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LEXICAL NOTES ON LUKE-ACTS

III. LUKE'S INTEREST IN LODGING

HENRY J. CADBURY

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

THE object of this paper is to call attention to a minor personal interest of the third evangelist and to its possible bearing on the understanding of a few obscure words in his writings. Study of the individuality of the authors of Scripture is not popular in modern criticism. Between *Quellenkritik* on one hand and *religionsgeschichtliche* and *formgeschichtliche* emphasis upon social and environmental influences on the other hand, the distinctive personality of the author as a factor in the origin of Biblical writings tends to be overlooked. Certainly it is not easy to distinguish between the traits of the editor and the traits of his material—the subject before us will illustrate the difficulty—but the general character of an author's interest has some value for the interpretation of specific passages.

Luke's interest in lodging is most obvious in the second half of Acts and has already been noticed by others.¹ When Paul is journeying up to Jerusalem for the last time we read (21 16): "There went with us also certain of the disciples from Caesarea bringing one Mnason of Cyprus, an early disciple, with whom we should lodge."² This is altogether enigmatic.

¹ A. von Harnack, *Die Apostelgeschichte*, 1908, p. 95 note [Eng. Trans., 1909, p. 109 note]. I may refer to my discussion of this and cognate interests of Luke in a forthcoming book on *The Making of Luke-Acts*, Chapter XVII.

² ἀγορῆς παρ' ᾧ ξενισθόμεν Μνάσῳ τινι Κυπρίῳ ἀρχαίῳ μαθητῇ. The paraphrase of Codex Bezae places Mnason's hospitality at a certain village

Its only point appears to be to indicate Paul's host. As Blass says: "*ex more scriptoris indicandum erat ubi pernoctavissent.*"³ Just before, at Caesarea, we have a similar notice (21 8 f.): "Entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we abode with him. Now this man had four virgin daughters, who prophesied." Though we may conjecture why Luke mentions these persons, whether as his sources for the past history or as predictors of the future, the fact remains that we hear nothing further of them than that they were Paul's hosts and hostesses.

Paul's lodging at Rome is mentioned probably more than once (28 16, 23, 30, see below). Here of course there is an additional interest in his comparative liberty and privacy. Other references to his hosts occur elsewhere. At Damascus we have a full address given (9 11):

Saul of Tarsus,
Care of Judas,
Straight St.,
Damascus,

just as a little later we have Peter's address (10 5 f.):⁴

Simon surnamed Peter,
Care of Simon the Tanner,
Whose house is by the sea,
Joppa.

In these two cases the details are intended in part to

(between Caesarea and Jerusalem) but is not less enigmatic. As restored from collations made before it was mutilated (see J. H. Ropes, *Harvard Theological Review*, xvi, 1923, pp. 162—168; R. P. Casey, *ibid.*, pp. 392—394 and xix, 1926, pp. 213—214), it read οδοι δε ηγαγον ημας προς ος ξενοθωμεν. και παραγενομενοι εις τινα κωμην εγενεμεθα παρα Νασωρι τω Κυπριω μαθητη αρχαιω. With this d and the "Western" margin of the Harclean Syriac is almost identical (Th. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, Part IX, 1916, pp. 372 f.; J. H. Ropes, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, vol. III, pp. 204 f.). W. M. Ramsay, *The Expositor*, March, 1895, pp. 213 ff., regards this as a correct gloss though not the original.

³ Fr. Blass, *Acta apostolorum, editio philologica*, 1895, p. 227.

⁴ Commentators ancient and modern find further significance in this address. The "tanner" is thought to be added to distinguish him from

show how explicitly directions are conveyed in supernatural visions, so as to give the most definite guidance. But they are again references to hosts who take no further part in the narrative. This can hardly be said of Aquila and Priscilla, Paul's hosts at Corinth. They were important in their own right in the Christian church, as both Acts and the epistles indicate, yet their first introduction in Acts is not as Christian leaders but as hosts of Paul (18 2f.): "He came unto them and because he was of the same trade he abode with them and they wrought; for by their trade they were tent-makers." We have at Corinth also mention of another house: "The house of a certain man named Titus Justus, one that worshipped God, whose house was next door to the synagogue" (18 7). Perhaps this was not where Paul lived, but where he taught, like the lecture-hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus. Other hosts to Paul and his companions are however named, viz., at Philippi, Lydia, a purple-seller from Thyatira (16 14f.); at Malta Publius the *primus* of the island (28 7); at Thessalonica Jason (17 5-9).⁵

Additional instances less striking occur elsewhere in Acts. We may with Harnack note "the upper room where they were staying in Jerusalem (1 13); the upper room in Lydda (9 37, 39); the house of Mary the mother of Mark in Jerusalem (12 12) [where not merely the hostess but even the maid Rhoda is known by name]; the house of the jailor in Philippi (16 34);

