

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

Thesis by

Rev. J. H. Hill.

Books herein referred to and quoted;

Ramsay, Sir William	"The Letters to the Seven Churches"	Abbreviation - L.S.C.
Swete, H. B.	"The Apocalypse of St. John"	" A.S.J.
Trench, R. C.	"Commentary on the Epistles to the Seven Churches"	" C.E.S.C.
Westcott, B.F.	"Gospel of St. John"	" A.S.J.
" "	"Epistles of St. John"	" E.S.J.
Tristram, H. B.	"The Seven Golden Candlesticks"	" S.G.C.
Lightfoot, J. B.	"Epistles of Ignatius"	" Lightfoot Ign.
" "	"Epistle to the Galatians"	"
" "	"Epistle to the Colossians"	"
Purves, G. T.	"The Apostolic Age"	" Apost. Age.
Cruttwell, C. T.	"A Literary History of Early Christianity"	

Works of

Ignatius.	Abbreviation	Ign.
Irenaeus.	"	Iren.
Martyrdom of Polycarp		Mart. Poly.
Clement of Rome		
Vita Polycarpi		
Tertullian		Text.
Eusebius		Eus.
Apostolic Constitutions		Apost. Const.
Aristides.		
Xenophon.		
Pliny.		

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

INTRODUCTION.

In the first century of our era there were existent in the then known world two great predominating influences. In the West there lay the Imperial city of Rome whose armies had subjugated beneath her rule all kingdoms and Empires from the far East to the islands of the West, In all the known world the Caesars reigned supreme. Demanding from all men a respect for the Emperor and his power, and also assistance in the support of the Empire through taxes and tribute, each nation was largely left to itself to follow out its own affairs much as they pleased, so long as they did not conflict with the policy of the Imperial power.

Thus each nation was allowed to retain its own form of religion, which was declared a "religio licita" - a national religion allowed to exist and to be followed by its devotees in different parts of the Empire.

But there gradually arose a modification of these privileges;- a modification in the promotion of which the province took a considerable part. In the later period of Greek history there took place a transition from the worship of the unseen to that of the seen. The older mythology was losing its hold over the minds of men. The feeling arose that the older gods of popular myths were after all but the mortal heroes of the shadowy past; that there had arisen other heroes just as great in their way. These modern men living in the immediate present overshadowed that which was now obscured by time. Greek poets took up the strain and with the rise of Alexander the Great and others, a new form of worship was inaugurated - a power present at least, and real. Gradually this hero worship spread to the West. Here in Rome the cult was considerably modified by the national faith of Italy in the Lares, Manes and Genius, their household gods, "The life of the family, and of the clan and state was acknowledged to be Divine and to have a connection with an unseen order". Roma, the conception of the power of the Roman state was already worshipped as a goddess and assumed in time the attributes of Pallas. But some conception of the Divine still lingered. (a)

(a) E.S.J. p. 269 - 270.

Thus in the second century B.C. as Rome was becoming more and more a power to be reckoned with, patriots through lauding her greatness consciously or unconsciously developed a cult of her genius. (a) So there started the idea of a "Dea Roma" in the Provinces. With the rise of the Empire the cult received impetus and a temple of Dea Roma and Divus Julius was erected at Ephesus in B.C. 29. Thus there arose the personification of the genius of the Roman Empire in its Emperor. The earliest Emperors held it in check. Augustus allowed no temple to be erected in Rome in his honour. Tiberius allowed one in Asia but forbade any more. Gaius was the first to endeavour to enforce the cult. Caligula was prevented from making any efforts in this direction by his assassination. There is no evidence that Claudius encouraged it. Nero was checked in promulgating it from the idea that it forboded death. But under the Emperor Domitian it reached its height. Then it was demanded of every national religion through the Empire that it recognize the Caesar cult in some form or other. (a)

To the East of the Mediterranean lay the land of Palestine, the home of the religion of Jehovah, the ancient Mosaic Law of which emphatically stated "Thou shalt worship no other God, for the Lord whose Name is Jealous, is a jealous God". On various occasions images had been set up in the Temple of other cults than the worship of Jehovah by conquerors of the city. In B.C. 170 Antiochus Epiphanes conquered Jerusalem and dedicated its Temple to Zeus. (b) Two years later an idol altar was erected on the site of the great altar of burnt offering and sacrifice was made to Zeus in the Greek form. (c) The Emperor Gaius in his self aggrandisement and Oriental taste attempted to erect a statue of himself in the Holy of Holies. He also forced the Jews of Alexandria to admit his image into their synagogues. (d) The famous Philo in A.D. 40 headed an embassy to appeal against it, but the appeal was lost. (e) But apart from this, the Jews in various parts of the Empire were left to follow out their religion very much as they chose without any state interference. In Ephesus in 15 B.C. the Hellenes appealed to Agrippa that he should expel the

- (a) A.S.J. p. lxxxvi - lxxxviii.
E.S.J. p. 269 - 274.
- (b) B.G. p. 102 - 103.
- (c) E.S.J. p. 275.
A.S.J. p. lxxxvii.
- (d) B.G. p. 350.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 151.

Jews from the city on the ground that they took no part in the religious activities of the city. The Jews appealed to the ancient constitution of Antiochus (261 - 246) which seems to have been accepted as authoritative. (a)

At Bethlehem of Judaea there was born in the reign of Augustus, when Cyrenius was governor of Syria, Jesus who claimed to fulfil the ancient Hebrew "Law, Prophecies and Writings" concerning the Messiah. The Jews, failing to see the spiritual meaning which underlay the exorcism of tradition which had been heaped upon their Scriptures, rejected Him, and their chief priests were successful in bringing about His Crucifixion - circa A.D. 33. But he had gathered about Him twelve disciples and other followers who after His Resurrection and Ascension, in obedience to His commands, established His Church. As long as it was confined to Jerusalem it was not brought into antagonism with other religions, for its members were Jews who still frequented the Temple for prayer and worship, and still observed the various feasts. Only with the Sanhedrin was there any great amount of friction. Rome taken up with other affairs, never troubled herself any more than she was absolutely obliged to with Jewish religious quarrels, and regarded the Christian faith as a mere sect of the Jews. Under this guise the faith of Jesus spread in all directions, and Churches were founded in many cities and districts, even as far as to Rome itself, and probably further West again into Spain. (b)

But in A.D. 70 Titus advanced against Jerusalem where the Zealots had been driven in their uprising to restore the liberties of the old Jewish State, with the result that the city was forced to surrender and the Temple destroyed with fire. The Jews were driven out and dispersed from Jerusalem, and a Roman colony established in its place. With its Temple destroyed and the Holy Place defiled, Judaism lost ground and disappeared as an active religion in the opposition to the Emperor Worship. Thenceforth Christianity became all the more prominent for, deprived of the cloak in which in Roman estimation it was ~~wrapped~~ wrapped, it now continued and grew, while Judaism waned. It was now a religion without a nation and without a home - in short, "a religio illicita." A national religion was a part of the historical development and habit of the nation, a mode of expressing certain thoughts and convictions which could no more be

(a) L.S.C. p. 151.

(b) Clement of Rome "To the Corinthians" ch. 5.

changed than language" (a) Christianity was a part of the historical development of no particular nation, though it claims to possess the panacea for the true development of all peoples - i.e. the Life and Principles of Jesus Christ. It affected the habits of no especial people, but demanded great changes in the morals of all its converts.

But not only in this did it incur the displeasure of the Imperial authorities and the Caesar cult, for jealous as the Jew was for the religion of the monotheistic worship of Jehovah, still more intense and rigorous were the claims of the Christian religion, which claimed as its realm no mere state or even empire, but the world itself; that the earth might be brought under the sway of the kingdom of heaven; "That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth and things under the earth". Thus a religion came into being whose fundamental principles, both moral and theological, were in direct opposition to the cult of the Caesar Worship, which claimed a spiritual rule greater than the political sway of Rome itself.

Accordingly we have two Empires in some respects similar, in many respects different. Westcott contrasts them as follows; "Two social organizations designed to embrace the whole world, started together in the first century. The one appeared in the completeness of its form; the other only in the first embodiment of the vital principle which included all after growth. But the two Empires had nothing in common except their point of departure and their claim to universality. In principle, in mode of action, in sanctions, in scope, in history they offer an absolute contrast. The Roman Empire was essentially based on positive law; it was maintained by force; it appealed to outward doing; it aimed at producing external cooperation or conformity. The Christian Empire was no less essentially based on faith: it was propagated and upheld by conviction: it lifted the thoughts and working of men to that which was spiritual and eternal; it strove towards the manifold exhibition of one common life. The history of the Roman Empire is from the first a history of a decline and fall, checked by many noble efforts and many wise counsels, but still inevitable. The history of the Christian Empire is from the first the history of a victorious progress, stayed and saddened by frequent faithlessness and self seeking, but still certain and assured though never completed.(b)

(a) E.S.J. p. 260.

(b) " p. 253.

Between Rome and Jerusalem lay the Province of Asia, destined to be the scene of the struggle between the political and spiritual powers of the world - the Empire of Rome and the Christian Faith. As the Roman worship of the Emperor developed and spread east, so in an ever enlarging circle were the outposts of the Christian religion thrust out. And here in Asia they met. Thus Asia becomes a most interesting province, for here the new World Religion was to show its strength or weakness. Here it was to meet the malice and envy of the greatest power of the day. To surrender would have shown its worthlessness; unflinchingly to meet its foes and triumph over them, to prove it superior to anything the world had ever seen. And moreover, as Christianity took over the monotheism and Scriptures of the Jews, the struggle resolved into not merely that of a society of men with a political power, but that also of spiritual powers with the material. For this purpose the first century of the Christian era was a most critical time. The material Empire was at its height in expanse, wealth and luxury. But the power of the Spirit of God proved an impregnable rock and once more were the prophet's words borne out, "Not by might, nor by power, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts".

And now after centuries in which men read the Epistles to the Seven Churches without delving into their importance or significance, the eyes of the world are turned on Asia Minor once more. For more than a millenium this country has been but little heard of and played but a small part in the world's history - either civil or religious. Now it is becoming plain to all that the relations of Asia to Europe is in the process of being profoundly changed. The long unquestioned domination of European over Asiatic is now being put to the test, and is probably coming to an end. What is to be the issue? That depends entirely on the influence of Christianity, and on the degree to which it has affected the aims of both
(a)
Christian and non-Christian nations". And in the changes that have swept over Asia Minor in the last few years in the regime of the Turk and his treatment of the inhabitants of that country and of Armenia, as well as the conditions caused by the late war, it would seem that this almost forgotten land was once more to take its place on the stage of history.

(a) L.S.C. p. vii.

Thus Asia Minor affords a profitable study from another point of view. We have reached conditions in modern civilization very analogous to those of Mediaeval times when the Letters of St. John were written. Barriers are being broken down in the ease and rapidity of communication and travel to various parts of the world. There is once more a tendency to blend and harmonize the thought of East and West. Asia Minor provided a meeting ground for the elements of Judaism and Greek thought. The three never have properly mixed but "that higher plane on which Asia and Europe may mix and meet was once in an imperfect degree realized in the cities of Asia Minor, and modern students recognizing this, find much aid to their problems in the study of these cities. And in the discovery of the conditions and customs of the East in the first century of our era, Christianity will be better understood than it has been by purely European thought, in a synthesis of European and Asiatic nature and ideas". (a)

This synthesis of Eastern and Western life, which had such a rapid growth in Asia Minor, was the result of the policy of the Seleucid kings - the successors of Alexander the Great. They concluded that the best way to build up their country was by establishing garrisons, and more especially by colonization. Therefore they brought in foreigners who were given privileges which ensured loyalty to their benefactors. These colonists were for the most part Greeks and Jews. Brought together in this way, settled in the same cities, they were bound to exert an influence upon each other, notwithstanding the great differences that existed between them. (b) In fact the process was not one of gradual settlement or compromise between the two elements, but rather they came to understand and outwit one another in friendly competition.

There is an old saying that "East is East and West is West". But the adage is much to be questioned. In the days of the Roman Empire, and in our own day, East and West become overlooked in a wider and more cosmopolitan view. But will the two blend? In one sense they cannot, for Asia cannot be made European; but in another they may, for it has been done once already. (c) And we see how it is already being done once again, not merely on the border line about the Mediterranean and Black Seas; but now on a larger scale East meets West around the globe in all the great marts of the world - in Yokohama and in London; in Calcutta and Vancouver.

- (a) L.S.C. p. vii - viii.
- (b) " p. 128 - 130.
- (c) " p. 134.

And in view of the fact that this movement has already started, it should be our care to direct it along the right lines. And for this purpose what better study could we make than that of the cities of Asia Minor, The work of the Seleucid kings and the fruit of their labours was on the whole good. But its weakness was its rapid and unnatural growth. Therefore statesmen and leaders may learn from the past, adapting the good points of the attempt of the three centuries before our era, and learning wherein it failed, that they themselves may avoid similar mistakes.

In Asia Minor we may also learn much of ancient Greece. (a) Here were born many of the men of Greek fame. Smyrna claimed to be the birthplace of Homer; (b) Halicarnassus, that of Herodotus. (c) Between the mythology and history of Greece and Asia there is much connection; so much that it has been said "Ionia is more characteristically Greek than Greece itself." (d) On its shores is laid the scene of the Iliad; Greek traditions and myths are associated with its mountains and valleys; here a great amount of Greek history was made, early as well as late. Many battles were fought on its soil, including the resistance against Persian encroachment which was first made here, Alexander finally vanquishing that Empire within its borders. And not only was Greek domination settled in this land, but also that of Rome, as well as the train of events which in turn led to the decay of that mighty Empire. And here also may be found the origin of Greek trade and commerce.

In short, Asia Minor is the key to the mediaeval world, classical and spiritual. It is of great importance to the proper understanding of the conflict between the Roman Empire and Christianity; it is again beginning to play a part in history; it is an invaluable field for the solution of the differences of East and West; and it throws a light on classical history and philosophy without which our knowledge of Greek life would be considerably diminished.

(a) S.G.C. p. 2 - 3.

(b) L.S.C. p. 262.

(c) Nuttall's Encyclopaedia p. 324.

(d) S.G.C. p. 2.

ASIA THE PROVINCE.

Before discussing the general features of the Province of Asia, we should note what is really meant by the term "Province". The word originally meant a sphere of duty and had no reference to the territory in which the duty was to be exercised. Thus it refers to the authority and executive duties of a certain person - in the case of Asia, that of the Pro-Consul. Only in a secondary sense was the term loosely applied to the district in which the Pro-Consul or magistrate executed his office. (a) The Latin "Provincia" is much the equivalent of the Greek "Nation" and thus Strabo uses it. (b) Thus the opposite is implied in the original word to that of our modern usage, where it usually refers to a certain portion of territory, e.g., the Province of Manitoba; and secondarily, to the sphere of a person's duty. The people saw in the Province the aspect in which Rome manifested itself to them, and conversely, the Province was the form under which the people constituted a part of the Empire.

Asia viewed the Empire in two different ways. They saw in the Province the civil duties of the Pro-Consul or representative of the Imperial Government, who was sent out year by year to administer the affairs of the country. And the Province also meant to them a religious bond, which united all the various cults of its many cities into one, aiming at a common allegiance to the Imperial power. (c) The writer of the Letters to the Seven Churches, familiar with this dual aspect of the Province, in his Apocalypse pictures it as a beast with two horns.

By "Asia" was meant originally what we mean by the term today - the whole continent of Asia. As such it came to be used loosely for a portion of the whole. (d) Nor was the Province co-terminous with what was later called Asia Minor, which at the end of the first century consisted of six provinces - Asia, Bithynia, Galatia, Cappadocia, Cilicia and Lydia. (e) Asia was confined to a strip on the Western sea-coast, comprised of the countries of Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia. (f)

The physical features of Asia are generally rugged and mountainous; more so here in the western part of the peninsula than in the east. While some of the mountains are isolated, still they fall mainly into four chains running east and west across the country. In the extreme north is the Olympus chain, stretching through Mysia into Bithynia and containing Mt. Ida. Many of its summits are capped

- (a) L.S.C. p. 95.
- (b) " p. 122 & 229.
- (c) " p. 96 - 97.
- (d) " p. 95.
- (e) A.S.J. p. lv - lvi.
- (f) C.E.S.C. p. 4.
- (L.S.C. v. II4.

with snow. Next in order come the Taurus, a smaller chain above the Calous and Thyatira. About the centre, in Lydia, are the Sipylus and Tmolus ranges, while running east from Ephesus is the Messoges. Again to the south-west there rises the Cadmus, an arm of the Taurus range. These mountains, especially the Tmolus, show that geologically the country is not old. There are evidences of volcanic action; the strata of the rock is uneven and the country has been troubled from continuous earthquakes throughout its history. (a)

The rivers naturally correspond to the ranges of mountains, and excepting those on the northern slopes of the Olympus and Taurus ranges which flow north, they empty into the Aegean Sea. The Calous takes its rise in the Taurus range; the Hermus flows in the valley between the Taurus and the Tmolus, the latter range bounding the valley of the Cayster which finds its way into the sea at Ephesus. Again on the south side of the Messoges there is the Meander, on a tributary of which, the Lycus, is situated the city of Laodicea. (b)

Upon these mountains there may yet be found pine forests. Of its natural history there is but little to be said, for it has been a settled region for too long a period, and what large animals there were have been driven out to other regions or exterminated long ago. However bears, wolves, jackals and leopards may still be found in winter when they come down from the mountains. There are but few species of birds here, for many seen in Syria are not found in Asia. Among domestic animals it is the north-western limit of the use of the camel as a beast of burden, which animal to this day competes with faster modes of transportation. The Angora goat is also valued for its hair. (c)

Asia was famous for its great number of cities and towns. Among the larger and more famous were Treas, which was an important embarking point for Europe; Cyzicus, the port on the Pro-pontis, as well as a city in direct communication by road with Pergamum and Smyrna; Tralles and Magnesia on the highway to the west, famous in the Ignatian Epistles; also Andramyttium, Alabanda, Spameia, Synnada, Philomelium. Among the smaller were Colossae and Hierapolis, famous for their Pauline connection; besides Dorylaeum and Priene. And in addition to these there were the cities of the Seven Churches to which St. John addressed his Epistles, each of which we shall especially notice. (d)

(a) A.S.J. p. lvi.
S.G.C. p. 17 - 19.

(b) " p. 17.
A.S.J. p. lv.

(c) S.G.C. p. 19 - 20.

(d) A.S.J. p. lvii.
L.S.C. p. 172 - 173.

The history of Asia Minor is closely bound up with that of Greece and in its early stages partakes of its simplicity. Like the history of all old lands it is veiled in the obscurity of Tradition. (a) It begins in the story of the Iliad, ~~the~~ it myth or fact. Persia began to press in on the east, and thus in Ionia began the struggle for supremacy between the two great empires, which was not finally settled for centuries. Temporarily Persia was driven back and Greece held the power. But now, having overcome the common foe the two great cities of Greece, Athens and Sparta, disputed the honour of first place in the Peloponnesian War, - 431 - 404 B.C. - the latter part of the struggle being fought on the soil of Asia. Backwards and forwards flowed the tide of battle; the cities of Asia being taken first by one side and then the other. At last, when both sides were exhausted, Persia, weak itself, once more comes on the scene and taking advantage of the situation seized the prize. (b)

This land again is of note when a few years later in 401 B.C. it becomes the scene of Xenophon's Anabasis. (c) Xenophon met Cyrus the Younger at Sardis, the capital of the Persian satrap. This expedition was futile, for after leading his army of mercenaries across Asia Minor, Cyrus fell at Cunaxa. Xenophon now assumed the role of leader and led the forces back home by a circuitous route via the shores of the Black Sea. Later he led another expedition through the heart of the country of the Seven Churches to assist Sparta in her war against Persia. (d)

Though the first expedition at any rate was fruitless, yet it was of value in that it disclosed to the Greeks the weakness of the Persian rule. The cities of Asia are now not heard of for a generation, until Philip of Macedon unites the old Greek states once more under one head. Now they easily fall back into the hands of their original holders, naturally preferring the rule of one of their own nation. Pergamum and Thyatira submitted to the conqueror immediately; Sardis, the headquarters of the Persians in Asia, surrendered on the approach of Alexander who treated them well, leaving them their liberties, provided only they paid the imperial tribute. After this he went to Ephesus which opened its gates to him without a siege. Here he turned over all the revenues to the Temple of Artemis,

(a) S.G.C. p. 2 - 3.

(b) " p. 3.

(c) " p. 4.

(d) Xenophon "Anabasis".

II.

as well as exempting them from all imperial tribute. Only Miletus held out against him. Here a hard and stormy siege took place both by land and sea. Still, when they did surrender, Alexander treated the citizens mercifully, and gave them the privileges of a free city. (a) Alexander died at an early age and his huge empire became the prey of his generals who divided the land among them and became kings. (b) Their difficulty was that they were Greek kings while their lands were Oriental. Accordingly their policy was to build up their states by colonization and firm but easy rule. This was the beginning of the fusion of East and West which we have already noticed. The population of the already existing cities was increased by the addition of Greeks and Jews. Other cities were founded or re-founded. Almost all the cities of the Seven Churches were thus affected, either at this time or subsequently. (b) For some years they had an uncertain history, being at different times in the realms of various rulers whose kingdoms rarely existed beyond the lifetime of their founders. At one time they formed part of the kingdom of Lysander, the Spartan general who ended the Peloponnesian War. (c)

The cities were organized into tribes comprised of a number of individuals. This arrangement probably had its origin in the early days before the city was founded. The tribe was usually united by a religious bond; thus Antiochus and other Seleucid kings found it easy to introduce Jews into their cities by forming them into a separate tribe in its organization. (d)

At last it fell under the sway of Rome. Antiochus the Great met Hannibal, the Carthaginian, near Ephesus, and here also they both interviewed the envoy of Rome. After many battles Antiochus was defeated in the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 189, whereupon Rome presented the territory to Eumenes, king of Pergamum, who had been their ally in the war. Fifty six years later, in 133 B.C., his nephew bequeathed it again to the Romans to prevent it falling into the hands of the illegitimate Aristonicus. In 129 B.C. the country was formed into the Province of Asia. Only once more, in the Mithridatic War (90 - 63 B.C.) did Rome have any trouble with this Province, when all the cities revolted. On the defeat of Mithridates by Pompey they submitted and were let off with a heavy fine. (e)

- (a) S.G.C. p. 57.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 128 - 130.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 8.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 146 - 147.
- (e) " p. 114.
S.G.C. p. 8.

