

FASTI APOSTOLICI

W. H. ANDERDON

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Fasti apostolici

FASTI APOSTOLICI.

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FASTI APOSTOLICI:

A
CHRONOLOGICAL SURVEY

OF THE YEARS BETWEEN THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD AND THE
MARTYRDOM OF SS. PETER AND PAUL.

BY
W. H. ANDERDON,

FRIEST OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

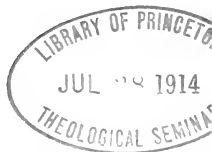
SECOND THOUSAND
(Enlarged).

“Quid potissimum hoc factum sit die [*seu* anno], noverit Ipse qui fecit: nos tamen credere, nec dubitare debemus, quicquid illud est, factum esse pro nobis.”

S. MAXIMUS, *Hom. I. in Epiph.*

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1884.



THE destruction of the greater part of the first edition by a calamitous fire has called for this second and enlarged one much earlier than was due. It is committed to the press under a sense of the uncertain tenure of life ; whereas greater delay for more careful remodelling might have been demanded by the extent no less than the intricacy and partial uncertainty of the subject.

INTRODUCTION.

“DIFFERENCES of opinion have existed, from the earliest times, regarding the dates of the birth and death of Christ.”¹ S. Jerome says : “Diversa quidem fertur opinio in mundo, et pro traditionum varietate sententia est diversa.”²

These differences range within an area of seven years : from the year of Rome 747 to 754 for our Lord’s Nativity, with, of course, a corresponding oscillation for the date of His Sacred Passion, thirty-three years after.

(1) “The latest researches,” says Alzog, “seem to give the weight of authority to the year 747.” This, as will be seen below, is the *Annus Vulgaris*, or common reckoning of Baronius, who is followed by à Lapide. They, however, with so many other writers of authority, assign the true date as being five years later. Four additional authors, quoted by Alzog,³ concur for this year ; one of them, Sepp, “on rather ingenious than convincing combinations.”

¹ Alzog, *History of the Church*, vol. i. p. 140. He quotes Fabricius, *Bibliograph. Antiquar.* c. vii. § ix. p. 18, Hamb. 1716, and Münter’s *Star of the Wise Men*, Copenhagen, 1827.

² *Serm. de Nativitate*.

³ P. 139, note.

(2) Kepler, who wrote three distinct treatises on the chronology of the Nativity, decides for the year u.c. 748.

(3) According to Tillemont, the reasons seem unanswerable which fix the death of Herod ("the Great") to the year 750; therefore our Lord's birth must have been at least four years before the common era: viz., the end of the year of Augustus' twelfth consulate, the fortieth year after the death of Julius Cæsar, the twenty-seventh after the battle of Actium, the 749th of the foundation of Rome, the fourth of the 193rd Olympiad, and the 4000th of the creation of the world, according to Usher. He adds: "C'est l'opinion qui est suivie aujourd'hui par presque toutes les personnes habiles:" and places F. Norris on the list (*Notes sur la Vie de J. C.*). This is also the opinion of Fr. Garrucci, *Storia della Arte Cristiana*, Prato, 1872, vol. i. lib. vii. sec. 1. A Lapide, though in his *Chronotaxis* he follows Baronius for the year 752, yet in his *Commentary on S. Luke* (ii. 1, 2), says of the opinion for 749: "Ita Chronicon Weingartense, et nonnulli recentiores insignes chronologi. Hæc sententia valde convenit cum historiis sacris et profanis." This same year 749 is advocated, almost as these sheets are going to press, by Prof. Sattler of Munich, on independent grounds, and chiefly on the authority of three coins struck in the reign of Herod Antipas, the genuineness of which is acknowledged by numismatic writers. (The argument, however, is not given in the serial from which this statement is extracted).

(4) Sulpicius Severus⁴ gives A.U. 750, which is the first year of the 194th Olympiad, the fortieth of the reign of Augustus, and corresponds with B.C. 4, of the ordinary reckoning. This is supported by the arguments of Wieseler,⁵ who seems to have established that the fifteenth year of Tiberius⁶ included the two years in which Augustus and Tiberius reigned conjointly. Now, Augustus died, A.U. 767. If, then, the fifteen years begin in 765, they end in 780. In that year, S. John's preaching would begin, followed soon after by that of our Lord, who then *erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta*.⁷ This gives 750 for His Nativity. This opinion is strengthened by calculations made as to the appearance of the Star mentioned,⁸ and especially by the fact that, except in the year 733 U.C., for a long time both before and after the coming of Christ, the Pasch did not fall on a Thursday. Now, according to the commonly received opinion, our Lord celebrated His Last Supper when He had exactly completed the thirty-third year of His life; which brings us back to the year 750.⁹ This is also the calculation of Father Gordon.¹⁰

(5) Cassiodorus, S. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, followed by Darras, give A.U. 751, B.C. (vulg.) 3.

⁴ *Hist. Sacr.* ii. 39, quoted in Clinton's *Fasti Hellenici*, vol. iii. p. 262.

⁵ *Chronological Survey of the Four Gospels*, Hamburg, 1843.

⁶ S. Luke iii. 1, 2.

⁷ S. Luke iii. 23.

⁸ S. Matt. ii. 2, 7, 9, 10.

⁹ See Alzog. *ut sup.* p. 140.

¹⁰ *Opus Chronologicum*, &c., Col. Agripp. 1614.

ann. Augusti 41. Clement¹¹ gives it as one hundred and ninety-four years before the death of Commodus, who was slain, December 31, A.D. 192, thus placing the Nativity to the common (vulg.) B.C. 3. He adds, that it was the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Augustus, reckoning from the Battle of Actium, which is generally assigned to B.C. 31. This, again, brings the Nativity to the same date.

(6) Eusebius,¹² S. Epiphanius,¹³ Photius,¹⁴ Zonaras,¹⁵ and Orosius,¹⁶ place it in the year u.c. 752. Eusebius says: "This was the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth after the defeat and death of Antony and Cleopatra"—a reckoning which, like that of Josephus, counts the years of Augustus from the death of Julius Cæsar. S. Epiphanius expressly assigns it to the forty-second year of Augustus, which falls in the ordinary B.C. 2, and u.c. 752. He is supported in this by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a very ancient record, whatever may be the degree of authority assigned to it by later criticism. Its words are: "A.D. 1. Octavianus reigned fifty-six years; and in the forty-second year of his reign, Christ was born." Baronius, followed by à Lapede, gives u.c. 785 for the Crucifixion, which refers back to 752 for the Nativity. This is also the calculation of

¹¹ *Stromata*, i. p. 340.

¹² *Hist. Eccl.* i. 5.

¹³ *De Hæres.* l. i. p. 48, et alibi. In five places, altogether, of his works, quoted by Clinton, *ut sup.*

¹⁴ Cod. 259, p. 1405.

¹⁵ X. p. 544 D.

¹⁶ vi. 22, vii. 2, 3.

F. Riess, S.J. (lately deceased), who, in his *Geburtsjahr Christi*, gives u.c. 752 for the Nativity, though he places the Passion in 786. Henschenius, Emm. Schelstraate, and F. Hon. à S. Maria (*De Reg. et Usu Criseos*, t. iii. diss. 1), give the same year. See other authorities quoted by the Bollandist G. C., July 15, "De Divisione Apostolorum."

(7) Tertullian¹⁷ says: "In the forty-first year of the reign of Augustus, reckoning from the death of Cæsar,¹⁸ Christ was born." He adds, that Augustus lived fifteen years after the Nativity. If so, the Nativity was u.c. 753, the *Annus Vulgaris*. If Tertullian dated it forty-one years after the death of Julius Cæsar, it ought to be referred to B.C. 3, of the common reckoning, as was said above.

(8) Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman Abbot, writing about the middle of the sixth century (530), "by an independent computation . . . arrived at the year 754."¹⁹ This is also the opinion of Bellarmine (*De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, p. 618). Yet it would appear certainly too late. For Josephus assigns the death of Herod to the spring of 750 or 751. Now, it is plain from S. Matthew's Gospel,²⁰ that Herod was alive when our Lord was born, though he is believed to have died soon after. It is difficult then to see how this does not disprove the correctness of any year after the two dates just mentioned (750 or 751).

¹⁷ *Adv. Jud.* c. 8.

¹⁸ The MSS. appear to read "Cleopatra;" but Clinton proposes this emendation.

¹⁹ Alzog. A Lapide, however (in Luc. ii. 1).

²⁰ S. Matt. ii. 16.

In dubiis libertas. Among these various theories, most of them resting on arguments to which considerable weight is due, the reader must determine his choice.²¹

None of the calculations militate, on the whole, against the *sequence* of years as given in the following pages; so that the scale may be adjusted according to the year which shall seem to have the preponderance of proof. If the year 750 is adopted for the Nativity, the expression *διετίας πληρωθείσης* (Acts xxiv. 27; "Fasti," pp. 86, 87) may be taken to indicate a two years' imprisonment of S. Paul at Cæsarea, instead of referring to the end of the second year of Nero's reign: and still the martyrdom of the Apostles will fall in A.D. 69, and the thirteenth of Nero.

The "Fasti," here given, follow the computation of Baronius, the "Chronotaxis" of à Lapide, and the other authors given above for this year, viz., u.c. 752 for the Nativity, and therefore u.c. 785 (or 786) for the first year of the Church's life.

A work of great importance and interest will be constantly referred to in the notes to these pages: the *Series Episcoporum Ecclesie Catholice*, etc. edidit P. Pius B. Gams, O.S.B. Ratisb. 1873. Though in form very terse, as the

²¹ "Hæ sententiæ singulæ suas habeat conjecturas, suas quoque difficultates. Quare in re tam ancipiti nil certo definiri potest. Lector ex his eligat quam volet" (à Lap. *ut sup.*). He assigns the greater probability, however, to the years 749, 750, or 751, though in his "Chronotaxis" he gives 752. They who desire to see how wide and perplexed is the field of inquiry, may consult the tabular statement of thirty-two different theories, given in Dr. Meyer's "Critical Commentary on the New Testament," prefixed to the Acts of the Apostles. Gött. 1856.

nature and great extent of the subject demanded, the book is full of valuable notices of persons and places, and has tended to confirm more than one ancient account that might otherwise have been rejected by the hypercritical as an unauthorized tradition.

Among non-Catholic works, the following have been chiefly used on points of criticism and history : Mr. Lewin's *Life and Epistles of S. Paul* ; Messrs. Conybeare and Howson's work, bearing the same title ; the Rev. J. H. Blunt's *Annotated Bible* ; Dean Alford's *Annotated Greek Testament* ; Dr. Jacobson's notes in the lately published *Explanatory and Critical Commentary* ; and various articles in the learned and generally fair *Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by Dr. W. Smith in 1863.

Of the Dean of Chester's contribution to New Testament criticism I will say, ἄμφοιν φίλοιον ὄντων, ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.²² The remembrance of our travels together in Greece, forty years ago, privileges me to refer to him by that title ; while our great diversities of view, shown by the very interesting and scholarly book in which he has borne a full share, constrain me to remember the second clause of the Stagirite's sentence. It is difficult, not to say impossible, for a writer in that position, with the fairest intentions, really to apprehend either the Apostle or his inspired historian.

A new era in Anglican commentary on the Scriptures may be said to open with the *Annotated Bible*, already

²² *Arist. Eth. Nicom.* lib. i. c. 3, sub init.

referred to, and published at the beginning of last year. It must be hailed as a sign of hope, that in a solid and learned exposition, intended, moreover, for family as well as private use, a writer of name should have the courage to discard the old traditionary misinterpretations of many important passages. Such a work will doubtless prove, to the souls of men of good will, *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστὸν*,

Till from Bethabrah northward, heavenly Truth
With gradual steps, winning her difficult way,
Transfer their rude Faith, perfected and pure.

Manchester,
Feast of SS. Simon and Jude,
1883.

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The numerals in brackets, following those assigned to A.D. in each year, denote the *Annus Vulgaris*, or common reckoning.

FASTI APOSTOLICI.

FIRST YEAR.

A.U.C. 785. TIBERII 18.

A.D. 34 (s.v. 29),¹ the 8th of the kalends of April (March 25),² in the year of the World 3984,³ 2327 years after the Flood, 2035 after the call of Abraham, 1530 after the Exodus from Egypt, 1051 after the building of Solomon's temple, in the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad, 785 years after the foundation of Rome, 625 after the Babylonian captivity, 487 after the beginning of the Seventy Weeks (in the middle of the last week), in the 18th year of the reign of Tiberius,⁴ and between the fourth and fifth year of the governorship of Pontius Pilate,⁵

OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,

the Great High Priest, Saviour and Redeemer of the world, Antitype of all types and figures, Substance of the foreshadowings of the law,

¹ The numbers here given are, with one exception, taken from the "Chronotaxis" prefixed by C. à Lapide to his commentary on the Acts; without further remark than is implied in the Introduction to the *Fasti*. A.D. 34 means the thirty-third year of our Lord's life, *plus* three months over. On the whole subject of the difficulty of fixing ancient dates, see Appendix A.

² Tillemont (*Vie de N. S. J. C.*) says that this is the tradition of the Latin Church, and quotes the Bollandists (*ad 25 Mart.*) to the same effect; adding that the Greeks commemorate the Crucifixion on the 23rd of the month, "et d'autres en d'autres jours." Father Riess (*Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 177), gives

April 2, the eve of the Jewish Pasch on the 14th of Nisan, for the Last Supper, Agony, and Betrayal, and therefore April 3 for the Passion, and April 5 for the Resurrection. The Roman Martyrology, however, celebrates the death of S. Dismas, the good thief, on March 25.

³ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says: "Being from the beginning of the world about five thousand two hundred and twenty-six years." This is not far from the reckoning of the Roman Martyrology, which gives 5199 years from the Creation to the Nativity (See Introduction).

⁴ That is, of his joint reign with Augustus (See Introduction).

⁵ He had succeeded Valerius Gratus, about four years previously.

Object of prophecy, "the Desired of all nations," was crucified on Calvary, "for us men and for our salvation," on the same day on which, thirty-four years before, He was Incarnate by the Holy Ghost in the most pure womb of His ever-blessed and ever-virgin Mother.

The third day, He rose again, according to the Scriptures,⁶ and appeared, from time to time,⁷ to His Apostles⁸ and disciples, "to whom He showed Himself alive after His Passion, by many proofs,⁹ for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the Kingdom of God." His most public manifestation of Himself was on a mountain in Galilee, probably Tabor, to which He invited¹⁰ His disciples; being "seen by more than five hundred brethren at once."¹¹

During these interviews with His chosen Apostles, the "foundation" stones¹² of His Church, He was employed in giving laws and ordinances for its government, instituting the Sacraments, and appointing the mode of their administration.

These great Forty Days being ended, "eating together with them"¹³ for the last time, He "commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father,"¹⁴ the Baptism by the Holy Ghost, which they were to receive not many days afterwards. He then "led them out as far as Bethania,"¹⁵ and from thence (doubtless with S. Lazarus and his sisters) to the Mount of Olives,¹⁶ on the summit of which He blessed them for the last time,

⁶ Osce vi. 3; S. Matt. xii. 40; 1 Cor. xv. 4.

⁷ Appendix B.

⁸ The list of the Apostles here given by S. Luke (c. i. 13), corresponds with that in the gospels of SS. Matthew and Mark, together with his own gospel; except that S. Luke in both places calls S. Thaddæus, or Lebbaeus, "Judas the brother of James," and Simon of Cana in Galilee, "Simon Zelotes." Thaddæus and Lebbaeus are expounded as meaning *Cordatus* (egregie cordatus homo). S. Bartholomew is supposed to be the Nathanael of S. John i. 45—51.

⁹ "His Deity, which seemed to con-

ceal itself in the Passion, now appears, and manifests itself in such marvellous wise in His most holy Resurrection, by its true and most holy effects" (S. Ign. *Exerc. Spir.* hebdom. 4. contempl. 1).

¹⁰ S. Matt. xxviii. 7, 16; S. Mark xvi. 7.

¹¹ 1 Cor. xv. 6.

¹² Eph. ii. 20. Compare S. Matt. xvi. 18, 1 Tim. iii. 15.

¹³ Contrast S. Luke xxiv. 30, 39—43, and Apoc. ii. 7, with Judges xiii. 16, Tobias xii. 19.

¹⁴ Acts i. 2.

¹⁵ S. Luke xxiv. 50.

¹⁶ Appendix C.

and "while they looked on, He was raised up,¹⁷ and a cloud received Him out of their sight,"¹⁸ on His Ascension into Heaven.

During the ten days' interval between the Ascension and Pentecost, while they waited and prayed in an upper room in Jerusalem,¹⁹ S. Peter,²⁰ in the presence of the Blessed Virgin, of our Lord's "brethren" or kinsfolk, and disciples, in all about one hundred and twenty persons, proposed the election of some one of those who had accompanied Jesus from His Baptism onwards, to fill the place in the college of the Apostles, left vacant by the traitor Judas. Thus Cephas, who had been ordained to "confirm his brethren,"²¹ takes the lead from the first, on this as all other important occasions.

After prayer, lots were cast,²² and S. Matthias²³ was chosen in preference to S. Joseph (Barsabas) the Just,²⁴ brother to S. James the Less, son of SS. Alphæus and Mary, who was sister to the Blessed Virgin.

Ten days after the Ascension, on the completion of the seven weeks after the Pasch, on the fiftieth²⁵ day, or Pentecost, on which day, according to tradition, the law had been given from Mount

¹⁷ By His own Divine will and power. Non angeli adminiculo, sed propria virtute subnixus (S. Bern. *De Grad. Humil.* c. 1).

¹⁸ Acts i. 9.

¹⁹ Probably the "large upper room" of the Last Supper. The supposition that it was one of the chambers belonging to the Temple is held to be less likely, says Kuinoel. Baronius takes it to have been the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark (cf. c. xii. 12).

²⁰ "Loquitur ille Petrus, super quem ædificanda fuerat ecclesia" (S. Cyp. *Ep.* lxi. *ad Papiam*, p. 265).

²¹ S. Luke xxii. 32.

²² Prov. xvi. 33, S. Jerome (*in Jonam*, c. 18), SS. Chrysost. and Bede (*in Act.* i. 26), S. Aug. (*Serm. de S. Matth.*), and S. Thomas (sec. ix. 95, art. 1), consider this to have belonged rather to the Mosaic dispensation; and contrast the election of the seven deacons after the

Day of Pentecost (c. vi. 3—6). On the legitimate use of lots by Christians, see S. Aug. *Epist.* 119, 180; S. Greg. *in cap.* xiv. i. Reg.

²³ His name is not inserted in the Canon of the Mass before the consecration, as not having been of the original Twelve. S. Paul's name however is always joined with that of S. Peter (Lorinus). For two spiritual maxims attributed to S. Matthias by Clement of Alexandria, see Appendix D.

²⁴ S. Matt. xxvii. 56. Dorotheus says he became Bishop of Eleutheropolis in Palestine. The *Rom. Martyrol.* commemorates him among the Saints, July 20. Eusebius, *E. H.* i. 12, iii. 30, says he was one of the Seventy, and quotes Papias as recording, that he drank of a deadly poison without receiving harm. Cf. S. Mark xvi. 18.

²⁵ Levit. xxiii. 15, 16; Num. xxviii. 26; Deut. xvi. 9, 10.

Sinai, the promised Paraclete descended²⁶ on the Blessed Virgin²⁷ and the Apostles and disciples. Whit-Sunday thenceforth became a feast in memorial of the promulgation of the new law of love and grace, "not of the letter, but of the spirit," and of the "first-fruits of the Spirit,"²⁸ not merely of the produce of Canaan; the Feast of Weeks thus merging into the Christian Pentecost, as the Pasch had vanished into Easter.²⁹

The miraculous gift of tongues, imparted by the Holy Spirit the Paraclete, who then began to inspire the Church, and to teach it all truth,³⁰ enabled the faithful to proclaim the Gospel to the multitudes of Israelite descent, at that time assembled in Jerusalem. These had come to keep the Pentecost, from the various places of their dispersion amongst distant nations.³¹ They had come, moreover, in greater numbers than usual, owing to the prophecies³² which pointed to this particular time for the advent of the Messiah. The faithful at once began to announce "the wonderful works of God" in all those various languages; or, speaking their own Syro-Chaldaic, it was miraculously translated into the language of each hearer.³³ The

²⁶ The common opinion is that they then all received the grace of the Sacrament of Confirmation, without the visible sign attached to it in all other cases. This effusion of the Holy Spirit was bestowed in the church at the third hour of the day, or nine in the morning, and is therefore perpetually commemorated by the Church in the hymn for the Office of Tierce—

Nunc Sancte nobis Spiritus
Unum Patri cum Filio, etc.

²⁷ Cf. Albert. Magn. *Mariale*, c. 155; S. Antonin. *Hist.* p. 1, tit. vi. c. 2, § 1.

²⁸ Rom. viii. 23. This Book of the Acts has been called "The Gospel of the Holy Ghost," as exhibiting the Divine work of the Third Person, the sequel of the Incarnation and Passion of the Second. S. Luke quotes at the outset the promise of the Paraclete made by our Lord before His Passion (S. John xvi. 1-7) and proceeds to

record its fulfilment, after his Ascension.

²⁹ Cf. Heb. viii. 13.

³⁰ S. John xvi. 13.

³¹ Acts ii. 5-11. Cf. Philo's *Legatio ad Caium* (xvi.) for an account of the dispersion of the Jewish race into all lands. It had taken place at two very different epochs; the Babylonian captivity by Nabuchodonosor, and the ruin of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great, when the Jews spread themselves throughout the Macedonian dominions; thus filtering into the third great Empire (Dan. vii. and viii.), as they had into the first and second, and afterwards into the fourth.

³² Gen. xlix. 10; Dan. ix. 25. Cf. Suet. *Vesp.* c. iv.

³³ The former supposition seems the more probable, from Acts ii. 4. Compare S. Mark xvi. 17, S. Thomas (*Summa*), S. Greg. Naz. S. Paul afterwards received the same gifts (1 Cor. xiv. 18, 19).

Blessed Virgin³¹ was the preceptor of this "sound as of many waters;" being filled yet more with the Holy Ghost by this accession of grace: even as, when the Eternal Word was incarnate in her womb, she had intoned the *Magnificat*—at once a hymn of praise, an announcement of the Gospel of her Divine Son, and a prophecy.

Others, perhaps Scribes and Pharisees, far from being converted by the miracle, or by the word of life, imputed the holy enthusiasm of these disciples of the truth to drunkenness.³² But S. Peter stood up,³³ as the Moses of the New Covenant,³⁴ promulgating "the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus," not as from Sinai, but from Sion.³⁵ The multitude, smitten with compunction³⁶ at his words, asked what they should do? S. Peter answered, by preaching to them penance

³¹ S. Irenæus, *ad Hæres.* iii. x. (*al.* xi.) speaks of the Blessed Virgin as prophesying for the whole Church in her *Magnificat*. On which Feuardentius comments: "Nihil insolens est, quòd donum simul ac exercitium prophetandi B. Deiparæ hoc loco tribuat Irenæus; cùm omnibus modis sanctitate et donorum Dei copia superaverit; Moysi sororem, Deborah, Judith, Elizabetham, Annam, et Philippi quatuor filias; quibus in populo Dei prophetare datum fuit. Deinde, Angelus affirmans eam *gratia plenam, et inter omnes mulieres benedictam*, hoc quoque donum Dei haudquaquam ei defuisse satis indicat. Adde quòd in sancta Pentecoste sacro cætui intererat, in quem Spiritu Sancto abunde effuso repleti sunt omnes divinis Illius charismatibus; utpote donis linguarum, interpretationis sermonum, sanitatum, prophetiæ, sapientiæ, fortitudinis, ac cæteris quæ per Apostolum (1 Cor. xii.) numerantur." If the Blessed Virgin is mentioned almost last on the list of those who received the gift of Pentecost, a pious tradition asserts that it was at her own special instance to St. Luke that it should be so. Cf. S. Bern. *Sermo de verb. Apoc. Signum magnum*.

³² Cf. Gen. xix. 14, 1 Kings i. 12—16, Psalm lxxviii. 13, Wisdom v. 4, Ezech. xx. 49, Eph. v. 18, 19, 1 S. Pet. iv. 4.

³³ "In primatu modestiam servans, et reverentiam condiscipulis exhibens" (*Lorin.*). It was because S. Augustine of Canterbury failed to do this, or saw good reason not to do it, that the British bishops charged him with pride at the Second Synod of Aust (Beda, *Hist.* ii. 2).

³⁴ Unum baptisma, et unus Spiritus Sanctus, et una Ecclesia a Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata (S. Cypr. *Ep.* lxxi. *ad Quint.* p. 273). S. Peter is sometimes represented, in the ancient glass vessels found in the Catacombs, as Moses striking the rock, with the word *Petrus* over his head; indicating that his position in the New Covenant is analogous to that of the great lawgiver in the Old. Cf. 1 Cor. x. 2—4, 11. See Garucci, *L'Arte Cristiana*, and all other writers on the Catacombs, from Bosio to RR. MM. Northcote and Brownlow.

³⁵ Mich. iv. 2; Heb. xii. 18—29.

³⁶ Thus fulfilling the prophecy, Zach. xii. 10.

and baptism. About three thousand souls were baptized, and thus added to the Church.

"They were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in the communication of the breaking of the Bread,³⁷ and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul: many wonders also and signs were done by the Apostles in Jerusalem."

SS. Peter and John "went up into the temple, at the ninth hour of prayer." Seeing a man, lame from his birth, asking alms in the gate, S. Peter healed him,³⁸ and announced to the multitude who witnessed the miracle, the Name of Jesus. Whereupon, the priests, officials, and Sadducees, took them into custody for examination the next day. Meanwhile, five thousand additional converts were made. Before the Sanhedrim, S. Peter delivered an *Apologia* for the faith. The two Apostles were charged to desist from preaching, and dismissed. Their narration to the Church of all that had passed, increased the fervour of the disciples, and the Holy Spirit manifested the Divine approval by miracle.³⁹

The disciples' faith and charity induced them, and notably S. Barnabas, to throw all their possessions into a common stock. The miracles wrought by the Apostles,⁴⁰ as well as the lives of these primitive Christians, struck and overawed the unbelievers, and moved "such as should be saved" to present themselves for admission into the Church.

Amid this generous self-sacrifice, Ananias, with his wife Sapphira,

³⁷ Cf. S. Luke xxii. 19, xxiv. 30, 35, I Cor. x. 16, 17. Observe the force of the article: ἡ κοινωνία τῆ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου, καὶ ταῖς προσευχαῖς (Acts ii. 42), as opposed to κλῶντες κατ' οἶκον ἄρτον, of v. 46.

³⁸ It has been observed that S. Luke, as a physician, gives a medically accurate account of this miracle of healing, as of other events occurring later in his narrative (Cf. ix. 18, xxviii. 6). It is the more remarkable in this instance, because S. Luke was not an eye-witness (Cf. note 29 ad A.D. 51). But we have here only one example of the graphic

detail with which the Evangelist narrated events he had not personally witnessed. *E.g.* of the *Apologia* and martyrdom of S. Stephen, S. Augustine says that we behold rather than read them. *Serm. 2 de S. Steph.* (Brev. Rom. in Oct. Fest.).

³⁹ Acts iv. 31.

⁴⁰ See the numerous passages, both of the Old and New Testament, in which miracles (σημεῖα) are spoken of as proofs of a revelation. Exod. iv. 8, 9, 4 Kings xx. 8, 9, S. Matt. xii. 38, S. John iv. 48, I Cor. xiv. 22, and many others.

having, most probably,⁴¹ vowed all their substance to God in His Church, sacrilegiously kept back a part, and only laid the remainder at the Apostles' feet. S. Peter, acting as supreme judge under Christ, solemnly denounced their sin, and they successively fell dead at his feet.

The multitude and splendour of the Apostles' miracles⁴² roused the indignation of the High Priest and the Sadducees, who again imprisoned them; but they were delivered by an Angel, and returned to teach in the Temple. A Council, or Sanhedrim, was held on the matter. Gamaliel, a doctor of the law, who had taught S. Paul, S. Barnabas, and S. Stephen, and was afterwards converted to the faith,⁴³ here showed his wisdom, and disposition towards the truth, by advising that the teachers of the new doctrine should be let alone. If it was of men, it would soon come to naught, as novelties and their teachers had done before; if of God, it was irresistible, and the attempt to resist, impious. Nevertheless, the Apostles were scourged⁴⁴ before their dismissal. They went forth, rejoicing in persecution,⁴⁵ and preached the truth with unabated zeal.

The Church's possessions being a common stock, from which "distribution was made to every one according as he had need,"⁴⁶ the ministering of relief, probably to the women, was intrusted to certain widows,⁴⁷ perhaps deaconesses, and also recipients of the alms, like those about whom S. Paul afterwards gave direction.⁴⁸ These were composed, as the Church was, of natives of Judæa, and of Israelites born in Jewish settlements in Greece and other foreign

⁴¹ Cf. Corn. à Lap. in Acts v. 1.

⁴² Acts v. 12—16.

⁴³ S. Clement (*Recogn.* I. ix.), and S. Bede after him, suppose that S. Gamaliel was already a Christian, and had been counselled by the Apostles to conceal it for a while, so as to advocate the truth in the Sanhedrim. This, however, is against the opinion of S. Chrysostom. Gamaliel and his grandfather were two of the four Jewish doctors, who for their learning and piety received the title of *Rabban*, a very honourable form of *Rabbi*.

⁴⁴ See S. Matt. x. 17.

⁴⁵ Cf. S. Matt. v. 12; S. Luke vi. 23; 1 S. Peter ii. 19, iv. 13, 14; Phil. i. 29.

"Mundi hujus potestatibus contraire non præsumerent, nisi eos Sancti Spiritus fortitudo solidasset. Quales namque doctores sanctæ Ecclesiæ ante adventum hujus Spiritus fuerint, scimus: et post adventum illius, cujus fortitudinis facti sint, conspicimus" (S. Greg. *Hom.* 30 in *Evang.* p. med.).

⁴⁶ Acts iv. 35.

⁴⁷ Very early a distinct class in the Church. See the next reference.

⁴⁸ 1 Tim. v. 9, &c.

parts.⁴⁹ While the Church was comparatively small and poor, "the multitude of believers had but one heart and one soul;"⁵⁰ but "the number of the disciples increasing, there arose a murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews,"⁵¹ as being unfairly treated in the distribution of alms. The Apostles, not to be distracted in their spiritual work by temporal details, proposed to the Church at large to elect seven⁵² men, known for sanctity and wisdom, to be approved by the Apostles, and "appointed over this business."⁵³ The first of these was S. Stephen (Heb. *Cheliel*, "a crown"⁵⁴), "a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost," the proto-martyr of the Church, and therefore celebrated on the day after the Nativity of Him who is

Rex gloriosus martyrum,
Corona confitentium.

⁴⁹ Josephus (*Antiq.* xii. 5, xiv. 9, xvi. 4) says that the Jews had established colonies in Lacedæmon and Ionia. We read (Acts ii. 10, 11) of foreign Jews from Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Crete, being present at Jerusalem for Pentecost; some of whom doubtless had been converted. These Hellenistic Jews conformed in some things to Gentile customs, spoke Greek, and read the Septuagint version.

⁵⁰ Acts iv. 32.

⁵¹ Acts vi. 1. These "Hebrews," or convert Jews, who had never quitted Palestine, looked down on the "Greeks," or Hebrew sojourners in foreign lands; partly from zeal for the law, which the others were likely to have mingled with Gentile observances. When Aristobulus besieged his brother Hyrcanus, this execration came into use: 'Cursed be the man that teacheth his son the wisdom of the Greeks.' In the war with Titus, they decreed that no man should teach his son Greek. Cf. 1 Machab. i. 43-53.

⁵² S. Evaristus, in the time of Trajan, ordained that the seven deacons should attend the Pontiff during his preaching of the Gospel. In the third century,

S. Sixtus II. was seized at the place called especially *Ad catacumbas*, as he was celebrating the holy Sacrifice, and martyred with *five* of his deacons. The Council of Neo-Cæsarea (A.D. 314) enacted that this number of deacons was not to be exceeded in any city, however large the population. An epistle of Pope Cornelius, A.D. 251, shows that this number had been kept to in Rome, though the priests were forty-six in number (Euseb. *H. E.* vi. 43). Sozomen, writing about A.D. 440, notices this as a peculiarity (vii. 19, 3); whereas Justinian sanctioned that in Constantinople there should be an hundred deacons.

⁵³ S. Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xx. 4, says that all the deacons were chosen from among the Seventy disciples.

⁵⁴ "Stephanus græce, latine corona appellatur. Jam coronæ nomen habebat, et ideo palmam martyrii suo nomine præfererat" (S. Aug. *Serm.* iii. *de Sanctis*). "Stephen, that blessed martyr, is never seen exercising what does not appertain to the deaconship, either offering sacrifice (*θεοσιάν ἀνεγκών*), or laying hands on any; but keeping to his deacon's order to the last" (S. Hippol. *De Charism.* *Trad. Apost.* n. 26. Galland. t. ii. p. 512).

Of the others, S. Prochorus is commemorated in the *Roman Martyrology* (Ap. 9) as having been martyred at Antioch; S. Parnenas (Jan. 23) suffered at Philippi, in the persecution under Trajan; S. Timon, (Ap. 19) having preached at Beroëa, and then at Corinth, was cast into the flames by an united persecution of Jews and Greeks; then, having been preserved unhurt, was crucified. Another of the seven, "Nicolas, a proselyte of Antioch," afterwards became, if not the author,⁵⁵ at least the occasion, of the sect of the Nicolaitans, of which our Lord, from the throne of His glory, spoke with detestation;⁵⁶ therefore, of the seven, he alone is not mentioned in the *Martyrology*.

The Church still increased in numbers; many priests of the Old Law were converted.⁵⁷ This was much promoted by the miracles and preaching of S. Stephen, who, being "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," "full of faith and of the Holy Ghost,"⁵⁸ "full of grace and fortitude," attracted the hearts of "such as should be saved,"⁵⁹ and the hatred of the Jews who were then in Jerusalem from various countries, from Asia, Africa, and Rome. They brought against him false witnesses, who accused him of blasphemy, and of having spoken against the Temple.⁶⁰ A tumultuous crowd⁶¹ drew

⁵⁵ Iren. *Adv. Hæres.* i. 27; Epiph. *Hæres.* xxv.; Tertull. *De Præscript.*, c. 46.

⁵⁶ Apoc. ii. 6, 15. The sect of the Nicolaitans may have been so called, by misuse of his name, or mistake of his doctrine. Hippolytus (*De 72 Discip.*) and Dorotheus (*Synops.*) bear witness to his faith and sanctity, and assert that the Apostles made him Bishop of Samaria. S. Hilary, however, (*Comment. in Matt.* xxv.), refers to him as "a false prophet," and is followed by S. Gregory the Great and others in thus condemning him. "S. Irenæus informs us that the belief of the Nicolaitans was pretty much the same as that of Cerinthus and the Gnostics; but, that they might surround it with some sort of dignity, they claimed to have derived it from

Nicolas, one of the seven deacons." Alzog, *Universal Ch. Hist.* vol. i. p. 225. (Cincinnati. 1874, the translated edition always quoted in these pages.)

⁵⁷ Acts vi. 7. Beza regarded this as so improbable, that he rejected the verse on that account. Luther treated in like manner the Epistle of S. James, because it asserted justification by Christian good works; calling it *epistola straminea*.

⁵⁸ Acts vi. 3, 5, 8; Cf. v. 15, vii. 55.

⁵⁹ See Acts ii. 57.

⁶⁰ See A.D. 58, *infra*, for the same charge afterwards brought against his chief persecutor, when that persecutor had become an Apostle, and "preached the faith which once he impugned" (Gal. i. 23).

⁶¹ The text enumerates "the synagogue of the Libertines," or freedmen of Rome

him into the Council, presided over by Caiaphas⁶² the high priest. There, notwithstanding his triumphant refutation of the charges, and his eloquent exposition of the Gospel, he was condemned to death. To strengthen him for his agony, he was favoured by being enabled to "see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the Right Hand of God."⁶³ His enemies cast him out of the city,⁶⁴ and thus gave to his martyrdom another feature of likeness⁶⁵ to the Passion of his Lord, whom he also imitated in praying for his enemies,⁶⁶ while they stoned him to death.⁶⁷

The witnesses, who, according to the law,⁶⁸ were appointed to stone him,⁶⁹ laid their upper garments at the feet of a young man named Saul, a native of Tarsus,⁷⁰ son or descendant of a Jewish freedman who for some merit or service had acquired the privilege of a Roman citizen.⁷¹ Saul had been S. Stephen's fellow-disciple

and Italy, of whom Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85) says that four thousand were banished from Rome to Sardinia by Claudius. The other "synagogues" (sects, perhaps, or coteries, without any especial building for the assembly of each) mentioned as taking part against S. Stephen, were those of Cyrene, Alexandria, Cilicia, and Asia. Ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβειστάτων πεντάπολις (S. Chrys. *Orat. in S. Steph.*). Josephus says that in Cyrene the Jewish population amounted to one-fourth of the inhabitants; and that in Alexandria, three out of the five districts of the city were assigned to them (*Antiq.* xiv. 7, 2, 10, 1, xix. 5, 2). The synagogue of Cilicia would be that to which Saul belonged. The Talmudists say there were 460 (or 480) synagogues in Jerusalem.

⁶² So called in the Greek Testament, from the Hebrew. The Vulgate gives the name as Caiphas.

⁶³ Acts vii. 55. Appendix B. The Church's antiphon on his feast says: *Stephanus vidit celos apertos: vidit et introivit: beatus homo, qui caeli patebant.*

⁶⁴ Lev. xxiv. 14, 23, Num. xv. 35. They brought him to the Valley of Josaphat, by the torrent of Cedron. Hence the Church's antiphon on his feast: *Lapides torrentis illi dulces fuerunt.*

⁶⁵ Heb. xiii. 12, 13, Cf. S. Mark xv. 20, S. John xix. 16, 17, 20.

⁶⁶ S. Luke xxiii. 34. So likewise did S. James the Just (*Cf. ad A.D. 63 inf.*). S. Augustine interprets S. Stephen as saying: Ego patior in carne; isti non percant in mente (*Serm. I. de Steph.*).

⁶⁷ S. Bede (*De locis Sanctis*, c. iii.) says that in his time the Christians in Jerusalem religiously preserved the stone on which the martyrdom took place. The empress Eudoxia built a spacious basilica on the spot (Evagrius, *Hist.* i. 12, Nicephorus xiv. 56).

⁶⁸ Levit. xxiv. 14, Deut. xvii. 2—7.

⁶⁹ It was the special punishment for blasphemy and profaneness (Numb. xxiv. 14, Cf. S. John x. 33).

⁷⁰ Appendix E.

⁷¹ Acts xvi. 37, 38; xxi. 39; xxii. 25—29.

under Gamaliel,⁷² and of the same age with himself, which was also about the age of our Lord.⁷³

Relics of S. Stephen were devoutly carried into various countries, and wrought many miracles.⁷⁴ His prayer for his murderers gained S. Paul, as S. Augustine declares.⁷⁵

S. Nicanor, another of the seven deacons, is said to have been martyred on the same day.

The day after the martyrdom, S. James the Just (the Less or younger), "brother," *i.e.* near kinsman, of our Lord,⁷⁶ was consecrated

⁷² This is asserted by Baronius.

⁷³ Corn. à Lap. in Act vii. 57.

⁷⁴ Some of these are mentioned by S. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, l. xxii. c. 8, circa med. Cf. Lorinus in Act. vii. 59. S. Stephen's body, or the greater portion of it, together with those of SS. Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and Abibo, were discovered, by a vision to the priest Lucian, in the reign of the Emperor Honorius. This "Finding of S. Stephen" is celebrated on the 3rd of August (see Baronius, in *Martyrol. Roman.*). Paulus Orosius made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, at the time of this "Invention" or finding of S. Stephen's relics, A.D. 415, the 14th year of the pontificate of Innocent I. He carried portions to S. Augustine, who distributed them among various churches in Africa; others, Orosius brought with him to Minorca and to Spain; whence Portugal and France received donations of the treasure. Miracles everywhere attended them, says S. Gregory of Tours (*De Gloria Mart.* c. 33, *Hist. lib.* 1, c. 31). "Latuit tanto tempore corpus ejus: processit quando Deus voluit, illuminavit terras, tanta miracula fecit: mortuus vivos facit mortuos, quia nec mortuus" (S. Aug. *Serm.* 51 *De Diversis*), who also narrates (*De Civil. ut supra*) that six dead persons were raised to life. In 439, Eudoxia, Empress of Theodosius the Younger, brought from Jerusalem a portion of the proto-martyr's relics, and

enshrined them in the church or "martyrium" of S. Laurence (Baron.). Portions of his right hand were carried to Chalcedon, on which occasion the Saint appeared to S. Pulcheria (*Id. ex Cedreno*). The relics were finally translated to Rome, in the pontificate of Pelagius, and deposited in the Church of S. Laurence: the commemoration of it occurs in the Rom. Martyrology, May 7. Corn. à Lap. (in Act. viii. 2), mentions that a phial of his blood in a glass *ampulla* was brought from Africa to Naples by S. Gaudiosus, Bishop of that place, and preserved in the church of S. Gaudiosus; and that it liquefies during the celebration of Mass.

⁷⁵ "Si martyr Stephanus non sic orasset, Ecclesia Paulum hodie non haberet" (S. Aug. *Serm.* 382, *De Sanctis.* § 4).

⁷⁶ As being son of Mary, sister to the Blessed Virgin; his father being Alpheus, or Cleophas. He was succeeded in the see of Jerusalem, on his martyrdom twenty-nine years afterwards, by his brother Simeon; Cf. ad. A.D. 63. Several of the Fathers say that S. James was designated to his see by our Lord Himself (S. Jerome, in Gal. i. 19; S. Chrysost. in 1 Cor. xv. 7; Euseb. xii. c. 19, &c.). This, however, did not supersede his ordination, which in ancient martyrologies is assigned to Dec. 27 (Tillemont in *Vit. ejus*).

by S. Peter⁷⁷ to the bishopric of Jerusalem ; and thus ended the first year of the Church's life.

SECOND YEAR.

A.D. 35 (30). A.U.C. 786. TIBERII 19.

THE miracles and preaching of S. Stephen, and his glorious death, stirred up the hatred of Pharisees and Sadducees, priests and people ; especially of Saul, the chief persecutor, who had assisted at his martyrdom. "There was raised a great persecution against the Church at Jerusalem ; and they were all dispersed through the countries of Judæa and Samaria, except the Apostles."¹ This was the first general persecution, though not reckoned as the first of the ten, which were those of the Roman Empire, and began with Nero.² According to Dorotheus, two thousand Christians were martyred at this time. Great numbers certainly were, as is known by S. Paul's testimony : "Many of the Saints I shut up in prison, having received authority of the Chief Priests ; and when they were put to death, I brought the sentence."³

S. Nicodemus, once a secret disciple,⁴ but now an avowed

⁷⁷ "If any one should say : 'Why then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem?' this is my answer : that He appointed this man (Peter) not teacher of that throne, but of the habitable globe" (οὐ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης. S. Chrys. *Hom.* 88, n. 6).

¹ Acts viii. 1.

² So the First General Council was that of Jerusalem (ch. xv.), though the first after the cessation of persecution was that of Nicæa, A.D. 325.

³ Acts xxvi. 10. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle incorrectly states, of A.D. 34 : "This year, S. Paul was converted and S. Stephen stoned.

⁴ S. John iii. 2, xix. 59. The Second

Nicene Council (A.D. 787) is said to have read and unanimously approved a treatise of S. Athanasius, *De Passione Imaginis D.N. J.C.* This related how Nicodemus, after taking down our Lord from the Cross, drew a likeness of Him, which he gave before his death to Gamaliel, and he to S. James the Less. Thence it passed to S. Simeon, S. James' successor in the see of Jerusalem, then to Zacchæus or Zacharias, who (cf. Gams, p. 432) came after S. Judas Justus as fourth bishop. Afterwards, the Jews in Berytus assailed it with all the outrages which our Lord had suffered in His actual Passion ; on which occasion, many miracles were wrought (Feuardentius in S. Iren. *Her.* i. 24).

Christian, was deprived of his dignities by the Jews, excommunicated, scourged, and banished from Jerusalem; only escaping the penalty of death by the presence of Gamaliel in the Sanhedrim. He was received by S. Gamaliel into his country house, and maintained there till his death.

Baronius⁵ and others assign this as the time when SS. Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and three other disciples, viz., SS. Joseph⁶ of Arimathæa,⁷ Maximin, and Marcellâ, were seized by the Jews out of hatred to our Lord, thrust into a vessel without oars or sails, and committed to the winds and waves: but, by the good Providence of God, brought safely to Marseilles. S. Lazarus is said to have become bishop there; S. Maximin, of Aix⁸ in Provence; and S. Martha to have governed a community of holy and consecrated women at Tarascon, where she died.⁹ The Magdalene retired to a cave in the neighbourhood of Marseilles, still known as *La Sainte Baume*, and there spent thirty years in ascetic devotion, being carried up by the angels every day to hear the heavenly Alleluias.

⁵ *Hist. Vatican.* tom. 1, *Annal*, et in *Martyrol.* Jul. 22.

⁶ Maldonatus supposes that S. Joseph, who is called by S. Mark, c. xv. 43, *εὐσχήμων Βουλευτῆς, nobilis decurio*, sat in the Sanhedrim when our Lord was condemned, but took no part in the proceedings against him (Cf. S. Luke xxiii. 50, 51).

⁷ The Ramathaim Sophim of 1 Kings, i. 1, the birthplace of the prophet Samuel.

⁸ Aix, however (Aquæ Sextiæ, or Urbs Aquensis), is not to be confounded with Aquæ or Augustæ, *Tarbella*, the birth-place of S. Vincent de Paul. Of the latter place the first Bishop was S. Vincent, martyr, whose feast occurs on Sept. 1 (Father Gams, O.S.B., *Series Episcop. Eccles. Cath.*, Ratisb. 1873, p. 543). The tradition of S. Lazarus having come to these parts is further corroborated by mention in the same *Series*, p. 481, of a bishop Lazarus, who was consecrated to the see of Aix in 409,

and assisted at the Council of Diospolis (Lydda? or more probably Thebes in Africa) in 415. He wrote an epistle to the African bishops against Pelagius. For some cause, we are told, *resignare cogitur*. S. Vincent of Paul gave the name Saint Lazare to the church and house of the Congregation he founded in Paris. His priests, the Vincentians, are otherwise named Lazarists. S. Maximin is mentioned in the *Roman Martyrology* for June 8.

⁹ Clovis is said to have been miraculously healed at her tomb. Tillemont, on the other hand, reports "the ancient Latins, and the Greeks," to the effect that both the holy sisters remained in Jerusalem, and died there. The body of S. Mary Magdalene is stated to have been brought to Vezelay in Burgundy, about the year 920, to have been an object of great devotion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and to have been translated in 1267, in presence of S. Louis.

S. Joseph is said by an immemorial and constant tradition¹⁰ to have passed into Britain with eleven disciples, preaching the Gospel, then living an eremitical life¹¹ in the island of Avalon, given to him by the heathen king Arviragus.¹² It was from Avalon (afterwards in Saxon times called Glastonbury)¹³ that S. Elvanus was sent by King Lucius to Rome, together with S. Medwinus from South Britain, to obtain from Pope S. Eleutherius some missionaries to con-

¹⁰ The *Roman Martyrol*, however, for March 17, states that he died in Jerusalem. His having evangelized a part of Britain was asserted by the English ambassadors as a claim of precedence over the French, at the Council of Pisa, in 1409, of Constance, in 1417, of Siena, in 1424, and of Basle, in 1434. The English claim for Glastonbury was especially brought forward. The 30th Session of the Council of Constance discussed the question: "Is it right and reasonable that the kingdom of England should take rank with [perhaps over] that of France in a General Council?" The English claim of precedence, in right of S. Joseph and his companions, was met by a counter-claim on the part of France, based on S. Dionysius the Areopagite, the evangelizer of Gaul. Both claims rest on immemorial tradition, with the foundation of churches and monasteries in token of the universal belief: an evidence, surely, sufficient to outweigh some *à priori* improbability, or difficulty in details. See also below, ad A.D. 50, note.

¹¹ They are said to have erected a small wattled oratory, in the spot afterwards named Iniswitryn (*Insula Vitrea*), and by the Saxons Glastingay, or Glastonbury. Round this were their cells, of equally rude construction. The church, which in Saxon times was always called the *calde cirche*, was regarded with peculiar veneration, as the *fons et origo totius religionis in Britannia* (William of Malmesbury).

¹² Confounded with Caractacus by Matthew of Westminster. Arviragus was grandfather to Coel, or Hoel, who died about the beginning of the reign of Hadrian. Coel was father to S. Lucius, mentioned in the text. The genealogy runs thus:—Cunobeline, Cymbeline, or Cynvalyn, was educated by Julius Cæsar, and lived during the reigns of Tiberius and Caligula. He married Cartismandua, and became the father of Caractacus (not the celebrated warrior of that name) and Arviragus. After the death of Cymbeline, Cartismandua married a prince of the Brigantes, whose name is said to have been Bran, or Brian. He, by a former marriage, had already several children, among them the heroic Caradoc, or Caractacus, and Boadicea. Arviragus married Boadicea, and had two daughters; but he afterwards forsook her, to marry Gwenissa, daughter to Claudius. Struck with remorse, he left Gwenissa, but too late to save Boadicea. After her defeat by the Romans, her eldest daughter married the Roman General Marius, and their son was Coel, the father to S. Lucius. He is not to be confounded with Coel, or Hoel, father to S. Helena.

¹³ The "twelve hides of Glastonbury" were certain portions of land belonging to the abbey from time immemorial, and always stated to have been the donation of Arviragus to S. Joseph and his eleven companions.

vert that part of Britain subject to Lucius, whose British name was *Llewr Mawr* (Great Light).¹⁴

S. Cleophas,¹⁵ one of the two disciples with whom our Lord walked to Emmaus on Easter Day, was martyred by the Jews in the same house in which he, with the other disciple, had constrained Him to break bread with them.¹⁶

"All," or the greater part, of the Christians in Jerusalem, "were dispersed¹⁷ throughout Judæa and Samaria."¹⁸ Thus, "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church,"¹⁹ and persecution spread the Gospel. Their number is conjectured by Baronius to have amounted to fifteen thousand. Others of them were probably those first disciples of the faith, and clients of Mary, who came to Mount Carmel; and, finding there some remnants of the ancient school of "the sons of the prophets," established by SS. Elias and Eliseus, joined their community, and laid the foundation of the Carmelite Order.

These dispersed Christians²⁰ went to Damascus, preached the Gospel there, and thence "as far as Phœnice and Cyprus and

¹⁴ Usher and Stillingfleet have no difficulty about S. Lucius, though it is strange that they do not see how the mission to S. Eleutherius tells against their theory of that independence of the Holy See, which they claim for the ancient British Church. Lucius Dexter, a cotemporary of S. Jerome, assigns this expulsion of S. Lazarus and his companions to A.D. 48. But it is scarcely probable that persons so well known for their relations with our Lord (S. John xi. 19, 31, 45, 46, xii. 9-11), and therefore so obnoxious to Jewish hate, should have remained unmolested, while others, simply His disciples, were put to death.