Simon Peter, or to show that Peter condescended to the most humble of lodgings without squeamishness or "respect of persons." A location *sur mer* was chosen for business reasons both by the tanner who did much washing of hides, and, according to Harnack, also by the homonymous fisherman: "If Peter enters into a house on the seashore and stays there a long time (*ἡμέρας ἑκατάς*, 9 43), we may perhaps assume that his trade of fisherman influenced him. He was no tanner." (*Op. cit.*, p. 79 [Eng. Trans., p. 85] *note.*)

⁵ Of course Luke is not unique in his interest in hospitality. Paul himself and the last chapter of Romans alone provide sufficient evidence of the part it played in Christian thought. See E. von Dobschütz, *Die urchristliche Gemeinde*, 1902 [Eng. Trans., 1904], *passim*; A. von Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*⁴, 1924 [Eng. Trans.², 1908], Book II, Chap. IV, § 10.

the upper room in Troas where 'we' were gathered (20 8); the lecture hall of Tyrannus in Ephesus (19 9)."⁶

Harnack notes that some of these passages are in the "we" sections, some are not, and finds therein an argument against regarding this detail as due to a source. He continues: "How do the supporters of the we-source hypothesis stand in the face of a situation like this? Of these passages, six stand in the we-sections, nine in the remaining parts of the book. It must be assumed, I suppose, that the author of the whole was interested in 'houses' and had the fortune to meet with the account of an eye-witness who was likewise interested in 'houses'!"

In answer to Harnack's ironical rejection of a source I think it is possible to show that this trait in Luke is not incompatible with his use of a source. In the first place the references to lodging may be sometimes derived from a source; in the second place they may be introduced by the evangelist in rewriting a source. For evidence of each of these we turn to the third gospel. It is in the main dependent on written sources, yet it also contains many allusions if not to the houses in which Jesus lodged at least to various forms of hospitality. He is pictured often under the Pharisees' roof. He is entertained by Simon the Pharisee and also by Zacchaeus the publican and by Mary and Martha in their homes. Jesus on several of these occasions discusses hospitality. The parable of Dives and Lazarus seems to turn about the question of inhospitality, while in another parable the shrewd business manager is chiefly concerned that when he is discharged he should have friends who would receive him into their houses

⁶ Harnack, *loc. cit. ante* note 1. The suggestion is obvious that the same habit of mind has led the author to give some names of places as well as of persons simply because they marked the overnight stops of journeys. In other histories the *σταθμοί* were wont thus to be marked (Herodian, ii, 15, 6). Travellers before sailing would lodge at seaports like Seleucia near Antioch (13 4), Attalia near Perga (14 25), Neapolis near Philippi (16 11), Cenchræe near Corinth (18 18). Travellers going overland by the *via Egnatia* from Philippi to Thessalonica would at least lodge at both Amphipolis and Apollonia (17 1).

(16 4, cf. 9). These passages are not in the other gospels. On the other hand, the humble declaration of the centurion (7 6) that he was not worthy to entertain Jesus is verbatim the same in Matthew (8 8) and is therefore due to a common source and not to Luke himself. The same is true of the striking saying (9 58): "The foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the Son of man has not where to lay his head."⁷ It was doubtless congenial to Luke, but it comes straight from his source.

In accord with this interest in lodging is Luke's emphasis on spending the night in the open. It has been conjectured from his references to cities that the author's viewpoint is rather urban and with this would agree the impression which Jesus' open-air experiences made upon him. He it is who says that before his death at Jerusalem Jesus spent his nights at the mount of Olives (21 37).⁸ The other evangelists say Bethany. The retirement to the mount of Olives was customary (22 39) and there he prayed. So too it is Luke who repeatedly refers to Jesus' prayer in the open. He says in one passage (6 12) that it lasted all night. Luke alone of the evangelists clearly makes the transfiguration scene (9 28-37) an all night experience in the open. Note the references to prayer, to sleep and waking, to the next day.

I had long been aware of this general interest before I noticed two other striking changes which Luke makes in Mark. At the story of the Gadarene demoniac Mark (5 3) describes him as one who had his abode in the tombs. Luke (8 27) says

⁷ Matt. 8 20 *verbatim*. The "association of ideas" determining the introduction of this saying at this point in Luke may be due either to the evangelist or to his source. The cue is probably "lodging," for Luke 9 51-56 is the account of the rebuff by a village of the Samaritans whither Jesus had sent messengers "to prepare for him."

⁸ The equivalence of "mountain" to "desert" which was discussed in an earlier one of these notes (JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE, xliv, 1925, pp. 221 ff.) should be recalled wherever Luke mentions the Mount of Olives or Jesus' prayer on a mountain. The verb used here is *νηλιζεο*, which means properly "lodge in the open" but sometimes merely "lodge." For the agreement of Matt. 21 17 *νηλισθη* see B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, 1924, p. 301.

he "abode *not in a house*, but in the tombs." Here is Harnack's word "house" added.⁹ Again before the feeding of the five thousand, since evening had come on, Mark (6 36) represents Jesus' disciples as saying to him: "Send them away in order that going into the fields and villages round about they may buy for themselves something to eat." In like manner Matthew (14 15); Luke (9 12) copies but makes one addition: "Send away the multitude in order that going into the villages and fields round about they may *put up for the night* and find provisions."¹⁰

I proceed now to call attention to two other cases where Luke's interest in spending the night in the open seems to me to lurk and to throw light on long-standing obscurities.

