A STUDY OF

ΣΩΘΡΙΑ

IN THE EPISTLES OF PAUL
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IN THE EPISTLES OF PAUL

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of the
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of
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by
Robert Paul Caudill
1942
Louisville, Kentucky
To
Fern Alderton Caudill
My Beloved Companion and Comrade of the Cross
This Thesis
is
Affectionately Dedicated
οὗ γὰρ ἐπαισχύνομαι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, δύναμις γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν πάντι τῷ πιστεύοντι Ἰουδαίῳ τε [πρῶτον] καὶ Ἑλλήνι.

Romans 1:16
Preface
Preface

While a student at Wake Forest College, I had the privilege of hearing lectures by the late Dr. A. T. Robertson. Then and there I began to fall in love with the hallowed beauty of the Greek New Testament. It was his incisive grasp of the Scriptures that led me, more than any other influence, to enroll as a student in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. For three years I sat at his feet, ever growing in my appreciation of him as a teacher, and in my love for the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. Upon revealing to him my plans for graduate study, he invited me to be his Fellow in Senior Greek. I accepted the Fellowship, and was just beginning my work under him when he passed to his reward.

My interest in the study of Greek words was largely inspired by Dr. W. Hersey Davis, my teacher in Introductory and Junior Greek. The choice of this particular word study as the subject for my thesis dates back to a class period in Junior Greek. On that occasion, the class had been dismissed, but Doctor Davis continued to discuss the meaning of \textit{σωτηρία} as a few of us gathered around his desk. There I caught a vision. Again and again, the word \textit{σωτηρία} would flash through my mind, ever deepening in meaning. Consequently, in beginning my graduate work in the field of the
Greek New Testament, I immediately decided upon the subject for my thesis. It could be no other than ωτηρία in the Epistles of Paul.

I wish to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Dr. W. Hersey Davis who became my major Professor, and whose student assistant I became, upon the untimely death of the lamented Doctor Robertson in the fall of 1934. To be thus associated with Doctor Davis was a privilege for which I shall ever be grateful.

It is my desire, also, to record my deep appreciation of Doctors J. McKee Adams and J. B. Weatherspoon, under whose sympathetic guidance in their respective fields it was my privilege to pursue graduate study.

An effort has been made to give due acknowledgment to all the authors whose works have been most helpful in the preparation of this dissertation. Other authors, whose works were not quoted, but who contributed to our study, are mentioned in the bibliography. Hundreds of other volumes were consulted but found to be of little value in dealing with our problem.

In quoting from the Greek New Testament, I have adhered to the text of Westcott and Hort. The English Bible quotations follow The American Standard Revision Text. The quotations from the Septuagint come from the text of H. B.
Swete, while those in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha are taken from the text of R. H. Charles.

This work, from beginning to end, has been a labor of love. There have been times when my heart beat fast with joy as I was led to grow in my understanding of σωτηρία. If the work succeeds in kindling in some other life a greater love for the Lord Christ, and for the glorious salvation which He has to offer all mankind, then I shall not have wrought in vain.

Louisville, Kentucky
February 10, 1942                    R. Paul Caudill
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITION OF TERMS USED

A. THE PROBLEM STATED

There can be little doubt as to the need for the study of the term \( \text{σωτηρία} \). The word "salvation" has, for generations, fallen freely from the lips and pens of preachers and theologians. And yet, if one seeks to understand its true meaning, he finds that he is surrounded by vague generalizations only. "Salvation" has been used repeatedly as a sort of "catch all" interpretation of the blessed hope which we have in Christ Jesus our Lord.

A typical illustration of the superficial manner in which the term "salvation" has been interpreted through the years is the following quotation from the book *How Does the Death of Christ Save Us*, p. 11, by H. C. Mabie:

The term 'save', or salvation, first needs to be explained. Salvation may signify the work of justification merely, wherein we are forgiven through the redemptive sacrifice of Christ; or it may comprehend the full fact of salvation, embracing that of body, soul, and spirit, the full life-career, and the renewal of the cosmos, of which we form a part from our creation to the final consummation. Salvation is a large word. It implies being recovered from certain lower relations and being installed in certain other higher relations. It is a question also of personal relationship to other personalities in this universe—personalities divine, human and satanic.
The Achilles heel of previous dissertations on "salvation" is that the authors fail to go to the root of the idea. An example of this is seen in the book by J. W. Parker, *The Idea of Salvation in the World's Religions*. In his index of scripture references, Mr. Parker refers to six of Paul's Epistles, but in no instance does he refer to the term \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \epsilon \). His treatment of the idea of salvation as set forth in the Old Testament is equally vague.

Even the redoubtable G. B. Stevens, in his book *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, in the chapter on the "Pauline Doctrine", does not consider a single passage involving Paul's use of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \epsilon \). He does consider λύτρον, ἔλαττήριον, θυμα, θυσία, and καταλαγή, but not \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \epsilon \).

Whatever contribution, therefore, this dissertation may make to the fuller understanding of the term \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \epsilon \) in the Epistles of Paul will lie in the fact that I have attempted to ascertain the meaning of the word in the Greek world, from its earliest recorded usage, and, in the light of that usage, sought to interpret the term as a vehicle of Christian thought. Many, many words, common to the mind of the Greek world, were caught up and made pregnant with Christian thought in the first century. For example, the word \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \epsilon \) was in no way confined to Christian usage.
It had been regularly applied to the Ptolemies as well as to the Roman Emperors, as the papyri of the third century B.C. reveal. Consequently, there is an ever-present need to distinguish clearly between words as used in the Greek world to express pagan thought, as over against the usage in the Christian world to express Christian truth.

The best place to begin, says Dr. A. T. Robertson, "is the beginning", if one can find it. This is precisely what we attempt to do in this word study. Instead of setting down at great length a sort of compendium of what a multiplicity of lexicographers and expositors have said about Paul's use of the word \( \sigma\nu\tau\iota\gamma\nu\iota \), we propose to inquire into its origin, note its related forms, investigate some of its earliest recorded uses, together with subsequent occurrences; and, in the light of our observation, to attempt to interpret the meaning of the word as used by the Apostle Paul in the New Testament.

B. ETYMOLOGY

One cannot fully understand a word without being familiar with its history up to the period in which it is studied; for "the resultant meaning of a word in any given instance will be determined by the etymology, the history,
and the immediate context."¹ The necessity for this historical approach is evident when it is realized that few² of the words used in the New Testament are distinctly new—"not over 50 out of the 5,000 used in it, and more of these may disappear as more of the papyri are read."

The student of etymology will realize at the outset, however, that he is face to face with grave difficulties. As Curtius has pointed out, one may go too far in the matter of breaking words up into their elements, when these elements in their primitive form lie beyond the pale of recorded history.³ Says he:

In our judgment much more is to be gained if we set a Greek word, together with related and derived words which accompany it in Greek, side by side with an actually occurring Sanskrit, Latin, German or Slavonic word, and do so with absolute certainty, than if we lose ourselves in bold hypothesis upon the origin of the form which the comparison compels us to give the root without having any firm ground to go upon.

In fact, so ancient is the use of most of the basic words of the Greek language, and their origin so far removed, that one might employ the compass of an entire thesis on the study of the early history of a single root. (It is said that for

³Curtius, Greek Etymology, p. 86.
the 90,000 words in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon only some 400 roots are known. By the term "root" we mean, of course, the parent stock from which a word is derived.

As to the origin of ἀργεῖα, it appears to be derived from the primitive ἀργεῖα,5 which, in turn, came from ἄρθρο, whose parent was ἄρθρο. This is the position of a number of lexicographers including Thayer, G. Abbott-Smith, and Liddell and Scott. It is difficult, of course, to distinguish between verbal and nominal roots because of their great age.6 One can only be governed in his opinion by the nature and order of the usage.

Buck (so Sophocles and Boisacq, in loco) holds that ἄρθρο would logically come from an earlier form ἄραφος inasmuch as in all the dialects ἄφα or ὃ result in ὃ when contracted—as φάς from φάς (φαφός).7 Buttmann points out that the form ἄρθρο "is usually of common gender, and is strictly in use only in the forms ἄρθρο, ἄρθρο, etc." All the rest, says he, "are from ἄρσος, ἄρν, (so Bauer)8

4Robertson and Davis, op. cit., p. 171f.
5Jannaris, An Historical Greek Grammar, p. 287.
6Robertson and Davis, op. cit., p. 171f.
7Buck, Greek Dialects, p. 34.
8Buttmann, A Greek Grammar, p. 83f.
(Ion. ἱσός) which by degrees entirely supplanted the monosyllabic forms.  

Curtius, while passing over σωτηρία, does treat ἱσός at some length (σάος, σῶος, σώος, σῶς), relating it to the Latin sa-nu-s.

The root sa, notes Curtius, "is widespread in several families of speech (sa-tu-s, sē-vi, sē-men=O H G samo pres. se-r-o=se-s-o, Goth. saian, ch. Sl. sē-ja-te, Lith.)" He goes on to say with Fick that perhaps sa is to be traced "back to s j a, whence the retention of the s." In discussing the possibility of a root sagh (Cf. Skt. sāh-ja-s "strong", and sāh-ja-m, "soundness"), he notes that it is better not to go beyond sa as the root-syllable.

Wright points out that words like σωτηρία were formed after the analogy of denominative adjectives like κτείριος, θείος, etc., which in the parent Indo-Germanic language were formed by the use of suffixes in -(i) jo-, -(i) ja-.

At any rate, such a view of the root sa helps explain the structure of such words as ἱσάο-πτολίς, used in

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9 Bauer, Wortenbuch Zum Neuen Testament, p. 49.
10 Curtius, op. cit., p. 459f.
11 Wright, Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language, p. 120.
Coluth. 140 and Noun.D. 41.395 to signify "protecting cities", and \( \sigma \delta \beta \rho o t o s \) in Procl. h. Minerv. 40 for "preserving mortals."

C. DEFINITION

In discussing the meaning of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \) \( \zeta \), O. Kirn\(^{12}\) holds that, coming from \( \sigma \zupsilon \zeta \), it corresponds exactly to the German "Heil", since Gothic "hails", old High German "heil", and English "whole" mean "safe, sound, intact." It is interesting to note that the Salvation Army (1878) is called by the French\(^{13}\) "Armée de salut", while the Germans call it "Heilsarmee."\(^{14}\)

Ernesti and Morell\(^{15}\) render \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \) with "salus, incolumitas, conservatio", and point out that the Latin "salvatio", from "salvare", is used in church Latin to render the Greek \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \).

As to the "general" meaning of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \), the lexicographers are in common agreement. This is seen by


\(^{13}\)Weekly, An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English, p. 1271.

\(^{14}\)Dubois, The Practice of Salvation, p. 70f.

\(^{15}\)Ernesti and Morell, A Graecum Lexicon, in loco.
comparing a few of the definitions listed by them:

Cremer: salvation, preservation, welfare, prosperity.
Thayer: deliverance, preservation, safety, salvation.
Sophocles: sain et sauf, intact, bien, conserve.
Moulton and Milligan: bodily health, well-being, safety.
Liddell and Scott: deliverance, preservation, salvation.
Souter: bodily health, welfare, salvation.
Parkhurst: a saving, preservation, safety, deliverance.
G. Abbott-Smith: deliverance, preservation, safety.

In the very interesting lexicon by A. Kuriakides, σωτηρία is defined as meaning "safety", (the act of) saving; "release", as release of prisoners of war. He finds the word used for a life boat in one instance.16

Wherever the term σωτηρία is found it seems to imply a state of "well-being", "safety", "deliverance", "security", the specific idea varying, of course, according to the context. In no instance have I found this general sense violated among the usages, ancient or modern.

It is fascinating to note that Tyndall17 in his translation of the New Testament reflects this same view. He renders Eph. 1:13 as follows: "The word of truth, I mean the gospel of your health"; and Eph. 6:14: "and take the helmet

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16Kuriakides, Modern Greek-English Dictionary, in loco.
17Dubois, op. cit., pp. 52ff.
of health"; and Phil. 1:28: "which is to him a token of perdition and to you a sign of health."

The modern Greek, the man of the street, still surrounds σωτηρία with the idea of "deliverance." A short time ago I went into a Greek place of business and introduced myself to the cordial proprietor, a young man who was reared near Athens and who received his college training in the University of Athens. I asked him the meaning of σωτηρία; and he replied, "To save someone from some danger", and illustrated it by "snatching" me from the path of a speeding automobile.

It shall be our purpose as we proceed in our study to examine specific uses of σωτηρία as a background for our interpretation of Paul's use of the term in his epistles.

D. RELATED FORMS

One needs only to glance through the average Greek Lexicon to learn that σωτηρία is a member of a very large family. A careful examination of the lexicon by Liddell and Scott reveals that there are more than thirty cognate forms. Many of these forms will be allowed to speak for themselves as our study proceeds; but to get clearly before us the character of the family with which we are dealing, we

18Liddell and Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, Seventh Edition.
list a number of the forms related to σωτηρία, together with the meaning assigned by Liddell and Scott:

- ἀσωτώς, οὖν, not to be saved, past recovery.
- ἀσωτεύομαι, to lead a wasteful life.
- ἀσωτικα, wasting.
- ἀσωτός, οὖν, having no hope of safety.
- ἀσωτοποσία, drunken debauchery.
- ἀσωφρόνιστος, οὖν, incorrigible.
- σῶσις, δέ, ἢ, safe, sound, alive, well.
- σωσικήνφρα, ἡ, saving men.
- σωσί-κοσμός, οὖν, saving the world.
- σωσί-πολίς, ἵκος, saving the city.
- σῶσις, ἐγώ, ἡ, salvation.
- σῶσμα, τό, a being saved, salvation.
- σωστέος, θάνατος, οὖν, to be saved.
- σωστικός, ἢ, ὄν, able to save.
- σωστός, ἡ, ὄν, saved.
- σῶστρα, τά, a reward for saving one's life.
- σωτήρ, ἤρως, ἡ, a savior.
- σῶμα, to save, spare, keep alive, deliver.
- σωτηρία, σῶμα, saving, delivering.
- σωτηρία, σῶμα, wholesome.

As with σωτηρία, so with these related forms.

Wherever they occur, there is in the background or in the foreground the idea of someone or something being delivered,
rescued, sustained, or saved. Let this be kept clearly in mind!

We shall now begin our examination of the varied uses of σωτηρία in the non-Pauline writings prior to and during the first century A. D.
CHAPTER II

PRE-NEW TESTAMENT USAGE

A. IN HOMER

Any word study in the Greek language would logically begin with an examination of the Iliad and the Odyssey. These great Greek epics, "the greatest of all epic poems", comprise the earliest Greek literature that has been preserved. The date of the poems is not at all certain. Some scholars place them as early as 850 B.C., while others assign them as late as the latter part of the 7th century B.C. One probably would be correct in saying that the poems belong to a period somewhere between 850 B.C. and 700 B.C.2

A careful study of the Odyssey revealed no use of our word ἑσώσα, but kindred terms were found in abundance. In Od. 5. 130, ἑσώσα is rendered in the sense of "save", "Him I saved" (from the billows and storms of the sea in which others are perishing). (Ἑσώσα is 1 aor. act. 1 sg. fr. σώσω - σώζω.) In Od. 4.364f., Cowper translates ἑσώσε "saved."

And now had our province all consumed,
Left us exhausted, but a certain nymph
Pitying saved me.

1Pharr, Homeric Greek, p. 179.

Menelaus is telling the story of how he was rescued by Eidothea and saved from physical destruction.

Again, in Od. 9.430, \( \sigma\dot{w}\omega\nu\rho\varepsilon \) (\( \sigma\dot{w}\omega \)) is used in the sense of "preserved." The scene deals with the escape of Odysseus and his companions with the help of the "rains", after having made the Cyclops drunk and having put out his eye. Here the meaning of "preserved" is obvious.

A number of occurrences of \( \sigma\dot{w}\nu \) are found in the Odyssey. In 5.305f., it is used of "events" with the idea of "safe, sure, certain." A similar use is found in Od. 22.28, where the furious Odysseus shoots down Antinous and reveals himself to the terrified suitors. It is seen in Od. 15.40f., relating to the visit of Athene to Telemachus in Sparta in which she urges him to return home and reveals to him a plan for avoiding the ambuscade of the suitors. Clearly the meaning is physical safety.

More than a score of terms related to \( \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\varepsilon\alpha \) were found in the Odyssey, all of which reflected the idea of "save", "rescue", "preserve", whether used in regard to persons or things. The forms found are listed below:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{\( \varepsilon\sigma\dot{a}w\Theta\varepsilon\nu \))} & \quad \text{Od. 3.185} \\
\text{\( \sigma\dot{a}\omega\sigma\alpha \))} & \quad \text{Od. 3.231; 4.752f.} \\
\text{\( \sigma\dot{a}\delta\rho\rho\nu \))} & \quad \text{Od. 4.158} \\
\text{\( \sigma\dot{a}\omega\sigma\varepsilon \))} & \quad \text{Od. 4.288; 4.511f.} \\
\text{\( \varepsilon\sigma\dot{a}\omega\sigma\varepsilon \))} & \quad \text{Od. 4.364f.; 4.444f.; 5.452; 22.371f.}
\end{align*} \]
σάωσον, 0d. 4.765f.

ἐσάωσα, 0d. 5.130; 5.130f.

σώγη, 0d. 5.305f.; 22.28; 15.40ff.; 16.130f.

σώμοντες, 0d. 5.490

σάωσω, 0d. 9.430

σαῶσις, 0d. 10.286f.

σαῶσις Ἡμαῖν, 0d. 10.472f.

ἀσσονηγηρῆς, 0d. 4.165

σάω, 0d. 13.228ff.; 17.594f.

σόα, 0d. 13.362ff. (Some hold this to be possessive adjective.)

σάωσις, 0d. 21.305ff.

σοῶσωμεν, 0d. 22.356ff.

The Iliad also fails to come to our rescue with an occurrence of our prized σωτηρία. But, like the Odyssey, it furnishes us more than a score of related terms. Because of their similarity to those of the Odyssey we will not list the whole, but rather call attention to a few specific examples:

In II. 13.47, we find σαῶσε ἡμῶν, "Ye shall save the people", where the thing from which they are to be saved is the peril of war.

In II. 11.752, ἐσάωσε is used with ἐν πολέμου.

The meaning is obvious.
In II. 24.35, ἀφῶσαί relates to the rescue of a corpse so that the wife and family can look upon it and give it proper funeral.

In II. 22.332, ἐσάφ occurs in the sense of "safe"; in 13.773, in the sense of certainty of events.

In II. 9.78, ἀφῶσει is used over against διδῆσαι, with the resultant ideas of "save" and "destroy", respectively.

The significance of the appearance of these related terms in the Iliad and Odyssey lies in the fact that they offer us the most remote usages of the "roots" of our term ἀφηρία. They constitute a sort of family tree with a direct bearing upon their kinsman ἀφηρία.

B. IN THE CLASSICS

While Homer lends us valuable support in our study of ἀφηρία, it is in the classics that we first arrive in "green pastures." Here we find the word itself used over and over again, a perfect background for Paul's later use of the word in his Epistles. The first of the classic writers that we shall consider is Aeschylus, a Greek tragic poet who lived around B. C. 525-456.3

3Aeschylus, trans. by Smith, pp. 151ff.
In Persae 508, we find σωτηρία used in the sense of bodily "deliverance", "preservation", safety", from perils of war: δοὺει δὲ λοιπὸν καὶ τυχον σωτηρίας. The scene is laid in Susa, residence of the Persian kings, shortly after the battle of Salamis. The courier brings reports to the regents and the Queen Mother, who are in session, eager to hear from the long absent king. The story is told of the annihilation of the Persian fleet at Salamis and of the great sufferings on the homeward march of those who had "won to safety."

