The History of the Origins of Christianity Book III Saint Paul

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THE HISTORY

OF THE

ORIGINS OF CHRISTIANITY.

BOOK III.

SAINT PAUL.

BY

ERNEST R�NAN

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INTRODUCTION.

CRITICISM OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

The fifteen or sixteen years of religious history comprised in this

volume in the embryonic age of Christianity, are the years with which

we are best acquainted. Jesus and the primitive Church at Jerusalem

resemble the images of a far-off paradise, lost in a mysterious mist.

On the other hand, the arrival of St Paul at Rome, in consequence of

the step the Author of the Acts has taken in closing at that juncture

his narrative, marks in the history of Christian origins the

commencement of a profound darkness into which the bloody glare of the

barbarous feasts of Nero, and the thunders of the Apocalypse, cast only

a few gleams. In particular, the death of the Apostles is enveloped in

an impenetrable obscurity. On the contrary, the era of the missions of

St Paul, especially of the second mission and the third, is known to us

through documents of the greatest value. The Acts, till then so

legendary, become suddenly quite authentic; the last chapters, composed

in part of the narrative of an eye-witness, are the sole complete

historical writings which we have of the early times of Christianity.

In fine, those years, through a privilege very rare in similar

circumstances, provide us with documents, the dates of which are

absolutely authentic, and a series of letters, the most important of

which have withstood all the tests of criticism, and which have never

been subjected to interpolations.

In the introduction to the preceding volume, we have made an

examination of the Book of Acts. We must now discuss seriatim the

different epistles which bear the name of St Paul. The Apostle informs

us himself, that even during his lifetime there were in circulation in

his name several spurious letters, and he often took precautions to

prevent frauds. We are, therefore, only carrying out his intentions in

subjecting the writings which have been put forth as his to a rigorous

censorship.

There are in the New Testament fourteen of such epistles, which it will

be necessary at the outset to divide into two distinct categories.

Thirteen of these writings bear in the text of the letter the name of

the Apostle. In other words, these letters profess to be the works of

Paul, so that there is no choice between the following two hypotheses:

either that Paul is really the author, or that they are the work of an

impostor, who wished to have his compositions passed off as the work of

Paul. On the other band, the fourteenth epistle, the one to the

Hebrews, does not bear the name of Paul in the superscription) [1] ;

the author plunges at once in medias res without giving his name. The

attribution of that epistle to Paul is founded only on tradition.

The thirteen epistles which profess to belong to Paul may, in regard to

authenticity, be ranged into five classes:--

1. Epistles incontestable and uncontested. These are the Epistles to

the Galatians, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to

the Romans.

2. Epistles that are undoubted, although some objections have been

taken to them. These are the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and the

Epistle to the Philippians.

3. Epistles of a probable authenticity, although grave objections have

been taken to them. This is the Epistle to the Colossians, to which is

annexed the note to Philemon

4. Epistle doubtful. This is the epistle addressed to the Ephesians.

5. Epistles false. These are the two Epistles to Timothy, and the

Epistle to Titus.

We have nothing to remark here in regard to the epistles of the first

category; the most severe critics, such as Christian Baur, accept them

reservedly. We shall hardly insist on discussing the epistles of the

second class either. The difficulties which certain modern writers have

raised against them, are merely those slight suspicions which it is the

duty of the critic to point out frankly, but without being determined

by them when stronger reasons should sway him. Now, these three

epistles have a character of authenticity which outweighs every other

consideration. The only serious difficulty which has been raised

against the Epistles to the Thessalonians, is deduced from the theory

of the Anti-Christ appended in the second chapter of the second Epistle

to the Thessalonians,--a theory which seems identical with that of the

Apocalypse, and which consequently assumed Nero to be dead when the

books were written. But that objection permits of solution, as we shall

see in the course of the present volume. The author of the Apocalypse

only applied to his times an assemblage of ideas, one part of which

went back even to the origins of Christian belief, while the other part

had reference to the times of Caligula.

The Epistle to the Colossians has been subjected to a much more serious

fire of objection.. It is undoubted that the language used in that

epistle to express the part played by Jesus in the bosom of the

divinity, as creator and prototype of all creation, trenches strongly

on the language of certain other epistles, and seems to approach in

style the writings attributed to John. In rending such passages one

believes oneself to be in the full swing of Gnosticism. The language of

the Epistle to the Colossians is far removed from that of the undoubted

epistles. The vocabulary is a little different; the style is more

emphatic and more round, and less abrupt and natural. At points it is

embarrassed, declamatory and overcharged, similar to the style of the

false Epistles to Timothy and to Titus. The ideas are hardly those with

which one would expect to meet in Paul. Nevertheless, justification by

faith occupies no longer the first place in the predilections of the

Apostle. The theory of the angels is much more developed; the �ons

begin to appear. The redemption of Christ is no longer simply a

terrestrial fact; it is extended to the entire universe. Certain

critics have been able to discern in many passages either imitations of

the other epistles, or the desire of reconciling the peculiar bias of

Paul to the different schools of his own (a desire so apparent in the

author of the Acts), or the inclination to substitute moral and

metaphysical formulas, such as love and science, for the formulas of

faith and works which, during the first century, had caused so many

contests. Other critics, in order to explain that singular mixture of

things agreeable to Paul, and of things but little agreeable to him,

have recourse to interpolations, or assume that Paul confided the

editing of the epistle in question to Timothy. It is certain that when

we sift this epistle to the bottom, as well as the one to the

Philippians, for a continued account of the life of Paul, we are not

quite so successful as in the great epistles of certain authenticity,

anterior to the captivity of Paul. In the latter, the operation

furnished, so to speak, its own proofs; the facts and the texts fit the

one into the other without effort, and seem to recall one another. In

the epistles pertaining to the captivity, on the contrary, more than

one laborious combination is required, and more than one contradiction

has to be silenced; at first sight, the goings and comings of the

disciples do not agree, many of the circumstances of time and place are

presented, if we may so speak, backwards.

There is, nevertheless, nothing about all this which is decisive. If

the Epistle to the Colossians is, as we believe it to be, the work of

Paul, it was written during the last days of the life of the Apostle,

at a date when his biography is very obscure. We shall show later on

that it is quite admissible, that the theology of St Paul, which, from

the Epistles to the Thessalonians to the Epistle to the Romans, is so

strongly developed, was developed still further in the interval between

the Epistle to the Romans and that of his death. We shall show

likewise, that the most energetic expressions of the Epistle to the

Colossians were only a short advance upon those of the anterior

epistles. St Paul was one of those men who, through their natural bent

of mind, have a tendency to pass from one order of ideas to another,

even though their style and their manner of perception present

sentiments the most fixed. The taint of Gnosticism which is to be found

in the Epistle to the Colossians is encountered, though less

articulated in the other writings of the New Testament, in the

Apocalypse, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In place of rejecting

some passages of the New Testament in which are to be found traces of

Gnosticism, we must sometimes reason inversely, and seek out in these

passages the origin of the gnostic ideas which prevailed in the Second

Century. We may, in a sense, even say, that these ideas were anterior

to Christianity, and that nascent Christianity borrowed more than once

from Gnosticism. In a word, the Epistle to the Colossians, though full

of eccentricities, does not embrace any of those impossibilities which

are to be found in the Epistles to Titus and to Timothy. It furnishes

even many of those details which reject the hypothesis as false.

Assuredly of this number is its connection with the note to Philemon.

If the epistle is apocryphal, the note is apocryphal also; yet few of

the pages have so pronounced a tone of sincerity; Paul alone, as it

appears to us, could write that little master-piece. The apocryphal

epistles of the New Testament--those, for example, to Titus and to

Timothy--are awkward and dull. The Epistle to Philemon resembles in

nothing these fastidious imitations.

Finally, we shell soon show that the so-called Epistle to the Ephesian

is in part copied from the Epistle to the Colossians, which leads to

the supposition, that the compiler of the Epistle to the Ephesians

firmly regarded the Epistle to the Colossians as an original apostolic.

Note, also, that Marcion, who is in general so well informed in his

criticism on the writings of Paul,--Marcion who so justly rejected the

Epistles to Titus and to Timothy,--admits unreservedly in his

collection the two epistles of which we have just been speaking.

Infinitely more strong are the objection. which can be raised against

the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians. And first of all, note that

this designation is nothing if not certain. The epistle has absolutely

no seal of circumstance; it is addressed to no one in particular; those

to whom it was addressed occupied for the moment a smaller place in the

thoughts of Paul than his other correspondents. Is it admissible that

Paul could have written to a Church with which he had so intimate

relations, without saluting anybody, without conveying to the brethren

the salutation of the brethren with whom they were acquainted, and

particularly Timothy, without addressing to his disciples some counsel,

without reminding them of anterior relations, and without the

composition presenting any of those peculiar features which constitute

the most authentic character of the other epistles?

The composition is addressed to converted Pagans; now the Church at

Ephesus was, in great part, Jud�o-Christian. When we remember with what

eagerness Paul in all his epistles seized on and invented pretexts for

speaking of his ministry and of his preaching, we experience a lively

surprise in seeing him throughout the course of a letter addressed to

these same Ephesians--"that for the space of three years he did not

cease, night and day, to exhort with tears"--lose every opportunity

presented to him of reminding them of his sojourn amongst them; in

seeing him, I say, obstinately confining himself to abstract

philosophy, or, what is more singular, to the lifeless formulas least

suited to the growth of the first Church. How different it is in the

Epistles to the Corinthians, Galatians, Philippians, and Thessalonians,

even in the Epistle to those Colossians, whom, however, the Apostle

even only knew indirectly. The Epistle to the Romans is the only one

which in this respect resembles somewhat the epistles in question. Like

them, the Epistle to the Romans is a complete doctrinal expos'; whilst

in regard to the epistles addressed to those readers who had received

from him the Gospel, Paul supposes always the basis of his teaching to

be known, and contents himself with insisting upon some point which is

related to it. How does it come about that the only two impersonal

letters of St Paul are, in the one case, an epistle addressed to a

Church which he had never seen, and in the other, an epistle addressed

to the Church with which he had the most extended and continuous

relations!

The reading of the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians suffices,

therefore, to awaken the suspicion that the letter in question had not

been addressed to the Church at Ephesus. The evidence furnished by the

manuscripts changes these suspicions into certainty. The words en

Epheso, in the first verse, were introduced about the end of the fourth

century. The Vatican manuscript, and the Codex Sinaiticus, both of the

fourth century, and whose authority, at least, when they are in accord,

are more important than that of all the other manuscripts together, do

not contain these words. A Vienne manuscript, the one which is

designated in the collection of the Epistles of Paul by the figures 67,

of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, presents them erased. St Basil

maintains that the ancient manuscripts which he was able to consult did

not have these word. Finally, the testimony of the third century proves

that at that epoch, the existence of the said words in the first verse

was unknown. If then everybody believed that the epistle of which we

are speaking had been addressed to the Ephesians, it was in virtue of

the title, and not in virtue of the superscription. A man who, in spite

of the a priori dogmatic sprit which is often carried into the

correction of the holy books, had frequently flashes of true criticism,

Marcion (about 150 A.D.), contended that the so-called Epistle to the

Ephesians was the Epistle to the Laodic�ans, of whom St Paul speaks in

the Epistle to the Colossians. That which appears the most certain is,

that the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians was not addressed to any

special Church, and that if it belongs to St Paul, it is a simple

circular letter intended for the churches in Asia which were composed

of converted Pagans. The superscription of these letters, of which

there are several copies, might present, according to the words tois

ousin, a blank destined to receive the name of the Church to which it

was addressed. Perhaps the Church at Ephesus possessed one of these

copies of which the compiler of the letters of Paul availed himself.

The fact of finding one such copy at Ephesus appeared to him a

sufficient reason for writing at the head Pros Ephesious. As it was

omitted at an early date to preserve a blank after ousin, the

superscription became: tois agiois tois ousin, chai pistois, a rather

unsatisfactory reading which may have been rectified in the fourth

century, by inserting after ousin, in conformity with the title, the

words en Epheso.

This doubt in regard to the recipients of the so-called Epistle to the

Ephesians might be very readily reconciled with its authenticity; but

critical reflection upon this second point excites new suspicion. One

fact which confronts us at the very threshold, is the resemblance which

is to be remarked between the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians and

the Epistle to the Colossians. The two epistles are copies of one

another. Which is the epistle that has served for the original, and

which is to be considered as an imitation? It looks indeed as if it

were the Epistle to the Colossians which has served for the original,

and that it is the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians which is the

imitation. The second epistle is the most fully developed; the formulas

in it are exaggerated; everything that distinguishes the Epistle to the

Colossians among the epistles of St Paul is more pronounced still in

the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians. The Epistle to the Colossians

is full of special details; it has a dictum which corresponds well with

the historical circumstances in which it must have been written; the

Epistle to the Ephesians is altogether vague. We can understand how a

general catechism might be drawn from a particular letter, but not how

a particular letter might be drawn from a general catechism. In fine,

the 21st verse of chapter vi. of the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians

takes it for granted that the Epistle to the Colossians was previously

written. As soon as it is admitted that the Epistle to the Colossians

is a work of St Paul's, the question then may be stated as

follows:--How could Paul waste his time in counterfeiting one of his

own works, repeating himself, to make an ordinary letter out of a

topical and special letter?

This is not altogether impossible; but it is not very probable. The

improbability of such a conception is diminished if we suppose that

Paul delegated that task to one of his disciples. Perhaps Timothy, for

example, may have taken the Epistle to the Colossians so as to apply

it, and to make of it a general composition which could be addressed to

all the Churches of Asia. It is difficult to speak with assurance on

this point: for it is also supposable that the epistle may have been

written after the death of Paul, at an epoch when people set about

seeking out apostolic writings, and when, seeing the small number of

such writings, people were not over scrupulous in producing new

ones--imitating, assimilating, copying, and diluting writings

previously held to be apostolic. Thus, the second general Epistle of

Peter was manufactured out of the first epistle, and out of the Epistle

of Jude. It is possible that the so-called epistle to the Ephesians

owed its origin to the same process. The objections which have been

raised against the Epistle to the Colossians, both as regards language

and doctrines, are addressed principally to the latter. The Epistle to

the Ephesians, in respect of style, is sensibly different from the

undisputed epistles; it contains favourite expressions, gradations

which only belong to it; words foreign to the ordinary language of

Paul, some of which are to be found in the Epistles to Timothy, to

Titus, and to the Hebrews. The sentences are diffuse, feeble, and

loaded with useless words and repetition, entangled with frivolous

incidents, full of pleonasms and of encumbrances. The same difference

is apparent in the ideas. In the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians

Gnosticism is plainly manifest; the idea of the Church conceived as a

living organism, is developed in it in such a way as to carry the mind

to the years 70 or 80; the exegesis is foreign to the custom of Paul;

the manner in which he speaks of the "holy Apostles" surprises one; the

theory of marriage is different from that which Paul expounded to the

Corinthians.

On the other hand, it must be said that the aim and the interest the

counterfeiter might have had in composing this piece is not altogether

apparent, inasmuch as it adds little to the Epistle to the Colossians.

It seems, moreover, that a forger would have written a letter plainly

addressed and circumstantial, as was the case with the Epistles to

Timothy and to Titus. That Paul wrote or dictated this letter is almost

impossible to admit; but that some one may have composed it during his

lifetime, under his eyes, and in his name, is what cannot be declared

as improbable. Paul, a prisoner at Rome, is able to charge Tychicus to

go and visit the Churches of Asia and to remit several letters--the

Epistle to the Colossians, the Note to Philemon, and the Epistle, now

lost, to the Laodic�ans; he could, besides, remit to him copies of a

sort of circular letter in which the name of the destined Church was

left in blank, and which could be the so-called Epistle to the

Ephesians. On his way to Ephesus, Tychicus may have shown this open

letter to the Ephesians; and it in permissible to suppose that the

latter took or retained a copy of it. The resemblance of this general

epistle to the Epistle to the Colossians was, as if that a man who had

written several letters at intervals of a few days, and who, being

pre-occupied, with a certain number of fixed ideas, had relapsed,

without knowing it, into the same expressions; or, rather, as if that

Paul had charged either Timothy or Tychicus in composing the circular

letter to make it fit in with the Epistle to the Colossians, and to

exclude everything of a topical character. The passage, Colossians iv.

16, shows that Paul sometimes caused the letters to be carried from one

Church to another. We shall see presently that a similar hypothesis

must be made use of to explain certain peculiarities of the Epistle to

the Romans. It appears that, in these last years, Paul adopted

encyclical letters as a form of writing well adapted to the vast rural

ministry that he had to fulfil. In writing to one Church, the thought

occurred to him that the things which he indited might be suitable for

other Churches, and he so arranged matters that the latter might not be

deprived of them. We come in this way to regard the Epistle to the

Colossians and the so-called Epistle to the Ephesians, taken together,

as a pendant to the Epistle to the Romans, as a sort of theological

exposition, which was destined to be transmitted in the form of a

circular letter to the different Churches founded by the Apostle. The

Epistle to the Ephesians had not the same degree of authenticity as the

Epistle to the Colossians; but it had a more general application, and

it was preferred. In very early times it was taken for a work of

Paul's, and for a writing of high authority. This is proved by the use

which is made of it in the first epistle attributed to Peter, a

treatise whose authenticity is not impossible, and which, in any case,

belongs to the apostolic period. Among the letters which bear the name

of Paul, the Epistle to the Ephesians is probably the one which was the

first cited as a composition of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

There remain the two Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus. The

authenticity of these three epistles presents some insurmountable

difficulties. I regard them as apocryphal productions. To prove this, I

would point out that the language of the three writings is not that of

Paul. I would take note of a series of turns and expressions either

exclusively peculiar, or particularly dear to the author, which being

characteristic, ought to be found in similar proportions in the other

epistles of Paul, or, at least, in the proportion desired. Other

expressions, which bear in a kind of way the signature of Paul, are

lacking in this. I would particularly point out that these epistles

embrace a multitude of inconsistencies, both as regards the supposed

author and the supposed recipients. The ordinary characteristic of the

letters fabricated with a doctrinal intention is, that the forger sees

the public over the head of the pretended recipient, and writes to the

latter about things of which he is entirely conversant, and to which

the forger desires the public to listen. The three epistles under

discussion partake in a high degree of this character. Paul, whose

authenticated letters are so particular, so precise; Paul, who,

believing in the near end of the world, never supposed that he would be

read in after ages. Paul was herein a general preacher, just enough

interested in his correspondent to make sermons to him which had not

relation to himself, and to address to him a small code of

ecclesiastical discipline in view of the future. But these arguments,

which of themselves ought to be decisive, I can afford to pass over. I

shall only, in proving my thesis, make use of reasonings which are more

or less material. I shall attempt to demonstrate that there is no

possible means of putting these into the known frame, or even into a

possible frame of the life of St Paul. A very important preliminary

observation is the perfect similarity of these three epistles, the one

to the other--a similarity which compels the admission that either all

three are authentic or all three must be rejected as apocryphal. The

particular features which separate them widely from the other epistles

of St Paul are the same. The odd expressions in the language of St

Paul, which are to be remarked in them, are to be discovered equally in

the three. The defects which render the style unworthy of St Paul are

identical. It is a curious enough fact that each time St Paul takes the

pen to write to his disciples he forgets his habitual mannerisms, falls

into the same looseness, the same idioms. The ground-work of the ideas

gives rise to a similar observation. The three epistles are full of

vague counsels, or moral exhortations, of which Timothy and Titus,

familiarised by daily intercourse with the ideas of the Apostle, had no

need. The errors which are combatted in them are always a sort of

Gnosticism. The predilections of the author in the three epistles do

not much vary; we see the jealous and anxious care of an orthodoxy

already formed and of a hierarch already developed. The three

narratives are sometimes a repetition of one another, and copies of the

other epistles of St Paul. One thing is certain, namely, that if the

three epistles had been written at the dictation of Paul, they belong

to the same period of his life--a period separated by long years from

the time when he composed the other epistles. Any hypotheses which

place between the three epistles in question an interval of three or

four years, for example, or which placed between them some one of the

other epistles which are known to us, ought to be rejected. To explain

the similarity, the one to the other, of the three epistles, and their

dissimilarity to the others, admits of but one possible construction,

and that is to suppose that they were written in a space of time

somewhat short, and a long time after the others--at an epoch when all

the circumstances which surrounded the Apostle had been changed, when

he had become old, when his ideas and his style had undergone

modification. Certainly one might succeed in proving the possibility of

such an hypothesis, but that would not resolve the question. The style

of a man may change; but from a style the most striking and the most

inimitable that ever existed, one cannot fall into a style, prolix and

destitute of vigour. In any case, such an hypothesis is formally

excluded by what we know for certain of the life of Paul. We proceed

now to demonstrate this.

The first Epistle to Timothy in the one which presents the fewest

individual traits, and nevertheless, did it stand alone, we would not

be able to find in it an incident in the life of Paul. Paul, when he

was reputed to have written this epistle, had, for a long time, left

Timothy, for he had not written to him since he went away (i. 3). The

Apostle quitted Timothy at Ephesus. Paul at that same time had departed

for Macedonia. Not having time to combat the errors which had begun to

spread at Ephesus, the chief advocates of which were Hymen�us and

Alexander (i. 20), Paul had left Timothy in order to combat these

errors. The journey which Paul made was to be of short duration; he

calculated to return soon to Ephesus (iii. 14, 16; vi. 13).

Two hypotheses have been proposed in order to include this epistle in

the contexture of the life of Paul, each as those which are furnished

by the Acts, and confirmed by the certain epistles. According to the

one, the journey from Ephesus into Macedonia, which separated Paul and

Timothy, is the one which is narrated in Acts xx. 1. That journey took

place during the third mission. Paul remained three years at Ephesus.

He left in order to see once more his churches in Macedonia, and those

in Achaia. It was, it is said, from Macedonia or Achaia that he wrote

to the disciple whom he had left in Ephesus, giving him full powers.

This hypothesis is inadmissible. First, the Acts inform us (xix. 22)

that Timothy had gone in advance of his master into Macedonia, where in

fact Paul joined him (2 Cor. i. 1). And then is it probable that,

almost on the morrow of his departure from Ephesus, Paul should have

given to his disciple the instructions of which we read in the first

Epistle to Timothy? The errors which he singled out in it he had

himself been able to combat. The turn of the verse (1 Tim. i. 3) is not

compatible with a man who is about to depart from Ephesus after a long

sojourn. Besides, Paul announces the intention of returning to Ephesus

(iii. 14; iv. 13); but Paul, in quitting Ephesus, had the fixed

intention of going to Jerusalem without passing again through Ephesus

(Acts xix. 21; xx. 1, 3, 16; 1 Cor. xvi. 4; ii. 1, 16). Let us add,

that if we suppose the epistle to be written at that moment, everything

about it becomes awkward; the defect of the apocryphal letters, which

are anything but precise, in which the author holds up to his

fictitious correspondent things au courant of what was about to be;

such a defect, I say, is carried so far as to be absurd.

In order to avoid this difficulty, and above all to explain the

intention announced by Paul of returning to Ephesus, some have had

recourse to another explanation. It is supposed that the journey from

Macedonia, mentioned in the verse (1 Tim. i. 3), is a journey not

recounted in the Acts which Paul would have made during his three

years' sojourn at Ephesus. It is certainly permissible to believe that

Paul was not all that time stationary. It is supposed, then, that he

made a journey into the Archipelago, and through there, at the same

sweep, a link was designed to be attached to the Epistle to Titus in a

manner more or leas conformable to the life of Paul. We do not deny the

possibility of such a journey, although the silence of the Acts

presents, it is true, a difficulty: yet, we cannot deny that it is here

where the embarrassments begin which are found in First Timothy. By

accepting this hypothesis, we understand less than if we had adopted

the former one as to the meaning of the verse i. 3. Why does he tell

Timothy what he already knows quite well? Paul had just passed two or

three years at Ephesus, and he will soon again return there. What

signifies these errors he has suddenly discovered at the moment of

departure, which he leaves Timothy at Ephesus to settle? By the latter

hypothesis, moreover, the first Epistle to Timothy should have been

written about the same time as the great authentic epistles of Paul.

What! is it on the morrow of the Epistle to the Galatians, and on the

eve of the Epistles to the Corinthians, that Paul could have written

such a milk-and-water amplification? He must have dropped his habitual

style in setting out from Ephesus; he must have found it again on

returning there, in order to write the letters to the Corinthians,

excepting on one occasion, a few years after, when he took up again the

pretended style of the journey for the purpose of writing to the

self-same Timothy. The second to Timothy, by the admission of

everybody, could not have been written before the arrival of Paul at

Rome, a prisoner. Accordingly, there must have elapsed several years

between the first Epistle to Timothy and that to Titus, on the one

hand, and the second to Timothy, on the other. This could not be. The

three narratives have been copied the one from the other; but how are

we to suppose that Paul, after an interval of five or six years, in

writing to a friend, should make extracts from old letters? Would that

be a proceeding worthy of a master of the epistolary art, one so ardent

and so rich in ideas? The second hypothesis is then, like the first, a

tissue of improbabilities. The verse (1 Tim. i. 3) is a maze from which

the apologist cannot extricate himself. That verse raises an

impossibility in the biography of St Paul. We must find an instance

where Paul, in going into Macedonia, could only have touched at

Ephesus; that instance has no existence in the life of St Paul previous

to his imprisonment. Let us add, that when Paul is reputed to have

written the epistle in question, the Church of Ephesus possessed a

complete organisation of elders, deacons, and deaconesses; this Church

even presents the usual appearances of a community already grown old

with its schisms and errors, nothing of all of which is applicable to

the time of the third mission. If the first to Timothy was written by

Paul, we must throw it into an hypothetical period of his life

posterior to his imprisonment, and beyond the scope of the Acts. This

hypothesis, involving also the examination of the two other epistles of

which we have just been speaking, will be reserved by us, till later

on.

The second Epistle to Timothy furnishes many more facts than the first.

The Apostle is evidently in prison at Rome (i. 8, 12, 16, 17; ii.

9-10). Timothy is at Ephesus, (i. 16-18; ii. 17; iv. 14-15, 19), where

the false doctrines continue to increase through the fault of Hymen�us

and Philetus (ii. 17). Paul has not been long at Rome and in prison,

when he gives to Timothy, in the form of news, certain details about a

journey into the Archipelago he had just made; at Miletum he has left

Trophimus sick (i. 11, 20); at Troas he has left several things with

Carpus (iv. 13), and Erastus remained at Corinth (iv. 20). At Rome the

Asiatics, among others Phygellas and Hermogenes, have abandoned him (i.

15). Another Ephesian, on the other hand, Onesiphorus, one of his old

friends, having come to Rome, sought him out, and found him, and cared

for him in his captivity (i. 16-18). The Apostle is filled with a

presentiment of his near end (iv. 6-8). His disciples are far removed

from him. Demas has forsaken him to pursue his worldly interests, and

is departed unto Thessaloncia (iv. 10); Crescens to Galatia (ibid.),

Titus unto Dalmatia (ibid.); and he has sent Tychicus to Ephesus (iv.

12); only Luke is with him (iv. 11). A certain Alexander, a

copper-smith from Ephesus, did him much harm, and opposed him actively;

this Alexander has set out again for Ephesus (iv. 14-15). Paul has

already appeared before the Roman authorities; on this occasion no one

has assisted him (iv. 16), but God has aided him, and delivered him

from out of the mouth of the lion (iv. 17). In consequence of this, he

begs Timothy to come before the winter (iv. 9, 21), and to bring Mark

with him (iv. 11). He gives him at the same time a commission, which

is, to bring him his cloak, the books, and the parchment which he left

at Troas with Carpus (iv. 13). He recommends him to salute Prisca,

Aquila, and the household of Onesiphorus. He sends to him the greetings

of Pudens, of Linus, of Claudia, and of all the brethren (iv. 21).

This simple analysis suffices to point out some strange incoherencies.

The Apostle is at Rome; he has just made a journey of the Archipelago,

he gives to Timothy the particulars of it, as though he had not written

to him since the journey. In the same letter he speaks to him of his

prison and of his trial. Will any one say that this journey into the

Archipelago was the journey of Paul the captive, narrated in the Acts?

But in this journey Paul did not traverse the Archipelago, neither

could he go to Miletum, nor to Troas, nor, above all, to Corinth, since

at the elevation of Cnide, the tempest drives the vessels upon Crete,

then upon Malta. Will any one say that the voyage in question was the

last voyage of St Paul, a free man, his return voyage to Jerusalem in

company with the deputies charged with accusing him? But Timothy was in

that voyage, at least from Macedonia (Acts xx. 4). More than two years

rolled away between that voyage and the arrival of Paul at Rome (Acts

xxiv. 27). Can we conceive that Paul would recount to Timothy as being

news, things which took place in his presence a long time before, when,

in the interval, they had lived together, and had hardly been separate?

Far from being left sick at Miletum, Trophimus followed the Apostle to

Jerusalem, and was the cause of his arrestment (Acts xx. 29). The

passage, 2 Tim. iv. 10, 11, compared with Col. v. 10, 14, and with

Philemon -- 24, forms a contradiction not less serious. How could Demas

have forsaken Paul when the latter wrote the second to Timothy, seeing

that epistle was posterior to the Epistle to the Colossians and to the

Epistle to Philemon? When writing these last two epistles Paul has Mark

near him; how, in writing to Timothy, could he therefore say,--"Take

Mark and bring him with thee; for he is profitable to me for the

ministry?" On the other hand, we have established the fact, that it is

not allowable to separate the three letters; but in the manner it has

been treated by some there would be three years at least between the

first and the second to Timothy, and it is necessary to place between

them the second to the Corinthians and the Epistle to the Romans. One

single refuge then remains here for the first to Timothy, and that is

to suppose that the second to Timothy was written during a prolongation

of the life of the Apostle of which the Acts makes no mention. This

hypothesis may be demonstrably possible, but a multitude of inherent

difficulties to the epistle would still remain. Timothy is at Ephesus,

and (iv. 12) Paul says dryly, "I have sent Tychicus to Ephesus," as if

Ephesus was not the place of destination. What could be more barren

than the passage 2 Tim. iii. 10-11? Nay, what could be more inexact?

Paul was only associated with Timothy in the second mission, but the

persecutions which Paul underwent at Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium,

and Lystra took place during the first mission. The real Paul writing

to Timothy would have had many other mutual experiences to put him in

mind of. Let us add, that he would not have dreamt of losing his time

in recalling them to him. A thousand improbabilities rise up on every

side, but it is useless to discuss them, for the hypothesis itself is

in question, and according to which our epistle would be posterior to

the appearance of Paul before the council of Nero. This hypothesis, I

say, ought to be discarded, as we shall demonstrate when we come to

discuss, in its turn, the Epistle to Titus.

When Paul wrote the Epistle to Titus, the latter was in the island of

Crete (i. 5). Paul, who had just visited that island, and had been very

much dissatisfied with the inhabitants (i. 12, 13), left his disciples

there, in order to complete the organisation of the churches, and to go

from city to city to establish presbyteri or episcopi (i. 6). He

promised Titus to send him soon Artemas and Tychicus; he begged his

disciples to come, when he had received these two brethren, to rejoin

him at Nicopolis where he calculated to pass the winter (iii. 12), The

Apostle next recommends his disciple to bring diligently Zenas and

Apollos, and to take great care of them (iii. 13).

And here, again, with every phrase, difficulties present themselves.

Not a word for the faithful Cretians--nothing but hurtful and

unbefitting severity (i. 12, 13)--fresh declamations against errors,

the existence of which the churches recently established had not dreamt

of (i. 10 et suivi)--errors Paul, absent, saw and was better acquainted

with than Titus who was on the spot--details which presumed

Christianity to be already old and completely developed in the island

(i. 5, 6)--trivial recommendations bearing upon points quite clear.

Such an epistle would have been useless to Titus, as it did not contain

a single word that he ought not to have known by heart. But it is by

direct arguments, and not by plausible inductions, that the apocryphal

character of the document in question can be made clear.

If it is wished to connect this letter with the period in the life of

Paul known through the Acts, the same difficulties are experienced as

in those which precede. According to the Acts, Paul only touched at

Crete once, and that was when shipwrecked. He made but a very short

stay there, and during the stay he was a captive. It is surely not at

this moment that Paul was able to commence the founding of churches in

the island. Besides, if it were the voyage of Paul as a captive which

is related (Tit. i. 5), Paul, when he wrote, ought to be a captive at

Rome. How could he say from his prison at Rome that he intended to pass

the winter at Nicopolis? Why did he not make, as wan his custom, some

allusion to his being in the condition of a prisoner?

Another hypothesis has been tried. It has been attempted to connect the

Epistle to Titus and the Epistle to Timothy the one with the other. It

has been premised that these two epistles were the results of the

episodical voyage, which St Paul might have composed during his sojourn

at Ephesus. No doubt this hypothesis may go a very little way to

explain the difficulties in the first to Timothy, but we most

investigate it to see whether the Epistle to Titus can lend it any

support.

Paul was at Ephesus for a year or two. During the summer he formed the

project of making an apostolic tour, of which the Acts has made no

mention. He left Timothy at Ephesus, and took with him Titus and the

two Ephesians, Artemas and Tychicus. He went first into Macedonia, then

from there to Crete, where he founded several churches. He left Titus

in the island, charging him to continue his work, and to repair to

Corinth with Artemas and Tychicus. He made there the acquaintance of

Apollos, whom he had not seen before, and who was on the point of

setting out for Ephesus. He begged Apollos to go a little way out of

his straight route so as to pass through Crete, and to carry to Titus

the epistle which has been preserved. His plan at that moment was to go

into Epirus, and to pass the winter at Nicopolis. He sends to inform

Titus of that plan, announces to him that he will see again Artemas and

Tychicus in Crete, and begs him, as soon as he shall have seen them, to

come and rejoin him at Nicopolis. Paul then made his journey into

Epirus. He wrote from Epirus the first to Timothy, and charged Artemas

and Timothy to take it with them; he enjoined them likewise to pass

through Crete, so as to give at the same time the notice to Titus to

come and join him at Nicopolis. Titus repaired to Nicopolis, and the

Apostle and his disciple returned together to Ephesus.

With this hypothesis we can in a fashion give an account of the

circumstances contained in the Epistle to Titus, and the first to

Timothy. Nay, more, we obtain two apparent advantages by it. It serves

to explain the passages of the Epistles to the Corinthians, from which

it appears, at first glance, to result that St Paul, in going to

Corinth at the end of his long sojourn at Ephesus, went there for the

third rime (1 Cor. xvi. 7; 2 Cor. ii. 1; xii. 14, 21; viii. 1); it

serves further to explain the passage in which St Paul pretends to have

preached the Gospel as far away as Illyrium (Rom. xv. 19). There is

nothing substantial about these advantages, nor anything to compensate

for the injuries done to probability in order to obtain them!

First, this pretended episodical voyage, so short that the author of

the Acts did not judge it proper to speak of it, must have been very

considerable, since it embraced a journey into Macedonia, a voyage to

Crete, a sojourn at Corinth, and wintering at Nicopolis. This must have

taken almost a year. Why, then, does the author of the Acts say that

the sojourn of Paul at Ephesus extended over three year. (Acts xix. 8,

10; xx. 31)? Doubtless these expressions do not exclude short absences,

but they exclude a series of journeys. Besides, in the hypothesis we

are discussing, the voyage to Nicopolis should have taken place before

the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Yet, in that epistle, Paul

declares that Corinth is, at the date when he wrote, the extreme point

of his missions towards the west. Finally, the itinerary which has been

traced of the journey of Paul is not very natural. Paul went first into

Macedonia--the text is formal (1 Tim. i. 3)--and thence he repairs to

Crete. In going from Macedonia into Crete, Paul must have cruised about

the coast, either at Ephesus--in which case the verse, 1 Tim. i. 3, is

denuded of meaning--or at Corinth, in which case we cannot conceive why

he wanted to return there immediately after. And how is it that Paul,

in desiring to make a journey from Epirus, speaks of the winter which

he must pass, and not of the journey itself? And this sojourn at

Nicopolis, how is it that we do not know more about it? To suppose the

Nicopolis in question to be the one in Thrace, on the Nestus, only adds

to the confusion, and does not possess any of the apparent advantages

of the hypothesis discussed above.

Some exegites think to remove the difficulty by modifying a little the

journey required by this hypothesis. According to them, Paul went from

Epirus into Crete, from there to Corinth, then to Nicopolis, then to

Macedonia. The fatal verse, 1 Tim. i. 3, is opposed to that. Let

suppose a person starting from Paris, with the intention of making a

trip to England, following the banks of the Rhine in Switzerland and

Lombardy. Would that person, having arrived at Cologne, write to one of

his friends in Paris: "I have left you at Paris, and am going to

Lombardy?" The conduct of St Paul, in any of these suppositions, is not

less absurd than the route of such a one. The journey of Tychicus and

Artemas into Crete is not susceptible of proof. Why did Paul not give

to Apollos a letter for Timothy? Why did he delay writing to him

through Tychicus and Artemas? Why did he not fix a time with Titus when

he should come to join him, seeing that his projects were arrested?

These journeys from Corinth to Ephesus, all made by way of Crete, for

the lack of an apology, are not at all natural. Paul, in this

hypothesis of the episodical journey, in whatever manner we may regard

the itinerary, gives and holds back perpetually; he does things without

due consideration; he extracts only from his wanderings a portion of

their advantages, reserving for future occasions that which he could

very well accomplish at the moment. When these epistles are in

question, it seems that the ordinary laws of probability and of good

sense are reversed.

All attempts to include the Epistles to Titus and Timothy in the work

of the life of St Paul traced by the Acts are tainted with insoluble

contradictions. The authentic epistles of St Paul explain, suppose, and

permeate one another. The three epistles in question may be compared to

a small round which has been punched out by a severe critic; and this

is so much the more singular when two of them, the first to Timothy and

the one to Titus, should happen just in the middle of that whirl of

affairs, so very consecutive and so well known, which have reference to

the Epistle to the Galatians, the two to the Corinthians, and that to

the Romans. Several also of the exegites who defend the authenticity of

these three gospels have had recourse to another hypothesis. They

pretend that these epistles ought to be placed at a period in the life

of St Paul of which the Acts makes no mention. According to the latter,

Paul, after having appeared before Nero, as is implied in the Acts, was

acquitted, which is very possible, nay, even probable. Set at liberty,

he resumed his apostolic career, and went into Spain, which is likewise

probable. According to the critics, of whom we are speaking, Paul, at

that period of his life, made a fresh journey to the Archipelago--the

journey which is referred to in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. He

returned again to Rome, and was there made prisoner a second time, and

from his prison wrote the second to Timothy.

All this, it most be owned, resembles much the artificial defence of an

accused person who, in order to answer objections, is driven to vent an

assemblage of facts which have no connection with anything that is

known. These isolated hypotheses, without either support or force, are

in the eyes of the law a sign of culpability, in criticism the sign of

apocryphy. Even admitting the possibility of that new voyage to the

Archipelago, it would take no end of pains to bring into accord the

facts related in the three epistles; these goings and comings are

susceptible of very little proof. But such a discussion is useless. It

is evident, in fact, that the author of the second to Timothy knew well

how to speak of the captivity mentioned in the Acts, and to which

allusion is made in the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and

Philemon. The similarity of 2 Tim. iv. 9-22 with the endings of the

Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon, proves it. The personnel

which surrounded the Apostle is nearly identical in both cases. The

captivity, from the midst of which Paul is reputed to have written the

second to Timothy, finishes with his liberation (2 Tim. iv. 17-18).

Paul in this epistle is full of hope; he meditates new schemes, and is

pre-occupied with the thought, which, in fact, he is full of during the

whole of his first (and only) captivity, namely, to perfect evangelical

preaching--to preach Christ to all nations, and in particular to

peoples of the far west. If the three epistles were of so far advanced

a date, we cannot conceive why Timothy should always be spoken of in

them as a young man. We are able, besides, to prove directly that the

voyage to the Archipelago, posterior to the sojourn of Paul at Rome,

did not take place. In such a voyage, indeed, St Paul would have

touched at Miletum (2 Tim. iv. 20). Now in the fine discourse which the

author of the Acts attributes to St Paul at the end of the third

mission, while passing through Miletum, he makes Paul say, "And now,

behold, I know that ye all, among whom I have gone preaching the

kingdom of God, shall see my face no more" (Acts xx. 25). But it is not

argued that Paul was deceived in his previsions, so that he had to

change his opinions, and to see again a church to which he thought he

had said a final adieu. This is not the question, however. It matters

little to us whether Paul may or may not have uttered these words. The

author of the Acts was well acquainted with the routine of Paul's life,

although, unfortunately, he has not judged it proper to inform us of

it. It is impossible that he could have put into the mouth of his

master what he knew very well could not be verified.

The letters to Timothy and to Titus are therefore refuted by the whole

contexture of the biography of Paul. When they are forced into it by

one party, they are thrust out of it by another party. Even if an

express period in the life of the Apostle were created for them, the

result would not be any more satisfactory. These epistles refute

themselves; they are full of contradictions; the Acts and the authentic

epistles would be lost if we could not succeed in creating another

hypothesis to uphold the epistles of which we are speaking. And may it

not be alleged that a forger could not have thrown a little more

sprightliness into these contradictions? Demo of Corinth, in the second

century, has a theory not less chimerical in regard to the journeys of

St Paul, inasmuch as he makes him arrive at Corinth and to depart from

Corinth for Rome in the company of St Peter--a thing utterly

impossible. There is no doubt that the three epistles in question were

fabricated at a period when the Acts had not yet gained full authority.

Later, the canvas of the Acts was embellished, like as did the author

of the fable of Theckla about the year 200. The author of our epistles

knew the names of the principal disciples of St Paul; he had read

several of his epistles; he had formed a vague idea of his journeyings;

justly enough, he is struck by the multitude of disciples which

surrounded Paul, and whom he sends out as messengers in every

direction. But the details which he has invented are false and

inconsistent: they always represent Timothy as being a young man; the

imperfect notion he has of a journey Paul made into Crete makes him

believe that Paul had founded churches there. The personnel which he

introduces into the three epistles is peculiarly Ephesian; we are

tempted at moments to think that the desire to exalt certain families

of Ephesus and to depreciate some others belonging to it was not

altogether singular in a fabricator.

The three epistles in question, were they apocryphal from one end to

the other? or were they made use of for the purpose of composing

authentic letters addressed to Titus and to Timothy, that they should

have been diluted, in a sense, to conform with the ideas of the times,

and with the intention of leading the authority of the apostles to the

developments which the ecclesiastical hierarchy took? It is this that

is difficult to decide. Perhaps, in certain parts, at the close of the

second to Timothy, for example, letters bearing different dates have

been mixed up; but even then it must be admitted that the forger has

given himself plenty of scope. Indeed, one consequence which is derived

from what precedes, is that the three epistles are sisters, that, to

speak accurately, they are one and the same work, and that no

distinction can be drawn between them in anything that regards their

authenticity.

It is quite otherwise with the question of finding out whether some of

the data of the second to Timothy (for example, i. 15-18; ii. 17, 18;

iv. 19-21) have not a historical value. The forger, though not knowing

all the life of Paul, and not possessing the Acts, might have, notably

in the last days of the Apostle, some original details. Especially do

we believe that the passage in the second of Timothy (iv. 19-21) has

much importance, and throws a true light upon the imprisonment of St

Paul at Rome. The fourth gospel is also, in one sense, apocryphal; yet

we cannot say that on this account it is a work destitute of historical

importance. As to that which it possesses of chimera, according to our

ideas of such supposititious works, it must, on no account, be

discarded from the New Testament. This ought not to occasion the least

scruple. If the pious author of the false letters to Timothy and to

Titus could be brought back and made to assist amongst us in the

discussions of which he has been the cause, he would not be forbidden;

he would respond, like the priest of Asia, author of the Romance of

Theckla, when he found himself pressed into a corner: convictum atque

confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse.

The time of the composition of these three epistles may be placed about

the year 96 to 100. Theophilus of Antioch (about the year 170) cited

them expressly. Iren�us, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian admitted

them also. Marcion, on the contrary, rejected them, or did not know

them. The allusions which are believed to have been found in the

epistles attributed to Clement of Rome, to Ignatius, to Polycarp, are

doubtful. There were floating about at that epoch a certain number of

hemitetic phrases, all facts; the presence of those phrases in a

writing does not prove that the author has borrowed them directly from

some other writing in which he has found them. The agreements which we

remark between certain expressions of Hegesippe and certain passages in

the epistles in question, are singular; one does not know what

consequence to draw from them, for if, in those expressions, Hegesippe

has in his eye the first Epistle to Timothy, it would seem that he

regarded it as a writing posterior to the death of the Apostles.

However that may be, it is clear that when he had collected the letters

of Paul, the letters to Titus and to Timothy, he enjoyed full

authority. Where were they composed? Probably at Ephesus; probably at

Rome. The partisans of this second hypothesis may say that, in the

East, people do not commit errors which are remarked on. Their style

bristles with Latinisms. The intention which prompted the writing, to

wit, the desire of augmenting the force of the hierarchical principle,

and of the authority of the Church, in presenting a model of piety, of

docility, of "ecclesiastical spirit," traced by the Apostle himself, is

altogether in harmony with what we know of the character of the Roman

Church from the first century.

It only remains for us now to speak of the Epistle to the Hebrews. As

we have already said, that epistle does not belong to Paul; but it

ought not to be put in the same category as the two epistles to Timothy

and the one to Titus, the author not seeking to pass off his work for a

writing of Paul. What is the value of the opinion which is established

in the Church, and according to which Paul is the author of this

maudlin epistle? A study of the manuscripts, an examination of the

ecclesiastical tradition, and a searching criticism of the work itself,

will enlighten us on that point. The ancient manuscripts bear simply at

the head of the epistle, Pros Ebraious. As to the order of

transcription, the Codex Vaticanus and the Codex Sinaiticus

representing the Alexandrine tradition, place the epistle among those

of Paul. The Gr�co-Latin manuscripts, on the contrary, exhibit all the

hesitation which still remained in the West during the first half of

the middle ages, as to the canonicity of the Epistle to the Hebrews,

and, by consequence, its attribution to Paul. The Codex Boernerianus

omits it; the Codex Augiensis gives it only in Latin after the epistles

of Paul. The Codex Claramontanus puts the epistle in question outside

the list, as a sort of appendix, after the stichometry general of the

writing, a proof that the epistle was not found in the manuscript from

which the Claramontanus was copied. In the aforesaid stichometry (a

very ancient composition) the Epistle to the Hebrews does not appear,

or, if it appears it is under the name of Barnabas. In fine, the errors

which abound in the Latin text of the Epistle of the Claramontanus are

sufficient to awaken the suspicion of the critic, and prove that that

epistle was only included gradually, and as if surreptitiously, in the

canon of the Latin Church. But there is uncertainty even as to the

tradition. Marcion did not have the Epistle to the Hebrews in his

collection of the epistles of Paul: the author of the canon attributed

to Muratori omits it in his list. Iren�us was acquainted with the

writing in question, but he did not consider it as belonging to Paul.

Clement of Alexandria believed it was Paul's; but he felt a difficulty

in attributing it to him, and, to get out of the embarrassment, had

recourse to a not very acceptible hypothesis: he assumes that Paul

wrote the epistle in Hebrew, and that Luke translated it into Greek.

Origen admits also, in a sense, the Epistle to the Hebrews as belonging

to Paul, but he recognised that many people denied that it had been

written by the latter. Nowhere in it could he discover the style of

Paul, and supposes, almost as Clement of Alexandria did, that the

origin of the ideas belonged only to the Apostle. "The character of the

style of the epistle," says he, "has not the ruggedness of that of the

Apostle." This letter is, as regards the arrangement of the words, much

more Hellenic, as everybody must avow who is capable of judging of the

difference of styles. . . . As for me, if I had to express an opinion,

I should say that the thoughts are the Apostle's, but that the style

and the arrangement of the words belong to some one who has revoked

from memory the words of the Apostle, and who has reduced to writing

the discourse of his master. If, then, any church maintains that this

epistle belongs to Paul, it has only to prove it; for the ancients must

have had some reason to go on handing it down as the work of Paul. As

to the question--Who wrote this epistle? God alone knows the truth.

Amongst the opinions which have been transmitted to us by history, one

appears to have been written by Clement of Alexandria, who was Bishop

of the Romans; another by Luke, who wrote the Gospels and the Acts.

Tertullian does not observe the same discretion: he unhesitatingly puts

forward the Epistle to the Hebrews as the work of Paul. Gaius, a priest

of Rome, St Hippolytus, and St Cyprian did not place it among the

epistles of Paul. During the novatianistic quarrel, in which, for many

reasons, this epistle might have been employed, it is not even

mentioned.

Alexandria was the centre where the opinion was formed that the Epistle

to the Hebrews should be intercalated in the series of the letters of

Paul. Towards the middle of the third century Dionysius of Alexandria

appeared to entertain no doubt as to Paul being its author. From that

time this became the opinion most generally accepted in the East;

nevertheless, protestations did not cease to make themselves heard. The

Latins especially protested vigorously; particularly the Roman Church,

who maintained that the epistle did not belong to Paul. Eusebius

hesitated much, and had recourse to the hypothesis of Clement of

Alexandria and of Origen; he was inclined to believe that the epistle

had been composed in Hebrew by Paul, and translated by Clement of Rome.

St Jerome and St Augustine have been at pains to conceal their doubts,

and rarely cite that part of the canon without a reservation. Divers

documents insist always in giving as the author of the work either

Luke, Barnabas, or Clement. The ancient manuscripts of Latin production

sufficed, as we have seen, to attest the repugnance which the West

experienced when this epistle was put forward as a work of Paul's. It

is clear that when we have made, if we may so speak, the editio

princeps of the letters of Paul, the number of letters must be fixed at

thirteen. People were no doubt accustomed very early to place after the

thirteen epistles the Epistle to the Hebrews--an anonymous apostolic

writing, whose ideas approached in some respects those contained in the

writings of Paul. Hence, one had only a step to take to arrive at the

conclusion that the Epistle to the Hebrew's belonged to the Apostle.

Everything induces the belief that this induction was made at

Alexandria, that is to say, in a Church relatively modern as compared

with the Churches of Syria, Asia, Greece, and Rome. Such an induction

is of no value in criticism, if the clear, intrinsic proofs are

perverted by another party in attributing the epistle in question to

the Apostle Paul.

Now, this is in reality what has taken place. Clement of Alexandria and

Origen, very good judges indeed of the Greek style, could not find in

our epistle any semblance of the style of Paul. St Jerome is of the

same opinion; the fathers of the Latin Church who refused to credit

that the epistle was Paul's,--all gave the some reason for their

doubts; propter styli sermonis que distantiam. This is an excellent

reason. The style of the Epistle to the Hebrews is, in a word,

different from that of Paul; it is more oratorical, more periodic; the

diction contains a number of idiomatic expressions. The fundamental

basis of the thoughts is not far removed from the opinions of Paul,

especially Paul as a captive; but the exposition and the exegesis are

quite distinct. There is no nominal superscription, which was contrary

to the usage of the Apostle; characteristics which one always expects

to find in an epistle of Paul's are wanting in the former. The exegesis

is particularly allegorical, and resembles much more that of Philo than

that of Paul. The author has imbibed the Alexandrian culture. He only

makes use of the version called the Septuagint; from the text of this

he adduces reasons which exhibit a complete ignorance of Hebrew; his

method of citing and of analysing Biblical texts is not in conformity

with the method of Paul. The author, moreover, is a Jew; he fancies

himself to be extolling Christ when he compares him to a great Hebrew

priest; Christianity is to him none other than perfected Judaism; he is

far from regarding the Law as abolished. The passage ii. 3, where the

author is placed among those who have only indirectly heard of the

mysteries of the life of Christ from the mouth of the disciples of

Jesus, does not accord at all with one of the most fixed pretensions of

Paul. Let us remark, finally, that, in writing of the Christian

Hebrews, Paul must have deviated from one of his most fixed rules,

which was, never to perform a pastoral not upon the soil of churches

Jud�o-Christian, so that the apostles of circumcision might not, on

their side, encroach upon the churches of uncircumcision.

The Epistle to the Hebrews was not, therefore, written by St Paul. By

whom and where was it written? and to whom was it addressed? We shall

examine all these points in our fourth volume. For the present, the

simple date of a writing so important interests us. Now, this date has

been determined with sufficient decision. The Epistle to the Hebrews

was, according to all probability, anterior to the year 70, inasmuch as

the Levitical service of the Temple is represented in it as being

regularly, and without interruption, continued. On the other hand, at

xiii. 7, and even at v. 12, there would appear an allusion to the death

of the apostles,--of James, the brother of the Lord, for example; at

xiii. 13, there seems to be recorded a deliverance to Timothy posterior

to the death of Paul; at x. 32, and suivi, and probably at xiii. 7

there is, I think, a distinct mention of the persecutions of Nero in

the year 64. It is probable that the passage xiii. 7, and following,

contains an allusion to the commencements of the revolt of Judea (year

66), and a foreboding of the misfortunes which are to follow; this

passage implies, moreover, that the year 40, after the death of Christ,

had not passed, and that this term was drawing near. Everything,

therefore, combines to support the hypothesis that the compiling of the

Epistle to the Hebrews took place between the years 65 and 70, probably

in the year 66.

After having discussed the authenticity, it remains now for us to

discuss the integrity of the epistles of Paul. The authentic epistles

have never been interpolated. The style of the Apostle was so

individual, and so original, that every addition would drop off from

the body of the text by reason of its own inertness. In the labour of

publication which took place when the epistles were collected, there

were, nevertheless, some operations, the import of which must be taken

into account. The principle upon which the compilers proceeded appears

to have been; 1st, to add nothing to the text; 2d, to reject nothing

which they believed to have been dictated or written by the Apostle;

3d, to avoid repetitions which could not fail, especially in the

circular letters, but contain identical statements. In like manner, the

compilers would appear to have followed a system of patching up, or of

intercalating, the aim of which seems to have been to save some

portions which would otherwise have been lost. Thus the passage (2 Cor.

vi. 14; viii. 1) forms a small paragraph which breaks so singularly the

sequence of the epistle, and which disposes one to believe that it has

been clumsily pieced in there. The last chapters of the Epistle to the

Romans presents facts much more striking, and which will require to be

discussed with minuteness; for many portions of the biography of Paul

depend upon the system which is adopted in regard to these chapters.

In reading the Epistle to the Romans, after quitting chap. xii., we

experience some astonishment. Paul appears to have departed from his

habitual maxim, "Mind your own business." It is strange that he gives

imperative counsels to a Church he has not founded, and which resembles

so closely the impertinence of those who seek to build upon foundations

established by others. At to the close of chap. xiv., some

peculiarities still more capricious make their appearance. Several

manuscripts--que suit Gresbach--according to St John Chrysostom,

Theodoretus, Theophylactus, OEcumenius, fix on that place as the finale

of chap. xvi. (verses 25-27). The Codex Alexandrinus, and some others,

repeat twice this finale--once at the end of chap. xiv., and once more

at the end of chap. xvi. Verses 1-13 of chap. xv. excite anew our

surprise. These verses repeat and take up tacitly again what has

preceded. It is hardly to be supposed that they would be found in the

same letter as the one which precedes. Paul repeats himself frequently

in the course of the same disquisition; but he never returns to a

disquisition in order to repeat and to enfeeble it. It must also be

added that verses 1-13 appear to be addressed to Jud�o-Christians. St

Paul therein makes concessions to the Jews. How singular it is that, in

verse 8, Christ is called dachouos Peritoges? We might say that we have

here a resum� of chapters xii., xiii., xiv., for the use of

Jud�o-Christian readers, which Paul has seized on, to prove by texts

that the adoption of the Gentiles did not exclude the privilege of

Israel, and that Christ had fulfilled the ancient promises.

The portion, xv. 14-33, is evidently addressed to the Church of Rome,

and to this Church only. Paul expressed himself there without reserve,

was proper in writing to a Church which he had not seen, and the

majority of which, being Jud�o-Christians, was not directly under his

jurisdiction. In chapters xii., xiii., xiv., the tone of the letter is

firmer; the Apostle speaks there with mild authority; he makes use of

the verb Parachalo, a verb, no doubt, of a very mitigated nature, but

which is always the word he employs when he speaks to his disciples.

Verse 33 makes a perfect termination to the Epistle to the Romans,

according to Paul's method of making terminations. Verses 1 and 2 of

chapter xvi. might also be admitted as a postscript to the Epistle to

the Romans; but what follows verse 3 creates veritable difficulties.

Paul, as though he had not closed his letter with the word Amen,

undertakes to salute twenty-six persons, not to speak of five churches

or groups. In the first place, he never thus puts salutations after the

benediction and the Amen as the finale. Besides, the salutations here

are not the common salutations that one would employ in addressing

people one has not seen. Paul had evidently had the most intimate

relations with the persons he salutes. Each of these persons has his or

her special characteristics; these have laboured with him; those have

been imprisoned with him; another has been a mother to him (doubtless

in caring for him when he was sick); he knows at what date each has

been converted; all are his friends, his fellow-workers, his dearly

beloved. It is not natural that he should have so many ties with a

Church in which he had never been, one that does not belong to his

school, with a Church Jud�o-Christian which his principles forbade him

labouring for. Not only does he know by their names all the Christians

in the Church to which he is addressing himself, but he knows also the

masters of those who are slaves, Aristobulus, Narcissus. Why does he

designate with so much assurance these two houses, if they are at Rome,

a place he has never seen? Writing to the Churches which he has

founded, Paul salutes two or three persons. Why does he salute so

considerable a number of brothers and sisters of a Church which he has

never visited?

If we study in detail the persons he salutes, we shall discover still

more evidence that this page of salutations was never addressed to the

Church at Rome. Amongst them we find no persons that we know who formed

part of the Church at Rome, and we find amongst them many persons who

assuredly never belonged to it. In the first line we encounter Aquila

and Priscilla. It is universally admitted that only a few months

elapsed between the compilation of the first chapter of the Corinthians

and the compilation of the Epistle to the Romans. Now, when Paul wrote

the first chapter to the Corinthians, Aquila and Priscilla were at

Ephesus. In the interval, that apostolic couple were able, it is said,

to set out for Rome. This is very singular. Aquila and Priscilla were

of the party which was at first driven from Rome by an edict; we find

them afterwards at Corinth, then at Ephesus; they return to Rome

without their sentence of expulsion having been revoked, on the morrow

of the day when Paul had just said adieu to them at Ephesus. This is to

attribute to them a life much too nomadic; it is the accumulation of

improbabilities. Let as add, that the author of the second apocryphal

epistle of Paul to Timothy supposes Aquila and Priscilla to be at

Ephesus, which proves that tradition has located them there. The little

Roman martyrology (the source of posterior compilations) has a

memorandum, of date the 8th July--"in Asia Minori, Aquil� et Priscill�

uxoris ejus." This is not all. At v. 5, Paul salutes Epenetus, "the

first-born of Asia in Christ." What! the whole Church of Ephesus has

gone to Rome to take up its abode! The list of names which follows,

applies equally as well to Ephesus as to Rome. Doubtless the first

Church at Rome was principally Greek by language. Amongst the world of

slaves and freedmen from which Christianity was recruited, the Greek

names even at Rome were ordinary ones. Nevertheless, in examining the

Jewish inscriptions at Rome, P. Garrucci has found that the number of

proper Latin names doubled that of Greek names. Now here, of

twenty-four names, there were sixteen Greek, seven Latin, one Hebrew,

so that the number of Greek names is more than double that of Latin

names. The names of the chiefs of the houses of Aristobulus and

Narcissus are Greek also.

The verses, Romans xiv. 3-16, were therefore not addressed to the

Church at Rome; they were addressed to the Church at Ephesus. The

verses 17-20 could not have been addressed to the Romans either. St

Paul there makes use of the word, which is habitual to him, when he

gives an order to his disciples (parachalo); he expresses himself with

extreme acerbity in regard to the divisions sown by his adversaries; we

see that he is there en famille; he knows the condition of the Church

to which he addresses himself; he is delighted with the good reputation

of this Church; he rejoices over her as a master would over his pupils

(eph'umin kairo). These verses have no meaning, if we suppose them

addressed by the Apostle to a church which must have been strange to

him. Each sentence proves that he had preached to those to whom he

wrote, and that they were solicited by his enemies. These verses could

only have been addressed to the Corinthians or to the Ephesians. The

epistle, at the end of which they were found, was written from Corinth;

these verses, which constitute the close of a letter, had, therefore,

been addressed to Ephesus. Seeing that we have shown that the verses

3-16 were likewise addressed to the faithful at Ephesus, we obtain than

a long fragment (xvi. 3-20), which most have formed part of a letter to

the Ephesians. Hence it becomes more natural to connect with these

verses, 3-20, verses 1, 2 of the same chapter--verses which might be

considered as a postscript after the Amen, except that it is better to

attach them to that which follows. The journey of Phoebe becomes thus

more probable. Finally, the somewhat imperative commands of xvi. 2, and

the motive with which Paul applied them, are better understood when

addressed to the Ephesians, who were under so many obligations to the

Apostle, than to the Romans, who were not indebted to him for anything.

The verses 21-24 of chapter xiv. could not, any more than that which

precedes, have made a part of the Epistle to the Romana. Why should all

these people, who had never been to Rome, who had never known the

faithful at Rome, salute the latter? What could these unknown person

say to the Church of Rome? It is important to remark that all the names

are those of Macedonians or people who could have become acquainted

with the Churches of Macedonia. Verse 24 is the close of a letter. The

verses (xvi.) 21-24 can then be made the close of a letter addressed to

the Thessalonians.

The verses 25-27 give on a new finale, which contains nothing topical,

and which, as we have already said, is found in several manuscripts at

the end of chapter xiv. In other manuscripts, particularly in the

Boernerianus and the Augiensis (the Greek part), this termination is

wanting. Assuredly that portion did not constitute a part of the

Epistle to the Romans, which terminates with verse (xv.) 33, nor of the

Epistle to the Ephesians, which terminates with verse (xvi.) 20, nor of

the Epistle to the Churches of Macedonia, which finishes with the verse

(xvi.) 24. We arrive, then, at the curious result that the epistle

closes four times, and in the Codex Alexandrinus five times. This is

absolutely contrary to the practice of Paul, and even to good sense.

Here, then, is a difficulty proceeding from some peculiar accident.

Must we, with Marcion and with Baur, declare the two last chapters of

the Epistle to the Romans to be apocryphal? We are surprised that a

critic so acute as Baur should be contented with a solution so crude.

Why should a forger invent such insignificant details? Why should he

add to a sacred work a list of proper names? In the first and second

centuries the authors of apocrypha had almost all some dogmatic motive;

apostolic writings were interpolated either with a view to some

doctrine, or to establish some form of discipline. We believe we are

able to propose a theory more satisfactory than that of Baur. In our

view, the epistle addrexsed to the Romans was (1) not addressed

entirely to the Romans, and (2) was not addressed to the Romans only.

St Paul, advancing in his career, had acquired a taste for encyclical

epistles, designed to be read in several churches. We presume that the

intention of the Epistle to the Romans was an encyclical of this kind.