The shadows over the last years of the Republic extended to the provinces; the result of the strife and misgovernment at home was that the officials sent out were unscrupulous men who made the most of their opportunity to get rich at the expense of the wealth of Asia Minor. What could not be got by fair means was obtained by foul, and cruelty and force were often resorted to. (a) Thus nowhere was the Empire hailed with greater delight than in Asia, as it bespoke better times - peace, order and safety. Therefore Augustus was exalted to Divine honours among these people in whose character religion played a most important part. Nor were their expectations ill founded, for the Imperial policy was lenient. The laws and customs of the Province were not interfered with and no attempt was made to force Roman ways upon them. (b) National distinctions and languages were not recognized, only Greek. The Imperial aim was to unify the many elements of which the Province was composed, and no upheaval or change was made that was not deemed necessary to that end. The attempt eventually failed; for as time went on, when the evils of the days before the Empire were forgotten and the Golden Augustan Age had become a mere memory, the Imperial enthusiasm waned, and national feeling again revived. Hadrian in the second century saw it and modified the attitude toward national feeling; for he made some attempt to go back to the old national divisions without breaking up the Province as a whole, by forming a new Province of the Tres Eparchiae, a loose organization of three countries, which still remained distinct in name and probably in the Councils. (c)

Rome governed Asia by sending out a Pro-Consul, whose term of office was for one year. He usually landed at Ephesus and set sail from the same place when his term was over. He often made a visitation over the cities of the Province. (d) The official capital was that of the old Pergamonian kings, Pergamum. (e) Locally there was a representative body, the Commune - a sort of Parliament. This organization arose from a common desire for unity, which Rome was quick to notice and therefore cultivated. Asia was divided into districts and each had a city within it given the name of metropolis, but on what the representation in the Commune was based is not known. The Commune was essentially religious, but also had certain civil affairs within its jurisdiction. It controlled revenues and struck coins. There was no fixed place of meeting but it was usually held in one of the temples of the larger cities. (f)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 114 - 115 & 140.
- (b) " p. 115 & 121 - 122.
- (c) " p. 122.
- (d) " p. 126.
- (e) " p. 43 & 283.
- (f) " p. 118 - 119 & 126.

After the second century with the weakening of the power of Rome, the Province began to decay. Nothing of note transpires in its political history till 615 A.D. when Chosroes, king of Persia, conquered the whole of the country except part of the coast. The temples and churches were laid waste or turned to other uses in heathen and superstitious rites. A Persian centre was established near Chalcedon, opposite Byzantium for ten years. Heraclius then in three campaigns defeated the Persians and stripped them of their conquered territories and Chosroes was deposed and murdered by his son in 628 A.D. (a)

For four hundred years the country was left under the Greek Empire and nominally Christianity prevailed, and but for frequent incursions of Persians and Saracens, nothing of great historical value took place. At length in 1074 Soliman, the Sultan of Turkey, invaded it and conquered it. He established his capital at Nicaea, and profaned all Christian churches causing the Divinity of the Lord to be denied in the same building in which it had been previously declared. Harsh restrictions were placed on Christian worship and Mohammedanism vigorously advocated, as was their wont, by the doctrine of force. A short lived respite was effected when in 1097 the Crusaders came and, after marching through the country, defeated the Turks at Dorylaeum in Phrygia. But before the Crusades were over this territory had been lost again, and on the west there entered the Turks, and on the east, the Kurds. In A.D. 1312 Orchan established his Turkish capital of Asia at Broussa till, ninety years later, the Great Mogul of India, Tamerlane, seized the land and for a time had his headquarters at Smyrna, when he suddenly left for China, leaving Asia Minor a desolation at the mercy of Tartars and robbers. In 1422 the Turkish Empire became re-united, Asia Minor forming a part. Since then the land has been under its sway and iron rule, uncared for by its conquerors, a mere tract of desolate land swelling by so many square miles the area of that dead dominion. (b)

(a) S.G.C. p. 10.

(b) 2 p. 11 - 12.

Thus Asia Minor has had a most chequered career. Its history is in many respects wearisome in the many storms that have crossed it and the continual tossing to and fro as a prize of warfare between Greece and Persia, and Turk and Christian Crusader. But yet this land has been the centre of many crises in the annals of the Old World and therefore is of importance.

As chequered as its history was also its prosperity. In its early days, under its own native kings and Greek rulers it was very great. The people grew rich, not only in material wealth, but also in a degree of culture. After the formation of the Province under the Republic, they suffered from the greed of grasping Roman officials and bad government. But with the advent of the Empire the tide again turned and progress was made once more. Yet beneath there worked the seeds of decay and corruption which hastened both Empire and Province towards its downfall. (a)

The Province reached a high state of civilization, largely due to Greek influence. Still Hellenism varied in degree through the country. The first and most highly affected by Greek culture was the West and regions along the Carian coast where the native languages had been entirely dropped. Going East the Greek influence decreased, till in eastern and central Phrygia it was not felt outside the larger cities until the second or third centuries of the Christian era. But in the part that concerns us, the district of the Seven Churches, the common language was entirely Greek in the first century, all trade, communication and education being carried on in that language. (b)

Great provision was made for education which was carried out in a systematic manner. The children were looked after not only intellectually but also physically and graded into standards according to their age and abilities. (c) And in this also we may learn from the past; for as Ramsey remarks "the carefulness of their legislation convinces the scholar how vain is mere law to produce any healthy education". (d) Legislation is good up to a certain point, but it must be wise and practical, with a salutary effect in advancing education and any project with which it has to do, and not such as will hedge it around and destroy it.

- (a) L.S.C. p. 140.
- (b) " p. 120-122.
- (c) " p. 125-126.
- (d) " p. 136.

Of the literature of this region we know next to nothing, for there are but few remains. But that which we have is of no very high type. It may be clever and brilliant but it is also sentimental and immoral in tone. Probably its greatest poet was Theocritus who lived in the earlier ages of its history. The greatest exponent of its learning was Athenodorus of Tarsus. But here again we find nothing original, but rather a dependence on the older writers of Greek antiquities, mingling truth with fables in an able but wondrous manner. Thus they made but little contribution to knowledge. Their best achievements were in the realm of moral philosophy, wherein Athenodorus taught man's duty and relationship to God. (a) The form which this philosophy took was popular, inclining to the natural thought of the people, and in it Paul saw great dangers which he warns against in his epistles and which led on to the fantastic systems of Gnosticism in its efforts to explain matter in relation to God. (b)

Between the various cities there was great rivalry and competition. This dates from early times when the individual city was a state. Between them there was a certain amount of political emulation. With the forming of the kingdoms the political aspect was, of course, transferred to the larger organization. But still the contest continued, only in different forms. In Roman times we still find it in the manner in which they strove to outdo one another in beautifying their cities, in erecting Temples and making extravagant claims of priority. (c)

Besides the many connections with the West and Greek life there was also the Jewish element of the population of Asia. As to their numbers we know nothing except that they were very numerous, particularly in Lydia and Phrygia. (d) They were brought here by the Seleucid and other kings in their settlement projects. In 210 B.C. Antiochus III brought in as many as two thousand families. However there were difficulties to be overcome. The Jews could under the present system rank only as resident aliens. Like other foreigners they could form societies for the carrying on of their rites and worship. But to obtain citizenship was a different matter. The existing tribes of the cities were united by a religious bond of a local cult of the district; so no Jew could enroll therein. But what was

(a) L.S.C. p. 136 - 137.

(b) Col. ii. 8.

I Tim. i. 4.

(c) L.S.C. p. 138 - 139.

(d) " p. 143.

(e) 2 p. 146 - 150 & 236.

to stop the formation of a tribe without this religious difficulty? And this is what the Seleucids did. But again the question arose, "How about the relation to the city as a whole?" This objection seemed insuperable, but the colonizers made exceptions for the Jews and modifications were made to suit them. The Greeks resented this but obtained little redress from either the Greek or Roman governments. (a) These rights seem to have originated with Antiochus II. (261 - 246 B.C.) who formed a new tribe in Ephesus of which the Jews formed a division. (b) And similar would be the case in other places. The effect of the kindly treatment of the kings and their daily life amid Greek surroundings had a tendency to modify the Jews. They adopted Greek manners and customs, used the Greek language, took advantage of Greek education and indulged in Greek sports. But in matters of religion the Jew was firm and adhered to the faith of his fathers in spite of the great dangers there were that he might be drawn away from it. Indeed some did lapse and became veritable Shylocks with little religion and much contempt for things Gentile. (c)

The chief occupation of the Jews of Asia was as it is today among the Dispersion - trade, - in which they prospered and became wealthy, often by other than fair means; for while there were many of fine and noble type, yet there were others who sank low in the degradation of unscrupulous methods. (d) Today the Jewish population of this region is entirely changed, for the Jews of the early days of Christianity either merged into the Christian Greek Empire and accepted Christianity, or retreated still further away from the homeland, north into the wild lands of Russia. The Jews of Asia Minor today are Spanish Jews. (e)

This district plays an important part in the several religions, owing to the susceptible religious nature of its inhabitants. Pagan mythology, Roman Emperor Worship, Christianity and Mohammedanism have all in turn found here reception and growth. In early days the natives worshipped the hills and the streams. About this grew the myths of ancient Greece. As the cities came into being each assumed the cult of the local deity of the nearby hill or river. (f) Thus Ephesus was the home of the worship of the Life-giving Artemis while Pergamum worshipped Asklepios the Saviour, and Dionysius, the Guide, (g) In the days of the Pergamenean kingdom

- (a) L.S.C. p. 146 - 150 & 236.
- (b) " p. 152 & 235.
- (c) " p. 154 - 156.
- (d) " p. 148 & 156.
- (e) " p. 144.
- (f) " p. 364 - 365 & 417.
- (g) " p. 124.

the Pergamenian cults were probably the common ones for the whole. (a) The only ones to spread at all widely was that of Ephesus, which became quite noted through all Asia. (b) Alexander paid homage to this goddess and devoted to her service much revenue, Alexander himself taking a part in a procession in her honour. (c) As time went on these cults were Graecized and the divinities given Greek names. But still the ritual and characteristics lost but little of their Anatolian nature even in the larger cities and in the rural districts there was practically no show of Hellenism. (d) It was customary to form unions and cement compacts between the various cities by appeals to these native deities, by celebrating rites to the patron gods of both cities or to one chosen by both parties. The deities were also made witnesses to the compact. (e)

Then after the entrance of Rome on the stage of the history of Asia Minor there arises the Emperor cult. The statesmen and Emperors of Rome recognized that a religious bond was the most reliable, and nowhere was this so true as in Asia. Thus by means of a common cult they sought to bind together their Empire. This was aided by an already existent desire for religious unity in the Province, realized to some extent under the Pergamenian kings. Therefore when Pergamum bequeathed the country to the Romans a similar link of union was looked for, though Rome allowed much freedom in the matter. (f) Smyrna set the example in 195 B.C. by worshipping the power of Rome which other cities copied. In these early stages Rome did not interfere, in fact Augustus discouraged it. (g) About 29 B.C. the first temple of the Caesar cult was erected at Pergamum. (h) As the first century advanced the cult developed rapidly. Now the Emperors were made into gods and had been identified with the local gods of Asia. Thus a synthesis was effected between the Roman system and the older cults of Asia. (i) In the practice of the Caesar cult Oriental magic was used in causing mysterious fire to appear, presumably from heaven, and by ventriloquism, making it seem as if the statues spoke. (j)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 117.
- (b) " p. 124.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 6.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 121.
- (e) " p. 116.
- (f) " p. 115 - 118.
- (g) " p. 117.
- (h) " p. 283.
- (i) " p. 123.
- (j) " p. 100.

The close of the first century and the early years of the second saw those changes which led to the decline and gradual downfall of the Caesar worship. It was but a hollow sham; it sought to stimulate a bond of union in a person, which was well, but instead of allowing that person to show his worth and power of personality, it bolstered up his weakness by an assumed deity. And as Rome was the Empire of the world in the first century, so is Britain the Empire of today. We apply the same principle of making the unity of the various parts of the Empire centre in a loyalty to a common sovereign, but without that which proved so disastrous in the Emperor cult of Rome in the Asiatic provinces;- room is allowed for the full play of not only the differences in thought and religion of Britain's subjects, but also in the personality of the Sovereign.

Principally through the preaching of St. Paul Christianity entered Asia and at the close of the Apostolic Age Ephesus might easily be termed the headquarters of the faith. Jerusalem had fallen and Rome had not yet assumed any great precedence. True, Clement had written a letter to Corinth concerning their irregularities and disputes but more in the tone of exhortation from a sister church, and not as possessing any greater authority. (a) On the other hand, Ephesus seems to have been the home of St. John after A.D. 70 as well as the headquarters of St. Andrew and other members of the Apostolic College. (b) Various church councils were held in Asia from time to time at Ephesus, Sardis, Laodicea and Nicaea. (c) Christianity nominally prevailed until the time of the Ottoman kingdom when Mohammedanism arose alongside of it and together they have existed, but not thrived, ever since. (d)

We have already noted the effects of the Pagan religions on the Caesar worship, but what was their effect on Christianity? Did they contribute anything to the Christian faith? They contributed little of importance but a study of comparative religions will disclose similar features in both. Many converts came over to Christianity from Paganism and brought with them the manner of thought in which they had been brought up. This they quickly applied to their new belief. Therefore

- (a) Clement "Epistle to the Corinthians" ch. i & vii.
B.S.C. p. 75.
- (b) G.S.J. p. xxxiv.
Cuttwell "Lit. Hist. Early Christianity" p. 93.
Furves "The Apostolic Age" p. 203.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 9 & 11.
- (d) " p. 11.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 156 - 159.

they speak of Christian mysteries and their writings are full of references to the heathen cults and practices. (a) Two of these were Ignatius and Justin Martyr. However while Lightfoot's estimation (b) of Ignatius' mention of the mysteries may be too narrow, (c) on the other hand Ramsay's statement is to be somewhat questioned. He says "To Ignatius there lies in the term a certain element of power. To him the "mysteries" of the faith would have been very insufficiently described by such a coldly scientific definition as "revealed truths": such abstract lifeless terms were to him, as in Col. ii. 8, mere "philosophy and vain deceit". The "mysteries" were living, powerful realities, things of life that could move the heart and will of men and remake their nature. He uses the term, I venture to think, in a similar yet slightly different sense from Paul, who employs it frequently". (d) But while Ignatius may have been a heathen and St. Paul a Jew before conversion, is it not possible that both use the word in exactly the same sense as an illustration? And again Ignatius may have been more familiar with the mysteries, but the style and circumstances are very different from that of St. Paul. The conception is the same, only Ignatius deals with it more fully.

(a) L.S.C. p. 158 - 159.

(b) Lightfoot "Epistles of Ignatius" - "To the Trallians".

(c) L.S.C. p. 166 - 167.

THE SEVEN CHURCHES OF ASIA.

To seven cities of this Province of Asia St. John addresses letters at the commencement of his Apocalypse - Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamum, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia and Laodicea.

First we must consider how this choice was made. It might be supposed that these Churches were those that had been under his own direct care and supervision; or that he had had more to do with these Churches in some way by intimacy or by virtue of his Apostolic office. But while this might be true of Ephesus it will not apply to the rest. His tone is that of Apostolic authority, but in no letter is there any particular preference as if he were writing to a select circle of friends; but rather he reproves and exhorts his readers to watch against the sloth and false teaching and practices which were fast coming upon them. (a) Again, he says, "Send it unto the Seven Churches which are in Asia". Evidently, then, this choice is not original but borrowed from ^{some other} ~~some other~~ source, and the phrase "The Seven Churches" is a ready made expression. (b)

Nor are they chosen for their rank and importance; for then Troas, Cyzicus and Magnesia would have figured in the list. The first three, Ephesus, Smyrna, and Pergamum were the first cities of Asia, but on the other hand Philadelphia and Thyatira were small places and had no rank at all. (c) Nor can the selection be made from the standpoint of important ecclesiastical centres for then Colossae would have found a place as a church with which St. Paul had communicated - hence a centre of some importance. (d) Tralles and Magnesia seem to have been churches of some standing in the succeeding generation when they sent delegates to greet Ignatius on his way to Rome. (e) Another hypothesis that they are chosen to represent districts of the Province proves equally untenable. (f) One might think such a choice is made with a view to even distribution over the Province. But, instead, we find they form a group comparatively close together, well within the western portion of the Province. (g)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 176 - 177.
- (b) " p. 178.
- (c) " p. 181 - 182.
- (d) " p. 178.
- (e) Ign. "To the Trallians" & "To the Magnesians".
- (f) L.S.C. p. 181.
- (g) " p. 186.

But in reality the solution is not difficult to find. If we but take the order in which the cities are named, we find they are successive principal points along a circular road around the most important part of the Province. They are named in the order in which a courier landing at Ephesus would come to them. So it would seem that the Seven Churches formed a postal route for encyclical letters to the whole Christian Church. Each of these Seven cities would form a distributing point for a whole district:- Ephesus for the Meander and Cayster valleys; Laodicea for the Lycus valley, Phrygia and Eastern Caria; Smyrna and Sardis for the valley of the Hermus; Philadelphia for Upper Lydia; while Pergamum and Thyatira would each have a portion of Mysia as large as the district of the Seven Churches itself. (a) However in this explanation there are a number of difficulties:- Troas finds a place in a secondary route; Northern and eastern Phrygia do not seem to be properly provided for; Caria does not fit in a secondary circuit very well; and while Magnesia and Tralles are important centres on the road, they are omitted. In reply it should be recognized that any system would possess difficulties if overlapping of messengers and retracing of steps is to be avoided, and in the case of Tralles and Magnesia, a messenger of the secondary route would reach them long before the primary messenger (b) and it is possible that if he were a resident of Eastern Asia, he would go from Laodicea to his own home and so never come there at all.

There was a considerable resemblance between the Seven Churches. The geographical features of each were very similar - each being overlooked by mountains and close to a small river. Their characteristics were alike and very superficial; they all struggled for first place among the cities of Asia, and they rivalled one another in devotion to the Emperor cult and in buildings. The Church in each place had much the same features and problems; the same difficulties; the Jews and Nicolaitan heresy confront all; though the former is only mentioned in two letters and the latter in three. (c)

The two great hostile forces with which they had to contend were the Imperial cult and the Nicolaitan heresy. However these, especially the former, are not expressly mentioned in every letter. The Caesar worship was to St. John the very Antichrist usurping to itself the dominant rule of the kingdom of heaven. (d) Rival philosophies and heathen cults might exist side by side and acknowledge each other, but Christianity admits of no peer or equal. "It is not a comparative religion, but a superlative". And the whole Apocalypse (after chapter iii) deals with this very thing:- the struggle of Christianity with the Emperor cult.

*-----

(a) L.S.C. p. 191.
A.S.J. p. lviii.

(b) L.S.C. p. 193 - 196.
(c) " p. 200.

(d) L.S.C. p. 201.

In the Letters the Nicolaitan heresy finds a greater place than the Caesar cult. But for this the Letters might never have been written. It forms the chief theme and concerning it great warning and condemnation is given, while little is said, except indirectly and in a cryptic manner, of the Imperial religion. (a) Now concerning this Nicolaitan heresy there has been much conjecture and discussion but almost all agree on the main points. Irenaeus says that the sect was founded by Nicolas, the proselyte of Antioch, one of the Seven deacons of Acts vi. Evidently the Nicolaitans made some claim to Nicolas as their founder and Irenaeus took it too lightly, for it is not probable that Nicolas lapsed so seriously from the faith. (b) Ewald also notes the significance of the fact that Nicolas is mentioned last in the number of the Deacons just as Judas holds the last place in the list of the Apostles. But no conclusive argument may be drawn from this. (c) Tertullian and Clement of Alexandria also mention this sect. Clement denies the statement that Nicolas was responsible for its origin, as also do the Apostolic Constitutions. (d) But it is also to be noticed that these writers are of the second and third centuries, dealing with contemporary sects; and that as we do not hear of them in the meantime, it would seem as if the Nicolaitans of St John's day and those of the second century were altogether distinct. What is more than likely is that the later body acted in accord with other Gnostic sects, who taught that matter, being evil, was created by a Demiurge, in opposition to the supreme God, whose servants were those portrayed as righteous in the Scriptures. Therefore to take the name of one who disobeyed or opposed the God of the Bible was to them an honour. So they called themselves Ophites, Cainites etc. So possibly the sect in question took this opprobrious name as one they found so treated by St. John, or by Christ through St. John, and therefore ~~of~~ they ~~could~~ use themselves with pride. (e)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 201.
- (b) C.E.S.C. p. 87.
Iren. i. 26. 3.
- (c) Ewald "Gesch. des Volkes Israel . vol 3. p. 173.
C.E.S.C. p. 87 note.
- (d) " p. 87.
Tert. "De Praesc. Haer." 46.
Clement of Alex. "Strom." ii. 20.
Ap. Const. vi. 8.
- (e) C.E.S.C. p. 86 - 88.
Cruttwell "Lit. Hist. of Early Christianity". p. 227.

Another theory held by the Tübingen school is that the Nicolaitans are the Pauline Christians in the Johannine Age. This theory like the antinomian Gnostic places great stress on the differences of teaching of the two apostles. St. Paul was but little known in person to most of the province; Ephesus was the only place in which we have any knowledge of his residing for any length of time, while other places he never visited or merely passed through on his missionary journeys. Twenty-five years or more had now passed and other apostles meanwhile settled in Asia, in and around Ephesus, so that the memory of the great apostle to the Gentiles was somewhat dimmed by time, and St. John takes his place in their affections. Yet if the Tübingen theory is correct this cannot have been so, but among certain Christians the Apostle Paul's memory would have been kept green and his teaching opposed to that of St. John. (a) But nowhere in the New Testament do we find apostles denying each other's authority, but rather Paul and John gave one another "the right hand of fellowship", recognizing the unity of the Church and the equality of their apostolic office.

On consideration it would seem that the Nicolaitans were not a sect but rather a party in the Church. While the Seven Letters are not so figurative in language as the rest of the Apocalypse, still metaphorical expressions do occur. (b) And a study of the words used regarding this party reveal the extent to which Hebrew and Greek mingled in the aged apostles mind. For we find that the two names "Nicolaitans" and "Balaam" have the same meaning, i.e. "Destroyers of the people". The Nicolaitans then will be those who contrived to tempt the people to the same sins as those to which Balaam tempted Israel. From the Book of Numbers we learn that this sin was the eating of meats offered to idols and fornication.

"The Nicolaitans, then, or Balaamites, are those who, after the pattern of Balaam's sin, sought to introduce a false freedom, the freedom of the flesh into the Church of God." (b) It was an effort at compromise between the Christian Church and the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem on the one hand, and the Pagan mysteries on the other. (c) They contended that Christians might belong to the Pagan clubs

(a) A.S.J. p. lxxii - lxxiii.

Crutwell "Lit. Hist. of Early Christianity" p. 227.

(b) S.G.C. p. 64.

A.S.J. p. lxxv.

C.E.S.C. p. 84 - 85.

(c) L.S.C. p. 168 & 269.

without in any way renouncing or acting contrary to their faith. Paul had made some concession to the Corinthians which possibly had been also carried out in the cities of Asia to the effect that they might eat whatsoever was set before them "asking no question for conscience sake". But the extreme party were not satisfied with this and argued that as almost all feasts were held in connection with pagan sacrificial rites they were deprived of the social life of their community, and their abstinence would incur the hatred and contempt of their fellow citizens. And such being the case, they would argue "What good can we do?" or "How can we bring the influence of Christianity to bear on these people?"

But where the great danger came in was in the connection of the idol feasts and fornication. The idol feasts of Balaam's day resulted in immorality. The council of Jerusalem coupled the two together, and now St. John, knowing the loose moral conditions of the heathen world of his day, looked on it - to say the least - with fear and misgiving. Accordingly he warns against it and condemns it. (a) On this point Ramsey tends to contradict himself. In one place he says, "The historian who looks back over the past will find it hard to condemn the Nicolaitan principles in so strong and even bigoted fashion as St. John condemned them", (while elsewhere we read "In his conflict with the Nicolaitans the writer was never betrayed into mere blind opposition to them; he never rejected their views from mere hatred of those who held them; he took the wider view which embraced everything that was right and true in the principles of the Nicolaitans - and there was a good deal that was rightly thought and well said by them - together with a whole world of thought which they had no eyes to see. In the seven Letters he repeatedly gives marked emphasis to the principle, which the Nicolaitans rightly maintained, that the Christians should be a force in the world, moulding it gradually to a Christian model. Here and everywhere throughout the letters the writer is found to be reiterating one thought, "See how much better the true eternal Church does everything than any of the false pretenders and opponents can do them". If the language of the Seven Letters is to be thought "bigoted and strong" we know this Bezaergee well enough to make due allowance, but surely we cannot expect this old apostle to sit meekly by while others advocated practices which he by his long experience in both Jewish and Gentile

(a) A.S.J. p. lxxv - lxxvi.

