν ὁδόν. εἶτα Τριπτολέμῳ μὲν ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνεστάκασιν, ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρους τροφὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκεν, τῷ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐρόντι ² καὶ φωτίσαντι καὶ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξενεγκόντι ³, οὐ τὴν περὶ τὸ ζῆν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ εὖ ζῆν, τίς ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ βωμὸν ἰδρῦσατο ἢ ναὸν ἢ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκεν ἢ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ προσκυνεῖ; ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν ἄμπελον ἔδωκεν ἢ πυρούς, ἐπιθύομεν τούτου ἕνεκα, ὅτι δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐξήνεγκεν καρπὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ διανοίᾳ, δι' οὗ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν περὶ εὐδαιμονίας δείξειν ἡμῖν ἤμελλον, τούτου δ' ἕνεκα οὐκ εὐχαριστήσωμεν τῷ θεῷ;

This passage is a positively classic example showing how an intellectual system of thought (Stoicism) in the endeavor to raise

¹) The reference is to Chrysipp. ²) See n. 1. ³) It is instructive to observe that Chrysipp is here pictured and advertised in the manner and terminology of missionary cult propaganda, exactly as the σωτήρες of the cults were proclaimed. Some features of this characterization of Chrysipp may be compared with the picture of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel, especially Joh 1 9, ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ὃ

popular piety (institutionalized, polytheistic ritualism) to a higher level must itself sacrifice its exclusiveness and assume a garb familiar to those for whom its efforts are made. The point Epictetus makes is that true piety does not consist of institutional ritual and material sacrifices, but in thanksgiving to God for the revelation of abstract, philosophical truth through the really great leaders and benefactors of mankind, such as Chrysipp and others. The same contrast of crude polytheism with ethical thanksgiving we have observed in Philo (De plant. 126 ff., see above, p. 125) and in Paul (Rm 1 18ff., see above, pp. 86 and 90f.).

This very idea with the same argument against sacrificial polytheism is advanced in i. 19. 25: τίς οὖν πώποτε ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀρεχθῆναι καλῶς ἔθυσεν; ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὀρμησαι κατὰ φύσιν; ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ θεοῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅπου τὸ ἀγαθὸν τιθέμεθα ("for we thank the gods for those things (ἐκεῖ!) which we consider the summum bonum").

An interesting and instructive enumeration of reasons for which thanksgiving should be made is given in ii. 23. 5f., ἄνθρωπε, μήτ' ἀχάριστος ἴσθι μήτε πάλιν ἀμνήμων τῶν κρεισσόνων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ὄραν καὶ ἀκοῖν καὶ νῆ Δία ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τῶν συνεργῶν πρὸς αὐτό, ὑπὲρ καρπῶν ξηρῶν, ὑπὲρ οἴνου, ὑπὲρ ἐλαίου εὐχαρίσται τῷ θεῷ· μέμνησο δ' ὅτι ἄλλο τί σοι δέδωκεν κρεῖττον ἀπάντων τούτων, τὸ χρησόμενον αὐτοῖς, τὸ δοκιμάσον, τὸ τῆν ἀξίαν ἐκάστου λογιούμενον. The similarities between Epictetus and Philo are at this point again obvious and striking. Epictetus exhorts (!) his audience to give thanks for the faculties of vision and audition. Philo enumerates in the same connection all five senses (De congr. erud. gratia 96; see above, p. 127), calling them δωρεὰ θεῶν. The similarity extends even to the details of syntactical construction, namely, the repeated use of (εὐχαριστῶ) ὑπὲρ τινος (= I thank for something). This same structure is also characteristic of the model εὐχαριστία which the Didache (ix. 1—x. 6; see above, p. 155) prescribes for use at the celebration of the Lord's Supper. It must be added that Philo and Epictetus both here express typically Stoic thought: the "purposiveness" of the sense organs aroused the admiration even of the older Stoics. Philo recommends thanksgiving also for λόγος, νοῦς and αἴσθησις (De mut. nom. 222; see above, p. 128), just as does Epictetus for τὸ δοκιμάσον and τὸ λογιούμενον.

Again, Epictetus exhorts his audience to give thanks for the σύνεργοι πρὸς τὸ ζῆν: ὑπὲρ καρπῶν ξηρῶν, ὑπὲρ οἴνου, ὑπὲρ ἐλαίου

φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον with τῷ δὲ ἀλήθειαν εὐρόντι καὶ φωτίσαντι καὶ εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐξενεγκόντι.

εὐχαρίσται τῷ θεῷ—representative items of the “daily bread.” In view of the fact that we have observed the same references to a thanksgiving over food in Paul, Philo, Aristides and Epictetus we are inevitably led to assume that there was a common pagan-Hellenistic custom of saying grace at table.

This hypothesis suggested itself from the analysis of the pertinent Pauline passages (see above, pp. 84—86). It is substantially strengthened by testing the pertinent passages from the other authors quoted. Furthermore, there is a statement of Epictetus’ which seems directly to presuppose this custom, ii. 20. 32. The author indignantly criticizes the disciples of Epicurus because καθ’ ἡμέραν ἄρτους ἐσθίοντες τολμῶσι λέγειν ὅτι ‘οὐκ οἶδαμεν, εἴ ἐστι τις Δημήτηρ ἢ Κόρη ἢ Πλούτων’ (“day after day, while they partake of their meals, they dare to say, ‘We doubt whether there is a Demeter or Core or a Pluto.’”). Surely it is impossible to deny that Epictetus and people minded like him observed the custom of giving thanks to the τελεσφόροι θεοί while they ate. Nor can there be the slightest doubt that Philo directly refers to this custom in De spec. leg. ii. 175: οὐθ’ ὄσιον ἀπολαῦσαι καὶ μετασχεῖν τινος τῶν πρὸς ἔδωδὴν μὴ ἐν οἷς εὐπρεπές καὶ θέμις εὐχαριστήσαντας. This can, indeed, be no more a reference to an exclusively Jewish custom than can the parallel passages quoted from distinctly pagan writers.

Particularly convincing from this point of view is the testimony of the apologist Aristides. His one aim is to prove to the pagans that the Christians are unobjectionable people, that they hold faithfully to the finest and most enlightened traditions and principles of the pagan culture. With this aim in mind he says (Apol. xv. 10; see above, pp. 106 ff.): τὰ γὰρ προστάγματα αὐτοῦ ἀσφαλῶς φυλάττουσιν, ὁσίως καὶ δικαίως ζῶντες . . . εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ὥραν ἐν παντὶ βρώματι καὶ ποτῷ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀγαθοῖς.

All these observations are not without significance for the interpretation of such Pauline passages as Rm 14 6, I Cor 10 30, and I Tim 4 3f. Paul does not argue here as if an exclusively Jewish custom were involved; he talks to pagan communities as if the custom of saying grace at table were entirely familiar to them. Even in structural and lexicographical detail Paul’s language resembles that of Philo and Epictetus; εὐχαριστῶ ὑπὲρ τινος we find in I Cor 10 30 and in Epict. Diss. ii. 23. 5f.; μετέχειν in I Cor 10 30 and in Philo De spec. leg. ii. 175.

Two further passages in Epictetus claim attention. In iv. 4. 14ff. Epictetus makes the point that often people confine themselves to reading about correct principles of living (περὶ ὁρμῆς, περὶ ὁρέξεως καὶ

ἐκκλίσεως, περί καθήκοντος) without acting in accordance with them. A man should not say (17b), “σήμερον ἀνέγνων στίχους τοσοῦσδε, ἔγραφα τοσοῦσδε.” Instead he should be able to say (18), “σήμερον ὀρμῇ ἐχρησάμην, ὡς παραγγέλλεται ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων, ὀρέξει οὐκ ἐχρησάμην, ἐκκλίσει πρὸς μόνα τὰ προαιρετικά, οὐ κατεπλάγην τὸν δεῖνα, οὐκ ἔδυσωπήθην ὑπὸ τοῦ δεῖνος, τὸ ἀνεκτικὸν ἐγύμνασα, τὸ ἀφεκτικόν, τὸ συνεργητικόν” καὶ οὕτως ἂν ἠὲ εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ θεῷ ἕφ’ οἷς δεῖ εὐχαριστεῖν.

This paragraph (14—18) offers nothing less than a concise summary of Stoic ethics. Its climax (18) may indeed be called a Stoic creed. The striking thing is the final statement that man, by right conduct, would be offering to God that kind of thanksgiving which he ought to offer. Living as one ought to live is what Epictetus calls a thanksgiving to God. The thought has already become familiar to us through Paul, Philo, and Justin.

In Diss. iv. 5. 35 we read: ταῦτα τὰ δόγματα (i. e., concerning the achievement of ἀταραξία) ἐν οἰκίᾳ φιλίαν ποιεῖ, ἐν πόλει ὁμόνοιαν, ἐν ἔθνεσιν εἰρήνην, πρὸς θεὸν εὐχάριστον, πανταχοῦ θαρροῦντα, ὡς περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ὡς περὶ οὐδενὸς ἀξίων. This passage is unmistakably in the style of paraenesis. It is instructive in that it shows how the Neo-Stoics gave an emotionally more satisfactory and less rigorous quality to the sterner principles of the older Stoic ethics. The modified principles appealed more strongly to the masses. Friendship, harmony, peace, gratitude and good cheer are homemade, popular ideals. Just as in other passages, gratitude (or thanksgiving) to God appears in this catalogue of virtues as the typical religious attitude to be cultivated.

The passages so far discussed illustrate that functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., which is typical of Epictetus. These terms serve him to convey important religious and ethical attitudes, which are strikingly like Philo's. But just as Philo occasionally uses εὐχαριστῶ to express “thanks” on the level of colloquial conversation and of formal politeness, so does Epictetus—though even more rarely. In ii. 7. 9 the latter derides people who flatter the diviner in order to obtain a favorable oracle from him: ‘κληρονομήσω, κύριε, τὸν πατέρα;’ ‘ἴδωμεν ἐπεκθυσώμεθα.’ ‘ναί, κύριε, ὡς ἡ τύχη θέλει.’ εἶτ’ ἂν εἶπη ‘κληρονομήσεις,’ ὡς παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν κληρονομίαν εἰληφότες εὐχαριστοῦμεν αὐτῷ. It is obvious that εὐχαριστῶ has here no religious connotation at all; it merely denotes polite gratitude to another person. The classical Greek antecedent of εὐχάριστῶ in this function is χάριν οἶδα, which is still used by Epictetus as well as by other Hellenistic authors, and even in non-literary papyri and inscriptions. As an example from

Epictetus may serve ii. 20. 22, 'ἔχεις οὖν τὰς κατασκευάς;' 'ἔχω καὶ χάριν οἶδα.' As an example of the fact that the phrase εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ may be used without any accent at all on τῷ θεῷ (cf. I Cor 14 18) we may quote i. 10. 3. Here the author speaks of a man who is returning from exile and plans to lead, in contrast to his previous very active business life, an existence of calm repose in Rome. But Epictetus tells him, 'οὐ ποιήσεις, ἀλλ' ὀσφρανθεὶς μόνον τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπάντων τούτων ἐπιθελήσῃ.' ἂν δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐλήν (sc. τοῦ Καίσαρος) πάροδος τις δίδωται, ὅτι χαίρων καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν ὤσεται. Here the phrase τῷ θεῷ εὐχαριστῶν is synonymous with χαίρων. It is the exact parallel to the German conversational, slightly slangy "Gott sei Dank." (The English "Thank the Lord" is also sometimes so used.)

Our examination of Epictetus' usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. has furnished us with an impressive picture of the prominent function these terms fulfilled in the cultural milieu of which Epictetus is so eminent a representative. From the syntactical point of view we observed that Epictetus employs the following constructions, which we have met also in the documents previously examined: (1) εὐχαριστῶ with a personal dat. obj.; usually τῷ θεῷ or τοῖς θεοῖς. This construction is of course basic and universal. (2) εὐχαριστῶ ἐπὶ c. dat. (denoting cause), i. 6. 1 ff.; 16. 6. (3) εὐχαριστῶ ὑπέρ c. gen. (also denoting cause), iv. 1. 105 and (five times in paratactic repetition) ii. 23. 5f. (4) δεῖ εὐχαριστεῖν (emphasizing the ethical obligation of giving thanks), iv. 4. 18. (5) εὐχαριστῶ ὅτι in i. 4. 32.

In addition to these standard and common constructions we also find the unobjectionable εὐχαριστῶ ἕνεκα c. gen., denoting cause. As an example of a construction with an adverb of manner may be mentioned οὕτως εὐχαριστοῦμεν in iv. 4. 18.

But the most noteworthy unusual construction is in i. 19. 25, ἐκεῖ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ὅπου τὸ ἀγαθὸν τιθέμεθα (see above, p. 138). Here a local adverb and a corresponding local relative pronoun are indubitably used to express cause. This construction, in conjunction with Philo De spec. leg. ii. 175 (see above, p. 129) and Aristides, Apol. xv. 10 (see above, pp. 106f.), makes it entirely clear that the Pauline ἐν παντὶ εὐχαριστεῖτε in I Thess 5 17 (see above, p. 92) is also causal. All these constructions occur on the functional level of ethical instruction. The construction καὶ ὑμᾶς εὐχαρίστους ὄντας ἐμὲ πᾶσιν in OGIS 223, 1. 15 (see below, p. 146) may well be quoted in support of the causal force of ἐν in εὐχαριστῶ ἐν τινι.

This completes our survey of the usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., by some representative Hellenistic authors. Of course, these terms occur

with relative frequency in other Hellenistic authors¹, especially in Polybius, and also in Posidonius, Dio Chrysostom and Diodorus Siculus. All these writers testify to the widespread and varied functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., but in most cases their usage is colloquial and therefore without specific significance for our purposes.

D

USAGES IN THE INSCRIPTIONS AND POPYRI

It is probably no exaggeration to say that the history of Hellenistic civilization from Alexander the Great to Mohamed could be written more accurately on the basis of the extant inscriptions and papyri than on that of the extant historical authors. Not only do the most characteristic inscriptions and papyri inform us as primary and contemporary witnesses about historical facts, but they permit a direct insight into the social forces, habits and customs of public and private life, which far surpasses the information afforded by the conventional professional historiographers of the age. This indeed is the characteristic significance of the inscriptions and papyri as linguistic and historical source materials, that they reveal to the trained student the fundamental forces which were at work in Hellenistic society.

As contrasted with purely literary sources both inscriptions and papyri have the important qualification that they are direct data on the life of that society which "literature" merely describes. For this reason that they must be dealt with together. Often the difference between them is merely the external one that the text appears here on stone and there on papyrus. Even within the narrow limits of our special investigation we shall do well to overlook this external (and sometimes accidental) difference in order to group together what functionally belongs together. Indeed, we can speak of a special function of papyri as distinct from that of the inscriptions only in so far as the papyri are the originals of letters which never were intended for publication—in stone (!)—either by the addressant or by the addressee. There is, for instance, no significant functional difference between a magic papyrus and a temple inscription containing the same instructions for the exercise of the magic art, as there is no functional difference between a copy of Homer on papyrus and one on medieval parchment.

¹ See H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* (Paris, 1865), s. v. εὐχαριστέω and εὐχαριστία, where a small number of representative examples is quoted.

This general significance of inscriptions and papyri may be readily illustrated in the course of our examination of their functional and structural usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. We shall recognize that the employment of these terms on the literary level (see above, Sections A—C) is merely a case of literary, rational adaptation of the socially more fundamental usages attested by the inscriptions and the papyri.