συναλιζομαι

In Acts 1 3 f. we read of the risen Jesus that "appearing to the apostles by the space of forty days, and speaking the things concerning the kingdom of God,¹¹ and συναλιζόμενος, he charged them not to depart from Jerusalem," etc. Now συναλιζόμενος is an ancient *crux interpretum*. Some scribes evidently found difficulty with it and the modern discussion, whose beginnings include such names as Calvin and Erasmus, Theodore Beza and Sebastian Castellio, has come down to our own time and country in a series of articles by American scholars.¹² The debate,

⁹ *καὶ ἐν οἰκῇ οὐκ ἔμενον ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι*. Of course Luke is only making explicit in this negative clause what Mark implies in his *τὴν κατοίκησιν εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι*, just as by the preceding negative, *οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἱμάτιον* Luke prepares, as Mark does not, for the reference to the patient when cured as clothed (*ἱματισμένον*) as well as in his right mind.

¹⁰ *ἵνα καταλύσωσιν καὶ εἴρωσιν ἐπισπισμὸν*. This is not the only time that Harnack declares improbable in the "we" passages, if a source is used, precisely what is probable in the gospel of Luke, where Mark is being used. See *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. II, 1922, pp. 164 ff.

¹¹ It is uncertain whether a new sentence begins at this point; also where the description of the gospel ends, and where the ascension scene proper begins.

¹² Theodore D. Woolsey, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, xxxix, 1882, pp. 593—618; W. H. P. Hatch, *JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE*, xxx, 1911, pp. 123—128;

which I do not wish to enter, has been between *συναλιζω* in the sense of "eat with" and *συναλιζομαι* in the sense of "gather" (transitive or intransitive). For each of these meanings weighty arguments can be given and yet each has to meet strong objections. I content myself with a brief summary, referring the reader to the articles mentioned for fuller discussion.

(1) *συναλιζομαι* in the sense of "eat with" must be derived like the simple verb *ἀλιζομαι* (Matt. 5 13, Mark 9 49) from the root *ἄλας*, "salt." The Vulgate (*convescens*) and other versions presuppose this force. The emphasis on salt as a symbol of fellowship can be illustrated from Greek as well as Oriental sources. Torrey believes that this "somewhat unusual word is the (exact) rendering of the Aramaic *ܢܗܝܬܐ*, this *ithpa'al* meaning primarily 'eat salt in company with,' and then simply 'have (table-) companionship with.'"¹³ For the introduction of the idea of eating in connection with Jesus' resurrection appearances Luke 24 30, 40-43 and Acts 10 41 form quite sufficient parallels, and that too from this very author.

The objection raised against taking *συναλιζόμενος* in this sense is the simple fact that such a verb is, as far as we know, quite late and rare. No other compound of *ἀλιζω*, "to make salty," is known, and one would not suppose that if compounded with *σύν* it would form a deponent verb meaning "to eat with." A new denominative verb formation from the very rare *σύναλος* is perhaps possible. Whatever its origin, such a verb is of quite doubtful existence. The cases cited in support of it are really ambiguous. Thus the Hexaplaric *alius* at Psalm 140 (141) 4 reads *συναλισθῶ*. If it were translating the present Massoretic text its version would mean the same as Symmachus' *συμφάγοιμι*; but if it understood its Hebrew text as the LXX did, which rendered it *συνδοιάσω* (= "join with"), this instance of *συναλιζω*

C. R. Bowen, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xiii, 1912, pp. 247-259. See also beside discussions in lexica, commentaries, and older *observationes*, A. Hilgenfeld, *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, xxxviii, 1895, p. 74; F. Field, *Notes on the Translation of the New Testament*, 1899, pp. 110 f.; C. R. Bowen, *The Resurrection in the New Testament*, 1911, pp. 374-378.

¹³ C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Date of Acts*, 1916, pp. 23 f.

must be included under another meaning. The cases of this verb in the pseudonymous Manetho and the Clementines¹⁴ require the idea of association of some sort but not necessarily table companionship.

The context of the verb in Acts is not altogether favorable to "eating with." If the eating has evidential value it would have occurred more naturally a little earlier in the paragraph, where proofs of the resurrection are named: *παρέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τὸ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσεράκοντα ὀπτανόμενος αὐτοῖς*. If it is to be connected with what precedes it comes in somewhat lamely.¹⁵ If it goes closely with the following *παρήγγειλεν*, the present participle would mean he spoke while eating, which is a little curious in itself and is not really paralleled in Luke 24 42 f. or Acts 10 41 f. though the same *παρήγγειλεν* occurs in the latter passage.