St Paul, when he had reached his full maturity, addressed it to the

most important churches, at least to three of them, and, as an

exception, addressed it also to the Church of Rome. The four endings

falling at verses, xv. 33, xvi. 40, xvi. 24, xvi. 27, are the endings

of different copies despatched. When the epistles came to be published,

the copy addressed to the Church of Rome was taken as a basis; but in

order not to lose anything, there was annexed to the text thus

constituted the various parts, and notably the different endings of the

copies which were set aside. In this way many of the peculiarities are

explained:--(1) The double use made of the passage xv. 1-13, with the

chapters xii., xiii., xiv., chapters which, being appropriate only to

the Churches founded by the Apostle, are not to be found in the copy

sent to the Romans, whilst the passage xv. 1-13, not being appropriate

to the disciples of Paul, but, on the other hand, perfectly adapted to

the Romans; (2) Certain features of the epistle which were only

partially adapted to the faithful of Rome, and which went even the

length of indiscretion, if they had been addressed only to the latter;

(3) The hesitation of the best critics on the question in

distinguishing whether the epistle was addressed to the Pagan converts

or to the Jud�o-Christiana, a hesitation quite simple by our

hypothesis, since the principal parts of the epistle had been composed

for the simultaneous use of several churches; (4) What surprises is,

that Paul should compose a letter so singularly important for a Church

with which he was not acquainted, and in respect of which his title

could be contested; (5) In a word, the capricious peculiarities of the

chapters xv. and xvi., these nonsensical salutations, these four

endings, three of which are certainly not to be found in the copy sent

to Rome. We shall see, in the course of the present volume, how far

this hypothesis is in accord with all the other necessities of the life

of St Paul.

We must not omit the testimony of an important manuscript. The Codex

Boernerianus omits the name of Rome in the verses 7 and 15 of the first

chapter. We must not say that the omission is there made in view of its

being read in the churches; the Boernerian manuscript, the work of the

philologers of St Gall, about the year 900, proposed to itself a purely

exegetic aim, and was copied in a very old manuscript.

I regret that I have not been able to find room in the present book to

give an account of the last days of the life of St Paul: to have done

that, it would have been necessary to largely increase the size of this

volume. Moreover, the Third Book would have thus lost somewhat of the

historical solidity which characterises it. After the arrival of Paul

at Rome, in fact, we cease to tread on the ground of incontestable

data; we begin to grope in the obscurity of legends and of apocryphal

documents. The next volume (fourth volume of the beginnings of

Christianity) will contain the end of the life of Paul, the occurrences

in Judea, the arrival of Peter at Rome, the persecutions of Nero, the

death of the apostles, the apocalypse, the taking of Jerusalem, the

compilation of synoptic gospels. Then, a fifth and last volume will

comprise the compilation of writings more ancient than the New

Testament, the interior movements of the Church of Asia Minor, the

progress of the hierarchy and of discipline, the birth of the gnostic

sects, the definitive constitution of a dogmatic orthodoxy and of the

episcopate. When once the last book of the New Testament has been

reduced to writing, when once the authority of the Church constituted

and armed with a sort of touchstone to discern truth from error, when

once the small democratic confraternities of the early apostolic age

have abdicated their power into the hands of the bishop, then is

Christianity complete. The infant will grow still, but he will have all

his members; he will no longer be an embryo: he will acquire no more

essential organs. At the same time, however, the last bonds which

attached the Christian Church to its mother, the Jewish synagogue, has

been snapped; the Church exists as an independent being; she has

nothing left for her mother but aversion. The History of the Origins of

Christianity ends at this moment. I trust that I shall be spared for

five years to finish this work, to which I have wished to devote the

most mature years of my life. It will cost me many sacrifices,

especially in excluding me from the instruction of the College of

France, a second aim I had proposed to myself. But one must not be too

exacting; perhaps he to whom, of two designs, it has been given to

realise one, ought not to rail against fate, the rather if he has

understood these designs as DUTIES.

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[1] In a note, the author defines "superscription" to mean the first

phrase of the texts, and "title "as the heading of each

chapter.--Translator.

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CHAPTER I.

FIRST JOURNEY OF PAUL--THE CYPRUS MISSION.

Journeying from Antioch, Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by John-Mark,

reached Seleucia. The distance from Antioch to the latter city is a

short day's journey. The route follows at a distance the right bank of

the Orontes, winding its way over the outermost slopes of the mountains

of Pieria, and crossing by fords the numerous streams which descend

from the heights. On all sides there are copses of myrtles, arbutus,

laurels, green oaks; while prosperous villages are perched upon the

sharply-cut ridges of the mountains. To the left, the plain of Orontes

unfolds to view its splendid cultivation. On the south, the wooded

summits of the mountains of Daphne bound the horizon. We are now beyond

the borders of Syria. We stand on soil classical, smiling, fertile, and

civilised. Each name recalls the powerful Greek colony which gave to

these regions so high a historical importance, and which established

there a centre of opposition that sometimes assumed a violent form

against the Semitic genius.

Seleucia was the port of Antioch, and the chief northern outlet of

Syria towards the west. The city was situated partly in the plain and

partly on the abrupt heights, facing the angle made by the deposits of

the Orontes at the foot of the Coryphas, about a league and a half to

the north of the mouth of the river. It was here that the hordes of

depraved beings, creatures of a rotten secularism, embarked every year

to invade Rome and to infect it. The dominant religion was that of

Mount Casius--a beautiful, regularly-formed summit, situated on the

other side of the Orontes, and with which was associated various

legends. The coast is inhospitable and tempestuous. The wind descending

from the mountain tops, gives the waves a back stroke, and produces

almost always a deep ground swell. An artificial basin, communicating

with the sea by a narrow channel, shelters ships from the recurring

shocks of the waves. The quays, the mole formed of enormous blocks are

still standing and waiting in silence the not far distant day when

Seleucia shall again become what she was formerly--one of the grandest

termini in the globe. Paul, in saluting for the last time with his band

the brethren assembled on the dark sands of the beach, had in front of

him the beautiful section of the circle formed by the coast at the

mouth of the Orontes; to the right, the symmetrical cone of the Casius,

from which was to ascend three hundred years later the smoke of the

last Pagan sacrifice; to the left, the rugged steeps of Mount Coryphas;

behind him, in the clouds, the snows of Taurus, and the coast of

Cilicia, which forms the Gulf of Issus. The hour was a solemn one.

Although Christianity had for several years extended beyond the country

which was its cradle, it had not yet reached the confines of Syria. The

Jews, however, considered the whole of Syria, as far as Amanus, as

forming part of the Holy Land, and sharing its prerogatives, its rights

and duties. This, then, was the moment when Christianity really quitted

its native soil, and launched forth into the vast world.

Paul had already travelled much in order to spread the name of Jesus.

He had been for seven years a Christian, and not for a single day had

his ardent conviction been lulled to rest. His departure from Antioch

with Barnabas, marked, however, a decisive change in his career. He

began then that Apostolic life, in which he displayed unexampled

activity, and an unheard-of degree of ardour and of passion. Travelling

was then very difficult, when it was not done by sea; for carriage

roads and vehicles hardly existed. This is why the propagation of

Christianity made its way along the banks of the large rivers. Pozzuoli

and Lyons were Christianised when a multitude of towns in the vicinity

of the cradle of Christianity had not heard tell of Jesus.

Paul, it seems, journeyed almost always on foot existing doubtless on

bread, vegetables, and milk. What a life of privations and of trials is

that of a wandering devotee! The police were negligent or brutal. Seven

times was Paul put in chains. Hence, he preferred, when practicable, to

travel by water. Certainly, when it is calm, these seas are delightful;

but they have also suddenly their foolish caprices; the ship may run

aground in the sand, and all that one can do is to seize on a plank.

There were perils everywhere. "In labours more abundant, in stripes

above measure, in prisons more frequent, in death oft. Of the Jews five

times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods,

once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I

have been in the deep. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in

perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the

heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils

on the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and

painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings

often, in cold and nakedness: I have known all" (2 Cor. xi. 23-27). The

Apostle wrote that in the year 56, when his trials were far from being

at an end. For nearly ten years longer he must lead that existence,

which death alone could worthily crown.

In almost all his journeys Paul had companions; but he systematically

refused the assistance from which the other Apostles, Peter, in

particular, drew much consolation and succour--I mean, a companion in

his Apostolic ministry, and in his labours. His aversion to marriage

proceeded from a feeling of delicacy. He did not wish to burden the

Church with the support of two persons. Barnabas followed the same

rule. Paul reverted often to that fact--he cost the Churches nothing.

He deemed it perfectly just that the Apostle should live upon the

community,--that the catechist should share everything in common with

the catechumen; but he was sensitive on the point; he had no desire to

make capital out of that which was legitimate. His constant practice,

with one single exception, was to earn his subsistence by his own

labour. With Paul this was a question of morals and of good example;

for one of his maxims was: "That if any one would not work, neither

should he eat" (2 Thess. iii. 10-12). He added to it likewise a na�ve

sentiment of personal economy, fearing that people might reproach him

with what he cost, and exaggerated his scruples, in order to anticipate

murmurs; for people had come to be very circumspect in regard to

questions of money, because of having to live among those who thought

much of it. In every place where Paul took up his abode, he settled

down and returned to his trade of tent-making. His exterior life

resembled that of an artisan who makes a tour of Europe, and scatters

about him the ideas with which he is permeated.

Such a mode of life, which has become impossible in our modern society

for any but a working man, was easy in societies in which either

religious confraternities or commercial aristocracies constituted a

species of freemasonry. The life of Arab travellers--d'Ibn-Batoutah,

for example--greatly resembled that which must have been led by St

Paul. They wandered from one end of the Mahometan world to the other,

halting in every large town, engaging there in the avocation of judge

or physician, getting married, finding everywhere a hearty welcome, and

the chance of employment. Benjamin de Tudela, and the other Jewish

travellers of the Middle Ages, led a similar life, going from Jewry to

Jewry, and entering at once upon terms of intimacy with their hosts.

These Jewries were distinct quarters, enclosed often by a gate, having

a religious chief, who had an extended jurisdiction. In the centre

there was a common court, and a place ordinarily used for meetings and

for prayers. The relations which exist amongst the Jews in our own day,

present still something of the same character. In every place where

Jewish life is established and well-organised, the journeys of

Israelites, who bear with them letters of recommendation, are made from

ghetto to ghetto. That which takes place at Trieste, at Constantinople,

at Smyrna, is, in this respect, the exact picture of that which took

place in the time of St Paul at Ephesus, at Thessalonica, and Rome. The

new-comer who presents himself on Sabbath at the synagogue, is

remarked, surrounded, and questioned. He is asked where he hails from,

who his father is, and what news he brings. In almost all Asia, and in

a part of Africa, the Jews have thus exceptional facilities for

travelling,--thanks to the species of secret society which they form,

and to the neutrality they observe in the intestine quarrels of the

different countries. Benjamin de Tudela travelled over the whole world

without having seen any other thing save Jews; Ibn-Batoutah without

having seen any one except Mahometans.

These little coteries constituted excellent mediums for the propagation

of doctrines. Each knew his neighbour well, each closely watched the

other; nothing could be further removed from the vulgar freedom of our

modern societies, in which men come in contact with each other so

little. The divisions of parties in a city were always made according

to religion, when politics was not the paramount consideration. A

religious question falling into one of these faithful Israelitish

communities, set everything on fire, and settled schisms and strifes.

Most frequently a religious question was but a firebrand which was

eagerly laid hold of by reason of previous hatreds--a pretext which was

seized upon for reckoning up and denouncing one another.

The establishment of Christianity was not discussed outside the

synagogues, with which latter the coasts of the Mediterranean were

already covered, when Paul and the other Apostles set out upon their

missions. These synagogues had ordinarily little to distinguish them;

they were like the other houses, forming with the quarter of which they

were the centre and link a small vicus (village) or aingiport (small

alley). One thing distinguished these quarters; this was the absence of

ornaments of sculpture vivant, which necessitated recourse for

decoration to expedients, crude, pronounced, and false. But that which

more than anything else designated the Jewish quarter to new-comers

disembarking at the port of Seleucia or C�sarea, was the type of

race--young women decked in gaudy colours, white, red and green,

without medium tints; matrons with pleasing figures, rosy cheeks,

slightly embonpoint, with kindly, maternal eyes. Having landed, and

received a warm welcome, the Apostles awaited the Sabbath. They then

betook themselves to the synagogue. It was a custom, when a stranger

appeared intelligent or eager to make himself know, to invite him to

address to the people a few words of edification. The Apostle took

advantage of this custom, and expounded the Christian thesis. Jesus had

proceeded precisely in the same manner. Astonishment was at first the

general feeling. Opposition did not manifest itself until a little

later, not until some conversions had taken place. Then the elders of

the synagogues resorted to violence; forthwith they ordered to be

applied to the Apostle the cruel and shameful chastisements which were

inflicted on heretics; on other occasions they made an appeal to the

authorities to have the innovator either expelled or beaten. The

Apostle did not preach to the Gentiles until after he had preached to

the Jews. The converts from Paganism were in general the least

numerous, and yet they almost all were recruited from the classes of

the population which were already in contact with Judaism, and had been

brought to embrace it.

This proselytism, as we see,. was confined to the towns. The first

apostles of Christianity did not preach in country places. The

countryman (paganus) was the last to embrace Christianity. The local

patois, which the Greek had not been able to root out in the country

districts, was in part the cause of this. To tell the truth, the

peasant living outside the towns, was quite a rare thing in the

country, at the time when Christianity first began to spread. The

organisation of that Apostolic religion, consisting of assemblies

(ecclesia), was essentially urban. Islamism, in like manner, is also

par excellence a religion of the town. It is not complete without its

grand mosques, its schools, its ulemas (doctors), its muezzins (the

callers to prayers).

The gaiety, the sprightliness of heart, which these evangelical

odysseys breathed, were something new, original, and charming. The Acts

of the Apostles, the expression of that first transport of the

Christian conscience, is a book of gladness, of serene fervency. Since

the Homeric poems, no work so full of such genuine sensation had

appeared. A morning breeze, an odour of the sea--if I may be permitted

to say so--inspiring a sort of cheerfulness and force, permeates the

whole book, and made it an excellent compagnon de voyage, an exquisite

breviary for him who followed the ancient landmarks along the Southern

seas. It was the second poem of Christianity. The lake of Tiberias and

its fishing barques had furnished the first. Now, a current more

powerful, aspirations towards lands more distant, allure us on to the

high seas.

The first point at which the three missionaries touched, was the island

of Cyprus, an ancient, mixed settlement where the Grecian race and the

Phoenician race, planted at first side by side, had ended by nearly

exterminating one another. It was the native country of Barnabas, and

that circumstance doubtless had much to do in determining the direction

in which the mission should make its first advance. Cyprus had already

received the seeds of the Christian faith; in any case, the new

religion embraced several Cypriotes in its fold. The number of Jewries

there was considerable. It should, however, be remembered that the

whole circle of Seleucia, Tarsus, and Cyprus was by no means extensive;

and the small group of Jews scattered over those points, represented

nearly what would be the parent families established at St Brieuc,

Saint-Malo, and Jersey. Paul and Barnabas, then, set out for the

countries with which they were already more or less familiar.

The Apostolic band disembarked at the ancient port of Salamis. They

traversed the whole island from east to west, inclining towards the

south, and probably following the sea coast. It was the most Phoenician

portion of the island, containing the towns of Citium, Amathontus, and

Paphos, old Semitic centres whose original customs had not yet been

effaced. Paul and Barnabas preached in the synagogues of the Jews. Only

a single incident of the journey has been left on record. It occurred

at Neo Paphos, a modern town, which had been built at some distance

from the ancient town, so celebrated for the worship of Venue

(Pal�paphos). Neo Paphos was at that time, as it would seem, the

residence of the Roman pro-consul who governed the island of Cyprus.

This pro-consul was Sergius Paulus, a man of illustrious birth, who, it

appears (although it occurred often with the Romans), permitted himself

to be amused with enchantments, and the superstitious beliefs of the

country in which chance had placed him. He had near him a Jew named

Bar-jesus, who passed himself off for a magician, and gave himself a

title which is translated as elim, or "sage." He produced there, it is

said, scenes analogous to those which took place at Sebaste between the

Apostles and Simon the magician. Bar-jesus raised a bitter opposition

against Paul and Barnabas. Later tradition asserts that the occasion of

this feud was the conversion of the pro-consul. It is related that in a

public discussion, Paul, in order to silence his adversary, was obliged

to strike him with temporary blindness, and that the pro-consul, moved

by that great wonder, was converted.

The conversion of a Roman of that order at this epoch is a thing

absolutely inadmissible. Paul, doubtless, took for faith the

manifestations of interest which Sergius evinced towards him; mayhap

even he mistook irony for favour. The Orientals do not understand

irony. Their maxim, moreover, is that he who is not for them is against

them. The curiosity exhibited by Sergius Paulus was in the eyes of the

missionaries regarded as a favourable disposition. Like many other

Romans, Paulus might be very credulous. Probably the sorceries to which

Paul and Barnabas had more than once recourse, but which we are

unfortunately precluded from believing, appeared to him very striking

and more wonderful than those of Bar-jesus. But, from a feeling of

astonishment to conversion, is a long step. The legend appears to

attribute to Paulus Sergius the reasonings of a Jew or of a Syrian. The

Jew and the Syrian regard the miracle as the proof of a doctrine

preached by the Thaumaturgus. The Roman, if he was enlightened,

regarded the miracle as a trick by which he could amuse himself, and,

if he was credulous and ignorant, as one of those things which happened

now and then. But the miracle to him was no proof of doctrine.

Absolutely destitute of theological sentiment, the Romans could not

imagine that a dogma could be the aim that a god proposed to himself in

working a miracle. The miracle was to them either a fantastical,

although natural, thing (the idea of the laws of nature was foreign to

them, unless they had studied the Grecian philosophy), or an act

revealing to them the immediate presence of divinity. If Sergius Paulus

had actually believed in the miracles of Paul, the reasoning that he

would have employed would have been: "This man is very powerful: he is

perhaps a god;" and not, "The doctrine which this man preaches is the

truth." In any case, if the conversion of Sergius Paulus rested upon

motives so flimsy, we believe we are doing an honour to Christianity in

not calling it a conversion, and in striking off Sergius Paulus from

the number of the Christians.

What is probable is that he had for the mission a benevolent regard;

hence the mission retained for him the remembrance of a wise and good

man. The supposition of Saint Jerome, according to whom Saul should

have taken from Sergius Paulus his name of Paul, is but mere

conjecture: we must not say, however, that that conjecture is

improbable. It was from this moment that the author of the Acts

constantly substituted the name of Paul for that of Saul. Perhaps the

Apostle adopted Sergius Paulus as his patron, and took his name in

token of clientship. It is possible, too, that Paul, following the

example of a great many Jews, had two names--the one Hebrew, the other

obtained by vulgarly Grecianising or Latinising the first (in like

manner as the Josephs called themselves Hegesippus, etc.)--and that it

was only at the moment when he entered into more intimate and more

direct relations with the Pagan world, that he began to bear the single

name of Paul.

We do not know how long this Cyprus mission lasted. The mission

possessed, evidently, no great importance, inasmuch as Paul never

speaks of it in his epistles; and as he never dreamt of seeing again

the churches that he had founded in the island, probably he regarded

the latter as belonging to Barnabas more than to himself. The first

essay of apostolic journeying, in any case, was decisive in the career

of Paul. From that time he assumed the tone of master: till then he had

been as a subordinate of Barnabas. The latter had been longer in the

Church: he had been his introducer and his guarantor; people were more

certain of Barnabas. In the course of this mission the r�les were

exchanged. The talent of Paul for preaching necessitated that the

office of speaking should devolve almost entirely on him. Henceforward,

Barnabas was no more than a companion of Paul,--one of his suite. With

admirable self-abnegation, that truly holy man lent himself to

everything, and left everything to his intrepid friend, whose

superiority he recognised. Not so with John-Mark. Disagreements, which

soon ended in a rupture, broke out between him and Paul. We do not know

the cause of them. Probably the teachings of Paul as to the relations

of the Jews and the Gentiles shocked the Jerusalemitish prejudices of

John, and appeared to him in contradiction with the ideas of Peter, his

master. Perhaps, also, that ever-increasing self-sufficiency of Paul

was insupportable to those who each day saw it become more pervading

and more imperious.

Nevertheless, it is not probable that Paul, from this time, either

took, or allowed himself to be given, the title of Apostle. Up till

now, that title had only been borne by the Twelve of Jerusalem; it was

not considered as transferable; it was believed that Jesus alone had

the power to bestow it. Perhaps Paul had already often said to himself

that he also had received it directly from Jesus, in his vision on the

road to Damascus; but he had not yet openly arrogated to himself so

lofty a pretension. It required the grossest provocations of his

enemies to constrain him to an act which at first he would have

regarded as one of temerity.

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CHAPTER II.

CONTINUATION OF THE FIRST JOURNEY OF PAUL--THE GALATIAN MISSION.

The mission, satisfied with what it had accomplished at Cyprus,

resolved to attack the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor. Alone amongst

the provinces of that country, Cilicia had heard the new gospel, and

possessed churches. The geographical region that we call Asia Minor was

by no means united. It was composed of peoples greatly diverse both as

regards race and social status. The western part and the entire coast

were embraced, from a remote antiquity, in the great vortex of that

common civilisation of which the Mediterranean was the centre. Since

the decadence of Greece, and of the Ptolemaic Egypt, these countries

were held to be the countries the most lettered that then existed, or,

at least, countries which produced the greatest number of men

distinguished in literature. The province of Asia, notably the ancient

kingdom of Pergamus, was, as is said to-day, at the head of progress.

But the centre of the peninsula had been partly civilised. Local life

had continued there as in the times of antiquity. Many of the

indigenous languages had not yet disappeared. The state of public

opinion was very backward. To speak the truth, the whole of these

provinces had but one common characteristic, and that was boundless

credulity and an extreme penchant for superstition. The ancient

religions, under their Hellenic and Roman transformation, retained many

of the features of their primitive form. Several of those religions

still enjoyed great popularity, and possessed a certain superiority

over the Greco-Roman worships. No other country has produced so many

theurgists and theosophists. Apollonius of Tyana was preparing there,

at the period at which we are now arrived, his strange fate. Alexander

of Aboniticus and Peregrinus Proteus began soon to seduce the

provinces; the one by his miracles, his prophecies, and his great

demonstrations of piety, the other by his legerdemain. Artemidorus of

Ephesus and �lius Aristides presented the strange spectacle of men

combining sincere and truly religious sentiments with ridiculous

superstitions and the ideas of charlatans. In no part of the empire was

the pious reaction which was brought about at the end of the first

century in favour of the ancient religions, and opposed to positive

philosophy, more pronounced. Asia Minor was, next to Palestine, the

most religious country in the world. Entire regions, such as Phrygia,

cities such as Tyana, Venasium, Comana, C�sarea in Cappadocia,

Nazianzus, were equally wedded to mysticisms. In many places the

priests were still all but sovereigns.

As for the life politic, there was not even a trace of it. All the

towns, as if in emulation, were striving to outdo each other in their

immoderate adulation of the C�sars, and of the Roman functionaries. The

appellation of "friend of C�sar" was prized. The cities were disputing

with childish vanity the pompous titles of "metropole," of

"very-illustrious," conferred by imperial rescripts. The country had

submitted to the Romans without a violent conquest, at least without

national resistance. History does not mention a single serious

political rising. Brigandage and anarchy, which for a long time had

erected in Taurus, Isauria, Pisidia impregnable strongholds, had come

to an end by yielding to the power of the Romans and their allies.

Civilisation had spread with surprising rapidity. The traces of the

beneficent actions of Claudius, and of the gratitude of the population

towards him, despite certain tumultuous agitations, were encountered at

every turn. It was not as in Palestine, where the ancient institutions

and manners offered a furious resistance. If we except Isauria,

Pisidia, the parts of Cilicia which still retained a shade of

independence, and up to a certain point in Galatia, the country had

lost all national sentiment. It had never had a dynasty proper. The old

provincial individualism of Phrygia, Lydia, and Caria had been dead for

a long time as political units. The artificial kingdoms of Perigamus,

of Bithynia and of Pontus were likewise dead. The whole peninsula had

gladly accepted the Roman domination.

We might add with thankfulness; for never, in fact, had domination been

legitimatised by so many benefits. "Providence Augustus" was, in good

truth, the tutelary genius of the country. The cult of the Emperor,

that of Augustus in particular, and of Livia, were the dominant

religions of Asia Minor. The temples to those terrestrial gods, always

associated with the divinity of Rome, were multiplied everywhere. The

priests of Augustus, grouped by provinces, under archbishops

(archiereis, a sort of metropolitans or primates), succeeded later in

forming a clergy analogous to that which became, beginning with

Constantine, the Christian clergy. The political Testament of Augustus

had become a kind of sacred text, a public teaching as of beautiful

monuments, which were entrusted with making offerings on behalf of all,

and of perpetuating them. The cities and the tribes were rivals for the

epithets which attested the recollection that they preserved of the

great Emperor. Ancient Ninoe di Caria argued with his old Assyrian

religion of Mylitta, in order to establish his connection with C�sar,

son of Venus. In all this there was servility and baseness; but over

and above, there was the sentiment of a new era--a happiness which they

had not up till now enjoyed, and which, in fact, endured unchanged for

centuries afterwards. A man who probably assisted at the conquest of

his country, Denis of Halicarnassus, wrote a Roman history, to

demonstrate to his countrymen the excellencies of the Roman people, to

prove to them that that people was of the same race as themselves, and

that its glory formed a part of theirs.

After Egypt and Cyrenica, Asia Minor was the country in which there

were most Jews. There they formed powerful communities, jealous of

their rights, easily alarmed by persecution, having the vexatious habit

of always complaining of the Roman authority, and of fleeing for

protection outside the city They had succeeded in making themselves

important toll-gatherers, and were in reality privileged, as compared

with other classes of the population. Not only, in fact, was their

religion free, but many of the ordinary imposts, which they pretended

they could not pay conscientiously, were not exacted from them. The

Romans were very favourable to them in these provinces, and almost

always took their part in the conflicts which they had with the

inhabitants of the country.

Embarking at Neo Paphos, the three missionaries sailed towards the

mouth of the Cestrus in Pamphylia, and, ascending the river for a

distance of from two to three leagues, arrived at the eminence of

Perga, a great and flourishing town, the centre of an ancient worship

of Diana, almost as much renowned as that of Ephesus. This religion had

a great resemblance to that of Paphos, and it is not impossible that

the relations of the two towns, establishing between them a line of

ordinary navigation, may have determined the sojourn of the Apostles.

In general, the two parallel coasts of Cyprus and Asia Minor seemed to

correspond the one to the other. These were the two divisions of the

Semitic populations, mixed with divers elements, and which had lost

much of their primitive character.

It was at Perga that the rupture between Paul and John-Mark was

consummated. John-Mark left the mission and returned to Jerusalem. This

incident was doubtless painful to Barnabas, for John-Mark was his

relative. But Barnabas, accustomed to submit to everything on the part

of his imperious companion, did not abandon the grand design of

penetrating into the heart of Asia Minor. The two Apostles plunged into

the interior, and travelling always to the north, between the basins of

Cestrus and of Eurymedon, traversed Pamphylia, Pisidia, and pressed on

as far as mountainous Phrygia. It must have been a difficult and

perilous journey. That labyrinth of rugged mountains was guarded by a

barbarous population, habituated to brigandage, and whom the Romans had

with difficulty subdued. Paul, accustomed to the aspect of Syria, must

have been surprised at the romantic and picturesque Alpestrine regions,

with their lakes, their deep valleys, which may be compared to the

environs of Lake Maggiore and of Tessin. At first one is astonished at

the singular route of the Apostles--a route which shunned the large

centres of population and the routes the most frequented. There is,

moreover, little doubt that they followed in the tracks of the Jewish

emigration. Pisidia and Lycaonia had towns, such as Antioch in Pisidia,

and Iconium, in which great colonies of Jews had established

themselves. There the Jews made many conversions; far away from

Jerusalem, and freed from the influence of Palestine fanaticism, they

lived on good terms with the Pagans. The latter came to the synagogue;

and mixed marriages were not infrequent. Paul had been able to learn

from Tarsus what advantageous conditions the new faith would find here,

in order to establish itself and to fructify. Derbe and Lystra are not

very far from Tarsus. The family of Paul might have had some relations,

or, at all events, have been well known in these scattered cantons.

Departing from Perga, the two Apostles, after a journey of about forty

leagues, arrived at Antioch in Pisidia or Antioch-C�sarea, in the very

heart of the high plateaux of the peninsula. This Antioch had continued

to be a town of mediocre importance until it was raised by Augustus to

the rank of a Roman colony, with Italian jurisdiction. It then became

very important, and changed in part its character. Till now it had been

a town of priests, similar, it would seem, to Comana. The temple which

had rendered it famous, with its legions of temple slaves and its rich

domains, was suppressed by the Romans (twenty-five years before

Christ). But this grand religious establishment, as is always the case,

left deep traces on the manners of the population. It was doubtless in

the train of the Roman colony that the Jews had been drawn to Antioch

in Pisidia.

According to their custom, the two Apostles presented themselves at the

synagogue on the Sabbath. After the reading of the Law and the

prophets, the presidents, seeing two strangers who had the appearance

of being pious, sent to them inquiring whether they had a few words of

exhortation to address to the people. Paul spoke, and expounded the

mystery of Jesus, his death and his resurrection. The impression made

was marked, and they besought him to come the following Sabbath and

continue his discourse to them. A great multitude of Jews and of

proselytes followed them out of the synagogue, and during the whole

week Paul and Barnabas did not cease to exercise an active ministry.

The Pagan population were informed of this incident, and their

curiosity was excited.

The following Sabbath the whole city assembled at the synagogue; but

the sentiments of the orthodox party had much changed. They repented of

the tolerance they had shown the previous Sabbath; the eager multitude

irritated the notables; a dispute accompanied with violence began. Paul

and Barnabas bravely withstood the tempest; they were not permitted,

however, to speak in the synagogue. They retired protesting. "It was

necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you,"

said he to the Jews; "but seeing ye put it from you, and judge

yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles"

(Acts xiii. 46). From that moment, in fact, Paul became more and more

confirmed in the idea that his future was not for the Jews but for the

Gentiles; that his ministry on new soil bore much better fruit; that

God had specially singled him out to be the Apostle to the nations, and

to spread the glad tidings to the ends of the earth. His great soul had

the special characteristic of enlarging and expanding itself

incessantly. The soul of Alexander is the only one I know that had that

gift of perennial buoyancy, that indefinable capacity of wishing and of

embracing.

The disposition of the Pagan population was found to be excellent. Many

were converted and were found at the first attempt to be perfect

Christians. We shall see the same thing take place at Philippi, at

Alexandria Troas, and in the Roman colonies in general. The attraction

that a refined worship had for these good and religious peoples--an

attraction which up till then had been manifested through conversions

to Judaism--was evinced now through conversions to Christianity.

Despite its foreign religion, and perhaps on account of a reaction

against that religion, the population of Antioch, like that of Phrygia

in general, had a sort of penchant in the direction of monotheism. The

new religion, not exacting circumcision and not insisting upon certain

paltry observances, was much better calculated than Judaism to attract

the pious Pagans; thus, favour was quickly brought over to its side.

These scattered provinces, lost amongst the mountains, little

accustomed to authority, without historical celebrity and without any

importance whatever, were excellent soils for the faith. A Church,

somewhat numerous, was established. Antioch in Pisidia became a centre

of propagandism whence the doctrine irradiated all around.

The success of the new Gospel amongst the Pagans culminated in putting

the Jews into a fury. A pious intrigue was formed against the

missionaries. Several of the women of the highest class in the city had

embraced Judaism; the orthodox Jews prevailed upon them to speak to

their husbands, so as to obtain the expulsion of Paul and Barnabas. The

two Apostles, in short, were banished from the city, and from the

territory of Antioch in Pisidia, by a municipal decree.

Following the apostolic usage, they shook the dust off their feet

against the city. They then directed their steps towards Lycaonia, and

reached, after a march of about five days across a fertile country, the

city of Iconium. Lycaonia was, like Pisidia, an illiterate country,

little known, and which had conserved its ancient customs. Patriotism

had by no means died out there; manners were pure, and the minds of

men, serious and honest. Iconium was a city of ancient religions and of

old traditions--traditions which, in many points, approached even those

of the Jews. The city, still very small, had just received, or was

about to receive, from Claudius, when Paul arrived there, the title of

Colony. A high Roman functionary, Lucius Pupius Pr�sens, procurator of

Galatia, had been called the second founder of it, and the city hence

changed its ancient name for that of Claudia or of Claudiconium.

The Jews, doubtless because of that circumstance, were numerous there,

and had gained over many partisans. Paul and Barnabas spoke in the

synagogue: a Church was organised. The missionaries made Iconium a

second centre of a very active apostleship, and dwelt there a long

time. It was there that Paul, according to a very popular romance

during the first half of the third century, must have conquered the

most beautiful of all his disciples, the faithful and tender Theckla.

But the story has no foundation to rest on. One asks oneself why, if it

was by an arbitrary choice, the Asiatic priest, the author of the

romance, selected for the scene of his narrative the city of Iconium.

Even to-day the Greek women of that country are celebrated for their

charms, and exhibit the phenomena of endemic hysteria, which the

doctors attribute to the climate. Be that as it may, the success of the

Apostles was very great. Many Jews were converted; but the Apostles

made always more proselytes outside the synagogue, from amongst those

sympathetic populations who were no longer satisfied with the old

religions. The spotless morality of Paul charmed the good Lycaonians;

their credulity, moreover, disposed them to receive with admiration

that which they regarded as miracles, and the supernatural gifts of the

Spirit.

The tempest which had forced the preachers to quit Antioch in Pisidia,

broke out afresh at Iconium. The orthodox Jews sought to stir up the

Pagan population against the missionaries. The city became divided into

two parties. There was a riot: people spoke of stoning the two

Apostles. They took flight, and quitted the capital of Lycaonia.

Iconium is situated near an intermittent lake, at the entrance of the

great steppe which forms the centre of Asia Minor, and which has, even

up till now, rebelled against all forms of civilisation. The route

towards Galatia, properly speaking, and Cappadocia, was closed. Paul

and Barnabas essayed to compass the foot of the arid mountains which

form a semicircle round the plain on the south side. These mountains

are none other than the northern back of the Taurus; but the central

plain being raised considerably above the level of the sea, Taurus

attains on that side only a moderate elevation. The country is cold and

bleak; the soil, now swampy, now sandy, or cracked by the heat, is

painfully dismal. Alone, the mass of the extinct volcano, called now

Karadagh, stands like an island in the middle of that boundless sea.

Two small, obscure towns, the position of which is uncertain, became

then the theatre of the activity of the Apostles. These two small towns

were called Lystra and Derbe. Dropped down in the valleys of the

Karadagh, in the middle of poor people devoted to the raising of

flocks, in the neighbourhood of the most notorious haunts of brigands

that antiquity had known, these two towns stood entirely isolated. A

civilised Roman felt himself there to be in the midst of savages. The

people spoke Lycaonian. Few Jews were to be found there. Claudius, by

the establishment of colonies in the inaccessible regions of Taurus,

gave to these outlandish cantons more order and security than they had

ever before had.

Lystra was the first to be evangelised. A singular incident happened

there. In the first days of the sojourn of the Apostles at that town,

the rumour spread that Paul had performed a miraculous cure on a lame

person. The credulous inhabitants, and the friends of the person on

whom the miracle had been wrought, were thereupon seized with a

singular idea. It was believed that the Apostles were two divinities

who had taken human form in order to walk about among mortals. The

belief in their descent from the gods was widely spread, especially in

Asia Minor. The life of Apollonius of Tyana became soon to be regarded

as the sojourn of a god upon earth. Tyana was not far from Derbe. As an

ancient Phrygian tradition--consecrated by a temple, and annual feast

and pretty recitations--made Zeus and Hermes to wander thus about in

company, people applied to the Apostles the names of these two divine

travellers. Barnabas, who was taller than Paul, was Zeus; Paul, who was

the chief speaker, was Hermes. There was just outside the gate of the

town a temple of Zeus. The priest, warned that a divine manifestation

had taken place, and that his god had appeared in the town, took steps

to make a sacrifice. The bulls had already been led out and garlands

placed on the front of the temple, when Paul and Barnabas arrived on

the scene, rending their clothes and protesting that they were but men.

The Pagan races, as we have already said, attached to a miracle a

totally different sense than did the Jews. To the latter, the miracle

was a doctrinal argument; to the former, it was the immediate

revelation of a god. The aim of the Apostles, when they were preaching

to people of that kind, was less of preaching Jesus than of preaching

God; their preaching thus became again purely Jewish, or rather

deistical. The Jews who have become proselytes, have always felt that

that which in their religion is adapted to the universality of mankind

is at bottom only monotheism; that all the rest, Mosaic institutions,

Messianic ideas, etc., form, as it were, a secondary series of beliefs,

constituting the peculiar appanage of the children of Israel, a sort of

family heritage, which is not transmissible.

As Lystra had only a few or no Jews of Palestine origin, the life of

the Apostle there was for a long time very tranquil. One family in that

town was the centre and the school of the highest piety. It was

composed of a grandmother named Lois, of a mother named Eunice, and of

a young son named Timothy. The two women professed, undoubtedly, the

Jewish religion as proselytes. Eunice had been married to a Pagan, who

probably was dead before the advent of Paul and Barnabas. Timothy, in

the society of these two women, advanced in the study of sacred

literature, and in the sentiments of the most ardent devotion; but as

he frequently visited the houses of the most devout proselytes, his

parents had not had him circumcised. Paul converted the two women.

Timothy, who might be fifteen years of age, was initiated into the

Christian faith by his mother and his grandmother.

The reports of these conversions spread to Iconium and to Antioch in

Pisidia, and re-awakened the anger of the Jews of these two cities.

They sent emissaries to Lystra, who provoked a disturbance. Paul was

seized by the fanatics, dragged outside the city, stoned, and left for

dead. The disciples came to his rescue. His wounds were not serious. He

re-entered the town, probably by night, and on the morrow set out with

Barnabas for Derbe.

They made here a long stay, and won over a great many souls. These two

Churches of Lystra and of Derbe were the first Churches which were

composed almost entirely of Pagans. We can understand what a difference

there must have been between these Churches and those of Palestine,

formed in the bosom of pure Judaism, or even that of Antioch, encircled

by a Jewish leaven and in a society already Judaised. Here there were

subjects completely unprejudiced, honest country folks who were very

religious, but of a turn of mind quite different from that of the

Syrians. Till now, the preaching of Christianity had prospered only in

the large towns, where resided a numerous population, plying their

trades. Hence-forward, churches were planted in the villages. Neither

Iconium, nor Lystra, nor Derbe was considerable enough in which to

found a Church to be compared to that of Corinth or of Ephesus. Paul

was in the habit of designating the Christians of Lycaonia by the name

of the province in which they dwelt. Now, this province--we mean

Galatia--understood the word in the administrative sense in which the

Romans had applied it.

The Roman province of Galatia, in fact, by no means embraced simply

that country, peopled with Gallic adventurers, of which the town of

Ancyra was the centre. It was an artificial agglomeration,

corresponding to the transient reunion which was effected at the hands

of the Galatian King Amyntas. This personage, after the battle of

Philippi, and the death of Dejotarus, received from Antony, Pisidia,

then Galatia, together with a part of Lycaonia and of Pamphylia. He was

confirmed by Augustus in this possession. At the end of his reign

(twenty-five years B.C.) Amyntas possessed, outside of Galatia properly

speaking, Lycaonia and Isauria, including even Derbe, the south-east

and the east of Phrygia, with the towns of Antioch and Apollonia,

Pisidia and Cilicia Trach�a. All these countries at his death formed a

single Roman province, with the exception of Cilicia Trach�a and the

Pamphylian towns. The province which bore the name of Galatia in the

official nomenclature, at least under the first C�sars, included

therefore for certain--(1) Galatia, properly speaking, (2) Lycaonia,

(3) Pisidia, (4) Isauria, (5) Mountainous Phrygia, with the towns of

Apollonia and Antioch. This state of things lasted for a long time.

Ancyra was the capital of this large group, comprising almost the whole

of central Asia Minor. The Romans were thus not sorry in order to

decompose nationalities, and to efface recollections, to change the

ancient geographical acceptations and to create arbitrary

administrative groups analogous to our departments.

Paul was accustomed to make use of the administrative name to designate

each country. The countries he had evangelised, from Antioch in Pisidia

to Derbe, were called by him "Galatia;" and the Christians of these

countries were to him "Galatians." That name was to him extremely dear.

The Churches of Galatia were embraced amongst those for which the

Apostle had the most affection, and which in turn had for him the

greatest personal attachment. The recollection of the friendship and

the devotion which he had found at the houses of these good people, was

one of the deepest impressions of his apostolic life. Several

circumstances enhanced the keenness of these recollections. It appears

that during his sojourn in Galatia, the Apostle was subject to attacks

of weakness, or of the malady which frequently overtook him. The

solicitude, the attentions of the faithful proselytes, touched him to

the heart. The persecutions that they had to suffer together served to

create between them a strong bond. That little Lycaonian centre had in

its way great importance: St Paul loved to revert to it, as being his

first achievement; it was from there that he drew later on two of his

most faithful companions, Timothy and Gaius.

He was for four or five years thus absorbed within a quite limited

circle. He thought less then of those great rapid journeys, which

towards the end of his life became with him a sort of passion, in order

to establish firmly the Churches which might serve him as a base of

operations. We do not know whether during that time he had any

relations with the Church at Antioch, whose mission he had received.

The desire of seeing again that Mother Church was awakened in him. He

determined to make a journey thence, and proceeded by the opposite

route to the one he had already gone by. The two missionaries visited

for the second time Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia. They took

up anew their abodes in these towns, confirming the faithful in the

faith, exhorting them to perseverance, to patience, and teaching them

that it was only through tribulation that they could enter into the

Kingdom of God. For the rest, the constitution of these scattered

Churches was very simple. The Apostles chose from amongst each of them

elders who after their departure were the depositaries of their

authority. The ceremony of their departure was touching. There were

fastings and prayers, after which the Apostles recommended the faithful

to God, and departed.

From Antioch in Pisidia, the missionaries once more attained to Perga.

They made there, moreover, it appeared, a mission which was crowned

with success. The city processions, pilgrimages, and grand annual

panegyrics, were often favourable to the preaching of the Apostles.

From Perga, after a day's journey, they reached Attalia, the great port

of Pamphylia. There they embarked for Seleucia; then they returned to

great Antioch, where they had, by the grace of God, been liberated five

years before.

The mission field was by no means a wide one. It embraced the Island of

Cyprus in the sense of its length, and in Asia Minor a broken line of

about a hundred leagues. It was the first instance of an apostolic

journey of that kind: nothing had been pre-arranged. Paul and Barnabas

had to wrestle with the greatest external difficulties. We must not

compare these journeys with those of a Francis Xavier or of a

Livingstone, backed up by rich associations. The Apostles resembled

much more the Socialist workmen, spreading their ideas from tavern to

tavern, than the missionaries of modern times. Their trade was forced

upon them as a necessity; they were compelled to halt in order to

pursue it, and to regulate their movements according to the localities

in which they could find work. Hence from delays, from dull seasons,

there was much time lost. In spite of the enormous obstacles, the

general results of that first mission were immense. When Paul had

re-embarked for Antioch, there were several churches of Gentiles. The

great step had now been made. All steps of that kind which had taken

place anteriorly had been more or less undecided. For all that, they

were obliged to give an answer, more or less plausible, to the pure

Jews at Jerusalem, who maintained that circumcision was the preliminary

obligation of the Christian profession. Moreover, the question had

assumed a different form. Another tact of the highest importance was

again brought to light; that was the excellent disposition which they

had been able to discover among certain races, attached to mythological

religions, to receive the gospel. The doctrine of Jesus was evidently

about to profit by the species of charm which Judaism had until now

exercised upon the pious Pagans. Asia Minor, in particular, was

destined to become the second Christian soil. After the disasters which

were soon to strike the Churches of Palestine, she was destined to be

the principal home of the new faith, the theatre of the most important

transformations.

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CHAPTER III.

FIRST AFFAIR IN REGARD TO CIRCUMCISION.

The return of Paul and Barnabas was hailed in the Church of Antioch

with a shout of joy. The whole street of Singon was en f�te: the Church

was assembled. The two missionaries related their adventures and the

things which God had done by them. "God Himself," said they, "had

opened the door of faith unto the Gentiles" (Acts xiv. 27, 28). They

spoke of the Churches of Galatia, which were almost wholly composed of

Pagans. The Church of Antioch, which had for a long time on his account

recognised the legitimacy of the baptism of the Gentiles, approved

their conduct. They remained there several months, resting from their

labours, and refreshing themselves at that source with the apostolic

spirit. It was then, it appears, that Paul converted and adopted as a

disciple, companion, and fellow-worker, a young uncircumcised man named

Titus, who had been born of Pagan parents, and whom we find henceforth

always with him.

A serious dissension, which nearly destroyed the work of Jesus, broke

out at that time, and threw the nascent Church into great disorder.

This dissension embraced the very essence of the situation. It was

inevitable. It was a crisis that the new religion could not fail but

pass through.

Jesus, in raising religion to the highest summit it had ever attained,

had not stated very distinctly whether or not he would remain a Jew. He

had not indicated what he desired to conserve of Judaism. Sometimes he

asserted that he had come to confirm the Law of Moses, at others, to

supplant it. To speak the truth, this was, for a great poet like him,

an insignificant detail. When one has reached the point of knowing the

Heavenly Father, Him whom one adores in spirit and in truth, one no

longer belongs to any sect, to any particular religion, or to any

school; one has the true religion: all practices become of no account;

one does not despise them, for they are the symbols of what has been or

is still respectable; but one ceases to impute to them an intrinsic

virtue. Circumcision, baptism, the Passover, unleavened bread,

sacrifices, all these become equally secondary matters: one thinks no

more about them. None of the uncircumcised, moreover, had identified

themselves with Jesus, or his life; the question did not hence call for

solution. Like all men of genius, Jesus concerned himself with mind

alone. Practical questions of the highest importance, questions which

appeared paramount to inferior minds, questions which caused the

acutest pain to men of application, had no existence for him.

At his death the confusion was general. Abandoned to themselves,

deprived of him who had been for them all a living theology, they

returned to the practices of Jewish piety. There were men who were in

the highest degree devout; but the devotion of the times was Jewish

devotion. They preserved their customs, and fell again into those petty

observances that ordinary persons looked upon as the essence of

Judaism. The world esteemed them as holy men; and by a singular change

of front, the Pharisees, who had served as a butt for the keenest

satires of Jesus, became almost reconciled to his disciples. It was the

Sadducees who showed themselves to be the irreconcilable enemies of the

new movement. The minute observance of the Law appeared to them the

first condition of being a Christian.

Very soon people encountered, in looking at things from this point of

view, the greatest difficulties. For, as soon as the family of

Christians increased in numbers, it was exclusively amongst the people

of non-Israelitish origin, amongst the sympathetic adherents of Judaism

who were uncircumcised, that the new faith found the readiest access.

To oblige these to become circumcised was out of the question. Peter,

with admirable practical good sense, recognised this clearly. On the

other hand, timorous persons, such as James, the brother of the Lord,

looked upon it as supreme impiety to admit Pagans into the Church, and

to eat with them. Peter put off as far as he was able all solution of

the question.

For the rest, the Jews, on their part, found themselves in the same

situation, and had taken up a similar position. When proselytes or

partisans came to them from all parts, the question presented itself to

them. Some advanced minds, honest laymen ignorant of science, and

removed from the influence of the doctors, did not insist upon

circumcision. Sometimes even they dissuaded the new converts from the

practice. These simple-minded and good souls desired only the salvation

of the world, and sacrificed all the rest to this. The orthodox, on the

contrary, with the disciples of Schammai at their head, declared

circumcision to be indispensable. Opposed to the proselytising of the

Gentiles, they did nothing to facilitate the cause of religion; on the

contrary, they exhibited towards the converts a certain coldness;

Schammai drove them out of his house we are told, with a b�ton. This

division was clearly manifested in respect of the royal family of

Adiabene. The Jew named Ananias who converted her, and who was by no

means a savant, strongly dissuaded Izate against circumcision. "One can

live as perfectly," said he, "as a Jew can, without circumcision; to

adore God was the really important thing." The pious Helene was of the

same opinion. A rigorist, named Eleazar, declared, on the contrary,

that if the king did not undergo circumcision he was an impious person;

that the reading of the Law was of no avail if one did not observe it,

and that the highest precept was circumcision. The king, at the risk of

losing his crown, followed this advice. The petty kings who embraced

Judaism, in view of the rich marriages that the family of Herod

offered, submitted to the same rite. But true piety was of a less

facile composition than politics and avariciousness. Many of the pious

converts led the Jewish life without being subjected to the rite which

was reputed by the vulgar as the opening of the door to excesses. It

was indeed for them a source of perpetual embarrassment. Society

bigots, in whom prejudices are strong, are accustomed to represent

their religious practices as matters of good taste, of superior

education. Whilst in France the devout man, in order to avow his piety,

is compelled to conquer a sort of shame, and of human respect, with the

Mussulmans, on the other hand, the man who practices his religion is

the gentleman; he who is not a good Mussulman is not the person that he

ought to be; his position is analogous to that of a boorish,

ill-mannered country man with us. Similarly, in England and in the

United States, he who does not observe the Sunday, is put to the ban in

good society. Amongst the Jews, the position of the uncircumcised was

still worse. Contact with such a being was in their eyes something

insupportable; circumcision appeared to them as obligatory on every one

who wished to live amongst them. He who would not submit to it, was a

creature of low quality; a sort of impure animal that people avoided; a

wretch with whom a man of good standing could hold no relations.

The grand duality which is the essence of Judaism, was revealed in

this. The Law, which was essentially restrictive, and made for the

purpose of isolating, was totally different in spirit from the Prophets

who dreamt of the conversion of the world, and embraced the widest

fields. Two words borrowed from the Talmudic language well defines the

difference that we have indicated. The agada, the opposite of the

halaka, designates popular preaching, proposes to itself the conversion

of the heathen, in opposition to the learned casuistry which only

thinks of the strict execution of the Law, without aiming at converting

any one. To use the phraseology of the Talmud, the gospels are the

agadas; the Talmud, on the contrary, is the highest expression of the

halaka. It is the agada which has conquered the world and made

Christianity; the halaka is the foundation of orthodox Judaism, which

still endures without seeking to extend itself. The agada is

represented as a thing principally Galil�an; the halaka as a thing

peculiarly Jerusalemitish. Jesus, Hillel, the authors of apocalypses

and apochryphas, are agadists, pupils of the Prophets, inheritors of

their infinite aspirations; Schammai, the Talmudists, the Jews

posterior to the destruction of Jerusalem, are the halakistes, the

adherents of the Law, with its strict observances. We shall see, up to

the time of the supreme crisis of the year 70, the fanaticism of the

Law increasing each day, and, on the eve of the great national

disaster, terminating in a sort of reaction against the doctrines of St

Paul; in those "eighteen measures" which afterwards rendered impossible

all intercourse between the Jews and the non-Jews, and opened the sad

history of exclusive Judaism, hateful and hated, which was the Judaism

of the Middle Ages, and is still the Judaism of the East.

It is clear that, for nascent Christianity, here was the point upon

which its future depended. Judaism--did it or did it not impose

particular rites upon the multitudes which professed it? Did it

establish a distinction between the monotheistic basis which

constituted its essence, and the observances with which it was

surcharged? If the former party had triumphed, as the Schammaites

wished it should, the Jewish propaganda would have been wiped out. It

is quite certain that the world would not have become Jewish, in the

narrow sense of the word. That which constituted the attraction of

Judaism, was not its rites, which did not differ in principle from

those of other religions: it was its theological simplicity. We accept

it as a sort of deism, or religious philosophy; and, in fact--in the

mind of a Philo, for example--Judaism was itself very closely

associated with philosophical speculations. With the Essenians it had

reassumed the form of a social Utopia; with the author of the poem

attributed to Phocylides, it had become a simple catechism of good

sense and of honesty; with the author of the treatise of "The Empire of

Reason," a sort of Stoicism. Judaism, like all religions founded

primarily upon caste and tribalism, was encumbered by practices

destined to separate the believer from the rest of the world. These

practices were no longer an obstacle on the day when Judaism justly

aspired to become the universal religion, without either exclusion or

separation. It was as Deism and not as Mosaicism that it was to become

the universal religion of humanity. "Love all men," said Hillel, "and

draw them together with the Law; act not otherwise than you would not

wish that others should act to you. Here is the whole Law, the rest is

the commentary of it." When we read the treatises of Philo, entitled,

"Of the Contemplative Life," or, "That Every Honest Man is Free;" when

we read even the Sibylline verses written by the Jews, we are

transported into an order of ideas which contain nothing specially

Jewish, into a world of general mysticism which is not more Jewish than

Buddhist or Pythagorean. The Pseudo-Phocylides goes the length of

abolishing the Sabbath. We perceive that all these men, ardent for the

amelioration of humanity, seek to reduce Judaism to a general morale,

to strip it of all that it possesses of individuality, and of

everything that would make of it a restricted religion.

Three capital reasons, in fact, rendered Judaism a thing very

exclusive. These were, circumcision, the prohibition of mixed

marriages, and the distinction between meats permissible or forbidden.

Circumcision was for adults a painful ceremony; a ceremony, moreover,

not free from danger, and disagreeable to the last degree. That was one

of the reasons which interdicted the Jews from leading a life in common

with other races, and made of them a separate caste. At the baths and

at the gymnasiums, most important places in ancient cities,

circumcision exposed the Jews to all manner of affronts. Every time

that the attention of the Greeks or the Romans was drawn to the

subject, it was the signal for outbursts of pleasantry. The Jews were

very sensitive on the point, and avenged themselves by cruel reprisals.

Many, in order to escape the ridicule, and wishing to pass themselves

off for Greeks, attempted to dissimulate their original mark by a

surgical operation, the details of which have been preserved to us by

Celsus. As for the converts who submitted to that initiatory ceremony,

there was only one course they could take--that was, to conceal

themselves to escape the sarcasms. No man of the world could resign

himself to such a situation, and this was doubtless the reason that the

conversions to Judaism were much more numerous among the women than

among the men, the former not being subjected at first to an

experience, shocking and repulsive in every respect. We find many

instances of Jewish women being married to Pagans, but there is not a

single instance of a Jew being married to a Pagan woman. Hence the

origin of much of the jeering. The necessity made itself felt by a

broad casuistry which brought peace into troubled households.

Mixed marriages were the origin of difficulties of a similar kind. The

Jews regarded these marriages as pure fornication. It was the crime

that the kanaim punished with the dagger, simply because the Law in not

prescribing any particular punishment for it, left its repression in

the hands of zealots. Although united by faith and love to Christ, two

Christians could thus be prevented from contracting marriage. The

Israelite converted to Jesus who wished to espouse a sister of the

Grecian race, expected that union, holy in his eyes, to be called by

the most outrageous names.

The prescriptions as to meats being pure or impure were not of the

least consequence. We can judge of this by that which still takes place

in our own time. Nudity being no longer a part of modern manners,

circumcision no longer subjects Israelites to these inconveniences. But

the necessity of slaughtering for themselves continues to be very

embarrassing for them. It requires of those who are strict not to eat

with Christians, and, consequently, to be sequestered from general

society. That precept is the principal cause which still places

Judaism, in many countries, in the position of an exclusive sect. In

countries where Israelites are not separated from the rest of the

nation, it is a rock of offence; for, to understand it, it is

sufficient on this point to have seen Puritan Jews arrive from Germany

or Poland, who are shocked at the licences their co-religionists permit

on this side of the Rhine. In cities like Salonica, in which the

majority of the population is Jewish, and where the wealth is in the

hands of the Jews, the actual trade of the community is on this account

rendered impossible. Even in ancient times these restrictions were

irksome. A Jewish law, the relic of innumerable centuries during which

the responsibilities of property were an essential part of religious

legislation, stamped the pig with a brand of infamy, which had no

raison d'�tre in Europe. That old antipathy, having its origin in the

East, appeared puerile to the Greeks and the Romans. A multitude of

other prohibitions had descended from a time when one of the

pre-occupations of the leaders of civilisation was to constrain their

subordinates from eating things unclean, or from touching carrion. The

hygiene of marriage, in fine, had given room for the enacting of a code

of legal impurities for women sufficiently complicated. The peculiarity

of these kind of prohibitions is their survival from times when they

had a raison d'�tre, and of their becoming at length so vexatious that

they might have had their origin in what was proper and salutary.

One particular circumstance gave to the prohibitions in regard to meat

much importance. The flesh provided for the sacrifices made to the gods

was considered as impure. Now these meats, after the sacrifices, were

often carried to the market, where it became very difficult to

distinguish them; hence the inextricable scruples. The strict Jews did

not regard as lawful the indiscriminate provisioning of them-selves in

the market. They held that the seller should be questioned as to the

origin of the meat, and that before accepting the dish the host should

be questioned as to how it had been supplied. The imposing of that load

of casuistry upon converts had evidently been carried to excess.

Christianity would not have been Christianity if, like the Judaism of

our day, it had been compulsory to have slaughtering done separately,

or if the Christian could not, without violating his conscience, eat

with other men. When one has discovered in that network of difficulties

religions surcharged with prohibitions pertaining to life; when one has

seen the Jew in the East; the Mussulmans separated by their ritualistic

laws, as if by a wall, from the European world, where they might take

their place, one can comprehend the immense importance of the questions

which were to be decided at the time at which we are now arrived. The

question to be decided was, whether Christianity should be a religion

of formulas and rituals, a religion of ablutions, of purifications, of

distinctions between things pure and things impure, or, on the other

hand, the religion of mind, the idealistic cult, which has killed or

shall kill by degrees religious materialism, all formularies, all

ceremonies. Or, better still, the question to be decided was whether

Christianity was to be a petty sect or a universal religion; whether

the idea of Jesus should be overshadowed by reason of the incapacity of

his disciples; or whether that idea, by virtue of its original force,

should triumph over the scruples of backward and narrow minds, which

were ready to have it replaced and obliterated.

The mission of Paul and Barnabas had presented the question with such a

force that there was no way of avoiding a solution. Paul, who in the

first period of his ministry had, it appears, preached circumcision,

now declared it useless. He had surreptitiously admitted Pagans into

the Church; he had constituted Churches composed of Gentiles; Titus,

his intimate friend, had not been circumcised. The Church at Jerusalem

could not longer close its eyes to facts so notorious. Broadly

speaking, this Church was, on the point with which we are now engaged,

hesitating, or favourable to the party the most backward. The

conservative senate was there. In close proximity to the Temple, in

perpetual contact with the Pharisees, the old Apostles, timid and

narrow-minded, could not lend themselves to the profoundly

revolutionary theories of Paul. Many of the Pharisees, however, had

embraced Christianity without renouncing the essential principles of

their sect. To such persons, the supposition that one could be saved

without circumcision was blasphemy. To them the Law seemed to remain in

its entirety. They had been told that Jesus had come to fulfil the Law,

not to abrogate it. The privileges of the children of Abraham appeared

to them intact: the Gentiles could not enter into the kingdom of God

without being previously affiliated with the family of Abraham; in a

word, before becoming a Christian, it was necessary to be made a Jew.

Never, we can see, had Christianity had to resolve a more fundamental

doubt. If one might credit the Jewish party, the love feast even, the

common repast, would have been impossible; the two sections of the

Church of Jesus would not have been able to commune the one with the

other. From the theological point of view, the matter was still more

serious; the question was to know whether one could be saved through

the works of the Law or by the grace of Jesus Christ.

Some members of the Church of Jud�a having arrived at Antioch without,

as it would appear, any mission from the apostolic body, provoked

discussion. They proclaimed loudly that one could not be saved without

circumcision. It is necessary to recall that the Christians, who had at

Antioch a name and a distinct individuality, had nothing of the kind at

Jerusalem; that which did not oppose whoever came from Jerusalem had

not in the whole Church much force, for the centre of authority was

there. People were greatly excited. Paul and Barnabas resisted in the

most energetic manner. There were long disputes. To bring it to an end,

it was decided that Paul and Barnabas should go to Jerusalem to consult

with the Apostles and the Elders on the subject.

The question had for Paul a personal importance. His action until now

had been almost entirely independent. He had only spent a fortnight at

Jerusalem since his conversion, and for eleven years he had not put a

foot in it. In the eyes of many he was a sort of heretic, teaching on

his own account, and scarcely in communion with the rest of the

faithful. He declared proudly that he had had his revelation, his

apostleship. To go to Jerusalem was, in appearance at least, to forfeit

his liberty, to subject his apostleship to that of the Mother Church,

to learn from others what he knew through his own and personal

revelation. He did not deny the authority of the Mother Church; but he

defied it, because he was acquainted with the obstinacy of some of its

members. He therefore took precautions so as not to compromise himself

too much. He declared that in going to Jerusalem he would not submit to

any dictation; he even feigned, indulging a pretension that was

habitual to him, that in this he was obeying a command of Heaven, and

of having had a revelation on the subject. He took with him his

disciple Titus, who shared all his opinions, and who, as we have said

above, was not circumcised.

Paul, Barnabas, and Titus set out on their journey. The Church at

Antioch accompanied them on their route as far as Laodic�a-on-the-sea.

They followed the coast of Phoenicia, then traversed Samaria, finding

at every step brethren, to whom they recounted the marvels of the

conversion of the Gentiles. There was great joy everywhere. In this way

they reached Jerusalem. This was one of the most solemn hours in the

history of Christianity. The grand doubt was now to be solved. The men

upon whom rested the whole future of the new religion were going to be

ranged face to face. Upon their grandeur of soul, upon their

uprightness of heart depended the future of humanity.

Eighteen years had rolled on since the death of Jesus. The Apostles had

grown old. One of them had suffered martyrdom. Others probably were

dead. We know that the deceased members of the apostolic college were

not replaced; that the college became extinct when they had

disappeared. On the part of the Apostles, they formed themselves into a

college of elders, in which authority was divided. The "Church," the

reputed depository of the Holy Spirit, was composed of the Apostles, of

the elders, and of all the brotherhood. Amongst the simple-minded

brethren themselves there were degrees. Inequality was perfectly

admissible; but that inequality was altogether moral; it was neither a

question of external prerogative nor of material advantage. The three

principal "pillars," as we have said, of the community were still

Peter, James, the brother of the Lord, and John, the son of Zebedee.

Many Galileans had disappeared. They had been replaced by a certain

number of persons belonging to the party of the Pharisees. "Pharisee"

was synonymous with "devotee"; but all the best saints of Jerusalem

were also strong devotees. Lacking the mind, the finesse, the grandeur

of Jesus, they had, after his death, fallen into a kind of stupid

bigotry, a state similar to that which their master so strongly

combated. They were incapable of irony; they had almost forgotten the

eloquent invectives of Jesus against the hypocrites. Some had developed

into a sort of Jewish Indian priests, after the manner of John the

Baptist and of Banou, monks totally addicted to formulas, and at whom

Jesus certainly, if he had been still alive, could not have aimed

sarcasms enough.

James, in particular, surnamed the Just, or "the brother of the Lord,"

was one of the most exact observers of the Law that there was.

According to certain traditions--very doubtful, it is true--he was even

an ascetic, practising all the Nazarene abstinences, observing

celibacy, drinking no intoxicating liquors, eschewing flesh, never

cutting his hair, forbidding himself anointings and baths, wearing

neither sandals nor garments of wool, clothed in plain linen. Nothing,

we see, was more contrary to the idea of Jesus, who, at least from the

death of John the Baptist, declared affectations of that kind perfectly

vain. Abstinence--already in favour with certain branches of

Judaism--became the fashion, and formed the dominant trait of the

fraction of the Church which, later on, was to be connected with a

pretended Ebion. The pure Jews were opposed to those abstinences; but

the proselytes, particularly the women, inclined much to them. James

did not stir from the Temple; he remained there alone, it is said, for

long hours in prayer, until the callus of his knees had contracted,

like those of the chamois. It is believed that he passed his time there

after the manner of Jeremiah, a penitent for the people, weeping for

the sins of the nation, and turning aside the chastisements that

threatened them. He had only to raise his hands to heaven to perform

miracles. He had been surnamed the Just, and also Obliam, that is to

say, "Rampart of the people," because it was supposed that it was his

prayers which prevented the Divine wrath from sweeping everything away.