1. *The Inscriptions*

The evidence from the inscriptions especially gives an impressive picture of the socially fundamental and varied usage of our terms in the Hellenistic world from the days of the early Ptolemies to those of the Mohamedan califs, and from the Nile to the Danube, from the Euphrates to the Rhine. In accordance with their basic function as a means of publication, the inscriptions give copious evidence that our terms were important termini technici in the political and religious life of those centuries. They are employed with equal ease and frequency by the professional scribes of official chancelleries in high-sounding public documents and by lowly peasants expressing religious or political devotion and gratitude through humble stone-carvings.

In our survey of the inscriptions we can attempt to illustrate only the chief functions served by our terms through analysis of some especially typical specimens of the Ptolemaic and the Roman periods ¹. The two characteristic functions are (1) to express gratitude to political personages or bodies for favors received, or to make assurance of political loyalty (= εὐχαριστοὶ εἶναι); and (2) to express religious thanksgiving to deities for all sorts of divine favors received. It is quite obvious to the student of Hellenism (and particularly of eastern Hellenism) that the two attitudes thus defined are fundamentally one, for the fusion not only of religious and political organization is characteristic of the East but also, the fusion of what is more fundamental, the attitude of society toward its rulers and its gods. The most familiar and most striking illustration of this fusion is the apotheosis of the ancient Babylonian and Egyptian rulers, of Alexander and his successors and of the Roman emperors.

A decree in honor of Eumenes I (263—241) and of his local στρατηγοί, voted and published by the city of Pergamos ², is typical of many similar documents preserved in stone from the earliest Hellenistic period:

¹) The frequency of εὐχαριστῶ, etc. may easily be estimated from the fact that the incomplete indices to Dittenberger's convenient collections (OGIS and SIG) list about 50 occurrences. ²) *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* (= OGIS), ed.

Ἔγνω δῆμος· Ἀρχέστρατος Ἐρμίππου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ κατασταθέντες ὑπ' Εὐμένους στρατηγοί, Παλάμανδρος, Σκύμος, Μητρόδωρος, Θεότιμος, Φιλίσκος, καλῶς τῆς ἀρχῆς προέστησαν, καθάπερ καὶ Εὐμένης ἐπέστειλε· δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, ἔπαινεσαι μὲν Εὐμένη, διότι ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖται τῶν τῷ δήμῳ χρησίμων καὶ τοὺς εἰς ταῦτα συναντιλαμβανομένους τῶν πολιτῶν τιμᾶι τε καὶ στεφανοῖ, βουλόμενος τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοὺς καθισταμένους προθυμοτέρους κατασκευάζειν εἰς τὸ φροντίζειν τῶν τε ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν. Ἴνα δὲ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φανερὸς γίνηται Εὐμένει σπεύδων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν, δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, στεφανῶσαι τε αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς Παναθηναίοις χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς Εὐμένη τε καὶ τὸν δῆμον· διδόντων δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ οἱ ταμίαι οἱ κατιστάμενοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς Εὐμενεῖσι πρόβατον, οἱ δὲ λαμβάνοντες θυέτωσαν Εὐμένει εὐεργέτη, ἵνα φανερὸς ᾦ ὁ δῆμος ἅπασιν εὐχάριστος ὢν. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὴν τε ἐπιστολὴν τὴν παρ' Εὐμένου καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δοῦναι τοὺς ταμίαις τοὺς ἐφ' ἱερέως Ἀρκέοντος.

This honorary decree is particularly instructive in that it explicitly states the entire procedure which led to its composition and publication. The closing period specifies that the letter of Eumenes, which prompted the action of the municipal authorities, be inscribed along with the ψήφισμα proper on the same stone, which is to be erected in the city square. Not all decrees of this kind, to be sure, are voted in direct response to a demand on the part of the person who claims this honor. The erection of such decrees was a well-established and widely practiced convention. Nevertheless, Eumenes' direct request is not unusual, it is indeed typical.

That the request is published along with the decree calls attention to the important fact that an epistolary quality (or function) attaches to this decree (as well as to all decrees of this type). It is composed in answer to the epistolary request made by Eumenes; and we may be sure from our knowledge of political practices of the day¹ that a copy of the decree (on papyrus!) went to Eumenes before the inscription was erected.

W. Dittenberger (Leipzig, 1903), No. 267, 20—40. No attempt has been made in this or any of the subsequent quotations from inscriptions and papyri to indicate by the conventional signs lacunae and conjectures, unless they directly affect the terms εὐχαριστώ, etc., and their syntactical constructions. Orthographical peculiarities, however, are faithfully reproduced whenever they are valuable indications of the functional and social level of the document in question. ¹) See below, pp. 145f. for explicit testimony to the customariness of this procedure.

To recognize the element of epistolary function in these decrees is of some importance for the study of the Pauline epistolography, for it must not be forgotten that Paul's letters, too, are in the strict sense of the word official letters. They differ from official political correspondence only in that their function is primarily religious, and that they are addressed to groups which, measured by the social and cultural scale, are somewhat below the communities ostensibly addressed in political edicts and decrees. These factors account for the differences in structure and vocabulary between the two groups of documents. But there are significant similarities which are of importance to the student of the Pauline epistolography.

This basic resemblance may be readily demonstrated by the letter of Eumenes¹ which called forth the decree quoted above: αὐτοὶ τε διεγνώκαμεν² τοῖς Παναθηναίοις στεφανοῦν αὐτούς³ καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὤμιθα δεῖν γράψαι περὶ τούτων, ὅπως ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ βουλευσάμενοι τιμήσητε αὐτούς καθότι ἂν ἀξίους ὑπολαμβάνητε εἶναι. ἔρρωσθε. Eumenes' request is structurally expressed in the following pattern: κρίνοντες οὖν δίκαιον εἶναι . . . , ἵνα . . . , αὐτοὶ τε διεγνώκαμεν . . . , καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὤμιθα δεῖν γράψαι περὶ τούτων, ὅπως . . . τιμήσητε . . . That such typically epistolographic constructions are also used by Paul need hardly be demonstrated. A significant parallel to this structural (and functional) pattern is to be found in Phil 2 25-28, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ ἡγησάμην Ἐπαφρόδιτον . . . πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς . . . , ἐπειδὴ . . . , ἵνα . . .

An instructive correlate to the usage of εὐχάριστος in OGIS, No. 267, is No. 223. This inscription is the "publication" of a letter written by Antiochus II (261—246) to the council and citizens of Erythraea, replying to a decree of the city in his honor. This decree had been presented to him (ll. 2ff.) by a special embassy from Erythraea. Antiochus graciously acknowledges the honors voted him by the city and expresses his appreciation of the loyal spirit of the Erythraeans (ll. 13 ff.): τὰς τε δὴ τιμὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον δεδέγμεθα οἰκείως,

¹) Op. cit., No. 267, ll. 1—20, quoted passim. ²) Note the epistolary plural, which is very characteristic of the official epistolographical style. This particular feature is but one important indication of the close functional and formal resemblance between the official correspondence and the letters of Paul. K. Dick's monograph, *Der schriftstellerische Plural bei Paulus* (Halle, 1900), would be essentially modified and our understanding of the Pauline usage greatly clarified if the latter were systematically investigated together with the ample evidence furnished by the examples of official correspondence, both on inscriptions and in papyri. ³) I. e., the five στρατηγοί, whose names are enumerated in the decree as well as in the royal letter.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ ξένια καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινοῦμεν εὐχαρίστους ὄντας ἐμ πᾶσιν φαίνεσθε γὰρ καθόλου ἀγωγῆι ταύτηι χρῆσθαι.

Here Antiochus expresses his gratification (ἐπαινοῦμεν) and praises the action of his subjects as proof of the desirable attitude of gratitude on their part (ὑμᾶς . . . εὐχαρίστους ὄντας ἐμ πᾶσιν). He continues, with obvious approval (and paraenetical implication), φαίνεσθε γὰρ καθόλου ἀγωγῆι ταύτηι χρῆσθαι ("this attitude of gratitude appears to be a universal principle of your conduct"). Antiochus leaves no doubt that he considers this attitude extremely desirable. In No. 267 we saw this formula (ὁ δῆμος ἅπασιν εὐχάριστος ὢν) directly incorporated in the decree.

Of course, we cannot expect to find this same functional usage of εὐχάριστος (i. e., describing the political attitude of subjects toward their ruler) in Paul. Yet it would be difficult to deny that Paul excluded political implications from his generally ethical exhortation (Col 3 15), καὶ εὐχάριστοι γίνεσθε. Indeed, this implication gains in definiteness when we consider, in the light of that universally and assiduously cultivated social attitude to which the two inscriptions we have quoted testify so eloquently, Paul's famous advice to the Romans on their relationship to governmental authority (Rm 13 1-7).

Christian radicals of all ages have found fault with Paul's very obvious conventional opportunism. Especially to be noted is his phrase (Rm 13 4), τὸ ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖ, καὶ ἕξεις ἐπαινον ἐξ αὐτῆς (sc. ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας). Significantly, this phrase reappears in I Ptr 2 13ff. (ἐπαινον δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν; note also v. 17, πάντας τιμῆσατε) and in Tit 3 1, πρὸς πᾶν ἔργον ἀγαθὸν ἐτοίμους εἶναι, μηδένα βλασφημεῖν, ἀμάχους εἶναι, ἐπεικεῖς, πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνυμένους πραΰτητα πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. Paul's ἐπαινον ἕξιν is the exact equivalent of Antiochus' καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινοῦμεν. The Hellenistic as well as the Roman rulers are lavish of verbal approval whenever there is the least justification for it. ἐπαινεῖν and ἐπαινος are profusely so used in official political documents. The conclusion cannot be avoided that Paul in Rm 13 merely (and perhaps inevitably) gave expression to the generally recognized standards of good citizenship of his day.

Before we pass on to the examination of other inscriptions we should note that OGIS, No. 223, offers another example of the unusual construction εὐχάριστος ἐν τινι. This construction, too, supports the causal interpretation of ἐν παντὶ (εὐχαριστεῖτε) in I Thess 5 17 (see above, pp. 92f.).

The substantive εὐχαριστία appears in this document of the third century B. C. in an instructively explicit context (OGIS, No. 223, ll. 6ff.): αὐτοί (sc. the ambassadors of Erythraea to the king) ἀπο-

λογισάμενοι περί τε τῆς εὐνοίας ἦν διὰ παντὸς εἰσχήκατε εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν οἰκίαν, καὶ καθόλου περί τῆς εὐχαριστίας τοῦ πλήθους, ἧ χρῆται πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς εὐεργέτας. The seriousness of loyalty and gratitude (εὐνοία and εὐχαριστία) is here forcefully emphasized by the verb ἀπολογισάμενοι ("solemnly protesting pour loyalty and gratitude"). Indeed, εὐχαριστία is even more praiseworthy than mere εὐνοία. The significant, typical correlation of the gratitude of the masses (εὐχαριστία τοῦ πλήθους) and the kings (as εὐεργέται) we shall observe again in the next example.

The verb εὐχαριστῶ appears with the same function on an inscription of the third century B. C., on a stone which was erected in Delphi by the League of the Amphictyons between the years 205 and 202 and supported the statue of Antiochus III (223—187). The inscription reads ¹: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περί βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου τοῦ εὐεργέτα Ἀντιοχέων εὐλόγηκε (sc. Πασσίμαχος, an ambassador of the League, who had been sent to Antioch as the representative of the Amphictyons) εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ διότι τὰν δαμοκρατίαν καὶ τὰν εἰράναν τοῖς Ἀντιοχεῦσιν διαφυλάσσει κατὰ τὰν τῶν προγόνων ὑφάγησιν. Note-worthy is here the correlate terminology, εὐεργέτης—εὐχαριστεῖν. The ruler as the benefactor deserves the gratitude of the objects of his benefactions.

On the religious level we found this terminology applied by Epictetus to Chrysipp, Diss. i. 4. 29ff. (see above, pp. 137f.). Similarly, Philo speaks of the obligation to give thanks for God's benefactions, De spec. leg. i. 283 (see above, p. 129). From the point of view of construction, our Delphic inscription is notable for its simple and significant periodization, which corresponds exactly to the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving period of type Ib, εὐχαριστῶ . . . , διότι . . . διαφυλάσσει.

The three following inscriptions illustrate the same functional usage of εὐχάριστος, εὐχαριστία and εὐχαριστῶ in the second century B. C. OGIS, No. 323, is a decree by the city of Pergamos in honor of Andronicus ², a σύντροφος (l. 2) of king Attalos II (l. 18), who had twice headed an embassy to Rome. It is worthwhile to reproduce here with some fulness the essential parts of the decree because of its typical form and because of the resemblance—functional as well as structural—it exhibits to the Pauline thanksgivings. (l. 2): ἐπεὶ . . . ὁ σύντροφος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τε τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς σπουδαίας χρείας παρέισχηται τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος γινόμενος καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν καιροῖς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀδεῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος τῆς

¹) OGIS, No. 234, ll. 20ff.

²) See Dittenberger, OGIS, to No. 323, n. 1.

μεγίστης τιμῆς καὶ αἰδοῦς ἤξιούτο . . . (8) ἀμεμψιμοίρητος δὲ ἐν πᾶσιν γεγενημένος καὶ εὐδοκιμηκῶς ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις ἀπάσαις κεκόσμηκε τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον τῇ καλλίστῃ παρρησίᾳ, . . . (13) τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἀκολουθῶν τοῖς νόμοις συνεπέσχυσεν, ἐφ' οἷς εὐχαριστήσας ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ τὰς καλλίστας καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτας ἐψηφίσαστο τιμὰς, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτῷ ὑπάρχη χάρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον διαμείνη τὰ δεδομένα τίμια.

This decree throws into relief still another side of the fundamental εὐχαριστία—εὐργεσία—relation between subjects and rulers: here the people voice their formal approval of the exemplary patriotic virtues of a prominent public servant and friend of the king.

The structural pattern of this decree also deserves notice. The decree is typically composed in one period consisting of three clauses: first, a long and involved causal clause introduced by ἐπεὶ, wherein are recited in detail the numerous laudable traits and actions of the recipient of the honors and of the people's gratitude; second, the principal clause, ἐφ' οἷς εὐχαριστήσας ὁ δῆμος αὐτῷ τὰς καλλίστας καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτας ἐψηφίσαστο τιμὰς; and third, a ἵνα-clause, expressing the purpose for which the inscription is to be erected.

Obviously the structural pattern of the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods bears a marked resemblance to this. εὐχαριστήσας ὁ δῆμος . . . ἐψηφίσαστο τιμὰς corresponds to the Pauline principal verb εὐχαριστῶ; Paul expresses cause through a ὅτι-clause (type Ib), through a participle construction, or through ἐπί c. dat. (see Table II, col. 6). It is hardly necessary to point out, however, that there is no reason to think that a structural pattern of this kind (from an honorary decree) has in any way directly influenced the structure of the Pauline thanksgiving period. But the structural and the corresponding functional resemblance make it emphatically clear that both structural patterns with their respective specific functions are products of the same social and cultural environment. The decree serves to honor a public servant; the Pauline thanksgivings certainly serve—along with other purposes—to honor the churches to which the letters are addressed.

The personal dat. obj. τῷ θεῷ to εὐχαριστῶ must not deceive us about the fact that the Pauline thanksgivings are an indirect yet definitive compliment to the addressees. That they are such is clear on simple exegetical grounds (εὐχαριστῶ περὶ ὑμῶν!) and is further confirmed by the fact that the Pauline thanksgiving periods are unmistakable examples of a well-established Hellenistic epistolary convention (see below, pp. 158ff.). Moreover, that Paul, a thoroughgoing Hellenist by descent as well as by upbringing, was familiar

with decrees of this kind may safely be assumed. He knew intimately the Hellenistic world from Palestine to Rome, and it would be more than strange that he failed to notice such inscriptions erected "in the city squares" and in the "most conspicuous places¹."

