

**πρόσωπον, εὐπροσωπέω, προσωποληψία,  
προσωπολήμπτης, προσωποληπτέω,  
ἀποσωπολήμπτως**

**† πρόσωπον\***

Contents: A. Greek Usage: 1. Face; 2. Mask; 3. Person. B. Septuagint and Later Jewish Usage: I. Septuagint: 1. Face; 2. Front Side; 3. God's Countenance; II. Later Judaism: 1. Philo and Josephus; 2. Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic Writings. C. New Testament Usage: 1. Face; 2. Front Side; 3. God's Countenance; 4. Person. D. Early Church Usage: 1. πρόσωπον in the Post-Apostolic Fathers; 2. πρόσωπον in the Christology Teaching of the Early Church.

**A. Greek Usage.**

The basic meaning of the word πρόσωπον is "face," "countenance." Cf. the def. in Aristot. Hist. An., I, 8, p. 491b, 9: τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τὸ κρανίον ὀνομάζεται πρόσωπον ...

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† † before the heading of an article indicates that all the New Testament passages are mentioned in it.

\* πρόσωπον. On A.: Preisigke Wört., If, 421 f.; Liddell-Scott, s.v.; Pr.-Bauer<sup>5</sup>, s.v.; K. Praechter, Πρόσωπον, Philol., 63 (1904), 155f.; S. Schlossmann, Persona u. ΠΡΟΣΩΠION *im Recht u. im chr. Dogma* (1906); A. Trendelenburg, "Zur Gesch. des Wortes Person," *Kantstudien*, 13 (1908); R. Hirzel, "Die Person, Begriff u. Name derselben im Altertum," S. A. Münch, 1914, 10 (1914); H. Rheinfelder, "Das Wort 'Persona,' Gesch. seiner Bdtg. mit besonderer Berücksichtigung d. französischen u. italienischen Mittelalters," *Beih. zur Zschr. f. Romanische Philologie*, 77 (1928); F. Altheim, "Persona," ARW, 27 (1929), 35–52; M. Nédoncelle, "Prosopon et persona dans l'antiquité class.," *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 22 (1948), 277–299; L. Malten, "Die Sprache des menschlichen Antlitzes in d. Antike," *Forschungen u. Fortschritte*, 27 (1953), 24–28. On B.: J. Boehmer, "Gottes Angesicht," BFT<sup>h</sup>, 12 (1908), 321–347; W. W. Graf Baudissin, "'Gott schauen' in d. at.lichen Religion," ARW, 18 (1915), 173–239; E. G. Gulin, "Das Antlitz Jahwes im AT," *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, 17, 3 (1923); F. Nötscher, "*Das Angesicht Gottes schauen*," *nach bibl. u. babyl. Auffassung* (1924); J. Morgenstern, "Moses with the Shining Face," *Hebrew Union Coll. Ann.*, 2 (1925), 1–28; Johannesson Präpos.; H. Middendorf, *Gott sieht, eine terminologische Studie über d. Schauen Gottes im AT*, Diss. Freiburg (1935); A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel* (1949), 42–46. On C.: S. Antoniadis, *Neotestamentica*, I, *Neophilologus*, 14 (1929), 129–132. On D.: Schlossmann; A. Grillmeier, *Das Konzil v. Chalkedon*, I (1951), 49–52.

def. Definition, definition.

Aristot. Aristotle, of Stageiros (c. 384–322 B.C.), with his teacher Plato the greatest of the Greek philosophers and the founder of the peripatetic school, quoted in each case from the comprehensive edition of the Academia Regia Borussica, 1831 ff.

προσώπου δὲ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τὸ βρέγμα (front of the head) μεταξύ τῶν ὀμμάτων μέτωπον.<sup>1</sup>  
Understanding of the other uses rests on this basic sense.

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### 1. Face.

The word πρόσωπον occurs first in Hom. and here it is almost always used in the plur, to denote the “face” or “countenance” of man: γρῆς δι κατέσχετο χερσὶ πρόσωπα, Od., 19, 361; σπόγγω δ’ ἀμφὶ πρόσωπα ... ἀπομόργυ, Il., 18, 414; also Od., 20, 352; Il., 7, 212, though also sing.: χαρίεν δ’ ἤσχυνε πρόσωπον Il., 18, 24. The plur. is also found occasionally in the tragedians: Electra says to Orestes: μή μ’ ἀποστερήσης τῶν σῶν προσώπων ἀδονὰν μεθέσθαι, Soph. El., 1277, cf. also Oed. Col., 314; Aesch. Ag., 794. The plural use shows “that not the organ of the eye ... is alone or predominantly felt to be that which controls expression but ... the ‘part about the mouth’.” For the Greeks the part about the eyes is dominant in the whole oval of the front side of the human head.<sup>2</sup> Already from an early period, however, there is a use in the sing. which later becomes the rule, Hes.

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Hist. An. *Historia Animalium*.

<sup>1</sup> One cannot accept the old explanation Thes. Steph., VI, 2048: “πρόσωπον == *quod est circa oculos; Pars, quae est circa oculos; τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὠψὶ μέρος.*” For hypostatisation from πρὸς (earlier \*προσϋ) -ωπ is certain, but the underlying idea is hard to fix; it is certainly not *circa oculos* (πρὸς does not mean *circa*; the basic sense is “over against”). New attempts: “what is directed to the eyes (of another),” Schwyzer, II, 517, n. 1; πρόσωπα “the part of the head which is toward the eyes,” F. Sommer, “Zur Gesch. d. gr. Nominalkomposita,” A. A. Münch, NF, 27 (1948), 115, n. 1 (though this fits only men and not animals). [Debrunner]

Hom. Homer, of Chios (?), the classical Greek epic poet, around whose name were grouped the older epics of the Ionians in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., ed. G. Monro and T. W. Allen, 1908 ff.

Od. *Odyssey*.

Il. *Iliad*.

Od. *Odyssey*.

Il. *Iliad*.

sing. singular.

Il. *Iliad*.

plur. plural.

Soph. Sophocles, of Athens (496–406 B.C.), the real poet of the Athens of Pericles, ed. A. C. Pearson, 1924.

El. *Electra*.

Oed. Col. *Oedipus Coloneus*.

Aesch. Aeschylus, of Eleusis near Athens (525–456 B.C.), the first of the three great Attic dramatists, ed. U. v. Wilamowitz, 1915; Fragments, ed. A. Nauck in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889.

Ag. *Agamemnon*.

<sup>2</sup> Malten, 24 f.

sing. singular.

Op., 594; Aesch. Ag., 639; Soph. Oed. Tyr., 448; Eur. Hipp., 280, 720; Aristoph. Av., 1321; Simonides,<sup>3</sup> 37, 12; Plat. Euthyd., 275e; Leg., IX, 854d; Xenoph. Cyrop., II, 2, 29; Demosth. Or., 18, 283; for the Hell. period cf. Wilcken Ptol., 70, 5; BGU, III, 909, 12; καὶ πολλὰ ἀσελήματα λέγων εἰς πρόσωπόν μου, P. Oxy., VI, 903, 21. Normally the Gk. uses the term only for the face of men, though sometimes also for the face of gods (Eur. Ion, 1550), but not for that of animals:<sup>4</sup> τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τὸ κρανίον ὀνομάζεται πρόσωπον ἐπὶ μόνου τῶν

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Hes. Hesiodus, of Ascra in Boetia (c. 700 B.C.), the oldest Greek poet to emerge as a tangible figure. In his *Pastoral Calendar* ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι he proclaims the pastoral ideal of life. His *Theogony* is a speculative work on the origin and descent of the gods, ed. A. Rzach, 1913.

Op. *Opera et Dies*.

Aesch. Aeschylus, of Eleusis near Athens (525–456 B.C.), the first of the three great Attic dramatists, ed. U. v. Wilamowitz, 1915; Fragments, ed. A. Nauck in *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1889.

Ag. *Agamemnon*.

Soph. Sophocles, of Athens (496–406 B.C.), the real poet of the Athens of Pericles, ed. A. C. Pearson, 1924.

Oed. Tyr. *Oedipus Tyrannus*.

Eur. Euripides, of Salamis nr. Athens (480–406 B.C.), tragic dramatist and philosopher of the stage, ed. G. Murray, 1901 ff.

Hipp. *Hippolytus*.

Aristoph. Aristophanes, of Athens (c. 446–385 B.C.), the main representative of the older Attic comedy, who reached his height during the Peloponnesian War, ed. V. Coulon and H. van Daele, 1923 ff.

Av. *Aves*.

<sup>3</sup> ed. T. Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III (1882).

Plat. Plato, of Athens (428/7–348/7 B.C.), ed. J. Burnet, 1905.