The Jews, as we are assured, held him in the same veneration as the

Christians. If that singular man was really the brother of Jesus, he

must have been at least one of those inimical brothers who abjured him

and wished him arrested; and it is probable to such recollections that

Paul, irritated by a mind so narrow, made allusion when he wrote

concerning these pillars of the Church at Jerusalem:--"Whatsoever they

were, it maketh no matter to me; God accepteth no man's person" (Gal.

ii. 6). Jude, the brother of James, was, it seems, in entire agreement

with his ideas.

To sum up, the Church at Jerusalem had been more and more broadened by

the spirit of Jesus. The dead weight of Judaism had borne it down.

Jerusalem was for the new faith an unwholesome centre, and would have

ended by destroying it. In that capital of Judaism, it was very

difficult to cease being a Jew. Moreover, new men, like St Paul, all

but systematically avoided residing there. Forced now, under pain of

being separated from the primitive Church, to come to confer with their

elders, they found themselves in a position full of hardship; and the

work, which could not live except by the power of concord and of

abnegation, ran an immense risk.

The interview, in fact, was singularly protracted and embarrassing.

People listened favourably at first to the account that Paul and

Barnabas gave of their missions; for every one, even the most Judaised,

was of opinion that the conversion of the Gentiles was the harbinger of

the Messiah. The curiosity to see the man of whom so much was being

said, and who had led the sect into so new a path, was at first very

lively. They glorified God for having made an Apostle out of a

persecutor. But when they came to circumcision, and the obligation of

practising the Law, dissension broke out in all its force. The

Pharisean party set forth its pretensions in the most uncompromising

manner. The party in favour of emancipation responded with triumphant

force. They cited the cases of several uncircumcised persons who had

received the Holy Ghost. If God made no distinction between Pagans and

Jews, how could they have the temerity to do it for Him? How could that

be held for unclear which God had purified? Why impose a yoke on the

converts that the race of Israel had not been able to bear? It was

through Jesus that one was saved, and not through the Law. Paul and

Barnabas advanced in support of that thesis the miracles which God had

wrought for the conversion of the Gentiles. But the Pharisees objected

with no less force that the Law was not abolished; that one never

ceased to be a Jew; that the obligations of a Jew remained ever the

same. They refused to hold relations with Titus, who was uncircumcised;

they openly accused Paul of infidelity, and of being an enemy of the

Law.

The most admirable characteristic in the histories of the origins of

Christianity is that that radical and serious division, embracing a

question of the first importance, did not occasion in the Church a

complete schism, which would have been its ruin. The eager and

impulsive mind of Paul had here a splendid opportunity of displaying

itself; his sound practical sense, his sagacity, and his judgment,

remedied everything. The two parties were eager, excited, almost harsh

to one another; nobody rejected his advice; the question was not yet

shaped; people remained united in the common work. A superior bond, the

love that every one had for Jesus, the remembrance which all

entertained for him, were stronger than the divisions. The most

fundamental dissension that was ever produced in the bosom of the

Church, did not lead to reprobation. This is a great lesson that

succeeding centuries have seldom been able to imitate.

Paul understood that in large and heated assemblies he could never

succeed, because that there narrow minds would always have the sway,

and because Judaism was too long at Jerusalem for one to hope to be

able to extort from it a concession of principles. He went and saw

separately all personages of consideration, in particular, Peter,

James, and John. Peter, like all men who exist for the most part on

elevated sentiment, was indifferent to questions of party. These

disputes grieved him; he wished for union, concord, and peace. His

timid and rather contracted mind detached itself with difficulty from

Judaism; he would have preferred that the new converts had accepted

circumcision, but he saw the impossibility of such a solution. Deep and

tender natures are always undecided; they sometimes even have to resort

to a little dissimulation. They desire to please everybody--no question

of principle seems with them to outweigh the value of peace. They let

themselves be carried away by different parties, and to making

contradictory promises and engagements. Peter sometimes committed this

by no means heinous fault. To Paul, he was for uncircumcision; to the

strict Jews, be sided with the partisans of circumcision. The soul of

Paul was so grand, so sincere, so full of the new zeal which Jesus had

brought into the world, that Peter could not fail to sympathise with

him. They loved each other, and when they were together, it was as

sovereigns of the entire world of the future, which they divided

between them.

It was doubtless at the close of one of their conversations that Paul,

with the exaggeration of language and the verve that were habitual to

him, said to Peter, "We quite understand one another; yours is the

gospel of circumcision; mine is the gospel of uncircumcision." Paul

laid hold of these words later on as a sort of regular treaty, which

ought to be accepted by all the Apostles. It is difficult to believe

that Peter and Paul should dare to repeat outside their private

conversations words which would have injured to the highest degree the

pretensions of James, and probably even those of John. But the words

were uttered. These large schemes, which were hardly those of

Jerusalem, struck greatly the enthusiastic soul of Peter. Paul made

upon him the greatest impression, and won him over completely. Up to

this time Peter had travelled little; his pastoral visits had not, it

seems, been extended beyond Palestine. He must have been about fifty

years of age. Paul's eagerness for travelling, the recitals of the

apostolic journeys, the projects that had been communicated to him in

regard to the future, fired his zeal. It was from this time that Peter

was seen to absent himself from Jerusalem, and to lead in his turn the

wandering life of apostleship.

James, with the sanctity of a life so equivocal, was the chief of the

Judaistic party. It was through him that almost all the conversions of

Pharisees had been made: the exigencies of that party were imposed on

him. Everything tends to the belief that he did not make any concession

upon the dogmatic principle; nevertheless, a moderate and conciliatory

opinion soon began to make itself manifest. The legitimacy of the

conversion of the Gentiles was admitted; it was declared that it was

useless to be disquieted in regard to what concerned circumcision; it

was only necessary to maintain a few interesting prescriptions, the

morale or the suppression of which would shock too keenly the Jews. In

order to reassure the Pharisean party, it was remarked that the

existence of the Law was not for the sake of compromise, seeing that

Moses had from time immemorial, and would always be, for the people to

be read in the synagogues. The converted Jews thus remained submissive

to the entire Law, and the exemptions only concerned the converted

Pagans. In practice, however, people were to avoid shocking those who

had more contracted ideas. It was probably these moderate persons, the

authors of that harmless contradiction, who counselled Paul to induce

Titus to let himself be circumcised. Titus, in fact, had become one of

the principal difficulties of the situation. The converted Pharisees of

Jerusalem willingly supported the idea that, far removed from them, at

Antioch, or in the depths of Asia Minor, there were Christians

uncircumcised. But in their midst at Jerusalem, to be obliged to

associate with them, and thus to commit a flagrant violation of that

Law to which they were attached to the bottom of their hearts, this was

what they could not consent to.

Paul took the most infinite precautions in acceding to this demand. It

was indeed owned that it was not as a matter of necessity that the

circumcision of Titus was demanded, as Titus would remain a Christian

even if he did not submit to that rite; but it was asked of him as a

mark of condescension for the brethren whose consciences were pledged,

and who otherwise could not hold relations with him. Paul consented,

but not without uttering some severe words against the authors of such

an exaction, against those false brethren who only had entered the

Church to diminish the extent of the liberties created by Jesus. He

protested that be would in nothing submit his opinions to theirs; that

the concession he had made was for once only, for the sake of the

general good, and of peace. With such reservations he gave his consent,

and Titus was circumcised.

That concession cost Paul much, and the sentence in which he spoke of

it is one of the most original that he ever wrote. The language that it

cost him seemed not to be able to run off his pen. The sentence, at

first sight, appeared to mean that Titus was not circumcised, whilst it

implied that he was. The remembrance of that painful moment often

returned to him; that semblance of returning to Judaism appeared to him

sometimes as a denying of Jesus; he re-assured himself by saying,--"And

unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews." Like all

men who possess a multiplicity of ideas, Paul set little store by

forms. He perceived the vanity of everything which was not a thing of

the soul, and when the supreme interests of conscience were at play,

he, usually so stubborn, abandoned all else.

The capital concession which involved the circumcision of Titus,

appeased much of the ill-feeling. It was admitted that in distant

countries in which the new converts had no daily intercourse with the

Jews, it would be sufficient if they abstained from blood, together

with meats offered in sacrifice to the gods, or suffocated, and that

they observed the same laws as the Jews in regard to marriage, and the

relations between the sexes. The use of pork meat, the interdiction of

which was everywhere the symbol of Judaism, was left free. It was

almost the embodiment of the Noachic precepts; that is to say, which it

was supposed had been revealed to Noah, and which were imposed on all

proselytes. The idea that the blood was the life, that the blood was

life itself, inspired in the Jews an extreme horror for meats from

which the blood had not been let. To abstain from these was for them a

precept of natural religion. Demons were supposed to be particularly

greedy of blood, so in eating meat not bled people ran the risk of

having for companion of the food they partook of a demon. A man who

about that period wrote under the usurped name of the celebrated Greek

moralist Phocylides a short course of Jewish natural morals, simplified

the usages of the non-Jews, by seizing upon similar solutions. That

bold impostor did not essay to convert his reader to Judaism; he sought

merely to inculcate on him the "Noachical precepts," with some greatly

modified Jewish rules in regard to meat and to marriage. The first of

these rules was altered by him to accord with hygienic requirements and

alimentary convenience, to the abstaining from things forbidden or

unclean; the second had reference to the regulating and the purifying

of sexual relations. All the rest of the Jewish ritual went for

nothing.

For the rest, that which issued from the assembly at Jerusalem was only

agreed to by word of mouth, and was not even stated in very strict

terms, for we shall see them frequently set aside. The idea of dogmatic

canons emanating from a council was not yet heard of. By reason of

profound good sense, these simple people attained to the loftiest

pinnacle of policy. They saw that the only way of escaping great

questions was to leave them unresolved, to take a middle course which

would please no one, and to leave problems to wear themselves out, and

to die from lack of a raison d'�tre.

People were content to be divided. Paul explained to Peter, James, and

John the gospel that he preached to the Gentiles; the former entirely

approved of it, finding nothing in it to reprimand, and not attempting

to add anything thereto. Paul and Barnabas were heartily given the

right hand of fellowship; their immediate right divine to the

apostleship of the Pagan world was admitted; people recognised in them

a sort of peculiar grace for what was the special object of their

vocation. The title of Apostle of the Gentiles, which Paul had already

assumed, was, as he assures us, officially conferred on him; and

without doubt people accorded to him, at least by tacit assent, the

fact which he prized the most, to wit, that he had had his special

revelation as direct as those who had seen Jesus; in other words, that

his vision on the way to Damascus was of as much importance as the

other appearances of Christ risen from the dead. All that was required

of the three representatives of the Church of Antioch in return, was

not to forget the poor at Jerusalem. The Church of that city, in fact,

by reason of its communistic organisation, its peculiar

responsibilities, and the misery which reigned in Judea, appeared to be

nearing its last gasp. Paul and his party accepted gladly that idea.

They hoped by a kind of contribution to shut the mouth of the

intolerant Jerusalemitish party, and to reconcile it with the thought

that he existed for the Church of the Gentiles. By means of a trifling

tribute they purchased liberty of thought, and remained in

communication with the central Church, outside of which one did not

dare hope for salvation.

In order that no doubt should remain as to the reconciliation, it was

decided that Paul, Barnabas, and Titus, in returning to Antioch, were

to be accompanied by two of the principal members of the Church at

Jerusalem, Judas Bar-Saba and Silvanus or Silas, who were charged with

disavowing the brethren from Jud�a who had created the trouble in the

Church at Antioch, and to render witness to Paul and Barnabas, whose

services and devotion were recognised. The joy at Antioch was very

great. Judas and Silas held the rank of prophets: their inspired speech

was appreciated extremely by the Church at Antioch. Silas was so much

charmed with that atmosphere of life and of liberty, that he had no

desire to return to Jerusalem. Judas alone returned to the Apostles,

and Silas attached himself to Paul by bonds of brotherhood, which every

day became more intimate.

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CHAPTER IV.

SLOW PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY: ITS INTRODUCTION AT ROME.

An idea which, above all things, it is necessary to get rid of, when

the question at issue is the propagation of Christianity, is that that

propagation had to be made by succeeding missionaries, and by preachers

similar to those of modern times, who have to go from city to city.

Paul and Barnabas and their companions were the only ones who sometimes

proceeded in this manner. The rest was done by workmen whose names

remain unknown. Alongside the Apostles who attained celebrity, there

was thus an obscure apostleship, whose agents were not dogmatists by

profession, but who were none the less most efficacious. The Jews of

the period were nomads par excellence. Merchants, servants, small

tradesmen, they visited all the large towns of the coast, and pursued

their calling. Active, industrious, polite, they brought with them

their ideas, their good example, their exaltation, and dominated these

populations, degraded in point of religion, with all the superiority

that the enthusiastic man possesses over those that are indifferent.

Those affiliated to the Christian sect travelled like the other Jews,

and carried the glad tidings with them. It was a sort of familiar

preaching, and much more persuasive than any other. The gentleness, the

gaiety, the good humour, the patience of the new believers, caused them

to be received gladly everywhere, and conciliated their minds.

Rome was one of the first points attacked in this manner. The capital

of the Empire had heard the name of Jesus long before all the

intermediate countries could have been evangelised, just as a high

summit is illuminated when the valleys lying between it and the sun are

still in darkness. Rome was, in fact, the rendezvous of all the

Oriental religious, the point of the Mediterranean with which the

Syrians had the most intercourse. They arrived there in enormous bands.

Like all poor populations going up to attack the large cities in quest

of fortune, they were obedient and humble. With them disembarked troops

of Greeks, Asiatics, and Egyptians, all speaking Greek. Rome was

literally a bilingual city. The language of the Jewish world and of the

Christian world of Rome was for three centuries Greek. Greek was at

Rome the language of all that was most wicked and most honest, of all

that was the best and the most base. Rhetoricians, grammarians,

philosophers, noble pedagogues, preceptors, servants, intriguers,

artists, singers, dancers, brokers, artisans, preachers of new sects,

religious heroes--they all spoke Greek, The old Roman burgess class

lost ground each day, swamped as it was by this flood of strangers.

It is in the highest degree probable that about the year 50 several

Jews from Syria, already Christians, entered the capital of the Empire,

and disseminated their ideas there. In fact, among the good

administrative measures of Claudius, Suetonius placed the following:

"He expelled the Jews from Rome, who, at the instigation of Chrestus,

indulged frequently in riots." Certainly, it is possible that there

might have been at Rome a Jew named Chrestus who fomented troubles

amongst his co-religionists, and which led to their expulsion. But it

is much more probable that the name of Chrestus was none other than

that of Christ himself. The introduction of the new faith provoked,

doubtless, in the Jewish quarter at Rome, altercations, quarrels,

scenes analogous, in a word, to those which had already taken place at

Damascus, at Antioch in Pisidia, and at Lystra. Wishing to put an end

to these disorders, the police were compelled to take measures for the

expulsion of the perturbators. The chiefs of police may have inquired

superficially into the nature of the quarrel, which interested them so

little; a report addressed to the Government may have proved that the

agitators called themselves Christiani, that is to say, partisans of a

certain Christus; that name being unknown, it may have been changed

into Chrestus, in consequence of the custom of unlettered persons

giving to the names of strangers a form appropriate to their habits.

Hence, in order to come to a conclusion that there existed a man of

that name, who had been the provoker and the leader of the riots, was

but a short step to take; the inspectors of police might have

overlooked the fact, and, without further inquiry, pronounced sentence

of banishment against the two parties.

The principal Jewish quarter in Rome was situated on the other side of

the Tiber; that is to say, in the part of the city the poorest and the

most filthy, probably in the neighbourhood of the actual Porta Portese.

Here was situated formerly, as in our own times, the port of Rome, the

place where merchandise was unloaded which had been brought in flat

boats from Ostia. It was the quarter of the Jews and of the Syrians,

"nations born to servitude" as is remarked by Cicero. The first nucleus

of the Jewish population at Rome had, in fact, been formed of freedmen,

descendants, for the most part, of those who had been carried prisoners

to Rome by Pompey. They had undergone slavery without changing any of

their religious habits. That which is admirable about Judaism, is that

simplicity of faith which makes the Jew, though transported a thousand

leagues from his country, at the end of many generations a Jew still of

the purest type. The intercourse between the synagogues of Rome and

those of Jerusalem was continual. The first colony had been reinforced

by numerous emigrants. These poor people disembarked by hundreds at

Ripa, and lived there by themselves in the quarter adjacent to

Transtevere, serving as street porters, engaging in small commerce,

exchanging matches for broken glasses, and presenting to the haughty

Italian population a type which, later, should become to them too

familiar --that of a mendicant skilled in his art. A Roman who

respected himself never put his foot into these debased quarters. It

was treated as a suburb given over to contemned classes, and to

disreputable avocations; tanneries, sausage factories, steeping

troughs, were relegated there. So the unfortunates lived quite

tranquilly in that despised corner, in the midst of bales of

merchandise, infamous taverns, and of litter porters (Syrians), who had

here their general quarters. The police did not enter it except when

the quarrels were bloody, or when they were too often repeated. Few of

the quarters of Rome were so free; politics had nothing to do with it.

Not only was religion practised in ordinary times without opposition,

but every facility was afforded for active propagandism.

Protected by the contempt which they inspired, little sensitive,

moreover, to the railleries of the people of the world, the Jews of

Transtevere led thus a very active, religious, and social life. They

possessed a few kakamin (schools); nowhere was the ritual and

ceremonial of the Law more scrupulously observed; the synagogues had

the most perfect organisation that ever was known. The titles of

"father" and of "mother of the synagogue" were much prized. Some rich

converts took biblical names; they converted their slaves along with

themselves; the Scroll was explained by the doctors; they built places

of prayer, and showed themselves to be proud of the consideration they

enjoyed in that little world. The poor Jew, when begging, found the

opportunity, in a trembling voice, to whisper into the ear of the grand

Roman dame a few sentences of the Law, and often gained over the

matron, who had given him a handful of small change. To observe the

Sabbath and the Jewish feasts was, according to Horace, the

characteristic which classes a man amongst the weak-minded, that is to

say, with the multitude, unus multorum. Universal benevolence, the

felicity of reposing with the just, assisting the poor, purity of

manners, the sweetness of family life, the mild perception of death,

which was considered as a sleep, are the sentiments which are found on

the Jewish inscriptions, together with that special note of touching

unction of humility, certain hope, which characterises Christian

inscriptions. There were many Jews, men of the world, rich and

powerful, such as Tiberius Alexander, who attained to the highest

honours of the Empire, and who twice or thrice exercised an influence

of the first order in public affairs, and had even, to the great

chagrin of the Romans, his statue in the Forum; but the latter were no

longer good Jews. The Herods, although ostentatiously practising their

religion at Rome, were also far from (it was only through their

relations with the Pagans) being true Israelites. The poor remained

faithful, esteeming these worldlings as renegades; in like manner, we

see in our day the Polish or Hungarian Jews treat with severity the

aristocratic French Israelites who have deserted the synagogue, and

have had their children educated in Protestantism, so as to make their

circle more exclusive.

A world of ideas were thus propounded on the common wharf where was

unloaded the merchandise of the whole world; but all this is lost in

the tumult of a large city like London or Paris. Certainly the proud

patricians, who, in their promenades upon the Aventine cast their eyes

to the other side of the Tiber, could not suspect that the future was

being prepared in the pile of poor houses erected at the foot of

Janiculum. The day when, under the reign of Claudius, a certain Jew,

initiated in the new beliefs, placed foot on the ground opposite the

Emporium, that same day no one knew in Rome that the founder of a

second Empire, another Romulus, lodged at the gate on a bed of straw.

Near the gate was a kind of lodging-house, well known to the people and

the soldiers, which went under the name of Taberna meritoria. There was

shown here, in order to attract the credulous, a pretended fountain of

oil, issuing from the rocks. Very soon that fountain of oil was

regarded by the Christians as symbolical. It was pretended that its

appearance had coincided with the birth of Jesus. It appears that later

on the Taberna was made into a church. Who knows whether the oldest

souvenirs of Christianity were not connected with that resort! Under

Alexander Severus we see the Christians and the tavern-keepers

contending for a certain spot which had formerly been public, and which

that good Emperor adjudged to the Christians. One feels that one is

here upon the natal soil of an old popular Christianity. Claudius,

about that time, struck with the "progress of foreign superstitions,"

believed that he was performing an act of good conservative policy in

re-establishing the soothsayers. In a report made to the Senate,

complaint was made of the indifference of the times for the ancient

usages of Italy, and for good discipline. The Senate had invited the

Pontiffs to see whether it was possible to re-establish the old

customs. Everything went well, in consequence, and it was believed that

these respectable impostures were saved for all eternity.

The great question of the moment was the attainment of Agrippa to

power, the adoption of Nero by Claudius, and his ever-increasing

fortune. No one thought of the poor Jew who uttered for the first time

the name of Christus in the Syrian colony, and expounded the faith

which brought happiness to those amongst whom he was living. Others

soon arrived. The letters from Syria, brought by the newcomers, spoke

of the movement which was increasing more and more. A small circle was

formed. Everybody "smelled the garlick." These ancestors of the Roman

prelates were poor proletariats, filthy, undistinguished, ill-mannered,

clothed in dirty smock-frocks, and had the bad breath of people who are

ill-fed. Their hovels had that odour of misery which exhales from

persons poorly nourished and clothed, and huddled up in a small room.

They soon became numerous enough to make a noise. They preached in the

ghetto, and the orthodox Jews resisted them. What with the tumultuous

scenes which were taking place; what with the scenes recurring night by

night; what with the Roman police being interviewed; what (little

caring to know what was the cause of the trouble) with addressing a

report to the superior authority, and laying the troubles to the

account of a certain Chrestus, whom it was impossible to get hold of;

what with the expulsion of the agitators having been decided on--there

was nothing in that which was not plausible. The passage in Suetonius,

and, better still, that of the Acts, would seem to imply that all the

Jews were driven out on that occasion; but such a thing is not to be

supposed. The likelihood is that the Christians, the partisans of the

seditious Chrestus, were alone expelled. Claudius, in general, was

favourable to the Jews, and it is even not impossible that the

expulsion of the Christians, of which we have just been speaking, took

place at the instigation of the Jews--the Herods, for example. These

expulsions, however, were always only temporary and conditional. The

tide, arrested for the moment, always returned. The edict of Claudius

was, in any case, of little consequence, since Josephus does not

mention it, and in the year 58 Rome had already a new Christian Church.

The founders of this first Church at Rome, destroyed by the decree of

Claudius, are unknown. But we know the names of two Jews who were

exiled in consequence of the emeutes of the Porta Portese. They were an

old pious couple, the one Aquila, originally a Jew from Pontus,

following the same calling as St Paul, that of an upholsterer, the

other Priscilla, his wife. They sought refuge at Corinth, where we soon

see them en rapport with St Paul, whose intimate friends and zealous

fellow-workers they became. Aquila and Priscilla are hence the two

oldest known members of the Church at Rome. But they are hardly

remembered. Legend, which is always unjust, because it is always swayed

by political motives, has expelled from the Christian Pantheon these

two obscure workers, in order to attribute the honour of the foundation

of the Church of Rome to a name more illustrious, corresponding better

to the proud pretensions of universal dominion which the capital of the

Empire, now become Christian, could not abdicate. For us, it is not at

the theatrical basilica which has been consecrated to St Peter, it is

at the Porta Portese, that ancient ghetto, where we really find the

starting-point of Western Christianity. It is the traces of those pier

wandering Jews, who carried with them the religion of the world,--those

men who hardly dreamt, in their misery, of the kingdom of God--we must

search out and embrace. We do not contest with Rome its essential

title; Rome was probably the first spot of the Western world, and even

of Europe, where Christianity was established But in place of these

proud and magnificent churches, in place of these insulting devices,

Christus vincit, Christus regit, Christus imperat--Christ conquers,

Christ reigns, Christ governs--it would be much better to erect a

little chapel to the two good Jews of Pontus who were expelled by the

police of Claudius for belonging to the party of Chrestus.

After the Church of Rome (if it was not even anterior) the most ancient

Western Church was that of Pozzuoli. St Paul found Christians there

about the year 61. Pozzuoli was in a certain sense the port of Rome; it

was at least the place where the Jews and the Syrians who came to Rome

disembarked. This strange soil undermined by fire; these Phlegreens

fields; that sulphur bed; these caverns full of burning vapours, which

seemed the breath of hell; these sulphurous waters; these myths of

giants, and of demons buried in the burning valleys, a sort of

Gehennas; these baths, which appeared to the austere Jews and the

enemies of total nudity the acme of abomination--greatly impressed the

imaginations of the new emigrants, and have left a deep trace on the

apocalyptic compositions of the times. The follies of Caligula, of

which we still see traces, left also in these places terrible

recollections.

In any case, one capital feature, as we have already had occasion to

remark, is, that the Church at Rome was not, like the Churches of Asia

Minor, of Macedonia and of Greece, a foundation of the school of Paul.

It was a Jud�o-Christian creation, connected directly with the Church

at Jerusalem. Paul was never here on his own ground; he found in that

great Church many shortcomings, which he treated with indulgence, but

which offended his exalted idealism. Attached to circumcision, and to

exterior practices; ebionite by its taste for abstinences, and by its

doctrine, more Jew than Christian, in regard to the person and the

death of Jesus; strongly attached to millenarianism, the Roman Church

presented in its early days the essential features which have

distinguished it during its long and marvellous history. The direct

daughter of Jerusalem, the Roman Church has always had an ascetic,

sacerdotal character, and been opposed to the Protestant tendency of St

Paul. Peter was its veritable chief; then, being penetrated by the

political and hierarchical spirit of old Pagan Rome, it became, in

truth, the new Jerusalem, the city of the pontificate, of religion,

hierarchical and solemn, of material sacraments, which are their own

justification, the city of ascetics, after the manner of Jacques

Obliam, with its callosities on the knees and its plates of gold on the

forehead. She was to be the church of authority. If it can be believed,

the special sign of the apostolic mission was the showing of a letter

signed by the Apostles, the producing of a certificate of orthodoxy.

The good and the evil that the Church at Jerusalem did for infant

Christianity, the Church of Rome did for the Church universal. It was

in vain that Paul addressed to them his beautiful epistle, in order to

explain to them the mystery of the cross of Jesus and of salvation by

faith alone. This epistle the Church at Rome but vaguely comprehended.

But Luther, fourteen and a half centuries later, comprehended it, and

opened a new era in the secular series of the alternative triumphs of

Peter and Paul.

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CHAPTER V.

SECOND JOURNEY OF PAUL--ANOTHER SOJOURN AT GALATIA.

Hardly had Paul returned to Antioch, when he began forming new

projects. His ardent soul could not brook repose. On the one hand, he

proposed to enlarge the rather limited field of his first mission: on

the other, the desire to see again his dear Churches of Galatia, to

confirm them in the faith, pursued him incessantly. The tenderness

which that strange nature appeared in some respects to lack, had been

transformed into a powerful faculty of loving the communities which he

had founded. He had for his Churches the sentiments that other men have

for that which they love the most. This was indeed a special gift of

the Jews. The feeling of association with which they were imbued caused

them to give to the esprit de famille applications altogether novel.

The synagogue and the church were thus what the monastery was to the

Middle Ages, the beloved home, the hearth of the warmest affections,

the roof under which people sheltered that which they held most dear.

Paul communicated his design to Barnabas. But the friendship of the two

Apostles, which had been proof against the severest tests, which no

susceptibility of amour propre, no freak of character had been able to

lessen, received now a cruel blow. Barnabas proposed to Paul to take

John, surnamed Mark, with them: Paul flew into a passion. He could not

pardon John-Mark for having abandoned the first mission at Perga, at

the moment when it had entered upon the most perilous stage of the

journey. The man who had once refused to go on with the work, appeared

to him as unworthy of being enrolled anew. Barnabas defended his

cousin, whose motives, in fact, it is probable Paul judged with too

much severity. The quarrel waxed very hot: it was impossible to come to

an understanding. That old friendship which had been the condition of

the evangelic preaching, gave place for a time to a miserable question

of individuals. To speak truly, it is allowable to suppose that the

rupture was based on deeper reasons. It is a miracle that the always

increasing pretensions of Paul, his pride, his eagerness to be absolute

chief, had not already twenty times rendered relations impossible

between two men whose reciprocal positions had entirely changed.

Barnabas had not the genius of Paul; but who can tell whether in the

true hierarchy of souls, which is regulated by the order of goodness,

he did not occupy a still higher rank? When we recall what Barnabas had

been to Paul; when we think that it was he who at Jerusalem had

silenced the not altogether groundless defiances of which the new

convert was the object;--who went to seek at Tarsus the future Apostle,

as yet isolated and uncertain as to his path;--who introduced him into

the young and active life of Antioch;--who, in a word, made him an

Apostle,--one cannot help seeing in that open rupture a motive of

secondary importance, a gross act of ingratitude on the part of Paul.

But the exigencies of the work were too powerful for him. What man of

action is there that has not once in his life committed a great crime

of the heart?

The two Apostles then separated from each other. Barnabas and John-Mark

embarked at Seleucia for Cyprus. History from this point loses sight of

his wanderings. While Paul marches on to glory, his companion, falling

into obscurity the moment he quitted him who illuminated him with his

rays, wears himself out with the labours of an unrecorded apostleship.

The enormous injustice which often regulates the things of this world,

presides over history like as over everything else. Those who undertake

the r�le of self-devotion and unostentation, are ordinarily forgotten.

The author of the Acts, with his ingenuous conciliatory policy, has,

without wishing it, sacrificed Barnabas to the desire that he

entertained of reconciling Peter to Paul. By a sort of instinctive lack

of the principle of compensation, on the one hand diminishing and

subordinating the importance of Paul, on the other, the author has

enhanced the importance of Paul at the expense of a modest

fellow-worker, who had not a part cut out for him, and who was not

weighted in history with the unequal weights which result from the

arrangements of parties. Hence arises the ignorance in which we are

placed as to what belongs to the apostleship of Barnabas. We only know

that that apostleship continued to be very active. Barnabas remained

faithful to the grand rules which Paul and he had established during

their first mission. He did not take with him in his peregrinations

female companions; he lived always by his work, never accepting

anything from the Church. He again encountered Paul at Antioch. The

imperious temper of Paul provoked a fresh discord between them; but the

nature or sentiment of the holy work carried all before it; the

communion between the two Apostles remained intact. Labouring each in

his own way, they remained in communication the one with the other,

mutually informing one another of their labours. In spite of the

greatest dissensions, Paul continued always to treat Barnabas as a

fellow-worker, and to consider him as dividing with himself the work of

the apostleship of the Gentiles. Ardent, hot-headed, and susceptible,

Paul soon forgot, when the great principles to which he had devoted his

life were not in question.

In place of Barnabas, Paul selected for his companion Silas, the

prophet of the Church at Jerusalem, who had remained at Antioch. He was

probably not sorry at the defection of John-Mark, who, it seems, wished

to be near Peter. Silas possessed, it is said, the title of a Roman

citizen, which, joined with his name of Silvanus, induces the belief

that he was not of Judea, or that he had already had occasion to

familiarise himself with the world of the Gentiles. Both departed,

recommended by the brethren to the grace of God. These forms were not

at that time vain. People believed that the finger of God was

everywhere; that each step of the Apostles of the new kingdom was

directed by the immediate inspiration of Heaven.

Paul and Silas journeyed by land. Taking to the north, across the plain

of Antioch, they traversed the defile of Amanus, the Assyrian passes;

then rounding the end of the Gulf of Issus they crossed the northern

ridge of Amanus by the Amanida pass; they then traversed Cilicia,

passing probably through Tarsus, emerging from Taurus doubtless by the

celebrated Cilician passes--one of them the most frightful mountain

pass in the world; penetrating thence into Lycaonia; finally reaching

Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium.

Paul found his dear Churches in the same state in which he had left

them. The faithful had persevered, and their numbers had increased.

Timothy, who was but an infant at the time of his first journey, had

become an excellent subject. His youth, his piety, and his

intelligence, delighted Paul. All the faithful of Lycaonia testified

highly of him. Paul attached him to himself, loved him tenderly, and

always found in him a zealous collaborateur, or, rather, a son (it is

Paul himself who uses this expression). Timothy was a man of great

candour, modesty, and reserve. He had not assurance enough to undertake

the chief r�les; he lacked authority, especially in Greek countries,

where the minds of the people were frivolous and fickle; but his

self-denial made of him an unequalled deacon and secretary to Paul.

Paul moreover declared that he had not another disciple who was so

completely according to his heart. Impartial history is compelled to

withhold, to the advantage of Timothy and of Barnabas, a portion of the

glory monopolised by the all-absorbing personality of Paul.

Paul, in attaching Timothy to himself, foresaw grave embarrassments. He

feared that, in his communications with the Jews, Timothy,

uncircumcised as he was, could only be a source of repulsion and of

trouble. It was, in fact, known everywhere that his father was a Pagan.

A multitude of timorous people would decline to hold intercourse with

him: the quarrels, which had hardly been laid to rest by the interview

at Jerusalem, would be revived. Paul recalled the difficulties he had

experienced in regard to Titus. He resolved to anticipate these; and,

in order to avoid being brought later to make a concession to the

principles he had recoiled from, he circumcised Timothy himself. This

was altogether in conformity with the principles which had guided him

in the affair of Titus, and which he always practised. But he had never

been induced to say that circumcision was necessary to salvation; for,

in his eyes, that would have been an error of faith. Yet circumcision

being in itself not a wicked thing, he thought that it might be

practised, in order to avoid scandal and schism. His great rule was

that an apostle ought to be all things to all men, and to yield to the

prejudices of those whom he wished to gain over, when these prejudices

in themselves were merely frivolous, and did not contain anything

absolutely reprehensible. But, at the same time, as if he had a

presentiment of the tests that the faith of the Galatians was about to

be put to, he made them promise never to listen to another teacher than

himself, and to anathematise all other teaching save his own.

From Iconium Paul probably went to Antioch in Pisidia, and completed

thus the visit of the principal Churches in Galatia, founded during his

first journey. He resolved then to enter upon new territory; but grave

doubts restrained him. The thought of attacking the West of Asia Minor,

that is to say, the province of Asia, came into his mind. It was the

part of Asia the most populated. Ephesus was the capital of it; it

contained the beautiful and flourishing cities of Smyrna, Pergamos,

Magnesia, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, Colossus, Laodic�a,

Hierapolis, Tralles, Miletus, in which the centre of Christianity was

soon to be established. It is not known what turned St Paul away from

carrying his efforts in that direction. "The Holy Spirit," says the

writer of the Acts, "forbade him going to preach in Asia." The

Apostles, it must be borne in mind, were reputed to obey, in choosing

the direction of their courses, inspirations from on high. Sometimes

there were real motives, reflections, or positive indications which

they dissimulated under this language. Sometimes there was also the

absence of motives. The opinion that God made known to man his

volitions by means of dreams, was widespread, just as it is still in

our day in the East. A dream, a sudden impulse, an unpremeditated

movement, an inexplicable noise (bath k�l), appeared to them as the

manifestations of the Spirit, and decided the route of the mission.

What is certain is that, from Antioch in Pisidia, instead of going in

the direction of the brilliant provinces of the south-east of Asia

Minor, Paul and his companions plunged more and more into the heart of

the peninsula, which contained provinces much less celebrated and less

civilised. They traversed Phrygia Epictetus, passed probably through

the towns of Synnada and �zana, and reached the confines of Mysia.

There, their indecision returned. Should they turn to the north towards

Bithynia, or continue west and enter Mysia? They essayed first to enter

Bithynia, but untoward events supervened, which they took for the

indications of the will of Heaven. They imagined that the spirit of

Jesus did not wish that they should tarry in that country. They then

traversed Mysia from one end to the other, and arrived at

Alexandria-Troas, a considerable port almost opposite Tenedos, and not

far from the site of ancient Troy. The apostolic band made thus, in

almost a single journey, a distance of more than a hundred leagues,

across a country little known, and which, destitute of Roman colonies

and Jewish synagogues, did not offer them any of the facilities they

had found elsewhere.

These long journeys in Asia Minor, full of sweet ennuis and mystical

dreams, are a singular mixture of sadness and of charm. Often the route

is hard; certain cantons are peculiarly rugged and barren. Other parts,

on the contrary, are full of freshness, and do not correspond at all to

the ideas that we are accustomed to embrace in that vague phrase, the

East. The mouth of the Orontes marks, both in relation to nature and in

relation to races, a well-defined line of demarcation. Asia Minor, both

for aspect and for the style of landscape, recalls Italy or our South,

at the eminence of Valence and of Avignon. The European is not out of

his native climate there, as he is in Syria or in Egypt. It is, if I

may say so, an Aryan, not a Semitic country, and it is not to be

doubted that one day it will be occupied anew by the Indo-European race

(Greeks and Armenians). Water there is abundant: the towns are as if

inundated by it. Certain points, such as Nymphi, Magnesia in Siplyus,

are veritable paradises. The smooth mountain slopes which bound almost

everywhere the horizon, present such varieties of infinite forms, and

sometimes of fantastic shapes, that they would be regarded as idle

fancies if an artist dare to imitate them. There are summits indented

like the teeth of a saw, sides torn and slashed, strange cones, and

perpendicular walls, in which are finely exposed to view all the

beauties of the stone. Thanks to the numerous chains of mountains, the

waters are living and sparkling. Long rows of poplars, small

plane-trees, in the wide surface of the winter torrents, superb stumps

of trees, where the feet plunge into pools, and which jut out in dark

tufts from the foot of each mountain, these are the solace of the

traveller. At the source of each stream the caravans stop to water. The

journey continues for days and days upon the narrow lines of antique

pavement which for centuries have borne travellers so diverse, and

oftentimes fatigued; but the halts are delicious. A repose of an hour,

a piece of bread eaten upon the banks of these limpid streams, running

in beds of pebbles, sustains one for a long time.

At Troas, Paul, who in certain parts of that journey seems not to have

followed any well-defined plan, became once more irresolute as to which

route he should choose. Macedonia appeared to him to offer a fine

harvest. It appears that he was confirmed in that idea by a Macedonian

whom he encountered at Troas. He was a doctor, an uncircumcised

proselyte, by the name of Lucanus or Lucas. This Latin name would lead

one to believe that the new disciple belonged to the Roman colony of

Philippi; his rare knowledge, in fact, of nautical geography and of

navigation would, however, rather incline to the idea that he was a

Neapolitan: the ports and all the coast of the Mediterranean appear to

have been remarkably familiar to him.

This man, to whom was reserved so important a part in the history of

Christianity, seeing he was to be the historian of the Christian

origins, and seeing his judgment, self-deceptive as to the future, was

to regulate the ideas that were formed in the early times of the

Church, had received a sufficiently careful Jewish and Hellenic

education. He had a gentle and conciliatory mind, a tender and

sympathetic soul, a modest temperament, inclining to self-effacement.

Paul loved him much, and Luke, on his part, was always faithful to his

master. Like Timothy, Luke appeared to have been born expressly to be

the companion of Paul. Submission and blind confidence, unbounded

admiration, a desire to be submissive, unlimited devotion, were his

habitual sentiments. It might be said that it was this absolute

abnegation of self that made le moine hibernais in the hands of his

abbot. The ideal of "the disciple" was never so perfectly realised.

Luke was literally fascinated by the superiority of Paul. His

affability as a man of the people proclaimed itself incessantly; his

idle fancy showed him always to be a model of perfection and of

happiness; an honest man, a good master in his family, of which he was

the spiritual head; a Jew at heart, who was converted with all his

house. He esteemed the Roman officers, and unhesitatingly believed them

to be virtuous. One of the objects he admired the most was a good

centurion, pious, benevolent towards the Jews, well served, well

obeyed. He had probably studied the Roman army at Philippi, and had

been much struck with it. He naturally supposed that discipline and the

hierarchy were things of a moral order. His esteem for the Roman

functionaries was also great. His title of doctor implies that he

possessed medical knowledge, which is proved besides by his writings,

but does not imply a scientific and rational culture, which few doctors

possessed then. What Luke was par excellence was "the man of firm

will"--the true Israelite at heart, he to whom Jesus brought peace. It

is he who has transmitted to us, and who probably composed, those

delicious canticles of the birth and of the infancy of Jesus, those

hymns of the angels, of Mary, of Zachariah, of old Simeon, in which

shone out in tones so clear and so joyous the happiness of the new

alliance, the Hosanna of the pious proselyte, the accord re-established

between the fathers and the sons in the enlarged family of Israel.

Everything tends to the belief that Luke was touched by grace at Troas;

that he was attached from that time to Paul, and persuaded him that he

would find in Macedonia an excellent field. His words made a great

impression upon the Apostle. The latter believed he saw in a vision a

Macedonian, standing up, who invited him, saying unto him, "Come over

and help us." This was received by the apostolic group as a command of

God that they should go to Macedonia, and they waited only a favourable

opportunity to depart thence

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CHAPTER VI.

CONTINUATION OF Tl9E SECOND JOURNEY OF PAUL--THE MACEDONIAN MISSION.

The mission at this point entered upon entirely new ground. It was what

was called the province of Macedonia; but these regions had not formed

a portion of the Macedonian kingdom since the time of Philip. They

were, in reality, portions of Thracia, anciently colonised by the

Greeks, then absorbed by the powerful monarchy the centre of which was

at Pella, and which was included for two hundred years in the great

Roman unity. Few countries in the world were, in fact, purer in race

than the countries situated between H�mus and the Mediterranean. That

they were composed of diverse branches was true, but each genuinely

belonged to the Indo-European family, which were superimposed on it. If

we except some Phoenician influences coming from Thasos and from

Samothracia, almost nothing foreign had penetrated into the interior.

Thracia, which was in great part Celtic, had remained faithful to the

Aryan life: she preserved the ancient religions, under a form which

appeared barbarous to the Greeks and Romans, but which, in reality, was

only primitive. As for Macedonia, it was probably the region the most

honest, the most serious, the most pious of the ancient world. It was

originally a country of feudal boroughs, not of large independent

towns; now, the latter is, of all administrations, that which has best

conserved human morality, and placed the most forces in reserve for the

future. Monarchical through steadfastness of mind and through

abnegation, filled with antipathy for charlatanism, and for the

frequent barren agitations of small republics, the Macedonians

presented to Greece the type of a society analogous to that of the

Middle Ages, founded upon loyalism, upon faith in legitimacy and

heredity, and upon a conservative spirit, equally removed from the

grovelling despotism of the East, and from that democratic fever which,

inflaming the blood of the people, wears out quickly those who abandon

themselves to it. Thus disencumbered from the causes of social

corruption that democracy almost always brings in its train, and yet

free from the iron chains which Sparta had invented to fortify herself

against revolution, the Macedonians were the people of antiquity who

most resembled the Romans. They recall in some other respects the

German barons, brave, dissipated, rude, proud, faithful. If they

realised but for a moment what the Romans knew how to establish in a

durable manner, they would have had less honour in having survived

their attempt. The little kingdom of Macedonia, without factions or

seditions, with its good interior administration, was the most solid

nationality that the Romans had to combat in the East. A strong

patriotic and legitimist spirit reigned there to such a degree that

after their defeats we see the inhabitants take fire with a singular

facility against the impostors who pretended to continue their old

dynasty.

Under the Romans, Macedonia remained a land worthy and pure. It

furnished to Brutus two excellent legions. We do not see the

Macedonians, like the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Asiatics, rushing to

Rome in order to enrich themselves with the fruits of their evil

practices. Despite the terrible substitution of races which followed,

it may be said that Macedonia has always preserved the same character.

It is a country placed under the normal conditions of European

life,--wooded, fertile, watered by splendid rivers, possessing interior

sources of wealth; whilst that Greece, meagre, poor, singular in

everything, has nothing left it but glory and beauty. A land of

miracles, like Jud�a and Sinai, Greece flourished once, but can never

flourish again. She has created something unique, which cannot be

reproduced. It seems that when God has once manifested Himself in a

country, He blasts it for ever. A laud of klephtes and of artists,

Greece cannot again take an original part on the day when the world

enters into the channels of wealth, of industry, of abundant

consumption: she can only produce genius. In passing through it one is

astonished that a powerful race was able to live upon that pile of arid

mountains, in the middle of which is a somewhat humid and deep valley,

a little plain, a kilometre in extent--all this compels our wonder.

Never has there been so plainly seen the opposition which exists

between opulence and high art. Macedonia, on the contrary, will one day

resemble Switzerland or the south of Germany. Its villages are like

clumps of gigantic trees. She has everything that is required for

becoming a country of great culture, and of great industry--vast

plains, rich mountains, verdant prairies, extended prospects, very

different from those charming little mazes of the site of Greece.

Solemn and grave, the Macedonian peasant has no longer anything of the

assurance and the vivacity of the Hellenic peasant. The women,

beautiful and chaste, work in the fields like the men. We might say, a

country of Protestant peasants: it is a beautiful and strong race,

laborious, steady, loving its country, and full of the future.

Embarking at Troas, Paul and his companions (Silas, Timothy, and

probably Luke) set sail with a fair wind, touched the first evening at

Samothracia, and the morrow approached Neapolis, a town situated upon a

small promontory opposite the Isle of Thasos. Neapolis was the port of

the great city of Philippi, situated about three leagues thence in the

interior. It was the point where the great Egnatine road, which

traversed Macedonia and Thracia from west to east, touched the sea.

Taking this road, which they did not need to quit until reaching

Thessalonica, the Apostles ascended the stony slope cut in the rocks

which overlooked Neapolis, emerged from the little chain of mountains

which forms the coast, and entered the beautiful plain in the centre of

which stands, detached upon a projecting promontory of the mountain,

the city of Philippi.

This rich plain, the lowest portion of which is composed of a lake and

of marshes, communicates with the basin of Strymon from behind Pangea.

The gold mines which at the Hellenic and Macedonian epoch had made the

country celebrated, were now almost abandoned. But the military

importance of the position of Philippi, squeezed in between the

mountain and the morass, had given to it a new life. The battle which

ninety-four years before the arrival of the Christian missionaries had

opened its gates, brought to it an unexpected splendour. Augustus had

established there one of the most considerable Roman colonies, under

the jus italicum. The city was much more Latin than Greek; Latin was

there the common tongue; the religions of Latium seemed to have been

transported thither intact. The surrounding plain, dotted with towns,

was equally, at the epoch at which we have now arrived, a kind of Roman

canton, thrown into the heart of Thracia. The colony was inscribed in

the Voltinian tribune. It had been formed principally of the wrecks of

the Antonine party, which Augustus had cantoned on these coasts; it was

there mixed with portions of the old Thracian stock. In any case, it

was a hard-working population, living orderly and peaceably; besides,

it was very religious. The confraternities flourished there,

particularly those under the patronage of the god Sylvain, who was

considered as a sort of tutelary genius of the Latin domination. The

mysteries of the Bacchus of Thracia embraced exalted ideas in regard to

immortality, and made the population familiar with the views of a

future life, and of an idyllic paradise very similar to that which

Christianity had spread. Polytheism was in these countries less

complicated than elsewhere. The religion of Sabazius, common to Thracia

and to Phrygia, in close rapport with the ancient Orpheism, and yet

detached by the syncretism of the times from the Dionysian mysteries,

included the germs of monotheism. A certain infantile simplicity of

taste prepared the way for the Gospel. Everything indicated habits

honest, serious, and amiable. One felt oneself to be in a centre

analogous to that in which the agronomic and sentimental poetry of

Virgil was created. The ever green plain was favourable for the varied

culture of vegetables and flowers. Splendid fountains, gushing from the

base of the mountain of shining marble which crowned the city,

diffused, when properly applied, wealth, shade and freshness. The

thickets of poplars and willows, of fig trees and cherry trees and of

wild vines, exhaled the sweetest odours, and scented the brooks, which

abounded on all sides. Moreover, the prairies, which were overrun or

covered with monster roses, exhibited herds of dull-eyed buffaloes,

with enormous horns, with their heads just above the water; whilst the

bees and the swarms of black and blue butterflies gyrated from flower

to flower. Pangaea, with its majestic summits, which were covered with

snow till the middle of June, stretched out as if to unite the city

across the morass. Beautiful ranges of mountains bounded the horizon on

all the other sides, leaving only an aperture through which the sky

vanished, and showing in the clear distance the basin of Strymon.

Philippi offered to the mission a most appropriate field. We have

already seen that in Galatia the Roman colonies of Antioch in Pisidia

and of Iconium had very favourably received the new doctrine. We shall

observe the same thing at Corinth and at Alexandria-Troas. The

population, which had been for a long time settled there, and

possessing ancient local traditions, gave few signs of innovations. The

Jewry of Philippi, if there was one, was little important; at most, it

was limited probably to the women celebrating the Sabbath. Even in the

towns in which there were no Jews, the Sabbath was usually celebrated

by some of the people. In any case, it seems clear that there was no

synagogue there. When the apostolic band entered the city, it was on

the first day of the week. Paul, Silas, Timothy, and Luke remained some

days within doors, awaiting, according to custom, the Sabbath day.

Luke, who knew the country, remembered that the people who had adopted

Jewish customs were wont to assemble on that day without in the

suburbs, upon the banks of a small secluded rivulet, which issued from

the ground a league and a half from the city, from an enormous boiling

spring, and which was called Gangas or Gangites. Perhaps it went then

by the antique Aryan name of the sacred rivers (Ganga). What is certain

is that the peaceful scenes recounted in the Acts, and which marked the

first establishment of Christianity in Macedonia, took place at the

same spot where a century before the fate of the world had been

decided. Gangites marked the spot in the great battle of the year 42

before Jesus Christ, where were placed the foremost ensigns of Brutus

and of Cassius.

In towns where there was no synagogue, the meetings of those who were

affiliated to Judaism were held in small hypethral erections, or

frequently simply in the open air in enclosed spaces, which were called

proseuch�. People delighted in establishing these oratories near the

sea or rivers, so as to have facilities for ablutions. The Apostles

repaired to the place indicated. Many women, in fact, resorted there

for devotion. The Apostles spoke to them, and proclaimed to them the

mystery of Jesus. They were listened to attentively. One woman, in

particular, was touched. "The Lord," says the writer of the Acts,

"opened her heart." She was called Lydia or Lydian, because she was

from Thyatira. She traded in one of the principal products of Lydian

industry--purple. She was a pious person, of the order of those who

were called "believing in God," that is to say, a Pagan by birth, but

observing the precepts denominated "Noachic." She was baptised, with

all her house, and did not rest until, through much entreaty, she

induced the four missionaries to take up their abode with her. They

remained there some weeks, teaching each Sunday at the place of prayer,

upon the banks of the Gangites.

A small Church, almost wholly composed of women, was formed. It was

very pious, very obedient, and most devoted to Paul. Besides Lydia,

this Church embraced within its bosom Evhodia and Syntyche, who with

the Apostle fought valiantly for the Gospel, but who sometimes had

disputes in regard to the ministry of deaconesses. Epaphroditus, a

courageous man, whom Paul treated as a brother, a fellow-worker, a

companion in arms; Clement, and others still, whom Paul called "his

fellow-workers, and whose names," said he, "are written in the book of

life." Timothy was also much beloved of the Philippians, and he had for

them great devotion. It was the only Church from which Paul accepted

pecuniary succour, because it was rich, and was little burdened by poor

Jews. Lydia was undoubtedly the principal author of these gifts. Paul

accepted them from her, for he knew her to be strongly attached to him.

This woman gave from the heart; one had not to fear reproaches on her

part, nor for an interested return. Paul preferred, doubtless, to be

indebted to a woman (probably a widow), of whom he was sure, rather

than to men, in respect of whom he would have been less independent, if

he had had some acquaintance with them.

The absolute purity of Christian manners disarmed all suspicion.

Perhaps, moreover, it is not too audacious to suppose that it is Lydia

whom Paul, in his Epistle to the Philippians, calls "my dear spouse."

That expression can be taken, if one so desires, as a simple metaphor.

Is it, nevertheless, absolutely impossible that Paul may have

contracted with that sister a union more intimate? The only thing

certain is, that Paul did not take this sister with him in his

journeys. Notwithstanding this, a whole branch of ecclesiastical

tradition has claimed that he was married.

The character of the Christian woman became more and more outlined. To

the Jewish woman, sometimes so strong, so devoted; to the Syrian woman,

who is indebted to the soft languor of a distempered organisation for

flashes of enthusiasm and of love; to Tabitha, Mary Magdalen, succeeded

the Greek women, Lydia, Phoebe, Chloe, vivacious, gay, active, amiable,

distinguished, open-hearted to all, yet nevertheless circumspect,

giving themselves up to their master to whom they were subordinate,

capable of the greatest things, because they were contented to be the

fellow-labourers of the men and their sisters, and to aid them when

they performed worthy actions. These Greek women, sprung from a fine

and healthy race, experienced at the turn of life a change which

transformed them. They became pale, and their eyes wandered

languishingly; they then covered the bands of thick hair which bounded

their cheeks with a black veil, and devoted themselves to austere

cares, and brought to bear on these an animated and intelligent ardour.

The "female servant," or Greek deaconess, surpassed even her of Syria

and of Palestine in courage. These women, guardians of the secrets of

the Church, ran the greatest dangers, and endured every torment, rather

than divulge anything. They created the dignity of their sex, and

justly too, because they did not speak of their rights; they did more

than the men, in assuming the attitude of limiting themselves to

serving the latter.

An incident happened which hastened the departure of the missionaries.

The city began to speak of them, and public imagination was engaged

already upon the marvellous virtues which were attributed to them. One

morning, as they were repairing to the place of prayer, they

encountered a young slave--probably a ventriloquist--who passed for a

witch, and predicted the future. Her masters made a great deal of money

out of that ignoble performance. The poor girl, either because she

possessed indeed a spirit of divination, or because she was tired of

her infamous calling, had no sooner perceived the missionaries than she

started to follow them, uttering loud cries. The faithful pretended

that she was rendering homage to the new faith and to those who

preached it. This was repeated several times. At length, one day, Paul

exorcised her. The girl, calmed, pretended to be freed from the spirit

which tormented her. But the anger of her masters was extreme. Through

the healing of the girl they lost their livelihood. They entered a

process against Paul, and Silas as his accomplice, and caused them to

be taken to the agora, before the duumvirs.

It would have been difficult to found a claim for indemnity upon such

peculiar grounds. The plaintiffs laid special stress on the fact of the

trouble caused in the city, and of illegal preaching. "They preach

customs," said they, "that we are not allowed to follow, inasmuch as we

are Romans." The city, in fact, was under the Italian law, and liberty

of worship became the more constrained the nearer people were to the

Roman city. The superstitious population, excited by the masters of the

witch, made, at the same moment, a hostile demonstration against the

Apostles. These sorts of petty uprisings were frequent in ancient

towns. The newsmongers, the unemployed, the "plunderers of the agora,"

as Demosthenes had already denominated them, lived on them. The

duumvirs, believing that they were dealing with ordinary Jews,

condemned--without informing themselves of, or inquiring into, the

position of the accused--Paul and Silas to be beaten. The lictors

divested the Apostles of their garments, and beat them cruelly in

public. They were next cast into prison, put in one of the innermost

cells, and had their feet made fast in the stocks.

Whether they had not been allowed to speak in their own defence, or

whether they purposely had courted the glory of suffering humiliation

for their Master, it does not appear that either Paul or Silas took

advantage of their title of citizens before the tribunal. It was during

the night in the prison that they declared their rank. The jailor was

much troubled. Thus far he had treated the two Jews with harshness; now

he found himself in the presence of two Romans, Paulus and Silvanus,

unlawfully condemned. He washed their wounds, and gave them to eat. It

is probable that the duumvirs were informed at the same time; for early

in the morning they sent the lictors to order the jailor to release the

captives. The Valerian and the Porcian laws were express. The

application of stripes to a Roman citizen constituted a grave offence.

Paul, taking advantage of this circumstance, refused thus to leave his

confinement. He demanded, it is related, that the duumvirs should

themselves come and give him his liberty. The embarrassment of the

latter was somewhat great. They came and besought Paul to quit the

city.

The two prisoners, once at liberty, repaired to the house of Lydia.

They were received as martyrs. They addressed to the brethren a few

parting words of exhortation and consolation, and departed. In no city

had Paul ever been so beloved, and so much loved. Timothy, who was not

implicated in the prosecution, and Luke, who played a secondary part,

remained at Philippi. Luke did not see Paul again until five years

after.

Paul and Silas, having departed from Philippi, followed the Egnantine

road, which led to Amphipolis. This was one of the most beautiful day's

journey Paul ever experienced. In leaving the plain of Philippi, the

road enters a smiling valley, dominated by the peaks of Panga. The

natives cultivated there flax and the plants of the most temperate

countries. Large villages were to be seen in every indentation of the

mountain. The Roman road was made of marble flagstones. At each step,

almost under every plane tree, deep wells filled with water, coming

directly from the snowy vicinage, and filtering through the thick

layers of permeable earth, presented themselves to the traveller.

Through the openings in the white marble rocks issued rivulets of

incomparable limpidity. It is in such a locality that one learns to

place pure water in the first rank of the gifts of Nature. Amphipolis

was a large city, the capital of a province, and about an hour's

journey from the mouth of the Strymon. The Apostles do not appear to

have stopped there, probably because it was a purely Hellenic city.

From Amphipolis the Apostles, after quitting the estuary of Strymon,

proceeded between the sea and the mountain, across the thick woods and

the prairies which extend to the sand on the sea shore. The first halt,

under the plane trees, near a cooling fountain which issues from the

sand, a few steps from the sea, is a delicious place. The Apostles then

entered Aulon of Arethusa, a deep rent, a kind of Bosphorus cut

perpendicularly, which served as an outlet from the interior lakes to

the sea, and passed, probably without any one knowing it, by the side

of the tomb of Euripides. The beauty of the trees, the freshness of the

air, the rapidity of the waters, the strong growth of the ferns and

shrubs of all kinds, recall the prospect of Grand Chartreuse or of

Gr�sivaudan, thrown into the bottom of a furnace. The basin of the

lakes of Mygdonia, in fact, is torrid, having, as we might say,

surfaces of molten lead; the snakeweeds, raising their heads out of the

water and seeking the shade, imprint there only a few wrinkles. The

flocks, towards the south, crowded together round the foot of the

trees, seem shrivelled up. If it were not for the hum of the insects

and the song of the birds, which alone in creation can resist such

oppression, it might be regarded as the kingdom of the dead.

Traversing the small town of Apollonia, without halting, Paul skirted

the south side of the lakes, and continuing almost as far as the bottom

of the plain whose depressed centre they occupy, he arrived at the foot

of the small range of heights which form the east side of the gulf of

Thessalonica. When one attains the summits of these hills, the outline

of Olympus is seen in all its splendour. The base and the middle

regions of the mountain are blended with the azure of the sky; the

snows of the summit appear as an ethereal dwelling suspended in space.

But, alas! the holy mountain had been already disenchanted. Man had

ascended it, and had clearly seen that the gods no longer dwelt there.

When Cicero, in his exile at Thessalonica, saw their white summits, he

knew that there was there only snow and rocks. Paul, doubtless, had no

regard for these enchanted places belonging to another race. A great

city was before him, and from experience he divined that he would find

there an excellent base for establishing something grand.

Since the Roman domination, Thessalonica had become one of the most

important commercial ports of the Mediterranean. It was a very wealthy

and populous city. It had a grand synagogue, serving as a religious

centre to the Judaism of Philippi, of Amphipolis, and of Apollonia, all

of which had only oratories. Paul followed here his usual practice. For

three consecutive Sabbaths he spoke in the synagogue, repeating his

uniform discourse on Jesus, proving that he was the Messiah, that the

Scriptures had found in him their fulfilment, that he had to suffer,

and that he had risen again. Some Jews were converted; but the

conversions were numerous, especially among the Greeks "fearing God."

It was always this class which furnished to the new faith its most

zealous adherents.

The women came in crowds. All that was best in the feminine society of

Thessalonica had already for a long time observed the Sabbath and the

Jewish ceremonies; the �lite of these pious dames flocked to the new

preachers. The ordinary phenomena of thaumaturgy, of glossology, of the

gifts of the Holy Spirit, of mystical effusions, and of ecktases were

produced. The Church of Thessalonica soon rivalled that of Philippi in

piety and in delicate attentions to the Apostle. Paul nowhere expended

more ardour, tenderness, and penetrating grace. This man, naturally

vivacious and passionate, exhibited in his mission a surprising

gentleness and calmness; he was a father, a mother, a nurse, as he

himself said; while his austerity and rudeness served but to enhance

his charm. Stubborn and stern natures have, when they wish to be

unctuous, unequalled powers of seduction. Severe language, never

flattery, has much more chance of being made agreeable, with women in

particular, than softness, which is often the indication of feeble and

interested views.

Paul and Silas lived at the house of one Jesus, an Israelite by race,

who, according to the usage of the Jews, had Grecianised his name to

that of Jason; but they would accept nothing but lodgings. Paul

laboured at his trade night and day, in order to cost the Church

nothing. The rich purple merchants of Philippi and the sisterhood

would, moreover, have been grieved if others than they had furnished to

the Apostle the things requisite for existence. On two occasions,

during his sojourn at Thessalonica, Paul received from Philippi an

offering which he accepted. That was altogether contrary to his

principles; his rule was to maintain himself, without receiving

anything from the Churches; yet he would have made a scruple about

refusing this present of the heart: the pain that he would have given

to pious women prevented him. Perhaps, moreover, as we have already

stated, he preferred to contract obligations from the women, who never

restrained his action, except in regard to men like Jason, in respect

of whom he desired to preserve his authority.

Nowhere, it seems, had Paul so much as at Thessalonica succeeded in

realising his ideal. The population to which he addressed himself was

chiefly composed of laborious workmen; Paul entered into their spirit:

he preached to them order, industry, and to hold fast to the good in

sight of the heathen. A complete new series of precepts were added to

his lessons; to wit, economy, application to business, industrial

honour founded upon ease and independence. By a contrast, which ought

not to surprise us, he expounded to them, at the same time, the most

fantastic mysteries of the Apocalypse that had ever been described to

them. The Church at Thessalonica was a model that Paul afterwards

delighted to cite, and whose good odour, like a perfume of edification,

spread everywhere. There were nominated, besides Jason, among the

notables of the Church, Gaius, Aristarchus, and Secundus; Aristarchus

was circumcised.

That which had happened twenty times before happened again at

Thessalonica. The discontented Jews fomented trouble. They employed a

band of idlers, of vagabonds, and of those poor creatures of every

description who in ancient cities passed the day and night under the

columns of the basilicas, ready to make a noise for whoever paid them

for it. They went in a body to assail the house of Jason. They called

loudly for Paul and Silas. As they did not find them, the rioters

seized Jason, together with some of the faithful, and brought them

before the politarcs or magistrates. The most confusing cries were

raised. "Revolutionaries are in the city," said some, "and Jason has

received them." "All these people," said others, "are in revolt against

the edicts of the emperor." "They have a king they call Jesus," said a

third party, The excitement was great, and the politarcs were somewhat

alarmed. They compelled Jason and the faithful who had been arrested

with him to give bail, then sent them away. The following night the

brethren led Paul and Silas out of the city, and had them conducted to

Ber�a. The persecutions of the Jews against the little Church

continued, but that only served to consolidate it.