We should take note also of a peculiarity of style in OGIS, No. 323. The prevalence of superlatives and of compound adjectives, adverbs and verbs, gives to this decree a markedly baroque effect (ἀναγκαιοτάτοις, μεγίστης, καλλίστη, καλλίστας, ἐνδοξοτάτας, εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον—παραίτιος, ἀμέμπτως, ἀδεῶς, ἀμεμψιμοίρητος, εὐδοκιμηκῶς, συνσυπέσχυσεν). These terminological peculiarities are strongly reminiscent of the Ignatian letters, and, to a lesser extent, of the Pauline ones.

Another typical construction of the adjective εὐχάριστος is illustrated in OGIS, No. 737, a decree voted by the city of Memphis² in honor of the native municipal official Dorion. Here again, εὐχάριστος appears in the final period of the ψήφισμα, ll. 20 ff.: τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα ἐγγράψαντας εἰς στήλην λιθίνην ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπῳ καὶ μεταδοθῆναι αὐτοῦ ἀντίγραφον τῷ Δωρίωνι, ἵν' εἰδῆ ἦν ἔσχηκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἢ πόλις εὐχάριστον ἀπάντησιν. Εὐχάριστος ἀπάντησις is a frequently attested terminus technicus signifying "grateful disposition," or "grateful attitude." The explicit reference to a copy of the inscription, which is to be sent to the recipient of the honors, is not unusual. We may be sure that we have here merely explicit statement of a customary procedure (see our reference to it above, pp. 144 f.).

Furthermore, the mention in this decree of a particular honor to be bestowed on Dorion is of special interest (l. 16): (sc. ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ) . . . καὶ ἐπιτάξαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ ἱεροψάλταις ἐπὶ τῶν ὕμνων μεμνησθαι αὐτοῦ. This can mean only that the priests of the municipal sanctuary were charged to include in their ritualistic schedule a hymn (of thanksgiving?) in honor of Dorion. Thus we observe here a particularly close relation between the political and the religious expression of gratitude (and thanksgiving).

Two decrees from the reigns respectively of Augustus (29 B. C.—14 A. D.) and of Caligula (37—41) are of specific interest from the point of view of both their function and their syntactical construction. OGIS, No. 456, a decree by the city of Mytilene in honor of Augustus, was composed between 27 and 11 B. C.³ An embassy was sent to

¹) Cf. in OGIS, No. 737, (τὴν στήλην) ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τόπῳ. ²) See OGIS, to No. 737, n. 1, on the date (within the second century B. C.) of the inscription. ³) See n. 1 and the introduction to OGIS, No. 456.

Rome to present a copy to Augustus with the request that he allow an ἀντίγραφον to be exhibited in his palace as well as in the Capitol (Il. 50 ff.): παρακαλεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν συγχωρῆσαι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ δέλτον ἀναθεῖναι καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπετωλίῳ δέλτον ἢ στήλην (a tablet or a stone) τοῦδε τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἔχουσιν τὸ ἀντίγραφον.

This request as such affords full proof that a copy of the decree was sent to Augustus as a letter. The object of the request—to have the ἀντίγραφον of the decree publicly exhibited in the imperial palace as well as in the Capitol—shows that a decree is really an “open” letter. This clause thus gives concrete confirmation to the conclusion reached on the basis of the essential functional characteristics of inscriptions on the one hand and of letters not intended for publication on the other hand (see above, pp. 142f.).

Immediately after this epistolary request (OGIS, No. 456, Il. 50 ff.) follow further instructions for the Mytelenean ambassadors (Il. 55 ff.): εὐχαριστῆσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ (i. e., Augustus) τοὺς πρέσβεις τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ὀκταίᾳ τῇ ἀδελφῇ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ συγγενεῖσι καὶ φίλοις . . . (61) εὐχαριστῆσαι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς πρέσβεις προσενηνεγμένης αὐτῆς τῇ πόλει συμπαθέστατα καὶ τῆς πατρίου χρηστότητος οἰκείως.

There are two unusual constructions with εὐχαριστῶ in this paragraph, εὐχαριστῆσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ and εὐχαριστῆσαι ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ. The latter of these we shall consider together with a second occurrence (see below, pp. 151f.). The importance of the former construction cannot be overestimated, because it represents the only full structural and functional parallel to the Pauline construction which we have identified as characteristic of type Ib (see Table II), namely, εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ . . . περὶ ὑμῶν. This decree has, correspondingly, εὐχαριστῆσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεραῖς τῆς Ἑστίας καὶ Ἰουλίᾳ . . . καὶ Ὀκταίᾳ . . . καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ συγγενεῖσι καὶ φίλοις. Ostensibly, Paul gives thanks to God (τῷ θεῷ) about his addressees (περὶ ὑμῶν); ostensibly, the decree gives thanks to the Senate, etc. (τῷ συγκλήτῳ κτλ.) about Augustus (περὶ αὐτοῦ), the “addressee” of the decree. The decree however leaves no doubt that logically, though not grammatically, thanks are given to Augustus; the careful list of datives, citing the imperial government agencies and the imperial household with conscientious detail, merely serves to include them in the “thanksgiving” which is really meant for Augustus. To be sure, what is logically primary is grammatically secondary, and what is grammatically primary is logically secondary—a curious formality, but not an incomprehensible or singular one.

What is of extreme importance, however, is that we have here a thanksgiving in an official document of a highly formal, at least semi-epistolary type. The intricacies of fixed and formal style fully account for the formal (or logical) anomalies. Furthermore, we shall presently see that the second construction in the same period (I. 61), εὐχαριστήσαι ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, indubitably means "in addition to him (i. e., Augustus) to give thanks also to the Senate." Thus the immediately ensuing context confirms the direct exegetical judgment that it is logically Augustus to whom thanks are given (εὐχαριστήσαι περὶ αὐτοῦ) "before" his cabinet and his household. Surely the formal character of this official thanksgiving justifies the assumption that it is merely one example of a recognized and conventional pattern.

But even without this assumption it is clear that the Pauline formula εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ . . . περὶ ὑμῶν (see Table II, type Ib) represents exactly the same structural and functional usage, and that it must therefore be interpreted in the same manner. Indeed, close exegetical examination of the Pauline thanksgivings in general and of those of type Ib in particular makes this interpretation necessary. We have observed that grammatically as well as logically the addressant-addressee relation is typical of the Pauline thanksgivings (see above, pp. 37—39), a fact which demonstrates their definitely epistolary function. Accordingly, the thanksgiving as such is meant for the addressees; this is the precise meaning of the relation εὐχαριστῶ—περὶ ὑμῶν. The addressee is the logical object of the thanksgiving. But, in harmony with the religious character of every Pauline letter, God is the primary object logically as well as grammatically (τῷ θεῷ).

The unusual construction εὐχαριστῶ ἐπί with the genitive of a personal pronoun occurs also in SIG, No. 798¹, a decree of welcome (ψήφισμα ὑπαντήσεως) for the "Kings Rhoemetalces, Polemon, and Cotys, and their mother Tryphaena," on the occasion of the visit of these personages to the city of Cyzicos. The date of this inscription is 37 A. D.² The sentence immediately preceding the decree proper reads as follows (ll. 16ff.): ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἡδίστην ἠγούμενος τὴν ἐνδημίαν αὐτῶν μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας προσέταξε τοῖς ἄρχουσι ψήφισμα ὑπαντήσεως εἰσηγήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, δι' οὗ εὐχαριστήσουσι μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν³ τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν Τρυφαίνῃ ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐεργετεῖν βεβούληται τὴν πόλιν, φανεράν δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ δήμου εἰς αὐτοὺς ποιήσονται διάθεσιν.

¹) SIG = Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. W. Dittenberger, Vols. I—IV (3rd ed.; Leipzig, 1905—24).

²) SIG, No. 798; see the introductory note and

note 1 by the editor.

³) I. e., Rhoemetalces, Polemon, and Cotys.

Then follows the conventional formula of the decree proper: δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπηνῆσθαι μὲν τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ῥοιμητάλκην καὶ Πολέμωνα καὶ Κότυν καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν Τρύφαιναν κτλ.

The introductory statement is especially noteworthy because it explicitly states that this honorary decree is an expression of gratitude (ψήφισμα ὑπαντήσεως εἰσηγήσασθαι αὐτοῖς, δι' οὗ εὐχαριστήσουσι). This is, of course, true of all honorary decrees, although it is rarely explicitly stated as it is here. The characteristic verb ἐπαινεῖν in the decree itself may therefore be considered a synonym of εὐχαριστεῖν. Moreover, the objects of ἐπηνῆσθαι in the decrees (τοὺς βασιλεῖς . . . καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτῶν Τρύφαιναν) also define the construction εὐχαριστήσουσιν μὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν Τρυφαίνῃ; it cannot mean anything but "together with them (i. e., the three brothers) they shall also thank their mother Tryphaena." This is, then, the classical use of ἐπί c. g., signifying "simultaneously with." Thus the clause in OGIS, No. 456, ll. 56 ff. (see above, p. 150), which uses the same construction means, "together with (thanking) him they are to thank the Senate for its sympathetic treatment of the city, which is so in keeping with its traditional kindness."

Two other examples may serve to illustrate the usage of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐχαριστία on inscriptions other than honorary decrees, i. e., in texts at the base of statues erected in honor of rulers or their representative officials. OGIS, No. 587, shows the full and characteristic form of such a dedication ¹: Τριπολιτῶν τῆς Φοινείκης . . . οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Αἰμίλιον Ἰοῦγκον, πρεσβευτὴν Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀντιστράτηγον, τὸν ἑαυτῶν πολεῖτην καὶ εὐεργέτην, εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν . . . ἀνέθηκαν κτλ. The essential parts of the formula are, "The people have in gratitude erected the statue of So-and-so" (ὁ δῆμος Ἰοῦγκον . . . εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν . . . ἀνέθηκαν).

OGIS, No. 562, is a dedication of the same kind inscribed under a statue. Here, as in many other cases, the verb ἀνέθηκαν is omitted: Γάιον Τρεβώνιον . . . τὸν σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην . . . ὁ δῆμος εὐχαριστίας ἔνεκεν ². Typical in both these dedications is the epithet εὐεργέτης. We have often had occasion to observe the correlative occurrence of εὐεργέτης and εὐχαριστεῖν (or εὐχαριστία).

The most instructive example of this class for our purposes is the subscription on a statue of Aelius Aurelius Verus ³, co-regent of

¹) The date of this inscription is 127 A. D.; see n. 3 to OGIS, No. 587. ²) This inscription belongs to the second century A. D.; see n. 3 to OGIS, No. 561. ³) Cf. Preisigke, Wörterbuch der Griechischen Papyrusurkunden, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1931), Vol. III, p. 52, for the various forms in which his name appears in the papyri.

Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161—80). The statue was erected by the Achaean League, and the subscriptions reads (CIG, No. 1318)¹: Αἴλιον Αὐρήλιον Οὐήρον Καίσαρα οἱ Ἕλληνες εὐχαριστοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αἰτούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ οἴκῳ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀνέστησαν. The notable feature of this inscription is the double participle construction εὐχαριστοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αἰτούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ οἴκῳ. To be sure, this is so far as is known the only example of this construction on an inscription. But its significance is readily recognized. It is a fixed phrase, i. e., it is not built ad hoc; its terminology has all the characteristics of familiar and fixed conventionality, qualities inevitably found in all the structural features of such inscriptions.

The first participle construction expresses thanksgiving to the gods, the second is an intercessory prayer in behalf of the imperial house (αἰτούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ οἴκῳ). This combination of a thanksgiving with an intercessory prayer reminds us forcefully of the typical Pauline thanksgiving construction of type Ia: (1) εὐχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ and (2) μνησθῆναι ὑμῶν ποιούμενος . . . ἵνα, or δεόμενος, or προσευχόμενος, or αἰτούμενος (Col. 1 9; see Table II, col. 5). Although the Pauline letters are a hundred years older than the inscription, the fixed form of the inscriptional phrase clearly implies a much higher age for it. Indeed the same highly formal combination of thanksgiving and intercessory prayer occurs also in the epistolary "thanksgivings" of several papyrus letters (see below, pp. 158—170).

Dibelius' comment on the thanksgiving of I Thess. (1 2ff.)², that the conventional phrase which sometimes expresses intercessory prayer in the papyrus letters is "an unserer Stelle mit der Dankagung verbunden," must therefore not be understood to mean that this combination was unknown in Hellenistic usage in the time of Paul. Paul did not "create" this combination; he inherited it. To be sure, when the highly formulaic emasculated phrase εὐχαριστοῦντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ αἰτούμενοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ τῷ οἴκῳ is compared with the style of the Pauline thanksgivings, it becomes apparent that the latter by far surpass the former in religious spontaneity³. However, the implications of such a judgment are not very far-reaching, because a formulaic expression is always secondary, i. e., it is based on spontaneous, primary patterns which must be presupposed for the later

¹) CIG = Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. A. Boeck, Vol. I (Berlin, 1828). ²) Op. cit., I Thess 1 2; the note on "Die Versicherung der Fürbitte für den Adressaten", pp. 2f. ³) Such a judgment is, for example, advanced by Dibelius; see the passage cited in n. 2.

stereotyped formulas. We have, indeed, in our survey of Epictetus and Philo observed many examples of such primary usage ¹.

Thus the inscription, CIG, No. 1318, is an important witness to the existence in pagan Hellenism of a formula expressing a religious concept and practice which has often been considered peculiarly Pauline and Christian.

This political inscription with its significant religious terminology, leads to discussion of inscriptions of the second functional type (see above, p. 143), namely, those which serve strictly and directly the purpose of expressing religious experiences and ritualistic procedures.

But it is proper to state here the general significance of the evidence furnished by the political inscriptions: Apart from several points of structural detail which significantly elucidate some Pauline features, they attest the presence of a peculiar εὐχαριστία attitude as an essential aspect of political life in the Hellenistic world.

CIG, No. 502, is an example of a brief votive tablet: Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα εὐχαριστῶ ὑψίστῳ. The very brevity of this text indicates that it was an established practice to publish the religious thanksgivings of private persons of humble station by exhibiting them on the temple premises. The cause for which this particular thanksgiving was offered is not stated. In the following examples, however, a large variety of causes is mentioned.

CIG, No. 34, states the cause with the orthodox construction ἐπὶ c. dat., Μάνθεος Αἴθου εὐχαριστεῖ Διὶ ἐπὶ νίκῃ πενθάθλου παιδός. For this construction in Paul compare Table II, col. 6.

OGIS, No. 589, a votive tablet dedicated to the Syrian deity Bal-Markod in response to an instruction received by the devotee from another Syrian god, Aremthenos declares: Κυρίῳ γενναίῳ Βαλμαρκῶδι τῷ καὶ Μηγρίν, κατὰ κέλευσιν θεοῦ Ἀρεμθηνοῦ Μάξιμος εὐχαριστῶν ἀνέθηκα. The verb which governs the dative object is, of course, εὐχαριστῶ, not ἀνατίθημι.