(b) L.S.C. p. 299.

(c) " p. 380 - 381.

Christianity, knew would prove the very undoing of the Church of his beloved Master. Besides, surely we must grant to St. John that tolerance and insight which comes with old age. If by "strong and bigoted terms" the defenders of the Nicolaitan cause mean diplomacy, they may be right, for the Apostolic would see no reason for it but would plainly speak his mind.

In all probability the Nicolaitan controversy was more keenly felt and waged in Asia than in any other part of the Empire. Here the Pagan system was entrenched strongly in a more systematic manner than in other parts, and here also the contending faiths were more closely brought together, the one exerting a social power and the other a spiritual, over the people of the land. The principal adherents of the Nicolaitan party were those of the higher and more wealthy classes to whom social standing meant much. Among the poorer classes it would not be so much in evidence, as social affairs and state politics would have but little concern for them. (a)

Thus the Nicolaitan party was not that of the true followers of St. Paul. Rather they were Pseudo-Paulists who took the teaching of that great Apostle of liberty and made it a distorted curse. In all probability they appealed to his writings and quoted them, but we may be certain if St. Paul had lived to witness its growth that he would have been the first to have resisted the movement. Indeed it had commenced just before the close of his life, for we have it spoken against in I Peter and St Jude. (b)

However the Nicolaitans had made but little headway, and it is doubtful if they ever did. The Church seems to be holding its own, in most of the Seven cities where much is commended. The warning seems to be against settling down into a formal materialism, as there are evidences that this is beginning to take place in Ephesus and more particularly in Sardis and Laodicea. (c) The Jewish faction in the Church continued to give a little trouble but they were not dangerous to the faith and fought in nothing cause, for the rift between Christianity and Judaism was ever widening and the Jewish Christians were either absorbed into the Gentile Christian body or lapsed into Ebionism or back into Judaism. (d)

(a) L.S.C. p. 299.

A.S.J. p. lxxvi - lxxvii.

(b) C.E.S.C. p. 86.

L.S.C. p. 346.

(c) A.S.J. p. lxxiv.

(d) Purves "The Apostolic Age" p. 165.

THE SEVEN LETTERS.

The writer of the Apocalypse commences his book - after the Introductory chapter - in the form of a letter to these Seven Churches. Then after the third chapter he takes up a purely apocalyptic form. Thus apocalyptic is the primary nature of the work, but the epistolary portion at the beginning is not without some purpose. The customary mode of writing at this time, especially among Christians was by letters. This is evidenced by the Epistles of the New Testament - those of Paul, James and Peter, Jude and even of John himself. At other periods of literary history the form of dialogues or formal treatises would have been the more appropriate style, e.g. Aeschylus and Lucian; Plato and Cicero. But at this time it was letters. It was in this form that Pliny in the secular world gave forth his writings. (a) But the Christian Church used this method even more than others. Letters had the personal touch that other forms had not, and one great essential to the Church in every period of its history has been, and still is today, the recognition of its unity, that the Body of which Christ is the Head was not merely the congregation of Ephesus or any other locality but "the Holy Church Throughout all the world". The congregation or Church that forgot this soon began to become narrow in its views and losing sight of its true objects, deteriorated. Letters sent by one Church to another kept up this unity of spirit and life besides developing Christian thought and doctrine in an harmonious manner, by keeping check on local opinion, and bringing all into conformity with the faith "once delivered to the saints." (b)

Again, St. John was not satisfied with a merely Apocalyptic form. He wished to get into personal touch with his readers. Therefore he addresses the seven representative churches one by one at the beginning of his book. (c) Then having ensured the individual attention, he goes on to his message in general.

In the Roman Empire there was no regular postal system such as is common today. True, Augustus inaugurated an Imperial service but this was for the purpose of conveying despatches of Imperial and official business. (d) With the advent of good roads and increased travelling facilities and protection, mercantile companies made postal arrangements of their own, having slaves and other employees of their own for the purpose. (e) The Publicani associations had their own messenger system to

- (a) L.S.C. p. 36.
- (b) " p. 21.
- (c) " p. 27.
- (d) " p. 21.
- (e) " p. 15.

convey messages between the capital and various parts of the Empire and had a special department for the purpose. Thantabellaril, as these messengers were called, knew all the best routes and their movements were recorded so that it was known where each was at a certain time and when he would be available for a new errand. The early Church adapted letters and travel to their own needs. (a) At first the letters were sent by anyone journeying to the place to which the letter was addressed or by a person selected for the purpose. Among these were Epaphroditus, Tychicus and Silas, who delivered many of the New Testament Epistles. The first known Christian Epistle was carried by St. Paul. (b) These early messengers would do their work voluntarily, but after a while with the growth of the Church probably a regular organization was provided for the purpose with paid messengers. (d)

The letters were usually written by the Bishop of the Church and sent to the Bishop of the Church to whom the letter was addressed, the Bishops acting as the representatives of their Churches. (c) Provision for the hospitality of visiting or travelling messengers would also be made by the Bishops. Thus in all probability at the end of the first century when the Apocalypse was written the messenger system of the Church had become well organized in provision for better travel and hospitality. (e)

These short letters, like most of the New Testament Epistles, are literary in character, and indeed are more unlike the "true" type than the others. The literary form takes the nature of a literary composition. (f) These letters were not intended for any particular person or congregation. The epistle is merely the form which this literature takes in finding its expression. This is furthermore indicated by the conclusion of the last letter which breaks through the individual guise, for the second half of the letter to Laodicea takes the form of an epilogue to the Seven, showing that the various letters are not merely intended for the Church addressed, but that in reality they are a unity written to all Churches, in all time (g)

- "to whom it may concern" - as a message from the Ascended Head of the Church just before the last of the Apostles was called to his rest. (h) Again in every letter

(a) L.S.C. p. 20 - 31.

(b) " p. 32 - 33.

(c) " p. 33.

(d) 2 p. 31 - 33.

(e) Clement "To the Corinthians"

Shepherd of Hermas "Visions" II. 4, 3.

(a) L.S.C. p. 31 - 32.

(f) " p. 33 - 34.

(g) " p. 46.

(h) " p. 40, 177, 197, 200.

A.S.J. p. 4.

C.E.S.J. p. 27 - 28.

the words occur "He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches". (a) Or to use the words of Grotius, "Sub earum nomine tacite comprehendit et alias Ecclesias quia earum status et qualitates ad septem quasi genera possunt revocari, quorum exemplum praebent illas Asiaticas". (b) On the literary form of the letters Ramsay fittingly remarks, "It is a remarkable fact that the more definite and personal and individual those old Christian letters are, the more vital and full of guidance are they to all readers. The individual letters touch life most nearly; and the life of any one man or Church appeals most intimately to all men and all Churches". (c)

The question of the Authorship, Date and Place of Writing of the Seven Letters is of course bound up with the rest of the Apocalypse, of which they form an integral part. A lengthy discussion of these problems would therefore be out of place here, especially in view of the fact that the opinions of the Fathers and Commentators are very varied. But from these three chapters of the Apocalypse we may find evidence of some value, which, while it may be objected that the part is not equal to the whole and as such is of small worth, yet it will support the most universally accepted and reliable theory.

Assuming with Swete and Ramsay that the writer was the Apostle St. John, we (d) find the Seven Letters well bear out this conclusion. He declares himself to be John. (e) There are at least five men of this name in the New Testament as well as John the Elder, spoken of by Papias. (f) But the very plainness of the title seems to point to the Apostle as any of the others would have been almost certain to have added a further distinguishing appellation. (g) Again he is one who knew the conditions of Asia well by long residence in that province. (h) If St. John came to Ephesus about A.D. 70 and lived to the times of Trajan as tradition affirms, he well fulfils this condition. (i) His tone is one of absolute authority which stamps it as undoubtedly Apostolic. No man, even if he wrote the book under a pseudonym, would assume such a privilege as we find here. (j) And this authority is not merely that of his commission as an Apostle, but that of the Head of the Asian Church. (k)

(a) C.E.S.C. p. 90

L.S.C. p. 38

(b) C.E.S.C. p. 90

Grotius

(d) A.S.J. p. clxxxv.

L.S.C. p. 79 - 81.

(e) Apoc. i. 4 & 9.

(f) A.S.J. p. clxxv - clxxvi.

(g) C.E.S.C. p. 2 - 3.

(h) L.S.C. p. 74.

(i) G.S.J. p. xxxiv.

(c) L.S.C. p. 47.

(j) L.S.C. p. 75 & 79 - 81.

(k) L.S.C. p. 81.

The Date of the Apocalypse is usually placed in the closing years of the reign of the Emperor Domitian - 90 - 96 A.D. (a) On the other hand, Hort, Westcott and Lightfoot, three of the great nineteenth century commentators, place the dates about the time of the death of Nero - 68 - 70 A.D. (b) However, weighty though these authorities are for the Neronian date, Irenaeus, Eusebius and Clement of Alexandria, as well as Origen and Victorinus, all support the Domitianic date. And internal evidence from the opening chapters of the Apocalypse will support this view. The conditions of Asia Minor are considered as being different from what they were in the days of St. Paul, as pictured in the days of the Acts or the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. If we date the Epistle to the Ephesians between 62 and 64 A.D., there is no time in six years for any such great change to have taken place. (c) But we find deterioration at Ephesus and lukewarmness at Laodicea, which would require about twenty or thirty years to come about. The Nicolaitan heresy has had time to come into being and develop. As already noticed this could hardly have happened within such a short time after the death of St. Paul. (d) The letters are addressed to "the Seven Churches" which is evidently an understood designation of a Christian postal route. These postal arrangements need time for development and the term would take time to become widely known and understood.

The Apocalypse was apparently written on the isle of Patmos. (e) Why the Seer was banished thither we do not know. But amid the harsh conditions of his deportation the mystic Apostle rose above his external surroundings. He was enabled to meditate upon his own eventful career and look into the future to behold in visions the history of the Churches which had been entrusted to his care. Banished from taking an active part in the affairs in Asia, he could still think about them and reflect on their coming years, when there was entrusted to him the succeeding visions of the Apocalypse amid the scenery of Patmos, which revelation he was to communicate to those whom it concerned and whom he loved. Away from Greek thought and language the early Hebrew training of the Apocalypticist comes to light - hence the Hebrew imagery and mould of thought. (f) In consideration of this we find an answer to Westcott's objection (g) that as the Greek of the Gospel is so superior to that of the Apocalypse, therefore there is a difference of two decades in their dates. St. John learned Greek late in life and in old age would easily lapse into his own native tongue and manner of thought if away from Greek surroundings. The result of his work would be either carried to Asia by a messenger or else taken by himself on his return. (h) It is also probable that it was not given its final form till after the exile, as the material facilities for writing would be scarce in Patmos, especially to one in exile. (i)

(a) A.S.J. p. xcix.

(B) " p. ciii.

Hort I Peter p. 2.

G.S.J. p. lxxxvi - lxxxvii.

Lightfoot Colossians p 41.

" Biblical Essays p. 52.

(c) A.S.J. p. lxxix.

S.G.C. p. 26.

Purves Apost. Age. p. 241 & 246

(d) Page 23.

(e) L.S.C. p. 90.

(f) " p. 86 & 90.

(g) G.S.J.

p. lxxxvi.

(h) L.S.C. p. 90.

(i) " p. 86.

I. In the plan and literary form of the letters there is great similarity. The writer opens each with an address stating to whom the letter is sent and describing some feature of the Author. Himself he never mentions. Each of the descriptions used in the letters is appropriate to the church addressed and forms a part of the general description contained in Apoc. I. 12 - 18. (a) Then in five out of the seven follows the intimation "I know thy works" followed by the mention of other qualities according to the Church addressed. He now proceeds to the subject matter of the letter which is present conditions and their outcome, at the same time warning, exhorting or commending as he thinks necessary. (b) The literary form which he uses is that of comparison and contrast. He takes some characteristic by which he describes the enemy he has in mind and applies it to the Divine Author, the Church, or the Christian. He recognizes the power of the adversary but always sees them deprived of that might which is transferred to Christianity and its followers. The form of conclusion in all is alike - it consists of a claim for attention and a promise. The demand for attention - "He that hath ears to hear let him hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches" - is the same in each. (c) In the first three they occur before the final promise; in the four last, they come after. This change cannot be without some reason - possibly a difference made unwittingly by the writer as he passed from the letters addressed to the more important cities of Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum to the less renowned four. (d) They are evidently a recurrence of the Lord's words as recorded in the gospels and are used again in Apoc. xiii. The meaning seems to be that only the man to whom God has given His Spirit will be able to understand the hidden meaning of the Seven Letters, (e) applying to the Apocalypse in general and to the message and warning of the letters in particular. The promise in each case is different and is addressed, like the opening words, partly to the Christians of the city and still more to the members of the universal Church. (f)

Thus the Seven Letters are symmetrical in form. All contain, - 1. The writers command and authority from the Author. 2. A distinguishing mark of the Christ. 3. The Message. 4. A Promise, and 5. A summons to attention. The same order is observed in all, save that the Promise and the Warning are reversed in the four last. (g)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 197 - 198.
- (b) " p. 199 - 200.
- (c) " p. 204 - 205.
- (d) " p. 206 - 207.
- C.E.S.C. p. 90 - 91.
- (e) " p. 91.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 205 - 206.
- (g) C.E.S.C. p. 67 - 68.

They also seem to fall into groups. Ephesus and Sardis are examples of change and deterioration; the former has a chance of recovery; the latter is in a state of living death. Smyrna and Philadelphia are more free from blame than the rest and receive a degree of praise. Pergamum and Thyatira have been more affected by Nicolaitanism and the Imperial power than the rest and are promised eventual victory. Laodicea, (a) apart from the rest geographically, stands alone, rejected for its "lack of initiative".

The style and language of these letters is simple. St John chooses the common language of the people. He disregards rules of grammar, for although he uses the form of letters as a literary device, still his intention is not to compose a standard work of highly wrought literature, but to reach the people. He only considered the importance of his message, and its effect on the lives of his readers, and therefore used the form, style and language which would best teach them. (b)

There is not so much symbolism used in the Seven Letters of the opening chapters as there is in the rest of the Apocalypse. It is however found to some extent in the general setting as well as in the individual letters. Though much of this symbolism is now obscure to us it would all be evident to the original readers of the book. As the book was written with certain readers expressly in mind, the figures used are such as they would readily understand, and so partake of the nature of either conventional Christian symbolism or are such as would appeal to the minds of converts from Paganism. (c) The Apocalypticist represents the Head of the Church as having visited the various Christian centres and viewing their condition, and now as sending to them a report with warnings and commendations. (d)

The symbolism of the general introduction to the Letters all centres around the number Seven. The Seven Spirits; the Seven Churches; the Seven Candlesticks; the Seven Angels; and the Seven Stars. The number Seven denotes in Scripture completeness being the covenant number, or combination of three and four, representing God and the world respectively. (e) The Seven Spirits fall into a class by themselves as representing the completeness of the gifts of the Holy Ghost. (f) The Seven Candlesticks are representative of the Seven Churches, and the Stars correspond to the Seven Angels. (g) Thus we have a picture of the Universe. The Churches and the

- (a) C.E.S.C. p. 68.
 L.S.C. p. 207.
 A.S.J. p. xov.
 (b) L.S.C. p. 209.
 (c) " p. 50 - 51 & 57.
 (d) A.S.J. p. xciv.
 (e) " p. 4.
 (f) C.E.S.C. p. 69 - 64.
 (g) " p. 9.
 (g) L.S.C. p. 62.

Candlesticks are on earth; in the courts of heaven these find their counterpart in the Angels and Stars. (a) Above all is the throne of God and the Holy Ghost that "doth his sevenfold gifts impart". The Seven Churches, as we have already noted, stand for the Christian Church in Asia, which in turn represents the Universal Church. (b) The Candlesticks are seven separate lampstands, not one with seven branches as was that of the Tabernacle. The significance of this is that the Jewish Church was one; the Christian Church is also one, but yet many; its centre is not merely in one place as was that of Judaism in Jerusalem, but "wherever two or three are met together" in His Name, there Christ had promised His presence; (c) and "where Jesus is there is the Catholic Church" (d) Moreover the Candlestick represents the Church as the bearer of the light she derives from her Head who is the Light of the World. (e)

The seven Stars and the seven Angels are more difficult figures to interpret. The question seems to be, "Are the Angels earthly or heavenly Beings?" Some, e.g. Trench, take it that the Angels are the Bishops of the Churches. They find an objection to taking the usual meaning of the term "angel" in the fact that the Angel comes to be identified with his Church in its failings and sins. Therefore they conclude they must be persons in the Church and if so who but the Bishops? (f) In support of this they bring forward - certainly indirectly - Polycarp as bishop of Smyrna fulfilling the conditions of the commendatory address to the Angel of Smyrna, (g) comparing this with the denunciatory tone of the author to the Angel of Laodicea whom they claim to be the Archippus reproved at an earlier date by St. Paul. (h) But this argument for Episcopacy is not well founded, for they only assume that Polycarp was Bishop of Smyrna at this time, and quote as authority for Archippus episcopacy at Laodicea, a document as late as the third century, viz. the Apostolic Constitutions. (i) Moreover if we examine the writer's use of the word "angel" in the following chapters of the Apocalypse we invariably find that a heavenly being is referred to. (j) Nowhere do we find Bishops spoken of as Angels, which fact Trench admits. (k) Again in answer to

(a) L.S.C. p. 67.

(b) " p. 40, 177, 197, & 200.

A.S.J. p. 4.

C.E.S.C. p. 27 - 28 & 228.

(c) " p. 292.

(d) Ign. "To the Smyrnaeans" ch. 8.

(e) C.E.S.C. p. 20.

(f) " p. 54 - 58.

(g) " p. 59 - 100.

(h) C.E.S.C. p. 195.

(i) Lightfoot Galatians. p. 282.

(j) A.S.J. p. 22.

(k) C.E.S.C. p. 56.

the objection that the delinquences are such as cannot be attributed to Holy Angels, we answer that we cannot insist on too rigid or logical an interpretation of the Seer's symbolism. (a) Trench himself notes this very thing in the description of the Christ. He points out that the religious symbolism of the Apocalyptist is not artistic; that its only aim is to impress upon the mind the Majesty and Glory of the Lord. (b) It must also be remembered that Angels are not Omnipotent beings but at times are obliged to struggle in the fulfilment of their duties. The angelic visitant to the Prophet Daniel is recorded as having being intercepted in his errand for twenty-one days by "the prince of the kingdom of Persia" until the Archangel Michael came to his assistance.

The Angels then are the heavenly spirits to whom are entrusted the care of the Churches on earth. As the Church is engaged in warfare with the powers of the world, so we may conceive - as St. John does conceive - of the struggle between the spiritual powers of God and Satan. The whole Apocalypse depicts the conflict of the hosts of Heaven and Hell as being fought side by side with that of the Church and the World, dependant the one on the other, the one reflecting the other.

This conclusion is all the more evident when we consider the meaning of the Seven Stars. A star denoted an existence in heaven corresponding to that on earth. So to the Roman the Divine figure of the Emperor on earth had a star answering to it in the heavens which was its heavenly representative. The stars then correspond to the Candlesticks on earth. They give a light, the effulgence of Him who holds them in His right hand; and as the Candlestick on earth is to the Star in heaven so is the Church on earth to the Angel. Thus from comparison with the use of the word "angel" in the rest of the Apocalypse, as well as from the general setting of the whole book, it seems better to understand the Angels as being members of the heavenly order usually understood by that term. (c)

The symbolism after the first chapter fades away to the actual Churches. The Angels and the Churches blend into one. The Apostle comes into the realm of fact and delivers the message of the Author in turn to the Churches. He addresses the letter to the Angel and then really writes to the Church as he knows it. The Universal Church and the Church generally of Asia fade from his vision and he thinks only of the individual Church to which he is writing. (d)

(a) L.S.C. p. 70.

(b) C.E.S.C. p. 43 - 45.

(c) L.S.C. p. 68.

(d) " p. 70.

Assuming Patmos to be the place of origin of the message of the Divine Author, the messenger is to proceed to Ephesus, a distance by sea of about sixty miles, situated on the gulf of the same name at the mouth of the Cayster and at the foot of the Messogor mountains. The fact that it was the port by which it was customary to enter Asia from the west makes it a very important city. In this respect Ephesus appropriated the title "First of Asia" as the landing place of the Roman officials on their entry into the Province. (a)

Geographical and topographical features do not as a rule change to any great extent in the course even of milleniums, but the region of Ephesus proves to be a remarkable exception to the rule. Men may come and build great cities and destroy them and yet leave the face of the earth in the course of its rivers and bounds of seas unchanged. In the reckoning of geology man has but a brief career. But changes in the geography of Ephesus have been indeed rapid.

In the early days, about 1200 B.C., Greek tradition tells us that the sea stretched far up the gulf for a distance of about six or seven miles. The coast line of the gulf was formed by mountains, Mt. Galliesion being on the north and Koresos on the south. Around the seashore among the hills the simple Anatolian folks lived in small villages under the leadership of the priests of the shrine of the Great Goddess which stood on the shore far up the gulf on the south side. (b) In the gulf there rose a rocky islet known as Syria. Further east was the ground known later as Ayassoluk, which in all probability at one time was also an island. (c) There then set in a silting process and the sea gave place to land. (d) It is impossible to trace exactly the stages by which this took place. (e) But by 300 B.C. Syria was converted into a rocky hill in the midst of a plain. From this time on the entrance to the gulf got narrower and more shallow. (f) Changes of depth were caused by the shifting sand and sediment, and for similar reasons as prevail on our Western rivers, navigation became difficult. Channels were made by dredging operations etc, by the Pergamenian kings and by the Romans in the first century. (g) The ship on which Paul was taken to Rome, circa A.D. 57 did not call there, possibly owing to the

(a) L.S.C. p. 139 & 227.

(b) " p. 215.

(c) " p. 212.

(d) " p. 42.

(e) " p. 233.

(f) " p. 212.

(g) " p. 233.

Ephesus as the chief city, although Pergamum was the official capital.^(k) From Ephesus it was possible to take a circular tour of the western portion of Asia^(l) over a route which Ramsay has compared to a chain of jewels.^(m) To the Church of this city, then, so situated as to influence the rest of Asia in religion as well as in commerce, the Christ is represented as the Controller as the Churches.