¹⁵ It is not certain whether this is the same person as Cleophas, or Alpheus (two names that are identical, but with a different pronunciation), who was husband of Mary, the sister of the Blessed Virgin, and father of SS. James (the Less), Jude, Joseph Barsabas the

Just, and of S. Simeon the second bishop of Jerusalem (Cf. A.D. 63, S. Matt. x. 3, S. Mark iii. 18, S. Luke vi. 15, Acts i. 13). S. Jerome considers them to be distinct (*Epitaph. Paulæ ad Eustoch.*). Alphæus was also the name of the father of S. Matthew (S. Mark ii. 14).

¹⁶ He is commemorated in the *Roman Martyrology*, on September 25.

¹⁷ *δισπαράσσαν*—scattered, like precious seeds of the word of God (S. Athan. *Hom. de Fermento*).

¹⁸ Cf. S. Matt. x. 23.

¹⁹ Tertullian, *Apologet.* c. 50. "Non minuitur persecutionibus Ecclesia, sed augetur; et semper Dominicus ager segete ditiori vestitur, dum grana, quæ singula cadunt, multiplicata nascuntur (S. Leo, *Serm. I. De App. Pet. et Paulo*).

²⁰ Among them, Ananias, (see Acts ix. and A.D. 36 *infra*), says Baronius (*Mart. Rom.*).

Antioch ;"²¹ in which last city the Gospel finally took such hold, that the Antiochene disciples were the first who were known as "Christians."²²

It was to these Christians of "the dispersion" that SS. Peter and James afterwards addressed their Catholic Epistles ;²³ so called, because written to the Church at large, not to Christians of any special locality.

Some of them came into Europe,²⁴ of whom a portion more than probably found their way to Rome. Andronicus and Junia²⁵ may have been of that number.

More than five hundred took ship from Cyprus, and arrived at New Carthage (*Carthagenā*) in Spain. They spread through the country, preaching the Gospel ; the effect of which was, that many of the inhabitants afterwards came in pilgrimage to Jerusalem, to confer with the Ever-blessed Mother of God. The chief of these were chosen by S. James the Greater, and made bishops of the principal Spanish cities. Some authors (and among them, it would seem, Pope Calixtus II.) suppose that S. James himself went at this time into Spain.²⁶ S. Luke,²⁷ indeed, expressly says that the Apostles were not dispersed with the rest : but he may be speaking only of the majority. The Apostles remained in Jerusalem, lest the enemies

²¹ Acts xi. 19.

²² Acts xi. 26. This, however, was chiefly brought about afterwards, by the preaching of SS. Paul and Barnabas, and by the establishment in Antioch of S. Peter's first See.

²³ 1 S. Peter i. 1 ; S. James i. 1. Hence it would appear that the greater portion of them had not returned to Judæa, even as late as A.D. 45. They remained as *μέτοικοι* in the countries in which they had been dispersed.

²⁴ Luc. Dext. *Chron.*

²⁵ Rom. xvi. 7.

²⁶ Calixtus II. (*Litt. Apostolic.*) ordains that 5. Non. Oct. should be kept as the translation of the Apostle's relics from Jerusalem to Galicia (Compostella) ; for

which there would seem no reason, if he had not been venerated in that country during his life. Alzog is therefore not to be taken beyond the strict terms of his proposition, when he says : " There is no positive proof, either that S. Paul preached the Gospel in Spain, or that the Apostle S. James, the son of Zebedee, to whose reputed tomb in Compostella the piety of the Spaniards (!) led them to make pilgrimages in after years, was ever in that country." He refers to Natalis Alex. *H. E. sæc. I.*, dissert. 15, on SS. Paul and James : but the *μέτοικος* of the whole passage is evident.

²⁷ Acts viii. 1.

of the Church should triumph over its dispersion ; and also that they themselves might take counsel of the *Regina Apostolorum*.

"Saul made havoc of the Church, entering in from house to house, and dragging away men and women, committed them to prison."²⁸ "Many of the Saints" he "shut up in prison, having received authority of the chief priests ; and when they were put to death, [he] brought the sentence ; and oftentimes punishing them in every synagogue, [he] compelled them to blaspheme."²⁹

Among those who went down to Samaria was S. Philip ; not the Apostle, but one of the seven deacons. By his preaching and miracles, he aroused the public attention, and caused great joy in that city,³⁰ by the glad tidings of which he showed himself so powerful a messenger. Great numbers believed, and were baptized. Thus S. Philip was perhaps the first apostolic teacher who passed beyond the boundary of Judaism, and preached to the Gentiles.³¹

The Samaritans had hitherto been deluded by one Simon, a magician, whom they believed, on his assertion, to have Divine power.³² He claimed to be God, who created the world by His angels. This man was, or pretended to be,³³ converted by S. Philip,

²⁸ Acts viii. 3.

²⁹ Acts xxvi. 10, 11.

³⁰ Probably the ancient capital, at that time called *Sebaste* ; though the Acts speak of it as "the city of Samaria." It had lately been rebuilt, with great magnificence, by Herod the Great. Sychar (S. John iv. 5) had also received a Greek name. It was then *Neapolis*, and is still *Nablous*.

³¹ Contrast Acts xi. 19. This statement is confirmed by S. Justin, *Apol.* i. 26, Tertull. *Apol.* 13, and others.

³² Justin Martyr, himself a native of Samaria, has left an account of Simon's doctrines ; and we gather additional details from SS. Irenæus and Hippolytus. The former (*Præf. ad lib. ii.*) says that he claimed to combine in himself the three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity ; appearing to the Sama-

ritans as the Father, to the Jews as the Son, and among the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost. S. Ignatius (*Ep. ad Trall.*) calls Simon Magus "the first-born of Satan," the name by which S. Polycarp called Marcion (S. Jerome, *Catal. Vir. Illustr.* c. xvii.). "At first the disciple, and afterwards the master, of Dositheus, [he] was the founder of a strange and inconsistent syncretic system of theurgy, derived from the philosophy of the Jew Philo, and which became quite popular in Samaria, his native country. . . The prevailing superstition at Rome had prepared the minds of the people for the reception of his doctrine ; and when he went thither later in his career, his theurgical art met with great favour" (Alzog, vol. i. p. 220).

³³ See the Fathers quoted by à Lapide *in loc.*

and was baptized, perhaps to obtain miraculous powers, and so to increase the strength of his delusions.

When tidings of these conversions reached the Apostles in Jerusalem, they asked S. Peter³⁴ to take on him the mission of going to confirm the Samaritan converts. Thus he who was especially the Apostle of Israel, had the happiness of imparting the Holy Ghost to those whom the sin of Jeroboam the son of Nebat³⁵ had torn from the unity of the Israelite Church. S. John went down with the Prince of the Apostles.³⁶ On their prayer for the neophytes, the

³⁴ "The Apostles . . . sent to them Peter and John" (Acts viii. 14). "Petrum Apostoli mittunt, non imperio, sed fraterna charitate ac impulsione, ut multi fratres mittunt quandoque majorem," &c. (Cajet. *ap. C. à L. in loc.*). "Hinc ecclesiarum consuetudo obtinuit, ut ad eos, qui longe in minoribus urbibus a presbytero et diacono baptizati sunt, episcopus ad invocationem Spiritus Sancti manum impositurum excurrat" (S. Hieron. *Dial. adv. Lucif.*). ³⁵ 3 Kings xii. 26, &c.

³⁶ See S. Mark vi. 7; Acts xiii. 2. This is the last mention of S. John in the Acts. He was probably absent from Jerusalem at S. Paul's visit, three years after that Apostle's conversion (Gal. i. 19): but eleven years later, S. Paul found him there, with SS. Peter and James (Gal. ii. 9), who all confirmed S. Paul's mission to the Gentiles. S. John was at the Council of Jerusalem (Clem. Alex. *ap. Euseb. Hist.* 2, 1), and remained in or near the city for some time; though preaching in other places. Parthia is said to have been one great sphere of his after labours. S. Augustine sometimes quotes S. John's first Epistle as "his Epistle to the Parthians." There is also a tradition of his having planted the Christian faith in the Persian Gulf, between the mouths of the Tigris and Euphrates. After the martyrdom of S. James the Less, all the Apostles then living (according to Eusebius, *H. E.* lib. iii. c. ii. p. 105), and therefore

S. John among them, came from diverse places to Jerusalem, and chose, in council, S. Simeon to be bishop of the vacant See. It seems to have been after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin that S. John came to Asia Minor, residing at Ephesus, with the charge of the Seven Churches. He certainly had not come thither when S. Paul, A.D. 57, left S. Timotheus as bishop of that city. S. Irenæus (*Hæres.* lib. iii. c. 3) tells us that he did not settle there till after the death of SS. Peter and Paul. S. Timotheus held the See for forty years, until his own martyrdom, A.D. 97. Meanwhile, in the general persecution under Domitian, A.D. 95, S. John was apprehended by the Proconsul of Asia, and sent to Rome, where he was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil, but miraculously preserved unharmed. He was then banished to Patmos, one of the Sporades in the Ægean, where he wrote his Apocalypse. Thence, on the death of Domitian, he was liberated by the clement Nerva, went to Ephesus, and found that S. Timotheus, whom he had addressed as "the angel of Church of Ephesus" (Apoc. ii. 1—7), had been martyred. The Apostle died there, in the third year of Trajan, A.D. 98, at the age of ninety-four. The modern name of the Turkish town, standing near the site of Ephesus, is Ayasuluk, which is said to be a corruption of Ὁ ἄγιος Θεολόγος (*Agiaseologos*).

Holy Spirit descended upon them ; probably by visible and miraculous sign ; for Simon Magus, struck by what he saw, offered money to the Apostles to give him also this power ;³⁷ thus committing a sin which is named after him, simony.³⁸ S. Peter, severely rebuking him for it, exhorted him to repentance. Simon submitted outwardly ; perhaps fearing the fate of Ananias and Sapphira. But when the Apostles had returned to Jerusalem, he continued to seduce many of the Samaritans from the faith.³⁹ S. Clement⁴⁰ adds that S. Peter afterwards met and confuted him at Cæsarea, whence the arch-heretic fled to Italy, and, later, presented himself at the Court of Nero. His magical arts produced him great honour in Rome ; so that, according to Eusebius,⁴¹ a statue was raised to him in the *Insula Tiberina*, with the inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*.⁴² When S. Peter came to Rome, Simon, by his pretensions, incidentally caused the martyrdom of the Apostle, and probably of his companion, S. Paul.⁴³

After his mission to Samaria, S. Peter, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "established [his] episcopal See in the city of Antioch."⁴⁴

S. Philip, having concluded his mission in Samaria, was admonished by an angel to go southward in the direction of Gaza.⁴⁵ On

³⁷ Bellarmine (*De Notis Eccl.* iv. 13) believes that Simon wished to purchase the bishopric of Samaria, and thus to enrich himself by selling the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as well as buying them.

³⁸ It may be said that Balaam, Esau, Giezi, and Jason (2 Mach. iv. 8), committed the same, or a similar sin.

³⁹ S. Irenæus, *Hær.* lib. i. c. 20.

⁴⁰ *Constitut.* lib. vi. c. 7.

⁴¹ *Hist.* lib. ii. c. 13.

⁴² S. Justin (*Apolog.* i. 26). This inscription has received another and perhaps a more probable interpretation, as referring to Seno Sanctus, the Sabine Hercules. Alzog, however, declares for its reference to Simon Magus (vol. i. p. 221, note).

⁴³ See below, ad A.D. 59, note.

⁴⁴ This is, however, against the testimony of Eusebius, who assigns this event to A.D. 38. Whichever date is adopted, it is certain that S. Peter's apostolic life, like that of S. Paul, had "no fixed abode" (1 Cor. iv. 11), but was greatly employed in circuits (Acts ix. 22) during his Antiochene episcopate, as afterwards in his Roman (Cf. ad A.D. 39, s.f. 44, note 6, and 68). He may probably have been absent when S. Paul and Barnabas went down to Antioch, and laboured there (Cf. S. Chrysostom, quoted ad A.D. 37, note).

⁴⁵ If the expression, "this is desert" (Acts viii. 26), refers to Gaza, it may mean that the city had been utterly

the road, he met with one whom he was destined to convert—the prime minister and treasurer of Candace,⁴⁶ Queen of Æthiopia, or Abyssinia; probably a proselyte to Judaism. He was returning home in his chariot, after paying his devotions in Jerusalem, and reading in a MS. of Isaias⁴⁷ a prophecy concerning our Lord.⁴⁸ This text S. Philip expounded, converted him, and baptized him in water by the road-side. Then “the Spirit of the Lord took away Philip,” and “he was found at Azotus” (Ashdod),⁴⁹ where he preached the Gospel, as also in all places between that and Cæsarea,⁵⁰ (*Stratonis Turris*), the seat of the Roman prætor.

Meanwhile, his convert “went on his way rejoicing;” and, on his return to Æthiopia, became the Apostle of that country. He is said to have received S. Matthew on his Æthiopian mission.

destroyed by Alexander the Great after his capture of Tyre. But it refers, probably, to the road, as being a more unfrequented one. There is a tradition (discountenanced, however, by Moreri) that S. Philemon, to whom S. Paul wrote his Epistle, became Bishop of Gaza, and was martyred there, with his wife Appia. See below, A.D. 60.

⁴⁶ The name of a line of Queens of Meroë (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* vi. 29), the present Abyssinia and Nubia. Eusebius says the country was still governed by female Sovereigns in the fourth century. The Queen of Saba reigned over the same country.

⁴⁷ In the Septuagint version, which was in use throughout Egypt.

⁴⁸ Isaias liii. 7, 8.

⁴⁹ About sixty miles W. from Jerusalem, nearly midway between Gaza and Joppa. It was besieged for twenty-nine years by Psammetichus (Herodot. II. 157). Its destruction, foretold by Jer. xxv. 20, Amos i. 8, Soph. ii. 4, Zech. ix. 6, was wrought by the Machabees, I. v. 68, x. 77-85, xi. 4. It was rebuilt by Gabinius, B.C. 55 (Joseph. xiv. 5, 3), and was one of the cities bequeathed by Herod the Great to his sister Salome, *ibid.* xvi. 8-1.

⁵⁰ Not Cæsarea Philippi, on the spurs of the Libanus (see below, ad *Ann.* iv.), but on the sea-coast, about half way between Joppa and Dora (Joseph. *B. J.* i. 21, 5), some thirty miles from either. Here Herod Agrippa was struck by an angel for his pride, and perished miserably (Acts xii. 23). Here Cornelius was baptized by S. Peter (Acts x. 1, &c.). From this port St. Paul sailed to Tarsus (Acts ix. 30) and landed here, after his second missionary journey (xviii. 22). Brought hither, bound from Jerusalem, he pleaded before King Agrippa, then again before Festus the governor, appealed to Cæsar, and was put on board ship for his voyage to Rome (xxiii. seq.). Here S. Philip had his home, and lived with his four daughters, prophetesses (xxi. 8, 9), until, twenty years after, “he received under his roof in that city one who, like himself, had travelled in obedience to the Divine command, ‘preaching in all the cities’” (Acts xxvi. 8). Father Gams (p. 443) makes S. Philip the first Bishop of Tralles (Evanthia), and his successor Polybius to have been Bishop there, when S. Ignatius wrote his epistle to the Trallians.

Dorotheus and Nicephorus add that he preached the Gospel in Arabia Felix, Taprobana, and Erythra, that he suffered martyrdom in some of those regions, and that his tomb continued to be frequented for the many miracles wrought there.

In Rome, Sejanus, the sanguinary favourite of Tiberius, after many crimes, had finally been tried and put to death. The Emperor now, from his retirement at Capreae, orders the execution of many of the fallen man's followers, and thus inaugurates a Reign of Terror⁵¹ in the City.

Probably before now, Herod Agrippa, son of Aristobulus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great, who had been brought up at Rome with Claudius and Drusus, was, after many vicissitudes,⁵² thrown into a Roman prison by Tiberius for an unguarded speech, and so remained during that Emperor's lifetime.

THIRD YEAR.

A.D. 36 (31). A.U.C. 787. TIBERII 20.

SAUL, unsated with the blood of S. Stephen, and of the other Christians in whose death¹ he had co-operated, was "still breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord." His fiery persecution having dispersed so many of the disciples from Jerusalem, he turned his misguided zeal against those in the provinces. "Being yet more mad against them, [he] persecuted them even unto foreign cities."² To assail them with all authority, he "went to the High Priest, and asked of him letters³

⁵¹ Tacit. *Annal.* iii. 4, 5. Seut. *in Tiber.*

⁵² Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 7.

¹ Acts xxii. 19, 20; xxvi. 9-11.

² As he afterwards confessed, Acts xxvi. 11.

³ The high priest and Sanhedrim probably had the power continued to them, which had expressly been granted by Augustus to Herod, to order the arrest of persons even out of Judæa (Josephus, i. 24, 2). The fact of Saul being entrusted with this mission is said by

to Damascus,⁴ to the synagogues; that if he found any men and women of this way,⁵ he might bring them bound to Jerusalem."⁶

When near the end of his journey,⁷ he is suddenly struck down by a bright light from Heaven, and converted by the glorious appearance as well as the voice⁸ of our Lord, who declares to him that, in persecuting the Church, he was persecuting its Divine Author. "And he, trembling and astonished, said: Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?" Our Lord bids him go⁹ into Damascus, where the Divine will should be made known to him. Led by the hand into the city, blind and penitent, he "was there three days without sight, and did neither eat nor drink."

Meanwhile, a vision is granted to Ananias, a Christian¹⁰ at Damascus, who is bidden to go to a street named Straight,¹¹ and seek out

Vitringa to evidence that he had taken the degree of Rabbi. He was certainly a member of the Sanhedrim, and may have sat among them, though without a vote, when our Lord was brought before the Council (Cf. 2 Cor. v. 16).

⁴ For a history of Damascus, probably the oldest existing city in the world, see Gen. xiv. 15, xv. 2; 2 Kings viii. 6; 3 Kings xi. 24, &c.; 4 Kings x. 32; Amos i. 3, 4; 4 Kings xii. 17, 18, xiii. 3, 22, 25, xiv. 28, xv. 37, xvi. 5-9; Is. viii. 4, ix. 11, x. 9, xvii. 1; 4 Kings xxiv. 2; Jer. xxxv. 11.

⁵ Compare, for this use of the word, Acts xiii. 10, xviii. 25, 26, xxii. 4, xxiv. 22; S. Matt. xxii. 16; 2 S. Peter ii. 2; Isaias xl. 3, &c. &c.

⁶ S. Paul's former cruelties and persecuting spirit are frequently referred to, in his own Epistles as well as in the narrative of his companion, S. Luke, while the Apostle was "preaching the faith which once he impugned." It may be believed that his unconverted errors are thus largely dwelt on in the Acts at S. Paul's own especial request, as the fall of S. Peter is more fully narrated by *his* disciple S. Mark than by the other Evangelists (Acts viii. 3, ix. 12, 13, 14,

xxii. 4, 5, 19, 20, xxvi. 9-11, 14-15, Gal. i. 13, Phil. iii. 6, 1 Tim. i. 13).

⁷ It would occupy from five to six days; being, by any one of the several roads, one hundred and thirty to one hundred and fifty miles.

⁸ Cf. Acts ix. 7, 17, 27, xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. xv. 8.

⁹ Cf. 4 Kings v. 10-14; S. Luke xvii. 14; S. John ix. 7.

¹⁰ S. Augustine believes him to have been a priest, or even a bishop. The Greeks give him a place in their calendar, Oct. 1, as bishop of Damascus, and martyr.

¹¹ In contradistinction to the generality of streets in Eastern cities, whose windings, as well as narrowness, are partly accounted for by the necessity of securing shade. See the reasoning of Tacitus, (*Annal.* xv. 43.) on the difference in the modes of building at Rome, before and after the fire. A writer of our day says the same of modern Cairo. "For that climate, the old system of narrow streets, and exclusion of too much sunshine, together with the old plan of Eastern building, were best suited to the climate, place, and people" (M. Edwin de Leon, *Egypt*

“one named Saul, of Tarsus.” Ananias, to whom the coming of Saul, and its purpose, were known, seemed at first fearful to undertake this. Like Moses and Jeremias, when their mission was declared to them, he was disposed to excuse himself. He is reassured; the former persecutor is now a changed man—“Behold, he prayeth.” He is to be no ordinary instrument in promoting the Divine glory: “This man is to Me a vessel of election, to carry My Name before the Gentiles, and kings, and the children of Israel.”¹² And he will be prepared to do it, at whatever cost:¹³ “I will show him how great things he must suffer for My Name’s sake.”

Ananias then seeks out Saul, announces to him the message he had received, and lays hands on him¹⁴ in blessing. “Immediately there fell from his eyes as it were scales, and he received his sight; and rising up, he was baptized.” The future Apostle straightway¹⁵ “preached Jesus in the synagogues, that He is the Son of God,” to the astonishment of all hearers, and the confusion of the obstinate Jews; “preaching the faith which once he impugned.”¹⁶

Saul then went into Arabia,¹⁷ and again returned to Damascus,¹⁸ spending between those two places about three years.

The Reign of Terror continues in Rome. Even the consuls are

under its Khedives). “Straight Street” is still the principal street in Damascus.

¹² Acts ix. 15, 16.

¹³ Cf. 2 Cor. xi. 23-28.

¹⁴ See S. Mark xvi. 17, 18.

¹⁵ Gal. i. 23. Cf. Acts xxvi. 19, 20.

¹⁶ S. Jerome (*in Lucif.* c. 3, p. 138, c.) says that he then received the Holy Spirit by the means of Ananias, which strengthens the opinion of the latter having been a bishop. “Paul, on hearing the voice of the Lord, . . . was nevertheless sent to Ananias, that by the priesthood established in the Church, he might receive the sacrament of the doctrine of faith. . . . Not that the Lord is unable to do all things by Himself; for who but He does these things even in

the Church?” (S. Aug. *Quaest. Evang.* iii. ii. n. 40).

¹⁷ Probably to Auranitis, or Trachonitis. S. Jerome, and Lorinus, in Acts ix., believe that S. Paul went to Jerusalem not long after his conversion, to avoid the Jews’ conspiracy against his life, but not at that time to confer with S. Peter: which is all he denies (Galat. i. 17). Baronius, however, more probably refers the “many days” to his sojourn in Arabia and return to Damascus; in all, three years. He says that the Apostle’s first visit to Jerusalem as a believer was that mentioned in Acts ix. 26. C. à Lap. gives reasons in support of the former opinion, but it appears to be contradicted by the texts referred to.

¹⁸ Gal. i. 17.

executed, immediately after celebrating with solemnity the commencement of the 21st year of the Emperor's reign.

Great indignation is excited in Jerusalem against Pilate, who had seized upon the treasures in the Temple, to defray the cost of an aqueduct; besides committing other arbitrary acts.¹⁹

FOURTH YEAR.

A.D. 37 (32). A.U.C. 788. TIBERII 21.¹

S. PETER, executing his charge to rule and guide the whole flock, "passed through, visiting all"² the Churches. At Lydda,³ he healed the bed-ridden Eneas⁴ of his eight years' palsy, and at Joppa⁵ raised again to life a charitable Christian woman named Tabitha (Dorcas).

While S. Peter was staying at Joppa, a pious centurion of the

¹⁹ See below, ad. A.D. 38.

¹ Some place the death of Tiberius in this year, March 16.

² Acts ix. 22. Compare also Zach. i. 10, 11.

³ A city on the coast, in the great maritime plain of Sharon, between Joppa and Jerusalem. It is mentioned in the Old Testament as Lod (1 Paral. viii. 12; Nehem. xi. 34). For a time it was named Diospolis. Pelagius here answered for his heresy before a council of bishops, who acquitted him. "Illa miserabilis synodus Diospolitana" (S. Jerome). William of Tyre (twelfth century) says that in his time was to be seen there "the glorious tomb of the eminent martyr, S. George," in whose honour the Emperor Justinian erected a church with much devotion; the martyr having been born

in Lydda. This account is confirmed by Adrichomius.

⁴ "In the power of the same Holy Spirit, Peter also, who stood foremost of the Apostles, and the Key-bearer of the Kingdom of Heaven, healed Æneas the paralytic in the Name of Christ" (S. Cyr. Jerus. *Catech.* xviii. n. 27).

⁵ Joppa (Jaffa), said by tradition to have been built by Japhet, is the port of Jerusalem; the place to which Hiram, King of Tyre, floated down the cedar and other beams hewn by his subjects, and cut for the building of Solomon's Temple (2 Paralip. ii. 16). It was also the port where Jonas took ship to flee to Tarsus in Cilicia (Jonas i. 3). Vespasian levelled it with the ground, and built a fort there, upon which a new city arose. Both Cæsarea and Joppa were fortified by S. Louis.

"Italian"⁶ cohort, stationed at Cæsarea,⁷ was favoured by a manifest vision, after noontide, instructing him to send for the Apostle, and learn from him the word of life. When his messengers drew near to Joppa, about noon of the next day,⁸ S. Peter also had a vision,

⁶ Probably the Sixth, surnamed Cohors Ferrata. Dio mentions this cohort as having been quartered by Augustus in Judæa. Cornelius must have been a Roman and a pagan, though "not far from the Kingdom of God." The cohort was called "the Italian," as being composed of men who had been levied, not in the foreign provinces, but in the mother country (see Flanagan's *Manual of British and Irish History*, p. 13). "The youth of Britain, forming at least twenty-six cohorts, were not allowed to serve in their own country, but were scattered over foreign lands; while the youth of those lands were transported to Britain, or to some other distant region. Such was the invariable policy of Rome. In the ranks of the legions, none but Roman citizens could serve; all others, whether provincials or barbarians, were enrolled among the auxiliaries."

⁷ Not "Cæsarea of Philip," (S. Matt. xvi. 13), which was near the sources of the Jordan, at the foot of Mount Libanus. Philip the tetrarch enlarged it, and called it Cæsarea, in honour of Tiberius. It was also called "of Philip," after himself. Here our Lord, at this most northern point of His journeyings, healed the woman afflicted with hæmorrhage, according to Eusebius, who says (*Hist.* vii. 18) that he had seen the miracle represented on a sculpture before the door of her house. The Sire de Joinville (*Hist. de S. Louis*, § 570) calls it Bélinas, and says that the Jordan flows from two fountains which meet near the city, and give their name to the river "où Diex fu baptiziez." The Cæsarea here mentioned (Acts x. 1) was

the coast city of that name; one of the most strongly fortified places in Roman Judæa, and one of the largest towns in Palestine. It was the seat of the Roman Procurators, and called by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 79) "Judææ caput." It was named in honour of Augustus; having before, in Strabo's time, been only a fort (*Stratonis turris*). Between the time of Strabo and of Tacitus, the mere tower had been enlarged into a city by Herod the Great, with the utmost care and expense. He spent ten years on the work, and he gave it the full name, *Cæsarea Sebaste* (see Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 9. Cf. xvi. 5, §. 5. *Bell. Jud.* i. 21). "Constant feuds took place here between the Jews and Greeks; and an outbreak of this kind was one of the first incidents of the great war. Vespasian [who was declared Emperor at Cæsarea] . . . made it a Roman colony, called it by his name, and gave it the *Fus Italicum*." In consequence of this opening of the door of salvation to the Gentiles, Cæsarea became the metropolitan Church, with Jerusalem as one of its suffragans (*Concil. Nicæn.* can. 7, S. Hieron, *Ep.* 61, *ad Pammach. Act. Porphyrii* Episcopi Gazensis). S. Cornelius was consecrated by S. Peter as first bishop of the See (*Rom. Martyrol.* Feb. 2; S. Clem. *Constitut.* vii. 47). It was afterwards the diocese of Eusebius the Church historian, in the time of Constantine. But in 553 Pope Vigilius, in the Council of Constantinople, exercising his supreme authority over all Sees, erected the Holy City into a patriarchate (Baronius).

⁸ The distance was about thirty Roman miles. See note 36 *ad ann.* 35.

from which he understood that the Gentiles as well as the Jews were called to salvation. He therefore went with them, and found Cornelius, with his friends and kindred, awaiting him. While he was declaring to them the Gospel, the Holy Ghost descended on all who heard him, and thus convinced the Jews who were present, that the Church was to know no distinction established by circumcision or race. They were all baptized, and the Apostle stayed with them some days.

According to one account, the Twelve departed about this time for their respective spheres of Apostolate,⁹ as it had been made known to them. The common tradition says, they united to compose¹⁰ the Symbol¹¹ called after them, as the rule and touchstone of their teaching, and of the orthodox faith throughout the world.

This "Apostles' Creed" would have been sufficient for all times, had "the multitude of believers" still "had but one heart and one soul."¹² But when "men arose, speaking perverse things,"¹³ the Church was compelled to enlarge her Symbol by fresh definitions, strengthening the bulwarks at the point of attack.

S. Peter, in his universal visitation of the Churches, came to

⁹ The writer named Pseudo-Dexter, quoted by the Bollandists (July 15) says this dispersion of the Apostles took place on the last day of June, A.D. 34, about forty-eight days after the coming of the Holy Ghost. See Appendix F.

¹⁰ Natal Alex. *Hist. Eccl. Sæc. 1*, diss. 12. Rufinus, *Expos. Symb. App.*, Bolland. *Acta S.S. ad 15 Jul.* Meyers, *De Symb.* Trev. 1849. I. L. Selvagio, *Antiq. Christ.* l. i, p. 11, c. 11, &c. Alzog, however, or his translators, agree with Tillemont in discrediting the tradition. "But, though not the actual composition of the Apostles, there can be no doubt that it is substantially the same Symbolum Fidei as that which they agreed should serve them as a guide in their work of conversion. It may be taken for granted that a short Symbol of Faith was in early times taught to the faithful, and

afterwards written down; probably about the close of the first century: when, owing to the increasing number of heresies, and the necessity of openly denying them, it had been extended to a considerable length" (Alzog, vol. i. p. 234, note).

¹¹ The word *Σύμβολον* is applied to the Creed in each of its two senses; as a watchword by which soldiers recognise each other, and as a united result to which each person of a number contributes his portion. S. Clem. *Epist. ad Jacob.*, S. Aug. *Serm. 125 De Temp.*, item. 115 et 181; Leo Papa, *Epist. 13 ad Pulch. et Serm. 111 de Pass. Dom.*

¹² Acts iv. 32.

¹³ Acts xx. 30. Sub ipsis paucis verbis in symbolo constitutis plerique hæretici venena sua occultare conati sunt (S. Aug. *in lib. de Symb. c. i.*).

Antioch,¹⁴ the metropolis of Syria, and there set up his Pontifical See.¹⁵ Eusebius (*Chron.*) says that he did so in the last year of Tiberius.¹⁶ This event is omitted by S. Luke, together with many other things he passes by.¹⁷ There was great confluence of Jews to the place, and many of the dispersed Christians also had fled thither.¹⁸ S. Peter occupied his Antiochene See for seven years, viz., until the second year of Claudius, A.D. 44, when he transferred his See, with all its authority and supremacy, to Rome. While at Antioch, however, he constantly "passed through, visiting all," as before.

It seems to have been at Antioch that S. Johanna, the wife of Chusa, Herod's steward,¹⁹ closed a holy life.²⁰

The Gospel having now been proclaimed to the Gentiles, S. James the Greater, the son of Zebedee and brother of S. John, is said to have gone into Spain; and seems to have been absent, there and elsewhere, about seven years.

Aretas, King of Arabia, father-in-law to Herod Antipas, makes war upon him, to avenge the desertion of his daughter for Herodias.²¹

¹⁴ Built by Seleucus Nicator, who named it after his father Antiochus. Its excellent situation, besides its being the seat of the Syrian princes, attracted so large a population, that four contiguous cities were successively built here, surrounded by one wall: hence it was called Tetrapolis. Its after-importance as a Christian city caused that name to be changed into Theopolis. The present poor remains are called Antakieh.

¹⁵ "This is one privilege of this our city (Antioch), that it had for its first teacher the leader of the Apostles. For it was fitting that that city which was crowned before the rest of the world with the Christian name, should receive as its shepherd the first of the Apostles. But after having had him as our teacher, we did not retain him, but surrendered him to regal Rome." S. Chrysostom, t. iii. hom. ii. in *Inscr. Act.* n. 6. See the catena of authorities quoted in

Wouter's *Hist. Eccl. Compend.* t. i. p. 25, note.

¹⁶ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle assigns it to A.D. 35. See above, p. 19.

¹⁷ Cf. S. John xx. 25. Baron. *Martyrol. Rom.* in Sept. 23.

¹⁸ Acts xi. 19.

¹⁹ S. Luke viii. 3, xxiv. 10.

²⁰ *Rom. Mart.* May 24.

²¹ Herodias (S. Matt. xiv. 3, S. Mark vi. 17—22, S. Luke iii. 19) was daughter of Aristobulus: thus grand-daughter of Herod of Great, sister of Agrippa, (afterwards King of Judæa), and niece as well as wife to Philip, who is called Herod by Josephus (*Antiq.* l. xviii. c. 7). His mother was Mariamne, daughter of Simon the high-priest. He is not to be confounded (Tillem. in *S. Jo. B.* art. vi.) with his brother Philip the Tetrarch, whose mother was a Cleopatra of Jerusalem.

This domestic war proved disastrous for Antipas, who was at length defeated. The Jews recognised in his calamity a just retribution for the death of S. John Baptist.²²

FIFTH YEAR.

A.D. 38 (33). A.U.C. 789. TIBERII 22.

S. PETER, coming to Jerusalem on one of his Apostolic circuits, is assailed¹ by some Judaising Christians, at the instigation (says S. Epiphanius) of Cerinthus²—the second heresiarch in order after Simon Magus—for having communicated with the Gentiles. The Apostle, therefore, details the miraculous signs attending the conversion of Cornelius; to the joy and thankfulness of the “men of good will” among those present.

Pontius Pilate, after ten years of office,³ is deprived of his governorship, and degraded by Lucius Vitellius, the Prefect of Syria, who sends him to Rome, to answer to charges of ambition, rapacity, and cruelty, made against him by the Jews.⁴ Caiaphas,

²² S. Chrysost. *in Act.* hom. xxvi.; Tillemont, *in S. Jo. Bapt.* art. vii. *s. f.* See note *ad A.D.* 39.

¹ Acts xi. 2.

² *Hæres.* 28. Cerinthus is also said to have taken part in the attack on S. Paul, Acts xxi. 27, 28.

³ Pilate was the sixth procurator or governor of Judæa, and succeeded Valerius Gratus. He had held the office for ten years, from 780 to 790, says Goschler. His condemnation of our Lord fell rather before the middle of that period. “Pilate was sent in the twelfth year of Tiberius to assume the

government of the Jewish nation, and remained therein ten successive years, almost until the death of Tiberius” (S. Bede).

⁴ This cruelty had been the indiscriminate massacre of the Samaritans assembled at Mount Gerizim, to whom an impostor had promised to show certain sacred treasures, buried there, as he alleged, by Moses. For Pilate’s rapacity, see *ad A.D.* 36, *s. f.* Soon after his disgrace, Vitellius proceeded with much solemnity to Jerusalem, and deposed also Caiaphas, who had been high-priest for twenty years.

the high-priest,⁵ is likewise deposed by Vitellius, and commits suicide.⁶ Annas, his father-in-law, also had a miserable death.⁷

While those who had condemned our Lord were thus overtaken by the vengeance of Heaven, His Divine character so impressed Tiberius,⁸ that he desired to have Him numbered among the deities worshipped in Rome; and was only withheld from his purpose by the opposition of the Senate. He thereupon issued a decree, threatening with death all who should accuse the Christians on account of their religion.⁹

S. James the Greater sends, or afterwards brings back with him from Spain, seven of the principal Spanish converts for consecration by S. Peter: they return to found dioceses in their native country.¹⁰

In this year, *S. Matthew* probably wrote his *Gospel*, if not before.¹¹

⁵ "When John began his preaching, both Annas and Caiaphas were the high priests; but Annas held the office that year, Caiaphas the same year in which our Lord suffered on the Cross. Three others had meanwhile held the office; but these two, as having special reference to our Lord's Passion, are mentioned by the Evangelist. For at that period of violence and intrigue, the ordinances of the law being no longer in force, the honour of the high priest's office was never bestowed on merit or high birth, but the affairs of the priesthood were managed by the Roman power. For Josephus relates, that Valerius Gratus, when Annas was thrust out of the priesthood, appointed Ismael high-priest, the son of Baphas; but, rejecting him not long after, substituted Eleazar the son of the high-priest Ananias. After the space of one year, he expelled him also from the office, and gave the administration of the high-priest to one Simon, the son of Caiaphas, who held it no more than a year, and had Joseph, whose name also was Caiaphas, for his successor" (S. Bede).

⁶ S. Clement, *Constitut.* lib. viii. c. I. *Anglo-Saxon Chron.*

⁷ Nicephorus, lib. ii. c. x.

⁸ Probably from the relation made to him by Pilate. The "Acts of Pilate," or report sent by him to Tiberius are, in their present form, generally rejected. Yet many of the Fathers (S. Justin, *Apolog.* i. 35, Tertull. *Apolog.* 5 and 21, Euseb. *H. E.* ii. 2, cf. Bolland. *Acta SS.* Feb. 5,) mention genuine Acts, which may afterwards have been interpolated and corrupted (Wouter's *Compend. Hist. Eccl.* v. i. p. 17). Septimius Severus afterwards placed a bust of our Lord in his private oratory, together with those of Moses and Socrates.

⁹ Tertull. *Apolog.*; Eusebius, *Chron.* lib. ii. c. 2. They both mention the letter which Pilate is said to have written to Tiberius, giving an account of the miracles of our Lord, and of His Resurrection.

¹⁰ Pope Innocent (*Epist. de Decent.*) declares that Spain first received the faith from Rome. He may refer to those parts not evangelized by S. James. S. Isidore (*Offic. Eccles.* i. 15) says their liturgy was ordained by S. Peter himself. Cf. *infra*, ad A.D. 68.

¹¹ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers it to A.D. 40, at least for the commencement of the writing.

It was certainly composed before the dispersion of the Apostles, for S. Bartholomew took a copy of it into India, and left it there. It was written in Hebrew¹² (Syro-Chaldaic¹³), to satisfy the desire of the converts in Palestine: but translated into an authentic Greek version during the time of the Apostles. Beginning, as he does, with the human genealogy of our Lord, S. Matthew is represented among the four Evangelists by "the face of a man."¹⁴

In spite of the universal toleration existing in Rome,¹⁵ Tiberius, before his death, had "suppressed the dangerous power of the Druids in Gaul; but the priests themselves, their gods, and their altars, subsisted in peaceful obscurity till the final destruction of Paganism."¹⁶ This degree of anti-Keltic persecution in Gaul was afterwards continued by Claudius.

¹² "Matthew produced his Gospel, written among the Hebrews in their own dialect, whilst Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel and founded the Church at Rome" (S. Irenæus, apud Euseb. l. v. c. 8). The original Hebrew version was discovered in the reign of the Emperor Zeno, by revelation of S. Matthew, together with the body of S. Barnabas (*Baron. Martyrol. Sep. 21*).

¹³ This dialect of Hebrew, called also the Aramæan, dates from the Babylonish captivity, and became the vernacular of Palestine, for the use of the Jews and Jewish converts of that country. Papias, S. Irenæus, Origen, S. Epiphanius, and the early Fathers in general, witness to S. Matthew having written his Gospel in it. This has been disputed, on insufficient grounds. Others have supposed that S. Matthew

wrote a Gospel, both in Aramæan and in Greek. A Syro-Chaldaic Gospel, often called "the Gospel according to the Hebrews," existed in the time of S. Jerome among the Nazarenes and Ebionites, by whom it had been corrupted; this was probably the reason why S. Matthew's Hebrew text was superseded by the Greek version, and lost at an early period (Ornsby). S. Matthew quotes from the Old Testament according to the Septuagist. See *Corn. à Lap. in Acts. xxvi. 31*.

¹⁴ Ezech. i. 10; Apoc. iv. 7. The Apostle was martyred in Æthiopia, where he converted S. Iphigenia (*Martyrol. Sep. 21*).

¹⁵ Appendix G.

¹⁶ Gibbon, vol. i. pp. 51, 52, ed. 1815. He quotes Suetonius, *in Claud.* and Pliny, *N. H. xxx. 1*.

SIXTH YEAR.

A.D. 39 (34). A.U.C. 790. C. CALIGULÆ I.

TIBERIUS dies, April 12, æt. 78. The Senate excludes from the succession his grandson, Tiberius Gemellus, and raises to the purple Caius Caligula, son of Germanicus.¹ Nero is born at the close of the year. Lucius Vitellius is recalled from the governorship of Syria, and Petronius² sent in his place.

Caligula delivers Herod Agrippa I., the son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod the Great, from the prison into which Tiberius had thrown him. He adorns him with a gold chain of equal weight with the iron chain he had been loaded with, and makes him King of the tetrarchy of Philip, *i.e.* Batanæa, Trachonitis, and Auranitis,³ and of the tetrarchy of Abilene, which had been held by Lysanias. His brother Herod is made King of Chalcis.

Pilate arrives in Rome, accused and disgraced, to find, in the other world, "what is truth"—the question he had not waited to hear answered in this.⁴ Condemned by the new Emperor Caligula to perpetual punishment at Vienne in Gaul, he is reduced to such misery and destitution that he dies by his own hand.⁵ His wife, to

¹ Caligula was fifteen years old at our Lord's Nativity, and was therefore now about forty-nine.

² Cf. *infra* A.D. 42, note 7.

³ Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6. 10.

⁴ That Pilate's guilt consisted, among other particulars, in neglecting the opportunity of learning the truth, given him by our Lord, is unquestionable. But Lord Bacon seems to deal rather hardly with him in saying: "What is truth?" says *jesting* Pilate, and would not stay for an answer" (*Essay I.*) There is no symptom of mockery or

"jesting" on the part of the Governor, who was evidently much struck by the demeanour of the Divine Sufferer, and would have released Him, could he also have continued to be Cæsar's friend (S. John xix. 12). Pilate was, however, bitterly opposed to the Pharisees; regarding them as the great enemies of the Roman power: this may the more have disposed him to take part with our Lord.

⁵ Eusebius, Ado, and Cassiodorus in *Chron.* Josephus, lib. xviii. c. 5. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* assigns Pilate's

whom is assigned the name Procla,⁶ was a "devout" proselyte of the gate;⁷ she afterwards became a Christian, and is honoured among the Saints.⁸

Saul, now about three years after he first went into Arabia, preaches the Gospel in Damascus, and is therefore sought for by the Jews, and by the ethnarch or "governor of the nation" under King Aretas,⁹ to put him to death. The gates being watched day and night, he is let down in a basket by the disciples,¹⁰ and escapes to Jerusalem, whither he goes to see S. Peter,¹¹ and remains fifteen days. The only other Apostle then in Jerusalem seems to have been S. James the Less, who had been consecrated by S. Peter to be Bishop of the Holy City. Most of the disciples in Jerusalem hesitated to admit the recent convert among them, having known, what Ananias also had heard,¹² "how much evil he had done the Saints in Jerusalem." But Barnabas, once his fellow-disciple under

suicide to the previous year. A few miles from Vienne is the *Mont du Désespoir*, from whose precipitous height he threw himself, according to local tradition, A.D. 37. The popular belief that the *Mont Pilate* in Switzerland was the scene of Pilate's exile and miserable wanderings, has arisen from a mere similarity of names. It is Mons Pileatus, the Capped Mountain, from its summit being so often hid in clouds. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle assigns Pilate's suicide to the previous year.

⁶ Evang. Apocr. Nicodem. c. ii.

⁷ *θεοσεβής*, Cf. Acts xiii. 16, 43, 50; xvii. 4.

⁸ Calmet, *Dictionn.* s. v. Procla.

⁹ Aretas was the name of a dynasty of kings, like Ptolemy, and others. They ruled in Petra, the mercantile metropolis of Stony Arabia, until Petra became a Roman province in the reign of Trajan. The Aretas of the text was father-in-law to Herod Antipas. A misunderstanding between them had been aggravated into war by Herod's desertion of his wife for Herodias. (See

above, *ad* A.D. 37.) Tiberius had ordered Vitellius, Governor of Syria, to aid Herod: but the expedition was stayed by the Emperor's death. Caligula reversed his predecessor's policy; and, while he judged and banished Antipas, on the latter going to Rome (see next year), he probably assigned Damascus to Aretas. Or, the Petrean king may have seized it, during the confusion arising from the change of government in Rome (Wieseler, vol. i. p. 89). In either case, one of the first acts of the new King, or his representative, was the persecution of S. Paul.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.

¹¹ Galat. i. 18. "For if the foundation of the Church was placed on Peter, as is said in the Gospel, Paul, to whom all things had been revealed, knew that he ought to see Peter, as him to whom so great authority had been given by Christ; not that he might learn anything from him" (Victorinus, *apud Maii, Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* t. iii.).

¹² Acts ix. 13.

Gamaliel, already known as a great benefactor to the Church's poor,¹³ "took him, and brought him to the Apostles, and told them how he had seen the Lord, and that He had spoken to him." Saul then begins to preach with great boldness, both to native Jews, and to Jews coming from Greece, (therefore called "Greeks"),¹⁴ or proselytes; "but they sought to kill him. Which when the brethren had known, they brought him down to Cæsarea (Stratonis), and sent him away" to his native Tarsus. Here Saul seems to have remained for two years, until afterwards sought by S. Barnabas.

This is S. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. During it, and while he was praying in the Temple, he was favoured with a Divine communication, made to him in ecstasy, that bade him depart from Jerusalem, and go to the Gentiles afar off. Long afterwards, he detailed this¹⁵ to the tumultuous crowd of Jews in the Temple; and they "went about to kill him" for his words.

"Now the Church had peace throughout all Judæa, and Galilee, and Samaria, and was edified, walking in the fear of the Lord, and was filled with the consolation of the Holy Ghost."¹⁶

During the seven years of S. Peter's See at Antioch, he preached to the Jews dispersed throughout all those parts in the East, to which he afterwards wrote his First General or Catholic Epistle.¹⁷ He is the only one of the Apostles whom the Gospel mentions as having been married¹⁸ before his vocation. Certain of the fathers and historians add S. Philip¹⁹ and some others, as being so.²⁰ Clement

¹³ Acts iv. 36, 37. Eusebius, Epiphanius, S. Bede, and others, assert that S. Barnabas was one of the seventy-two disciples of our Lord.

¹⁴ Acts ix. 29.

¹⁵ Acts xxii. 17—21.

¹⁶ Acts ix. 31.

¹⁷ 1 S. Peter i. 1. The assertion in the text is made by Eusebius.

¹⁸ "By the mention of his father-in-law, I find Peter the only [Apostle] married. By the Church, which, built on him, was about to confer every degree of her order on monogamists, I presume him a monogamist" (Tertull.

De Monog. n. 8, p. 529). For the martyrdom of S. Peter's wife, see ad A.D. 68.

¹⁹ The daughters of S. Philip the Apostle are not to be confounded with those of his namesake, the deacon (Cf. ad A.D. 35, note 50). Baronius quotes S. Jerome (in Joh. l. i. c. 14) to show their identity. But that Father is only saying that no text in Scripture speaks of any married Apostle except S. Peter; and he cites a passage of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus at the end of the second century (see Eusebius, *H. E.* l. iii. c. 31 and v. x. 24), mentioning two of the Apostle's daughters who re-

of Alexandria, SS. Jerome and Epiphanius expressly affirm that from the time of their entrance on the Apostolate, they lived a life of holy celibacy.

Caligula, recovering from an illness, changes the character of moderation, with which his reign had begun, for unheard-of licence and cruelty. He now leads his troops through Gaul, more as an Imperial progress than a campaign.

SEVENTH YEAR.

A.D. 40 (35). A.U.C. 791. C. CALIG. 2.

RETRIBUTION¹ still follows those who had caused the Passion of our Lord, or persecuted His disciples. Herod Agrippa, appointed by Caligula the last Jewish King of Jerusalem, returning from Rome to Judæa by way of Alexandria, was insulted² by the pagan Alexandrians, even as his own subjects, the Jews, had mocked the Saviour. Herod Antipas, Agrippa's uncle, the Tetrarch of Galilee

maintained virgins, and were buried with him at Hierapolis. Consult Tillemont, *in S. Phil. et not.*

²⁰ Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. p. 448 b.) and Eusebius after him (*H. E.* iii. c. 30) believe that S. Paul was married. Origen reports opinion as being much divided on the point (*in Rom.* l. v. i. pp. 459-6), and leaves it undecided. Tertullian (*De Monog.* c. iii. pp. 674-6), S. Epiphanius, (*Hær.* 58) and especially S. Jerome (*Ep.* 22) assert him to have been converted as a virgin. S. Chrysostom (*in loc.*) says that the Apostle's words (Phil. iv. 3) prove nothing against this. Theodoret quotes 1 Cor. vii. 7, 8, as proving the point. Thomas à Kempis cannot be cited as a critical commentator on Scripture; but he reports the feeling of his day (writing in 1441 or 1456) when he says: "Audi

virgo, virginem sanctimoniam commendantem: Virgo (inquit) cogitat quæ Domini sunt," &c. (*Serm. ad Novit.* pars tertia, p. 109).

¹ Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, shows that all those who persecuted the Christians met with an unhappy death. "His list of such begins with Tiberius; but the remark was verified by many examples before his time" (Alzog).

² "Il fût traité par les païens d'Alexandrie avec les mêmes indignités en la personne d'un nommé Carabas, mais non avec la même cruauté" (Tillemont, *Hist. de N.S. J.C.* art. xvii.). He is commenting on our Lord's coronation with the crown of thorns; but the expressions are vague, as applied to Agrippa. Josephus gives more distinct particulars (*Antiq.* xix. 8).

—who had clothed our Lord with a robe of mockery and sent Him back to Pilate—now, envious of Agrippa's kingship, and urged by the ambitious Herodias, goes to Rome, to seek his fortune. But Agrippa, aware of his design, anticipates it by a rapid journey to Rome, and there institutes a charge against Antipas, of having plotted with Sejanus against Tiberius, and of treasonable correspondence with Artoban, King of the Parthians. Antipas is found guilty, deprived of his tetrarchate and possessions, and banished for life to Lyons.³ Herodias shares his exile.⁴ There they both languished in misery, and died. His tetrarchate is given to Agrippa.

S. Mark, the future Evangelist, a convert of S. Peter's,⁵ was likely to have been at this time with the Apostle at Antioch, and to have gone with him afterwards to Rome. S. Bede, quoting his Acts, affirms that he was of the race of Aaron. S. Epiphanius⁶ names him as one of the seventy-two disciples, and says that he, with others, forsook our Lord in consequence of His eucharistic doctrine,⁷ but was converted again by S. Peter after our Lord's resurrection.