SIG, No. 995, a votive tablet gratefully commemorating the fact that a family of priests (= σκανὰ Ἀρχιμήδου τοῦ Ἰλάρου) had served in the temple of Dionysus in Epidaurus ² for sixty years, was composed: about 183-84 A. D. It reads: θεός, ἀγαθὰ τύχα· σκανὰ ἱερέως Ἀρχιμήδους τοῦ Ἰλάρου, νακόρου Παραμόνης τῆς Ἀβασκάντου, πυροφόρου Ἰλάρου τοῦ Ἀρχιμήδους, ζακόρου Λανπροτύχης, ναυφυλάκων

¹) The universal process of structural formalization and of stylistic ossification may be traced through all its essential stages in the study of the Christian epigraphical documents of the first four centuries. It would be erroneous to interpret the secondary formulations without making reference to the primary patterns of the earlier, more spontaneous period. ²) SIG, No. 995, II; for its date see n. 6.

Εὐτύχου . . . καὶ Δάφνου ἱερωσάμενοι ξ' ἔτει τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαριστοῦμεν. The cause for the thanksgiving is here expressed by the causal participle construction ἱερωσάμενοι ξ' ἔτει. For this construction in the Pauline thanksgivings see Table II, col. 6.

As an example from the third century A. D. may serve OGIS, No. 717. This inscription is a dedicatory tablet, consecrating a cistern to Sarapis and Isis and to the σύνναοι θεοί: —Πολυ—ρανος ὁ καὶ Τοῦτος . . . εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Σαράπιδι καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς πᾶσι ἐποίησα τὸ ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ Βερενείκης καὶ τὸ ζῳῆδιον καὶ ὀρύξας τὸν λάκκον τοῦ ὑδρέυματος ἀπὸ θεμελίου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καμάτων ἀνέθηκα ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις καὶ τοῖς σὺν ἐμοὶ ἐργαζομένοις καὶ ἐποίησα φιάλιον ἀργυροῦν . . . , ὁμοίως φιάλην ἀργυρᾶν . . . , ταῦτα πάντα ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Σαράπιδι τῷ Μινιεῖ.

This is one of the few examples of the construction εὐχαριστῶ τί τινι. Schermann quotes this inscription (see above, p. 49), but errs in interpreting its εὐχαριστῶ-construction as meaning, "I thank someone for something." The context shows clearly that the accusative ταῦτα πάντα does not refer to a previously stated cause for the thanksgiving, but to a list of objects through which the devotee expresses his thanksgiving. Moreover, it is easy to see why this construction, still an unusual one, was employed; it is built as an exact parallel to the correct preceding clause, καὶ ὀρύξας τὸν λάκκον τοῦ ὑδρέυματος ἀπὸ θεμελίου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων καμάτων ἀνέθηκα. Ἀνατίθημι c. acc., a correct construction, led the writer, who betrays his unfamiliarity with Greek syntax throughout, to construe εὐχαριστῶ also with an accusative. However, it is permissible and makes good sense to translate, "All these things (i. e., the cistern with the painted, or carved, figure of Berenike and the silver drinking cups) I dedicate as a thanksgiving out of my own means to Sarapis."

Very instructive are the functional and structural characteristics of SB, No. 4117¹. This is a tablet commemorating the fact that a certain Valentinus (Οὐαλεντίων) made an intercessory prayer (προσκύνημά τινος ποιεῖν) in behalf of the dekadarches Plementinus Vericundus: Πλημεντίνου Οὐερηκούνδου δεκαδάρχου τὸ προσκύνημα ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἀγνωστάτου ὧδε καθίσαντος τρίς, ᾧ εὐχαριστοῦμεν πολλὰ: . . . Τραιανοῦ Ἀρίστου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου², θῶθ ιβ'. Οὐαλεντίων ἐποίησα. The combination of intercessory prayer and thanksgiving we have already found to be typical (see above, pp. 152f.). Striking,

¹) SB = F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Vols. I. and II (Berlin, 1915 and 1922).

²) That is, the year 117 A. D.

however, in this religious inscription is the fact that not God but Plementinus is the grammatical as well as the logical object of the act of thanksgiving. Functionally, ϕ εὐχαριστοῦμεν is an exact parallel to the Pauline εὐχαριστῶ (τῷ θεῷ) περι ὑμῶν. But the Pauline formula is implicit, whereas this is explicit, i. e., the intercessory prayer to the gods is made out of gratitude to Plementinus.

Another typical religious function of εὐχαριστῶ on inscriptions is to be found on documents which commemorate (and advertise) healing miracles. SIG, No. 1172¹, is a tablet dedicated to Asclepius by a woman whose ulcerated finger had been healed by him. The name of the woman, preceding the verb-form εὐχαριστεῖ, is not fully decipherable: — — ασα — — — — κεφαλὴν καὶ — — . . εὐχαριστεῖ Ἀσκληπίου (ν Σωτήρα, λαβοῦσα) ἐπὶ τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου ἑλκωσίν τινα ἀγρίαν καὶ θεραπευθεῖσα, τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιτάξαντος ἐπιθεῖναι ὄστρεον τὸ ὄστρακον κατακάσασαν καὶ λεοτριβήσασαν μετὰ ῥοδίνου καὶ μολόχη μετ' ἐλαίου χρίσασθαι· καὶ οὕτως ἐθεραπεύθη. ἰδοῦσαν δέ με πλείονας ἀρετὰς τοῦ θεοῦ καθ' ὕπνον ἀναγράφειν ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε τὰς ὄψεις. If we read this text correctly, and if our conjecture is accepted, then we have here an example of εὐχαριστεῖν τινά for the usual εὐχαριστεῖν τινί = to thank some one.

SIG, No. 1173, a record of four miraculous healings, belongs in the second century A. D. in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138—61) and was discovered in Rome². It is here reproduced in all its essential parts to show how fixed was the inscriptional form of the aretologies, and that a clause expressing the gratitude (or rather the thanksgiving) of cured persons was one of their characteristic features functionally and structurally: αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις³ Γαίῳ τινὶ τυφλῷ ἐ χρημάτισεν (sc. ὁ θεός) ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν βῆμα καὶ προσκυνῆσαι . . . καὶ ὀρθὸν ἀνέβλεψε τοῦ δήμου παρεστῶτος καὶ συγχαιρομένου, ὅτι ζῶσαι ἀρετὰ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἡμῶν Ἀντωνεῖνου.

Λουκίῳ πλευρεϊτικῷ καὶ ἀφελπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐ χρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν . . . καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἠὲ χαρίστησεν τῷ θεῷ καὶ ὁ δῆμος συνεχάρη αὐτῷ.

αἷμα ἀναφέροντι Ἰουλιανῷ ἀφελπισμένῳ ὑπὸ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐ χρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν . . . καὶ ἐσώθη καὶ ἐλθὼν δημοσίᾳ ἠὲ χαρίστησεν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ δήμου.

1) This inscription was found in Lebena, on Crete; it belongs most likely in the first century B. C.; see n. 1 to Nos. 1171 and 1172. 2) See the notes and the introduction to SIG, No. 1173. 3) Compare with this indefinite temporal phrase the similar phrases used in the Synoptic gospels to introduce stories; Mt 31, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις; Mc 81, ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις Lc 612, ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις, etc.

Οὐαληρίῳ Ἄπρω στρατιώτῃ τυφλῷ ἐχρημάτισεν ὁ θεὸς ἐλθεῖν . . . καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ἠὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ.

Otto Weinreich¹ discusses this inscription from the religious-historical point of view. He points out the obvious genetic relationship of the healing miracles of the Synoptic gospels to the pagan-Hellenistic aretologies.

It is especially instructive for us, however, to view the Lucan story of the ten lepers in the light of this inscription. Luke says that only one of the ten cured man, a Samaritan, returned to Jesus (Lc 17 16), καὶ ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον παρὰ τοὺς πόδας αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστῶν αὐτῷ. W. Bauer² correctly remarks that αὐτῷ refers to Jesus, "der sich in diesem Wunder als Gott offenbart." This Lucan passage is then the only exception to the general rule stated by Lohmeyer³ that in the NT "ein Dank kann sich nur an Gott richten, nicht Christus." Lohmeyer, however, makes no comment on Lc 17 16, which is a notable exception to the rule. But even Luke, after thus conceding to the Hellenistic aretological form, hastens to rationalize his faux pas by making Jesus ask, οἱ δὲ ἑνέα ποῦ; οὐχ εὐρέθησαν ὑποστρέψαντες δοῦναι δόξαν τῷ θεῷ (!) εἰ μὴ ὁ ἄλλογενὴς οὗτος. Of course, what is a fixed, impersonal formula in the inscription (καὶ ἀνέβλεψεν καὶ ἐλήλυθεν καὶ ἠὐχαρίστησεν δημοσίᾳ τῷ θεῷ) is a vivid, novelistic feature in the Lucan story. But both forms are characteristic of the pagan as well as of the Synoptic aretological stories.

It is appropriate to group with these examples of the religious function of εὐχαριστῶ some occurrences from the (non-epistolary!) magic papyri, which show a characteristic usage of εὐχαριστῶ. Prayer is one of the typical techniques recommended to the initiate in the art of magic. There are in Preisendanz' edition of the magic papyri⁴ three such prayers in which εὐχαριστῶ occurs.

In P. XIa⁵ the following typical instruction is given (ll. 12ff.): ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὄψη γυναῖκαν ἐπ' ὄνου καθιζομένην, εὐμορφον λίαν εἰς ὑπερβολήν, οὐράνιον τι κάλλος ἔχουσαν, ἀδιηγῆτως ὠραίαν καὶ νέαν, ἣν ἰδὼν σὺ εὐθέως προσκύνησον λέγων· εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κυρία, ὅτι μοι ἐφάνθης. ἄξιόν μὲ σου κρῖνον, εὐμενῆς ἐμοὶ γενέσθω ἡ ἀβρότης σου, καὶ ποιήσον, περὶ οὗ σοι χρῆσομαι.' ἐρεῖ δὲ σοι ἡ θεός· 'τίνος διάνοιαν ἔχεις;' σὺ λέγε· 'παρὰ σοῦ μοι χρεῖα ἐστὶν εἰς τὰς τοῦ βίου ὑπηρεσίας.'

¹ Antike Heilungswunder (Gießen, 1909). ² Op. cit., s. v. εὐχαριστῶ.

³ Der Brief an die Philipper, p. 14, n. 3. ⁴ K. Preisendanz, Papyri Graecae Magicae (Berlin, 1928—31), 2 vols.

⁵ Ibid., II, 54; the copy of this papyrus belongs in the fourth or fifth century A. D., but the text is undoubtedly much older. It is entitled, "The Old Lady-servant of Apollonius of Tyana."

It is obvious that all four occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ in the Shepherd of Hermas (see above, p. 104) must be considered examples of the technique here recommended for magicians and visionaries. Furthermore, we cannot fail to observe that the pagan goddess (ἡ θεός, ἡ κυρία) is described with the same pictorial technique as is the κυρία in the Shepherd ¹.

Another formal and functional resemblance between the magical papyri and Hermas is the technique of "instruction" and of the dialogue. Thus it appears that Hermas follows a formal pattern familiar to him from pagan religious "literature." Indeed, the criticism which his Lady makes of the Christians (Vis. iii. 9. 7) aptly characterizes his work: "Be not like the magicians, for the magicians carry their charms in boxes; . . . you have become hardened and will not cleanse your hearts." Hermas may have abjured magic when he became a Christian, but its thought-world and its thought-forms survive in his Christian literary efforts.

The magic Pap. XII ², a collection of magic recipes copied between 300 and 350 A. D., contains a εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving with the same function (ll. 173 ff.): ὅταν δὲ ῥαγῆ τὰ δεσμά, λέγε: 'εὐχαριστῶ σοι, κύριε, ὅτι με ἔλυσεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τὸ μονογενές, τὸ ζῶν.'

Pap. XIII ³, ll. 714 ff., has the following interesting instruction: πυθομένου σου οὖν, τὰ πρῶτα εὐχαρίστει ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτὸν ἀκηκοῦναι σου καὶ μὴ παρωρακῆναι σε. οὕτω τοῦτω πάντοτε θυσίαζε καὶ τὰς εὐσεβείας πρόσφερε: ἔπακούει γάρ σοι οὕτως. Hermas Sim. vii. 5 is an exact parallel to this instruction: καὶ τοῦτο εὐχαρίστει τῷ κυρίῳ, ὅτι ἄξιόν σε ἠγήσατο τοῦ προδηλῶσαι τὴν θλίψιν.

The following prayer ⁴ is Christian; and the papyrus whereon it was written was folded and tied with a read thread, and worn around the neck: Δέσποτα, θεὲ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ ἅγιε Σερῆνε, εὐχαριστῶ ἐγὼ Σιλουανός, υἱὸς Σαραπίωνος, καὶ κλίνω τὴν κεφαλὴν μου κατενώπιόν σου αἰτῶν καὶ παρακαλῶν, ὅπως διώξης ἀπ' ἐμοῦ, τοῦ δούλου σου, τὸν δαίμονα προβασκανίας . . .

2. The Epistolary Papyri

It now remains to examine the evidence for the usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the strictly epistolary papyri. This task is naturally of the greatest significance for the exegetical and genetic interpretation of Pauline usage in view of the fact that we are dealing here with documents of the same functional type—letters.

¹) Cf. especially, Vis. iv. 10. 5.

²) Preisendanz, op. cit., II, pp. 69 ff.

³) Ibid., p. 119.

⁴) Ibid., p. 197; of the Christian magic papyri, P. IX.

The parallels from these papyri have already attracted the attention of NT scholars, but as yet no attempt has been made to study systematically the usage of our terms in them. The relative frequency of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., and the characteristic functional uses to which it is put call for such an examination. And, whatever the relation between papyrus and Pauline usage may be, it can be clearly determined only on the basis of a study which aims first at an objective and comprehensive appraisal of the papyrus usage for its own sake. Thus far, the more advanced among the commentators on Paul's letters, and those NT scholars who are noted as papyrological experts, have confined themselves to discussion of a few passages which exhibit more or less obvious materials. It is now imperative to determine how frequent and how typical is the usage of our terms, functionally and structurally, in the epistolary documents of the Hellenistic age.

We may readily distinguish among three types of functional usage in the epistolary papyri. All three are distinctly epistolary, i. e., our terms are employed with direct reference to the epistolary situation existing between addressant and addressee. (1) All occurrences in which the deity is the grammatical object to which thanks are given form one distinct type, of which εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς or τῷ θεῷ indicates the basic pattern. (2) All occurrences in which persons other than deities are the object of the verb action (εὐχαριστῶ τινί) represent the second functional type. We have seen that this distinction between the personal, dative objects indicates separate functional usages in the literary as well as in the epigraphical documents so far discussed. (3) There is—exclusively in the papyrus letters (!)—a highly specialized usage of εὐχαριστῶ = "I oblige," or "I do a favor." The structural pattern of this usage is invariably εὐχαριστήσεις τινί with an aorist participle in the nom. case. Of these three usages the first is, of course, the most important for our purpose; it is formally and functionally, though not quantitatively, the most elaborate in the papyri.

The earliest extant papyrus letter in which εὐχαριστῶ occurs with τοῖς θεοῖς as the pers. object is dated 168 B. C. (see below, pp. 160f.). It is, however, to our advantage to make reference first to an earlier letter in which χάρις τοῖς θεοῖς (ἔστω) occurs with the same functional significance. This impersonal construction χάρις ἔστω and the finite construction χάριν ἔχειν, are the predecessors in classical usage of the strictly Hellenistic word εὐχαριστῶ, which however never fully supplants the earlier terms. These occur frequently in

Hellenistic documents of all functional types¹. The significance of χάρις (ἔστω) in pap. Hibeh, 79, 8, rests upon the fact that this letter belongs in the first half of the third century B. C. (in the reign of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus, about 260)², a time when εὐχαριστῶ was as yet a new and unfamiliar word; yet this same papyrus exhibits the functional usage (β) of εὐχαριστῶ. It is therefore most likely that χάρις (ἔστω) was used for the sake of variety, because the two forms occur in close proximity. Only the beginning of the letter is extant:

Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλείδει
χαίρειν. εἰ ἔρρωσαι καὶ
ὦν πρόνοιαν ποιεῖ καὶ
τᾶλλα σοι κατὰ λόγον ἔστιν
εἶη ἂν ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω καὶ
τοῖς θεοῖς πολλή χάρις,
ὕγαινον δὲ καὶ αὐτός.
εὐχαριστήσεις μοι (here the text breaks off).