The Jews of Ber�a were more liberal and better educated than those of

Thessalonica. They listened willingly, and allowed Paul, without

interruption, to expound his ideas in the synagogue. For several days

it was to them a lively source of curiosity. They passed the time in

perusing the Scriptures, in order to find there the texts cited by

Paul, and to see whether they were correct. Many were converted, among

others a certain Jew, named Sopater or Sosipater, son of Pyrrhus. Here,

nevertheless, as in all the other Churches of Macedonia, the women were

in the majority. The converts belonged all to the Greek race, to that

class of devout persons who, without being Jews, practised the Jewish

ceremonies. Many Greeks and proselytes were also converted, and the

synagogue for once remained peaceable. The storm came from

Thessalonica. The Jews of that city, learning that Paul had preached

with success at Ber�a, came to the latter city, and renewed there their

plotting. Paul was again obliged to depart hurriedly, and without

taking Silas with him. Many of the brethren of Ber�a accompanied him as

an escort.

The warning given by the synagogues of Macedonia was such that

sojourning in this country seemed to have become impossible to Paul. He

saw himself tracked from city to city, and the rioters to spring up, as

it were, from under his feet. The Roman police were not very hostile to

him; but they acted in the circumstances according to the habitual

practice of police. When there was disturbance in the street, they

would blame everybody, and without fretting themselves as to that which

served as the true pretext for the excitement, they would beg of people

to be quiet or to move on. It was in effect an encouragement to

disturbance, and to establish in principle that it only needed a few

fanatics to deprive a citizen of his liberty. The policeman never

piques himself much on philosophy. Paul hence resolved to depart, and

to go to some distant country, where the hatred of his adversaries

could not follow him. Leaving Silas and Timothy in Macedonia, he, with

the Ber�ans, directed his steps towards the sea.

Thus ended that brilliant Macedonian mission, the most successful of

any that Paul had as yet accomplished. Churches composed of entirely

new elements had been formed. It was no longer the easy-going Syrian

woman, the good-natured Lycaonian woman; it was the subtle, delicate,

elegant, spiritual races, who, prepared by Judaism, now embraced the

new religion. The coast of Macedonia was completely covered with Greek

colonies. The Greek genius had there borne its choicest fruits. These

noble Churches of Philippi and of Thessalonica, composed of the most

distinguished women of each city, were unquestionably the two greatest

conquests that Christianity had yet made. The Jewish woman was

outstripped; submissive, retired, and obedient, participating little in

religion, the latter was not easily converted. It was the woman

"fearing God," the Greek woman, wearied of the goddesses brandishing

their spears on the summit of the Acropolis, the virtuous woman turning

her back on a worn-out Paganism, and seeking the pure religion, who was

attracted heavenwards. These were the second foundresses of our faith.

Next to the Galileans who followed Jesus and served him, Lydia, Phoebe,

the obscure pious women of Philippi and of Thessalonica are the true

saints to whom the new faith owed its most rapid progress.

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CHAPTER VII.

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND JOURNEY OF PAUL--PAUL AT ATHENS.

Paul, accompanied still by the faithful Ber�ans, sailed for Athens.

From the end of the Gulf of Thermmus to Phalera, or to Pir�us, the

voyage in a small craft occupies three or four days. The traveller

passes the foot of Olympus, of Ossa, and of Pelion; he follows the

sinuosities of the interior sea which Euboea separates from the rest of

the �g�an Sea, and touches the singularly narrow strait of Euripus. On

either bank one skirts that truly holy ground where perfection is at

once discovered, where the ideal has really existed,--that soil which

has seen the noblest of races found at once art, science, philosophy,

and politics. Paul, no doubt, experienced on landing there that species

of filial sentiment which cultivated men experience when touching this

venerated soil. It was another world: his holy ground was elsewhere.

Greece had not recovered from the terrible blows she had received

during the previous centuries. Like the sons of Earth, these

aristocratic tribunes had torn one another to pieces; the Romans had

completely exterminated them; the old families had nearly disappeared;

the ancient cities of Thebes and of Argos had become poor villages;

Olympus and Sparta had been humiliated; Athens and Corinth were the

sole survivors. The country was almost a desert: the images of

desolation which we gather from the descriptions of Polybius, Cicero,

Strabo, and Pausanias are heart-rending. The appearances of liberty

which the Romans had left in the towns, and which only disappeared

under Vespasian, were little else than irony. The wicked administration

of the Romans had ruined everything; the temples were no longer

maintained; at each step there were pedestals from which the conquerors

had stolen the statues, or which adulation had consecrated to the new

rulers. Peloponesus, in particular, had been struck dead. Sparta had

killed her; consumed by the proximity of this foolish Utopia, that poor

country never sprang into life again. At the Roman epoch, moreover, the

administration of the large cities had absorbed and superseded the

numerous small ruling centres: Corinth attracted to itself all the

life.

The race, if we except Corinth, had, however, remained quite pure; the

number of Jews outside of Corinth was inconsiderable. Greece had

received but a single Roman colony. The invasions of slaves and of

Albanians, which have so completely changed the Hellenic blood, did not

take place till later. The old religions were still flourishing. Some

women, unknown to their husbands, practised much in secret, at the far

corner of the gymnasiums, the foreign superstitions, especially those

of the Egyptians. The sages, however, protested. "What a God he must

be," said they, "who is pleased with the surreptitious homage of

married women! A wife ought not to have other friends besides those of

her husband. The gods, are they not our best friends?"

It seems that, either during the voyage or at the moment of his arrival

in Athens, Paul regretted having left his companions in Macedonia.

Perhaps that new world astonished him, and he found him-self there too

much isolated. What is certain is, that in dismissing the faithful

Ber�ans he charged them to request Silas and Timothy to come and join

him at the earliest possible moment.

Paul therefore found himself for some days alone at Athens. This had

not happened to him for a long time. His life had been as a whirlwind,

and he had never journeyed without two or three companions. Athens, to

the world, was something unique--at all events, something totally

different from anything that Paul had seen before; hence, he was

extremely embarrassed. In waiting for his companions, he amused himself

by roaming, in the widest sense, over the city. The Acropolis, with the

innumerable statues which covered it, and which constituted it a museum

such as had never before been seen, must, in particular, have been to

him a subject of the deepest reflection.

Athens, although she had suffered much from Sylla, although, like

Greece, she had been pillaged by the Roman administrators, and was

already in part despoiled by the gross avidity of its masters, had yet

the appearance of being ornamented with almost all her master-pieces of

art. The monuments of the Acropolis were intact. Some clumsy additions

of detail, quite a sufficient number of mediocre works which were

already glittering in the sanctuary of high art, some silly

substitutions, which consisted in placing Romans on the pedestals of

ancient Greeks, had not changed the sanctity of that immaculate temple

of the beautiful. Poecile, with its brilliant decoration, was as fresh

as it was on the fast day. The exploits of the odious Secundus Carinas,

the purveyor of statues for the gilded House, did not commence until

some years after, and Athens suffered less from this than did Delphos

and Olympus. The false taste of the Romans for colonnaded cities had

not penetrated here; the houses were poor and by no means commodious.

That exquisite city was moreover an irregular city, with narrow streets

which were the conservators of its old monuments, and archaic souvenirs

were preferred to streets scientifically laid out. Many of these

marvellous things affected Paul but little; he beheld the only perfect

objects which had ever existed, which shall ever exist,--the Propyl�um,

that chef-d'oeuvre of grandeur; the Parthenon, which absorbed every

other grandeur save its own; the Temple of Victory without wings,

worthy of the battles which it consecrated; the Erechth�um, a prodigy

of elegance and of finish; the Errhephor�, these divine young women

with a bearing so full of grace; he beheld all that, and his faith was

not overcome, nor was he disquieted. With the prejudices of the

iconoclastic Jew, insensible to the plastic beauties which blinded him,

he took these incomparable figures for idols. "His spirit," says his

biographer, "was stirred in him when. he saw the city wholly given to

idolatry." Ah! thou lovely and chaste images, true gods and goddesses,

tremble! Behold him who raised against you the hammer! The fatal words

had gone forth: "Ye are idols!" The error of that pitiful little Jew

was your death-warrant!

Surrounded by so many things which he did not understand, there were

two which greatly struck the Apostle: first, the very religious

character of the Athenians, which was manifested by a multitude of

temples, altars, and sanctuaries of every description, symbols of a

tolerant eclecticism which they carried into religion; in the second

place, certain anonymous altars which were erected to the "unknown

gods." These altars were somewhat numerous at Athens and in the

environs. Other cities of Greece possessed them also. Those at the port

of Phalera (Paul must have seen them on landing) were celebrated; they

belonged to the legends of the Trojan War. They bore this

inscription:--"To the unknown gods." Some of them were even thus

inscribed:--

AGEOSTOIThEOI

"To an unknown God." These altars owed their existence to the extreme

scrupulousness of the Athenians for things religious, and to their

habit of seeing in everything the manifestation of a mysterious and

special power. Fearing, without knowing it, to offend some god of whose

name they were ignorant, or of neglecting a powerful god, or even of

wishing to obtain a favour which might depend upon a certain divinity

with whom they were unacquainted, they either erected anonymous altars,

or placed up the afore-mentioned inscriptions. It is possible, too,

that these fanciful inscriptions were taken from altars which were

originally anonymous, to which, in the work of making a general census,

had to be affixed some such an epigraph, for lack of the knowledge of

that which properly belonged to them. Paul was greatly surprised at

these dedications. Interpreting them with his Jewish mind, he imputed

to them a meaning which did not belong to them. He believed that they

had reference to a God called par excellence "The Unknown God." He saw

in that Unknown God the God of the Jews, the only God, towards whom

Paganism itself might have had some mysterious aspirations. This idea

was the more natural, because in the eyes of Pagans that which in

particular characterised the God of the Jews was, that he was a God

without name, a doubtful God. It was further probable that it was in

some religious ceremony, or m some philosophical discussion, that Paul

heard the hemistiche:--

Tou gar chai genos esmen

borrowed from the hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, or from the Phenomena

of Aratus, and which was frequently used in the religious hymns. He

grouped in his mind those features of local colouring, and sought to

compose a discourse on them appropriate to his new auditors: for he

felt that here it was necessary for him to modify greatly his

preaching.

Certain it is Athens was far from being then what she had been for

centuries, the centre of human progress, the capital of the republic of

mind. Faithful to her ancient character, this divine mother of art was

one of the last asylums of liberalism and of the republican spirit. She

was what might be called a city of opposition. Athens was always on the

side of the lost cause. She energetically declared for the independence

of Greece, and for Mithridates against the Romans, for Pompey against

C�sar, for the republicans against the triumvirs, for Antony against

Octavius. She raised statues to Brutus and to Cassius by the side of

those of Harmodius and of Aristogiton; she honoured Germanicus to the

point of compromising herself; she merited the insults of Piso. Sylla

plundered her in an atrocious manner, and dealt the final blow to her

democratic constitution. Augustus, although merciful to her, did not

show her any favour. Her title as a free city was never taken away, but

the privileges of free cities were gradually diminished under the

C�sars and the Flavii. Athens was thus in the condition of a city

suspected and disgraced, but justly ennobled through her disgrace. At

the advent of Nerva, there began for her a second life. The world,

having returned to reason and to virtue, recognised its mother. Nerva,

Herod Atticus, Hadrian, Antonine, Marcus Aurelius, restored her,

endowing her even with monuments and new institutions. Athens became

again for four centuries the city of philosophers, of artists, of

genius, the holy city of every liberal soul, the pilgrim city of those

who loved the beautiful and the true.

But let us not anticipate events. At the sad moment at which we are now

arrived, the ancient splendour had disappeared, and the new had not yet

dawned. She was no longer "the city of Theseus," and was not yet "the

city of Hadrian." In the century before our era, the philosophic school

of Athens had been very brilliant; Philo of Larissa, and Antiochus of

Ascalon, had continued or modified the academy; Cratippus taught there

peripatetics, and understood how to be at once the friend, the master,

the consoler, or the prot�g� of Pompey, of C�sar, of Cicero, and of

Brutus. Romans, the most celebrated and most eminent in business,

attracted to the Orient by ambition, halted at Athens to listen to the

philosophers in vogue. Atticus, Crassus, Cicero, Varro, Ovid, Horace,

Agrippa, Virgil, either studied or resided there as amateurs. Brutus

passed there his last winter, dividing his time between the peripatetic

Cratippus and the academician Theomnestus. Athens was, on the eve of

the battle of Philippi, a centre of opinion of the highest importance.

The instruction which was given there was entirely philosophic, and

much superior to the insipid eloquence of the school of Rhodes. That

which was indeed prejudicial to Athens was the advent of Augustus and

the universal pacification. The precepts of philosophy were from that

time suspected--the schools lost their importance and their activity.

Rome, on the other hand, by reason of the brilliant literary evolution

which she had achieved, became for some time semi-independent of Greece

in regard to matters of thought. Other centres were formed: as a school

of varied instruction, Marseilles was preferred. The original

philosophy of the four great sects had come to an end. Eclecticism, a

sort of flabby, unsystematic style of philosophising, had commenced. If

we except Ammonius of Alexandria, the master of Plutarch, who founded

about that time at Athens a species of literary philosophy, which was

to become the fashion, beginning with the reign of Hadrian, there was

no one illustrious, about the middle of the first century, in the one

city of the world which had produced or attracted the most celebrated

men. The figures which were now consecrated with deplorable prodigality

on the Acropolis were those of consuls, of pro-consuls, of Roman

magistrates, and of members of the imperial family. The temples which

were erected there were dedicated to the goddess Rome, and to Augustus.

Nero had even his statues there. Artists of talent having been

attracted to Rome, the Athenian works of the first century were, for

the most part, of a mediocre quality that is surprising. Still

monuments, such as the clock of Andronicus Cyrrhesta, the portico of

Athene Archegetes, the temple of Rome and of Augustus, the mausoleum of

Philopappus, were either a little anterior or posterior to the time

when Paul saw Athens. Never had the city, during its long history, been

more mute and peaceful.

She still preserved, however, a great portion of her nobility. She

still occupied the first rank in the regards of the world. Despite the

harshness of the times, the respect for Athens was profound, and every

one bowed to her. Sylla, though so terrible in consequence of her

rebellion, had pity on her. Pompey and C�sar, before the battle of

Pharsalia, caused it to be proclaimed by a herald that all the

Athenians were to be spared, as priests of the goddesses Thesmophores.

Pompey gave a large sum of money to adorn the city: C�sar refrained

from avenging himself on her, and contributed to the erection of one of

the monuments. Brutus and Cassius, who comported themselves as private

persons, were received and flattered like heroes. Antony loved Athens,

and liked to reside there. After the battle of Actium, Augustus

pardoned her for the third time, and his name, like that of C�sar, was

inscribed on an important monument. His family and entourage were

looked upon at Athens as benefactors. The Romans were at great pains to

prove that they left Athens free and honoured. Spoiled children of

fame, the Athenians lived thenceforward on the recollections of their

past history. Germanicus, while be resided at Athens, wished to be

preceded by only one lictor. Nero, though not superstitious, did not

dare to enter the city for fear of the Furies which lived under the

Areopagus,--of those terrible "Semnes," which the parricides dreaded.

The recollection of Orestes made him tremble. He dare no more affront

the mysteries of Eleusis, at the threshold of which the herald

proclaimed that the profligate and the impious were to be careful not

to approach. Noble foreigners, descendants of dethroned kings, came to

spend their fortunes at Athens, and were delighted to find themselves

decorated with high-sounding and mock titles. All the small barbarian

kings emulated one another in rendering service to the Athenians, and

in restoring their monuments.

Religion was one of the principal causes of this exceptional favour.

Essentially municipal and political in its origin, having for its basis

the myths relating to the foundation of the city and to its divine

protectors, the religion of Athens was at first only the religious

consecration of patriotism and of the institutions of the city. It was

the cult of the Acropolis. "Aglaure" and the oath which the young

Athenians took upon the altar had no other meaning; just as if religion

with us consisted in drawing the conscription, in drilling, and in

honouring the colours. It soon became insipid enough; it possessed

nothing infinite, nothing that touched man through his destiny, nothing

universal. The railleries of Aristophanes against the gods of the

Acropolis proved by themselves alone that these gods could not bring

every race under subjection. The women were turned early in the

direction of petty foreign devotions like those of Adonis. The

mysteries, in particular, were successful; philosophy in the hands of

Plato was a kind of delicious mythology, whilst art created for the

multitude images really admirable. The Athenian gods became the gods of

beauty. The old Athene Poliade was but a mannikin, without apparent

arms, swathed in a peplos, like the old virgin of Loretta. Toreutic

accomplished an unexampled miracle; she made realistic statues after

the model of the Italian and Byzantine Madonnas, adorned with

appropriate ornaments, which were at the same time marvellous

masterpieces. Athens succeeded in possessing, after a sort, one of the

most perfect religions of antiquity. This religion underwent at that

time a kind of eclipse, on account of the misfortunes of the city. The

Athenians were the first to defile their sanctuary. Lachares stole the

gold from the statue of Athene. Demetrius Poliorcetes was installed by

the inhabitants themselves in the opisthodome of the Parthenon. He

harboured his courtesans near himself, and people were amused by the

scandals that such surroundings must have caused to the chaste goddess.

Aristion the last defender of the independence of Athens, permitted the

immortal lamp of Athene Poliade to be extinguished. Such, however, was

the glory of that unique city, that the universe seemed to take to

heart the adoption of her goddess, at the moment when she deserted her.

The Parthenon, through the action of foreigners, regained her honours.

The mysteries of Athens were a religious attraction for the whole Pagan

world.

But it was principally as a city of schools that Athens exercised a

peculiar prestige. That new destiny which, through the assiduity of

Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, came to possess a character so decided,

had been begun two centuries before. The city of Miltiades and Pericles

had been transformed into a university city, a sort of Oxford, the

resort of all the young noblesse, who scattered gold in handfuls. It

contained nothing but professors, philosophers, rhetoricians,

pedagogues of every description, sophmores, tutors, gymnasts,

p�dotribes, hoplomates, masters of fencing and of riding. From the time

of Hadrian the cosmetists or prefects of the students assumed to a

certain extent the importance and the dignity of the archons. People

fixed the date of the years by them: the old Greek education, destined

in principle to form the free citizen, became the pedagogic law of the

human species. Alas! she produces henceforth little else than

rhetoricians; bodily exercises, formerly a real occupation of the

heroes upon the banks of the Illissus, became now a mere matter of

pose. A circus grandeur, the gestures of Franconi, have replaced solid

grandeur. But it is the peculiar attribute of Greece to have ennobled

everything. Even the work of the schoolman became with her a moral

ministry. The dignity of the professor, in spite of more than one

abuse, was one of her creations. The jeunesse dor�e could sometimes

remember the fine discourses of its masters. She was, like all youths,

republican; she flocked to the appeal of Brutus; she was mown down at

Philippi. The day was employed in declaiming on tyrannicide and on

liberty, in celebrating the noble death of Cato, and in making a eulogy

on Brutus.

The population had always been sprightly, spirituelle, curious. Every

one lived in the open air, in perpetual contact with the rest of the

world, breathing, under smiling skies, a serene atmosphere. The

strangers, who were numerous and eager after knowledge, evinced great

activity of mind. Publicity, the journalism of the ancient world--if

one may be permitted to make use of such an expression--had its centre

at Athens. The city not being commercial, everybody had but one care,

which was to learn the news, to be made au courant of what was said and

of what was being done in the universe. It is very remarkable that the

great development of religion did not destroy rational culture. Athens

might have been at once the most religious city of the world, the

Parthenon of Greece, and the city of philosophers. When we see in the

theatre of Dionysius the marble arm-chairs which surround the orchestra

bearing each the name of the priesthood the titulary of which came to

sit there, we should say that here was a city of priests; and yet it

was pre-eminently the city of free-thinkers. The religions in question

had neither dogmas nor holy writ. They had not for physics the horror

that Christianity has always evinced, and which has led it to condemn

positive researches. The priest and the Epicurean atomist, except for a

few broils, lived peaceably enough together. The true Greeks were

perfectly contented with such accord, founded not upon logic, but upon

mutual tolerance and mutual regard.

This was for Paul a species of existence altogether new. The cities in

which he had up till now preached were for the most part commercial

cities, resembling Leghorn or Trieste, and having large Jewries rather

than brilliant centres, cities of the great world and of great culture.

Athens was profoundly Pagan; Paganism was bound up with every pleasure,

with every interest, with every glory of the city. Paul hesitated a

great deal. Timothy at length arrived from Macedonia; Silas, for

reasons which we do not know was not able to come.

There was a synagogue at Athens, and Paul disputed in it with the Jews,

and with the "devout persons;" but in such a city any successes in the

synagogue counted for little. That brilliant agora in which was

displayed so much mind, that portico Poecile in which was asked every

conceivable question, tempted him. He spoke there not as a preacher

addressing himself to the multitude assembled, but as a stranger

feeling his way--putting forth his ideas timidly, and seeking to create

for himself some point d'appui. "Jesus and the resurrection"

(anastasis) appeared foreign words, and destitute of meaning. Several

of them, as it would appear, took anastasis for the name of a goddess,

and believed that Jesus and Anastasia were some new divine couple that

these Oriental dreamers had come to preach. Some Epicurean and Stoic

philosophers, it is said, came near and listened.

This first contact of Christianity with Greek philosophy was not very

encouraging. We have never seen a better example of how men of mind

ought to distrust themselves and to guard against laughing at an idea,

however foolish it may seem to them. The bad Greek spoken by Paul, his

incorrect and halting phraseology, were not calculated to make him

accredited at Athens. The philosophers turned their backs disdainfully

at his barbarous speech. "He is a babbler" (spermologos), said some.

"He is a preacher of strange gods," said others. No one could have

suspected that this babbler would one day supplant them, and that, four

hundred and seventy-four years later, their professorships would be

suppressed as useless and injurious, in consequence of the preaching of

Paul. What a grand lesson! Proud of their superiority, the Athenian

philosophers disdained the questions pertaining to popular religion. In

their midst superstition flourished. Athens almost equalled in that

respect the most religious cities of Asia Minor. The aristocracy of

thinkers cared little for the social wants which made themselves felt

under the cover of so many unpolished worships. Such a renunciation is

always punished. When philosophy declares that she will not occupy

herself with religion, religion responds by extinguishing her; and this

is just, for philosophy is something only when she shows to humanity

the way, when she takes up seriously the infinite problem which is the

same for all.

The liberal spirit which reigned at Athens assured Paul of complete

security. Neither Jews nor Pagans attempted anything against him; but

that tolerance was even worse than hatred. Moreover, the new doctrine

produced a lively reaction, at least in the Jewish society; here it

could find only curious and blas� auditors. It appears that one day the

auditors of Paul, wishing to obtain from him a sort of official

exposition of his doctrine, conducted him to the Hill of Mars, and

there summoned him to declare what religion he preached. It is indeed

possible that there is some legend here, and that the celebrity of the

Areopagus may have led the narrator of the Acts, who had not been an

eyewitness, to select this illustrious audience to enable him to

deliver on his hero a pompous discourse, a philosophic harangue. This

hypothesis, nevertheless, is not necessary. The Areopagus had retained,

under the Romans, Its ancient organisation. It had even seen its

prerogatives increased, as a result of the policy which led the

conquerors to suppress in Greece the ancient democratic institutions,

and to replace them by the Council of Notables. The Areopagus had

always been the aristocratic corporation of Athens: it gained what the

democracy had lost. Let us add that people were living in an epoch of

literary dilettanteism, and that that tribunal, by its classic

celebrity, enjoyed a great prestige. Its moral authority was recognised

by the entire world. The Areopagus thus became again, under Roman

domination, what it had been at different times in the history of the

Athenian Republic, a political body, almost divested of judicial

functions, the real senate of Athens, intervening only in certain

cases, and constituting a conservative nobility of retired

functionaries. Beginning with the first century of our era, the

Areopagus figures in the inscriptions as head of the powers of Athens,

superior to the Council of Six Hundred, and to the people. The erection

of statues, in particular, was made by it, or at least with its

authorisation. At the epoch at which we are now arrived, it had just

decreed a statue to Queen Berenice, daughter of Agrippa I., with whom

we shall soon see Paul en rapport. It seems also that the Areopagus

exercised a certain superintendence over instruction. It was a chief

council of religious and moral censure, before which was brought all

that concerned laws, manners, medicine, luxury, �dileship, the

religions of the city; and there is no-thing unlikely in the fact that

when a novel doctrine was promulgated, that the preacher should be

invited to come and make his declarations before such a tribunal, or at

least to the place in which it held its sessions. Paul, it is said,

stood up in the middle of the assembly and spoke thus:

"Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are too

superstitious. For as I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found

an altar with this inscription:--To the Unknown God.' Whom, therefore,

ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you. God that made the world,

and all things therein, seeing that he is lord of earth, dwelleth not

in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as

though he needed anything, seeing he giveth to all life and breath, and

all things. And hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell

on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before

appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. That they should seek

the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he

be not far from every one of us. For in him we live and move and have

our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are all

his offspring.' Forasmuch, then, as we are the offspring of God, we

ought not to think that the godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or

stone, or graven by art of man's device. And the times of this

ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to

repent. Because he hath appointed a day in which he will judge the

world in righteousness, by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he

hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the

dead" (Acts xvii. 22-31).

At these words, according to the narrator, Paul was interrupted.

Hearing him speak of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked, and

others said:--"We will hear thee again of this matter."

If the discourse which we have just related was really delivered, it

must indeed have produced a very singular impression upon the

cultivated minds which heard it. That almost barbarous speech, now

incorrect and formless, now scrupulously correct; that unequal

eloquence, strewn with happy fancies and disagreeable failings; that

profound philosophy, embracing beliefs the most singular, and

extending, seemingly, to another world. Immensely superior to the

popular religion of Greece, such a doctrine was in many things below

the level of the current philosophy of the age. If, on the one hand, it

extended the hand to that philosophy through the elevated notion of

divinity and the beautiful theory which it proclaimed of the moral

unity of the human mind, on the other, it embraced in part supernatural

beliefs that no informed mind could admit. In any case, it is not

surprising that Christianity had no success in Athens. The motives

which were to work the success of Christianity, were elsewhere than in

the circle of letters. They were lodged in the hearts of pious women,

in the secret aspirations of the poor, the slaves, and the afflicted of

every description. Before philosophy could approach the new doctrine,

it was necessary that philosophy itself should be much debased, and

that the new doctrine should be renounced from the grand chimera of the

near judgment, that is to say, from the concrete ideas with which from

its first formation it had been enveloped.

Whether it was delivered by Paul, or by one of his disciples, this

discourse, in any case, shows us an endeavour, almost the only one in

the first century, made to reconcile Christianity with philosophy, and

even, in one sense, with Paganism. The author, giving proof of a

breadth of views most remarkable amongst the Jews, discovers in all

races a sort of innate sense of the divine, a sort of secret instinct

of monotheism which might lead to the knowledge of the true God. To be

believed in, Christianity is nothing more than natural religion, which

one arrives at by consulting simply one's own heart, and by

interrogating oneself conscientiously--the two-sided idea which was

soon to reproach Christianity with deism, and to inspire a pride of

which it had been shorn. This is the first example given of the tactics

of certain apologists of Christianity, in advance of philosophy, using

or feigning to use scientific language; speaking with complaisance or

politeness of the reason advanced by the other side of wishing to have

it believed, by means of skilfully grouped quotations, that in the main

it might be understood by lettered people; but which led to

misunderstandings that were inevitable, for they plainly declared their

opinions, and spoke of their supernatural dogmas. One can already

perceive the effort to translate into the language of Greek philosophy

Jewish and Christian ideas; one can foresee Clement of Alexandria and

Origen. Biblical ideas, and those of Greek philosophy, aspired to

embrace one another; but in order to that many concessions had to be

made; for that God in which we live and move is far removed from the

Jehovah of the prophets, and from the celestial father of Jesus.

Be that as it may, the times were far from being ripe for such an

alliance; at any rate, it was not to take place at Athens. Athens, at

the point which it had reached in history, that city of grammarians, of

gymnasts, and of fencing-masters, was likewise as ill adapted as it was

possible to be, for receiving Christianity. The power over vassals, the

hardness of heart of the schoolman, were unpardonable sins in the eyes

of grace. The pedagogue is the least convertible of men; for he has a

religion of his own, which is routine, faith in old authors, and a

taste for literary exercises. This satisfies him, and extinguishes in

him all other desires. There has been found at Athens a series of

hermes-portraits of cosmetics of the second century. The latter are

splendid men, grave, majestic, with a noble mien, and yet Hellenic.

From the inscriptions we learn of the honours and pensions which were

conferred on them: the really great men of the ancient democracy never

had so many of these. Assuredly if Paul had encountered some of the

predecessors of these superb pedants, he could not have achieved much

more success than, during the Empire, would have had a romancist imbued

with neo-Catholicism, attempting to convert to his views a

Universitarian attached to the religion of Horace, or than would in our

own days a socialist humanitarian declaiming against English prejudices

before the fellows of Oxford or Cambridge.

In a society so different from that in which he had till now lived, in

the midst of rhetoricians and professors of dialectics, Paul found

himself indeed from home. His thoughts constantly reverted to the dear

Churches of Macedonia and Galatia, where he had discovered such an

exquisite religious sentiment. He thought many times of departing for

Thessalonica. A lively desire carried him thence, the more so as he had

received news that the faith of the young Church had been subjected to

many severe tests, and he feared that the proselytes might succumb to

the temptations. Some obstacles, that he attributed to Satan, prevented

him from carrying out that project. When he could no longer forbear, as

he himself said, he separated once more from Timothy, whom he sent to

Thessalonica to confirm, to exhort, and to console the faithful, and

remained alone again at Athens.

He laboured there with renewed vigour, but the soil was unpropitious.

The sprightly Athenian mind was diametrically opposed to that tender

and profound religious disposition which produced conversions, and

which was predestined to Christianity. The truly Hellenic ground was

little inclined to the doctrine of Jesus. Plutarch, living in an

atmosphere purely Greek, had not the least wind of it in the first half

of the second century. Patriotism, attachment to old recollections of

country, turned the Greeks against exotic worships. "Hellenism" became

an organised, almost rational religion, which admitted a great part of

philosophy. The "gods of Greece" appeared to wish to be regarded as the

universal gods of humanity.

That which characterised the religion of Greece formerly, that which

still characterises it in our day, is the want of infinity, of the

unconfined, of compassion, of feminine softness. The profoundness of

German and Celtic religious sentiment is lacking in the true Hellenic

race. The piety of Greek orthodoxy consists in practices and in

exterior signs. The orthodox Churches, sometimes very elegant, have

none of the terrors which one feels in a Gothic Church. In that

Oriental Christianity there are no tears, prayers, or outward

compunctions. The funerals there are almost gay. They take place at

night, or at the setting of the sun, when the shadows have become

lengthened, and are accompanied by songs set in a medium key, and are a

display of bright colours. The fanatical gravity of the Latins is

distasteful to those brisk, cheerful, and sprightly races. The infirm

one is not cast down; he watches death softly approach; all about him

is smiles. Herein lies the secret of that divine gaiety of the Homeric

poems and of Plato--the narration of the death of Socrates in Ph�don

shows hardly a taint of sadness. Life produces its flower, then its

fruit; what is wanted more? If, as it can be maintained, the

pre-occupation of death is the most important characteristic of

Christianity and of modern religious sentiment, then the Greek race is

the least religious of races. It is a superficial race, treating life

as a thing devoid of the supernatural, and having no future. Such

simplicity of conception is owing in great measure to the climate, to

the purity of the atmosphere, to the astonishing joy that one breathes,

but even more so to the instincts of the Hellenic race, finely

idealistic. Anything--a tree, a flower, a lizard, a tortoise, calls up

the recollection of a thousand metamorphoses which have been sung by

the poets; a jet of water, a small crevice in the rock which is called

a cave of the nymphs; a well with a drinking-cup at the brink; an arm

of the sea so narrow that the butterflies cross it, and nevertheless

navigable for the largest ships, like the Bosphorus; orange groves,

cypress trees, whose shades are reflected on the sea; a small pine wood

in the midst of rocks--suffice in Greece to produce the contentment

which is awakened by beauty. People walk in the gardens during the

night to listen to the nightingales; sit down in the clear moonlight to

play the flute; go to drink the pure mountain water, carrying with them

a piece of bread, and a flask of wine, which is drunk while singing. At

family feasts, there is suspended above the doors a crown of branches,

to match with the headpieces of flowers; on days of public festivals,

thyrsi are carried, adorned with leaves; the days are passed in

dancing, playing with tame goats; these are the delights of the Greeks,

the pleasures of a race, poor, economical, eternally young, inhabiting

a charming country, finding its welfare within itself, and in the gifts

that the gods have given it. The shepherd's song or pastoral, after the

manner of Theocritus, was in the Hellenic countries a reality. Greece

al-ways delighted in that unpretentious species of delicate and amiable

poetry, the species the. most characteristic of her literature, the

mirror of her own life, though almost always silly and artificial. Good

humour and the delights of life are Greek traits par excellence. This

race is always twenty years old; for she, indulgere genio is not the

deep drinking of the English, or the gross diversions of the French; it

is simply to think that nature is kind, that one can and one ought to

unbend to it. For Greece, in fact, nature is a counsellor of elegance,

a mistress of justice and of virtue:--"concupiscence." The idea that

nature induces us to do evil is to her a not-sense. The taste for

personal adornment which distinguishes the palicare, and which is

exhibited with so much innocence in the Greek girl, is not the pompous

vanity of the barbarian, the vulgar pretension of the bourgeois,

swollen with the ridiculous pride of an upstart; it is the pure and

delicate sentiment of unsophisticated youth, which feels itself to be

the legitimate heir of the true inventors of beauty.

Such a race, one can understand, would have received Jesus with a

smile. It was a subject these exquisite children were incapable of

learning from us--serious, profound, really simple devotion without

glory, goodness without parade. Socrates is a moralist of the first

order, but he has nothing to do with the history of religion. The Greek

always appears to us a little cold and heartless; he has wit, action,

subtlety, but has nothing of the pensive or the melancholic. On the

other hand, with us Celts and Germans, the source of our genius is our

heart. Our deepest recesses (au fond de nous) resemble a fairy

fountain, a fountain clear, fresh, and deep, in which is reflected the

infinite. With the Greek, love of self and vanity is mixed with

everything; vague sentiment is unknown to him; reflection upon his own

destiny ap-pears to him unprofitable. Pushed to the length of

caricature, so incomplete a mode of understanding life as it is

conditioned, at the Roman epoch, the gr�culus esuriens, grammarian,

artist, charlatan, acrobat, physician, amuser of the whole world,

greatly resembling the Italian of the sixteenth and seventeenth

centuries; at the Byzantine epoch, the theological sophist making

religion degenerate into subtle disputes; in our day, the modern Greek,

sometimes foolishly vain and ungrateful; the orthodox fathers, with

their egotistical and materialistic religion. Unfortunate he who

arrests that decadence! Shame upon him who, in front of the Parthenon,

dreams of holding it up to ridicule! Nevertheless, this has to be

acknowledged: Greece was never seriously Christian, nor is she to this

day. No race in our Middle Ages was less romantic, more destitute of

chivalrous sentiment. Plato built all his theory of the beautiful en se

passant without reference to woman. To think of a woman in order to be

incited to do great things! a Greek would have been surprised at such

language. For him, he thought of men assembled around the agora, he

thought of his country. In this respect the Latins were nearer to us.

Greek poetry, incomparable in the grander species of it, such as the

epic, the tragic, the disinterested lyric poetry, had not, it seems,

the sweet elegiac note of Tibullus, of Virgil, of Lucretius, a note so

much in harmony with our sentiments, so closely related to that which

we love.

The same difference is found between the piety of St Bernard, of St

Fran�ois d'Assisi, and that of the saints of the Greek Church. These

splendid schools of Capadocia, of Syria, of Egypt, of the Fathers of

the desert, approximate the philosophical schools. The popular holy

writings of the Greeks are more mythological than those of the Latins.

The majority of the saints represented in the iconostase of a Greek

house, before which a lamp burns, are not great authors, great men like

saints of the West: they are often fanciful beings, old gods

transfigured, or at least a combination of historic and mythological

personages, like St George. And that admirable temple of St Sophia! It

is an Aryan temple: the whole human species might have made its prayers

there. Not having had either people, inquisition, scholasticism, or

Middle Age barbarism, having always preserved a leaven of Arianism,

Greece rejected with greater facility than any other country a

supernatural Christianity, just as those Athenians of former times were

at once (thanks to a sort of vivacity which was a thousand times more

profound than the seriousness of our dull races) the most superstitious

of peoples, and the nearest approach to Rationalism. The popular Greek

songs are still to-day charged with Pagan images and ideas. Differing

so widely from the West, the East remained during the Middle Ages, and

down to modern times, true "Hellenists;" at bottom more Pagan than

Christian, living on a religion of old Greek patriotism, and of old

authors. These Hellenists were, in the fifteenth century, the promoters

of the Renaissance in the West, to which they affixed Greek texts, the

basis of all civilisation. The same spirit has presided, and will

continue to preside, over the destinies of new Greece. When we have

fully studied that which made of us bears the caul of a cultivated

Hellenist, we see that there is in him very little Christianity: he is

Christian in form, as a Persian is a Mussulman, but at bottom he is

"Hellenist." His religion is the adoration of the ancient Greek genius.

He pardons every heresy to philo-Hellenism, to him who admires its

past: he is much less a disciple of Jesus and of St Paul, than of

Plutarch and of Julian.

Wearied by his little success at Athens, Paul, without awaiting the

return of Timothy, departed for Corinth. He had not formed at Athens

any considerable Church. There were only a few isolated persons, among

others a certain Dionysius, who belonged, it is said, to the Areopagus,

and a woman, named Damaris, who had adhered to his doctrines. This was,

then, in his apostolic career, his first and almost only check.

Even in the second century the Church at Athens is of little

importance. Athens was one of the cities which was the last to be

converted. After Constantine, she is the centre of opposition against

Christianity, the bulwark of philosophy. By a rare privilege she

preserved the temples intact. These prodigious monuments, protected

through the ages, thanks to a sort of instinctive respect, were to come

down to us as an eternal lesson of good sense and honesty, given by

artists of genius. Even to-day we feel that the Christian covering

which is spread over the old Pagan foundation is very superficial. It

is hardly necessary to modify the actual names of the churches at

Athens to find again the names of the ancient temples.

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CHAPTER VIIL

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND JOURNEY OF PAUL--FIST SOJOURN AT CORINTH.

Departing from Phalera or Pir�us, Paul arrived at Cenchrea, which was

the port of Corinth on the �g�an Sea. It is a pretty enough little

harbour. It is surrounded by verdant hills and pine woods, and is

situated at the extremity of the Gulf of Saronica. A beautiful open

valley, nearly two leagues in extent, reaches from that port to the

great city built at the foot of the colossal dome from which can be

seen the two seas.

Corinth was a field much better adapted than Athens to receive the new

seed. It was not like Athens a sort of sanctuary of thought, a city

sacred and unique to the world; it was even hardly a Hellenic city.

Ancient Corinth had been razed to. its foundations by Mummius. For a

hundred years the soil of the Achaian Confederation was desert. In the

year 44 B.C. Julius C�sar rebuilt the city and made it an important

Roman colony, which he peopled principally with freedmen. This is

equivalent to saying that the population was very heterogeneous. It was

composed of a conglomeration of those peoples of every sort and of

every origin which loved C�sar. The new Corinthians remained for a long

time strangers to Greece, where they were regarded as intruders. Their

entertainments consisted of the brutal games of the Romans, which were

repulsive to true Greeks. Corinth became thus a city like so many

others on the shores of the Mediterranean, very populous, wealthy,

brilliant, frequented by many strangers, a centre of commercial

activity, one of those conglomerate cities, in short, which no longer

contained patriots. The dominant trait which rendered its name

proverbial was the exceeding corruption of manners which was remarked

there. In this again it constituted an exception amongst the Hellenic

cities. The purely Greek manners were simple and gay, and could on no

account be held to be luxurious and debauched. The affluence of the

mariners who were attracted thence by the two ports, had made of

Corinth the last sanctuary of the worship of Venus Pandemos, a remnant

of the ancient Phoenician establishments. The great temple of Venus had

more than a thousand consecrated courtesans; the whole city was like a

vast pandemonium, where numerous strangers, sailors particularly,

resorted to spend their wealth foolishly.

There was at Corinth a colony of Jews, which was probably established

at Cenchrea, one of the ports which was used in trading with the East.

A short time before the arrival of Paul, a colony of Jews, which had

been expelled from Rome by the edict of Claudius, had disembarked, and

among the number were Aquila and Priscilla, who, it seems, at that time

already professed the faith of Christ. From all this there resulted a

concomitance of circumstances most favourable. The isthmus formed

between the two masses of the Greek continent has always been the seat

of a world-wide commerce. It had always been one of those emporiums,

quite irrespective of race or of nationality, designed to be the

headquarters, if I might say so, of infant Christianity. New Corinth,

on account of its having few Hellenic nobility, was a city already

semi-christianised. With Antioch, Ephesus, Thessalonica, and Rome, she

became an ecclesiastical metropolis of the first rank. But the

immorality which reigned should at the same time have presaged that the

first abuses in the history of the Church would be produced there. In a

few years Corinth shall present tows the spectacle of incestuous

Christians, and of drunken people sitting down to the table of Christ.

Paul quickly divined that a long sojourn at Corinth would be necessary.

He resolved hence to take up there a fixed abode, and to prosecute his

trade of upholsterer. Now, strictly speaking, Aquila and Priscilla

followed the same trade as Paul. He went there to live with them, and

the three set up a small shop, which was stocked by them with

ready-made articles.

Timothy, whom Paul had sent from Athens to Thessalonica, soon rejoined

him. The news from the Church at Thessalonica was excellent. All the

faithful continued in the faith and in charity, and in their attachment

to their master. The persecutions of their fellow-citizens had not

shaken them; brotherly love prevailed throughout Macedonia. Silas, whom

Paul had not seen since his flight from Ber�a, had probably been joined

by Timothy, and returned with the latter. What is certain is, that the

three companions found themselves reunited at Corinth, and that they

lived there together for a long time.

The attention of Paul was, as usual, first directed to the Jews. Each

Sabbath he spoke in the synagogue. He found there dispositions greatly

diverse, One family, that of Stephenephorus or Stephanus, was

converted, and were all baptised by Paul. The orthodox resisted

energetically, even to the extent of injuring and of anathematising

them. One day, finally, there was an open rupture. Paul shook the dust

off his raiment upon the incredulous of the assembly, made them

responsible for the consequences, and declared to them that, seeing

they closed their ears to the truth, he would go unto the Gentiles.

Having uttered these words, he left the hall. He taught henceforth in

the house of one Titus Justus, a man that feared God, and whose house

was contiguous to the synagogue. Crispus, the chief of the Jewish

community, belonged to the party of Paul; he was converted with his

whole house, and Paul baptised him himself, a thing of rare occurrence.

Many others, both Jews and Pagans, and those "fearing God," were

baptised. The number of converted Pagans appeared to be here relatively

considerable. Paul displayed prodigious zeal. Several divine visions

which came to him during the night fortified him. The fame of the

conversions he had made at Thessalonica, nevertheless, preceded him,

and had favourably disposed the religious society in his behalf. The

supernatural phenomena were not wanting: there were some miracles.

Innocence was not the same thing here as at Philippi and Thessalonica.

The corrupt manners of Corinth crossed sometimes the threshold of the

Church; at any rate, all those who entered it were not equally pure.

But, in return, few of the Churches were more numerous; the community

of Corinth irradiated the whole province of Achaia, and became the home

of Christianity in the Hellenic peninsula. Without speaking of Aquila

and of Priscilla--almost received in the rank of apostles--and of Titus

Justus, of Crispus, of Stephanus--mentioned above--the Church numbered

in its bosom Gaius, who was himself also baptised by Paul, and who

extended hospitality to the Apostle during the second sojourn of the

latter in Corinth; Quartus, Achaicus, Fortunatus, Erastus, rather an

important personage, who was treasurer of the city; a woman named

Chloe, who had a numerous household. We have only vague and uncertain

notions in regard to one Zenas, a doctor of Jewish law. Stephanus and

his household constituted the most influential group, the one which had

the most authority. All the converts, nevertheless, with the probable

exception of Erastus, were simple-minded people, without much

instruction, without social distinction, drawn, in a word, from the

humblest ranks.

The port of Cenchrea had likewise its Church. Cenchrea was in great

part peopled by Orientals. There one could reverence Isis and Eschmoun,

while the Phoenician Venus was not neglected. It was like Calamaki in

our days, less a city than a mass of shops and inns for seafaring men.

In the midst of the corruption of these filthy hovels of seafarers,

Christianity produced its miracle. Cenchrea possessed an admirable

deaconess, who, one day, as we shall see later on, concealed under the

folds of her woman's garments the whole future of Christian theology,

the writing which was to regulate the faith of the world. She was named

Phoebe. She was an active person, never at rest, always eager to render

service, and who was very precious to Paul.

The sojourn of Paul at Corinth lasted for eighteen months. The

beautiful rock of Acrocorinth, the snowy summits of Helicon and of

Parnassus, remained for a long time in his regards. Paul contracted in

that new religious family some deep friendships, although the taste of

the Greeks for disputation displeased him; while on more than one

occasion his natural timidity may have been increased by the

disposition of his auditors to subtlety. He could not detach himself

from Thessalonica, from the simplicity he had found there, from the

lively affections he had there left behind him. The Church at

Thessalonica was the model which he never ceased to proclaim, and

to-wards which he always reverted. The Church at Philippi, with its

pious women, its rich and good Lydia, was not allowed to be forgotten.

That Church, as we have seen, enjoyed a singular privilege; which was,

to nourish the Apostle when his labour did not suffice to do so. At

Corinth he received from her fresh succour. As if the somewhat

sprightly nature of the Corinthians, and of the Greeks in general, had

inspired him with distrust, he would not accept anything of this kind

from them, although more than once he found himself reduced to want

during his sojourn in their midst.

It was with difficulty, nevertheless, that the anger of the orthodox

Jews, always so active, was restrained from breaking out. The

preachings of the Apostle to the Gentiles, his broad principles in

regard to the adoption of all those who believed, and their

incorporation into the family of Abraham, irritated to the highest

pitch the partisans of the exclusive privilege of the children of

Israel. The Apostle, on his part, was not very sparing in hard words.

He announced to them that the anger of God was about to break out

against them. The Jews had recourse to the Roman authorities. Corinth

was the capital of the province of Achaia, comprising the whole of

Greece, and which ordinarily was joined to Macedonia. The two provinces

had been made senatorials by Claudius, and in virtue of which they had

a pro-consul. That position was filled at the time of which we speak by

one of the most amiable and best instructed men of the century--Marcus

Ann�us Novatus, elder brother of Seneca. who had been adopted by the

rhetorician L. Junius Gallio, one of the litterateurs of the society of

the Senecas: Marcus Ann�us Novatus took hence the name of Gallio. He

had a great mind and a noble soul, was a friend of the poets and of the

celebrated authors. Every one who knew him adored him. Statius called

him dulcis Gallio, and probably he was the author of some of the

tragedies which proceeded from that literary roof. He wrote, it seems,

upon natural philosophy. His brother dedicated to him his book on Anger

and Happy Life; people attributed to him one of the most intellectual

works of the period. It appears that it was his high Hellenic culture

which, under the learned Claudius, led to his selection for the

administration of a province which all governments, somewhat

enlightened, surrounded with delicate attentions. His sanctity obliged

him to abandon the post. Like his brother, he had, under Nero, the

honour of expiating by his death his distinction and his honesty.

Such a man was little disposed to agree to the demands of fanatics

coming to ask the civil power, which they protested against in secret,

to rid them of their enemies. One day Sosthenes, the new ruler of the

synagogue, who had succeeded Crispus, brought Paul before the judgment

seat, and accused him of preaching a religion contrary to the law.

Judaism, in fact, which had old authorisations, and all sorts of

guarantees, pretended that the dissentient sect, as soon as they had

made a schism in the synagogue, enjoyed no longer the charters of a

synagogue. The situation was one which would have brought before the

French law liberal Protestants on the day they separated themselves

from recognised Protestantism. Paul was going to answer, but Gallio

restrained him, and, addressing the Jews, said: "If it were a matter of

wrong or wicked lewdness, O ye Jews, reason were that I should bear

with you; but if it be a question of words and of names, and of your

law, look ye to it, for I will be no judge of such matters." This was

an admirable response, worthy of being set up as a model to civil

governments when they are invited to meddle with religious questions.

Gallio, after he had pronounced it, gave orders to drive away both

parties. A great tumult ensued. Everybody was seized with the desire to

fall upon Sosthenes, and he was beaten before the judgment seat, and no

one could tell whence the blows proceeded. Gallio paid little heed, and

caused the place to be cleared. The sage politician had avoided

entering into a dogmatic quarrel; the well-educated man refused to mix

himself up with a quarrel of vulgar people; and when he saw violence

break out, he sent every one away.

No doubt it would have been wiser not to appear so disdainful. Gallio

was well inspired in declaring himself to be incompetent to judge in a

question of schism and of heresy; but yet men of mind have sometimes

little prescience! It was discovered later that the quarrel of these

abject sectaries was the great affair of the century. If, instead of

treating a religious and social question with that unceremoniousness,

the government had taken the trouble to make an impartial

investigation, to make a searching public investigation, and to

discontinue giving an official sanction to a religion become completely

absurd; if Gallio had been disposed to take into account what it was

that constituted a Jew and a Christian, to read Jewish books, to keep

himself au courant of what was passing in the subterranean world; if

the Romans had not been so narrow-minded, so little addicted to the

study of science, many misfortunes would have been avoided. How very

singular! There was, in the case now under consideration, on the one

hand, a man who was one of the most intellectual and the most studious;

on the other, a soul which was one of the most robust and the most

original of his time, and they passed the one before the other without

either perceiving the fact; and, surely, if the first blows had fallen

upon Paul instead of upon Sosthenes, Gallio would have been equally

indifferent. One of the things which causes the most faults to be

committed by people of the world, is the superficial disgust which

badly educated and unmannerly people inspire in them yet manners are

only a matter of form, and those who have them not are found sometimes

not to be destitute of good sense. The society man, with his frivolous

sneers, passes continually, without knowing it, the man who is going to

create the future; they do not belong to the same world; yet the common

error of society people is to think that the world which they see is

the entire world.

These difficulties, however, were not the only ones that the Apostle

had to encounter. The Corinthian mission was thwarted by obstacles

which, for the first time, he had met with in his Apostolic

career,--obstacles proceeding from the bosom of the Church itself, from

intractable men who had been introduced to it, and who opposed him, or

from many Jews who had been attracted to Jesus, but more attached than

Paul to legal observances. The false spirit of the degenerated Greek

who, starting from the fourth century, corrupted Christianity so much,

was already making itself felt. The Apostle then called to mind his

beloved Churches at Macedonia, that unlimited docility, that purity of

morals, that frank cordiality, which had procured for him at Philippi

and Thessalonica such happy days. He was seized with an ardent desire

to go and see once more the faithful of the Lord, and when be received

from them an expression of the same desire, he could hardly restrain

himself. In order to comfort himself in this embarrassment, and to

protect himself from the importunities of those with whom he was

surrounded, it pleased him to write to them. The epistles dated from

Corinth bear the imprint of a kind of sadness,--praises of the most

lofty description for those to whom Paul wrote; but these letters were

completely silent, or contained some unfavourable allusions to those

from whose midst he wrote.

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CHAPTER IX.

CONTINUATION OF THE SECOND JOURNEY OF PAUL--FIRST EPISTLES--INTERIOR CONDITION

OF THE NEW CHURCHES.

It was at Corinth that the apostolic life of Paul attained its highest

degree of activity. To the cares of the grand Christianity which he was

engaged in founding, he had just added the prepossessions of the

communities that he had left behind him. A sort of jealousy, as he has

told us himself, devoured him. He thought less at that moment of

founding new Churches than of caring for those which he had created.

Each of his Churches was to him as a bride which he had promised to

Christ, and which he wished to preserve pure. The power that he claimed

over these little corporations was absolute. A certain number of rules,

which he regarded as having been laid down by Jesus himself, was the

sole canonical law anterior to himself that he recognised. He was

thought to have divine inspiration for adding to those rules all those

which the new circumstances called for, and which had to be obeyed. But

was not his example a supreme rule to which all his spiritual children

might conform themselves?

Timothy, whom he employed to visit the Churches that were far away from

him, could not, had he been indefatigable, satisfy the immense ardour

of his master. It was then that Paul conceived the idea of supplying by

correspondence what he was prevented from saying himself or through his

principal disciples. There did not exist in the Roman Empire anything

which resembled our postal establishment for private letters; all

correspondence had to be forwarded incidentally, or by express. St Paul

hence made it a point to take everywhere with him persons of a second

order, who could be used as messengers. Correspondence between the

synagogues already existed in Judaism. The envoy charged with bearing

the letters was himself a dignitary drawn from the synagogues. The

epistolary style formed amongst the Jews a species of literature which

was continued amongst them down to the heart of the Middle Ages, as a

consequence of their dispersion. Without doubt, from the period when

Christianity was extended to the whole of Syria, Christian epistles

existed; but in the hands of Paul these writings, which up till then

had not, for the most part, been preserved, were, equally with his

speaking, the instruments of progress in the Christian faith. It was

held that the authority of the Epistles equalled that of the Apostle

himself; they were all to be read before the Church assembled; some of

them had even the character of circular letters, and were communicated

successively to various Churches. The reading of the correspondence

thus became an essential part of the offices of the Sabbath. And it was

not merely at the moment of its reception that a letter served thus for

the edification of the brethren; deposited in the Church archives, it

was taken from there on days of assembling, and read as a sacred

document, and as a perpetual source of instruction. The epistle was

thus the form of primitive Christian literature. It was an admirable

form, perfectly adapted to the conditions of the times, and to the

natural aptitude of Paul.

The condition of the new sect, in fact, did not by any means permit of

connected discourse. Infant Christianity was wholly disengaged from

texts. The hymns even were composed by each for him-self, and were not

written. People believed in watching for the final catastrophe. The

sacred books, which we call the "Scriptures," were the books of the

ancient Law. Jesus had added no new book. He must return to fulfil the

ancient Scriptures, and to open an age in which he himself would be the

living book. Letters of consolation and of encouragement were the only

means which could produce a similar state of mind. If already, about

the time at which we are arrived, there had been more than a small

booklet, designed to assist the memory in regard to "the sayings and

doings" of Jesus, these booklets were of an entirely private character.

They were not authentic, official writings, universally received in the

community; they were notes of which persons au courant of events took

little account, and were considered as altogether an inferior authority

to tradition.

Paul, as regarded himself, had not a mind adapted to the composition of

books. He had not the patience that is required for writing; he was

incapable of system; the labour of the pen was disagreeable to him, and

he preferred to delegate it to others. Correspondence, on the contrary,

so obnoxious to those who are accustomed to employ art in putting forth

their ideas, suited well his feverish activity, and the necessity of

expressing on the spur of the moment his impressions. Now brisk, crude,

polite, snarlish, sarcastic, then suddenly tender, delicate, almost

roguish and coaxing; happily expressed and polished to the highest

degree; skilful in sprinkling his language with reticences, reserves,

infinite precautions, malignant allusions, and ironical dissimulations,

he came to excel in a style which required above everything original

impulses. The epistolary style of Paul is the most individual that we

have ever had. Its language, if I may say so, is ground up (hoyee),

without a single consecutive phrase. It would be impossible to violate

more audaciously, I do not say the genius of the Greek language, but

the logic of human language. It might be described as a rapid

conversation, stenographed and reproduced without corrections. Timothy

was quickly trained to fulfil for his master the functions of

secretary, and as his language came to resemble somewhat that of Paul,

he replaced him frequently. It is probable that in the Epistles and

perhaps in the Acts we have more than one page of Timothy; but such was

the modesty of that singular man, that we have no certain marks by

which to single them out.

Even when Paul corresponded directly, he did not write with his own

hand; he dictated; sometimes when the letter was finished he re-read

it. His impetuous soul carried him away at such moments; he made

marginal additions to it, at the risk of injuring the context, and of

producing suspended and entangled sentences. He transmitted the letter

thus effaced, regardless of the numberless repetitions of words and of

ideas which it contained. With his marvellous fervour of soul, Paul has

yet a singular poverty of expression. A phrase besets him, he recurs to

it in a page at every turn. It was not sterility, it was

contentiousness of mind and complete indifference to the requirements

of a correct style. In order to avoid the numerous frauds to which the

passions of the times gave rise, the authority of the Apostle and the

material conditions of antique epistolography, Paul was in the habit of

sending to the Churches a specimen of his writing, which was easily

recognisable; this done, it was sufficient for him, according to a

usage then general, to put at the end of his letters some words in his

own hand as a guarantee of their authenticity.

There is no doubt that the correspondence of Paul was considerable, and

that what is remaining of if to us constitutes only a small portion.

The religion of the primitive Churches was so detached in every way, so

purely idealistic, that people did not realise the immense value of

such writings. Faith was everything: each one carried it in one's

heart, and cared little for stray leaves of papyrus, which, besides,

were not holograph. These epistles were for the majority mere

occasional pieces; nobody suspected that one day they would become

sacred books. It was only towards the end of the life of the Apostle

that people bethought themselves of retaining his letters because of

their intrinsic merit,--of passing them on and of preserving them. Then

each Church guarded preciously its own, consulted them often, had

regular lectures on them, allowed copies to be taken of them; still, a

multitude of letters of the first period were irrecoverably lost. As

for the letters in response to those of the Churches, all have

disappeared; and it could not be otherwise; Paul in his wandering

existence never had any other archives than his memory and his heart.

Two letters only of the second mission remain with us: they are the two

epistles to the Church at Thessalonica. Paul wrote them from Corinth,

and joined with his own name in the superscription those of Silas and

Timothy. They have the appearance of being composed at a short interval

from one another. They are two productions full of unction, tenderness,

emotion, and charm. In them the Apostle does not conceal his preference

for the Churches of Macedonia: He made use of the latter to give

utterance to that love for glowing expressions, for images the most

endearing; he represents himself as the kind nurse cherishing her

children in her bosom, as a father charging his children. This was

indeed what Paul was for the Churches he had established. He was an

admirable missionary, and, what was more, an admirable director of

consciences. Never did he appear to better advantage than in having the

charge of souls; never did any one take up the problem of the education

of man in a more enthusiastic and thorough manner. But it must not be

thought that he acquired that ascendency through fawning and flattery.

No; Paul was blunt, disagreeable, and sometimes ill-tempered. In no

respect did he resemble Jesus; he had not his charming indulgence, his

habit of excusing everybody, his divine incapacity of seeing evil. He

was often imperious, and made his authority to be felt with a

haughtiness which shocks us. He commanded, he blamed severely, he spoke

of himself with assurance, and unhesitatingly held himself up as a

model. But what haughtiness! what purity! what disinterestedness! Upon

the last point he is painfully minute. Ten times he reverts with pride

to the apparently puerile fact that he had cost no man anything, that

he had never eaten gratis the bread of any one, that he had laboured

day and night with his hands, although he might well have done like the

other Apostles, and lived by religion. The bent of his zeal was, in a

manner infinite, a love of souls.

The kindness, the innocence, the fraternal spirit, the unlimited

charity of the primitive Churches, are a spectacle which will never

again be seen. It was wholly spontaneous, unconstrained, and yet these

little associations were as solid as iron. Not only could they resist

the perpetual bickerings of the Jews, but their interior organisation

possessed surprising force. In order to understand them, it is

necessary to think, not of our grand churches open to all, but of

religious orders endowed with a most intense individual life,--of

confraternities firmly consolidated, in which the members by turns

embraced, animated, quarrelled with, loved, hated one another. These

Churches had a kind of hierarchy: the oldest members, the most active,

those who were en rapport with the Apostle, enjoyed a precedence! But

the Apostle himself was the first to repress everything which had the

appearance of domineering; he held himself to be only "the promoter of

the common joy."

The "elders" were sometimes elected by the common voice,--that is to

say, by a show of hands,--sometimes installed by the Apostle, but

always considered as chosen by the Holy Spirit, that is to say, by that

superior instinct which directed the Church in all its acts. People

began already to call them "deacons" (episcopi, a word which in the

language of politics had passed into the eranes), and to consider them

as "pastors" charged with the conduct of the Church. Certain of them,

moreover, were regarded as having a sort of speciality for teaching;

these were catechists, going from house to house, and imparting the

word of God in private admonitions. Paul made it a rule, at least in

particular cases, that the catechumen, during his instruction, was to

share all that he possessed in common with his catechist.

Full authority belonged to the Church assembled. This authority was

extended to the minutest details of private life. All the brethren

watched one another, corrected one another. The Church assembled, or at

at least those who were called "the devout," reprimanded those who were

in fault, consoled the cast-down, and undertook the office of skilled

directors, versed in the knowledge of the heart. Public penitences had

not yet been instituted; but they no doubt already existed in embryo.

As no exterior force restrained the faithful, nor prevented them from

splitting or abandoning the Church, we should have thought that such an

organisation, which appears to us insupportable, in which is only to be

seen a system of espionage and of accusation, would speedily have come

to an end. But nothing of the kind. We do not find, at the period at

which we have now arrived, a single example of apostacy. Every one

submitted humbly to the sentence of the Church. He whose conduct was

irregular, or who had strayed from the traditions of the Apostles, or

who was not attentive to his duties, was marked; he was avoided; no one

would hold communion with him. He was treated as an enemy, though he

was at the same time admonished as a brother. This isolation covered

him with shame, and he repented. The gaiety in these little companies

of good people living together, always sprightly, occupied, eager,

loving and hating much, the gaiety, I say, was very great. Verily the

words of Jesus had been fulfilled; the reign of the meek and lowly had

come, and had been manifested by the extreme felicity which flowed from

every heart.

People had a perfect horror of Paganism, but were very tolerant in

their treatment of Pagans. Far from fleeing from them, people sought to

attract them and to gain them over. Many of the faithful had been

idolaters, or had parents who were; they knew with what good faith one

might be in error. They recalled their honest ancestors, who had died

without having known saving truth. A touching custom, baptism for the

dead, was the consequence of that sentiment. People believed that in

being baptised for those of their ancestors who had not received holy

water, they conferred on them the merits of the sacrament; thus the

hope of not being separated from those that they loved was not

frustrated. A profound idea of solidarity dominated every one; the son

was saved through his parents, the father through the son, the husband

through the wife. People could not be brought to condemn a man of good

intentions, or who through any side way whatever clung to the saints.

Manners were severe, though not sad. That virtuous gloom which the

rigorists of modern times (Janissaries, Methodists, etc.) preach as a

Christian virtue, had no existence then. The relations between men and

women, far from being interdicted, were multiplied. One of the scoffs

of the Pagans was to represent the Christians as effeminate, deserting

common society for the conventicles of young women, old women, and

children. Pagan nakednesses were severely condemned. The women, in

general, were closely veiled: not a single precaution for protecting

timid chastity was omitted; but the bashful woman is also a voluptuous

woman, and the ideal dream which is in man is susceptible of a thousand

applications. When we read the Acts of St Perpetue, the legend of St

Dorothy, we see that they are the heroines of an absolute purity; but

how little do they resemble a Port Royal female religionist! Here,

one-half of the instincts of humanity is suppressed; there, these

instincts, which later on came to be regarded as Satanic suggestions,

had received only a new direction. It may be said that primitive

Christianity was a sort of moral romanticism, a powerful revulsion of

the faculty of loving. Christianity did not diminish that faculty; it

took no precautions against it; it did not place it under suspicion--it

nourished it with air and with light. The danger of these liberties was

not yet manifest. In the Church, the bad was, in some sort, impossible,

for the root of evil, which is wicked desire, was taken away.