S. Apollinaris also, the future Bishop of Ravenna, had come with S. Peter to Antioch, and afterwards went with him to the Eternal City.⁸

Caligula enacts his childish comedy of a pretended conquest of Britain, at least of the British Channel, known afterwards as "the Saxon shore." He assembles the army that had been levied for the German war, at Gesoriacum (Boulogne), commands the soldiers to gather sea-shells, and returns to Rome, to give himself the honours of a triumph.⁹

Intoxicated with this, he determines that his name and image shall be adored throughout the Empire, and thus brings down the Divine vengeance on "the whole world" in the shape of famine.¹⁰

³ Or perhaps Lugdunum Convenarum, at the foot of the Pyrenees. Eusebius (*H. E.* i. 2) says Vienne, confounding Antipas with Archelaus. Josephus says, he died in Spain (*B. J.* ii. 9, § 6).

⁴ Of her own free-will (Riess, *Das Geburtsjahr Christi*, p. 180).

⁵ *1 S. Pet.* v. 13. See the passage quoted from S. Leo ad A.D. 51, note.

⁶ *Hæres.* 51, c. 5.

⁷ *S. John* vi. 66.

⁸ *Brev. Rom.* in Jul. 23.

⁹ *Suet. in Calig.* 46, 47; *Dio*, lix. 754, Lingard, v. i. pp. 23, 24.

¹⁰ Cf. note 7 ad A.D. 42.

EIGHTH YEAR.

A.D. 41 (36). A.U.C. 792. C. CALIG. 3.

EUSEBIUS, with Baronius, and Theophylact, assign to this year the writing of *S. Matthew's Gospel*.¹ S. Irenæus, however, makes it subsequent to A.D. 60, "while Peter and Paul were preaching and founding the Church in Rome,"² a passage which creates no small difficulty. The Evangelist "was a person much devoted to heavenly contemplation, and led an austere life."³ Venantius Fortunatus relates that he suffered martyrdom at Nadabar, a city in [Parthia]. His relics were long ago brought into the West. Pope Gregory VII., in a letter to the Bishop of Salerno, in 1080, testifies that they were then kept in a church which bore his name in that city. They still remain in the same place."⁴

S. Matthew's symbol among the four Evangelists is an Angel, having "the face of a man,"⁵ inasmuch as he begins his Gospel with our Lord's genealogy, according to the flesh. Continuing the same mystical application of the vision of Ezechiel, S. Mark is symbolized by a lion, because he quotes, at the outset, "a voice of one crying in the desert;" S. Luke, by an ox for sacrifice, because he begins by mentioning the Jewish priesthood. S. John's symbol is the eagle,

¹ See, however, the reasons given above (A.D. 38) for believing it to have been written previously. It is unlikely that S. Matthew would remain in Jerusalem on the dispersion of the rest of the Apostles; and impossible that he should depart for the scene of his labours in Persia and Parthia before writing it—because S. Bartholomew took with him a copy to India.

² *Har.* iii. 1.

³ See Clem. Alex. *Pædagog.* i. c. 2.

⁴ Alban Butler, in Sept. 21.

⁵ S. Aug. *Tract.* xxxvi. in *Johan-*

nem. See the whole of that sublime passage. Cf. S. Iren. iii. 8. S. Hieron. in Ezech. c. 1. S. Dion. *Areop. Cal. Hier.* li. 1, 2, 13, 14. *Eccles. Hier.* c. 4. "Ad idem pertinent ii non inelegantes Sedulii presbyteri versus, quibus Christum ita alloquitur;

Hoc Matthæus agens, hominem generaliter implet,

Marcus ut alta fremit vox per deserta leonis,

Jura sacerdotii Lucas tenet ore juveni,

More volans aquilæ verbo petit astra Johannes.

Quatuor hi proceres una Te voce canentes,

Tempora cœu totidem latum sparguntur in orbem." (Varior. Annot. in lib. iii. S. Irenæi.)

forasmuch as he is "a preacher of sublime things, and with fixed gaze contemplates the light internal, yea, eternal."

Flavius Dexter⁶ asserts that "in the forty-first year of Christ, being the third of Caligula's reign, S. James, returning out of Spain, visited Gaul, Britain, and the towns of the Veneti, where he preached the Gospel; and so came back to Jerusalem, to consult with the Blessed Virgin and Peter about matters of very great weight and importance."

NINTH YEAR.

A.D. 42 (37). A.U.C. 793. C. CALIG. 4.

THE persecution that arose on S. Stephen's martyrdom still produces fruit by the dissemination of the Gospel. Phœnicia, Cyprus, and Cyrene were thus evangelized. In Antioch,¹ especially, "the hand of the Lord was with" the messengers of good things; "and a great number, believing, was converted to the Lord. And the tidings came to the ears of the Church that was at Jerusalem, concerning these things; and they sent Barnabas as far as Antioch. Who, when he was come . . . exhorted them all with purpose of heart to continue in the Lord. For he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, and of faith. And a great multitude was added to the Lord. And Barnabas went to Tarsus, to seek Saul,"² once his fellow-disciple in Judaism under Gamaliel, now to be his fellow-Apostle in preaching the Faith. Saul had returned to Tarsus, his native place, after his

⁶ *Chronic.* ad ann. 41.

¹ Once the capital of the Greek kings of Syria, now the residence of the Procurator of Judæa was subordinate. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* iii. ii. 4) reckoned it the third city in the Roman Empire; S. Jerome placed it next after Rome and Alexandria. S. Chrysostom, who was born there,

reckoned the population in his day at two hundred thousand, half of whom were Christians (Hom. in S. Ignat. § 4, Hom. in S. Matt. 86 or 87).

² Acts xi. 21—25. S. Paul's mental culture at Tarsus, a seat of philosophical education, would qualify him for dealing with the task now assigned to him at Antioch.

fifteen days' visit to S. Peter in Jerusalem. He now went with S. Barnabas to Antioch, where they laboured abundantly, gathered disciples round them, and "taught a great multitude: so that at Antioch the disciples were first named Christians."³

In this year, some of the faithful who had the gift of prophecy⁴ came down from Jerusalem to Antioch. "One of them, named Agabus,⁵ rising up, signified by the Spirit that there should be a great famine over the whole world, which came to pass"⁶ in the second year of the Emperor Claudius,⁷ who began to reign very soon

³ Acts xi. 26. In S. Justin Martyr's day, it was the custom of the Jews to repeat a curse against Christians whenever they assembled in their synagogues (Just. M. *adv. Tryph.* xcvi.). This is confirmed by S. Jerome (on Is. v. 8). Cf. Acts xxvi. 28, for its use twenty-eight years later than this date: also 1 S. Pet. iv. 16. Tertullian complained of the detestation in which the name was held. Julian would fain have revived the use of the term "Galilæans" as a substitute. Lucian (*Philopatris*) speaks of S. Paul as "the Galilean who had trodden upon the air up to the third heaven." The Gentiles, whether by mistake or from derision, frequently pronounced the name "Chrestian," and named our Lord Chrestus (Cf. ad A.D. 51, note 1). Hence Tertullian takes occasion to plead for the faith, as that of good and innocent men (*χρηστίδι*). "If your hatred attaches itself to the name, how can a name be guilty? what charge can be laid against a title? unless the sound of a name has in it anything barbarous, ill-omened, abusive, or contrary to modesty: whereas 'Christian,' as far as the interpretation goes, is derived from 'unction.' Even when you pronounce it incorrectly—for you do not accurately know even our name — 'Chrestian' is derived from sweetness, or goodwill. Thus, even a harmless name is hated in men themselves harmless. . . Before you hate the name, you ought first to gain a know-

ledge of the sect from its Author, or of the Author from the sect. But, as the case stands, you neglect acquaintance and inquiry alike, and catch hold of a name, make war on a name: the very sound of it prejudices and condemns sect and Founder, both being equally unknown." See this and similar passages from the early Fathers in Corn. à Lap. *in loco*. For the use of the term by heathen writers, see Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44. Plin. *Epist.* cix. *ad Trajan.*

⁴ Prophecy being one of the endowments of the true Church, as one of the gifts (*gratis date*) of the Holy Ghost. 1 Cor. xiv. *passim*.

⁵ Commemorated among the Saints under February 12. *Martyrol. Rom.*

⁶ Acts xi. 28.

⁷ Roman historians mention four great famines in the reign of Claudius: viz., in his second, fourth, tenth, and eleventh years. Cf. Euseb. *H.E.* ii. 8, 12, and *Chron.*

Eusebius (*Chron.*) and Orosius (vii. 6) in recording this famine, add that Helena, Queen of the Adiabeni, who seems to have been converted to the faith, contributed large supplies in aid of the Christians in Judæa. This chastisement throughout the Empire (*ἔλλη ἡ οἰκουμένη*) was probably sent to avenge an universally accepted sin of idolatry; Caligula had caused himself to be everywhere adored by the Gentiles as a god, and superior even to Jupiter.

after the prophecy. This determined the faithful in Antioch to make a collection, "every man according to his ability," for those in Judæa, without waiting for the famine to begin. Thus they evidenced the bond of charity and mutual help that was ever to unite those who professed the new and sacred name of "Christian." These alms were sent to "the ancients,"⁸ or priests, and deacons in Jerusalem, "by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

This is S. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem. He does not mention it in his Epistle to the Galatians⁹. When his mission thither was accomplished, he returned with S. Barnabas to Antioch.

Caligula begins to persecute the Jews; and thus becomes the unconscious instrument of Divine vengeance on those who had cried out against the Son of God: "His Blood be upon us, and upon our children."¹⁰ He designed to have his statue placed in the Temple, and to receive the adoration of the Jews. Philo (Judæus) is thereupon sent with others to the Emperor, to deprecate this profanation. The Emperor gives them an interview at Puteoli in the autumn, at the end of his progress through Gaul. Finally, he drives them from his presence with contempt and mockery. Philo has narrated this event in an express treatise, his *Legatio ad Caium*.

He had intended to change the image of Jupiter Olympius into his own; had assumed the title of Jupiter Latiatis, and had caused temples to be erected in his own honour, in which costly sacrifices were offered to him every day. The Jews resisted his intended profanation of the Temple—the setting up of his image in the Holy Place. Petronius, by the Emperor's order, brought a strong body of troops from Antioch towards Jerusalem, to enforce it; but the Jews showed so much zeal for their law, and for the sanctity of the Temple, that he desisted; and was only saved by Caligula's death from feeling the Emperor's vengeance on this disobedience to orders (Joseph. *Hist.* ii. 10).

⁸ Acts xi. 30. The Apostles had by

this time (according to one account) dispersed on their several missions.

⁹ His object in writing that epistle was to show that he had received the Gospel by immediate revelation (c. i. 12). It was therefore only to his purpose to mention such visits to Jerusalem as would bring him in contact with the other Apostles. A visit in which he did not find them there was foreign to the end for which he wrote, and might be passed over. In fact, he only mentions two of his five visits (Gal. i. 18 ii.), namely, the first, and probably the third or fourth. Wieseler argues for the fourth, Conybeare and Howson for the third.

¹⁰ S. Matt. xxvii. 25.

TENTH YEAR.

A.D. 43 (38). A.U.C. 794. CLAUDII I.

IN the beginning of this year, Caligula is slain by the Prætorian guards, in the fourth year of his reign, and twenty-ninth of his age. He is succeeded by his uncle Claudius, son of Drusus Nero, and nephew of Livia Augusta.

The new Emperor establishes¹ Herod Agrippa in his kingdom of Judæa, and adds to it Samaria and the rest of Palestine. His dominions thus equalled those of his grandfather, Herod the "Great."²

S. Thaddæus³ is said to have been sent by the Apostle S. Thomas⁴ to Edessa, to King Abagar, or Abgar,⁵ to convert his kingdom, together with the King himself, to the Faith. According to the records kept in the Church of Edessa, Abgar had written to our

¹ Apparently in reward for Agrippa's having taken part on his behalf, and against the Senate, while the nomination to the Empire was pending.

² Josephus, *Antiq.* xix. v. 1.

³ Euseb. (*H. E.* i. 13, *in fin.*) says, this was not the Apostle S. Jude, but one of the seventy-two disciples, who preached in Syria. But S. Jerome (in *Matt.* x.) seems to think otherwise, and is followed by most Western writers. The Apostle, S. Jude, or Thaddæus (called Lebbæus in *S. Matt.* x. 10, according to some MSS.), preached in Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, Idumæa, Arabia, Syria, and Mesopotamia (*Niceph.* ii. 40), and is said to have been martyred at Berytus. S. Bernard received relics of this Apostle, sent to him from Jerusalem. Gams (*Séries*, p. 437) after naming S. Thomas, gives "Maris *vel* Agis (*uterque*) *soc.* S. Thaddæi."

⁴ So says Moses of Khoren, an

Armenian historian of the sixth century (Goschler, art. *Abgar.*). S. Thomas' own connection with Edessa seems undoubted. His relics, or a portion of them, were preserved there in the fourth century, and held in great veneration. The *Roman Martyrology* (July 3) records their translation thither from the place of his martyrdom, Calamina, which is perhaps Meliapor, in India. They were afterwards translated to Ortona in Italy. Gams, *ut sup.* gives S. Thomas as first Bishop of Edessa, in the sense of being its Apostle.

⁵ It was a name hereditary among the kings of Osroene, a province of Mesopotamia, in which Edessa was situated. The king in question was surnamed *Uchamo*, or the Black, apparently from his leprosy. This detail is given by the Syrian patriarch, Dionysius Telmaris, in the eighth century (*Assemani, Bibl. Orient. Clement.* t. i. p. 420).

Lord, during His lifetime, inviting Him into his kingdom, with a view of being healed by Him of a leprous malady with which he was afflicted. Our Lord is said to have replied by a letter,⁶ long preserved in the archives of Edessa.

ELEVENTH YEAR.

A.D. 44 (39). A.U.C. 795. CLAUDII 2.

BEFORE SS. Barnabas and Saul had reached Jerusalem with the alms collected at Antioch,¹ S. James the Greater,² returning from Spain to Jerusalem, converts, among others, Hermogenes the ma-

⁶ The terms of this letter were: "Blessed art thou, Abgar, for believing in Me without having seen Me. For it is written of Me, that they who shall have seen Me would not believe in Me; and that they who shall not have seen Me would believe, and so have life. As to thy request, that I should come and see thee, this is to acquaint thee that I must here fulfil all things for which I am sent, and then return to Him who sent Me. But when I am departed, I will send one of My disciples to thee, that he may heal thee of thy disorder, and give life to thee, and to them that are with thee." Eusebius (*loc. citat. ann. præced.*) expressly declares that he transcribed this letter, and the whole account, from the public records of the city of Edessa. S. Ephrem, who was a deacon in that place, and who probably never saw the history of Eusebius, gives his independent testimony, and quotes the epistle as being universally received. He is supported by Procopius, Evagrius, S. John Damascene, and many others; and, in later days, by Baronius, Mamachi, Assemani, Grabe, and Tillemont. Bellarmine, it must be added, with others, take the negative

side (Rutter's *Life of Christ*, vol. ii. p. 473). For a very full list of apocryphal books, both of the Old and New Testament, in which this Epistle to Abgar is included, see Goschler, art. *Apocryphes*. On the whole subject, see Appendix H.

¹ An article on S. Jacques le Majeur, in Goschler, denies the possibility of the events recorded in Acts xii. 1—24 having occurred in the short space of time between the two Apostles' journey to Jerusalem and their return to Antioch (v. 25). But (1) it is not said that they made no pause or *détour* on their way; much apostolical work may have been omitted by S. Luke, who passes by so many other events. (2) The famine predicted by Agabus only "came to pass under Claudius," and the collection of alms may have been going on for some time before the first symptom of it. (3) S. James' mission into Spain need not have occupied so long a time as to disprove the assertion in the text.

² The son of Zebedee. He is called "James the brother of John" (Acts xii. 2), to distinguish him from the bishop of Jerusalem.

gician. The Apostle is then seized by "Herod the King," (Agrippa),³ and martyred by the sword,⁴ just before the azymes.

Herod, gaining much popularity thereby,⁵ seeks to improve it by imprisoning S. Peter,⁶ intending to bring him forth to the people when the festival was over.⁷ The chief of the Apostles is delivered by an Angel, and goes through Cæsarea, Berytus, Sidon, Tripolis, and so to Laodicea, Cappadocia, and other places, preaching the Gospel, and ordaining bishops and priests. Besides S. Mark the future Evangelist, he was accompanied by SS. Rufus, Pancratius, and Marcian, who became bishops respectively of Capua, Taormina, and Syracuse.⁸ Also by S. Apollinaris, afterwards Bishop of Ravenna,

³ S. Luke's accuracy is shown by his describing this persecutor as "Herod the King." For no period of time for thirty years before, or ever afterwards, was there a king reigning in Jerusalem. The early part of Agrippa's life was obscurely past in Rome; then he was raised high in imperial favour; afterwards imprisoned by Tiberius, and now (see the preceding year) exalted to a kingdom by Claudius. He was son of Aristobulus, and grandson of Herod "the Great," who sought our Lord's life in Beth-lehem. Agrippa's uncle, Herod Antipas, had beheaded S. John Baptist. It was before his son, Agrippa the Younger, that S. Paul pleaded (Acts xxvi.).

⁴ Acts xii. 2. Decapitation was reckoned by the Jews the most ignominious of their four forms of capital punishment; and was especially inflicted on those who drew away the people to any strange worship. In Rome, on the contrary, any other mode of execution was held to be more infamous. See below, ad A.D. 69. S. James converted his executioner, as did S. Alban afterwards, in the time of Diocletian. Subsequently, the Apostle's relics were translated to Compostella, which became thenceforward one of the great pilgrimage-places for the whole Church;

and S. James himself became Patron Saint of Spain (*Brev. Rom.* July 25).

⁵ The attitude of the Jews towards the Church was now always hostile. See (besides numerous passages in the Acts themselves) Rom. xv. 31, 2 Cor. xi. 24, 1 Thess. ii. 13—16. A hundred years later, when S. Polycarp was about to be burned in the amphitheatre at Smyrna, the Jews were especially active in collecting faggots (*Martyrium Polyc.* xiii.). Josephus (*Antiq.* xix. 7. 3.) mentions Agrippa's great desire to obtain popularity.

⁶ Probably the only other Apostle remaining in Jerusalem. See Acts xii. 17.

⁷ During the feast, he could not be put to death. Cf. S. John xviii. 28.

⁸ Act. Martyr. quoted by Gerbert, *Rome Chrétienne*, v. i. 12. Gams, in *voce.*, who, however, mentions S. Priscus (Sep. 1) before S. Rufus, as bishop of Capua. Either on this or a subsequent occasion, the ship which carried S. Peter from Naples was driven by contrary winds to Pisa: or at this time, according to another account, he passed some days in the town of Atina, near the Pontine marshes, in the house of his fellow-countryman, S. Mark of Galilee, its first bishop (*Act. S. Marci Ep. Atin.* Gerbert, *ut sup.*). For the foundation

and S. Martial, whom S. Peter sent into Gaul. He staid for some time in Naples, and founded a Church there. His journey terminates, before the end of this year,⁹ in Rome; henceforth to be his Sec, and the metropolis of the Christian world. The Apostle's first stay in Rome is said to have lasted some five years.¹⁰

Britain had revolted, under Caractacus¹¹ and his brother Togidumnus, sons of Cassebelan; and the treaties made with Julius Cæsar had been broken. Claudius conducts an expedition, and lands in Britain with a numerous and veteran army. In a pitched battle, won chiefly by the valour of the German auxiliaries, Togidumnus was slain.¹² The Emperor penetrated to Camalodunum (Malden, or Colchester), received a mere local submission; then, after sixteen days' stay in the island, returned to Rome, and was decreed a triumph.¹³ The Roman forces remaining in Britain were divided

of the Church in Aquileia, see Zaccaria, *Raccolta*, &c. vol. v. dissert 1 and 2.

⁹ "After his episcopate in the Church of Antioch, and his preaching to the dispersed of the circumcision, [Simon Peter] goes to Rome in the second year of Claudius, to overthrow Simon Magus; and there he held the sacerdotal chair for twenty-five years, down to the last, that is the fourteenth, year of Nero. Buried at Rome in the Vatican, near the Via Triumphalis, he is honoured by the veneration of the whole City" (S. Jerome, *in Catal. Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* c. i.). Lactantius does not mention this first coming of S. Peter to Rome (see below, ad A.D. 68), but only the second, saying that he came to Rome in the reign of Nero, who put him and S. Paul to death (*De Mort. Persec.* n. 2).

¹⁰ He baptized in a crypt known as the *Cæmeterium Ostrianum*, probably in the Jews' quarter, beyond the Tiber. His chair existed there in the time of S. Gregory the Great. For an interesting account of this cemetery, as well as of that of Priscilla, on the Via Salaria Nova, said to have been dug in the

property of the Pudens family, see Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea*, i. pp. 115—120.

¹¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle says, ad A.D. 46, "This year, Claudius, second of the Roman kings (!), sought the island of Britain, and brought under his power the greater part of the island; and also subjected the Orkney islands to the dominion of the Romans. This war he effected in the fourth year of his reign, and in the same year was the great famine in Syria." Appendix I.

¹² Dio Niceus, *apud Xiphil.* Lingard, however, supposes him identical with the Cogidunus whom some, again, have identified with Caractacus (*Hist. Engl.* v. i. p. 27).

¹³ Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 31, 38. A cotemporary poet pronounced that Claudius had united two worlds, and brought the ocean within the limits of the Empire:

At nunc oceanus geminos interluit orbes;

Pars est imperii: terminus ante fuit.

(*Ex Catalect. Scalig. ap. Camd. lix.*) Florus, a poet in the reign of Hadrian, was less complimentary to his Imperial master on the hardships the Emperor

between Aulus Plautius, the legate, and Vespasian, afterwards Emperor. Plautius was the husband of Pomponia Græcina.¹⁴

S. Paul, now returned to Antioch, is prepared for his Apostolate among the Gentiles by being rapt even to the Third Heaven, caught up into Paradise, where he "heard secret words, which it is not granted to man to utter."¹⁵

TWELFTH YEAR.

A.D. 45 (40). A.U.C. 796. CLAUDII 3.

THE famine begins in Rome. The Emperor, to give employment, builds the port of Ostia. Suctonius¹ says that Claudius was surrounded by starving crowds in the Forum, who so assailed him with reproaches, and morsels of bread thrown at him, that he escaped by a postern door, and did his utmost to collect provisions from every quarter, winter though it was.

S. Peter establishes his Cathedra, or See, in Rome, January 18, at first in the Jews' quarter, beyond the Tiber; afterwards in the house² of the Senator, Quintus Cornelius Pudens, whose wife, Priscilla, gave her name to the family cemetery on the Salarian Way. They were both probably converts of the Apostle. This senator's son,

endured in our island. He wrote to him:

Ego nolo Cæsar esse,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas pati pruinas.

To which Hadrian replied:

Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas,
Culices pati rotundas.

¹⁴ See below, A.D. 57.

¹⁵ 2 Cor. xii. 1—4.

¹ *Vita Claud.* c. xviii. Tacit. *Ann.* xii. 43.

² The house of Pudens was afterwards consecrated as a church by S. Pius I., and named after S. Pudentiana, who probably died shortly before. See note 9 below. The two first Popes after S. Peter, viz., SS. Linus and Cletus, were consecrated in this house by the Prince of the Apostles. It stands—or rather, the church built on the spot—near the Liberrian basilica, commonly called Sa. Maria Maggiore.

the younger Pudens,³ married Claudia, a British maiden, the daughter, according to some, of Caractacus (Caradoc), who was himself in Rome at the time. Others make Claudia daughter of Togidumnus.⁴ She was named after the Emperor, who had liberated Caractacus when the British chief was brought before him. Her surname was Rufina,⁵ perhaps from having been brought up under the Christian care of a great Roman and Christian lady, Pomponia Græcina,⁶ who was connected with the house of the Rufi. The younger Pudens, and Claudia, are mentioned by S. Paul as being in Rome towards the end of his life. Martial, in two epigrams,⁷ celebrates Claudia's British origin, her proficiency in Greek and Roman literature, and the esteem in which she was held in Rome. Pudens and Claudia had four children, S. Novatus, S. Timotheus, a priest,⁸ and SS. Pudentiana and Praxedes.

The house of the elder Pudens was made a church, with the *titulus* of "Pastor."⁹ On the wooden altar, now preserved in S. John Lateran, S. Peter said his Mass. His see at Antioch was filled by

³ "Who, having by the Apostle's hands put on Christ in baptism, preserved the robe of his innocence unspotted, even to the crowning point of his life" (*Rom. Martyrol.*). He is mentioned by S. Paul, 2 Tim. iv. 21. Fr. Cressy seems to confuse between father and son by making the two wives, Priscilla and Claudia, identical (*Ch. Hist. Brit.* iii. 12). The names of father and son were, indeed, the same; Quintus Cornelius.

⁴ It is at least a probable opinion, that Caractacus, Cogidunus, and Togidumnus, were all the same person. See note 12 of the preceding year.

⁵ Cressy (*Ch. Hist.* iv. 7) supposes her to have been named Rufina, "from her husband Rufus," but without giving any authority. This would make her union with the younger Pudens a second marriage; of which there is no indication. It could hardly, at all events, have been

after her conversion; the feeling in primitive times against second marriages being so decided. Cf. *sup.* ad A.D. 39, note 18.

⁶ See below, ad A.D. 57.

⁷ Martial (*Epigr.* ii. 54, iv. 13).

⁸ *Rom. Martyrol.* June 20. Cressy's *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, iii. 12, 13, 15.

⁹ Pastor was a priest, the special friend of Pudens' and Claudia's four children. While S. Timotheus was preaching the Gospel to his British kinsfolk, S. Pastor wrote him a letter, detailing the death of his brother Novatus, and asking his wishes respecting the property left by the deceased. This was after the death of S. Pudentiana, and in the pontificate of S. Pius I. See the letter, in Cressy, pp. 43, 44. Pastor afterwards interred S. Praxedes in the cemetery of Priscilla on the Salarian Way, where S. Pudentiana was already buried (*Brev. Rom.* in Jul. xxi.).

S. Evodius,¹⁰ who was consecrated by the Apostle,¹¹ and who among his first episcopal acts must have consecrated S. Paul.

The most general opinion assigns to this year the dispersion of the Apostles for their several spheres of mission beyond the bounds of Judæa, Samaria, and Syria.¹²

S. Paul receives, at Antioch, his distinct mission from the Holy Spirit to evangelize the Gentiles,¹³ and is therefore consecrated a bishop, and goes forth with S. Barnabas, who also received his special call to the same sphere of action.

This is S. Paul's First Apostolic Journey.

The other "prophets and doctors" left at Antioch, who had been offering, together with them, the Holy Sacrifice,¹⁴ with fastings, were Simon, surnamed Niger, Lucius of Cyrene (afterwards, according to S. Bede and others, bishop of that place),¹⁵ and Manahen,^{15a} foster-brother of that Herod Antipas, who had mocked our Lord, and beheaded S. John Baptist.

SS. Paul and Barnabas took with them, as a temporal coadjutor, John, surnamed Mark, the son of Mary, a disciple, in whose house in Jerusalem many¹⁶ were assembled during S. Peter's incarceration,¹⁷

¹⁰ Eusebius (*Chron.*). He held the see twenty-six years, and was succeeded by the great martyr, S. Ignatius, the friend of S. Polycarp, and who is said to have been the child whom our Lord took in His arms (S. Mark ix. 35, 36, S. Matt. xviii. 2, S. Luke ix. 47), and indicated to His disciples as a type of those who should enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

¹¹ Euseb. *Chron.*

¹² See Appendix F.

¹³ Acts xiii. 2; cf. Galat. ii. 9; 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11.

¹⁴ Λειτουργούντων τῷ Κυρίῳ, which would not be the expression for merely praying. See Ornsby's ed. of Card. Maii's Gr. Test. *in loc.* The ancient Sacramentaries assigned to S. James, and the rest, have always been called "Liturgies," as prescribing the method of performing the highest act of public service to God — the

Sacrifice of the New Law on the altar (Cf. Heb. xiii. 10).

¹⁵ S. Lucius, however, is claimed by Johannes Aventinus, *antiquitatum non segnīs investigator* (*Varior. Annot. in lib. i. S. Irenæi*, p. 42), as the Apostle of Vindelicia and Rætia. He is there also called S. Paul's cousin. The same author speaks of S. Mark (apparently John Mark) as evangelizing Noricum; S. Crescens, Moguntia or Mayence; and "a certain Clement," Metz. The archives of Treves and Cologne record that SS. Maternus, Eucharius, and Valerius were sent to those places by S. Peter. Arnobius (*adv. Gentes*, lib. i.) speaks of the Allemanni as having early received the Gospel.

^{15a} *Rom. Martyrol.* May 24.

¹⁶ SS. Paul and Barnabas probably included, says Salmeron.

¹⁷ Acts xii. 12.

praying for his release. John Mark had accompanied SS. Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem to Antioch,¹⁸ and now went with them on their further mission. He is not to be confounded with S. Mark the Evangelist, who had by this time accompanied S. Peter to Rome.¹⁹

Herod Agrippa, the persecutor of SS. Peter and James, was overtaken by Divine vengeance at Cæsarea, to which place he went to celebrate solemn games for the prosperity of the Emperor.²⁰ Among the multitudes who flocked thither were envoys from Tyre and Sidon, to ask pardon for an offence given him by those cities.²¹

“Upon a day appointed, Herod, arrayed in royal apparel, sat in the judgment-seat, and made an oration to them. And the people made acclamation, saying: It is the voice of a god, and not of a man. And forthwith an Angel of the Lord smote him, because he had not given the honour to God: and being devoured by worms,²² he gave up the ghost.²³”

On the death of Herod Agrippa, Judæa and Samaria sank into Roman provinces; their first governor being Cuspius Fadus.

¹⁸ Acts xii. 25.

¹⁹ S. Irenæus calls S. Mark “the disciple and *interpreter* of S. Peter” (*Hæc.* iii. 1).

²⁰ It was probably the first of August (Wieseler, pp. 132—136). The occasion has been variously conjectured: the Emperor’s safe return from Britain; his birthday; or, more probably, the festival of the Quinquennialia, observed on the same day of the same month in honour of Augustus. The observance dated from the taking of Alexandria, or the reform of the calendar B.C. 8, when the month Sextilis had received Augustus’ name. Agrippa seems to have made Cæsarea practically the capital of his kingdom, as being already that of the Roman province.

²¹ An old grudge had existed between them. The Sidonians had informed

Flaccus, the Prefect of Syria, of Agrippa’s having accepted a bribe; he had therefore been dismissed from Syria in disgrace. This ill-feeling may have been revived by some more recent act of hostility on the part of those cities. Or, Herod may have supposed the Tyrians and Sidonians likely to interfere with the growing prosperity of Cæsarea.

²² His grandfather, Herod of Ascalon, the murderer of the Holy Innocents, had perished under a similar horrible disease (Joseph. lib. xviii. 3). Likewise Antiochus Epiphanes, for his pride and persecutions, 2 Machab. ix. 4—13. Add to these, Maximianus Galerius, who had instigated Diocletian to begin his persecution. C. à Lap. gives other instances, *in loc.*

²³ Acts xii. 21—23. Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 8, 2.

Theudas (Theodas) arose as a false prophet, and led many away after him; but he was slain, and his followers dispersed.²⁴

Others place Agrippa's death in the preceding year, and more immediately after the martyrdom of his victim, S. James. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, on the contrary, says A.D. 46: "This year Herod died; he who slew James, one year before his own death."

S. Peter writes from Rome, which he calls "Babylon,"²⁵ his *First Epistle* to the faithful of the dispersion, especially to those of Pontus, and other places which he had visited on his first journey to Rome, after being delivered from prison.²⁶ He mentions his spiritual "son Mark."²⁷ Another of S. Peter's disciples was Clement, son of Faustinus, "of the region of the Cœlian Hill," who was to succeed him as fourth Pope.²⁸

S. Mark writes his *Gospel* in Rome.²⁹ Some time later, he is sent³⁰ by S. Peter to Egypt, preaches the Gospel in Alexandria, rules that Church as bishop for some years, and is martyred there in the eighth year of Nero.³¹

²⁴ He may probably have been son or nephew to the Theudas mentioned by Gamaliel, speaking (Acts v. 36) in the 18th year of Tiberius, as having run the same career of rebellion before. Eusebius (*Hist.* ii. 11), S. Bede, and others, would make these two identical, against the express testimony of Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 2), and the fact that Gamaliel places the elder Theudas before the rebellion of Judas of Galilee, "in the days of the enrolling," *i.e.* the date of our Lord's Nativity (S. Luke ii. 1). The motive of this Judas' revolt appears to have been, the indignity offered to the Jewish nation by the act of Augustus. Compare Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 1, xx. 3, *Bell. Jud.* vii. 29, in which last place he speaks of the heroic constancy of even the Jewish youth in resisting Cæsar's title to be their Lord. The two sons of Judas of Galilee were crucified in the reign of Claudius for this very cause (Cf. S. Matt. xvii. 27, xxii. 17, Rom. xiii.).

Origen (*contra Celsum*, lib. i. et *Tract.* 24 in *Matth.*) reckons Theudas as before the Nativity, and Judas after it.

²⁵ 1 S. Peter v. 13.

²⁶ Cf. *sup.* ann. 2.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ See below, ad A.D. 69.

²⁹ "But it is inferred, from the testimony of S. Irenæus, that S. Mark wrote after the martyrdom of S. Peter and S. Paul." Prof. Ornsby, *Gr. Test.* (Pref. to Gospel acc. to S. Mark.) Eusebius quotes Clement of Alexandria, and Papias bishop of Hierapolis, as saying that S. Mark's Gospel was written at the solicitation of the faithful in Rome; that it was divinely inspired, and afterwards approved by S. Peter (*H. E.* l. ii. c. 14, 15). S. Jerome, however, assigns it to the year 64 (see below).

³⁰ See below, ad A.D. 51.

³¹ This is the account of Gelasius, Metaphrastes, and Procopius. See also the *Roman Martyrol.* Apr. 25.

Some say that Livy the historian died in this year.

One account assigns to about this date the death and Assumption of the Ever-Blessed Mother of God. Another, and more probably, places it twelve years later, in the third year of Nero.³²

THIRTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 46 (41). A.U.C. 797. CLAUDII 4.

SS. PAUL AND BARNABAS, having passed through Seleucia, set sail for Cyprus,¹ of which S. Barnabas was a native,² and afterwards its Bishop. Some of the Cypriotes were already Christians.³ Landing at Salamis,⁴ on the east coast of the island, "they preached the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews."⁵ Thence they journeyed to Paphos,⁶ on the western coast; having thus "gone through the whole island." At Paphos resided the Roman Proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a man of intelligence.⁷ At his court the Apostles found a

³² See Appendix R.

¹ The Cethim of the O.T. (Is. xxiii. 1). Its original inhabitants have been generally supposed to be of Hethite or Phœnician origin, somewhat like the inhabitants of Malta (cf. ad A.D. 58). Mr. Gordon Hake, however, from his recent explorations in the island, claims for the aborigines an Aryan descent. The island was conquered in succession by the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Assyrians, Persians, and Romans. It had now been in Roman possession for a century.

² Acts iv. 36.

³ Acts xi. 19, 30; xxi. 16.

⁴ The ancient Greek capital of the island. It was rebuilt in the fourth century, and called Constantia (now Porto Costanzo), after the Emperor Constantine. About the year 368, S. Epiphanius was its bishop. See Appendix J.

⁵ From the mention of synagogues, Acts xiii. 5, it may be inferred that the Jews were numerous in Salamis (Cf. vi. 9; ix. 20). Other cities, even large and important ones, seem to have had only one (cf. xvii. 1; xviii. 4). Salamis was the scene of a Jewish insurrection in the reign of Trajan, when great part of the city was destroyed.

⁶ Now called Baffo. Its first bishop was S. Epaphras (Gams, *ut supra*). It was here that the vessel containing S. Louis and his queen was nearly wrecked on his return from the Crusade (*De Joinville*, cxxii. 618.) It seems that in the middle ages the Cypriote Olympus was called the Mountain of the Cross (*Ibid.*).

⁷ *συνεβδς ἀρχή*, Acts xiii. 7. The Elder Pliny cites him, more than once, as an authority in physical science (*Nat. Hist.* lib. 1; *Elench.* libb. ii. and xviii.). Galen (*De Prænot.* cited by Wettstein on this

Jewish impostor, named Barjesus⁸ (or, son of Josue), surnamed Elymas,⁹ *i.e.*, the "magus," or the "wise." But the Proconsul's mind was prepared for a better teaching; he "desired to hear the word of God," and sent for the Apostles. Elymas, striving to oppose their influence, was smitten with temporary blindness at the rebuke of S. Paul;¹⁰ the miracle converted Sergius Paulus.¹¹ From that time, Saul was definitely and without exception called Paul:¹² whether the name was assumed from his distinguished convert, is uncertain.¹³

Setting sail from Paphos, the Apostles came to Perga in Pamphylia.¹⁴ Here their attendant, John Mark, alarmed at the fatigues and dangers of the Apostolate, or yielding to home-sickness, left them, and returned to his relations in Jerusalem.¹⁵ This occasioned the subsequent difference between SS. Paul and Barnabas.¹⁶

From Perga they came to Antioch,¹⁷ in Pisidia, through rugged

passage in the Acts) also mentions a Sergius Paulus, son or grandson of the proconsul, as "a man of the first stamp in all things, both in word and deed, as regards philosophy."

⁸ Compare Bar-jonas, S. Matt. xvi. 17, Bartimaus, Barabbas, Barnabas, besides other patronymics of the same form in the Old Testament.

⁹ The Aramaic equivalent for the Persian title "Magian," and from the same root as the Turkish "Ulema." He was probably an apostate Jew, who hoped to convert Sergius Paulus to the worship of the sun and of fire.

¹⁰ This is the first recorded miracle of the Apostle; very appropriately chastising an unbeliever by the same infliction which had attended his own conversion.

¹¹ A place marked in Keith Johnston's atlas, close to Famagusta on the east coast of Cyprus—apparently a small town, perhaps a monastery—is named *Hagios Sergios*.

¹² Acts xiii. 9.

¹³ Probably, as the son of a freedman, and himself a Roman citizen, he had it

from the first, in conjunction with his Hebrew name Saul; but now began to use it exclusively, in memory of this his first great success among the Gentiles. Cf. 2 S. Peter iii. 15. There is also a beautiful significance in the name "Little" (*Paulus*) as being that of the great Apostle, whose persistent humility taught him to speak of himself as "the least of the Apostles," 1 Cor. xv. 9, and "less than the least of all Saints," Eph. iii. 8. It was not unusual among the Jews who were brought much into contact with Gentiles, to take a Greek or Roman name, assonant, or nearly so, with their original Hebrew name, as conveying a sound more familiar to those with whom they dealt.

¹⁴ A voyage of about two hundred miles. Perga was celebrated for a temple of Diana, and an annual festival in her honour (Strabo, xiv. 4).

¹⁵ See the preceding year.

¹⁶ Cf. ad A.D. 51, note 16.

¹⁷ One of the sixteen cities of that name which had been built by Seleucus Nicator.

mountain-passes, and gorges worn by torrents; "perils of rivers," and "perils of robbers."¹⁸

The Pisidian Antioch was a Roman *colonia*; besides Greeks, Romans, and Semitic aborigines, it contained a population of Jews. Though sent to the Gentiles, the Apostles did not neglect "the lost sheep of the house of Israel:" and on the Sabbath, S. Paul addressed them in the synagogue. His words produced a deep impression; they begged him to repeat his exhortation on the following Sabbath, when "almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God."¹⁹ It was opposed, however, and blasphemed, by the unbelieving Jews. "Then Paul and Barnabas said boldly: To you it behoved us first to speak the word of God; but because you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles."²⁰ . . . And the Gentiles, hearing it, were glad, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were ordained to life everlasting, believed. And the word of the Lord was published throughout the whole country."²¹

A persecution was raised against the Apostles by the Jews, who procured their expulsion from the city: "but they, shaking off the dust of their feet²² against them, came to Iconium"²³ in Lycaonia, leaving the Pisidian converts full of "joy and the Holy Ghost," in the midst of their persecutions.

Tiberius Alexander, a renegade Jew, and nephew to Philo,²⁴ is made Governor of Judæa and Samaria, in place of Cuspius Fadus.

¹⁸ 2 Cor. xi. 26.

¹⁹ Acts xiii. 44.

²⁰ Namely, the Gentiles in the city; for we find their first act afterwards in Jerusalem was, to go into the synagogue, and still to give precedence to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (xiv. 1. Cf. S. Matt. xv. 24).

²¹ Acts xiii. 46—49.

²² According to our Lord's own command, in the case of determined opposition to His word (S. Matt. x. 14; S. Mark vi. 11; S. Luke ix. 5).

²³ A more populous and important

place than Lystra. "Urbs celeberrima" (Pliny, *N. H.*, v. 27). It was entitled "the Damascus of Lycaonia." It lay in a fertile plain, about ninety miles S.E. of the Pisidian Antioch, near the boundaries of Phrygia, Pamphylia, and Galatia, as well as of Lycaonia. Several of the Roman roads met at this point; the chief of them being the high road from Ephesus to the Syrian Antioch. Iconium, at that date, with the adjacent country, formed a distinct and independent tetrarchy.

²⁴ Alban Butler (June 29, *note* s.f.*).

FOURTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 47 (42). A.U.C. 798. CLAUDII 5.

THE two Apostles "abode a long time"¹ in Iconium, preaching in the synagogue, and converting "a great multitude" both of the Jews and of the Greeks. Their most distinguished convert was S. Thecla, virgin, for her many sufferings reckoned a martyr,² and even the proto-martyr among female Saints. SS. Tryphena and Tryphosa, whom S. Paul afterwards commends³ as "labouring in the Lord," were also brought to the faith.⁴

These numerous conversions were in great measure due to the miracles wrought by the two Apostles. "The Lord gave testimony to the word of His grace, granting signs and wonders to be done by their hands."

This period of success was followed by a persecution, like that in Antioch. "And when there was an assault made by the Gentiles and the Jews, to use them contumeliously, and to stone them, they fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and to the whole country round about; and were there preaching the Gospel."⁵

¹ Acts xiv. 3.

² An apocryphal and untrustworthy book, entitled "Circuits" (*περιόδοι*) of SS. Paul and Thecla, is mentioned by Tertullian (*De Bapt.*), reprobated by S. Jerome (*De Scriptor. Eccles. in Luca*), and authoritatively rejected by Pope Gelasius. This has tended to throw discredit on the real facts of her conversion by S. Paul, and her after-sufferings for the faith. See a note by Baronius, *Martyrol. Rom.* in Sep. 23; Cornel. à Lap. in Act. xiv.; and the Bollandists, in Sep. 23. The author of this apocryphal narrative, who was an Asiatic priest, was thereupon deposed from the ministry by S. John. See

Appendix K. Basil, an early bishop of Seleucia, where S. Thecla lived to a great age, and died, wrote a panegyric of the Saint: but, following apparently the *περιόδοι*, he leaves it doubtful which of his supposed facts of her life may be taken as trustworthy. The devotion to her must have flourished in Germany in the seventeenth century: Schiller gives the name to the heroine in his trilogy of Wallenstein. The cathedral of Tarragona in Spain was dedicated under the invocation of S. Thecla (*Gams, in voc.*).

³ Rom. xvi. 12.

⁴ *Roman Martyrology*, Nov. 20.

⁵ Acts xiv. 5, 6.

FIFTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 48 (43). A.U.C. 799. CLAUDII 6.

S. PAUL'S cure of a man at Lystra, lame from his birth,¹ made the multitude cry out: "The gods are come down to us, in the likeness of men. And they called Barnabas, Jupiter;³ but Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker." Sacrifice was about to be offered to them: the people were scarcely restrained from it by the Apostles' protestation, and announcement of the Gospel of their Master.

Some of the Jews, however, who had persecuted them in Antioch and Iconium, came to Lystra, "and persuading the multitude, and stoning Paul,⁴ drew him out of the city, thinking him to be dead. But as the disciples stood round about him, he rose up and entered into the city, and the next day he departed with Barnabas to Derbe."⁵

¹ Compare S. Luke's description of the miracle at the Beautiful Gate (Note 18 ad A.D. 34).

² In their native tongue, which may have been spoken by S. Paul miraculously (Cf. 1 Cor. xiv. 18).

³ Jupiter was especially worshipped at Lystra, and had a temple before the city gates (v. 12). It was to these very regions in the interior of Asia Minor that Jupiter, accompanied by Hermes (Mercury) was supposed to have descended, to be the guest of Baucis and Philemon (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 611 seq.). The Lycaonians probably spoke (v. 10) a barbarous dialect of Greek, mingled with their own native Semitic. S. Barnabas, perhaps the elder of the two Apostles, had probably something venerable and majestic in his appearance (as S. Chrysostom supposes, *Hom.* xxx.), while S. Paul could quote at least unfriendly allegations to the contrary, in his own

case (2 Cor. x. 1, 10). But S. Paul's ready eloquence gained for him the supposition that he was Mercury, the *ἄπόστολος*, or "messenger of the gods." It was an unconscious witness to a higher truth (Cf. Niceph. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 37).

⁴ Compare Acts xxviii. 4-6 for an opposite revulsion of popular feeling, in the "barbarous people" of Melita, who first took S. Paul for a murderer, and then for a deity. He refers (2 Cor. xi. 25) to the stoning mentioned in the text.

⁵ Acts xiv. 19. That is, he walked a distance of at least twenty miles, after the stoning (almost to death) of the day before. This could not have been, except by distinct miracle. Some have supposed that he had actually died; others, that the rapture into Paradise and the third heaven (2 Cor. xii.) took place at this time. S. Paul, when at Lystra, could have gone by a short and

Not, however, without having made some disciples, of whom his future companion, S. Timothy, was chief.⁶

Having preached the Gospel in Derbe, they returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch, confirming the souls of their converts, and ordaining for them priests in every church. Thence, through the Pisidian mountains, they came back to the plain of Pamphylia, more thoroughly evangelized Perga, and went on to Attalia,⁷ about sixteen miles to the west, on the same coast.

Ventidius Cumanus succeeds Tiberius Alexander as Governor of Judæa and Samaria.

Herod, King of Chalcis, brother of Agrippa, dies. His kingdom is given to his nephew, Agrippa II.

SIXTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 49 (44). A.U.C. 800. CLAUDII 7.

ROME begins the celebration of the eight hundredth anniversary of the City's foundation, which now opens on the twenty-first of April, with *Ludi Sæculares*, and (probably) a *Carmen Sæculare*.¹

S. Paul, having now completed five years in his First Apostolic

easy journey to his own home, by the famous pass called the Cilician Gates; but he turns away, and back again (*ὑπεστρέψαν*, xiv. 20) to resume his apostolic labours in another direction. See S. Luke ix. 57—62.

⁶ Cf. xvi. 1, 2; 1 Tim. i. 2; 2 Tim. i. 2; iii. 10, 11.

⁷ A newer sea-port than Perga, built by Attalus Philadelphus, King of Pergamus (B.C. 159—138), and called after him.

¹ In spite of their name and original intention, the *Ludi Sæculares* were not celebrated exactly at the expiration of a

given epoch. The first were held by ordinance of Val. Publicola, to avert a plague which coincided with the expulsion of the Tarquins, U.C. 245, B.C. 509. The second celebration was U.C. 305, the third, U.C. 505, the fourth, U.C. 608. Augustus celebrated the fifth, U.C. 737, B.C. 16. [It was for this feast that Horace composed his *Carmen Sæculare*.] Claudius ordained their repetition in U.C. 800, to square the celebration with the centuries of the City; but Domitian regulated his ordinance on that of Augustus, and proclaimed the games one hundred and three years after his, viz., U.C. 840, B.C. 86. Suetonius records that this caused some

journey, returns with S. Barnabas to the Syrian Antioch.² There, having assembled the Church, they related what great things God had done with them, and how He had opened the door of faith to the Gentiles. And there they abode no little time with the disciples;”³ that is, says Baronius, for two years, A.D. 49 and 50. The visit to Jerusalem for the Council is included in this period.

Vespasian conducts the British campaign with great vigour, and obtains frequent victories. Twenty cities in Britain are reduced, together with the Isle of Wight.⁴

mockery among the people; the terms of Claudius' proclamation having been, that “all should come as spectators of games which they had never seen before, and would never see again.” They were continued under Septimius Severus and Caracalla, and lastly under the Emperor Philip, in the thousandth year of Rome, A.D. 247. The Christian Emperors forbade them (See Appendix L).

The games were ordered solemnly, and in much detail, in the Sibylline books. According to the exposition of the Quindecimvirs, who had the privilege of reading them, they were to be celebrated every 110 years (Moreri, in voc. *Jeux Seculaires*).

² A non-Catholic writer, Bishop Jacobson, says here: “This Antioch was the Mother Church of Gentile Christendom.” He had used the same expression on Acts xiii. 1, adding that it took the place of Jerusalem; without, however, adverting to the fact that it had been the See of S. Peter.

³ Acts xiv. 25—27.

⁴ He is said to have fought no less than thirty battles, before he could subdue the Belgæ in the south of Britain, and the islanders of Vectis (Wight), “quam Britones insulam *Guied* aut *Guith*, quod Latine divortium dici potest” (*Nennius*), i.e., from its separation from the mainland; the same meaning as Britain and British. “Names like these, signifying a separated people,

were very common among the Celtæ in general. They appear even in the name of the island, Britain [hence *brittle*—*brittan*, Saxon—*Johnson*]. And the name of Fict or Pict in our own country, being common to the Caledonians and the Irish, must have been derived from some separation that was equally common to both: their disjunction, namely, from the tribes of the Roman Britons, and their position without the pale of the Roman British Empire (Whitaker, *Hist. of Craven*, ii. 209—11). The Belgæ occupied a large portion of the island of Britain. “*Britannia maritima pars ab iis incolitur qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis transierant: qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum appellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eò pervenerunt*” (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* v. 12). The Belgæ first landed in Britain about 350 B.C., and took possession of Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorset, and Devon. The dislodged Britons crossed over to Ireland (*Er* or *Ier* (west) *In* (island)). Other colonies of expelled Britons followed, about 250 years after the first, from Surrey, Middlesex, and Essex. These incorporated themselves into a body, called by the Britons the Scutes (Scots), i.e., Wanderers, or Refugees (Whitaker's *Hist. of Craven*, ii. 232, 233). A parallel denomination is that of the Flemings, *qu. d.* Flyman, i.e. *forban-nitus*, and their country, Flanderland, Flanders (De Lettenhove, *Hist. de*

Plautius, meanwhile, found a still more arduous field among the Cassii⁵ and Silures.⁶

This year is assigned by some as the date at which S. Mansuetus, a British convert and disciple of S. Peter,⁷ was by him consecrated to the see of Toul (Tullum) in Lorraine, the metropolis of the Leuci. He was of noble birth among the Caledonians, and had gone to Rome, either with Adminius or Baricus, or accompanying Caractacus. An ancient Gallican Martyrology mentions him on the 3rd of September, and relates that he turned the hearts of the pagans among whom he came, by raising to life the son of the governor of the city. He died after an episcopate of nearly forty years.⁸

Flandre, Introd.). At the time when Agricola was making his way northward, a body of the Damni, originally from Valentia, Valence, or rather, Valenciennes, who had previously crossed into Ireland from Galloway or Cantire, were driven out by some disturbances, and had *re-crossed* to Britain, where they were permitted to remain (*Ibid.*),—and “marched” on the west with the Damnonii, or men of Devon. They were connected with the Firbolgs (Viri Belgæ) in Ireland. The Roman name of Winchester was *Venta Belgarum* (Milner, *Hist. of Winchester*).