"I know thy works."⁽ⁿ⁾ Thus the Message of five out of the Seven Letters commences.^(o) However the works referred to are not works in the sense that they were good or bad, but the phrase merely expresses the omniscience of Christ with respect to the affairs of the Churches. Thus also does John claim an intimacy with the Church for he reviews the Churches condition as plainly as though he were present with them.^(p)

The first portion of the Message to this Church enumerates the works for which the Church is to be commended. "I know thy works and thy toil and patience and that thou canst not bear evil men, and didst try them which call themselves apostles, and they are not, and didst find them false; and thou hast patience and didst bear for my name's sake, and hast not grown weary."^(q) As the chief centre of Christianity in Asia this Church had done much for Christian travellers who passed through the city and extended to them hospitality.^(r) Possibly it had already become the highroad of the martyrs to Rome, for Ignatius shortly afterward speaks of it as such.^(s) They could not tolerate evil men, which shows that their patience arose from no mere indifference.^(t) This probably refers to the excommunication, not of weak Christians but of false brethren.^(u) They had tried the various teachers who came to their city. If they proved them false they rejected them without delay.^(v) Doubtless the Nicolaitan leaders were among those rejected.^(w) Of those who came from elsewhere

(k) L.S.C. p. 125-126.

(l) " p. 238-239.

A.S.J. p. 24.

(m) L.S.C. p. 239.

C.B. REV. p. 231. 132.

(n) Apoc. i. 2.

(o) Apoc. i. 2, 19, iii. 1, 8, 15.

(p) A.S.J. p. 24-25.

C.E.S.C. p. 71-72.

(q) Apoc. ii. 2-3.

(r) L.S.C. p. 32, 239.

Heb. xiii. 2.

(s) Ign.

"Ad Smyrnes"

(t) A.S.J. p. 25.

(u) C.E.S.C. p. 75.

(v) Apoc. ii. 2.

(w) " ii. 6.

- (a) L.S.C. p. 220.
- (b) " p. 221.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 222.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 223.
- (e) " p. 225.
- (f) S.G.C. p. 226.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 227.

189 - 123 B.C. Ephesus prospered greatly under greater freedom. (g)

city and the native spirit again had a brief way. Under the Pergamene kings a too strong and the original name was resumed. In 126 B.C. Antiochus the Great took the Lydian name changed the name of the city to Sardis but the old connection was

Neander valley. (f)

Miletus was henceforth taken to Ephesus which also was a nearer harbour for the place at Miletus as had begun at Ephesus. Consequently the trade which passed through out against Alexander. Besides these political events, the sitting process was taking a serious set back when Persia crushed the Ionian revolt. (e) Again Miletus had held the great port of Asia Minor. About two hundred years earlier Miletus had been given To give impetus to the work, about this time Miletus gave place to Ephesus as one of the greatest cities of the land.

321 B.C. but shortly afterwards it was again resumed in Sardis and Ephesus became work of the development of the new city was arrested by the death of Lydianus in street or central avenue up to the foot of Mt. Pion and the Great Theatre. (d) The the harbour were various quays and public buildings. From the harbour there ran a harbour in the Gulf with Mt. Pion at its eastern end and at the west. Around it of its maritime trade. Its shape seems to have been semi-circular around an inner to have been the best site until the sea left it at some distance inland and deprived situation that was destined to be that of the city for a thousand years and which seems This brings us to the Ephesus of the New Testament and the Apocalypse - the

Apocalypse which was for lying land.

project he had opposition, which he quickly overcame by flooding the old site about situation partly on, and partly south of the old site along Keresos. (c) To this success in these parts, Lydianus, once more moved the town - this time to a the result that here as elsewhere the Greek spirit gained the ascendancy, the stage of its history Alexander the Great. (b) Ephesus received him at once with How a change comes once more in the character of the city. There appeared on fact that the goddess favoured Persia and Sparta rather than Greece and Athens. (a)

formed a faithful member, for the Ephesians soon succeeded, evidently owing to the In 470 B.C. Ephesus was forced to join the Delian Confederacy, of which it

In the Mithridatic War, 88 B.C. Mithridates gave command from Ephesus for a great massacre of Romans to take place. The Ephesians denied the right of asylum to the Romans at the altar of the goddess. But with the quelling of the uprising by Sulla, Ephesus remained under Roman rule as long as the Province lasted. It now became the greatest city of the Province. For a long time it was the only port of entry for the Province from Rome, so that when harbours had been formed at other places still it was the custom for the governors to enter the country by Ephesus, which custom was later confirmed by the Emperor Caracalla, with the title "First of Asia". (a)

As Ephesus had received the trade of Asia from Miletus, so in time was she to surrender it to her rival, Smyrna, owing to the difficulty of keeping open her harbour which in spite of the engineering operations of the Pergamene kings and the Romans was fast filling in. (b) From this time the city began to lose its old prestige. In A.D. 263 it was sacked by the Goths, (c) but still lingered on till 1313 when it was utterly destroyed by the Turks under Sarukhan and Aidin. (d)

The constitution of Ephesus was settled by the Greek colonists in the eleventh century B.C. when three tribes were formed. As the population increased other tribes were formed until there were six, these being in order of formation, the Ephesians, or original inhabitants; the Erythraei, or Greek colonists; the Hermionaei, possibly later Greek settlers; the Teoi and the Karneioi, evidently Ionian and Mysian settlers, (e) and the tribe later known as the Sebaste, composed of Jews and other colonists brought in by Lystraechus about 267 B.C. These tribes were divided into Chitastae. (f) The effect of the constitution was to keep the right balance between the various racial and religious elements in the city, for each tribe had only one vote no matter what its enrollment was. (g) There were three assemblies i.e. a council, a senate which looked after finance, and a popular assembly. (h) In the Roman period Ephesus was allowed many of its old privileges of self government. (i)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 227, 228.
- (b) " p. 228.
- (c) " p. 227.
- (d) S.G.C. p. 42.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 219 - 220 & 224.
- (f) A.S.J. p. 11x.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 226.
- (h) " p. 220.
- (i) A.S.J. p. 11x & 22.
- (j) S.G.C. p. 24.

Ephesus held an important position among the cities of Asia Minor as is evidenced from the titles "Asia lumen" (a) and "First and Greatest of Asia". (b) It held a strategic position on the west coast for trade, being the terminus of the great road from the Euphrates and the east through the Taurus valley. (c) This road and the harbour facilities made for her greatness, and gave her communication with many lands. (d) As an evidence of the importance of its sea-going trade we find a ship under sail represented on some of the Ephesian coins. (e) Besides the foreign trade which passed through the city, it had local products of marble, vermilion, oils and essences. (f) Prosperity was the lot of the city almost throughout the whole of its history, (g) and it possessed one of the seven wonders of the world in the Temple of Diana, (h) a structure of marble of beautiful architecture, open to the sky with a colonnade of 127 shafts of marble sixty feet high, each being the present of a king. The shrine was in the midst of the enclosure. The pillars of marble have all disappeared and now are in different cathedrals of Constantinople and Italy. (i) The site of the Temple had long been lost until Mr. Wood found it thirty feet below the surface of the ground. The remains of the buildings of the city give evidence of its eminent sculpture and architecture, and its theatre shows the popularity of the drama with the people of Ephesus. (j) Ephesus was also a seat of learning. Many of its citizens were philosophers. It was the birthplace of Heraclitus who noted the flux of matter; Eusebius says that it was here that Justin had his dialogue with Trypho, and also possible that here he was initiated into various heathen philosophies. (k)

The principal power in Ephesus was religion in the worship of Artemis or Diana, the Great Mother. (l) This cult was native to the Gulf and inwardly times was the link of unity between the Anatolian villages. (m) The original home of the deity was below the city in the hills and vales of Ortygia where she was supposed to have led a wild and free life. This mountain birthplace was ever kept sacred and a festival held there every year. (n) But before the history of the city commences we find the shrine transferred to the eastern end of the Gulf near Ayasoluk, whence she is supposed to have migrated in the interests of her devotees. And besides, the hill formed a defense or refuge for the servants of the idol. But even here a trace of her mountain origin

- (a) C.E.S.C. p. 69.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 129.
- (c) A.S.J. p. 23.
- (d) C.E.S.C. p. 69.
- (e) A.S.J. p. 23.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 228 - 229.
- (g) A.S.J. p. 11x.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 228 - 229.
- (i) A.S.J. p. 11x.
- (j) L.S.C. p. 228 - 229.
- (k) A.S.J. p. 11x.
- (l) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (m) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (n) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (o) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (p) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (q) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (r) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (s) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (t) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (u) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (v) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (w) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (x) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (y) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (z) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (aa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ab) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ac) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ad) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ae) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (af) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ag) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ah) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ai) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (aj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ak) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (al) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (am) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (an) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ao) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ap) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (aq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ar) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (as) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (at) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (au) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (av) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (aw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ax) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ay) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (az) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ba) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (be) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (br) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bs) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (bw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (by) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (bz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ca) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ce) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ch) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ci) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ck) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (co) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cs) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ct) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (cy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (cz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (da) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (db) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (de) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (df) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (di) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (do) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ds) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (du) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (dy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (dz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ea) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (eb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ec) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ed) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ee) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ef) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (eg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (eh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ei) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ej) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ek) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (el) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (em) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (en) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (eo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ep) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (eq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (er) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (es) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (et) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (eu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ev) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ew) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ex) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ey) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ez) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fe) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ff) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fs) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ft) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (fy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (fz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ga) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ge) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (go) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gs) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (gy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (gz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ha) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (he) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ho) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hs) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ht) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (hy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (hz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ia) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ib) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ic) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (id) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ie) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (if) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ig) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ih) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ii) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ij) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ik) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (il) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (im) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (in) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (io) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ip) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (iq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ir) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (is) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (it) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (iu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (iv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (iw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ix) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (iy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (iz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ja) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (je) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ji) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (js) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ju) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (jy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (jz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ka) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (kc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ke) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (kg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ki) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (kk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (km) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kn) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ko) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (kq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ks) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ku) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (kw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ky) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (kz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (la) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ld) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (le) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (li) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ll) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ln) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ls) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (lw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ly) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (lz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ma) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (md) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (me) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ml) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mo) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mp) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ms) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (mw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (my) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (mz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (na) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ne) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ng) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ni) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (no) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (np) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ns) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (nw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nx) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ny) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (nz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ob) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (od) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oe) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (of) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (og) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (oh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (oj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ok) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ol) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (om) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (on) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (op) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (or) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (os) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ot) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ou) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ov) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ow) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ox) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (oy) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (oz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pe) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ph) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (po) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pq) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pr) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ps) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pt) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pu) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pv) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (pw) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (px) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (py) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (pz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qe) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qi) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ql) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qo) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qp) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qq) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qr) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qs) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qt) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qu) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qv) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qw) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qx) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (qy) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (qz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ra) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (re) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ri) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ro) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rp) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rq) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rr) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rs) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rt) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ru) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rv) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (rw) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rx) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ry) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (rz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sa) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sd) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (se) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (si) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (so) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sp) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sq) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sr) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ss) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (st) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (su) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sv) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sw) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sx) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (sy) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (sz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ta) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (td) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (te) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tg) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (th) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ti) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tl) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tm) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tn) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (to) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tp) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tq) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tr) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ts) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tt) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tu) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tv) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (tw) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tx) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ty) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (tz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ua) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ub) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (uc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ud) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ue) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uf) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ug) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uh) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ui) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uj) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (uk) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (ul) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (um) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (un) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uo) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (up) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uq) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ur) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (us) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ut) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uu) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (uv) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uw) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (ux) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (uy) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (uz) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (va) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (vb) L.S.C. p. 219.
- (vc) A.S.J. p. 1x & 23.
- (vd) L.S.C. p. 2

- (a) L.S.C. p. 217 & 218.
 (b) S.C.C. p. 28 - 29.
 (c) "p. 31 & 32."
 (d) L.S.C. p. 160 - 161.
 (e) "To the Ephesians" ix.
 (f) Light-foot Ignatius
 (g) Sweete A.D. p. 1x.
 (h) L.S.C. p. 219.
 (i) "p. 228 - 230 & 134."
 (j) "p. 126 & 231 - 232."

honour of being the Neokoros or Temple Guardian of three Emperors. Often we find it A.D. 26 - three temples were built for the Caesar cult. Ephesus now cherished the and later (1) after the honour of having the first temple had passed to Pergamum in overlooked. A shrine and an altar to Augustus were placed in the temple of the goddess While the worship of Artemis was predominant still the Imperial cult was not aided by the prestige of the city, the Ephesian goddess was accorded the honour. (h) religious sentiments are peculiar things and will follow their own way. Accordingly and efforts were made to utilize these cults for the purpose. But national and Pergamum in the second century B.C. lent a colour to its gods Asklepios and Dionysus, and only in a local cult could any real bond of union be found. The royalty of it but did not regard it with whole hearted favour. National feeling was predominant unity. Therefore Rome set up the Caesar cult. Ephesus and the Provinces accepted largely brought to a climax by the Imperial system which encouraged any aim toward the Christian era Diana was the centre of the worship of all Asia. (g) This was of trade led to the wider recognition of her goddess and in the first century of Athena. (f) As time went on and Ephesus became "Asia Lumen", her successful conquest their allegiance to the deity of the land giving her preference even to their own The worship of Artemis steadily grew. The early Greek colonists soon transferred Vibius Salutaris about 104 A.D. (e) or as memorials of the occasion. (d) This practice was encouraged by a gift of Galus and back again. The visitors bought small replicas of the shrine or temple as charms parts of Asia. The idol was carried in procession from the temple to the Theatre A festival was held each day when thousands of pilgrims flocked to Ephesus from all shrine; a female figure with numerous breasts, ending in a shapeless block of wood. to include the greater portion of the city. (g) The idol itself was within the inner to criminals. (h) This privilege of sanctuary was afterwards extended by Antony found here. Besides it was the first Asiatic temple to afford the right of asylum deposited for safe keeping. Paintings, statuary and trophies of war were all to be of the Apocryphus built to replace it. Here all the great wealth of the city was The first temple was destroyed in 262 B.C., and the magnificent temple of the day is to be found in the types of statues on coins, bearing the image of the deity. (a)

called "Four Times Neokoros" and depicted so on a coin. (a) The fourth is undoubtedly that of Artemis, and Ephesus is referred to in this way in the Acts, "What man is there that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper (neokoros) of the great goddess Diana?" (b)

Ephesus also became an important centre of the Christian religion. Paul realized early that Asia and Ephesus would be fruitful fields for Christianity, but was

detained in reaching them. (c) At length, after a short visit beforehand, he came in 52 A.D. and spent two years in Ephesus. (d) The way had been imperfectly prepared by Apollos, a follower of the teaching of John the Baptist, whom Priscilla and Aquila instructed more fully. (e) Paul started to preach in the synagogues and later in the philosophical school of Tyrannus. The power of the Christian religion and his preaching was shown in the miracles which he performed, surpassing the magic of the Artemisian religion. Magicians destroyed their books so "mightily did the word of God prevail." This wonderful change of feeling to a new religion soon began to have a serious

effect on the cult of Diana, and especially on the trade in shrines. (f) Whereupon Demetrius, the silversmith brought on an uproar in the theatre, which resulted in the departure of Paul from the city. (g) During his two years stay a church had been founded and in the following year we find it had elders who met the Apostle at Miletus as he passed by on his way to Jerusalem. During his imprisonment in Rome he addressed a letter to the Ephesians which was intended for a circular letter to all the churches of Asia, picturing conditions there between A.D. 60 and 65. He appointed Timothy the first Bishop of Ephesus. (h) It is thought possible that he visited them after his release from his first imprisonment. At all events, he is cognizant of their affairs for we find in the Pastoral Epistles that his fears are beginning to be realized and that strife, irregularities and false doctrine are beginning to creep in. (i)

- (a) A.S.J. p. lxxxix.
- (b) " p. lxxxix.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 231 - 238.
- (d) A.S.J. p. 23.
- (e) " p. lxxviii.
- (f) Purves Ap. Age. p. 206 - 207.
- (g) S.G.C. p. 23.
- (h) " p. 24.
- (i) A.S.J. p. lxxxix.
- (h) Bus. H.E. 111. 4.
- Iren. 111. 1 & 24.
- G.E.S.C. p. 69.
- (1) A.S.J. p. lxx.

(a) L.S.C. p. 200.
S.G.C. p. 54.
(b) " p. 54.
(c) L.S.C. p. 207.
S.G.C. p. 45 & 55.
(2) 7 32. p. 55 & 56.
S.G.C. p. 206.
V.S.T. p. 121.

personification of the city itself. (e) To the Greek mind she was the representative

worshippers. The cult underwent a process of evolution till it came to be a

she came from the mountains on the north of the city so as to be among her

times. The conception seems to have been very similar to that of Artemis at Ephesus -

the principal seems to have been Cybele, or Dipsas as she was called in earlier

The pagan religion of Smyrna included the worship of a number of gods of which

retains its beautiful aspect. (d)

castle stands a ruined mosque evidently once a Christian church. But the city still

of the stadium. The land-locked harbour is now built over and on the site of the

of St. John. Of the latter there may be seen a portion of the Castle and the remains

But few remains are to be found of the old city or of the city of the times

of Western nationalists dwell there. (c)

thought and life. Many factories have been built and foreign consuls and others

which it has done most of its trading. For these reasons it is a centre of Western

has made it a cosmopolitan city. Its sympathies have ever been with the West with

enduring natural situation and harbour have maintained its existence and trade. This

Since the fifteenth century the city has remained under Turkish rule, and its

tutile and no permanent possession was effected. (b)

then made by the knights of Rhodes and others to retake the city, but all were

1402 and took it after a fourteen days' siege with great slaughter. Attempts were

of Rhodes, and the knights of St. John. (a) Eventually Tamerlane besieged it in

Emperor Constantine. The Turks again seized it only to be driven out by the knights

and again taken, the Turks destroyed it. About 1230 it was restored by the

of Asia had passed into their hands they took Smyrna. After being taken from them

centuries passed and the Turks then overran Asia. At length in 1084 when the rest

from time to time it was again rebuilt and restored. Four more or less uneventful

the last city to be molested in this manner. But in spite of wars and earthquakes

it met with trouble as the hordes from the east swept over Asia Minor. Still it was

was the principal port for caravan trade on the west coast. From this time, however,

of Nemesis, only the Smyrnaean Nemesis was depicted as being not a single person, but as two. These are usually portrayed on their coins, one holding a scepter rule with a wheel at her feet, the other a plectrum. (a) Another deity worshipped at Smyrna was Bacchus, the Greek god of wine. (b) They also worshipped the god Melus, for the healing virtues of the river of the same name. (c)

From its attachment to Rome the Caesar cult was introduced as early as 196 B.C. (d) In A.D. 26 they won the honour of building an Augustaeum to Liberius, contending with Ephesus, Sardis, and other cities for the privilege. (e)

Nothing is definitely known of the establishment of Christianity in Smyrna. However it is thought possible that it was evangelized by St. Paul about the same time as Ephesus. (f) According to a fifth century forgery, Vita Policarpi 2, (g) the Apostle visited Smyrna on his way to Ephesus and found disciples there. At any rate through his preaching at Ephesus "all Asia heard the word of God". It is very likely, then, that Smyrna only 55 miles distant was included in the Ephesian mission. (h) Ignatius on his way to Rome halted here and wrote letters to Ephesus, Magnesia, Tralles and the Romans. (i) Later he wrote to the Smyrnaeans from Troas commanding their blamelessness and warning against Judaism from the Doctetic side. (j)

But the great interest of Church history in Smyrna centres around Policarp, who in all probability was Bishop of Smyrna at the very time when the Apocalypse was written. This hypothesis is strongly supported, not only from his own statements and long life, but also from the fact that the letter to the Smyrnaean church is commendatory. Tertullian and Irenaeus tell us that he was consecrated by St. John. (l) He was

bishop when Ignatius passed through and to him Ignatius addresses a letter from Troas. His martyrdom took place about 168 A.D. (m) at which time he stated that he had served the Lord for eighty six years. Thus the various details well fit in to make it almost certain that he was Bishop of Smyrna in the days of St. John. His martyrdom took place at Smyrna. The mob cried out at his trial that he should be burnt alive but when this sentence was carried out the flames swept around him. At this the executioner stabbed him with his sword whereupon his blood gushed forth and extinguished the fire. It was re-lit and the body burned to prevent its burial by the Christians. The ashes were later collected and buried in a place on the hill side near the spot where now stand the

Remains of an old church and the spot is still visited by devout Greek Catholics. (n)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 264.
- (b) " p. 268.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 268 - 264.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 117.
- (e) " p. 262, 264, & 276.
- (f) A.S.J. p. 1x1 & 1xxxix, 30 & 164. (k) C.E.S.C. p. 99 - 101.
- (g) Tert. "De Praes. Haer." 32.
- (h) Vita Policarpi 2.
- (i) L.S.C. p. 14.
- (j) Ign. "To the Smyrnaeans"
- (k) Lightfoot Ignatius.
- (l) C.E.S.C. p. 99 - 101.
- (m) Ign. "To Policarp"
- (n) Mart. Pol. 8.
- (o) H.E. 14. 15.
- (p) C.E.S.C. p. 52.
- (q) C.E.S.C. p. 100.

- (a) S.G.C. p. 26 & 28.
A.S.J. p. 24 & 25.
G.S.J. p. 24 & 25.
Eus. H.E. 111. 23 etc.
Iren. 11. 22, 5 etc.
Lurves Ap, Age p. 202.
- (b) G.S.J. p. 21.
Iren. 111. 1, 1.
S.G.C. p. 40.
E.S.J. p. 24 & 25.
F. p. 24 & 25.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 21.
Iren. 111. 1, 1.
S.G.C. p. 40.
E.S.J. p. 24 & 25.
F. p. 24 & 25.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 240 - 242.
(e) Ign. "to the Ephesians"
(f) S.G.C. p. 41.
(g) L.S.C. p. 217 - 218.
(h) S.G.C. p. 42.

since designated it - the Latrocinian Council. (h)

party resorted to armed force. Therefore the name given it by Pope Leo has ever second Council in 449 was even more deplorable than that of 431 for the victorious rediscovers and an attempt made to restore the legend to its old place. (g) The evidently it was a Christianized form of the old pagan myth. This spot has been lately yearly to these spots which were close to the early home of Artemis, near Ortysia. had lived and where she was buried were known. The result was pilgrimages were held that the Virgin Mary came to Ephesus and died there and that the places where she ended in contention and strife. (f) This council also is connected with the legend Italy and the East who were the supporters of Nestorianism. This council, therefore, of Nestorianism. This was done, however, before the arrival of certain bishops from The first met in 431 in the church of St. Mary. Its principal act was the condemnation Ephesus was in the fifth century the convention place of two general councils.

had tried to propagate Doctrines in their midst. (e)

life about God. Heresy had found little or no place among them, though certain persons and good order; they were spiritually minded in all things and had no other rule of of their Church "as renowned to all ages"; steadfast in maintaining doctrinal purity Ephesians that it survived and retained its old prestige and honour. Ignatius speaks a crime. As to the outcome we are given to understand from Ignatius Epistle to the first love and warns them accordingly. (d) The church evidently was passing through one. While he praises them for their patience, he records that they have left their St. John's picture of the Ephesian Church in his letter is not a very bright

buried here. (c)

concerning his death are certainly fiction, but most likely the Apostle died and was probably the Epistles were also penned from the same place. (b) The traditions from here it is recorded that he wrote the Gospel that bears his name, and in all charge of the old man carried into the church - "Little children, love one another" (a) his refusing to be in the same building with Cerinthus; the beautiful old repeated Ephesus centres the stories of his reclining the robber whom he had baptized; of tradition alone, still it seems to be reliable and for the most part true. Around others. Whilst all we know of the residence of St. John here at this time is from the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, the Apostle John came to live here together with But not yet was the Ephesian Church to sink to its decay. Presumably after

Through the next six centuries Ephesus gradually declined. It had been sacked by the Goths in 263 and now suffered in all the wars and plunders that devastated the Roman Empire. (a) At last in 1330 it was destroyed by the Turks under Gazi Husain and again and left in ruins. And so it has remained. Its harbour has long since been filled in, (b) and all that is left of this important centre of the life and commerce of Asia as well as of Christianity is the ruins of the various sites of the city in marble columns and ruined buildings. (c)

The note of the Ephesian letter is that of change and cooling. At first enthusiastic and full of life and energy, the Church has sunk into a listless condition. (d) In the address the Divine Author is represented as "the that holdeth the seven stars in his right hand who walketh in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks." Ephesus was the chief landing place of Asia, and so was the key to the whole Province. (e) The worship of Artemis introduced into many cities also caused men to look up to her as the head of the whole Province, even although Pergamum was the official capital. (f) From Ephesus one could take a circular tour of the western portion of Asia, (g) which route one has compared to a chain of jewels. (h) What more fitting introduction, then, could be given to this city than that of Controller of the Churches? How fitting that they should be the jewels of His right hand.