In Eumenides (Eu.) 909,4 Aeschylus offers us another splendid example of the use of σωτηρία with the meaning of "keeping safe", "preservation." Athena is speaking to Chorus, imploring blessings from the earth, from the waters of the deep, and from the heavens, to the end that the "seed of man may be kept safe": καὶ τῶν βροτεῖων οπερμα\(\)των σωτηρίαν.

Aeschylus furnishes us another good example in Th. 209. Eteocles is speaking on the conduct of the seaman while his ship is laboring in a tossing sea. The question is asked as to whether the seaman by fleeing from stern to prow ever "found means to save himself" (\(\eta\upsilon\rhoε\ \mu\eta\chi\alpha\nu\eta\ \sigmaωτηρίας\)).5

5Ibid, p. 139f.
Two other examples from Aeschylus may be cited. One is in A. Th. 183, where \( \sigma \omega \tau \gamma \rho \iota \alpha \) is used with regard to the safety or deliverance of a town. The other is in A. Pers. 797, where \( \sigma \omega \tau \gamma \rho \iota \alpha \) refers to the "safety" of the host that remains in Hellas.

Next, let us consider an example from Sophocles, a Greek tragic poet who lived circa B. C. 496-406. The scene is taken from Ajax 1080, in which Menelaus is speaking on the necessity of awe and reverence and dread of the laws in a state.

Where dread prevails and reverence withal,
Believe me, there is safety (\( \sigma \omega \tau \gamma \rho \iota \alpha \)); but the State,
Where arrogance hath license and self-will,
Though for awhile she run before the gale,
Will in the end make shipwreck and be sunk.

Here, as in previous examples, \( \sigma \omega \tau \gamma \rho \iota \alpha \) is used to signify "preservation", "safety"—and that for a whole state.

Herodotus, Greek historian and father of history, who lived circa B. C. 484-425, furnishes us our next example. The scene is found in Hdt. 4.98, and Darius is the speaker. He and his army have just crossed a strategic bridge. Addressing the despots of the Ionians, he enjoins them to

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6Ibid, p. 334f.
7Ibid, p. 178f.
8Webster's New International Dictionary, p. 3202.
9Ibid, p. 3178.
guard the bridge for a period of sixty days, unless he should return before. He previously had given an order for the bridge to be destroyed, but changed his plan upon the counsel of Côes, a Lesbian.

But till then, seeing that my counsel is thus changed, I bid you guard the bridge, using all zeal to save (σωρηρίης) and defend it.10

(Note the use of the Ionic -ης rather than our usual -ίς.) The idea here, as before, is simply "deliverance", "preservation", "safety."

In Hdt. 5.9811 another similar use occurs. This time it is not a bridge to be saved, but people:

"Men of Palonia, I am sent by Aristagoras, despot of Miletus, to point you the way to deliverance (σωρηριήν), if you will be guided by him." Here it may be noted, the Palonians had been led captive from Strymon and now dwelt in a Phyrgian territory and village by themselves. They were being offered "deliverance", "safety", from their captors. Another similar use is found in Hdt. 7.172.

We now turn to the works of Euripides,12 an Athenian tragic dramatist, who lived B.C. 480-406.13

10 Herodotus, trans. by Godley, L.C.I.
11 Herodotus, trans. by Godley, L.C.I.
12 Euripides, trans. by Way, L.C.I.
13 Webster's New International Dictionary, p. 3171.
In The Daughters of Troy (Troades) we find a scene laid in the Greek camp before Troy, dealing with the taking of Troy by the Greeks. Amidst the lamentations of the daughters, the poet cries out:

Child dost thou weep?—dost comprehend thy doom?
Why with thine hands clutch, clinging to my robe,
Like fledgling fleeing to nestle 'neath my wings?
No Hector, glorious spear in grip, shall rise
From earth, and bringing the deliverance
(σῶμερ ήρπίν) come,
No kinsman of thy sire, no mighty Phrygians;
But, falling from on high with horrible plunge,
Unpitied shalt thou dash away thy breath.

Here the use of σώμερια is obvious. It is "deliverance", "preservation"—bodily!

Again, in E. Or. 778,¹⁴ we find these words: ἐχείσ
τιν', ἡ μένης, σώμεριν: "Hast thou any hope of life, if here thou linger on?" Pylades is speaking with Orestes, who would find "deliverance from the ill."

In the works of Thucydides, we find a veritable treasure house of uses of σώμεριά.

Thucydides was probably born around 470 B. C.,¹⁵ and was an outstanding historian of his era. It is said that he was the first to employ the Attic speech for the purposes of historical narrative.¹⁶ It will be remembered that Attic

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¹⁴Euripides, trans. by Way, L.C.L.
¹⁵Morris, Thucydides, Book I, p. 5.
¹⁶Ibid, p. 46.
prose as a written language was then in the first stage of its development.

Our first example comes from I. 65.1, where Poticlaea is besieged on both sides and from the sea:

Now Aristeus, when it was surrounded with works, and he had no hope of its escape, (σωτηρία), unless some movement from the Peloponnese, or something else beyond their calculations should occur, advised all, except five hundred, to watch for a wind and sail out of it, that their provisions might hold out the longer. 17

In Thu. 3.20, we read: "No hope of aid from Athens nor any other means of safety (σωτηρία) in sight." 18 The Plataeans, besieged by the Peloponneseans and the Boeotians, began to be distressed by the failure of their food supply, there being no hope of aid from Athens.

Once again, in Thu. 2.60.4, we find, "surely all men ought to defend her, and not to do as you are now doing--proposing to sacrifice the safety (τῆς σωτηρίας) of the commonwealth." Here the value of the successful state is contrasted with and set over against the individual. The use of σωτηρία is in accord with previous examples.

From Isocrates, 4.95, Athenian orator and teacher of rhetoric, B.C. 436-338, comes the following use of σωτηρία:

17 Morris, Thucydides, Book I. in loco.
18 Thucydides, trans. by Smith, p. 30f.
For they considered that while it was natural for the weaker states to seek their security (σωτηρίαν) by every means, it was not possible for those states which asserted their right to stand at the head of Hellas to avoid the perils of war.¹⁹

In this instance, that which is to be "preserved" is the state.

There are a number of occurrences of σωτηρία in the works of Xenophon, the Athenian historian and general who probably lived around B.C. 434-355. The first reference comes from An. 3, 2.9, where it is twice used:

I move, gentlemen, since at the moment when we were talking about deliverance (σωτηρίας) an omen from Zeus the Saviour was revealed to us, that we make a vow to sacrifice to that god thank-offerings for deliverance (σωτηρία) as soon as we reach a friendly land.²⁰

Again in 5.2.24: "In the midst of their fighting and perplexity, some God gave to the Greeks a means of salvation" (σωτηρίας).

In 6.5.18, another similar use is found.²¹

For other references in Xenophon's Anabasis see III.2.32; II. 1.26; and II. 1.19. All of these conform, in the use of σωτηρία, to the above examples.

From the Athenian orator, Aeschines, who flourished B.C. 389-314, we find a most excellent reference:

¹⁹Isocrates, trans. by Norlin, L.C.L.
And our city, the common refuge of the Greeks, to which in former days used to come the embassies of all Hellas, each city in turn to find safety (σωτηρία) with us.”

Here, Aeschines, 3. 134, in his speech against Ctesiphon, who had proposed to the assembly that Demosthenes be crowned with a golden crown in recognition of his life-long service to the state, points out how that Athens itself is at stake as the Macedonians advance.

Before we pass on to the Papyri and Inscriptions, let us examine some references from one other representative of the classic writers. Aristotle, the Greek philosopher, was born B. C. 384 at Staginius on the Gulf of Strymon. He became a pupil of Plato and a member of the Academy for 20 years. One half of his life was lived in Athens.

In his Pol. 132b. 21, Aristotle has this passage: "to secure good order and the preservation and the rectification of falling buildings and roads", etc. Here, it will be noted, as the indispensable offices of government are being mentioned, the duties of the superintendent of streets

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22 Aeschines, The Speeches of, trans. by Adams, L.C.L.


and buildings are defined, and our word σωτηρία is used to mean "preservation", "saving."

In the Nichomachean Ethics,25 I found some eight instances where σωτηρία is used in the sense of "safety" or "deliverance" from something. A few of these examples may be listed.

In III.viii. 9, σωτηρία is used to mean "safety", as over against Θάνατος. The passage deals with the conduct of professional soldiers under fire, in contrast to that of citizen troops. The former, says Aristotle, are "the first to run away" when the dangers impose too great a strain. The latter "stand their ground and die fighting", because they look upon it as disgraceful to run away and "prefer death to safety so procured."

In Nich.26 Eth. V.11.6, σωτηρία means "security."

In Nich. Eth. III.1.17, σωτηρία is used in the sense of "saving" one's life: the scene sets forth the fact that it is possible for one person to kill another by giving him medicine with the intention of "saving his life."

Again, in Nich. Eth. I.vi. 1, σωτηρία occurs, denoting "defense", "preservation": ἐπὶ σωτηρία γε τῆς θεοίας, "in defense of the truth." Plato's


idea of Good" is being discussed as a basic for ethics.

Another incisive example occurs in Nich. Eth. III. i. 5. The subject deals with the conduct of those on a ship when their cargo is jettisoned in a storm. The sailor throws away property, often exceedingly personal, with one purpose, namely, "to save his own life (ἐπὶ σωτηρίας ἄν τοῦ) and that of his shipmates."

In Nich. Eth. IX. vii. 1, the use of σωτηρία draws at least a faint smile because of the subtle humor with which it is surrounded. The passage deals with the love of the benefactor for the beneficiary, and vice versa: "Whereas the borrower would be glad to have his creditors out of the way, the lender is anxious for his debtor's preservation (σωτηρίας)."

Wherever I have found σωτηρία used in the Classics, it invariably means "preservation", "safety", "deliverance", or "welfare" of persons or things. Numerous other examples might be cited, but these will suffice.

C. IN THE PAPYRI

The student of the Greek New Testament will always turn with eager eyes toward the papyri. Dr. Robertson has well said; "The most abundant source of new light for the vernacular κοινὴ is found in the papyri collections."27

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A number of occurrences of σωτηρία and its cognates were found in the papyri. Let us note a few of them.

The first, occurring in a letter thought to belong to the second or first century B.C., is quite obvious as to meaning. It follows: ... γυνί δὲ καλῶς προσεις γράψας μὴ περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ... The writer is asking the recipient to let him know about his physical "welfare", his state of health, his well-being.

Another example may be considered, taken from a writing dated 242/1 B.C., and offering a further corroboration of the meaning assigned to σωτηρία in the previous occurrences. The passage deserves to be printed in full:29 ἐπειδὴ <δὲ ὅτι> δὲ άλλα ἐνεστῇ κόμῳ ἄνω κάτω μακρὸν ἐγένετο καὶ δ' ὑπελυμπανομένῳ [κερ]ματίον εἰς τοῦ ὅσ προστάντας τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἑπαλαμώμεν εἰς τὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἁνάγκαι...

Numerous occurrences of σωτηρία were found in the B.C. papyri, and always they related, as did σωτηρία, to the "preservation", "welfare", or "safety" of a person

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28 Ἁγιμπτισήρ Υρκούνδε... Στατλίχεν Μουσεον Ζου Βερλίν, Βαν ΒΙ, ΣχUberατ and Κουν, p. 88f.

29 Παπίρι Γρεκο Ε. Λατίνε, Ψνι, Τέρζο, Ποπλωζαζιον Della Σωκρατε Σωκρατε Ιταλίας, Φιερζένεζ, p. 122.
or thing. One example might be appropriately listed here; many others could be given.

In a letter of the late second century B.C., P. Tebt. 56, Petesonchus, writing to Marres, urges him to give thanks to the gods and "to save many lives by seeking out in the neighborhood of your village five arurae of land for our maintenance, in order that we may thence obtain food for ourselves." 30

D. IN THE SEPTUAGINT

We agree with Kennedy 31 that "in trying to determine the shades of meaning involved in any Pauline term, it is self-evident that the usage of the LXX must be examined." Inasmuch as Greek was the common language of every Hellenistic community, it logically followed that the Septuagint version of the Scriptures would be the one commonly employed by the Jews of Tarsus. Says David Smith, 32 "It was the child's lesson-book, and his lifelong familiarity with it is evidenced by the practice of quoting from it in after years." Edersheim 33 says the LXX in Jesus' day held the

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30 Select Papyri, with English trans. by Hunt and Edgar, p. 290f., L.C.L.
31 Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 123.
33 Edersheim, The Life and Times of Jesus, p. 23.
place of our "Authorized Version" in the affection and use of the people, and that this was true even in Galilee and Judea. The translation was probably completed, at the latest, by the second half of the second century B.C., says Angus.34

What, then, does this ancient version that "plowed the furrows for the gospel soil in the western world"35 have to say about σωτηρία?

First, we note its use 147 times, appearing variously for a number of Hebrew words. We could not possibly examine all these occurrences in the scope of this thesis. We can only note a few of them and seek to interpret the general meaning of σωτηρία for the LXX writers.

First, let us note the use of σωτηρία for the Hebrew noun יִשְׂרָאֵל, יִשָּׂרֵאֵל, meaning "deliverance", "rescue", "salvation", "welfare", "safety." The following examples are cited:

In 2 Kings 22:36: σωτηρίας μου, "my salvation", referring to David's deliverance from his enemies.

In 1 Chron. 16:35: τῆς σωτηρίας ἡμῶν, "our salvation", relating to David's thanksgiving for deliverance.

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34 Angus, The Environment of Early Christianity, p. 158f.
Job 5:4: ἀπὸ σωτηρίας, "from safety", with reference to the fate of the children of the foolish.

Ps. 17:35: σωτηρίας, "salvation", in the sense of deliverance.

Other references which may be studied but which will be found in agreement with the above usages are: 2 Kings 22:36; 2 Kings 22:47; 2 Kings 23:5; Ps. 11(12)5; Ps. 17(18)2; Ps. 17:46; Ps. 19(20)6; Ps. 68(69)13; Ps. 131(132)16; Hab. 3:13.

Again, we note the LXX writers used σωτηρία to render the Hebrew feminine noun יְהֹוָה, meaning "welfare", "prosperity", "deliverance", "salvation", and "victory."37

Look at the following references:

In Ex. 14:13, τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, "the salvation", is a splendid example. Here the writer is referring to the deliverance from Pharaoh at the Red Sea. The Passover had been observed and the Exodus begun. But lo, as the Israelites encamped by the sea, they looked and beheld the chariots of Pharaoh and his army overtaking them. Being sore afraid, they cried out to Moses, who in turn allayed their fears with the promise: "Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation (τῇ σωτηρίᾳ) of Jehovah, which he will work for you today: for the Egyptians whom ye have

seen today, ye shall see them again no more forever. Jehovah will fight for you."

In I Kings 14:45, ὑπὸ τὸν θερμίαν τὴν ἐν γῆν ταύτῃ, "this great salvation", refers expressly to Jonathan's victory over the Philistines, whom he smote from "Micmash to Aijalon."

In II Kings 10:11, we have another good example. Joab is speaking with Abishai who is in charge of part of the army: "And he said, if the Syrians be too strong for me, then thou shalt help me" (ἐσεσθε μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν).

Cremer notes that ΠΡΩΣΙΩΝ, "is with few exceptions (2 Sam. x:11), used only to express a salvation wrought by God, in contrast with misfortune, poverty, oppression by enemies." He sees in the term a "distinctly Messianic conception" that is "opposed to God's wrath and implies deliverance from guilt and punishment, and at the same time a positive blessing coming in the place of distress and sorrow."

In further support of his idea, he refers us to Isa. xlix: 6,8,9; lii:7. Could it be that at this point we begin to dig around the mud sills for Paul's later use of the term σωτηρία in the New Testament?

Other references which may be studied with regard to the use of σωτηρία for ΠΡΩΣΙΩΝ are: Gen. 49:18;

Ex. 15:2; I Kings 2:1; II Kings 22:51; I Chron. 16:23; II Chron. 20:17; Job 13:16; 15:15; Ps. 3:2; 3:8; 17:50; 21(22)1b; 34(35)3; 41(42)11; 43(44)4; 68(69)29; 73(74)12; 87(88)1; 88(89)26; 117(118)14; 117(118)15; 117(118)21; 118(119)155; 139(140)7; 149:4; Hbk. 3:8; Isa. 12:2; 25:9; 26:18; 33:2; 33:6; 49:6; 49:8; 52:7; 52:10; 59:10; 59:11. In all of these references the general idea is that of "deliverance", "safety", "preservation", as noted in the specific uses cited above.

Again, we find οὐραίον used in the LXX to render ψήτω, vb. Hiph., meaning "to deliver", "save" from evils and troubles, and "give victory to." The root idea seems to be that of giving "width and breadth to", in the sense of liberation.39

This is clearly seen in IV Kings 13:5: "Jehovah gave Israel a saviour, so they went out from under the hand of the Syrians: and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as beforetime." Again, in Neh. 9:27, we read: "Therefore thou deliverest them into the hand of their adversaries; who distressed them: and in the time of their trouble, when they cried unto thee, thou hearest from heaven; and according to thy manifold mercies thou gavest them saviours, who saved them out of the hand of their

adversaries." (Codex A, given in margin by Swete, where he follows B in text with \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha \nu \).) The passage refers to Israel's deliverance from the hands of her adversaries.

Other references which may be examined in connection with the use of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha \nu \) for \( \psi \tau \xi \tau \) are: Isa. 38:20; 63:1,8; II Kings 22:3; and Isa. 47:15. But all of them conform to the pattern set by the previous examples.

Let us now examine the LXX use of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha \nu \) for the Hebrew noun \( \eta \varphi \tau \xi \), which comes from \( \psi \tau \xi \).\(^{40}\)

A splendid reference to begin with is II Kings 15:14, where \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha \nu \) conveys the idea of escape: "And David said unto all his servants that were with him at Jerusalem, Arise, and let us flee; for else none of us shall escape from Absalom: make speed to depart, lest he overtake us quickly, and bring evil upon us, and smite the city with the edge of the sword."

In II Chron. 12:7, \( \epsilon \tau \varsigma \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \mu \alpha \nu \) clearly refers to the "preservation" of Jerusalem from the violence of the hand of Shishak:

"And when Jehovah saw that they humbled themselves, the word of Jehovah came to Shemaiah, saying, They have humbled themselves; therefore I will not destroy them, but I will grant them some deliverance; and my wrath shall not

be poured out upon Jerusalem by the hand of Shishak."

In Dan. 11:42, the idea of "escape" or "deliverance" is quite evident: "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape."

Ob. 1:17 and Jer. 32(25)35 also offer examples of the above usage of σωτηρία.

One example of σωτηρία for the adjective is found (A et al):

οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ σωτηρία τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν, ἐν ἑπτακοσίῳ αὐτοῦ οὐ σωθήσεται.

"Surely he shall not feel quietness in his belly, he shall not save of that which he desired." 41

Interesting is the use of σωτηρία for the common Hebrew טו יִ. 41

Note Gen. 28:20,21: "And Jacob vowed a vow, saying, if God will be with me, and will keep me in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace (μετὰ σωτηρίας); and Jehovah will be my God." The "peace" that Jacob desires is "deliverance" from the hatred and vengeance of Esau.

In Gen. 26:31, the "in peace" (μετὰ σωτηρίας) referred to is freedom from the former strife and enmity.

41Job 20:20
over the "wells", which had been stopped by filling them with earth, and which Isaac had "dug again."

One other reference remains, Gen. 44:17, but the use of σωτηρία is the same as those noted above.

In Num 6:14, Swete has in the margin on the authority of B, σωτηρίαν for ἄγ τη, though σωτηρίαν occurs in the main text.