Euthyd. *Euthydemus*. [Plato, of Athens]

Leg. *Leges*. [Plato, of Athens]

Xenoph. Xenophon, of Athens (c. 430–354 B.C.), pupil of Socrates, author of various historical, philosophical and scholarly works, ed. E. C. Marchant, 1900 ff.

Cyrop. *Cyropaedia*.

Demosth. Demosthenes, of Athens (384–322 B.C.), ed. F. Blass, 1903 ff.

Or. *Orati(ones)*.

Wilcken Ptol. U. Wilcken, *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit*, 1922 ff.

BGU *Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Kgl. Museen zu Berlin*, 1895 ff.

P. Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, 1898 ff.

Gk. Greek.

Eur. Euripides, of Salamis nr. Athens (480–406 B.C.), tragic dramatist and philosopher of the stage, ed. G. Murray, 1901 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Hirzel, 47.

ἄλλων ζώων ἀνθρώπου· ἰχθύος γὰρ καὶ βοὸς οὐ λέγεται πρόσωπον, Aristot. Hist. An., I, 8, p. 491b, 9. Yet there are occasional exceptions to this rule: of the ibis Hdt., II, 76; πρόσωπα (ἐλάφων), Aristot. Hist. An., VI, 29, p. 579a, 2; πρόσωπον τῆς ἵππου, *ibid.*, IX, 47, p. 631a, 5.

Since the face controls the whole appearance πρόσωπον can sometimes be used for “form” or “figure”: εὐφυές πρόσωπον Eur. Med., 1198. The fixed combination κατὰ πρόσωπον serves to denote “personal presence”: τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἔντευξιν “oral, personal converse,” Plut. Caesar, 17 (I, 716a); κατὰ πρόσωπον λόγους ἐποιήσαντο, Inscr. Magn., 93b, 11; καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς παρ’ αὐτοῦ κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ὠμολόγησεν, “and asked by him he told him eye to eye,” Preisigke Sammelb., I, 5174, 15. Cf. also Inscr. Priene, 41, 6; Ditt. Or., II, 441, 66; P. Oxy., VII, 1071, 1.

Fig. πρόσωπον is often used for “front” esp. in military contexts: τὴν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς φάλαγγος τάξιν, Xenoph. Cyrop., VI, 3, 35; ἐν τῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον πλευρᾷ, Polyb.,

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Aristot. Aristotle, of Stageiros (c. 384–322 B.C.), with his teacher Plato the greatest of the Greek philosophers and the founder of the peripatetic school, quoted in each case from the comprehensive edition of the Academia Regia Borussica, 1831 ff. Hist. An. *Historia Animalium*.

Hdt. Herodotus, of Halicarnassus (c. 484–425 B.C.), the first real Greek historian, described as early as Cicero as the father of history. His work deals with the conflicts between the Greeks and the barbarians from earliest times to the Persian Wars, ed. H. Kallenberg, 1926 ff.

Aristot. Aristotle, of Stageiros (c. 384–322 B.C.), with his teacher Plato the greatest of the Greek philosophers and the founder of the peripatetic school, quoted in each case from the comprehensive edition of the Academia Regia Borussica, 1831 ff. Hist. An. *Historia Animalium*.

Eur. Euripides, of Salamis nr. Athens (480–406 B.C.), tragic dramatist and philosopher of the stage, ed. G. Murray, 1901 ff. Med. *Medea*.

Plut. *Plutus*.

Inscr. Magn. *Inscriptions of Magnesia on the Meander*, ed. O. Kern, 1900.

Preisigke Sammelb. F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 1915 ff.

Inscr. Priene *Priene Inscriptions*, ed. F. Hiller v. Gärtringen, 1906.

Ditt. Or. W. Dittenberger, *Orientalis Graecae Inscriptiones*, 1902 ff.

P. Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, 1898 ff. esp. especially.

Xenoph. Xenophon, of Athens (c. 430–354 B.C.), pupil of Socrates, author of various historical, philosophical and scholarly works, ed. E. C. Marchant, 1900 ff.

Cyrop. *Cyropaedia*.

Polyb. Polybius, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia (c. 210–120 B.C.), hostage of Rome in 167, general and statesman, and the greatest historian of Hellenism. In 40 books he depicts in essentials the rise of Roman world dominion in the period 221–168 B.C., ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 1905.

11, 23, 3; also Thuc., I, 106; Xenoph. *Cyrop.*, I, 6, 43; Polyb., 11, 14, 6. Of the front of a building: κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, P. Petr., III, 1 col. II, 8.

## 2. Mask.

The “mask” worn by actors resembles a human face and is thus called πρόσωπον:<sup>5</sup> τὰ τραγικὰ πρόσωπα, Aristot. *Probl.*, 31, 7, p. 958a, 17; ἄνευ προσώπου κωμάζει Demosth. *Or.*, 19, 287; τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν θεῶν (sc. those who appear in the play), Luc. *Jup. Trag.*, 41; πρόσωπον ὑπάργυρον κατάχρυσον, IG, I<sup>2</sup>, 276, 6.<sup>6</sup> Later we also find προσωπεῖον (e.g., Jos. *Bell.*, 4, 156) which is used exclusively for the actor’s mask, though πρόσωπον is still found for this: ὡσπερ δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις δραμάτων τινῶν ὑποκριταὶ οὐχ ὅπερ λέγουσιν εἰσιν, οὐδ’ ὅπερ βλέπονται καθ’ ὃ περὶ κείνους πρόσωπον τοῦτο τυγχάνουσιν, Orig. *Orat.*, 20, 2.

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Thuc. Thucydides, of Athens (c. 460–396 B.C.), the classic historian of the Greeks, who as a contemporary wrote a history of the Peloponnesian War, ed. C. Hude, 1898 ff.

Xenoph. Xenophon, of Athens (c. 430–354 B.C.), pupil of Socrates, author of various historical, philosophical and scholarly works, ed. E. C. Marchant, 1900 ff.

*Cyrop. Cyropaedia.*

Polyb. Polybius, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia (c. 210–120 B.C.), hostage of Rome in 167, general and statesman, and the greatest historian of Hellenism. In 40 books he depicts in essentials the rise of Roman world dominion in the period 221–168 B.C., ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 1905.

P. Petr. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, ed. J. P. Mahaffy and J. G. Smyly, 1891 ff. col. column.

<sup>5</sup> Schlossmann, 37; Hirzel, 40 f.

Aristot. Aristotle, of Stageiros (c. 384–322 B.C.), with his teacher Plato the greatest of the Greek philosophers and the founder of the peripatetic school, quoted in each case from the comprehensive edition of the Academia Regia Borussica, 1831 ff.

*Probl. Problemata.*

Demosth. Demosthenes, of Athens (384–322 B.C.), ed. F. Blass, 1903 ff.

*Or. Orati(ones).*

Luc. Lucianus, of Samosata in Syria (120–180 A.D.), best-known, though renegade, representative of the Second Sophistic School, rhetorician and lively satirist of his epoch, ed. C. Jacobitz, 1836; W. Dindorf, 1858.

*Jup. Trag. Juppiter Tragicus.*

<sup>6</sup> Editio minor, ed. F. Hiller v. Gärtringen (1924).

Jos. Flavius Josephus, Jewish author (c. 37–97 A.D.) in Palestine and later Rome, author in Greek of the *Jewish War* and *Jewish Archaeology*, which treat of the period from creation to Nero, ed. B. Niese, 1887 ff.

*Bell. Bellum Judaicum.*

Orig. Origen, of Alexandria (185–254 A.D.), pupil of Clement of Alexandria, and most learned and fruitful representative of ancient Christian scholarship and culture, ed.

Fig. πρόσωπον can then mean the “part” played by the actor: τριῶν δ’ ὄντων προσώπων καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίαις τοῦ διαβάλλοντος καὶ τοῦ διαβαλλομένου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃν ἡ διαβολὴ γίνεται Luc. Calumniae, 6; πρόσελθε ἐν προσώπῳ V 6, p 770 τοιούτῳ, Epict. Diss., I, 29, 45; τοῦτό μοι τὸ πρόσωπον ἀνάλαβε, I, 29, 57.<sup>7</sup> Acc. to Epict. it is every man’s business to play well in life the role assigned specifically to him: τὸ δοθὲν ὑποκρίνεσθαι πρόσωπον καλῶς, Ench., 17.