The letter then proceeds to state the author's knowledge of the Church's works. They had conducted martyrs on their way, encouraging them as they passed through with their hospitality and fellowship. Besides this, they had tried various teachers that came here, putting to the test their faith and teaching, and if false they had rejected them without delay. They had enforced rigidly the custom of requiring commendatory letters of such apostles and prophets, or else testing their reliability by an examination of their faith and practice. (i)

But one thing the author has against them - "they have left their first love". He therefore exhorts them to revive their enthusiasm and return to their old character and spirit. (j) A stimulus is needed and the apostle thus seeks to give it. But if repentance is not forthcoming the warning is given "I will come unto thee

(a) L.S.C. p. 227.
(b) S.G.C. p. 42.
(c) S.G.C. p. 28.
(d) L.S.C. p. 42.
(e) S.G.C. p. 28.
(f) S.G.C. p. 28.
(g) S.G.C. p. 28.
(h) L.S.C. p. 229.
(i) S.G.C. p. 229.
(j) L.S.C. p. 242.
(k) S.G.C. p. 242.
(l) S.G.C. p. 242.

quickly and will remove the candidature out of his place". As to the meaning of this there have been many suppositions. Some take it as a prophecy of the destruction of Ephesus. (a) Others take it to mean a loss of its honorable position. This assumes that Ephesus early held metropolitan rank and the theory is also discounted in the fact that the bishops of the diocese are still Bishops of Ephesus, though residing at Magnesia ad Sipylum. Grotius takes it that it refers to the flight of the Christians to Kizkindsje. (b) However it is more natural to understand it as having reference to the changing conditions of sea and land. The Ephesians are given to understand that if there is not a return to the spirit of former days that the city would be so moved, geographically, historically and socially that it might be given a new start with new enthusiasm. (c)

After again commending the Church for its endurance, especially in its dealings with the Nicaitans the author promises "to him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the Paradise of God." Ephesus needed new vitality so they are promised the tree of life; (d) to those who overcome the downward tendency into which their faith is lapsing, Christ will give the heavenly life. (e) The Great Goddess Artemis was symbolic of natural production and life, but here the Christian is promised a better and a spiritual life, the tree of life in the Paradise of his God. (f)

Kemany in conclusion well sums up the Church of Ephesus and its letter. "The Ephesians stand before us in the pathway of the world, at the door by which the West visited the East, and from which the East looked out upon the West, as a dignified people worthy of their great position, who had lived through a noble history in the past, and were on the whole not unworthy of it in the present, who maintained their high tradition - and yet one thing was lacking, the power of loving and of making themselves loved." (g)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 244 - 245
- (b) " p. 245 - 246
- (c) L.S.C. p. 246 - 247
- (d) " p. 246
- (e) S.G.C. p. 28
- (f) S.G.C. p. 28
- (g) L.S.C. p. 281
- (h) S.G.C. p. 28
- (i) L.S.C. p. 28
- (j) S.G.C. p. 28

- (a) A.S.J. p. 20.
 (b) L.S.C. p. 43 & 254 - 255.
 (c) " p. 255.
 (d) C.E.S.C. p. 25.
 A.S.J. p. 51.
 (e) L.S.C. p. 250.
 (f) " p. 256 & 261.
 (g) " p. 257 & 443.
 Aristides xv, xx - xxii, xli.
 (h) A.S.J. p. 141.
 (i) L.S.C. p. 253.

The second place mentioned in the letters to the Seven Churches is Smyrna, a city of first rank 25 miles north of Ephesus, (a) also situated in a deep gulf. As one sails up the gulf from the west, Smyrna is discovered in a turn at the south-east end. Behind it on the south and west are hills called Pagos. On the east a valley stretches inland to a distance of about nine miles. The city is built on the shore close up to the water's edge and stretches back up the hill behind. (b) Like Ephesus it lay claim to the title "first of Asia" - only in a different way. Smyrna styled herself "first of Asia" in size and beauty. (c) and the name was well merited. The delight of Asia it has been described by some and Lucian refers to it as the most beautiful of the Ionian cities. Everything in the natural surroundings, the situation of the city, and the air, give rest, pleasure and refreshment. This beauty in ancient times was derived from its trees and hills, and even now is enhanced by the cypress groves of the Turkish caméristes. The hill Pagos also formed an acropolis, additional defense being afforded by the other hills about the city. (d) Pagos seems from the sea to be a conical shaped hill, but in reality is the commencement of the Great Plain of the continent of Asia. (e) Classical literature is abundant in references to Smyrna's beauty and the manner in which writers have described it. From the building and walls on Pagos was derived the name "Crown of Smyrna". Another common figure used was that of flowers, under which the crown of towers on the hill was taken to represent a garland or floral wreath. (f) With Aristides the simile is changed to that of a statue, representing the city as a monument on the sea shore; the harbour and plain being the feet, and the Acropolis on Pagos the head. Another reference used by Aristides is that of a neckpiece under which epithet he refers to the Street of Gold around the lower part of the hill and the many magnificent buildings placed upon it. (g) The streets were straight and well paved and among other buildings the city possessed a library, a stadium, a theatre, and temples, (h) one of which was the Homerion dedicated to Homer whom it was claimed was born and brought up here. (i)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 261.
- (b) " p. 266 & 261.
- (c) " p. 262.
- (d) " p. 263.
- (e) " p. 43 & 265.
- (f) " p. 261.
- (g) S.C.C. p. 47.
- (h) " p. 55.
- (i) Lightfoot Ignatius.

an Ionian colony. About 688 B.C. it formed part of the Ionian Confederacy. During was Homer. (h) After a short time it was captured by the Ionian Greeks and became was either Theseus, Tantalus or an Amazon, and that its most illustrious native three miles inland on the extreme east of the Gulf. (g) It is claimed that the founder The city of Smyrna was founded about 1000 B.C. by Aeolian Greeks about two or (f)

to bring down any sediment to take its place. (e) been the means of washing away the coast and the streams are too short and clear the southeastern corner of the Gulf, at the mouth of the Helles, the west winds have city has advanced and the inner harbour has been filled up, but in other places in In nineteen centuries there has been but little change. The coast line before the possibly the sea extended up the valley, but it must have been at a very early date. saving for those changes that take place under ordinary conditions. At one time, Unlike Ephesus, the geographical features of Smyrna have remained constant, and therefore was attributed a degree of worship. (d)

The river was of no value to agriculture, but gave pleasure and had healing qualities with other modern improvements has detracted from the fair appearance of the city. water. A dam has now been constructed across it to supply the town with water. This source was low it was necessary to construct an artificial channel to carry off the its course was but short and it flowed with an equal volume the year round. As its Between the city and the plain to the east there flowed a small river, the Helles. others to it. (c)

city the Smyrnaeans overlooked this feature and never called the attention of the land from finding access to the open sea. But in their pride of their beautiful the west winds which kept the sea high on the shore, thus preventing the water off drainage of the lower portion was poor, and was made so much the more difficult by Tophytus. (b) However it did contribute one disadvantage to the town, in that the Of this Tophytus speaks, referring to Smyrna as having the "Mountain of the Gulf, which continues throughout the day. This adds to the attractions of the city. (a) summer there rises during the morning of each day, a gentle wind from the west over Smyrna is also noted for its pleasant breezes. Every day, especially in the

this time it had become a great city extending to the east of the gulf and controlling the district beyond the valley. About 600 B.C. after two hundred and fifty years of independence and struggle with Lydia, the Lydian king Alyattes took it and destroyed it. For over three hundred years it was now reduced to the status of a district in the Lydian and Persian kingdoms. It was accorded far from pleasant treatment by its conquerors owing to its indomitable Greek spirit. It is mentioned in an inscription of 368 B.C. as being a somewhat important place, but not as a city. It was comprised of a number of villages around the site of old Smyrna and on the hills, but had no government of its own. According to Aristides there was a town between the older and newer cities. (a)

Alexander resolved to mark his triumph by refounding Smyrna and Ephesus, but was prevented from doing so by his death. The project, however, was commenced by Antigonus and Lysimachus who also died before its completion. (b) The site of the city was changed for that of the south-west of the gulf, beneath Pagos, where there were two excellent harbours. One was a small land-locked haven across the entrance of which a chain could be drawn. Owing to its proximity with sea craft of that time the Smyrnaeans were obliged to overcome its tendency to fill in to maintain their maritime trade.

The other was probably the near by Gulf shore. (c) This harbour gave Smyrna command of the trade of the Aegean sea, in later days when it was surrendered by Ephesus. (d)

Its trade and commerce soon brought Smyrna into connection with Rome, which led to treaties between them. With the pact between Hannibal and Antiochus they united

against a common foe. This led to the interference of Rome in eastern affairs in

general and in the ensuing policy Smyrna was almost always on the side of Rome who

in turn gave her assistance and support. (e) In the war with Mithridates, Smyrna

remained loyal, with the probable exception of the time in which Mithridates was

supreme, when they placed his bust on their coins only to return to Roman allegiance

at the first opportunity. (f)

Under Roman rule Smyrna enjoyed prosperity and passed an uneventful career for

some centuries. Owing to its early associations and loyalty to Rome, it was made a

free city and the centre of a conventus. (g) Its importance increased with the passing

years and the gain of the Ephesian maritime trade. (h) In the sixth century A.D. it

- (a) L.S.C. p. 261 - 262.
- (b) " p. 47
- (c) " p. 47
- (d) L.S.C. p. 262
- (e) " p. 262 & 272
- (f) " p. 262
- (g) L.S.C. p. 262
- (h) " p. 262
- (i) " p. 262
- (j) " p. 262
- (k) " p. 262
- (l) " p. 262
- (m) " p. 262
- (n) " p. 262
- (o) " p. 262
- (p) " p. 262
- (q) " p. 262
- (r) " p. 262
- (s) " p. 262
- (t) " p. 262
- (u) " p. 262
- (v) " p. 262
- (w) " p. 262
- (x) " p. 262
- (y) " p. 262
- (z) " p. 262

- (g) L.S.C. p. 262 & 266
- (h) " p. 262
- (i) " p. 262
- (j) " p. 262
- (k) " p. 262
- (l) " p. 262
- (m) " p. 262
- (n) " p. 262
- (o) " p. 262
- (p) " p. 262
- (q) " p. 262
- (r) " p. 262
- (s) " p. 262
- (t) " p. 262
- (u) " p. 262
- (v) " p. 262
- (w) " p. 262
- (x) " p. 262
- (y) " p. 262
- (z) " p. 262

From its western associations as well as from its cosmopolitan nature Christianity has been maintained in Smyrna to this day in spite of many trials and much suffering. After the city had permanently passed under Turkish control, the Christians were allowed freedom of worship to a large degree and indeed today the Christian element predominates in a proportion of three to one, so that the Turks call it infidel Smyrna or Glacour Ismar. (a)

The note of the letter to the Church of Smyrna is that of praise and joy. It has been found faithful; it has life; and its appearance is betokened by reality. Unlike Ephesus the glories are not in the past alone. (b)

The Divine Author describes Himself to Smyrna as "the first and the last which was dead and lived". The meaning of this is not as our English versions would infer that life begins again after a period of death, - but that "life" persists in and through death. The reference is doubly appropriate; as well in the history of Smyrna as in the earthly life of the Divine Author. After the destruction of the old city by the legend, Smyrna consisted of a number of villages on the plain and surrounding hills. For four hundred years there was no city. Still it was said to "exist" all that time though its government and constitution were practically in abeyance.

Unlike Ephesus, its condition was not that of change but of life under apparent death. (c) This address would also be suitable in view of the message foretelling persecution. (d) As in all the letters, the Author now states his knowledge of the church; but this time most carefully. There had been a career of persecution and suffering. It is poor in the eyes of men but rich before God in spiritual realities. (e) But was it not now a rich city? Yes. Why then call it poor? Most likely the majority of the Christians were drawn from the poorer classes and their new faith also would call for certain sacrifices, and in many cases the Jewish opposition would bring on raids on their property. The poor know the harm that the Jews have done them by calling to the officials and others in the city. The Jews seem to have been very numerous here and also particularly opposed to Christianity, even more so than in the rest of Asia. (f) The Apostle refers to them as those "who say they are Jews, and they are not but are a synagogue of Satan". By this he evidently means the nationalist Jews, the seed of Abraham after the flesh. (g) These men would hate, not the Christian Church as a whole, but those members who had been converted from Judaism. The turning of Pagan

(a) S.G.C. p. 55.
A.S.J. p. 30.
(b) L.S.C. p. 42 & 268.
(c) " p. 268 - 271.
(d) C.E.S.C. p. 101.
(e) L.S.C. p. 271.
(f) " p. 271 - 272.
(g) C.E.S.C. p. 102 - 106.

Gentiles would not concern them any more than the enrollment of disciples in the various philosophies. Evidently then many of the members of the Church of Smyrna had been Jews. This opposition in this place is further evidenced by the very prominent part the Jews took in the martyrdom of Polycarp, when they even overlooked the fact of it being the Sabbath day to bring about the saint's immediate sentence and speedy death. (a)

He then foretells coming persecution - how that some would be cast into prison and that they should have tribulation for ten days. The word "prison" he uses as a general term for the apprehension, trial and execution of the martyrs. In those times mere imprisonment was not a form of punishment, but only a means of detention for further punishment or execution. The expression "ten days" he uses as one denoting an indefinite period of time which will come to an end. (b) Some however find in it a reference to ten persecutions spread over the three hundred years before the accession of Constantine. But this is rather a far fetched allusion. And again, why is it mentioned in connection with Smyrna? (c) And the storm was not long in breaking but in the lifetime of many of the original readers these persecutions arose in which there were many martyrs including the aged Polycarp. (d)

The promise is "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life". Here the crown of life is contrasted with the municipal crown as was the tree of life with the life-giving plants at Gethsemane. To the Christian there is a better crown than that of the battlements and buildings on Pagan or even the crown of good citizens suggested by Apollonius. And in the exhortation to faithfulness can we not discern a reference to Smyrna's boast of faithfulness to Rome? If she be faithful to her God the Church shall receive a crown of life. Moreover "He that overcometh shall not be hurt of the second death". Again the reference to the city's history is noticed and applied to the individual, teaching him that as his city was dead and lived to see brighter and happier days, so should he, although he die, rise to a more glorious life. (e)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 275.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 104.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 104.
- (d) S.O.C. p. 48/
- (e) p. 274 - 275.

PERGAMUM.

In the termination of the name of the destination of the third letter, the

Authorized Version of Iliad is incorrect in writing Pergamon instead of Pergamum.

In other words, here they use a Greek form while elsewhere a Latin affix is used.

Besides even if they read Pergamon for Pergamum in Greek they are not using the

most common form, for while Pergamon as a feminine form does occur, Pergamon in

Greek and Pergamum in Latin occur most frequently. (a)

Pergamum is situated about fifteen miles inland on the river Caicus, a small

stream flowing into the Aegean Sea. The road from Ephesus through Smyrna ran along

the coast about forty miles then up the Caicus valley to the city. (b) The city

itself stood upon a rocky prominence on the north side of the valley. It commanded

a wide view of the surrounding country, particularly to the south, over the

mountains across the valley and even as far as the peaks around Smyrna. To the

east could be seen the sea and the coast of Lesbos. Therefore the site was most

advantageous for a citadel and the capital of a kingdom, which fact the various

conquerors and rulers of Asia were quick to recognize. Upon the rock they built an

acropolis from which they could survey the country far and wide. Thus Pergamum

came to be the royal city of the land, for not only in a political sense did it

command the country, but also in a natural, for the impregnable rock gives one

immediately the impression of permanence, strength and authority. (c) Surrounding

the city and river was a fertile plain which supplied the needs of the city and

brought to it much trade. (d)

And as Pergamum was royal in its geography so also was it in its history. (e)

It seems to have been a place of some antiquity, dating back to the fifth century

B.C. However its actual greatness does not extend so far into the past but dates

from 262 B.C. Still it is probable that even in early times it was a fortified

position. (f) The earliest definite record we have of it comes from Xenophon, who

tells us that in his day it was settled by Greeks who had a city on the peak of the

acropolis. (g) Lyzimechus, the general of Alexander recognized its favourable

position and made it his capital, placing in charge one Philistaeus. Philistaeus,

taking advantage of some intrigues of Lyzimechus' household, revolted. Seleucus,

king of Syria, then warred against Lyzimechus who fell in battle. Philistaeus

refused to give up Pergamum to Seleucus who besieged it for seven months when he

was murdered by Ptolemy's son. (h)

(a) G.R.G.C. p. 117.

(b) G.R.G.C. p. 61.

(c) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(d) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(e) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(f) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(g) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(h) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(i) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(j) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(k) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(l) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(m) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(n) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(o) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(p) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(q) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(r) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

(s) G.R.G.C. p. 24.

Philetærus now established the kingdom of Pergamum and reigned for twenty

years as its first king. He was succeeded by his nephew, Rümeneus I. who vindicated his uncles claims especially against the Seleucids. Attalus I, his cousin and

successor drove back the Galatians and extended the kingdom to include Bithynia and

much of the districts of Mysia and Aetolia. He made an alliance with Rome and assisted them in their wars against Macedonia. He also gathered together much of the wealth

of the Pergamonian kings and erected temples and public buildings. (a) However he

was not allowed to pursue his conquest unchecked. Since Philetærus had set up the kingdom, the Seleucid power had ever been a rival to the kings of Pergamum. Now

with the accession of Antiochus the Great to the Syrian throne, the tide changed.

Antiochus deprived Attalus of all his acquired possessions, and even made designs

on the kingdom itself. But in 190 B.C. the Romans intervened on their ally's behalf

and restored the lost territory and enlarged it, handing it back to the successor

of Attalus, his son Rümeneus II. (b) Rümeneus continued his father's policy of building

up the city and kingdom. But his great work that made him famous was the collection

of the library of Pergamum. Books were gathered from all parts of the then known

world to the number of 200,000 manuscripts. This was done in competition with his

great contemporary and rival, Ptolemy of Egypt. (c) Rümeneus was succeeded about 157

by his son Attalus II who continued the work of his father in building up the

library with books and costly art treasures. He extended the city to its widest extent

between the rivers Sellinus and Detius, as well as building temples in the groves

of the gods. (d) His nephew and successor, Attalus III, after a short reign of five

years bequeathed the kingdom to the Romans in 133 B.C. Thus concluded the dynasty of

the Pergamonian kings, who had ruled for one hundred and fifty years with a

progressive policy, with the exception of the last, improving on the

work of his predecessor so that the wealth of Pergamum became very great in a short

time. (e)

Rome formed the kingdom into a province - the Province of Asia - (f) with

Pergamum as its official capital. (g) M. Aquilius was sent out as its first procurator.

From this time on we hear but little of the city. Its riches tell a story to the

aggrandisement of Roman officials in the declining days of the Republic. But its

splendour and official position still remained even until the days of the Apocalypse.

Its library was seized by Mark Antony for Cleopatra. It was taken to Egypt and combined

with that of Ptolemy. At length in the Mohammedan conquest of the land it was ruthlessly

burned by the Khaliph Omar in 642 A.D. (h)

(a) S.G.C. p. 68 - 69.

(b) S.G.C. p. 69.

(c) S.G.C. p. 114 & 282 - 283.

(d) S.G.C. p. 114 & 283.

(e) S.G.C. p. 114 & 283.

(f) S.G.C. p. 114 & 283.

(g) S.G.C. p. 114 & 283.

(h) S.G.C. p. 114 & 283.

Ephesus, Smyrna and Pergamum all claimed the title "First of Asia" or Metropolis. (a) But in what way could all hold this title at one and the same time? Smyrna's boast was in her beauty so her claim may be easily understood, but those of Ephesus and Pergamum are more difficult to decide. In many ways the claims of the two coincide. It is difficult now to make a close distinction between the two and it does not seem that it was possible to do so in the first century. But Ephesus and Smyrna were on the coast at the terminus of trunk roads to the east and possessed good harbours. Political conditions at the time gave Ephesus the preference. Pergamum was fifteen miles inland, on a small river and off the main road. This hindered it from becoming a place of any importance for trade, commerce and communication with the rest of the Province was necessarily bad. However it had been the official capital of the Pergamene kings and was a strategic situation for a citadel. Therefore it became the capital of the Roman Province. (b)

One has said "Its prominence was not that of a commercial town like Ephesus or Corinth, but arose from its peculiar features. It was a sort of union of a pagan cathedral city, an university town, and a royal residence, embellished during a succession of years by kings who all had a passion for expenditure, and ample means of gratifying it." (c) Ramsey well distinguishes the rival claims in that Smyrna was "First of Asia in size and beauty, Ephesus first of Asia as the landing place of every Roman official, Pergamum first as the official capital, and Sardis boldly styled itself "First metropolis of Asia, of Lydia, and of Hellenism," (d)

The remains of Pergamum are considerable but being in ruins we are uncertain of their identity. Some have been turned to other uses. The building supposed to have been the temple of Esculapius was converted into the cathedral. It is now roofless; the home of Mohammedans who use its walls as support for their mud houses. Remains have been discovered of the acropolis with its carvings and columns. The palace of the Attalids has been found as well as an old aqueduct, supposedly built by Attalus. Five other bridges are almost intact. There were theatres and an amphitheatre which are now in ruins. The latter could be flooded by letting in water from the river, so that sham sea battles and other aquatic performances could be enacted. Marble columns and remains of statues are buried or lie on the surface of the ground, the remnants of better days and since then the quarries of the Turks who loot and break all they come across. (e)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 139 - 140, 225, 226, 228.
- (b) " p. 295 - 296.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 72.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 138 - 140.
- (e) S.G.C. p. 72 - 75.