⁵ The name of this tribe has survived historically in that of Cassibelan. It extended, says Lingard (vol. i. p. 10), together with the Dobuni, “along the left bank of the Thames, from the Severn to the Trinobantes,” who were “on the eastern coast of the island, between the Thames and the Stour,” their capital being London.

⁶ “Across the arm of the sea, now called the Bristol Channel, the most powerful was the tribe of the Silures” (Lingard, *ut sup.*). Silchester (*Silurum Castra*) in Hampshire, remains as a very perfect specimen of a Roman town, as far as the circuit of walls may claim the title; and in that respect vies with the square enclosure-walls of Richborough

(*Rutupiæ*) near Ramsgate, and Burgh Castle (*Gariaonum*), in Suffolk.

⁷ The Bollandists, however, seem to prove that the Saint of this name could not have consecrated the church at Toul earlier than the time of Constantine. They assert that he flourished in the reign of that Emperor and of his sons, and died about the year 375. S. Gerard, Bishop of Toul, translated his relics in 971, and founded the rich monastery which bears his name. See the authorities given by Butler, in Sep. 4. Gams (*ut sup.*), gives, as the first bishop of Toul (*Tullum*), “S. Mansuetus (Mansuy) Scotus,” as having been consecrated in 338, and dying in 375; which corresponds in all particulars with the Bollandist writer.

⁸ Cressy's *Church. Hist.* pp. 12, 13. Another Briton, afterwards consecrated to a Gallic see, was S. Marcellus, of whom the *English Martyrol.* (Sep. 4) says, that “he gathered into a flock the remainder of those who had been converted by S. Joseph of Arimathæa and his companions; confirming them in the same faith.” After apostolic labours in Britain, he was consecrated bishop of the united sees of Tongres and Treves, during the pontificate of S. Pius I., and the last years of the reign of Antoninus Pius. His martyrdom took place in

SEVENTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 50 (45). A.U.C. 801. CLAUDII 8.

WHILE SS. Paul and Barnabas are labouring in the work of the Gospel at Antioch, S. Peter, in Rome, lays the foundations of that Church whose faith should be "spoken of in the whole world."¹ He consecrates bishops, and sends apostolic labourers to gather-in and feed the flock in various parts. Among these were S. Romulus, whom the Apostle sent to Fiesoli; S. Prosdocimus, whom he consecrated the first Bishop of Padua; S. Clateas, Bishop of Brixen, martyred under Nero; and perhaps S. Patrobas, made Bishop of Naples, or Puteoli.² Among his spiritual children was S. Plautilla,³ and probably S. Hermas,⁴ reputed author of the "*Pastor*."

S. Apollinaris was probably consecrated to the See of Ravenna nine or ten years later.

Ostorius Scapula succeeds Aulus Plautius in the command of Britain. "The reduced tribes were gradually moulded into the form of a Roman province; and when the Icenî dared to refuse the yoke, their rebellion was severely punished, and a colony of veterans was planted at Camalodunum to insure their obedience."⁵ Caradoc (Caractacus) and his Silures being defeated at Caer-Caradoc in Shropshire, he was betrayed to the Romans by his step-mother, Cartismandua, Queen of the Brigantes. Caradoc and his family were

the reign of Marcus Aurelius (Cressy, pp. 42, 43). He was the first known martyr of British birth: the honour of being proto-martyr in Britain being reserved for S. Alban, during the persecution under Diocletian, the first that visited this island.

¹ Rom. i. 8.

² *Rom. Martyrol.* for July 6, November 7, July 23, June 4, November 4.

S. Patrobas is mentioned in the text more doubtfully, because he may have been afterwards converted by S. Paul (Rom. xvi. 14).

³ *Rom. Martyrol.* May 20.

⁴ *Ibid.* May 9. S. Hermas, according to Blondel, or S. Hermas and the apologist Papias, says Dodwell, composed at least a portion of what are known as the "Sibylline books."

⁵ Lingard, v. i. p. 25.

sent in chains to Rome,⁶ but he was restored to liberty by Claudius, and afterwards, perhaps, invested with authority over a part of Britain.⁷

EIGHTEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 51 (46). A.U.C. 802. CLAUDII 9.

CLAUDIUS expels from Rome all who were of the Jewish race;¹ on account, says Suetonius, of their frequent tumult with the Christians.² This edict included all Christians of the Jewish race, as Aquila and his wife Priscilla; who therefore retired to Corinth, where they met with S. Paul the following year.

S. Mark departs for Alexandria, having been consecrated its first bishop by S. Peter.³

⁶ Tacit. *Agric.* 14.

⁷ "The supposition is confirmed by the similarity of the two names, and is little affected by the unsupported assertion of Dio, that Togidumnus had fallen at Caer-Caradoc. Whatever was the case, history speaks no more of the heroic brothers." Flanagan's *Manual of British and Irish History*, p. 10).

¹ Acts xviii. 2. Thus "repressing for the moment," according to Tacitus (*Annal.* xv. 44), the *exitabilis superstitio* of Christianity, or at least freeing the City from it (Cf. ad ann 66, *infra*, note).

² "In consequence of seditions, that had for their instigator one Chrestus" (Suet. *Claud.* xxv.). The Name of our Lord was frequently thus pronounced and written by the Pagans; whether by error, or as a play on the word (*χρηστος*) as implying that His followers, "the Chrestians" were, as the modern phrase goes, "good poor creatures," or rather, simpletons. Pliny (*Epist.* cix. ad *Traj.*), Lucian (*in Philop.*). Brotier, however, in his edition of Tacitus (*Not. ad Annal.*

xv. 44), interprets this passage of Suetonius as referring, not to our Divine Lord, but to a Jew named Chrestos, the author of a sedition in Rome (*impulsore Chresto*). The name, he says, was not an uncommon one, both among Greeks and Romans (cf. *supra*, note 3, ad A.D. 42.)

³ S. Leo writes to Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria: "As the most blessed Peter received the Apostolic primacy from the Lord, and the Roman Church continues in his ordinances, it is criminal to believe that his holy disciple, Mark, who was the first that governed the Church of Alexandria, formed decrees by other rules of his own traditions; for doubtless the spirit of the disciple and of his master was from the same source of grace; nor could the ordained transmit anything beside what he received from who ordained him" (S. Leo *Papa ad Dioscorum Epist. Alexandr.*). Theodoret wrote: "This man (Dioscorus) brings forward at every turn that his is the throne of Mark; yet he knows well, that the great city of Antioch has the throne of Peter, who was both the teacher of Mark, and the first and

S. Peter also left Rome, and returned to Jerusalem, where he presided at the First General Council, on the question, how far Christians were to observe the Jewish law. For some judaizing disciples had gone down from Judæa to Antioch, and asserted the necessity of such observance. "And when Paul and Barnabas had no small contest with them, they determined⁴ that Paul and Barnabas, and certain of the other side, should go up to the Apostles⁵ and priests to Jerusalem, about this question."⁶

The only Apostles now in the Holy City were probably SS. Peter, James, and John.⁷ This was S. Paul's third visit to Jerusalem,⁸ fourteen years after his conversion, as seems the most probable opinion.

"And the Apostles," SS. Peter, Paul, John, and James the Less, "and ancients, assembled to consider of this matter," under the presidency of S. Peter, who, after much discussion, reminded the Council of the special mission he had received from the first, that by his mouth the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe. "Now, therefore," he exhorted, "why tempt you God, to put a yoke upon the necks of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we have been able to bear?"⁹ The Council then listened to the report given by SS. Paul and Barnabas, of the wonders which "God had wrought among the Gentiles by them." S. James, Bishop

coryphæus of the choir of the Apostles" (t. iv. *Ep.* 86 *ad Flavians.*).

⁴ S. Paul says (Gal. ii. 2) that he went up to Jerusalem by revelation.

⁵ Theodoret, of the Greek Church, writing in the fifth century to S. Leo, says: "If Paul, that herald of the truth, that trumpet of the Holy Ghost, repaired to Peter, to bring from him an explanation to those of Antioch, who were disputing concerning questions of the law; with much greater reason do we hasten to your Apostolic throne, to receive from you a cure for the wounds of the Churches. For it pertains to you to hold the primacy in all things" (*Epist.* iv. 13).

⁶ Acts xv. 1, 2. S. Paul took S. Titus with him to Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1).

⁷ Gal. ii. 9, Baronius *in loc.*

⁸ For the two previous ones, see Acts ix. 26, xi. 30, and for the two subsequent ones, xviii. 22, and xxi. 17. This present visit, on occasion of the Council, is referred to by S. Paul (Gal. ii. 1), as being after an interval of fourteen years from his first visit (Acts ix. 26), which he had mentioned seven verses before; or, as others say, from his conversion. The years are to be reckoned inclusively, by the Jewish method, and may thus be really thirteen, or even twelve. The passage, however, is not free from difficulty. ⁹ Acts xv. 10.

of Jerusalem, also gave his judgment on the side of liberation from Jewish observances. Finally, the Council sent a letter "to the brethren of the Gentiles that are at Antioch, and in Syria, and Cilicia, greeting." It was sent by SS. Paul, Barnabas, Judas Barsabas, and Silas or Silvanus.¹⁰ The Jewish law was declared no longer binding: observance of the moral law, and abstinence from eating blood¹¹ and from things sacrificed to idols, sufficed. "It hath seemed good," was the expression of the infallible Church, "to the Holy Ghost and to us,"¹² to lay no further burden upon you than these necessary things."

The Apostolic envoys returned to Antioch, "and gathering together the multitude, delivered the epistle: which, when they had read, they rejoiced for the consolation," or exhortation. Judas Barsabas then returned to Jerusalem; but S. Silas remained in Antioch, with SS. Paul and Barnabas.

Shortly after this, S. Peter also visited Antioch, his former See. Acting on the decision of the late Council, he ate with the converted Gentiles; but on the arrival of some convert Jews from Jerusalem, he withdrew again from that act of communion, for fear of shocking these Jewish neophytes. His example influenced S. Barnabas and the other Jewish converts at Antioch;¹³ and he was publicly reprehended by S. Paul.¹⁴

¹⁰ The two last-named were gifted with prophecy (Acts xv. 32), as the others appear to have been. Silas was a Roman citizen (xvi. 37).

¹¹ Tertull. (*Apol.* ix.) vindicates the Christians from the charge of Thyestian banquets, by saying that they abstained altogether even from the blood of animals. The same prohibition was continued, Canon. Apost. lxxiii., Concil. Gangr. ii. (A.D. 370), 2 Concil. Trall. Constantin. lxxvii. (A.D. 691).

¹² Acts xv. 28. Compare S. Luke x. 16, 1 Thess. iv. 11, 13. Hence the usual form of a Conciliar decree: "Hæc sancta synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, decernit, etc."

¹³ Gal. ii. 13.

¹⁴ "The weakness of the Galatians forces him [S. Paul] to state not only that the other Apostles had not aided him in anything, and that he had not been less than they, but that he had corrected something in Peter, who was the Prince of the Apostles" (Sedulius, *Collect. in Ep. ad Gal.* c. 2, *Bibl. Max. S.S. P.P.* t. vi. p. 557). St. Peter's fault (if, indeed, he was the "Cephas" whom S. Paul reproved), was one of indecision in conduct, and no more affected his infallibility than the conduct of Pope Honorius afterwards (*cf. Estius in loc.*). "Conversationis fuit vitium, non prædicationis; non enim de prædicatione, sed de conversatione notabatur a Paulo ob inconstantiam victus, quem variabat

SS. Paul¹⁵ and Barnabas now finally separated.¹⁶ The latter took with him his nephew, John Mark (who seems to have accompanied them again from Jerusalem to Antioch), and went to his native Cyprus.¹⁷ He is said to have passed into Italy, evangelized Liguria, and established the Church in Milan.¹⁸ Finally, he returned to Cyprus, and gained his crown by a glorious martyrdom.¹⁹

pro qualitate personarum" (Tertull. *C. Marcion*. lib. 4).

On the whole subject, and (1) whether the Cephias here reproved was S. Peter, (2) how far the reproof can be adduced in diminution of the authority of the Prince of the Apostles, see a tripartite volume printed at Venice, containing (a) *Questione di fatto, se il Cefa ripreso da S. Paolo, etc.*, by Girol. Costantini, 1763; (b) Harduin, *Cephiam a Paulo reprehensum Petram non esse*; (c) a translation, both in Latin and in Italian, of a Dissertation of Calmet's, prefixed to S. Paul to the Galatians, 1755. "Both these Apostles received keys from the Lord; the latter (S. Paul) of knowledge, the former of power; Peter dispenses the riches of immortality, Paul bestows the treasures of knowledge. They therefore tower above all the rest of the Apostles, and excel them by a kind of special prerogative. But which of the two is to be preferred before the other, is uncertain; for I think them equal in merits, for they are equal in their passion, &c." (S. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, *Hom. v. In natal. BB. App. P. et P.* t. vi., *Bibl. Maxim. SS. PP.* p. 36). The holy writer is not comparing them as to supremacy of jurisdiction, but as to sanctity, merits, and infused knowledge. For the contrast of the two Apostles in personal appearance, see Appendix M.

¹⁵ Some have supposed S. Paul to have been at his native Tarsus, at the beginning both of his second and third Apostolic journeys.

¹⁶ On the question of taking with them John Mark, who had left them before.

"Paulus severior, Barnabas clementior" (S. Jerome, *adv. Pelag.* ii. 6. See S. Chrys. *Hom.* xxxiv. 1). This event was providential, for the wider diffusion of the word of life. So S. Chrysostom says that our Lord, by His words to S. Peter (S. John xxi. 22), intended to repress his affectionate wish to remain near the beloved disciple. "For since they [the Apostles] were to be charged with the care of the habitable globe, it was not expedient that they should remain any longer together, which would have been a great loss to the world" (*Hom. 35 in Johann. circa med.*). So here. "Id factum est nutu Dei, ut separati diversis et pluribus evangelizarent, ait S. Chrysostomus" (C. à Lap. *in loc.*).

¹⁷ John Mark, notwithstanding his former conduct (xiii. 13, cf. xv. 37-39), was afterwards received into favour by S. Paul (Col. iv. 10; 2 Tim. iv. 11), who also recommended him to the faithful in Colosse, and approved of him as "useful" to him "for the ministry."

¹⁸ This, says Baronius, is attested by distinct tradition, the ecclesiastical archives of Milan, and the testimony of several writers.

¹⁹ *Rom. Mart.* June 4. The bishop Anthemius found his body at Salamis, by the Apostle's own supernatural indication, in the time of the Emperor Zeno, A.D. 485, with a copy of the Gospel of S. Matthew, transcribed by himself. Baronius gives an account of the translation of the relics. The successor of S. Barnabas in the see of Salamis (afterwards Constantia) was S. Arision, one of the seventy disciples; then

Meanwhile, S. Paul commences his Second Apostolic Journey.

Taking with him S. Silas, he "went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the Churches, commanding them to keep the precepts of the Apostles and ancients."²⁰ They came to Derbe and Lystra, in one of which cities S. Paul seems to have found again his former convert, Timothy;²¹ who was a native of Lystra. He was the son of a devout woman, Eunice, herself, as also her mother, Lois,²² a convert from Judaism. The Apostle chose S. Timotheus as a fellow-labourer; circumcised him, to conciliate the Jews, who knew his father to be a Gentile; then passed with his three companions through Phrygia,²³ perhaps visiting Colossæ; and through the Galatæ, Keltæ, or Gauls,²⁴ probably making for Ephesus, Smyrna, Pergamus.

But the Divine Spirit indicating another direction, they passed through Mysia, and went down to Troas,²⁵ where S. Paul had a vision,²⁶ assuring him that God had called him to preach the Gospel in Macedonia. Thus he was now to pass from the East into Europe,²⁷ where his final triumph awaited him. At this point, he took S. Luke also with him,²⁸ probably at once on S. Luke's conversion²⁹ from paganism.

S. Heraclius succeeded; then, after Gelasius, came S. Epiphanius, consecrated A.D. 403. On the Epistle ascribed to S. Barnabas, see Appendix N.

²⁰ Acts xv. 40, 41. Especially the decrees of the recent Council of Jerusalem.

²¹ 1 Tim. 1, 2; 2 Tim. 1, 2; Cf. iii. 10, 11. During the interval between S. Paul's two visits to Lystra, S. Timothy had won a good report from the Churches both of Lystra and Iconium (Acts xvi. 2) His being still uncircumcised was no stumbling-block, in places where the Gentile element largely prevailed.

²² 2 Tim. i. 5.

²³ Multitudes of the Jews were settled here in the time of the Machabees. Two thousand families of Babylonian Jews settled in the country (Jost, *Geschicht*, &c., i. 349).

²⁴ Originally inhabited by Phrygians,

but afterwards occupied by Gauls. During his sojourn in Galatia, S. Paul was visited by sickness (Gal. iv. 13, 14).

²⁵ The coast city in Mysia, opposite the S.E. extremity of Tenedos. Julius Cæsar had thought of making it the capital of his Empire. Constantine began building there, before he decided on Byzantium.

²⁶ Acts xvi. 9. It partly resembled that by which S. Patrick was directed to evangelize Ireland.

²⁷ *Infra*. ad A.D. 57, note.

²⁸ We learn this, simply from S. Luke's self-forgetting and unobtrusive change of the third into the first person plural: compare Acts xvi. 8, with v. 11.

²⁹ It is uncertain at what time S. Luke had the privilege of making the portrait of the Blessed Virgin, which Nicæphorus more than once (*Hist.* vi. 16, xiv. 2 (?)) affirms to have been venerated in Con-

Sailing from Troas, they came to the island of Samothracia, and thence to Neapolis and Philippi. At this latter place, Lydia,³⁰ a native of Thyatira,³¹ was converted, and an evil spirit of divination was cast out³² of a damsel, whose masters, enraged at losing the gains she had brought, denounced them to the magistrates.³³ These caused SS. Paul and Silas³⁴ to be severely scourged,³⁵ and cast into prison. Their feet were "made fast in the stocks."³⁶ At midnight, while they were engaged in prayer and praise, an earthquake opened the prison doors: the gaoler and all his house were thereby converted. The two Apostolic sufferers declared their privilege as Roman citizens,³⁷ which made the magistrates fear the consequences of their ill-treatment; "and coming, they besought them; and bringing them out, they desired them to depart out of the city." Rejoining, therefore, their other companions, SS. Timotheus and Luke,³⁸ they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica.³⁹

stantinople down to the time of S. Pulcheria, together with those of SS. Peter and Paul, which were likewise from the pencil of the Evangelist.

³⁰ She was perhaps the "sincere companion," whom the Apostle exhorted (Phil. iv. 3), to help the women who had aided him in his work. Others suppose Epaphroditus, who may have been exhorted to help Lydia.

³¹ Thus, though they were "forbidden to preach the word in Asia," their first convert in Philippi was an Asiatic. Lydia would doubtless carry the Gospel home to Thyatira, which became one of the Seven Churches of Asia (Apoc. ii. 18—29).

³² Perhaps the first time when S. Paul had exercised his power over evil spirits.

³³ στρατηγῶν, a military command, as Philippi was a Roman *Colonia*.

³⁴ SS. Timotheus and Luke seem not to have been present; they had probably remained in the house of Lydia, to instruct any who came to them (cf. xvi. 40).

³⁵ The Apostle refers to this "shame-

ful treatment" in writing afterwards to his Thessalonian converts (1 Thess. ii. 1, 2). It was one of the three occasions when he was "beaten with rods," *i.e.*, those of the lictors (2 Cor. xi. 25).

³⁶ Psalm civ. 18. "Nihil crus sentit in nervo, quum animus in cælo est." Tertull. *ad Martyres*, c. 2, vol. i. p. 623.

³⁷ Cf. Cicero, *c. Verr.* v. 62, 63, 66. *Pro Rubirio*, 3.

³⁸ S. Luke (contracted from Lucanus, as Silas from Silvanus), "the most dear physician" (Coloss. iv. 14; cf. 2 Tim. iv. 11), was certainly with S. Paul at Troas, and went with him to Philippi; for he uses, for the first time, the first person plural in describing what took place in those cities. Thenceforward, again, "he drops the style of an eye-witness and resumes that of a historian," until Acts xx. 4-6, when, seven years after, he once more accompanied S. Paul from Philippi to Troas, and so continued with him on his voyage to Rome, where he appears to have been long the Apostle's support in his persecutions (2 Tim. iv. 11). Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 4, and S. Jerome,

Here they converted many; and thus stirred up the hatred of the Jews, who tumultuously besieged the house of Jason,⁴⁰ where the Apostles were staying. SS. Paul and Silas, however, escaped by night to Berea, and preached in the synagogue; finding the Jews there more earnest⁴¹ in listening, and searching the Old Testament to try this new doctrine by what they knew to be Divine revelation. The unbelieving Jews from Thessalonica soon "came thither also, stirring up and troubling the multitude."⁴² And then immediately the brethren sent away Paul, to go unto the sea, but Silas and Timotheus remained there." They were soon enjoined by the Apostle to come to him at Athens, whither he had preceded them. Eventually, however, he sent S. Timothy, and probably S. Silas, from Athens⁴³ to Thessalonica again,⁴⁴ and was not rejoined by them until he had reached Corinth.⁴⁵

De Script. Eccl. 7, say that he was a native of Antioch.

³⁹ It was at this time the capital of the province of Macedonia, which from an imperial had become a senatorial province. Cassander gave it the name on rebuilding it, in honour of his wife Thessalonica, sister of Alexander the Great (Strabo, lib. vii. 10).

⁴⁰ Perhaps an Hellenistic Jew, whose original name Josue was thus græcised. Cf. 1 Mac. viii. 17; 2 Mac. ii. 23. He may have been that kinsman of S. Paul, mentioned by him, Rom. xvi. 21. He is said to have become Bishop of Tarsus.

⁴¹ εὐγενεστέροις (Acts xvii. 11), more free from narrow Jewish prejudice, more really desirous of arriving at the truth. It need hardly be pointed out that this often-quoted text affords no ground for the boasted "right of private judgment" after the faith has been sufficiently propounded. The Bereans used the law and the prophets to find "Him of Whom Moses in the law and the prophets wrote," and to test the new doctrine, then first proclaimed, by what the

true Church of a former day had propounded as Divine revelation.

⁴² This would have reminded S. Paul of his own former conduct (Cf. Acts xiv. 19 with xxvi. 11).

⁴³ "In order to understand the [Athenian] localities mentioned in the sacred narrative, it may be observed that four hills of moderate height rise within the walls of the city. Of these, one to the N.E. is the celebrated Acropolis, or citadel, being a square craggy rock, about one hundred and fifty feet high. Immediately to the W. of the Acropolis is a second hill of irregular form, but inferior height, called the Areopagus. To the S.W. rises a third hill, the Pnyx, on which the assemblies of the citizens were held; and to the S. of the latter is a fourth hill, known as the Musæum. The agora, or 'market-place,' where S. Paul disputed daily, was situated in the valley," partly inclosed by these four hills.

⁴⁴ 1 Thess. iii. 1.

⁴⁵ Acts xviii. 5.

NINETEENTH YEAR.

A.D. 52 (47). A.U.C. 803. CLAUDII 10.

WHILE S. Paul awaited them at Athens, "his spirit was stirred within him, seeing the city wholly given to idolatry.¹ He disputed, therefore, in the synagogue with the Jews and with them that served God, and in the agora every day with them that were there." The attention thus roused among the populace reached to the philosophers, the Epicureans² and Stoics;³ who, conceiving from his mention of Anastasis (Resurrection) as well as of our Lord, that he was "a setter forth of new gods,"⁴ invited him to plead his cause before the highest tribunal, the Areopagus. Here, facing the Parthenon, and the colossal

¹ Pliny says, there were three thousand statues of gods worshipped in Athens at this time; reckoning only those which stood in public places. Pausanias (*Attica*, xvii. 24) says, there was no place where so many were to be seen. Petronius (*Sat.* xvii.) declares that it was easier to find gods than men in Athens. Xenophon, *De Repub. Ath.*, p. 699, says that the city was "one altar, one smoke of incense and sacrifice, one holocaust to the gods." Josephus also (*contra Apion.* i. 12) calls the Athenians *τοὺς εὐσεβεστάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων*.

² From Greece, the Epicurean doctrines had very naturally penetrated to Rome. "The rich and polite Italians, who had almost universally embraced the philosophy of Epicurus, enjoyed the present blessings of ease and tranquillity, and suffered not the pleasing dream to be interrupted by the memory of their old tumultuous freedom" (Gibbon, vol. i. c. ii. p. 96). The "Garden" of Epicurus became a term to designate his followers, like the "Porch" of Zeno (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiii. 72, xiv. 319). Cf. Middleton's *Life*

of Cicero (sec. vii.). Epicurus left this garden to his school, on condition that philosophy should always be taught there, and that they should make an annual commemoration of himself.

³ "The *Stoa Poecile*, or "Painted Cloister" (Porch) gave its name to one of those sects who encountered the Apostle in the Agora. It was decorated with pictures of the legendary wars of the Athenians, of their victories over their fellow-Greeks, and of the more glorious struggle at Marathon. Originally the meeting-place of the poets, it became the school where Zeno met his pupils, and founded the system of stern philosophy which found adherents both among Greeks and Romans, for many generations."

⁴ It was one of the charges on which Socrates had been put to death; *καὶ τὴν δαίμονια εἰσφέρειν*. Compare Cicero's quotation (*De Legibus*, ii. 8) from the Laws of the Twelve Tables: "Separatim nemo habeset deos, neve novos, sed ne advenas, nisi publice adscitos, privatim colunto."

bronze statue of Athene (Minerva) Promachos, or "Defendress" of the City;⁵ the Apostle proclaimed⁶ the spirituality of the Godhead, who "dwelleth not in temples made with hands,"⁷ nor is "like unto gold, or silver, or stone, the graving of art and device of man."⁸ He came to announce to them no *δαιμόνιον*, such as Socrates had taught, but the True God, whom they were "feeling after," as was proved by the altar he had seen among them, dedicated to a God unknown.⁹ Man, he urged, is the son of the Most High, as their own poets had declared;¹⁰ and he ought, therefore, to have worthier thoughts of his

⁵ It was placed on high before him, at a distance of two hundred yards. This statue of Athene Promachos, which remained to the time of Alaric, was the masterpiece of Phidias. It stood full twenty-six cubits in height. Another statue to Nemesis, by the same sculptor, was formed of marble brought into Greece by Xerxes, and left behind in the Persians' disastrous retreat. Immediately under the rock of the Areopagus stood the small temple of the Eumenides, the tremendous divinity whose power inspired the guilty Nero with such dread, that he avoided the projected visit to Athens (Tacit. *Ann.* xvi. 53). He shunned the Eleusinian mysteries, and the city of Lycurgus, for a similar reason (*Ibid.*).

⁶ "Too superstitious" (Acts xvii. 22), conveys quite an inaccurate view of the opening of S. Paul's address. On the contrary, he praises his hearers as being, more than others, open to religious impressions; and, on the basis of that acknowledgment, goes on to proclaim the True God, Whom they worshipped, though "unknown" to them. "The mistranslation of this verse . . . is much to be regretted; because it entirely destroys the graceful courtesy of S. Paul's opening address, and represents him as beginning his speech by offending his audience."

⁷ It is striking to hear S. Paul use the very expression which, perhaps, he

had caught from the lips of his former victim, S. Stephen, (cf. Acts vii. 48) though with a new application. So the opening of his address at Antioch, in Pisidia (xiii. 17, &c.), is very like that of the proto-martyr.

⁸ Cf. Exod. xx. 22, 23.

⁹ Some have thought the altar was erected to Him whom the Jews worshipped; and that this title was given, because His incommunicable Name had never been made known to them. Caligula had reviled Philo and his Jewish companions because, refusing Divine honours to himself, they worshipped the Un-named (Philo, *Embassy*, xviii.). But the altar was more probably erected during a time of calamity, to the power, whoever it might be, that had been offended, and had sent the infliction. Altars of un-named and unknown gods, in the plural, are spoken of by Pausanias (*Attica*, iv.), by Philostratus, (*Life of Apollon.* vi. 3), by Tertullian (*Ad Nationes*, ii. 8), and by S. Jerome (*in Titum*, and again, *in Ezech.*) S. Aug. (*De Civ. Dei*, iii. 12), says, "Deos certos atque incertos."

¹⁰ Aratus (*Phanomen.*), and Cleanthes, in his hymn to Jupiter. The former poet was a Cilician, therefore a countryman of S. Paul. The *argumentum ad hominem* implied in this quotation would be very powerful with the Athenians, devoted as they were to the exquisite poetry of their own native tongue. It

Divine Author and Father, the Personal Creator and Lord of all things, man himself inclusive. A clearer revelation of this primary truth had now been made to the world, and a call given to repentance; inasmuch as a general Judgment was awaiting all men, at the hands of One who had Himself risen again from the dead. This was the "Anastasis" the Apostle came to preach; not a goddess of the name,¹¹ but a rising again of all men to stand at the bar of Jesus, "the Resurrection and the Life."

The mention of a resurrection caused derisive laughter among the audience, interrupted the discourse, and broke up the assembly.¹² Some, indeed, like Felix afterwards, courteously promised to hear S. Paul again at a "convenient time," which, probably, never came. The only recorded converts at Athens were Dionysius,¹³ a member

was not the only occasion on which the Apostle quotes the heathen poets. See Titus i. 12, where the quotation is a hexameter from Epimenides; and I Cor. xv. 23, which S. Jerome says is an iambic trimeter from Menander.

¹¹ Some of the objects worshipped in Athens were abstract qualities. "As if the imagination of the Attic mind knew no bounds in this direction, abstractions were deified and publicly honoured. Altars were erected to Fame, to Modesty, to Energy, to Persuasion, and to Pity. This last altar is mentioned by Pausanias among 'the objects in the Agora which are not understood by all men; for the Athenians alone of all the Greeks give Divine honour to Pity.' Cicero, moreover, mentions a temple or altar to Contumely; and Plutarch says that in the temple of Minerva Polias in the Acropolis, there was an altar to Oblivion."

¹² Cf. Acts xxvi. 24, 25.

¹³ According to a very ancient tradition, S. Dionysius had been already prepared to receive the truth, by the preternatural darkness at the Crucifixion, nineteen years before, when he was twenty-nine years old (Cf. his own

epistle, vii., translated by Scotus Erigena from the original Greek, in 876). He is recorded then to have exclaimed: "Either the God of nature is suffering, or the frame of nature itself is being dissolved." Syncellus, in *Laud. S. Dionys.* gives a slightly different version, introducing the phrase, "the unknown God." On the question whether this is the same S. Dionysius who afterwards evangelized Gaul and was martyred in Paris, see the Dissertations prefixed to the second volume of the *Celestial Hierarchy*, &c., that goes by his name, ed. Corder. fol. Paris, 1644. He is said to have gone from Athens to Rome, accompanied by Saturninus, Marcellus, and Lucianus, to venerate S. Clement. Thence he passed to Arles, and from that place sent S. Marcellus into Spain, and S. Saturninus into Aquitaine; preceding himself to Paris, with SS. Lucian, Rusticus, and Eleutherius. S. Lucian was here detached for the city of the Bellovacii, (Beauvais). Paris at that time was a small city, consisting only of the present *Isle de Paris*, "but full of gentile error." Here S. Dionysius is said to have been martyred, in the reign of Adrian, about

of the Court of Areopagus, whom the Apostle ordained bishop of the place,¹⁴ a woman named Damaris, "and others with them."

S. Paul passed from Athens to Corinth,¹⁵ the chief mart of Grecian commerce, the residence of the Roman Governor of Achaia, and in direct communication with Rome. Here he met with Aquila,¹⁶ a man of Jewish extraction, native of Pontus, who, with his wife Priscilla, had been expelled from Rome by the edict of Claudius.¹⁷ They were either Christians already, or were now converted by S. Paul; who remained with them, and supported himself by working¹⁸ at the trade of tent-making. The Apostle here "reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath . . . and persuaded the Jews and the Greeks." Meanwhile, SS. Timotheus and Silas came to him from Macedonia. His zeal increased under the Jews' opposition; which became so vehement that "he shook his garments, and said to them: 'Your blood be upon your own heads: I am clean; from henceforth I will go unto the Gentiles.'" Being encouraged by a vision of our Lord, he stayed here a year and six months, "teaching among them the word of God."

Having received the report of S. Timotheus from Thessalonica, the Apostle wrote the *First* of the two Epistles addressed to the

A.D. 121, and in the 110th of his age. The martyrdom is said to have taken place on the hill near Paris, once called the hill of Mercury, afterwards "of Martyrs," which title (Montmartre) it still retains. Fescennius was Prefect at the time. Compare note 8, ad A.D. 35, and Appendix O.

¹⁴ Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 4, iv. 23. He was succeeded in the see by S. Publius, *Rom. Martyr.* Jan. 21.

¹⁵ At the close of the Republic, Corinth was entirely destroyed. But Julius Cæsar re-established the city on the isthmus, in the form of a colony, and the mercantile population flocked back to their old place; so that Corinth rose again with great rapidity, and became almost the second city of the Roman Empire.

¹⁶ Aquila and Priscilla probably went with S. Paul from Corinth to Ephesus, where he again remained in their house (1 Cor. xvi. 19). It became a place of assembly for the faithful (*ibid.*), as was also their house in Rome (Rom. xvi. 3-5), where they resided when the Apostle wrote to the Romans. But they were again at Ephesus towards the close of S. Paul's life (2 Tim. iv. 19), and they died "in Asia Minor" (*Rom. Martyr.* July 8). The Greek Menology states that they were beheaded. They had both risked their lives in devotedness to S. Paul (Rom. xvi. 4).

¹⁷ Acts xviii. 2.

¹⁸ See 1 Cor. ix. 12; 2 Cor. xi. 9, xii. 12, 13; Ephes. iv. 28; 1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8, 10, 12.

Thessalonians, in his own name and those of SS. Timotheus and Silas.¹⁹ It is the earliest epistle of S. Paul which has come down to us.

Agrippa II. is made Tetrarch of Trachonitis, in exchange for his kingdom of Chalcis.

Antonius Claudius Felix is made Procurator or Governor of Judæa, replacing Ventidius Cumanus, who had been unable to compose the tumult between the Galilæans and Samaritans at the Feast of Tabernacles, and was therefore disgraced and banished by Claudius. Josephus dates from this period the commencement of the Jews' destruction.

TWENTIETH YEAR.

A.D. 53 (48). A.U.C. 804. CLAUDII II.

S. PAUL is still at Corinth, labouring among the Gentiles, instructing them especially in the house of a proselyte named Justus, which adjoined the synagogue; thus giving opportunity to any of the Jews whose hearts might have been moved by grace. S. Timotheus is helping him with zeal in the Apostolic work,¹ especially in baptizing converts.² The first Gentile convert seems to have been Epænetus, "the first-fruits of Asia,"³ or, perhaps, of "Achaia." Caius,⁴ who afterwards received the Apostle into his house,⁵ was probably now converted. "Many of the Corinthians, hearing, believed, and were

¹⁹ The general exhortation to the Church of Thessalonica ends with v. 13, after a charge to the faithful to "acknowledge those who are labouring among them," and (as the Apostle afterwards wrote to the Ephesians) to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. The 14th verse commences a final charge to the clergy, teaching them *how* to "admonish." The Epistle concludes with an autograph salutation, verse 28.

¹ 2 Cor. i. 19.

² 1 Cor. i. 14—17.

³ Rom. xvi. 5. The reading of the Vulgate ("Asia") solves the difficulty presented by 1 Cor. xvi. 15, except that the term "first-fruits" need not apply to one individual only. Epænetus was, perhaps, a member of "the household of Stephanas."

⁴ 1 Cor. i. 14.

⁵ Rom. xvi. 23.

baptized."⁶ Though the majority of the Jews rejected the word, Crispus, "the ruler of the synagogue," yielded to the power of grace; for him the Apostle deviated from his usual practice,⁷ and baptized him, as well as Caius and the household of Stephanas, with his own hand.

The conversion of Crispus intensified the Jews' opposition and hatred; and S. Paul, having now occasion to address a *Second Epistle to the Thessalonian Christians*, besought their prayers, that he and his fellow-labourers might "be delivered from perverse and wicked men."⁸ His letter was occasioned by their erroneous interpretation of his former one,⁹ as though the Second Advent was drawing so near as to make it useless to pursue the common employments of life.¹⁰ Imaginary revelations, and forged letters, as from himself,¹¹ were adduced in support of this impression; to combat which, the Apostle declares that certain signs will precede the Great Day, especially the appearance of a personal Antichrist, "the lawless one."

During his residence at Corinth, S. Paul may have made apostolical journeys into the neighbouring parts of Greece, and revisited Athens. He must have established "the Church in Cenchreæ,"¹² the port of Corinth. He speaks also of "the Churches of God,"¹³ and, later, of "the Saints in all Achaia."¹⁴

The province of Achaia, including Hellas and the Peloponnesus, was now under the Proconsul Gallio (Annæus Novatus), elder brother to Annæus Seneca, the Stoic philosopher and tutor of Nero.¹⁵ On

⁶ Acts xviii. 8.

⁷ 1 Cor. i. 14-16.

⁸ 2 Thess. iii. 2.

⁹ See 1 Thess. v. 1-10.

¹⁰ Cf. Heb. i. 1; S. James v. 7-9; 2 S. Peter iii. 3, 4; 1 S. John ii. 18. It has ever been the constant expectation of the Church; as might be shown by innumerable passages of Fathers and holy writers, especially S. Gregory the Great.

¹¹ 2 Thess. ii. 2; cf. iii. 17. His signature was to authenticate the genuineness of his Epistle, in contrast with the forged one. ¹² Rom. xvi. 1.

¹³ 2 Thess. i. 4.

¹¹ 2 Cor. i. 1.

¹⁵ Tacitus, *Ann.* xv. 73. Dion Cassius, lxxii. 25, says that Gallio died in the year 65. Seneca says that his brother, when in Achaia, took a sea-voyage to recover from an attack of fever (*non corporis sed loci morbum*, Sen. *Ep.* civ.). Seneca had returned from exile by the year 49, and had the youthful Nero placed under his tuition. The proconsulate of Gallio, therefore, would be of later date, and was probably obtained by the influence of Seneca with the Emperor.

Gallio's coming into the province, the Jews, hoping for a favourable turn from his known facility of disposition, "rose up against Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat." But the Proconsul refused to determine a matter so foreign to his jurisdiction,¹⁶ and drove them away: whereupon, in their fury, they took Sosthenes,¹⁷ the ruler of the synagogue, probably as being too favourable to the Apostle, and beat him before the tribunal.¹⁸ The storm dying out, S. Paul remained in Corinth, zealously labouring "yet many days," *i.e.*, till he had spent altogether a year and a half there (or more, according to S. Chrysostom). All the success that our Lord had promised him in vision¹⁹ was abundantly given him. At length, determining to return to Syria, he went down with his companions to Cenchreæ, the port of Corinth, and there shaved his head, in token that a Nazarite vow, which he had taken for a time, was expired.²⁰

Nero marries Claudia, daughter of the Emperor Claudius, who had adopted him as his successor.

TWENTY-FIRST YEAR.

A.D. 54 (49). A.U.C. 805. CLAUDII 12.

S. PAUL, now on his way to Jerusalem, sails towards Asia Minor, through the Icarian, a part of the Ægæan, Sea.

Accompanied by Aquila and Priscilla, he came to Ephesus,¹ and

¹⁶ He was acting in the spirit of a rescript of the Emperor Claudius, which inculcated universal toleration (Joseph. *Antiq.* XIX. vi. 3).

¹⁷ See below, ad A.D. 57.

¹⁸ S. Chrysostom states that S. Paul also was beaten by the Jews. Sosthenes had already followed the example of Crispus, his predecessor in office, in receiving the faith, or did so now. S. Paul seems to have taken him with him to Ephesus (1 Cor. i. 1). The Greek Menology makes him Bishop of Colophon. The *Roman Martyrology* com-

memorates him, November 28, as being converted, and severely beaten before the Proconsul.

¹⁹ Acts xviii. 9, 10.

²⁰ Afterwards he took another vow, which was completed by the time he arrived in Jerusalem, when he went to offer his sacrifice of purification in the Temple (Acts xxi. 23—27).

¹ One of the "Eyes of Asia" (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* v. 31); Smyrna being the other: so called, alike from the beauty and the advantageousness of their

left them there. During his stay, he held a discussion² with the Jews of Ephesus in their synagogue, which so much conciliated them, that "they desired him that he would tarry a longer time." He could only promise to return to them, "God willing;" for he hastened towards Jerusalem, perhaps to accomplish a vow: and so went on through the coasts and islands of the Ægean, to Cos and Cnidus,³ then across the open sea, by Rhodes and Cyprus, to Cæsarea. This had become the military capital of Judæa, since the death of Herod Agrippa; and was now under the procuratorate of Felix.

Probably the Apostle arrived in Jerusalem too late for the festival.⁴ He therefore "saluted the Church, and so came down to Antioch."⁵ And after he had spent some time there, he departed, and went through the country of Galatia and Phrygia, in order, confirming all the disciples" whom he had brought to the faith at his previous visits; as, in Derbe, Lystra, Iconium, and the Pisidian Antioch. His other object seems to have been a collection for the Christian poor in Judæa.⁶ S. Silas probably remained behind in Jerusalem, where he was "a chief man among the brethren."⁷ S. Timotheus still accompanied S. Paul, as probably did S. Titus.⁸

Meanwhile, Aquila and Priscilla, in Ephesus, met with Apollonius, or Apollo, a Jew born in Alexandria, "an eloquent man, one mighty in the Scriptures." He, "being fervent in spirit, spoke and taught diligently the things that are of Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John." He began to speak boldly in the synagogue; and, coming under the notice of Aquila and his wife, was instructed by them⁹

position. In a contrary sense, Pericles denounced the hostile Ægina as "the eye-sore" (*λήμη*) of the Piræus; lying full in sight, as it did.

² Διελέξατο, Acts xviii. 19.

³ Cf. xxi. 1; xxvii. 7.

⁴ It must have been so, except with especially favourable weather.

⁵ This is the last time Antioch is mentioned in the New Testament. S. Paul went to salute S. Evodius, its Bishop, who had probably consecrated him (see ad ann. 12) at the beginning of his Apostolate.

⁶ See 1 Cor. xvi. 1—4; 2 Cor. viii. ix.; Rom. xv. 25, 26; Acts xxiv. 17.

⁷ Acts xv. 22. His name occurs in the salutation in both Epistles to the Thessalonians, but in no later writings of S. Paul, except casually, 2 Cor. i. 19.

⁸ See Acts xix. 22; 1 Cor. iv. 17; xvi. 10; 2 Cor. i. 1; Rom. xvi. 21; Acts xx. 4.

⁹ It has been justly inferred from this, that Priscilla, as well as her husband, must have been a person of ability and culture, competent to instruct a gifted neophyte like Apollonius.

more accurately in the scheme of redemption. The Church in Ephesus gave him letters to Achaia and Corinth, where "he helped them much who had believed: for he vigorously convinced the Jews in public, showing by the Scriptures that Jesus is the Christ."

Eusebius¹⁰ places in this year the martyrdom of S. Philip the Apostle, at Hierapolis in Asia. For preaching the Gospel, he was crucified, and stoned on his cross. Hippolytus,¹¹ however, reckons his martyrdom as later.

TWENTY-SECOND YEAR.

AD. 55 (50). A.U.C. 806. CLAUDII 13.

S. PAUL, while he "passed through the upper coasts,"¹ *i.e.* the interior of Asia Minor, going through Galatia and Phrygia, may have founded the Church at Colossæ. Others ascribe it to Epaphras,² whom the Apostle sent to them as their bishop; and whom he afterwards sent back to Colossæ from Rome.³

He then returned to Ephesus,⁴ where he found some twelve disciples of S. John Baptist, who had probably gone up from Ephesus to Jerusalem, and there receiving baptism from the great Forerunner, had returned, without much knowledge of the after events. They now received Christian baptism, and, through S. Paul's hands, the miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. For three months, the Apostle taught in the synagogue; then, owing to the determined opposition of "hardened" enemies, he removed his place of teaching to the philosophical or rhetorical school of Tyrannus,^{4a} probably a recent

¹⁰ *Chronic.*

¹¹ Tract. *De XII. Discipulis.*

order to distinguish him from the bishop of Philippi.

³ Col. i. 7; iv. 12.

⁴ Acts xix. 1.

¹ Acts xix. 1.

² Not Epaphroditus, who was a Philippian, and bishop of that place. The bishop of Colossæ was probably called by the contracted form of his name, in

^{4a} As he had promised, if possible, xviii. 21. Some have supposed this not to be his name, but to denote his position in Ephesus, or his descent from Androclus, who had founded the city.

convert.⁵ Aquila and Priscilla rejoined S. Paul, either on his first coming to Ephesus, or during his residence there; and afforded him lodging in their house, which thus became the "Church" in that city.⁶ He probably still worked with them at their trade.⁷

The length of this stay at Ephesus was two years and three months:⁸ though he may have made journeys into the province, e.g. to Colossæ, to Laodicea,⁹ and to Macedonia.¹⁰

"And God wrought by the hand of Paul more than common miracles: so that even there were brought from his body to the sick handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and the wicked spirits went out of them." Some Jewish exorcists attempted to produce the same effect on a possessed person, by mention of the Holy Name of our Lord: but the demon spoke tauntingly to them through the lips of the sufferer, who leaped upon and wounded them, and put them to flight.

S. Prisca, virgin and martyr, suffered for the Faith during the reign of Claudius,¹¹ and thus became the proto-martyr among Christian women: a title, however, generally given to S. Thecla, owing to the "three most cruel torments" from which she was delivered by the

⁵ About a century after this, the disputation between S. Justin Martyr and the Jew Tryphon took place, which is embodied in S. Justin's "Dialogue."

⁶ 1 Cor. xvi. 19.

⁷ See Acts xx. 34; 1 Cor. iv. 11, 12.

⁸ Or, approximately, three years. Numbers from the neighbouring cities in Asia Minor must have been brought under his teaching during so long a time: so that we may here trace the foundations of the Seven Churches of Asia.

⁹ Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 3, 4, xiv. 10, 20) says there were Jews in Laodicea: these must have been influenced by the preaching at Ephesus, and a Church probably formed there. It appears from Col. iv. 16, that S. Paul wrote an epistle to the Laodiceans, which Wieseler (*Apost. Zeitalter*, p. 450) supposes to be that to Philemon, whom the *Apostol. Const.*

mention as bishop of that place. Others have supposed the Epistle to the Ephesians; or that it was a circular epistle sent to Laodicea among other places.

¹⁰ This last has been supposed by some, from 1 Tim. i. 3.

¹¹ *Mart. Rom.* Jan. 18, July 8, *Brev. Rom.* Jan. 18. Alban Butler, however, assigns her martyrdom to about A.D. 275, in the reign of Aurelian, adding: "She is mentioned in the Sacramentary of S. Gregory, and in almost all Western Martyrologies" (A.D. Jan. 18). He also refers the martyrdoms of S. Maris (Marius) and his companions to the same later period; whereas the *Rom. Breviary* (Jan. 19) says they suffered under Claudius. There is no doubt that persecutions and martyrdoms took place before the reign of Nero, though not to the same extent.

Divine mercy.¹² These were, the lions, fire, and the sword; by means of which S. Thecla became, like S. John the Evangelist, "a martyr in will," though not in deed.

TWENTY-THIRD YEAR.

A.D. 56 (51). A.U.C. 807. CLAUDII 14.

ON occasion of the Apostle's miracles at Ephesus, and the confession of the truth extorted from the demons, "the Name of the Lord Jesus was magnified," and conversions were made. It produced also a spirit of penance among the faithful, who were thereby stirred up to confession.¹ Many, whether of Christians who had still practised superstition, or of the Gentiles, brought their charms² and amulets, "and burnt them before all; and counting the price of them, they found the money to be fifty thousand [drachms] of silver. So mightily increased the word of God, and grew strong."

October 13th of this year, Claudius dies of poison administered to him by his wife Agrippina, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, having reigned thirteen years and eighteen months.³ She obtains the succession for her son Nero, a youth not yet eighteen, who was afterwards to cause her own death. This was to the exclusion of

¹² *Offic. Commend. Animæ.*

¹ See à Lapide *in loco* (Acts xix. 18) for reasons to conclude that the text refers to auricular and sacramental confession.

² τὰς βίβλους, amulets inscribed with magical words. They were called Ἐφέσια γράμματα, and probably contained the name and symbols of Diana. S. Jerome, præf. in *Epist. ad Ephes.* says that even in his day, the Ephesians were greatly addicted to magical arts. They

raised a statue to Apollonius Tyanæus who established a school of magic among them, apparently at the time of the Apostle's stay in the city. S. Paul and this arch-deluder may have come into collision; and hence, possibly, the tumult of the following year. Shakspeare is therefore accurate in his description of Ephesus, as being a "town full of cozenage," &c. ("Comedy of Errors").

³ Sueton. in *Vit. Claud.* c. 45; Dion. lib. 60.

Claudius' own son Britannicus, whom Nero soon afterwards takes off by poison.

About this time, S. Paul sent S. Titus from Ephesus to Corinth, with a commission to remedy the scandals existing there, and to allay dissensions.

The high-priest Jonathan is deposed by Felix, though the governor owed his elevation to the high-priest's intercession with the Emperor. Felix, by means of the Sicarii, or assassins, whom he encouraged in Jerusalem, caused the assassination of Jonathan.¹ Agrippa bestows the high-priesthood on Ismael, son of Phabæus.

TWENTY-FOURTH YEAR.

A.D. 57 (52). A.U.C. 808. NERONIS I.

THE prohibition of the late Emperor Claudius, against Jews residing in Rome, is rescinded. S. Peter therefore probably about this time returned to his See.¹

S. Paul, now in his third year at Ephesus, purposes to visit the Eternal City,² as he expresses the following year, writing to the Christians there. He defers it, until he had visited the Churches of Achaia and Macedonia, and gone once more to Jerusalem. These things he "purposed in the Spirit;" one special object of the journey being to collect alms for the faithful in the Holy City,³ and to visit St. James for the last time.

In the beginning of Nero's reign, Apollonius of Tyana, a kind of "pseudo-Christ," returning from his voyage to India, came to Antioch.

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7.

² Lactantius, *De Mort. Persecutorum.*

³ Theodoret says of the two Apostles: "Their thrice-blessed and divine twin star rose indeed in the East, but had the setting of its existence, by choice, in the West, and thence even now illumines

the world. . And their God has even now made their throne illustrious; having established therein your Holiness, emitting the rays of orthodoxy" (T. iv. *Ep. ad Leon.* cxiii.).