The editors make the pertinent and important comment³ that "this fragment of a letter is noticeable for its elaborate introductory formula."

The earliest extant papyrus letter in which εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς occurs is also one of the most important and instructive parallels to the structural and functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ in the Pauline thanksgivings. This letter, pap. Lond. 42⁴, was written in 168 B. C. by the enraged Isias to her roaming husband Hephastion, begging him in no uncertain terms to come home, because she had learned that since he last wrote he had been dismissed from the κατοχή⁵ in the Sarapieion of Memphis. The letter is here reproduced only so far as the functional and structural analysis of εὐχαριστῶ requires:

¹) For examples of χάρις ἔχω τοῖς θεοῖς see Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s. v. χάρις. That the corresponding usages of χάρις in Paul should also be considered in this connection need hardly be emphasized. Its usual meaning, "grace" or "favor," in some cases closely approaches "thankfulness." Directly pertinent are of course the numerous examples of χάρις τῷ θεῷ (ἔστω); see Rm 6 17 7 25 I Cor 15 57 II Cor 2 14 8 16 9 15. Wettstein quotes (to Rm 6 17) two exact parallels from Epictetus Diss. iv. 4, and Lucianus Tim 36. ²) Grenfell and Hunt, The Hibeh Papyri, Part I (London, 1906). ³) Ibid., to No. 79, 8. ⁴) British Mus. XLII; it is quoted and discussed by Deissmann, Bible Studies (Edinburgh, 1901), p. 209; reedited and commented upon by Wilcken, Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit, Vol. I (Berlin, 1927), No. 59, pp. 297 ff. Neither Deissmann nor Wilcken has made reference to the typical usage of εὐχαριστῶ in this document. ⁵) On the subject of the κατοχή (detention of devotees by the God) in the Serapieion of Memphis see UPZ, pp. 65—77.

Ἰσιὰς Ἡφαιστίωνι τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
 εἰ ἔρρωμένω σοι τᾶλλα κατὰ λόγον
 ἀπαντᾶι, εἴη ἂν ὡς τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχο-
 μένη διατελῶ, καὶ αὐτὴ δ' ὑγίαινον
 καὶ τὸ παιδίον καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες
 σοῦ διὰ παντὸς μνεῖαν ποιούμενοι.¹
 Κομισαμένη τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν
 παρ' Ὁρώρου, ἐν ἧι διεσάφεις γεγονέναι
 ἐν κατοχῇ ἐν τῷ Σαραπιείῳ τῷ
 ἐν Μέμφει, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἔρρωσθαι σε
 εὐθέως τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαρίστουν,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι σε πάντων
 τῶν ἐκεῖ ἀπειλημένων παραγεγονότων
 ἀηδίζομαι, . . .

It is obvious that we have here the verb εὐχαριστῶ in a typically epistolary function and structure. It follows immediately after the conventional opening formula (ll. 2—5), and is the principal verb of the first period of the letter proper. This period begins with the causal participle construction κομισαμένη τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολὴν . . . (εὐχαρίστουν)—exactly the same structural relation which is so characteristic of the Pauline thanksgiving periods of type Ia (see Table II, cols. 1 and 6).

Of equal significance for the discovery of the antecedents of the Pauline thanksgiving structure and function is line (5a), σοῦ διὰ παντὸς μνεῖαν ποιούμενοι (see Table II, col. 5). To be sure, in Paul this temporal part. clause defines and modifies the principal verb εὐχαριστῶ, while here it is added as an afterthought to the preceding period. Nevertheless its presence in the immediate context of the thanksgiving period and in the introductory part of the letter make it a direct and pertinent parallel to the corresponding Pauline phrase. Wilcken is undoubtedly right (see below, n. 1) in thinking that it was added in order to assure the addressee of the addressant's affection. But it must also be emphasized that this purpose was achieved by increasing rather than by diminishing the formal character of the introduction to the letter. Formality and intimacy are the characteristics of this as of all εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving periods, including the Pauline.

Moreover, the εὐχαριστῶ period serves to introduce directly the specific subject matter of the letter, thus succinctly and explicitly

¹) This line (5a) is subsequently added to the letter by the addressant. Wilcken correctly thinks that Isias made the addition as an afterthought in order to assure her husband of her unchanged affection (in spite of his defections), see *ibid.*, p. 301.

defining the epistolary situation: "Having received your letter, through which you informed me of your detention in the Sarapieion of Memphis, I at once gave thanks to the gods for your health, but I am disgusted (ἀηδίζουμαι) that you failed to come home, while all others have done so immediately upon their release." εὐχαριστῶ and ἀηδίζουμαι are deftly employed to indicate Isias' true feelings toward her husband. This contrast of the two verbs of course betrays no literary skill on the writer's part; it is the blunt expression of a simple state of mind. The effective contrast between εὐχαριστῶ and ἀηδίζουμαι can, however, in no way disguise the obvious fact that the εὐχαριστῶ construction itself is here used as a conventional and familiar epistolary formula as early as the second century B. C. This single papyrus letter is sufficient evidence that the εὐχαριστῶ period is a fixed epistolary formula which serves to introduce the subject matter of the letter in a more formal manner than would be possible without it. But it lends to the letter not only formality, but also intimacy.

It need hardly be mentioned that the Pauline thanksgivings serve the same function and have the same formal characteristics and effects. Paul, however, does not pass so disingeniously from the thanksgiving to unpleasant subject-matter. His severe and lengthy criticism of the Corinthian party spirit and of other dissatisfactory conditions in Corinth begins immediately after the thanksgiving (I Cor 1 10ff.), but he betrays no emotional excitement comparable to that indicated by Isias' ἀηδίζουμαι. In the one place (Galatians) where he does betray it, he dispenses with a thanksgiving and goes immediately from the opening formula (1 1-5) into medias res with the blunt and disapproving θαυμάζω ὅτι¹.

Perhaps, however, it is not altogether correct to say that in Galatians the thanksgiving is entirely omitted. There is at the very end of the opening formula (1 5b) the singular clause $\tilde{\varphi}$ (sc. τῷ θεῷ) ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων· ἀμήν. It may very well be that Paul "intended" this brief benediction as a substitute for his normal epistolary introduction—the thanksgiving. At all events, it is clear that the regular εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving is omitted, because the specific epistolary situation did not permit it. The "psychological"

¹) This usage of θαυμάζω is quite characteristic in Hellenistic official (!) epistolography; it serves, as in Gal, to introduce the discussion of unpleasant subjects. Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s. v. θαυμάζω, cites a number of examples which clearly characterize this epistolary usage as typical. A particularly characteristic example (not cited by Preisigke) is P. Paris 63, II (= UPZ, No. 110). Here a long list of criticisms of a subordinate official is introduced by ἐθαυμάζομεν οὖν, ll. 34ff. (Note the epistolary plural!).

explanation that Paul was too excited and too displeased with the Galatians points in the same direction, but it is too subjective. Thus the absence of the thanksgiving from Galatians becomes a stringent argumentum ex silentio for the definite, epistolary function of the thanksgiving.

Perhaps it is permissible to explain the singular εὐλογητός-proemium to II Cor (1 3-11) similarly, from the particular epistolary situation which called forth this letter. The degree of intimacy required for the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving (and indicated by it) did not obtain when this letter was written. At the same time, the tension between addressant and addressees was not so acute as in the case of Galatians. A praise (εὐλογία) of the God of all comfort was therefore a very appropriate introduction to a letter obviously written in the hope of reestablishing peaceful relations.

If this interpretation be correct, we have here again a confirmation of the general principle that the Pauline thanksgivings are distinctly epistolary in function and form, and that they presuppose as well as express a high degree of intimacy.

To return to the papyri: A second letter to Hephastion, written by his brother Dionysius on the same day (Aug. 29, 168 B. C.) and for the same purpose (namely, to urge Hephastion's immediate return to his anxious family), exhibits essentially the same epistolary introduction (Pap. Vat. 2289) ¹:

Διονύσιος Ἡφαιστίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χαίρειν.
 Εἰ ἔρρωμένῳ σοι τέλλα κατὰ λόγον ἀπαντᾶι,
 εἶη ἂν ὡς βούλομαι, καὶ αὐτὸς δ' ὑγίαινον καὶ
 Εὐδαιμονίς καὶ τὰ παιδία καὶ Ἰσιὰς καὶ τὸ παιδίον σου
 καὶ οἱ ἐν οἴκῳ πάντες. Κομισάμενος τὴν
 παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν, ἐν ἣι διεσάφεις διασεσῶσθαι
 ἐγὼ μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ εἶναι ἐν κατοχῇ,
 ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἔρρωσθαι σε τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπευχάριστον,
 ἡβουλόμην δὲ καὶ σὲ παραγεγονέναι εἰς τὴν
 πόλιν, καθάπερ καὶ Κόνων καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἀπει-
 λημένοι πάντες, ὅπως . . .

In the same position as in the first letter, i. e., immediately after the opening formula (ll. 2—5), is the construction κομισάμενος τὴν παρὰ σοῦ ἐπιστολήν—ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἔρρωσθαι σε τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπευχάριστον. This seems to be the only extant occurrence of the composite verb ἐπ-εὐχαριστῶ. It is therefore difficult to decide whether the prefix ἐπί intensifies the verb action (I do give thanks); whether it is causal,

¹) Edited as No. 60 in UPZ, pp. 302ff.

emphasizing the motive for the verb action (it is indeed for your health that I give thanks); or whether it means "in addition to" (I also give thanks). This last interpretation is probably the correct one if, as Wilcken has suggested¹ for other convincing reasons, Dionysios wrote this letter after he had read his sister Isias' and in order to reinforce hers. As Isias had expressed her gratitude for her husband's good health, so Dionysios too (ἐπ-εὐχ.) expresses his thanks to the gods.

There is, however, another strong possible reason for assigning this force to the prefix ἐπί, one which seems to be implied in the relative clause ἐν ἣι διεσάφεις διασσεῶσθαι ἐγ μεγάλων κινδύνων καὶ εἶναι ἐν κατοχῇ. "Rescue from great dangers" is frequently mentioned as the explicit reason for thanksgivings (see below, pp. 165ff.), and certainly the religious vows which led Hephaestion into the κατοχή of the Sarapieion suggest that he himself was in a grateful state of mind. At all events, it may safely be said that this aspect of the epistolary situation, namely, Hephaestion's detention in the Sarapieion, called forth these religious-epistolary εὐχαριστῶ thanksgivings both in the letter of Isias and in that of Dionysios. We shall see indeed that it is possible, even imperative, to explain the presence (or absence) of a thanksgiving in every case in terms of the specific epistolary situation. Merely to assert that in a number of letters a highly conventional thanksgiving is used, while in most letters it is not, is a statement without any scientific value whatsoever. The fact that all thanksgivings exhibit a fixed, conventional form does not account for the presence of a thanksgiving in a particular letter.

The adjective εὐχάριστος also occurs in a papyrus letter of the second century B. C., Pap. Paris 29². Like the two preceding specimens, it was discovered in the Sarapieion at Memphis and belongs to the same period, the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (170—145 B. C.). This papyrus is a petition (ἐντευξις) by the twins Thaues and Taus, priestesses in the Sarapieion³, to the king and queen, and is dated in the year 161-160 B. C.

The twins petition the king to bring pressure to bear upon the local magistrate in order to assure them of the regular assignment of their legally appropriated means of sustenance. They allude first to a visit of the king to the Sarapieion in the year 163⁴, lines 4f.:

¹) UPZ, p. 301, note to line 7.

²) UPZ, No. 41, pp. 243ff.

³) Wilcken describes their position in the Sarapieion at Memphis in UPZ, pp. 46f. and pp. 177—85.

⁴) UPZ, p. 244, n. 1.

διασωθείς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν ἕξωθεν τόπων ἀνέβης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν θυσιάσαι. On this occasion the twins had obtained their allotment of oil through the king's intervention in response to an earlier petition, l. 13: τότε μὲν οὖν δι' ὑμᾶς τοὺς εὐχαρίστους θεοὺς τοὺς προσοφειλομένους δύο μετρητὰς ἐκομισάμεθα, οἱ ἦσαν ιθ (ἔτους) ("At that time, through your intervention as grateful gods, we received the two measures of oil due us"). Wilcken without offering any reasons translates εὐχαρίστους "gnadenreich"¹ (= gracious); probably he thought that the royal pair as apotheosized beings could hardly have been called grateful. Yet this would be no valid argument, because in the preceding lines reference is made in frankly "anthropomorphic" fashion to their πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσέβειαν καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους εὐγνωμοσύνην (ll. 10f.); the twins thus suggest that it is the piety, benevolence and gratitude of the rulers to which they appeal.

The cause of the royal gratitude is clearly indicated in l. 4, διασωθείς κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν ἕξωθεν τόπων ἀνέβης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν θυσιάσαι. The reference is undoubtedly to Philometor's safe return from Rome in the summer of 163. Wilcken himself points this out² and correctly concludes that the sacrifice which the king offered in the Sarapieion immediately after his return was a thankoffering. For this reason, then, the twins call the king and the queen εὐχαρίστους θεοὺς, grateful gods. The accent is on the adjective, not on the substantive. But much more important, from the point of view of our study, than to assure the meaning "grateful" for this occurrence of εὐχάριστος is the recognition of the fact that the king came to the Sarapieion at Memphis in order to bring his thankoffering for his safe return from a hazardous voyage to Sarapis, the protector of seafaring men³.

There are two more examples in papyrus letters of the second century B. C. Especially noteworthy is the usage attested by Pap. Tebt. I, 56⁴, a private letter written by one farmer to another. The writer requests his addressee to procure for him a suitable farm in his community, because his (the writer's) farm had been destroyed by a flood. The complete letter (omitting the conventional opening formula) reads as follows:

(l. 5) γείνωσκε δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατακεκλῦσθαι τὸ πεδῖον ὑμῶν (read ἡμῶν) καὶ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἕως τῆς τροφῆς τῶν κτηνῶν ἡμῶν. καλῶς

¹) UPZ, p. 244.

²) UPZ, p. 36.

³) Wilcken discusses and emphasizes the fact that Sarapis was specifically worshiped as the savior from the dangers of the sea, UPZ, pp. 35f.

⁴) The Tebtunis Papyri, Vol. I, ed. Grenfell, Hunt and Smyly (1902); Vol. II, ed. Grenfell, Hunt and Goodspeed (London, 1907).

οὖν ποιήσης εὐχαριστήσαι πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς θεοῖς δεῦτερον δὲ σῶσαι ψυχὰς πολλὰς ζητήσας μοι περὶ τὴν κώμην σου εἰς τὴν τροφήν ἡμῶν γῆς ἀρούρας πέντε ὡς ἔξομεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὴν τροφήν ἡμῶν. Τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσας ἔσῃ μοι κεχαρισμένος εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον. ἔρρωσο.

The editors translate the εὐχαριστῶ-clause as follows¹: "Please therefore to give thanks to the gods in the first place, and secondly to save many lives by seeking out in the neighborhood of our village 5 arourae for our maintenance . . ." It must be admitted that this translation—through no fault of the translator—does not make good sense, since no reason for a thanksgiving is indicated in the letter; on the contrary, the letter suggests a reason for the very opposite.