The modern name of Pergamum is Bergama. It is now a dirty Turkish town of about 25,000 inhabitants. There are no modern buildings of any importance, but only the mean hovels of the people scattered around the ruins of former days. There are only about four thousand Christians, most of whom are Christians only in name, for the town has only one church in which the worship is often carried on in silence for fear of the Turks. (a)

Pergamum at the height of its splendour was a rich city with a considerable local trade which came from the surrounding plains. The principal article obtained was skins which were used for making writing material. This trade in skins was largely the result of the founding of the library by Ptolemy II, for when Ptolemy thought to impede its formation by refusing him papyrus from Egypt, he established factories at home to provide a substitute and succeeded in turning out a better article than that of Egypt. (b) This product was called Pergamene charras from which we derive the English word parchment. And to this day the principal trade of Bergama is in these hides and their manufacture into high grade paper. (c)

Pergamum was pre-eminently a great religious centre and possessed a grove in which were many temples. (d) The four principal, and also the patron deities, worshipped were Zeus, Athena, Dionysus and Asklepios. The first two of these were Greek gods while the latter are Anatolian in origin. All four doubtless represent a section of the population. The Greek representatives were supposed to have given to the kingdom victory over its enemies and are represented as the Hellenic spirit conquering barbarism. (e) The temple of Athena stood on the hill of the Acropolis and directly beneath it was the great altar of Zeus. (f)

But the more popular were the Anatolian pair—Dionysus the Leader and Asklepios the Saviour. Dionysus was the God of the royal family. The kings were supposed to have been descended from him and claimed to have been his representatives here on earth. This cult spread widely through Asia on account of its royal character, coming as it did from the capital of the country. (g) In Imperial times when it became customary to identify the deified Emperor with a local deity, it would be a simple matter to connect Dionysus with Augustus and his successors. (h) A society called the Bekkoi, or Ox herds continued the practice of the cult in later times with

mythic rites. The resemblance of the God was that of a bull. (i)

- (a) A.S.J. p. 30
S.G.C. p. 61 & 76.
(b) " p. 70
L.S.C. p. 230.
A.S.J. p. 121
L.S.C. p. 230
A.S.J. p. 121
C.E.S.C. p. 127
S.G.C. p. 70
(d) A.S.J. p. 121 & 24
S.G.C. p. 63
(e) L.S.C. p. 234.
A.S.J. p. 121 & 24.
(f) L.S.C. p. 234
A.S.J. p. 121 & 24.
(g) L.S.C. p. 123 & 234 - 235.
(h) " p. 123
(i) " p. 235

Perhaps more important in the life of Pergamon was the worship of Asklepios, (a) which was the cult of the city as that of Dionysus was that of the royal family. (b) As its companion took the form of a bull, so in Anatolian nature Asklepios was

represented by a serpent. It was often depicted as a man bearing a staff with a

serpent twined around it. Another representation is of a serpent clinging to a sacred

tree. The god was brought from Epidaurus where it had belonged to the old Pelasgian

form of religion which had been little affected by Hellenism; accordingly Asklepios

was more akin to the old Anatolian nature. (c) The temple supposed to have been that

of Asklepios stood without the wall of the city between the river Sigeus and the

Acropolis. It was oblong in shape, built of brick and white marble white on either

side were two round buildings evidently connected with the practice of the cult. (d)

In the temple a live serpent was kept and the figure of a serpent was engraved on

many of their coins in place of that of the kings. In the practice of the cult many

incantations and charms were used, (e) which attracted people from far and near in

search of healing. These votaries would lie in the temple courts in the hope that

the god would reveal to them a cure for their diseases. And even to this day the

same superstition prevails in Asia Minor where the people go and sleep in some church

in the hope that Elias will disclose a relief of their ailments. (f) There is a

connection between the ritual of the two cults of Dionysus and Asklepios as well as

between their political relations. The Phrygian mysteries enunciated "that the bull is

father of the serpent and the serpent of the bull" and on many of their coins i.e.

the Chetophorus, we see emblems of both displayed. (g)

The imperial religion was the keystone of the imperial policy" says Ramsey.

Pergamon the old capital was made the centre of the Emperor cult for Asia and therefore

was also the official capital of the provinces, for Rome made everything centre around

its religion. (h) In 28 B.C. Pergamon had the honour of the first provincial temple

to Rome and Augustus. For many years she had no rival and the temple of Augustus

was mentioned more than any other temple of Asia and often figured on Asian coins.

Later second and third temples were built in honour of Trajan and Severus respectively.

Thus it won the title of three wardenships of which it was proud. (i)

- (a) A.S.J. p. 1x11 & 24.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 126.
- (c) " p. 285 - 286.
- (d) S.G.C. p. 72.
- (e) " p. 63.
- (f) " p. 72.
- (g) A.S.J. p. 124.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 126.
- (i) A.S.J. p. 1x11 & 24.

Of the Christian Church in Pergamum but little is known. Of its origin we have no trace and no notice of its existence before the date of the Apocalypse. From the time of Constantine it had an Archbishop and there is still a Greek bishop living there in a poverty stricken condition. Its churches are now in Mohammedan hands.

The Church of St. Sophia still goes by that name though now a mosque; and the cathedral of St. John, thought originally to have been the temple of Asklepios and where the natives say St. John baptized the first Christians, is now in ruins. (a) Antipas from the Apocalypse seems to have been the first martyr of the Pergamene Church though many commentators think this is but another symbolic name like Balaam and Jezebel. But strange as is the scant mention in Church history and the Fathers regarding him, it seems unnecessary to consider it a symbolism for all those who have held out against evil, for then the expression means but little, is a far fetched pun, and it betrays the language of the Seer. (b) It is better to consider the name as being that of an individual and representative of a number of martyrs. (c) Some Latin works consider him to have been the Bishop of Pergamum who was shut up by Domitian's order in a brazen bull, which was then made red hot. (d) Pergamum being the centre of the Emperor's worship the Church of that city would feel the power of its great antagonist at close quarters and Christians would be brought there from all over Asia for trial before the Roman Pro-consul. (e) At a later time Psephius tells us there were several Pergamene martyrs, and Attalus, a martyr of the Lyons and Vienna persecution was also a Pergamene. (f)

The note of the letter to the Church of Pergamum is authority. (g) At that time to the mind of St. John it was the seat of the authority of Satan who reigned from the

the acropolis in the form of the Imperial cult. He introduces the Divine Author under the description "These things saith He which hath the sharp sword with two edges". Here as in the previous letters we meet with an appropriate address. The sword was the emblem of authority and the right of the sword (Jus Gladii) conferred on the holder the power of life and death. The Divine Author is claimed to have this power vested in Himself. (1) In the message He declares His knowledge of the Church's work in the place where Satan's seat is - a reference as already stated to the natural royal impression of the Pergamene acropolis as well as to the Imperial cult which found its stronghold here. (j) The Church here is troubled with the

(a) S.G.C. p. 62.
(b) A.S.J. p. 36 - 36.
(c) S.G.C. p. 118 - 119.
(d) L.S.C. p. 288.
(e) L.S.C. p. 287.
(f) C.E.S.C. 118.

(g) L.S.C. p. 42 & 282.
(h) A.S.J. p. 141.
(i) L.S.C. p. 281 - 282.
(j) " p. 282 - 285.
A.S.J. p. 141 & 25.

Nicolaian party. Indeed this is quite natural, for owing to the strength of the Caesar cult the weaker Christians would seek a compromise with it. They would excuse the burning of incense to Caesar as a mere form, showing the Church's loyalty to the Emperor as well as their own sociability. The apostle censures them and will admit of no compromise whatsoever. He also holds up before them the greater position and rank that shall come to the victorious Christian - a power in comparison with which the earthly social standing obtained by following the world's customs shall appear but small. (a)

"To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the hidden manna and will give him a white stone and in the stone a new name written which no man knoweth save he that receiveth it." Such is the promise to the faithful Pergamene. The hidden manna is a reference to the manna laid up in the ark of the Covenant by Moses, which according to a Jewish legend was hidden in a cave of Mt. Sinai until Messiah came. (b) Here it is to be taken as a symbol of the life eternal and of those spiritual blessings which in sweetness far exceed the physical enjoyment of the last feasts. Of this heavenly food the Christian has foretastes herebut the phrase finds its fulfilment in the life to come. (c)

The white stone and the new name engraved on it has been the subject of much discussion and no very certain conclusion has been reached yet. The stone was possibly a tessera or small cube with words or symbols engraved on it. But to what does it refer? Some conjecture it is to the tessera given to the successful or retired gladiator. (d) But gladiatorial displays were a Roman institution, not an Asiatic. (e) Others have thought it to be a reference to the manner of voting or of casting lots; some to the custom of placing a white bean in an urn for each happy day of their life and a black one for each unhappy day; others to the tickets entitling the holder to admission to an entertainment. But to all these interpretations there are objections, according as one or the other of three conditions are not fulfilled, (f) for the stone is imperishable; it is white; and it is engraved. It cannot then be a ticket or coupon, merely valid for a single occasion. The writing was to be lasting and so was on a lasting material. (g) The stone was white which is the fortunate colour, the colour of triumph and peace. (h) Tullius and Trench (i) take it to be a reference to the Urin which was supposed to have been a diamond

- (a) L.S.C. p. 300 - 303.
- (b) II Mac. 11. 5 ff.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 127.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 304 - 306.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 308 & 309.
- (i) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (j) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (k) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (l) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (m) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (n) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (o) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (p) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (q) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (r) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (s) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (t) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (u) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (v) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (w) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (x) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (y) L.S.C. p. 308.
- (z) L.S.C. p. 308.

engraved with the Tetragrammaton, thus connecting it with the Hebrew imagery of the Hidden Name. But this is conjectural and makes it rather a confused metaphor, for it forces a connection between the name and the Urim which does not exist. It is also uncertain what is in the Apocalyptic's mind in the expression "the new name". The ancients put much faith in names as having a connection with the character of the possessor. The true names of the gods were kept secret, known only to the inner circle of the priests of the cult. (a) The gradual revelation of Jahweh in the Old Testament is an instance of this. (b) The name was synonymous with life and a new name implied the entrance on a new life, (c) an idea which St. John takes up in his Epistles in the phrase "for his Name's sake". (d) In Palestine at the present day in cases of sickness a person's name is changed, and they are given that of some saint or some appellation referring to life. (e)

Thus the New Name is to be given to the Christian. He is to be admitted to the deeper mysteries of his God, and to the knowledge of the secret names of the Divine which become his also. (f) The inscription on the stone was to be no superstitious character, but that of the Christian and his God. (g) When Octavius founded the Empire he took the sacred name of Augustus, hitherto confined to the priests and the temple. Here the reader is given to understand that his was a greater name than that of the Emperor, for the New Name was their own, known only to themselves and the Divine Author. (h)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 205.
- (b) Ex. III. 13 & 14.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 206.
- (d) E.S.J. p. 242 - 245.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 206.
- (f) A.S.J. p. 40.
- (g) S.G.C. p. 66.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 210 - 211.

Thyatira gives the idea of wildness and of an unassuming nature, both in its geographical features and in its history, (a) for the former, unlike the dominant look of Pergamum, consists of gently undulating hills and valleys (b) and its history is of a fragmentary character. (c)

Thyatira was situated forty miles southeast of Pergamum (d) in a vale connecting the Calous valley on the north with the Hermus on the south. Through this valley a small stream, the Lycus, flowed south to the Hermus, the watershed between it and the Calous valley being only a low ridge. The town was built in the middle of the valley (e) where a slight elevation was used for a citadel. (f) It was a city of Lydia, but being near the borders of Mysia was a sort of buffer city and sometimes was obtained by the latter. (g)

The vale in which Thyatira stood was naturally a great highway between the north and the south. Thus the situation for trade, commerce and communication was good. In the days of the Pergamum kingdom it was on the road from the capital to the southeast. (h) In Roman it was on the Imperial Post road to the eastern provinces, and also is on the land route from Constantinople to south-western Asia. (i) A railway now runs the whole length of the valley. (j)

Its surroundings were largely accountable for its history and fortunes. Though placed in a good situation for trade and communication it was not an easily defended territory and fell an easy prey to the invader, to whom the gentle slopes above it would be a great advantage. At all periods of its history it needed protection, and would be ever reliant on the stronger powers that dominated the land. (k)

The history of Thyatira is very scant. (l) It would seem there had been settlement in the valley from antiquity. On the site of the city of later date there was a village which went under various names, established around the temple of the local deity. (m) The only event of its history known with any great certainty is that it was founded as a city by Seleucus I who named it Thyatira owing to the fact that a daughter was born to him here. He established a colony of Macedonian soldiers here (200 - 288 B.C.) to act as a protection against the realm of Lythamachus and later of

(1) L.S.C. p. 228.
A.S.J. p. 1211
S.G.C. p. 52
(m) L.S.C. p. 220
S.G.C. p. 80

(a) L.S.C. p. 44.
" " p. 218 & 222.
A.S.J. p. 1211.
(b) L.S.C. p. 222 & 223.
A.S.J. p. 1211.
(c) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 217.
(d) A.S.J. p. 41.
(e) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 217.
(f) S.G.C. p. 79.
" " p. 216.
(g) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 216.
(h) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 216.
(i) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 216.
(j) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 216.
(k) L.S.C. p. 216.
" " p. 216.

the Attalids, for at first he favoured Philometrus, the founder of the Attalid dynasty, against Lysimachus. Then on the death of the common rival they began to dispute the supremacy between themselves. Thus Thyatira fell into the hands of the one only to be retaken by the other, (a) for it was the key to the gate of the Caicus valley and the measure of the Pergamene power depended on the possession of the city. (b) Therefore its garrison always had to be strengthened by keeping a faithful watch against the enemy who was ever ready to sweep down and seize the valley. (c)

As already noticed the Seleucids were successful colonizers by their policy of introducing Greeks and Jews into their cities. (d) It is most probable therefore - though there is no surety for the statement - that Jews were brought into Thyatira as into other towns founded by the Seleucids. (e) Lydia or Thyatira, at all events, whom St. Paul met at Philippi was one who worshipped God and most likely had come under Jewish influence in her home town.

In the blow struck by Antiochus the Great to regain the Seleucid prestige in Western Asia Minor he made Thyatira his base of operations. He was forced to fall back into Lydia and was defeated by the two Scipios of Rome. In the following year the city was handed by Rome to Eumenes, king of Pergamum. (f) In 133 B.C. it was returned to the direct possession of Rome. (g) With this a change comes in the character of the city. Hitherto the military aspect tended to predominate. But now when Rome had gathered all the Asian states and kingdoms into one Empire there was no more need for the constant vigilance and protection. The borders of the Empire are thrust to the east. Accordingly the civil character of Thyatira rose and the military declined. Trade and commerce were developed and the very conditions which went against the military city worked for its prosperity in times of peace. The city grew wealthy and engaged in peaceful pursuits. From this time on it is but little heard of and if the statement "No history is good history" be true, it had a greater degree of happiness than many of the other cities of the Province. (h)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 317.
- S.G.C. p. 30
- A.S.J. p. 1xiii & 41.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 318.
- " p. 319.
- (c) " p. 130.
- " p. 322.
- (f) S.G.C. p. 31 - 32.
- A.S.J. p. 41.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 114 & 332.
- " p. 322 - 324 & 330 - 332.
- (h)

Again the city plays a part in the Turkish invasion of the Middle Ages. When Orhan, about 1320, advanced destroying as he went, and various Palaeologos endeavoured to hold him back first at Pergamum, then at Thyatira, but without success, for though Thyatira held out long it was at last taken by a furious attack. It was laid waste by Tamerlane a century afterwards and eventually passed into the Turkish Empire. (a)

Today it is called Akhisar and is a town of about 15,000 inhabitants, one third of whom are Christians. It is full of archaeological remains, chiefly in ruins. But few of the old buildings can be traced with the exception of the Church of the Holy Theologian which, now a mosque, was originally a heathen temple, afterwards converted to Christian uses. The appearance of the modern town is pleasing, as also the ancient town must have been, with minarets and cypress trees rising from the mass of white roofs surrounded by orchards and watered gardens. (b)

The city of Thyatira possessed a great trade from which it became wealthy. The peaceful days of the Empire only served to increase their industries which were numerous. (c)

The city became noted for its trade guilds which probably took the place of the usual organization of tribes and thousands found in other cities, for they are not heard of here. Among these guilds were those of wool workers, linen workers, garment makers, dyers, leather workers, tanners, bakers, potters, bronze smiths and slave dealers. (d) Manufacture of dyes seems to have been a prominent occupation from early times. (e) They exported their wares into many countries as an instance of which see Lind Lyda in Philippi selling purple. The dye trade is now extinct and cotton growing has taken its place as the chief activity of Akhisar, the principal persons engaged in this business being Christians. (f)

- (a) S.G.C. p. 88 - 89.
- (b) " p. 80 & 81.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 222 - 226.
- (d) " p. 225.
- (e) A.S.J. p. 1711 & 41.
- (f) S.G.C. p. 82 & 83.
- (g) " p. 80.

- (a) L.S.C. p. 118 - 220.
- (b) A.S.J. p. 1111 & 41.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 1111
- (d) L.S.C. p. 220 - 221.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 221
- (f) L.S.C. p. 221
- (g) C.R.S.C. p. 129.
- (h) A.S.J. p. 41.

second century no Church existed there at all. (h)

was small, and Epiphanius states that the Alogi said that towards the end of the was not on a direct road from Ephesus. In all probability the Church at this time However this is not likely for it would not fit in with the Ephesian mission as it a Christian centre in her home. It may have been that St. Paul himself visited Thyatira. whom St. Paul converted at Philippi, who may have returned to Thyatira and established from the Apocalypse. Possibly the beginnings of the Church are to be found in Lydia (f) Of the Church in Thyatira nothing certain is known save from the light we obtain are held in honour of both. (f)

Magabala is shown hand in hand with Apollo Tyrimnos, indicating that certain games between the Emperor cult and the local religion. On a Thyatiran coin the Emperor or any Emperor. (e) Rather on the other hand the character of the fusion took place at the close of the first century at any rate, did not possess a temple to Augustus The Emperor worship does not seem to have flourished to any great extent. Thyatira a temple to Artemis who here bore the surname of Bortene. (d)

is said to have been introduced by Jews from Chaldees or Persia. Nearly there was also there was also the shrine of a Chaldean sybil named Sumbathe, the worship of which extended right hand to show the devotion of Thyatira to her deity. (c) Besides this Anatolian system. On some coins he is shown held forth by a female figure on her and accordingly Hellenic and military conceptions were introduced into the older the system underwent some adapting to suit the religious ideas of the new inhabitants, laurel branch in his right hand. (b) With the appearance of Seleucus and his colonists Apollo. He is depicted as carrying a battle axe over one shoulder and holding a Propator, as the ancestor of the city or of its chief families; Helios; and Tyrimnosan deity to whom was given many names - Trepolis, because his temple was before the city; on the coins is distinctly Anatolian. (a) Related to this here was the Thyatiran axe on his shoulder. The origin of this hero seems to be Macedonian, but his figure of the coins, which depicts Tyrimnos, a Thyatiran hero, riding forth with a battle But little is known of the religion of Thyatira and that only from the evidence

From the Apocalypse we learn that its troubles were from within and not as in other places from without, in the Jews or the Emperor's court. Their difficulty was in the Nicolaitans. Yet this party had not harmed the Church in causing a decrease in its good works which are highly commended. On the other hand they encouraged the substitutions of the Church for charitable purposes and enlivened the social aspect of their church. (a) Later, about the third century, Thyatira became a stronghold of Montanism. (b)

While the letter to Thyatira is the longest of all it is at the same time the most obscure to the modern reader. (c) However to the contemporary reader every detail and allusion made by the Seer would be properly understood in reference to the questions he is dealing with. (d) The Divine Author is introduced as having eyes like unto a flame of fire and feet like fine brass. The exact meaning is not quite clear owing to lack of knowledge of the details, but the bronze workers formed a very important guild of the city and doubtless the reference to bright bronze was apparent to the original readers. (e) It is also possible that it may be a reference to the deity of the town, Apollo Tyrimnator. (f)

The author commends this church for its works, charity and other good qualities. (g) In much of this he would doubtless include the Nicolaitans, for their works of charity were ideal. (h) The trouble was that they tended to make their faith and doctrine subservient to their works and charity. (i) He then goes on to his main point - the condemnation of the Nicolaitan heresy, which he does in no light manner. He has a few things against this church because they suffer "that woman Jezebel". The name is evidently an epithet applied to a particular person. It has been thought she was identical with Lydia. (j) But there is little ground for the assumption, for while Lydia is mentioned only once in the Acts, still it is highly improbable that a character there so highly spoken of should have lapsed and be so scathingly denounced here by St. John. However their social position may have been similar. Others take it to mean a priestess of Samothrace. (k) But that was a mixture of Paganism and Judaism

- (a) L.S.C. p. 225 - 226.
- (b) " p. 226
- (c) L.S.C. p. 41
- (d) " p. 241.
- (e) " p. 226.
- (f) S.G.C. p. 86.
- (g) Apoc. 11. 19.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 225 - 226.
- (i) S.G.C. p. 86.
- (j) L.S.C. p. 226.
- (k) " p. 226 - 227
- A.S.J. p. 42.

while the Nicolaitan party sought a compromise of Paganism and Christianity. (a) Besides this Jezebel is spoken of as being closely connected with the Church as "the woman of the line". (b) She is therefore most likely a prophetic of the Thyatiran Church who was held in great regard but who was a menace to the faith. The letter condemns her in strong language and that for three reasons. (c) Her teaching of

Old Testament symbolism and compares her to one of its worst characters in Jezebel, the wife of Ahab; and she allows the violation of the fundamental principle of the Jerusalem council. (d)

To the victorious Thyatiran is promised power over the nations, ruling with a rod of iron as well as the morning star. In the rod of iron we find an allusion to the battle axe carried by Tyrianos (e) or to the iron rule of the Roman Empire. (f) Again as Thyatira was naturally in a weak situation, but yet made strong, so should the Christian Church pictured in the Church of this weak city be made strong by the power of the Most High that it might have power over all the nations of the earth. (g) And then as if to show the wider side of the promise the victor is to be given the morning star, designating the brilliance of the Christian character. (h)

Pergamum and Thyatira form a pair. Both were cities of Mysia and lay close together apart from the rest, and had close relations the one with the other. In the address to royal Pergamum the sword of authority is referred to; in the promise to Thyatira the rod of iron is mentioned connecting might without authority. Both had felt the effects of the Nicolaitan teaching which in both is strongly condemned by the writer. Thus to the weak as well as to the strong is promised might and power from the Lord of the Churches. (i)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 302.
- O.E.S.C.p. 85
- S.G.C. p. 38
- A.S.J. p. 1xxvi
- (b) L.S.C. p. 341
- " p. 336
- O.E.S.C.p. 143 - 144
- (d) L.S.C. p. 337 & 340.
- A.S.J. p. 46.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 331.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 331.
- " p. 332.
- (g) " p. 329 & 334
- (h) " p. 307 & 328 - 329.
- (i) " p. 307 & 328 - 329.

Thirty miles in a southeasterly direction from Thyatira stood Sardis, between (a) the valley of the Hermus on the north and the Tmolus Mountains on the south. Along the foot of the mountains there are a number of small plateaus with steep sides, or alluvial formation, elongated in shape, and narrowed at the south where they join the Tmolus range. (b) On one of these Sardis was located 1500 feet above the level of the plain. (c) Along the base ran the small river Pactolus which was famous in early legend for its gold from which the Lydian kings were said to have derived their wealth.