Our next use of σωτηρία in the LXX is for πηγή φυτεύ, feminine noun for ένω, meaning "deliverance"—usually by God, through human agency—especially from oppression.42

Let us begin with the words of Samson.43 Being "sore athirst" after his decisive victory over his enemies with the jawbone of an ass, he flung the jawbone to the ground and said, "Thou hast given this great deliverance (την σωτηρίαν την μεγάλην ταύτην) by the hand of thy servant; and now shall I die for thirst, and fall into the hand of the uncircumcised"? The meaning of σωτηρία here is plain as a pikestaff. It signifies "deliverance."

Another example, equally arresting, is in I Kings 19:4f., in which Jonathan is pleading with his father Saul
in behalf of David: "Let not the king sin against his servant, against David; because he hath not sinned against thee, and because his works have been to thee-ward very good; for he put his life in his hand, and smote the Philistine, and Jehovah wrought a great victory (σωτηρίας μεγάλης) for all Israel."

Note also II Kings 23:10: "He arose, and smote the Philistines until his hand was weary, and his hand clave unto the sword: and Jehovah wrought a great victory (σωτηρίας μεγάλης) that day; and the people returned after him only to take spoil."

In II Kings 19:2, the victory of David's army over that of Absalom is referred to as ζ Σωτηρίας, "And the victory (ζ Σωτηρίας) that day was turned into mourning unto all the people: for the people heard say that day, The King grieveth for his son."

Worthy of consideration is the example in Psalms 32(33)17: "A horse is a vain thing for safety (εἰς σωτηρίαν): neither doth he deliver any by his great power."

In Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the temple we may have a harbinger of Paul's later use of σωτηρία. Hear him as he speaks the concluding words of his memorable

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44II Chron. 6:41.
prayer: "Now, therefore, arise, O Jehovah God, into thy resting place, thou and the ark of thy strength: let thy priests, O Jehovah God, be clothed with salvation (ἐνσέσας σαίνω σωτήριαν), and let thy saints rejoice in goodness."

Other references, which conform to the above examples, are: I Kings 11:9; 11:13; II Kings 23:12; IV Kings 13:17 (bis); I Chron. 11:14; 19:12; Ps. 36(37)39; 37(38)22; 50 (51)14; 59(60)11; 70(71)15; 107(108)12; 143(144)10; 145 (146)3; Prov. 11:14; Isa. 45:17; 46:13 (bis); Jer. 3:23.

One other usage of σωτήρια in the LXX calls for a word. It is used to render ἤτη ᾗ Χ and ἤτῃ ᾗ Φ.

In Job: "Thou art turned to be cruel to me; With the might of thy hand thou persecutest me. Thou liftest me up to the wind, thou causest me to ride upon it, and thou dissolvest me in the storm!" (καὶ ἀπεργῇ θάς μὲ ἐκτὸς σωτήριας.)

In Proverbs: "He layeth up sound wisdom (σωτήριαν) for the upright: He is a shield to them that walk in integrity."

In all of the many uses of σωτήρια in the LXX I found not one where the general idea of "deliverance", "safety", "welfare", "preservation" was not clearly implied.

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45Job 30:21-22.

46Proverbs 2:7.
E. IN THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Our next body of writings to examine with regard to the use of σωτηρία as a further background for Paul's use of the term consists of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.

According to the classification of Charles,47 this body of writings appeared variously between 200 B. C. and 120 A. D. Here again we shall not be able to examine all of the references; but we shall call attention to some of the more salient examples.

First, let us note those from Tobit. Charles says that Tobit, composed possibly in Aramaic in the last quarter of the 3rd century B. C., is a reply by a nameless author to the tractate of the priests of Khons, and "designed to dissuade his co-religionists from apostasy, and convert if possible any pagan who might read it."48

In the Codex Sinaiticus text of Tobit (א MS--the longest and clearest text and favored over B by Charles),49 σωτηρία occurs six times (5:16; 6:17; 8:4,5,17; 14:4). Swete50 however, in his text of the LXX, follows B, Codex

48Ibid, p. 186.
50Swete, The Old Testament in Greek.
Vaticanus, and renders \( \text{\` \`} \) Codex Sinaiticus, as a marginal text—thus furnishing us no instance of \( \sigma\omicron\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\delta \) in Tobit. Nevertheless, the readings in \( \text{\` \`} \) furnish us an interesting basis for study.

In 6:17 we have the story of Tobias at Raguel’s house and of his marriage with Sarah, Raguel’s maiden daughter. She has been given already to seven men, who died, each of them, in the bridal chamber on the night they went in unto her, slain by a demon. Tobias fears that he will meet the same fate.51 However, Raphael convinces Tobias that if he will only carry out his proposed plans he will be entirely safe and all will work out in his favor: "And when thou art about to be with her, rise up both of you first and pray and supplicate the Lord of heaven that mercy and deliverance (\( \sigma\omicron\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\delta \)) may be extended to you."52

The other examples in Tobit follow the same traditional usage—"deliverance", material and physical.

In the Book of Sirach (Charles holds that the original MS was Hebrew, and that there existed probably as early as the last century B. C. a primary text, which lies back of all the Greek MSS, as well as a secondary text) we find Joshua held up as "salvation" for Israel: "A mighty man of

52Ibid, p. 220.
valor was Joshua the son of Nun, a minister of Moses in the prophetical office, who was formed to be according to his name a great salvation (μέγας ἐπὶ σωτηρίας) for his chosen, to take vengeance upon the enemy, and to give an inheritance to Israel."53 Along with 46:1 may be considered 4:23 and 40:7, but the same idea of "safety" is in the background.

From the Wisdom of Solomon, dated by Charles as of the last half of the first century B.C., we note one reference (18:7). The "salvation of the righteous" (σωτηρία μετὰ δικαιώματος) is contrasted with "the destruction of the enemies" (ἐξορῶν δὲ ἀπωλεία). Charles54 thinks Paul was familiar with the Wisdom of Solomon and is certain of traces of its influence in Romans and Ephesians. (Note also 5:12, 6:24, and 16:6.)

Another good example is I Maccabees 3:6. (Charles assigns the work in its final form to "somewhere during the last quarter of the second century B.C."55 The passage has to do with a song of praise in honor of Judas Maccabaeus, who "girt on his weapons of war" and "protected the army with the sword." "The lawless lost heart for fear of him,

and all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled; and deliverance (σωτηρία) prospered in his hand." There is nothing "abstract" about this reference. The meaning is crystal clear.

Two other texts from the above book may be considered by those who would pursue the study further: 4:25 and 5:62. But the usage is the same.

Turning to II Maccabees which, according to Charles, was probably compiled during the latter part of the second century B.C. or early part of the first century B.C., we find another arresting example. The scene is laid in Jerusalem. Heliodorus, upon his attempt to enter the temple and confiscate the monies for the king's treasury, was stricken down miraculously and carried away helpless by his guard. The high priest, fearing that the king might suspect foul play on the part of the Jews, "offered a sacrifice for the recovery of the man" (προσηγαγεν θυσίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς σωτηρίας).

Another reference comes from the memorable passage in II Maccabees 7:25: "As the young man paid no attention to him, he summoned his mother and exhorted her to counsel the lad to save himself" (ἐπὶ σωτηρία). Antiochus had

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56 Ibid, p. 128f.
57 II Maccabees, 3:32.
already cruelly slain the six older brothers; the youngest and the mother were about to follow in their train.

A number of other examples occur in II Maccabees (3:29, 11:6, 12:25, 13:3, 14:3), but each agrees with the passages already examined; i.e., σωτηρία is used invariably in the sense of "deliverance", "preservation", etc.

In III Maccabees we have a number of occurrences of σωτηρία, but they shed little light upon usages examined in I and II Maccabees. (III Maccabees, thinks Charles, was written during the last quarter of the first century or about 100 B.C.) These references are: 6:13,33,36; 7:16,22.

In each of the instances where σωτηρία is used in the Apocrypha there is in the background the idea of some sort of "deliverance", personal or national. Often it is preservation from bodily injury.

In IV Maccabees, Baruch, and Judith, σωτηρία is found a number of times, but inasmuch as these books probably belong to the first century A.D. we will reserve our examination of them until later.

In our study up to this point we have diligently inquired as to the meaning of σωτηρία wherever and whenever it occurred in the writings of the ancient world from the time of Homer to the advent of our Lord. Numerous examples were cited from the Classics, the Papyri, the LXX, and the Apocrypha. In each instance we found the word to
embrace the idea of "deliverance", "preservation", "physical welfare", "safety." Sometimes this idea of deliverance had to do with a single individual; again it referred to a group of individuals or a nation. But always, wherever the term was used, the idea of deliverance lay behind it and had to be called into mind to rightly interpret it.

We now turn to inquire as to the meaning of σωτηρία as it was used during the first century A. D., the era of Paul's use of the term in his Epistles.
CHAPTER III

NON-PAULINE USAGE OF THE FIRST CENTURY A. D.

A. IN THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

Inasmuch as some of the Apocryphal writings fall within the compass of the first century A. D., we may well examine them first.

The Book of Baruch, which, according to Charles, may have been written around 78 A. D.,¹ has three occurrences of σωτηρία: 4:22, 24, 29. In each of these references the meaning harks back to that seen in all of our previous illustrations. Especially is this true in 4:29, where we read: "For he that hath brought these plagues upon you shall bring you everlasting joy again with your salvation." Here "plagues" are set over against "joy" and "salvation."

In Judith, which is dated by Charles as the beginning of the first century A. D.,² we have a splendid example of the use of σωτηρία in the sense of "deliverance": "And now tell me wherefore thou didst flee from them, and comest unto us: For thou art come to save thyself (ἐἰς σωτηρίαν); be of good comfort, thou shalt live this night and hereafter:

²Ibid, pp. 244f.
and there is none shall wrong thee." The idea is that of preservation from bodily harm. It signifies "well-being", "preservation." (See also 8:17.)

Another example, IV Maccabees 15:2, which Charles holds should be dated around the beginning of the Christian era ("within two generations before or one generation after"), is worthy of note: "The mother, having two choices before her, religion and the present saving alive (σωτηρίας) of her seven sons according to the tyrant's promise." Here the writer sings praises to a religion that was dearer to the mother than her children. Other references in IV Maccabees are: 9:4; 12:6; 15:8,27.

In keeping with the usage of σωτηρία in the earlier Apocryphal writings, the examples cited from the above later books all seem to imply some type of "deliverance", "preservation", "safety."

B. IN THE RELIGIONS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE OF THE FIRST CENTURY

Any word study in the New Testament must take into consideration the religions of the Roman Empire of the first century. Let it be remembered that long before the Apostle Paul came on the scene there were those who were praying or wishing for "salvation" and trying in a multiplicity of ways.

3Judith, 11:3.
to achieve it. 4

From the days of Homer the gods had been called upon to rescue, to save and deliver, to protect and preserve. No matter the peril, by land or by sea, they constantly prayed for deliverance, for "salvation." In the words of Angus, "There arose from these intensely religious centuries a universal cry for release and 'safety' or salvation as diverse and comprehensive as human needs." 5

In other words, the pagan world already had a concept of "salvation" and a language that set forth that concept. As Christianity burst the bounds of provincial Palestine and started on its immortal trek from Antioch to Rome, it is only natural that the pagan ideas of "salvation" would be encountered. 6 It is this pagan concept of $\sigma\nu\tau\rho\iota\acute{\iota}$, as we find it in Paul's day, that we come now to consider.

To the pagans, says Ramsay, 7 salvation was safety, health, prosperity; but even in pagan usage 'the word never wholly excludes a meaning that comes nearer to reality and permanence'; it is never wholly material and ephemeral; 'there is latent in it some undefined and hardly conscious thought of the spiritual and the moral, which made it suit Paul's purpose admirably.'

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But to the pagan, says Ramsay, the term "salvation" was for the most part material in its connotation, and its benefits were gained by ritual and ceremonial. This fact should be kept clearly in mind.

According to Ramsay, there were three chief approaches employed by the pagans in their quest for salvation. First, they sought to gain it by religious duties, prayers, and vows. Second, they sought it by magic rites. Third, they sought it through worship of the emperor. Whatever element of truth and perception of the Divine was to be seen in these pagan religions, they certainly reflected the prevalence of hearts that were burning in the white heat of the intensity of religious questionings and unrest.

In order that we may examine representative uses of ἁγιασμός in the pagan world of the first century and its bearing upon the longings, vows, and prayers of the people in whose midst Paul lived and preached, we now consider three inscriptions.

The first, found at Dorylaion (Eski Sheher), and published by Professor G. Radet in his En Phrygie, p. 147, is an example of the prayer and vow "of the common, poor, and uneducated peasant. The language is as rude as the art; but still the meaning is certain, except that the opening word

\[\text{8Ibid, p. 177.}\]
can be understood in more than one way." The inscription taken from a rude stone monument reads as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\pi \alpha \pi \alpha \delta & \quad \pi \alpha \pi \alpha \gamma \\
\tau \epsilon \kappa \nu \omega \nu & \quad \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \alpha \gamma \\
\eta \rho \iota \alpha & \quad \mu \eta \nu & \quad \epsilon \upsilon \chi \eta \nu
\end{align*}
\]

Ramsay translates the inscriptions as follows: "To Papas Papas (for) his children's salvation to Men a vow."

Papas, says Ramsay, was the title of the supreme God in Asia Minor, especially in Bithynia and N. Phrygia, and was also used as a common personal name in Anatolia. Ramsay calls attention to the possibility of the omission of the preposition \( \delta \pi \epsilon \rho \) or \( \pi \epsilon \rho \) in line two of the inscription. This, of course, would alter the interpretation somewhat, but the basic usage of \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \alpha \) would remain the same. The dedication then means, "To Papas (the Father God), i. e. to Men, Papas (the man) (for) the children's salvation (makes or pays) a vow." Ramsay thinks it possible that the word Men is merely another title applied to the god Papas, already mentioned.

At any rate, here is \( \sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \alpha \) definitely related to the religious life of the pagan world of Paul's day. It

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9Ibid, pp. 183ff.

10Loc. cit.

11Loc. cit.
is used in connection with a vow to the father god in petition for the welfare of "children." Far as the cry may be from this usage to that of Paul, it certainly helps to lay the foundation for the full revelation which is to be uncovered one day as the full light of Christian truth breaks in. From this one example we can begin to see what a blessed vehicle of thought σωτηρία could prove to be if only the genius of Christian truth could lay hold of it and make it pregnant with Christian thought.

Another illustration which throws no little light on the pagan use of σωτηρία in connection with sacred vows is an inscription found at Nakoleia and copied by Ramsay in 1883. It is "a vow to Zeus the Thunderer for salvation," and reads as follows:

Μητρόφιλος Ἀσκληπίας σὺν Υμναί-
κῆ Ἀμμία περὶ ἑαυτῶν
κὲ τῶν ἰδίων κὲ τῶ
κάρπων κὲ τῆς κῶ-
μης σωτηρίας Ἐλι
βροντῶντι ἐξέχην

"Metrophilos son of Asklepas with his wife Ammia for their own and their family's and the crops' and the village's
salvation to Zeus the Thunderer a vow."

It is interesting to note with Ramsey\(^1\) the role of the family life in the Aegean countries within the less Hellenized circles of society as it is tied up with the religious practice of the people. "Salvation" is sought for the entire family as a whole. And, notes Ramsay, evidently when the head of a household found salvation, "the entire household shared in it."

It is revealing to see, in the above inscription, the σωτηρία of the family, placed on a par with that of the crops and the village. This shows quite clearly how far away from Paul's use of the term is the sense here employed. The use here smacks almost entirely of the ancient sense of "deliverance", "preservation", "safety", "welfare." But being a vow, and directed as it is to Zeus, one is bound to see in it faint gleams of light breaking forth like the early gray of morning upon the dark moral and spiritual universe.

It is well to note, as we proceed in the study of the inscriptions cited by Ramsay, that some of them are later than the first century, "because the native spirit in Anatolia did not express itself in writing on stone at that time."

\(^1\)Ibid, p. 186f.

\(^{14}\)Loc. cit.
are as characteristic of the first century as of the second.

With this assumption we agree, and present the examples noted by Ramsay as "some illustrations from contemporary documents of the early Christian period."15

Let us look at one other illustration of the use of σωτηρία in a pagan prayer for salvation.16 The inscription was found at Kuyujak, between Dorylaion and Nakoleia and copied by Professor Sterrett in 1883. It reads:

Εὐνά Ἰσόνος
σύνβος περὶ τῶν
يصировка σωτηρίας
ὡς Ἡνὶ Οὐρανίῳ
καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
εὐχήν

"Xeuna Jason's wife on behalf of her family's salvation to Men the Heavenly (god) and Apollo a vow." Here we see the wife taking the initiative and making a vow in behalf of the salvation of the whole family. Ramsay thinks this to be a good parallel to the case of Lydia in the New Testament.17 I can hardly agree with him, though; I think it presses the analogy too far to call it a "good parallel."

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16 Ibid, p. 187f.
Ramsay calls attention to the fact that vows without the defining word "salvation" are frequently made in behalf of the entire family: "We have spoken about the frequent occurrence of the term 'salvation' in pagan vows. It is common; but there is an even larger number of cases in which it is left to be understood, and there can be no doubt what word is to be supplied from the analogy of the cases where 'salvation' is mentioned." Ramsay illustrates the frequency of the omission of the defining word σωτηρία with an inscription copied by him at Dorylaion in 1883 and afterwards published by Damazewski and by Radet. It is an epitaph in memory of Timon, and at the same time a dedication to Zeus for (the salvation of) the household.

Μένανδρος Ἰππίμωνος καὶ Ἀμείας Τείμωνι Θρεπτῶ, καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Διονύσιος συντρόφω δὲ πὲρ τῶν εἰδίων Δί τι βροντῶν τε.
"Menander, son of Hippon and Amias, to Timon their foster child and Appollonius and Dionysios to their foster brother on behalf of the family's (salvation) to Zeus the Thunderer (a vow)."

Gravestones of this class have been found in great number in Phrygia. Some of them have the word Σωτηρία in the vow; some of them do not.

Ramsay thinks it remarkable that the idea of "salvation" is so closely identified with the grave, as the above inscriptions reveal. But the connection and implications are unmistakable. The departed Timon (in the latter inscription) is looked upon as being identified with Zeus the Thunderer—now a god with the gods. The placing of the epitaph on the tombstone which marks the temple in which the god dwells constituted "the discharge of a vow to secure his blessing for the entire household."

One other type of vow may be considered before we pass on, the vow for the Emperor's salvation. An inscription, found at Saghir, the religious capital of the Imperial estates which were located near Pisidian Antioch, offers us a profitable example. It was copied by Professor Sterrett of Cornell

20Jastrow, Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria, pp. 35ff.
21Ramsay, op. cit., p. 190f.
22Loc. cit.
and later by Ramsay and is as follows: "For the fortune and victory and eternal continuance of our Lord's and the salvation of his whole household the (association of coloni called) 'Guest-friends of the Symbol' dedicated a bronze (statue of) Fortune." The Statue of Good Fortune was evidently erected through contributions made by the association of the cultivators of the estates. The inscription was cut on the pedestal of the statue.

An inscription of the above character is readily understood when we realize that the actual worship of the Emperor was definitely practised among many of the pagans of the first century. Rawlinson has called our attention to the fact that the Emperor was deified and called \( \sigma \omega \nu \tau \eta \rho \), and looked upon as a savior in whose hands lay the power to deliver society from the throes of misgovernment and strife. Says Rawlinson, "The divine or deified 'saviors' of Hellenism were the helpers of men in distresses and troubles of life here upon earth, bestowers of such temporal blessings as physical health, settled order and peace." We observe that the term \( \sigma \omega \nu \tau \eta \rho \) was applied to men even during their lifetime. An example of this is the case of Cassander in

\[23\] Angus, The Environment of Early Christianity, p. 85ff.

307 B. C. Both he and his father were awarded by the grateful citizens the title Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες. It is said, moreover, that there were altars erected to them and priests appointed for their worship. Hymns, garlands, dances, libations, and incense were all brought into play as the people went forth to meet their deliverer. Note their song:

The other gods dwell far away, or have no ears,  
Or are not, or pay us no heed.  
But thee we present see,  
No god of wood or stone, but godhead true  
Therefore to thee we pray.  