The position of catechist was often filled by women. Virginity was

regarded as a state of sanctity. This preference accorded to the

celibate was not a negation of love and of beauty, like that which

found place in the barren and unintelligible asceticism of later

centuries. It was, in a woman, that just and true sentiment which

virtue and beauty prize so much the more the more it is concealed; so

that she who has not found that rare peril of strong love, guards, by a

sort of pride and of reserve, its beauty and moral perfection for God

alone, for God conceived as jealous, as the co-partner of close

secrets. Second marriages, though not forbidden, were regarded as a

mark against one. The popular sentiment of the century ran in that

groove. The beautiful and touching expression of sumbios became the

ordinary word for "spouse." The words Virginius, Virginia,

Parthenichos, indicating the husbands who had not formed other

alliances, became terms of eulogy and of tenderness. The spirit of the

family, the union of husband and wife, their reciprocal esteem, the

recognition by the husband of the cares and the foresight of his wife,

permeated in a touching manner the Jewish inscriptions, which in this

only reflected the sentiment of the humble classes amongst which the

Christian propaganda recruited converts. It is a singular thing that

the most elevated ideas on the sanctity of marriage have been spread in

the world by a people amongst whom polygamy had never been universally

interdicted. But it required, in the fraction of Jewish society in

which Christianity was formed, that polygamy should actually be

abolished, since the Church did not seem to think that such an enormity

needed to be condemned.

Charity, brotherly love, was the supreme law, and common to all the

churches and all the schools. Charity and chastity were par excellence

Christian virtues,--virtues which made a success of the new gospel, and

converted the entire world. One was commanded to do good to all:

nevertheless, co-religionists were regarded as being worthy of

preference. A taste for work was held to be a virtue. Paul, a good

workman, vigorously reproved indolence and idleness, and repeated often

that na�f proverb of a man of the people: "He that would not work,

neither should he eat." The model that he conceived was a punctual

artisan, peaceable, applying himself to his work, eating

tranquilly--his mind at ease--the bread that he earned. But how far are

we from the primitive ideal of the Church at Jerusalem, wholly

communistic and monastical, or even from that of Antioch, wholly

preoccupied with prophecies, with supernatural gifts, with apostleship!

Here the Church is an association of honest workmen, cheerful, content,

not jealous of the rich, for they are more happy than the latter, for

they know that God does not judge like the worldly, and prefers the

honest soiled hand to the white and intriguing hand. One of his

principal virtues was to conduct his affairs orderly; "that ye may walk

honestly toward them that are without, and that ye may have lack of

nothing." There were some members of the Church, of whom St Paul had

heard tell, who worked not at all, but were busy-bodies, and who are

severely reprimanded. That combination of practical good sense and of

delusion ought not to surprise. Does not the English race in Europe and

in America present to us the same contrast, so full of good sense as

regards things of this world, so absurd as regards things pertaining to

heaven? Quakerism, even, commenced with a tissue of absurdities, and

retained them until the day, thanks to the influence of William Penn,

it became something practical, great, and fruitful.

The supernatural gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as prophecy, were not

neglected. But we can well see that in the Churches of Greece, composed

of Jews, these fantastic exercises possessed no longer much meaning,

and we can believe that they soon fell into desuetude. Christian

discipline turned on a kind of deistic piety, which consisted in

serving the true God, in praying and in doing good. A powerful hope

gave to these precepts of pure religion the efficacy that they of

themselves never could possess. The dream that had been the soul of the

movement inaugurated by Jesus, continued still to be the fundamental

dogma of Christianity; everybody believed in the near future of the

kingdom of God, in the unseen manifestation of a great glory, from the

midst of which the Son of Man would appear. The idea that people had of

that marvellous phenomena was the same as in the times of Jesus. A

great storm--that is to say, a terrible catastrophe--was near at hand:

that catastrophe would strike all those whom Jesus would not have

saved. Jesus was to show himself in the heavens as "king of glory,

surrounded by angels." Then the judgment was to take place. The saints,

the persecuted, were to go and range themselves about Jesus, in order

to enjoy with him eternal rest. The unbelievers who had persecuted them

(the Jews especially) were to be the prey of fire; their punishment was

to be eternal death. Chased from before the face of Jesus, they were to

be hurried away to the abyss of destruction. A destroying fire, in

short, was to be lighted and was to consume the world and all those who

had rejected the gospel of Jesus. That final catastrophe was to be a

kind of great and glorious manifestation of Jesus and his saints, an

act of supreme justice, a tardy reparation for the iniquities which had

been up to that time the rule of the world.

Objections were naturally raised against this strange doctrine. One of

the principal of them arose from the difficulty of conceiving what

should be the portion of the dead at the moment of the advent of Jesus.

Since the visit of Paul, there had been several deaths in the Church at

Thessalonica, and these first deaths had made, on all sides, a very

deep impression. Was it necessary to compassionate, and to regard as

excluded from the kingdom of God, those who had thus disappeared before

the solemn hour? The ideas upon individual immortality and a special

judgment were yet too little developed to enable people to sustain auy

such objection. Paul responded with remarkable clearness:--

"That ye may walk honestly toward them that are without, and that ye

may have lack of nothing. But I would not have you to be ignorant,

brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as

others which have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose

again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him.

For this we say unto you by the word of the Lord, that we which are

alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them

which are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a

shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God: and

the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we which are alive and remain

shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord

in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."

People sought to discover the day of that grand appearance. St Paul

condemned these inquisitive speculations, and made use of them in order

to show the almost worthlessness of the words themselves which people

had attributed to Jesus.

"But of the times and the season, brethren, ye have no need that I

write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly that the day of the Lord

so cometh as a thief in the night. For when they shall say, Peace and

safety; then sudden destruction cometh upon them, as travail upon a

woman child; and they shall not escape. But ye, brethren, are not in

darkness, that that day should overtake you as a thief. Ye are all the

children of light, and the children of the day; we are not of the

night, nor of darkness. Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but

let us watch and be sober."

The preoccupation of that near catastrophe was extreme. The enthusiasts

believed that they had discovered the date by means of special

revelations. There existed already several apocalypses; people went

even the length of causing forged letters of the Apostle to be

circulated, in which this end of things was announced,--

"Now we beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ,

and by our gathering together unto him, That ye be not soon shaken in

mind, or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as

from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you

by any means; for that day shall not come, except there come a falling

away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition. Who

opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or that is

worshipped; so that he as God sitteth in the temple of God, shewing

himself that he is God. Remember ye not, that, when I was yet with you,

I told you these things! And now ye know what withholdeth that he might

be revealed in his time. For the mystery of iniquity doth already work;

only he who now letteth will let, until he be taken out of the way. And

then shall the Wicked be revealed, whom that Lord shall consume with

the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his

coming; even him, whose coming is after the working of Satan with all

power and signs and lying wonders, and with all deceivableness of

unrighteousness in them that perish; because they received not the love

of the truth that they might be saved. And for this cause God shall

send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie."

We see that in these texts, written twenty years after the death of

Jesus, only a single essential element has been added to the

description of the day of the Lord such as Jesus had conceived it,

namely, the character of an Anti-Christ, or false Christ, which was to

spring up before the grand appearance of Jesus himself--a sort of

Satanic Messiah, who was to work miracles, and desire to be worshipped.

Apropos of Simon the Magician, we have already met with the singular

idea that the false prophets worked miracles exactly like the true

prophets. The opinion that the judgment of God would be preceded by a

terrible catastrophe, by the spread of impiety and abominations, by the

passing triumph of idolatry, by the advent of a sacrilegious king, was,

however, very ancient, going back as far as the first origins of the

apocalyptic doctrines. Gradually that ephemeral reign of evil, the

precursor of the final victory of the good, which would happen to the

Christians, would be personified in a man who was conceived to be the

exact converse of Jesus, a sort of Christ of the infernal regions.

The type of that future misleader was composed in part out of

recollections of Antiochus Epiphanes, such as he is presented in the

book of Daniel, combined with the reminiscences of Balaam, of Gog and

Magog, of Nebuchadnezzar, and partly from ideas borrowed from the

circumstances of the times. The ghastly tragedy that was being enacted

at Rome at that moment, in face of the world, could not fail but excite

greatly the imaginations of men. Caligula, the anti-deity, the first

emperor who sought to be worshipped during his life, suggested in all

probability the circumstance to Paul, when the aforesaid person exalted

himself above all the pretended gods, all the idols, and took his seat

in the temple of Jerusalem, desirous of being regarded as God himself.

The Anti-Christ was thus conceived in the year 54 as a continuer of the

foolish sacrilege of Caligula. Reality affords but too many

opportunities to explain away such presages. A few months after Paul

wrote that strange passage, Nero came to the throne. It was in him that

the Christian conscience should see later on the hideous precursor of

the coming of Christ. What was the cause, or rather who was the

personage, that alone, in the year 54, still prevented, according to

Saint Paul, the appearance of Anti-Christ? This has been left in

obscurity. The question's here asked may perhaps have been a mysterious

secret, no strange thing in politics, which the faithful discussed

among themselves, but which they did not commit to paper, for fear of

compromising one another. The mere seizure of a letter would have

sufficed to bring about the most atrocious persecutions. Here, as in

other points, the habit which the early Christians had of not writing

down certain things, has created for us irremediable obscurities. It

has been supposed that the personage in question was the Emperor

Claudius, and we have seen in the language of Paul a play of words on

his name,--Claudius = qui claudit = ho chatechou. At the date when that

letter was written, in fact, the death of poor Claudius--circumvented

by fatal snares laid by the villainous Agrippa--seemed only to be a

question of time; everybody expected it; the Emperor himself spoke of

it; dark presentiments showed themselves at every turn; natural

prodigies like those which, fourteen years later, struck so forcibly

the author of the Apocalypse, tormented the popular imagination. People

spoke in terror of the monstrous foetus,--of a son which had the long

claws of a sparrow-hawk; all this made people tremble for the future.

The Christians, like ordinary people, participated in these terrors;

the prognostications, and the superstitious fears of natural

calamities, were the essential cause of the Apocalyptic fears.

That which is clear; that which still is revealed for us in these

inestimable documents; that which explains the wonderful success of the

Christian propaganda, is the spirit of devotion, the high morality

which reigned in those little Churches. They might be compared to the

reunions of the Moravian brothers, or to pious Protestants addicted to

the extremest devotion, or, again, to a sort of third order of a

Catholic congregation. Prayer and the name of Jesus were constantly on

the lips of the faithful. Before each act, before partaking of food,

for example, they pronounced a short benediction or short act of grace.

It was looked upon as an injury done to the Church, to bring an action

before the civil judges. The belief in the near destruction of the

world raised a revolutionary ferment which carried into every mind a

great portion of its sourness. The invariable rule of the Apostle was,

that it was necessary for one to abide in the state to which one had

been called. "Is any person called (being) circumcised, let him not

dissimulate circumcision; is any person called uncircumcised, let him

not be circumcised; is any one a virgin, let her remain a virgin; is

any one married, let such remain married; is any one a slave, seek not

to be made free; and even if one can obtain one's freedom, let such a

one remain in slavery. The slave who is called, is the free servant of

Christ; the free man who is called, is the slave of Christ." A

marvellous resignation had taken possession of souls, which rendered

everything indifferent, and shed over all the weariness of that world,

extinct and forgotten.

The Church was a permanent source of edification and of consolation. It

must not be imagined that the Christian gatherings of those times were

modelled after the cold assemblies of our days, in which the

unforeseen, the individual initiative, had no part. It is rather of the

English Quakers, the American Shakers, and the French Spiritualists,

that one must think. During the meeting all were seated, and each spoke

when he felt inspired. The inspired one would then rise up, and

deliver, through the impulse of the Spirit, discourses of various

forms, which it is difficult for us to distinguish to-day--psalms,

canticles of acts of grace, eulogies, prophecies, revelations, lessons,

exhortations, consolations, and treatises on language. These

improvisations, considered as divine oracles, were sometimes chanted,

sometimes delivered in a speaking tone of voice. Each invited his

neighbour to do this; each excited the enthusiasm of others: it was

what was called singing to God. The women remained silent. As every one

believed oneself to be constantly visited by the Spirit, every image,

every throb which crossed the brain of the believers, seemed to contain

a deep meaning, and, with the most perfect good faith in the world,

they drew a real nourishment of soul from pure illusions. After each

eulogy, each prayer thus improvised, the multitude had a collective

inspiration through the word Amen. In order to mark the diverse acts of

the mystic seance, the president interposed, either by the invitation

Oremus; or by a sigh directed towards heaven--Sursum Corda! or in

recalling that Jesus, according to his promise, was in the midst of the

assembled--Dominus Vobiscum. The cry Kyrie Eleison was also repeated

frequently in a suppliant and plaintive tone.

Prophecy was esteemed a high gift: some women were endowed with it. In

many cases, especially when the matter in hand had reference to

philology, people hesitated; people sometimes even believed themselves

to be dupes of a cunning device of the evil spirits. A particular class

of the inspired, or, as was said, of the "spiritual," was charged with

the interpretation of these fantastic outbursts,--to find sense in

them, to discern the minds from which they proceeded. These phenomena

had great efficacy in the conversion of Pagans, and were regarded as

the most demonstrative miracles. The Pagans, in fact--at least those of

them who were supposed benevolent--were drawn into the assemblies. Then

there would often follow strange spectacles. One or several of the

inspired would address the intruder, address him alternately with

rudeness or with gentleness, reveal to him inner secrets which he

believed he himself only knew, and unfold to him the sins of his past

life. The wicked were astonished, confounded. The shame of that public

manifestation, which in that assembly had been exposed in a state of

spiritual nudity, created between him and the brethren a strong bond,

which was not again to be broken. A sort of confession was sometimes

the first act which was done in entering the sect. The intimacy, the

affection which such exercises established between the brothers and the

sisters, was without reserve: all became indeed as one person. It

required nothing less than a perfect spirituality to hinder such

relations from springing up, and to check abuse.

We can conceive the immense attraction that a soul-movement so active

would exercise amongst a society freed from moral bonds, especially

amongst the common classes, who were neglected equally by the state and

by religion. Hence the grand lesson which is to be derived from that

history for our century; the times resemble each other; the future

belonged to the party who took up the masses and educated them. But, in

our days, the difficulty is indeed greater than it has ever been. In

antiquity, upon the coasts of the Mediterranean, material life could be

simple: the wants of the body were secondary, and easily satisfied.

With us, these wants are numerous and imperative; popular associations

are weighed to the earth as with a weight of lead. It was the sacred

feast, "the Lord's Supper" especially, that had an immense moral

efficacy; it was considered as a mystic act by which all were

incorporated with Christ, and as a consequence united in the same body.

There was hence a perpetual lesson of equality, of fraternity. The

sacramental words which were connected with the last supper of Jesus

were present to all. It was believed that that bread, that wine, that

water, were the body and blood of Jesus himself. Those who partook of

it were accounted to eat Jesus, were united to him, and bound to him by

an ineffable mystery. The prelude to it was the giving of "the holy

kiss," or "kiss of love," without any of the scruples which came to

trouble the innocence of another golden age. Ordinarily the men gave it

to one another, and the women gave it amongst themselves. Some

Churches, however, pressed the holy liberty to the point of not making

any distinction of sexes in the kiss of love. Profane society, little

capable of comprehending such purity, made this the occasion of divers

calumnies. The chaste Christian kiss awakened the suspicions of the

libertines, and soon the Church was constrained to the point of taking

severe precautions; but in the beginning it was an essential rite

inseparable from the Eucharist, and completing the high signification

of the symbol of peace and love. Some abstained from it in youth, and

in the time of mourning and of fasting.

The first monastic Church at Jerusalem broke bread every day. Twenty or

thirty years after, people had come to celebrate the holy feast only

once a week. This celebration took place in the evening, and, according

to the Jewish usage, by the light of numerous lamps. The day chosen for

this was the day following the Sabbath, the first day of the week. This

day was called "the day of the Lord," in rememberance of the

"resurrection," and also because it was believed that on the same day

God had created the world. Alms were done, and collections made on this

day. The Sabbath, which all Christians probably celebrate still in a

manner not equally scrupulous, was distinct from the day of the Lord.

But without doubt the day of rest tended more and more to be confounded

with the day of the Lord, and it is permissible to suppose that in the

Churches of the Gentiles, who had no reason to prefer the Saturday,

that change was already made. The �bonim of the East, on the contrary,

rested on Saturday.

Little by little the supper tended to become purely symbolical in form.

At the first it was a real supper, at which one ate as much as one

wanted, only with an elevated mystic intention. The supper was prefaced

by a prayer. As at the dinners of the Pagan fraternities, each brought

his basket and consumed what he brought: the Church, no doubt,

furnishing the accessories, such as hot water, pilchards, that which

was called the ministerium. People loved to think of two invisible

servants, Irene (Peace) and Agap� (Love), the one pouring out the wine,

the other mixing it with hot water; and, perhaps, at certain moments

during the repast, one would be heard to say, with a sweet smile, to

the deaconesses (ministr�), that from which they derived their names:

Irene, da calda (hot water)--Agape, misce me (pour me out). A spirit of

delicate reserve and of discreet sobriety presided at the feast. The

table at which people sat was in the form of a hollow semi-circle, or

of a crescent, sigma (a symbol); the elder was placed in the centre;

the cups or saucers which were used for drinking out of were the

objects of particular care. The bread and the wine, which were blessed,

were carried to the absent by the minister of the diocese.

In time the supper came to be no more than a ceremony. People ate at

home to appease hunger; at the assembly people eat only a few

mouthfuls; drank only a few sups, in view of the symbol. People were

led by a kind of logic to distinguish the common fraternal repast from

the mystical act which consisted solely of a fraction of bread. The

fraction of bread became each day more sacramental; the supper, on the

contrary, in proportion as the Church increased, became more profane.

Sometimes the supper was reduced almost to nothing, and in being thus

reduced, lost all the importance of a sacramental act. Sometimes the

two things subsisted, but separately; the supper was a prelude or a

sequel to the Eucharist; people dined together before or after the

communion. Then the two ceremonies were separated entirely; the pious

repasts were acts of charity towards the poor, sometimes the remnants

of Pagan usages, and had no longer any connection with the Eucharist.

As such, they were in general suppressed in the fifth century. The

"eulogia" or "consecrated bread" remained, then, the sole souvenir of a

golden age in which the Eucharist was invested with the more complex

and less purely analytic forms. For a long time, still, however, the

custom was preserved of invoking the name of Jesus in drinking, and

people continued to consider as a eulogy the act of breaking bread and

of drinking together, which were the last traces, and the traces

well-nigh effaced, of the admirable institutions of Jesus.

The name which, at the first, the eucharistic feast bore, expressed

admirably all that there was in that excellent rite of divine efficacy

and of salutary morality. They were called agap�, that is to say,

"loves" or "charities." The Jews--the Essenians especially--had already

attached a moral sense to the religious feasts; but in passing into the

hands of another race, these Oriental usages took an almost

mythological significance. The Mythriatic mysteries which began soon to

be developed in the Roman world had as their principal rite the

offering of bread and of the cup, over which were pronounced certain

words. The resemblance was such, that the Christians explained it as a

ruse of the devil, who wished by this means to have the infernal

pleasure of counterfeiting their most holy ceremonies. The secret bonds

between all these things are very obscure. It was easy to foresee that

grave abuses would so quickly be mixed up with such practices, that one

day the feast (the agap�, properly speaking) would fall into desuetude,

and that there would only remain the eucharistic wafer, the sign and

memorial of the primitive institution. One could no longer be surprised

to learn that strange mysteries should be made the pretext for

calumnies, and that the sect which pretended to eat, under the form of

bread and wine, the body and the blood of its founder, should be

accused of renewing the feasts of Thyestes, of eating infants covered

with pastry, and of anthropophagistic practices.

The annual feasts were always the Jewish feasts, especially Easter and

Pentecost. The Christian Easter was generally celebrated on the same

day as the Jewish Passover. Nevertheless, the cause which had

transferred the holy-day of each week from the Saturday to the Sunday

regulated also Easter, not from usage and Jewish souvenirs, but from

the souvenirs of the passion and of the resurrection of Jesus. It is

not impossible that, from the time of Paul, in the Churches of Greece

and Macedonia, that change had already been effected. In any case, the

thought of that fundamental feast was profoundly modified. The passage

of the Red Sea became a thing of little account after the resurrection

of Jesus; people no longer thought of it, except to find in it a figure

of the triumph of Jesus over death. The true Paschal Lamb was

henceforth Jesus, who had been offered up for all; the true unleavened

breads were truth, justice; the old leaven had lost its power, and

ought therefore to be rejected. For the rest, the feast of the Passover

had indeed more anciently undergone with the Hebrews an analogous

change of signification. It was certainly in its origin a feast of

spring time, which was connected by an artificial etymology with the

remembrance of the flight from Egypt.

Pentecost was also celebrated on the same day as with the Jews. Like

Easter, that feast took a signification altogether new, which put into

the shade the old Jewish idea. Right or wrong, people believed that the

principal incident of the Holy Spirit upon the assembled Apostles had

taken place on the day of Pentecost which followed the resurrection of

Jesus; the ancient harvest festival of the Semites became thus in the

new religion the feast of the Holy Ghost. About the same time that

feast underwent an analogous transformation amongst the Jews; it became

with them the anniversary of the promulgation of the law upon Mount

Sinai.

No edifice had been built or any building rented expressly for the

meetings;--no art, consequently no images. The assemblies took place in

the houses of the brethren the best known, or who had a room well

adapted for the purpose. People preferred for this the apartments

which, in Oriental houses, formed the first floor, and corresponding to

our drawing-room floor. These apartments are high, containing numerous

windows, very fresh, very airy; it was here that one received one's

friends, where one held feasts, where one prayed, where one laid out

the dead. The groups thus formed constituted "domestic churches," or

pious coteries full of moral activity, and resembling greatly those

"domestic colleges," examples of which were to be found about that time

in the bosom of Pagan society. All great things are thus founded in

inconsiderable centres, where one is tightly squeezed the one against

the other, and where souls are warmed by a powerful love.

Up to this time Buddhism alone had elevated man to this degree of

heroism and of purity. The triumph of Christianity is inexplicable, if

it is studied only in the fourth century. It happened with Christianity

as happens almost always in human things: it succeeded when it began to

decline morally; it became official when it no longer had anything to

rest upon except itself; it came into vogue when its true period of

originality and of youth had passed away. But it did none the less

merit its high recompense: it had merited this by its three centuries

of virtue, or by the incomparable predilection for the good which it

had inspired. When we think of that miracle, no hyperbole about the

excellence of Jesus appears illegitimate. It was he, always he, who was

the inspirer, the master, the principle of life in his Church. His

divine mission grew each year, and this was but just. He was no longer

only a man of God, a great prophet, a man approved and authorised of

God, a man powerful in works and in speech; these expressions which

suffice, which were sufficient for the faith and the love of the

disciples of early times, passed now for silly fables. Jesus is the

Lord, the Christ, a personage entirely superhuman, not yet God, but

very near being it. One lives in him, one dies in him, one rises in

him; almost everything that one says of God, one says of him. He was in

truth already a divine personality, and when it is wished to identify

him with God, it is only a question of words, a mere "communication of

idioms" as the theologians say. We shall see that Paul himself attained

to this: the most advanced formulas that are to be found in the Epistle

to the Colossians existed already in germ in the older epistles. "For

to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we

in him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by

him" (1 Cor. viii. 6). Again, and Jesus shall be the logos, creator;

the most exaggerated of the consubstantialists of the ninth century

could already be foreshadowed.

The idea of the Christian redemption in the Churches of Paul underwent

a similar transformation. People knew little of the parables or the

moral teachings of Jesus: the Gospels did not yet exist. Christ, having

lived, is not to the Churches something approaching a real personage:

he is the image of God, a heavenly minister, having taken upon himself

the sins of the world, charged with reconciling the world to God; he is

a divine reformer, creating all things new, and abolishing the past. It

is death for all; all are dead through him to the world, and ought no

longer to live, except for him. He was rich in all the richness of

divinity, and he became poor for us. All Christian life ought hence to

be a contradiction of the human sense: weakness is the true strength,

death is the true life; cardinal wisdom is folly. Happy he who carries

in his body the dying of Jesus, he who is continually exposed to death

for Jesus' sake. He shall live again with Jesus; he shall see his glory

face to face, and shall be transformed unto him, rising uninterruptedly

from glory to glory. The Christian thus lives in the hope of death, and

in a state of perpetual groaning. In proportion as the exterior man

(the body) falls into ruin, the interior man (the soul) is renewed. One

moment of tribulation is worth more to him than an eternity of glory.

What matters it that his terrestrial house is dissolved? He has in

Heaven an eternal house, not made with hands. Terrestrial life is

exile; death is return to God, and equivalent to the absorption of all

that is mortal in life, only the treasure of hope which the Christian

carries in earthen vessels, and until the great day when all shall be

made manifest before the judgment seat of Christ, he must tremble.

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CHAPTER X.

RETURN OF PAUL TO ANTIOCH--QUARREL BETWEEN PETER AND PAUL--COUNTER-MISSION

ORGANISED BY JAMES, BROTHER OF THE LORD.

Paul, however, felt the necessity of revisiting the Churches of Syria.

It was three years since he had left Antioch; notwithstanding that his

stay there had been shorter than formerly, this new mission had become

much more important. The new Churches, recruited from lively, energetic

populations, brought to the feet of Jesus homage of an infinite value.

Paul had just recounted all this to the Apostles, and bid them attach

themselves to the Mother Church, the model of all others. In spite of

his taste for independence, he felt sure that, outside of the communion

of Jerusalem, there was only schism and dissension. The admirable

mixture of opposite qualities which could be discerned in him, allowed

him to ally, in the most unexpected fashion, docility with pride,

revolt with submission, severity with gentleness. Paul chose as a

pretext for his departure the celebration of the Passover of the year

54. To give the utmost solemnity to his resolution, and to avoid the

possibility of changing his decision, he made a vow to celebrate that

Easter at Jerusalem. The mode of performing vows of this kind was to

shave the head, and to undertake to say certain prayers, and to abstain

from wine during thirty days before the festival. Paul said good-bye to

his Church, had his head shaved at Cenchrea, and embarked for Syria. He

was accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla, who intended to stop at

Ephesus, and perhaps also by Silas. As for Timothy, it is probable that

he did not go away from Corinth or from the shores of the �g�an Sea. We

find him again at Ephesus within a year.

The ship stayed for some days at Ephesus. Paul had time to go to the

synagogue and to dispute with the Jews. They begged him to stay; but he

put forward his vow, and declared that at any cost he would celebrate

the festival in Jerusalem; all they could get from him was a promise to

return. He took leave then of Aquila and Priscilla, and of those with

whom he had already entered into relationships, and took ship again for

C�sarea of Palestine, whence he speedily made his way to Jerusalem.

There he celebrated the festival in the way in which he had vowed to

do. Perhaps this Hebrew scruple was a concession, like so many others,

that he made to the spirit of the Church at Jerusalem. He hoped by an

act of great devotion to obtain pardon for his daring, and to

conciliate the Judaisers. The discussions were scarcely pacified, and

peace was only kept for the sake of business. It is probable that he

profited by the opportunity to remit to the poor people in Jerusalem a

considerable amount of money as alms. Paul, as usual, stayed for a very

short time in the metropolis: here there were susceptibilities which

could not have failed to bring about divisions if he had prolonged his

stay. He, accustomed to live in the exquisite atmosphere of his truly

Christian Churches, found here, under the name of Brethren of Jesus,

only Jews. He thought that they did not give a sufficiently exalted

place to Jesus; he grew indignant that, after Jesus, people should be

found to attribute any value whatever to those things which had existed

before him.

The head of the Church of Jerusalem was now James, the brother of the

Lord. It was not that the authority of Peter had diminished, but he was

no longer resident in the city. Partly in imitation of Paul, he had

embraced the active apostolic life. The idea that Paul was the Apostle

of the Gentiles, and Peter the Apostle of the Circumcision, had more

and more gained ground. In accordance with this idea, Peter went about

preaching the Gospel to the Jews all over Syria. He carried about with

him a sister, as spouse and deaconess, thus giving the first example of

a married Apostle--an example which the Protestant missionaries more

lately followed. John, surnamed Mark, appeared always also as his

disciple, his companion, and his interpreter, a circumstance which

causes it to be generally believed that the Prince of the Apostles knew

no Greek. Peter had in some sort adopted John-Mark, and treated him as

a son.

The details of the pilgrimage of Peter are unknown to us. What was told

about him in later days is mainly fabulous. We only know that the life

of the Apostle of the Circumcision was, like that of the Apostle of the

Gentiles, a series of trials. It may be believed also that the

itinerary which serves as foundation for the fabulous acts of Peter--a

journey which conducts the Apostle from Jerusalem to C�sarea, from

C�sarea along the coast by Tyre, Sidon, Beyrout, Byblos, Tripoli,

Antaradus to Laodicea-upon-the-sea, and from Laodicea to Antioch--is

but imaginary. The Apostle certainly visited Antioch; we think even

that he used it as his headquarters after a certain date. The lakes and

the ponds formed by the Orontes and the Arkeuthas about the town, which

furnished to the lower classes of the people fresh water fish of

inferior quality, perhaps afforded him the opportunity of again taking

up his old trade of fisherman.

Many of the brothers of the Lord, and some members of the Apostolic

College, travelled even from the bordering parts of Jud�a. As Peter,

and in a different manner to that of the missionaries of the school of

Paul, they travelled with their wives, and lived at the cost of the

Churches. The trade which they had exercised in Galilee was not, like

that of Paul, of a nature to enable them to subsist upon it, and they

had abandoned it a long time ago. The wives who accompanied them, who

were called "sisters," were the origin of those novices, a kind of

deaconesses and of nuns, living under the direction of a clergyman, who

played an important part in the history of ecclesiastical celibacy.

Peter having thus ceased to be the resident chief of the Church of

Jerusalem, several members of the Apostolic Council having in the same

way taken up with an itinerant life, the first place in the Mother

Church was given up to James. He was thus "the bishop of the Hebrews,"

that is to say, of that part of the disciples who spoke the Semitic

languages. That did not compromise the chief part of the universal

Church: no one had been exigent enough to claim the right to such a

title, people being divided between Peter and Paul; but his presidency

of the Church at Jerusalem, joined to his quality of brother of the

Lord, gave James an immense power, since the Church at Jerusalem always

remained the centre of concord. James was, moreover, very old; some

ambitious movements, too much prejudice, were the consequences of such

a position. All the faults which must later make the Court of Rome the

flail of the Church, and the principal agent of its corruption, were

already germinating in this primitive community of Jerusalem.

James was a worthy man in many respects, but with a narrow mind, that

Jesus would have assuredly pierced with his keenest railleries, if he

knew him, or even if be knew him as he has been represented to us. Was

he really the brother, or only a cousin-german, of Jesus? All the

witnesses in this respect agree so well together, that one is forced to

believe the latter hypothesis. But, in that case, Nature must have

played one of her most fantastic tricks. Perhaps this brother, being

converted only after the death of Jesus, possessed less of the true

tradition of the Master than those who, without being his relations,

had accompanied him in his lifetime. It is less surprising that two

children born of the same mother, or of the same family, should have

been at first enemies, then reconciled; should remain so profoundly

diverse, that the only known brother of Jesus would have been a kind of

Pharisee, an ascetic exterior, a devotee tainted with all the

absurdities that Jesus attacked without mercy. One thing is certain,

namely, that the person who has been called up to this time "James,

brother of the Lord," or "James the Just," or the "Rampart of the

People," was in the Church of Jerusalem the representative of the most

intolerant Jewish party. Whilst the active Apostles travelled all over

the world, in order to conquer it for Jesus, the brother of Jesus at

Jerusalem did all that was possible to destroy their work, and to

contradict Jesus after his death, in a more profound fashion perhaps

than he had done in his life-time.

This society of half-converted Pharisees, this world which was in

reality more Jewish than Christian, living around the temple,

preserving the old practices of the Jewish religion, as if Jesus had

not declared them vain, formed unbearable company for Paul. That which

particularly annoyed him was the opposition of all this class to his

missionary work. Like the Jews of the strict observance, the partisans

of James did not wish to make proselytes. The ancient religious parties

often had such contradictions. On the one hand, they proclaimed that

they alone had possession of the truth; on the other, they only wished

to enlarge their sphere: they pretended to preserve the truth for

themselves. French Protestantism presents in our days a similar

phenomenon. Two opposite parties, the one desiring, before everything

else, the preservation of old customs; the other capable of gaining to

Protestantism a world of new adherents, being produced in the bosom of

the reformed Church. The conservative party has waged, in a second

ground, a war to the knife. It has repulsed with scandal all that has

resembled an abandonment of the family traditions, and it has preferred

to the brilliant destinies that are offered to them, the pleasure of

remaining a little club, without importance, shut up, composed of

well-thinking men,--that is to say, of men partaking of the same

prejudices, and regarding the same things as aristocratic. The feeling

of defiance that the members of the old party of Jerusalem experienced

before the stern missionary who introduced to them multitudes of new

brethren without titles of Jewish nobility, must be something

analogous. They looked upon themselves as overruled, and instead of

falling at the feet of Paul, and thanking him, they found in him a

disturber, an intruder who forced his way with men recruited from every

place. More than one hard word, it seems, had been exchanged. It is

probable that at this moment James, the brother of the Lord, conceived

the unsuccessful project of overthrowing the work of Jesus,--I mean the

project of a counter mission charged to follow the Apostle of the

Gentiles, to contradict his dogmas, to persuade converts that they must

be circumcised, and practise all the Law. Sectarian movements are not

produced without schisms of this kind; when one recalls the heads of

Saint-Simonianism quarrelling amongst themselves, but yet remaining

ardent Saint-Simonians, and as such voluntarily reconciled by the

survivors after his death.

Paul avoided these scandals by setting out as soon as possible for

Antioch. It was probably then that Silas left him. The latter was the

founder of the Church at Jerusalem. He remained there, and henceforth

attached himself to Peter. Silas, as the compiler of the "Acts,"

appears to have been a conciliatory man, oscillating between the two

parties, and in turn attached to each of the two chiefs; a thoroughly

good Christian, and of the opinion which in triumphing saved the

Church. Never, in fact, did the Christian Church bear in its bosom a

cause of schism so deep as that which agitated it at this moment.

Luther and the most fossilised scholar differed less than Paul and

James. Thanks to some gentle and generous spirits--Silas, Luke,

Timothy--all the attacks were softened, all the heartburnings

concealed. A beautiful tale, calm and dignified, has not allowed it to

be seen that the fraternal understanding in these years was traversed

by such terrible rents.

At Antioch Paul breathed freely. He there met with his old companion

Barnabas, and without doubt they felt great joy at seeing each other;

for the motive which had separated them for a short time was not a

question of principle. Perhaps Paul also found at Antioch his disciple

Titus, who had not shared the second journey, but who henceforth

attached himself to him. The recital of miraculous conversions wrought

by Paul astonished the young and active Church. Paul, for his part,

felt a lively joy at revisiting the town which had been the cradle of

his apostleship--the places where, ten years before, he had conceived

the Church which had conferred on him the title of Missionary of the

Gentiles. An incident of the greatest gravity was soon to interrupt

these sweet effusions, and to revive with a degree of gravity those

divisions which up to then had been lulled for a moment.

Whilst Paul was at Antioch, Peter arrived there. This at first only

redoubled the joy and cordiality. The Apostle of the Jews and the

Apostle of the Gentiles loved each other as very good and very ardent

natures always love each other, when they found themselves in relation

to each other. Peter communicated without reserve with the converted

Pagans, and even, in open violation of the Jewish Law, he did not

object to eating with them; but soon this good understanding was

disturbed. James had executed his fatal project. Some brethren,

provided with letters of recommendation signed by him as the chief of

the Twelve, and as the only one who had the right to authorise a

mission, set out from Jerusalem. Their pretext was that one could not

preach the doctrine of Christ if he had not been to Jerusalem to

compare his doctrine with that of James, the brother of the Lord, and

if he did not carry an attestation from the latter. Jerusalem was,

according to them, the source of all faith,--of every apostolic

commission: the true Apostles lived there. Whoever preached without a

letter of authority from the chief of the Mother Church, and without

having sworn obedience to him, ought to be repelled as a false prophet

and a false apostle, as an emissary of the devil. Paul, who had no such

letters, was an intruder, boasting of personal relations with them

without reality, and of a mission the title to which he could not

produce. He alleged his visions, contending even that the fact of

having seen Jesus in a supernatural fashion was worth much more than

the fact of having known him personally. "What can be more chimerical?"

said the Jerusalemites. No vision was so valuable as the evidence of

the senses: visions are not actualities. The spectre that he saw was

perhaps an evil spirit: idolaters had visions as well as saints. When

the apparition was questioned, it answered all that was wanted: the

spectre shone for an instant, and then disappeared quickly; there was

no time to talk to it at leisure. The mind of the dreamer was not his

own: in that state volition ceases. To see the Son out of the flesh!

but that is impossible: one would die of it. The superhuman brightness

of that light would kill. Even an angel, to make himself visible, is

obliged to assume a body!"

The emissaries cited on this head a number of visions which had been

seen by infidels and heretics, and concluded from them that the chief

Apostles, those who had seen Jesus, had an immense superiority. They

even declared that they could show texts of Scripture proving that

visions came from an offended God, whilst to converse face to face was

the privilege of his friends. "How can Paul assert that by an interview

of an hour Jesus had rendered him capable of teaching? It needed a

whole year of lessons for Jesus to form his Apostles. And if Jesus

really appeared to him, how did he know that he did not teach the

reverse of the doctrine of Jesus? Let him prove the reality of the

interview which he had had with Jesus, by conforming himself to His

precepts, by loving His Apostles, by not declaring war with those whom

Jesus had chosen. If he wished to serve the truth, let him make himself

the disciple of Jesus' disciples, and then he could be a useful

auxiliary."

The question of ecclesiastical authority and of individual revelation,

of Catholicism and of Protestantism, showed itself with a real

grandeur. Jesus had settled nothing clearly in this matter. So long as

he lived, and throughout the first years following his death, Jesus was

so essentially the soul and body of His little Church, that no idea of

government or of constitution offers itself. Now, on the contrary, it

was necessary to know if there was a power representing Jesus, or if

the Christian conscience remained free; if to preach Jesus,

subscription to articles of faith were necessary, or if he had the

command received from Jesus sufficed. As Paul did not offer any other

proof of his immediate mission than his affirmation, his position was

weak in many ways. We shall see with what prodigies of eloquence and of

activity the great innovator, attacked in every quarter, will face all

assaults and maintain his position without absolutely breaking with the

Apostolic College, whose authority he recognised each time that his

liberty was not straitened. But the struggle rendered him less amiable

to us. A man who disputes, resists, speaks of himself; a man who

maintains his opinion and his prerogative, who gives pain to others,

who denounces them to their face, such a man is antipathetic to us.

Jesus, in such a case, yielded everything, escaped from his difficulty

by some charming word.

The emissaries of James arrived at Antioch. James, while admitting that

converted Gentiles could be saved without observing the Law of Moses,

in no way admitted that a true Jew, a circumcised Jew, could, without

sin, violate the law. The scandal of the disciples of James was at its

height when they saw the chief of the Churches of the circumcision act

like a true Pagan, and destroy those exterior compacts that a

respectable Jew looked upon as titles of nobility and marks of his

superiority. They spoke keenly to Peter, who was much frightened. This

man, profoundly good and just, wanted peace above everything: he

scarcely knew how to contradict anybody. This made him changeable: at

least he was so to all appearance; he was easily disconcerted, and did

not know how to find a quick reply. Already, from the life of Jesus,

this kind of timidity, coming from awkwardness rather than from want of

heart, had led him into a fault which cost him many tears. Knowing

little about argument, incapable of holding up his head against

contradiction, in difficult cases he was silent and hesitated. Such a

kind of temper made him again commit a great act of feebleness. Placed

between two classes of people, one of whom he could not content without

annoying the other, he isolated himself completely, and lived apart,

refusing all communications with the uncircumcised. This manner of

acting keenly wounded the converted Gentiles. What was graver still,

was that all the circumcised imitated him; even Barnabas allowed

himself to follow this example, and avoided uncircumcised Christians.

Paul's anger was extreme. When we recall the ritual meaning of the meal

in common, refusing to eat with a part of the community meant

excommunication. Paul broke out into reproaches, treated this kind of

thing as hypocrisy, accused Peter and his imitators of falsifying the

meaning of the gospel. The Church must soon assemble: the two Apostles

would meet there. To his face, and before all the assembly, Paul

violently apostrophised Peter, and reproached him for his

inconsequence. "If thou," said he to him, "being a Jew, livest after

the manner of Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the

Gentiles to live as do the Jews?"

Then he developed his favourite theory of the salvation coming by

Jesus, and not by the Law,--of the abrogation of the Law by Jesus. It

is probable that Peter did not answer him. Exactly, it was Paul's

advice; as all men who seek by innocent artifices to get out of a

difficulty, he did not pretend to be right; he only wanted to satisfy

one side, and not to alienate others. In this manner one only succeeds,

as a general rule, in being in opposition to everybody.

Only the removal of the envoys of James made an end to the

disagreement. After their departure, good Peter began again without

doubt to eat with the Gentiles as before. These singular alternatives

of violence and of fraternity are one of the features of a Jewish

character. Modern critics conclude from certain passages in the Epistle

to the Galatians that the quarrel between Peter and Paul absolutely

made them contradict each other, not only in the "Acts" but in other

passages from the Epistle to the Galatians. Ardent men pass their life

in disputing with each other, without ever actually quarrelling. It is

not necessary to judge these tempers after the manner of things whose

actions happen in our time between men well educated and susceptible

upon the point of honour. This last word, in particular, has scarcely

ever had any meaning to the Jews.

It seems certain, nevertheless, the quarrel of Antioch left deep

traces. The great Church on the borders of the Orontes was split in

two, if we are permitted to explain thus, that in two parishes there

was on the one hand the parish of the circumcised, on the other, that

of the uncircumcised. The separation of these two portions of the

Church continued for a long time. Antioch, as they tell us later, had

two bishops, one appointed by Peter and the other by Paul. Evhode and

Ignatius are named as having filled up after the Apostles that office.

As for the animosity of the emissaries of James, it only increased. The

quarrel of Antioch left them a feeling, the indignant expression of

which, a century after, one still finds in the writings of the

Jud�o-Christian section. The eloquent adversary who had almost

destroyed the Church of Antioch, without any real reason became their

enemy. They vowed vengeance, which even in his lifetime raised up for

him troubles without number, and after his death bloody anathemas and

atrocious calumnies. Passion and religious enthusiasm are far from

overcoming human weaknesses. On leaving Antioch, the agents of the

Jerusalemite party vowed to overthrow the foundations of Paul, to

destroy his Churches, and to throw down what he had built up with so

much labour. It seems that on this occasion new letters were sent from

Jerusalem in the name of the Apostles. It is possible that a specimen

of those hateful letters may have been preserved for us in the Epistle

of Jude, brother of James, and like him "brother of the Lord," which

forms part of the canon. It is a manifesto of the most violent

description against nameless adversaries, who are presented as rebels

and impure men. The style of this piece, which comes much nearer to

classic Greek than that of the greater portion of the writings of the

New Testament, has much analogy with the style of the Epistle of James.

James and Jude did not probably know any Greek: the Church of Jerusalem

had perhaps Hellenic secretaries for communications of this kind.

"Beloved, when I gave all diligence to, write unto you of the common

salvation, it was needful for me to write unto you and exhort you, that

ye should earnestly contend for the faith which was once delivered unto

the saints. For there are certain men crept in unawares, who were

before of old ordained to this condemnation, ungodly men, turning the

grace of our God into lasciviousness, and denying the only Lord God,

and our Lord Jesus Christ. I will therefore put you in remembrance,

though ye once knew this, how that the Lord, having saved the people

out of the land of Egypt, afterwards destroyed them that believed not.

And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own

habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness unto

the judgment of the great day. Even as Sodom and Gomorrah, and the

cities about them in like manner, giving themselves over to

fornication, are set forth for an example, suffering the vengeance of

eternal fire. Likewise also these filthy dreamers defile the flesh,

despise dominion, and speak evil of dignities. Yet Michael the

archangel, when, contending with the devil, disputed about the body of

Moses, durst not bring against him a railing accusation, but said, the

Lord rebuke thee. But these speak evil of things which they know not,

but what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they

corrupt themselves. Woe unto them! for they have gone in the way of

Cain, and ran greedily after the error of Balaam for reward, and

perished in the gainsaying of Core. These are spots in your feasts of

charity, when they feast with you, feeding themselves without fear:

clouds they are without water, carried about of winds; trees whose

fruit withereth, without fruit, twice dead, plucked up by the roots.

Raging waves of the sea, foaming out their own shame; wandering stars,

to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever. And Enoch,

also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the

Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints, to execute judgment upon

all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their

ungodly deeds which they have committed, and of all their hard speeches

which ungodly sinners have spoken against him. These are murmurers,

complainers, walking after their own lusts; and their mouth speaketh

great swelling words, having men's persons in admiration because of

advantage. But, beloved, remember ye the words which were spoken before

of the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ: how that they told you there

should be mockers in the last time who should walk after their own

ungodly lusts."

Paul from this moment was for a section of the Church one of the most

dangerous of heretics, a false Jew, a false Apostle, a false prophet, a

new Balaam, a Jezebel, a villain who prophesied (lit. preluded.) the

destruction of the temple--in two words, a Simon Magus. Peter was

angrier than all, and was always busy in fighting him. They were

accustomed to designate the Apostle of the Gentiles by the sobriquet of

Nicholas (Conquerer of the People), a name akin to Balaam. This seemed

a happy nickname; a Pagan seducer, who had visions although an infidel,

a man who persuaded people to sin with Pagan women, appeared the true

type of Paul, this false missionary, this partisan of mixed marriages.

His disciples for the same reason were called Nicolaitans. Far from

forgetting his character of persecutor, they insisted on it in a most

odious fashion. His gospel was a false gospel. It was of Paul that the

question was raised, when the fanatics of the party talked between

themselves in innuendoes of a person whom they called "the apostate,"

or "the enemy," or "the impostor," the forerunner of Anti-Christ, that

the chief of the Apostles follows in his footsteps to repair the evil

which he does. Paul was "the frivolous man" of whom the Gentiles,

having seen their ignorance, have received the doctrine which is

opposed to the Law; his visions, which he calls "depths of God," they

qualified as "the depths of Satan," his Churches, they named "the

synagogues of Satan;" in spite of Paul, they proclaim boldly that the

Twelve only are the foundation of the Church of Christ. A whole legend

begins from this time to be formed against Paul. They refuse to believe

that a true Jew could have been capable of committing such an atrocity

as that of which he had been guilty. They pretended that he had been

born a Pagan, and that he had been made a proselyte. And why? Calumny

is never without plenty of reasons for it. Paul was circumcised because

he wished to marry the daughter of the High Priest. The High Priest,

being a wise man, having refused her to him, Paul, out of spite, began

to declaim against circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Law. . . . That

is the reward which one obtains from fanatics for having served their

cause, otherwise than they understand it; let us say rather, for having

served the cause which they lost by their narrow spirit and their

foolish exclusiveness.

James, on the contrary, became for the Jud�o-Christian party the head

of all Christianity, the bishop of bishops, the president of all the

good Churches, of those that God had truly founded. It was probably

after his death that they created for him this apocryphal character;

but there is no doubt that legend in this case may be based in several

respects upon the real character of the hero. The grave and rather

emphatic delivery of James; his manners, which recalled a sage of the

old world, a solemn Brahmin or an antique mobed; his pompous and

ostentatious sanctity made him conspicuous in the popular eye, an

official, holy man, even already a species of Pope. The

Jud�o-Christians accustomed themselves to believe that he had been

clothed with the Jewish priesthood; and as a sign of the High Priest

was the p�talon or breastplate of gold, they decorated him with it.

"The Rampart of the people," with his golden breastplate, thus became a

sort of Jewish bonze, an imitation High Priest, for the use of the

Jud�o-Christians. They supposed that, as the High Priest, he entered,

by virtue of a special permission, once a year into the sanctuary; they

even pretended that he belonged to the sacerdotal race. They asserted

that he had been ordained by Jesus the bishop of the Holy City; that

Jesus had entrusted him with his own episcopal throne. The

Jud�o-Christians made a good many of the people of Jerusalem believe

that it was the merits of this servant of God which held off the

thunderbolt which was ready to burst on the people. They nearly went as

far as creating for him as for Jesus, a legend founded upon biblical

passages, where they pretended that the prophets had spoken of him in

parables.

The image of Jesus in this Christian family became smaller year by

year, whilst in the Churches of Paul it took more and more colossal

proportions. The Christians of James were simple, pious

Jews--hasidim--believing in a Jewish mission of Jesus; the Christians

of Paul were good Christians in the sense which has prevailed ever

since. The Law, the temple, sacrifices, high priests, all became

indifferent to them. Jesus has replaced everything else, abolished

everything else; to attach a meaning of sanctity to what has been

before, is to do injury to the merits of Jesus. It was natural that to

Paul, who had not seen Jesus, the wholly human figure of the Galil�an

Master should transform itself into a metaphysical type much more

easily than for Peter and the others who had talked with Jesus. To

Paul, Jesus is not a man who has lived and taught; he is Christ who has

died for our sins, who saves us, who justifies us; He is an altogether

Divine being: we partake of him; we communicate with Him in a wonderful

manner; He is for man Wisdom and Righteousness, Santification and

Redemption; He is the King of Glory, All Powerful in Heaven and Earth,

which is soon to be delivered to Him; He is only inferior to God the

Father. If this school only had written the Scriptures, we should not

touch upon the person of Jesus, and we might doubt its existence. But

those who know Him, and who guarded His memory, possibly wrote about

this time the first notes upon which these Divine writings (I speak of

the Gospels) which have made the fortune of Christianity, and which

have transmitted to us the essential features of the most important

character which has ever been known.

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TROUBLES IN THE CHURCHES OF GALATIA.

The emissaries of James, having left Antioch, bent their steps towards

the Churches of Galatia. The Jerusalemites had for a long time known of

the existence of these Churches; it was even with regard to them that

the question of the circumcision was first raised, and that what was

called the Council of Jerusalem was held. James had probably

recommended his confidential agents to attack this important point, it

being one of the centres of Paul's power.

Success was easy for them. These Galatians were men readily seduced;

the last one who had come to speak to them in the name of Jesus was

almost certain to be right. The Jerusalemites had soon persuaded a

great number of them that they were not good Christians. They

incessantly repeated to them that they ought to be circumcised, and to

observe all the Law. With the puerile vanity of fanatical Jews, the

deputies represented circumcision as a corporal advantage; they were

proud of it, and did not admit that one could be as much a man without

this privilege as he ought to be. The habit of ridiculing the Pagans,

representing them as inferior beings and badly brought up, introduced

these grotesque ideas. The Jerusalemites poured out at the same time

against Paul a flood of invective and disparagement. They accused him

of posing as an independent Apostle, although he had received his

mission from Jerusalem, or else they had seen him at different times

betake himself to the school of the Twelve, as a disciple. Was not his

coming to Jerusalem a recognition of the superiority of the Apostolic

College? What he knew he had learned from the Apostles; he had accepted

the rules which they had drawn up. This missionary who pretended to

dispense with circumcision, knew very well the need of preaching and of

practising it. Turning his concessions against him, they alleged cases

when they had seen him recognise the necessity of Jewish practices;

perhaps they did not recall in particular the facts relative to the

circumcision of Titus and Timothy. How could he, who had never seen

Jesus, dare to speak in the name of Jesus? It was Peter, it was James,

who ought to be held to be the true Apostles--the depositaries of

revelation.

The consciences of these good Galatians were troubled. One party

abandoned the doctrine of Paul, yielded to the new doctors, and were

circumcised; the other party remained faithful to their first master.

The trouble, in all these cases, was profound: they said the harshest

things to each other.

This news on reaching Paul filled him with anger. Jealousy, which

formed the basis of his character, and susceptibility, often already

put to the test, were excited in the highest degree. It was the third

time that the Pharisaical party of Jerusalem attempted to demolish his

work as he accomplished it. The kind of cowardice which there is in

attacking weak, docile men without defence, and who only lived in

confidence on their master, revolted him. He could restrain himself no

longer. At the same time, the daring and vehement Apostle dictated that

admirable epistle, that may well be compared, except for the art of

writing, with the most beautiful classical works, and in which his

impetuous nature is painted in letters of fire. The title of "Apostle"

that he had at first taken timidly, he now took as assumed in defiance,

to reply to his adversaries, and in the maintenance of what he believed

to be the truth.

"Paul an Apostle (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and

God the Father, who raised him from the Dead); and all the brethren

which are with me, unto the Churches of Galatia:

"Grace be to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus

Christ, who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from

this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father:

to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

"I marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the

grace of Christ unto another gospel: which is not another; but there be

some that trouble you, and would pervert the gospel of Christ. But

though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you

than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed. As we

said before, so say I now again, if any man preach any other gospel

unto you than that ye have received, let him be accursed. For do I now

persuade men, or God? or do I seek to please men? for if I yet pleased

men, I should not be the servant of Christ.

"But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me

is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I

taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. For ye have heard of

my conversation in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond

measure I persecuted the Church of God, and wasted it: and profited in

the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more

exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers. But when it

pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by

his grace, to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the

heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: neither went

I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me; but I went

into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I

went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But

other of the Apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother. Now

the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lie not.

"Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia; and was

unknown by face unto the Churches of Jud�a which were in Christ; but

they had heard only, that he which persecuted us in times past, now

preacheth the faith which once he destroyed And they glorified God in

me.

"Then, fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem with

Barnabas, and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and

communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles,

but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I

should run, or had run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me,

being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of

false brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our

liberty which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into

bondage, to whom we gave place by subjection, no, not for an hour: that

the truth of the gospel might continue with you. But of these who

seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me.

God accepteth no man's person), for they who seemed to be somewhat in

conference added nothing to me; but contrariwise, when they saw that

the gospel of the uncircumcision was committed onto me, as the gospel

of the circumcision was unto Peter (for he that wrought effectually in

Peter to the apostleship of the circumcision, the same was mighty in me

toward the Gentiles), and when James, Cephas and John, who seemed to be

pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me

and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that we should go unto the

heathen, and they unto the circumcision. Only they would that we should

remember the poor; the same which I also was forward to do.

"But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face,

because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James,

he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and

separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the

other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also

was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they

walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto

Peter, before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner

of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the

Gentiles to live as do the Jews? We, who are Jews by nature, and not

sinners of the Gentiles, knowing that a man is not justified by the

works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have

believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of

Christ, and not by the works of the law; for by the works of the law

shall no flesh be justified. But if, while we seek to be justified by

Christ, we ourselves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the

minister of sin? God forbid. For, if I build again the things which I

destroy, I make myself a transgressor. For I through the law am dead to

the law, that I might live unto God. I am crucified with Christ;

nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ Liveth in me; and the life

which I now live in the flesh I live by the faith of the Son of God,

who loved me and gave himself for me. I do not frustrate the grace of

God, for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.

"O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey

the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set

forth, crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye

the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith? Are ye

so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit are ye now made perfect by the

flesh? Have ye suffered so many things in vain? if it be yet in vain.

He therefore that ministereth to you the Spirit, and worketh miracles

among you, doeth he it by the works of the law, or by the hearing of

faith? Even as Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for

righteousness. Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same

are the children of Abraham. And the scripture, foreseeing that God

would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel

unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then

they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham. . . . . . But

before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith

which should afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our

schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by

faith, but after that faith has come we are no longer under a

school-master. For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ

Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptised into Christ have put on

Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free,

there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.

And if ye are Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according

to the promise. Now I say that the heir, as long as he is a child,

differeth nothing from a servant, though he be lord of all; but is

under tutors and governors until the time appointed of the father. Even

so we, when we were children, were in bondage under the elements of the

world: but when the fulness of the time was come God sent forth his Son

made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the

law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are

sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts,

crying, Abba, Father, Wherefore thou art no more a servant but a son,

and if a son then an heir of God through Christ.

"Howbeit then when ye knew not God, ye did service unto them which by

nature are no gods. But now, after that ye have known God, or rather

are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements,

whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage? Ye observe days, and

months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed

upon you labour in vain.

"Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are; ye have not

injured me at all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh I

preached the gospel unto you at the first. And my temptation, which was

in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an angel

of God, even as Christ Jesus. Where is then the blessedness ye spake

of? for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have

plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore

become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? They zealously affect

you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that ye might affect

them. But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing,

and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I

travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you, I desire to be,

present with you now, and to change my voice; for I stand in doubt of

you. . . . . .

"Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us

free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage. Behold, I,

Paul, say unto you that, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you

nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he

is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto

you, whosoever of you are justified by the law: ye are fallen from

grace. For we, through the Spirit, wait for the hope of righteousness

by faith. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything,

nor uncircumcision, but faith, which worketh by love.

"Ye did run well; who did hinder you that ye should not obey the truth?

This persuasion cometh not of him that calleth you. A little leaven

leaveneth the whole lump. I have confidence in you through the Lord,

that ye will be none otherwise minded; but he that troubleth you shall

bear his judgment, whosoever he be. And I, brethren, if I yet preach

circumcision, why do I yet suffer persecution? Then is the offence of

the cross ceased? I would they were even cut off which trouble you.

"For, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty: only use not liberty

for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another. For all

the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this: Thou shalt love thy

neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed

that ye be not consumed one of another. This I say then, Walk in the

Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For the flesh

lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh: and these

are contrary the one to the other, so that ye cannot do the things that

ye would. But if ye be led of the Spirit, ye are not under the law.

Now, the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these: Adultery,

fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred,

variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings,

murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like; of the which I tell

you before, as I have also told you in times past, that they which do

such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God. But the fruit of the

Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness,

faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law. And they

which are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and

lusts. . . . ."

Paul wrote this epistle at a single sitting, as if filled with an

interior fire. According to his habit, he wrote with his own hand, in

postscript, "Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with

mine own hand."

It seems natural that he should finish with the usual salutation; but

he was too much animated: his fixed idea possessed him. The subject

being exhausted, he again returns to it with some keen remarks:--

"As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you

to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the

cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep

the law, but desire to have you circumcised that they may glory in your

flesh. But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our

Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto

the world. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything,

nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according

to this rule, peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of

God. From henceforth let no man trouble me, for I bear in my body the

marks of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ

be with your spirit. Amen."

Paul despatched this letter at once. If he had taken an hour's

reflection, it is doubtful whether he would have let it be sent. We do

not know to whom it was entrusted; Paul doubtless had it carried by one

of his disciples, whom he charged with a journey into Galatia. The

epistle, in fact, is not addressed to a particular community; each of

those little Churches of Derbe, of Lystra, of Iconium, of Antioch in

Pisidia, was not considerable enough to serve as a metropolis to the

others; the Apostle, on the other hand, gives no instruction to the

receivers as to the manner of circulating his letter. The effect that

the letter produced upon the Galatians is also unknown. Without doubt

it confirmed the party of Paul; it probably, however, did not entirely

extinguish the opposite party. Almost all the Churches henceforward

will be divided into two camps. The Church of Jud�a will maintain its

pretensions until the fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). It is only at the

end of the first century that a true reconciliation will come about,

partly at the expense of Paul's glory, which will during nearly a

hundred years be cast into the shade, but for the full triumph of its

fundamental ideas. The Jud�o-Christians from this moment will only be a

sect of old fanatics, dying out slowly and obscurely, and only ending

towards the close of the fifth century in the remoter districts of

Syria. Paul, in revenge, will be nearly disavowed. His title of

Apostle, refused him by his enemies, will be feebly defended by his

friends. The Churches which notoriously owe their foundation to him,

will wish it to be thought that they were founded by him and by Peter.

The Church of Corinth, for example, will do the most flagrant violence

to history to show that she owes her origin to Peter as well as to

Paul. The conversion of the Gentiles will pass for the collective work

of the Twelve; Papias, Polycrates, Justin, Hegesippus, seem to labour

to suppress the share of Paul in the work, and nearly ignore his

existence. It is only when the idea of a canon of new sacred writings

will be established that Paul will regain his importance. His epistles

will then emerge in some way from the archives of the Churches to

become the base of Christian theology, which they will renew from age

to age.

At the distance at which we now stand, the victory of Paul appears

complete. Paul recounts to us, and perhaps exaggerates, the injuries

that have been done to him. Who will tell us the injuries of Paul? The

mean intention which he attributes to his adversaries of following in

his footsteps to carry away for themselves the affection of his

disciples and to glorify themselves afterwards over the circumcision of

these simple men, is not this a travesty? May not the recital of his

relations with the Church of Jerusalem, different as it is from that of

the Acts, be a little arranged for the needs of the moment? The

pretence of having been an Apostle by divine right from the very day of

his conversion, is it not historically inaccurate! in this sense, that

the conviction of his own apostleship slowly took possession of him,

and arrived at its completion only after his first great mission. Was

Peter really so much to be blamed as Paul asserted? The conduct of the

Galilean Apostle, on the contrary, was not it that of a conciliatory

man, preferring brotherliness to principle, wishing to content

everybody, yielding to avoid scandal, and blamed by all, precisely

because he was right. We have no means of answering these questions.

Paul was very egotistical; it is not impossible that he more than once

attributed to a private revelation what he had learnt from his elders.

The Epistle to the Galatians is so extraordinary a work, the Apostle

there paints himself with so much artlessness and truth, that it would

be absolutely unjust to turn against him a document which does so much

honour to his talent and his eloquence. The cares of a narrow orthodoxy

are not ours; to others belong the right of explaining how one can be a

saint, whilst abusing the ancient Cephas. Paul is not degraded from the

companionship of great men when he is proved to be sometimes hasty,

passionate, pre-occupied with his own defence, and fighting his

enemies. In everything that is truly Protestant, Paul has the faults of

a Protestant. It requires time and much experience to enable him to see

that each dogma is not worth the trouble of violent resistance and of

wounding charity. Paul is not Jesus. How far we are from thee, dear

Master. Where is thy tenderness, thy poesy? Thou who didst consider the

lilies, dost thou recognise as thy disciples these disputants, these

men who are so bitter about precedence, who wish that every body should

originate with them alone. They are men, thou wast a God. Where should

we be, if thou wert known to us only by the simple letters of him who

calls himself thy Apostle. Happily, the perfumes of Galilee still live

in some faithful memories. Perhaps already the Sermon on the Mount is

written on some secret sheet. The unknown disciple who bears this

treasure truly bears the future.

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CHAPTER XII

THIRD JOURNEY OF PAUL--FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH AT EPHESUS.

Less great, less possessed by the sacred genius whicn had seized upon

him, Paul was made use of in these barren disputes. To reply to little

minds, he was obliged to make himself as mean as they were: these

miserable quarrels had absorbed him. Paul scorned them as a man of

superior genius should. He went straight forward, and left time to

decide between him and his enemies. The first rule for a man devoted to

great things, is to refuse mediocre men the power of turning him aside

from his way. Without discussing with the delegates of James as to

whether it were right or wrong to preach to the Gentiles and to convert

them, Paul only thought of beginning again, even at the risk of

encountering new anathemas. After some months passed at Antioch he

departed on a third mission, on this occasion to his dear Galatian

Churches. At times he was in great perplexity with regard to these

Churches; he regretted having grieved them by using harsh language to

them; he wished to change his tone, to correct by the gentleness of his

words the asperity of his letter. Paul wished above all things to dwell

at Ephesus, which he had only touched at first in order to constitute a

preaching centre such as there was at Thessalonica and Corinth. The

field of that third mission was thus very nearly that of the second.

Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece were the provinces that Paul in some

sort assigned to himself.