(2) The only alternative interpretation proposed in the past has been to derive the form somehow from *συναλιζῶ*, "to gather." This transitive verb is used (like the simple *ἀλιζῶ*) repeatedly and for a long span of the history of Greek both of collecting things and of gathering persons. The passive is used of persons or things that are collected or of a substance that "collects."¹⁶

While therefore the verb has an undoubted existence in this sense its application in this passage is grammatically difficult and its sponsors do not agree on its use. Those who take it as a deponent, transitively "gathering (them)," or intransitively "foregathering (with them)," cannot adduce any instance of such usage. Those who take it as a passive are embarrassed both by

¹⁴ [Manetho], *Apotelesmatica*, v. 339: *πῆμα λυγρῷ γαμετῇ συναλιζόμενον κακήθης* (of a bad wife); [Clement], *Hom.* 13 4: *αὐτοῖς συναλιζόμεθα* (= *Recogn.* 7 29: *cum eis cibum sumimus*); *idem*, *Ep. ad Jac.* 15: *ἐνούμενοι, συναλιζόμενοι, ἡσυχάζοντες*.

¹⁵ See Field, *loc. cit.*: "Of the Fathers it is observable that they always join *καὶ συναλιζόμενος* with the preceding verse, sometimes even inserting it after *ὀπτανόμενος*."

¹⁶ For the fullest list of occurrences [see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus linguae Graecae*, s. v. For the last type see the instances from Hippocrates in W. K. Hobart, *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, 1882, p. 182, and from Aëtius, *De placit. phil.*, in H. Diels, *Doxographi Graeci*, 1879, pp. 369, 409.

the present tense and by the singular number. The former they must explain either as a frequentative or as merely the equivalent for the aorist. The parallels adduced for the singular number are few and not very satisfactory. One feels that, like ἀθροίζω or συναθροίζω, the verb demands either a plural or a collective subject, and, if used of an individual, at least a dative expressing the persons with whom the subject is associated.¹⁷

(3) Instead of the choice of evils which the dilemma of these two alternatives represents I wish to propose another meaning, viz., "to live with," in the sense of spending the night together in the open. I would regard συναλιζόμενος as derived from ἀλιζομαι and merely another spelling for συναλιζόμενος. I say another spelling rather than a textual error, for the form in -av- is not attested by any early MSS.; and though the scribes and fathers who changed to -av- were, I believe, correctly understanding the passage, an original spelling in -a- seems to me to be attested by other variants and by the consistent effort of the versions somehow to find a root for the verb in ἀλ-.¹⁸

Such a variation of spelling is altogether likely. Modern study of contemporary documents shows the frequent orthographic exchange of *a* for *av*. The commonest instances are in the pronoun αὐτός which yields such forms as ατης, ατων, εματ., σατ., εατ.¹⁹ The testimony of Crönert and Mayser suggests that

¹⁷ The addition of "with them" (D d Aug etc.) is natural for any meaning of the verb.

¹⁸ The textual evidence for this reading or for this understanding ought not to be underrated. συναλιζόμενος is found in several minuscules including 614 important for its "Western" readings and was apparently read here by Eusebius and Epiphanius. The Latin evidence is not unanimous for *convescens*, which was read by the Vulgate and has determined Roman Catholic interpretation. In d we find *simul convivens cum eis*, and Aug perp gig e and some Vulgate codices employ *convensor*. This may imply a reading συναλιζόμενος or may mean that συναλιζόμενος was (correctly) understood as merely an orthographic variant for the same verb.

¹⁹ I refer the reader to W. Crönert, *Memoria Graeca Herculanensis*, 1903, pp. 126 ff.; J. H. Moulton, *Classical Review*, xv, 1901, pp. 33, 434; *ibid.* xviii, 1904, p. 107; *Expositor*, May 1904, p. 363; *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, Vol. I, 1906, p. 47, Vol. II, 1919, p. 87; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri*, Vol. I, 1906, p. 114; H. St. J. Thackeray, *Grammar of the O. T. in Greek*, Vol. I, p. 79. Among the more interesting early

this spelling increased in Egyptian papyri near the beginning of the Christian era.²⁰ The phenomenon occurs in other words especially near another dipthong in *υ*. Augustus is found repeatedly in the papyri (as in low Latin) with initial A for Av- and so also in Luke 2 1 \aleph O* Δ. There are spellings like ἀπολαούσας, ἀναπαόμενος.