In the dialogues of the diatribe there was often presented the view of an anonymous opponent who was called κωφὸν πρόσωπον; the point was to present one’s own view the more clearly in contrast: κωφὸν ὡς ἐπὶ σκηνῆς προσωπεῖον, Philo Flacc., 20; cf. also Plut. An Seni Sit Gerenda Res Publica, 15 (II, 791e).<sup>8</sup>

### 3. Person.

In the Hell. period πρόσωπον takes on the sense of “person” to denote man in his position in human society.<sup>9</sup> The face, “the eye is so distinctive for gods and men that a person

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by different scholars in *Die griech. christl. Schriftsteller der ersten 3 Jahrhunderte*, 1899 ff.

Orat. *De Oratione*.

Luc. Lucianus, of Samosata in Syria (120–180 A.D.), best-known, though renegade, representative of the Second Sophistic School, rhetorician and lively satirist of his epoch, ed. C. Jacobitz, 1836; W. Dindorf, 1858.

Epict. Epictetus, Phrygian slave of Hierapolis in the days of Nero (50–130 A.D.), freed at the imperial palace, Stoic of the younger school and preacher of ethics tinged with religion. From his lectures his pupil Arrian collected 8 books of diatribes which have been preserved, ed. H. Schenkl<sup>2</sup>, 1916.

Diss. *Dissertation*.

<sup>7</sup> The Gk. πρόσωπον is closely related to the Lat. *persona*, which can mean “mask,” “role,” “person,” also “prominent personage,” whereas the legal use of πρόσωπον, as will be shown, developed only later. Cf. Hirzel, 47 f. It is still a matter of debate whether or not the Lat. *persona* (“mask,” “person”) was borrowed from the Gk. πρόσωπον; if so, it could only be circuitously; cf. Walde-Hofmann, 291 f. [Debrunner].

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Ench. *Enchiridion*.

Philo Philo, of Alexandria (c. 20 B.C.–50 A.D.), ed. L. Cohn and P. Wendland.

Flacc. *In Flaccum*.

Plut. *Plutus*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dib. Jk. on 2:18.

<sup>9</sup> Rheinfelder, 6–17 derives the use of πρόσωπον for “person” from the speech of the theatre: in the actor who plays Oedipus we see Oedipus. “Thus *persona* as the husk becomes the kernel of the matter,” 8. But this is too restricted a derivation.

is perceived in it.”<sup>10</sup> πρόσωπον thus replaces other terms like → σῶμα which had previously been used in the sense of “person.”<sup>11</sup>

Whether πρόσωπον already means “person” in Polyb. is debated and cannot be proved beyond dispute. For ἐζήτουν ἡγεμόνα καὶ πρόσωπον in Polyb., 5, 107, 3 means “they sought a leader and a man of esteem,” while τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὄνομα καὶ πρόσωπον in 8, 13, 5 means “the name and face of Greece.” Again, the ref. of τὸ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως πρόσωπον in 12, 27, 10 is more to his “dramatic role,” → 769, 43 ff.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, πρόσωπον certainly means “person” in the following passages: ξένοις προσώποις, “foreign persons,” P. Oxy., XIV, 1672, 4 (37–41 A.D.); μὴ κρῖνε πρόσωπον, Ps.-Phokylides, 10 (Diehl<sup>3</sup>, II, 92); ὁ φθόνος ἀπτεται μάλιστα τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ ἀυξομένων πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἠθῶν καὶ πρόσωπων, Plut. De Invidia et Odio, 6 (II, 537 f.); ἐξ Αἰγυπτιακῶν προσώπων, P. Oxy., II, 237 col. VII, 34; cf. also Dion. Hal. De Thucydide, 34; Epict. Diss., I, 2, 7; Plut. De Garrulitate, 13 (II, 509b); P. Ryl., 28, 8. Grammarians then used πρόσωπον for grammatical person, Dion. Thr. Art. Gramm., 638b, 4; Apollon. Dyscol. De Pronominis Appellationibus, 1

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<sup>10</sup> Malten, 25.

<sup>11</sup> Hirzel, 5–19. In early times the term σῶμα could be used with no derogatory nuance. Only later did its stock decline so that it could be used for the slave with no sense of “person.”

Polyb. Polybius, of Megalopolis, in Arcadia (c. 210–120 B.C.), hostage of Rome in 167, general and statesman, and the greatest historian of Hellenism. In 40 books he depicts in essentials the rise of Roman world dominion in the period 221–168 B.C., ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 1905.

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<sup>12</sup> On the disputed ref. in Polyb. cf. Hirzel, 44 f.

P. Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, 1898 ff.

Ps. Pseudo, often grouped under the names of the supposed authors, e.g., Ps.- or Pseud.-Plat. under Plato.

Plut. *Plutus*.

P. Oxy. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell and A. Hunt, 1898 ff. col. column.

Dion. Hal. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, from 30 B.C. a teacher of rhetoric in Rome, Atticist and historian, author of an old Roman history, ed. C. Jacoby, 1885.

Epict. Epictetus, Phrygian slave of Hierapolis in the days of Nero (50–130 A.D.), freed at the imperial palace, Stoic of the younger school and preacher of ethics tinged with religion. From his lectures his pupil Arrian collected 8 books of diatribes which have been preserved, ed. H. Schenkl<sup>2</sup>, 1916.

Diss. Dissertation.

Plut. *Plutus*.

P. Ryl. *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Rylands Library at Manchester*, ed. A. Hunt and others, 1911.

Dion. Thr. Dionysius Thrax, Greek grammarian and rhetorician in Rhodes (170–90 B.C.), ed. G. Uhlig, 1883.

c.<sup>13</sup> A technical use whereby πρόσωπον means a “person” legally is still not found in the first cent. A.D.<sup>14</sup> In the 2nd cent. Phrynichos<sup>15</sup> complains that orators often spoke of πρόσωπα in court and in so doing offended against correct Gk. But only later, probably under the influence of the Lat. *persona* → n. 7, did the word take on the technical sense which is then common in legal documents: οἱ τὸ σὸν πρόσωπον πληροῦντες, “the representatives of thy person,” Preisigke *Sammelb.*, I, 6000, II, line 13 (6th cent.): τὴν ὠνήν τὴν γενομένην εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ σοῦ εἰρημένου ἀδελφοῦ (“in the name of thy brother”), *ibid.*, line 25; ἀναπληροῦντες τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἁγίου[υ μοναστηρίου], *ibid.*, I, 5114, 49 (7th cent.). One may not assume that the word had this sense in the NT period or the age of the early Church.

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## B. Septuagint and Later Jewish Usage.

### I. Septuagint.

πρόσωπον occurs in the LXX over 850 times, in by far the greatest no. of instances for Heb. פְּנִים. It is also the rendering of פָּנָה in Gn. 2:7; מַרְאֵה in 1 Βασ. 16:7 A; עֵינַי in 1 Βασ. 16:7; Am. 9:4 A; פָּה in ψ 54:22 and פָּנָה in Da. 3:19 LXX Θ;<sup>16</sup> פְּנִים is connected with the verb “to turn” and means the “side turned to the fore,” “the face” of man, “the front” of an inanimate obj.<sup>17</sup> The meaning of πρόσωπον in the LXX corresponds to this broad sense

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Art. Gramm. *De Arte Grammatica*.

Apollon. Dyscol. Apollonius Dyscolus, important Greek grammarian of the Hadrian-Antoninus period in Alexandria, ed. R. Schneider and G. Uhlig in *Grammatici Graeci*, II. 1878 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. R. Schneider-G. Uhlig in *Grammatici Graeci*, II, 1 (1878), 3, line 12.

<sup>14</sup> On the question of the legal use of πρόσωπον cf. Schlossmann.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. C. A. Lobeck (1820), 379.

Gk. Greek.

Lat. Latin, latin.

<sup>7</sup> The Gk. πρόσωπον is closely related to the Lat. *persona*, which can mean “mask,” “role,” “person,” also “prominent personage,” whereas the legal use of πρόσωπον, as will be shown, developed only later. Cf. Hirzel, 47 f. It is still a matter of debate whether or not the Lat. *persona* (“mask,” “person”) was borrowed from the Gk. πρόσωπον; if so, it could only be circuitously; cf. Walde-Hofmann, 291 f. [Debrunner].

Preisigke *Sammelb.* F. Preisigke, *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 1915 ff.

NT New Testament.

no. number.

Heb. Hebrew.

<sup>16</sup> Prepositional combinations (ἀπὸ προσώπου etc.) and their Heb. originals are not counted.

obj. object.



of the Heb. equivalent.