³ Rom. i. 10, 11, 15. He had a vision afterwards, which showed it was the Divine Will, xxiii. 11.

Not meeting with the reception he expected, he passed to Cyprus, thence to Ionia, and stayed at Ephesus; where he drew the whole place after him by his prophecies and "lying wonders."

It would seem that, before leaving Ephesus, S. Paul returned for a short time to Corinth.⁴ His visit was probably for the purpose of reforming abuses in Christian morals; many in that Church having reverted to the evil living for which Corinth had long been notorious. This painful⁵ visit produced too little effect; his mildness was mistaken for weakness: news came to him, on his return to Ephesus, that the evil was still increasing. He then wrote an epistle,⁶ which is not extant, commanding the faithful to withdraw from every professing Christian of evil life.

Soon after, the Apostle sent Timotheus⁷ and Erastus before him into Macedonia, probably with a view to the same collection of alms. Timotheus, and perhaps Erastus also, went by way of Corinth,⁸ of which city Erastus seems to have been treasurer;⁹ or at least they made for Corinth after executing their charge in Macedonia. Timotheus returned to Ephesus before S. Paul's departure thence.

The Apostle now, in conjunction with "Sosthenes a brother,"¹⁰

⁴ 2 Cor. viii., ix.

⁵ Wieseler, *Chronol.* pp. 232—341.

⁶ See 1 Cor. v. 9.

⁷ S. Luke is silent regarding S. Timotheus from the date of his labours at Corinth (A.D. 53) to this point; but it cannot be doubted that he was all the while in faithful zealous attendance on the Apostle.

⁸ See the affectionate expressions which the Apostle uses regarding him (1 Cor. iv. 17), implying to the Corinthians that he had sent S. Timotheus to them at great cost to his own feelings.

⁹ Mentioned Rom. xvi. 23, and 2 Tim. iv. 20.

¹⁰ The Apostle joins the name of Sosthenes with his own, as likely to have weight with the Corinthians, among whom he had formerly been ruler of the synagogue (Acts xviii. 17).

It seems uncertain when he first became a companion to S. Paul on his mission. Some have supposed him to have been already converted when he was beaten before the tribunal of Gallio; others make him one of the seventy-two disciples (S. Luke x. 1, 17). This second opinion is against the statement of the Roman Martyrology, which, commemorating him on the 28th November, says: "At Corinth, the birthday of S. Sosthenes, S. Paul's disciple, whom [that Apostle] mentions in his Epistle to the Corinthians. From being ruler of the synagogue, he was converted to Christ; and, suffering grievous wounds before Gallio the pro-consul, consecrated the first-fruits of his faith by so noble a commencement." The Greek Menology makes him bishop of Colophon, and keeps his feast on the 7th December.

wrote from Ephesus his *First* (canonical) *Epistle to the Corinthians*,¹¹ sending it by Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who had brought their letter to him.¹²

"At that time, there arose no small disturbance;" a tumult raised by the silversmiths¹³ of Ephesus, headed by one Demetrius, who perceived that the spread of the Gospel would interfere with their trade of making shrines for "Diana of the Ephesians."¹⁴ The town clerk,¹⁵ however, allays it by a moderate speech, appealing to their good sense, and exculpating the Apostles. It is not this commotion to which S. Paul refers when¹⁶ he writes to the Corinthians that he had fought with beasts at Ephesus; for the tumult occurred after he wrote that first Epistle. There is evidence¹⁷ however, that he had indeed, like his convert S. Thecla, been exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre.¹⁸

On the return of S. Timotheus to Ephesus, the Apostle ordained him bishop of that place:¹⁹ then, having assembled and exhorted the disciples, he departed to Troas, hoping to find Titus there,²⁰ but failing to do so, pursued his way to Macedonia.²¹ Probably, Tychicus

¹¹ Excluding that which is not extant.

¹² 1 Cor. xvi. 17, 18.

¹³ Among them, it is said, but on doubtful authority, was Alexander the coppersmith (2 Tim. iv. 14; 1 Tim. i. 20). He may have been the man of that name who was "put forward" by the Jews (Acts xx. 33), to defend their cause before the assembly in the theatre.

¹⁴ See Appendix P.

¹⁵ Γραμματεὺς, probably one of the three chief Asiarchs, who kept the official register of the victors in the games. Others make it a municipal office under the Roman local authority.

¹⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

¹⁷ See Corn. à Lap. in Acts xix. 40. The testimony of Nicephorus is distinct and circumstantial, given from the ancient Acts of S. Paul, that were cited by Origen with approval, *Periarch.* i. 2. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 9, where the Apostle calls himself ἐπιθανάτιος and

θάλασσαν. As in the amphitheatre, the *morituri* were beheld by spectators, some from lower tiers of seats, some from higher, so the combats and sufferings of the Apostles, who "died daily," were beheld, with very different eyes, from heaven, earth, and hell.

¹⁸ Thus, the description given by him to the Hebrews (c. xi. 34) of the triumphs of faith was realized in his own person in this as in so many other particulars.

¹⁹ 1 Tim. i. 3; iii. 15; vi. 20; 2 Tim. i. 6, 14; iii. 14; iv. 5. After many labours and conflicts for the Faith, he rebuked the Ephesians for their sacrifices to Diana, and was stoned by them, A.D. 97. *Rom. Martyrol.* January 24. See above, A.D. 35, note 36.

²⁰ 2 Cor. ii. 18.

²¹ S. Luke relates this journey into Macedonia too briefly to allude to the afflictions endured there by the Apostle (2 Cor. vii. 5).

and Trophimus, both of Ephesus, accompanied him.²² From Macedonia,²³ he wrote his *First Epistle to S. Timotheus*, instructing him in the duties of his episcopate at Ephesus. S. Titus now came to him from Corinth,²⁴ with an improved account of the state of things there.²⁵

“When he had gone over those parts, and had exhorted them with many words, he came into Greece,²⁶ that is, Achaia, which included the south of Macedonia. After three months, to avoid a conspiracy of the Jews, he returned to Philippi, whence he wrote his *Second (canonical) Epistle to the Corinthians*, sending it by Titus and two others,²⁷ probably SS. Silas and Luke, or perhaps Apollo, who were empowered to make collections for the faithful in Jerusalem.

C. à Lapide and Baronius place in this year a voyage of S. Paul to Crete, and his ordination of S. Titus as bishop of that island. More recent authors assign it to a later date, after the Apostle's first imprisonment at Rome.

Felix with great energy puts down the bandits who were infesting Judæa;²⁸ and especially captures Eleazar, a noted chief of them.

Pomponia Græcina, daughter of a consul,²⁹ and a relative of Cicero's friend Pomponius Atticus, is accused before the family council of abandoning the religion of the Empire, and embracing a foreign superstition.³⁰ She is acquitted by her husband, Aulus

²² Among his companions was Gaius, or Caius, of Derbe, supposed to be the same to whom S. John afterwards wrote his Third Epistle.

²³ The Roman Breviary says it was written from Laodicea.

²⁴ 2 Cor. vii. 6, 7.

²⁵ 2 Cor. vii. 5—16.

²⁶ Acts xx. 2.

²⁷ 2 Cor. viii. 16, 18, 22.

²⁸ He had, however, previously countenanced these *sicarii*, and encouraged their presence in Jerusalem. See end of the preceding year.

²⁹ See an interesting article in the *Dublin Review* for October, 1874, p. 314.

³⁰ *Superstitionis externa rea*, says Tacitus (*Ann.* xiii. 32), who calls her

insignis femina—a person of distinguished qualities. The name Græcina may imply an unusual cultivation of Greek literature and philosophy. She seems to have been a Christian for some time. Tacitus says that for forty years after her friend and relative, Julia the daughter of Drusus, had been put to death by Claudius and Messalina, she was noted for her absence from all joyous festivals, and for her mournful deportment; and Rome admired this bold protest against Imperial tyranny. Much of this conduct was perhaps dictated by the necessity of keeping away from heathen rites. Claudia, daughter of Caractacus, afterwards wife to the younger Pudens (2 Tim. iv. 21), was

Plautius,³¹ the conqueror of Britain under Claudius; and is henceforth able to practise the Christian religion unmolested. She afterwards converted T. Flavius Sabinus, the elder brother of Vespasian, and gave him her daughter Plautia in marriage. Plautia became mother to T. Flavius Clemens, afterwards martyred under Domitian, and to Plautilla, mother of S. Flavia Domitilla. S. Flavia was educated by her uncle Clemens, and martyred in the island of Pontia, at the same time with her two chamberlains, SS. Nereus and Achilleus, by whose exhortation she had consecrated herself to the Lord.

About this time, Suetonius Paulinus, "a general of consummate skill and distinguished reputation,"³² takes the command in Britain; succeeding Aulus Didius and Veranius, who had successively occupied that post.

apparently consigned to her tutelage in Rome, and thus gained her own conversion (Lewin, *Life and Epistles of S. Paul*, vol. ii. 392, etc.).

³¹ The pedigree stand thus:

AULUS PLAUTIUS, = POMPONIA GRÆCINA

PLAUTIA, = T. FLAVIUS SABINUS, brother of Vespasian; son of T. Flavius Petro, (Suct. in Vesp. 1).

T. FLAVIUS SABINUS, put to death under Domitian.

PLAUTILLA, niece to Vespasian, cousin to Titus and Domitian.

T. FLAVIUS CLEMENS, martyred under Domitian, during his consulate.

FLAVIA DOMITILLA, educated by her uncle T. F. Clemens; consecrated herself by the exhortation of SS. Nereus and Achilleus; afterwards banished to the island of Pontia, and martyred.

Dio, *Hist. Rom.* lib. 67, mentions that Domitian slew these his near relations, on an accusation of impiety, together with many others who had fallen into Jewish [*i.e.* Christian] ways. He seems mistaken, however, in making T. Fl. Clemens husband instead of uncle to Fl. Domitilla.

³² Lingard, vol. i. p. 28. Hume, however, implies that the success due to his military skill was marred by excessive severity, which not long afterwards procured his recall. "Nero soon after [the suicide of Boadicea] recalled Suetonius from a government, where, by suffering and inflicting so many severities, he was judged improper for composing the angry and alarmed minds of the inhabitants. After some interval, Cerealis received the command from Vespasian, and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis both in authority and in reputation. But the general who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island, was Julius Agricola," etc. (*Hist. Engl.* vol. i. p. 9).

TWENTY-FIFTH YEAR.

AD. 58 (53). A.U.C. 809. NERONIS 2.

FROM Philippi, apparently, S. Paul came to Nicopolis,¹ intending there to winter. From this place, according to some, he wrote his *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*; giving reasons for not being able to fulfil his intention, expressed in the former Epistle, of coming to them. He mentions the oppositions and afflictions he had sustained in Asia, Macedonia, and other places; these are omitted by S. Luke, as not having occurred during his presence with the Apostle. The holy Evangelist was probably at Corinth.

About this time, however, S. Paul seems to have penetrated into the mountainous interior of Macedonia, and thence to have crossed to the shores of the Adriatic, and "round about as far as unto Illyricum."²

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, he had told them³ of his proximate coming to visit them. This promise he now seems to have fulfilled; and from Cenchræ, the port of Corinth, he probably wrote his *Epistle to the Romans*,⁴ whom he had always intended⁵ to visit on his return from Jerusalem.

¹ See Tit. iii. 12. It was not the city of that name in Thrace, as S. Chrysostom supposes, but, according to S. Jerome, Nicopolis in Epirus, built by Augustus, and so called ("City of Victory") in commemoration of his victory over Antony at Actium, a promontory in the neighbourhood. It was afterwards the birth-place of Pope S. Eleutherius. C. à Lapide, who places in the preceding year the Apostle's visit to Crete, and the consecration of S. Titus as Bishop of that island, supposes S. Paul to have written to him at this time from Nicopolis, urging him to come to him,

and to send on before him Zenas the lawyer, and Apollo (Tit. iii. 13).

² Rom. xv. 19.

³ 2 Cor. xii. 14; xiii. 1, 10.

⁴ It was sent to Rome by Phœbe, a deaconess of the Corinthian Church, who was proceeding thither on some business (Romans xvi. 1). The fact that St. Peter is neither saluted nor mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans, has been urged by non-Catholic writers. But (1) S. Peter may have been, to S. Paul's knowledge, absent on one of his apostolic circuits; (2) another and private epistle (like that to S. Timothy)

Though S. Peter himself may have been at that time absent from Rome, yet the faith he had planted there was, even thus early, "spoken of in the whole world."⁶

On arriving at Corinth, S. Paul received from Ephesus the news that some of his Galatian converts were in danger of relapsing into Judaism. He therefore wrote his *Epistle to the Galatians*, which, after conveying the Apostolic salutation, begins abruptly and severely,⁷ pointing out that any one so relapsing would lose all the benefit of his Gospel privileges. The similarity in style and topics of the two Epistles, to the Romans, and to the Galatians, would of itself indicate that they were written nearly at the same time, and under circumstances similarly affecting the inspired writer.⁸

S. Paul now held his judgment on those who had disturbed the Corinthian Church,⁹ and excommunicated the worst offenders. He remained three months at Corinth, as his head-quarters, completing the collection for the Christians of Palestine, on which he had been so long engaged. This was entrusted to treasurers approved¹⁰ by the faithful in Corinth, who were to accompany S. Paul with it to Jerusalem.

may have been sent to him by the same messenger, and have rendered superfluous a distinct salutation when S. Paul was addressing the Roman Church at large; (3) he does not salute S. James in his Epistle to the Hebrews, nor S. Timothy in that to the Ephesians: and such omission was in accordance with his usual practice (see Dr. Lardner's *Hist. of the Apostles and Evangelists*, c. xiii.). Of those who are saluted in the Epistle, or whose salutations the Apostle conveys, Sosipater is commemorated in the *Martyrology*, March 25, Asyncritus and others, April 8th; Quartus, who became Bishop of Berytus, November 3rd; Philologus, Bishop of Sinope, November 4th; Patrobas, on the same day, who became Bishop of Naples or Puteoli; Rufus, Bishop of Thebes, November 21.

⁶ Rom. i. 10, xv. 23—28.

⁶ Rom. i. 8. "The solidity of that faith which is commended in the Prince of the Apostles is perpetual; and as what Peter believed in Christ is permanent, so what Christ instituted in Peter is permanent" (S. Leo, *Serm.* iii. *De Natal. Ord.* c. 2—4, p. 11—13).

⁷ This severe tone, however, soon gives place to the most affectionate and even maternal solicitude (c. iv. 19, 20)—*ἠθελον ἀλλάξαι τὴν φωνήν μου*. "A mother changes her voice; sometimes intreating, sometimes reproaching, sometimes lamenting, as affection suggests" (Ornsby).

⁸ Except that in the one he had to remind and to rebuke, in the other merely to instruct and exhort.

⁹ For the form and procedure of this, compare 1 Cor. v. 5.

¹⁰ 1 Cor. xvi. 3.

On his way to Judæa, he made a detour to Philippi, in order to confirm those in that city whom he had brought to the faith.

His companions were Sopater, son of Pyrrhus of Beroëa, Aristarchus and Secundus of Thessalonica, Gaius of Derbe,¹¹ Timotheus and Tychicus and Trophimus from Asia.¹² These he sent before him to Troas, but retained S. Luke,¹³ whom he had left at Philippi seven years before, and who once more became the companion of his journeys, labours, and perils, to the end.

After Easter, the Apostle and S. Luke (the "we" of the remainder of the narrative in the Acts) made a five days' voyage to Troas, and stayed there seven days, during which S. Paul raised Eutychus from the dead.

The further points of their voyage towards Jerusalem were Assos,¹⁴ Mitylene,¹⁵ Chios, Samos, Miletus. Here the ship was detained long enough to enable S. Paul to send for the clergy of Ephesus¹⁶ to come to him. He would not now delay by visiting them; "for he hastened, if it were possible for him, to keep the day of Pentecost at Jerusalem." The Holy Spirit probably urged him to hasten to the City, to visit the Ever-Blessed Mother of God, and to commend to her his approaching trials and imprisonment, before her own sacred death

¹¹ So described, to distinguish him from Gaius of Macedonia, ch. xix. 29.

¹² Trophimus was an Ephesian, Acts xxi. 29.

¹³ See Acts xx. 5, where the Evangelist resumes the first person plural in his narrative, and maintains it to the end. It has been suggested that S. Luke's calling as a physician may have caused him frequent alternations of residence between Philippi and Troas (compare Acts xvi. 10, &c.), and so have made him familiar with those coasts. Perhaps he hired the ship, which seems to have been at S. Paul's disposal (See v. 17).

¹⁴ Celebrated for its granite tombs, of the *lapis Assius*, Pliny, *N. H.* ii. 95, xxxvi. 17. This stone had the property of consuming the flesh of those buried

in it; hence the term *sarcophagus* was primarily applied to coffins hewn out of it, and thereafter more generally.

¹⁵ Mitylene pulchra, Hor. *Ep.* xi. 17. Compare *Od.* i. vii. 1.

¹⁶ His own disciple S. Timotheus, of course, foremost among them, as their Bishop: with the Bishops, or "Angels" (*Apoc.* i. 20, ii. iii.) of others of the Seven Churches of Asia. So afterwards S. Ignatius of Antioch, on his way to martyrdom in Rome, found several at Smyrna with his friend S. Polycarp, Bishop of the place. S. Irenæus (*iii.* 14, 2), says: "In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus." The distance from Miletus to Ephesus was about twenty-five miles.

and glorious Assumption, which is assigned, by a very probable opinion, to this year.

When the Ephesian clergy were come to S. Paul at Miletus, he delivered to them a solemn and tender charge on their responsibilities: announcing that they should meet no more on earth; though all he knew of his own future, and that by repeated revelation,¹⁷ was that bonds and afflictions awaited him at Jerusalem. "And there was much weeping among them all; and falling on the neck of Paul, they kissed him; being grieved most of all for the word which he had said, that they should see his face no more. And they brought him on his way to the ship."

Thence they sailed to Cos,¹⁸ Rhodes, and Patara,¹⁹ where they found a ship ready to sail for Tyre,²⁰ with a cargo of merchandise. Sighting Cyprus,²¹ they steered south-east, and so arrived at Tyre, where they stayed some days with disciples.²² Thence they proceeded along the coast of Palestine to Ptolemais²³ and Cæsarea.

At Cæsarea, they stayed with S. Philip the deacon,²⁴ who "had four daughters virgins,²⁵ who did prophesy." Another prophet here joined them, Agabus, who had formerly predicted the famine; he

¹⁷ See Acts xx. 23; xxi. 4, 10, 11. Compare Rom. xv. 31.

¹⁸ It has been well remarked, that Cos would have a special interest for S. Luke, S. Paul's companion, as being the birth-place of Hippocrates the physician, and of Apelles the painter. It had a famous temple of Æsculapius.

¹⁹ Where was a temple and oracle of Apollo. Herod. i. 182. *Hor. Od.* iii. 4. "Patæreus Apollo."

²⁰ Three hundred and fifty miles across the open sea.

²¹ *Ἀναφανέντες τὴν Κύπρον*, Acts xxi. 3. S. Paul, at the sight of the island, must have had many memories of his first missionary voyage thither, twelve years before, in company with S. Barnabas, who probably was there at the moment (cf. A.D. 51), having been consecrated to the see of Salamis A.D. 57 (Cf. ad A.D.

46 and 51, *notes*, and F. Gams, there quoted).

²² Probably converts made on the dispersion from Jerusalem that followed the martyrdom of S. Stephen, Acts xi. 19. S. Paul himself would doubtless have visited Tyre (which lay on the great Roman road from Antioch to Jerusalem) when he went up to the Council, Acts xv. 3.

²³ The modern S. Jean D'Acre. It had been rebuilt, not long before the time of the Machabees by one of the Ptolemies, and re-named after himself. The original name was Accho, Judges i. 31.

²⁴ See Acts viii. 40.

²⁵ Euseb. *E. H.* iii. 31, quotes earlier writers as saying that they lived to old age in Hierapolis, and that the tomb of two of them, with S. Philip himself, was to be seen there. See above, ad A.D. 39.

now foretold to the Apostle the bonds of which S. Paul had himself spoken at Miletus, and that the Jews should deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles.²³

Arriving in Jerusalem, about Pentecost,²⁷ "the brethren received us gladly: and the day following, Paul went in with us unto James, and all the ancients were assembled; whom when he had saluted, he related what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry." At the suggestion of S. James, he undertook the vow of a Nazarite, to conciliate the converted Jews in things indifferent; but going into the Temple for its fulfilment, was set upon by some fanatical Jews as the "man that teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place."²⁵ The Apostle was in instant danger of his life; when Claudius Lysias, the commandant of the garrison in the fortress Antonia,²⁰ came with sufficient force to compel them to release him. As he was being carried into the castle, in the midst of tumult, he obtained Lysias' permission to address the

²⁶ This was fulfilled by S. Paul being brought back a prisoner to that very city, a fortnight afterwards, in custody of Roman soldiers, and accused by his own nation, who wished to destroy him.

²⁷ See Acts xx. 16.

²⁵ Compare vi. 13, for the same accusation made against S. Stephen. It must have come strongly into the mind of the Apostle, as he was thus making reparation for his former persecuting acts.

²⁰ Contiguous to the Temple, on the north-west, and almost forming part of it, but raised high above it, and connected with the Temple buildings by a flight of stone steps. It had been built by the Asmonean princes, and called Baris; then rebuilt by the first Herod, and named after Mark Antony, Joseph. *B. J.* i. 4, 5. Within its walls were barracks for at least a thousand soldiers. These covered galleries, or "cloisters" are often mentioned by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. xv. 6, xvi. 5,

xvii. 1; lib. iv. ix. 12; *Antiq.* xv. ii. 3, 5). The stairs were broken down, and so the communication between the temple and Antonia cut off, by the Jews, in their revolt against Florus (*Ibid.*). The external aspect of Jerusalem, and of its fortifications, is graphically described by Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 11 (compare 2 Kings v. 9, 3 Kings xi. 17, 1 Paral. xi. 4-8, 2 Paral. iii. 1, Lam. v. 18, Zach. viii. 3, 2 Esdr. iv. and 5, 15, 16). "Urbem, arduam situ, opera molesque firmaverant, quibus vel plana satis muniretur. Nam duos colles, immensum editos, clauderant muri per artem obliqui, aut introrsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent. Extrema rupis, abrupta; et turres, ubi mons juvisset, in sexaginta pedes; inter dexera, in centenos vicinosque attollebantur; miram specie, ac procul intuentibus pares. Alia intus mœnia, regia circumjecta; conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia, in honorem M. Antonii ab Herode appellatur." See Appendix Q.

Jews ; who heard him with patience till he announced his mission to the Gentiles, when the commotion was renewed with greater violence. Lysias then commanded him to be examined by scourging and torture. He now again, as at Philippi, asserted his privilege as a Roman citizen, and so escaped the indignity.³⁰ The next day, Lysias called a Sanhedrim, under the presidency of Ananias³¹ the high-priest, "and bringing forth Paul ; he set him before them."

By declaring himself a Pharisee, and that the real question was a future resurrection, S. Paul divided the assembly, diverting the contention from himself to the Sadducees. Claudius Lysias had him safely conveyed into the fortress, where the Apostle was again³² favoured by a vision of our Lord at night, saying : "Be constant ; for as thou hast testified of Me in Jerusalem, so must thou bear witness also at Rome." Next day, more than forty Jews conspired by oath not to eat or drink till they had assassinated him : but it was discovered by the Apostle's nephew, who informed Lysias. S. Paul was therefore sent by night, under escort of two hundred legionaries, seventy horsemen, and two hundred light-armed troops, by a forced march towards Cæsarea, for judgment before Antonius Claudius Felix, Governor of Judæa and Samaria.³³ Halting at

³⁰ The commandant had made himself liable to punishment, not only for preparing to scourge a Roman citizen, but for having bound him (*Valer. Max.* iv. 1, *Cic. in Verr.* v. 54).

³¹ "Son of Nebedæus. He had been sent in chains to Rome, by Quadratus, prefect of Syria, to answer to Claudius for his conduct ; but was enabled to come off successfully, and returned to Jerusalem" (Ornsby, in *Act.* xxiii. 2). S. Paul was unacquainted with him by sight (*Acts* xxiii. 5), having been little in Jerusalem since his conversion, more than twenty years previously. Moreover, since the death of Herod, there had been a great number of high-priests, the office being no longer held for life, nor by legitimate succession (*Jos. Antiq.* xv. 2, xx. 18). From Herod to the

destruction of Jerusalem, a period of 107 years, there had been twenty-eight high-priests : a state of confusion and secular interference which denoted, says Eusebius (*H.E.* i. 6), that the old priesthood was about to give place to the new.

³² Compare, for other instances, *Acts* xviii. 9, 10 ; xxvii. 24.

³³ He had been appointed through the influence of his brother Pallas, who had arranged the marriage between Claudius and Agrippina, Nero's mother ; thus procuring the accession of Nero, who afterwards made Felix Governor of all Judæa, including Samaria, Galilee, and Peræa. At the same time, Agrippa II. had a large accession of territory from the Emperor (*Joseph. Bell. Jud.* ii. xiii. 2). Felix retained his office for ten

Antipatris,³⁴ the foot-soldiers returned to Jerusalem, while the horsemen pushed on with the Apostle to Cæsarea.

In a few days, Ananias the High Priest, and others, with Tertullus an orator, came down to accuse him. The Apostle defended himself; and Felix deferred judgment till the arrival of Lysias. Meanwhile, he assigned him quarters, with a centurion, and permitted his friends to have access to him. Felix afterwards, with his wife Drusilla, a Jewess, gave the Apostle another audience; in which S. Paul filled him with a salutary dread by treating of justice and chastity, and of the judgment to come;³⁵ but Felix put off the consideration of these things to "a convenient time," which seems never to have been given to him.

Domitius Corbulo, who had greatly distinguished himself in Germany and in the East, is made Governor of Syria.

Portius Festus³⁶ arrives at Cæsarea to replace Felix in the governorship of Judæa and Samaria, at the end of the second year of Nero.³⁷ After three days, he goes to Jerusalem, but refuses the

years (say some; at least for six. Cf. sup. A.D. 52). On his recal, he only escaped punishment for mal-administration, through his brother's influence (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7, 9). They had both been slaves, but liberated by Claudius. "Felix per omnem sævitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit" (Tacit. *Hist.* l. v. 9, 6). "Pallas, ce vil ministre de Claude, dont l'opulence avait scandalisé la corruption même de Rome; ce qui n'avait pas empêché le sénat de lui voter les honneurs d'un mausolée" (Gerbet, *Rome Chrétienne*, vol. i. p. 205). Felix had two successive wives named Drusilla (see Acts xxiv. 24), one, the grand-daughter of Antony and Cleopatra, the other, a daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and wife of Azizus, King of Emesa, whom Felix had persuaded this second Drusilla to leave. Their son Agrippa perished in the destruction of Pompeii (Joseph. *ut sup.*).

³⁴ Originally named Capharsaba;

rebuilt by Herod, who called it Antipatris, after his father Antipater (*Ant.* xiii. 15, 1, xvi. 5, 2, *B. J.* i. 21, 9). Its modern name is *Kafr-Saba*; but it scarcely exists, except that the name identifies the position.

³⁵ Tacitus gives Felix the character of a cruel, unjust, and immoral man (*Ann.* xii. 541, *Hist.* v. 9, 6).

³⁶ Neither Tacitus nor Suetonius mention him. He continued with great energy his predecessor's operations against robbers (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. viii. 10, *Bell. Jud.* lib. ii. xiv. 1), but he died within two years of assuming office, and was succeeded by Albinus, as he, again, by Gessius Florus. Cf. ad A.D. 68.

³⁷ This seems, chronologically, the most probable interpretation of *διετίας πληρωθείσης*; though many modern commentators follow S. Bede, Onuphrius, and others, in supposing S. Paul to have been imprisoned for two full years in Cæsarea. If this was so, he would

Jews in the City to allow S. Paul to be brought from Cæsarea; the Apostle thus escapes their second plot against his life. Eight or ten days after, Festus returns to Cæsarea, and, having had the Apostle brought before him, determines to send S. Paul to Rome, on his own appeal,³⁸ to Cæsar. Herod Agrippa II.,³⁹ with his sister Berenice,⁴⁰ came to salute Festus, who requested him, as a Jew, to

have been in bonds for Christ during four years altogether in his Apostolic course. The Greek certainly appears to favour this latter view. Baronius, Loring, and Scaliger suppose him to have been apprehended in the second year of Nero, and sent to Rome towards the end of that year (compare Acts xxvii. 9). The following reasons appear to favour this opinion. (1) It is difficult to suppose that S. Luke, who seems to have been master of his own actions, should either have left the Apostle in his imprisonment, or, remaining still with him, should have had no event to record during those two years. Especially when this silence is contrasted with the minute details of the after voyage, and the graphic account he has given of the commencement of S. Paul's imprisonment in Rome. (2) The injustices and cruelties of Felix in administering the prefecture of Judæa had reached such a height, that it seems unlikely that those influential Jews, who proceeded to Rome on his disgrace, to accuse him before Nero (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7) should have waited for two whole years without some movement for his dismissal. (3) Neither Festus in his answer to the Jews in Jerusalem and his address to Agrippa, nor S. Paul in his pleadings, make any allusion to so long a detention. (4) Felix, in his interviews "often times" with his prisoner, would have given S. Paul an opportunity of putting in his appeal to Cæsar, of which it seems very unlikely that he should not have availed himself within two years:—eager as he must have been, to bear witness to the truth

in the Eternal City; compare Acts xix. 21; xxiii. 11. If we suppose the "two full years" to begin with the prefecture of Felix in Judæa, to which he was appointed by Claudius towards the close of that Emperor's reign, a second and concurrent reason is afforded for S. Luke's expression, *διετίας πληρωθείσης*. On the other hand, if we take the words to indicate a two years' imprisonment, the date of our Lord's Nativity will be thrown back to U.C. 750 (see *Introduction*, p. vii.).

³⁸ Our Lord had already made known to S. Paul (Acts xix. 21, xxiii. 11) His Will that the Apostle should bear witness to Him in Rome: this doubtless moved S. Paul to appeal to Cæsar.

³⁹ Agrippa II. lived chiefly in Jerusalem; though Claudius had assigned to him his dominion in the N. W. of Galilee, with Cæsarea Philippi for its capital. His royalty at this time was only titular, and by courtesy. See note 1 ad D. 43, supra. Though descended from a race of persecutors, Agrippa the Younger appears to have been mild and equitable; which may account for the tone observable in S. Paul's address to him, c. xxvi. 2, 3, 26, 27.

⁴⁰ The same name as Veronica. She was also elder sister to Drusilla, the wife of Felix. She had been first married to Herod, King of Chalcis, brother to H. Agrippa I. and therefore her own uncle. After his death, she became the wife of Polemon, King of Cilicia, but soon left him (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 7, 3) and lived chiefly with her brother. After the destruction of Jeru-

hear his fellow-countryman.⁴¹ This he did, with attention, until the Apostle proclaimed the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, and the calling of the Gentiles; when Festus broke in⁴² with a loud voice, whether of derision, astonishment, or impatience, affirming him to be mad. Agrippa seems also to have scoffed at him;⁴³ but both his judges agreed that their prisoner had done nothing worthy of death, or even of imprisonment; and that only his appeal to Cæsar prevented his release.

S. Paul, therefore, with S. Luke,⁴⁴ Aristarchus⁴⁵ of Thessalonica, and other prisoners, was put on board a ship of Adrumetum,⁴⁶ and sailed to Sidon, thence "under"⁴⁷ Cyprus, and so by the Apostle's native Cilicia, and Pamphylia, to Myra.⁴⁸ They made Cape Salmone, the eastern extremity of Crete, and got to Thalassa. The fair season being now past,⁴⁹ the Apostle warned Julius the centurion,⁵⁰ who had

salem, she went to live in Rome, where Titus wished to make her Empress (Suet. *Tit.* vii. Dion. Cassius, lxxvi. 15). The identity of the names Berenice and Veronica disposes of the shallow objection brought against the legend of S. Veronica's handkerchief, used on the way to Calvary; as though that name were a mere barbarous compound of *vera* and *εικόν*.

⁴¹ Thus fulfilling our Lord's words: S. Matt. x. 18, S. Mark xiii. 9, S. Luke xxi. 12, Acts ix. 15. Also see Psalm cxviii. 46, 161.

⁴² As the Athenians had done before, Acts xvii. 32.

⁴³ Acts xxvi. 28. Compare 1 S. Peter iv. 16. The probable meaning of Agrippa's words is: "You are persuading yourself (*πειθεῖς*) that I can so easily, or in so short a time (*ἐν ὀλίγῳ*) be made a Christian; but, no—not so fast." Or, *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* [*λόγῳ*], "This is a very short speech by which to persuade me, or any one, to become a Christian."

⁴⁴ It is not clear whether S. Luke went as a prisoner like the rest.

⁴⁵ See Acts xix. 29, xx. 4, Col. iv. 10.

⁴⁶ A sea-port of Africa Proper: Adrumetum was a sea-port of Mysia. It is, however, doubtful which of the two is here meant.

⁴⁷ This is, along the N. W. coast of the island, the ship being driven by contrary winds, south of its direct course.

⁴⁸ The Vulgate has Lystra; but that is in Lycaonia, some ninety Roman miles from the coast; whereas Myra is a maritime city of Lycia. It lay about fifty miles south-west of Attaleia, whence S. Paul took ship on returning from his first missionary journey (Acts xiv. 25). The churches of many sea-port towns (Liverpool among the rest) are dedicated under the invocation of S. Nicolas of Myra, the great Bishop of that see in the fourth century. According to the apocryphal "Circuits of SS. Paul and Thecla" (see Appendix K.) it was to Myra that S. Thecla proceeded, to procure another interview with the Apostle.

⁴⁹ "Sailing now was dangerous, because the fast was now past" (Acts xxvii. 9). This was the fast on the 10th of the month Tisri, which answers to our September and October. The

them in charge, that it would be well to winter there. His counsel being neglected, they set out again, and encountered a tempest, which after driving them up and down for fourteen days, wrecked them⁵¹ on the island of Melita.⁵² The inhabitants⁵³ received them with hospitality, which was exchanged for even idolatrous veneration on S. Paul being miraculously preserved from harm when attacked by a viper.⁵⁴ The Apostle healed the father of Publius,⁵⁵ the chief man of the Melitenes.⁵⁶

This year, probably, soon after S. Paul's arrival in Jerusalem,⁵⁷ died the Ever-Blessed Mother of God, and was assumed into Heaven, in the seventy-second or seventy-fourth year of her age.⁵⁸

weather after this would become unsettled (Ornsby).

⁵⁰ Probably Julius Priscus, afterwards Prefect of the Prætorian Guard under Vitellius.

⁵¹ Probably in the bay still called "St. Paul's Bay," N.W. of Valetta.

⁵² Malta was in the hands of the Carthaginians from B.C. 402 to B.C. 242, was taken by the Romans during the Second Punic War, and formed at this time part of the province of Sicily (Cic. in *Verr.* iv. 18). Some, however, have supposed S. Paul's shipwreck to have been on the island of Melita on the Illyrian coast. See four dissertations in the fourth vol. of Zaccaria (*Raccolta di Dissertazioni*, &c.).

⁵³ They were of Punic origin, and to this day retain traces of their African descent. Twice, S. Luke calls them *Βάρβαροι* (Acts xviii. 1, 4). A recent letter in the *Times* (Feb. 5. 1883) gives an interesting description of the monolithic Phœnician remains in the island. The Saracen occupation in the middle ages accounts for the Arabic element in the Maltese language, which so far predominates, that the peasants of Malta and of Barbary are able to understand each other.

⁵⁴ Here, as in previous instances, the expressions used by S. Luke show

his medical knowledge (Cf. sup. Acts iii. 7 ; ix. 18).

⁵⁵ Fr. Gams (*Series*, p. 947) says, circa A.D. 61, "S. Publius primus Melitensium episcopus fuisse perhibetur."

⁵⁶ An official title, given to the governor of the island under the proconsul of Sicily. It has been found in local inscriptions.

⁵⁷ He had hastened to keep the Pentecost at Jerusalem (Acts xx. 16), and therefore had sufficient time before the Assumption to venerate the Queen of Apostles : perhaps he was miraculously brought from prison to share that privilege, of which all the surviving Apostles were partakers.

⁵⁸ See especially the remarkable passage in S. Dion. Arcopag. *De Divin. Nominib.* c. 3, with the comment on it in Father Halloix's life of the Saint, c. vi. (vol. ii. p. 747, ed. Migne). Choisy (*Hist. de l'Eglise*, par. 1703, t. i.), has declared his opinion that the Blessed Virgin departed this life at Ephesus. Natalis Alexander, Tillemont and Bailly, think this probable. Trombelli, in his life of her (tom. iii. diss. 35, quæst. 3), thinks it more probable that it took place at Jerusalem, and that her tomb, shown in the valley of Josaphat, is authentic. See also the fourth Dissertation given by Zaccaria (*Raccolta*, v. viii.),

Baronius holds that *S. Luke* wrote his *Gospel*⁵⁹ this year. But it seems more probable that he wrote it during the interval⁶⁰ when he was not with the Apostle, but living at Troas or Philippi.⁶¹

TWENTY-SIXTH YEAR.

A.D. 59 (54). A.U.C. 810. NERONIS 3.

THE "Mother" whom our Lord from the Cross had committed to His beloved disciple,¹ being now in Heaven, and no longer needing his care, S. John probably comes to Ephesus, "there to continue and extend the work begun by S. Paul."² He would watch with equal vigilance over the Churches of Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea.

After three months' stay in Malta, S. Paul, still in bonds, sailed to Syracuse, thence to Rhegium, and finally to Puteoli.³ Here they quitted the ship; and after seven days went to Rome by land, a distance of some hundred and twenty-five miles; partly along the Appian Way, "the Queen of Roads."⁴ The disciples came out to meet him, in two successive companies; one advancing as far as

quoting in the same sense Baronius, Ven. P. Canisius, "E cent' altri prima, e dopo di loro." Apper.dix R.

⁵⁹ It was afterwards much corrupted by the Marcionites, to whom S. Irenæus alludes (*Hæres.* iii. 1), as claiming to be "emendatores Apostolorum" (cf. Tertulian, *c. Marcion.* l. ii. Epiph. *Hæres.* 42).

⁶⁰ Acts xiv. 10; xx. 5.

⁶¹ S. Paul may refer to him, and to the service he had done to the whole Church by writing it, in 2 Cor. viii. 18; which would fix it to the earlier date. Others refer that text to the labours of S. Silas, or S. Barnabas.

tion as being unanimous as to the event. The date, however, is uncertain.

³ Originally called Dicæarchia, according to Jesephus (*Vit.* 3), who landed here after his shipwreck. In the Acts of S. Ignatius' martyrdom, fifty years after S. Paul's landing, it is said, that on his voyage to Rome, "when Puteoli came in sight, [the martyr] was eager to disembark there, desiring to tread in the footsteps of the Apostle:" but a gale springing up, he was unable to do so, and the ship carried him on to Ostia, the port of Rome (*Martyr. Ignat.* c. v.). Puteoli derives its name from the sulphurous exhalations of the district.

⁴ Appia longarum teritur regina viarum. Stat. *Sylva.* ii. 2.

¹ S. John xix. 26, 27.

² Alzog, p. 226. He speaks of tradi-

Appii Forum, in the Pontine marshes, fifty-one miles from Rome, the other to "the Three Taverns," near Aricea,⁵ some eighteen miles nearer the City.⁶ "Whom when Paul saw, he thanked God and took courage."⁷ Aquila and Priscilla were doubtless of the number.⁸

In Rome, the Apostle "was suffered to dwell by himself⁹ with a soldier that kept him."¹⁰ "After the third day, he called together the chief of the Jews,"¹¹ to vindicate himself from having done anything against his nation, or the customs of the fathers, and from the imputation that his forced appeal to Cæsar was an accusation against the Jewish people. They at first received him well, and appointed a day on which to hear him expound the principles of that "sect which is gainsayed everywhere."¹² Very many came to his lodging for this purpose, and his exposition lasted "from morning until evening. And some believed the things that were said, but some

⁵ Where Horace lodged, *hospitio modico*, as his first stage from Rome to Brundisium. The "Three Taverns" have been identified by some with Cisterna, by others with Civitona.

⁶ Both these stations are mentioned by Cicero in a very brief letter to Atticus, *Epist.* ii. 10. Felix, who was Bishop of *Tres Tabernæ* in the beginning of the fourth century, assisted at a Synod in Rome, and seems to have been the first who held the See. He was one of the nineteen appointed by Constantine to decide between Donatus and Cæcilianus: S. Optat. *de Schism. Donatist.* i. 23. The see was united to that of Ostia and Veletri in 762, and again in 868. (Gams, *ut supra*, p. vii.)

⁷ S. Paul would have passed between the mausoleum of Cæcilia Metella and the tomb of the Scipios; thence by the temple of Mars, with its hundred columns; and finally entered Rome by the Appian Gate, now the Gate of S. Sebastian (Martinelli, *Prim. Trionf. Della Croce*, p. 31).

⁸ They afterwards returned to Ephesus, probably on S. Paul's release from his first imprisonment, and perhaps in

company with S. Timotheus. 2 Tim. iv. 19. See note 20, *infra*.

⁹ The house has now become the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata.

¹⁰ Acts xxviii. 16. S. Paul was probably delivered into the care of the commander of the Augustan cohort, the Emperor's body-guard (see Acts xxvii. 1), whose quarters were in the imperial Prætorium, or palace (Phil. i. 13, iv. 22). Herod Agrippa had been imprisoned here, when he had offended Tiberius (Joseph. *Antiq.* xviii. 6, 7).

¹¹ From the Transiberine quarter, where they chiefly dwelt. They had been permitted to return to Rome, after the death of Claudius. See above, ann. 24.

¹² On the active and persevering calumnies of the Jews against our Lord and His followers, see Justin Mart. *Dial.* xvii., cviii. The Roman opinion of the faith in Christ is summarized in the "exitabilis superstitio" of Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 44, the "superstitio nova ac malefica" of Suetonius, *Nero*, § 16, and the "superstitio prava et immodica" of Pliny, *Epist.* x. 96.

believed not." Before they departed, the Apostle solemnly warned them, that on their rejection of the truth, it was sent to the Gentiles, and that they would hear it.¹³

S. Timotheus, according to some, joined the Apostle in Rome, not long after his arrival there: but not without undergoing imprisonment, perhaps on his way from Ephesus.

Though still an untried prisoner, and chained by the arm to the soldier on guard over him,¹⁴ S. Paul was mildly treated by Burrhus, Prefect of the City, and was allowed to receive all who came to his lodging. He "preached the Kingdom of God, and taught the things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all boldness, without prohibition." Thus was fulfilled his long-cherished desire to "proclaim the Gospel to them also that were in Rome."¹⁵ And so he continued during the remainder of this year, awaiting the coming of his accusers from Jerusalem.

The fear of Nero seems to have caused many to abandon him,¹⁶ even before the actual persecution of five years after; but, he records, "the Lord stood by and strengthened me, and I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion."¹⁷

They who remained faithful to him were SS. Luke,¹⁸ Timotheus,¹⁹ with Tychicus,²⁰ Epaphras,²¹ and Aristarchus of Thessalonica, whose

¹³ Compare Acts xiii. 46. This long discourse of the Apostle's doubtless contained the topics of his Epistle to the Hebrews, which winds up with a like denunciation, c. xii. 25.

¹⁴ Acts xxviii. 16; Ephes. vi. 30; Phil. i. 13; Colos. iv. 18. The guard was doubled at night: "nox custodiam geminat:" see Acts xii. 6. The martyr S. Ignatius was afterwards subjected to severer treatment on his way from Asia Minor to Rome; being committed to ten soldiers, or rather "leopards," as he called them, from their savage implacable conduct towards their prisoner.

¹⁵ Rom. i. 10-15.

¹⁶ See 2 Tim. iv. 16. They resumed courage afterwards, however (Phil. i. 12).

¹⁷ Some suppose, that, as S. Paul had

"fought with beasts at Ephesus," so he was exposed to them also at Rome: but the expression may well be referred to the savage Nero.

¹⁸ Col. iv. 14; Philem. 24.

¹⁹ Phil. i. 1; Col. i. 1; Philem. 1. After the liberation of S. Paul, S. Timotheus seems to have returned to Ephesus, where he was martyred by stoning, A.D. 97, on his reproving the idolatrous Ephesians for their worship of Diana (*Rom. Martyrol.* Jan. 14). Cf. not. 28 ad A.D. 35.

²⁰ Ephes. vi. 21; Col. iv. 7. Cf. Acts xx. 4; Tit. iii. 12.

²¹ A Colossian, and not to be confounded with the Philipian Epaphroditus, another of S. Paul's fellow-labourers at this time. See above, A.D. 55, note 2.

life had been endangered, together with the Apostle's, at Ephesus.²² John Mark, nephew to S. Barnabas, had now rejoined him,²³ making amends for his former desertion;²⁴ and so continued with S. Paul to the end.²⁵ Demas, who was afterwards to forsake him,²⁶ "loving this world," was steadfast up to this point²⁷ as a "fellow-labourer" in the word of life.

Rome became filled with the doctrine of the Gospel. It penetrated the "Prætorium,"²⁸ by which may be understood the imperial palace,²⁹ the quarters of the Prætorian Guard,³⁰ the Senate, or the College of Pontiffs. There were certainly "Saints in Cæsar's household."³¹

About this time, probably, S. Peter consecrated S. Apollinaris the first Bishop of Ravenna. S. Bede³² says that S. Apollinaris

²² Acts xix. 29. He had also accompanied S. Paul on his sea-voyage; see xxvii. 2; Coloss. iv. 10.

²³ Phil. 24.

²⁴ Cf. Acts xiii. 5, 13; xv. 37—39.

²⁵ 2 Tim. iv. 11, where he received S. Paul's testimony that he was *εὐχρηστος εἰς διακονίαν*.

²⁶ 2 Tim. iv. 9.

²⁷ Phil. 24. Perhaps he may afterwards have returned, as John Mark had done: though the contrast between S. Luke and himself is very distinctly drawn in S. Paul's epistles. Compare Col. iv. 14, and Phil. 24, with 2 Tim. iv. 9, 11.

²⁸ Phil. i. 13.

²⁹ Probably a barrack attached to the Imperial residence on the Palatine. The word "prætorium" is used for Pilate's residence in S. John xviii. 28, and for that of Herod, Acts xxviii. 35.

³⁰ Tiberius had established them in a great camp outside the walls, on the N.E. of the City (Tacit. *Ann.* iv. 2, Suet. *Tib.* 37).

³¹ Phil. iv. 22. The *Roman Martyrology* for May 17, mentions S. Torpes, once high in office at Nero's court, as being one of these. He was afterwards mar-

tyred at Pisa. Josephus, quoted by Baronius for this year, mentions that Poppæa Sabina, Nero's favourite, was inclined to Judaism. This might have meant Christianity, as the two were at first confounded in the Roman mind. The well-known life of Poppæa need not of itself discredit the idea, if the cases of S. Thais, S. Mary of Egypt, and others, are borne in memory. But the impression seems to have arisen from the vague terms of Josephus, combined with S. Chrysostom's assertion (*Hom.* liv. in Act. and *Advers. Vitup. Vit. Mon.* lib. 1) that S. Paul had converted, or influenced for good, a concubine of the Emperor's, and had thereby gained the crown of martyrdom. Poppæa could not have been a declared Christian, since she retained the favour of Nero to the last, and after her death had a funeral of regal magnificence (Tacit. *Ann.* xvi. 6, 7, Plin. *N. H.* xii. 18).

³² *Martyrol.* July 23. S. Bede, with Usuard and Adon, follow the Acts of the Saint, which are certainly ancient, though of doubtful authority.

occupied the see of Ravenna for twenty years, and was martyred³³ under Vespasian. That Emperor reigned A.D. 69—79 (vulg.) Assuming, then, that the martyr-bishop suffered about the middle of Vespasian's reign, his consecration would fall to about the present year.

TWENTY-SEVENTH YEAR.

A.D. 60 (55). A.U.C. 811. NERONIS 4.

ONESIMUS, a runaway slave from Colossæ, who had, moreover, robbed his Christian master, Philemon, had been converted in Rome by S. Paul, who now wrote a persuasive *Epistle to Philemon*,¹

³³ Tillemont doubts this fact; but the title of martyr is given to him both in the Roman Breviary (July 23), which gives a circumstantial account of his martyrdom, and in a panegyric by S. Peter Chrysologus, his illustrious successor in the see of Ravenna; who adds that S. Apollinaris was the only martyred bishop of that see. His body was venerated there in the fifth and sixth century, either in the Cathedral or in the church of Classis, the port of Ravenna, where S. Peter Chrysologus "fontem extruxit magnitudinis vere admirabilis, et templa quædam magna edificavit, tum beato Andrea Apostolo, tum aliis sanctis" (Brev. Rom. Dec. 4). S. P. Chrysol. himself had been indicated in a vision to Pope S. Sixtus III. as the divinely appointed successor to the vacant see of Ravenna: appearing to the Pontiff between S. Peter the Apostle and S. Apollinaris (*Ibid.*). A recent writer, probably Cardinal Wiseman, says of Ravenna that it is "a perfect Christian museum; city and suburbs are full of splendid edifices of the first Christian ages, churches erected or embellished by Justinian, Valentinian, or Galla Placidia. The domestic chapel,

built by S. Peter Chrysologus, still serves . . . his worthy successor, the present saintly Archbishop; and the beautiful frescoes of Giotto have faded away or have been peeled off by damp, from the church of *Santa Maria in Porto fuori*; while the mosaics of double their age, in the apsis of the neighbouring basilica of *Sant' Apollinari in Classe*, display as yet almost their original freshness" (*Dublin Review*, Nov. 1840). Consult Amadesius, *In antistitum Ravennatum Chronotaxim Disquisitiones*, Favent. 1783. See Appendix U.

¹ Philemon is said, in some apocryphal accounts, to have been consecrated bishop of Gaza, and his wife Appia (Philem. 2) having made a vow of chastity, to have accompanied and assisted him in his apostolical labours. They were both, it is said, condemned by the prefect Artocles, and martyred in Gaza, Nov. 22, during the persecution of Nero (Moreri, *in voc.* Appia). "Both Latins and Greeks," says Butler, "honour SS. Philemon and Appia on this or the following day. Some Greeks say Philemon died a martyr."

entreating him to take back Onesimus,² "not now as a slave, but a most dear brother."³ He sent him back to his master in Colossæ, with Tychicus, who was the bearer of S. Paul's *Epistle to the Colossian Church*,⁴ written in this year.⁵

Demas still remains faithful,⁶ though he was afterwards to fail, almost in sight of the goal.⁷

The Apostle seems about this time to have written an *Epistle to the Laodiceans*,⁸ which he desires the Colossians to interchange with their own, so that each Church might read that addressed to the other.

The Apostle is said by some to have now written his *Second Epistle to Timothy*,⁹ and that to the *Ephesians*, sending both *Epistles* by the same messenger, Tychicus.