There is no gold there now though there may have been in earlier times before the river cut its bed below the gold bearing seam. (d) Behold from a distance to the north Sardis presents quite a majestic and impenetrable appearance on its precipitous plateau. From its lofty position it commanded the Hermus valley, looking north across the plains. (e) Ordinarily it was inaccessible except by the narrow ridge joining it to the mountains and even that is a difficult approach and in the days when the city flourished the southern gate could only have been reached by a steep winding road which fact would aid in its defence. (f) In early times it was an ideal location for a chieftain's stronghold, as it only needed defending on the south, the other three sides being naturally provided for. However in later times it was proved that its impenetrability was but apparent. (g) A close view of the hill reveals that it is nothing but loose and crumbling rock in which at times an oblique fissure occurs, thus rendering it possible for a sure footed climber to make his way up the cliff. This proved to be Sardis' weak point and more than once the city was surprised on that account. Still the defenders ignored it and would not learn by their experiences the danger that cracks in the hillside meant to them. (h) At a later date when the plateau proved too small for the city, which was the capital of Lydia, a newer portion was built on the plain at the base on the western and northern sides and possibly on the eastern as well. Thus owing to the different levels the city was of a double character and was often designated in the plural as Sardis. (i) The old city was used as an acropolis and the newer portion became the city proper as a centre of trade and commerce. From it roads diverged to Thyatira,

SARDIS AND LYDIA. (j)

(a) A.S.J. p. 48.
(b) L.S.C. p. 254 - 255
(c) L.S.C. p. 157
(d) L.S.C. p. 255 & 260
(e) L.S.C. p. 157
(f) A.S.J. p. 46
(g) L.S.C. p. 157
(h) L.S.C. p. 157
(i) L.S.C. p. 157
(j) A.S.J. p. 48.

(1) L.S.C. p. 255.
(j) A.S.J. p. 1xlv & 48.

Sardis was an ancient city. (a) In early days it was called Hyde and is thus referred to by Homer. (b) According to Herodotus it was at the beginning a collection of rude huts which later developed into a fortified city. (c) It became the capital of the kingdom of Lydia with Candaules as its first king about 716 B.C. In these early days the city proved impregnable, for while the city in the plain was frequently burnt, the acropolis resisted barbarian invasions and in 678 B.C. when the northern tribes swept over the country held out successfully against them. In the days of Croesus Sardis reached the height of its fame. (d) But Croesus was also destined to see the downfall of the Lydian kingdom; for though warned by Solon of the uncertainty of life and fortune yet encouraged by the ambiguous utterance of the Delphic oracle that if he crossed the Helles he would destroy a mighty empire, in 546 B.C. he met Cyrus and was disastrously defeated. The conqueror followed him up and while preparing for a further resistance, the enemy climbed the rock at an unguarded point and seized the acropolis. (e)

Sardis was now made part of the Persian Empire and rebuilt by Cyrus and made the seat of a satrap, who ruled over the whole of Asia Minor to the coast. The Ionians in the reign of Darius in a struggle for independence took the city but failed to obtain the acropolis and so were obliged to retire. (f) In 401 B.C. when Cyrus the Younger marched against his brother, Xenophon met him here. (g) The city remained under the rule of the Persians until the conquest of Alexander when it passed into the hands of that great general without a blow. Alexander gave the city its own government and Greek laws besides enriching the city and building a temple to Jupiter. (h) After his death it fell in turn into the hands of Antigonos, Seleucus and Ptolemy. It then came under the sway of Pergamum. (i) About 222 B.C. when Antiochus was fighting to regain the old Seleucid power, he laid siege to Sardis for about a year when Lagoras, the Cretan, repeated the feat accomplished by Cyrus and surprised the garrison. (j) With the rest of the Pergamian dominions it came under the dominance of Rome in 133 B.C. and held some status in the Province as Metropolis and head of a conventus. (k)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 375.
- (b) " 2. 366.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 94.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 367 - 368.
- (e) S.G.C. p. 95.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 368 - 369 & 376 - 377.
- (g) S.G.C. p. 96.
- (h) " 4 & 97.
- (i) C.E.S.C. p. 157.
- (j) S.G.C. p. 4 & 98.
- (k) " 6 & 98.
- (l) " 98.
- (m) L.S.C. p. 367 & 377 - 378.
- (n) S.G.C. p. 98.
- (o) L.S.C. p. 381.

- (a) L.S.C. p. 266 - 268.
A.B.J. p. 1x14 & 43.
S.G.C. p. 38.
(b) L.S.C. p. 140 & 268.
" p. 267 - 268.
S.G.C. p. 39.
(d) L.S.C. p. 268.
S.G.C. p. 102.
(e) C.E.S.C. p. 167.
S.G.C. p. 194.
A.B.J. p. 48.
(f) S.G.C. p. 102 - 106.

maintain their perpendicular character. (f)

has suffered much by erosion in the course of centuries, but the hill sides still of the theatre has been rediscovered as well as a few other buildings. The acropolis which evidently belonged to the temple built by Alexander. The site and arrangement through it. (e) The principal remains are two Ionic pillars on the bank of the river, thorns and thistles, with occasional fragments of marble arches and columns scattered is Saliki, five miles to the east. The old city is now a waste place covered with The place is now called Sarti. It is uninhabited and the only town of the district

Asia in being left a ruinous heap by Tamerlane in the fifteenth century. (d) three hundred years. It then met with a similar fate to that of many other cities of victorious, it was of great value in checking the invasion through a period of some history of Asia. Its acropolis was restored and although eventually the Turk was when the barbarian hordes swept down upon it Sardi once more played part in the But Sardi was not yet to sink into oblivion. With the decay of the Roman Empire was closed. With no future before it and no purpose to fulfill the city declined. (c) need for a stronghold there in the Golden Age of the Empire when the Temple of Janus city and the acropolis was more or less abandoned as useless. There was little or no But the day of Sardi's greatness was over. The city in the plain became the real policy that almost succeeded in blending European with Asiatic thought and ideas. (b) be of some importance in determining just what spirit and motive lay behind the East and West. Thus for us, if Sardi had any right to the title, this city should states. It now laid claim to the new Hellenistic spirit which was attempting to fuse Lydia had been the great representative of the Asiatic spirit against the older Greek the first metropolis of Asia and of Lydia and of Hellenism. Sardi as capital of made for themselves in rivalry with the other cities of Asia was that of "Sardi," which it still used some years after "Librius" death. (a) Another claim they arrogantly appreciation of his munificence the city took the name Caesarian Sardi, a little remitted all taxation for five years and made them a liberal gift of money. In The city in A.D. 17 suffered from a severe earthquake on which occasion "Librius"

The moral life of ancient Sardis is reputed to have been very loose and (a) voluptuous according to early writers and even in the days of the Empire it seems to have borne little characteristics, only now accompanied, as was its trade and politics, with stagnation. (b) Sardis seems from antiquity to have been a great centre for trade. In older times it is said that gold was washed from the river Pactolus and gold and silver coins made. Under the kings its trade received much encouragement, the principal articles of manufacture being dyes and woollen materials. The city being a meeting point for roads to all parts of the country, the Sardians found a ready sale for their wares. (c)

The root principle of the native religion was the worship of Nature. In that it was subject to death but never dying because reproduction perpetuated life, they saw an element of the Divine. (d) Their patron deity was Cybele, but as to the form that the cult took here little is known, though it shows quite a likeness to the Greek legend of Proserpine, scenes of which are depicted on their coins. (e) The Goddess was a lover of nature having her home and origin in the Tholus mountains and the lake of Koios. Near this lake was the cemetery for the city (f) including the Tombs of the kings of Lydia, a number of large mounds or pyramids many of which have escaped violation to this day. (g) The local woman representation of a veiled figure of the grotesque character typical of the symbols of Anatolian deities. (h) Another deity worshipped here was Zeus Lyaios, the god of the hot springs in the mountains. These springs had a curative power which was said to be so great as to restore the dead to life. This deity is linked with that of Kora Persephone, or Cybele, the patron Goddess of the city, whom he claimed as his bride. He is represented as a standing figure clothed in a tunic and over-garment with a sceptre in his left hand and an eagle in his right. (i) Besides these deities Dionysus, Athena, Aphrodite, Tholus and Hermes were worshipped here (j)

In A.D. 26 Sardis contended with eleven other cities of Asia for the privilege of building an Augusteum, which honour was given to Smyrna for its long alliance to Rome. (j) The expression given to the Caesar worship here, however, was that of fusion of building an Augusteum, which honour was given to Smyrna for its long alliance to Rome. (j) The expression given to the Caesar worship here, however, was that of fusion with the local divinities, for on the coin struck to commemorate 'Libertus' assistance after the earthquake, the Empress Livia, the mother of Libertus, is represented in likeness of Demeter, or Proserpine. A temple was built in honour of them but without the rank of Temple Warden being bestowed on the city. (k) However at a later date it had a third necropolis. (l)

(a) A.S.J. p. 46.
Herodotus i. 59.
Assyrius "Persae" 41.
(b) S.G.C. p. 39.
(c) L.S.C. p. 367.
S.G.C. p. 36.
A.S.J. p. 48
(d) L.S.C. p. 363.

(e) L.S.C. p. 363.
A.S.J. p. 1xiv & 46.
(f) L.S.C. p. 364.
(g) S.G.C. p. 106.
(h) L.S.C. p. 363
(i) A.S.J. p. 1xiv.
(j) A.S.J. p. 1xiv.

(j) C.E.S.C. p. 27 note.
A.S.J. p. 1xiv.
(k) L.S.C. p. 366 - 367.
(l) A.S.J. p. 1xiv.

The Church in Sardinia was faced by no active resistance as it was at Smyrna or Pergamum. But it was depressed and retarded in its progress by the heathen surroundings and influences of long standing, dating from antiquity. (a) Of the Church in Sardinia we know but little and this letter would seem to be the first mention of it where it is spoken of as being in a state of "living death". In the second century it is again to be noticed in its bishop Melito, who held this see from 166 to 196 and gave to the world many valuable writings, which have come down to us in fragments, chiefly in Eusebius. He is the earliest Christian writer to give us a list of the Canonical books of the Old Testament, and also compiled the first commentary on the Apocalypse. (b) An ecclesiastical Province of Lydia was formed here about 296 A.D. with the bishop of Sardinia as Metropolitan and sixth in rank of all bishops subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. (c) In the middle of the fourth century a church council was held here which ruled that a deposed bishop might appeal to Rome for redress. Julian the Apostate closed all the churches and restored the old heathen worship, but though the Church remained till the fourteenth century at Sardinia, it never rose to any height of spiritual activity or played any great part in the history of Christianity. (d)

The note of the letter to Sardinia is "Living death" or appearance without reality. In all its various aspects - geographical, historical, social and religious - we have found that the writer's words "thou livest and art dead" are true. (e) The Divine Author is here described as He that hath the Seven Spirits of God and the Seven Stars. The Seven Spirits represent the power of God in its fulness as displayed in the seven. The church of Sardinia has sunk into a weak condition, but the infinite power of the Almighty can revive it even from a condition of death. (f)

The message turns on the theme of Watchfulness and is evidently a reference to the two occasions in its history when the enemy scaled the acropolis. And thus He bids the Church not only to watch at one time and in one direction as did Creesus to the only place where he thought the foe could enter, but to keep a steady watch against the coming of Christ on the imminence of which the early Christians lay so much stress. (g) The works of this Church have not been found perfect before God. From this it would seem that so far as man could see the church of Sardinia was reputable and had a good name. Possibly by its laxness in morals and its carelessness in matters of principle it received the approbation of many. But before God it was counted wanting. Therefore the warning is given "Be watchful". (h)

- (a) A.S.J. p. 1xlv.
- (b) A.S.J. p. 148.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 100 - 101.
- (d) S.G.C. p. 100 - 102.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 43.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 370 - 375.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 374 - 377.
- (h) S.G.C. p. 59 - 166.

Still there are a few who have abstained from contact with the debasing influences, and to the overcomer there is promised "clothing in white raiment" and confession of his name before God. (a) White is the colour usually taken to represent purity, victory, and the heavenly state. (b) Tarnished at a later date used it in the colour of his tents to signify mercy and clemency to a city he was besieging. (c) Rome used it predominantly in triumphal processions. Thus while the idea may have an indirect reference to the Roman celebrations of victory, white is the colour almost universally used by men for festal occasions and would be perfectly understood by the Asiatic reader as we also understand it today. (d)

Their names were to be written in the book of life. Here the Gargian would be reminded of the rolls of the city on which were entered the names of all its citizens. He that overcame was to have his name enrolled in the heavenly city. And not only was he thus to be formally acknowledged a citizen, but Christ himself would proclaim the fact before God the Father and His Holy Angels. (e)

Gargis is regarded as being almost beyond recovery—it is dead. However there some of the members of this church that are as lights in a dark place. These shall be rewarded though the Church as a whole is doomed. Thus while the Seer writes to the Church as a whole, still we may trace an individualistic strain. (f) The soul that sinneth it shall die. The son shall not bear the iniquity of the father, neither shall the father bear the iniquity of the son; the righteousness of the righteous shall be upon him, and the wickedness of the wicked shall be upon him.

Between the letters to the Ephesian and Sardian Churches there is a considerable resemblance. (g) Ephesus was practically the capital of Asia; Sardis was the capital of Lydia. Both stood in a way for the country as a whole. Accordingly the address describes the relation of the author to the seven Churches collectively. (h) The picture given to us of the two Churches is very similar. (i) Both letters strike an urgent note; one to repentance, the other to watchfulness. In both life is promised, in the Ephesian the tree of life, to the other the book of life, presenting the religious aspect of the former, and the civic aspect of the latter.

- (a) A.S.J. p. 51.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 383.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (d) A.S.J. p. 170.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (i) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (j) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (k) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (l) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (m) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (n) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (o) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (p) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (q) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (r) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (s) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (t) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (u) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (v) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (w) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (x) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (y) L.S.C. p. 386.
- (z) L.S.C. p. 386.

PHILADELPHIA.

Philadelphia is the name given to several cities of the East, the chief being

Philadelphia of Syria, the Rabboth Ammon of the Scriptures, which city was restored

by Ptolemy II. Second in importance was Lydian Philadelphia which was founded by

Attalus II king of Pergamum. Both these kings were surnamed Philadelphia and named

the cities after themselves. (a)

From the valley of the Hermus there runs in a southeasterly direction, a vale,

between the Tmolus mountains on the west and the main plateau of Asia on the east.

Down the vale there flows a small river, the Cogamus. The vale affords an easy route

from the Hermus valley to the highlands above, a height of about 2,500 feet. At the

point where the valley turns into the plateau is situated Philadelphia, in a strategic

position for communication and trade to all parts of the province. Easy access could

be made to Sardis and Smyrna to the west and to Phrygia on the east; across the end

of the Tmolus range the Cayster had its rise and to the south connection could be

made with the Meander valley. (b) The city itself was built on a small, gently sloping

hill, isolated from the Tmolus range; (c) but unlike Thyatira it could be easily

defended. (d) From its excellent situation it lay on the great roads to the east.

Through it passed the road from Smyrna to Phrygia and Apamea, as well as the Imperial

Post road from Tros and Pergamum. Thus at the end of the first century it was an

important place, but in the second century it lost the overland communication from

Europe previously brought by the Post Road to the new road through Constantinople

and Ankyra. (e)

This region is subject to earthquakes and violent disturbances. In Tibertus'

reign twelve cities were destroyed in one night. To the north and north-east of the

city there lies the district known as the Katakamene, geologically a new country,

full of traces of eruptions of volcanoes long extinct. Earthquakes were still frequent

in the days of the Empire. (f) But from this plain Philadelphia drew most of its

wealth for as usual a volcanic area is also a wine growing country and Philadelphia

became famous for its celebrated wines of Tmolus, (g) which even find a mention in

- (a) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241. L.S.C. p. 237 & 404. G.E.S.C. p. 175.
- (b) " " p. 237 - 241. L.S.C. p. 237 & 404. G.E.S.C. p. 175.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 238. G.E.S.C. p. 175.
- (d) " " p. 218.
- (e) " " p. 43, 295 & 404. W.S.J. p. 1xlv.
- Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241. S.G.C. p. 108.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 45, & 296 - 297. W.S.J. p. 1xlv.
- Lightfoot Ign. 237 - 241. G.E.S.C. p. 175.
- (g) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241. W.S.J. p. 1xlv & 53. S.G.C. p. 112 - 113.

the writers of the day. (a) However the liability to earthquakes has kept the city small for the people preferred to live away from it and follow agricultural pursuits. In the city the buildings so frequently cracked with the shocks that architects and builders were obliged to reckon with the fact and make due allowance. (b)

Of "the Seven Cities" Philadelphia was the newest. The district was taken from Antiochus by the Romans and presented to Ptolemy in 169 B.C. (c) His son Attalus founded the city. The motives of this patron of culture was not the establish- ing of a fortified position, but the promotion of the Greek language and customs in Lydia. It was to serve as a centre of Hellenism by which the king hoped to consolidate his realm. (d)

In A.D. 17 it suffered with Sardis and other cities from a severe earthquake. The city was almost entirely destroyed. Still though at the time Sardis was wrecked more than Philadelphia, the latter was slower in recovering from it. As at Sardis Imperial assistance was received to aid in the rebuilding of the city, but most of the inhabitants now remained outside. (e) The city as a token of gratitude took part in erecting a monument in Rome, and founded a cult of Germanicus, the adopted son of the Emperor Tiberius. (f) Besides this they gave the city a new name - Neo-Kaisareia, meaning by the term either Tiberius as compared with Augustus or Germanicus contrasted with Tiberius. The old name for a time was abandoned but soon found a place on the coins again and by A.D. 50 the new epithet was dropped. (g)

In Vespasian's reign another title, Flavia, appeared and continued in use for two centuries. (h)

In the second and third centuries the city recovered its prosperity, which continued on into the Byzantine times and even to the Middle Ages. During this period we hear but little of Philadelphia until the Turk appears on the scene in A.D. 11. Then Philadelphia put up a noble struggle and was the last to submit. In those troublous times its position cost it many a siege. (i) But for one hundred years after the rest of the land had fallen to the barbarian hordes, it held out during all the petty wars of the Turks and Greeks. Until 1301, when Orhan had taken all Asia Minor it alone remained unconquered. At length it fell to Bajazet aided by Byzantine Emperors who had joined him for spite against Andronicus. The Greek

(a) Virgil Georg. 11. 98.
 (b) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 & xiv. 9.
 (c) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 & 407.
 (d) A.S.J. p. 231
 (e) A.S.J. p. 231
 (f) A.S.J. p. 231
 (g) A.S.J. p. 231
 (h) A.S.J. p. 231
 (i) A.S.J. p. 231
 Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.

Emperor ordered the city to surrender to the Turk but they refused to deliver

themselves into the hands of barbarians. On the capture of the city the inhabitants were kindly treated. Ten years later it fell again to the Tartar Tamerlane, but as before it was spared utter destruction. (a)

The city still exists under the name of Ala Shehr, the pied or striped city,

though English travellers have corrupted it to Allan Shehr, the city of God. It now has a population of some 15,000, one third of whom are Christians. One pile of ruins is said to be the old cathedral of the Holy Theologian, a building of about the fifth century, the only other remains of any note being the stadium near the acropolis. (b)

The prosperity of Philadelphia depended largely on its place on the road system (c) and the vineyards to the north-east. (d) In early days it also was a manufacturing

centre of sugar from the cane and also a candy made from tamarisk and wheat, which is still made by the natives of the district. However the principal product of the land

today is opium. (e)

The city as we have already noticed was a late foundation intended as a missionary

centre for the diffusion of Greek influence and thought. Therefore it must have been built up by the introduction of colonists, and for this purpose it would seem that

Attalus followed the example of the Seleucids in bringing in Greeks and Jews - Greeks for culture and Jews for trading purposes. (g) And we notice from the letter that

the Jews were a source of trouble to the Church. (h)

For some time Philadelphia seems to have been subject to earthquakes. (i) Pliny says that in his day it had no law courts of its own but was in the conventus of Sardis.

But it must have had its independence in this matter eventually for by A.D. 150

Artides says the legate held court here. (j)

From its religious character Philadelphia received the name "Little Athens", but although its temples and religious cults were numerous (k) still it does not seem to have had any outstanding local deity, but rather worshipped those of other places. About our only source of information on this point is the coins of the city. Probably

- (a) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- S.G.C. p. 121 - 122.
- (b) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- S.G.C. p. 123 & 124.
- (c) L.S.C. p. 285.
- S.G.C. p. 110.
- (d) " p. 112 - 113.
- A.S.J. p. 124 & 53.
- Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- (e) S.G.C. p. 111 - 112.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 391.
- (g) " p. 130 - 132.
- (h) " p. 403.
- A.S.J. p. 52.
- G.E.S.C. p. 182.
- S.G.C. p. 116.
- (i) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- (j) Pliny N.H. v. 30.
- (k) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.

the chief place was given to Artemis or Ephesus. One coin represents two men facing the genius of Ephesus carrying the idol, and commemorates an alliance between the two cities. Other coins indicate the worship of the sun god and the respect of the cult of Asklepios. (a) Being a wine growing country the cult of Bacchus was also practised here. (b) On the whole the nature of its religion was very composite though its

inclinations seem to have been towards the Anatolian character. (c)

The Caesar worship here grew out of the city's gratitude to Tiberius for his aid after the earthquake of A.D. 17. It took the form of a cult of Germanicus, the adopted son of the Emperor, under the title Neo-Kaisar. The temple was erected without any state aid and as the Philadelphians were slow to recover from the effects of the earthquake, it could not have been a costly or pretentious building. However this cult was but short lived after the death of Caligula, the son of Germanicus. (e) In the third century it attained to the neoplatonist so a temple must have been built there between A.D. 211 and 217. (f)

The first specific notice we have of the Church in Philadelphia is in the Apocalypse.

From this we judge the Church had been established here for some time. (g) So possibly it had been founded by St. Paul on his journey through to Ephesus about 52 A.D. when he came from Galatia through the upper parts. (h) The Church seems to have been in a flourishing condition at this time though it was small and received much opposition from the Jews. (i) It was also a missionary Church - as the city had advanced Hellenism so the Church of Philadelphia had spread the Christian faith. (j)

About fifteen years later Ignatius passed through the city on his way to Rome. (k)

He records in his letter to them from Troas that they are troubled with Docetic Judaism from its Judaistic side. And while St. John warns Ephesus and commends Philadelphia, Ignatius speaks more highly of the former than of the latter. (l) He gives them some warning but in the main he considers them sound for he praises their constancy declaring

he has found sitting and not division among them. (m)

- (a) I.S.C. 332-334.
- (b) A.S.J. p. 53.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 113.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 334-335.
- (e) " p. 337-338.
- (f) " p. 410-411.
- (g) " p. 339.
- (h) A.S.J. p. 131v.
- (i) Apoc. 111. 7.
- (j) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237-241.
- (k) A.S.J. p. 13111.
- (l) L.S.C. p. 403 & 408.
- (m) A.S.J. p. 53.
- (n) S.G.C. p. 116.
- (o) A.S.J. p. 131v.
- (p) Lightfoot Ign.
- (q) Ign. "to the Philadelphians".