## 1. Face.

πρόσωπον is very commonly used for “face” in the LXX: εἶδεν Ἰακωβ τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ Λαβαν, Gn. 31:2; τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρός, Gn. 50:1; πρόσωπον τοῦ παιδαρίου, 4 Βασ. 4:29, 31; ἔπεσεν Ἀβραμ ἐπὶ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, Gn. 17:3—a frequent expression for respectful greeting or veneration; ἀπέστρεψεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, 3 Βασ. 8:14. To see the face of a king is to be admitted to audience, so that οἱ ὀρώντες τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ βασιλέως can be a title for court officials, 4 Βασ. 25:19.<sup>18</sup> πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον (פְּנֵי-לְפָנֵי) “face to face,” Gn. 32:30; Ju. 6:22;<sup>19</sup> cf. also πρόσωπον κατὰ πρόσωπον, Dt. 34:10. Often πρόσωπον is used for the face of animals too, e.g., πρόσωπον λέοντος, Ez. 1:10; 41:19; 1 Ch. 12:9. Sometimes πρόσωπον means “features,” “appearance”: συνέπεσεν (sc. Καὶν) τῷ προσώπῳ, Gn. 4:5; poor appearance: τὰ πρόσωπα ὑμῶν σκυθρωπά, Gn. 40:7; appearance of a matter: τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ ῥήματος τούτου, 2 Βασ. 14:20.

Sometimes the face of a man can be spoken of in such a way as to denote the whole man. Thus it is said of Absalom in 2 Βασ. 17:11: τὸ πρόσωπόν σου πορευόμενον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν, i.e., Absalom should go forth among the Israelites in person. In this connection ref. might also be made to the Heb. of Dt. 7:10, which says that Yahweh will cause the one who hates him to undergo in his own person (פְּנֵי-לְפָנֵי LXX κατὰ πρόσωπον) retribution by destruction.

## 2. Front Side.

As the Heb. פְּנֵי (“the side to the front”) can be used of inanimate objects, so the LXX often uses πρόσωπον in this way: τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς, “the surface of the earth,” Gn. 2:6; σκοπεύων πρόσωπον Δαμασκοῦ (“towards”), Cant. 7:5; πρόσωπον (sc. τοῦ σιδηρίου), “the edge of iron,” Qoh. 10:10.

In the broad sense of the front side πρόσωπον is found in countless instances with prepositions denoting direction to or from: “Instead of simple prepositions the Semitic languages love to create fuller and more vivid expressions with the help of a noun which

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Koehler-Baumg., s.v. and Johnson, 42–46, with good material on OT usage. Johnson aptly remarks on the plur. form פְּנֵי: “Indeed the fact that in Hebrew the use of this Semitic noun is restricted to the plur. form is sufficient to indicate the importance which was attached to what we should call one’s ‘features’ ...,” 42. Heb. Hebrew.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Baudissin, 191; → V, 325, 20 f.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. ὀφθαλμοὶ πρὸς ὀφθαλμούς, Is. 52:8; στόμα πρὸς στόμα, Ἱερ. 39(32):4. Heb. Hebrew.  
Heb. Hebrew.

usually denotes a part of the body.”<sup>20</sup> Like the Heb. original פְּנֵי, πρόσωπον often serves simply to strengthen the prepos. on which it depends.<sup>21</sup> V 6, p 772

a. ἀπό (του) <sup>22</sup> προσώπου (פְּנֵי etc.) “going out from,” “away from”: ἀπό προσώπου κυρίου του θεου, Gn. 3:8; φύγωμεν ἀπό προσώπου Ισραηλ, Ex. 14:25; ἐφοβήθητε ἀπό προσώπου του πυρός, Dt. 5:5; also Dt. 9:5; 4 Βασ. 13:23; 1 Ch. 16:30; ψ 37:4; Jdt. 5:8 etc. The fact that with a prepos. πρόσωπον is almost always a simple expletive may be seen from the MS tradition at Job 1:12 LXX: Ⲭ Β ἐξήλθεν ὁ διάβολος παρὰ του (Α ἀπό προσώπου) κυρίου.

b. εἰς (τὸ) πρόσωπον (פְּנֵי, פְּנֵי-לְפָנֶיךָ etc.) “in or before the face”: here πρόσωπον always means “face” or “front”: οὐκέτι ὀφθήσομαί σοι εἰς πρόσωπον, Ex. 10:29; εἰς πρόσωπόν σε εὐλογήσει, Job 2:5; cf. also 3 Βασ. 8:8; 2 Ch. 5:9; Hos. 5:5.<sup>23</sup>

c. ἐκ (του) προσώπου (פְּנֵי etc.) “from”: ἐὰν οὖν λάβητε καὶ τουτον ἐκ προσώπου μου, Gn. 44:29; ἔφυγον ἐκ προσώπου αὐτου, 1 Βασ. 19:8; ἐκ προσώπου σου τὸ κρίμα μου ἐξέλθοι, ψ, 16:2; cf. also 1 Βασ. 19:10; 21:11; 25:10; 31:1; 2 Βασ. 23:11 etc.

d. ἐν προσώπῳ (פְּנֵי) “before”: ταπεινώσαί δε ἐν προσώπῳ δυνάστου, Prv. 25:7.

e. ἐπὶ προσώπου, ἐπὶ προσώπῳ ἐπὶ (τὸ) πρόσωπον (פְּנֵי-לְפָנֶיךָ etc. “on”: ὁ ἦν ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς, Gn. 7:23; cf. also Gn. 11:4; 41:56; Dt. 14:2; Ez. 34:6 etc. In the phrase ἐπὶ πρόσωπον the word πρόσωπον often has its true sense “face”: ἔπεσεν Μωυσης καὶ Ααρων ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, Nu. 14:5; cf. Nu. 16:4, 22 etc.; ἤμην πεπτωκὼς ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου, Da. 10:9 LXX.

f. κατὰ πρόσωπον (פְּנֵי) etc.) “before,” “over against”:<sup>24</sup> κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτου κατοικήσει, Gn. 16:12; κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς πόλεως, Gn. 33:18; κατὰ πρόσωπον του ἰλαστηρίου, Lv. 16:14, 15; cf. also Nu. 3:38; Dt. 9:2; 11:25; Ἱερ. 18:17; 41(34):18. This is often used to denote geographical situation, e.g., ὅς ἐστιν κατὰ πρόσωπον Μαμβρη, Gn. 23:17; ἢ ἐστιν κατὰ πρόσωπον Αιγύπτου, Gn. 25:18; κατὰ

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<sup>20</sup> Johannessohn, 348.

Heb. Hebrew.

<sup>21</sup> In this use we have definite Semitisms. Gk. knows only κατὰ πρόσωπον → 769, 24 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Since these are transl. of Semitic expressions, the art. may be left out. Cf. Bl.-Debr. §259, 1.

MS *Maaser Scheni*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *The Second Tithe* (Strack, *Einkl.*, 35).

<sup>23</sup> In a lit. rendering of the Heb. פְּנֵי אֵל Gn. 17:1 has περιπάτει εἰς πρόσωπόν μου. Cf. P. Katz, “Notes on the Septuagint,” *JThSt*, 47 (1946), 31 f.

<sup>24</sup> The κατὰ πρόσωπον found in Gk. lit. never takes a dependent case except in later Egypt. pap.: κατὰ πρόσωπον του ἱεροῦ, P. Petr., III, 1 col. II, 8 → 769, 33. Cf. κατὰ πρόσωπον του ναοῦ in Ez. 41:4. Materially cf. Johannessohn, 248, n. 2.

πρόσωπον τῆς Ἀραβίας, Jdt. 2:25.

g. μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου (פְּנֵי־תָּ): πληρώσεις με εὐφροσύνης μετὰ τοῦ προσώπου σου (“with thee”), ψ 15:11.

h. πρὸ προσώπου (פְּנֵי, מִלְּפָנֶי etc.) “before”:<sup>25</sup> ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου, Ex. 23:20; cf. also Ex. 32:34; Nu. 14:42; Dt. 3:18; 30:1; Ἱερ. 21:8; Mal. 3:1; Jdt. 10:13; 2 Βασ. 6:14 A etc.

### 3. God’s Countenance.

In many places in the LXX πρόσωπον, like the Heb. פְּנֵי, is used to denote God’s countenance, i.e., the side He turns to man.

a. Sometimes the manner of speech is anthropomorphic. When God lifts His countenance over man He has pity and gives peace: ἐπάραι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ, Nu. 6:26. Prayer is made that He will cause His face to shine on the Israelites: ἐπιφάναι κύριος τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ σέ, Nu. 6:25. When He hides His face He withdraws His grace: ἀποστρέψω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, V 6, p 773 Dt. 32:20; cf. Mi. 3:4. Anxious prayer is made: ἕως πότε ἀποστρέψεις τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ; ψ 12:2; cf. 29:8; 43:25. If God has not turned away His countenance, grateful confession is made: οὐδὲ ἀπέστρεψεν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ψ 21:25. Prayer is also made to God μὴ ἀποστρέψης τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, ψ 101:3; 142:7. In penal wrath God turns His face against those who do evil: πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιούντας κακά, ψ 33:17. His wrathful glance smites transgressors of the Law: ἐπιστήσω τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἔσθουσιν τὸ αἷμα καὶ ἀπολώ αὐτήν ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτῆς, Lv. 17:10, cf. Lv. 20:3, 6; 26:17; Ez. 14:8; 15:7.