The Philippian Church, hearing of the Apostle's imprisonment, had made a collection to relieve his wants. This had reached him by the hands of their bishop,¹⁰ S. Epaphroditus, who nearly lost his life in Rome, perhaps from the fatigue of his journey. On his recovery, S. Paul sent him back, with an *Epistle to the Philippians*, full of thanks and consolation at their charity. He also wrote to

² The younger Pliny wrote a letter to a friend under the same circumstances (*Epist.* ix. 21). "Scholars . . . hesitate not to say, that not only in the spirit of Christian love, of which Pliny was ignorant, but in dignity of thought, argument, pathos, beauty of style, eloquence, the communication of the Apostle is vastly superior to that of the polished Roman writer."

³ Onesimus is said to be the person of that name whom S. Ignatius (*Ad Ephes.* 14.) highly commends. He is mentioned in the *Apostolical Constitutions* as bishop of Laodicea, and was afterwards martyred under Trajan. Gams, however (*Series*, p. 429), makes S. Onesimus bishop of Berrhœa in Macedonia (not, of course, Berœa, the present Aleppo).

⁴ Col. iv. 7, 9.

⁵ S. Chrysostom, however, and Theodoret, say otherwise; the latter asserts that the *Epistle to the Colossians* was not written before the return of Onesimus to S. Paul from Colossæ (according to the implied wish of the Apostle (*Philem.* 13, 14).

⁶ *Philem.* 24.

⁷ 2 *Tim.* iv. 9.

⁸ Col. iv. 16.

⁹ Though the expression, c. iv. 6—8, would seem to imply a date nearer to his martyrdom, if he had any such prescience as was given to S. Peter (2 *S. Peter* i. 14). It was, however, much more probably written during the Apostle's second imprisonment in Rome, and nearer to his martyrdom. See 2 *Tim.* iv. 6—8.

¹⁰ *Phil.* ii. 25, as interpreted by Theodoret, Baronius, and others.

the *Hebrews*,¹¹ mentioning, in the letter, the release of S. Timotheus,¹² who seems to have undergone imprisonment somewhere between Ephesus and Rome, on his way to rejoin the Apostle and aid him in his bonds.¹³

TWENTY-EIGHTH YEAR.

A.D. 61 (56). A.U.C. 812. NERONIS 5.

S. PAUL, having suffered two years' imprisonment, is freely dismissed. Before the Apostle's release, S. Luke's narrative concludes.

Lactantius¹ says that both the Apostles foretold in Rome the coming afflictions and desolation of Jerusalem, for having rejected our Lord.

There seems no certain indication whether S. Peter also suffered a first imprisonment in Rome, and was released at the same time with S. Paul.² The latter would appear highly probable, if the former were true.

¹¹ The Epistle to the Hebrews seems especially addressed to the Hebrew converts in Palestine, because it supposes, on the part of those addressed, a minute acquaintance with the Temple-worship in Jerusalem, such as could scarcely be possessed by the synagogues of the "dispersion." Also, the hope expressed by the Apostle (c. xiii. 19, 23) of seeing them again, could hardly apply in general to the latter. It appears more than doubtful whether he ever returned to the Holy Land (see below, ad A.D. 61). "The apparent difference of style between this and the other Pauline epistles gave rise to an opinion that this epistle was written, originally, in Hebrew, and translated by S. Clement or S. Luke; or that the thoughts were S. Paul's, the words his amanuensis'. The Apostle, however, founds reasoning

on passages as rendered by the LXX., and not as in the Hebrew. See, especially, the word *διαθήκη*, in c. ix. 16" (Ornsby).

¹² Heb. xiii. 23.

¹³ This is the supposition of the writer in Goshler, *art.* "Paul," and seems not improbable, though difficult to reconcile with S. Timotheus being already with S. Paul in Rome (Phil. i. 1, Col. i. 1, Philem. 1). He may have departed for a time to revisit Ephesus or other places, and been imprisoned on his way back to Rome. S. Timotheus' liberation perhaps gave the Apostle some expectation of his own (Heb. xiii. 23).

¹ Lib. iv. 21, quoted from Alban Butler, June 29.

² Tillemont, with all his research, has nothing to say on this point.

From this time till S. Paul's martyrdom, his apostolical journeys and acts are uncertain. His Epistle to the Philippians and Hebrews, and to Philemon,³ show him to have had the intention of returning to the East. Greek and Latin Fathers,⁴ quoted by Baronius (*in hoc ann.*) and the *Roman Martyrology* (*ibid.*) assert that he went into Spain; which had long been his intention.⁵ S. Clement,⁶ his fellow-labourer,⁷ says that "he preached both in the East and the West," and that, "having taught righteousness to the whole world, he came to the extreme limit of the West:" an expression understood in those days to signify Spain, Gaul, and also Britain.⁸ Eight years are to be accounted for, until his death in the thirteenth year of Nero: he may therefore have evangelized many other countries, and returned upon his former steps.⁹

The island of Mona (Anglesey) is attacked by Suetonius Paulinus, an easy victory gained, and great slaughter of druids and druidesses made. Boadicea retaliates, by reducing Camalodunum to ashes. Londinium and Verulam share the same fate, and seventy thousand Romans and non-insurgents are slaughtered.¹⁰ Paulinus afterwards

³ Phil. i. 24—26; Philem. 22; Heb. xiii. 23. Cf. Phil. ii. 19. See, however, Corn. à Lap. in vers. 17.

⁴ Especially S. Gregory the Great (*Moral. lib. 31, c. 22*).

⁵ Rom. xv. 24, 28.

⁶ S. Clem. *ad Cor.* Passing through Gaul on his way, the Apostle is said to have left Crescens as bishop of Vienne; his own namesake, Paul, at Narbonne; and Trophimus at Arles. Theodoret takes "Galatia" (2 Tim. iv. 10) to mean "Gaul" (Intro. in *Ep. ad Galat.*). S. Epiphanius says the same (*Hæres. L. i.*). Several ancient martyrologies state that S. Crescens founded the sees of Vienne and Mentz. Cf. Gams, (pp. 653, 4).

⁷ Phil. iv. 3.

⁸ Theodoret, *Philothæus*, xxvi. 881. "Ultimos orbis Britannos," Horat. *Carm.* 1, 35, 29.

⁹ Rom. xv. 28. The Cathedral of

Londinium having been dedicated under his invocation, affords a degree of presumption that he came into Britain: as the Church of S. Peter in Cornhill, built by S. Lucius, the first Christian King, may perhaps indicate a visit to this island from the Prince of the Apostles. See note 6 ad A.D. 44 supra.

¹⁰ "The work of twenty years was in a moment undone. Far and wide, every vestige of modern civilization was trodden into the soil. At this day, the workmen who dig through the foundations of the Norman and the Saxon London, strike beneath them on the traces of two distinct Roman cities, between which lies a mass of charred and broken rubbish, attesting the conflagration of the terrible Boadicea" (Dr. Merivale, *History of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. iv. pp. 258, 259).

gains a victory, in which the Britons lose eighty thousand, including women and children.

Boadicea, in despair, commits suicide. Nero soon afterwards recalled Suetonius; apparently as having been unfortunate, no less than severe.¹¹ His successor, Cerealis, was not appointed before the accession of Vespasian.

S. Luke, departing from Rome, preached the Gospel in various places. S. Epiphanius¹² mentions Dalmatia,¹³ Gaul, Italy, and Macedonia. Œcumenius makes him return to the East, and thence proceed to Lybia, evangelizing Thebes, and dying there at a great age. S. Gregory Nazianzen and others assert him to have been martyred: Nicephorus says, he was suspended from the branches of an olive tree. His tomb is said to exist at Ephesus.¹⁴

At Cæsarea, sanguinary conflicts take place between the Jews and Syrians. This particular outbreak (among many which were constantly occurring) may be reckoned as "one of the first incidents in the [Jewish] war."

This year, Nero puts an end to the life of his mother Agrippina. Servile rejoicings, accompanied perhaps by the opening of the prisons, take place in Rome, on the Emperor's safety being thus secured. This may probably account for S. Paul's liberation, and that of S. Peter, supposing him also to have been imprisoned.

¹¹ See Hume, quoted above, ad A.D. 57, note 32.

¹² *Hæres.* li. He also says that Crescens, S. Paul's disciple, laboured in Gaul (not Galatia) 2 Tim. iv. 10. S. Isidore of Seville adds S. Philip as an evangelical labourer in the same province (*De Vit. et Mort. SS.* c. 74).

¹³ S. Paul, however, had sent S. Titus thither (2 Tim. iv. 10), and he is honoured in that country as its Apostle and principal patron (F. Farlet, S.J. *Illyria Sacra*, t. i. p. 355). S. Domnius (May 7)

is said to have been consecrated by him the first bishop of Salona. The see was afterwards removed to Spalatro. Gams, *Series*, p. 419; who, however, places S. Hermes between SS. Titus and Domnius: so that S. Titus must have consecrated them both in succession.

¹⁴ Mr. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, gives a bas-relief, which affords a presumption of its being part of the holy Evangelist's tomb, pp. 56—59.

TWENTY-NINTH YEAR.

A.D. 62 (57). A.U.C. 813. NERONIS 6.

FESTUS, Governor of Judæa, dies. Nero appoints Albinus as his successor; who, however, only departs for his province the following year.

During the interregnum, King Agrippa deposes Joseph the High Priest, and gives the office to Ananus, or Annas, the Younger, an intolerant Sadducee. In the next year,¹ before the arrival of Albinus, and while the governorship is practically vacant, he causes the martyrdom of S. James, Bishop of Jerusalem, together with the death of others, probably Christians.

In this year, the city of Laodicea² was overthrown by an earthquake, but promptly rebuilt by its citizens.³ Its wealth and prosperity had already caused, or certainly did afterwards cause, relaxation and tepidity in the Church there.⁴ Eusebius (*Chronic.*) places the earthquake four years later, and adds that Hierapolis and Colossæ were involved in the calamity.

¹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle assigns the martyrdom of S. James to this year.

² Tacit. *Annal.* xiv. 27. This is confirmed by Orosius, vii. 7. That part of the valley of the Mæander in which Laodicea was built, (hence one of its former names, Rhoas), was subject to earthquakes. A previous one had occurred in the reign of Augustus (Strabo, 578). "In subsequent times, it became a city of eminence, the see of a bishop, and a meeting-place of Councils. It is often mentioned by the Byzantine writers. The Mahomedan invaders destroyed it, and it is now a scene of utter desolation." Its present Turkish name is Eski-Hissar.

³ See Appendix S. Gibbon adds, in a note to the passage there given, regarding the eleven cities of Asia mentioned

by Tacitus: "I have taken some pains in consulting and comparing modern travellers, with regard to the fate of those eleven cities of Asia. Seven or eight are totally destroyed—Hypæpe, Tralles, Laodicea, Ilium, Halicarnassus, Miletus, Ephesus, and we may add Sardis. Of the remaining three, Pergamus is a struggling village of two or three thousand inhabitants; Magnesia, under the name of Guzel-hissar, a town of some consequence; and Smyrna, a great city, peopled by an hundred thousand souls. But even at Smyrna, while the Franks have maintained commerce, the Turks have ruined the arts" (*Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 80, ed. 1815).

⁴ Apoc. iii. 14, &c.

THIRTIETH YEAR.

A.D. 63 (58). A.U.C. 814. NERONIS 7.

S. JAMES THE JUST, son of Alpheus, is martyred, after having occupied the See of Jerusalem¹ twenty-nine years. By order of Ananus, on the feast of the Pasch, S. James was taken up to a pinnacle of the Temple, under plea that by virtue of the consideration he enjoyed with the people, he should persuade them to renounce Christ. On his confessing our Lord, he was cast down thence, and despatched with stones and with a club, while praying for his enemies in our Lord's own words. The holy Apostle had been a Nazarite from his birth. So great was the veneration for his sanctity, even by the Jews, that he was permitted once every year to enter the Holy of Holies, a privilege otherwise reserved to the high priest. When he appeared in public, multitudes² crowded round him, to touch the hem of his garment. By his assiduous prayer, his knees, and S. Chrysostom³ adds, his forehead, through frequent prostrations, had grown hard, like the skin of a camel. Josephus⁴ records that this act of violence was much reprobated by the more moderate Jews, as both unjust and unlawful,⁵ and adds that Agrippa deposed Ananus from the high priesthood for being guilty of it.

Besides his *Epistle*, written to the dispersed of the Twelve Tribes, S. James is said to have left the Liturgy, or Mass, that goes by his name.⁶

¹ Pope Nicolas I. says, those Churches are to be accounted patriarchal in which it can be proved that an Apostle had his See (*Lorinus in Act. i. 13.* Cf. ad A.D. 37, note 6).

² S. Jerome in Gal. i. 19, *Epiph. Hæc.* xxx. 2.

³ *Hom. v.* in Matt. Southey makes a scoffer call Thalaba "a camel-knee'd prayermonger."

⁴ *Antiq. xx. 9, 1.* S. James was buried near the Temple, where his tomb still existed in the time of Hadrian.

⁵ Cf. S. John xviii. 31.

⁶ Its authenticity is established by the citations made from it by S. Cyril of Jerusalem in his *Mystagogica*, 5. It is cited by the Council of Trullo, can. 32, but may have been added to by a later hand.

Eusebius⁷ says that, upon the Martyrdom of S. James, all the Apostles who were still alive, came from their divers missions to Jerusalem, assembled in council, and chose, as S. James' successor, his brother S. Simeon, or Simon, son of Cleophas. He was afterwards crucified, in his one hundred and twentieth year, A.D. 107, having held the see about forty-three years.

This year, probably,⁸ S. Lazarus was martyred, whether at Marseilles,⁹ as bishop of the place, or in Cyprus¹⁰ is uncertain.

Tigellinus is made prefect of the Prætorium in Rome.

Nero repudiates Claudia, and marries Poppæa, who is said to have been disposed towards Judaism. Through her influence, Josephus, who was then in Rome, obtains the liberation of the Jewish priests, whom Festus had sent thither as prisoners.

THIRTY-FIRST YEAR.

A.D. 64 (59). A.U.C. 815. NERONIS 8.

S. JEROME¹ assigns to this year the martyrdom of S. Mark the Evangelist, the first bishop of Alexandria. The fact of his martyrdom is attested by the ancient *Roman Martyrology* and Greek Menology. He was seized by the Gentiles, while celebrating on the Lord's Day; dragged through rough places during two days, with a rope round his neck, and so went to his reward on the 25th of April.

Philo² and Josephus³ have left a description of the Essenes, Es-sæans, or Jessæans, of Alexandria, and of their ascetic lives. They aimed at monastic perfection, possessed nothing of their own, gave

⁷ Cf. supra ad A.D. 35, note 28.

⁸ S. Epiphanius (c. 34, p. 652) says that S. Lazarus was thirty years old when he died and was raised again by our Lord, and that he lived for thirty years afterwards.

⁹ Cf. sup. ad A.D. 35.

¹⁰ His tomb was shown at Cytia in that island.

¹ *De Scriptorib. Eccles.* in Marcum.

² *De Vita Contemplativa, sive De Supplicibus*; also his writing entitled, *Quod omnis probus sit liber.*

³ *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8; 2, 13.

away their goods to the poor, spent their time in prayer and psalmody, in hearing instruction, or manual labour; and lived in great continence. Writers of very opposite schools⁴ have asserted the identity of these with S. Mark's disciples, the primitive Alexandrian Christians.

This year is also assigned as the probable date of the martyrdom of SS. Simon and Jude, in Persia.⁵

Gildas⁶ says, the first dawn of the light of the Gospel appeared in Britain, about the eighth year of Nero.⁷

The Emperor begins at Naples to exhibit himself as a public singer, as a prelude to appearing afterwards in the same character at Rome.⁸

⁴ Freethinkers, and other non-Catholics, especially in Germany, endeavour thence to prove that Christianity had a merely human origin; and many Fathers and early writers of the Church, to show that the monastic system was coeval with the Faith. Cassian asserts this (*Instit. Cœnob.* ii. 5), and Corn. à Lap. in Act. v. 2. See the authorities given by the latter, for the primitive character of the vows of Religion. Besides these writers, Eusebius, *H. E.* (lib. ii. c. 16, 17), Baronius (*ad ann.* 64), Serrarius (*De Trib. Judæor. Sectis*), and Bacchinius (*De Origine Hierarchiæ Eccl.*), may be quoted for the Christian character of those who are described by Philo; while Valesius (*Annotat. in Euseb.* lib. cit.), Cotelerius (*Monum. Eccl. Græcæ.* t. i., p. 789), Pagi (*Critica, ad ann.* 62), and Mamachi (*Origines et Antiq. Christ.*), suppose them a Jewish sect.

⁵ Moreri, in *voc.* Apôtre.

⁶ *Script. Hist. Brit.* § 6, t. i. ed. Gale, p. 3. Persecution seems never to have reached these distant shores until the reign of Diocletian, when it sent to

Heaven the British proto-martyr S. Alban, with the numerous converts made by his instructor S. Amphibalus, in Wales. S. Bede, in his account of S. Alban's martyrdom, adds, "At the same time suffered Aaron and Julius, citizens of Chester, and many more of both sexes in sundry places" (b. i. c. vi. *s.f.*). Gildas makes them citizens of Carlisle; others call them inhabitants of the Roman town of Caerleon upon Usk, from which Adelphius, one of three British bishops, went to be present at the Council of Arles, in 314. The other two were Eborius of York, and Restitutus of London.

⁷ See Appendix T. This date would allow both S. Peter and S. Paul to have visited the island. Tertullian (*Adv. Jud.* c. vii. p. 189, *ed. Rig.*) had said, before S. Gildas, *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita.*

⁸ Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 33. On the character of Nero, his acts, his extravagant conduct, and lavish expenditure, the first part of Dr. Merivale's seventh volume, *Hist. &c.* (ut sup.) is well worth reading.

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR.

A.D. 65 (60). A.U.C. 816. NERONIS 9.

FOUR years before the Jewish war, and nearly eight before the final siege of Jerusalem, Almighty God would have the approaching calamities publicly announced. Josephus records:

“While the City was in profoundest peace, and in the greatest wealth, one Josue (Jesus), the son of Ananus, a plebeian and peasant, came on a festival day, and at once began to cry: ‘A voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four winds, a voice to Jerusalem and to the Temple, a voice to the bridegroom and to the bride, a voice to the people!’ By day and by night he thus cried out, going incessantly through the streets of the City. He was brought before the magistrates, and was scourged, even to the bone; yet he made no entreaty, nor shed a tear; but bowing himself to the utmost, at every stroke he responded, with a lamentable voice: ‘Woe, woe to Jerusalem!’ Up to the time when the war began, he was never seen to consort or speak with any; but he daily and mournfully repeated, as if pondering some form of prayer: ‘Woe, woe to Jerusalem!’ Though punished every day, he cursed none, neither did he bless those who offered him food; the only answer he returned to any one, was that lamentable prophecy. It was especially on festival days that he so cried out; and, continuing this for seven years and five months, his voice grew none the hoarser, nor did he fail through weariness, until the time of the siege; then, his predictions being verified, he came to his end. For, going round once again upon the walls, he cried out, with a very loud voice, ‘Woe, woe to the City, and to the Temple, and to the people;’ and, adding finally, ‘Woe, woe to myself!’ a stone cast from an engine slew him on the spot, and released his still-lamenting soul.”¹

¹ Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* lib. v. 11 and 12.

S. Paul about this time sends S. Titus to preach in Dalmatia.² S. Titus is said to have consecrated S. Domnius as first bishop of Salona,³ which was then the Metropolis.

S. Matthias suffers martyrdom in Colchis, having preached the Gospel in Cappadocia and on the shores of the Caspian Sea: residing chiefly near the port Issus.⁴

THIRTY-THIRD YEAR.

A.D. 66 (61). A.U.C. 817. NERONIS 10.

NERO, apparently in order to create a new City, to be called by his name, is asserted to have set fire to Rome.¹ The conflagration raged continuously for six days, or more.² Of the fourteen Regions of the City, four alone remained intact; three were burnt to the ground; in the other seven, only a few poor dwellings were left standing, half-consumed. The most ancient fanes,³ the temple of Vesta, the *penates* of the Roman people, the wealth accumulated by so many triumphs, the treasures of art brought from Greece, all

² 2 Tim. iv. 10. He is honoured in that country as its principal patron (F. Farlat, S.J. *Illyria Sacra*, t. i. p. 355).

³ Gams, however (*Series*, p. 419), makes S. Hermes immediately succeed S. Titus.

⁴ The Greek Menologies, quoted by Alban Butler, Feb. 24.

¹ The fire broke out after a sumptuous banquet given to Nero by Tigellinus in his Æmilian Gardens; and the favourite shared with his imperial master the odium of the act (Tacit. *ut infra*). This serves to point Juvenal's allusion to the Christian martyrs, given below (*Pone Tigellinum*, &c.). The minister would be as anxious as the Emperor to shift

the accusation from himself to the Christians.

² From July 16 to 22. Riess, *Geburtsjahr. Christi*.

³ Tacitus enumerates "the great altar and shrine" which Evander the Arcadian is said to have dedicated in the presence of Hercules; the temple of Jupiter Stator; the votive offering to Romulus; the ancient palace of Numa, near the temple of Vesta (cf. Hor. *Od.* I. ii. 15, 16), and on the slope of the Palatine, &c. &c. In the temple of Vesta was preserved the sacred fire, tended by the vestals, which was probably lost in the conflagration. Compare (though in a very different sense) 2 Mach. i. 18—36.

perished. Suetonius,⁴ Dion,⁵ and Tacitus,⁶ unite in charging the conflagration upon the Emperor.

To avert from himself the popular indignation, Nero accused the Christians as the authors of this crime.⁷ "Their death-agonies were aggravated by sport and mockery; they were wrapped in the skins of wild beasts, and torn to death by dogs; or fastened on crosses; or set on fire, and burnt by way of lamps lit up at night, when daylight failed:"⁸ wrapped in garments that had been steeped in combustibles, while they were kept motionless by pointed stakes that transfixed their throats. In this condition, they were stationed

⁴ *In Neron.* c. 38.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ This writer, with whom the Christian religion is *exitialis superstitio*, is yet candid enough to abstain from direct accusation of its disciples in this matter.

⁷ "To quash the rumour [of his guilt], Nero charged it on those men, already hated for their crimes, whom the common people called Christians; and on them he inflicted the most exquisite tortures. This name was derived from one Christus, who had been punished with death by the governor Pontius Pilate, in the reign of Tiberius. The deadly superstition, repressed for the moment, broke out again, not only through Judæa, where the evil had its rise, but also in the City [Rome], whither all that is either atrocious or shameful congregates, and obtains notoriety. Accordingly, those only were first apprehended who avowed themselves [Christians]; then, on their information, a vast number was convicted, not so much on the charge of the conflagration, as for [their] hatred of the human race." *Haud perinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt*" (Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44). It must be supposed that the "informers" of whom Tacitus here speaks, were Jews apprehended as Christians, by a confusion that was not uncommon, both then and afterwards

(Cf. ad A.D. 51). Some of them, moreover, might have been apostates, who thus purchased for themselves an immunity from threatened tortures.

⁸ Tacit. (*Ann. ut sup.*) Compare with the pagan historian's description of the torments to which the primitive Christians were subject, the terms in which Fathers of the Church spoke of them at a later period. S. Gregory Nyssen. says: "The mere preparatives for execution were enough to shake one with all horror. There were swords, fire, wild beasts, trenches and pits; those instruments, too, whereby the limbs were extended and racked; the heated iron chairs, the upright posts at which, while the sufferers stood in full tension, their bodies were torn by dreadful pointed teeth: and numberless other things which they invented, giving exquisite torture to the body in a variety of ways. The sole anxiety of those invested with such offices was, lest any one of them should be outdone by the rest in excess of barbarity. Neither pity for infants, nor respect to grey hairs, nor reverence for virtue, came into their embittered minds; no consideration for natural timidity could exempt even the weaker sex from the same perils. There was one savage law for all, and administered to all alike" (*Vita S. Greg. Thaum.* t. iii. p. 568, ed. Paris, 1638).

to illuminate Nero's gardens and circus,⁹ while he drove his chariot by the light of those horrible fires.¹⁰ Juvenal describes their tortures, in well-known lines:¹¹

Portray the favourite? you'll burn, among
Those living torches, men on flame—who stand
Reeking, each throat impal'd; then, ditchward drawn,
Score in the sand broad trails of charred limbs.

Seneca¹² probably refers to their suffering, when he commemorates, among the tortures inflicted during Nero's reign, impalement on a stake that passed up through the midst, and came forth at the lips; and also garments steeped in, or woven with, combustible materials.

An epistle, probably apocryphal, is extant, purporting to be from Seneca to S. Paul, on the subject of the conflagration. It was known to S. Jerome,¹³ and is mentioned by S. Augustine;¹⁴ who, however, could hardly have believed it authentic, since he elsewhere¹⁵ asserts that Seneca never mentions the Christians.

⁹ Elagabalus afterwards designed to enlarge this circus, to admit of elephant races, the animals to be harnessed four abreast. See Appendix Y.

¹⁰ Tacitus (*ut sup.*). He adds: "The populace, with their usual levity, turned to compassion for the sufferers, justly odious though they were held to be; as feeling that they were punished, not for their actual guilt, nor for the common weal, but to glut the ferocity of a single tyrant." Dr. Merivale adds: "This horrid sacrifice, so deeply impressive to the minds of sixty generations of Christians, ruffled then for a moment the feelings of Roman society, and excited perhaps in the heart of the historian, impassive as he constrains himself to appear, more pity, more wonder, more reflection, at least, than he has deigned to intimate. But a few days passed; and when the people looked again around them, they beheld the reconstruction of their smoking City com-

mencing with extraordinary vigour, &c." (*Hist.* vol. vi. pp. 352, 353).

¹¹ *Pone Tigellinum; tæda lucebis in illa,
Qua stantes ardent, qui fixo gutture
fumant,
Et latum media sulcum deducis
arena.* (Sat. I. 155, etc.)

¹² *Epist.* xiv. "Adactum per medium hominem, qui per os emergat, stipitem, et tunicum alimentis ignium illitam et intexam."

¹³ *De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. in Senecam.*

¹⁴ *Epist.* xiv. "It is hardly necessary to refer to the pretended letters between S. Paul and Seneca. Besides the evidence from style, some of the dates they contain are quite sufficient to condemn them as clumsy forgeries. They are mentioned, but with no expression of belief in their genuineness, by Jerome and Augustine. See Jones *On the Canon*, ii. 80" (Merivale, *Hist.* vol. vi. p. 457, note).

¹⁵ *De Civit. Dei.* xi. 6.

Gessius Florus is made Procurator of Judæa, in place of Albinus, and commences a mal-administration¹⁶ of oppression and cruelty, that soon brings on the revolt of the Jews. Cestius Gallus, prefect of Syria,¹⁷ seems to have been more lenient.

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR.

A.D. 67 (62). A.U.C. 818. NERONIS II.

THE persecution assumes more formal proportions, and seems to have extended to the provinces.¹ Nero publishes edicts against the Christians. The names of some few among the sufferers are preserved in the *Roman Martyrology*, together with an un-named company (June 24): but an immense number remain unknown, through the destruction of the Acts of their martyrdom by Diocletian.

SS. Gervasius and Protasius, the proto-martyrs of Milan,² seem now to have suffered, shortly before SS. Nazarius and Celsus, of the same city.

S. Aristarchus³ had been made Bishop of Thessalonica, but was S. Paul's fellow-prisoner at Rome, and suffered martyrdom there before him.⁴

S. Paul, before his last return to Rome, revisits Asia and Mace-

¹⁶ Joseph, *Antiq.* xviii. l. s. f. xx. i. *Bell. Jud.* II. xiv. &c.

¹⁷ For a complete list of the pro-consuls of Syria, from Quintus Didius, E.C. 30, to C. L. Mucianus, who succeeded Cestius Gallus, A.D. 63, see Dr. Merivale, *Hist.* vol. vii. p. 19, quoting Zumpt.

¹ Father Gruter reports an inscription found in Lusitania, commemorating the extinction by Nero of robbers in those parts, and also of "the enemies of the human race" (*Inscriptiones Antiquæ*, p. 283). It runs thus: "To Claudius Nero Cæsar Augustus, Pont. Max., for

having cleared the province of robbers, and of those who oppressed the human race with a new superstition." The inscription, however, has been rejected by critics.

² Surius, Sept. 12, Tillemont. S. Ambrose (*Epist.* 54, p. 316) says these Saints suffered when the Church in Milan was still barren of martyrs. Their relics were found, and translated, by S. Ambrose in the year 386, as those of SS. Nazarius and Celsus in 395 (S. Aug. *Confess.* tit. ix. c. 7; S. Ambrose, *Epist.* 54, in contradistinction to *Epist.* 53, which is rejected as spurious).

³ Col. iv. 10.

⁴ *Roman Martyrology*, August 4.

donia, goes to Crete, where he "leaves" S. Titus as its first bishop,⁵ and places S. Timotheus in his see at Ephesus;⁶ intending to return thither,⁷ though "all Asia was turned away from him."⁸

Thence he may have gone to Colossæ,⁹ Laodicea,¹⁰ and Hierapolis,¹¹ to which places this was perhaps his first visit.¹² Probably, the last Churches he visited were those of Macedonia,¹³ intending to spend the winter in Nicopolis.¹⁴

From Macedonia, according to one theory, the Apostle wrote his *First Epistle to S. Timotheus*,¹⁵ and that to *S. Titus*; sending it probably by Apollonius (Apollo) and Zenas.¹⁶ He then returned to Troas.¹⁷

Meanwhile, S. Peter is said to have preached both in the East and in the West, and to have spent some time in Britain.¹⁸

⁵ Tit. i. 5.

⁶ 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁷ 1 Tim. iii. 14.

⁸ 2 Tim. i. 15.

⁹ Philem. 22.

¹⁰ Col. ii. 1.

¹¹ Col. iv. 13.

¹² Cf. supra ad A.D. 55.

¹³ Phil. ii. 24.

¹⁴ Tit. iii. 12. Nicopolis, called also Cassiopæa, was a city in Epirus, built by Augustus to commemorate his victory at the neighbouring promontory of Actium, U.C. 723, B.C. 31. Hence its name, "City of Vic.ory." "Scribit Apostolus de Nicopoli, quæ in Actiaco littore sita," &c. (S. Jerome, *Proæn.* ix. 195). Another city of the same name, in Lesser Armenia, was built by Pompey, who had vanquished Mithridates near the spot. Emmaus was also called by that name (Moreri, *in verb.* Nicopolis).

¹⁵ The Apostle's warning to S. Timotheus of coming heresies (1 Tim. iv. 1—3) was in consequence of a special revelation made to him (Du Pin, *H. E.* i. 168), and was abundantly fulfilled, during the two succeeding centuries, by the heresies of the Encratites, Marcionites, and Manichæans (Cf. S. Chrys. *Hom.* xii. in

1 Tim. *inuit.*). For the expression "the last times," cf. Is. ii. 2, Mich. iv. 1, S. Matt. xx. 6, Acts ii. 17, 2 Tim. iii. 1, Heb. i. 2, 1 S. Pet. i. 20, 2 S. Pet. iii. 3, 1 S. John ii. 18, S. Jude 18.

¹⁶ See Tit. iii. 13. S. Jerome, *in loc.*, says that Apollonius was going to Corinth, of which place he was bishop. Others make him bishop of Dyrrachium, or of Colossæ.

¹⁷ 2 Tim. iv. 18.

¹⁸ Simeon Metaphrastes, a Greek author of "Lives of the Saints," who belongs probably to the tenth century, quotes Eusebius, perhaps from one of those many works of his which S. Jerome tells us are lost, to the effect that S. Peter spent twelve years in the East, and passed twenty at Rome, in *Britain*, and other cities in the West (See Cressy's *Church History*, p. 14). The same author adds: "S. Peter came out of the East to Rome, from whence . . . he passed into Britain; in which island having made a long abode, and converted to the faith of Christ several nations of unknown names, he had a vision of angels, which said to him: 'Peter, the time of thy dissolution is at hand, and it is necessary that thou go to Rome, where thou must

A conspiracy of many of the Roman nobles against the Emperor's life, headed by Piso, is discovered. Nero's former preceptor, Annæus Seneca,¹⁹ is involved in it, and suffers death, together with the philosopher's nephew, the poet Lucan. Among the victims also is Plautius Lateranus,²⁰ of consular rank; owner of that palace and basilica on the Cælian Hill, afterwards given by Constantine to S. Silvester, which became "the Mother and Mistress of all churches," and the seat of the five²¹ Lateran Councils, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR.

A.D. 68 (63). A.U.C. 819. NERONIS 12.

SS. PETER AND PAUL return to Rome, each from his distant missions. S. Paul had probably spent the winter in Nicopolis, and had gone thence to Ephesus, to find S. Timotheus there.¹ He had

suffer the death of the Cross, and so receive the reward of righteousness.' Having received this revelation, he glorified God, giving thanks for the same; and he continued certain days among the Britons, during which he enlightened many more with the word of grace. Having constituted churches, and ordained bishops, priests, and deacons, in the twelfth year of the Emperor Nero he returned to Rome" (Cf. 2 S. Peter i. 14).

¹⁹ Seneca's wealth, notwithstanding his Stoic principles, was immense. One account states that the insurrection in Britain under Boadicea was partly owing to his vexatious prosecutions of British chieftains, who had borrowed of him ten millions of drachmas (about £480,000) to pay the levies exacted of them (Lingard, *Hist. Engl.* vol. i. p. 29).

*Hinc usura vorax, rapidumque in tempore
foenus,
Hinc concussa fides, et multis utile bellum.*

Lucan, quoted by Bacon in his Essay

(XV.) "Of Seditions and Troubles." "High as the great philosopher [Seneca] strained the principles of virtue in his sublimest exhortations, he often acknowledged, in descending to a lower level, that for his own part he aspired only to be not the worst among bad men" (see Senec. *Epist.* 75, *De Vita Beata*, 17). "He preached, he owned, more rigidly than he practised" (Merivale, *Hist. &c.* vol. vi. 281).

²⁰ He was put to death with circumstances of great ignominy, and in such haste that he was not permitted to embrace his children (Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 60). Suetonius (in *Ner.* c. 37) says that all the victims were despatched an hour after the conspiracy was discovered. The dignified way in which Lateranus met his death (Tacit. *loc. cit.*) accords with the character given of him by Arrian, in *Epictet.* i. 1.

²¹ Eleven Councils altogether have been held in the Lateran.

¹ Du Pin, *H. E.* vol. i. p. 170.

been accompanied by Trophimus, who remained in Ephesus, out of health; while the Apostle proceeded to Troas, and thence, perhaps, straight to Rome.

SS. Peter and Paul were drawn to the Eternal City by Divine Providence, to succour the afflicted Church.² They came thither by inspiration, says S. Athanasius;³ the Holy Spirit having revealed to them that Rome was to be the scene of their sufferings.

The persecution is in some measure diminished, or diverted, by the recent conspiracy, and the punishment of the victims;⁴ so that the Apostles are able partly to build up the Church's ruins, and to reconcile those who may have lapsed.

It was perhaps during the second presence of the Apostles in Rome, that they sent missionary bishops into Spain. The seven following are enumerated: S. Torquatus, Bishop of Guadix (*Acci*), S. Secundus, of Abula (*Avila*), S. Indaletius, of Urçi, S. Ctesiphon, of Bergii (*Verja*), S. Cæcilius, of Eliberis (*Elvira Granada*), S. Esitius (Hesy chius), of Carcasæ (*Cazorla*), and S. Euphrasius of Illiturgi and other places.⁵

S. Peter writes his *Second Epistle* to the converted from among the Jews; warning them against the heretical doctrines and corrupt practices of various false teachers, especially the Nicolaitans.⁶ The

² "De illis Ecclesiæ apicibus, immo oculis, qui omnem loquendi superant facultatem, nihil diversum, nihil debemus sentire discretum, quia illos et electio pares, et labor similes, et finis fecit æquales" (S. Leo, *Serm. I. de SS. Pet. et Paul.*).

³ *Apol. De Fuga Sua*, § 121, 127.

⁴ No one seems to have been found to charge the Christians with this crime. It was reserved for later persecution to cloak itself under a political pretext.

⁵ "Historians of the third century make mention of the churches of Leon, Astorga, Cæsaraugusta, Tarragona, and others, which the Mozarabic liturgy and Spanish writers affirm were founded by the seven bishops, Torquatus, Ctesiphon, Secundus, Indaletius, Hesy chius, and

Euphrasius, whom SS. Peter and Paul sent as missionaries to Spain" (Alzog, t. i. p. 242, quoting Gams, p. 3 and 98, *quem vid.*).

⁶ Apoc. ii. 6. See above, ad ann. 1. They soon adopted the name Gnostic, as pretending to an exterior and exclusive γνῶσις, or knowledge (1 Tim. vi. 20). S. John's first Epistle, *passim*, and his use of the term γνῶσις. S. Paul also warns his disciple against the ἀντιθέσει τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνῶσεως. "Some think the Apostle here designates the Gnostics. They were not, however, as yet so named, though their heresies had begun to show themselves; and heretics in general may be more probably understood" (Ornsby). It was chiefly against the Gnostics that S. Irenæus directed

Apostle is followed in his line of argument, and often in his very words and sentences, by *S. Jude* (or Thaddæus)⁷ brother of S. James the Less, who seems to have written his *Catholic Epistle* soon after S. Peter's martyrdom, and therefore in the Pontificate of S. Linus.⁸

S. Peter announces⁹ that his life was near its close, and that our Lord had made this known to him by direct communication.

S. Peter's wife is said by Clement of Alexandria¹⁰ to have suffered martyrdom before the Apostle. He met her on the way to her suffering, and exhorted and encouraged her, saying: "Remember thou the Lord." The virgin Aurelia Petronilla, whose name occurs in Christian antiquity, was almost certainly his spiritual daughter,¹¹ as the Apostle calls S. Mark his "son." She lived a consecrated life, died a holy death in Rome, and is named in the *Roman Martyrology*, May 31.

Simon Magus, whom S. Peter had already discomfited at Samaria and at Cæsarea,¹² was now in Rome, and held in great favour by Nero, because of his wonder-workings. He once more opposed the Apostle, while he flattered the Emperor,¹³ who was greatly addicted to magic, and had gathered its professors from all parts of the world. Simon, to support the pretensions he had made,¹⁴ of being "some great one," and "the power of God, which is called great," announced

his five books, entitled (in the Latin version, the Greek title being lost), "Detectionis et eversionis falso cognominatae agnitionis, seu contra hæreses."

⁷ Cf. ad A.D. 43, note 2. It has been inferred from v. 17 of S. Jude's Epistle that it was written after the greater part of the Apostles had died. Of S. Jude's own death nothing certain is known.

⁸ Wouter's *Hist. Eccl. Compend.* vol. i. p. 56.

⁹ 2 S. Peter i. 13, 14. Compare S. John xxi. 18, 19.

¹⁰ *Strom.* lib. vii. 11.

¹¹ Baronius (ad ann. 69) points out that her name is derived, not from Petrus, but from Petronius, as Priscilla from Priscus, &c. Moreover, her *pre-*

nomen Aurelia, found on her sarcophagus, associates her with a noble Roman family. "The name Petro was no stranger to the family of Domitilla; for Titus Flavius Petro was the father of the first T. F. Sabinus; and if Petronilla was descended from this Petro, as she may have been on her mother's side, it is at once accounted for how she found her place of burial on the property of her relative Domitilla" (Northcote and Brownlow, *Roma Sotteranea*, i. 122). See the pedigree, ad ann. 57, note.

¹² See above, ad ann. 2.

¹³ Plin. *N. H.* xxx. c. 2. This passion for magical arts divided with music the Emperor's devotion.

¹⁴ Acts viii. 9, 10.

that he would ascend through the air to Heaven,¹⁵ and thence procure all benefits to his votaries. The spectacle took place in presence of an immense concourse, and his magical power enabled him to rise to a certain height; but by S. Peter's prayers¹⁶ he fell, broke his limbs, and perished miserably.¹⁷ On which, Nero, enraged,¹⁸ caused S. Peter,¹⁹ together with S. Paul,²⁰ to be thrust into the Tullian, or Mamertine, prison,²¹ where they were kept nine months, from the beginning of October in this year, till the end of June in the next.

Nero proceeds to Achaia, to superintend the cutting through the isthmus of Corinth, and takes Vespasian with him. He leaves the government of Rome to the freedman, Helius. The martyrdom of the Apostles is delayed till his return. Before his departure, he commands all philosophers to leave Rome; Apollonius of Tyana²² among the number, who accordingly sets out for Spain.

¹⁵ Another account says, he promised to fly from the Capitol to the Aventine, if S. Peter would follow. A former pretender had made the same attempt, had fallen in the crowded theatre, and sprinkled the Emperor himself with his blood (Suet. *Nero*, c. 19).

¹⁶ S. Cyr. Jerus. (*Catech* vi. n. 15) says it was by the united prayers of SS. Peter and Paul.

¹⁷ For the crowd of authorities, sacred and profane, in attestation of this, see Baronius, *in hoc ann.* F. Waterworth's *England and Rome*, pp. 13—18.

¹⁸ Lactantius, however, ascribes the martyrdom of the Apostles to Nero's anger at the miracles wrought by S. Peter, and the "great multitude of conversions that resulted from his preaching" (*De Morte Persecutor*, c. ii. p. 523). Probably both motives combined. Cf. ad A.D. 59, *sf.*

¹⁹ "Peter, who was set above the Apostles, after being often seized, imprisoned, and ignominiously treated, at length was crucified at Rome" (S. Pet. Alexandr. *in Canon IX. Galland*, t. iv. p. 98.)

²⁰ On the probably cause of S. Paul's

imprisonment and martyrdom, see above, A.D. 59, note 24.

²¹ On the proofs for this, and for the genuineness of the chains shown in the church of S. Peter ad Vincula, in Rome, see the monograph of the Abbate Monsocrate, *De Caten. S. Petri Diss.* Romæ, 1750, and Cancellieri, *Notizie del Carc. Tull.* c. xiv. The very ancient chapel in the Tower of London is dedicated, not inappropriately, under the same title of St. Peter's Chains.

²² It had been a prophecy of Apollonius of Tyana, when at Corinth: "This tongue of land will be cut through; or, rather, it will not." The words were taken to be fulfilled by the commencement of the undertaking by Nero, and its being left incomplete at his death (Suet. *Nero*, c. 19). But the event might easily have been foreseen; the distance between the two gulfs of the "bimaris Corinthus" would have made the scheme appear an impossible one, without a greater expense of money and labour than the Senate would have been likely to grant. A Roman Emperor was not, after all, an autocratic Xerxes. See Appendix V.

When the Jews assemble at Jerusalem for the Azymes and the Pasch, various prodigies occur, in token of the approaching calamities and destruction of the City. At nine in the evening, there shone round the altar and the Temple, a light as strong as that of mid-day, which lasted for half-an-hour. The eastern gate of the Temple, which was of brass, so heavy that twenty men could hardly move it, with iron bars, and bolts entering deeply into the monolith threshold, was found open, and was closed by the "Captain of the Temple" and his assistants, with difficulty. A few days after the Pasch, before sunset, in various parts of the country were seen chariots and armed troops, now in the air, now traversing the streets, and surrounding the City. Finally, on the feast of Pentecost, the priests who enter the Temple for the functions of the solemnity, hear a Voice that exclaims, "Let us depart hence."²³ The events denoted by these signs follow immediately; for,

This year, the seventeenth of King Agrippa, the Jews, driven to desperation by the exactions and tyranny of the Procurator, Gessius Florus, rise against the garrison, and massacre all the Romans in the city. Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, comes with a numerous army, devastates the towns that lie on his way to Jerusalem, and invests the City in the month of October. Thus, at the same time when the two Apostles are imprisoned in Rome for the Faith, Jerusalem, "that slew the prophets," and rejected our Lord, enters on her period of unexampled calamity. The siege, however, is at first conducted with slackness; so that the Christians, led by their bishop, S. Simeon, were enabled to escape,²⁴ and retire beyond the Jordan to

²³ Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* ii. 12, Tacit. *Hist.* v. 13. The pagan historian adds that while some few (?) were moved by these prodigies to fear, "pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, 'ut valesceret Oriens, profectique Judææ rerum potirentur.'" It is very suggestive, that while the Jews were thus relying on their ancient books of prophecy for the temporal restoration of Israel, two men were at that moment lying in the

Mamertine dungeon in distant Rome, through whom the true glory and freedom of "the Israel of God" (Gal. vi. 15, 16) was to be especially wrought.

²⁴ See S. Matt. xxiv. 15, etc. S. Epiphanius (*Hæres.* 29, et *De Mensuris* 30) says, they were warned by an angel to escape, inasmuch as the City was doomed to destruction. "When the city was rebuilt, the Christians who had gone forth from it before its destruction, returned again, accompanied by Simeon

Pella in Decapolis. The heresies of the Nazarenes, the Ebionites, and others, are said to have originated among those who remained in that city.²⁵

Eusebius²⁶ says that the episcopal chair of S. James had been preserved to his own times; so that it must have been saved with other holy relics and dedicated objects.

Remarkable coincidences of names, traditions, and evident remnants of Christianity, have induced a belief in several authors, that about this time S. Thomas was evangelizing portions of Mexico, Peru, and Yucatan.²⁷ If so, it was probably before his recorded labours in Æthiopia, or in the Indian peninsula; in which latter region he suffered martyrdom by thrusts of a lance, and where his tomb is still shown, at Meliapor.

their bishop. The thirteen bishops who, between this time and the reign of Hadrian, successively followed Simeon, were of Jewish birth, and the communities over which they presided continued to observe (?) the Mosaic law. [Cf. Acts xxi. 18—30]. But, when the notorious *Bar Cochba* (i.e., "Son of the Star" — Numb. xxiv. 17), calling himself the Messiah . . . had excited the Jews to rebellion in the reign of Hadrian, the whole of Palestine was laid waste, and the community of Christian Jews in Jerusalem driven out of the City." (Münter: *The Jewish War under Trajan and Hadrian*, Lps. 1821.) The exiles took refuge with the Christians of pagan descent living at Ælia Capitolina, a city in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, built by and named after Ælius Hadrianus, and of which Mark, a man of gentile birth, was bishop. The Church of Cæsarea (Stratonis) in Palestine, was still more important than that of Ælia; [cf. ad A.D. 37, note 7, s. f.] but the Church of Antioch, of which S. Peter and Evodius had been bishops, and to which a fresh glory had been added by the martyrdom of S. Ignatius (A.D. 107 or 114), was always regarded as the

most influential Church of the East" (Alzog. t. i. p. 237).

²⁵ Tillemont in *S. Sim.* Hegesippus asserts that before the death of S. Simeon, who lived to see the beginning of the second century (till A.D. 107) and the time of Trajan, no heretic ventured to *teach* errors publicly. But see Apoc. ii. 6, 15.

²⁶ *Hist.* vii. 14.

²⁷ Appendix W. "John III., King of Portugal, ordered the body of S. Thomas to be sought for in an old ruinous chapel which stood over his tomb without the walls of Meliapor. By digging there in 1523, a very deep vault in form of a chapel was discovered, in which were found the bones of the Saint, with a part of the lance with which he was slain, and a vial tinged with his blood. The body of the Apostle was put in a chest of porcelain, varnished and adorned with silver. . . The Portuguese built a new town about this church, which is called S. Thomas's. . . Many of the Christians of S. Thomas . . . continue in the Nestorian errors, and in obedience to the Nestorian patriarch of Mosul" (Alb. Butl. in Dec. 21).

THIRTY-SIXTH YEAR.

A.D. 69 (64). A.U.C. 820. NERONIS 13.

VESPASIAN is sent by Nero from Achaia into Judæa, to allay the rebellion; superseding Domitius Corbulo, who is summoned to return and meet the Emperor, probably at Corinth. At Cenchreæ, Corbulo is met by a command from his imperial master, to kill himself.¹

Vespasian sends his son Titus to Alexandria, to bring thence the fifth and the tenth legions to the seat of war; while he himself crosses the Hellespont into Syria, and there concentrates the Roman forces, together with a considerable number of auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings.²

Nero returns from Achaia,³ with great pomp and triumph:⁴ but his cruelties and extravagances have made him intolerable to the Senate and people of Rome. Twenty days earlier, as it seems, than the martyrdom of the holy Apostles, S. Peter and S. Paul, (which was probably by his orders), on the ninth⁵ of June, and on the same day on which, six years before, he had put to death his wife Octavia, Nero commits suicide, to avoid death at the hands of soldiers sent by the Senate.

The government of the city is left in the hands of Tigellinus

¹ "Without murmur or remonstrance, he plunged a sword into his heart, exclaiming, as he struck the blow: 'Rightly served!'" (Dion, lxi. 17: *παύων ἑλεγεν, ἕξιος*. Merivale, p. 31.)

² Josephus, *De Bell. Jud.* iii. 1, 3.

³ S. Clement, however (1 Cor. v.), says of S. Paul, that he "suffered martyrdom under the prefects," viz., Sabinus and Tigellinus, who had charge of affairs after the suicide of Nero, until the

arrival of Galba, who was chosen as his successor. Fleury interprets S. Clement as meaning that Nero was still in Achaia (*H. E.* ii. xxx.). Nero's death was certainly in June of this year, and must therefore have very nearly coincided with that of the Apostles.

⁴ Sueton. in *Ner.* c. 25.

⁵ Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii. p. 48. Fleury says the same.

and Nymphidius Sabinus,⁶ under whose regency the holy Apostles suffered, on one and the same day, their glorious martyrdom.⁷

During their imprisonment, they had converted their gaolers, SS. Processus and Martinianus, together with forty-seven other soldiers of the guard; these were all afterwards martyred.⁸ For their baptism, a fountain sprang up miraculously in the lower Mamertine Prison, which flows to this day.

S. Paul is supposed, by those who adopt the later of two dates, to have recently written his *Second Epistle to Timothy*.⁹ That S. Paul's second imprisonment in Rome was the date of this Epistle, seems probable from the mention of Demas having forsaken him.¹⁰

The faithful had earnestly implored S. Peter to endeavour to preserve his life for his flock. Yielding to their importunity, he left the prison by night, and went as far as the gate of the City, where he had a vision of our Lord entering in; and, to his question: "Lord, whither goest Thou?" answering: "I am going again to be crucified."¹¹ On which answer, the Apostle returned to his prison, to await his martyrdom.¹²

⁶ Others give the names Helius Cæsarianus and Polycletus. See Hefele's Note to the fifth chapter of the first Epistle of S. Clement to the Corinthians, in his edition of the *Patres Apostolici*. See also the preceding year.

⁷ Prudentius (*Peristeph. hymn. 12*), and S. Augustine (*Serm. de Sancti. 28*) seem to have thought the martyrdoms took place in successive years; but Baronius brings an overwhelming list of writers to the contrary, besides the *Roman Martyrology*, the *Greek Menology*, and the Acts of their Passion, said to be by S. Linus.

⁸ *Rom. Martyrol.* March 14, and July 2.