Of the particular verbs which form the subject of this note (whether simplex or in composition), the non-literary sources so far as indexed apparently provide no example in either spelling. That a writer of the first century or an early copyist should have written συναλιζόμενος intending to convey the thought and meaning of συναλιζόμενος is natural enough. From a later period we have definite evidence of precisely this exchange in MSS. of various writers. For several of the instances of συναλιζομαι that are adduced in the older discussions of Acts 1 4 as well as in that passage itself the spelling with a dipthong is a textual variant.²¹ It is hard in such cases to be sure which

occurrences I may quote B G U 713, 42 Κρατιου (= Κλαυδιου); B G U 1079 και συ βλεπε σαυον απο των Ιουδαιων; P Lond 1912, 94 (letter of Claudius to the Alexandrians) απολαουρας; P Oxy 1242, 32 (a later Jewish-Gentile controversy) μερ' αρουσ.

²⁰ In *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, xxv, 1901, p. 357, M. Laurent remarks on the frequency of these forms in the second half of the first Christian century, but Moulton in the last form of his *Prolegomena (Einführung in die Sprache des neuen Testaments)*, 1911, p. 70) was inclined to deny such contractions for the New Testament autographs except 2 Peter (I 19, 2 14).

²¹ See note 18. At the two instances from the Clementines cited in note 14 the Parisian codex spells with *α*, the Roman codex with *αυ*. The one extant codex of Manetho reads at the passage cited συναυλισθέν (edit. Axtius and Rigler, 1832, p. 111). In the version of Psalm 140 4 cited above Origen seems to have read συναυλισθῶ. Conflict between MSS or between diplomatic evidence and conjecture is further illustrated for the compound with *σύν* at Hippocrates, *De natura ossium*, 298 (edit. E. Littré, 1839—1861, Vol. IX, p. 102); Xenophon, *Anab.* vii, 3, 48; *Hell.* i, 1, 30; *Cyrop.* i, 2, 15; Lucian, *Luct.* 7; *Philops.* 12; Plutarch, *De placit. philos.* iv, 19 (902 D); Iamblichus, *Vita Pythag.* 12 (edit. L. Kuster, 1707, p. 44 see note); Eunapius (edit. J. F. Boissonade, 1822, pp. 277, 474). For the simple verb compare Ignatius, *Magn.* 10, 2 ἀλισθητε (v. l. ἀδλισθητε) ἐν Χριστῷ; Aretaeus, *Sign. Morb. Acut.* ii, 2, 8 ἀλισθέν (of blood that collects, cf. above note 16; conj. Petitus ἀλισθέν); Athenaeus ii, 40 ἡλιζοντο (codd. (ἡ)δλιζοντο). Confusion

spelling is the original. In many passages the context would permit either meaning. To eat with, to live with, and, if the grammar permits, to be gathered with, would often make equally good sense. The editors of texts have been aware of the equivalence of these two spellings and have freely selected whichever one seemed to them most appropriate. Of *συναλιζομαι* Liddell and Scott say explicitly "it is a frequent *v. l.* for *συναλιζομαι*." Probably the reverse is equally true.

The verb *συναλιζομαι* is no stranger to the Greek language. Sophocles' *Lexicon* calls it "classical" and notes instances in LXX Prov. 22 24 and in Babrius 106. It is an obvious derivative of *αἰλιζομαι* and beside its sense of lodging comes to mean fellowship in general. To give its force to *συναλιζόμενος* in Acts 1 4 supplies a simple, grammatical and natural meaning. It is not necessary to reject the originality of the best attested spelling, but to suppose that the translators and early commentators had the same spelling before them that we do and attempted, as was their wont, to render it etymologically. They perhaps knew that the form could not be grammatically construed from *συναλιζω*, "to gather," and they also knew that it was not the right orthography from *συναλιζομαι*, "to live with." They were compelled then to appeal to a rare word from the root "salt" and perhaps even to invent such a word. Understood as *συναλιζόμενος* the participle has no grammatical difficulties. Its tense, voice and number are entirely suitable, and the absence of any following dative is unobjectionable. If anyone should argue against this meaning, as Zahn does against the spelling *συναλιζόμενος*, that it emphasizes in an incomprehensible way an insignificant minor circumstance,²² our reply would be that curious personal interests of authors often are responsible for just such insignificant details, in this case an interest in lodging.

Such a solution would escape the intrinsic difficulties of

in spelling would lead to confusion of meaning and perhaps to actual exchange of meanings in both directions. The confusion occurs in the passive forms. Active forms of (*συν*)*αλιζω* on the other hand are not often misspelled.

²² Th. Zahn, *Kommentar zum N. T.*, Vol. V, 1919, p. 25 n. 38.

each of the two usual rival interpretations, and would remove other difficulties found in the passage as a whole. After his resurrection as before his death (Luke 21 37 *ἠὺλίζετο*) Jesus is represented as living in the open near Jerusalem with his disciples. A few verses later we are told definitely that they were at the mount of Olives. This has seemed to modern scholars rather abrupt. Commentators have assumed that the first verses belong to Jerusalem proper and to the same meal there as is recorded in Luke 24 40 ff., while later the scene suddenly changes.²³ But if *συναλιζόμενος* means "living with them in the open," then the reader is already aware that in spite of the command not to depart from Jerusalem the company is not actually in Jerusalem but bivouacking in the neighborhood. And Luke, as in some other passages, does not definitely mention the place of the gathering until the close of the section.