It is often said that men have seen the face of God: εἶδον γὰρ θεὸν πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, Gn. 32:30; cf. Ju. 6:22. Because he had seen God face to face Jacob called the place of meeting פְּנֵי־אֵל, Gn. 32:30 f. LXX == εἶδος θεοῦ.<sup>26</sup> Seeing God involves the greatest peril, for man necessarily perishes before God’s holiness. The OT does not dispute the fact that man may see God’s face in certain circumstances, yet in general he

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<sup>25</sup> πρὸ προσώπου does not occur in Gn.; instead we find ἐναντίον, ἔμπροσθεν and ἐνώπιον. Johannesson, 190.

Heb. Hebrew.

<sup>26</sup> The place-name θεοῦ πρόσωπον (= פְּנֵי אֵל) is used for the mountain rās shakka which juts out into the Mediterranean on the Lebanese coast, Strabo, 16, 754; Ps.-Skylax, Periplus, 104 (ed. C. Müller, Geographi Graeci Minores, I [1855], 78). Cf. on this K. Gallig, “Die syrisch-palästinische Küste nach Ps.-Skylax,” ZDPV, 61 (1938), 74 f.

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may not do so, since the consuming holiness of God destroys man.<sup>27</sup> Thus Moses is warned οὐ δυνήσῃ ἰδεῖν μου τὸ πρόσωπον· οὐ γὰρ μὴ ἴδῃ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πρόσωπόν μου καὶ ζήσεται, Ex. 33:20. Moses can see only from behind when the glory of God passes by: ὄψῃ τὰ ὀπίσω μου, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου οὐκ ὀφθήσεται σοι, Ex. 33:23. In distinction from the religion of the Greeks, according to which the gods can reveal themselves to the eye of man, the OT insists that God reveals Himself through the Word, not through seeing His face, → I, 217, 26 ff.

b. Alongside this use of “God’s countenance” there is a second series of instances in which πρόσωπον (θεοῦ) is employed cultically. “To see God’s face” is “to visit the cultic site.” This expression was probably taken over from non-Israelite cults which had an idol in the temple for the veneration of worshippers. It then passed into OT usage in a transferred sense.<sup>28</sup> The yearning question is asked in prayer: πότε ἴξω καὶ ὀφθήσομαι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ; ψ 41:3; 94:2. Believers seek the face of the Lord and find it when they attend the temple: ἐκζητῆσαι τὸ πρόσωπον κυρίου, Zech. 8:21 f.<sup>29</sup> There is often reference to δεηθῆναι τοῦ προσώπου (God’s), ψ 118:58; 4 Βασ. 13:4; Bar. 2:8; Zech. 8:21 Cf. ἐξλάσκεσθε τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν, Mal. 1:9. In these expressions the accent is not on seeing. To see the face of God is to be certain of His presence and grace. Hence ψ 104:4 can say with reference to the everyday life of the righteous: ζητήσατε τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (sc. God’s) διὰ παντός. Here the expression breaks away from the cultic world and stresses the need to keep up a daily relation with God. When the Psalmist says: τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, κύριε, ὕψω ζήτησω (ψ 26:8), he means that he wants to make Yahweh’s grace and help a matter of supreme concern.<sup>30</sup>

It may be mentioned in conclusion that the shewbread is called ἄρτοι τοῦ προσώπου in 1 Βασ. 21:7 because it is kept in the holy place, the place of God’s presence.

## II. Later Judaism.

### 1. Philo and Josephus.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Baudissin, 184 f.; E. Fascher, “Deus invisibilis,” *Marburger Theol. Studien*. I (1931), 41–77; R. Bultmann, “Untersuchungen zum Joh.-Ev., B. θεὸν οὐδεὶς ἑώρακεν πώποτε,” *ZNW*, 29 (1930), 169–192 and what is said about seeing God in the art. → ὀράω V, 325, 7 f.), 331, 1 ff.

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<sup>28</sup> Baudissin, 189–197; Gulin, 5–7; Nötscher, 88–95; G. Kittel, *Religionsgeschichte u. Urchr.* (1932), 100.

<sup>29</sup> The cultic phrase “to see God’s face” was avoided later. Thus פָּנֵי אֱלֹהִים in Is. 1:12 was read as פָּנֵי אֱלֹהֵי, which was transl. ὀφθῆναί μοι in the LXX [J. Fichtner].

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Nötscher, 136.

a. Philo describes τὸ πρόσωπον as σώματος ἡγεμονικόν, *Leg. All.*, I, 39; cf. *Fug.*, 182. At creation God blew into man πνοὴν ζωῆς εἰς τὸ τοῦ σώματος ἡγεμονικώτατον, τὸ πρόσωπον, *Spec. Leg.*, IV, 123. Acc. to the will of God, then, the face is the most important part of the human body, *Poster. C.*, 127; *Leg. All.*, I, 28; for ἐν προσώπῳ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ἐδημιούργει, *Leg. All.*, I, 39. Cf. *Op. Mund.*, 139: τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔνθα τῶν αἰσθήσεων ὁ τόπος. It is worth noting that the face is controlled by the significant number seven: τό τε ἡγεμονικώτατον τοῦ ζώου πρόσωπον ἑπταχῆ κατατέτρηται, δυσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ ὡσὶ δυσὶν, ἴσοις μυκτῆρσιν, ἑβδόμῳ στόματι, *Leg. All.*, I, 12. Ref. is often made to God's face: Cain must withdraw ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ θεοῦ, *Poster. C.*, 12, 22 etc. God's Word goes forth ἐκ προσώπου θεοῦ, *Deus Imm.*, 109; *Plant.*, 63; *Conf. Ling.*, 168; *Mut. Nom.*, 39 etc. In *Mut. Nom.*, 13 Philo speaks of a λόγιον ἐκ προσώπου θεσπισθὲν τοῦ τῶν ὄλων ἡγεμόνος. In harmony with the OT Philo also says that God's face is hidden from man. He takes the story in Ex. 33:12–23 to mean that the works of God may be seen but not His essential being, *Poster. C.*, 169.<sup>31</sup> Cf. also *Fug.*, 165: αὐταρκες γὰρ ἐστὶ σοφῶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἐπόμενα καὶ ὅσα μετὰ τὸν θεὸν γινῶναι, τὴν δ' ἡγεμονικὴν οὐσίαν ὁ βουλόμενος καταθέασασθαι τῷ περιουγεῖ τῶν ἀκτίνων πρὶν ἰδεῖν πηρὸς ἔσται. In *Spec. Leg.*, I, 36–46<sup>32</sup> Philo explains that Moses based his request that God would show Himself to him on the ground that only God Himself could reveal His essential being. When God could not accede to this request because man is incapable of such vision, Moses prayed that at least God would reveal His δόξα, the δυνάμεις which encircle Him in service. But even this petition was denied because the δυνάμεις are invisible and can be perceived only by God who is invisible.

Sometimes it would seem that πρόσωπον is used for “person”: τί δεῖ τὰς τῶν προσώπων ἀμυθήτους ιδέας καταλέγεσθαι; *Poster. C.*, 110; τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὰ

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*Leg. All. Legum Allegoriae.*

*Fug. De Fuga et Inventione.*

*Spec. Leg. De Specialibus Legibus.*

*Poster. C. De Posteritate Caini.*

*Leg. All. Legum Allegoriae.*

*Leg. All. Legum Allegoriae.*

*Op. Mund. De Opificio Mundi.*

*Leg. All. Legum Allegoriae.*

*Poster. C. De Posteritate Caini.*

*Deus Imm. Quod Deus sit Immutabilis.*

*Plant. De Plantatione.*

*Conf. Ling. De Confusione Linguarum.*

*Mut. Nom. De Mutatione Nominum.*

*Mut. Nom. De Mutatione Nominum.*

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*Poster. C. De Posteritate Caini.*

<sup>31</sup> I owe this ref. to G. Bertram.

*Fug. De Fuga et Inventione.*

*Spec. Leg. De Specialibus Legibus.*

<sup>32</sup> Cf. on this M. Pohlenz, “Pls. u. die Stoa,” *ZNW*, 42 (1949), 71 f.