Many instances of the term σωτήρ applied to man could be noted, but the effect would be the same (e. g., Antiochus the Great, Julius Caesar). They merely reflect the universal demand for someone "to interfere when the times were out of joint, and restore security and bestow rest upon the world." When one understands just how universal this longing was, and how helpless were the multitudes to achieve it, he will begin to understand why the approaches were so varied and why any promise of deliverance was better than no promise. In other words, the kind of deliverance or salvation the supplicant desired from his 'savior' had to do with the burdens and ills of this present existence.  

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25 Carpenter, Early Phases of Christianity, p. 12f.  
27 Loc. cit.  
28 Cumont, After Life Roman Paganism, p. 34.
Rawlinson notes, the title σωτηρ was seldom applied to the gods of the mysteries, in the New Testament period, inasmuch as the mysteries were greatly concerned with the matter of a hope of life after death,\(^\text{29}\) rather than mere deliverance from the material vicissitudes of the present life.

In the mystery religions of the Roman Empire of Paul's day, we find σωτηρια playing an interesting and important role. Our study of this phase of the saga of σωτηρια is hampered, however, by the lack of literary works. Our combined sources consist of "scattered references, verses of poetry, fragments of hymns and prayers, mutilated inscriptions, damaged papyri, cult emblems, bas-reliefs, frescoes, painted vases, ruined chapels and temples."\(^\text{30}\) Add to this the uncertainty of chronological sequence with reference to the beliefs and practices of a particular cult at a given time in "the long history of the mystery-religions from the sixth century B. C. to the fifth century A. D."\(^\text{31}\) and the difficulty is obvious.

These mystery-religions are regarded by Angus as "systems of Gnosis" related to, and preparing the soil for the later Gnosticism.

\(^{29}\)Rawlinson, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 172.

\(^{30}\)Angus, \textit{The Mystery-Religions and Christianity}, pp. 40ff.

\(^{31}\)\textit{Loc. cit.}
As early as the second century B.C. there was manifest a more specific desire for knowledge of God. This desire grew in intensity from generation to generation until the third and fourth centuries, when the acme of syncretism was reached. 32

The popularity of the mystery-religions lay in the fact that they promised something for which the heart of man everywhere yearned. They professed to offer a type of redemption that consisted of bettering man's relation with God, of securing forgiveness of his sins, and of providing him with an avenue of mediation. 33 "They offered an esoteric equipment by which the initiate might ward off the attacks of demons, thwart the menace of Fate, and after death reach the abodes of the blessed mysteries. There was something, whether doctrine, symbol, or divine drama, that could not be imparted except by initiation to those duly qualified to receive a supernatural revelation which gave the recipient a new outlook upon life, the world, and the deity, and a security denied to the uninitiated." 34

Cumont says that in these varied and multi-colored cults of Asia and Egypt we have a bridge that closes the

32Loc. cit.
33Ibid, p. 50.
34Ibid, pp. 52ff.
yawning gap between the religions of the old order and Christianity of the new. 35 At any rate, the mysteries professed to offer a type of "salvation"; and it was "salvation" that the tragic masses were pathetically seeking during those dark days preceding the dawn!

The gods of the mysteries were saviour-gods. This was their primary function. The God of a given community was regarded as the σωτήρ, and those who were fortunate enough to be identified with him were afforded salvation (σωτηρία). Angus thinks this salvation had to do both with this life and the life to come. 36 If this be true, one can see how ready was the word for Paul's use in the New Testament.

As a representative of the significance of σωτηρία in the mystery-religions, we note its use in the Attis ritual: 37

θαρρεῖτε μῦστα τοῦ θεοῦ
σεσωμένου, ἐσται γὰρ ὄμιν
τῶν πόνων σωτηρία

"Be of good cheer, initiates, the god has been saved: thus for you also shall there be salvation from your troubles."

The above words of consolation were spoken by the priest in connection with the spring festival (Megalensia)

35Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism, p. x.
36Angus, The Mystery-Religions and Christianity, pp. 52ff.
37Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, p. 91.
of the Great Mother when, in the form of a sort of passion play, the myth of Attis was rehearsed. Angus gives us his picture of the ceremony.

The sacred pine-tree under which the unfaithful youth had mutilated himself was cut down. The tree then, prepared like a corpse, was carried into the sanctuary, accompanied by a statue of the god and other symbols. Then followed the lamentation of Attis, with an appropriate period of abstinence. On the Day of Blood the tree was buried, while the mystae in frenzied dances gashed themselves with knives to prove their participation in the sorrows of the god that they might have fellowship in his joy. Next night the Resurrection of Attis was celebrated by the opening of the grave. In the darkness of the night a light was brought to the open grave, while the presiding priest anointed the lips of the initiates with holy oil, comforting them with the words: 'Be of good cheer...,' etc.

The picture that comes to us in the above ritual is a dark one, but the meaning of our word σωτηρία is manifest. Whatever the salvation of the god Attis consisted of, the initiate would share in it. Basically, the salvation of Attis consisted in his "resurrection" from the grave. The grave was his "trouble." Even so the mystae would have liberation from their trouble.

Through the rites, therefore, says Moore, "came the promise of security here and of salvation after death." "The devotee of Mithros, of Isis, of Cybele and Attis--whatever the god might be--believed that by initiation he had been born into a new life, that the rites which he celebrated had a

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38 Angus, The Mystery-Religions and Christianity, pp. 59ff.
purifying power, and that they protected him against the assaults of evil spirits."  

Another splendid interpretation of the kind of salvation offered by the Mystery-Religions (Isis) comes to us by way of the memorable description of the initiation of Lucius of Cenchrae. The candidate remained within the sacred precincts of the temple until he was called by the goddess, else he might become guilty of sacrilege and pay the penalty of death.

For, says the high priest, the portals of the nether world and the guardianship of salvation are placed in the hand of the goddess, and the initiation itself is solemnized as the symbol of a voluntary death (ad instar voluntariae mortis) and a salvation given in answer to prayer, for the goddess is wont to choose such as, having fulfilled a course of life, stand at the threshold of the departing light, to whom nevertheless the great mysteries of religion can be safely entrusted; and after they have been, by her providence, in a sense born again (quodam modo renatós), she places them again on the course of a new life in salvation.

Thus again "salvation" hinges upon the careful performance of the prescribed ceremonies by the initiate. "No unbiased mind", says Ramsay, "can fail to read between the lines almost pathetic indications of a craving for a fullness of life, for a real and enduring salvation."  

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40Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 100f.

41Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
One may wonder why these mystery-religions won such a large following in the Roman Empire. The answer lies in the fact that men everywhere needed religious comfort and security. There could be no relief in unbelief or gnosticism. Certainly Rome herself could offer nothing of the nature of a satisfying redemptive-religion. Greece could do no better, for she could only look to her own philosophies now "saturated with Orientalism."\(^{42}\) The long and short of it all lay in the fact that "the Orientals were offering the dissatisfied Romans the religious comforts which they could not find elsewhere."\(^{43}\) And, far removed as the above use of \(σωτηρία\) may be from that of the Apostle Paul, one cannot help seeing in it a precursor of something infinitely more glorious and satisfying to the heart and soul of man.

In the Greek mysteries, the sacrifice which followed the rites of purification was known as \(σωτηρία\), "a sacrifice of salvation." And, in addition to the public sacrifice, each of the initiates sacrificed for himself a pig.\(^{44}\)

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\(^{42}\) Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity, p. 37.

\(^{43}\) Loc. cit.

\(^{44}\) Hatch, The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages Upon the Christian Church, p. 287.
Rawlinson⁴⁵ says that the Greek religion, "in general," may be described as nature worship involving a multitudinous pantheon. Nevertheless, as we turn to the utterance of the poets and philosophers,⁴⁶ and to the mysteries, we find loftier ideas than those expressed by the anthropomorphic standards of the Homeric poems.⁴⁷

Whatever may be said of the Greek mysteries, as they relate to the use of σωτηρία, the "saved" always consist of the initiates, those who have been admitted into the mystery-church, "who have been purified by the cathartic rites of admission, and through its sacraments have become partakers of the divine nature."⁴⁸ In the words of Rawlinson, "Initiation into the mysteries was at least one of the methods by which in the Hellenistic period man sought for salvation. And the 'salvation' for which they were looking was primarily deliverance from death."⁴⁹ Rawlinson adds that the deliverance sought was sometimes, also, from "Fate."

Perhaps a word should be spoken at this point in connection with Orphism, inasmuch as the Orphics "definitely

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⁴⁵Rawlinson, The Religions of the Ancient World, pp. 40ff.
⁴⁶Loc. cit.
⁴⁸Moore, History of Religions, p. 448.
⁴⁹Rawlinson, The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ,
shifted man's look from this world to the world beyond."\textsuperscript{50} Salvation was by sacrament, by the common initiatory rites as seen in other mysteries, and by esoteric doctrine.\textsuperscript{51} No one who had not participated in this ritual could hope for salvation. But for those who enjoyed this salvation there was the deliverance of the soul\textsuperscript{52} from the pollution of the body and the glad escape from purificatory punishment in Hades.\textsuperscript{53}

Significant is the ancient Teuton's idea of salvation. Says Youngert, "To the ancient Teuton, the idea of salvation applied in the first place to the getting rid of those things which to him were absolutely evil. It also meant preservation from destruction, danger, and calamity as he expected to meet it. Salvation thus meant delivery from evil spirits and from anything which they might bring about."\textsuperscript{54} This salvation, while referring in the main to this life, points also to the soul's welfare in the world to come.

Our discussion, in the light of our research, might go on almost ad infinitum with regard to the meaning of

\textsuperscript{50}Moore, \textit{The Religious Thought of the Greeks}, p. 59.

\textsuperscript{51}Angus, \textit{The Mystery Religions and Christianity}, pp. 154ff.

\textsuperscript{52}Kennedy, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{53}Angus, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 151.

"salvation" in the parlance of the pagan world of Paul's day, but the net result would be much the same. Survey as we will the mystic cults, "Whatever name they bear, their ultimate aim was identical—to raise the soul above the transiency of perishable matter to immortal life through actual union with the Divine."55

In a word, σωτηρία meant for the pagan of the Graeco-Roman world "safety, health in the fullest human sense, and alleviation of pain to which individualism had rendered people more sensitive."56 Hence the term smacked of health, both of body and of soul, as the pagan, in general, used it. It is easy to see, therefore, how Paul, upon preaching in the great pagan centers like Antioch, Ephesus, and Corinth, and using the term σωτηρία, is bound to appeal to his audience, and doubly so when the σωτηρία which he offers carries with it the assurance of life eternal.57

C. IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

We turn now to inquire as to the meaning of σωτηρία as used in the New Testament by the non-Pauline writers. Inasmuch as these writings may be called "contemporary," they

55Kennedy, op. cit., p. 78f.
57Kennedy, loc. cit.
are of special importance to our understanding of σωτηρία as used by Paul.

We find that σωτηρία occurs a total of twenty-seven times in the non-Pauline writings of the New Testament. It is used in Luke four times; in the Gospel of John, one time; in Acts, six times; in Hebrews, seven times; in I Peter, four times; in II Peter, five times; in Jude, one time; in Revelation, three times. Because of the important bearing of each of these references upon the Pauline usage of σωτηρία, we shall examine them all.

Our first reference, Luke 1:69, reads as follows:

καὶ ἀρείπος κέρας σωτηρίας ἤμιαν ἐν σκίνῃ Δαγεὶδ τικοῦς ἀματος—"And hath raised up a horn of salvation for us in the house of his servant David." The roots of this passage clearly lie in the Old Testament, as the following verse reveals: "As he spoke by the mouth of his holy prophets that have been from of old." The metaphor of the horn, used so frequently in the Old Testament, is taken from "the horns of animals, especially bulls", and represents strength. "The wild-ox, wrongly called 'unicorn' in A. V., was proverbial for strength."

58 I Sam. 2:1,10; Ps. 18:2; 89:17; 132:17; Ezek. 29:21.
60 Loc. cit.
as used here, then, means "deliverance", the kind of deliverance for which the nation of Israel had yearned through the centuries. Being coupled with κέρας, it lends itself to the interpretation so characteristic of the passage examined in the LXX.

In Luke 1:71, the meaning of σωτηρία is equally lucid and the usage equally traditional: σωτηρίαν ἐκ ἔχομεν ἡμῶν καὶ ἐκ Χειρὸς Πάντων τῶν μισούντων ἡμᾶς -- "Salvation from our enemies, and from the hand of all that hate us." This passage is "in apposition with κέρας σωτηρίας and epexegetic of it." Hence, σωτηρία means in this passage, as in the previous one, not so much "preservation from bodily harm" (as in Gen. 26:31, and 2 Sam. 19:2), but rather Messianic deliverance. Thus we see, as we began to see in the Old Testament (Is. 49:6,8), the idea of σωτηρία in its process of enlargement and

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61Ibid., p. 41.
62Plummer, loc. cit.
63Loc. cit.
purification, a perfect background for Paul's later use in his Epistles.

The reference in Luke 1:77 shows a further "evolution" of the term σωτηρία: 

σωτηρίας τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀφεσι θεματῶν αὐτῶν

"To give knowledge of salvation unto his people in the remission of their sins." Here we have the infinitive of purpose, a pure final clause, which presents the "aim and end of the work of the forerunner. John is not to grant remission of sins--the Messiah is to do that (vv. 69, 71)--he is merely to give to the people knowledge of the kind of salvation that consists of the remission of sins. In this instance, σωτηρία refers not to a political deliverance from the dominion of Rome, but rather to a spiritual liberation, freedom from the dominion of sin. But the idea of deliverance is still present, true to the ancient pattern. It is only the character of the deliverance that has changed. The emphasis, as we see, begins to shift from the purely material to the more spiritual.

One other reference in Luke engages us. In 19:9 we have: 

ἐἶπεν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν [ὁ] Ἰησοῦς ὁ τις Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ ὀίκῳ τούτῳ ἐγένετο

64 Ibid, p. 43.
"and Jesus said unto him, Today is salvation come to this house." Σωτηρία refers unequivocally to the "Messianic" mission of Jesus. As to the despised schismatic in John 4:26, and to the repulsive outcast from the synagogue (John 9:37), Jesus makes a "spontaneous revelation of His Messiahship."65 Says Plummer, "In each case He knew that the recipient had a heart to welcome His gift: and it is in this welcome, and not in the mere visit, that the σωτηρία consisted." It will be of interest to note, however, the reaction of the moral life of Zacchaeus to the coming of this "salvation." In v. 8 we read: "And Zacchaeus stood, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have wrongfully exacted aught of any man, I restore fourfold." Certainly Zacchaeus had deliverance from his old manner of life, which had probably been characterized by graft and selfishness. Now he has a new interest in life; he suddenly becomes altruistic, so much so is he that he is willing to give the half of his goods to the poor, and to restore fourfold that which he has wrongfully exacted.

In the Gospel of John we have only one occurrence

In 4:22 we read: òμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε δ' οὐκ οἶδατε ἐγώ ὑμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν δ' οἶδαμεν δι' ὃ σωτηρία τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν

"Ye worship that which ye know not: we worship that which we know; for salvation is from the Jews." The reference is taken from the familiar interview between Jesus and the Samaritan woman. The question as to the proper place of worship is shifted to one of much larger proportions, the object of worship. Jesus reminds the woman that her worship is directed toward one whom she does not really know or understand. Being limited in faith to the law, she becomes ignorant of the real God of Israel. "We Jews, on the other hand . . . worship that which we know; because the promised salvation is of the Jews."^66

\[\text{Σωτηρία} \] refers to the Messianic salvation; that is to say, the salvation that has been promised through the prophets, the Psalms, and the Law—the salvation that is to be realized in the mission of the Messiah who comes from the Jews. As the Roman might put it, salus ex Judaeis est. Now \[\text{Σωτηρία} \], in this sense, carried the idea of national deliverance and the fulfillment of the common aspirations of a nation that had for generations felt the sting of frustrated hope. (As this passage is considered, note that the Samaritans had repudiated their Jewish origin. This is revealed by a letter to Antiochus Epiphanes which is recorded for us in Josephus.\(^67\))


\(^{67}\text{Josephus, Ant. XII, 5.}\)
In Acts we find \( \sigma \omega \theta \eta \rho \iota \alpha \) used six times. The first reference occurs in 4:12 and reads as follows: 

\[ \text{kai ouk estin en allo oudeven \( \sigma \omega \theta \eta \rho \iota \alpha \), oude yar onomai en anerwtois en \( \omega \delta \iota \) deis} \]

\( \sigma \omega \theta \eta \rho \iota \alpha \) \( \eta \mu \alpha \) -- "and in none other is there salvation: For neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved."

This passage employs \( \sigma \omega \theta \eta \rho \iota \alpha \) in the sense of Messianic salvation,\(^{68}\) much as it was used by Jesus in John 4:22. One thing should be noted, however. There is a stronger personal element associated with the term here: "For there is no other name that has been given among men in which it is necessary for you to be saved."\(^{69}\) Peter unequivocally declares that in Jesus Christ, and in him alone, is there salvation. "Here is a tacit invitation to the rulers to seek deliverance from the sin of contradicting God in Christ,"\(^{70}\) and to seek by way of Christ and no other.

Kypke calls attention to the phrase \( \epsilon \upsilon \tau \iota \varsigma \ \sigma \omega \theta \eta \rho \iota \alpha \nu \epsilon i \nu \alpha \) as used by Josephus, Aristophanes, and Demosthenes in the sense of placing "safety" in a person or

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\(^{70}\) Loc. cit.
thing; and, says Parkhurst, "he, rightly I think, refers σωτηρία in this text both to the temporal saving or recovering of the body, and to the spiritual salvation of the soul."  At any rate, this use of σωτηρία is doubly significant, coming as it does after Peter's declaration concerning the means whereby the afflicted man was able to stand in their presence "whole."

In Acts 7:25 we have another good example of the use of σωτηρία in the ancient sense of "deliverance": ἐνόμιζεν δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅτι οὗτος ἀναπτερὸς ἦν ὁ θεὸς διὰ τῆς κατηφορᾶς αὐτοῦ διά σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς, οὐ δὲ αὐτοῖς "and he supposed that his brethren understood that God by his hand was giving them deliverance; but they understood not."

This passage, taken from the speech of Stephen, refers to the act of Moses in slaying the Egyptian. Moses took it for granted that his people would comprehend the motive that lay behind his deed, but they did not. "This man actually did deliver the people, with God's presence made evident by wonders and signs in Egypt, at the Red Sea, and in the Wilderness Wandering, for forty years."  

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72Carver, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
This use of \( \sigma\varphi\eta\iota\alpha \) is about as near the traditional, pagan use of the term in the sense of "deliverance" as one can find in the Bible.

In Acts 13:26, we have the following passage: "Brethren, children of the stock of Abraham, and those among you that fear God, to us is the word of this salvation (\( \theta\varsigma \sigma\varphi\eta\varphi\iota\alpha\varsigma \tau\alpha\upsilon\eta\varsigma \)) sent forth." Paul in this address at Antioch of Pisidia uses \( \sigma\varphi\eta\iota\alpha \) in the sense of "the message of Jesus as Saviour (v.23), long ago promised and now come to us as Saviour."\(^{73}\) Hence the Messianic ideal finds concrete expression in the actual, flesh and blood advent of Jesus the Saviour. Israel has, through the seed of David, her long awaited "deliverer."

Another pertinent passage occurs in the same chapter: "For so hath the Lord commanded us, saying I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles, That thou shouldest be for salvation (\( \epsilon\varsigma \sigma\varphi\eta\varphi\iota\alpha\varsigma \)) unto the uttermost part of the earth."\(^{74}\)

The above words of Paul follow the rejection of his message by the Jews. His address on the previous Sunday had created such a sensation that the people entreated him to deliver it again, and so with the coming of the next

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\(^{73}\)Robertson, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. III, p. 191.