It may be further suggested that *συναλιζόμενος*, if now we may associate it with the final ascension, implies that Luke thought of that event as taking place at night. This is in itself quite likely. If the ascension was originally recorded in Luke, though the text is doubtful, it was there thought of as coming after an evening meal. Luke has other such events at night,—angel visions to the shepherds near Bethlehem, and to Paul, or the transfiguration (see above) at which last as here we have an overshadowing cloud and heavenly visitants. Even of the "day" of the Lord's coming, of which Luke says here it

²³ I quote as a typical expression of this difficulty M. Goguel, *Introduction au N. T.*, Vol. III, 1922, pp. 172 f.: "Le récit de l'ascension (1, 4—12) manque d'unité: il commence au cours d'un repas pendant lequel Jésus recommande à ses disciples de ne pas quitter Jérusalem avant d'avoir reçu l'effusion de l'Esprit. L'intérêt est concentré sur l'entretien de Jésus avec ses disciples; puis, sans que cela soit d'ailleurs nettement indiqué, le lieu de la scène change. A partir du verset 6 on est en plein air, sur la Montagne des Oliviers (cf. 1, 12). La dualité de tradition indiquée par ce changement de lieu est confirmée par l'allure du verset 6 qui paraît le commencement d'un récit. Le rédacteur a donc, dans l'épisode de l'ascension, combiné ou trouvé déjà combinées deux traditions qui plaçaient le dernier entretien de Jésus avec ses disciples, la première au cours d'un repas, la seconde en plein air."

will be in like manner, he can employ the words (Luke 17 34) "on that night."

φάτνη

At the other end of Jesus' career Luke also has I believe a characteristic reference to the open air. His birth stories refer plainly to the shepherds as bivouacking (*ἀγρουλοῦντες*) and keeping watch over their flock by night and more obscurely he says (2 7) of Jesus' birth that Mary *ἀνέκλιεν αὐτὸν ἐν φάτνῃ, διότι οὐκ ἦν αὐτοῖς τόπος ἐν τῷ καταλύματι*. The ordinary reader of the gospels little suspects the uncertainty in this passage. There was a surprising amount of discussion about it in the older commentaries and modern ones are not quite agreed.²⁴

φάτνη is usually translated "manger" and it often has just that meaning. It is the eating place of cattle, a crib or a trough probably on the ground (Lucian, *Gall.* 29). The proverbial dog is said to be *ἐν τῇ φάτνῃ* (Lucian, *Tim.* 14, *Adv. Ind.* 30), but a horse or an ox is said to be *ἐπὶ φάτνης* (LXX Job 6 5; 39 9), or *ἐπὶ φάτνας* (LXX Joel 1 17; Hab. 3 17), or loosed *ἀπὸ τῆς φάτνης* (Luke 13 15).

There is however some evidence that the word can be used of a "feeding pen" or "stall." The Latin *praesepe(-ium)* has both meanings and the Hebrew equivalents at some of the LXX occurrences have apparently the force of a gathering place for cattle. Pollux i. 184 associates it with *ἱππών* and *ἱππόστασις* and *σταθμός*. Typical of the views of many older scholars is the statement of Schleusner (*Lexicon in N. T., s. v.*) that "it was used specially of the courtyard of the house where the owner's cattle stood, which is called in Latin also *stabulum*, and was enclosed not by walls and a roof as is customary with us but by a fence made of wooden hurdles. Of this area, or place open and under the sky, the word

²⁴ Beside the discussions in the commentaries and lexica there are three old monographs listed in J. C. Wolf, *Orae philologicae et criticae*, 1739, pp. 581 f. Another is included in J. A. Ernesti, *Opuscula theologica* 2, 1792, pp. 595 ff. A characteristic article by Paul Haupt on "The Crib of Christ" appeared in the *Monist*, January, 1920.

φάτνη in the passage Luke 2 7 apparently must be understood."

A decision between these meanings is not easy and for the present purpose is unnecessary since in either case the open air rather than a building is intended. Here then is another scene of this writer's, set *sub divo* and at night. The following clause, usually translated "because there was no room for them in the inn," confirms this general understanding but unfortunately does not help us resolve our uncertainty as to the exact force of φάτνη since κατάλυμα also is not quite specific. We would expect it to give the contrast to φάτνη and so it does since it surely means some place of human shelter; but it is a more general word than πανδοχείον (Luke 10 34). It may mean a guest room rather than a whole building.²⁵ Since φάτνη should be read at its first occurrence without an article there is no reason to suppose that it was connected with the κατάλυμα, as though the inn had a courtyard or stable (so generally), or as though the room which served as the parents' apartment was at other times a stall having a manger (Zahn). Against the latter view is the plural αὐτοῖς, so that we can hardly explain the passage to mean that in his parents' κατάλυμα there was no place to put the baby except a manger. Rather we are meant to suppose that the whole family was excluded from the shelter that was to be expected. They took refuge either in an enclosure for cattle or at a cattle-trough, and on the ground in the enclosure or in the trough the newborn infant was laid. Spitta warns against reading into the narrative the explanation that the census had overcrowded the town and its quarters for visitors, or that Joseph was too poor to secure better accommodations.²⁶ He thinks that the under-