*Poster. C. De Posteritate Caini.*

πρόσωπα, *ibid.*, 111; ἐπὶ τιμῇ προσώπων *Spec. Leg.*, I, 245.

b. In Joseph. πρόσωπον means “face”: πεσών (Hezekiah) ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευσε, *Ant.*, 10, 11. Cf. also *Ant.*, 6, 285; 7, 95 and 114; 9, 11 and 269; 10, 211 for this expression. When the brother of a dead man refuses Levirate marriage, the rejected woman is to πτύειν εἰς πρόσωπον (cf. Dt. 25:8 f.), *Ant.*, 4, 256; 5, 335. In *Bell.*, 2, 29 πρόσωπον denotes the “features”: ἐπισηματίζων τὸ πρόσωπον εἰς λύπην. The outside of the temple is called τὸ ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον in *Bell.*, 5, 222. The sense “role” is found in *Bell.*, I, 517. The common LXX combination κατὰ πρόσωπον with dependent case is also common in *Jos.*: κατὰ πρόσωπον τῆς τραπέζης, *Ant.*, 3, 144; κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ναοῦ, 9, 8; κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ (of the king), 11, 235. *Jos.* refers to God’s face only in explanation of the OT word Peniel: ἦσθεῖς δὲ τούτοις (sc. the encounter with God) Ἰάκωβος Φανούηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν τόπον ὃ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον, *Ant.*, 1, 334. πρόσωπον means “person” in *Bell.*, 1, 263: προλαβὼν Ἡρώδης μετὰ τῶν οικειοτάτων προσώπων. (“with the persons most intimate with him,” i.e., his closest relatives) νύκτωρ ἐπὶ Ἰδουμαίας ἐχώρει λάθρα τῶν πολεμίων.

V 6, p 775

## 2. Pseudepigrapha and Rabbinic Writings.

It is not our task to give all the many examples of פְּנִיָּה in Jewish literature. One still finds the OT senses (→ 771, 1 ff.) “forward side”: “face,” “front,” “surface,” and also the combination with various prepos. → 771, 33 ff.

Apart from this the pseudepigr. speak of the face of the perfected righteous shining like the sun in the future world, since God will cause His light to shine on the face of the saints and the elect righteous, *Eth. En.* 38:4; cf. *Da.* 12:3; *Eth. En.* 39:7; 104:2. This means, however, that “they will be changed ... from beauty to splendour and from light to the

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*Spec. Leg. De Specialibus Legibus.*

Joseph. Flavius Josephus, Jewish author (c. 37–97 A.D.) in Palestine and later Rome, author in Greek of the *Jewish War* and *Jewish Archaeology*, which treat of the period from creation to Nero, ed. B. Niese, 1887 ff.

*Ant. Antiquitates.*

*Ant. Antiquitates.*

*Ant. Antiquitates.*

*Bell. Bellum Judaicum.*

*Bell. Bellum Judaicum.*

*Bell. Bellum Judaicum.*

*Ant. Antiquitates.*

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*Ant. Antiquitates.*

*Bell. Bellum Judaicum.*

OT Old Testament.

pseudepigr. pseudepigraphical.

*Eth. En.* Ethiopian Enoch, ed. A. Dillmann, 1851; R. Charles, 1906.

*Eth. En.* Ethiopian Enoch, ed. A. Dillmann, 1851; R. Charles, 1906.

radiance of glory,” S. Bar. 51:10. Immediate proximity to God will be the lot of the righteous, S. Bar. 51:3. In 4 Esr. 7:97 the sixth joy granted to those who have kept the ways of the Most High is “that it will be shown to them how their face will one day shine as the sun.” The seventh joy is that they exultantly press on “to see the face of Him whom they have served in life and from whom they will receive praise and reward,” 7:98.<sup>33</sup> In the hour of death—so say the Rabbis—all men must see the face of God. Hence R. Jochanan b. Zakkai dies full of fears (→ II, 527, 23 ff.), Ab RNat, 25; cf. b. Ber., 28b. The ungodly will see God’s face to receive their punishment, Midr. Ps. 22 § 32 (99a).<sup>34</sup> But in the world to come the righteous will see the face of the shekinah as a reward for their deeds, b. Men., 43b; b. Sota, 42a.<sup>35</sup> He who gives alms or does meritorious works will be made worthy thereby to greet the face of the shekinah, b. BB, 10a.

In the form “to see or to greet the face of the shekinah” the Rabb. use the OT cultic formula “to see the face of God” not only for attending the temple but later for taking part in the worship of the synagogue as well, Dt. r., 7 (204a),<sup>36</sup> since this is the place where God draws near. It is also said of those who pray or study that they greet God’s face, for God is near to those who pray and who apply themselves to the Torah, b. Sanh., 42a.<sup>37</sup>

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S. Bar. Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch, originally Hebrew and strongly dependent on 4 Esdras (c. 100 A.D.), ed. R. Charles, 1896.

S. Bar. Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch, originally Hebrew and strongly dependent on 4 Esdras (c. 100 A.D.), ed. R. Charles, 1896.

<sup>33</sup> On the vision of God in the pseudepigraph. and Rabb. writings cf. Str.-B., I, 206–214; → V, 339, 12 ff.

R. *Rabbi*.

b. ben, when between the personal and family names of rabbis.

Ab RNat Abot of Rabbi Nathan—an extracanonical Rabbinic tractate (Strack, *Einkl.*, 72).

b. Babylonian Talmud when before tractates from the Mishnah.

Ber. *Berakhot*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *Benedictions*.

Midr. Ps. Midrash on Psalms (Strack, *Einkl.*, 215).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Str.-B., I, 209.

b. Babylonian Talmud when before tractates from the Mishnah.

Men. *Menachot*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *Meat Offerings* (Strack, *Einkl.*, 55 f.).

b. Babylonian Talmud when before tractates from the Mishnah.

Sota *Sota*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *Suspected Adulteress*.

<sup>35</sup> For further examples cf. Str.-B., I, 210–212.

b. Babylonian Talmud when before tractates from the Mishnah.

BB *Baba Batra*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *Last Gate* (Legal Questions, Immovables) (Strack, *Einkl.*, 51).

Rabb. Rabbis,

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Dt. r. *Deuteronomium rabba* (*Debarim rabba*), Homiletic Midrash on Deuteronomy (Strack, *Einkl.*, 206).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

b. Babylonian Talmud when before tractates from the Mishnah.

πρόσωπον also came into Rabb. usage as a loan word and is of frequent occurrence: Heb. פרצוף/פרסוף or Aram. פרצופא.<sup>38</sup> Thus one reads in T. Ber., 7, 2: דומות זה לזה אין פרצופותיהן == “their (men’s) faces are not like one another.”<sup>39</sup>

### C. New Testament Usage.

The use of πρόσωπον in the NT follows closely that of the LXX (→ 771, 1 ff.) and the word has the same range of meaning as in the OT → 771, 3 ff.

#### 1. Face.

πρόσωπον is often used in the sense (→ 769, 1 ff., 771, 9 ff.) “face” (Mt. 6:16 f.; Ac. 6:15; Rev. 4:7; 9:7; Mk. 14:65; Mt. 26:67), εἰς πρόσωπον δέρειν, “to hit in the face,” 2 C. 11:20.<sup>40</sup> Inclining (Lk. 24:5) or falling on one’s face<sup>41</sup> (Mt. 17:6; V 6, p 776 26:39; Rev. 7:11; 11:16; without αὐτοῦ Lk. 5:12; 17:16; 1 C. 14:25) expresses respect and veneration, cf. the OT πίπτειν ἐπὶ (τὸ) πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ, → 771, 12 ff. Mention of the face of the angel (Rev. 10:1; cf. Ac. 6:15) or the face of Jesus (Mt. 17:2; Lk. 9:29) shining like the sun is a feature in the description of epiphanies.

On the basis of Ex. 34:29–35 Paul in a Christian midrash (2 C. 3:7–18)<sup>42</sup> refers to the radiant πρόσωπον of Moses which the Israelites could not look on because of its δόξα, v. 7. But the δόξα on the face of Moses was transitory, so that Moses had to cover his

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Sanh. *Sanhedrim* Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *On the court of justice and its procedure* (Strack, *Einl.*, 51 f.).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 206 f.

Rabb. Rabbis,

Heb. Hebrew.

Aram. Aramaic.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. S. Krauss, *Griech. u. lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch u. Targum*, II (1899), 495.

T. Tosefta (Strack, *Einl.*, 74 ff.), ed. G. Kittel-H. Rengstorff, 1933 ff.

Ber. *Berakhot*, Mishnah-, Tosefta-, Talmud tractate *Benedictions*.

<sup>39</sup> πρόσωπον in the sense of “person” is also a loan word in Syr.: O. Sol. 31:5 (ed. W. Bauer, *Kl. T.*, 64 [1933]) פרצופה == “his person”; cf. also O. Sol. 17:4.