⁹ Not knowing, apparently, that his martyrdom was so close at hand (see 2 Tim. iv. 8, 11, 13, 21), though conscious that he was "ready to be sacri-

ficed" (*Ibid.* 6, 8). In contrast with S. Peter, who had a foreknowledge of the proximate "laying away of his tabernacle" (2 S. Pet. i. 13, 15), either by our Lord's previous words to him (S. John xxi. 19), or by some later revelation. The expression in 2 Tim. iv. 11 seems inconsistent with S. Paul's being then in prison with S. Peter, and presents one of the difficulties in determining the date of that epistle.

¹⁰ C. iv. 9. Cf. sup. ad A.D. 59.

¹¹ S. Ambrose, in *Auxent. De Basil. Non Trad.* and the Acts of S. Linus, and of SS. Processus and Martinianus. Also Hegeſippus (lib. iii.), *Excidii Hierosolomytani* (c. 2). The tradition is perpetuated in the small church erected on the spot in Rome, and entitled: *Domine, Quo Vadis?*

¹² Appendix A.

S. Paul was scourged,¹³ as well as S. Peter, notwithstanding the privilege of his Roman citizenship, which had exempted him on former occasions.¹⁴ Being then led out beyond the walls, they bade each other farewell at a spot on the Ostian Way,¹⁵ still commemorated by an ancient bas-relief and inscription;¹⁶ then each proceeded to the appointed place of his sufferings.

S. Paul was led *ad Aquas Salvias*,¹⁷ three miles beyond the Ostian Gate, to be decapitated as a Roman citizen.¹⁸ On his way, he converted three soldiers of the escort, who were afterwards martyred. When the head of the Apostle was struck off, milk instead of blood flowed from his veins,¹⁹ and the spot has always been named the "Three Fountains." These sprang up in miraculous attestation of the sacred head having thrice rebounded on the spot. His body was taken by S. Lucina, a Christian lady of consular rank, and buried

¹³ He had undergone that ignominious punishment thrice, seemingly, at the hands of the Romans (2 Cor. xi. 25; cf. Acts xvi. 22, 23, 37, 38), as well as five times from the Jews (2 Cor. xi. 24). Josephus, *Bell. Jud. II.* xiv. s. f. mentions that Gessius Florus, among other barbarities, had scourged some Jews "of the equestrian order," and crucified them before his tribunal: "who, though Jews by birth, were, notwithstanding, of Roman dignity."

¹⁴ Acts xxii. 24-25. In the church of S. Maria trans Tiberim, are venerated the two pillars to which the Apostles were bound during their scourging.

¹⁵ Not far from the Palatine bridge, the present *Ponte Rotto* (Gerbet, *Rome Chrétienne* vol. i. p. 25).

¹⁶ The inscription (in ancient Italian) records the farewell words addressed by each Apostle to the other, as taken from a letter purporting to be from S. Dionysius the Areopagite to Timothy. It runs thus: "In questo luogo si separavano S. Pietro et S. Pavolo, andando al martirio, et dice Pavolo a

Pietro: La pace sia con teo fundamento della chiesa et pastore di tutti li agnelli di Christo: et Pietro a Pavolo, Va in pace, predicatore dei buoni, et guida de la salute dei justii." It will be seen that the language, at the date of this inscription, had only made half its way from the Latin to its present form.

¹⁷ A place afterwards used for other martyrdoms. S. Zeno, with ten thousand Christian soldiers, died there by the sword (*Rom. Martyrol.* July 9). The napkin with which S. Paul's eyes were bound, according to custom, the Apostle had asked a noble matron, Plautilla, to lend him. It was afterwards returned to her, and preserved as a great relic. In the time of S. Gregory the Great, the Empress Constantia besought the Pope to send it to her, but without obtaining the request (S. Greg. *Epist.* iii. 3).

¹⁸ Contrast note ad A.D. 44.

¹⁹ Ambros. *Serm.* 68, Chrysost. *Orat. in Prim. App.* t. v. Acta S. Lin. The same miracle attended the martyrdom of S. Martina (*Ribadeneyra* in Jan. 30).

on her property on the Ostian Way.²⁰ S. Paul's age is said to have been that of our Lord; he was therefore martyred in his sixty-ninth year. S. Stephen, his former victim, had preceded him to his "crown of life" by more than half the Apostle's lifetime.²¹

S. Peter, as a Jew, was taken across the Tiber to the Jews' quarter,²² and there crucified, on the Janiculum Hill. The spot is sometimes called the Vatican, these two hills being contiguous, and not very distinct. He petitioned to be crucified with his head downwards, as not worthy to suffer like his Lord. The Acts of S. Linus assert, that S. Peter's body was prepared for burial with aromatic spices, by Marcellus the presbyter. It was interred in a small catacomb²³ or cemetery²⁴ on the slope of the Vatican²⁵ Hill, near the

²⁰ So Caius, who visited Rome in the time of S. Zephyrinus, says to Proclus, the Cataphrygian, in his disputation with him: "I can show you the trophies of the Apostles; for if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who laid the foundation of this [the Roman] Church" (*Apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 25.*)

²¹ See Gen. xlix. 27, and S. Augustine's application of the prophecy to S. Paul, who was of the tribe of Benjamin. *Serm. xiv. De Sanctis.*; Brev. Rom. in Jan. 25, ii. Noct.

²² In the time of Augustus, the Trans-tiberine quarter had been occupied by Jews, who were for the most part freedmen. They had been expelled by Claudius, but returned after his death (Cf. ad A.D. 51, and 57). "The Jews residing in Rome undoubtedly formed a considerable community at the time of the death of Christ; for, although the date of their expulsion by Claudius cannot be strictly determined, it is clear from that event that they had already excited the jealousy of the Imperial government. That the Gospel had previously been made known to some at least among them, may be inferred from the fact that Aquila and

Priscilla at once joined S. Paul at Corinth. The Roman Jews inhabited the right bank of the Tiber, or what is now termed the Transteverine quarter of the City; and they appear to have had a very early catacomb of their own, in the Monte Verde, contiguous to their place of abode. This catacomb was visited by Bosio in the beginning of the seventeenth century," &c. "The Roman Catacombs," *Edinb. Review*, Jan. 1859, p. 102.

²³ Known always, in later times, as S. Peter's "Confession;" the spot made sacred by the relics of one who had witnessed a good confession, as a *μαρτυρο* for the truth. S. Zoa *Martyrol. Rom.* July 5, was apprehended while praying here, as was S. Tranquillinus (*Ibid.* July 6, at that of S. Paul. The place where a martyr's body was laid, was also frequently called his *memoria*, and sometimes his "trophy." The word "catacomb" is one of debased Latinity, apparently corrupted from the strange compound, *κατα τumba*. S. Gregory the Great, in a sermon preached at the *memoria* of SS. Nereus and Achilleus, says: "Sancti isti, ad quorum tumbam consistimus," etc. (*S. Greg. Hom. 28*). These subterranean were furnished a

Gardens and circus of Nero,²⁶ the scene of so many previous martyrdoms, where the "living torches, men on fire,"²⁷ had stood, to light up the scene of the Emperor's diversions.

Nero died in the thirty-first year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign. The family of Cæsar Augustus became extinct by his death, and gave place to the Flavian. S. Augustine reckons Nero as chief on the list of wicked Emperors. Many of the Christians held him to be Antichrist, and believed he was to reappear at the end of the world.²⁸

The disorders in the Empire consequent on Nero's death, the threatening attitude of the Galatæ and Celtæ, the prospect of an insurrection of the Jews "of the dispersion" beyond the Euphrates, are enumerated by Josephus,²⁹ as chief causes that revived the hopes of emancipation in those Jews who dwelt in the Holy Land, and in Jerusalem.

noble thought to a French writer: "La religion, comme son Divin Auteur, devait passer quelques jours au sein de la terre pour en sortir plus radieuse encore. Les persecutions, les catacombes et le martyre, trois mots qui rappellent les commencements et la gloire de l'Église!" (*Cathédrales de France*, par Bourassé, p. 401). Appendix X.

²⁴ Κοιμητήριον, "sleeping-place," was an essentially Christian word (see S. John xi. 11—13, Acts vii. 59, 1 Cor. vii. 39, xv. 20, 1 Thess. iv. 12, 13, 2 S. Pet. iii. 4), and took the place of "columbarium," the pagan term which implies that the bodies of the dead had been reduced to ashes, and deposited in small urns within the pigeon-holes of a family vault. ("The heathen expression was *situs, positus, or compositus*; the Christian term, *depositus, depositio*, implying a different shade of meaning").

²⁵ Appendix Y.

²⁶ The circus must have been coincident, or nearly so, with the sweep of the double colonnade round the Piazza of S. Peter's. Its enlargement was afterwards contemplated, according to some accounts, by Elagabalus.

²⁷ Tæda lucebis in illa, &c.

(Cf. ad A.D. 66 supra).

²⁸ "The idea that Nero still survived, and the expectation of his return to power, continued long to linger among [the Romans]. More than one pretender arose to claim his empire; and twenty years later, a false Nero was protected by the Parthians. This popular anticipation was the foundation, perhaps, of the common persuasion of the Christians, when the death of the prince was no longer questioned, that he should revisit the earth in the character of Antichrist; and both Romans and Christians seem to have combined in believing that the East, and possibly that Jerusalem itself, would be the scene of his reappearance (Sueton. *Nero*, 40, cf. 56; and Tacit. *Hist.* ii. 8). There will be different opinions whether this idea sprang originally from the Christians or the Romans; probably it was the result of a common feeling, reacting from one to the other" (Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans under the Empire*, vol. vii. p. 50).

²⁹ Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* Præf. 2.

Vespasian, having heard of the revolt of Vindex in Gaul, determines to push on to Jerusalem, and there finish the war. He concentrates his forces at Cæsarea for that purpose; when the news reaches him of Nero's death. Hereupon, Titus, accompanied by Herod Agrippa II., sets sail for Rome, to ask directions from Galba about the Jewish campaign. On the coast of Achaia, they learn that the new Emperor also had been slain, after a reign of seven months and seven days. Agrippa proceeds, nevertheless, on his voyage; but Titus returns with all speed to Vespasian at Cæsarea.³⁰

The army at Cæsarea proclaims Vespasian, Emperor. To secure the purple, he sends Titus to Alexandria, on the 1st of July, with commission to receive the oaths of the two legions there. Vespasian pushes on to Antioch, whence he despatches Mutianus, Proconsul of Syria, to Rome, with an army.

S. Titus, returning from his Apostolate in Dalmatia, goes to his Cretan diocese, and probably resided chiefly at Gortyna,³¹ where he was finally buried, æt. 94.³²

S. Andrew, brother of the Prince of the Apostles, who first brought him to our Lord,³³ suffered later than S. Peter, though the time is uncertain. Some refer it to the reign of Domitian. His crucifixion took place at Patræ, in Achaia, under the Proconsul Ægeas,³⁴ and is described in an Epistle of the Achaian clergy,³⁵ which was publicly read in the churches.³⁶

³⁰ *De Bell. Jud.* book iv. c. ix.

³¹ About six miles from the spurs of Mount Ida.

³² His body was preserved with great veneration in the Cathedral; his head was conveyed to Venice, where it was venerated in S. Mark's. His successor was S. Philip (*Martyrol. Rom.* Apr. 11). The See was afterwards removed to Candia. The island was not taken by the Turks till 1669 (*Oriens Christ.* ii. 257, &c. iii. 908, &c. Fl. Coener, *Creta Sacra*, t. i. et ii.).

³³ S. John i. 40—42.

³⁴ When brought before Ægeas, the Apostle was bidden, as was usual, to

sacrifice to the idols. He answered: "I sacrifice every day to Almighty God—the One and True—not the flesh of bulls, nor the blood of goats, but the Spotless Lamb on the altar; whose Flesh when all the multitude of believers hath eaten, the Lamb who has been sacrificed remaineth whole, and liveth still." For an account of the translation of the Apostle's head from Patræ to Rome, see Appendix Z.

³⁵ This encyclical epistle, addressed "to all the Churches in the East and West, in the North and South, established in the Name of Christ," concludes with the words: "These things were

S. Peter was succeeded in the Supreme Pontificate by S. Linus,³⁷ whom he had previously ordained his coadjutor³⁸ (together with S. Cletus) to supply his place during his absences from Rome. S. Linus had a Pontificate of eleven years, and was martyred in the ninth year of Vespasian, being succeeded by S. Cletus; he, again, by S. Clement, and he, by S. Anacletus.

S. Philip the Apostle survived at least until A.D. 81, and perhaps some time after.³⁹

Vespasian, in Judæa, executes his task of repression with great done in the province of Achaia, in the city of Patras, the day before the Calends of December, where even now [his] benefits are dispensed, to the glory and praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen." Another version gives: "In the reign of the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom," &c.

³⁶ His body, as we learn from the Achaian epistle, was taken down by a devout lady of senatorian rank, named Maximilla, embalmed, and laid in the most honourable place at her disposal. "Maximilla Christo amabilis, tulit corpus Apostoli, optimo loco cum aromatibus sepelivit." She was following in this respect the example of the two SS. Lucina, and of others, who devoted special places on their estates to the burial of martyrs. Many of these were afterwards transferred to the catacombs. The expression, *aromatibus sepelivit*, is supposed by De Rossi to have a technical force, equivalent to saying, "buried with the honours due to a Saint" (See F. Mullooly's *S. Clement*, &c. p. xv. note).

³⁷ "Peter first filled that one sole Chair (Cathedram unicam), which is the first of the [Church's] gifts; to him succeeded Linus; to Linus, Clement; to Clement, Anacletus," &c. (S. Optatus Milev. *De Schism. Donat.* l. ii. n. 2—4).

³⁸ Johannes Papa III. *Epist. ad Episc. Germ.* and Leo II. *Epist. (apud Marian.*

Scot. in Clem.) affirm this. S. Epiph. (*Hæres.* 27) and Ruffinus (*Præf. lib. Recognit.*) add, that S. Clement also was ordained by S. Peter himself, but declined the Episcopate until the two coadjutors had succeeded in turn. He is known to have been martyred in the third year of Trajan. His ordination by S. Peter is also affirmed by Tertullian (*De Præscr. Hæret.* n. 32). Not only by many of the Fathers, but in the Sacred Canon of the Mass, S. Linus is named first, S. Clement third. The second was S. Cletus, the fourth S. Anacletus, though these two have been frequently confounded; e.g. by Fleury (*H. E.* ii. xxvi.). Tertullian is mistaken in placing S. Clement *fourth*, viz., after S. Anacletus. S. Irenæus, in a well-known passage (*Adv. Hæres.* iii. 3, 2, 3), reckons S. Peter's three successors as Linus, Anacletus, Clement; apparently taking Anacletus for Cletus.

³⁹ Tillemont, t. i. pt. iii. p. 956. This very cautious, perhaps over-cautious, writer rejects as false the accounts which make S. Philip die at the age of eighty-seven, under Domitian or Trajan. He even doubts whether the holy Apostle was a martyr, though the Roman Breviary expressly affirms that he was at once crucified and stoned to death at Hierapolis in Phrygia. But Tillemont may be entitled the Niebuhr of sacred and ecclesiastical history.

vigour and cruelty.⁴⁰ In Galilee, one hundred thousand Jews perish, and forty thousand captives are led away, or sold into slavery.⁴¹ Many of these were afterwards compelled to build the Colosseum⁴² in Rome.

A great massacre of the Samaritans takes place at Mount Gerizim,⁴³ by Cerealis, commander of the Fifth Legion. On their refusal of his terms, he fell upon them and slew them all; being eleven thousand six hundred men.⁴⁴

Josephus, the Jewish leader and subsequent historian, is taken prisoner on the capture of Jotapata, the siege of which he has minutely described.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Though a good prince, by comparison with others who preceded and followed him, and therefore the only one of the Twelve Cæsars who died a natural death, or was succeeded by his son, Vespasian seems to have been severe to the Christians as well as to the Jews. The *Roma Subterranea* (of Bosio?) quoted by Röhrbacher, *Hist. de l'Eglise*, vol. i. p. 663, gives an inscription from a slab found in the Catacombs: "Christ hath given thee all things, and thou dost reply by the death of Gaudentius. Thus, O cruel Vespasian, dost thou show thy gratitude: but Christ hath prepared for him another sphere (theatrum) in Heaven."

⁴¹ Tacitus reports the number of those who were afterwards besieged in Jerusalem itself, as six hundred thousand (*Hist.* v. 13). Josephus gives the total number slain during the whole war, as 1,356,460, and of prisoners, 101,700.

⁴² So called, it is said, from a colossal statue of Nero, that stood there. Gibbon, however, perhaps with greater probability, derives the name simply from the vast dimensions of the building. See Appendix AA. The immense grottoes, existing beneath the Passionist convent of SS. John and Paul on the Cælian, were "hewn perhaps by the Jewish prisoners of Titus, who were employed

in the excavation of the materials used in the erection of the Coliseum" (*Edinb. Rev.* ut supra. Thus, after a period of fifteen hundred years, the once chosen people had to serve under task-masters more cruel, and in a harder toil, than in their ancient Egyptian bondage. The Christians became involved in a similar fate. Thus, under Trajan, S. Clement, Pope, was banished to the Crimea, and shared with his flock the labour of hewing marble from the quarries there.

⁴³ Deut. xi. 29, xxvii. 12; Jos. viii. 33; Jud. ix. 7; Cf. ad A.D. 38, note 4.

⁴⁴ Joseph. *De Bell. Jud.* iii. vii.

⁴⁵ *De Bell. Jud.* iii. vii. Under his leadership, the place made a resistance of twenty-seven days. It was perhaps in consequence of his literary ability, as well as his military skill, that his life was spared, and that he was taken into favour by Titus, whom he thenceforward accompanied on the Jewish expedition. In this capacity, he constantly employed his influence with his countrymen to yield to the Roman power. Josephus assumed the prænomen Flavius, in homage to the Emperor, and spent the remainder of his life in Rome, engaged in literary pursuits. Whiston gives A.D. 75, or thereabouts, for the publication of the first book, "The Jewish War," when Josephus was thirty-eight

This is the first great instalment of the destruction predicted by our Lord, which culminated in the siege and capture of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple, and dispersion of the once-chosen people, "because they knew not the time of their visitation."⁴⁶

Thus was fulfilled the prophecy of Balaam,⁴⁷ uttered fourteen hundred years before: "They shall come in galleys from Italy, and shall waste the Hebrews." More than four centuries were still to run, before the fulfilment of the last clause of it—"And at the last they themselves also shall perish"—when, in 476, the Roman Empire, which may be said to have begun with Augustus, perished with Augustulus.⁴⁸

S. John, who survived the rest of the Apostles by many years, is said by S. Irenæus to have resided at Ephesus after the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, and to have written his Gospel there. He is probably about this time returning from his missions to the Parthians, and those on the shores of the Persian Gulf. His residence in Ephesus was either commenced, or resumed, after his "martyrdom of will" outside the Latin Gate of Rome, his banishment to Patmos,⁴⁹ and the martyrdom of S. Timotheus, A.D. 97. While S. Timothy remained in his local diocese of Ephesus, the Beloved Disciple would seem to have had "the solicitude of all the Churches" of Asia Minor.⁵⁰

SS. Polycarp, Ignatius, and Pacian, were instructed by S. John: the first named of the three being made Bishop of Smyrna by

years of age, and eighteen years later, A.D. 93, or the 13th of Domitian, for that of his "Antiquities."

⁴⁶ St. Luke xix. 44.

⁴⁷ Numb. xxiv. 24.

⁴⁸ See Apoc. i. 9; Euseb. *H. E.* iii. 18, 20; Tertull. *De Præscrip.* c. 36; Epiphanius. *Hæres.* i. 33. "Von Schubert, *Travels in the East*, Erlang. 1838, sq. vol. iii. pp. 427, seq., writes: 'Even at this day, all the inhabitants of Patmos are Christians; a fact which reflects great credit on them, when compared with other Christian communities; and they still cherish with filial love the

memory of their Apostle and his stay among them, and dwell with pleasure on the story of his exile and the circumstances that preceded it'" (Alzog, vol. i. p. 227).

⁴⁹ After a duration of 522 years, says Procopius, reckoning from the victory of Julius Cæsar at Pharsalia. In that year, 476, Odoacer, chief of the Heruli, thinking, with great reason, that the title of Emperor had fallen into vile esteem, abolished it, and banished Augustulus to the promontory of Misenum.

⁵⁰ See Clement of Alexandria, quoted in Appendix BB.

the Apostle himself. He was afterwards martyred by fire in the amphitheatre of that city, together with twelve brethren brought in chains from Philadelphia, A.D. 169, the ninth of Marcus Aurelius.⁵¹

S. Polycarp, "the Angel of the Church of Smyrna" is addressed in the Apocalypse;⁵² as is also S. Timothy, "the Angel of the Church of Ephesus," who is reprov'd for some apparent want⁵³ of zeal in his office.⁵⁴ S. Polycarp, who "was taught by the Apostles, and conversed with many of those who had seen our Lord,"⁵⁵ has transmitted, through his own disciple, S. Irenæus,⁵⁶ an engaging account of the demeanour and teaching of "the Disciple whom Jesus loved."

⁵¹ See the encyclical letter of the Church in Smyrna, primarily addressed to the faithful at Philomelium, in Phrygia.

⁵² C. ii. 8, &c.

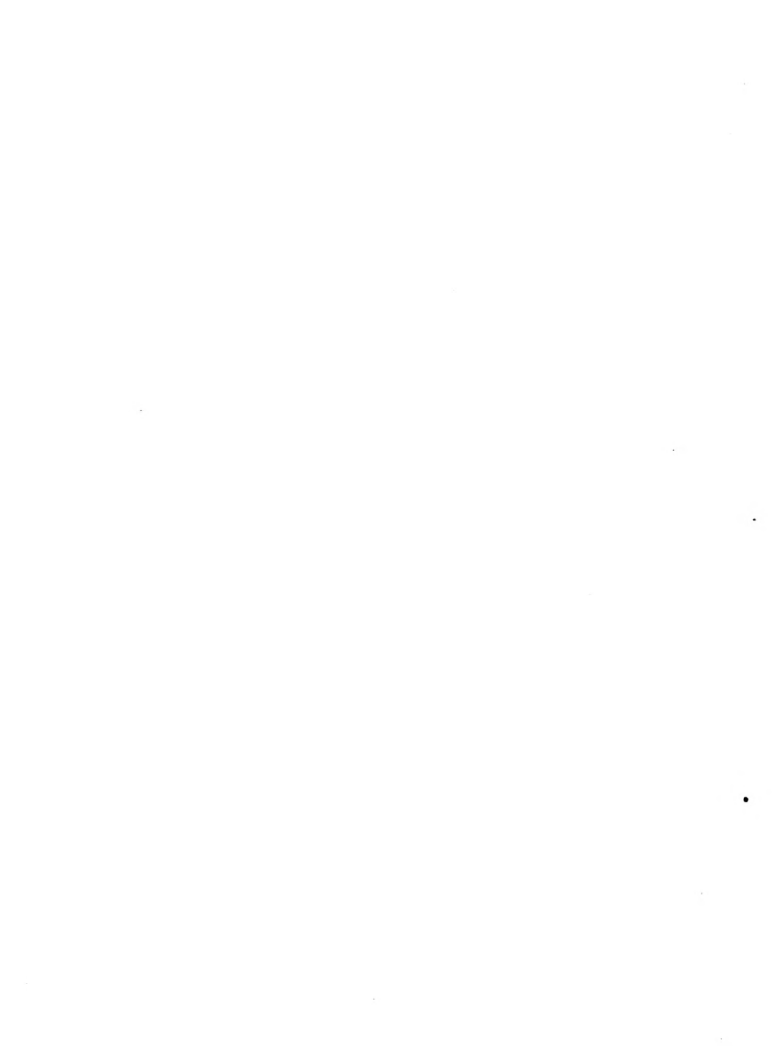
⁵³ *Ibid.* ii. 1, &c.

⁵⁴ "It seems that S. Timothy, who had now been Bishop of Ephesus for forty years—[consecrated by S. Paul, A.D. 52 of the common reckoning, martyred in 97]—had grown somewhat lukewarm in preaching the word of God, and in labouring for the conversion of the Ephesians; as seeing that both the Jews, and the Gentile worshippers of 'Diana of the Ephesians,' obstinately withstood him. Hence, partly from discouragement and tepidity, partly from the suggestion of human prudence . . . he had slackened in some degree his first ardour in preaching the Gospel; and this in him was a venial, though not a mortal sin. For prelates often sin more through remissness, which comes upon them under guise of prudence, than by imprudence under guise of zeal. Yet either of these is a fault; and both are here reprov'd by Christ—the former in the Bishop of Ephesus, the latter in the

Bishop of Thyatira" (Corn. à Lap. *in Apoc.* ii. 1—5).

⁵⁵ S. Irenæus (*Hæc.* iii. 3, 4). He had conversed, among others, with S. Philip the Apostle, and that for some time (Tillemont, t. i. p. 384). S. Polycarp was not converted till A.D. 80; the Apostle therefore must have lived to a great age. Theodoret and Eusebius assign "the two Phrygias" as the sphere of his Apostolate. The latter (*H. E.* lib. iii. c. 31) quotes Polycrates to the effect that he was buried at Hierapolis in Phrygia (Cf. *sup.* ad A.D. 39, note 19), "which city was indebted to his relics for its preservation by continual miracles; as is averred by the author of the sermon on the Twelve Apostles, attributed to S. Chrysostom. . . His body is said to be in the church of SS. Philip and James in Rome, which was dedicated to God under their name, in 560. The Emperor Theodosius, in a vision, received from S. John the Evangelist, and S. Philip, the assurance of victory over the tyrant Eugenius, . . . in 394, as Theodoret (lib. v. c. 24) relates" (Alban Butler).

⁵⁶ See Appendix BB.



APPENDIX.

A (p. 1).

DIFFICULTIES IN ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY.

THE doubt attaching to any particular year is increased by possible differences in reckoning its commencement. Five points especially are here to be considered. (1) The divergence between the Roman or Julian¹ reckoning, *i.e.*, the commencement of January, and the Jewish paschal date, which began the year with Nisan,² a month answering to our March, and so with the original Roman new-year, the Greek Xanthicus, and the Egyptian Pharmuth. (2) Errors which might arise from the seemingly irrational method of reckoning backward by the kalends of the Roman month, in which the days of each month are denoted from a point midway in the succeeding; so that the omission or faulty transcription of the word *kal.* in any MS. might substitute one month for another, and thus, in questions between December and January, render even the year doubtful. (3) The variations between the lunar and solar month; and again, between these and months reckoned from harvests and the fruits of the earth. (4) The insertion of the intercalary month in the Jewish calendar, about every third year. (5) The fact that the Jews had a sacred and a secular commencement for their year: the Paschal, in the middle of Nisan, and that for ordinary business, and for the calculation of the Jubilee (Levit. xxv. 9, 10), which fell in the seventh month, or Tisri, corresponding with September.

“La manière de compter par kalendes, nones, et ides, que les romains observoient, est si contraire à la nôtre, qui approche bien plus de la nature et de la raison, que les sçavans mêmes s’y trompent quelquefois, à cause que le calcul romain se fait en retrogradant, et en donnant le nom du mois qui

¹ Solinus Polyhist. *De Diebus Intercal.* c. 1.

² Exod. xii. 2.

suit à la moitié des jours du mois précédent. C'est pourquoi le P. Labbe dans son histoire chronologique, avertit que pour entendre les dates qui se trouvent dans les historiens, et autres auteurs latins . . . le plus sûr est d'avoir recours à un calendrier Julien ou Gregorien" (Moreri, *in voc.* Kalende. Taken from Aubriot, *Nouveau principe de compter les calendes*, &c.).

"Les premiers chrétiens se servirent aussi, dans la division des tems, des manieres des romains, à la puissance desquels ils étoient soumis, à la reserve des coutumes qui . . . se ressentoient de l'idolatrie. Ils garderent donc les mêmes noms des mois, la même quantité de leurs jours, la même distribution de ces jours en Kalendes, Nones, et Ides," &c. (Id. *in voc.* Calendrier).

"The identification of the Jewish months with our own cannot be effected with precision, on account of the variations that must inevitably exist between the lunar and the solar month; each of the former ranging over portions of two of the latter. It must therefore be understood that the following remarks apply to the general identity on an average of years. . . At present, Nisan answers to March, but in early times it coincided with April; for the barley harvest, the firstfruits of which were to be presented on the 15th of that month (Lev. xxiii. 10) does not take place even in the warm district about Jericho until the middle of April, and in the upland districts not before the end of that month (Robinson's *Researches*, i. 551; iii. 102, 145). To the same effect Josephus (*Antiq.* ii. 14, § 6) synchronizes Nisan with the Egyptian Pharmuth, which commenced on the 27th of March (Wilkinson, *l. c.*) and with the Macedonian Xanthicus, which answers generally to the early part of April, though considerable variation occurs in the local calendars as to its place (comp. Ideler, i. 435, 442). He further informs us (iii. 10, § 5) that the Passover took place when the sun was in Aries, which it does not enter until near the end of March" (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Month." See also the article "Year," by the same hand).

B (*p.* 2).

OUR LORD'S APPEARANCES AFTER HIS RESURRECTION.

I. *On Easter Day.*

- (1) To His Ever-Blessed Mother. S. Ambrose, lib. *De Virgin.* s. init. S. Anselm, *De Excellencia Virginis*, lib. vi. Rupert, *Divin. Offic.* vii. 25. S. Bonaventure, *Vita Christi*, c. 87. "Estque hic

communis Doctorum et fidelium sensus," C. a Lap. in Matt. xxviii. 10. "Primo, apparuit Virgini Mariæ; quod licet non dicatur in Scriptura, habetur pro dicto, cum dicat Eum apparuisse tam multis aliis; quia Scriptura supponit nos habere intellectum, sicut scriptum est: *Adhuc et vos sine intellectu estis?*" S. Ignat. *Exerc. Spirit.* p. 245, ed. 1876.

- (2) To S. Mary Magdalene, at the Sepulchre. S. Mark xvi. 9, S. John xx. 16.
- (3) To her, in company with the other holy women, as they were returning from the sepulchre to Jerusalem. S. Matt. xxviii. 9.
- (4) To S. Peter. S. Luke xxiv. 34; 1 Cor. xv. 5.
- (5) To the two disciples (S. Cleophas, and perhaps Simeon or Nathanael¹) going to Emmaus; S. Luke xxiv. 13—35.
- (6) To the "Eleven" in Jerusalem; so called, as constituting the College of the Apostles, (S. Matt. xxviii. 16; S. Mark xvi. 14; S. Luke xxiv. 9, 33; Acts i. 26, and especially ii. 14), though S. Thomas was absent:—as there may be a meeting of *triumviri* or *septemviri*, without the presence of every member (Corn. à Lap. *in S. Luke* xxiv. 33). Cf. S. Aug. *De Consensu Evangelist.* iii. 25. This seems to be the appearance mentioned, S. Mark xvi. 14; though Maldonatus supposes it to have been that on the octave day of the Resurrection, when S. Thomas was with the rest. S. Cleophas and the other disciple were also present, S. Luke xxiv. 33—36: and others also, v. 33.

II. After Easter Day.

- (7) On the octave day, to the Eleven, including S. Thomas (S. John xx. 26—29). He then renewed the manifestation of the spiritual qualities (1 Cor. xv. 44—49) of His Risen Body; passing, by the gift of subtilty, through the closed doors (v. 26; cf. v. 19), as He had passed through the stone laid at the mouth of the sepulchre.² See the authorities quoted by Corn. à Lap. *in Matt.* xxviii. 2.

¹ S. Ambrose supposes his name to be Amaon, derived from Emmaus. Origen, *Comment. in Johann.* s. init. calls him Simeon. S. Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxiii. says, Nathanael (S. John i. 45—51); Theophylact, S. Gregory (Præf. in Job. c. ii.) and others, suppose him to have been S. Luke, which seems the least probable opinion (Cf. S. Luke i. 2, 3).

² "Quomodo de sepulchro exire non posset, qui ex incorruptis matris visceribus salva virginitate processit? Fefellit custodes, exilivit de sepulchro, apparuit discipulis januis non apertis: inde clausus exiit, huc exclusus intravit" (S. Aug. *Serm.* 138 *De Temp.*).

- (8) To seven Apostles and disciples (S. John xxi. 1, &c.), as they were fishing in the Sea of Galilee, or of Tiberias. These were, SS. Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, James and John the sons of Zebedee, and two others. Then occurred the miraculous draught of fishes, the threefold penance of S. Peter, and the thrice repeated committal of the universal Church into his hands. S. John (v. 14) speaks of it as "the third time that Jesus was manifested to His disciples, after He was risen from the dead;" *i.e.*, the third time when He appeared to any number of them together.
- (9) "To more than five hundred brethren at once," (1 Cor. xv. 6) on a mountain in Galilee, supposed to be Mount Tabor,³ the scene of His former transfiguration (S. Matt. xvii. 1, &c.; S. Mark ix. 1, &c.; S. Luke ix. 28, &c.). This was by His own especial appointment and command (S. Matt. xxvi. 32; xxviii. 7, 16; S. Mark xiv. 28; xvi. 7; cf. Acts i. 11). Many of these witnesses were still living in the first year of Nero, A.D. 57, when S. Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians (c. xv. v. 6).
- (10) To S. James the Less, son of Alphœus or Cleophas, and of Mary (S. Matt. xxvii. 56; S. Mark xv. 40), sister to the Blessed Virgin. This is mentioned, 1 Cor. xv. 7. S. Jerome, (*De Scriptor. Eccles. in Jacobum*) adds some details regarding this appearance, taken from the apocryphal "Gospel according to the Hebrews," but without in any way approving them: to the effect that, whereas S. James had remained fasting from the time of the Crucifixion, our risen Lord appeared to him, took bread, blessed it, and gave it to him, saying: "My brother, eat thy bread; for the Son of man has risen from the dead."
- (11) "To all the Apostles" (1 Cor. xv. 7) and disciples, when "He led them out as far as Bethania" (S. Luke xxiv. 50), probably that S. Lazarus and his sisters might join their company, and proceed with them to the Mount of Olives. There, "they who were come together" (Acts i. 6), asked Him, about the restoration of the kingdom of Israel: but He promised them "the

³ This manifestation on Tabor might be in further fulfilment of the promise (S. Matt. xvi. 28; S. Mark viii. 39; S. Luke viii. 27), the first reference of which was to the Transfiguration.

power of the Holy Ghost," to extend His true Catholic kingdom "even to the uttermost part of the earth" (*Ibid.*) "While they looked on," "lifting up His hands, He blessed them: and . . while He blessed them" "He was raised up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight," and He "was carried up to Heaven" (S. Luke xxiv. 51), with the same glory, apparently, with which He shall come again to judgment, (compare Acts i. 11 with S. Matt. xxv. 31, S. Luke ix. 26, Apoc. i. 7).

- (12) Other personal appearances of our Lord, more or fewer, are included under the general announcement, Acts i. 3, that "He showed Himself alive after His Passion, to the Apostles whom He had chosen . . for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the Kingdom of God;" instructing them in the glory and happiness of the Church triumphant, and the institution and ordinances of the Church militant; the authority of prelates, the functions of holy Orders, the number, matter, form, and rites of the holy Sacraments, and all other "Apostolical traditions."

III. *After His Ascension.*

- (13) To S. Stephen the Protomartyr, as he stood before the Council (Acts vii. 55). His sight was supernaturally strengthened to pierce through the intermediate Heavens into the Empyrean, where he "saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the Right Hand of God. And he said: Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing on the Right Hand of God." Cf. Corn. à Lap. *in loc.*
- (14) To Saul the Pharisee and persecutor, on the road to Damascus, and near the city; which caused his immediate conversion (Acts ix. 1—22; xxii. 3—21; xxvi. 9—20; 1 Cor. xv. 8—10; Gal. i. 13—27; Eph. iii. 1—8; Phil. iii. 4—14; 1 Tim. i. 12—16).

In this and the following appearance, our Divine Lord caused His sacred risen Body to bilocate; inasmuch as, once ascended to Heaven, He departed no more thence (Acts iii. 21), nor intermitted His perpetual session at the Right Hand of the Father (Symbol. App. et Nicæn.) in the Empyrean, and yet

appeared to Saul in the air above him. Even so does He multilocate in the Holy Eucharist, and enable the bodies of His Saints to bilocate also.

- (15) To S. Peter, on the eve of the Apostle's crucifixion, at the spot in Rome named *Domine, quo vadis?* See "Fasti," p. 117, with the authorities there quoted.

These personal Divine appearances are to be distinguished from visions and ecstasies with which He favoured S. Paul (Acts xviii. 9, 10, xxii. 18, xxiii. 11).

The celebrated description of our Lord by Josephus may be here introduced; though he inserts it in his Antiquities, with no very accurate chronology, after the sedition of the Jews against Pilate, which Whiston assigns to A.D. 27.

"About this time lived Jesus, a man of wisdom, if He may be called man. For He wrought mighty works; a teacher of such as willingly received the truth. He drew many to Himself, both of Jews and Gentiles. He was [the] Christ. And when Pilate, at the instance of the principal men among us, had condemned Him to the cross, they who loved Him at the first, did not forsake Him. For He appeared to them alive again, the third day, as the divine prophets had foretold these and ten thousand other wonderful things concerning Him. And the tribe of Christians, so named from Himself, is not extinct at this day." *Antiq.* xviii. 3, 3.

C (*p.* 2).

THE LOCALITY OF THE ASCENSION.

"Concerning the place of our Lord's Ascension, the aforesaid author [Adamnan, *De Locis Sanctis*] writes thus:

"Mount Olivet is equal in height to Mount Sion, but exceeds it in breadth and length. . . On the very top of it, where our Lord ascended into Heaven, is a large round church, having about it three vaulted porches. For the inner house was not to be vaulted and covered, because of the passage of our Lord's Body; but it has an altar on the east side, covered with a narrow roof. In the middle of it are to be seen the last prints of our Lord's Feet, the sky appearing open above, where He ascended; and though the

earth is daily carried away by believers, yet still it remains as before, and retains the same impression of the Feet. In the western part of the same church are eight windows; and eight lamps, hanging opposite to them by cords, cast their light through the glass as far as Jerusalem; this light is said to strike the hearts of beholders with a certain joy and humility. Every year, on the day of the Ascension, when Mass is ended, a strong blast of wind is said to come down, and to cast to the ground all that are in the church." (S. Bede's *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. c. 17.)

D (*p.* 3).

MAXIMS ATTRIBUTED TO SAINT MATTHIAS.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* lib. ii. c. 9), says: "The beginning of truth is *Θαυμάσαι τὰ πράγματα*, as Plato says in his *Theætetus*; and as Matthias exhorts in his "Traditions"—*Θαυμίσειον τὰ παρόντα*—laying down this as the first step to subsequent knowledge."

On this, Petavius comments:

"*Θαυμάσαι* is not only to admire, but also to learn, and become the disciple of. The Apostle would have us conduct ourselves in this visible universe, as in a school of divine contemplation. S. Antony was accustomed to say that this world is a great book, in which the attributes of its Author are written in beautiful characters, as by the hand of a skilful scribe. The author of the Epistle to Demetrias, attributed to S. Ambrose, says: "The heavens and the earth, in their beauty, furnish as it were so many pages, lying ever open to the inspection of all, and unceasingly proclaiming their Author: a proclamation in harmony with [following upon the lines of] the teaching of doctors and the eloquent utterance of the Scriptures." Facundus, Bishop of Hermianum, says, in his twelfth book: "As words are given us, to signify things, so Almighty God, to whose power all is subject, and whose wisdom knows how, in marvellous ways, to harmonize even the voluntary movements of His creatures so as fitly to conduce to the purpose of instruction, gives expression, by their acts, to whatsoever lesson He will." Thus also S. Augustine: "As, when we examine some beautiful manuscript, we should not feel content with praising the skill of the writer, how uniform he has made the letters, how even, how shapely, unless we could also read what he has signified thereby; so, he who merely gazes on God's works, is delighted

with their beauty, and thus admires the Divine Artificer; but he who understands [them] is as though he read them."

"This is *Θαυμάζειν τὰ παρόντα*; not to be an idle spectator and admirer of what we see, but a docile and intelligent disciple" (Petav. *Theol. Dogmat.* t. iii; *De Officio VI. Dier.* p. 221).

(2.)

Id. *Strom.* lib. iii. c. 4: "Matthias is reported to have taught thus: 'We must fight against the flesh, and treat it hardly (maltreat, *παραχρῆσθαι*) by no means yielding to it for intemperate pleasure: but increase the [growth of the] soul by faith and knowledge.'"¹

E (p. 10).

TARSUS.

Tarsus, the metropolis of Cilicia, was rightly described by S. Paul as "no mean city" (he was *οὐκ ἀσήμου πόλεως πολίτης*, Acts xxi. 39). "Even in the flourishing period of Greek history, it was a city of some considerable consequence (Xen. *Anab.* i. 2, § 23). After Alexander's conquests had swept this way (Quint. Curt. iii. 5), and the Seleucid kingdom was established at Antioch, Tarsus usually belonged to that kingdom, though for a time it was under the Ptolemies. In the civil wars of Rome, it took Cæsar's side; and, on the occasion of a visit from him, had its name changed to Juliopolis (Cæs. *Bell. Alex.* 66, Dion Cass. xlvii. 26)."

Tarsus suffered severely in the contest between Octavius and Antony on the one side, and Brutus and Cassius on the other. Compelled to submit (B.C. 43) to the latter, most of its inhabitants were sold into slavery. But on the triumph of the former at Philippi, a general edict restored them to their liberty; and Augustus made it a "free city," or *municipium*, a higher title than that of *colonia*. It was not from this, however, that S. Paul derived his Roman citizenship, though Fleury asserts it (*H. E.* i. lvii.). It is to be remarked that the opposition to S. Stephen, and subsequent persecution, arose from the *libertini*, or freedmen, and men of Cilicia (Acts v. 9), which would tend to draw Saul into it, besides his personal hatred against Christianity.

¹ Cf. Rom. xiii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 26, 27; Gal. v. 16, 17.

Tarsus became one of the three great universities of the Pagan world, and Strabo (xiv. 5) ranks it even above Alexandria and Athens. It was here, then, that S. Paul gained his early acquaintance with Greek as well as Hebrew literature. See Acts xvii. 28, where he quotes from Aratus and Cleanthes; 1 Cor. xv. 33, from Menander, Tit. i. 12, from Epimenides. His after and more important studies were pursued in Jerusalem, under Gamaliel (Acts xxii. 3), who, beside his profound knowledge of the Jewish law, is said to have had a great acquaintance with general literature. The similarity of thought and phrase in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in the writings of Philo has been observed; as also the points of resemblance between the Apostle's language and that of Seneca. "The education of S. Paul was that of a Roman gentleman and a Jewish rabbi; his father being thus providentially guided to prepare his son in a strikingly appropriate manner for his future work, and qualifying him to address with equal effect an audience of well-informed Hebrews, or one of polished Athenians."

The Tharsis of the Old Testament (Gen. x. 4, I. Paralip. i. 7, Is. ii. 16, Jon. i. 3, iv. 2, &c., &c.) is probably Tartessus in Spain, a city and emporium of the Phœnicians, and is not to be confounded with Tarsus.

Though it is not stated in the Acts, there seems little doubt that S. Paul, who returned to his native place after his conversion (Acts ix. 30), visited it again both on his Second and Third Apostolic journeys (Acts xv. 40).

Tarsus was the birth-place of the learned and vigorous monk, Theodore, whom Pope Vitalian, in 668, made Archbishop of Canterbury, and primate of the Anglo-Saxon province. He held the Councils of Hereford in 673, of Hatfield in 680, and of Twyford in 684; and it was mainly to him that the parochial division of England is said to be due. He also brought into the island great wealth (for those times) of Greek and Latin MSS.

F (*p.* 26).

DISPERSION OF THE APOSTLES.

I.—It is highly probable that the Apostles, having preached, especially to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel" (S. Matt. x. 6, xv. 24) throughout Judæa, Samaria, and as far as Antioch, assembled at Jerusalem, before proceeding on their several missions to the ends of the earth. S. Justin Martyr writes to Antoninus: "Twelve men went forth from Jerusalem

throughout the world ; and these, unlearned and without eloquence : but in the power of God they proclaimed to the whole human race that they were sent by Christ to teach all men the word of God." Rufinus (*Comment. in Symb. init.*) and Hincmar (*Epist. adv. Ep. Laudun.*) assert that, before separating, they composed the *Symbolum*—so called from each contributing an article. This was to be the watchword of the faith, a touchstone by which the teaching of the *Ecclesia docens*, and the belief of the *Ecclesia discens*, were to be always tested. Baronius defends the common opinion, that each Apostle contributed his several article to this creed. Tillemont, on no sufficient ground, controverts it. The Symbol was not written, but handed down by tradition ; among other reasons, to preserve the *disciplina arcani*. "Idcirco hæc non scribi chartis atque membranis, sed cordibus retineri tradiderunt, ut certum esset, neminem hæc ex lectione, quæ interdum pervenire etiam ad infideles solet, sed ex Apostolorum traditione didicisse" (Ruf. *ut sup.*). Socrates (*H. E.* i. 19) asserts that the Apostles decided their respective provinces by lot. This is strenuously opposed by Baronius (*ad ann.* 44); but it may be admitted in the sense of Acts i. 22—26 ; though Baronius quotes with much force Acts viii. 26, xiii. 2—4. Cf. Is. xxxiv. 17, and Hieron. *in loc.*

The fifteenth of July (*Id. Julii*) is the day on which the Feast of "the Division of the Apostles" has been kept from early times. It is mentioned, as on that day, in the appendix to the Martyrology of Ado, found in Rosweyd, and also by Usuard ; these imply that the feast was observed at least before the twelfth century. In France, its observance probably dates long before the ancient breviary printed in 1509 for the dioceses of Auxerre, Verdun, and Besançon, which gives the feast for the same date, July 15. A missal printed for the diocese of Liege, and a breviary for that of Tongres, both also of 1509, give the following collect for the feast : "O God, Who didst foreordain the division of Thy Apostles to take place on this day, that the dispersion of the Gentiles should be called as a Church in one and the same grace of faith ; grant us to merit the pardon of our sins by their intercession, by whose preaching of the truth we have attained to the knowledge of Thy Name. Through our Lord." Later breviaries might be quoted to the same effect, as in use in Isola, Mechlin, Antwerp, Poland, Silesia, and Denmark.

II. *The date of this dispersion.*—Baronius (*Annal. ad ann.* 44, n. 13) confesses that, after long research, he had been unable to find any safe guide on this point, either among Greek or Latin authors.

(1) Some Spanish writers, especially Sanctius (*Comment. in Act.*), are of opinion that it took place immediately after the Pentecostal gift had been bestowed on the Apostles. This opinion rests mainly on apocryphal and ill-founded testimonies, e.g., that of the so-named Pseudo Dexter (*Chron. ad A.D. 34*). It seems, moreover, directly opposed to Acts viii. 1, 14, 25.

(2) Others, resting on the authority of a certain Melito, bishop of Sardis, assign it to the second year after our Lord's Ascension. This, however, is refuted by S. Bede (*Retract. in Act. viii. t. 6*), and by Baronius.

(3) A more probable opinion would have it to have been before S. Paul's visit to Jerusalem, which took place three years after his conversion. Compare Gal. i. 18, 19. But the rest of the Apostles may, during S. Paul's brief visit, have been evangelizing places comparatively near Jerusalem (Cf. Acts viii. 14, 25), and the notice of this might well be omitted by S. Luke, who chiefly directs attention to the actions of S. Peter, as afterwards to those of S. Paul. It is certain that the Apostles were still in Judæa when S. Peter baptized Cornelius and others in Cæsarea (Cf. Acts xi. 1—18). S. Chrysostom (Hom. 70 in *Matt. xxii.*) says that "the Apostles preached first to the Jews, and remained a long time in Judæa, being beaten and scourged; and finally, being expelled by them, went forth to the Gentiles." The holy doctor extends, indeed, this period to a date much too late, asserting (Hom. 25 in *Act.*) that they remained in Jerusalem until S. Paul's arrival in Rome.

(4) Some, again, place the dispersion as late as after the Council of Jerusalem, which was held in the 18th or 19th year after our Lord's Ascension. This error has arisen from a misapprehension of Acts xv. 4, 6; whereas, it would appear from Gal. ii. 9 that only SS. Peter, James the Less, and John were in Jerusalem when SS. Paul and Barnabas arrived there. The "Apostolical Constitutions," indeed, assert that all the Twelve were inspired to assemble at this Council from their various regions; but this document, if not altogether apocryphal, as Baronius, Bellarmine, and others hold, is at least corrupt and interpolated. S. James the Greater was at that time already martyred.

(5) The true opinion, according to Henschenius and the Bollandist (*ad Jul. 15*), supported by Usuard, who quotes S. Bede, and by Peter de Natalibus, seems to be, that the Apostles dispersed in A.D. 40 (*700*), i.e., the twelfth year after our Lord's Ascension. Then S. Peter went to Rome, and S. James the Greater to Spain; both returning, of course, to Jerusalem, for the events narrated, Acts xii. 1—24. Clement of Alexandria (*Strom. lib. vi.*)

represents S. Peter as reporting our Lord's command to the Apostles, not to "go forth into the whole world" beyond the limits of Palestine, until during twelve years they had given the Jews every chance of conversion. Tillemont records that he had been unable to discover this passage, which is, however, contained both in the Greek and Latin of three several editions. Corn. à Lapede appears also to be in error, in saying (*ad Act.* xii.) that Pope Gelasius had classed this work of Clement of Alexandria among apocryphal and interpolated writings. That condemnation refers to another writer of the same name and place. S. Jerome twice (*Ep.* 83 *al.* 84 *ad Magn.*, and *Lib. de Scriptor. Eccl.* c. 38) bears testimony in favour of this work of Clement's. Apollonius also, an ecclesiastical writer of the same age, mentioned by Eusebius (*H. E.* l. v. c. 18) as writing against the Cataphrygians, endorses it.

(6) The dispersion of the holy Apostles must certainly have been before S. Mark wrote his Gospel, *i.e.*, before the end of the twelfth year after the Ascension. See S. Mark xvi. 20. Unless the *πανταχοῦ* of that text be taken to refer to their preaching throughout Judæa and Syria, which seems an inadequate interpretation.

G (*p.* 30).

GENERAL TOLERATION OF RELIGIONS IN ROME.