²⁵ Luke 22 11 from Mark 14 14. Polybius ii. 36 shows that it was used in the plural of rooms in the same house and not necessarily the house of another person. For occurrences in the papyri see Fr. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, Vol. I, col. 758. The ambiguity of the English "room" makes that word sound over-definite as a translation of τόπος, just as another case of ambiguity in English forbids our translating φάτνη here "crib."

²⁶ Fr. Spitta, *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, vii, 1906, pp. 298 f.

lying *motif* is that Jesus should be born in pastoral surroundings. Luke was probably ignorant of the early Christian tradition that placed Jesus' birth in a cave, though the latter was early and easily combined with Luke's version.²⁷

While therefore some things in Luke's account do not seem entirely clear to us, this much at least is probable, that *φάτνη* is a place in the open and that the clause which follows emphasizes the absence of shelter. That clause corresponds to Luke's two additions to Mark mentioned above: it says negatively what *φάτνη* says positively just as *ἐν οἰκίᾳ οὐκ ἔμμενεν* does for *ἐν τοῖς μνήμασιν* (8 27), and of course *κατάλυμα* carries the same thought as the verb *καταλύσωσιν* (9 12).

ξενία and μίσθωμα

At the other extremity of Luke-Acts occurs, as has been already mentioned, repeated reference to Paul's lodging at Rome. The first instance (28 16) raises no lexical difficulty: *ἐπετράπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν σὺν τῷ φυλάσσουντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ*. But in each of the other passages nouns occur which, if used as commonly supposed of a place of abode, are almost if not quite unparalleled. Either we must give each of these nouns its more regular meaning and then omit these passages from the list of examples of Luke's interest in lodging,

²⁷ This tradition occurs as early as Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 78. It was supported by Isaiah 33 16 LXX, if not actually derived from it. Compare the use in early Christian literature and art of Isaiah 1 3: *ἔγω . . . ὄνος τὴν φάτνην τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ*. The birth in a cave may be paralleled from pagan myths (Wettstein) or may belong to the motif of a foundling discovered by shepherds (H. Gressmann, *Das Weihnachts-Evangelium*, 1914, pp. 18 f.). It could be reconciled with Luke's account of the *φάτνη*, the parents' presence, the city, and the crowd, by being moved into Bethlehem and by appeal to the fact that in the East caves are sometimes used as stables for cattle.

Present Palestinian customs further suggest, as my friend Professor Elihu Grant of Haverford kindly informs me, that the container for cattle feed, in case that is what *φάτνη* means, would be a flat object like a pan or a tray or a mat on the ground or even a natural hard surface, not a raised manger. Likewise the adult peasants, who sleep themselves on the floor or ground, can hardly be imagined putting a child in an elevated place.

or else we must suppose that precisely that interest has led the author to use concretely of a room or apartment at Rome two words of rather different and less tangible meaning.

ἡ *ξενία* (Acts 28 23) usually means hospitality. The neuter plural τὰ *ξένια* with which it is often confused means the gifts of a host to a guest such as are mentioned at verse 10 of this chapter. The phrase *καλεῖν (παρακαλεῖν) ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν* is an idiomatic expression meaning to invite to one's table,²⁸ and in other connections *ξενία*, if not used in the more abstract sense of the friendship between host and guest, means the entertainment in the form of food provided for visitors. It is natural to give this meaning to Philemon 22 *ἐτοίμαζέ μοι ξενίαν*, and in the present passage to render *ταξάμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ ἡμέραν ἦλθαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ξενίαν πλείονες* "[the Jews of Rome] having fixed a date with him came to him in larger numbers to the reception which he tendered them." Such a statement would be as congenial to Luke as a reference to Paul's lodging, as he has also an interest in table hospitality.²⁹ But not having been accustomed

²⁸ On the frequent variants *ἐπὶ τὰ ξένια*, *ἐπὶ τῇ ξενίᾳ* see Achilles Tatius, edit. Fr. Jacobs, 1821, p. 760 note; J. La Roche, *Wiener Studien*, xxi, 1899, pp. 27 f. But instances either with *εἰς* instead of *ἐπὶ* or with the verb *ἔρχομαι* as in Acts are not common. For the latter see Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 49; for the former P Oxy 747, 1 (ii/iii A. D., an invitation to a banquet, not cited in Moulton and Milligan *Vocabulary*) *καλεῖ σε . . . εἰς τὴν ξενίαν ἑαυτοῦ*.