SB 7172, a letter dated in the year 217 B. C., exhibits in one brief period the correct usage of our epistolary formula εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς, stating the reason for the thanksgiving with the orthodox ἐπί c. dat. L. 25 reads, τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιήσατο εὐχαριστῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συντελέσει αὐτοῦς ἃ ἐπηγγείλατο αὐτῷ. The liturgical phrase εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς is conventionally used with epistolary function and in epistolary form whenever gratitude to the correspondent is to be expressed in a more emphatic and dignified, yet intimate manner.

The following examples are from the second century A. D. BGU, II, 423² is a letter from Apion, a mariner in the imperial Roman navy, to his father. He writes from Italy, after a dangerous crossing from Egypt, to his native Philadelphia in the Fayum:

Ἄπιων Ἐπιμάχῳ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ κυρίῳ πλείστα χαίρειν. Πρὸ μὲν πάντων εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἔρρωμένον εὐτυχεῖν μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς μου καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου. εὐχαριστῶ τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράπιδι ὅτι μου κινδυνεύσαντος εἰς θάλασσαν ἔσωσε εὐθέως. ὅτε εἰσῆλθον εἰς Μησήνους³ ἔλαβα βιάτικον παρὰ Καίσαρος κτλ.

Wilcken says that this letter has been considered by many interpreters a particularly fine example of a private letter⁴. It does, indeed, differ from the average papyrus letter in its "refreshing naïveté⁵," its personal, inobtrusive intimacy and directness, as well

¹) Ibid., Vol. I, to No. 56. ²) BGU = Ägyptische Urkunden aus den

Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1892ff.). This papyrus is reprinted in U. Wilcken, Grundzüge und Chrestomatie der Papyruskunde (Leipzig, 1912), 2 vols.; see Vol. I, 2, p. 565 No. 480; cf. also Deissmann, Licht vom Osten (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 145—50.

³) The imperial navy yard Misenum, near Naples. ⁴) GCP (see n. 2), I, 1, p. 418, n. 4. ⁵) Deissmann, op. cit., p. 150.

as in its orderly arrangement and a noticeable though non-literary fluency of style.

First we have the conventional opening formula (l. 1); then follows the equally conventional but not universally employed wish—in the form of a prayer—for the health and welfare of the addressee and his household. Then follows, in the form of a thanksgiving to the Lord Sarapis, the essential item of epistolary information. This thanksgiving focuses the epistolary situation and permits the writer to continue in simple epistolary phrases, to recite his experiences and make his requests. The thanksgiving is explicitly and exclusively to Sarapis, the patron god of seafarers. This is however not an account of a formal act of thanksgiving made in a Sarapeum, but a definitely epistolary form of thanksgiving, as the use of the simple present tense (εὐχαριστῶ) indicates. The function of this thanksgiving is plainly not liturgical, but epistolary, namely, to inform the addressee of the safe completion of what was in those days always a dangerous voyage.

It is highly instructive to compare the pathetic letter of the unfortunate farmer (Pap. Tebt. I, 56) with that of Apion in regard to their functional and structural usage of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving. Both are private letters in the strictest sense of the word. But neither is an ordinary private letter. The epistolary situation is in each case especially significant. It cannot be doubted that the situation accounts for the use of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving, which is entirely out of place in an everyday letter.

This is an observation which can readily be made in the case of every letter which exhibits the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving; on the other hand, the absence of such a thanksgiving in the much more numerous letters which are the product of less dramatic epistolary situations strengthens our conclusion. Tebt. I, 56, shows a hopelessly tangled construction, while BGU, II, 423, shows exceptionally clear, simple and correct structure. But this contrast is due to the difference between the writers, one a provincial, rural Egyptian, the other a man whose wider experience socially, culturally and geographically enables him to write correctly and effectively.

It is of importance, furthermore, to observe that the thanksgiving in Apion's letter follows immediately upon the formula which expresses the prayerful wish for good health and general well-being (εὐχομαί σε ὑγιαίνειν καὶ . . . εὐτυχεῖν). We have observed the same structural sequence in Pap. Lond. 42 (see above, 160ff.) and in its companion letter Pap. Vat. 2289. The comparison of Apion's structure and style with those of these two letters emphasizes the greater

simplicity and forcefulness of the former, but it also demonstrates that prayer and thanksgiving are functionally as well as formally an inseparable unit. This is the same combination which is so characteristic of the Pauline epistolary thanksgivings of type Ia (εὐχαριστῶ—μνείαν ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου or προσευχόμενος or αἰτούμενος, see Table II, cols. 1 and 5). Naturally, the intercessory prayer in Paul's semi-official letters to his Christian ecclesiastical communities is no longer for physical well-being, but for typically Christian, religiously desirable blessings.

Thus we see that Paul has absorbed and transformed the very frequent conventional clause, attested by scores of papyrus letters, which at the beginning of a letter expresses the prayerful wish for the good health and physical welfare of the addressee. The combination of this wish with a thanksgiving, however, is also attested by a number of significant papyrus letters, which exhibit (and explain) the characteristic double aspect of Paul's thanksgivings of type Ia.

That Paul here followed a typical and general Hellenistic usage, adapting it, of course, in form and content to the particular epistolary situation obtaining between him, the Christian apostle, and his Christian congregations, is indeed an important fact. It demonstrates beyond the shadow of doubt the strictly epistolary form and function of the Pauline thanksgiving and its specifically pagan Hellenistic, non-Jewish origin.

Pap. Giessen, No. 85¹, which is dated in the reign of Trajan or Hadrian, exhibits the same combination of thanksgiving and intercessory prayer. Indeed, the structure is here more unified than in the examples discussed above. This unity is achieved through the simple καὶ (l. 6): τοιοῦτό σοι μόνω εὐχαριστῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἐρμῇ καὶ οὐ διαλείπω τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν.

The structural and functional resemblance of this thanksgiving with the Pauline thanksgivings of type Ia is striking and extends to every detail. It follows immediately upon the opening formu'a. οὐ διαλείπω corresponds to the Pauline πάντοτε, although the latter modifies in Paul εὐχαριστῶ and is in turn defined by the temp. part. clause; but an exact and complete structural parallel to the entire clause, οὐ διαλείπω τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶν καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, is Rm 1 10, ὡς ἀδιαλείπτως μνείαν ὑμῶν ποιῶμαι ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου. Τὸ προσκύνημά τινος ποιεῖν is "to pray in behalf of some one." A glance at the citations in Preisigke's Wörterbuch der griechischen

¹) Kornemann and P. M. Meyer, Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Gießen (Leipzig, 1910—12).

Papyrusurkunden (s. v. προσκύνημα) shows how typical and frequent the phrase is in the papyrus letters of the corresponding functional type.

The temporal adverbial phrase καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, too, is far from singular here. The entire phrase, τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν, is in every formal and functional detail an accurate parallel to the Pauline τὴν μείαν σου ποιούμενος ἐπὶ τῶν προσευχῶν μου (see Table II, col. 5). Paul's προσευχαί are, of course, his regular daily prayers (καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν). It is hardly necessary to point out that it is just a step from the paratactic construction εὐχαριστῶ—καὶ . . . τὸ προσκύνημά σου ποιῶ to the Pauline participle construction εὐχαριστῶ—μείαν (ὑμῶν) ποιούμενος.

One further detail deserves attention: τοιοῦτό σοι μόνω εὐχαριστῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ. Strictly, i. e., grammatically speaking, the addressee is the object of the thanksgiving (σοί) "in the presence of the Lord Hermes" (παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ). This particular construction is of great definitive and interpretative value. Its syntactical explicitness (σοί μόνω εὐχαριστῶ παρὰ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἑρμῇ) calls emphatic attention to the fact that all thanksgivings to the gods (τοῖς θεοῖς or τῷ θεῷ) are logically directed to the addressee; the religious character of the thanksgiving accounts for the fact that normally not the addressee but the gods appear as the grammatical object of εὐχαριστῶ. Whatever grammatical ambiguity attaches to this epistolary formula is avoided by the singular construction in this letter. It will be remembered that the inscription SB, No. 4117 (see above, p. 155), shows a similarly explicit syntactical form. Paul in his thanksgivings has happily succeeded in bringing the addressees into the picture through the characteristic περὶ ὑμῶν. We met with the same construction εὐχαριστῶ τιμὴ περὶ τινος in the inscription OGIS, No. 456 (see above, pp. 149ff.)¹.

Fortunately, we find the same explicit object relation, which properly exhibits the epistolary function of the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving, in Pap. Giessen, No. 77 (l. 6), λείαν δέ σοι εὐχαριστήσω παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς, ὅτι σύ με ἐνδέδουκας. The causal ὅτι-clause in this example corresponds to the Pauline examples of type Ib (Table II). The entire period of this papyrus may also properly be called an example of what the ancient epistolographers described as "a letter of thanks" (προσηγορία εὐχαριστική; see below, p. 174).

¹) Note that this papyrus exhibits one more example of the unusual construction εὐχαριστεῖν τι = to thank for something (τοιοῦτό σοι μόνω εὐχαριστῶ).

Pap. Giessen, No. 20 (also of the second century A. D.), begins with a simple thanksgiving. It is a letter written by Aline to her husband Apollonios, a well-known official of Heptacomia, to inform him that an oracle had instructed her to erect a sanctuary to Castor and Pollux. Thus this is a letter of specifically religious content: Ἄλινῃ Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ χάρειν. εὐχαριστοῦμεν πᾶ(σι τοῖς θεοῖς περὶ τῆς ὑγείας) σου, ὅτι σε καὶ ἀπο ἡ ἐπιστολή σου τὴν Unfortunately, the text of the causal ὅτι-clause is no longer fully decipherable; it is clear, however, that the nominative ἡ ἐπιστολή σου is its subject, so that we may again with certainty conclude that the function (as well as the position) of this thanksgiving is definitely epistolary. It is of importance to observe that here as in the preceding example (Pap. Giessen, No. 77) the thanksgiving is not combined with an intercessory prayer; it corresponds in this respect to the Pauline type Ib.

Pap. Oxyr. 1481¹ is a private letter of the early second century A. D. The fragment breaks off at the end of the tenth line, but quite obviously just before ἔρρωσο at the very end of the letter. The soldier Theonas assures his mother that he has fully recovered from what he describes as a slight sickness (οὐ γὰρ δεινῶς ἠσθένησα), though his mother had undoubtedly been worrying about it. The last sentence of the preserved part of the letters reads: Διονυτᾶς δὲ ὁ ἀδελφός μου ἤνεγκέ μοι τὸν θάλλον καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολήν σου ἐκομισάμην. εὐχαριστῶ πάντοτε

Between εὐχαριστῶ and πάντοτε there is a lacuna of 13 letters. πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς (13 letters) or τῷ κυρίῳ Σαράτιδι (14 letters) have been conjectured by the editors. As we have observed in other examples, the thanksgiving clause directly follows the statement that a letter from the present addressee had been received.

All examples of the religious-epistolary εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς-thanksgiving which we have quoted and analyzed are in private, personal letters. Thus its occurrence in the famous Constitutio Antonina², which was issued by Caracalla in 212 A. D. and materially extended the privilege of Roman citizenship in Egypt, is a singular one as far as official letters (edicts) are concerned. There can be no doubt that this is a case where a conventional epistolary phrase is used in an official (imperial) edict. The point is important, because we have here a concrete illustration of the generally valid principle that the style and

¹) Grenfell and Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchos Papyri* (London, 1898—1920), Vols. I—XIV. ²) Pap. Gießen, No. 40, I; it is reprinted in Wilcken-Mitteis, op. cit., No. 377; cf. also Wilcken's discussion of the Constitutio in I, 1, pp. 55f.

function of official edicts are in some respects closely akin to the form and function of private epistolary documents. The passage which interests us reads: Ἄυτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Σεουήρος Ἄντωνῖνος Σεβαστὸς λέγει; οὐδέν εὐκταϊότερον ἢ μᾶλλον ἀναζητέον ἔστιν ἢ τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τοὺς λιβέλλους καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἀγιοτάτοις εὐχαριστήσαιμι, ὅτι τις τοιαύτης χάριτος ἀφορμὴ νῦν εἰς ἐμὲ συνεκύρησεν. κτλ.

The use of the deliberative optative (εὐχαριστήσαιμι) is merely one of those stilted niceties characteristic of the chancellery style, as is the superlative ἀγιοτάτοις. Otherwise, functionally and structurally this εὐχαριστῶ period corresponds exactly to the usage which we have found to be so characteristic of a certain type of private letters. The cause for the "thanksgiving" is expressed by means of a simple, causal ὅτι-clause.

For the sake of quantitative completeness some further occurrences of the formula εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς are cited. In these cases little more than the formula itself is decipherable, a factor which makes a detailed functional and structural analysis impossible. The documents are Pap. Lond. 982, 1. 9 (fourth century A. D.); Pap. Lond. 1674 (a Christian papyrus of the year 570) and PRGS, Vol. IV, Nos. 2, 13, 14¹ (these three examples belong to the eighth century A. D.).

These citations complete the list of known occurrences of the thanksgiving formula εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς in the papyrus letters. The fact that the great majority of the examples of this (originally liturgical) epistolary formula belong to the second century A. D. is more or less an "accident", due to the vicissitudes attending the preservation and discovery of the papyri. We have seen that the formula—as a definitely fixed form—occurs as early as the second century B. C. Other examples attest its usage as late as the eighth century A. D. From this total evidence it is safe to conclude that the formula as such was in use throughout the thousand years of the Hellenistic age.

This conclusion becomes indeed more convincing and meaningful when we remember that the evidence from the inscriptions as well as from the Hellenistic—pagan, Jewish, and Christian—authors, which we have surveyed, shows that the formula εὐχαριστεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς (or τῷ θεῷ) represents a religious concept universal in Hellenistic life. It has been demonstrated, too, that the examples from the epistolary documents of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods correspond in every essential structural and functional detail to the Pauline thanksgiving formula of both types (Ia and Ib).

¹) G. Zeretelli, Papyri Russischer und Georgischer Sammlungen, Vols. I—IV (Tiflis, 1925).

On the basis of this evidence it may now be stated as an established fact of social and literary relation that this papyrus usage is the direct antecedent, i. e., the prototype, of the Pauline epistolary thanksgiving formula. A number of the papyrus examples may more correctly be described as parallels, with slightly different formal variants, to the Pauline formulas, which also exhibit formal variants among themselves. Again, the epistolary thanksgiving in II Macc 1 11f. (see above, pp. 117 ff.) must be considered as right in line with the evidence from the epistolary papyri and from Paul for the epistolary usage of the formula εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς (or τῷ θεῷ).

Another important conclusion may be drawn from the papyrus evidence for this particular functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ. The fixed style, as well as the fixed position within the letter (namely, at the beginning of the letter in the majority of cases), is unequivocal evidence that this is a firmly fixed, conventional and traditional formula which suffered hardly any changes throughout the centuries.