He set out from Antioch, accompanied probably by Titus. He followed the

same track as on his second journey, and visited for the third time the

Churches of the centre of Asia Minor--Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, Antioch

in Pisidia. He speedily regained his authority, and soon effaced such

false impressions as still remained, and which his enemies had sought

to raise against him. At Derbe he took as assistant a new disciple,

named Gaius, who followed him. These good Galatians were full of

docility, but weak in the faith. Paul, accustomed to express himself

with firmness, treated them with a severity that sometimes even he

himself was afraid they would take for harshness. He had scruples; he

was afraid that he had spoken to his children in a manner that perhaps

did not express clearly enough the affection there was for them in his

heart.

The motives that had made him in his second journey abstain from

preaching the gospel to pro-consular Asia existing no longer, Paul,

after having finished his tour in Galatia, set out for Ephesus. This

was in the middle of the summer. From Antioch in Pisidia, the most

natural route to follow should have led him to Apamea-Cibotus, and

thence into the basin of the Lycus, to the three neighbouring towns of

Colosse, of Laodic�a, of Hierapolis. These three towns for some years

will form an active centre of Christian work, and Paul will be in close

communication with them. But for the moment he did not stop here, and

made acquaintance with no one. Going round the rock of Cadmas, he

passed into the valley of Meander, towards the inns of Carura, a great

highway of the roads of Asia. There�e, a beautiful and easy route,

leads, in three days, by Nysa, Tralles, and Magnesia, to the summits of

the chain which separates the waters of the Meander from those of the

Caystrus. A ravine, where the ancient road and the torrent dispute the

narrow space, descends into "the prairie of Asia," sung of by the

Homerides, that is to say, into the plain where the Caystrus forms a

lagoon before reaching the sea. It is a beautiful Greek site, with a

clear horizon, formed sometimes of from five to six mountain heights,

or bounded by low hills. The swans and the beautiful birds which met

there at that time even as now gave all the charm of antiquity. There,

partly in the marshes, partly hanging to the declivities of Mount

Coressus, supported, besides, by Mount Prion and its surroundings on

another little isolated hill, rose the immense town destined to be the

third capital of Christianity after Jerusalem and Antioch.

We have already had occasion several times to remark that Christianity

was most readily accepted in the smaller towns of the Roman Empire. The

policy of that Empire had been to multiply isolated municipalities;

isolated as regards race, religion, and patriotism. Ephesus was like

Alexandria, Antioch, and Corinth, a typical town of this kind. It is

easy thus to imagine what are still, in our days, the great towns of

the Levant. What strikes the traveller when he goes through these

labyrinths of infectious bazaars, of narrow and filthy courtyards, of

temporary structures, which do not seem expected to last long?--it is

the litter of a noble, of a political, and even of a municipal spirit.

In these swarms of men, vulgarity and good instincts, idleness and

activity, impertinence and amiability, meet each other: everything is

found there excepting what constitutes an old local aristocracy; I

would say glorious remembrances cultivated in common. With all that,

there is much gossiping, prattling, levity; nearly everybody knows

everybody else, and the people for ever occupy themselves with each

other's business; there is something active, passionate, unsteady,--a

vain curiosity of frivolous folk, greedy after the smallest novelty,

ever ready to follow the fashion, never capable of setting it.

Christianity was a fruit of that species of fermentation which usually

arises in societies of this kind, where men, freed from the prejudices

of birth and race, take up more readily the philosophical attitude

which calls itself cosmopolitan and humanitarian, than the peasant, the

burgess, the noble, or feudal citizen can do. Like the Socialism of our

days, like all new ideas, Christianity germinates in what may be called

the corruption of great towns. This corruption, in fact, is often only

a plainer and freer life, a greater indication of the hidden forces of

humanity.

Formerly, as now, the Jews in such mixed towns held a very conspicuous

position. That place was, to a small extent, what Smyrna and Salonica

are at the present day. Ephesus especially possessed a very populous

Jews' quarter. The Pagan inhabitants were fanatical enough, as happens

in all towns which are centres of pilgrimages and famous rites. The

devotion to Artemis of Ephesus, spreading over the entire world,

supported several considerable industries. But the importance of the

town as the capital of Asia, the movement of business, the wealth of

the people, of every race, made Ephesus a very useful centre for the

diffusion of Christian ideas. These ideas found nowhere a better

reception than in the populous commercial cities, full of strangers,

visited by Syrians, Jews, and that population of uncertain origin who

from time to time have commanded all the ports of the Mediterranean.

For centuries Ephesus had been nothing more than a purely Hellenic

town. Formerly Ephesus had shone in the first rank, the least artistic

among the Greek cities; but now and then she had allowed herself to be

seduced by the manners of Asia. The town always had a bad reputation

among the Greeks. Corruption, the introduction of luxury, was,

according to the Greeks, a result of the effeminate manners of Ionia;

at this time, and in this way, Ephesus was the centre and the

abridgment of Ionia. The domination of the Lydians and of the Persians

had destroyed energy and patriotism alike. Ephesus, like Sardis, was

the most advanced point of Asiatic influence upon Europe. The excessive

importance which the worship of Artemis took there, extinguished the

scientific spirit, and favoured the over-flowing of all superstitions.

It was an almost theocratic town; the f�tes there were numerous and

splendid; the right wing of the temple peopled the town with

courtesans. The scandalous sacerdotal institutions maintained there

appeared each day more devoid of all sense of shame. That brilliant

country of Heraclites, of Parhasius, perhaps of Apella, was only a town

of porticoes, of stadia, of gymnasia, of theatres, a town of

common-place sumptuosity, in spite of the masterpieces of painting and

of sculpture that she still guards.

Although the gate had been spoilt by the engineers of Attains

Philadelphus, the town increased rapidly, and became the principal

emporium of the region on this side of the Taurus. It was the port of

landing for what came from Italy and Greece, a sort of hostelry or mart

on the threshold of Asia. Produce of every kind was heaped together

there, and the town became a cosmopolitan one, where the socialistic

ideas gained ground among the men who had lost all idea of patriotism.

The country was extremely rich; the commerce immense; but nowhere was

public spirit at a lower ebb. The inscriptions breathed the most

shameful servility, the most absolute submission to the Romana.

It has been called the meeting-place of harlots and their prey. The

town swarmed with magicians, diviners, mummers, and flute players;

eunuchs, jewellers, sellers of amulets and medals, and romancers. The

title of "Ephesian novels" designated, like that of "Milesian fables,"

a species of literature, Ephesus being one of the towns which was

especially chosen as the scene of love romances. The softness of the

climate, in fact, put aside serious things: dancing and music remained

the sole occupation. Public life degenerated into bacchanalian

festivities: there was no such thing as study. The most extravagant

miracles of Apollonius are reputed to have happened at Ephesus. The

most celebrated Ephesian of the time at which we have now arrived was

an astrologer named Balbilas, who possessed the confidence of Nero and

Vespasian, and who appears to have been a scoundrel. A beautiful

Corinthian temple, whose ruins can be seen at the present day, was

raised about the same period. It was perhaps a temple dedicated to poor

Claudius, whom Nero and Agrippa had just "drawn to heaven with a hook,"

according to the happy word of Gallio.

Ephesus had already been reached by Christianity when Paul went to

sojourn there. We have seen that Aquila and Priscilla had remained

there, after having set out from Corinth. This pious couple, to whom,

by a singular destiny, it was reserved to figure in the origin of the

Churches of Rome, of Corinth, of Ephesus, formed a little nucleus of

disciples. Of this number, doubtless, was that Epasnetus whom St Paul

calls "the first-fruits of Achaia unto Christ," and whom he loved so

much. Another much more important conversion was that of a Jew named

Apollonius or Apollos, originally of Alexandria, who had settled at

Ephesus a little after the first journey of Paul. He had acquired in

the Jewish schools of Egypt a profound knowledge of the Scriptures, an

ingenious manner of interpreting them, a sublime eloquence. He was a

kind of Philo, in quest of new ideas which then dawned on all parts of

Judaism. In his journeys, he found him-self of the same belief with the

disciples of John the Baptist, and had received their baptism. He had

also heard them speak of Jesus, and it seems certain that from that

time he accorded to the latter the title of Christ; but his idea of

Christianity was incomplete. On his arrival at Ephesus he betook

himself to the synagogue, where he had much success by his lively and

inspired delivery. Aquila and Priscilla heard him, and were enraptured

to receive such an auxiliary. They took him aside, instructed him more

fully, and gave him more precise ideas upon certain points. As they

were not very clever theologians themselves, they did not dream, it

seems, of re-baptising him in the name of Jesus. Apollos formed around

him a little group, whom he taught his doctrine, corrected by Aquila

and Priscilla, but on whom he merely bestowed the baptism of John, the

only one he knew. After some time he wished to pass into Achaia, and

the brethren of Ephesus gave him a very warm letter of recommendation

to those of Corinth.

It is under these circumstances that Paul arrived at Ephesus. He lodged

with Aquila and Priscilla, as he had already done at Corinth;

associated himself anew with them, and worked in their shop. Ephesus

was justly celebrated for its tents. The artisans of this trade

probably inhabited the poor suburbs which extended from Mount Prion to

the steep hill of Aia-Solouk. There doubtless was the first Christian

household; the apostolic basilicas were there, the venerated graves of

all Christianity. After the destruction of the temple of Artemis,

Ephesus having exchanged its Pagan celebrity for an equally celebrated

Christianity, and having become a town of the first order in the

memories and legends of the new worship. Byzantine Ephesus was wholly

grouped round a hill which had the advantage of possessing the most

precious monuments of Christianity. The old site being exchanged from

an infectious marsh, where an active civilisation had ceased to

regulate the course of the waters, the old town had been abandoned

little by little; its gigantic monuments, in consequence of their

nearness to navigable canals and the sea, had been made use of as

quarries, and thus the town had been displaced for nearly a league.

Perhaps the choice of a domicile which some poor Jews in the reign of

Claudius or Nero had made was the first cause of this removal. The most

ancient Turkish conquest continued the Byzantine tradition; a great

Mussulman town succeeded to the Christian town, which still exists in

the midst of so many memories of ruin, fever, and oblivion.

Paul was not here, as he was in his first missions, in the midst of a

synagogue, ignorant of the new mystery, which he must endeavour to gain

over. He had before him a Church which had been formed in the most

original and spontaneous fashion, with the aid of two good Jewish

merchants, and of a strange doctor, who was still only half a

Christian. The company of Apollos was composed of about twelve members.

Paul questioned them, and perceived that their faith was still

incomplete: in particular, they had never heard of the Holy Ghost. Paul

completed their instruction, re-baptised them in the name of Jesus, and

"laid his hands on them." The Spirit immediately descended on them;

they spake with tongues, and prophesied like perfect Christians.

The Apostle sought to enlarge this little circle of believers. He was

not afraid of finding himself here in the presence of the intellectual

and scientific spirit which had stopped him short at Athens. Ephesus

was not a great intellectual centre. Superstition reigned there without

any control; everybody lived in foolish preoccupations of demonology

and theology. The magic formulas of Ephesus (Ephesia Grammata) were

celebrated, books of sorcery abounded, and a number of men employed

their time in these foolish puerilities. Apollonius of Tyana was at

Ephesus about this time.

Paul, according to his habit, preached in the synagogue. During the

space of three months, he did not cease each Sabbath to teach the

Kingdom of God. He had little success. They did not come against him

with riotings or severities, but they received his doctrine with

insulting and scornful words. He then resolved to renounce the

synagogue, and re-united himself to part of his disciples in a place

which they called Schole Turannou, "The school of one Tyrannus."

Perhaps it was a public spot there, one of those schol� or semicircular

vaults (or apses) which were so numerous in ancient towns, and which

served as xystes for conversation and free instruction. Perhaps, on the

other hand, it served as a private hall of a personage--of a

grammarian, for example--named Tyrannus. In general, Christianity

profited very little by these schol�, which nearly always formed parts

of the hot baths and gymnasia. The favourite place of the Christian

propaganda, after the synagogue, was the private house, the chimney

corner, In this vast metropolis of Ephesus. preaching might, however,

be done openly. During two years, Paul did not cease to speak in the

Schola Tyranni. This prolonged teaching in a public place, after a

little time, made noise enough. The Apostles supplemented it by

frequent visits to the houses of those who had been converted or

touched. All pro-consular Asia heard the name of Jesus, and several

Churches, subordinate to Ephesus, were established around. They also

spoke of certain miracles effected by Paul. His reputation as a worker

of miracles had reached such a point that people eagerly sought for the

"hand-kerchiefs and aprons" which had touched his garment, to apply

them to the sick. They believed that a medical virtue was exhaled from

his body, and was so transmitted.

The taste of the Ephesians for magic introduced episodes still more

shocking. Paul was believed to have a great power over devils. It

appears that the Jewish exorcists sought to steal his charms and to

exorcise "in the name of Jesus whom Paul preacheth." There is a legend

of the misadventure of these quacks, who pretended to be sons or

disciples of a certain High Priest named Sc�va. Having wished to drive

out an evil spirit by means of the aforesaid formula, they were grossly

insulted by the possessed man, who not content with that, threw himself

upon them, tore their clothes in pieces, and beat them soundly. The

degradation of the popular mind was such, that many Jews and many

Pagans believed in Jesus for such a poor motive. These conversions took

place above all among the men who occupied themselves with magic.

Struck by the superiority of Paul's formula, the lovers of occult

sciences came to him to exchange confidences concerning their

practices. Many even brought their books of magic and burnt them; they

valued at fifty thousand pieces of silver (drachm�) the price of the

Ephesia Grammata burnt in this manner.

Let us turn our eyes away from these sad shadows. All that is done by

the popular ignorant masses is spotted with unpleasantness. Illusion,

chimera, are the conditions of the great things created by the people.

It is only the work of wise men which can be pure; but wise men are

usually powerless. We have a physiology and a medicine very superior to

that of Paul; we are disengaged from a crowd of errors of which he

partook, alas! and it is to be feared that we may never do a thousandth

part of what he did. It is only when humanity as a whole shall be

instructed, and reach a certain point of positive philosophy, that

human affairs will be led by reason. One would never understand the

history of the past if one did not refuse to treat as good and great

movements in which many mean and equivocal features are mixed up.

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CHAPTER XIII.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN ASIA AND PHRYGIA.

The ardour of Paul during his stay at Ephesus was extreme. There were

difficulties every day, numerous and animated adversaries. As the

Church of Ephesus was not purely a foundation of Paul, it counted in

its bosom the Jud�o-Christians, who, upon important points, resisted

energetically the Apostle of the Gentiles. They were like two flocks

accusing each other, and denying to each other the right of speaking in

the name of Jesus. The Pagans, for their part, were discontented with

the progress of the new faith, and already manifested themselves as

dangerous. On one occasion, in particular, Paul ran so grave a danger

that he compares the position in which he was on that day to that of a

man exposed to wild beasts. Perhaps the incident happened at the

theatre, which would render the expression altogether just. Aquila and

Priscilla saved him, and risked their heads for him.

The Apostle forgot all, however, for the word of God had become

fruitful. All the western part of Asia Minor, especially the basins of

the Meander and the Hermus, was covered with Churches at this time, of

which, without doubt, Paul was in a manner more or less directly the

founder. Smyrna, Pergamos, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, probably

Tralles, thus received the germs of the faith. These towns had already

important Jewish colonies. The gentleness of manners, and the great

tediousness of provincial life, in the heart of a rich and beautiful

country, dead for centuries to all political life, and pacified nearly

to a level, had prepared many souls for the joys of a pure life. The

softness of the Ionian manners, so inimical to national independence,

was favourable to the development of moral and social questions. These

good populations, without military spirit, effeminate, if I dare say

it, were naturally Christian. The family life appears to have been very

strong among them; the habit of living in the open air, and, for the

women, upon the threshold of their doors, in a delicious climate, had

developed great sociability. Asia, with its Asiarchs, presidents of the

games and spectacles, seemed a pleasure company, an association of

diversions and f�tes. The Christian population even to-day has the

charm of gaiety; the women have the clear complexion, the vague and

sweet eyes, beautiful blonde hair, a retiring and modest disposition,

involving the sentient life of their beauty.

Asia became thus, in some sort, the second province of the kingdom of

God. The towns of this country, apart from its monuments, did not

perhaps differ essentially then from what they are to-day clusters of

wooden houses without order, with open balconies covered with an

inclined roof; quarters often placed in tiers one upon the other, and

always intermingled with beautiful trees. The public buildings

necessary in a hot country to a life of pleasure and repose were of a

surprising grandeur. There were not here, as in Syria, artificial

constructions, very little adapted to comfort, walled towns, rendered

necessary by the predatory habits of the Bedouin. Nowhere does the

fulness of a sure and satisfied civilisation show itself in more

imposing forms than in the ruins of these "magnificent cities of Asia."

Every time that the beautiful countries of which we speak are crushed

into pieces by fanaticism, war, or barbarity, they will become

mistresses of the world by richness; they hold nearly all the sources

of it, and thus force the great number of the more noble people to mass

themselves up among them. Ionia, in the first century, was very

populous, and covered with towns and villages. At this period, the

misfortunes of the civil wars were forgotten. With powerful

associations of workmen (ergasiai, sunergasai, sumbioseis), analogous

to those of Italy and Flanders in the Middle Ages, they name their

dignitaries, raise public monuments, erect statues, construct works of

public utility, found charitable institutions, give every kind of sign

of prosperity, of welfare, of moral activity. Side by side with the

manufacturing towns, such as Thyatira, Philadelphia,

Hieropolis--principally engaged in the great industries of Asia,

carpets, the dyeing of cloth, the wool, leather--was developed a

prosperous agriculture. The varied products of the districts of the

Hermus and the Meander, the mineral riches of Imolus and of Messogio

sources of the treasures of the old Assyrian town Lydia, had produced

at Tralles above all an opulent middle-class, which contracted

alliances with the kings of Asia, almost even became itself royal.

These upstarts ennobled themselves in a more honourable manner by their

literary labours and their generosity. It is true that we must not look

in their works for either delicacy or Hellenic perfection. We feel, in

contemplating such parvenu monuments, that all nobleness was lost when

these people were raised. The municipal spirit, however, was still very

energetic. The citizen who had become king, or reached C�sar's favour,

contended for an official position in the city, and expended his

fortune in embellishing it. This movement of construction was in full

force in the time of St Paul, partly on account of the earthquakes

which, notably in the reign of Tiberius, had desolated the country, and

which necessitated much repairing.

A rich province of Southern Phrygia, in particular the little basin of

the Lycus, a tributary of the Meander, was soon formed into active

Christian centres. Three towns close to each other--Colossus or

Colosse, Laodic�a upon the Lycus, and Hieropolis--there diffused the

Word of Life. Colosse, which had formerly been of most importance,

seemed to decline; it was an old city which remained faithful to the

ancient manners, and which would not change them. Laodic�a and

Hieropolis, on the contrary, became, under the Roman rule, very

considerable towns. The summit of this beautiful country is Mount

Cadmas, the father of all the mountains of Eastern Asia, massive and

gigantic, full of dark precipices, and crowned with snow throughout the

year. The waters which flow from it nourish upon the slopes of the

valleys orchards full of fruit trees, which are traversed by rivers

abounding in fish, and brightened by tame storks. The other side

exhibits the strangest freaks of nature. The petrifying quality of the

water of one of the tributaries of the Lycus, and the enormous mineral

stream which falls in a cascade from the mountains of Hieropolis, have

sterilised the plain and formed crevasses, grotesque caverns, beds of

subterranean rivers, of fantastic basins, like petrified snow, serving

as a reservoir to the waters, which glisten with all the colours of the

rainbow; deep trenches through which roll a series of resounding

cataracts. On this side the heat is extreme, the soil being simply a

vast plain paved with limestone; but upon the heights of Hieropolis the

purity of the air, the splendid light, the view of the Cadmas, floating

like an Olympus in a dazzling atmosphere, the burning summits of

Phrygia vanishing in the blue of heaven in a rosy hue, the opening of

the Meander, the oblique sections of Messogio, the distant snowy

summits of the Imolus, are absolutely dazzling. Saint Philip lived

there; Paphas also; there Epictetus was born. All the valley of the

Lycus offers the same character of dreamy mysticism. The population was

not originally Greek; it was partly Phrygian. There was also, it would

appear, around the Cadmas an ancient Semitic establishment, probably an

annexe of Lydia. This peaceful valley, separated from the rest of the

world, became for Christianity a place of refuge. Christianity

underwent, as we shall see, grave trials.

The evangelist of these regions was Epaphroditus or Epaphras of

Colosse, a very zealous man, a friend and fellow-worker with Paul. The

Apostle had only passed through the valley of the Lycus; he had never

remained there; but these Churches, composed chiefly of converted

Pagans, were not less completely dependent on him. Epaphras exercised

upon the three villages a sort of episcopacy. Nymphadore, or Nymphas,

who gathered a Church in his house at Laodic�a; the rich and benevolent

Philemon, who, at Colosse, presided over a similar conventicle; Appia,

deaconess of this town, perhaps the wife of Philemon; Archippus, who

also filled an important function there, recognised Paul as chief. The

last appears even to have worked directly with Paul. The Apostle called

him his "companion in arms." Philemon, Appia, and Archippus must have

been relatives or in intimate connection with each other.

Paul's disciples travelled constantly, and reported to their master.

Each one, though hardly converted, was a zealous catechist, spreading

around him the faith with which he was filled. The delicate moral

aspirations which prevailed in the country propapagated the movement

like a train of gunpowder. The catechists went everywhere; as soon as

they were received, they were jealously guarded; all and each tried to

supply their wants. A cordiality, a joy, an infinite benevolence,

prevailed by degrees, and touched the hearts of all. Judaism, besides,

had preceded Christianity in these regions. Jewish colonies had been

founded there by exiles from Babylon two centuries and a half before,

and had perhaps carried there some of those industries (carpet-making,

for example) which under the Roman emperors produced in the country so

much wealth and so many strong associations.

Did the preaching of Paul and his disciples reach Great Phrygia, the

region of Azanes, of Synnades, of Colia, of Docimius? We have seen that

in his two first journeys, Paul preached in Phrygia Parorea; that in

his second journey he traversed Phrygia, Epicteta, without preaching;

that in his third journey he traversed Apamea, Cibotos, and Phrygia,

called at a later date Pacatiana. It is extremely probable that the

remainder of Phrygia, as well as Bithynia, owed to Paul's disciples the

seeds of Christianity. About the year 112, Christianity appears in

Bithynia as a worship which had taken root, which had penetrated all

the ranks of society, which had invaded the villages and the rural

districts, as well as the towns and cities, and had brought about a

long cessation of the official worship, so that the Roman authority was

reduced by it to command the restoration of Pagan sacrifices. Some of

the proselytes returned to the temples, and the victims, now made

slaves, found buyers here and there. About the year 112, some men, on

being asked if they were Christians, replied that they had been, but

they had ceased to be "more than twenty years ago"--a clear proof that

the first Christian preaching took place during the lifetime of Paul.

Phrygia was thenceforward, and remained for three hundred years, an

essentially Christian country. There first begins the public profession

of Christianity; there, from the third century, are to be found upon

monuments exposed to every one's eyes, the word ChRESTIANOS or

ChRISTIANOS: these epitaphs, without openly avowing Christianity,

exhibit Christian dogmas in a veiled form; there, from the time of

Severus the Second, great towns adopted upon their coins biblical

symbols, or, rather, assimilated their old traditions to biblical

story. A large number of the Ephesian and Roman Christians came from

Phrygia. The names which are shown oftenest upon the Phrygian monuments

are old Christian names--names belonging specially to the Apostolic

age, those which fill the martyrology. It is very probable that this

prompt adoption of the doctrine of Jesus was natural to the race and to

the former religious institutions derived from the Phrygian people.

Apollonius of Tyana had, it is said, temples among these simple

populations: the idea of gods clothed in human form appeared very

natural to them. What remains of ancient Phrygia often breathes

something of religion, of morality, of depth, of something analogous to

Christianity. Some good workers, near to Cotia, made a vow "to the

saintly and just God;" not far from there, another vow is addressed to

"the holy and just God." Such an epitaph in verses of this province,

not very classical in style, incorrect and bad in form, seems imprinted

with a very modern sentiment of a touching kind of romance. The country

itself differs much from the rest of Asia. It is sad, austere, sombre,

bearing the profound imprint of old geological catastrophes, burnt, or

rather incinerated, and agitated by frequent earthquakes.

Pontus and Cappadocia heard the name of Jesus at about the same time.

Christianity illuminated all Asia Minor like a sudden fire. It is

probable that the Jud�o-Christians laboured on their part to spread the

Gospel there. John, who belonged to this party, was received in Asia as

an Apostle with authority superior to that of Paul. The Apocalypse,

addressed in the year 68 to the Churches of Ephesus, of Smyrna, of

Pergamos, of Thyatira, of Sardis, of Philadelphia, and of

Laodic�a-upon-the-Lycus, is obviously written for Jud�o-Christians.

Without doubt, between the death of Paul and the composition of the

Apocalypse, there was in Ephesus and in Asia a second Jud�o-Christian

mission. Otherwise, if Paul had been during ten years the sole chief of

the Churches of Asia, we should find it difficult to understand why he

had been so quickly forgotten there. St Philip and Paphias, the glories

of the Church of Hieropolis; Miletum, the glory of that of Sardis, were

Jud�o-Christians. Neither Paphias nor Polycrates of Ephesus quote Paul;

the authority of John has absorbed everything, and John is for these

Churches a great Jewish priest. The Churches of Asia in the second

century, the Church of Laodic�a especially, are the scene of a

controversy which attacks the vital question of Christianity, and the

traditional party of which shows itself very distant from the ideas of

Paul. Montanism is a kind of return towards Judaism in the heart of

Phrygian Christianity. In other words, in Asia, as in Corinth, the

memory of Paul, after his death, appears to have suffered during one

hundred years a kind of eclipse. The very Churches which he had founded

abandoned him, as one who had gone too far, so that in the second

century Paul appears to have been discarded.

This reaction must have set in shortly after the Apostle's death,

perhaps even before. The second and third chapters of the Apocalypse

are a cry of hate against Paul and his friends. This Church of Ephesus,

which owes so much to Paul, is praised be-cause "it cannot bear with

them which are evil," for having known how to "try them which say they

are apostles and are not, and have found them liars," for hating "the

deeds of the Nicolaitans, which 1 also hate," adds the celestial voice.

The Church of Smyrna is congratulated on being the object of the

insults of men "which say they are Jews, and are not, but are the

synagogue of Satan." "But I have a few things against thee," says the

Divine voice to the Church of Pergamos, "because thou hast there them

that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balak to cast a

stumbling-block before the children of Israel,--to eat things

sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication. So hast thou also

them that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans." "Notwithstanding I

have a few things against thee," says the same voice to the Church of

Thyatira, "because thou sufferest that woman Jezebel, which calleth

herself a prophetess, to teach and to seduce my servants to commit

fornication, and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. And I gave her

space to repent of her fornication; and she repented not . . . But unto

you I say, and unto the rest in Thyatira, as many as have not this

doctrine, and which have not known the depths of Satan, as they speak;

I will put upon you none other burden." And to the Church of

Philadelphia, "Behold, I will make them of the synagogue of Satan,

which say they are Jews, and are not, but do lie; behold, I will make

them to come and worship before thy feet, and to know that I have loved

thee." Perhaps the vague reproaches addressed by the All-Seeing to the

Churches of Sardis and Laodic�a included also some allusions to the

great debate which broke up the Church of Jesus.

Let us say, then, if Paul had been the only missionary of Asia, one

could not conceive that, so soon after his death (even supposing that

he was dead when the Apocalypse appeared), his adherents could be

represented as in a minority in the Churches of this country; one could

not conceive that the Church of Ephesus, of which above all he was the

principal founder, would have bestowed upon him an insulting nickname.

Paul, as a rule, refused to trespass on the ground of others, to preach

to, and to work in, the Churches which he had not established. But his

enemies did not observe the same discretion. They followed him step by

step, and applied themselves to destroy his works by insults and

calumny.

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CHAPTER XIV.

SCHISMS IN THE CHURCH OF CORINTH--APOLLOS--FIRST SCANDALS.

At the same time that he took his share in the vast propaganda which

gained Asia to the worship of Jesus, Paul was absorbed by the gravest

pre-occupations. The care of all the Churches that he had founded,

weighed upon him. The Church of Corinth especially inspired him with

the gravest disquiet. During the three or four years which had elapsed

since the departure of the Apostle from the port of Cenchrea, trouble

of every kind had incessantly agitated this Church. Greek levity had

indeed produced certain phenomena which had nothing to do with the

points that Christianity had touched.

We have seen that Apollos, after a short stay at Ephesus, where Aquila

and Priscilla had worked at his Christian education, had set out for

Corinth, with urgent letters from the brethren in Asia to those of

Achaia, The knowledge and the eloquence of this new doctor were much

admired by the Corinthians. Apollos equalled Paul in his knowledge of

the Scriptures, and he greatly surpassed him in his literary culture.

The Greek which he spoke was excellent, whilst that of the Apostle was

extremely defective. He had also, it seems, the exterior gifts of the

orator, which failed in Paul, the imposing attitude, the easy

eloquence. What is quite certain is, that at Corinth he had remarkable

success. His arguments with the Jews upon the question of knowing if

Jesus was the Messiah, were regarded as very strong, and he made many

conversions.

Apollos and St Paul appeared, among the new sect, in different aspects.

They were the only well-instructed Jews in the Jewish manner who had

embraced the doctrine of Jesus. But they came from different schools.

Paul came from the Pharisaism of Jerusalem, corrected by the liberal

tendencies of Gamaliel. Apollos came from the Jud�o-Hellenic school of

Alexandria: such things we know by Philo; perhaps he was already

instructed in the theories of the logos, and was the introducer of

these theories into Christian theology. Paul had the kind of feverish

ardour, the intense fanaticism, which characterises the Jew of

Palestine. Natures like that of Paul only change once in their life;

the direction of their fanaticism once found, they press on without

ever deviating or examining anything. Apollos, more curious and more

critical, was ready to inquire into everything. He was a man of talent

rather than an Apostle. But everything makes one believe that he joined

to this talent great sincerity, and that he was a very affectionate

man. At the time of his arrival at Corinth he had not seen St Paul. It

was only by Aquila and Priscilla that he knew the Apostle of whom soon,

without wishing it, he was going to be the rival.

Among the light-hearted and brilliant populations of the shores of the

Mediterranean, factions, parties, divisions are a social necessity.

Life without that appears tedious. These people are bent on procuring

for themselves the satisfaction of hating and of loving, of excitement,

of jealousy, of triumphing over an opponent, even in the most trivial

matters. The object of the division is insignificant; it is the

division that is wanted, and that is sought for its own sake. Personal

questions become, in societies of this kind, all important. When two

teachers or two doctors meet in a little town of the south, the town

divides into two parties on the merits of each of them. The two

preachers, the two doctors, may be warm friends; they will not prevent

their names from becoming the signal of keen contests, the banners of

two opposing camps.

It was thus at Corinth. The talent of Apollos turned all heads. His

manner was absolutely different from that of Paul. The latter charmed

by his boldness, his passion, the keen impression of his ardent soul;

Apollos by his speech, which was elegant, correct, and assured. Some

people, who did not greatly love Paul. and who perhaps did not owe

their conversion to him, highly preferred Apollos. They treated Paul as

an unpolished man, without education, a stranger to philosophy and

polite learning. Apollos was their doctor; they swore only by Apollos.

The disciples of Paul, doubtless, replied eagerly, and under-valued the

new doctor. Although Paul and Apollos were in no wise enemies, although

they regarded themselves as fellow-labourers, and although there was no

difference of opinion between them, their names became thus the ensigns

of two parties, who quarrelled, in spite of the two doctors, with quite

sufficient vivacity. The bitterness continued, even after the departure

of Apollos. He, in fact, fatigued perhaps by the zeal displayed for

him, and showing himself above all these petty rivalries, left Corinth,

and returned to Ephesus. He there found Paul, with whom he had long

conversations, and consolidated a friendship which, without being that

of the disciple or of the intimate friend, was one of two great souls,

worthy of understanding and of loving each other.

That was not the only cause of trouble. Corinth was a place much

frequented by strangers. The port of Cenchrea saw great numbers of Jews

and Syrians disembark every day, many of whom were already Christians,

but of another school than that of Paul, and by no means well disposed

to the Apostle. The emissaries of the Church of Jerusalem, whom we have

already met at Antioch and in Galatia, upon the footsteps of Paul, had

reached Corinth. These new-comers, great orators, full of boasting,

fortified with letters of recommendation from the Apostles of

Jerusalem, rose against Paul, scattered suspicions upon his honesty,

questioned or denied his title of Apostle, and pushed their indelicacy

so far as to maintain that Paul himself did not believe that he was

really an Apostle, since he did not profit by the ordinary privileges

of an Apostle. His disinterestedness was made use of against him. They

represented him as a vain, frivolous, inconstant man, speaking and

menacing without much effect; they reproached him with glorifying

himself whenever opportunity offered, and of appealing to pretended

favours from Heaven. They scoffed at his visions. They dwelt upon the

fact that Paul had not known Jesus,--that he had not, in consequence,

any right to speak of him.

At the same time, they represented the Apostles of Jerusalem,

especially James and Peter, as the true Apostles, the arch-apostles, in

some way. The new-comers, simply because they were of Jerusalem,

claimed a relationship with Christ after the flesh, considering the

bond that they had with James and with those whom Christ had chosen in

his lifetime. They held that God had established a single Doctor, who

is Christ, who had instituted the Twelve. Proud of their circumcision

and of their Jewish descent, they sought to impose as much as possible

the yoke of legal observances. There was thus at Corinth, as there was

nearly everywhere else, a "party of Peter." The division was profound.

"I am of Paul," said some; "I am of Apollos," said others; "I am of

Cephas," said others still. Some people, finally wishing to pose as

superior spirits to these quarrellers, created a very spiritual title

for themselves. They invented as the name by which they would designate

themselves, that of the "party of Christ." When the discussion got

warm, and when the names of Paul, Apollos, Peter (Cephas) crossed them

in the battle, they intervened with the name of that One whom they

forgot. "I am of Christ," said they, and, as these juvenilities did not

exclude at the bottom a truly Christian spirit, the remembrance of

Jesus had a powerful effect in restoring concord. The name of this

"party of Christ" involved nevertheless something of hostility against

the Apostle, and a certain ingratitude, since those who were opposed to

the "party of Paul" seemed to wish to efface the trace of an

apostleship to which it owed its knowledge of Christ.

Contact with the Pagans caused to the young Church no small dangers.

These dangers came from Greek philosophy, and from bad morals, which

everywhere assailing the Church in some degree, here penetrated it and

undermined it. We have already seen that at Athens philosophy had

stopped the progress of the preaching of Paul. Corinth was far from

being a town of as high culture as Athens; there were, however, many

well-instructed men there, who received the new doctrines very ill. The

cross, the resurrection, the approaching restoration of all things,

appeared to them follies and absurdities. The faith of many was shaken,

and the attempt to bring about an impossible reconciliation altered the

gospel. The irreconcilable struggle between positive science and the

supernatural elements of the Christian faith began. This contest will

only finish by the complete extinction of positive science in the

Christian world in the sixth century; the same contest will be revived

with positive science on the threshold of modern times.

The general immorality of Corinth produced upon the Church the most

disastrous effects. Many Christians had not been able to break

themselves away from loose habits, which, from being common, had almost

ceased to be thought culpable. They talked of strange and almost

unheard of scandals even in the assembly of the saints. The bad habits

of the town crossed the threshold of the Church, and corrupted it. The

Jewish rules about marriage, which all parts of the Christian Church

proclaimed imperative and absolute, were violated: Christians even

lived publicly with their mothers-in-law. A spirit of vanity, of

frivolity, of disputation, of foolish pride, reigned among many. It

seemed as if there was not another Church in the world, so much did

this community walk in its own ways without caring for others. The

gifts of the Spirit, speaking with tongues, prophesying, the gift of

miracles, formerly subjects of so much edification, degenerated into

shocking scenes. Hence arose strange disorders in the Church. The

women, formerly so submissive, were here very bold, almost claiming

equality with the men. They wished to pray aloud, to prophesy in the

Church, and that without a veil, their long hair disordered, making the

assembly witness of their ecstasies, of their drunken effeminacy, of

their pious lubricities.

But it was the agapes (love feasts) or mystic feasts above all which

gave an opportunity for the most crying abuses. The scenes of rioting

which followed the Pagan sacrifices were there reproduced. Instead of

all things being common, each ate the part that he had brought; some

went nearly drunk, others very hungry. The poor were covered with

shame; the rich seemed by their abundance to insult those who had

nothing. The remembrance of Jesus, and of the high significance which

he had given to this repast, appeared forgotten. The corporal state of

the Church was for the rest bad enough; there were many sick, and

several had died. Death, in the state in which the mind of the faithful

then was, caused much surprise and hesitation; sickness was held as a

trial of faith or as a chastisement.

Had four years then sufficed to take all the virtue out of the work of

Jesus? Certainly not. There were still edifying families, in particular

that of Stephanas, who was entirely devoted to the service of the

Church, and was a model of evangelical activity. But the conditions of

Christian society were already much changed. The little Church of

saints of the latter day was thrown into a corrupted, frivolous world

very little given to mysticism. There were already bad Christians. The

time was gone by when Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead for having

kept back some little property. The sacred feast of Jesus had become a

debauch, and the earth did not open to devour him who went out drunk

from the table of the Lord.

These evil tidings reached Paul one upon another, and filled him with

sadness. The first rumours only mentioned some faults against good

morals. Paul wrote on this subject an epistle that we no longer have.

He therein forbade to the faithful all communication with persons whose

life was not pure. Some ill-intentioned men affected to give to this

order a meaning which rendered it impossible to be executed. "Are we at

Corinth then," said they, "to have communications with irreproachable

people only? . . . . But what is he thinking of? It is not only from

Corinth, it is from the world that we must depart." Paul was obliged to

revert to this order, and explain it.

He knew the divisions which agitated the Church a little later,

probably in April, by the brothers whom he called "them which are of

the house of Chloe." Just at this moment he thought of leaving Ephesus.

Some motives which we do not know detained him there for some time. He

sent into Greece before him, with powers equal to his own, his disciple

Timothy, accompanied by several brothers, amongst others a certain

Erastus, probably another than the treasurer of the town of Corinth,

who bore the same name. Although the principal object of their journey

was Corinth, they passed through Macedonia. Paul intended to take this

journey himself, and, according to his custom, he caused his disciples

to precede him to announce his arrival.

Shortly after the message of Chloe, and before Timothy and his

companion had arrived at Corinth, new envoys from this town came to

find Paul. These were the deacon Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus,

three men very dear to the Apostle. Stephanas was according to the

Apostle's expression, "the first fruits of Achaia," and since the

departure of Aquila and Priscilla he had held the first rank in the

community, or at least in the party of Paul. The envoys brought a

letter asking for explanations with regard to the former epistle of

Paul, and for solutions of divers cases of conscience, in particular

touching marriage, the meats sacrificed to idols, spiritual exercises,

and the gifts of the Holy Ghost. The three envoys added by word of

mouth details of the abuses which had been introduced. The annoyance of

the Apostle was extreme, and, regardless of consolation that the pious

messengers gave him, he lost his temper in the presence of such

feebleness and levity. He had fixed his departure for after Easter,

which was probably two months later on; but he wished to pass through

Macedonia. He could not even now be at Corinth in less than three

months. He immediately resolved to write to the sick Church, and to

reply to the questions they had addressed to him. As Timothy was not

with him, he took as a secretary a disciple unknown to the others,

named Sosthenes, and, by a delicate attention, he wished that the name

of this disciple should figure in the subscription of the letter along

with his own.

He began by an appeal to concord, and, under the appearance of

humility, by an apology for his preaching,--

"Now this I say, that every one of you saith, I am of Paul; and I of

Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ. Is Christ divided? was Paul

crucified for you? or were ye baptised in the name of Paul? I thank God

that I baptised none of you but Crispus and Gaius; lest any should say

that I baptised in mine own name. And I baptised also the household of

Stephanas: besides I know not whether I baptised any other. For Christ

sent me not to baptise, but to preach the gospel: not with wisdom of

words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. For the

preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness; but unto us

which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will

destroy the wisdom of the wise, I will bring to nothing the

understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe?

where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the

wisdom of this world? For after that in the wisdom of God the world by

wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to

save them that believe. For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks

seek after wisdom. But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a

stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which

are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the

wisdom of God. Because the foolishness of God is wiser than men; and

the weakness of God is stronger than men. For ye see your calling,

brethren, how that many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not

many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the

world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the

world to confound them which are mighty; and base things of the world,

and things which are despised, hath God chosen, yea, and things which

are not, to bring to nought things that are: that no flesh should glory

in his presence. . . .

"And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of

speech or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I

determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ and him

crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much

trembling. And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words

of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power; that

your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of

God. Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect; yet not the

wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to

nought, but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden

wisdom, which God ordained before the world unto our glory; which none

of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it they would not

have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is written, Eye hath not

seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the

things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But God hath

revealed them unto us by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all

things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of

a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of

God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not

the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might

know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also

we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the

Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the

natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are

foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, be-cause they are

spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet

he himself is judged of no man. . . .

"And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as

unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ. I have fed you with milk,

and not with meat; for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither

yet now are ye able. For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among

you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as

men? For when one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos,

are ye not carnal? Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers

by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man? I have

planted, Apollos watered; but God gave the increase. So then neither is

he that planteth anything, neither he that watereth, but God, that

giveth the increase . . . For we are labourers together with God; ye

are God's husbandry, ye are God's building. According to the grace of

God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I have laid the

foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed

how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation can no man lay than

that is laid, which is Jesus Christ. . . . Know ye not that ye are the

temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? . . . Let no

man deceive himself. If any among you seemeth to be wise in this world,

let him become a fool, that he may be wise. For the wisdom of this

world is foolishness with God. For it is written, He taketh the wise in

their own craftiness. And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the

wise, that they are vain. Therefore let no man glory in men. For all

things are yours; whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the world, or

life, or death, or things present, or things to come, all are yours;

and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's.

"Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and

stewards of the mysteries of God. . . . But with me it is a very small

thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment; yea, I

judge not mine own self . . . but he that judgeth me is the Lord. . . .

Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both

will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make

manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have

praise of God.

"And these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to myself

and to Apollos for your sakes that no one of you be puffed up for one

against another . . . Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned

as kings without us: and I would to God ye did reign, that we also

might reign with you. For I think that God hath set forth us, the

Apostles, last, as it were, appointed to death: for we are made a

spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. We are fools for

Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ; we are weak, but ye are

strong; ye are honourable, but we are despised. Even unto this present

hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and

have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands;

being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed,

we entreat; we are made as the filth of the world, and are the

offscourings of all things unto this day!

"I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn

you. For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye

not many fathers; for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the

gospel. Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me. For this cause

have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in

the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways, which be in

Christ, as I teach everywhere in every Church. Now some are puffed up,

as though I would not come to you. But I will come to you shortly, if

the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed

up, but the power. For the Kingdom of God is not in word, but in power.

What will ye? Shall I come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the

spirit of meekness?"

After this general apology, the Apostle approaches each of the abuses

which had been pointed out to him, and the questions which had been put

to him. It is for the incestuous an extreme severity.

"It is reported commonly among you that there is fornication among you,

and such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles,

that one should have his father's wife. And ye are puffed up, and have

not rather mourned, that he hath done this deed might be taken away

from you. For I verily, as absent in body, but present in spirit, have

judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so

done this deed. In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when ye are

gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus

Christ, to deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the

flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the name of the Lord Jesus."

There can be no doubt: it is a sentence of death that Paul pronounces.

Terrible legends were circulated as to the effect of the

excommunications. It is to be remembered, besides, that Paul seriously

believed in the working of miracles. By only delivering to Satan the

body of the blameable, he doubtless believed himself to be indulgent.

The order that Paul had given in a preceding letter (lost) to the

Corinthians, to avoid the shameless, had brought about mistakes. Paul

developed his idea. The Christian has not to judge the world without,

but to be severe only upon those who are within. A single spot on the

purity of life ought to be sufficient to exclude one from the Christian

society; it is forbidden so much as to eat with a delinquent. Thus it

may seem in a convent, a congregation of pious persons, occupied in

watching and judging each other, much more than in a church, in the

modern sense of the word. The whole Church, in the eyes of the Apostle,

is responsible for the faults committed within its bosom. This

exaggeration of severity had its reason for its existence in ancient

society, which sinned in so many other ways. But we feel that such an

idea of sanctity is narrow-minded, illiberal, contrary to the morality

of him whom we formerly called "a good fellow;" a morality whose

fundamental principle is to busy oneself as little as possible with

other people's conduct. The question is only to know if society can

exist without censuring bad manners, and if the future will not bring

back something analogous to the ecclesiastical discipline that modern

liberalism has so jealously suppressed.

The ideal type of moral perfection, according to Paul, is a man,

gentle, honest, chaste, sober, charitable, unfettered by riches.

Humility of condition and poverty are almost necessary for one who

would be a Christian. The words "miser, greedy one, thief," are nearly

synonymous; at least the vices which they designate are liable to the

same reproach. The antipathy of this little world for the great profane

society was strange. Paul, following in that the Jewish tradition,

reproves as an act unworthy of the faithful any reference to the courts

of law.

"Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the

unjust, and not before the saints? Do ye not know that the saints shall

judge the world? and if the world be judged by you, are ye unworthy to

judge the smallest matters? . . . Know ye not that we shall judge

angels? How much more things that pertain to this life? If then ye have

judgments of things pertaining to the life, set them to judge who are

least esteemed in this church. I speak to your shame. Is it so, that

there is not a wise man among you? No, not one that shall be able to

judge between his brethren? But brother goeth to law with brother, and

that before the unbelievers. Now therefore there is utterly a fault

among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why do ye not rather

take wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?

Nay, ye do wrong, and defraud, and that your brethren!"

The relations of the sexes were a matter of the gravest difficulty. The

Apostle was occupied with them constantly when he wrote to the

Corinthians. The coldness of Paul gives to his morality something

sensible, but at the same time monastic and narrow. The sexual

attraction is in his eyes an evil, a shame. Since it cannot be

suppressed, it must be regulated. Nature, for Saint Paul, is evil, and

grace consists in contradicting and mastering it. He has, nevertheless,

beautiful expressions as to the respect that man owes to his body: God

will raise it, the bodies of the faithful are the temples of the Holy

Ghost, the members of Christ. What a crime then it is to take the

members of Christ to make them the members of a harlot! Absolute

chastity is most valuable, virginity is the perfect state; marriage has

been established as a lesser evil. But, from the time when it is

contracted, the two parties have equal rights over each other. The

interruption of conjugal relations ought only to be admitted for a time

and in view of religious duties. Divorce is forbidden, save in the case

of mixed marriages, where the unbeliever first retires.

Marriages contracted between Christians and unbelievers may be

continued. "For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and

the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband," in the same manner

that the children are sanctified by the parents. One can, moreover,

hope that the faithful spouse will convert the unfaithful. But new

marriages can only be between Christians. All these questions will

present themselves under the most singular light, since the end of the

world was believed to be at hand. In the state of crisis which existed,

pregnancy and the begetting of children appeared anomalies. There is

little marrying in the sect, and one of the most untoward consequences

for those who had associated these was the impossibility of

establishing their daughters. Many murmured, finding that thing

unbecoming and contrary to custom. To prevent greater evils, and out of

regard for the fathers of families, who had on their hands marriageable

daughters, Paul permitted marriage, but he did not conceal the contempt

and disgust which he had for that estate, which he found disagreeable,

full of trouble, and humiliating.

"The time is short; it remaineth, that both they that have wives be as

though they had none; and they that weep, as though they wept not; and

they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that buy, as

though they possessed not; and they that use this world, as not abusing

it, for the fashion of this world passeth away. But I would have you

without carefulness. He that is unmarried careth for the things that

belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married

careth for the things of the world, how he may please his wife. There

is a difference also between a wife and a virgin. The unmarried woman

careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body

and in spirit: but she that is married careth for the things of the

world, how she may please her husband. And this I speak for your own

profit; not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is

comely, and that ye may attend upon the Lord without distraction."

Religious exaltation always produces such sentiments. Orthodox Judaism,

which, however, showed itself opposed to celibacy, and which treated

marriage as a duty, had doctors who reasoned like Paul. "Why should I

marry?" said Rabbi ben Azai. "I am in love with the Law; the human race

can be perpetuated by others." Later on, as will appear, Paul expressed

upon this subject much juster thoughts, and saw in the union of man and

wife a symbol of the love of Christ for his Church; he placed as the

supreme law of marriage the love of the man on the one hand, and the

submission of the woman on the other; he recalled the admirable chapter

of Genesis in which the mysterious attraction of the two sexes is

explained by a philosophical fable of a divine beauty.

The question of the meats offered to idols is resolved by St Paul with

great good sense. The Jud�o-Christians held that total abstinence from

such meats was a duty, and it appears that it had been agreed at the

Council of Jerusalem that they should be generally forbidden. Paul has

broader views. According to him, the circumstance of a piece of meat

having been part of a sacrificed beast is insignificant. The false gods

being nothing, the meat which is offered to them is not defiled. Any

meat exposed in the market may be bought freely, without there being

any need for asking questions as to the origin of each morsel. A

reserve, however, ought to be made: there are scrupulous consciences

which take that for idolatry; and the enlightened man ought to be

guided not only by principle, but also by charity. He ought to forbid

himself the things which are permitted, if weak brethren are

scandalised by it. Knowledge exalts, but charity edifies. "All things

are lawful unto you, but all things are not expedient; but all this

edify not. Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth." It

is one of the favourite ideas of Paul, and the explanation of several

episodes of his life, in which one sees him subdue himself out of

regard for timorous persons, to observances which he did not consider

of the least value. "If the meat that I eat," says he, "innocent as it

is, scandalises my brother, I will renounce eating it for ever."

Some faithful people, however, went a little further. Constrained by

family relationships, they took part in the festivities which followed

the sacrifices, and which took place in the temples. Paul blames this

custom, and, according to a method of reasoning familiar to him, starts

on a different principle from that which he had just before admitted.

The gods of the nations are devils; to participate in their sacrifices,

is to have commerce with devils. One cannot at the same time

participate at the table of the Lord and at the table of devils, or

drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils. The feasts which are

held in the houses are not of the same importance: it is not necessary

to go there, nor to disquiet oneself about the providing of meats; if

you are told that any meat has been sacrificed to the gods, from a

scandal which must result, abstain from it. In general, avoid that

which can be a stumbling-block for the Jew, the Pagan, the Christian;

subordinate in practice one's own liberty to that of others, all the

while maintaining one's rights; in everything seek to please all.

"Follow my example," he continues. "Am I not an apostle? am I not free?

have I not seen Jesus Christ our Lord? are not ye my work in the Lord?

If I be not an apostle unto others, yet, doubtless, I am to you: for

the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord. Mine answer to them

that do examine me is this, Have we not power to eat and to drink? Have

we not power to lead about a sister, a wife, as well as other apostles,

and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas,

have not we power to forbear working? Who goeth a warfare anytime at

his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit

thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the

flock? . . . If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great

thing that ye shall reap your carnal things? If others be partakers of

this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheless, we have not used

this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of

Christ. . . . What is my reward then? Verily, that, when I preach the

gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse

not my power in the gospel. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I

might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law;

to them that are without law, as without law (being not without law to

God, but under the law to Christ), that I might gain them that are

without law. To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak:

I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save

some. . . . Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one

receiveth the prize. So run, that ye may obtain. And every man that

striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things. Now they do it to

obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible. I therefore so

run, not as uncertainly; so fight I; not as one that beateth the air:

but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by

any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a

castaway."

As for the question of the place of women in the church, we can easily

see that the Apostle will decide it with his unyielding harshness. He

blames the bold efforts of the Corinthian women, and recalls them to

the practice of other communities. Women ought not to speak or even ask

questions in church. The gift of tongues is not for them. They ought to

be submissive to their husbands. If they wish to know anything, let

them ask their husbands at home. It is also shameful for a woman to

appear without a veil in church, unless she be shorn or shaven. The

veil is, moreover, necessary "because of the angels." It was supposed

that the angels present at divine service are capable of being tempted

by the sight of the hair of women, or at least of being distracted by

this sight from their duty, which is to bear to God the prayers of the

saints. "The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is

the man; and the head of Christ is God. . . . For a man indeed ought

not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God;

but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman;

but the woman of the man . . . but all things of God."

The related observations on the "Supper of the Lord" have an immense

historical interest. This feast became more and more the essential part

of Christian worship. More and more also is spread abroad the idea that

Jesus himself was eating there. That, without doubt, was metaphorical;

but the metaphor in the Christian language of this time was not openly

distinct from the reality. In every case this sacrament was in a great

degree a sacrament of union and of love.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the

blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of

the body of Christ? For we being many are one bread, and one body: for

we are all partakers of that one bread. Behold Israel after the flesh;

are not they which eat of the sacrifices partakers of the altar? . . .

For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you,

That the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread:

And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat: this is

my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.' After

the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This

cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink

it, in remembrance of me.' For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink

this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore whosoever

shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord, unworthily, shall

be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine

himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For

he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation

to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."

The penalty incurred by not acknowledging the high sanctity of the

Supper of the Lord is not eternal damnation--there are temporal trials,

or even death--death being often an expiation which saves the soul.

"There are perhaps," adds the Apostle, "among you many feeble men,

sick, and numerous deaths. If we judge ourselves, we shall not be

judged. But the judgments of the Lord are corrections which preserve us

from being judged with the world," that is to say, condemned in

eternity. For the moment the Apostle limits himself to ordaining that

those who come to the agapes shall wait for each other, that they must

eat at home to satisfy their appetite, and that they must guard the

mystical significance of the Lord's Supper. He will "set the rest in

order" when he comes to them.

The Apostle then traces the theory of the manifestations of the Spirit.

Under the badly-defining names of "gifts," "services" (offices), and

"powers," he arranges thirteen functions, constituting all the

hierarchy and all the forms of supernatural activity. Three functions

are openly designated and subordinated to each other. They are, 1st,

the function of an apostle; 2d, that of a prophet; 3d, that of a

teacher. Then come gifts, services, or powers which, without conferring

so elevated a permanent character, serve for perpetual manifestations

of the Spirit. These are, 1st, the word of wisdom; 2d, the word of

knowledge; 3d, faith; 4th, the gifts of healing; 5th, the power of

working miracles; 6th, the discerning of spirits; 7th, the gift of

speaking in divers kinds of tongues; 8th, the interpretations of

tongues thus spoken; 9th, the works of charity; 10th, the cares of

administration. All these functions are good, useful, necessary; they

ought neither to undervalue nor to envy each other. All have the same

source. All the "gifts" come from the Holy Ghost, all the "services"

come out from Christ, all the "powers" come from God. The body has

several members, and yet is one; the division of functions is necessary

in the Church as in the body. These functions can no more be divided

from each other than the eye can be divided from the hand, or the head

from the feet. All jealousy between them is therefore misplaced.

Without doubt they are not equal in dignity, but they are justly the

most feeble members which are the most necessary; they are the feeblest

members which are the most honoured, the most carefully surrounded, God

having wished to establish in this way a compensation, so that there

might be neither schism nor jealousy in the body. The members ought to

be careful of each other; if one suffers, all suffer. The advantages

and the glory of one are the advantages and the glory of the other. To

what good besides are these rivalries? There is a way open to all, the

gift which has an immense superiority over all others.

Borne along by a truly prophetical inspiration beyond the confused

ideas and blundering which he had just exposed, Paul then wrote this

admirable passage, the only one in all Christian literature which can

be compared to the discourses of Jesus.

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not

charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal. And

though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries and

all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove

mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing. And though I bestow all

my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and

have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. Charity suffereth long, and

is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not

puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not

easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but

rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things,

hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth; but

whether there be prophecies, they shall fail; whether there be tongues,

they shall cease; whether there be knowledge, it shall vanish away. For

we know in part, and we prophesy in part. But when that which is

perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away. When I

was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as

a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now

we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face; now I know in

part, but then shall I know even as also I am known. And now abideth

faith, hope, and charity, these three; but the greatest of these is

charity."

Versed in experimental psychology, Paul went a little further. He had

said,--"Brethren, leave illusions. These inarticulate stammerings,

these ecstasies, these miracles, are the dreams of your infancy. That

which is not visionary--that which is eternal--is what I have just

preached to you." But then if he had not been of his time, he would not

have done what he did. Is it not already a great deal to have indicated

this capital distinction of eternal religious truths, which are

infallible, and of those which, like the dreams of the first age, come

to nought? Has he not done enough for immortality by having written

this sentence, "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life?" Woe to

him who would stop on the surface, and who, for the sake of two or

three visionary gifts, would forget that in this strange

enumeration--among the diaconies and the charismata of the primitive

Church, are the care of those who suffer, the administration of

charitable funds, reciprocal assistance! Paul enumerates these duties

in the last place, and as humble things. But his piercing glance can

still read the truth here. "Take care," says he, "that our humblest

members are justly the most honoured." Prophets, speakers with tongues,

doctors, you will pass. Deacons, devoted widows, administrators of the

good of the Church, you will remain: you build for eternity."

In the laying down of rules relative to spiritual exercises, Paul shows

his practical spirit. He puts preaching highly above the gift of

tongues. Without absolutely denying the reality of the gift of tongues,

he makes on this subject reflections which are equivalent to blaming

it. The gift of tongues does not speak to men; it speaks to God. No one

can understand it; it only edifies him who is speaking. Preaching, on

the contrary, serves for the edification and consolation of all. The

gift of tongues is only good if it be interpreted--that is to say, if

other faithful people specially endowed for that intervene, and know

that they hold the sense of it. By itself, it is like indistinct music;

we hear the sound of the flute or cithara, but know not the piece that

these instruments are playing. It is like a badly-blown trumpet: it

makes a great noise, but as it says nothing clear, nobody obeys the

uncertain signal or prepares for the combat. If the tongue does not

give clearly articulated sounds, it does but beat the air; a discourse

in a tongue that no one understands has no meaning. Thus much of the

gift of tongues is without interpretation. Moreover, the gift of

tongues in itself is barren; the meaning of it remains without fruit.

"Else when thou shalt bless with the Spirit, how shall he that

occupieth the room of the unlearned say Amen at thy giving of thanks,

seeing he understandest not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest

thanks well, but the other is not edified. I thank my God I speak with

tongues more than ye all; yet in the Church I had rather speak five

words with my understanding, that by my voice I might teach others

also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue. Brethren, be not

children in understanding; howbeit in malice be ye children, but in

understanding be men. . . . If therefore the whole Church be come

together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in

those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are

mad? But if all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or

one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; and thus

are the secrets of the heart made manifest; and so falling down on his

face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth. How

is it then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a

psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an

interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying. If any man speak

in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and

that by course; and let one interpret. But if there be no interpreter,

let him keep silence in the Church, and let him speak to himself and to

God. Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge. If

anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his

peace. For ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn and all

may be comforted. And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the

prophets. For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in

all churches of the saints. . . . Wherefore, brethren, covet to

prophesy, and forbid not to speak with tongues. Let all things be done

decently and in order."

Some strange noises, which were called the gift of tongues, and in

which were mixed Greek, Syriac, the words anathema maran atha, the

names of "Jesus, of Lord," greatly embarrassed simple men. Paul, when

consulted on this subject, practised what was called "the discerning of

spirits," and to distinguish in this confused jargon what might come

from the spirit and what might not.

The fundamental dogma of the primitive Church, the resurrection, and

the approaching end of the world, hold a considerable place in this

epistle. The Apostle returns to it eight or nine different times. The

renewal will be by fire. The saints will be the judges of the world,

even of the angels. The resurrection, which of all Christian dogmas was

the most repugnant to the Greek spirit, is the object of particular

attention. Many, whilst admitting the resurrection of Jesus, his

approaching appearance, and the restoration that he was about to

accomplish, did not believe in the resurrection of the dead. When there

was a death in the community, it was to them a scandal and an

embarrassment. Paul had no difficulty in showing them their illogical

position: "If the dead be not raised, neither is Christ raised any the

more--all hope is vain." Christians have much more cause to complain

than other men; the truly wise are those who say, "Let us eat and

drink, for to-morrow we die." The resurrection of Jesus is the

guarantee of the resurrection of all. Jesus has made the first step,

his disciples will follow him in the day of his glorious manifestation.

Then will begin the reign of Christ: all other power but his will be

destroyed. Death will be the last enemy that he will vanquish: all will

be submitted to him, God alone excepted, who has submitted all things

to him. The Son, in fact, will be eager to render homage to God, and to

submit himself to him, that God may be all in all.

"But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body

do they come? Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except

it die: And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that

shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other

grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every

seed his own body. All flesh is not the same flesh: but there is one

kind of flesh of man, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and

another of birds. There are also celestial bodies, and bodies

terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of

the terrestrial is another. There is one glory of the sun, and another

gory of the moon, and another glory of the stars: for one star

differeth from another in glory. So also is the resurrection of the

dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption; it is

sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness, it is

raised in power: It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual

body. . . . Behold, I shew you a mystery; we shall not all sleep, but

we shall be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the

last trump: for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised

incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put

on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this

corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have

put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is

written, Death is swallowed up in victory. death, where is thy sting? O

grave, where is thy victory? . . . But thanks be to God, which giveth

us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ."

Alas, the Christ came not. All died one after another. Paul, who was

believed to be one of those who would live till near the great

appearance, died in his turn. We shall see how neither faith nor hope

stopped for that. No experience, however desolating it may be, appears

decisive to humanity, when it is concerned with these sacred dogmas in

which it finds, not without reason, its consolation and joy. It is easy

for us to find that after a time that these hopes were exaggerated; it

were well, nevertheless, that those who have partaken of them had not

been so clear sighted. Paul tells us candidly that, if he had not

counted upon the resurrection, he would have led the life of a

peaceable citizen, wholly occupied with his vulgar pleasures. Some

sages of the first order--Marcus Aurelius, Spinoza, for example--have

gone further, and have practised the highest virtue without hope of

reward. But the crowd is never heroic. It has needed a generation of

men persuaded that they would not die, it has needed the attraction of

an immense immediate reward, to draw from man that enormous sum of

devotion and of sacrifice which has founded Christianity. The great

chimera of the approaching kingdom of God has been thus the maternal

and creative idea of the new religion. We shall soon assist at the

transformation that the necessity of things will bring about in this

belief. About the years 54-58 it had attained its highest degree of

intensity. All the letters of Paul written about this time are, so to

speak, impregnated with it. The two Syriac words Maran atha--"The Lord

is at hand," were the passwords amongst Christians,--the lively and

short expression that they used to each other to encourage one another

in their hopes

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CHAPTER XV.

CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD JOURNEY OF PAUL--THE GREAT CONTRIBUTION--DEPARTURE

FROM EPHESUS.

Paul, according to his habit, added to the end of the letter,--

"The salutation of me, Paul, with mine own hand. If any man love not

the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema. Maran atha."

He confided his letter to Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who had

brought that of the Corinthians to him. Paul thought the three deputies

would reach Corinth in nearly the same time as Timothy. He feared that

the youth and timidity of his disciple were badly received in the

mocking society of Corinth, and that they did not accord him enough

authority. The Apostle recommended them in the most pressing way to

treat Timothy as himself, and expressed a desire to see him again as

soon as possible. He did not wish to leave Ephesus without his valuable

companion, whose presence had become a sort of necessity to him.

Paul strongly urged Apollos to join Stephanas, and to return to

Corinth, but Apollos wished rather to postpone his departure. From this

moment we lose sight of him. Tradition, however, continues to regard

him as a disciple of Paul. It is probable, in truth, that he continued

his apostolic career, putting to the service of the Christian doctrine

his Jewish erudition and his elegant style.