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<sup>40</sup> To be taken fig. here, perhaps proverbially of bad treatment; cf. Ltzm. K., *ad loc.*

<sup>41</sup> The art. may be left out in the phrase ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πίπτειν, cf. Bl.-Debr. §255, 4.

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<sup>42</sup> Cf. Wnd. 2 K., 112; Ltzm. K., *ad loc.* In exposition → I, 454, 10 ff.; II, 251, 4 ff.; IV, 869, 10 ff.; S. Schulz, “Die Decke des Moses,” *ZNW*, 49 (1958), 1–30.

v. verse.



face lest the children of Israel should see it fade, v. 13. Paul abruptly adds a new thought. He speaks now, not of the cover on the face of Moses. but of that on the hearts of the Jews in virtue of which the OT is concealed from them and its true sense is closed to them, vv. 14ff.<sup>43</sup> Christians, on the other hand, can see with uncovered face the δόξα κυρίου and experience the change ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν which proceeds from the Lord of the Spirit, v. 18.<sup>44</sup> This line of thought is adopted again in 2 C. 4:6 where we are told that the δόξα of God shines for us in the face of Christ.

In a series of verses πρόσωπον denotes “personal presence” (→ 769, 24 ff.; 771, 14 ff.): ὄρᾶν τὸ πρόσωπόν τινος, “to see someone again” (Ac. 20:25, 38; Col. 2:1; 1 Th. 2:17b; 3:10 Hebraism, cf. Gn. 32:21; 43:3, 5); ἀπορφανισθέντες ἀφ’ ὑμῶν ... προσώπω οὐ καρδίᾳ, 1 Th. 2:17a; ἀγνοούμενος τῷ προσώπω, “unknown personally,” Gl. 1:22.

When Lk. 9:51 says of Jesus αὐτὸς τὸ πρόσωπον (αὐτοῦ) ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ, an OT form of expression is adopted (στηρίζειν τὸ πρόσωπον == שׂוּם פְּנֵים).<sup>45</sup> To turn one’s face in a particular direction is to declare the firm intention of following this course without deviation.<sup>46</sup> The Hebraicising expression shows how significant to salvation history is the section which begins with the journey of Jesus from Galilee to Samaria and then on to Jerusalem → 50, 11 ff. With the τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν πορευόμενον εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ of Lk. 9:53 one may compare the τὸ πρόσωπόν σου (Absalom’s) πορευόμενον ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν of the OT model in 2 Βασ. 17:11, → 771, 22 ff. τὸ πρόσωπον here denotes the whole man: “He journeyed towards Jerusalem.”<sup>47</sup>

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v. verse.

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<sup>43</sup> On the train of thought → III, 560 f.; V, 883, 5 ff.

v. verse.

<sup>44</sup> In exposition of the v. cf. J. Dupont, “Le Chrétien miroir de la gloire divine d’après II Cor. III 18,” Rev. Bibl., 56 (1949). 392–411.

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<sup>45</sup> Ἱερ. 3:12; 21:10 [24:6]; Ez. 6:2; 13:17; 14:8. Cf. also 4 ἔταξεν Ἀζαηλ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ. Cf. A. Wifstrand, “Lukas och Septuaginta,” *Svensk Teologisk Kvartalskrift*, 16 (1940), 247–249. Additional OT par.: τάξει τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ εἰσελθεῖν, Da. 11:17 θ; ἐφίστημι τὸ πρόσωπόν μου τοῦ ἀπολέσαι, Ἱερ. 51 (44): 11f.; ἔδωκεν Ἰωσαφατ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐκζητῆσαι τὸν κύριον, 2 Ch. 20:3 [P. Katz].

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Schl. Lk., *ad loc.*; also Str.-B., II, 165, *ad loc.*; Dalman WJ, I, 24.

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<sup>47</sup> Dalman WJ, I, 25: This Lucan expression is an “incorrectly used Hebraism which cannot be imitated in Hebrew. Lk. 9:53 refers back to v. 51. The τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἐστήρισεν τοῦ πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ there ought properly to be repeated. The expression in v. 53 is an unskilful abbreviation of the full phrase.”

Sometimes πρόσωπον does not denote the face but the “appearance” or “features” of a man or object. For τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ (sc. the man) in Jm. 1:23 one might have expected τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ; the reference is obviously V 6, p 777 to the kind of person he looks like.<sup>48</sup> ἡ εὐπρέπεια τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ is used of the outside of the flower in Jm. 1:11, while there is reference to the appearance of the sky in Mt. 16:3 (par. Lk. 12:56).

## 2. The Front Side.

As in the LXX (→ 771, 28 ff.) πρόσωπον can also mean the “front” or “surface”: ἐπὶ πρόσωπον πάσης τῆς γῆς, Lk. 21:35; ἐπὶ παντὸς προσώπου τῆς γῆς, Ac. 17:26. πρόσωπον is also used in dependence on prepositions<sup>49</sup> as in the LXX (→ 771, 33 ff.); here it mostly serves as a strengthening expletive.

- a. ἀπὸ προσώπου: ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου “coming forth from the Lord,” Ac. 3:19; ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ συνεδρίου, Ac. 5:41; also Ac. 7:45; 2 Th. 1:9; Rev. 6:16 (cf. Is. 2:10, 19, 21); 12:14 (to denote distance == “far from”); 20:11.
- b. εἰς πρόσωπον: εἰς πρόσωπον τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, “before the eyes of the (other) churches,” 2 C. 8:24.
- c. ἐν προσώπῳ: by means of ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ in 2 C. 2:10 Paul appeals to Christ as witness to the sincerity of his forgiveness. πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους, “against those who boast of external things,” 2 C. 5:12.
- d. κατὰ πρόσωπον: without dependent case “personally present,” “eye to eye” (→ 769, 24): Ac. 25:16; 2 C. 10:1; Gl. 2:11. τὰ κατὰ πρόσωπον, “what is before the eyes,” 2 C. 10:7. With gen. following (as in LXX) κατὰ πρόσωπον occurs only in Luke:<sup>50</sup> κατὰ πρόσωπον πάντων τῶν λαῶν,<sup>51</sup> Lk. 2:31; κατὰ πρόσωπον Πιλάτου Ac. 3:13.
- e. μετὰ προσώπου: only in the quotation from ψ 15:11 in Ac. 2:28.
- f. πρὸ προσώπου: ἀποστέλλω τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου (“before thee”) Mal. 3:1 == Mk. 1:2; Mt. 11:10; Lk. 7:27; ἀπέστειλεν ἄγγελους πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ, Lk. 9:52; cf. also Lk. 1:76 vl.; 10:1; πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εισόδου αὐτοῦ, “before his coming,” Ac. 13:24.

## 3. God’s Countenance.

Following an OT mode of speech the NT often refers to God’s countenance (→ 772,

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. Dib. Jk., *ad loc.* On this difficult expression → I, 682, 37 ff.

par. parallel.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Bl.-Debr. §217, 1.

<sup>50</sup> The common use of πρόσωπον in dependence on prep. in Luke is due to the fact that the author models his style on the LXX.

<sup>51</sup> πρόσωπον in the sing. in spite of the plur. which follows. Cf. Bl.-Debr. §140.

vl. *varia lectio*.

OT Old Testament.

31 ff.), as in quotations from the OT: πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιούντας κακά (ψ 33:17 == 1 Pt. 3:12; cf. also Ac. 2:28 == ψ 15:11). There is vision of the face of God only in the heavenly world: Christ has gone into the sanctuary, i.e., heaven, νῦν ἐμφανισθῆναι τῷ προσώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, Hb. 9:24. Here the expression which the OT used for visiting the temple is transferred to the heavenly sanctuary. The guardian angels of the μικροί always see τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς (Mt. 18:10) to whom the welfare of the smallest is especially dear. They are thus in the immediate presence of God. To see the divine countenance which is concealed from man will be granted to God's servants in the consummation, Rev. 22:4. Now we can only see through a glass obscurely (→ I, 178, 10 ff.), τότε δὲ πρόσωπον πρὸς πρόσωπον, 1 C. 13:12. This V 6, p 778 means that what we see and say is now imperfect. There will be perfect vision and real knowledge only in the future consummation.