\(^{74}\)\textit{Acts} 13:47.
Sabbath "almost the whole city" had gathered to hear him. But the Jews became green jealous and "blasphemed." Consequently we see Paul and Barnabas turn to the Gentiles, and in doing so justify their course by quoting from Is. 49:6. So Paul and Barnabas become instruments in God's hand for carrying out God's plan of salvation for the wide world. The idea is clearly Messianic.

Two other passages in the Acts engage us briefly. The first occurs in chapter sixteen, verse 17: "The same following after Paul and us cried out, saying, These men are servants of the Most High God, who proclaim unto you the way of salvation" (δοῦν σωτηρίας). The interest in this passage lies chiefly in the absence of the article in the use of σωτηρία. The Demoniac Girl with her "uncanny insight"75 called Paul's message "a way of salvation." It was not for her "the way" but "a way." In Paul's day,76 as now, numerous "ways of salvation" were offered, as we have seen from our study. Could it be that the persistence of the demented girl in following after Paul for "many days" was due to the fact that she wanted "deliverance" from the evil spirit that was within her, perverting her life? Certainly one would not expect to fall from her

75Carver, op. cit., p. 168.
76Robertson, op. cit., Vol. III, p. 255.
lips an understanding of σωτηρία that went beyond the simple idea of "deliverance."

The other reference in Acts is in 27:34, and is as follows: "Wherefore I beseech you to take some food: for this is for your safety (Τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει): for there shall not a hair perish from the head of any of you." For two weeks the ship on which Paul was journeying had been tossed to and fro on the raging sea. There had consequently been little opportunity for "regular food or rest."77 So, with a view to their "deliverance", it was necessary that they take food for the nourishment of their weak bodies. Σωτηρία is used in the sense of "safety" or "preservation", just as we found it again and again in the Classics. It does not mean "spiritual salvation", as commonly it does in the New Testament.78

The Epistle to the Hebrews abounds in the use of σωτηρία. There are seven occurrences, all told. The first is found in 1:14: "Are they not all ministering spirits, sent forth to do service for the sake of them that shall inherit salvation (σωτηριά)?"

In this case, "salvation" quite definitely refers to "the final salvation in its consummation." Says Dr.

77Carver, op. cit., p. 259f.
Robertson,79 "Only here in the New Testament do we have 'inherent' salvation." The emphasis sets forth the complete deliverance as something to be "inherited" or "realized" at some future time. The word κληρονομεῖω signifies to obtain or to possess something "by inheritance."

The second reference in Hebrews is a familiar one: πῶς ἡμεῖς ἐκφευγόμεθα τηλικαύτης ἀμελήσαντες σωτηρίας—"How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation?"80 If we examine the context, we see that the writer has just been describing the salvation to which he refers ( ζῆτις). It consists of the message of deliverance that comes through Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the full and final revelation.81 This message of salvation is clothed with certainty and we cannot escape its bearing on our lives. The "signs and wonders" and "manifold powers" of God have borne witness to the reality of this salvation which is destined to form the basis of "the world that is to come."82 Σωτηρία as here used, then, is Messianic in nature, and is defined as the coming of Christ, together with the full revelation of his nature and holy enterprise.

80 Hebrews 2:3.
82 Hebrews 2:5.
In Him is "deliverance", "preservation", moral and spiritual "welfare." To neglect the significance of this salvation is to become subject to consequences from which we cannot escape.

In verse 10 of the same chapter, the author carries the thought still further, the matter of Christ's relation to our salvation: "For it became him, for whom are all things, and through whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the author of their salvation (σωτηρίας) perfect through sufferings." Here σωτηρία is used in the general sense of deliverance, moral and spiritual welfare; and Jesus Christ is declared to be the author (originator, founder) of it all. I would call this use of σωτηρία, then, the simple New Testament "generic" use.

We turn now to Hebrews 5:9 and read: "And having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation (σωτηρίας αἰωνίου)." Christ is held up again as the "author" (αἴτιος --"cause") of salvation for all who obey him. The usage is similar to that of the preceding reference, with the qualifying αἰωνίου added. The writer is saying that in Christ we find the basis of a "deliverance" that is utterly without end. We are to

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look upon Him as the very source of our eternal security, a security that holds good under all circumstances whether by life or by death.

In Hebrews 9:28 we have another example: "So Christ also, having been once offered to bear the sins of many, shall appear a second time, apart from sin, to them that wait for him unto salvation (εἰς σωτηρίαν)." Σωτηρία, while referring to the same kind of deliverance as that of the previous passages, places the emphasis on the "final and complete" state of salvation which is to be realized at the Second Coming of Christ. Borrowing from the Grammarian's treatment of the aorist tense, we would call this the "effective" use of σωτηρία.

One other passage in Hebrews remains: "By faith Noah, being warned of God concerning things not seen as yet, moved with godly fear, prepared an ark to the saving (εἰς σωτηρίαν) of his house . . ." One who is familiar with the context from which this passage is drawn will readily see that σωτηρία refers to "preservation" from physical destruction. God had said to Noah, "The end of all flesh is come before me; for the earth is filled with violence through them; and, behold, I will destroy them with the earth . . .

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86Hebrews 11:7.
But I will establish my covenant with thee."\(^{87}\) Obviously, God is going to destroy "everything that is in the earth" except Noah and his family, whom he promises to save if Noah will build an ark and he and his family enter it for the duration of the flood (Gen. 6). This is a splendid example of the frequent LXX use of σωτηρία, and illustrates perfectly the more primitive use of the term. Noah was a man of faith, else he would not have built the ark; and he is called by Peter "a preacher of righteousness", but it must be remembered that the purpose of the ark was to save his family from physical destruction!

In I Peter, σωτηρία occurs four times. The first reference is as follows: "Who by the power of God are guarded through faith unto a salvation (ἕις σωτηρίαν) ready to be revealed in the last time." Here, as in Hebrews 9:28, σωτηρία is used in the general sense of spiritual deliverance, or welfare, but with the emphasis on the ultimate consummation of that state. (Faith is the channel of means, and God is the power by which we are "guarded" unto this hope.)

The references that follow in vv. 9 and 10 of the same chapter\(^ {88}\) present similar uses of σωτηρία: "receiving

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\(^{87}\)Genesis 6:13ff.

\(^{88}\)II Peter 1:9,10.
the end of your faith, even the (σωτηρίαν) salvation of your souls. Concerning which salvation (σωτηρίας) the prophets sought and searched diligently, who prophesied of the grace that should come unto you." The writer is contemplating the full and final state of deliverance and preservation that is to be looked upon as the ultimate objective of every believer.

The use of σωτηρία in I Peter 2:2 deserves our careful notice: οὕτως ἀρτιγέννητα βρέφη τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα ἐπὶ ποθόσατε, ἵνα ἐν αὐτῷ ἀμφηθῆτε εἰς σωτηρίαν. Salvation is here looked upon as something to be progressively realized: "As newborn babes, long for the spiritual milk which is without guile, that you may grow thereby unto salvation." Just as an infant hungers for milk and in taking it grows and develops in its physical processes, so is the believer to long for "spiritual milk" and by means of it "grow unto salvation." This would seem to imply that the scope or character of the believer's salvation increases in proportion to the spiritual nourishment he receives. At the same time, the writer again accents the "effective" nature of our σωτηρία. He holds out before us an ever-increasing hope, now partially realized but later to be more fully enjoyed.
Let us examine the usage in II Peter 3:15 before we pass on: "And account that the long suffering of our Lord is salvation (σωτηρία); even as our beloved brother Paul also, according to the wisdom given to him, wrote unto you." This is the general or generic New Testament use of σωτηρία. In it is caught up the whole significance of the deliverance that comes to the believer through Christ. Whatever delay there may be with regard to the coming of "the day of God," it is used as a further opportunity for growth "in the grace and knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ."90

The Epistle of Jude (v. 3) furnishes us one reference: "Beloved, while I was giving all diligence to write unto you of our common salvation (σωτηρίας)." There is nothing distinctive about this use of σωτηρία. It merely refers in a general way to the spiritual welfare of those who are "beloved in God, the Father, and kept for Jesus Christ."91

There remain only three other instances where σωτηρία is used in the non-Pauline writings of the New Testament. Each of these is in Revelation.

We consider, first, Rev. 7:10: "And they cry with a great voice, saying, Salvation (η σωτηρία) unto our

89 II Peter 3:12.
90 II Peter 3:18.
91 Jude 1.
God who sitteth on the throne and unto the Lamb." This usage of \( \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \) occurs in a hymn of adoration ascribed to Deity and carries the general idea of "safety" or "welfare" with regard to Him who is over all. This is merely another instance of the general New Testament use of the term.

Another example occurs in Rev. 12:10: "And I heard a great voice in heaven, saying, Now is come the salvation (\( \kappa\eta\ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\ ), and the power, and the kingdom of our God, and the authority of his Christ; for the accuser of our brethren is cast down, who accuseth them before our God day and night. And they overcame him because of the blood of the Lamb, and because of the word of their testimony." The context renders this use of \( \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \) obvious. It means "deliverance", "preservation", from an adversary.

Our final reference is in Rev. 19:1. The usage implies the common sense of "welfare", "safety", "prosperity": "After these things I heard as it were a great voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, Hallelujah; salvation. (\( \kappa\eta\ \sigma\omega\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha\ ), and glory, and power, belong to our God."
CHAPTER IV

PAUL'S VARIED USE OF SOTERIA

Our study began with an inquiry into the etymology and definition of σωτηρία together with its related forms. Following this, we examined representative examples of the word in pre-New Testament usage. We found it used extensively in the Classics, in the LXX, and in the Apocrypha. Next, we surveyed the use of the term in non-Pauline writings of the first century, finding it variously used in the New Testament, and in the papyri and inscriptions with reference to the religions of the Roman Empire. We now come to examine the distinctive Pauline use. What did the word signify in the mind of the Apostle Paul as he variously used it in his Epistles of the New Testament?

Let us begin by saying that in the light of our study the word σωτηρία "was especially suited through its pagan religious use for employment in making the Christian Gospel intelligible to the Graeco-Roman world. The world wished and was praying for something like the 'salvation' that Paul announced to all."¹

Paul, of course, in using σωτηρία, merely followed in the footsteps of the earlier Christians who found

their immediate prototype in the LXX. But the LXX writers employed it not merely because it was common in pagan religious expressions, but because there was something in the term that reflected the deep longings of people of every race and every clime. For the pagans the word was filled with power and for centuries had been familiar to them in their religious observances.

As we proceed with our study of σωτήριον in the New Testament, however, as it relates to the Epistles of Paul, we must guard against reading into the term the full flavor of the pagan connotation and stopping there. As Robertson observes, "There are indeed numerous theological terms that have a new meaning in the LXX, and so in the New Testament." These terms, common to the usage of the Roman Empire, were taken by the Christian and given "the deeper and more spiritual sense with which the New Testament writings have made us familiar." One finds, of course, in such a study, remarkable analogies between the pagan and Christian usage of given words and, more recently, "some scholars have

2Ramsay, loc. cit.
3Loc. cit.
5Ibid, p. 81f.
been so impressed with these analogies as to forget or ignore the even more startling differences.\(^6\) That an analogy does exist there can be no doubt. There are outward resemblances between many terms as used in the New Testament when the real resultant meanings are as different as the day and night. Thus the Hellenistic kings were commonly called "saviour" and "manifest God." In an Alexandrian inscription of 33 B.C. the triumvir Antony is saluted as "God and Benefactor," while an Athenian inscription of 48 B.C. hails Julius Caesar as "Saviour and Benefactor."\(^7\) But no etymologist would be stupid enough to suppose that \(\sigma\omega\tau\iota\nu\rho\), when applied to a Hellenic king, means the same as it does when it is applied to the Lord Jesus Christ. Ramsay states our position well when he says:

Along with the religious conceptions and the organizing forms, Paul (and in a much smaller degree the pre-Pauline teachers) adopted the names and words of existing society. He did not attempt to create a new Christian language: such an attempt must have proved vain, and would have stultified itself: he must speak to his audiences in their own language if he wished to reach their hearts. But the already existing words he filled with a fuller, and richer and more spiritual content. Thus the words of the early Christian teaching were old, but the meaning was so much developed that they were still intelligible in a certain degree to the pagans—not indeed fully intelligible.\(^8\)

In the words of Dr. A. T. Robertson, "Paul often took the very words of Gnostic or Mithra cult and filled them with the

\(^6\)Ramsay, op. cit., p. 174.
\(^7\)Angus, The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World, p. 25.
\(^8\)Ramsay, op. cit., p. 180.
And so we find Paul employing the term οὐσία, that ancient vehicle of pagan thought, to clothe the roseate forms of spiritual truth in the New Testament. To these usages we now turn in our study.

Σωτηρία occurs a total of eighteen times in Paul's Epistles. The references are as follows: Romans 1:16; 10:1,10; 11:11; 13:11; II Cor. 1:6; 6:2,2; 7:10; Eph. 1:13; Phil. 1:19,28; 2:12; I Thess. 5:8,9; II Thess. 2:13; II Tim. 2:10; 3:15. (We follow A. T. Robertson and others in accepting the traditional Pauline authorship of these Epistles.) We shall consider the references in this order.

In our first reference (Romans 1:16) we read: οὐ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἔκπληξία ἐκ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, δύναμις γὰρ θεοῦ ἐστὶν εἰς σωτηρίαν πάντι τῷ πιστεύοντι, Ἰουδαίῳ τε καὶ Ἑλληνι—"For I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."

Let us get the background and setting for this passage (and the others that follow in Romans) clearly in mind.

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9Robertson, op. cit., p. 116.
The apostle himself tells us that for a long time (Romans 1:13; 15:23) he has cherished the desire to pay a visit to Rome, and that he hopes very soon to see that desire fulfilled. Sanday and Headlam think Paul was at the capital of Achaia at the time of the writing, about to make the journey to Jerusalem in connection with the collection taken in the Greek churches. Phoebe, an outstanding member of the church at Cenchrae, is the bearer of the Epistle. The purpose of the Epistle evidently lay first in Paul's desire to deepen his fellowship with the church at Rome which was probably composed of both Jew and Gentile Christians. But, says Sanday and Headlam, "the main theme of the letter is the gathering in of the harvest, at once of the Church's history since the departure of its Master, and of the individual history of a single soul, that one soul which under God had had the most active share in making the course of external events what it was." In a word, the Epistle concerns itself directly with the doctrine of justification by faith and treats the subject from all angles, relating it fully to both the Jew and Gentile worlds.

The Epistle begins with the traditional salutation (vv. 1-7), which is followed by a brief personal word with

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regard to Paul and the Roman Church (vv. 8-15). The two verses that follow constitute "The Great Thesis", namely, that the Righteousness of God is to be attained through faith, and faith alone: "Not by man's work, but by God's gift, through faith, or loyal attachment to Christ."\[14\]

Paul begins the statement of his thesis concerning the righteousness of God by a word of tribute to the Gospel: "for I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth." The one word here that deserves special consideration in connection with our study of οὐραίω is the word for power, δύναμις. Look at the two together; lift them out of the context, and, in the light of the history of οὐραίω, note how logically they go together: power—salvation!

"We shall not do wrong if we think of the Gospel as a 'force' in the same kind of sense as that in which science has revealed to us the great 'forces' of nature. It is a principle operating in a vast and continually enlarging scale, and taking effect in a countless number of individuals."\[15\] Behind the Gospel and under it and in it is the measureless might of God's Omnipotence—His Force!

\[14\]Ibid, p. xlvii.

\[15\]Ibid, p. 23.
What a fitting word, then, for Paul to use over against δύναμις — σωτηρία! When the δύναμις of God sets to work in the life of the believer something happens; the whole personality begins to move in the direction of salvation. Deliverance lies ahead: "freedom", "safety", "personal welfare", "moral and spiritual health."

As Sanday and Headlam note, and as our study has revealed, "The fundamental idea contained in σωτηρία is the removal of dangers menacing to life and the consequent placing of life in conditions favorable to free and healthy expansion."\(^\text{16}\) The kind of dangers and ills from which the believer here is to be delivered, then, consists of the ὀργή Θεοῦ (v. 18) under which the wicked world is lying and the τίμια "which awaits sinners at the last judgment."\(^\text{17}\)

In the words of John Parry,\(^\text{18}\) σωτηρία as here used "includes deliverance from the slavery of sin and full spiritual and moral health. It covers the whole range of the Messianic deliverance, both in its negative aspect as a rescuing from the Wrath . . . and in its positive aspect as

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\(^\text{16}\)Ibid, p. 23.


\(^\text{18}\)Parry, The Epistle to the Romans, Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 39f.
the imparting of eternal life." Parry adds that it is a pity that the two adequate English translations "health" and "wealth" have been spoiled by custom so that it is necessary to fall back on the Latin "salvation."

One other thought engages us before we pass on to our next reference, namely, that σωτηρία is to be experienced purely on the basis of faith, and that it is available to all mankind "without distinction."19 The Pharisees, says David Smith, sought to establish by the works of the law "a righteousness of their own", whereas the righteousness of God is revealed in the Gospel, springing out of the realm of faith and unto faith.

Turning to Romans 10:1, we find our second reference:

'Αδελφοί, ἐὰν \( \eta \) μὲν εὐδοκία τὴν \( \epsilon \) μὴς καρδίας καὶ \( \eta \) δέησις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς σωτηρίαν --"Brethren, my heart's desire and my supplication to God is for them, that they may be saved."

The picture here is a gloomy one. Moved by the tragic rejection of his fellow-countrymen, the Apostle "pauses for a moment"20 to express his deep grief. Otherwise there is no break between Chapter X and vv. 30-33 of Chapter IX.

20Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 282.
(The fact that Paul refers to the Jews by ἤπερ αὐτῶν, in the third person, would indicate that the Epistle is addressed to a Gentile church, says Denney. 21)

The point is this: Israel, by her unbelief, had failed and stumbled "at the stone of stumbling", and by so much had forfeited her unique position with reference to God's plan of the ages. 22 From this state of unbelief and stumbling, therefore, Israel needs to be saved, and for their salvation Paul earnestly prays. Sanday and Headlam hold that εἰς σωτηρίαν here is the equivalent of ητα σῶθωσέ. 23 Benjamin Jowett 24 holds the same view (all of which serves to show how important the related terms are in any word study). As Lange puts it, "σωτηρία is the end which my εὐδοκία would have for them, and my prayer asks for them." 25 Εὐδοκία, of course, does not mean "desire", as it is so often rendered. It means rather "good will", "good pleasure", "satisfaction", "delight" (Souter, in loco). "His heart's εὐδοκία is that in which his

21 Denney, op. cit., p. 668.
23 Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 282.
heart could rest with complacency; that which would be a perfect satisfaction to it."

\[ \text{Σωτηρία} \] as here used, then, refers broadly to the idea of Messianic salvation. It is in the general sense that it is used, applying to a group rather than to the individual. Paul is merely thinking of the "state" of those who lack faith and stumble. The emphasis here is on the beginning, rather than on the final consummation of this state. He wants them to obtain \[ \text{Σωτηρία} \], the kind of salvation that belongs to those who put their trust in God by faith through Jesus Christ.

In verse 10 of the same chapter, the apostle carries the idea still further: \[ \text{Καρδία γὰρ πιστεύει εἰς δικαιοσύνην, στόματι δὲ ὁμολογεῖται εἰς Σωτηρίαν} -- "for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."