Paul, however, revolved in his mind boundless projects, in which he

believed, according to his constant habit, that he saw the dictates of

the Spirit. There happened to Paul, what often happens to persons

accustomed to a species of activity. He could not leave what had been

the occupation of his life. Travelling had become necessary to him: he

sought occasions for it. He wished to revisit Macedonia, Achaia, then

to visit Jerusalem anew, then to set out to try new missions in

countries farther off, and not yet reached by the faith, such as Italy

and Spain. The idea of going to Rome tormented him. "I must see Rome,"

he often said. He foresaw that the centre of Christianity would one day

be there, or at least that decisive events would happen there. The

journey to Jerusalem was another project which greatly pre-occupied him

far more than a year.

To calm the jealous feelings of the Church of Jerusalem, and to fulfil

one of the conditions of the peace which was signed at the time of the

interview of the year 51, Paul had prepared a great contribution in the

Churches of Asia Minor and of Greece. We have already seen that one of

the bonds which marked the dependence of the provincial Churches on

those of Judlea, was the obligation of alms. The Church of Jerusalem,

partly through the fault of those who composed it, was always in

distress. Mendicants abounded there. In the earliest ages, the leading

characteristic of Jewish society was that there was neither poverty nor

riches. For two or three centuries, there had been at Jerusalem rich,

and consequently poor, people. The true Jew, turning his back on

Gentile civilisation, became day by day more destitute of resources.

The public works of Agrippa II. had filled the town with starving

masons; buildings were demolished merely for the sake of not leaving

thousands of workmen without work. The Apostles and their companions

suffered like every one else by this state of things. It was necessary

that the suffering Churches, active, laborious, should save these holy

men from dying of hunger. Whilst supporting impatiently the pretensions

of the brethren of Jud�a, their supremacy and their titles of nobility

were not doubted in the provinces. Paul had for them the greatest

regard. "You are their debtors," said he to his faithful ones; "for if

the Gentiles have been made partakers of spiritual things with the

saints of Jud�a, their duty is all the more to minister to them in

carnal things." It was, moreover, an imitation of the custom which had

for a long time obtained among the Jews of all parts of the world, to

send contributions to Jerusalem. Paul thought a large alms, which he

would himself carry to the Apostles, would cause him to be much better

received by the old college who pardoned him with so much reluctance

for doing great things without their assistance, and would be, in the

eyes of these hungry nobles, the best mark of submission. How could

they treat as schismatics and rebels those who gave such substantial

proofs of generosity, and of fraternal and respectful sentiment?

Paul began the gathering about the year 56. He wrote of it first to the

Corinthians, then to the Galatians, and without doubt to other

Churches. He returned to it in his new letter to the Corinthians. There

were in the Churches of Asia Minor and Greece people in easy

circumstances, but none with large for-tunes. Paul knew the economical

habits of the world in which he had lived. The insistence with which he

presents his maintenance as a heavy charge with which he was not

desirous of burdening the Churches, proves that he himself suffered

from the petty embarrassments of poor men, obliged to be careful about

trifles. He thought that if, in the Churches of Greece, they waited his

arrival before collecting the alms, the business would be a failure. He

still wished each one on Sunday to put aside an amount, proportioned to

his means, for this pious end. This little treasure of charity thus

constantly added to, must wait his arrival. Then, the Churches would

elect deputies, whom Paul would send with letters of recommendation to

bear the offering to Jerusalem. Perhaps even, if the result was worth

the trouble, Paul would go in person, and in that case the deputies

would accompany him. So much honour, and so much happiness, to go to

Jerusalem, to travel in company with Paul, greatly agitated the

believers. An emulation in well-doing, skilfully encouraged by the

great master in the art of the direction of souls, kept everybody on

the alert. This contribution was, during some months, the thought which

sustained life, and made all hearts to beat.

Timothy soon returned to Ephesus, as Paul had desired him. He brought

the news later than that of the departure of Stephanas; but there is

reason to believe that he had left the town before Stephanas went there

on his return; for it is by Titus that Paul learnt later the effect

that his new letter had produced. The situation at Corinth was always

very strained. Paul modified his projects, resolved to touch first at

Corinth, to remain there a little time, afterwards to accomplish his

journey from Macedonia, to make a second and longer sojourn at Corinth,

and afterwards, resuming his first plan, to set out for Jerusalem,

accompanied by Corinthian deputies. He believed that he ought to inform

the Church of Corinth immediately of his change of resolution. He

charged Titus with a message and the most delicate communications for

the rebellious Church. The disciple was at the same time to press for

the realisation of the contribution that Paul had ordered. Titus, it

would seem, at first declined; he feared, like Timothy, the giddy and

inconsiderate temper of the men of Corinth. Paul reassured him,--told

him what he thought of the qualities of the Corinthians, extenuated

their faults, dared to promise him a warm reception. He gave him for a

companion a "brother" whose name is not known to us. Paul was near the

last days of his stay at Ephesus; nevertheless it was agreed that he

should wait in this town for the return of Titus.

But new trials had just compelled him anew to modify his designs. Few

periods in the life of Paul were so troubled as this. For the first

time he found the limit overrun, and avowed that all his strength had

departed. Jews, Pagans, Christians, hostile to his supremacy, appeared

to be sworn together against him. The situation of the Church of

Corinth gave him a kind of fever; he sent messenger after messenger to

it; he daily changed his resolution with regard to it. Sickness,

probably, befell him there: he believed he was about to die. A riot

which had taken place at Ephesus still further complicated the

situation, and obliged him to set out without awaiting the return of

Titus.

The temple of Diana offered a terrible obstacle to the preaching of the

new cult. This gigantic establishment, one of the wonders of the world,

was the life and reason for existence of the entire town, by its

colossal riches, by the number of strangers whom it attracted, by the

privileges and celebrity which it conferred upon the city, by the

splendid festivals of which it was the occasion, by the trades which it

maintained. Superstition had here the most sure of guarantees, that of

material interest, never so happy as when it can disguise itself under

the pretext of religion.

One of the industries of the town of Ephesus was that of the

silversmiths, who made little shrines of Diana. Strangers carried away

with them these objects, which, placed afterwards upon their tables or

in the interior of their houses, represented to them the celebrated

sanctuary. A great number of craftsmen were employed in this work. Like

all manufacturers living by the piety of pilgrims, these workmen were

very fanatical. To preach a religion opposed to that which had enriched

them, appeared to them a piece of frightful sacrilege; it was as if in

our days one were to declaim against the worship of the Virgin at

Fourvi�res or La Salette. One of the formulas in which were summed up

the new doctrine was: "The gods made with hands are not gods." This

doctrine had become sufficiently public to cause anxiety to the

silversmiths. Their chief, named Demetrius, excited them to a violent

manifestation, maintaining that he himself acted before all for the

honour of the temple that Asia and the whole world worshipped. The

workmen rushed into the streets, crying, "Great is Diana of the

Ephesians!" and in a short time all the town was filled with confusion.

The crowd was borne along to the theatre, the ordinary place of

assembly. The theatre of Ephesus, whose immense outline, despoiled of

nearly all its completeness--still to be seen on the flanks of Mount

Prion--was perhaps the greatest in the world. It is estimated that it

must have held at least 56,000 people. As the immense seats were formed

in the side of the hill, an enormous crowd could in an instant spread

itself over from the top and completely inundate it. The lower part of

the theatre, moreover, was surrounded by colonnades and open porticoes;

and being in the neighbourhood of the forum, of the market, of several

gymnasia, the whole place was always open. The tumult was at its height

in an instant. Two Christians of Thessalonica, Caius and Aristarchus,

who had joined Paul at Ephesus, and were attached to him as companions,

were in the hands of the rioters. Great was the trouble among the

Christians. Paul wished to enter into the theatre and harangue the

people; his disciples begged him to do nothing of the kind. Some of the

rulers who knew him also persuaded him not to commit such an

imprudence. The most diverse cries were heard in the theatre; the

majority did not know why they had come. There were many Jews, who put

forward a certain Alexander, who made a sign with his hand demanding

silence; but when they recognised him as a Jew, the noise was

redoubled; during two hours, no other cry was heard but "Great is Diana

of the Ephesians!" It was with difficulty that the chancellor of the

town could make them listen to him. He represented the honour of the

great Diana as beyond all reproach; besought Demetrius and his workmen

to have a trial of those who he believed had displeased them, begged

everybody to return to the legal ways, and showed the consequences that

such seditious movements might bring upon the town, if they could not

justify themselves in the eyes of the Roman authority. The crowd

dispersed. Paul, who had fixed his departure some days from that time,

did not wish to prolong this perilous situation. tie resolved to take

his departure as soon as possible.

In terms of the letter which he had sent by Titus to the Christians of

Corinth, Paul would first of all embark for that town. But he was

cruelly perplexed: the anxieties that he had because of Achaia rendered

him undecided. At the last moment, he again changed his route. The time

did not appear to him opportune for a visit to Corinth; there was much

discontent, and a disposition to proceed with vigour. Perhaps his

presence might provoke revolt and schism. He did not know what effect

his letter had produced, and he was very anxious about it. He believed

himself, moreover, to be stronger at a distance than near at hand: his

presence impressed people very little; his letters, on the contrary,

were his triumph. In general, men who have a certain timidity prefer to

write rather than speak. He preferred then not to go to Corinth until

he had seen Titus again, but rather to write anew to the indocile

Church. Thinking that severity is exercised better at a distance, he

hoped that his new letter would bring his adversaries to a better state

of mind. The Apostle resumed, therefore, his former plan of travelling.

He summoned the faithful, addressed his farewells to them, gave orders

that, when Titus should arrive, he should be sent to Troas, and set out

for Macedonia, accompanied by Timothy. Perhaps he took, as assistants

from thence, the two deputies of Ephesus, Tychicus and Trophimus,

charged to bear to Jerusalem the offerings of Asia. This must have been

in the month of June in the year 57. Paul's sojourn at Ephesus had

lasted three years.

During so long an apostleship, he had had time to give to this Church a

strength proof against all trials. Ephesus will be henceforth one of

the metropolitan cities of Christianity, and the place in which its

most important transformations will occur. It was necessary, moreover,

that this Church should be exclusively Pauline, like the Churches of

Macedonia, and the Church of Corinth. There were those who worked

against him at Ephesus, enemies there were for certain, and in ten

years we shall see the Church of Ephesus cited as a model for having

known how to do justice to "those who call themselves apostles without

being so," for having unmasked their imposture, and for the vigorous

hate that it bore to the "Nicolaitans," that is to say, to the

disciples of Paul. The Jud�o-Christian party existed without doubt at

Ephesus from the first year.

Aquila and Priscilla, the assistants of Paul, continued after his

departure to be the centre of the Church. Their house, in which the

Apostle had dwelt, was the place of meeting of all that was most pious

and zealous. Paul was pleased to celebrate every-where the merits of

this respectable couple, to whom he recognised that he owed his life.

All the Churches of Paul had for them a great veneration. Ep�netus, the

first Ephesian whom they converted, came after them; then a certain

Mary, who appears to have been a deaconess, an active and devoted

woman; then Urbane, whom Paul names his co-operator; then Apelles, to

whom Paul gives the title "approved in Christ;" then Rufus, "chosen in

the Lord," who had an aged mother, whom the Apostle, out of respect,

called "My mother." Besides Mary, other women, true sisters of charity,

were vowed to the service of the faithful. These were Tryphena and

Tryphosa, "who labour in the Lord;" then Persis, particularly dear to

Paul, and who had valiantly worked with him. There were still Ampliatus

or Amplias, the Jew Herodion, Stachys, beloved by Paul; a Church or

conventicle composed of Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes,

and many others; another Church or a little society composed of

Philologus and Julia, of Nereus and "his sister" (that is to say,

probably his wife), of Olympas, and of several others. Two great houses

of Ephesus, those of Aristobulus and of Narcissus, counted among their

slaves several of the faithful. Finally, two Ephesians, Tychicus and

Trophimus, were attached to the Apostle, and were henceforth in the

number of his companions. Andronicus and Junia were also at this time

at Ephesus. These were members of the primitive Church of Jerusalem; St

Paul had the greatest respect for them "because they had been in Christ

before him." He calls them "of note among the Apostles." It is a new

detail that in the trial that Paul calls "his battle against the

beasts," they probably had shared of his prison.

At a much more perilous time appeared Artemas, who is said to have been

a companion of Paul; Alexander the coppersmith, Phygellus Hermogenus,

who seems to have left an evil reputation behind him,--provoked schisms

or excommunications, and to have been considered as traitors in the

school of Paul; Onesiphorus and his house, who, on the contrary, would

have shown themselves more than once full of love and devotion towards

the Apostle.

Several of the names which have just been enumerated are the names of

slaves; thus much we see in their peculiar designations, in which is

the ironical emphasis which make them so like to the grotesque names

that are given to negroes in the colonies. It is not improbable that

there were already among the Christians many persons of servile

condition. Slavery, in many cases, did not induce so complete an

attachment to the master's house as our modern domesticity. The slaves

of certain categories were free to mix together, to associate to a

certain extent, to form brotherhoods, a kind of tontine or club, in

view of their funerals. It is not impossible that several of the pious

men and women who had given themselves up to the service of the Church

were slaves, and that the hours that they gave to the diaconate were

those that their masters allowed them. At the time in which these

events happened, the servile class comprised many polished, resigned,

virtuous, well-instructed persons. The highest lessons on morality came

from slaves; Epictetus passed a great part of his life in servitude.

The Stoics, the sages, spoke as did St Paul to the slave: "Remain as

thou art; do not think of setting thyself free." It is not necessary to

judge of the lower classes in the Greek towns by our populace of the

same age, dull, brutal, sensual, incapable of distinction. This

refined, delicate, polished something that one feels in the relations

of the first Christians is a tradition of Greek elegance. The humble

workmen of Ephesus, whom St Paul salutes with so much cordiality, were

without doubt persons of a gentle nature, with a touching honesty,

relieved by excellent manners, and by the peculiar charm that there is

in the civility of the poorer classes. Their serenity of soul, their

content, were perpetual sermons. "See how these Christians love one

another!" was the exclamation of the Pagans, surprised at this innocent

and tranquil air, at this profound and attractive gaiety. After the

preaching of Jesus, it is the divine work of Christianity; it is his

second miracle,--a miracle drawn truly from the living forces of

humanity, and of that in it which is best and most holy.

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CHAPTER XVL

CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD JOURNEY OF PAUL--SECOND STAY OF PAUL IN MACEDONIA.

Paul, on leaving Ephesus, probably went by land, for at least part of

the way. He had calculated, in fact, that Titus, going by sea from

Ephesus to Troas would have reached this latter point before him. This

calculation was not verified. Arrived at Troas, he did not meet Titus

there, which caused him a lively concern. Paul had already passed by

Troas; but it does not appear that he had preached there. This time he

found very favourable dispositions. "A door was opened unto me of the

Lord." Troas was a Latin town in the style of Antioch in Pisidia and of

Philippi. A certain Carpus welcomed the Apostle, and lodged him at his

house; Paul employed the days during which he was waiting for Titus in

founding a Church. He succeeded admirably, for, some days afterwards, a

company of the faithful accompanied him to the shore, when he set out

for Macedonia. It was about five years since he had embarked from the

same port, at the demand of a Macedonian man whom he had seen in a

vision. Never assuredly had a dream counselled greater things or

brought about more beautiful results.

This second stay of Paul in Macedonia must have occupied six months,

from June to November 57. Paul employed himself all this time in

confirming his beloved Churches. His principal residence was at

Thessalonica; he was constrained, however, to dwell also for some time

at Philippi and at Ber�a. Troubles which had filled the last months of

his stay at Ephesus seemed to pursue him. During the first days after

his arrival he had no rest. His life was a continual struggle: the

gravest apprehensions stood in his way. These cares and afflictions did

not assuredly come from the Churches of Macedonia. There could not be

more perfect Churches, more generous, more devoted to the Apostle;

nowhere had he met with so much heart, nobleness, and simplicity. He

found a good many bad Christians--sensual, earthly--on whose account

the Apostle expressed himself with much vivacity, calling them "enemies

of the Cross of Christ whose end is destruction, whose God is their

belly, and whose glory is in their shame, who mind earthly things," and

upon whom he denounces eternal ruin; but it is doubtful if they

belonged to the actual flock of the Apostle. It is from the side of the

Church of Corinth that these great anxieties come. He fears more and

more lest his letter may not have stirred up the indifferent, and may

have armed his enemies.

Titus at last rejoined him, and consoled him for all his griefs. He

brought, in a word, good news, although the clouds were far from being

wholly dissipated. The letter had produced the most profound effect. At

its reading, Paul's disciples had listened in tears. Nearly all had

testified to Titus, whilst shedding tears, the profound affection that

they bore for the Apostle, sorrow for having grieved him, the desire of

seeing him again, and of obtaining pardon from him. These Greek

natures, unsteady and inconstant, came back to the right path as

quickly as they had left it. His expressions frightened them. They

supposed that the Apostle was armed with the most terrible powers;

before his threats, all those who owed their faith to him, trembled and

sought to exculpate themselves. They had not indignation enough against

the guilty; each sought by his zeal against others to justify himself,

and to turn aside the severity of the Apostle. Titus was overwhelmed by

Paul's disciples with the most delicate attentions. He came back

enchanted by the reception that they had given him, by the fervour, by

the docility, by the goodwill that he had found in the spiritual family

of his master. The subscription was not much advanced, but there was a

hope that it would be fruitful. The sentence pronounced against the

incestuous had been softened, or rather Satan, to whom Paul had given

them up, did not execute the decree. The sinner was allowed to live on;

the Apostle had the credit of giving an indulgent consent to what was

after all a mere following of the course of nature. They did not even

chase him absolutely from the Church, but they avoided having relations

with him. Titus had conducted all this business with consummate

prudence, and as skilfully as Paul would have done it himself. The

Apostle never experienced keener joy than at the reception of this

news. During some days, he altogether lost his self-command. He

repented of having grieved such good souls; then, on seeing the

admirable effect that his severity had produced, he became full of joy.

This joy was not unmixed. His enemies were far from yielding; the

epistle had exasperated them, and they made the keenest criticisms upon

it. They noted that it was hard and insulting to the Church; they

accused the Apostle of pride and vanity; "His letters," said they, "are

severe and energetic; but his figure is mean, and his speech without

authority." They attributed to personal hate his rigour towards the

incestuous. They treated him as a foolish, extravagant, conceited, and

indiscreet man. The changes in his plans of journey were presented as

proofs of instability. Agitated by this double news, the Apostle set

about dictating to Timothy a new letter, destined, on the one hand, to

lessen the effect of the first, and to bear to his beloved Church,

which he believed himself to have wounded, the expression of his

paternal sentiments; on the other, to reply to the adversaries who had

failed for the moment to carry away the hearts of his children from

him.

As for his enemies, Paul knew that he had not disarmed them. At each

instant there are lively and smart allusions to these people "which

corrupt the word of God," above all, to those letters of recommendation

which they have turned to his detriment. His enemies are false

apostles, deceitful workers, who disguise themselves as the apostles of

Christ. Satan sometimes changes himself into an angel of light;

therefore is it astonishing if his ministers transform themselves into

ministers of righteousness? Their end shall be according to their

works. They pretend that he has not known the Christ. He does not agree

with them; because for him his vision on the road to Damascus has been

a true personal relationship with Jesus. But, after all, what does it

matter? Since Christ is dead, all are dead with Christ, to carnal

considerations. For himself, he no longer knows any one according to

the flesh. If he has known Christ after the flesh, he knows him no

more. Let them not force him to be other than he is. When he is amongst

them, he is humble, timid, embarrassed; but he hopes they will not

oblige him to use the arms which have been given to him to destroy

every fortress opposed to Christ, to destroy all scorners who raise

themselves against the knowledge of God, and to submit every thought to

the yoke of Jesus; it is easy to see that he knows how to punish

disobedience. Those who describe themselves as of the party of Christ

ought to remember, that he, Paul, is also of the school of Christ. The

power that the Lord has given him to edify, do they wish to oblige him

to use it to destroy? They try to make the Corinthians believe that he

seeks to frighten them by his letters. Let those who use this language

take care lest he be forced to write to them in even severer terms. It

is not of the number of men who vaunt themselves and who have just

hawked about right and left their letters of recommendation. His letter

of recommendation is the Church of Corinth. This letter, he bears in

his heart; it is legible for all; it is not written in ink, but by the

Spirit of the living God, not upon tables of stone, but upon the tables

of the heart. He only measures it in its proper proportion, he only

compares it himself. He only arrogates to himself authority over the

Churches which he has founded; he is not like men who wish to extend

their power over countries in which they have not shown themselves in

their own person, and who, after having yielded to him, Paul, the

Gospel of the Circumcision, have just now gathered the fruit of a work

which they had at first opposed. Each to his own ground. He need not

boast of the works of others, nor vaunt him-self verbosely and without

measure; the portion that God apportioned to him is beautiful enough,

since it has been his lot to bear the Gospel to Corinth; and still he

hopes to go farther away. But it is in God alone that he finds his

glory.

This modesty was not feigned. But it is difficult for a man of action

to be modest; he runs the risk of being taken literally. The least

egotistical of the Apostles is incessantly compelled to speak of

himself. He calls himself an abortion, the least of the saints, the

least of the Apostles, unworthy of that name, since he has persecuted

the Church of God; but do not believe that for all that he resigns his

prerogative.

"But by the grace of God I am what I am: and His grace which was

bestowed upon me was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than

they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me. . . .

"For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles. But

though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge; but we have been

thoroughly made manifest among you in all things. Have I committed an

offence in abasing myself that ye might be exalted, because I have

preached to you the gospel of God freely? I robbed other Churches,

taking wages of them to do you service. And when I was present with

you, and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was lacking

to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied: and in all

things I have kept myself from being burdensome unto you, and so will I

keep myself. As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of

this boasting in the regions of Achaia. Wherefore? because I love you

not? God knoweth. But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off

occasion from them which desire occasion; that wherein they glory, they

may be found even as we. . . ."

Arming himself with the accusation of madness, that his adversaries

raised against him, he accepts for a moment this position which they

have lent him, and, under the mask of oratorical irony, he makes the

madman throw in the face of his adversaries the harshest truths.

[2] "I am a fool, it is agreed; very well, bear with my folly for a

moment. You that are wise, ought to be indulgent to fools. And then,

you shew so much tolerance for men who put you into servitude, who

devour you, who extort your money, and who, after that, are puffed up

with pride, and strike you in the face. Let us go on, since it is the

fashion to sing one's own glory, let us sing ours. All that can be said

in this kind of folly, I can say like them. They are Hebrews; so am I.

They are Israelites; so am I They are of the race of Abraham; so am I.

They are ministers of Christ (ah I speak as a fool), I am more. In

labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more

frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty

stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned,

thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep;

in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in

perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in

the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils

among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often,

in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. And

outside of these accidents, snail I recall my daily anxieties, the care

of all the Churches? Who is weak, and I am not weak? Who is offended,

and I burn not? . . . . But I only wish to glory in my infirmities

. . . . it is in our infirmities that the strength of Christ is more

manifest. That is why I glory in my infirmities, in my injuries, in my

necessities, in my persecutions, in my sufferings for Christ, for when

I am weak in the flesh I am strong in Christ.

"Truly I am become a fool in glorying; you have compelled me. I should

have been exempt from it, if you had wished to charge yourselves with

my apology to those who attack me. I am nothing; but I yield in nothing

to the very chiefest Apostles. Truly I have wrought the signs of an

Apostle among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty

deeds. For what is it wherein ye were inferior to other Churches,

except it be that I myself was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this

injustice. It is the third time that I have announced my approaching

arrival to you. This time I will not be burdensome to you; for I seek

not yours, but you. For the children ought not to lay up for the

parents, but the parents for the children. And, I will very gladly

spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you the

less I be loved.

"But if it be so, it may be said I have not been directly in your

charge, but, crafty rogue that I am, I have skilfully swindled you of

the silver that I refused to accept. Did I gain anything by any of

those whom I have sent to you? I sent Titus to you, and with him a

brother whom you know. Did Titus make a profit out of you? Walked we

not in the same spirit and in the same steps? . . . For I fear lest,

when I come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be

found unto you such as ye would not: lest there be debates, envyings,

wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults. And lest

when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall

bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the

uncleanness and fornication and lasciviousness which they have

committed. This is the third time I am coming unto you . . . I told you

before, and warn you, absent as present, the second time; and being

absent now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all

other, that, if I come again, I will not spare: since ye seek a proof

of Christ speaking in me . . . Therefore I write these things being

absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the

power which the Lord hath given me."

Paul, we see, had reached that great state of exaltation in which the

religious founders of the first order lived. His thoughts lifted him

out of himself. The manner in which to execute the contribution for the

poor of Jerusalem was at this time his consolation. Macedonia showed an

exemplary zeal in it. Those excellent souls gave with a joy, with an

eagerness, which ravished the Apostle. Nearly all the members of the

sect had suffered in their little way through having adhered to the new

doctrine; but in their poverty they still knew how to find something

for a work which the Apostle designated as excellent. The hopes of Paul

were more than fulfilled; the faithful nearly went down on their knees,

to beg the Apostle to accept the necessarily small donations which they

were able to offer. They would have given themselves, if the Apostle

would have accepted them. Paul, pushing his delicacy almost to

exaggerated refinement, and wishing, as he said, to be irreproachable

not only before God but before men, requiring that they should choose

at the election deputies charged to carry the offering of each Church,

carefully sealed, so as to disperse the suspicions that malevolence

would certainly cast upon him concerning his management of considerable

funds. These deputies followed him already everywhere, and formed

around him a kind of escort always ready to execute his missions. They

were those whom he calls "the envoys of the Churches, the glory of

Christ"

Cleverness, suppleness of language, the epistolary dexterity of Paul,

were employed entirely in this work. He employed to recommend it to the

Corinthians the most moving and tenderest phrases; he commanded

nothing; but, knowing their charity, he allowed himself to give them

advice. It was a year since they had begun; he was now anxious himself

to finish; goodwill did not suffice. It is not a question of worrying

oneself to put others at ease. The rule in such affairs is equality, or

rather reciprocity. For the moment, the Corinthians are rich and the

saints of Jerusalem are poor, it is for the former to help the latter,

the latter will help the former in turn. Thus he himself will verify

the saying: "He that gathered much had nothing over, and he that

gathered little had no lack."

Paul prayed the faithful Titus to return to Corinth and to continue the

work of charity there which he had so well begun. Titus had desired

this mission, and received it with eagerness. The Apostle gave him two

companions, whose names we do not know. One was of the number of the

deputies who had been elected to bear the offering from Macedonia to

Jerusalem; "his praise," says Paul, "is in the Gospel throughout all

the Churches." The other was a brother "whom Paul had oftentimes proved

diligent in many things, but now much more diligent, upon the great

confidence which he had in the Church of Corinth." Neither of those

indications suffices to settle who is meant. Paul prayed the

Corinthians to keep up the good opinion which he had tried to give of

them to these three persons, and employs to excite their generosity a

little charitable manoeuvre which raises a smile.

"For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to

them of Macedonia, that Achaia was ready a year ago; and your zeal hath

provoked very many. Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of

you should be vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready:

lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared,

we (that we say not, ye) should be ashamed in this confident boasting.

Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they

would go before unto you and make up beforehand your bounty, whereof ye

had notice before, that the same might be ready as & matter of bounty,

not as of covetousness. But this I say, he which soweth sparingly,

shall reap also sparingly; and he which soweth bountifully, shall reap

also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so

let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a

cheerful giver. . . . Now he that ministereth seed to the sower both

minister bread for your food, and multiply your. seed sown, and

increase the fruits of righteousness. . . . For the administration of

this service not only supplieth the want of the saints, but is abundant

also by many thanksgivings unto God; whilst by the experiment of this

ministration they glorify God for your professed subjection unto the

Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto

all men; and by their prayer for you, which long after you for the

exceeding grace of God in you. Thanks be unto God for His unspeakable

gift!"

This letter was carried to Corinth by Titus and by the two brethren who

accompanied him. Paul remained still for some months in Macedonia. The

times were still very hard. Scarcely ever has there been a Church which

has not had to contend with ever-recurring difficulties. Patience is

the recommendation that the Apostle addresses the oftenest.

"Tribulations, distresses, pangs, cudgellings, prisons, bad treatment,

vigils, fastings,--purity, long-suffering, honesty, sincere charity,

such is our life; sometimes honoured, sometimes despised, sometimes

slandered, sometimes respected; held as impostors, as well as truthful

ones; as unknown, yet well known (of God); as dying, whilst we live; as

men whom God chastises and yet we do not die; as sorrowful, yet always

rejoicing; for poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet

possessing all things." Joy, concord, hope without limit, made

suffering light, and inaugurated that delicious reign of "the God of

love and peace" that Jesus had announced. Above a thousand meannesses,

the spirit of Jesus shines in these groups of saints with infinite

brightness and sweetness.

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[2] This is the latter part of the 2d Epistle to the Corinthians,

freely rendered. No literal translation gives the sense.--Trans.

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CHAPTER XVII.

CONTINUATION OF THE THIRD MISSION--SECOND STAY OF PAUL AT CORINTH--THE EPISTLE

TO THE ROMANS.

Paul, according to our calculation, set out from Macedonia, and came to

Greece at the end of November or the beginning of December 57. He had

with him the delegates chosen by the Churches of Macedonia to accompany

him to Jerusalem, and to carry himself and the alms of the faithful,

amongst others Sopater or Sosipater, son of Pyrrhus of Ber�a, a certain

Lucius, a certain Tertius, Aristarchus, and Secundus of Thessalonica.

Jason of Thessalonica, his host since his first voyage, accompanied him

also, it seems. Perhaps, finally, the deputies of Asia--Tychicus, and

Trophimus of Ephesus, Gaius from Derbe, were already with him. Timothy

about this time did not leave him. All these made a kind of apostolic

caravan of a very imposing aspect. When they had rejoined Titus and the

two brothers who had accompanied him, Corinth really possessed all the

leaders of the new movement. Paul, conformably to his former plan,

which he had several times modified, but which he finished by carrying

out in its essential lines, passed in this town three months of the

winter 57-58 (December 57, January and February 58). The Church of

Athens was so small that Paul, according to all appearance, did not

visit it, or at least hardly stopped there.

The Apostle, not having any longer at his disposal the kindly

hospitality of Aquila and Priscilla, lodged this time at the house of

Caius, whose house served for the meetings of the whale Church, and to

whom he was attached by a bond then held very sacred. Stephanas was

perhaps dead or absent. Paul always observed at Corinth much reserve,

for he did not feel himself to be on very firm ground. Seeing the

danger that association with the world offered in a town so corrupted,

he reverted always to broad principles, and advised avoiding all

relations with the Pagans. The welfare of the souls at such a time was

his only rule, the only end which he proposed to himself.

It is probable that the presence of Paul at Corinth calmed altogether

the dissentients, who, for several months, gave him much anxiety. A

bitter allusion which he made about this time to "those who vaunt

themselves of works that Christ has not done by them," and of others,

"who build upon another man's foundations," shows, however, that a

vivid impression of the evil works of his adversaries remained with

him. The business of the subscription had gone forward as he

desired--Macedonia and Achaia had contributed a large sum. The Apostle

had at last an interval of repose; he utilised it by writing, always

under the form of an epistle, a kind of summing up of his theological

doctrine.

As this great document interested all Christianity equally, Paul

addressed it chiefly to the Churches which he had founded, and with

which he could communicate at this time. The Churches favoured with

such an address were four in number at the least. One was the Church of

Ephesus; a copy was also sent into Macedonia; Paul even had an idea of

addressing this piece to the Church of Rome. In all his copies the body

of the epistle was nearly the same; the moral recommendations and the

salutations varied. In the copy destined for the Romans, in particular,

Paul introduced some varied readings suited to the taste of this

Church, which he knew was very much attached to Judaism. It is the copy

addressed to the Church of Rome which served as the basis of the

constitution of the text when the collection of the epistles of St Paul

was made. Hence the name that the epistle in question bears to-day. The

publishers (if we may be permitted so to call them) only copied at one

time the parts common to all; however, as they would themselves be

scrupulous not to lose anything which came from the pen of the Apostle,

they gathered together at the end of the copy princeps, the parts which

varied in the different copies, or which they themselves found in more

than one of them.

This precious writing, the foundation of all Christian theology, is

mainly that in which the ideas of Paul are exposed in better order.

There appears in full daylight the great idea of the Apostle: there the

law is put on one side; works are of no value; salvation comes only

from Jesus, Son of God, raised from the dead. Jesus, who, in the eyes

of the Jud�o-Christian school, is a great prophet, come to fulfil the

law, is, in the eyes of Paul, a divine apparition, rendering useless

all that has preceded him, even the Law. Jesus and the Law are for Paul

two opposite things. He who accords to the Law excellence and efficacy

is a traitor to Jesus. To overthrow the Law, is to exalt Jesus. Greeks,

Jews, Barbarians, all are equal; the Jews are first called, then the

Greeks: all are saved only by faith in Jesus.

What can man do, indeed, if he be left to himself? One thing only--he

can sin. And at first, in that which concerns Pagans, the spectacle of

the visible world and the natural law written in their hearts would

suffice to reveal to them the true God and their duties. By a voluntary

and inexcusable blindness, they have not worshipped the God whom they

knew well; they have lost themselves in their vain thoughts; their

pretended philosophy has only been idle speculation. To punish them,

God has abandoned them to the most shameful vices, to sins against

nature. The Jews are no more innocent; they have received the Law, but

they have not observed it. Circumcision does not make the true Jew; the

Pagan who observes the natural law well is worth much more than the Jew

who does not observe the Law of God. Have not the Jews then some

prerogative? Without doubt, they have one: it is to them that the

promises have been made; the unbelief of many among them does not

prevent these promises from being fulfilled. But the Law by itself

cannot bring about the reign of justice; it has served merely to create

the offence and to put it in evidence. In other words, the Jews, like

the Gentiles, have lived under the dominion of sin.

Whence then does justification come? From faith in Jesus, without

distinction of race. All men were sinners; Jesus has been the

propitiatory victim; His death has been the redemption that God has

accepted for the sins of the world, the works of the law not having

been able to justify the world. God is not only the God of the Jews, He

is also the God of the Gentiles. It was by faith that Abraham was

justified, since it is written, "He believed, and it was accounted to

him for righteousness." Justification is free; one has no right to it

by merit; it is an imputed grace and an all-merciful act of the

Divinity.

The fruit of justification is peace with God, hope, and consequently

patience, which enables us to show our glory and our happiness in

tribulation, according to the example of Christ, who has died for

sinners, and by whose blood we have been justified. If God has so loved

men that He has given His son to die for them when we were sinners,

what will He not do now that they are reconciled?

Sin and death were brought into the world by one man, Adam, in whom all

have sinned. Grace and salvation were brought into the world by one

Man, Christ, in whom all are justified. Two typical men have existed,

"the first Adam," or the earthly Adam, the origin of all disobedience;

"the second Adam," or the heavenly Adam, the origin of all justice.

Humanity divides itself between these two leaders of the human race,

some following the earthly Adam, others the spiritual Adam. The Law has

served only to multiply offences, and to make sinners conscious of

them. It is grace which, superabounding where offence has abounded, has

effaced all, so that one may almost say that, thanks to Jesus, sin has

been happiness, and has only served to bring to light the mercy of God.

But, it will be said, let us sin then that grace may abound; let us do

evil, that good may come. That, says Paul, is what they assert of me,

thus falsifying my doctrine. Nothing is further from my thoughts. Those

who have been baptised in Christ are dead to sin, buried with Christ,

to rise again and live with Him--that is to say, lead a new life. Our

"old man," that is to say, the man that we were before baptism, has

been crucified with Christ. Because the Christian is not under the Law,

it does not follow that he may sin. From the slavery of sin, he has

passed to the service of righteousness; from the way of sin unto death,

to the way of life. The Christian, moreover, is dead to the Law; for

the Law created sin. In itself, it was good and holy, but it made sin

known; it aggravated it, so that the commandment which should have

created life, created death. A woman is an adultress if, whilst living

with her husband, she fails to keep her marriage vow; but after the

death of her husband, adultery is no longer possible. Christ, in

breaking down the letter of the Law, has taken us from under the Law,

and won us to himself. Dead to the flesh, which was in sin, being dead

to the Law, he who cast off sin, the Christian has only to serve God

"in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter." The Law

was spiritual, but man is carnal. There are two parts in man--one which

loves and wishes to do well, the other which does evil, without that

other man wishing to do it. Does it not often happen that we do not

that we would, while the evil that we would not, that we do? Is it that

sin, innate in man, acts in him without his wishing it. "The inner

man," that is to say, reason, would obey the law of God; but

concupiscence is ever at war with reason and the law of God. "O

wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of this

death? I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord."

The true Christian, being delivered from the Law and from

concupiscence, is then safe from damnation, by the mercy of God, who

has sent His only Son to take upon Him a body of sinful flesh like our

own, to destroy sin. But this deliverance does not take place if he

destroy not his life according to the flesh, and live according to the

Spirit. The wisdom of the flesh is the great enemy of God; it is even

death. The Spirit, on the contrary, is life. By Him we have been made

the adopted sons of God, whereby we cry Abba, that is to say, "Father."

But, if we are the sons of God, we are also His heirs, and joint heirs

with Christ. After having partaken of His sufferings, we shall also

partake of His glory. What are all the sufferings of this present time

compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us? The whole

creation waits for this great revelation of the sons of God. It hopes,

I say, to be delivered from the bondage under which it groans, subject

as it is to infirmity and corruption, and to pass into the glorious

liberty of the sons of God. We also, who have received the first-fruits

of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for

the moment in which our elevation to the position of the sons of God

shall be complete, and when our body shall be delivered from its

frailty. It is hope which saves us; but we do not hope for that which

we see. Let us persevere patiently in this hope for the invisible, with

the help of the Spirit. We know not what we should pray for; but the

Spirit makes up for our weakness, and makes intercession for us with

God with groanings which cannot be uttered. God, who seeth the heart,

knoweth how to divine the desires of the Spirit, and to separate its

indistinct and inarticulate sighs.

What a motive of assurance, moreover! It is by a direct act of God that

we are destined for the metamorphosis which will make us like His Son,

and who will make of all living a body of brethren of whom Jesus will

be the first born. By His foreknowledge, God knows His elect

beforehand; those whom He knows, He predestinates; those whom He

predestinates, He calls; those whom He calls, He justifies; those whom

He justifies, He glorifies. Let us be tranquil: if for us God has not

spared His only Son, but has delivered Him to death, what can He refuse

us? Who will be in the day of judgment the accuser of the elect? God,

who has justified them? Who will condemn them? Christ, who has died and

risen again, who is seated at the right hand of God, who intercedes for

us? Impossible! "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall

tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or

peril, or sword? For I," adds Paul, "am persuaded that neither death,

nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things

present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other

creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is

in Christ Jesus our Lord."

We see to what a complete rupture with Judaism Christianity has reached

in the hands of Paul. Jesus has not been so far off assuredly. Jesus

has boldly proclaimed that the reign of the Law is ended, that the

worship in spirit and in truth of God the Father only remains. But,

with Jesus, poetry, sentiment, imagery, and style are essentially

Jewish. He continues in a direct line Isaiah, the psalmists, the

prophets of the time of the captivity, the author of the Song of Songs,

and sometimes the author of Ecclesiastes. Paul only continues Jesus,

not as he was by the side of the lake of Gennesareth, but Jesus such as

he conceives him, such as he has seen him in his inner vision. For his

old co-religionists he has only pity. The "perfect" Christian, the

"enlightened" Christian, is in his eyes the one who knows the vanity of

the Law, its uselessness, the frivolity of its pious practices. Paul

would wish to be anathema for his brothers in Israel; it is for him a

great sadness, a continual heartache to dream of this noble race,

raised so high in glory, which had the privilege of adoption, of

alliance, of the Law, of the true worship, of the promises,--which has

had patriarchs out of whom Christ has come in the flesh. But God will

not fail in His promises. Even though one is of the seed of Israel, he

is not necessarily a true Israelite; he is heir to the promises by the

choice and calling of God, not by the accident of birth. There is no

injustice in that. Salvation is the result, not of human efforts, but

of the mercy of God. God is free to have mercy on whom He will, and to

deal hardly with whom he will. Who will dare to ask of God the reason

for His choice? Can the vessel of clay say to the potter: Why hast thou

made me thus? Hath not the potter the power, with the same lump, to

make two vessels, one for honourable uses, the other for dishonourable?

If it please God to prepare man to show His power by crushing him, as

He did Pharaoh, He is the master, the rather that thereby He shows

forth His mercy towards those whom He has prepared and called to glory.

But He makes this choice, without stopping for any consideration of

race or of blood.

If the Jewish people, moreover, see themselves supplanted, it is their

own fault. They have too much confidence in the works of the Law; they

believe that they will by these works be justified. The Gentiles,

disembarrassed of this stone of stumbling, have entered more easily

into the true doctrine of salvation by faith. Israel has sinned by too

much zeal for the Law, and by having placed too much reliance upon the

personal justification which it acquires by works. Thus it has been

made to forget that justification is from God only,--that it is the

fruit of grace and not of works; which has made it misunderstand the

instrument of that justification which is Jesus.

Has God then cast off his people? No. God, it is true, has found it

good to blind and to harden the greater part of the Jews. But the

corner-stone of the elect has been taken out of the breasts of Israel.

Besides, the perdition of the Hebrew people is not definitive. This

perdition has had for its only object the salvation of the Gentiles and

the creation of a salutary emulation between the two branches of the

elect. It is a happiness for the Gentiles that the Jews had for a time

failed in their vocation, since it is through their fault, and thanks

to their weakness, that the Gentiles have been substituted for them.

But if the falling away of the Jewish people, if a moment of delay on

its part has been the salvation of the world, what will be its

introduction in a mass into the Church? This will truly be the

resurrection. If the first-fruits be holy, the whole mass is holy also;

if the root be holy, the branches are holy also. Some branches have

been cut off, and in their place have been grafted branches of the wild

olive, which have thus become partakers of the root and of the sap of

the olive tree. Take care, O wild olive! lest thou grow proud at the

expense of the branches which have been cut off! It is not thou that

bearest the root; it is the root that bears thee! Yes, thou wilt say,

but the branches have been cut off so that I may be grafted. Doubtless;

they have been cut off for want of faith; it is to faith that thou

owest all; beware lest thou grow proud; tremble. If thou dost not

persevere, thou also wilt be cut off. If they come to the faith, God is

perfectly well able to regraft them on their own trunk. Israel has been

blinded till the crowd of the Gentiles can be received into the Church;

but after that, Israel will be saved in turn. The gifts of God are

without repentance. The friendship of Israel and of God has suffered an

eclipse, so that the Gentiles may in the interval receive the Gospel;

but the calling of Israel, the promises made to the patriarchs, will

have their effect none the less. God will use the incredulity of some

for the salvation of others; then those whom He has rendered faithless,

He will save in their turn; all which goes to prove that salvation on

His part is purely an act of mercy, and not a result at which one will

arrive by right of birth, or by works, or by the free choice of his

reason. God will not take counsel of any one; He has not any account to

render to any one. "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and

knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past

finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been

His counsellor? . . . For of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all

things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen."

The Apostle, according to his habit, ends by moral applications. The

worship of the Christian is the worship of reason, without other

sacrifice than that of himself. Each must present to God a pure

sacrifice, and worthy of being favourably accepted. The spirit of the

Church must be modesty, concord, mutual responsibility; all the gifts,

all the duties are intimately associated with it. The body has many

members; all the members have not the same office, but all have need of

each other. Prophets, deacons, doctors, preachers, benefactors,

superiors, delegates, for works of mercy are equally necessary,

provided that they exhibit in the discharge of their functions the

simplicity, zeal, and cheerfulness that these functions require.

Charity without hypocrisy, brotherly kindness, politeness and kind

attentions, activity, fervour, joy, hope, patience, amiability,

concord, humility, pardon for injuries, love of our neighbours,

eagerness to assist the needs of the saints; to bless those who

persecute you, to rejoice with those who rejoice, to weep with those

who weep, to conquer evil, not by evil, but by good: such is the moral,

in part inculcated in the ancient Hebrew books, that Paul preached

after Jesus. It would seem that at the period in which Paul wrote this

epistle, various Churches, above all the Church of Rome, reckoned

amongst their number certain disciples of Judah the Gaulonite, who

denied the legitimacy of the Roman tribute, and who preached revolt

against the Roman authority; possibly also the Ebionites, who

absolutely opposed the reign of Satan and the reign of the Messiah to

each other, and who identified the present world with the empire of the

devil. Paul replied to them, as a true disciple of Jesus:

"Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no

power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever

therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they

that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a

terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of

the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the

same: for he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do

that which is evil, be afraid: for he beareth not the sword in vain:

for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him

that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for

wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For, for this cause pay ye

tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon

this very thing. Render therefore to all their dues; tribute to whom

tribute is due; custom to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to

whom honour."

This was written in the fourth year of Nero. This prince had not yet

afforded a reason for every subject to curse him. His government had

been the best since the death of Augustus. At the moment when Paul,

with much good sense, took up the defence of the tax against the Jewish

theocracy, Nero softened its rigour, and even sought to apply to it the

most radical reforms. The Christians at this date had not themselves

complained of him, and it may readily be believed that at a time when

the Roman authority served his plan rather than made an obstacle to it,

Paul had sought to prevent tumultuous movements which might lose all,

but to which the Jews of Rome were much inclined. These seditions, the

arrests, and the punishments which were its consequences, threw the new

sect into the greatest disfavour, and made the adepts confound them

with thieves and the disturbers of public order. Paul had too much tact

to be a rioter: he wished that credit should be given to the name of

Christian, that a Christian should be a man of order, in good odour

with the police, of good reputation in the eyes of Pagans. This was

what made him write that page, equally singular in the eyes of a Jew

and of a Christian. Yet in it may be seen, however, with a rare

simplicity, that there was in the very essence of this nascent

Christianity some-thing politically dangerous. The theory of the divine

right of all the powers that be is candidly laid down. Nero has been

proclaimed by St Paul a minister, an officer of God, a representative

of Divine authority. The Christian, whilst he is allowed to practise

his religion openly, will be a subject, by no means a citizen. I do not

intend to utter any censure here; but no one can do two things at once;

policy is not everything, and the true glory of Christianity is to have

created a whole world out of itself. But see to what we expose

ourselves with these absolute theories! "The minister of God," of whom

all honest men must seek approbation, whose sword is only terrible to

the wicked, will become in a few years the Beast of the Apocalypse, the

Anti-Christ, the persecutor of the saints.

The strange situation of the spirits, the persuasion which they held

that the end of the world was close at hand, explain for the remainder

this haughty indifference.

"And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of

sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed. The night

is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works

of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light. Let us walk

honestly, as in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in

clambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying. But put ye on the

Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the

lusts thereof."

The contest of Paul against his adversaries, who were more or less

Ebionites, can be traced in part in his letter relating to the

abstinence from meats, and to the observance of new moons, of Sabbaths,

and of days. Ebionism, which at this period had its principal centre at

Rome, held greatly to these external practices, which were in truth

only a continuation of the practices of the Essenes. They were

scrupulous, ascetic persons, who not only practised the legal

ordinances with regard to meats, but who obliged themselves to eat only

vegetables and to drink no wine. It is necessary to remember that

Christianity recruited itself among very pious persons, and, as such,

much given to devotional practices. In becoming Christians, these

persons remained faithful to their ancient habits; or rather, the

adoption of Christianity was for them only an act of devotion (religio)

the more. Paul, in this new epistle, remained faithful to the excellent

rules of conduct which he had already traced among the Corinthians. In

themselves, these practices are perfectly vain. But what is of the

greatest importance, is not to offend these feeble consciences, not to

trouble them, not to argue with them. He whose conscience is

enlightened must not despise him whose conscience is feeble. The

timorous conscience must not be permitted to judge the large

conscience. Let each follow his own judgment, the right thing is what

one believes to be right before God. How shall one dare to judge his

brother? It is Christ who will judge us all; each will only have to

answer for him-self. The distinction of meats rests upon nothing; all

things are pure. But what is of importance is that no one should cause

scandal to his brother. If, in eating the permitted meats, you aggrieve

your brother, take care; for the sake of the question of meats, do not

lose a soul for whom Christ died. The kingdom of heaven has nothing to

do with eating and drinking; it sums itself up in justice, peace, joy,

edification.

The disciples of Paul were occupied for several days in copying this

manifesto, addressed to different Churches. The epistle to the Churches

of Macedonia was written by Tertius. The Macedonians who accompanied

Paul, and the Corinthians who had relations with the Churches of the

north of Greece, profited by the occasion to salute their brethren. The

Epistle to the Ephesians contained the nominal salutation of Paul to

nearly all the Christians of this great Church. As there was little

communication between Corinth and Macedonia on the one hand, and

Ephesus on the other, the Apostle does not speak to the Ephesians of

the world which surrounds him; but he vigorously recommends to them

Phoebe, who probably carried the letter to them. This poor woman set

out on a painful voyage in winter across the archipelago, without any

other resource than the recommendation of Paul. The Church of Ephesus

was begged to receive her in a manner worthy of the saints, and to

provide for all her needs. Paul had probably some anxieties about the

intrigues of the Jud�o-Christian party at Ephesus; for, at the end of

the letter, he added in his own handwriting:--

"Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and

offences contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid

them. For they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their

own belly; and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of

the simple. For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad,

therefore, on your behalf: but yet I would have you wise unto that

which is good and simple concerning evil. And the God of peace shall

bruise Satan under your feet shortly. The grace of our Lord Jesus

Christ be with you. Amen."

We have seen that St Paul in writing this most important epistle had

intended to send it to the Church of Rome. This Church had reformed

itself since the Edict of Claudius, and much that was good had been

said of it. It was not very numerous, and was chiefly composed of

Ebionites and Jud�o-Christians; it also contained in its ranks

Proselytes and converted Pagans. The idea of addressing a dogmatic

writing to a Church which he had not founded, was bold, and altogether

contrary to the habit of Paul. He much feared lest they should see in

his attempt something indiscreet; he forbade himself all that might

recall the tone of a master speaking with authority; he made no

personal salutations. With these precautions, he thought that his

title, henceforth recognised as the Apostle of the Gentiles, gave him

the right to address a Church which he had never seen. The importance

of Rome as capital of the Empire pre-occupied him: for several years he

nourished the project of betaking himself thither. Not being able to

execute his design as yet, he wished to give a mark of sympathy to this

illustrious Church, which contained a class of the faithful of whom he

considered himself the pastor, and announced to it the good news of his

future arrival.

The composition and despatch of the epistle written "to the Romans"

occupied the greatest part of the three months of the winter, which

Paul passed this year at Corinth. They were, in a sense, the best

employed weeks of his life. This epistle became, later on, the summing

up of dogmatic Christianity, the declaration of war by theology against

philosophy, the chief inducement to a class of eager spirits to embrace

Christianity as a means of setting reason at defiance, whilst

proclaiming the sublimity and credibility of the absurd. It is the

application of the merits of Christ which justifies; it is God who

works in us to will and to do of His good pleasure. Here is the

overthrow of reason, which, essentially Pelagian, has for its

fundamental dogma, liberty, and the personality of merit. Very well,

then, the doctrine of Paul, opposed to all merely human sense, has been

really liberty and salvation. It has separated Christianity from

Judaism; it has separated Protestantism from Catholicism. Pious

observances, persuading the devotee that by them he is justified, have

a double disadvantage: in the first place, they kill morality by making

the devotee believe that there is a sure and easy way of entering

Paradise in despite of God. The hardest-hearted Jew--a selfish and

malicious usurer, let us say--imagined that by observing the Law he

would force God to save him. The Catholic of the time of Louis XI.

imagined that with masses he took proceedings against God as by a

bailiff's summons, so that, rogue though he might be, he had the game

in his own hands, he could compel Almighty God to admit him into His

company. To this impiety, in which Judaism was upset by Talmudism, in

which Christianity was upset by the Catholicism of the Middle Ages,

Saint Paul has adminstered the most efficient antidote. According to

him, we are justified, not by works, but by faith; it is faith in Jesus

which saves. That is why this doctrine, apparently so paltry, has been

that of all the reformers--the lever by means of which Wycliff, John

Huss, Luther, Calvin, St Cyran, have overthrown the ancient tradition

of blind confidence in the priest, and in a kind of exterior justice,

which has nothing to do with a change of heart.

The other practical inconvenience is the multiplication of scruples.

Practices, supposed to have a value by themselves, ex opere operato,

independently of the state of the soul, open the door to all the

subtleties of a meticulous casuist. Legal work becomes a prescription,

the success of which depends upon its punctual execution. Here again

Talmudism and Catholicism are agreed. The despair of the Jewish

devotees of the time of Jesus and of St Paul was the fear of not

observing the whole Law--the apprehension of not being in order. It was

believed that the holiest man sins,--that it is impossible not to

prevaricate. They almost regretted that God had given the Law, since it

only served to bring about transgressions; they confessed to the

singular idea, that God had laid down all these laws with the sole

purpose of creating sin, and making all the world sinful. Jesus, in the

opinion of his disciples, had made easy the entrance to this kingdom of

God which the Pharisees had made so difficult, to enlarge the door of

that Judaism which they had narrowed so much. Paul, at least, does not

imagine any other way of sup-pressing sin than by suppressing the Law.

His reasoning has something of that of the Probabilists: to multiply

obligations is to multiply offences; to relax rules, to render them as

broad as possible, is to prevent offences, since we do not violate

precepts by which we do not consider ourselves bound.

The great torment of delicate souls is scrupulousness: he who eases

them of it is all-powerful over them. One of the most common customs of

devotion amongst the pious sects in England, is to think of Jesus as of

him who disemburdens the conscience, reassures the guilty, calms the

sinning soul, delivers it from the thought of evil. Overwhelmed by the

consciousness of sin and of condemnation, Paul in the same way finds

peace in Jesus only. All are sinners, even to the last, by reason of

their descent from Adam. Judaism, by its sacrifices for sin, had

established the idea of accounts as it were opened between man and

God,--of remission and of debts; a false enough idea, for sin does not

remit itself,--it carries its punishment with it; a crime committed

will last until the end of time, only the conscience which has

committed it can atone for it and produce altogether contrary acts. The

power of remitting sins was one of those that they believed to have

been conferred by Jesus on his disciples. The Church had nothing more

precious than it. To have committed a crime, to have a tormented

conscience, was a motive to make oneself a Christian. "Here is a law

which delivers you from sin, from which you could not be delivered by

the Law of Moses." What could be more tempting to the Jews? One of the

reasons which confirmed Constantine in Christianity was, it is said,

the belief that Christians alone could absolve the soul of a father who

had killed his son. The merciful Jesus, pardoning all, according even a

kind of preference for those who have sinned, appeared in this troubled

world as the great comforter of souls. They took it upon themselves to

say that it was well to have sinned, that all remission was gratuitous,

that faith alone justified.

One peculiarity of the Semitic tongues explains such a

misunderstanding, and excuses this morally incomplete psychology. The

form hiphil signifies at the same time the effective and the

declarative, so that hasdik can say equally "to render justice," and

"to declare justice," to remit a sin which has been committed, and to

declare that he has not committed it. "Justice" is, according to this

idiom, not only that he who is absolved from a sin, but that he who is

calmed in his own eyes, need no more trouble himself with the sins

which he may have committed, or with precepts which he may have

violated unknown to himself.

When Paul despatched this terrible epistle, he had early fixed the day

of his departure. The gravest anxieties assailed him: he had a

presentiment of grave accidents, and he applied to himself often the

verse of the psalm, "Yea, for thy sake are we killed all the day long;

we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." Some very precise accounts,

which were only too certain, represented to him the dangers he was

likely to meet with from the Jews of Jud�a. He was not even confident

as to the disposition of the Church of Jerusalem. He had found this

Church so many times ruled by mean prejudices, that he feared a cold

reception, which, seeing the number of half-confirmed believers who

accompanied him, would produce a disastrous effect. He constantly asked

for the prayers of the faithful, that God would cause his offering to

be favourably received by the saints. To place timid provincial

neophytes thus in immediate contact with the aristocracy of the

capital, was an idea of supreme temerity. Guided by his admirable

integrity, Paul none the less persisted in his project. He believed

himself bound by an order of the Spirit. He said with emphasis that he

was going to Jerusalem to serve the saints; he represented himself as

the deacon of the poor of Jerusalem. His principal disciples and the

deputies, each bearing the offering of his Church, were around him,

ready to set out. They were, we shall remember, Sopater of Ber�a,

Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe, Tychicus and

Trophimus of Ephesus, and finally Timothy.

At the moment when Paul was going to embark for Syria, the

reasonableness of his fears became visible. A plot formed by the Jews

was discovered to carry him off or kill him during the journey. In

order to disconcert this project, Paul privately changed his route, and

decided to return by Macedonia. The departure took place about the

month of April of the year 58.

Thus ended this third mission, which, in the opinion of Paul, finished

the first part of his apostolic projects. All the oriental provinces of

the Roman Empire, from its extreme limit towards the east near to

Illyria, Egypt always excepted, had heard the Gospel. Not once had the

Apostle departed from his rule of preaching only in the countries where

Christ had not yet been named, that is to say, where other Apostles had

not passed; all his work had been original and belonged to him alone.

The third mission had had for its field the same countries as the

second; Paul turned a little in the same circle, and began to find

himself in the right. He now delayed the accomplishment of the second

part of his projects, that is to say, of proclaiming the name of Jesus

in the western world, for we may say that the mystery hidden from

eternity was known to all nations.

At Rome he had been anticipated, and, moreover, those of the

circumcision formed the majority in the Church. It was as universal

pastor of the Churches of the Gentiles, and to confirm the converted

Pagans, and not as founder, that he wished to appear in the capital of

the empire. He only wished to go thither that he might enjoy for a time

the company of the faithful, and rest and edify himself among them,

after which he would take, according to custom, new companions who

should follow him in the latter part of his journey. Beyond, it was to

Spain that he carried his eyes. Spain had not yet received Israelitish

emigrants; the Apostle wished, this time, to abandon the rule which he

had observed, until now, of following the track of the synagogues and

of the earlier Jewish establishments. But Spain was considered as the

western boundary of the world; so that as Paul believed himself

authorised to conclude that since he had been in Achaia and in

Macedonia, and that he had reached Illyria in the same way, when he

will have been into Spain he would be able to say with truth that the

name of Jesus has been preached in all the ends of the earth, and that

the preaching of the Gospel was fully accomplished.

We shall see that circumstances independent of his will prevented Paul

from realising the second part of the grand plan that he had proposed

to himself. He was from forty-five to forty-eight years of age; he had

certainly still found time and strength to found in this Latin world

one or two of those missions that he had conducted in the Greek world

with so much success; but the fatal journey to Jerusalem upset all his

designs. Paul felt the perils of this journey: everybody around him

felt them. He could not, nevertheless, renounce a project to which he

attached much . importance. Jerusalem must lose Paul. It was one of the

most unfavourable of conditions for nascent Christianity to have its

capital in a home of such exalted fanaticism. The incident which, ten

years later, completely destroyed the Church of Jerusalem, rendered to

Christianity the greatest services that it has ever received in the

course of its long history. The life-or-death question was to know if

the growing sect would or would not disengage itself from Judaism. Now

if the saints of Jerusalem, grouped around the temple, might always

remain the aristocracy, and, so to speak, "the Court of Rome" of

Christianity, this great rupture would not have occurred; the sect of

Jesus, like that of John, would have died out obscurely, and Christians

would have been lost amongst the sectarian Jews of the first and second

century.

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CHAPTER XVIII.

RETURN OF PAUL TO JERUSALEM.

Paul and the deputies of the Churches set out then from Cenchrea,

having with them the contributions of the faithful for the poor of

Jerusalem, and took their way towards Macedonia This was in some sort

the first pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the first journey of a troop of

converted pious people to the cradle of their faith. It seems that the

ship, during a part of the voyage, was chartered at their expense, and

that it obeyed their orders; but it must have been a simple decked

boat. They made fifteen or twenty leagues a day; each evening they

stopped to pass the night amongst the islands or the ports which

bestrew the coast, and slept in the taverns near the shore. There were

often many people there, and amongst the number good men who were not

far from the kingdom of God. The barque, meanwhile, with its elevated

poop and prow, was drawn upon the sand or anchored under some shelter.

We do not know if the Apostle touched at Thessalonica this time; but it

is not probable that he did, since it would have been far out of his

way. At Neapolis Paul wished to visit the Church of Philippi, which was

a very short distance from it. He went forward with his companions, and

asked them to wait for him at Troas. As for himself, he went to

Philippi, celebrated Easter there, and rested with the persons whom he

loved the most in the world, during the seven days in which they ate

unleavened bread. At Philippi Paul again found the disciple who, at the

time of his second mission, had directed his first steps in Macedonia,

and who, most probably, was none other than St Luke. He took him with

him again, and thus added to the journey a chronicler who has

transmitted to us impressions of it with infinity of charm and of

truth.

When the days of unleavened bread were finished, Paul and Luke

re-embarked at Neapolis. They had evidently contrary winds, for they

took five days to go from Neapolis to Troas. In this last town, all the

apostolic company was complete. There was, as we have already said, a

Church at Troas; the Apostle passed seven days with it, and consoled it

much. An incident added to the general emotion. The morning of

departure was a Sunday; in the evening the disciples met together

according to custom, to break bread. The room in which they were was

one of those lofty chambers which are so agreeable in the East,

especially in the seaports. The meeting was numerous and solemn. Paul

saw everywhere signs of his future trials. In his sermon he spoke much

of his approaching end, and declared to those present that he bade them

an eternal farewell. This was in the month of May; the window was open,

and numerous lamps lighted the room. Paul spoke all the evening with an

indefatigable enthusiasm; at midnight he was still speaking, and they

had not broken bread, when suddenly a cry of horror was raised. A young

man named Eutychus, seated upon the ledge of the window, had allowed

himself to fall into a profound sleep, and dropped from the third floor

upon the ground. They raised him, and they believed him to be dead.

Paul, convinced of his miraculous powers, did not hesitate to do what

Elisha is said to have done: he stretched himself upon the fainting

man, he put his chest upon his chest, his arms upon his arms, and soon

announced in an assured tone that he for whom they wept was still

alive. The young man, in truth, had only been bruised by the fall; he

did not take long to come to himself again. The joy was great, and all

believed it a miracle. They remounted into the upper room, broke bread,

and Paul continued their conversation until sunrise.

Some hours afterwards the ship set sail. The deputies and the disciples

only were on board, Paul preferring to travel on foot, or at least by

land, from Troas to Assos (about eight leagues). Assos was to be their

meeting-place. From this time forth, Paul and his companions never

separated. On the first day, they went from Assos to Mitylene, where

they put in; on the second, they followed the Straits between Chios and

the Peninsula of Clazomenes; on the third they touched at Samos; but,

for a reason which we do not know, Paul and his companions preferred to

pass the night at the anchorage of Trogyle, under the promontory of the

neighbouring Cape, at the foot of Mount Mycala. They had thus passed

before Ephesus without landing there. It was the Apostle who had wished

it: he feared lest the friendship of the faithful of Ephesus might

hinder him, and that he could not tear himself away from a town which

was very dear to him; but he much wished to celebrate Pentecost at

Jerusalem, and twenty-three or twenty-four days having elapsed since

Easter, there was no time to be lost. On the morrow, a short sail

brought the faithful company from Trogyle to one of the ports of

Miletus. There Paul felt deep misgiving as to the propriety of having

passed without giving any sign of his existence to his beloved

community of Ephesus. He sent one of his companions to inform it that

he was some leagues from it, and to invite the elders or wardens to

come to him. They came with eagerness, and when they were re-united,

Paul addressed to them a touching discourse, which was a summary, and

the last words of his apostolic life.