In view of this fact we may ask why the formula appears, relatively speaking, so rarely. There is, however, a sufficient as well as significant reason, which reveals itself when the character of the letters exhibiting the thanksgiving formula is more definitely perceived. They are, like thousands of other papyrus documents, unassuming private letters, written exclusively for the benefit of the addressee. Yet they all differ distinctly and in the same manner from the average private letter: they are characterized by a higher degree of intimacy between addressant and addressee. This intimacy, however, is not achieved at the expense of formality; on the contrary, the letters are distinguished by remarkable formality and dignity of tone and style. Nor is the subject-matter in any instance casual; rather the contents have a distinctly dramatic seriousness. Sense of form and even of formality on the one hand, and intimacy on the other, far from being mutually exclusive are supplementary. Yet these letters are written by ordinary people and are concerned with ordinary themes. A letter which contains a request is characterized by the sincere earnestness and formality with which it is made. The letters of Isias and Dionysios to Hephastion, and of one Egyptian farmer to another, demonstrate the point. The sailor Apion's letter to his father has often been quoted as an outstanding example of genuine though naïve human feeling. The same is true of Pap. Oxyr. 1481.

All this leads to the important conclusion that the epistolary introductory formula εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς was proper only on a noticeably high level of function, intimacy and form. The thanksgiving formula itself is intimate as well as formal. It is not by any means an

empty convention, but it is used with propriety only where genuine feeling (personal as well as religious) is involved. These facts fully explain the relative scarcity of the formula on the one hand and its unmistakable fixity on the other.

Thus we cannot expect to find the εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving in the numerous papyrus letters which convey merely routine information of all sorts, casual or deliberate, personal or impersonal. For the same reason we need not look for the formula in the numerous extant specimens of official epistolography. Indeed, if it did occur in the casual private letters and in the more or less stilted products of the secretarial offices of administrative agencies, then we might justly speak of a dead and meaningless formula which served no function beyond that of filling space.

To be sure, many other papyrus letters, though not very many, show an equal degree of intimacy and of formal refinement. This observation effectively calls attention to the fact that the εὐχαριστῶ formula had no monopoly on intimacy and formal dignity; it might be used, or it might not be used. It would seem natural that many individuals as well as social or local groups were more or less unfamiliar with this formula.

In the light of these considerations it can no longer puzzle us that the letters of Ignatius, for example, exhibit nothing remotely resembling the Hellenistic-Pauline εὐχαριστῶ formula. A provincial resident of Syria like Ignatius had patterns of thought and form different from those of a cosmopolitan Hellenist like Paul. It must be remembered that social patterns—and in the last analysis even epistolary formulas are social patterns—are never universally, mechanically and indiscriminately appropriated. The fact that individuals and groups exercise a definite selective choice is a sociological principle clearly recognized by the social historian as well as by the literary critic.

Finally, we must conclude from the evidence that the use of the epistolary εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving formula presupposed a modicum—a rather high one at that—of religious experience, indeed, of a particular type of religious experience, one we have identified and described in our survey.

The positive as well as the negative evidence of the papyrus letters for the use of the εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς thanksgiving formula makes it overwhelmingly clear that Paul's epistolary thanksgivings must be considered genuine examples of a definite and widely used Hellenistic epistolographical pattern, which had a precise function on a specific level of epistolary writing. Neither the Pauline nor the pa-

pyrus usage, however, can be fully understood without reference to the vital social concepts, attitudes and practices in the realm of political, religious and private life in Hellenistic society which are expressed by εὐχαριστῶ, etc.

It is not surprising that the verb εὐχαριστῶ without the religious connotation (which the personal, dat. obj. τοῖς θεοῖς expresses) occurs more frequently in the papyrus letters than does the more elaborate, originally liturgical formula which we have discussed. Although the examples of this second epistolary usage are more numerous, they are functionally less significant and, correspondingly, structurally less elaborate.

But even in this colloquial function—namely, to express gratitude to some other person, usually the addressee—εὐχαριστῶ is always used as an epistolary terminus technicus; indeed, the entire clauses which it characterizes are formulary and conventional.

It is indeed striking that εὐχαριστῶ appears in the papyrus letters exclusively as a terminus technicus. That this need not be so is demonstrated by the fact that the Pauline letters exhibit εὐχαριστῶ in more than a score of contexts without any epistolary connotation whatsoever, a point illustrated by all the examples enumerated and analyzed above (pp. 83 ff.) as types II, III, and IV. This dissimilarity is due merely to the fact that the papyrus letters on the whole serve different interests than the Pauline letters and that they contain no examples of speculative, liturgical, paraenetic and colloquial-non-epistolary usage. But the positive evidence for the frequent use of εὐχαριστῶ with the colloquial-epistolary function becomes thus all the more conclusive from the fact that it is used as a thoroughly conventional, epistolary terminus technicus.

The representative examples of this functional type which we shall discuss are concrete illustrations of the functional and formal "letter type" which the Hellenistic epistolographers called προσηγορία ἐπιστολατικὸς εὐχαριστική. One of these theorists, the fifth century (A. D.) rhetorician Proclus Platonius, distinguishes and illustrates 41 such types (= προσηγορίαί) ¹: εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ πᾶσαι προσηγορίαί, αἷς ὁ ἐπιστολιμαῖος ὑποβάλλεται χαρακτήρ, αἶδε· α' παραινετική, β' μεμπτική, γ' παρακλητική, δ' συστατική, ε' εἰρωνική, ζ' εὐχαριστική, κτλ. This is, of course, a subjective a posteriori system which had been established in the Hellenistic schools of rhetoric long before Proclus. But it is readily apparent that, for example, the various sections of the

¹) R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris, 1871), pp. 6—13; the definition is on p. 7.

Pauline letters could be classified according to these types. Indeed, to do so would be a methodologically unobjectionable way of identifying for the purpose of comparative study of Paul's epistolary style the functionally and formally homogeneous sections throughout his letters. Of course, a more adequate classification of προσηγορίαί ἐπιστολτικοί might profitably be substituted for Proclus'.

Proclus defines the sixth type as follows¹: ζ' εὐχαριστική (sc. προσηγορία) ἐστὶ δι' ἧς χάριν γινώσκομέν τινι διὰ τι. Then he illustrates this definition of the "letter of thanks": ἡ ἐπιστολή· Πολλῶν μὲν καὶ ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα χάριν γινώσκω τῇ σῆ καλοκάγαθία, μάλιστα δὲ τοῦδε τοῦ πράγματος, ἐφ' ᾧ με τῶν ἄλλων ὑπὲρ ὁπάντων ὠφέλησας πλέον. Proclus' syntax and choice of words are, of course, Atticistic, in accordance with the fashion of Hellenistic rhetoric; yet we recognize readily the structural features with which we have become familiar in our structural analysis of εὐχαριστῶ. χάριν γινώσκω is the academic Atticistic equivalent of the actually used εὐχαριστῶ.

The following examples from the papyrus letters² are concrete illustrations of that actual usage on the basis of which Proclus' classification was made. Few comments on these examples are needed, because the immediate contexts are self-explanatory; they readily reveal the epistolary function of this usage of εὐχαριστῶ, and the—usually simple—familiar syntactical constructions.

Oxyr. 811 (ll. 8f., first cent. A. D.), καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἔγραψά σοι εὐχαριστῶν Ἑρμίππῳ, ὅτι πάντα μοι ποιεῖ εἰς τὴν σὴν καταλογὴν καὶ τὰ νῦν εἴ σοι φαίνεται γράψον αὐτῶ.

Oxyr. 396 (late first cent. A. D.) is a postscript (!) to a private letter written by Dionysios to his brother Sarapion: Ὀννῶφρις δὲ σοι μεγάλως εὐχαριστεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετρίως εἶχε ὑπὸ τὴν ὥραν ἐνεσημάνθη οὐκ εἶσχσέ σοι γράψαι. The fact that this is a postscript and its homely content make the epistolary, technical use of εὐχαριστῶ particularly emphatic.

Oxyr. 1070 is a stylistically and functionally interesting letter from a husband to his wife. The thin veil of ironic politeness and formality effectively emphasizes his dissatisfaction with his wife's failure to answer his frequent (?) letters, ll. 47ff., πάνυ δὲ ὑμῖν εὐχαριστῶ, ὅτι πολλὰκις ἐμοῦ γράψαντος ὑμῖν ὑμεῖς οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐγράψατε οὐδὲ ἐμνήσθητέ μου περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας τῆς οἰκίας ἡμῶν, ὡς καὶ πολλὰκις διὰ γραμμάτων καὶ ἐπιστολῶν καὶ κατ' ὄψιν παρῶν ἐνετιλάμην. The tone of irony here employed is a particularly strong indication that

¹) Ibid., p. 8. ²) A fairly complete list of occurrences of εὐχαριστῶ in this function is found in Preisigke, Wörterbuch, s. v.

the usage of εὐχαριστῶ which we are now discussing lends formality and dignity to the letter. This example exhibits a skilful, deliberate abuse of the normal epistolary function of εὐχαριστῶ.

BGU 531 (l. 7, second cent. A. D.) exhibits the frequent formal phrase προνοίᾳ σου εὐχαριστῶ.

Pap. Amherst 133 (early second cent. A. D.)¹: Εὐτυχίδης Σαραπίωνι τῷ πατρὶ χαίρειν. πρὸ τῶν ὄλων ἀσπάζομαι σε καὶ εὐχαριστῶ σοι, ὅτι ἐδήλωσάς μοι τὴν ὑγίειάν σου. κτλ. In connection with this noteworthy proemium of an ordinary but well-written letter we quote an exact structural and functional parallel from BGU 816 (third cent. A. D.), l. 2: γινώσκειν σε θέλω, πάτερ, ὅτι εὐχαριστῶ πολλά Ἰσιδώρῳ τῷ ἐπιτρόπῳ, ἐπεὶ συνέστακέ μοι εἰς τὴν ἀποθήκαιν ταῖς ἐντολαῖς Εὐαγγέλου, καὶ σὺ γὰρ εὐχαρίστησον Ἰσιδώρῳ, καὶ ἂν δύνη, αὐτὸν ἐξαλλάξῃ (read -ξαι)· ἄξιός ἐστιν πολλῶν, καὶ (l. 11) εὐχαριστῶ Ἀπάτι Εὐαγγέλου πολλά, ὅτι διὰ ἡμερῶν καταβείνει πρὸς ἐμέ.

These two openings allow us to understand and evaluate more definitely the full functional significance of the epistolary usage of εὐχαριστῶ τινί. What we have in these two documents is in fact a complete, formal thanksgiving, serving as an introduction to the letter proper. From the functional and formal point of view these two thanksgivings must be placed beside the introductory epistolary εὐχαριστῶ τοῖς θεοῖς formula. The epistolary form and function is the same in both types; the couching of the epistolary thanksgiving in religious language is merely a variation of the more simple and direct formula εὐχαριστῶ σοι (or τινί). The liturgical form is used when religious feeling (on the part of both addressant and addressee) is involved.

Therefore the papyri which exhibit the direct, introductory thanksgiving formula εὐχαριστῶ σοι must, together with the examples of the liturgical form, be considered antecedent or parallel patterns of the Pauline thanksgivings. Herein lies the specific significance from our point of view of this second functional usage of εὐχαριστῶ in them. Thus the relatively numerous examples of εὐχαριστῶ σοι (or τινί) materially increase and strengthen the evidence for the characteristic use of a formal epistolary thanksgiving at the beginning of a certain type of Hellenistic letters.

Correspondingly, this second functional usage in the papyrus letters confirms the conclusion already reached that the Pauline thanksgivings themselves must be considered important examples of a widely used epistolary pattern.

¹) Grenfell and Hunt, *The Amherst Papyri*, Vol. I (London, 1900); Vol. II (1901).

The following quotations may serve to attest the frequent occurrence of εὐχαριστῶ σοι in the second century A. D. BGU 843 (first or second cent. A. D.): εὐχαριστεῖ σοι, ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου καλῶς ἔλαβες . . . No. 798: εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ Θῶ καὶ τῇ ἡμῶν δεσποίνῃ εἰς πάντα τὰ καλὰ ἃ ἐποίησεν μετὰ τῶν δούλων αὐτῆς. Note here the incorrect causal construction εὐχαριστῶ εἰς. It goes a step farther in the wrong direction than does the construction εὐχαριστῶ ἐν τινι, which we have met several times.

Pap. Giessen 21 (second cent. A. D.) is again of special interest to us, since it exhibits two features which are directly pertinent to the Pauline thanksgivings: Εὐδαιμονίς Ἀπολλωνίῳ τῷ υἱῷ πλείστα χαίρειν. Λίαν ἐχάρην ἀκούσασα ὅτι ἔρρωσαι καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ σου Σοῆρις. ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἔπεμψάς μοι, ἐζήτησα τὸ λακώνιον . . . (l. 15) εὐχαριστεῖ σοι λίαν Σοῆρις καὶ ἔγραφέ μοι ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τούτου. It is quite obvious that λίαν ἐχάρην ἀκούσασα ὅτι is from a functional and formal point of view the exact equivalent of λίαν εὐχαριστῶ ἀκούσασα ὅτι. In other words, we have here a third example of a direct, epistolary "thanksgiving" in which ἐχάρην is substituted for εὐχαριστῶ. With ἐχάρην—ἀκούσασα ὅτι may be compared the thanksgiving of Philemon, εὐχαριστῶ—ἀκούων σου τὴν ἀγάπην.

Second, the strictly epistolary clause, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἔπεμψάς μοι, ἐζήτησα, is a perfect functional and structural parallel to the clause in the thanksgiving of Colossians, 1 9, ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἠκούσαμεν, οὐ παυόμεθα . . . προσευχόμενοι. Both clauses make use of the same phrase ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας together with a verb to focus the epistolary situation by introducing a vital point of information.

The four following papyri are examples of petitions (ἐντεύξεις) addressed by private persons to various government officials. BGU 327 (166 A. D.), ll. 10ff.: διὸ ἀξίῳ, ἐάν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξη, ἀκούσαι μου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅπως δυναθῶ τὸ ληγᾶτον ἀπολαβοῦσα τῇ τύχῃ σου διὰ παντός εὐχαριστεῖν. διευτύχει. SB 5343 (182 A. D.), ll. 44ff.: δέομαι, ἐάν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξη, κελεῦσαι γραφῆναι . . . περὶ τούτου πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι με ἐκ τῆς σῆς βοήθειας ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἴδιον καὶ διὰ παντός εὐχαριστεῖν σου τῇ τύχῃ, ἵν' ᾧ εὐεργετημένος. διευτύχει. SB 4284 (207 A. D.), line 17: ἵν' ᾧμεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ συμμένοντες τῇ τύχῃ σου εὐχαριστεῖν. Quite naturally these documents close with an expression of gratitude in connection with a final appeal that the petition be granted. These three examples make it plain that the εὐχαριστῶ-clause is a characteristic and constitutive part of this final appeal. Its usage in this function is conventional; indeed, we may speak here of a specific sub-type of the epistolary pattern εὐχαριστῶ σοι. The characteristic epistolary situation in these cases is that gratitude is expressed in response to a favor

which is now being asked for and expected to be granted in the immediate future.

Two structural details of these petitions are of value to us. In BGU 327 and in SB 5343 we find εὐχαριστῶ διὰ παντός, a temporal adverbial phrase which corresponds closely to the Pauline πάντοτε. Again, in SB 5343 occurs the characteristic contrast of εὐχαριστῶ and εὐεργετῶ, with which we have also met in official inscriptions, in Philo, and in Epictetus.