This verse presents a parallelism similar to that of the preceding verse—with the clauses in reverse order. "To be saved one must attain \[ \text{δικαίοσύνη} \], and this depends on heart faith; such faith, again, leading to salvation, must confess itself. To separate the two clauses and look for an independent meaning in each, is a mistake; a heart

\[ ^{26} \text{Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 668.} \]
believing unto righteousness, and a mouth making confession unto salvation, are not really two things, but two sides of the same thing."27 (Of interest is the impersonal construction of the verb, passive present indicative, which we note twice used along with the instrumental cases of στηριξις and καρδια, respectively.)28 Parry holds that the parallelism existing between δικαιοσύνη and σωτηρία renders the words "practically synonymous ones."29 Meyer adds: "For the style of the Hebrew parallelism the thought is thus expressed, 'With the faith of the heart is united the confession of the mouth to the result that one obtains righteousness and salvation.'"30

But the σωτηρία referred to here is of the same character as that mentioned in verse 1. He is still speaking in a general way of Israel's need of being rescued from her state of unbelief. In their present state they cannot share in the Messianic hopes—they have not obtained salvation.

Another similar use of σωτηρία is found in Romans 11:11. The passage reads: 

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29 Parry, op. cit., p. 140.
The passage under consideration is seeking to show that the rejection of Israel is not final but only partial, and has resulted in the extension of salvation to the Gentiles. The hope is expressed that upon seeing the Gentiles share in their historic privileges the jealousy of the Jews will become so aroused that they may be restored to their rightful place in the promises of God.  

Says David Smith, "the spectacle of the Gentiles enjoying their forfeited privileges would, in the language of the Scripture 'move them to jealousy' and thus their desolate hearts would turn to the Saviour whom they had rejected."

The subject of ἐπτυσίων and πέσωσίν is "the mass of the Jewish nation, all but the elect remnant." And, says Denny, "The contrast here between stumbling and falling shows that the latter is meant of an immediate fall, from which there is no rising."

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31 Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 318.
The μὴ with ἔπτασιν contemplates a negative answer, and the εὖ expresses the contemplated result.

The point is this: over against "stumbling" and "falling" on the part of the Jews, which marks them "out of bounds" with reference to salvation, we see σωτηρία coming to the Gentiles (τῶν ἑθνῶν, a possessive dative). The use of σωτηρία is general and refers, as in the previous instances, to the state of "safety" and "preservation" with regard to the purposes of God. This is another instance of the Messianic use of σωτηρία, and the emphasis is of an ingressive nature.

One other passage in Romans remains for our consideration. It is as follows: Καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρόν, ὅτι ἐνρά ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ μᾶς ἐς ὑπνοῦ ἐγερθήκα, νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστευόμεν.--"And this, knowing the season, that already it is time for you to awake out of sleep: for now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed."

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35 Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 318.
36 Romans 13:11.
Here the emphasis in σωτηρία is entirely different from that of the preceding verses in Romans. Paul speaks of salvation—his own salvation and that of the believing Roman Christians—as being "nearer" than it was when they believed. Says Denney:

"η σωτηρία has here the transcendent eschatological sense: it is the final, and complete deliverance from sin and death, and the reception into the heavenly kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ. This salvation was always near, to the faith of the Apostles; and with the lapse of time it became, of course, nearer."

Robertson says that Paul is referring to our final salvation—let it come as it may, whether by death or by the second coming of Christ. Vincent in his study of the passage holds that the order of the Greek words would lead us to believe that Paul had in mind the second coming of the Lord, rather than death, while Lange looks upon it as "the completion of the redemptive salvation of the Messianic kingdom." Lange goes on to argue:

"There is a daily progress from σωτηρία to σωτηρία. And particularly with Paul, a new era of the development of σωτηρία will come after Christianity shall have spread from Rome throughout the whole West, which according to the purpose of the Epistle is near at hand; and with the Christianization of the Roman world, the completed σωτηρία will be brought nearer."

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41Loc. cit.
A number of commentators, including Stuart, Webster, Hodge, and Wilkinson consider σωτηρία as here used to refer to the final consummation of salvation in eternity—a sort of liberation from the sting of the world of evil in which we now live. Hodge refuses to tie the reference up with the second coming, however, in opposition to a great number of modern German commentators, including DeWette, Olshausen, Philippe, and Meyer, who do.42

Parry takes the position that the context strongly favors the view that Paul has in mind here "the final state" which is the object of the Christian's hope and which is realized through the second coming of Christ.43

Perhaps it is left for Sanday and Headlam to state the case properly:

For our completed salvation, no longer that hope of salvation which sustains us here, is appreciably nearer for us than when we first accepted in faith the Messianic message. Ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν refers to the actual moment of the acceptance of Christianity. The language is that befitting those who expect the actual coming of Christ almost immediately, but it will fit the circumstances of any Christian for whom death brings the day.44

(In ἐπιστεύσαμεν we have a splendid example of the ingressive aorist, and this supports the view of Sanday and

42Lange, loc. cit.
43Parry, op. cit., p. 171.
44Sanday and Headlam, op. cit., p. 378.
Our position with regard to this passage, then, is that \( \text{o\'{w}t\'h\'r\'i} \) looks toward the completion of the Messianic salvation—the ultimate and final achievement of that blessed hope in Christ which came to us when we began our Christian life. \(^{45}\)

We now turn to Paul’s second Epistle to the Corinthians where we find \( \text{o\'{w}t\'h\'r\'i} \) appearing four times, as follows: 1:6; 6:2,2; 7:10.

Robertson holds that II Corinthians was written from Macedonia about the year A. D. 54 or 55, the occasion being the return of Titus from Corinth "with mixed news of the Pauline majority and minority in opposition." \(^{46}\) Says he, "This Epistle more than any other reveals the personal character of Paul. His whole nature is aroused over the situation at Corinth as Titus reports it to him on his arrival in Macedonia (II Cor. 2:12f; 7:6). There is alternate joy, sorrow, hope, discouragement, satisfaction and indignation." \(^{47}\)

At any rate, the Epistle logically falls into three general divisions. \(^{48}\) The first, chapters 1-7, has to do

\(^{45}\) Griffith, \textit{A Devotional Commentary}, Vol. III, p. 63f.


with the response of the church at Corinth with regard to the case of incest alluded to in the first Epistle (I Cor. 5,6). The second division, chapters 8 and 9, deals with the matter of the collection for the Christians of Judea. The third and last section has to do with Paul's vindication of his apostolic authority. The first division contains all four of our uses of σωτηρία.

Our first example, II Cor. 1:6, reads as follows: ἐγὼ δὲ θλιβόμεθα, ὑπὲρ τῆς συμῶν παρακλήσεως καὶ σωτηρίας --"But whether we are afflicted, it is for your comfort and salvation." Let us note that W. and H. place vv. 6 and 7 in brackets in the main body of the text and give a variant reading at the foot of the page. But it seems to me that the sense of σωτηρία is hardly altered enough to call for a further consideration. As Bernard observes, "The order of clauses in the latter part of the verse is variously given in the MSS", but for our purpose we will follow the order of W. and H.49 We agree with Stanley that "the general sense is the same in all."50

In his introductory words (vv. 1-11), Paul refers to the consolation that comes to the believer in hours


50Stanley, The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians, p. 357f.
of affliction and sorrow, having in mind, primarily, his recent sufferings in Asia (vv. 8-11), where he evidently drew nigh unto death: "Yes, we ourselves have had the sentence of death within ourselves, that we should not trust in ourselves, but in God who raiseth the dead" (v.9).

Verses 6 and 7 really amount to an expansion of the thought set forth in verse 4, namely that whatever takes place in the life of the Apostle—whether of affliction or consolations—it is all for the sake of those whom he has had the joy of leading to Christ. He is seeking to emphasize the fact that there is a common bond of fellowship existing between all Christians in Christ Jesus, a spirit of mutual sympathy and encouragement. Paul is, of course, at the time reminding the Corinthian brethren that sufferings are ahead of them as for all those who are to take up their cross and follow Christ.

There is nothing particularly distinctive about the use of σωτηρία here. It is merely the "general" use that is found frequently in the New Testament referring to the sum-total of the believer's relation to the saving Christ. The emphasis has to do neither with the beginning of that salvation nor with the consummation of it, in particular. It is a sort of telescopic reference to the whole.

52 loc. cit.
The next passage to be considered yields us two examples of σωθηρία. The verse reads as follows: λέγει γὰρ καὶ ἔποικος κοῦ καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωθηρίας ἐβοήθησέ σοι. ἰδοὺ νῦν καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εὐπρόσδεκτος, ἰδοὺ νῦν ἡμέρᾳ σωθηρίας—"for he saith, at an acceptable time I hearkened unto them, and in a day of salvation did I succour them: behold, now is the acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation."53

Here we have what is sometimes called another "Pauline parenthesis." The quotation is taken from the Old Testament54 and has to do with the promises of the Lord to despondent Zion. (Deliverance has been promised and assurance given that through Jehovah's servant both Gentiles and Jews are to be saved.55) "The whole verse is parenthetical, and is introduced to remind the Corinthians that the present dispensation is that dispensation of grace of which the prophet speaks," says Bernard.56 David Smith calls this verse a part of a general evangelical appeal (5:11-6:10).57 At any rate, Paul takes the words

53II Cor. 6:2.
54Isa. 49:8.
55Isa. 48-50.
57Smith, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 528ff.
originally spoken by Jehovah to His Servant, and uses them as if they were "addressed by God to His people",\(^5\)\(^8\) and the application is clear.

\(\Sigma \omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \) as here used, then, simply means "salvation", in the sense of the Messianic hope that was dear to the heart of every loyal Jew, and which hope is now being realized through fellowship with the Lord Christ. It is another instance of the "general" use of \(\omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \) so often found in the LXX, but now caught up and purified with the Christian concept of Christ at work in the believer.

The other Corinthian passage is found in chapter seven and verse ten: 

\[\text{"For godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation, a repentance which bringeth no regret: but the sorrow of the world worketh death."} \]

Grammatically speaking, \(\alpha \mu \epsilon \tau \mu \mu \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \tau \tau \eta \) may be taken with \(\omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \) (R. V. Margin), "but there would be no point", says Bernard, "in applying such an adjective to \(\omega \tau \eta \rho \iota \iota \), whereas it is quite apposite as applied to \(\mu \epsilon \tau \delta \nu \)\(^1\).\(^5\)\(^9\) Plummer agrees with Bernard and suggests

\(^{58}\)Bernard, loc. cit.

\(^{59}\)Ibid, Vol. III, p. 82f.
that \( \text{ἀμετάμετρον} \) with \( \text{σωτηρία} \) produces "an empty truism."\(^{60}\) Kling, on the other hand, takes the opposite view: "The idea will be that where a man is delivered from his sinful corruption he thereby attains everlasting life and must, of course, be forever satisfied . . . It must be conceded therefore that this epithet is quite suitable to such an application."\(^{61}\) Robertson fails to agree with Kling, however, and sides with Plummer and Bernard in assigning the adjective to \( \text{μετάνοια} \).\(^{62}\)

Note the picture we have, then: on the one hand, "salvation" produced by "the sorrow according to God"; on the other, "death" produced by "the sorrow of the world." Salvation or death—that is the effect! As one looks at \( \text{σωτηρία} \) here and contrasts it with \( \text{Θάνατος} \), his mind is literally flooded with images of the ancient usage of the word. So we have here merely another "general" use of the term referring to that blessed state of moral and spiritual health that abides in the Messianic relation!

We now turn to the Epistle to the Ephesians, where we find \( \text{σωτηρία} \) occurring one time. The Epistle was

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\(^{60}\)Plummer, Second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 114f.


probably written during Paul's second Roman imprisonment and was evidently intended to be a sort of encyclical letter designed not for the Ephesian church alone, but for a number of churches, "or rather for the Christian people found in the Roman Province of Asia, or more particularly in the Phrygian territory. Paul had spent some three years at Ephesus, yet the letter has few personal allusions. The entire Epistle is given over to the matter of setting forth the character of God's redemptive purpose as projected in Jesus Christ by means of human messengers. The dignity of the Church, the body of which Christ is the Head, receives an emphasis that makes the Epistle a suitable companion study to that of Colossians, where the emphasis is placed on Christ as the Head of the body, the Church.

The Epistle begins with the customary words of Christian greeting (1:1,2). Then follows what may be regarded as a sort of definitive statement concerning God's world-wide plan of redemptive activity (1:3-14). The passage begins with a discussion of our eternal choice to Divine sonship (1:3-6), and continues with regard to the historical

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63Salmond, The Epistle to the Ephesians, Expositors Greek Testament, Vol. III.
redemptive work of Christ (1:7-12). In verses 13 and 14 the Apostle seeks to explain the role of the Holy Spirit in the redemptive enterprise. It is at this point that we find our ancient word σωτηρια.

The passage reads as follows: ἐν ὑμῖν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν —"in whom ye also, having heard the word of the truth, the gospel of your salvation."

The phrase τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν says Salmand, is merely a "further definition" of τὸν λόγον τῆς ἀληθείας. "The preached word which has the truth for its essential content is that which brought you the good tidings of salvation."

Salmand also holds that the genitives here used are not those of apposition or identity, but rather the gen. objecti, the genitive of content or subject matter. Abbott interprets the phrase as "the gospel or good tidings whose subject matter was salvation." Meyer points out "that the gospel is not to be taken as the equivalent of 'the salvation', but rather as a manifestation of the power of God which has as its objective "salvation."

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67 Loc. cit.
68 Abbott, *Epistles to the Ephesians and the Colossians*, p. 22.
Braune looks upon the phrase, "the gospel of your salvation," as appositional, it being a definition of the preceding phrase, and points out that "word" corresponds to "gospel" and "truth" to "salvation." He would also have οὐσίαν to be "a gen-itive of the (spiritual) contents or subject matter."70

The meaning of οὐσία here is clear, however. It is the general use referring to that state of moral and spiritual security which belongs to those who have put their trust in the Lord Christ, the Messiah of Israel's hopes. As has been previously noted, Tyndall renders οὐσία in this instance by the word "health."71

One other observation should be made before passing. The use of καὶ ἐγείρετο as over against the previous ἐγείρετο would seem to indicate that the readers of the Epistle were Gentiles, rather than Jews, but that they were destined to share alike in the promises of His glory.72 They, too, had found entrance into the gracious promises of the Messianic hopes.73 "The salvation expressly included the heathen in its scope."74 In the words of David Smith, "There is the

71Dubois, The Practice of Salvation, pp. 52ff.
73Moule, Ephesian Studies, p. 34f.
guarantee of the final fulfillment of God's eternal purpose . . . the common fellowship of Jews and Gentiles in Christ."\(^{75}\)

In the Epistle to the Philippians, we find more fruitful soil, for in this letter σωτηρία occurs three times.

But before examining these references let us note one or two things about the Epistle as a whole, and the readers to whom it was addressed.

For generations, the town of Philippi had been of prominence in the Roman Empire. A Roman colony had been established there by Augustus, following his nearby defeat of Brutus and Cassius in 42 B.C., and had been granted the jus Italicum as an appeal to the colonists.\(^{76}\) In addition to being a city of industrial and military importance, there was a spirit of native religious zeal on the part of the inhabitants. Silvanus, the oriental god Men, and Dionysius, all had left their deposit in the spiritual soil of Philippi. With all this, Paul was thoroughly familiar. On his earlier visit to the city he had enjoyed a considerable ministry and had had some memorable experiences (Acts XVI). The occasion of the letter was evidently the visit of Epaphroditus, who had come to Paul, now in prison in Rome, bearing gifts from

\(^{75}\)Smith, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 51.

the church at Philippi. While in Rome, Epaphroditus became very ill. Upon his recovery, Paul sent him back to the beloved church, and by him the Epistle.

As one looks at the Epistle as a whole, he is impressed, says Kennedy, by its "artlessness." Says he, "All is spontaneous and free. He draws up no fixed scheme which has to be followed ... Thoughts crowd in upon him as he writes. His reminiscences of Philippi supply secret links of connection between paragraphs which might seem isolated from one another, lines of connection which we can no longer trace."77 Joy, says Robertson, is "the key-note" of the letter,78 a joy that springs from the loyal support which they have ever manifested toward him in his holy mission. All that he has seen of them and heard of them calls for joyful thanksgiving.

The Epistle opens, therefore, with a note of thanksgiving and supplication on behalf of the Philippian Christians (1:3-11). The section following (which contains the first two of our references) constitutes a brief autobiographical sketch in which Paul discusses the effect of his prison experiences with regard to the spread of the Gospel (1:12-18), with reference to himself (1:19-26), and with respect to the

Philippian saints (1:27-30).

With this background, let us examine our first example of σωτηρία, which occurs in 1:19. The passage reads as follows: 

\[ \text{διὸ δὲ γὰρ ὅτι ΤΟῦΤΟ ΜΟι ἈΠΟ-ΒΗΣΕΤΑΙ ἘΙς ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑ} \] "For I know that this shall turn out to my salvation."

As has just been pointed out, in the preceding verses Paul has been commenting on the effect of his prison experiences on the spread of the Gospel. He closes his comment by saying, "What then? Only that in every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is proclaimed; and therein I rejoice, yes, and will rejoice."\(^{79}\)

Now in verse 19, Paul says that these same experiences that have turned out to the "cutting forward" of the Gospel will also result in his own "salvation."

The σωτηρία to which Paul refers here would hardly have to do with his personal, physical safety. Verse 20 would not permit this. The kind of salvation to which he is referring will be experienced "equally whether he lives or dies."\(^ {80}\) Vincent also holds this view: "Not his deliverance from captivity, but it will prove salutary to him in a spiritual sense and to the saving work of the Gospel. Salvation

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\(^{79}\)Phil. 1:18.

\(^{80}\)Lightfoot, St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, p. 91.
simply is used, without any more precise definition; and the broader sense as related to his ministry seems to be indicated by the words, 'Christ shall be magnified in my body' in v. 20." Moule, too, is in accord with this position.

Kennedy sees no need for taking ςωτηρία, as here used, in an eschatological sense. It is evident, he says, from vv. 25-27 that Paul expects to see the Philippians again and probably has in mind, as he writes, his release.

Braune sides with Vincent, Meyer, and others in the view that ςωτηρία as here used does not refer to Paul's physical deliverance from captivity or to the ultimate preservation of his life in spite of his enemies. To him it means that "in himself (Paul) Christ and His gospel will be glorified and advanced." But F. B. Meyer prefers to find in the reference an eschatological accent.

Kennedy sees in τοῦτο --- ςωτ. a quotation taken from Job 13:16 in which sense it would signify "victory in a

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82 Moule, Philippian Studies, p. 46.
83 Meyer, op. cit., Vol. VIII, p. 29f.
84 Braune, The Epistle to the Philippians, Lange’s Commentary, in loco.
85 Meyer, The Epistle to the Philippians, A Devotional Commentary, p. 45.
contest for the right" and hence acccents the idea of personal, physical deliverance. 86

But we prefer to take our position with Vincent: "It is used here in the widest New Testament sense; not merely of future salvation but of the whole saving and sanctifying work of Christ in the believer." 87

Another example of this general use of σωτηρία is found in Phil. 1:28. The verse reads as follows: καὶ ἐὰν πτυρόμενοι ἐν μηδεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντίκειμένων (ζητεῖ ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἐνδείξεις ἁπωλείας, οὐκ ἔστω σωτηρίας, καὶ τοῦτο ἀπὸ θεοῦ...) --"and in nothing affrighted by the adversaries: which is for them an evident token of perdition; but of your salvation, and that from God."