#### 4. Person.

The sense “person” occurs in the NT at 2 C. 1:11. The Corinthians are to join the apostle in prayer in order that “thanks may be given for us by many persons” (ἐκ πολλῶν προσώπων).<sup>52</sup>

### D. Early Church Usage.

#### 1. πρόσωπον in the Post-Apostolic Fathers.

The usage of the post-apost. fathers reveals no peculiarities as compared with the NT. The word is very common in OT quotations, a. The meaning “face” occurs in 1 Cl., 4, 3f. (Gn. 4:5 f.); 16, 3 (Is. 53:3); Barn., 5, 14 (Is. 50:6); Mart. Pol., 9, 2; 12, 1; Herm. v., 3, 10, 1. Of personal presence: ἐκζητεῖν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων “to appear before the saints,” Barn., 19, 10; Did., 4, 2; also Ign. R., 1, 1; Pol., 1, 1; Barn., 13, 4 (Gn. 48:11). b. The meaning

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. Wnd. 2 K.; Ltzm. K., *ad loc.*

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1 Cl. Epistle of Clement

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas.*

Mart. *Martyrium.*

Pol. *Polycarpi.*

Herm. *Pastor Hermae.*

v. *visiones.*

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas.*

Did. *Didache.*

Ign. *Ignatius.*

“front,” “surface” occurs in the quotation of ψ 1:4 in Barn., 11, 7: ... ὃν ἐκρίπτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς. πρόσωπον is common in dependence on prepos.: ἀπὸ προσώπου, 1 Cl., 4, 8. 10; 18:11 (ψ 50:13); 28, 3 (ψ 138:7); Barn., 6, 9; εἰς πρόσωπον, Ign. Pol., 2, 2; Herm. v., 3, 6, 3; κατὰ πρόσωπον, 1 Cl., 35, 10 (ψ 49:21). On κατὰ πρόσωπον for “personally present” cf. Barn., 15, 1; Pol., 3, 2. In Barn., 19, 7 and Did., 4, 10 κατὰ πρόσωπον in the abs. means “with partiality.” πρὸ προσώπου, 1 Cl., 34, 3 (Is. 62:11); Ign. Eph., 15, 3. c. There is ref. to the “face of God” only in OT quotations in 1 Cl., 18, 9 (ψ 50:11); 22, 6 (ψ 33:17); 60, 3 (Nu. 6:25; ψ 66:2). d. Sometimes πρόσωπον means “person”: ὀλίγα πρόσωπα, 1 Cl., 1, 1; ἐν ἧ δύο πρόσωπα, 1 Cl., 47, 6; τὰ προγεγραμμένα πρόσωπα, “the afore-mentioned persons,” Ign. Magn., 6, 1.

### † εὐπρόσωπέω.

From the adj. εὐπρόσωπος,<sup>1</sup> which derived from πρόσωπον but does not occur in the NT, there was later formed a verb εὐπρόσωπέω, “to have a good appearance.” It is found in

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R. *ad Romanos*.

Pol. *Epistle of Polycarp*.

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Ign. *Ignatius*.

Pol. *Epistle of Polycarp*.

Herm. *Pastor Hermae*.

v. *visiones*.

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Pol. *Epistle of Polycarp*.

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Did. *Didache*.

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

Ign. *Ignatius*.

Eph. *Epistula ad Ephesios*.

OT *Old Testament*.

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

Ign. *Ignatius*.

Magn. *ad Magnesios*.

† † before the heading of an article indicates that all the New Testament passages are mentioned in it.

adj. adjective.

<sup>1</sup> == “with fair face,” attested frequently from the 5th cent. Cf., e.g., LXX Gn. 12:11:

Abraham tells the beautiful Sarah that he knows ὅτι γυνὴ εὐπρόσωπος εἶ.

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a letter of 114 B.C.: ὅπως εὐπροσωπῶμεν, P. Tebt., I, 19, 12.<sup>2</sup>

In the NT εὐπροσωπέω is used only at Gl. 6:12: ὅσοι θέλουσιν εὐπροσωπῆσαι ἐν σαρκί, “who want to stand well with men.”

† **προσωποληψία, † προσωπολήμπτης, † προσωπολημπτέω, † ἀπροσωπολήμπτως.**

1. The expressions **לָקַח אִפְסָה** == λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον or θαυμάζειν πρόσωπον and **הִכִּיר אִפְסָה** == γινώσκειν πρόσωπον are common in the OT. They are to be explained in terms of the respectful oriental greeting in which one humbly turns one’s face to the ground or sinks to the earth. If the person greeted thus raises the face of the man, this is a sign of recognition and esteem. The translation of **לָקַח אִפְסָה** by λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον is modelled closely on the Hebrew expression.<sup>1</sup> In secular Greek, of course, λαμβάνειν means only “to take,” “to accept,” never “to raise up.” But since **אִפְסָה** can mean “to take” as well as “to lift,” λαμβάνειν was used for it in Greek. This rendering must have been virtually unintelligible to the Greek.<sup>2</sup> In the phrase θαυμάζειν πρόσωπον, θαυμάζειν means “to esteem,” → III, 30, 1 ff., 41, 12 ff.

God does not respect persons: οὐ θαυμάζει πρόσωπον (Dt. 10:17; cf. 2 Ch. 19:7). Men, however; honour one another by humble greeting and lifting of the face. Thus Jacob before his meeting with Esau hopes: ἴσως γὰρ προσδέξεται τὸ πρόσωπόν μου, Gn. 32:21. But λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον may be partial when regard is hard for the person and there is unjust preference. Judges in particular are warned: οὐκ ἐπιγνώση πρόσωπον ἐν κρίσει, Dt. 1:17, cf. also Lk. 19:15; Dt. 16:19. As there is no respect of persons with God, so the earthly judge must be incorruptible and return just verdicts.

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P. Tebt. *The Tebtunis Papyri*, ed. B. Grenfell, A. Hunt and others, 1920 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also Deissmann LO, 76 f.

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<sup>1</sup> The following sentences are based on a hint from Debrunner.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. Leipoldt-S. Morenz, *Heilige Schriften* (1953), 80.

2. The NT, following the usage of the OT, speaks of “respect of person” in the following expressions. V 6, p 780

βλέπειν εἰς πρόσωπον, Mk. 12:14 par. Mt. 22:16, λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον in Lk. 20:21. Jd. 16 refers to θαυμάζειν πρόσωπον (Gn. 19:21; Dt. 10:17; Ps. Sol 2:17): false teachers in the congregations flatter the persons of men for the sake of gain.

πρόσωπον ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπου οὐ λαμβάνει (Gl. 2:6 cf. Dt. 10:17; Sir. 35:13): God is a judge who cannot be corrupted and who has no regard for persons.

From the Hebraism λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον the noun προσωποληψία was formed (R. 2:11; Eph. 6:9; Col. 3:25; Jm. 2:1). This is found for the first time in the NT but was probably in use already in Hellenistic Judaism.<sup>3</sup> προσωποληψία is often used with reference to God’s judgment before which there is no respect of persons. Hence Jews and Gentiles are judged in the same way, R. 2:11. κύριοι who issue orders to slaves are reminded that over both slaves and masters there is a κύριος in heaven before whom there is no προσωποληψία, Eph. 6:9. But δοῦλοι are to be obedient to their masters, realising that they serve the κύριος Χριστός. An evil-doer will receive his just deserts καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν προσωποληψία Col. 3:25. God is no προσωπολήμπτης. He does not single out the Jews. He also allows the Gentiles to come and receive salvation, Ac. 10:34. God judges ἀπροσωπολήμπτως; this gives to Christian exhortation its seriousness and gravity, 1 Pt. 1:17.

As God has no regard to persons, so there should be no προσωποληψία in the Christian congregation. One cannot believe in Christ and at the same time show partiality, Jm. 2:1. How this may happen is shown by the example of the despising of the poor man and the favouring of the rich, Jm. 2:2–4. There is an impressive warning not to overlook this admonition: εἰ δὲ προσωπολημπτεῖτε, ἁμαρτίαν ἐργάζεσθε, ἐλεγχόμενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς παραβάται, Jm. 2:9.

3. In the post-apost. fathers there is ref. to regard for persons in the following places: λαμβάνειν πρόσωπον, Barn., 19, 4; Did., 4, 3; προσωποληψία, Pol., 6, 1; ἀπροσωπολήμπτως, 1 Cl., 1, 3; Barn., 4, 12.

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par. parallel.

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<sup>3</sup> In Eph. 6:9 and Col. 3:25 the word occurs in household tables which contain an ancient hortatory tradition. Hence it would seem that the word probably has a Jewish origin. Cf. also Dib. Jk. on 2:1; Schl. R. on 2:11.

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Did. *Didache*.

Pol. *Epistle of Polycarp*.

1 Cl. *Epistle of Clement*

Barn. *Epistle of Barnabas*.

Lohse Eduard Lohse, Kiel (Vol. 6), Göttingen (Vol. 7–8), Hanover (Vol. 9).