In 156 A.D. eleven Philadelphia Christians were martyrs at Smyrna in the persecution which brought on the death of Polycarp (a) and also at this time it is said that the Church possessed a propheticess, (b) Anna by name, one of the last recipients of the fading extraordinary gifts displayed by the Spirit to start the Church upon her way through the ages. At the council of Nicea in 325 the Church of Philadelphia was represented by its bishop but they sent no delegate to Constantinople in 381 for the reason that they were then taken up with Semi-Arianism. Representatives also appear in the Council of Ephesus in 431 as well as at other councils of later dates. For many years the bishopric was a suffragan see under Sardis but was later given independent metropolitan rank. (c)

The Church at Philadelphia is still flourishing and active, enjoying privileges accorded nowhere else in the Turkish dominions in that they are permitted to ring their church bells and have religious processions in the streets. It still has a resident bishop; there are about five thousand Christian inhabitants in the city and about fifteen churches, of which however only five or six are in actual use. (d)

Of the seven letters those to Smyrna and Philadelphia are the only two that strike a note of approval, and these cities alone of the seven flourish and exert any great influence today. Their characteristics are very similar. The Church of Smyrna was weak, that of Philadelphia small. Both are troubled by the Nationalist Jews and both have remained faithful. Each is promised trials and ultimate triumph. (e)

The address describes the author as having the key of David and the power of "opening and shutting" - the reference being to an opened door. He is also "he that is holy, He that is true", thus presenting an aspect that is suitable to a favoured and faithful church. (f) An open door is a common expression of St. Paul and evidently has passed into use among Christians as a metaphor for an opportunity for missionary work. (g) Besides this it is a reference to the facilities of Philadelphia for communication in all directions by road with various parts of the Province. (h) This

- (a) Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 239
- Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- Eusebius H.E. v. 17. 2.
- (c) Lightfoot Ign. 237 - 241.
- (d) A.S.J. p. 52.
- S.G.C. p. 123 - 124.
- Lightfoot Ign. p. 237 - 241.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 207 & 402 - 403.
- S.G.C. p. 118 - 120.
- (f) L.S.C. p. 402
- " " p. 404
- A.S.J. p. 64
- S.G.C. p. 118
- (h) L.S.C. p. 45, 402, 404 & 405.
- A.S.J. p. 64.

natural advantage, arising from its being at the door of the pass to the highlands of Asia, was the life of the city; without it it would have declined. So the missionary activity is likened to the city's situation in the valley, the eternal gospel corresponding to the vast unchanging plateau around it, to which the valley was the means of access.

The message and the promise bear the one on the other and may be considered together. The Holy One knows the trials of the Church in its weakness from fear of earthquakes and the opposition received from the Jews. On these things He bases His promise. (a) The position with regard to "the synagogue of Satan", the Jews, shall be reversed; "though they despise you now yet will I make them come and worship at your feet." (b) Indeed by Ignatius' time the promise seems to have been fulfilled and the condition changed. There seems to have been a large influx of Jews into the Church who now preached the faith they once persecuted and some indeed are then causing trouble from within the Church as Judaizing Christians. (c)

They shall have tribulation but he that overcometh shall be made a pillar in the heavenly temple. Philadelphia had adopted the emperor worship with earnestness. They built a temple and substituted an imperial name for that of the city. Their temple evidently was soon ruined by earthquakes and the imperial cult waned. But to the faithful citizen there is promised a place in the temple of God. He shall be given a stability and firmness that no trial shall be able to shake. To the worship of an emperor, a man made cult, there is compared the worship of the eternal God. (d) Like the pillars which stood at the porchway or entrance to King Solomon's Temple shall the Christian be, established in strength by God, but with this difference, that while these noted columns stood without the sanctuary, he shall be made a living pillar within the Temple of his God.

(e) And "he shall go out thence no more". The Philadelphian had often been obliged to leave the city on account of earthquakes, and many lived outside the city. It was an uncertain residence. But his habitation in the heavenly city would be secure and permanent. No more need he live from day to day in fear, ever attentive for warnings of volcanic disturbance, for the Maker and Builder of his heavenly home

- (a) Apoc. 11. 8 - 10.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 45, 403, 408, & 409.
- S.G.C. p. 116.
- A.S.J. p. 55 & 56.
- (c) Ign. "To the Philadelphians", vi.
- A.S.J. p. 55.
- O.E.S.C. p. 188.
- S.G.C. p. 116.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 411 - 412 & 45.
- (e) " " p. 401.
- (f) " " p. 45 & 408.
- S.G.C. p. 114.

The city of Laodicea was situated in the valley of the Lycus about fifteen

miles from the junction of the river with the Meander. (a) At this point the Sabalcos and Kadmos Mountains are pushed out into the valley from the south so as to make

the valley quite narrow. At the apex of this wedge of hills and three miles south of the river was Laodicea, built between two small tributaries of the Lycus; the

Kapros on the east and the Asopus on the west. The city was almost square with its corners towards the cardinal points of the compass. Just above the city at about

a distance of about six miles was Colosse, the smaller city of the higher portion

of the glen, whose importance seems to have been overshadowed by its larger neighbour (b)

In this portion of the valley the districts of Lydia, Caria and Phrygia met so that Laodicea has been described at different times as a city of all three, (c) though it

seems to fit in better with Phrygia than either of the other two. (d)

Its importance lay in its situation in the Lycus valley as the door-keeper of

the road from the coast through the Meander valley to the main plateau of Anatolia above. Here an easier ascent could be made than at any other point. Therefore the

route from the coast followed these valleys and it became one of the great avenues

of trade of the province. Without these natural provisions for the highway it is to

be questioned whether Ephesus would have ever gained the position she had, situated

as she was at the western terminus of this great route. (e) Besides this great

thoroughfare there also converged in Laodicea roads from Pergamum via Sardis and

Philadelphia; from Pisidia and Pamphylia; and from eastern Caria. These roads made

it the greatest commercial centre in the great main route of the Province. (f)

As a fortress, however, Laodicea had one great weakness. It derived its water

supply almost wholly from an aqueduct from springs six miles south of the city. If,

then, a besieging enemy knew its location, and cut off the water supply, the city

was lost and could hold out but for a short time. (g)

Laodicea was probably founded by the Ionian Greeks, and given the name Diospolis,

which was later changed to Rhoss. While bearing this name it became the largest

city of Phrygia. In the wars between the successors of Alexander the Great the city

suffered much, (h) until it was retounded by Antiochus IV (201 - 175 B.C.) (i) who

renamed it Laodicea after his wife, Laodice, though some take the name to be derived

from the river Lycus, near which it is situated. (j)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (b) L.S.C. p. 414 & 422.
- (c) S.G.C. p. 127 - 128.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 412 - 414.
- (f) S.G.C. p. 127.
- (g) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (h) S.G.C. p. 127 - 128.
- (i) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (j) S.G.C. p. 127.

- (1) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (2) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (3) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (4) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (5) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (6) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (7) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (8) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (9) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (10) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (11) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (12) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (13) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (14) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (15) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (16) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (17) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (18) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (19) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (20) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (21) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (22) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (23) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (24) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (25) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (26) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (27) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (28) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (29) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (30) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (31) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (32) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (33) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (34) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (35) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (36) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (37) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (38) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (39) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (40) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (41) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (42) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (43) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (44) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (45) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (46) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (47) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (48) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (49) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (50) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (51) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (52) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (53) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (54) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (55) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (56) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (57) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (58) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (59) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (60) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (61) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (62) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (63) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (64) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (65) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (66) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (67) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (68) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (69) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (70) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (71) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (72) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (73) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (74) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (75) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (76) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (77) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (78) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (79) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (80) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (81) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (82) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (83) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (84) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (85) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (86) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (87) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (88) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (89) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (90) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (91) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (92) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (93) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (94) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (95) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (96) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (97) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (98) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (99) L.S.C. p. 412.
- (100) L.S.C. p. 412.

As a missionary centre for the advancement of Hellenism, it was a failure. (a)

Philadelpia forty miles to the north-west on the other hand was a success. Situated in a similar position, with easy communication into the land of Phrygia, where such efforts were most needed, Laodicea, although possessing the greater advantage, failed. What was the reason? Is it to be put down to the fact that Philadelphia was a Pergamonian foundation while Laodicea was a Seleucid? Hardly likely that is any more than a coincidence, for the Seleucid policy of colonization was too successful to attribute this as a reason for a single city's lack in this regard. (c)

Why it was, then, we do not know. (d)

In the Mithridatic War Laodicea was besieged and on being taken was pillaged and almost destroyed. But on the conclusion of the war it was rebuilt by the Romans and soon regained its old position. (e) By A.D. 60 it had so increased in wealth that when it was wrecked by a severe earthquake in that year, the citizens restored the city at their own cost and declined the offer of assistance from the State. (f)

In later times the city again became of military importance, when the Emperor Manuel fortified it after a visit through Asia. In the eleventh century it suffered the same fate as the rest of the cities of Asia. In fact it was one of the first to fall to the Turk's invasion. It then passed from one conqueror to another for one hundred years until it was finally taken and destroyed by the Turks. (g)

Today the ruins are known as Eski Hisar. The old site is now covered with a short wild growth of shrubs with here and there a protruding fragment of stone from an old building. The scene is one of desolation for there are no inhabitants in this (h)

Forlorn area. Among the ruins that can be identified is the old aqueduct. This was constructed of stone pipes of two feet inside diameter, which fitted into one another perfectly. The public buildings were all on the Acropolis which was about a mile long. The most intact remains are those of the stadium, but bridges and theatres are also to be found. However marble columns and slabs are fast disappearing, for

Turkish stone cutters have come here and little more than the useless debris is left. (i)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 415.
- (b) " p. 292.
- (c) " p. 128 - 130.
- (d) " p. 415 - 416.
- (e) S.G.C. p. 130.
- (f) A.S.I. p. LXV & 59.
- (g) S.G.C. p. 131.
- (h) S.G.C. p. 194.
- (i) S.G.C. p. 142.
- (j) A.S.I. p. 159.
- (k) S.G.C. p. 196.
- (l) S.G.C. p. 128.
- (m) " p. 128 & 142 - 147.

Laodicea had a very mixed population, as indeed had the whole Lycus valley in general. There were to be found here, besides the natives, Greeks, Syrians and Jews.

This was largely the result of colonization by its Seleucid founders and the Pergamene kings. (a) The Jews it seems were very numerous here and possibly were introduced in the first place by Antiochus. In A.D. 62 the Roman governor refused to allow the temple tribute to be forwarded to Jerusalem, and from the amount it is judged there were at least 7,500 Jews in Laodicea besides women and children. (b)

But little more is known directly of the Laodicean Jews, yet we may surmise much from the conditions prevailing among their brethren in Hierapolis across the river. Here they formed trade guilds, especially prominent being those of the carpet makers and purple dyers. They had legal rights and their own public officers. The Congregation could prosecute offenders and receive fines. Other colonists, probably Thracians and mercenaries, were introduced by the Pergamene kings in 189 B.C. after they had received the district from the Romans. (c)

The city was devoted to arts, science and literature. Many learned men also had their origin here. Among these were the orators Zenon and Polemon, the skeptic Antiochus and Theudas. (d) Most famous was its school of medicine whose physicians began the system of compound medicines for compound diseases. Two famous preparations that seem to have emanated from here are an ointment for the ears made from spices, hard, and an eyewash described by Galen as Phrygian and made from the Phrygian stone. (e)

But trade and material prosperity seem from the very first to have been the aim of the Laodiceans and not splendour and fame. (f) Situated as it was at a junction of roads it was an important centre of commerce. (g) Chocero brought orders here to be cashed in El B.C. which shows that it was a centre of banking and exchange. (h) The chief products of the district were medicines, carpets, wool and woollen garments. This wool was obtained from black sheep raised in the Lycus valley and were secured by careful breeding according to a religiously guarded prescription. (i)

- (a) L.S.C. p. 420.
- (b) p. 420.
- (c) p. 154 & 420 - 422.
- (d) S.G.C. p. 121.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 419.
- (f) A.S.J. p. 121 & 62.
- (g) S.G.C. p. 120.
- (h) L.S.C. p. 416.
- (i) A.S.J. p. 121.
- S.G.C. p. 127.
- A.S.J. p. 124.
- (1) L.S.C. p. 416 - 417 & 422.

The local deity worshipped at Laodicea was that of Men Karon, the original

god of the valley whose home was a temple between Laodicea and the gate of Phrygia

to the east of the city. This lane was the centre of society and trade for the whole

valley. Thus the life of the community was regulated by the god's direction. A market

was held in close proximity to the shrine where business was carried on with men

from far and near. The school of medicine was also connected with the temple, though

the school was in the city itself. The god is represented on coins as a bearded

figure in a long tunic or mantle, holding forth an eagle in his right hand and a staff

in his left. (a) Another representation is the same figure only with the serpent

enrolled staff in his right hand instead of the eagle. These coins show the influence

of Greek settlers on the Anatolian religious thought of Asia Minor - that they accepted

the local gods of their new home but identified with them their own Zeus and gave an

Hellenic tinge to their character. (b) Laodicea became also in time a centre of the

Caesar worship but not till the reign of Commodus - 181 - 191 - did it receive the

Neokoros. (c)

Of the introduction of Christianity into Laodicea we know nothing definitely.

However as St. Paul mentions Christians there in his epistle to the Colossians there

must have been a church there before A.D. 64. It would seem that the Apostles had not

himself visited Laodicea, or even Colossae, for he says, "For I would that ye knew

what great conflict I have for you, and for them in Laodicea, and for as many as have

not seen my face in the flesh." (d) It seems most likely that the churches at these

three cities of the Lycus valley were the fruits of the labours of Ephraim, who

found a nucleus in the Jews settled there. (e)

The Apostolic Constitutions state that Archippus who is mentioned in Colossians

and Philimon became bishop of Laodicea. (f) It is quite possible that the son of

Philimon on account of his father's merits may have been appointed to the office and

have needed warning both from St. Paul and St. John for his delinquencies. However it

is hardly probable that the early church would place a man in such a position merely

on the high standing of another and even if the Church of Laodicea had made the

appointment in its deprived condition, we have no mention of it earlier than the

third century. (g)

(a) L.S.C. p. 417 - 419.

(b) " p. 174.

(c) " p. 423.

(d) A.S.J. p. 59

S.C.C. p. 121 - 122.

Cambridge Bible Colossians p. xv.

(e) S.C.C. p. 121

(f) Apost. Const. viii. 46.

C.E.S.C. p. 126.

S.C.C. p. 123.

(g) Lightfoot "Galatians" p. 282.

As at Sardis, we hear of no opposition to the Church in Laodicea. The nationalist Jews do not trouble them as they do the churches of Smyrna and Philadelphia, nor do

the Nicolaitans as at Pergamum and Thyatira. These Churches struggled and lived;

Sardis and Laodicea did not struggle and so were lost. And so we learn that the

Church or nation, or even the individual, that has nothing to resist is in danger of stagnating and falling away. (a) Let us not then be deceived for "there never was

a golden age for the church; and there never will be, till Christ, her Lord, shall

come, but every age will be full of scandals and shames". (b)

For a time, however, the Church of Laodicea revived in quality as well as in

numbers, and the bishop was made a metropolitan. Councils met here at various times,

one of which was held about 261 and was notable for the regulation of the observance

of the Lord's Day and for the settlement of the Canon of Scripture. (c) Still such

revival was but transitory, and even at this time they were toying with Arrianism. (d)

As the city is now a waste so its Church is also a thing of the past, though there

was a Bishop of Laodicea as late as 1450. (f)

The Church of Laodicea according to the writer is halting and half hearted. The

letter makes it the type of irresolution. On the one hand it wishes to receive the

spiritual gifts of righteousness, but on the other cannot forego its riches. (g)

Says Ramsay, "it was neither truly Christian nor frankly pagan. (h)

"These things saith the Amen, the faithful and true witness, the beginning of the

creation of God." Thus is the author introduced. In contrast to the vacillating church

there is placed the consistent Amen, Christ, unchangeable from the beginning to the

very end. (i) He complains of their lukewarmness, "I would that thou wert either hot

or cold". Here the Apostle alludes to the hot springs of Hierapolis which leaving

their source, cool down and fall over the cliff opposite to Laodicea. (j) If they were

even cold there would be some chance of infusing them with heat and fervour, but

lukewarmness indicates a failure. (k) And Laodicea had failed as a sentinel of the glen

and the Phrygian gate, and as an exponent of Greek culture and thought it was little

better than useless. It lacked character and initiative, and therefore was successful

as a commercial centre only, because it could so easily adapt itself to the manner of

others. (l) On account of this the Church shall be rejected unconditionally without

even a remnant being saved as was promised to Sardis. (m)

(a) O.E.S.C. p. 212 - 214.

S.G.C. p. 125 - 126.

(b) Trench "Lectures on the Medaeval Church. History" p. 161

(c) S.G.C. p. 141 & 142.

O.E.S.C. p. 195.

(d) " p. 196.

S.G.C. p. 141

(e) S.G.C. p. 196

(f) O.E.S.C. p. 196

A.S.J. p. 59.

(g) L.S.C. p. 425.

(h) " p. 46.

(1) L.S.C. p. 425.

S.G.C. p. 124

(2) O.E.S.C. p. 201

(J) A.S.J. p. 60 - 61.

(1) L.S.C. p. 424.

(m) " p. 429.

However some advice is given. "Because thou sayest, I am rich, and increased with goods and have need of nothing; and knowest not that thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked; I counsel thee to buy of me gold tried in the fire, that thou mayest be rich; and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that the shame of thy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eyesalve, that thou mayest see." The city is self-satisfied in its prosperity. It refused to receive any help and was not obedient of its wretched state. (a) They are bidden to trade with Christ for the true riches. The gold of purity tried by the fire of persecution constitutes the true wealth. A naked church cannot be satisfied with the black garments manufactured in the town, famous though they may be. White garments of righteousness and truth alone can properly clothe their spiritual life. And he exhorts them to anoint their eyes with eyesalve, the healing ointment of the Spirit that will enlighten them and convert them of their miserable condition. (b) Whether the Luddenses ever took the advice of the letter is not known. But though the Church lingered on for some centuries and even after the city was laid in ruins, the city and the Church are now both a thing of the past. (c) But while each of the other seven cities find another of much the same kind as itself, Laddaea stands alone in its halting miserable state. To the mind of the Seer its desolation had begun and its doom was already sealed. (d)

Laddaea in all probability serves as the origin for two secondary routes - one up the Lyons and Rhander valleys to Apamea and the other in the direction of Cilicia. (e) It had a greater opportunity of spreading the Apocalyptic message than any of the others which were closer together, while Laddaea could spread it far to the east and to the south. Her missionary opportunity was great and doubtless to this we can attribute her unqualified condemnation, for "unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required."

- (a) L.S.C. p. 428.
- (b) " p. 428 - 429.
- S.C.C. p. 126 - 128.
- A.S.J. p. 63.
- (c) S.C.C. p. 127 - 129 & 142.
- (d) L.S.C. p. 208.
- (e) 2 p. 196.

CONCLUSION.

The last four verses of what is usually considered to be the Laodicean letter really form an epilogue to the whole seven. (a) The letters form one literary

composition so it is fitting that an epilogue should be provided. But the transition is gradual and the point where he passes to the conclusion cannot be clearly marked out and the writer himself seems to be almost inexpressible of it. (b)

The author has seen much to condemn in the Churches. Hardly any are wholly free from blame; Ephesus and Sardis have declined; Pergamum and Thyatira are affected by the Nicolaitan teachings; Smyrna and Philadelphia are commended, yet they are troubled with Judaistic opposition; Laodicea is making a compromise between God and the world. But in conclusion he says that his criticisms have been made in love. (c) "As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten, therefore and repent." His will is that all should turn to Him and be saved, and for that reason he stands at the door and knocks. He goes out to seek the straying souls of men. Then he concludes with a general promise comprehending all the rest "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in My throne, even as I also overcame and sat down with My Father in His throne."

"He that hath an ear let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches". Already we have noticed in many expressions that the Apostle refers to certain conditions, geographical and historical, of the seven cities. He finds their past history portrayed in their geographical features. He believes that the location and environment of cities and the effect of sea and rivers, wind and air, have an influence on the vicissitudes of their existence. Accordingly he refers to their past and foretells their future in the light of their physical surroundings. (d)

What principles of interpretation, then, shall we apply to the letters? Shall we accept them literally as being intended for those seven cities and for them alone? No, indeed, for we have already noticed that the Seven Churches represent the whole Church of Asia which in turn stands for the Church Universal. (e) Only for the sake of clearness and as concrete examples does the Apostle use these seven churches.

- (a) L.S.C. p. 46 & 480.
- (b) " p. 431.
- (c) " p. 207 - 208 & 432 - 433.
- (d) " p. 411 & 41.
- (e) " p. 40, 177, 197, & 200.
- C.E.S.C. p. 27 - 28 & 228.
- A.S.J. p. 4.
- Pages 27 & 32.

Shall we then remove from the letters their local colour and see in them only an allegory with the seven Churches as mere background for the purpose? Here again we meet with an unsurmountable difficulty - the facts of history and the directions of the Author to send the letters to the Churches are too plain and unmistakable to assume there is no history attached to it. (a) Shall we then find with Vittinga and Mede and many others, both before and after them, that they have a historical foundation but also a prophetic interpretation as a history of the world throughout the Christian dispensation? (b) But again we find that these Churches exist simultaneously and not in any chronological order. There is no hint of any succession in time, and besides among the bewildering and numerous can we find any perfect explanation of nineteen hundred years of Church History? Coincidences there are, but many of the writers of this school of interpretation use the Apocalypse merely as a weapon against their opponents. A vent for spite surely the book never was intended to be, and the very number of different identifications of events and persons prove the system both wild and fanatical. (c) It seems better, then, to take a Contemporary Historical view of the letters, as of the Apocalypse as a whole, but also remembering that they have a meaning for the Church Universal, as patterns and examples, that she may know what to avoid and be comforted by the promises therein contained. (d)

Again the Apostle James saith, not only of his original symbolism and distinctions but also of the distinction between the city, the Church, and the Christian citizen. (e) The history of the city is the Christian's heritage, for to him the Church was the heart and soul of the city and its members were the true citizens. The Christian could be loyal and true to his city and take a part in her affairs. Thus may we see by the guiding of the Spirit that in Christ all are a social unity and learn the respective duty of the Church to the State and to the individual. (f)

Thus as it realizing that this country which he knew so well was of great importance to the development of the Christian Faith, St. John uses seven of its cities as representative of different phases of Church life. In them he shows, from Ephesus and Sardis the results of indifference; from Pergamum and Thyatira, of looseness; from Laodicea, of compromise; and from Smyrna and Philadelphia, of faithfulness.

- (a) C.E.S.C. p. 237 - 239.
- (b) " p. 230 - 231.
- (c) " p. 229.
- (d) " p. 228 - 229 & 242.
- (e) L.S.C. p. 70.
- (f) " p. 277.

Moreover these prophetic threats regarding the various churches have all

come to pass. In the words of Gibbon - "In the loss of Ephesus the Christians

deplored the fall of the first angel - the extinction of the first candlestick

of the Revelation. The desolation is complete; and the Temple of Diana or the

Church of Mary will equally elude the search of the curious traveller. The

circus and three stately theatres of Laodicea are now peopled with wolves and

foxes; Sardis is reduced to a miserable village; the God of Mohammed, without

a rival or a son, is invoked in the mosques of Thessalia and Pergamum; and the

populousness of Smyrna is supported by the foreign trade of the Franks and

Armenians. Philadelphia alone has been saved by prophecy and courage. At a

distance from the sea, forgotten by the Emperors, encompassed on all sides by

the Turks, her valiant citizens defended their religion and freedom above

four score years and at length capitulated with the proudest of the Ottomans.

Among the Greek colonists and churches of Asia, Philadelphia is still erect -

a column in a scene of ruins - a pleasing example that the path of honour and

safety may sometimes be the same." (a)

And as the veil once more rises from this ancient land and many passages

of the letters to the seven churches that now are obscure take on a new meaning,

may the Spirit of Wisdom so enlighten us that we may escape the fate of the Church

of Laodicea, and be, with the faithful Smyranean unhurt of the second death, and

with the Philadelphia, recognised by the Divine Author as a citizen of the New

Jerusalem, from which the faithful go out no more forever.

(a) Gibbon "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire." ch. lxiv.

Lightfoot Ignatius. p. 240 - 241.

C.R.S.C. p. 193.

S.G.C. p. 120 - 121.