Πτυρόμενοι is a present passive participle, from πτύρω, meaning "to frighten"--as of scared horses. 88

Ἀντίκειμένων (present middle ptc. of ἀντίκειμα) has reference to the antagonists of the Philippian Christians, probably heathen for the most part, though he may have had in mind some non-Christian Jews. 89

87 Vincent, *Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon*, I. C. C., p. 23.
(certainly the Jews were in the minority at Philippi). 90

Any faith that condemned idol-worship would have its day of hard sledding in Philippi. Paul says they are to have the same sort of conflict that he had in Philippi, and now is having at Rome. But the Philippians are not to be "frightened" or "scared." They are to remember that "salvation" lies ahead of them as over against "perdition" for the adversaries. The antithesis91 is clear: δικαιος -- σωτηριας. "That which should awaken the fears of others with regard to their final destiny, even if it does not, is to believers a pledge of salvation."92 This, says Meyer, is a reference to the "Messianic perdition and salvation."93 Moule adds, "This prospect of final glory is 'indicated' the more vividly as the disciples unite more firmly and lovingly around, and in, the cause of their Lord."94

So we have here another instance of the broad, general use of σωτηριας. While the sense of the word may

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90 Kennedy, loc. cit.
91 Loc. cit.
92 Braune, op. cit., Vol. VIII, in loco.
lean toward the future, along with ἀπωλείας, in the broader sense it merely signifies the total sweep of the Messianic God-man relation. The σωτηρία that Paul has in mind is already in progress—going on at the moment. In this thought the Philippians must be united.95

Let us now turn to the remaining reference in Philippians.96 Οστε, ἀγαπτοὶ μου, καθὼς πάντοτε ὑπηκοόσατε, μὴ ἑστάσητε ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ μου μόνον ἀλλὰ νῦν πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ ἀποστολῇ μετὰ φόβου καὶ ὑπόμονα τὴν ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίαν κατεργάσεσθε—"So then, my beloved, even as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."

Here we have a new emphasis in connection with σωτηρία. As Moule notes, "ἐαυτῶν is strongly emphatic. He appeals to them to 'learn to walk alone'—alone not of the Lord, but of Paul; not leaning too much on his present influence. 'Do not make me your proxy in spiritual duties which are your own.'"97 (As Vincent puts it, God expects us to cooperate in making His

95Smith, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 110f.
96Phil. 2:12.
97Moule, op. cit., p. 45.
saving work effective. There is God's part in this saving process, and there is man's part. "Human agency is included in God's completed work . . . Believe as if you had no power. Work as if you had no God."98 Or, in the words of Moule: "do not depend on me; take you your own souls in hand, in a faith and love which look, without the least earthly inter­mediation, straight to God, and to Him alone."99 (Lightfoot says that φόβον καὶ τρόμον signifies "a nervous and trembling anxiety to do right."100)

There is nothing in this passage to deprecate the work of God's free grace in bringing men from darkness into light (Eph. 2:8), for this grace of God "engenders moral faculties and stimulates moral exertions."101 The more grace, the more work! And why not, if we are God's co-workers (I Cor. 3:9)? God bestows upon us our salvation by grace, but we are to project the course of that salvation as His grace works in us (Rom. 6:8-19; 2 Cor. 6:1).

Paul's word here inscribes an arc over the lives of the Philippian saints. They are to "keep on working out"

99Moule, Philippian Studies, p. 111.
100Lightfoot, op. cit., p. 116.
101Vincent, Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon, I. C. C., p. 65.
their own salvation. It is to be a habit with them—a continuous process. They are to keep it up until the finish (note the perfective use of \textit{Kat\textalpha}, in \textit{Kat\textalpha\gamma\upsilon\varphi\sigma\delta\epsilon\nu}). \textsuperscript{102}

His absence is in no wise to affect the process ("For the race is run by one and one and never by two and two"—R. Kipling).

With Moule, therefore, we agree that \textit{\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta\rho\rho\iota\iota} here "is our whole 'saving' from evil, in union with Christ", and through our cooperation with Him by whose grace we are saved "we receive daily more and more of 'salvation' itself by liberty from sin, victory over it, peace and communion with God, and the earnests of heavenly felicity." \textsuperscript{103}

In Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians we find three occurrences of \textit{\sigma\upsilon\tau\eta\rho\rho\iota\iota}—two in the first and one in the second. But first let us take a general look at the Epistles themselves.

Of the 13 Epistles of the New Testament attributed to Paul, Robertson regards the Thessalonian letters as the earliest. \textsuperscript{104} The Epistles were written from Corinth upon the occasion of the return of Timothy, who previously had been sent by Paul from Athens to Thessalonica. Paul had evidently


\textsuperscript{103}Moule, \textit{The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Philippians}, Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 45.

\textsuperscript{104}Robertson, \textit{op. cit.}, Vol. IV, p. xvif.
wanted to return himself for a visit with his beloved friends of the Macedonian churches, but he had not been able to do so. With the joyful tidings\textsuperscript{105} of Timothy at hand, therefore, Paul was moved "to reciprocate their warm affection" and "to give them some fresh instructions upon their faith and conduct."\textsuperscript{106}

The Christians of Thessalonica were principally of Greek birth and training (1:9, 2:14), and had been won to the Christian faith by the labors of Paul, of Silas, and of Timothy. Paul loved them. Moffatt says, "From no church did Paul tear himself with such evident reluctance. His anxiety to get back to it was not simply due to the feeling that he must go on with the Macedonian mission, if at all possible, but to his deep affection for the local community."\textsuperscript{107}

The first Epistle begins with a series of thanksgivings and reminiscences concerning Paul's past relations with the Thessalonian Christians (Chapters 1-3). But from the beginning of chapter four, the letter "consists of a series of shrewd, kindly injunctions for the maintenance of their position: περὶ ἀγίασμοῦ (θς. 3-8), περὶ φιλαδελφίας (9θ),

\textsuperscript{105}I Thess. 3:6.


\textsuperscript{107}Loc. cit.
The first reference to be examined occurs in I Thess. 5:8: "But let us, since we are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for a helmet, the hope of salvation."

Here we have οὕτως used along with the qualifying ἐλπίδα in what may be called a sort of eschatological sense. That is to say, the ultimate and final realization of our οὕτως is out in the future. Of course, it is difficult to say that a reference like the above carries no other sense than the eschatological, for we know that the future and the present are bound together by inseparable ties in the meaning of οὕτως. A person will never achieve the ultimate realization of οὕτως unless he has it to begin with in this life.

But if we note the use of οὕτως in the verse that follows (I Thess. 5:9), we have help in our understanding

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108 Moffatt, loc. cit.

of the σωτηρία of v. 8. Here Paul says: ὅτι οὐκ ἔθετο ἡμᾶς ὀδ θεὸς ἐἰς ὄργην ἀλλὰ ἐἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ [Χριστοῦ].

"For God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Hence it may be seen that σωτηρία is placed over against ὄργη, an idea developed at great length by Paul in his letter to the Romans. In a word, this ὄργη as defined by Paul in Romans has its beginning right here in this life—it operates constantly in the lives of men (Romans 1:18). But there is also to be a final consummation of the wrath (Romans 2:5) in the lives of sinful men. Now Paul says that God has not appointed us unto wrath, but unto salvation.

Our real difficulty in interpreting I Thess. 5:9 lies in the phrase εἰς περιποίησιν σωτηρίας. The commentators cannot agree as to whether περιποίησιν is to be understood actively or passively. If actively, then the phrase would signify the "winning" of salvation on the part of man; if passively, it would refer to the 'adoption' of (consisting in) salvation bestowed by God.110 Robertson holds that it is to be taken in the active sense: "We are to keep awake so as to

110 Milligan, St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians, p. 69.
fulfill God's purpose in calling us. That is our hope of final victory.\textsuperscript{111} Lightfoot, on the other hand, favors the passive sense "for the adoption of salvation" and suggests that \textit{περιποίησις} is almost the equivalent of \textit{ἐκλογή}.\textsuperscript{112} We prefer to favor the active sense, such as is found in II Thess. 2:14. The active use suits the context better, too, we think. As Milligan and Findlay have pointed out, "it is the natural sequel to the 'wakeful, soldierlike activity' to which the Thessalonians have already been summoned."\textsuperscript{113}

\textit{Σωτηρία} (v. 8), says Milligan, must be taken as objective genitive--"hope directed towards salvation"--and is to be understood as "completed blessedness."

This ultimate achievement of \textit{σωτηρία} is to be realized through Jesus Christ and Him alone--\textit{διὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ}. "For the Lord Jesus Christ is the Mediator of salvation from the first step to the last."\textsuperscript{114} Our salvation had its beginning in Him (Rom. 5:2; 5:9-11). It will have its consummation in Him. And the very thought of this final attainment so enraptures


\textsuperscript{112}Lightfoot, \textit{Notes on Epistles of St. Paul}, p. 75f.

\textsuperscript{113}Milligan, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{114}Findlay, \textit{The Epistle to the Thessalonians}, Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 117.
the mind and heart of Paul that no matter what comes—death or life—he sees for the believer a perfect fellowship with Christ.

We turn for our other reference in Thessalonians to the second Epistle. The entire verse follows: 

\[\text{Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀφείλομεν εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ Θεῷ πάντως περὶ ὑμῶν, ἀδελφοὶ Ἡ Ἑλληνική Ἑλληνίστη ὑπὸ Κυρίου, ὅτι εἰλήφατο ὑμᾶς ὡς Θεὸς πάντως ἁρχής ἐστὶ σωτηρίαν ἐν ἁγίασθαι πνεύματος καὶ πίστει ἠθείας} \]

"But we are bound to give thanks to God always for you, brethren beloved of the Lord, for that God chose you from the beginning unto salvation in sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth."

The expression "God has chosen you", says Moffatt, is based on the LXX usage and implies that Christians "had now succeeded to the cherished privileges of God's people." In other words, we have here another instance where σωτηρία is used in the sense of a final goal—an ultimate realization. Paul is telling the Thessalonians that they are chosen for salvation, rather than for a visitation of

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115 II Thess. 2:13.


the "deadly delusion (10, 11) which ends in judgment (12)."¹¹⁸

Εν ἀγιασμῷ, says Lightfoot, is to be connected with εἰλατο εἰς σωτηρίαν, describing"wherein the call to salvation consisted."¹¹⁹ Findlay considers the same phrase to be an adjunct to σωτηρίαν, rather than to εἰλατο, and as serving σωτηρίαν in a sort of definitive manner.

"God chose you to a salvation operative and realized in sanctification and faith."¹²⁰

All in all, the sense of σωτηρία here bears a very striking likeness to the usage in I Thess. 5:9. For there, as here, it is the final state of blessedness that is contemplated. David Smith sees in the entire passage (II Thess. 2:1-17) a sort of "prelude to the second advent."¹²¹

There are two other occurrences of σωτηρία in the Epistles of Paul, both of them in Second Timothy. These we shall consider after we have taken a look at the general character of the Epistle which forms their setting.

Second Timothy probably was written during Paul's second Roman imprisonment. He had apparently enjoyed a short season of freedom before his final incarceration,

¹¹⁸Moffatt, loc. cit.
¹¹⁹Lightfoot, Notes on Epistles of St. Paul, p. 120.
¹²¹Smith, op. cit., pp. 203ff.
but he is now in jail and evidently has little hope of release (2 Tim. 4:6-8; 4:18). There are enemies on every side who would draw blood. "Since Nero had turned against the Christians, the Romans as well as Jews and Judaizers were now hostile to Paul." The Epistle is tender in its appeal and filled with pathos. Paul is lonely with all gone save Luke (2 Tim. 3:11); and he longs to see Timothy, his son in the ministry, and John Mark (2 Tim. 4:11, 21). He wants his cloak, too, and his books (2 Tim. 4:13). As to whether these wishes were gratified before Paul's death, no one knows. Says Robertson, "This letter has been called Paul's Swan-song. There is little of doctrine in it, although the atmosphere is the same as that of First Timothy . . . The letter is rich in personal details and forms a fitting closing picture of the greatest preacher of the gospel. He is here tender and sympathetic, heroic, and grand." The first reference to be considered is in chapter 2, verse 10 (the second and final one is in chapter 3, verse 15): διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὑπομένω διὰ τούς ἐκλεκτοὺς, εἰς καὶ αὐτοί σωτηρίας τούχωσιν τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ μετὰ δόξης αἰωνίου


123 Loc. cit.
"Therefore I endure all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory."

Here we have another instance where σωτηρία refers to "the final salvation", which shall be clothed with eternal glory in Christ Jesus. "This is the reach of the salvation which we obtain in Christ. For our salvation is to live to God, which begins from our regeneration, but is completed in our full deliverance when God gathers us from the calamities of our mortal life into His Kingdom. Participation of heavenly, and so of divine glory happens to this salvation."

Τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς is interpreted by White as referring to those who, through the provident grace of God, are chosen to enjoy spiritual privileges to the end that they may be specially related to the redemptive enterprise.

Σωτηρία, in this instance, then, looks toward the future and final relation of the believer to God in Christ Jesus. Kirk put it thus: "the final salvation, now not

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125 Oosterzee, The Two Epistles to Timothy, Lange's Commentary, Vol. VIII, in loco.
127 Bernard, The Pastoral Epistles, Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 120.
far off, at Christ's return"—but we see no grounds for the "now not far off" part of it. (Commentators would make a much more worthy contribution to the cause of Christ if they sought more diligently to let the Scriptures say just what they want to say, and not attempt to read into them points of view which cannot be sustained.)

And now to our final example: "καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπὶ βρέφους ἤρα γράμματα ὅιδας τὰ δυνάμενα σε σοφίσαι εἰς σωτηρίαν διὰ πίστεως τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ)—"and that from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." (2 Tim. 3:15)

The phrase εἰς σωτηρία, together with the qualifying "through faith in Jesus Christ", leads us to conclude that here we have another general Messianic use of σωτηρία with what might be called the ingressive emphasis. As Parry has noted, Paul is merely reminding Timothy that the sacred writings with which he has been familiar from his childhood possess the inherent power to make one wise "with a view to" or "to effect" salvation.\(^\text{129}\)

To quote Oosterzee, "To make wise unto salvation . . . is

\(^{128}\text{Kirk, The Epistle to the Romans, The Clarendon Bible, p. 82.}\)

\(^{129}\text{Parry, The Pastoral Epistles, p. 64.}\)
to make so wise that one becomes actually, for one's self, a partaker of the Messianic σωτηρία. 130

The passage is clear at one point. The channel, or instrument, through which this σωτηρία is achieved is "faith in Christ Jesus."131 But this is not the first time Paul has proclaimed this truth. He did so in 2 Tim. 2:10 and in I Thess. 5:9. Says Meyer, "he who has faith is already on the way to σωτηρία, or rather is in possession of σωτηρία."132

The sacred scriptures had made Timothy wise unto salvation. Paul was right. And they have the power to do the same thing for all mankind throughout the wide world.

130 Oosterzee, op. cit., Vol. VIII, in loco.

131 Bernard, op. cit., p. 136.

CHAPTER V
THE TESTIMONY OF KINDRED TERMS

In our attempt to arrive at the meaning of σωτηρία as used in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, there remains one other factor which we might briefly examine before we draw our final conclusions. I speak of the testimony of kindred terms, or the family background of σωτηρία.

No attempt can be made here in the scope of our discussion to present an exhaustive study of the whole family of σωτηρία. The family is too large, and the information to be gained would not justify the procedure. We shall be content, therefore, to confine our inquiry to a few of the more prominent members of the family.

Inasmuch as σωθύω is perhaps the most outstanding relative of σωτηρία, let us note something of the meaning conveyed by it in pre-Pauline and Pauline usage.

As has been already noted, σωθύω occurs frequently in the Homeric poems in its various forms (Cf. chapter 2). Wherever these forms appear they signify "to save" from some peril, injury or suffering. The underlying idea is always found to be "deliverance" from something that is of an unpleasant, injurious, or hurtful nature. The "deliverance"

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1Cremer, Biblico Theological Lexicon of New Testament Greek, in loco.
may be from war: σάωσέτον ἐκ πολέμωιο, II. 17.452.
The issue may be of so grave a nature that a single night
will spell victory or defeat: νὺξ δ' ἡ κ' ἡ διάβαι-
σει στρατὸν ἡ σάωσει (ll. 9.78)—"This night shall
either destroy or save the host."

It may be a comrade that is to be saved: ἀλλ' ἡ γετ',
ἐκ φλοιοβοιο σάωσομεν ἐσθλον ἐταῖρον,
"Go to now, let us save from the tumult our valiant comrade."2
Sometimes it is a fleet of ships that is to be saved...
σάωσέμεναι νέας (II. 13.96), and the problem
may be so clear cut that it is purely a matter of saving them
(σάωσεμεν) or watching them perish (ἀπολέσθαι).3
The interested student may go on until each of the forms
appearing in the Iliad and the Odyssey has been examined, but
the conclusion would hardly be different. It always signifies
"to make sound", "to save", "to preserve."4

Turning to the LXX, we find σώζω occurring variously.
It is used to render some sixteen different Hebrew words: ַע (Job 20:24); ֵנ (Es. 4:11); ַנ (Isa. 14:32); ַט (Ps.
30:7); ַנ (De. 30:29); ָנ (Gen. 19:17); ָט (Pr. 6:5);
ַס (2 Chr. 18:31); ָס (Job 33:28); ָנ (Gen. 32:8-9);

2III. 5.469.
3III. 9.230.
4Cremer, op. cit., in loco.
In Job 33:28 we read: "He hath redeemed (σῴσσον) my soul from going into the pit, And my life shall behold the light."

Gen. 19:17 reads thus: "Escape for thy life (σῶθω, σῶθε); look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain ... lest thou be consumed." Here the meaning of σῶθω is obvious.

In Isaiah 10:22, we find a more elevated and lofty use of σῶθω: "For though thy people, Israel, be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return (σῶθησαν)." Here we find σῶθω employed in the Messianic sense even as we found σωθησα, but whose richer, fuller development occurs in the New Testament. But even here, the pagan content of the term lies clearly in the background as a formidable buttress for the Messianic gleam.

We have before us a host of instances where σῶθω occurs in the papyri, but we shall note only two or three. It is used frequently in the sense of our English "save",

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5See: P. Teb. 56:11—a late second century B.C. letter; also, P. Tebt. II. 30215 (A. D. 71-2).
but with "a variety of applications." Note the following examples: \textit{P S I IV. 405} \textit{(B.C. III)} \textit{καθ' διπόσων δύνης εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν οὐτὸς αὐτών καθαρίζεται ἱερὸν αὐτῶς}.

Again: \textit{P H i b. I 777} \textit{(B.C. 241)} \textit{σὺ ντε ταύμαθε γὰρ ... ἐπὶ τὴν θέλεις τὰ] ἔφη υἱῷ θοῦ ἱεροσολύμων καθαρίσαι} \textit{πρὸ τέτραον—"for we have received instructions that the sacred revenues (?) are to be preserved for the Gods as in former times."}


\footnote{Moulton and Milligan, \textit{The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament}, p. 620.}

\footnote{\textit{Loc. cit.}}
First let us examine Matt. 8:25: "And they came to him, and awoke him saying, Save Lord (κύριε σῶσον); we perish." In this memorable passage the disciples wanted to be saved from the waves of the tempestuous sea. This is clearly the early Homeric use of the term. The only note of redemption here is with reference to the deathly waves!

In Matt. 9:21, the woman with an issue of blood comes near Jesus and says, "If I do but touch his garment, I shall be made whole (σωθήσομαι)." The use of σωθήσω is obvious here. There is nothing distinctive about it. The woman merely wanted to be delivered from her twelve year old malady. The only distinctive phase of the incident lies in the fact that the woman turned to Jesus for deliverance. The Messianic note, however, is sounded by Jesus in the verses that follow.

Again in Matt. 27:40 we have a typical, traditional, pagan use of σωθήσω. Those who passed by Jesus as He was hanging on the cross "railed on him, wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that destroyed the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself (σῶσον σεαυτόν)."

But look at 1:21: "Thou shalt call his name Jesus; for he it is that shall save (σωθεῖ) his people from their sins." Here we have the full-fledged Messianic use of σωθήσω. Jesus, as the Messiah of Israel, is to
"save" his people from something—and that something is their sins. The word with all its pagan background becomes a perfect vessel for transmitting the promises of redemption to a people in sin.

Another perfect example of the Messianic use of σωθήνεται is found in John 3:17 where the mission of Jesus is defined as that of "saving" (σωθήνεται) the world.