²⁹ Compare with this passage the statement in Luke 5 39 (contrast the wording of the parallels) that Levi the publican held a great reception for Jesus (*ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην*). Beside such idiomatic expressions for hospitality in Acts as *παρεῖχαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν* and *ἀναδεξάμενος . . . φιλοφρονῶς ἐξέτισεν* (28 2 and 7), two passages may be mentioned where such a meaning is a curiosity lexically possible:

Field (*op. cit.* p. 118) mentions the suggestion of one T. Harmer who maintained that the words of Peter to Aeneas (9 34) *στρώσον σεαυτῷ* were a recommendation that the patient give a feast on the occasion of his recovery and prepare his house for the reception of the company.

With more plausibility my colleague Professor Lake suggests that the somewhat peculiarly phrased statement about Saul and Barnabas in Antioch (11 26) *ἔγένετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἑνιαυτὸν ὅλον συναχθῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* means that they were the guests of the church for a whole year. Just such a use of *συνάγω* is certainly found in Matt. 25 35, 43 and elsewhere (H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, 1895, p. 128).

to the idea we find it difficult to think of Paul the prisoner as playing the host to a group of local Jews and supplying them with refreshments as *ξενία* implies.

The other course, adopted by the majority of commentators, is to define *ξενία* as a guest-room whether of some friend of Paul's or of some place of public entertainment,—as *κατάλυμα*, *καταγώγιον* according to the Byzantine lexica. But the context in Acts, unlike that in Philemon, offers no suggestion as to who Paul's host might have been, and the use of *ξενία* of temporary living quarters in the sense of *ξενών* or *κατάλυμα* whether public or private is apparently not well attested at least at so early a date.³⁰

More unique would be the employment of *μισθωμα* (v. 30) in the sense of hired house or apartment. Not even the old

³⁰ *ξενών* (along with *κατάλυμα*) is well illustrated in the inscription of the Jerusalem synagogue of Theodotus recently discovered: τὸν ξενῶνα καὶ τὰ δάματα καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια τῶν ὑδάτων, εἰς κατάλυμα τοῖς χορήγουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς ξενίης. From such passages as this and the synoptic passages where it is later specified as an *ἀνάγειον* it is evident that *κατάλυμα* is a more general word. *ξενοδοχείον* is a frequent substitute for *ξενών* in Hellenistic as in Modern Greek. The instances from the papyri convinced Moulton and Milligan (*Vocabulary*, p. 433 a = *Expositor*, March 1910, p. 286) that in Acts *ξενία* means hospitality rather than a place of lodging. Even the examples they give for the latter meaning seem to me doubtful. Unquestionable instances of *ξενία* as a *place* of abode occur in [Clem.] *Hom.* viii, 2, xiv, 1 bis, and as a "cell" in Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* (edit. by J. A. Robinson, *Texts and Studies*, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1904, pp. 74, 7; 136, 16). See C. DuF. DuCange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Graecitatis*, 1688, col. 1014.

The features of non-literary Greek are sometimes revealed more clearly than through other sources by the loan words of Rabbinic Aramaic. That language, beside transliterating *πανδοχείον*, the word for "inn" in Luke 10 34, uses commonly for the place where strangers lodge *קַאָדְלִימָא* (*κατάλυμα*, *khan*, *Herberge*, *logis*). See Strack-Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum N. T. aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Vol. II, 1924, p. 113). The instances cited of its occurrence (J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch*, s. v. S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 48 f., or *Talmudische Archäologie*, Vol. II, 1911, pp. 327 f., 973 f.) begin perhaps as early as the early second century with *Sifre Num.* Unless this is a new Aramaic formation from *ξένος* or its root, it is a direct transliteration from *ξενία* and constitutes the best support for giving that word the meaning usually assigned to it in Acts 28 23.

lexica give such a definition and no parallel has yet been quoted with assurance.³¹ Possibly then ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ἑλὴν ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι means that Paul supported himself "on his own earnings."³² Where else did Ephrem Syrus find evidence that at Rome Paul labored with his hands? μίσθωμα means money paid, and though it probably comes to the same thing in the end, it may refer here to what was paid to Paul as wages for his work rather than to what was paid by Paul for food and lodging.

³¹ Fr. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, gives no instance at all of μίσθωμα from the papyri though they use μίσθωσις frequently of the act of payment including the payment of rent for a house, room or other real estate.

Wettstein *ad loc.* cited from Philo the phrase ἐν μισθώματι οἰκεῖν without giving any reference. There is evidently some mistake, as Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 1868, p. 9 *note* suspected. Dr. Hans Leisegang kindly informs me that his index (in course of publication) to the Cohn-Wendland edition of the works of Philo Alexandrinus will show that there is no such phrase in that writer.

³² J. R. Harris, *Four Lectures on the Western Text of the N. T.*, 1894, pp. 50 f. Harris actually renders the lemma of Ephrem's text of Acts from Armenian into English as "at his own expense." Compare F. C. Conybeare, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Vol. III, p. 453 *note*.