To show that the basic structural features of this conventional conclusion of petitions remained unchanged for centuries we quote a number of examples. Pap. Oxyr. 904 (sixth cent. A. D.) reads, ll. 7ff.: τὰς ἰκεσίας προσφέρω τῇ ὑμετέρῃ ἐξουσίᾳ ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν ἐλευθερωθῆναι τὰς τοιαύτας λειτουργίας, . . . ἵνα καὶ γὰρ τούτου τυχῶν εὐχαριστήσω ταῖς ἀκλεινεῖς ἀκοαῖς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐξουσίας ("so that I may have occasion to be grateful for the impartial judgment—ἀκοαῖς—of your highness"). The stilted and syntactically irresponsible style of this petition is of course characteristic not of the fourth century, but rather of the individuality of this particular petitioner. BGU 261 (II or III A. D.), line 27: εὐχαριστῶμεν αὐτῷ; PSI, VIII, 939 (VI A. D.)¹, line 4: εὐχαριστήσα ὑμῖν καὶ πρὸ διαφασμάτος πέμψαι πολὺν σῖτον, Oxyr. 1164: οἱ γραμματηφόροι ἦλθαν πρὸς ἐμὲ φέροντές μοι γράμματα τῆς . . . μεγαλοπρεπείας ἔνεκεν καμήλου, καὶ πάνυ μὲν ἠὲ εὐχαρίστησα τῇ ἀφορμῇ τῇ δεδωκυῖά μοι ἀξιοθῆναι διὰ χρόνου τιμίων αὐτῆς συλλαβῶν.

Finally, for the sake of completeness we shall briefly characterize the third epistolary function of εὐχαριστῶ in the papyrus letters (see above, p. 159). This function is highly specific and quite frequently used. The fixed position of the occurrences—invariably the very end of the letter—and the fixed construction—invariably εὐχαριστήσεις μοι with a participle in the nom. sg.—are sufficient proof that we have here a distinct functional type. Its meaning is correspondingly specific: "You will oblige me, if you . . .," or, "You will do me a favor, if . . ."

Obviously the general denotation of εὐχαριστῶ = "I thank," has been narrowly limited. The idea, "you may show your gratitude, if you will do this or that," may have served as a bridge from the original to the derived meaning. It is noteworthy that this highly specialized connotation appears as early as the third century B. C. bearing all the earmarks of fixed, conventional usage. It may suffice to quote a few of the earliest of the pertinent examples PSI, IV, 364 (251 B. C.): κεκομίμεθα δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον ὃ ἀπέσταλκας, εὐχαριστήσεις δέ μοι ἀποσ-

¹) PSI = *Papiri Greci e Latini*, ed. G. Vitelli (Florence, 1912ff.).

τέλος καὶ τὸ ἕτερον ἦδη. Here we readily see the significant position of our term in a strictly epistolary context. Like the first two epistolary usages of εὐχαριστῶ, this usage also lends dignity and formality to a letter.

PSI, IV, 392 (242 B. C.), line 12: εὐχαριστήσεις δέ μοι φιλοτιμότερον γράψας ἐνταῦθα οἷς ἂν ὑπολαμβάνης ἐπιτήδεον εἶναι. PSI, IV, 424, line 16: εὐχαριστήσεις δὲ τοῖς τε φίλοις καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν ταχίστην οἰκονομέσας ἄχρι ἐστὶν καιρός. εὐτύχει. This last example is particularly instructive because of the singular addition of τοῖς θεοῖς, which makes it possible to recognize clearly the derivation of the secondary from the primary meaning: "You will be able to prove your gratitude to your friends and to the gods, if you immediately make the arrangement while there is still time." Thus the functional usage of εὐχαριστήσεις μοι (with an aorist part.), meaning "you will do me a favor," presupposes that a favor is bestowed by someone, because by so doing he repays a debt of gratitude.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

In the analysis of the various functional usages (and the consequent structural characteristics) of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., we have at every step pointed out each datum relevant to the usage exhibited in the Pauline thanksgivings, and have made the required conclusions. This procedure was dictated by our task as we had formulated it and by the data as they progressively entered our field of observation. It is impossible to repeat these detailed observations without fully restating the data on which they are based, nor is it necessary to repeat them. What is now needed is a statement of certain generalizations beyond our conclusions.

It will prove instructive and profitable to generalize by proceeding in the direction opposite to that followed in the course of our investigation. First, such a procedure will in itself constitute a check on our method and, second, it will enable us to bring the full weight of these generalizations to bear upon the interpretative problems contained in the usage of εὐχαριστῶ in the Pauline thanksgivings.

We started with the observation that all Pauline letters, with the exception of II Corinthians and Galatians, exhibit (following the opening formula) a thanksgiving, and that all these thanks-

givings exhibit certain identical and readily observable functional and formal features (pp. 1—9).

This observation led to the formulation of our task, namely, to determine in detail the extent and the significance of these resemblances and to define, on the basis of an objective structural analysis, the function or purpose of the thanksgivings within the letters they introduce (pp. 10—39).

The most significant result of this analysis was that the Pauline thanksgivings not only begin with but are structurally characterized by a syntactical period which we have called the εὐχαριστῶ period, because εὐχαριστῶ, besides being the principal verb of this period, is also the key-term of every thanksgiving (pp. 39—46; Table II, pp. 54—55, permits us to recognize readily the syntactical units constituting the structure of this period).

In order to interpret these structural and functional features objectively it proved desirable to view them in the light of pertinent usages elsewhere. Thus we undertook to analyze all usages of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., throughout the Hellenistic world, so that we might escape the self-defeating results of deliberate and arbitrary parallel-hunting. The aim of this broad survey was to recognize, define and interpret the various functional usages of our terms and their consequent structural characteristics. The search led from the Pauline thanksgivings through his entire letters, to the pseudo-Pauline epistles of the NT, the remaining Christian literature of the first and second centuries, the Septuagint, Philo, Epictetus (and Stoicism in general), the inscriptions and papyri (pp. 39—179).

In these sources we made a number of significant discoveries which we shall summarize here, together with additional generalizations to which they give rise.

I. The epistolary papyri (see chap. iii, D, second part): (1) The papyri convincingly attest a wide-spread conventional use of an epistolary, religious or non-religious, introductory thanksgiving.

(2) They attest three typically epistolary usages of εὐχαριστῶ and—nothing else.

(3) The function of the epistolary thanksgiving in the papyrus letters is to focus the epistolary situation, i. e., to introduce the vital theme of the letter.

(4) The (originally liturgical) variant of this epistolary thanksgiving is employed only when a certain definite religious experience or attitude enters into the epistolary situation; both addressant and addressee must be able to share in it.

(5) This variant was naturally not necessary when the "direct" (addressant-addressee) thanksgiving was employed.

(6) But either type is employed only when the entire letter is distinguished by a degree of intimacy and formality greater than obtains in the average case. (Since the official letters lack "intimacy" it becomes likely that this very fact accounts for the absence of a thanksgiving from them.)

(7) Accordingly, the thanksgivings themselves are highly intimate and formally dignified.

(8) The standards of real intimacy and of genuine formal dignity do not preclude conventionality and fixity of syntactical construction; they require it.

(9) The thanksgivings of the papyrus letters exhibit essentially the same essential, structural characteristics as do the Pauline thanksgivings; both Pauline types (Ia and Ib) have their parallels in the papyrus documents. At the same time there is a measurable degree and amount of structural variation, due, generally speaking, to the differences between the specific epistolary situations. (These include differences in personalities as well as in groups, in social as well as in topographical environment.)

(10) The εὐχαριστῶ thanksgiving has no monopoly on intimacy and formal excellence in epistolary writing. Its use or absence depends on a great many selectively operating social forces.

(11) The fact that the liturgical-epistolary thanksgiving presupposes a definite type of religious experience on the part of addressant and addressee forces us to identify this religious experience wherever we can find the requisite data. Thus the papyrus usage requires the study of the religious and philosophical usage represented in such widely varying sources as the inscriptions and the theological and philosophical authors both pagan and Christian. Methodologically this means that no lexicographical or grammatical problem can be fully solved without reference to the social forces of which every word and phrase of every human language is a direct product. Lexicography and literary criticism thus become disciplines of social history.

II. The evidence furnished by the inscriptions (see chap. iii, D, first part) is twofold:

A. (12) There is operative in the earlier as well as in the Roman period of the Hellenistic age a politically significant social control (spontaneous as well as institutional) which finds its typical linguistic expression in epigraphically published decrees on statues and tablets. (Other sources also attest this usage of εὐχαριστῶ, etc.)

B. (13) There are, correspondingly, certain definite and powerful εὐχαριστία attitudes and speculations which find expression in religious and liturgical inscriptions, votive tablets, commemorations of intercessory prayer joined with thanksgiving, directions for mastering the techniques of magic, etc.

(14) A number of inscriptional documents, both political and religious, exhibit very close functional and structural resemblances to the Pauline thanksgivings.

(15) This observation calls emphatic and convincing attention to the fact that the Pauline letters—functionally as well as formally—occupy a position between the epigraphical documents (which were intended for publication) and the humble though formal and intimate private letters (which were intended merely for the addressee). This judgment has far-reaching consequences for the formal as well as for the historical interpretation of the Pauline letters. Moreover, it is effectively confirmed by the blunt fact, which no responsible student will “explain” as an “accident”, that the recipients of the Pauline letters used, preserved and finally published them¹.

(16) Both the political and the religious inscriptions bear eloquent testimony to those correlative, interacting social forces—the political and the religious εὐχαριστία attitude and theory.

III. (17) It is not until we examine Philo and Epictetus (Stoicism; see chap. iii, C), Paul and Justin, that we are able to define

¹) The methodological as well as the factual importance of this point invites a digression. The intention of the author to publish his epistolary product has played an overimportant rôle in certain discussions of the formal and functional character of the Pauline letters (see esp. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen, 1923), pp. 193—206). Deissmann's influential pet theory is that Paul intended no publication (*ibid.* p. 198); therefore, he argues, they are private letters pure and simple. But the problem is not so simple. The intention of the addressee to publish an epistolary document is a vastly more important criterion of its functional and formal character than the (possibly) arbitrary intention of the author. The “addressees” (i. e., the public) are in every case the ultimate judges of whether a letter deserves publication or not. Neither intention on the part of an author, nor the “fact” of mechanical publication through the stone mason or the printer decides in the least the all-important issue, whether the functional and formal adequacy and efficacy are such as to justify factual publication. As a pertinent illustration of the publication of a real letter which was obviously not meant for publication by the author mention may be made of the letter of the Emperor Claudius to the City of the Alexandrians (edited by H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London, 1924), pp. 1—37; the number of the papyrus is *Brit. Mus.* 1912). The preface to the published letter (*ibid.*, p. 23) was written by the proconsul of Egypt, who explicitly assumes the responsibility for the publication.

the contents of the religious εὐχαριστία experience and its subsequent theological rationalizations, and to evaluate their social efficacy in Hellenistic society.

(18) This picture of the religious experience and its attendant theories permits us to interpret more fully several Pauline passages, especially those which exhibit the paraenetical and speculative usage of εὐχαριστώ, etc.

IV. (19) Comprehension of the real vitality of this religious experience and its rationalizations in the Hellenistic world is indispensable for understanding fully the thanksgivings which occupy so prominent a position in Paul's letters and constitute a characteristic feature of his epistolographic technique.

The writing of the epistolary thanksgivings is with Paul a matter of firm and meaningful habit. Indeed, that the Pauline thanksgivings especially can be adequately understood only as products of vital attitudes and social situations should be evident upon even a cursory examination. Objective interpretation cannot but recognize this fact as extremely significant.

(20) Direct exegesis of the Pauline thanksgivings with reference to their respective letters reveals beyond the shadow of doubt their strictly epistolary form and function¹. The reference to the extra-Pauline Hellenistic epistolary thanksgivings confirms the exegetical judgment convincingly. We have seen that the Pauline thanksgivings are of two structural types (Ia and Ib). Is there also a consequent functional difference between them? One is tempted to answer: Yes; for is it not obvious that type Ib is structurally less elaborate, functionally less intimate and less personal, while type Ia is more elaborate, more intimate and more personal?

On the basis of our actual observations we make bold to advance the following constructive hypothesis, even at the risk of oversimplification and exaggeration, and with full awareness that it is suggestive rather than apodictic: The structurally more elaborate thanksgivings (type Ia—Phm, I Thess, Col, and Phil) characterize the more elaborate, intimate and personal letters of Paul; the simpler thanksgivings (I Cor, Rom, and II Thess) characterize the structurally less elaborate and less intimate, less personal letters; the still less intimate εὐλογητός-proemium of II Cor (1 3-11) characterizes a letter which is directed to a church with which Paul is in open battle

¹) It need hardly be stated that detailed demonstration of this judgment would require an independent monograph dealing with the structural and functional relations existing between each thanksgiving and the letter proper which it introduces.

over personal matters. (That Paul wrote this letter with the serious purpose of re-establishing peace with the Corinthians is irrelevant here.) In Galatians Paul has suppressed the thanksgiving altogether, because his addressees have (in his judgment) radically broken with him and his gospel.

(21) The fact that the Pauline thanksgivings are formally and functionally superior to all other Hellenistic epistolary thanksgivings does not by any means imply that Paul, besides being a Hellenist, is also something else or something more (a Jew or a Christian, a mystic or a prophet); it can mean only that he is more of a Hellenist than the "average" Hellenist.

(22) In view of the fortunate fact that the terms εὐχαριστῶ, etc., are neither so common as to be trivial nor so abstract as to be artificial, but are typical of normal social life and denote socially effective forces; and in view of the further fact that Paul uses these terms more frequently, in a greater variety of functions and with stronger emphasis than any other comparable unit of sources, we are fully justified in concluding that Paul was not just a Jew who was "exposed" to Hellenistic "influences", but that he was an indigenous Hellenist, normally assimilated to those strata of Hellenistic society of which his upbringing and social standing (in Tarsus) and his missionary life-work (which carried him back and forth through the North-Mediterranean provinces) made him a part.

Paul is not an intellectualistic Hellenist like Philo, nor a utilitarian one like Josephus, but a spontaneous Hellenist like Epictetus; only, he is not a teacher of Stoic philosophy; he is a preacher of the Christian gospel. This judgment in no wise invalidates or even modifies Paul's own self-assessment (Phil 3 5), Ἑβραῖος ἐξ Ἑβραίων. This succinct statement of an ethnological fact, however, irresistibly suggests a variation as a statement of social fact — Ἕλληνιστής ἐξ Ἕλληνιστῶν.

(23) From the Pauline letters we chose the thanksgivings for a comparative study, because they are formally and functionally comparable materials (see above, p. 3). The expectation is justified that the method developed in the course of our study and the results obtained by it will become fruitful not only for the literary and historical interpretation of the Pauline letters in general, but for identifying other sections of the Pauline letters. The paraenetic sections (the προσηγορίαι ἐπισταλτικοί παραινετικοί of Proclus) are an example in point. Thus we would eventually be in a position, reached by way of objective facts and objective methods, to identify, describe and interpret the style of Paul (see above, pp. 2f.) and

thereby contribute materially to the historical understanding of Paul himself, Ἑλληνίστης ἐξ Ἑλληνιστῶν ¹.

¹) To append an extensive or a selective bibliography to this study seemed superfluous in view of the fact that many such bibliographies are readily accessible. But mention should be made of a few more recent publications in the field of Pauline and generally Hellenistic epistolographic style which are especially deserving of attention: E. von Dobschütz, "Zum Wortschatz und Stil des Römerbriefes," ZNW XXXIII (1934), 51—66; O. Roller, *Das Formular der Paulinischen Briefe* (Stuttgart, 1933). With the same source materials deal F. Schroeter, *De Regum Hellenisticorum Epistulis in Lapidibus Servatis Quaestiones Stilisticae* (Leipzig, 1932) and C. Bradford Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period* (New Haven, 1934). — After the completion of this manuscript the title of a Heidelberg doctoral dissertation was brought to my attention: Leonard Champion, *Benedictions and Doxologies in the Epistles of Paul* (Oxford, 1935). — The original plan to include a separate treatment of εὐχαριστῶ, etc., in the new *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, ed. G. Kittel (Stuttgart, 1932—) was not carried out.