Σωθήνεται occurs 28 times in the Epistles of Paul but each time in the Messianic sense. There is not a single instance where the term can be interpreted apart from the Messianic note. To illustrate, look at Tit. 3:5: "according to his mercy he saved us (ἐσώθησεν ἡμᾶς). through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Spirit."

Consider also the following: "Faithful is the saying and worthy of all acceptation that Christ Jesus came into the world to save (σώσαι) sinners; of whom I am chief."8

Note also the following: "The Lord will deliver me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom (καὶ σώσει εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπουράνιον)."9 (For another similar use see Rom. 5:9.)

8 I Tim. 1:15.
9 II Tim. 4:18.
Let us look at one more example: "For the word of the cross is to them that perish (\(\text{ἀπολλυμένοις}\)) foolishness; but unto us who are saved (\(\text{σωθομένοις}\)) it is the power of God."\(^{10}\)

Paul's use of \(\text{σωθώ}\) is distinctive in two respects. First, he uses the term a total of twenty-eight times, and in each instance the Messianic note is evident. (By Messianic note we mean a work or operation performed by the Messiah in the realm of grace\(^{11}\) in delivering men from the penalty of death, Jas. 5:20, and the wrath, Rom. 5:9)\(^{12}\). Second, he has a threefold emphasis in his use of \(\text{σωθώ}\). He represents the "saving" as already accomplished (Titus 3:5), as being experienced (I Cor. 1:18), and as something to be ultimately achieved (2 Tim. 4:18; Rom. 5:9).

The complete list of passages in Paul where \(\text{σωθώ}\) occurs is as follows: Romans 5:9,10; 8:24; 9:27; 10:9,13; 11:14, 26; I Cor. 1:18,21; 3:15; 5:5; 7:16; 9:22; 10:33; 15:2; II Cor. 2:15; Eph. 2:5,8; I Thess. 2:16; II Thess. 2:10; I Tim. 1:15; 2:4,15; 4:16; II Tim. 1:9; 4:18; Tit. 3:5.

\(^{10}\)I Cor. 1:18.
\(^{11}\)Eph. 2:8.
\(^{12}\)Cremer, op. cit., p. 534.
What we have done for σωθήνω we could in a large measure do for σωτήρ. It is in no sense a distinctive New Testament term. There were many "so-called" saviours before Jesus came. "The ample materials collected by Magie show that the full title of honor, 'saviour of the world', with which St. John adorns the Master, was bestowed with sundry variations in the Greek expression on Julius Caesar, Augustus, Claudius, Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, Hadrian, and other emperors in inscriptions of the Hellenistic East."\(^{13}\) Deissman also speaks of the role of the Emperor Nero in promoting the establishment of "the idea of a Savior of the world." He goes on to say that, on the occasion of his accession, Nero was venerated in the East as "savior of the world"; and that this adulation points to the existence of a cult whose creative work left its mark on the current language of the day. "The emperor himself coined a catchword that would have been inconceivable apart from the cult as an institution, viz. σωσικόςμιος, 'world-saving, world-rescuing' or rather 'of or belonging to the world-rescuer, the world-saviour.'\(^{14}\) In an ancient papyrus (P. Petr II.8 (1)B\(^{1}\)f (c.B.C. 250) we have definite proof of the use of the title σωτήρ for the reigning monarch. The reign of

\(^{13}\)Deissman, *Light From the Ancient East*, p. 364.

\(^{14}\)Loc. cit.
Euergetes I is referred to as follows:

\[ \text{Βασιλεύοντας Πτολεμαῖον τῷ Πτολεμαῖον σωτὴρος} \]

Other examples might be cited, but we mention only one, an official inscription of the year 48 B.C. in which Julius Caesar, the reigning Dictator, was alluded to by the town council of Ephesus—along with other Greek cities of Asia—as "the God made manifest, offspring of Ares and Aphrodite, and common saviour of human life."

\[ \text{τὸν ἀπὸ Ἀρεως καὶ Ἀφροδίτης θεὸν ἐπιφανῆ καὶ κοινὸν τὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου σωτῆρα} \]  

(Sylloge, No. 347, No. 760)\(^{15}\)

It should be noted in passing, however, that the term σωτῆρ became so common in use that the designation was extended even to leading officials. Moulton and Milligan call attention to an instance where a praefect was addressed as τὸν σωτῆρα in being petitioned by a complaint. (P. Oxy. 1.38 \(^{16}\) A. D. 49-50)

We might turn for further illustrations of the usage of σωτῆρ to the Apocrypha, in which it abounds (Baruch 4:22; Judg. 9:11; I Macc. 4:30) and in which, as Cremer has pointed out, it is used "always of God as author of all help, of all salvation, and especially of Messianic salvation."\(^{17}\)

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\(^{15}\) Deissman, op. cit., p. 344.

\(^{16}\) Moulton and Milligan, The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament, p. 621.

\(^{17}\) Cremer, op. cit., p. 534.
Or we might dwell at great length on its use in the LXX in which it is used seven times to render the familiar ἁρπαγμόν, four times for the common ἀνθρωπόν, and twelve times instead of ἁμαρτία, and where we could have seen the sense of σωτηρία pass from the lowly concept of Judges 3:9,15, to that of the true lofty Messianic idealism of Isa. 12:2.

But the story would be much the same as that of σωτήρ.

Upon turning to the New Testament, however, σωτηρία takes on a much richer, deeper meaning. We find it used, not in connection with some Ptolemaic King, or Roman Emperor, but solely with reference to God the Father and to Jesus Christ His Son. The usage of the term will be found to vary throughout the New Testament. Now it will refer to God--now to Christ!

In Lu. 1:47 (Cf. I Sam. 2:1-10), we have τῷ θεῷ τῷ σωτηρίῳ μου and in Jude 25, μόνῳ θεῷ σωτηρίῳ ήμῶν. But in Jno. 4:42 Christ is called ὁ σωτήρ τοῦ κόσμου.

Paul uses σωτήρ twelve times. Like the other writers of the New Testament, he may use it to refer to God (as in I Tim. 1:1) or to Christ (as in Tit. 1:4). But always he uses it in the lofty, Messianic sense. But whenever and wherever σωτήρ occurs, it is in the sense of a "savior", "deliverer", "preserver"! A complete list of the occurrences of σωτηρία in Paul's Epistles is as follows: Eph. 5:23, Phil. 3:20; 18

18Meecham, Light From the Ancient Letters, p. 148.
Only a brief word needs to be spoken concerning two other members of the family of σωτήριος occurring in Paul's Epistles, for the contribution they are capable of making to our study is negligible in comparison with that of σώθω and σωτήρ.

First, note σωτηρίος (Neuter-τὸ σωτηρίον), used twice by Paul. In Eph. 6:17, we read, "And take the helmet of salvation (σωτηρίου) and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Here Paul is talking about the spiritual armor with which the Christian is to gird himself so that he may be able "to withstand in the evil day." The appropriateness of the term σωτηρίου, as here used, is evident, and its meaning clear. The root idea is naively blended with the lofty, Messianic sense.

The other reference is in Titus 2:11 where Paul tells us that "the grace of God hath appeared, bringing salvation (σωτηρίος) to all men." The phrase "salvation to all men" is used by Paul to describe the range and power of the grace of God. Obviously, σωτηρίος is here employed in the Messianic sense. The word occurs in the LXX frequently (52 times) for ὑστατος, a thank-offering.

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(or peace-offering), while the plural is found in the same sense in Xen. Polyb. et al. 20

The other term we would mention is ἄσωτρία which occurs in Eph. 5:18 and Titus 1:6, where it is used to express "the idea of an abandoned, debauched life; literally, the condition of one who is past salvation." 21 A splendid example of this unusual word is also found in the papyri (P. Par. 63.9.35) of the second century B.C. (165). It also occurs in P. Fay. 12.24 (c.B.C.103) and in P. Petr. 111:21 (b)11(B.C.225). 22

For those who may wish to inquire further into the family connections of σωτηρία I merely mention the following terms—all of which occur in Paul's Epistles: σωφροσύνη (I Tim. 2:15); σωφρόνως (Titus 2:12); σωφρονίσσω (2 Tim. 1:7); σωφρονίζω (Titus 2:4); and σωφρονή (Titus 1:8).

In a word, the entire family of σωτηρία stands bound together with indissoluble ties of kinship in meaning. And, as we witness the elevation of σωτηρία in significance, we behold the rest of the family catch hold of the idea and help carry it on to fruition.

22 Moulton and Milligan, op. cit., p. 89.
CONCLUSION

In our concluding word, little remains to be said. At various points within the chapters, summary statements were made. Our task now is merely to gather up the threads that comprise the findings of our dissertation and to weave them together into a brief, composite whole.

After stating our problem and defining the terms involved, we examined the earliest recorded usages of our term σωτηρία. We found its related forms occurring frequently in Homer in the sense of "deliverance" or "preservation" from something that was injurious or hurtful, either to persons or things.

In the Classic writers, we discovered σωτηρία to be in common usage. It was employed by the tragic poets, Aeschylus and Sophocles; by the historians, Herodotus and Thucydides; by the Athenian orators, Isocrates and Aeschines; by the philosopher Aristotle; and by the Athenian historian and general Xenophon. But the meaning of σωτηρία was ever the same.

Wherever it occurred, the usage was in accord with that of the related forms of Homer. It signifies "deliverance", "safety", "preservation", "welfare" of persons or of things. Not once did I find this sense violated.

In the B. C. papyri, the usage was similar. In a number of instances we found the word used in personal letters.
in the sense of "health" or general physical "welfare." At no time was the meaning found to depart from the general meaning assigned to the term in the Classics.

In the Septuagint, we began to see the grey dawn of the Messianic note that brightens into day in the New Testament. But the basic content of σωτηρία was still largely unrefined. Sometimes the entire nation was delivered, as in Exodus 14:13, where Israel is saved from the ruthless hosts of Pharaoh at the Red Sea. Again, it may be an individual who is "saved", as in the case of Samson in Judges 15:18. But in all the examples, the general idea was invariably that of "deliverance", "welfare", "safety", "preservation" from some vexing, unpleasant situation.

In the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha the usage was of a similar nature. Wherever σωτηρία occurred, there was in the background some type of "deliverance" or "preservation"—personal or national. Often the preservation was from bodily injury.

In the Graeco-Roman world of the first century A. D., we found σωτηρία definitely related to the religious life of the pagans. Numerous inscriptions revealed the frequent use of the word in connection with vows to pagan gods in petitions for the welfare of persons and of things. In the Mystery-Religions we saw how, by initiatory rites and
sacraments, the devotees professed to lay hold of a type of σωτηρία that even went so far as to promise deliverance from the grave. But the usage was for the most part on the low, crass plane of material "welfare." Faint gleams of the more spiritual content were seen, but they amounted to little more than harbingers of the lofty usage of the New Testament.

In the Non-Pauline writings of the New Testament, σωτηρία was widely used. Always the Messianic note was present in some degree, though the particular type of "deliverance" was sometimes in accord with pagan usage. For example, in Luke 1:71 and in Acts 7:25, σωτηρία alludes to deliverance from mortal adversaries, but in Luke 1:77 the allusion is purely Messianic: "To give knowledge of salvation unto his people in the remission of their sins."

As we turn to the letters of the Apostle Paul, we find σωτηρία in its acme of refinement. Not once does he revert to the ancient pagan use of the term, but he rather takes the word and pours into it the divine answer to the tragic longings of the pagan heart that had for generations gone unmet. Paul's usage is so varied and so rich in content that it should be outlined somewhat in detail. This we propose to do at this time.
Whenever Paul employs the term \( \sigma\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \), he invariably has in mind the sum-total of the believer's relation in Christ Jesus. Says Kennedy, "The atmosphere of \( \sigma\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \) in Paul is the love of God revealed to men in the Cross of Jesus Christ. Everything in it goes back to that. And this background reveals the essential difference between it and the \( \sigma\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \) of the Mystery Religions." ¹ Kennedy also adds, "Further, \( \sigma\nu\tau\eta\rho\iota\alpha \), in Paul's usage, is from the very nature of the case charged with moral implications. The mercy of God in Christ lays claim upon men. They are under obligation." Paul looked upon mankind as being subject to the wrath of God, now operative in human affairs (Rom. 1:18), the ultimate consequences of which are to be experienced in "a day of wrath" (Rom. 2:5). From this wrath, Paul held that men could be "delivered" through faith in Jesus Christ (Rom. 5:9). "For God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ" (I Thess. 5:9).

In a word, if a man has "salvation", then he has passed out from under the ultimate consequences of the wrath. He is

¹Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, pp. 218ff.
a "delivered" soul. He is "saved." He is enjoying moral and spiritual "health." Moreover, this glad state is to be projected into the infinite reaches of the great beyond. Not all of our "salvation" is to be experienced in this mundane, earthly life. The final, ultimate realization is yet in the future. (Rom. 13:11; I Thess. 5:8,9).

Perhaps Carroll\(^2\) was not far wrong in his interpretation of the meaning of salvation, in the light of Paul's usage: "Salvation is the final, complete and everlasting deliverance of the sinner's entire soul and body from the guilt of sin, from the defilement of sin, from the dominion of sin, from the bondage of Satan, and the deliverance of man's habitat--this old world--from the course of it."

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**HOW \( \Sigma \Omega \Theta \Pi \alpha \)** **IS ACHIEVED**

Paul holds that \( \sigma \omega \tau \rho \iota \alpha \) is free to all who are willing to accept in faith the Gospel of Christ, the word in truth: "For I am not ashamed of the gospel: for it is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek."\(^3\)

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\(^2\)Carroll and Mullins, *Studies in Romans, Colossians, and Ephesians*, p. 25.

\(^3\)Romans 1:16.
In the words of Ramsay, "Salvation is procured, not by ceremonial observance and ritual acts of outward homage and external respects toward Divine power, nor even by obedience to the highest moral law which requires that men should 'do justly and love mercy and walk humbly with God', but by faith alone: 'By grace have ye been saved through faith.' Salvation is not obtained through merit of our own, nor is it reward of excellent character or good conduct, but is the free gift of God, independent of ourselves."\(^4\) To lay hold of this salvation, one merely has to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and confess Him as Lord and Saviour: "for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation."\(^5\)

One thing is certain: there are no initiatory steps, no cathartic rites of admission, as in the Mystery-Religions. It all comes through faith in the Gospel of Christ. The sacred Scriptures contain the simple story which, in itself, is enough to lead anyone into the joyful state of salvation: "and that from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Jesus Christ."\(^6\) As Ramsay\(^7\) sees it,

\(^4\)Ramsay, The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present, p. 182f.
\(^5\)Romans 10:10.
\(^6\)II Tim. 3:15.
\(^7\)Ramsay, op. cit., p. 398.
salvation is for Paul "a spiritual fact, in the spirit and through the spirit." (Note that Paul defines "the word of truth" in Eph. 1:13 as "the gospel of your salvation").

In thinking of the achievement of salvation, it is well to keep in mind the words of Paul to the Philippian Christians whom he was soon to see no more in the flesh. Said he, "So then, my beloved, even as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence, work out your own salvation with fear and trembling." In these words, Paul emphasizes the element of personal responsibility in the general character of our salvation. He is not saying that we "save" ourselves, but rather that we are to cooperate with the divine Spirit, "who worketh in you both to will and to work," in the achievement of the life-long process of our salvation. He also calls attention to the role of "godly sorrow" with regard to the state of our salvation: "For godly sorrow worketh repentance unto salvation" (II Cor. 7:10). In Paul's case, even his prison experience contributed to his salvation: "For I know that this shall turn out to my salvation, through your supplication and the supply of Jesus Christ" (Phil. 1:19). Note, however, that the effect of his prison experience on his salvation is definitely qualified by the prayers of his

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8Phil. 2:12.
Christian friends and by "the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ."

One thing should give us encouragement in our quest for this salvation. The Lord is on our side. "For God appointed us not unto wrath, but unto the obtaining of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ." Moreover, the heroic example of other Christians may also contribute to our salvation. In II Cor. 1:6, Paul says that his own afflictions turned out to favor of the salvation of the Corinthians, while in II Tim. 2:10, he says that he endured all things for the elect's sake "that they also may obtain salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory." Paul also teaches that this salvation is of such great importance that we ought to lay hold of it now (II Cor. 6:3, and Rom. 13:11).

THREE PHASES IN SIMDTHPIA

There is now but one other word to be spoken. I refer to the varied emphases of Paul in his use of σωτηρία. There are three. He apparently looks upon σωτηρία from three viewpoints:

1. As a state that has already been achieved.

\[9\] I Thess. 5:9.
Moule calls this type of emphasis "his first faith in Christ." Here the emphasis is on the beginning of the state. If we were dealing with the Aorist tense instead of with ὁμηρία, we might call it the ingressive use, because of its inceptive or inchoative nature. An example of this usage is found in Romans 10:10: "for with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation." Other examples which may be considered as coming under this classification are: Rom. 11:11; Rom. 1:16; II Cor. 6:2; II Tim. 3:15.

2. As "an experience which has begun and is going on." In this instance, the emphasis is neither on the beginning nor the end of the state. It is the normal, generic use of the term. Moule calls it our "life-long preservation in Christ." It represents the total sweep of the God-man relation without respect to the beginning of it, or to the ultimate culmination of it. A most excellent illustration of this usage is found in Phil. 2:12: "work out your own salvation with fear and trembling."

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10 Moule, The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians, The Cambridge Greek Testament, p. 22.

11 Scott, St. Paul the Man and the Teacher, p. 87.

12 Moule, loc. cit.
Other examples which may be considered as of this class are: II Cor. 1:6; II Cor. 7:10; Eph. 1:13; Phil. 1:28; and Phil. 1:19.

3. As something that is to be ultimately realized. Here the "heavenly issue of the whole" receives the emphasis. Hence the usage might be called eschatological. Or, borrowing from the grammarians, we might call it the "effective" use of ἐπίτροπος. Typical of this usage is Romans 13:11:
"And this, knowing the season, that already it is time for you to awake out of sleep: for now is salvation nearer to us than when we first believed." The following other references appear to belong to this class: II Tim. 2:10; II Thess. 2:13; I Thess. 5:8, and 9.

It is significant to observe that in Paul's use of ἐπίτροπος these identical emphases are found. As representative examples of each class, we mention the following: (1) Titus 3:5, "not by works done in righteousness, which we did ourselves, but according to his mercy he saved us . . ."; (2) I Cor. 1:18, "For the word of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us who are saved (are being saved) it is the power of God"; (3) Rom. 5:9, "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath of God through him."

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13Moule, op. cit., p. 22.
One can now see, without difficulty, the real meaning of σωτηρία as used by Paul in his Epistles of the New Testament. He can understand why Paul had such an audience wherever he preached, whether in Antioch, Ephesus, or at Rome. As Ramsay\textsuperscript{14} has said, "He offered them something that they wanted and were praying for; and in the offer he took the opportunity of purifying and spiritualizing their conception of that salvation, which they were 'trying to purchase by vows or to extort by prayers and entreaties from the gods.' He gave them what they wanted, and something far above what they could ask or think."

In the course of our study, σωτηρία has been made to live and grow before us like an organism of unconquerable vitality. As time has served the giant redwoods of the American forest, so have the years enhanced its beauty and usefulness. We have heard it fall from the lips of pagan mothers in their well-wishing for their absent sons; we have seen it flow from the pens of poets and philosophers; we have found it in the vocabularies of soldiers and historians. Its weird murmur was heard in the incantations of the pagan priests of the ancient temples; its refined usage has graced the conversations of the comrades of the Cross. But it remained for the great Apostle to pour into the word's historic mould the

\textsuperscript{14}Ramsay, \textit{The Bearing of Recent Discovery on the Trustworthiness of the New Testament}, p. 174.
heavenly meaning of the centuries. With his use of it, it stands among all the words of the κοινη surrounded with a halo of hope, pointing to the glorious future of the children of God, as well as to their fondest hopes of the past and present.
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