"Since the day when I first came into Asia, you know what I have been

for you. You have seen me serve God in humility, in tears, in

temptations, and using all my strength to preach unto the Jews and

Gentiles the return to God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. And now,

behold I go bound in the spirit unto Jerusalem. I know not what awaits

me; I only know that, from town to town, the spirit announces to me

that bonds and afflictions wait upon me. But it matters little to me; I

am going to sacrifice my life voluntarily, provided that I finish my

course, and that I accomplish the mission that I have received of the

Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospel of the grace of God. Oh, you to all

of whom I have preached the Kingdom of God, I know that you will no

more see my face; I protest then from this day, that I am innocent of

the loss of those who will perish; for I have never neglected to make

known to you the will of God. Take heed therefore unto yourselves, and

to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers; be

true pastors of the Church that the Lord has purchased with his own

blood; for I know that after my departure shall grievous wolves enter

in, not sparing the flock. And from the midst of you shall men arise,

speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them. Therefore

watch, and remember that by the space of three years I ceased not to

warn everyone night and day with tears. And now, I recommend you to the

grace of God, who is able to give you a place among the heavenly

bodies. I have coveted no man's silver, or gold, or apparel. You know

that these hands have ministered unto my necessities, and unto those of

my companions. I have shown you how by work one can still support the

weak, and to justify the words of the Lord Jesus: It is more blessed to

give than to receive.'"

All then fell on their knees and prayed. Only stifled sobs were heard.

The words of Paul, "You will see my face no more," had pierced them to

the heart. The elders of Ephesus in turn approached the Apostle, bent

their heads on his neck, and embraced him. They then conducted him to

the port, and only left the shore when the ship set sail, taking the

Apostle far from that �gean sea which had been the scene of his

contests, and the theatre of his prodigious activity.

A good wind abaft carried the apostolic company from the port of

Miletus to Cos. On the morrow they reached Rhodes, and on the third day

Patara, upon the coast of Lycia. There they found a ship loading for

Tyre. The little coasting that they had done along the coast of Asia

had much delayed them, and their journey would have been indefinitely

protracted if they were to continue along the coasts of Pamphylia,

Cilicia, Syria, and Phoenicia. They therefore preferred to take the

shorter route, and, leaving their first ship there, they embarked on

that which was about to sail for Phoenicia. The western coast of Cyprus

was directly in their way. Paul could see from afar that Neo-Paphos,

which he had visited thirteen years before, at the beginning of his

apostolic career. He left it upon his left, and after a voyage of

probably six or seven days, he arrived at Tyre.

Tyre had a church, dating from the first missions which followed the

death of Stephen. Although Paul had had nothing to do with its

foundation, he was known and loved there. In the quarrel which divided

the rising sect, in that great rent between Judaism and the strange

child to which Judaism had given birth, the Church of Tyre was

decidedly of the party of the future. Paul was very well received, and

passed seven days there. All the faithful of the place dissuaded him

strongly from going to Jerusalem, and asserted that they had

manifestations of the Spirit absolutely contrary to the plan. But Paul

persisted, and chartered a ship for Ptolemais. On the day of his

departure, all the faithful, with their wives and children, conducted

him out of the town to the shore. The pious company knelt down on the

sand and prayed. Paul bade them farewell; the Apostle and his

companions re-embarked, and the people of Tyre returned sadly to their

homes.

They reached Ptolemais the same day. There also were some brethren; he

saluted them and stayed for a day with them. Then the Apostle left the

sea. Going round Carmel, he reached in one day C�sarea in Palestine.

They stayed at the house of Philip, one of the seven primitive deacons,

who for many years had been settled at C�sarea. Philip had not taken,

like Paul, the title of Apostle, although in reality he had exercised

the functions of one. He contented himself with the name of

"Evangelist," which designated apostles of the second rank, with the

much more coveted title of "one of the seven."

Paul found here much sympathy, and remained several days at Philip's

house. Whilst there, the prophet Agabus arrived from Jud�a. Paul and he

had known each other at Antioch fourteen years before. Agabus imitated

the manners of the ancient prophets, and affected to act in a

symbolical fashion. He entered in a mysterious manner, approached Paul,

and took from him his girdle. They followed his movements with

curiosity and terror. With the girdle of the Apostle that he had taken,

Agabus bound his own legs and hands. Then suddenly breaking the

silence, he said, in an inspired tone,--"Thus saith the Holy Ghost, so

shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man that owneth this girdle, and

shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles." The emotion was of

the liveliest kind. The companions of Paul and the faithful of C�sarea

with one voice begged the Apostle to give up his journey. Paul was

inflexible, and declared that chains could not frighten him, since he

was ready to die at Jerusalem for the name of Jesus. His disciples saw

plainly that he would not yield, and finished by saying,--"The will of

the Lord be done." Then they began their preparations for departing.

Many of the faithful of C�sarea joined themselves to the caravans.

Mnason, of Cyprus, a very old disciple, who had a house at Jerusalem,

but who at this moment was at C�sarea, was of the number. The Apostle

and his following should lodge at his house. They mistrusted the

welcome they would receive from the Church: there was much trouble and

apprehension in all the company.

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CHAPTER XIX.

LAST STAY OF PAUL AT JERUSALEM--HIS APPREHENSION.

Paul entered into that fatal town of Jerusalem for the last time, some

days, it seems, after the feast of Pentecost (July 58). His company,

formed of delegates from the Churches of Greece, of Macedonia, and of

Asia, of his disciples, and of the faithful of Ceesarea who had wished

to accompany him, were sufficient to give a warning to the Jews. Paul

began to be well known. His arrival had been waited for by the

fanatics, some had probably received from Corinth and Ephesus notice of

his return. Jews and Jud�o-Christians appeared to have agreed to

slander him. They everywhere represented him as an apostate, as the

desperate enemy of Judaism, as a man who ran all over the world to

destroy the law of Moses and the biblical traditions. His doctrine upon

meats sacrificed to idols everywhere excited angry passions. They

maintained that he disobeyed the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem as

to the observances connected with meats and marriage. They represented

him as a second Balaam, sowing scandal before the sons of Israel,

teaching them to practise idolatry, and to cohabit with Pagans. His

doctrine of justification by faith and not by works was energetically

repudiated. Whilst they admitted that converted Pagans were not obliged

under the Law in its entirety, they maintained that nothing could

exempt a Jew from the duties inherited by him. But Paul thought nothing

of this view; he gave himself the same liberties as his converts; he

was no longer a Jew in any degree.

The first brethren that the new arrivals met on the day of their

arrival had welcomed them cordially. But it is already very remarkable

that neither the apostles nor the elders came to meet the one man, who,

accomplishing the boldest oracles of the prophets, had brought the

nations and the far-off isles tributaries to Jerusalem. They waited for

his visit with a coldness more politic than Christian, and Paul had to

pass alone, with some humble brethren, the first evening of his last

stay at Jerusalem.

St James the Great was, as we have already seen, the sole and absolute

head of the Church of Jerusalem. Peter was certainly absent, and very

probably established at Antioch; it is probable that John, according to

his custom, had accompanied him. The Jud�o-Christian party reigned thus

without any counterbalances at Jerusalem. James, blinded by the respect

of every one who surrounded him, proud, moreover, of the bond of

relationship which united him to Jesus, represented a conservative

principle of weighty solemnity, a kind of obstinate papacy in his

narrow mind. Around him, a numerous party, more Pharisaical than

Christian, carried the taste for the observances of the Law to nearly

the same degree as the zealots, and imagined that the new movement had

for its essence a redoubling of devotion. These exalted ones gave

themselves the name of "the poor," Ebionim, ptochdi, and gloried in it.

There were many rich people in this community, but they were unpopular;

they were considered to be as proud and tyrannical as the Sadducees.

Fortunes, in the East, scarcely ever have an honest origin; of every

rich man it may be said, without much chance of mistake, that he or one

of his ancestors has been a conqueror, or a thief, a usurer, or a

rogue. The association of ideas which, especially amongst the English

everywhere collocates honesty with richness, has never been found in

the East. Jud�a, at least, thought of things in the opposite sense. For

the saints of Jerusalem "rich" was synonymous with "enemy" and

"evil-doer." The ideal of impiety was in their eyes the opulent

Sadducee, who persecuted them, dragged them before the tribunals.

Passing their life around the temple, they were like good little

brotherhoods, occupied in praying for the people. They were, in every

case, pronounced Jews and certainly Jesus would have been surprised if

he could have seen what his doctrine had become in the hands of those

who boasted kinship with him both in the Spirit and in the Flesh.

Paul, accompanied by the deputies of the Churches, went to see James on

the morning after his arrival, All the elders were assembled in the

house of St James. They gave each other the kiss of peace. Paul

presented the deputies to James: they gave the money which they had

brought. Then he recounted the great things that God had done in the

Pagan world by his ministry; the elders gave thanks to God for them.

Was the reception, however what they had a right to expect? We may

doubt if it were. The author of the Acts has so completely modified, in

view of his system of conciliation, the recital of the assembly of

Jerusalem in 51, that one must believe that he has in like manner

greatly modified in his recital the events which he himself took part

in. In the first place, his inaccuracy is shown by comparing his

accounts with the Epistle to the Galatians. In the second, there are

grave reasons for supposing that he has in like manner sacrificed truth

to the necessities of policy. At first, the apprehensions that Paul

showed beforehand as to the temper with which the saints of Jerusalem

would receive his offering could not have been without some foundation.

In the second place, the account of the author of the Acts contains

more than one suspicious feature. The Jud�o-Christians are there

represented as the enemies of Paul, almost as much so as the pure Jews.

These Jud�o-Christians have the worst opinion of him; the elders did

not conceal the fact that the report of his arrival was annoying to

them, and might provoke a manifestation on their part. The elders do

not say that they share in these prejudices; but they excuse them, and

in every case it is easy to see from their words that a great

proportion of the Christians of Jerusalem, so far from being ready to

welcome the Apostle, needed to be calmed and reconciled to him. It is

remarkable, also, that the author of the Acts speaks only of the

collection after a time and in the most indirect fashion. If the

offering had been welcomed as it should have been, why does he not say

so, when Paul in three of his epistles devotes entire pages to this

object? It is hardly to be denied that Simon Magus, in the majority of

the cases in which Christian tradition refers to him, may be the

pseudonym of the Apostle Paul. The story according to which this

impostor wished to buy apostolic powers with money, may very possibly

be a translation of the ungracions reception accorded by the Apostles

of Jerusalem to the collection of Paul. It would perhaps be dangerous

to affirm so much, but it is quite conceivable that an assembly of

ill-disposed elders may have represented the generous act of one who

was not of their opinion as an attempt at corruption.

If the elders of Jerusalem had not been narrow-minded in the extreme,

how is the strange discourse which the author of the Acts attributes to

them, and which betrays all their embarrassment, to be explained? The

presentation, in fact, was scarcely complete, when they said to

Paul,--"Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are which

believe; and they are all zealous of the Law: and they are informed of

thee that thou teachest all the Jews which are among the Gentiles to

forsake Moses, saying that they ought not to circumcise their children,

neither to walk after the customs. What is it therefore? From all sides

they come to learn of thy arrival. Do therefore this that we say to

thee: We have four men which have a vow on them; them take, and purify

thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave

their heads: and all may know that those things whereof they were

informed concerning thee are nothing, but that thou thyself also

walkest orderly, and keepest the Law."

Thus to him who brought to them the homage of a world, these narrow

souls replied only by a mark of defiance. Paul ought to expiate by a

mummery his prodigious conquests. It was necessary that he should give

some satisfaction to this littleness of mind. He must do this in

company with four mendicants, too poor to afford to have their heads

shaven at their own expense. They were under a vow, and, according to

the superstition, he must recognise them as his companions. Such is the

strange condition of humanity, that no one need be astonished at such a

spectacle. Men are too numerous for it to be possible to establish

anything in this world, without making concessions to mediocrity. To

conquer the scruples of the weak, one must be either utterly

disinterested, or very powerful. Those whose position obliges them to

reckon with the crowd are led to demand of great men independent of

singular inconsequences. Every thought vigorously avowed is in the

government of the world an embarrassment. Apology, proselytism

themselves, when they imply a little genius, are, for conservative

folk, suspected things. See those eloquent laymen who in our days have

attempted to enlarge Catholicism and to reconcile it with the

sympathies of a part of society which was until then closed to

Christian feeling; what have they obtained from the Church to which

they have brought crowds of new adherents? A disavowal. The successors

of St James the Great have found it prudent to condemn them, even

whilst profiting by their success. They have accepted their offering

without thanks; they have said to them as to Paul, "Brethren, ye see

these thousands of old believers who hold to things that you pass by in

silence: when you speak to men of the world, take care, leave the

novelties which scandalise them, and sanctify yourselves with us."

What was Paul to do, placed thus between his great principle of the

inutility of works, and the immense interest he had in not breaking

with the Church of Jerusalem? His position was cruel. To submit himself

to customs that he held to be useless and almost an insult to

Jesus--since if he had allowed it to be believed that salvation is

obtainable by anything other than the merits of Christ, he would have

to put himself in flagrant contradiction with the doctrine which he had

everywhere preached, and which in his great general epistle especially

he had developed with an unparalleled force. Why, besides, did they ask

him to put in force a disused rite, one devoid of all efficacy, and

nearly an absolute negation of the new dogma? To show that he is really

a Jew,--to refute in a peremptory fashion the rumour spread abroad that

he has ceased to be a Jew, that he no more holds by the Law and

traditions? Now, assuredly, he admits them no more. Was not connivance

at this misunderstanding unfaithfulness to Christ? All that must have

caused Paul to hesitate, and agitated him profoundly. But a higher

principle, which dominated his life, made him conquer his repugnance.

Above his opinions and private sentiments, Paul placed charity. Christ

has delivered us from the Law; but if in profiting by the liberty that

Christ has given us, we offend our brother, it is much better to

renounce this liberty and to return to slavery. It is in virtue of this

principle that Paul, as he says, makes himself all things to all

men,--a Jew with the Jews, a Gentile with the Gentiles. In accepting

the proposition of James and of the elders, he applies his favourite

principle; he submits himself then. Never, perhaps, in the life of the

Apostle, did he make a more considerable sacrifice to his work. The

heroes of practical life have other duties than those of contemplative

life. The first duty of the latter is to sacrifice action to ideas, to

say what they think, or do not think, in the exact measure in which

they think it; the first duty of the others is frequently to sacrifice

their ideas, sometimes even their most definite principles, for the

good of the cause the triumph of which they have at heart.

What they asked Paul, besides, was less to shave his head and become a

Nazarite himself, than to pay the expenses of four Nazarites, who had

nothing wherewith to pay for the sacrifices offered on occasions of

this kind. This was a work much esteemed among the Jews. There were

around the temple troops of poor men who had made vows, and who

expected some rich man to pay for them. "To shave a Nazarite" was an

act of piety, and occasions are cited in which powerful personages, as

an expressing of thankfulness for a blessing from heaven, made

thousands of them shave; much the same as in the Middle Ages it was

meritorious to pay men to make pilgrimages and to enter into monastic

life. Paul, in the midst of the poverty which reigned in the Church of

Jerusalem, passed for a rich man. He was asked as a rich devotee, and

to prove publicly that he remained faithful to the practices of his

country. James, much inclined towards exterior observances, was

probably the inspirer of this grotesque idea. They urged, furthermore,

that such observances had nothing to do with converted Pagans. His only

motive in complying was that they should not allow it to be believed

that the frightful scandal of a Jew not practising the Law of Moses was

possible. So great was the fanaticism inspired by the Law, that such a

phenomenon appeared more extraordinary than the overturning of the

world and the total overthrow of creation.

Paul then placed himself in the company of the four poor men. Those who

accomplished such vows began by purifying themselves, afterwards they

entered into the temple, remained shut up there for a certain number of

days, according to the vow that they had made--a period of from seven

to thirty days--abstained from wine, and cut off their hair. When the

term of days was reached, they offered sacrifices that were paid for at

a sufficiently high price. Paul submitted himself to all. On the morrow

of his visit to James's house, he betook himself to the temple, and got

his name inscribed for seven days; and then fulfilled all the customary

rites, greater during these days of humiliation, in which, by a

voluntary weakness, he accomplished with men in rags an obsolete action

of devotion, which when at Corinth or at Thessalonica he had denounced

with all the force and independence of his genius.

Paul was already at the fifth day of his vow, when an incident which

was only too easy to foresee decided the remainder of his career, and

engaged him in a series of troubles, which he ended only with his

death.

During the seven days which had elapsed since his arrival at Jerusalem,

the hate of the Jews against him was terribly exasperated; they had

seen him walk in the town with Trophimus of Ephesus, who was one of the

uncircumcised. Some Jews of Asia, who recognised Trophimus, spread the

rumour that Paul had introduced him into the temple. That was assuredly

false, besides to have done so would have exposed him to certain death.

Paul had undoubtedly not for a moment thought of making his Christians

share in the religious practices of the temple. These practices were

for him absolutely barren: their continuation was almost an insult to

the merits of Christ. But religious hate needs little stimulus when a

pretext is wanted for acts of violence. The populace of Jerusalem were

soon persuaded that Paul had committed a crime which could only be

washed out in blood. Like all the great revolutionists, Paul discerned

the impossibility of living. The enmities that he had raised began to

league themselves: the chasm was deepening around him. His companions

were strangers at Jerusalem; the Christians of that city held him for

an enemy, and opposed themselves to him nearly as bitterly as did the

fanatical Jews. In analysing carefully certain features of the account

as given in the Acts, in taking notice of the reiterated warnings

which, during all his return voyage, exposed to Paul the snares

prepared against him at Jerusalem, we ask ourselves if these

Jud�o-Christians, whose malevolent temper was asserted by the elders,

and from whom they feared a hostile demonstration, did not contribute

to increase the storm which was about to burst upon the Apostle.

Clemens Romanus attributes the loss of the Apostle "to envy." It is

frightful to think so, but it agrees well with the iron law which will

rule human affairs until the day of the final triumph of God. I perhaps

deceive myself, but when I read the twenty-first chapter of the Acts,

an invincible suspicion rises within me; something, I do not know what,

tells me that Paul was lost by these "false brethren" who overran the

world in his footsteps, to oppose his work, and to represent him as

another Balaam.

Be that as it may, the signal of the riot came from the Jews of Asia

who had seen him with Trophimus. They recognised him in the temple

whilst he accomplished the proscribed rite with the Nazarites. "Help,

help! children of Israel!" cried they. "Here is the man who preaches

everywhere against the Jewish people, against the Law, against this

holy place. Here is the profaner of the temple--he who has introduced

Pagans into the sanctuary." The whole town was soon in an uproar. A

great crowd assembled. The fanatics seized Paul; their resolute

intention was to kill him. But to shed blood in the interior of the

temple would have been a pollution of the holy place. They dragged Paul

then outside the temple, and had scarcely got there when the Levites

closed the doors behind him. They took it to be their duty to beat him.

Such indeed would have been his fate if the Roman authority, who alone

maintained any shadow of order in this chaos, had not intervened to

tear him from the hands of the madmen.

The procurator of Jud�a, ever since the death of Agrippa the First,

resided habitually at C�sarea, a Roman town, ornamented with statues,

an enemy of the Jews, and opposed in all ways to Jerusalem. The Roman

power at Jerusalem was, in the absence of the procurator, represented

by the tribune of the cohort, who resided with all his armed force in

the tower of Antonia, at the north-west angle of the temple. The

tribune, at this time, was a certain Lysias, Greek or Syrian by birth,

who, by protections bought with money, had obtained from Claudius the

title of Roman citizen, and had since then added to his name that of

Claudius. At the news of the tumult, he ran with some centurions and a

detachment, by one of the staircases which placed the tower in

communication with the outer courts. The fanatics then ceased to strike

Paul. The tribune seized and bound him with two chains, asked him who

he was, and what he had done; but the tumult prevented a word being

heard. The Jewish riot was something frightful. Those strong irritated

figures, those large eyes starting from their sockets, those gnashings

of teeth, those vociferations, those men flinging dust into the air,

tearing their clothes, or throwing themselves about convulsively, gave

the looker-on the idea of demons. Although the crowd was unarmed, the

Romans were not altogether free from a certain fear of such madmen.

Claudius Lysias gave the order to lead Paul to the tower. The excited

crowd followed them, uttering cries of death. At the foot of the

staircase, the press was such that the soldiers were obliged to take

Paul in their arms and to carry him. Claudius Lysias tried in vain to

calm the tumult. He somewhat hastily concluded, or it was perhaps

suggested by ill-informed persons, that the man whom he had arrested

was the Jew of Egypt who, a short time before, had led out with him

into the desert some thousands of zealots, announcing to them that he

would immediately realise the kingdom of God. They did not know what

had become of this impostor, and at any riot they fancied they might

see him re-appear among the agitators.

When they had reached the door of the tower, Paul spoke in Greek to the

tribune, and begged him to let him speak to the people. The latter,

surprised that the prisoner knew Greek, and recognising at least that

he was not the Egyptian false prophet, granted his request. Paul then,

standing upon the staircase, made a sign with his hand that he wished

to speak. Silence was obtained, and, when they heard him speak Hebrew

(that is to say, Syro-Chaldean), they redoubled their attention. Paul

recounted, in the form which was habitual to him, the history of his

conversion and of his calling. They soon interrupted him; the cries,

"Kill him! kill him!" began again; the anger was at its height.

The tribune commanded the prisoner to enter the citadel. He understood

nothing of this affair; though a brutal and mean soldier, he thought to

explain it by torturing him as being the cause of all the trouble. They

seized Paul, and had already tied him upon the post to receive the

blows of the scourge, when he declared to the centurion who presided at

the torture that he was a Roman citizen. The effect of this word was

always very great. The executioners receded; the centurion referred to

the tribune; the tribune was very much surprised. Paul had the

appearance of a poor Jew. "Is it true that thou art a Roman citizen?"

Claudius asked him. "Yes." "But I paid a large sum to obtain that

title." "But I was free born," replied Paul. The stupid Claudius began

to be afraid; his poor brain tortured itself to find any meaning in

this business. Outrages against the rights of Roman citizens were

punished very severely. The very fact of having tied Paul to the post

with the view of flagellation was an offence,--an act of violence which

would have remained unknown if it had been done by an obscure man,

might now become a very grievous matter. Finally Claudius hit upon the

idea of convoking for the morrow the high priest and the Sanhedrim, in

order to know what complaint they made against Paul, because he himself

could find none.

The high priest was Ananias, son of N�b�d�s, who by a rare exception

had filled this high office for ten years. He was a man very much

respected, in spite of his gluttonous habits, which were proverbial

among the Jews. Independently of his office, he was one of the first

men of the nation; he belonged to that family of Hanan, which one is

sure to find upon the judicial bench whenever it is a case of

condemning the Christians, the popular saints, the innovators of all

kinds. Ananias presided over the assembly. Claudius Lysias ordered Paul

to be released from his chains, and caused him to be brought in: he

himself looking on. The discussion was extremely tumultuous. Ananias

flew into a passion, and, for a word which appeared to him blasphemous,

ordered his assessors to smite Paul upon the mouth. "God shall smite

thee, thou whited wall," replied Paul, "for sittest thou to judge me

after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?"

"What! revilest thou God's high priest?" said the assistants. Paul,

changing his mind, said, "I wist not, brethren, that he was the high

priest, for if I had known I should not have spoken thus; for it is

written, Thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.'" This

moderation was skilfully calculated. Paul had remarked, indeed, that

the assembly was divided into two parties, animated by very diverse

sentiments towards him: the high Sadducee clergy were absolutely

hostile to him; but he could make himself understood to a certain point

by the Pharisee middle-class. "Brethren," cried he, "I am a Pharisee,

the son of a Pharisee. Do you know why they accuse me? For my hope in

the resurrection of the dead." It was putting the finger upon an open

sore. The Sadducees denied the resurrection, the existence of angels

and of spirits; the Pharisees admitted all. The stratagem of Paul

succeeded marvellously; war was soon in the assembly. Pharisees and

Sadducees were more eager to fight amongst themselves than to destroy

their common enemy. Many Pharisees even took up the defence of Paul,

and affected to find the recital of his vision probable. "Finally,"

said they, "what complaint have you against this man? Who knows if a

spirit or an angel has not spoken to him?"

Claudius Lysias assisted open-mouthed at this debate, utterly unmeaning

as it was for him. He saw the moment when, as on the night before, Paul

was about to be torn to pieces. He therefore gave orders to a squadron

of soldiers to descend into the hall, to rescue Paul from the hands of

those present, and to reconduct him to the tower. Lysias was much

embarrassed. Paul, however, rejoiced in the glorious witness that he

had just borne to Christ. The following night he had a vision. Jesus

appeared to him and said, "Be of good cheer: for as thou hast testified

of me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness to me also at Rome."

The hate of the fanatics, during this time, did not remain inactive. A

certain number of these zealots or hired murderers, always ready to

draw the dagger in defence of the Law, conspired to kill Paul. They

bound themselves by a vow, under the most terrible anathemas, neither

to eat nor to drink whilst Paul remained alive. The conspirators were

more than forty in number; they took their oath on the morning of the

day which followed the assembly of the Sanhedrim. To gain their ends,

they went to the priests, explained to them the plan which they had

formed, agreed with them to intervene with the Sanhedrim to ask the

tribune for a new appearance of Paul on the morrow. The conspirators

proposed to seize their opportunity and kill Paul on the way. But the

secret of the plot was ill kept; it came to the knowledge of a nephew

of Paul, who lived in Jerusalem. He ran to the barrack and revealed all

to Paul; Paul had him led to Claudius Lysias by a centurion. The

tribune took the young messenger by the hand, led him aside, obtained

from him all the details of the plot, and sent him away, commanding him

to keep silence.

From this time Claudius Lysias no longer hesitated. He resolved to send

Paul to C�sarea; on the one hand, to do away with all pretext for

disturbances in Jerusalem, and, on the other, to extricate himself by

transferring this difficult affair to the procurator. Two centurions

received orders to form an escort capable of resisting any attempts at

carrying Paul off. It was composed of two hundred soldiers, of seventy

cavalry, and of two hundred of those policemen who served at what were

called the custodia militaris, that is to say, men who guarded

prisoners, fastened to them by means of a chain going from the right

hand of the captive to the left hand of his guardian. Horses were also

ordered for Paul, and the whole were to be ready by the third hour of

the night (nine o' clock in the evening). Claudius Lysias wrote at the

same time to the procurator Felix an elogium, that is to say, a letter,

to explain the affair to him, declaring that, for his part, he only saw

in all that some trifling questions of religion, without anything that

deserved death or imprisonment; that, moreover, he had announced to the

accusers that they were also to present themselves before the

procurator.

These orders were promptly executed. A forced march was made in the

night, and in the morning the troop reached Antipatris, which is more

than half-way from Jerusalem to C�sarea. There, all danger of surprise

having disappeared, the escort divided itself: the four hundred

infantry, after a halt, returned to Jerusalem; the detachment of

cavalry alone accompanied Paul to C�sarea. The Apostle thus re-entered

as a prisoner (beginning of August 58) the town which he had left

twelve years before, in spite of sinister forebodings that his habitual

courage prevented him from listening to. His disciples rejoined him

after a little time.

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CHAPTER XX.

CAPTIVITY OF PAUL AT C�SAREA OF PALESTINE.

Felix then governed Jud�a with the powers of a king and the soul of a

slave. He was the freedman of Claudius, and brother of that Pallas who

had made the fortune of Agrippina, and of Nero. He had all the

immorality of his brother, but not his administrative talents. Named,

by the influence of Pallas, procurator of Jud�a, in 52, he there showed

himself cruel, debauched, greedy. Nothing was above his ambition. He

was successively married to three queens, and kinsman by marriage of

the Emperor Claudius. At the period at which we are, his wife was

Drusilla, sister of Herod Agrippa II., whom he had carried off by

infamous practices from her first husband, Aziz, King of Emesus. There

was no crime of which he was not considered capable; people even went

as far as accusing him of practising brigandage on his own account, and

of using the dagger of the assassin to gratify his hatreds. Such were

the men upon whom the highest functions had devolved since Claudius

gave up everything to the freedmen. They were no longer Roman knights,

grave functionaries like Pilate, or Coponius; they were covetous

lackeys, proud, dissolute, profiting by the political abasement of that

poor old Oriental world to gorge themselves at their ease, and to

wallow in the mud. Never since has anything so horrible and so shameful

been seen.

The chief of the squadron who had led Paul away, delivered up to Felix,

on his arrival, the elogium and the prisoner. Paul appeared for an

instant before the procurator, who asked him of what country he was.

The elogium, assigned to the accused a privileged situation. Felix said

that he would hear the cause when the accusers should have arrived.

Whilst waiting, he commanded that Paul should be guarded, not in the

prison, but in the ancient palace of Herod the Great, which had now

become the residence of the procurators. At this moment, doubtless,

Paul was trusted to a soldier (frumentarius), who was placed over him

to guard him and to present him whenever required.

At the end of three days, the Jewish accusers arrived. The high priest

Ananias had come in person, accompanied by some elders. Hardly knowing

how to speak Greek and Latin, and full of confidence in the official

rhetoric of the time, they had taken as an assistant a certain

Tertullus, an advocate. The hearing took place immediately. Tertullus,

according to the rules of his profession, began by the captatio

benevolenti�. He impudently praised the government of Felix, spoke of

the happiness that they enjoyed under his administration, of the public

gratitude, and he begged him to listen with his habitual kindness. Then

he approached his subject, treated of Paul as a pest, as a disturber of

Judaism, as the chief of the heresy of the Nazarenes, as a busybody,

ever occupied in exciting sedition amongst his co-religionists

throughout the world. He insisted upon the alleged violation of the

temple, which constituted a capital crime, and maintained that in

seeking to take possession of Paul, they had only wished to judge him

according to the Law.

Upon a sign from Felix, Paul then began to speak. He argued that his

conduct in the temple had been that of the most peaceful Jew,--that he

had not disputed there or brought the mob together,--that he had not

preached once at Jerusalem,--that he was, indeed, heretical if it be

heretical to believe all that is written in the Law and the Prophets,

and to hope for the resurrection of the dead; at bottom, the only crime

of which they accused him was believing in the resurrection; "but,"

added he, "the Jews themselves believe in that. . . ." With regard to

the Jews, it was a skilful apology, clever rather than sincere, since,

avoiding the real difficulty, it sought to make out that there was an

understanding when there was nothing of the kind, thus evading the

question at issue in a fashion which has since been often imitated by

Christian apologists. Felix, who interested himself very little about

the dogma of the resurrection, remained indifferent. He abruptly broke

up the sitting, declaring that he would not decide anything until he

had been better informed, and had seen Claudius Lysias. In the

meantime, he ordered the centurion to treat Paul with gentleness, that

is to say, to leave him unchained, in the state of custodia libera, and

to permit his disciples as well as his friends to approach him and to

serve him.

Some days after, Felix and Paul again met. Drusilla, who was a Jewess,

desired, it is said, to hear the Apostle expound the Christian faith.

Paul spoke of justice, of temperance, of judgment to come. The subjects

were not altogether agreeable to these new catechumens. Felix, himself,

appears to have been afraid: "That is enough for the moment," said he

to Paul; "I will make you come to me at the proper time." Having

learned that Paul had brought with him a considerable sum of money, he

hoped to obtain from him or his friends a heavy bribe for his release.

It appears that he saw him several times, and he sought to suggest this

idea to him. But the Apostle not lending himself to it, Felix wished at

least to gather some profit, for his popularity was much shaken. The

greatest pleasure that one could do for the Jews was to persecute those

whom they regarded as their enemies. He therefore kept Paul in prison,

and even put him in chains. Paul passed two years in this way.

The prison, even with the augmentation of the chain and of the soldier

(frumentarius), was far from being then what it is to-day, a total

privation of liberty. Every one who had pecuniary resources could

arrange with his gaoler, and might attend to his business. In any case,

he saw his friends, he was not rigorously confined; in short, he might

do pretty much as he pleased. There is no doubt, consequently, that

Paul, although a prisoner, continued his apostleship at C�sarea. Never

had he had with him such disciples. Timothy, Luke, Aristarchus of

Thessalonica, Tychicus, and Trophimus, carried his orders in all

directions, and helped with the correspondence that he kept up with his

Churches. In particular, he charged Tychicus and Trophimus with a

mission for Ephesus. Trophimus, it appears, fell ill at Miletus.

As a consequence of the stay that they thus made in Palestine, the most

intelligent members of the Churches of Macedonia and of Asia found

themselves in prolonged relations with the Churches of Jud�a. Luke, in

particular, who until then had not left Macedonia, was initiated into

the traditions of Jerusalem. He was without doubt vividly impressed by

the majesty of Jerusalem, and he imagined the possibility of a

reconciliation between the principles maintained on the one side by

Paul, on the other by the elders of Jerusalem. He thought that the best

thing was to forget reciprocal injuries, to prudently veil these

wrongs, and to speak no more of them. The fundamental ideas which must

preside at the editing of his great manuscript probably then developed

themselves in his mind. By these various contacts, a uniform tradition

was established. The Gospels were elaborated by the intimate

communication of all the parties which constituted the Church. Jesus

had created the Church; the Church created him in its turn. That grand

ideal which was to dominate humanity for centuries, truly went out from

the bowels of humanity by a kind of secret agreement amongst all those

to whom Jesus had bequeathed His Spirit.

Felix finally succumbed, not under the indignation that his crimes must

have produced, but before the difficulties of a situation against which

not even a procurator could make head. The life of a Roman governor at

C�sarea had become insupportable; the Jews and the Syrians or Greeks

fought incessantly; the most honest man could hardly hold the balance

between such ferocious hatreds. The Jews, according to their custom,

complained at Rome. They there exercised a sufficiently strong

influence, especially with Popp�a, and, thanks to the intrigues which

Herod Agrippa II. directed, Pallas had lost much of his credit, above

all since the year 55. He could not prevent the disgrace of his

brother: he only succeeded in saving him from death. They gave as a

successor to Felix a firm and just man, Porcius Festus, who arrived in

the month of August of the year 60 at C�sarea.

Three days after his disembarkation, he betook himself to Jerusalem.

The high priest Ismael, son of Phabi, and all the party of the

Sadducees (that is to say, the high priesthood), surrounded him, and

one of the first demands that they addressed to him was relative to

Paul. They wished him to be brought back to Jerusalem, and they had

arranged for an ambuscade to kill him on the way. Festus replied that

he was about shortly to set out for C�sarea, that it was consequently

better that Paul should remain there, but that, as the Romans never

pronounced a sentence without the accused being confronted with his

accusers, it would be necessary that those of the notables who wished

to charge Paul should come with him. At the end of eight or ten days he

returned to C�sarea, and, on. the morrow, he caused Paul and his

adversaries to appear before his court. After a confused debate, Paul

maintaining that he had done nothing against the Law, or against the

temple, or against the Emperor, Festus proposed to him that he should

re-conduct him to Jerusalem, where he could, under his surveillance and

his high jurisdiction, defend himself before a Jewish court. Festus

undoubtedly did not know of the project of the conspirators; he hoped,

by this dismissal, to disembarrass himself of a tedious cause, and to

do an agreeable thing for the Jews, who asked from him so urgently for

the transfer of the prisoner.

But Paul carefully guarded himself from accepting. He was possessed by

the desire of seeing Rome. The capital of the world had for him a

powerful and mysterious charm. He maintained his right to be judged by

a Roman tribunal, protested that no one had any right to deliver him to

the Jews, and pronounced the solemn words:--"I appeal unto C�sar."

These words pronounced by a Roman citizen, did away with all provincial

jurisdictions. The citizen, in whatever part of the world he was, had

the right of being taken to Rome to be judged. The governors of

provinces, moreover, often referred to the Emperor and his council the

causes of religious law. Festus, surprised at first by this appeal,

conversed for a moment with his assessors, then replied by the

formula:--"Hast thou appealed unto C�sar? unto C�sar shalt thou go."

The sending of Paul to Rome was from this time decided, and they only

waited for an opportunity for him to set out. A singular incident

occurred in the interval. Some days after the return of Festus to

C�sarea, Herod Agrippa II. and his sister Bernice, who lived with him,

not without a suspicion of infamy, came to salute the new procurator.

They remained for several days at C�sarea. In the course of the

conversations that they had with the Roman functionary, the latter

spoke to him of the prisoner whom Felix had left him. "His accusers,"

said he, "have not charged against him any of the crimes that I was

waiting to see established. There is nothing in all this business but

subtleties relative to their superstitions, and of a certain Jesus who

is dead, and whom Paul affirms to be living." "Truly," said Agrippa, "I

have for a long time wished to hear this man speak." "Thou shalt hear

him to-morrow," replied Festus.

On the morrow, then, Agrippa and Bernice came to the tribunal with a

brilliant suite. All the officers of the army, and the chief people of

the town, were present. No official procedure could take place after

the appeal to the Emperor, but Festus declared that, according to his

principles, the sending of a prisoner to Rome must be accompanied by a

report. He pretended to wish for fuller information for the report that

he had to make in this case; he alleged his ignorance of Jewish

affairs, and declared that he wished to follow in this matter the

advice of King Agrippa, Agrippa invited Paul to speak. Paul then made,

with a certain oratorical complacency, one of those discourses that he

had repeated a hundred times. He esteemed himself happy in having to

plead his cause before a judge as well instructed in Jewish questions

as was Agrippa. He intrenched himself more strongly than ever in his

ordinary system of defence, asserted that he said nothing that was not

in the Law and the Prophets,--maintained that he was persecuted only

because of his belief in the resurrection, the faith which is that of

all the Israelites, which gives a moving motive for their piety, a

foundation for their hopes. He explained, by quotations from the

Scriptures, his favourite propositions--the knowledge that Christ must

suffer, that he must be the first to rise from the dead. Festus, a

stranger to all these speculations, took Paul for a dreamer, a clever

man in his way, but wandering and chimerical. "Paul, thou art beside

thyself; much learning doth make thee mad." Paul invoked the witness of

Agrippa, who was more versed in Jewish theology, knowing the prophets,

and whom he supposed instructed in the facts relative to Jesus. Agrippa

replied evasively. A grain of pleasantry mixed itself, it seems, in the

conversation. "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian," said

Agrippa. Paul, with his usual wit, took the tone of the court, and

finished by wishing that they all resembled him. "Except these bonds,"

replied he, with a gentle irony.

The effect of this courteous sitting, so different from the audiences

in which the Jews figured as prosecutors, was finally favourable to

Paul. Festus, with his Roman good sense, declared that this man had

done nothing wrong. Agrippa was of opinion that, if he had not appealed

to the Emperor about it, they might have released him. Paul, who wished

to go to Rome conducted by the Romans themselves, did not withdraw his

appeal. They then put him, with some other prisoners, in the guard of a

centurion of the cohort prima Augusta Italica, named Julius, who must

have been an Italian. Timothy, Luke, and Aristarchus of Thessalonica

were the only disciples who travelled with Paul.

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CHAPTER XXI.

PAUL' S VOYAGE AS A PRISONER.

The party embarked upon a ship of Adramyttium in Mysia, which was

returning thither. At one of the intermediate ports, Julius counted on

finding a ship about to sail for Italy, and on taking passage in it. It

was about the time of the autumnal equinox, so that they had a rough

voyage in prospect.

On the second day they arrived at Sidon. Julius, who treated Paul very

kindly, allowed him to go down into the town, to visit his friends and

to receive their attentions. The route had been to take the open sea

and to gain the south-west point of Asia Minor; but the winds were

contrary. It was necessary to run to the north, sailing close to

Phoenicia, then to go to the coast of Cyprus, leaving it on the port

hand. They followed the channel between Cyprus and Cilicia, traversed

the gulf of Pamphylia, and arrived at the port of Myra in Lycia. There

they left the Adramyttium ship. Julius having found one of Alexandria

which was about to sail for Italy, made a bargain with the captain, and

transported his prisoners thither. The ship was very full: there were

on board 276 persons.

Navigation from this time was most difficult. After several days they

had only reached Cnidus. The captain wished to enter the port, but the

north-east wind did not allow him, and it was necessary to allow

himself to be carried under the isle of Crete. They soon recognised

Cape Salmone, which is the eastern point of the island. The island of

Crete forms an immense barrier, making of the portion of the

Mediterranean that it covers at the south a kind of large port,

sheltered from the tempest coming from the archipelago. The captain had

the very natural idea of profiting by this advantage. He still followed

the eastern side of the island, not without great perils; then, getting

the island on the windward side, he entered the calm waters of the

south. There was a little port there very deep, shut in by an islet,

and bordered by two sandy beaches between which a point of rocks juts

out, so that it seems divided into two parts. It is what is called

Kali-Limenes (the Fair Havens); near to it was a town named Las�a or

Alassa They took shelter here; the crew and passengers were excessively

fatigued, so that they made a rather pro-longed stay in this little

port.

When it was a question of setting out again, the season was far

advanced. The great fast of the Atonement (Kippour), in the month of

Pisri (October), had passed; this fast marked for the Jews the limit

after which maritime journeys were not safe. Paul, who had acquired

much authority upon the ship, and who, moreover, had had long

experience of the sea, gave his opinion. He predicted great dangers and

disasters if they re-embarked.

"Nevertheless the centurion" (we cannot be as much surprised by the

fact as the narrator of the Acts) "believed the master and the owner of

the ship, more than those things which were spoken by Paul." The port

of Kali-Limenes was not a good one to winter in. The general opinion

was that they must try, in order to pass the winter months there, to

gain the port of Phoenice, situated upon the southern coast of the

island, where the men who knew those regions promised good anchorage. A

day when there was a breeze from the south they believed to be the

favourable one; they weighed anchor, and tacked along the side of the

island, as far as Cape Littinos; then they sailed with a fair wind

towards Phoenice.

The crew and the passengers believed themselves at the end of their

troubles, when suddenly one of those sudden hurricanes from the east,

that the sailors of the Mediterranean call Euroclydon, smote the

island. The ship was soon unable to keep her head to the wind: the

seamen had to run before it. They passed near a little isle named

Clauda; they put themselves for a moment under the shelter of this

isle, and profited by the short respite to hoist up with great

difficulty the boat, which every moment ran the risk of breaking up.

They then took precautions, in view of that shipwreck which all held to

be inevitable. They bound the hull of the ship with cables, they struck

the yards, and abandoned themselves to the wind. The second day, the

tempest was quite as great; wishing to lighten the ship, they threw the

cargo overboard. On the third day, they disencumbered themselves of the

furniture and utensils that were not necessary for working the ship.

The following days were frightful, they did not see the sun for a

moment, or a single star; they did not know where they were going.

Besides being strewn with islands, the Mediterranean presents between

Sicily and Malta, to the west, Pelponnesus and Crete; to the east,

southern Italy and Epir�us; to the north, the coast of Africa; to the

south, a large square of open sea, where the wind meets with no

obstacle, and rolls the sea into enormous waves. It was that place that

the ancients often called the Adriatic. The general opinion of the men

on board was that the ship was running upon the Syrtes of Africa, where

loss of life and goods was certain. All hope seemed gone; no one dreamt

of taking any food; it was, moreover, impossible to prepare it. Paul

alone remained confident. He was convinced that he should see Rome, and

that he would appear before the tribunal of the Emperor. He encouraged

the crew and passengers; he even said, it appears, that a vision had

revealed to him that not a person should perish, God having granted to

him the life of all, in spite of the mistake that they had made in

leaving the Fair Havens against his advice.

On the fourteenth night, indeed, after leaving this port, towards the

middle of the night, the sailors believed that they recognised the

land. They cast the lead, and found twenty fathoms; a short time after

it was fifteen fathoms. They believed that they were about to run upon

the rocks; at once four anchors were thrown from the poop; they lashed

the rudders, that is to say, the two large paddles which projected from

the two sides of the quarter-deck; the ship stopped; they waited

anxiously for the day. The sailors then, profiting by their skill in

the work, wished to save themselves at the expense of the passengers.

Under the pretext of throwing the anchors from the bow, they launched

the boat, and tried to get on shore. But the centurion and the

soldiers, warned, it is said by Paul, of this disloyal conduct, opposed

themselves. The soldiers cut the cables which held the sloop, and let

it go adrift. Paul, however, spoke consolingly to all, and assured them

that no one would suffer in his body. During these crises of maritime

life, existence is as it were suspended; when they are ended, we

perceive that we are dirty and hungry. For fourteen days scarcely any

one had taken any nourishment; it might have been from emotion; it

might have been from sea-sickness. Paul, in waiting for the day,

advised all to eat, in order to give them-selves strength, in view of

the work which remained to be done. He set the example himself, and,

like a pious Jew, broke bread, according to custom, after a prayer of

thanksgiving, which he offered in the presence of all. The passengers

imitated him, and took heart again. They still lightened the ship,

throwing into the sea all the corn which remained.

Day at last appeared, and they saw the land. It was deserted: no one

could make out where he was. They had before them a bay, having at its

extremity a sandy beach. They resolved to run aground upon the sand.

The wind was in their favour. They then cut the cables of the anchors,

and allowed them to get lost in the sea; they loosed the ropes which

bound the rudders. hoisted the foresail, and steered towards the shore.

The ship fell upon a neck of land beaten on two sides by the sea, and

there remained. The prow sank into the sand and remained immovable; the

poop, on the contrary, beaten by the waves, bumped and dislocated

itself at each blow from the sea. Safety under these conditions is easy

enough upon the shores of the Mediterranean, the ebb and flow of the

tide being inconsiderable. The grounded ship made a shelter, and it was

easy to establish communication with the land. But the presence of

prisoners where there were so many passengers aggravated the situation.

They might save themselves by swimming, and escape their guardians; the

soldiers, therefore, proposed to kill them. The honest Julius rejected

this barbarous notion. He ordered those who knew how to swim to cast

themselves into the sea and to gain the land, in order to aid the

escape of the others. Those who did not know how to swim escaped upon

planks and wreckage of every kind; nobody was lost.

They soon learnt that they were at Malta. The island, having submitted

to the Romans for a long time, and already much Latinised, was rich and

prosperous. The inhabitants showed themselves humane, and lighted a

large fire for the unfortunate castaways. The latter, indeed, were

shivering with cold, and the rain continued to fall in torrents. A very

simple incident, exaggerated by the disciples of Paul, then took place.

In taking a bundle of sticks to throw into the fire, Paul at the same

time took up a viper. They believed that it had bitten his hand. The

idea got into their heads that this man was a murderer, followed by

Nemesis, who not having been able to overtake him by means of the

tempest, had pursued him on land. The men of the country, as it

appears, waited to see him any moment swell and fall dead. As nothing

happened, they decided, it is said, to look upon him as a god.

Near the bay in which the ship had got wrecked were the lands of a

certain Publius, princeps of the municipality that the island formed

with Gaul. This man came to find that the castaways, or at least a

party of them, of whom were Paul and his companions, had gathered in

his homestead, and he treated them during three days with much

hospitality. Here soon happened one of those miracles that the

disciples of Paul believed they saw at every instant. The Apostle

cured, they say, the father of Publius by the imposition of hands, he

suffering from fever and dysentery. His reputation of wonder-worker

spread in the island, and they brought to him sick people from all

sides. It is not said, however, that he founded a Church there. These

low African populations could not raise themselves above their

sensuality and gross superstition.

The ancient coasting trade of the Mediterranean came to a standstill

during the winter. The frightful voyage that they had just made offered

no encouragement to take to the sea again. They remained for three

months at Malta, from the 15th of November 60 to the 15th of February

61 or thereabouts. Then Julius negotiated for the passage of his

prisoners and of his soldiers upon another Alexandrian ship, the Castor

and Pollux, which had wintered in the port of the island. They reached

Syracuse, where they remained for three days; then sailed with a fair

wind towards the straits, and touched at Rhegium. On the morrow, a good

wind blew from the south, and bore the ship in two days to Puteoli.

Puteoli, as we have already said, was the port of Italy most frequented

by the Jews. It was there also that ships from Alexandria discharged

their cargoes. There had been formed there, at the same time as at

Rome, a little Christian society. The Apostle was very warmly welcomed

by it, and entreated him to stay for seven days, which, thanks to the

kindness of the good centurion Julius, who was much attached to him,

was possible. They subsequently set out for Rome. The rumour of Paul's

arrival was spread amongst the faithful of that city, to some of whom

he was already, since the sending of his epistle, a known and respected

master. At the relay, at the stage called Appii Forum, forty-three

miles from Rome, upon the Appian Way, the first deputation reached him.

Ten miles further on, to set out from the Pontine Marshes, near a spot

called "The Three Taverns," on account of the hostelries which were

established there, a new group came to join. The joy of the Apostle

declared itself by lively expressions of thanks. The holy flock

traversed not without emotion the eleven or twelve leagues which

separated "The Three Taverns" from Port Capena, and always following

the Appian Way, by Aricia and Albania, the prisoner Paul entered Rome

in the month of March in the year 64, in the seventh year of the reign

of Nero, under the consulship of C�sennius P�tus and Petronius

Tarpilien.

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CHAPTER XXII.

A GLANCE OVER THE WORK OF PAUL.

Paul had still three years to live, and those three years were not the

least busy of his laborious existence. We shall even see that his

apostolic career had in all probability an extension. But these new

journeys he made in the west, not in the countries which he had already

visited. These journeys, if they really took place, were, besides,

without appreciable results for the propagation of Christianity. At

this point we can therefore estimate the work of Paul. Thanks to him, a

part of Asia Minor had received the seed of Christianity. In Europe,

Macedonia has been very deeply penetrated, Greece breaks upon its

borders. If we add to that Italy, from Puteoli to Rome, already

furrowed by Christians, we shall have the picture of the conquests

effected by Christianity in the sixteen years that this book embraces.

Syria, we have seen, had previously received the word of Jesus, and

possessed organised Churches. The progress of the new faith had been

really marvellous, and although the world at large occupied itself very

little with it, the followers of Jesus were already important to those

without. We shall see them, towards the middle of the year 64, occupy

the attention of the world, and play a very important part in its

history.

In all this history, nevertheless, it is important to avoid a mistake

which the reading of the Epistles of Paul, and the Acts of the

Apostles, almost necessarily produces. One would be tempted from such a

reading to imagine conversions en masse of numerous Churches of entire

countries adopting the new religion. Paul, who often speaks to us of

rebellious Jews, never speaks of the immense majority of Pagans who had

no knowledge of the faith. In reading the journeys of Benjamin of

Tudela, one would also believe that the world of his time was peopled

only with Jews. Sects are subject to these optical illusions; for them,

nothing exists besides themselves; the events which happen amongst them

appear to them to be the only events interesting to the universe.

Persons who have had relations with ancient St Simonians are struck

with the facility with which they consider themselves the centre of

humanity. The first Christians lived so shut up in their own (little)

circle, that they knew scarcely anything of the profane world. A

country was accounted evangelised when the name of Jesus had been

pronounced there, and when a tenth of the people were converted. A

Church often did not number more than twelve or fifteen persons.

Perhaps all the converts of St Paul in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, and

Greece, did not much exceed a thousand. That small number, that spirit

of secret companionship, of a little spiritual family, was truly what

constituted the indestructible strength of those Churches, and made of

them so many fertile germs for the future.

One man contributed more than any other to the rapid extension of

Christianity. That man has torn up the swaddling clothes so narrow and

so prodigiously dangerous by which he was surrounded from his birth; he

has proclaimed that Christianity was not a simple reform of Judaism,

but that it was a complete religion, existing by itself. To say that he

deserves to be placed in a very elevated rank in history, is to say

what is self-evident; but it is not necessary to call him a founder.

Paul well said that he was the least of the Apostles. He had not seen

Jesus, he had not heard His voice. The divine logic, the parables, he

scarcely knew. The Christ who personally revealed himself to him is his

own ghost; he listens to himself, thinking that he hears Jesus.

Even to speak only of his exterior character, Paul must have been in

his lifetime less important than we think him. His Churches were either

not very solid, or else they denied him altogether. The Churches of

Macedonia and of Galatia, which are truly his own work, were not very

important in the second and third century. The Churches of Corinth and

of Ephesus, which were not so exclusively his, went over to his

enemies, or are not founded canonically enough if they have been

founded only by him. After his disappearance from the scene of his

Apostolic contests, we shall see him almost forgotten. His death was

probably held by his enemies as the death of a firebrand. The second

century hardly speaks of him, and seems systematically to seek to

efface his memory. His epistles are read little, and are only

considered authoritative by a much reduced group of Churches. His

partisans themselves greatly weaken his pretensions. He left no

celebrated disciples; Titus, Timothy, and those others who made for him

a kind of court, disappear without any noise. To tell the truth, Paul

had too energetic a personality to form an original school. He always

crushed his disciples; they only played around him the part of

secretaries, of servants, of couriers. Their respect for their master

was such that they never dared to teach freely. When Paul was with his

flock, he existed alone; all others were crushed or seen only through

him.

In the third, fourth, and fifth centuries Paul will grow singularly: He

will become the doctor in an eminent degree, the founder of Christian

theology The true president of those great Greek Councils, which made

of Jesus the keystone of metaphysics, was the Apostle Paul.

But in the Middle Ages, everywhere in the west, his fortune will

undergo a strange eclipse. Paul will scarcely say anything to the heart

of the barbarians; out of Rome, he will not be remembered. Latin

Christianity will scarcely pronounce his name, except as coupled with

that of his rival. St Paul, in the Middle Ages, is in some sort lost in

the glory of St Peter. Whilst St Peter moved the world and made it

tremble and obey, the obscure St Pou plays a secondary part in the

grand Christian poesy which fills cathedrals and inspires popular

chants. Scarcely anybody before the sixteenth century utters his name;

he scarcely appears in monumental inscriptions; he has no devotees,

they build hardly any churches to him, they burn no wax-tapers to him.

His associates Titus, Timothy, Pheebe, Lydia, have little place in

public worship, especially in that of the Latins. They have no legend

which is worth anything. To have a legend, it is necessary to have

spoken to the heart of the people--to have struck their imagination.

Now, what does salvation by faith say, or justification by the blood of

Christ? Paul was too little sympathetic with the popular conscience,

and also perhaps too well known in history for a halo of fables to form

around his head. Talk to me of Peter, who bends the necks of kings,

breaks empires, walks upon the asp and the basilisk, treads under foot

the lion and the dragon, holds the keys of heaven!

The Reformation opens for St Paul a new era of glory and authority.

Catholicism itself returns, by studies more extended than those of the

Middle Ages, to juster views upon the Apostle of the Gentiles. From the

sixteenth century, the name of Paul is everywhere. But the Reformation,

which has rendered so many services to science and reason, has not been

known to create a legend. Rome, throwing an obliging veil upon the

rudenesses of the Epistle to the Galatians, elevates Paul upon a

pedestal nearly equal to that of Peter. Paul nevertheless does not

become the saint of the people. What place will criticism give to him?

What rank will be assigned to him in the hierarchy of those who serve

the ideal.

The ideal is served by doing good, by discovering the true, by

realising the beautiful. At the head of the sacred procession of

humanity walks the good man, the virtuous man; the second rank belongs

to the man of truth, knowledge, philosophy; then comes the man of

beauty, the artist, the poet. Jesus appears to us, under his celestial

halo, as an ideal of goodness and beauty. Peter loved Jesus, understood

him, and was, it seems, in spite of some failings, an excellent man.

What was Paul? He was not a saint. The dominating feature of his

character is not goodness. He was proud, unbending, unsociable; he

defends himself; self-assertive (as we say to-day); he uses harsh

words; he believes himself right; he holds to his opinions; he quarrels

with various people. He was not a scholar; one can even say that he has

injured science by his paradoxical contempt of reason, by his eulogy of

apparent folly, by his apotheosis of transcendental absurdity. Neither

was he a poet. His writings; works of the highest originality, are

without charm: the form is harsh and almost devoid of grace. What was

he then?

He was eminently a man of action, a strong soul--invading,

enthusiastic, conquering--a missionary, a propagator, all the more

ardent because he had at first displayed his fanaticism on the opposite

side. Now, the man of action, noble as he is when he acts for a noble

aim, is less near to God than one who has lived for the pure love of

truth, of the good and the beautiful. The Apostle is naturally rather

narrow-minded; he wished to succeed, he made sacrifices for that end.

Contact with reality always soils one a little. The first places in the

kingdom of heaven are reserved to those whom a ray of grace has

touched, to those who have only adored the ideal. The man of action is

always- a feeble artist, for he has not for his only aim that of

reflecting the splendour of the universe. He could not be a scholar,

for he regulates his opinions on grounds of political utility; he is

not even a very virtuous man, for he is never irreproachable, the folly

and wickedness of men forcing him to make a compact with them. Above

all things, he is not amiable; the most charming of virtues, reserve,

is forbidden to him. The world favours the daring, those who help

themselves Paul, so great, so honest, is obliged to bestow on himself

the title of Apostle. He is strong in action through his faults; he is

weak through his virtues. In short, the historical personage who has

most analogy with St Paul is Luther. Both alike were violent in

language, both displayed the same passion, the same energy, the same

noble independence, the same frantic attachment to a proposition once

embraced, as infallible truth.

I still persist in maintaining, that in the creation of Christianity

the part of Paul ought to be treated as much inferior to that of Jesus.

It is necessary even, according to my idea, to put Paul on a lower

plane than Francis of Assisi, and the author of the "Imitation," who

both saw Jesus very nearly. The Son of God is unique. To appear for a

moment to make a sweet and profound impression, to die very young, that

is the life of a god. To wrestle, to dispute, to conquer, that is the

life of a man. After having been for three hundred years the Christian

doctor in an eminent degree, thanks to orthodox Protestantism, Paul

seems in our days near the end of his reign: Jesus, on the contrary, is

more living than ever. It is no more the Epistle to the Romans which is

the recapitulation of Christianity, it is the Sermon on the Mount. True

Christianity which will last eternally comes from the Gospels, not from

the Epistles of Paul. The writings of Paul have been a danger and a

stumbling-block, the cause of the chief faults of Christian theology.

Paul is the father of the subtle Augustine, of the arid Thomas Aquinas,

of the sombre Calvinist, of the bitter Jansenist, of the ferocious

theology which condemns and predestinates to damnation. Jesus is the

father of all those who seek in dreams of the ideal the repose of their

souls. That which gives life to Christianity, is the little that we

know of the word and of the person of Jesus. The man devoted to the

ideal, the divine poet, the great artist, defies alone time and

revolution. Alone he is seated at the right hand of God the Father for

eternity.

Humanity, thou art sometimes just, and certain of thy judgments are

good!

THE END.

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124. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=21#iii-p24.21

125. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=4&scrV=21#iii-p24.24

126. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=17&scrV=0#iii-p38.2

127. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=2Tim&scrCh=18&scrV=0#iii-p38.2

128. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iii-p26.1

129. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iii-p27.4

130. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=5#iii-p28.1

131. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=6#iii-p26.5

132. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=6#iii-p27.4

133. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=10#iii-p27.2

134. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=12#iii-p26.2

135. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=12#iii-p27.1

136. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=13#iii-p26.2

137. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=1&scrV=13#iii-p27.1

138. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=12#iii-p26.6

139. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Titus&scrCh=3&scrV=13#iii-p26.7

140. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Phlm&scrCh=1&scrV=24#iii-p25.6

141. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=2&scrV=3#iii-p42.2

142. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=5&scrV=12#iii-p43.2

143. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=10&scrV=32#iii-p43.4

144. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=7#iii-p43.1

145. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=7#iii-p43.6

146. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=7#iii-p43.7

147. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3?scrBook=Heb&scrCh=13&scrV=13#iii-p43.3

148. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-p3.1

149. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.1

150. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.8

151. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xvi-p3.1

152. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p49.5

153. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p23.2

154. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p8.1

155. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p46.2

156. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p13.2

157. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.4

158. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p40.1

159. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xv-p13.1

160. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p10.1

161. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xvi-p8.1

162. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xvi-p8.2

163. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p45.8

164. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.5

165. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.7

166. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p49.3

167. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxii-p3.1

168. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p13.1

169. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.6

170. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p16.3

171. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-p8.1

172. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p25.3

173. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-p6.1

174. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p25.1

175. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xv-p13.4

176. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p25.2

177. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-p6.2

178. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p3.1

179. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p38.5

180. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p4.1

181. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxii-p19.1

182. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xi-p10.1

183. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-p9.2

184. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p41.1

185. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxii-p19.2

186. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p2.1

187. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p2.2

188. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p26.4

189. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xx-p26.1

190. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p2.3

191. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p6.1

192. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p30.2

193. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p48.1

194. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p3.2

195. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p29.1

196. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#ix-p4.1

197. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p29.1

198. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-p9.1

199. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p26.3

200. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-p13.1

201. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xx-p4.1

202. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-p10.1

203. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p42.1

204. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#ix-p6.1

205. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p23.1

206. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xx-p21.1

207. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xv-p13.2

208. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xv-p13.3

209. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p2.1

210. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-p5.1

211. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-p8.1

212. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-p2.1

213. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p17.2

214. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xi-p12.1

215. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p30.1

216. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p21.1

217. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p6.1

218. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-p10.1

219. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-p1.2

220. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p49.4

221. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p21.2

222. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xii-p8.1

223. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p30.3

224. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-p1.2

225. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p27.3

226. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xv-p6.1

227. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xvi-p2.1

228. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p16.1

229. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-p12.1

230. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p36.1

231. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p19.1

232. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p13.1

233. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p45.3

234. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-p11.1

235. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-p11.2

236. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-p28.1

237. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#x-p17.1

238. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-p43.5

239. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#i-Page\_vii

240. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#i-Page\_iv

241. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#ii-Page\_v

242. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#ii-Page\_vi

243. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_vii

244. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_viii

245. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_ix

246. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_x

247. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xi

248. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xii

249. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xiii

250. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xiv

251. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xv

252. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xvi

253. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xvii

254. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xviii

255. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xix

256. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xx

257. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxi

258. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxii

259. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxiii

260. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxiv

261. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxv

262. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxvi

263. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxvii

264. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxviii

265. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxix

266. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxx

267. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iii-Page\_xxxi

268. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_1

269. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_2

270. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_3

271. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_4

272. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_5

273. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_6

274. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_7

275. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_8

276. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_9

277. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_10

278. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_11

279. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#iv-Page\_12

280. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_13

281. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_14

282. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_15

283. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_16

284. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_17

285. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_18

286. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_19

287. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_20

288. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_21

289. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_22

290. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_23

291. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_24

292. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_25

293. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_26

294. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_27

295. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#v-Page\_28

296. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_29

297. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_30

298. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_31

299. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_32

300. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_33

301. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_34

302. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_35

303. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_36

304. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_37

305. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_38

306. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_39

307. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_40

308. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_41

309. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_42

310. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_43

311. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_44

312. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_45

313. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_46

314. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_47

315. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_48

316. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_49

317. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vi-Page\_50

318. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_51

319. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_52

320. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_53

321. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_54

322. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_55

323. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_56

324. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_57

325. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_58

326. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#vii-Page\_59

327. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_60

328. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_61

329. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_62

330. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_63

331. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_64

332. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_65

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334. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_67

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336. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#viii-Page\_69

337. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#ix-Page\_70

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552. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_285

553. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_286

554. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_287

555. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_288

556. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_289

557. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiii-Page\_290

558. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_291

559. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_292

560. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_293

561. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_294

562. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_295

563. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxiv-Page\_296

564. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_297

565. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_298

566. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_299

567. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_300

568. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_301

569. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_302

570. file://localhost/ccel/r/renan/saintpaul/cache/saintpaul.html3#xxv-Page\_303