"The various modes of worship which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true, by the philosophers as equally false, and by the magistrate as equally useful. And thus toleration produced not only mutual indulgence, but even religious concord. The superstition of the people was not embittered by any mixture of theological rancour; nor was it confined by the chains of any speculative system. The devout polytheist, though fondly attached to his national rites, admitted, with implicit faith, the different religions of the earth. The thin texture of the pagan mythology was interwoven with various but not discordant materials. . . The deities of a thousand groves and a thousand streams possessed, in peace, their local and respective influence; nor could the Roman who deprecated the wrath of the Tiber, deride the Egyptian who presented his offering to the beneficent genius of the Nile. . . Such was the mild spirit of antiquity, that the nations were less attentive to the difference than to the resemblance of their religious worship. The Greek, the Roman, and the barbarian, as they

met before their respective altars, easily persuaded themselves that under various names, and with various ceremonies, they adored the same deities. The elegant mythology of Homer gave a beautiful and almost a regular form to the polytheism of the ancient world. . . Notwithstanding the fashionable irreligion which prevailed in the age of the Antonines, both the interests of the priests and the credulity of the people were sufficiently respected. In their writings and conversation, the philosophers of antiquity asserted the independent dignity of reason; but they resigned their actions to the commands of law and custom. Viewing, with a smile of pity and indulgence, the various errors of the vulgar, they diligently practised the ceremonies of their fathers, devoutly frequented the temples of the gods, and sometimes, condescending to act a part on the theatre of superstition, they concealed the sentiments of an atheist under the sacerdotal robes. Reasoners of such a temper were scarcely inclined to wrangle about their respective modes of faith, or of worship. It was indifferent to them what shape the folly of the multitude might choose to assume; and they approached, with the same inward contempt, and the same outward reverence, the altars of the Lybian, the Olympian, or the Capitoline Jupiter. . . It is not easy to conceive from what motives a spirit of persecution could introduce itself into the Roman councils. The magistrates could not be actuated by a blind though honest bigotry, since the magistrates were themselves philosophers; and the school of Athens had given laws to the Senate. They could not be impelled by ambition or avarice; as the temporal and ecclesiastical powers were united in the same hands. The pontiffs were chosen among the most illustrious of the senators; and the office of supreme pontiff was constantly exercised by the Emperors themselves. They knew and valued the advantages of religion, as it is connected with civil government. They encouraged the public festivals, which humanize the manners of the people. They managed the arts of divination, as a convenient instrument of policy; and they respected, as the firmest bond of society, the useful persuasion, that either in this or in a future life, the crime of perjury is most assuredly punished by the avenging gods (Polyb. vi. 53, 54). Juvenal, Sat. xiii., laments that in his time this apprehension had lost much of its effect. But whilst they acknowledged the general advantages of religion, they were convinced that the various modes of worship contributed alike to the same salutary purposes; and that in every country, the form of superstition, which had received the sanction of time and experience, was the best adapted to the climate, and to its inhabitants." (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. 2. pp. 46—51).

This specious and grandiloquent writer here intends to contrast the contemptuous indifferentism of pagan Rome with the "earnest contending for the faith" displayed by the primitive martyrs: and, of course, in disparagement of the latter. A truth, recognized as infallible in virtue of the Divine veracity, is alone incapable of admixture or compromise with error, of eclecticism or syncretism; and is therefore, so far, intolerant. Marcus Aurelius is said to have intended to place a bust of our Lord side by side with that of Socrates in his philosophical Pantheon; but Christianity was unable to do as much for the Athenian sage. It would have been equalizing a part with the whole, and tentative opinion with truth. Hence the reproach against the Gospel in every age, alike from pagans and modern freethinkers, as narrowly contending for the whole, when a portion would suffice:

Νήπιοι, οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἤμισυ πάντος.

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H (p. 40).

ABGAR, KING OF EDESSA IN MESOPOTAMIA.

I.—*The History.*

Abgar, Acbar, Agbar, Abagar, or Augar, was the name or rather title of several Arabian Kings of Osroene, reigning in Edessa: the third form of the name is the most probable, as signifying "Very powerful" in Arabic. One of these Abgares, by treachery, had caused the defeat of Crassus, in his expedition against the Parthians, B.C. 52 (Plutarch *in Crasso*; Sext. Ruf. *in Breviario*; Dio, lib. 40; Appian. *in Parthic.*; Procop. *Bell. Persic.* lib. 2). Three others of the name had reigned before him who was surnamed *Uchamo*, or the "Black," from the leprous disease under which he suffered (Dionys. Telmaris, a Syrian patriarch of the eighth century, quoted by Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* t. i. p. 402). He is, says Moreri, perhaps the same who is called Abia by Josephus, and without doubt the same whom Procopius mentions as having been received into great favour by Augustus, and retained at his Court. It must have been after his return to Edessa, at least twenty years later than his sojourn in Rome (for Augustus died A.D. 13), that Abgar Uchamo wrote this Epistle to our Lord:

"Abgar, King of Edessa, to Jesus the Saviour full of goodness, who hath appeared in Jerusalem.

“I have heard the report of those wondrous things and admirable cures which Thou dost work ; healing the sick without herbs or medicines. It is reported that Thou restorest sight to the blind, makest the lame and the maimed to walk upright, cleanseest the lepers, putttest to flight demons and evil spirits, givest health to such as had sicknesses long and incurable, and restorest the dead to life. Hearing such things of Thee, I believe that Thou art God, who hast willed to come down from Heaven ; or the Son of God, who dost work these wonderful things. Therefore have I been bold to write Thee this letter, and to intreat Thee with my whole heart to deign to come and see me, to heal me of pains that grievously afflict me. I have heard that the Jews persecute Thee, and murmur against Thy miracles, and seek to kill Thee. Here I have a city fair and commodious, though it be little ; it will furnish sufficient of all Thou needest.”

The reported answer of our Lord to this epistle is given above (*Fasti*, p. 11).

Moreri (*Dictionnaire*, &c., art. “Abgare”) thus gives the sequel of the narration, and then proceeds to criticize it :

“Abgare ne fut pas long-temps sans voir l’accomplissement de la promesse que Jesus-Christ lui avoit faite. Saint Thomas lui envoya Saint Thadée, non celui des douze-apôtres, qui est aussi appelé Jude, mais l’un des septante disciples. Dès qu’il fut arrivé à Edesse, il se logea chez un particulier nommé Tobie, où sa reputation éclata bientôt, par un si grand nombre de miracles, qu’elle parvint jusqu’aux oreilles du roi, qui lui demanda s’il étoit le disciple promis. Thadée lui répondit que oui, et lui dit qu’il venoit pour recompenser la foi que ce prince avoit eue en Jesus-Christ ; à quoi le roi répliqua dans les premiers mouvemens de son zele, qu’il croyoit tellement au Sauveur, que sans les Romains il eût voulu tailler en pieces les Juifs qui l’avoient crucifié. Après cette profession de foi, saint Thadée guérit le prince, en lui imposant les mains ; et ce miracle, aussi bien que les autres qu’il opera disposa tellement les habitants d’Edesse à recevoir la doctrine de Jesus-Christ, qu’ils l’embrasserent dès qu’elle leur eut été annoncée par saint Thadée, et qu’ils la retinrent depuis très constamment.

“Voilà les principales circonstances de la conversion d’Abgare, qu’Eusebe de Cesarée dit être tirées des archives de l’église d’Edesse, et dont il a crû devoir enrichir son histoire ecclésiastique.

“Quoique l’autorité d’Eusebe soit d’un grand poids, et que saint Ephrem ait reçu cetté histoire après lui, en quoi ils ont été suivis par le comte Darius

dans une épître à saint Augustin, par Theodore Studite, dans une autre au pape Pascal, par Cedrene, Procope, S. Jean de Damas, Evagre, et par le pape Adrien dans une épître à Charlemagne; quelques modernes n'ont pas laissé d'attaquer la réponse de Jesus-Christ à Abgare, et l'histoire de sa conversion. Tels sont Casaubon, auquel Gretser a répondu; et après lui le père Alexandre et M. du Pin, que M. de Tillemont a refutés.

“L'autorité d'Eusebe n'est pas à considerer sur cette histoire, car il est visible qu'il ne rapporte ce fait que sur la foi de quelques archives pretendus de l'Eglise d'Edesse; on sçait combien ces sortes de monumens sont sujets à caution dans des histoires de cette nature. Il est visible que ce qui est dit dans la lettre attribuée à Jesus-Christ, est une allusion aux paroles de Jesus-Christ à saint Thomas: *Heureux ceux qui n'ont point vu, et qui ont cru*; et il n'y a rien de semblable dans les deux passages d'Isaïe cites par M. de Tillemont; au contraire il y est marqué que ceux qui ne connoissoient pas le Seigneur, et qui ne le cherchaient pas, l'ont vû et l'ont trouvé. La reforme de M. de Tillemont de la date de l'an 340 n'est fondée sur aucune autorité, et le texte d'Eusebe porte expressément 340. Ce ne peut être que pour accorder cette histoire avec l'evangile, que les traducteurs ont changé 340 en 43. Quelque bon chronologiste qu'ait été Eusebe, il se peut faire qu'il n'ait pas fait d'attention à l'anachronisme du memoire qui lui avoit été fourni. Ce que l'on fait écrire par Abgare à Jesus-Christ sur le simple recit qu'on lui avoit fait des miracles de Jesus-Christ: ‘Je suis persuadé que vous êtes Dieu ou Fils de Dieu,’ marque visiblement qu c'est un Chrétien qui fait parler Abgare à peu près comme il parlerait lui même; et il n'y a point d'apparence qu'un prince qui n'avoit point la connaissance du vrai Dieu, ait eu ces sentiments, et se soit servi de ces expressions. Quelque zeile que pût avoir Abgare quand Thadée le vint trouver, on ne peut nier qu'il n'y ait beaucoup d'affectation dans les paroles qu'on lui met en bouche, et qu'elles ne soient plutôt de l'invention d'un conteur de fables, que l'expression naturelle d'un prince.”

This last argument may well raise a smile. It is that of a man living in Paris before the middle of the last century, when the splendour of the throne and court of the Grand Monarque had introduced into men's minds far different ideas of the “natural expression of a prince” from what would prevail in a small city of Mesopotamia, eighteen hundred years ago. The reported words of Abgar are at least congenial with those of Clovis, who, on hearing a sermon upon the Passion, drew his sword, and cried: “Where then was I, and my brave Franks?”

The writer in Wetzer and Welte's *Encyclopédie* (Fr. transl.) *in verb.* Abgar, is equally unfavourable to the truth of the tradition.

Pope Gelasius, in a synod held in Rome in 494, declared both Abgar's epistle and our Lord's answer apocryphal; *i.e.* not to be placed on the Canon of Scripture. It has always been an argument strongly urged against the genuineness of the latter, that any written word of our Lord would have been included in the Canon.

Wouters (*Dissertat. in Selecta Hist. Eccl. Capita*) having placed side by side the arguments for and against, comes to the conclusion:

“Ejusmodi sunt in hac re, de qua disputamus, auctorum gravissimorum a se invicem dissentientium argumenta, ut dirimi controversia non posse videatur. Præcipuos utriusque sententiæ patronos atque principaliores eorum rationes indicavimus, ut quisquis, illis mature ponderatis, seligat eam opinionem quæ sibi verisimilior apparebit. Pace eorum qui aliter sentiant, dixerim, me magis posterioris [sc. negativæ] quam prioris sententiæ monumentis et rationibus moveri.”

I (p. 43).

THE ROMAN ARMS IN BRITAIN.

“The only accession which the Roman Empire received, during the first century of the Christian era, was the province of Britain. In this single instance, the successors of Cæsar and Augustus were persuaded to follow the example of the former, rather than the precept of the latter. The proximity of its situation to the coast of Gaul seemed to invite their arms; the pleasing though doubtful intelligence of a pearl-fishery attracted their avarice; and, as Britain was viewed in the light of a distinct and insulated world, the conquest scarcely formed any exception to the general system of continental measures. After a war of about forty years, undertaken by the most stupid, maintained by the most dissolute, and terminated by the most timid of all the Emperors, Claudius, Nero, and Domitian, the far greater part of the island submitted to the Roman yoke. The various tribes of Britons possessed valour without conduct, and the love of freedom without the spirit of union. They took up arms with savage fierceness; they laid them down, or turned them against each other, with wild inconstancy; and while they fought singly, they were successively subdued. Neither the fortitude of Caractacus, nor

the despair of Boadicea, nor the fanaticism of the Druids, could avert the slavery of their country, or resist the steady progress of the imperial generals, who maintained the national glory when the throne was disgraced by the weakest or the most vicious of mankind. At the very time when Domitian, confined to his palace, felt the terrors which he inspired, his legions, under the command of the virtuous Agricola, defeated the collected force of the Caledonians at the foot of the Grampian hills; and his fleets, venturing to explore an unknown and dangerous navigation, displayed the Roman arms round every part of the island" (*Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, c. i. pp. 5, 6).

J (*p.* 49).

CYPRUS.

Cicero (*Tusc. Quæst.* V. 37, and more fully *De Oratore* II. xlv. 193) and Horace (*Od.* I. vii. 21) report the legend that Salamis in Cyprus was founded by Teucer, when expelled by his father Telamon from the Greek island of that name, for not avenging the death of his nephew Ajax.

Porto Costanzo seems to have been the same as Famagosta (Arsinoë). It was the only real port in the island; other havens being merely open roadsteads. Richard *Cœur de Lion*, returning from the Crusades, transferred the metropolitan see from Salamis (Constantia) to Nicosia; at the same time giving the sovereignty of Cyprus to the family of Lusignan, in exchange for that of Jerusalem, which they had lost. This was in 1191. In 1218, the Greek archbishop was made subject to the Latin metropolitan, and so remained, until Cyprus was taken by the Turks in 1571, after an eleven months' siege of Famagosta, where they lost eighty thousand men. Then, the conquered Venetians quitting the island, the Greeks, under Turkish auspices, elected their own schismatic metropolitan. Cyprus had been independent of the Patriarch of Antioch from A.D. 431, probably in honour of S. Barnabas (cf. *ad* A.D. 63, note 1). Gams, *Series Episcop.* (*ut sup.*) pp. 438, 439. Thomassinus, *De Nov. et Vet. Eccl. discipl.* I. i. c. 60, *n.g.* asserts that the Latin metropolitan of Cyprus was the first who, in 1521, used the style "Apostolicæ Sedis gratia;" but it had been in use by every bishop from the twelfth century, except in some few cases, where it had been prohibited by the temporal power.

K (*p.* 52).

SAINT THECLA.

The spurious character of the "*περίοδοι Pauli et Theclæ*" is evident at first sight. This undoubtedly ancient work abounded in extravagant fables and fictions, which were quoted, very early, against the discipline of the Church. Tertullian (*De Bapt.* ii. 17) gives its history. It was composed by a priest in Asia, desirous, with a zeal not according to knowledge, to glorify the Apostle S. Paul by writing a romance with the great Apostle as its principal figure. He was tried for this offence (by S. John himself, adds S. Jerome, *Catal.* c. 7), and deposed from the priesthood. Pope Gelasius, in a well-known decree, numbers the work among the apocryphal writings of the New Testament. It is now lost. Grabe, in his *Spicilegium*, gives a Greek treatise entitled: "The martyrdom of the holy and glorious protomartyr and apostle Thecla," printed from a MS. in the Bodleian Library. This, say the Bollandists, is not the *περίοδοι*, though apparently founded on it. In the fifth century, Basil, bishop of Seleucia, wrote a history of S. Thecla, drawing his materials chiefly from the *περίοδοι*: as did also the "Acts" of Simeon Metaphrastes, and Nicetas David "the Paphlagonian" in his panegyric of the Saint (*Combesis, Auctuarium*, p. 445).

The most authoritative testimony to the genuine acts of S. Thecla's life is, undoubtedly, the Church's Office in assisting the dying. For the *lex orandi* and the *lex credendi* are so intimately allied as to be really identical. In that Office, after rehearsing some of the chief deliverances granted to holy persons, and recorded in the Sacred Scriptures, the priest is instructed to pray:

"As Thou didst deliver the most blessed Thecla, Thy virgin and martyr, from three most dreadful torments, so vouchsafe to deliver the soul of this Thy servant," &c.

A sermon, attributed to S. Chrysostom, but probably only coeval with him, enumerates these three conflicts as being fought with pleasures, the wild beasts, and fire.

The *Roman Martyrology* for September 23 enumerates two out of the three great torments which S. Thecla's faith enabled her to overcome:

"At Iconium in Lystra [the birthday] of S. Thecla, virgin and martyr, who, having been brought to the faith by S. Paul, in the days of the Emperor Nero, overcame fire and the wild beasts in confessing Christ; and, having

been victorious in numerous conflicts for the instruction of many, came to Seleucia, and there rested in peace:—whom the holy Fathers have celebrated with highest praise.”

Baronius, in his edition of the *Martyrology*, appends to this a long note, showing that S. Thecla not being mentioned in the Acts does not militate against the genuineness of her history; inasmuch as many things are omitted by S. Luke, even of those which more immediately related to S. Paul. He quotes a notice of the Saint from S. Gregory of Nyssa's fourteenth *Homily on the Canticles* (c. v. 13). After stating that *myrrh* in the Scriptures signifies death, or mortification, S. Gregory proceeds: “*Their* lips distil myrrh who are pure, and whose virtues possess a certain fragrance; they whose lips distil a myrrh that fully replenishes the souls of those who receive it. This myrrh is the contempt of the material corporeal life, when all that men are zealous for, here below, becomes powerless and dead, by reason of the desire of supernal goods. Even such myrrh did Paul of old time pour from his lips, mingled with the pure lily of holy chastity, into the attentive ears of the holy virgin Thecla: and the virginal Thecla, having received into her noble soul those limpid droppings, mortified and slew [in herself] the outer man, and extinguished every fleshly thought and desire. In consequence of that excellent doctrine, dead became her youth, dead that beauty which met the eye; deadened each corporeal sense—while there lived in her only that word, whereby the whole world had died to her, and the virgin herself had died to the world.” A more ancient authority, S. Epiphanius, says that (excepting the name of the Ever-blessed Virgin), S. Thecla ranks with Elias and S. John Baptist, those votaries of perpetual virginity, among the most illustrious of virgins (*Her.* 78, and 79, 5).

S. Gregory Nazianzen, in his first oration against Julian, thus rebukes him: “Hast thou no fear of the victims who have been slain for Christ? dost thou not dread those great athletes, as John, Peter, Paul, James, Stephen, Luke, Andrew, Thecla . . . who contended against fire, the sword, and wild beasts, and human tyrants; against ills at hand, and threatened ills—and that, with cheerful soul, as though in others' bodies, yea, as though released from the body?” S. Ambrose, in three places (lib. 2, *De Virg. ad Simplician.* and *Epist.* iii. 25, *ed. Rom. ad Verzell. Eccles.*) commemorates her being exposed to the lions, who fawned and licked her feet; and in his treatise, *Ad Lapsam Virginem* c. 3, asks: “How wilt thou appear before Mary, Thecla, and Agnes, and the spotless choir of purity?”

Finally, S. Jerome (*Chron. ad ann. 377*) says that Melania, a noble matron, went to Jerusalem, and there acquired such repute for sanctity, that the name Thecla was bestowed upon her.

L (*p.* 55).

SLOWNESS OF THE DECAY OF PAGANISM.

An article in the *Dublin Review* for August, 1843, most probably from the pen of Cardinal Wiseman, quotes Dr. Miley's *Rome under Paganism and the Popes*, to refute the error of imagining "that with the triumph of Constantine, the downfall of Paganism followed without a struggle."

"It is well nigh a century since the triumph of the Labarum, and still Rome wears the aspect of a pagan city. One hundred and fifty-two temples, and one hundred and eighty smaller shrines or chapels, are still sacred to the heathen gods, and used for their public worship. Above all, still towers the Capitol, with its fifty temples, bearing the titles of the *dii majores* and of the deities and heroes tutelary of Rome, and of the Empire—the temples of Jove, of Juno, and Minerva; of Mars, Janus, and Romulus; of Cæsar, and of Victory.

"Nor was it alone the ancient legalized religion of Numa that was still upheld; Rome had become the rallying point, a city of refuge, for everything that was pagan in the whole Empire: there was no form of superstition that had fallen into contempt or been banished from other quarters, that did not flourish there, and celebrate its rites with publicity.¹ The prefect of the City, who wielded a sovereign authority in the absence of the Emperors, was invariably a pagan. The nobility, with very few exceptions, were devoted to paganism to the last; and for the rabble, . . . its sanguinary shows had lost nothing of their fascination.

"Fifteen Pontiffs exercised their supreme jurisdiction [over] all things consecrated to the service of the gods. Fifteen augurs observed the face of the heavens, and took the omens by which the State was to be governed, from the flight of birds. Fifteen sages guarded the Sibylline books, and in junctures of public peril and perplexity gave utterance to the oracles which they contained."

¹ Compare Tacit. *Annal.* xv. 44, who adverts to the fact in order to account for the introduction of the Christian faith into the City.

He goes through an account of the various other observations of pagan Rome, still continued after the conversion of the Empire. Then the reviewer proceeds :

“For many a year did Rome cling to the old superstition, with which all her usages and institutions were associated. The edict of Milan gave nothing to Christianity, beyond the toleration which, in common with all other religions, it was permitted to enjoy. Ten years after the publication of this edict, while Constantine still threw his shield over the Church, an attempt was made at Rome to compel all, even Christians, to join in the public sacrifices. Even the Emperor incurred the hatred of the people, by refusing to sacrifice at the Capitol with his troops. And, indeed, the pagan historian Zosimus attributes the removal of the seat of Empire to Byzantium, to the desire of freeing himself from the unpopularity which, at Rome, still attached to the profession of the Christian name.

“The transfer of the seat of the Empire confirmed the Pagan character of Rome, which became emphatically the pagan, as Byzantium was the Christian, capital of the Empire. The accession of Julian, for a time, gave power to the party thus obstinately wedded to the old superstition, and, even after his overthrow, the Senate still retained the same character. When Gratian refused to be invested with the sacerdotal robe of pontifex, the Senate threatened to transfer their allegiance to his rival Maximus; at the inauguration of Tertullus as consul under Attalus, all the pagan ceremonial was rigidly observed; when Alaric hung over the doomed city, a public edict commanded that the offended gods should be appeased by sacrifice in the Capitol. Many of the festivals continued for a long time to be regularly kept up; and [the worst of them] all, the Lupercatia, was not abolished till the end of the fifth century, under Pope Gelasius.

“Meanwhile, the fatal hour of Rome was drawing nigh,” &c.

It is not surprising, after these extracts, to reflect that the barbarous and sanguinary shows of the gladiators in the amphitheatres of the Empire, also lasted into the fifth century; until they terminated in the self-sacrifice of the hermit S. Almachus or Telemachus, on New-Year's day in the year 404.

M (p. 61).

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF SS. PETER AND PAUL.

Conybeare and Howson, quoting from Malalas (*Chronogr.* x. p. 257, ed. Bonn., and Nicephorus *H. E.* ii. 3), and summing up the representations of early artists, report as follows :

“S. Paul is set before us as having the strongly marked and prominent features of a Jew, yet not without some of the finer lines indicative of Greek thought. His stature was diminutive, and his body disfigured by some lameness or distortion (?), which may have provoked the contemptuous expressions of his enemies (2 Cor. x. 1, 10: cf. Acts xiv. 11). His beard was long and thin. His head was bald. The characteristics of his face were, a transparent complexion, which visibly betrayed the quick changes of his feelings, a bright grey eye under thickly overhanging united eyebrows, a cheerful and winning expression of countenance, which invited the approach and inspired the confidence of strangers. It would be natural to infer, from his continual journeys and manual labours, that he was possessed of great strength of constitution. But men of delicate health have often gone through the greatest exertions;¹ and his own words on more than one occasion show that he suffered much from bodily infirmity.

“S. Peter is represented to us as a man of larger and stronger form, as his character was harsher (?) and more abrupt. The quick impulses of his soul revealed themselves in the flashes of a dark eye. The complexion of his face was pale and sallow: and the short hair, which is described as entirely grey at the time of his death, curled black and thick around his temples and his chin, when the two Apostles stood together at Antioch, twenty years before their martyrdom.”

In accordance with these notices, S. Paul is described in the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ* as μικρὸς τῶ μεγέθει, ψιλὸς τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἀγκυλος ταῖς κνήμαις, σύνοφρος, ἐπίρρινος, χάριτος πλήρης (Grabe, p. 95); and so the Γαλιλαῖος εἰς τρίτον οὐρανὸν ἀέρα βατήσας in Lucian's “Philopatris” is said to have been ἀναφαλαντίας καὶ ἐπίρρινος. *Ed Tauchn.* iv. 318.

¹ Compare what is said in the Breviary of S. Gregory the Great: (*in ejus fest.* Mart. 12) “Admirabilia sunt quæ dixit, fecit, scripsit, decrevit, præsertim infirma semper et ægra valetudine.”

Again ; with reference to the period of their martyrdom :

“S. Peter is a robust old man, with a broad forehead, and rather coarse features, an open undaunted countenance, short grey hair, and short thick beard, curled, and of a silvery white. [S.] Paul was a man of small and meagre stature, with an aquiline nose, and sparkling eyes : in the Greek type the face is long and oval, the forehead high and bald, the hair brown, the beard long, flowing, and pointed. . . These traditional characteristic types of the features and persons of the two greatest Apostles were long adhered to. We find them most strictly followed in the old Greek mosaics, in the early Christian sculpture, and the early pictures : in all of which the sturdy dignity and broad rustic features of S. Peter, and the elegant contemplative head of S. Paul, who looks like a Greek philosopher, form a most interesting and suggestive contrast.”

No mention is here made of the same traditional types, as they are represented in the small glass vessels, whether eucharistic or used at the *agapē*, and found in the catacombs. Yet these remarkably continue the catena of proof. Speaking of a bronze medal of the two Apostles extracted by Boldetti from the catacomb of Domitilla, Messrs. Northcote and Brownlow speak as follows, in their *Roma Sotterranca* :

“The portraits on this bronze are very lifelike and natural, bearing a strong impress of individual character. One of the heads is covered with short curly hair, the beard clipped short and also curled, the features somewhat rough and commonplace. The features of the other are more noble, graceful, and strongly marked ; the head is bald, and the beard is thick and long. This valuable medal confirms the tradition preserved by Nicephorus² of the personal appearance of the two Apostles ; the first being that of S. Peter, and the latter that of S. Paul ; and, as we have said, these characteristics are in the main retained in most of the glasses, excepting a few which are of very inferior execution ” (*Roma Sott.* ii. pp. 310, 311).

² See also S. Jerome, *Comment. in Ep. ad Galat.* i. 18. It is a curious coincidence, that in the apocryphal Acts of the Apostles, edited by Tischendorf, it is said of Dioscorus the shipmaster, who had followed S. Paul to Rome, and was mistaken for the Apostle, and beheaded in his stead, that he was bald : *καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναβαλαντὸς ὑπάρχων* (p. 4, *Rom. Sott. ut sup.*).

N (*p.* 62).

THE EPISTLE ASCRIBED TO S. BARNABAS.

All the ancient Church writers, together with those of the Middle Ages, undoubtingly received this Epistle as the genuine production of S. Barnabas. Clement of Alexandria, in no fewer than seven places of his *Stromata*, attributes it to him. Origen mentions it in four places: and we may add the testimonies of S. Justin martyr, Tertullian, SS. Irenæus and Ignatius, and the author of "Pastor." Eusebius, though (*H. E.* iii. 25, 4) he calls it *spurious*, appears only to mean that it was among the *ἀντιλεγόμενα*, subject to doubtfulness and dispute. S. Jerome's testimony is distinct. "Barnabas of Cyprus, who is also Joseph the Levite, [and] ordained, together with Paul, an Apostle of the Gentiles, wrote a single epistle [on matters] pertaining to the edification of the Church, which is read among the apocryphal writings" (*Catal.* c. 6). He speaks of it again with commendation (*Ibid.* 5, 9). Also in his commentary on Ezechiel, xliii. 19. Once more, in his treatise *De Nomin. Hebr.* he places it after the books of the New Testament, apparently as an ecclesiastical writing, which might be read in the churches after the Scriptures. A little before S. Jerome's day, the first part of this epistle had been translated into Latin by an unknown hand: and in the middle of the fourth century, the whole was transcribed at the end of the canonical Scriptures, in the codex of the Sinaitic Bible.

Notwithstanding this catena of authorities, Hefele, and his editor and continuator, a professor of Tübingen, whose name may be latinized into Timoratus, or Timor, denies the authenticity of this epistle, assigning it to some Christian writer of Alexandria, at the end of the first century. He says:

(1). It is not S. Barnabas: because (*a*) the author says expressly that Jerusalem and the Temple were destroyed when he wrote; which could hardly have been during the Apostle's lifetime: (*b*) he says (ix. 6), that all the Syrians practised circumcision; whereas Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 10, 3) declares that, at that time, the Jews were the only people in Palestine who observed the rite—a circumstance which could not have been unknown to S. Barnabas during his long residence at Antioch: (*c*) he asserts (c. xvi.) a terrestrial millennium, and besides, "pronounces so unworthy a judgment of the old law, that he could hardly be supposed to be a companion of S. Paul" (see chapters ii. ix. x. xiv. xv).

(2). It is a writer of Alexandria; as is shown by the allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, according to the method of that school, and by the cordial reception the epistle met with from the Alexandrians.

(3). Its date is the end of the first century; from its mention (c. iv.) of the prophecy of Daniel (c. vii. 24) as though it were then on the point of its accomplishment in the eleventh King: this would be Domitian, reckoning Augustus as the first. The critic, however, adds that the majority of recent authors assign the epistle to the beginning of the second century.

“Many writings, not enumerated in the Canon of the New Testament, said to have been written by the Apostles, and containing many references to them, have come to light since their day. They are evidently based on rumour; and, by a species of *fraus pia*, ascribed to the Apostles, that they might acquire a greater influence and a more extended circulation. The so-called *Canones* (85) *Constitutiones* (libri viii.) and *Symbolum Apostolorum* have each a specific value. The first two works were evidently written, probably in Syria, between the second and the fourth century, and contain important information relative to the constitution, worship, and discipline of the Church. Cf. Tillemont, t. ii. pp. 164—166; Natal. Alex. *H. E.* sæc. 1, diss. 18, t. iv. p. 407, seq.” (Alzog. t. i. p. 234.)

O (*p.* 68).

S. DIONYSIUS THE AREOPAGITE.

Few questions regarding writers of Christian antiquity have been agitated with greater learning on either side, than the two following:

(1). Was S. Dionysius the Areopagite, (S. Paul's convert, Acts xvii. 34, and consecrated by him bishop of Athens,) the same who was sent by S. Clement, Pope, into Gaul in the first century, established his see at Paris, and suffered martyrdom with his companions, SS. Rusticus and Eleutherius, on the *Mons Martyrum* near that city?

For the affirmative appear, the abbot Hilduinus, in his *Areopagitica*; Germ. Millet, a Benedictine monk of S. Denis, who wrote especially against Father Sirmond's objections to the work of Hilduin, and asserted the immemorial tradition of the Church of Paris (Par. 1642); Father Halloix, S.J. of Liege, in his *Illustrium Ecclesie Orientalis Scriptorum, qui Primo a Christo Sæculo vixerunt, Vitæ et Documenta* (Duaci, 1633—1636); Father Corderius, S.J.

in his edition of the works of S. Dionysius the Areopagite, 1634; Father Martin Delrio, S.J. in his *Vindicie Areopageticæ*, against Scaliger (Antw. 1608); Father Lansellius, S.J. in his edition of the Saint's works (Gravel. 1615), and Natalis Alexander, O.S.D., who has summarized all the arguments on the subject in his *Selecta Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ Capita*, sæc. ii. disput. xv.

Venantius Fortunatus, to whom Father Halloix gives the character of a very accurate writer, thus speaks in his hymn on the Saint:

Clemente Roma præsulè
Ab Urbe missus adfuit:
Verbi superni seminis
Ut fructus esset Galliæ.

For the negative side: Father Sirmond (*vide supra*) in an express dissertation, *In qua Dionysii Parisiensis et Dionysii Areopagitæ discrimen ostenditur* (Par. 1641); Joh. Launoy, Doctor of the Sorbonne, described by Bossuet as "both a semi-Pelagian and a Jansenist," *De duobus Dionysiis* (Par. 1642): also, Albert Miré, in his *Belgian Annals*; Petavius, *In suis Theologicis Dogmatibus*, et alibi, with several others.

(2). Are the works commonly attributed to S. Dionysius the Areopagite, really his?

Bellarmino, *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, ad Ann.* (p. 27), after excluding from the Saint's genuine works a supposed epistle to S. Paul, which "ab omnibus merito relictâ (*qu. rejecta*) est," says of the rest, both the mystical treatises and the epistles, "De cæteris operibus viri docti et Catholici nihil dubitant. Soli hæretici Lutherani, et quidam scioli, Erasmus, Valla, et pauci alii opera sua numerata negant esse Si. Di. Areopag." The proofs he adduces are: (1) A citation from the "Celestial Hierarchy," by S. Gregory the Great (*Homil. in Evang.* xxxiv. 12) who calls the author "antiquus et venerabilis Pater;"¹ (2) S. Martin, Pope and martyr, in a Council at Rome, also quoted these works as genuine; (3) as also did Pope S. Agatho, in an epistle to Constantine Pogonatus; (4) and Pope Nicolas I., writing to the Emperor Michael. Moreover, (5) so did the Sixth General Council, Act iv. and the Seventh, Act ii. S. Maximus the monk, S. Thomas, and others, have written commentaries on these books, as being the authentic writings of the Saint whose name they bear. The apparent reason (continues Bellarmine) of

¹ Migne's reprint of the Benedictine edition of S. Gregory, however, points out that the holy Pope and Doctor expresses some doubtfulness, in the words "*fertur Dionysius Areopagita dicere.*" This uncertainty could not fall on the works themselves, which were already in every one's hands; but on their authenticity.

S. Gregory the Great being the first writer to quote them, was, that, like so many other treatises, they had lain hid, and were only discovered in his day.

Corderius, in his *Prolegomena*, gives a long list of passages quoted by S. Thomas from S. Dionysius; and concludes by saying: *Ex his aliisque locis quæ me effugerunt, facile patet Angelicum Doctorem totam fere doctrinam theologicam ex purissimis Dionysii fontibus hausisse: cum vix ulla sit periodus e qua non ipse tanquam apis argumentosa theologicum succum extraxerit, et in Summam, veluti quoddam alveare, pluribus questionibus articulisque, ceu cellulis, theologica melle servando, distinctum redegerit."*

The affirmative and negative sides of this question are respectively maintained by the authors above enumerated, whose arguments will be found summarized by Natalis Alexander (*ut sup.*) *Dissert. XXI.* To those who have asserted it, must be added Father B. De Rubeis, O.P. in a Dissertation against Lequien; and John de Chaumont, in a treatise translated from the French, and printed in Migne's edition. But especially, there are two affirmative decrees of the Theological Faculty of Paris; one, at the conclusion of its censure of Luther, and a second, still more explicit, in the later censure which it directed against Erasmus. These two assertions certainly seem to give a very considerable preponderance to the affirmative side.

They who deny or doubt the authenticity of the mystical works in question (*viz. De Divinis Nominibus, De Cælesti atque Ecclesiastica Hierarchia, De Mystica Theologia, &c.*), attribute them to an ancient author of the same name, of the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century.

P (*p.* 78).

TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHEBUS.

This temple of Diana was reckoned as one of the Seven Wonders of the world. It was the third edifice; the second having been burnt by Eratrorstratus on the night when Alexander the Great was born, B.C. 356. It was the largest Greek temple ever built: measuring three hundred and forty-two feet in length, by one hundred and sixty-three feet in width. Gibbon says it was four hundred and twenty-five feet in length, meaning perhaps the exterior. The workmen were employed on it for two centuries. It was said to have contained one hundred and twenty-eight Ionic columns of precious jasper, each sixty feet high, and each the gift of a king. Eight of these, of green

jasper, are in the church of S. Sophia in Constantinople; and two more in the Cathedral at Pisa. The altar of Diana at Ephesus was adorned with master-pieces of sculpture by Praxiteles; while Apelles was employed on the paintings. About one hundred large marble columns adorned the exterior. Each of the Greek cities sent its donation towards the building. The image worshipped in it, supposed to have "fallen down from Jupiter" (Acts xix. 35), was of cedar-wood, very rudely carved, but overlaid with gold, having its face covered with vermilion (Pausan. *Cor.* ii. 2). Cf. Wisdom xiii. 13, 14; xv. 4. This temple was destroyed by the Goths, in their third naval invasion, about A.D. 250. Gibbon adds to his description, that the length of the temple was no more than two thirds of that of S. Peter's; and that "in the other dimensions, it was still more inferior to that sublime production of modern architecture. The spreading arms of a Christian cross require a much greater breadth than the oblong temples of the pagans; and the boldest artists of antiquity would have been startled at the proposal of raising in the air a dome of the size and proportions of the Pantheon" (*Decline*, &c. vol. i. c. x. p. 433). Col. Leake says that the very site of this once-famous temple cannot now be ascertained. The theatre at Ephesus, also, the scene of the disturbance, is said to have been the largest of the ancient world.

Q (*p.* 85).

HEROD'S TEMPLE, AND THE TOWER ANTONIA.

The following passage from Josephus is so illustrative of Acts xxi. 30—40, as well as of other passages in the New Testament, that it is here inserted, notwithstanding its length. The translation is that of Whiston.

"Herod took away the old foundations, and laid others, and erected the temple upon them; being in length a hundred cubits, and in height twenty additional cubits, which (twenty) upon the sinking of their foundations, fell down; and this part it was, that we resolved to raise again in the days of Nero. Now the Temple was built of stones that were white and strong, and each of their length was twenty-five cubits, their height was eight, and their breadth about twelve; and the whole structure, as also the structure of the royal cloister, was on each side much lower, but the middle was much higher, till they were visible to those that dwelt in the country for a great many furlongs, but chiefly to such as lived over against them, and those that

approached to them. The Temple had doors also at the entrance, and lintels over them, of the same height with the temple itself. They were adorned with embroidered veils with their flowers of purple, and pillars interwoven: and over these, but under the crown-work, was spread out a golden vine, with its branches hanging down from a great height, the largeness and fine workmanship of which was a surprising sight to the spectators, to see what vast materials there were, and with what great skill the workmanship was done. He also encompassed the entire Temple with very large cloisters, contriving them to be in a due proportion thereto; and he laid out larger sums of money upon them than had been done before him, till it seemed that no one else had so greatly adorned the Temple as he had done. There was a large wall to both the cloisters, which wall was itself the most prodigious work that was ever heard of by man. The hill was a rocky ascent, that declined by degrees towards the east parts of the city, till it came to an elevated level. This hill it was which Solomon, who was the first of our kings by Divine revelation, encompassed with a wall; it was of excellent workmanship upwards and round the top of it. He also built a wall below, beginning at the bottom, which was encompassed by a deep valley; and at the south side he laid rocks together, and bound them one to another with lead, and included some of the inner parts, till it proceeded to a great height, and till both the largeness of the square edifice, and its altitude, were immense, and till the vastness of the stones in the front were plainly visible on the outside, yet so that the inward parts were fastened together with iron, and preserved the joints immoveable for all future times. When this work [for the foundation] was done in this manner, and joined together as part of the hill itself to the very top of it, he wrought it all up into one outward surface, and filled up the hollow places which were about the wall, and made it a level on the external upper surface, and a smooth level also. This hill was walled all round, and in compass four furlongs, [the distance of] each angle containing in length a furlong: but within this wall and on the very top of all, there ran another wall of stone also, having, on the east quarter, a double cloister of the same length with the wall; in the midst of which was the Temple itself. This cloister looked to the gates of the Temple; and it had been adorned by many kings in former times: and round about the entire Temple were fixed the spoils taken from barbarous nations; all these had been dedicated to the Temple by Herod, with the addition of those he had taken from the Arabians.

“Now on the north side [of the Temple] was built a citadel, whose walls were square and strong, and of extraordinary firmness. This citadel was built by the kings of the Asamonean race, who were also high-priests before Herod; and they called it the Tower, in which were repositied the vestments of the high-priest, which the high priest only put on at the time when he was to offer sacrifice. These vestments King Herod kept in that place; and after his death they were under the power of the Romans, until the time of Tiberius Cæsar; under whose reign Vitellius, the president of Syria, when he once came to Jerusalem, and had been most magnificently received by the multitude, had a mind to make them some requital for the kindness they had showed him; so, upon their petition to have those holy vestments in their own power, he wrote about them to Tiberius Cæsar, who granted his request: and thus their power over the sacerdotal vestments continued with the Jews till the death of King Agrippa; but after that, Cassius Longinus, who was president of Syria, and Cuspius Fadus, who was procurator of Judea, enjoined the Jews to reposit those vestments in the tower of Antonia, for that they ought to have them in their power, as they formerly had. However, the Jews sent ambassadors to Claudius Cæsar, to intercede with him for them; upon whose coming, King Agrippa junior, being then at Rome, asked for and obtained the power over them from the Emperor, who gave command to Vitellius, who was then commander in Syria, to give it them accordingly. Before that time, they were kept under the seal of the high-priest, and of the treasurers of the Temple; which treasurers, the day before a festival, went up to the Roman captain of the temple-guards, and viewed their own seal, and received the vestments; and again, when the festival was over, they brought it to the same place, and showed the captain of the temple-guards their seal, which corresponded with his seal, and repositied them there. And that these things were so, the afflictions that happened to us afterward [about them] are sufficient evidence. But for the tower itself, when Herod the King of the Jews had fortified it more firmly than before, in order to secure and guard the Temple, he gratified Antonius, who was his friend and the Roman ruler, and then gave it the name of the Tower of Antonia.

“Now in the western quarters of the enclosure of the Temple there were four gates. The first led to the King's palace, and went to a passage over the intermediate valley; two more led to the suburbs of the City; and the last led to the other City, where the road descended down into the valley by a great

number of steps, and thence up again by the ascent; for the City lay over against the Temple in the manner of a theatre, and was encompassed with a deep valley along the entire south quarter; but the fourth front of the Temple, which was southward, had indeed itself gates in its middle, as also it had the royal cloisters, with three walks which reached in length from the east valley unto that on the west, for it was impossible it should reach any farther: and this cloister deserves to be mentioned better than any other under the sun; for while the valley was very deep, and its bottom could not be seen, if you looked from above into the depth, this farther vastly high elevation of the cloister stood upon that height, insomuch that if any one looked down from the top of the battlements, or down both those altitudes, he would be giddy, while his sight could not reach to such an immense depth. This cloister had pillars that stood in four rows, over against the other all along; for the fourth row was interwoven into the wall, which [also was built of stone]; and the thickness of each pillar was such, that three men might, with their arms extended, fathom it round, and join their hands again, while its length was twenty-seven feet, with a double spiral at its basis; and the number of all the pillars [in that court] was a hundred and sixty-two. Their chapiters were made with sculptures after the Corinthian order, and caused an amazement [to the spectators], by reason of the grandeur of the whole. These four rows of pillars included three intervals for walking in the middle of this cloister; two of which walks were made parallel to each other, and were contrived after the same manner; the breadth of each of them was thirty feet, the length was a furlong, and the height fifty feet: but the breadth of the middle part of the cloister was one and a half of the other, and the height was double, for it was much higher than those on each side; but the roofs were adorned with deep sculptures in wood, representing many sorts of figures: the middle was much higher than the rest, and the wall of the front was adorned with beams, resting upon pillars, that were interwoven into it: and that front was all of polished stone, insomuch that its fineness, to such as had not seen it, was incredible, and to such as had seen it, was greatly amazing. Thus was the first enclosure. In the midst of which, and not far from it, was the second, to be gone up to by a few steps: this was encompassed by a stone wall for a partition, with an inscription, which forbade any foreigner to go in under pain of death. Now this inner enclosure had on its southern and northern quarters three gates (equally) distant one from another; but on the east quarter, towards the sun rising, there was one large gate, through which

such as were pure came in, together with their wives, but the temple farther inward in that gate was not allowed to the women; but still more inward was there a third (court) of the temple, whereinto it was not lawful for any but the priests alone to enter. The temple itself was within this; and before that temple was the altar, upon which we offer our sacrifices and burnt-offerings to God. Into none of these three did King Herod enter; for he was forbidden, because he was not a priest. However, he took care of the cloisters, and the outer enclosures, and these he built in eight years" (Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3—5. See this description vividly summarized in Milman's *History of the Jews*, pp. 14—24).

R (p. 90).

ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

See Suarez, *Theol.* p. iii. q. 37, a. 4, disput. 21; Thomassinus, *Tractat. de Festis*, l. ii. c. 20; Benedict XIV. *De Festis D.N.J.C. et B.M.V.* pt. ii.; Baron. *Annal. ad ann.* 48, et *Annot. in Martyrol. XV. August.*

Wouters says: "Quamvis de corporea Mariæ assumptione sileant Patres priorum Ecclesiæ sæculorum, piam tamen de ea sententiam jam inde a sæculo VI. in utraque Ecclesia græca et latina, fuisse receptam et deinceps constanter traditam, testantur Patres mediæ et sequentis ætatis, græci et latini. Accedit utriusque Ecclesiæ praxis, in qua jam inde ab annis 1200 et amplius festum Assumptionis celebratur. Accedit communis omnium insignium theologorum doctrina. Accedunt etiam rationes congruentiæ. His aliisque credibilitatis motivis persuasus omnis catholicus orbis corpoream B. V. Mariæ assumptionem amplexus est" (*Hist. Eccl. Compend.* vol. i. p. 41).

S. Epiphanius, considering the singular excellency of the Ever-Blessed Virgin, and the silence of the Sacred Scriptures, did not venture to define whether she died and was buried, or was preserved from death (*Hær.* 78). Baronius declares that the Catholic Church admits no doubtfulness as to her decease: "Sed quam novit humanæ naturæ consortem, humanam pariter moriendi necessitatem expertam affirmat" (*Ad Ann.* 48).

The feast of the Assumption is celebrated with great solemnity both in the East and West. Some doctors have given it the name of "the great feast" of our Blessed Lady. Its institution dates from the sixth century: a period that witnessed a great increase of devotion to the Mother of God, in

consequence of the solemn condemnation of the Nestorian heresy by the Council of Ephesus in 431. Thomassinus (*ut sup.*) says that after that Council, the mind of the Church turned towards the mystery of the Assumption, and that the festival was instituted in memory of the Ephesine decree which saluted Mary as Θεοτόκος. Pope Sergius, who was elected in 687, ordained that the solemn processions which on the feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity of our Lady used to issue forth from the church of S. Adrian and proceed with the chanting of the litanies to the Liberian basilica (the church of Santa Maria Maggiore), should be held in like manner on the feast of the Assumption. The festival must therefore have been instituted before his time. For some time, it was celebrated on the 18th of January. The Emperor Maurice obtained the translation of it [probably for Constantinople] to the 15th of August; which was afterwards adopted by the whole Church (Niceph. lib. xvii. c. 28; Baron. *Martyrol.* August 15; Mabillon, *Liturg. Gall.* lib. ii.; Martene, *De Antiq. Eccles. Discipl.* t. iii. c. 33, n. 28).

The festival was preceded by a fast. Nicolas I. mentions it, and affirms its observance to have been long observed before his time: quæ jejunia sancta Romana suscepit antiquitus et tenet Ecclesia (Labbé, *Concilia*, t. viii.). In some parts of the East, this fast was held from the beginning of August, and only intermitted during the six days of the celebration of the Transfiguration (Assemani, *Biblioth. Orient.* t. ii.).

The octave was instituted by Leo IV. about the year 847, but was not extended to the whole Church until a later period (Sigibert, *ad Ann.* 847; Benedict XIV. *De Festis B.M.V.* c. viii. § 5; Moroni, *Dizionario Storico-Ecclesiast. in voc.*).

S (*p.* 100).

WEALTH AND IMPORTANCE OF ASIA MINOR.

“The provinces of the East present the contrast of Roman magnificence with Turkish barbarism. The ruins of antiquity, scattered over cultivated fields, and ascribed by ignorance to the power of magic, scarcely afford a shelter to the oppressed peasant or wandering Arab. Under the reign of the Cæsars, the proper Asia alone contained five hundred populous cities (*Joseph. B.J.* ii. 16; Philostrat. *in Vit. Soph.* ii. p. 548, ed. Olear.), enriched with all the gifts of nature, and adorned with all the refinements of art. Eleven cities

of Asia had once disputed the honour of dedicating a temple to Tiberius, and their respective merits were examined by the Senate (*Tacit. Ann.* iv. 55). Four of them were immediately rejected, as unequal to the burden; and among these was Laodicea, whose splendour is still displayed in its ruins. Laodicea collected a very considerable revenue from its flocks of sheep, celebrated for the fineness of their wool; and had received, a little before the contest, a legacy of above four thousand pounds, by the testament of a generous citizen. If such was the poverty of Laodicea, what must have been the wealth of those cities whose claim appeared preferable, and particularly of Pergamus, of Smyrna, and of Ephesus, who so long disputed with each other the titular primacy of Asia?" (Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, vol. i. c. ii. p. 80, ed. 1815).

T (*p.* 103).

PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY IN BRITAIN.

Lingard, in the cold and cautious spirit which was perhaps natural to him, or adopted also to gain credence for more important facts in an unpopular cause, would seem to relegate to the reign of fable the testimonies adduced in the foregoing pages, for the presence of Apostles in our island. "At the distance of so many ages," he says, "it is impossible to discover by whom Christianity was first preached in the island. Some writers have ascribed that province to S. Peter; others have preferred the rival claim of S. Paul: but both opinions, improbable as they are in themselves, rest on the most slender evidence; on testimonies, which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory."¹

One circumstance is specially to be observed, in estimating the scattered notices that have come down to us, and the amount of probability they furnish. This is, the general destruction of ecclesiastical documents during three successive periods:—viz. the persecution of Diocletian, the subsequent invasion of Picts and Scots, and the occupation of the greater part of Britain by the heathen Saxons. We may learn the state of things in the island from the piteous "Groans of the Britons,"—the embassy they sent to Rome in their distress, to petition for the return of those legions which Honorius had been compelled to withdraw. "On the one hand, the barbarians chase us

¹ *History of England*, vol. i. pp. 51, 52, ed. 1849.

into the sea ; on the other, the sea casts us back on the barbarians ; we have only the cruel alternative left us, to perish by the sword or by the waves."² Under such circumstances, the wonder surely is, not that documents and even traditions are so few, but that any have come down to us.

(1.) The traditionary coming of S. Joseph of Arimathæa to Avalon, or Iniswitrn, afterwards Glastonbury, has been the subject of much controversy among Catholic and non-Catholic writers.³ (a) The narrative is of immemorial antiquity. (b) The place, in itself unattractive and marshy, had always been esteemed the *fons et origo totius religionis in Britannia*. (c) The small church built there, afterwards named by the Saxons the "calde cirche," has always been reported as built by S. Joseph and his companions, though consecrated supernaturally. (d) No rival claim has ever been advanced, nor any other name reported as founder of the sacred place : it is *aut Joseph aut nullus*. (e) S. Marcellus, a primitive British Christian, mentioned in the English Martyrology (September 4), is there said to have "gathered into a flock the remainder of those who had been converted by S. Joseph of Arimathæa and his companions, confirming them in the same faith" (see *Fasti ad A.D.* 51, note 3). (f) S. Elwan, one of the two legates sent to Rome by King Lucius, to beg of S. Eleutherius missionaries to convert his people, was one of the hermits of Avalon, who had succeeded to the original twelve ; and his first visit, on returning to the island with his companion S. Medwin, bringing with them SS. Fugatius and Damianus from Rome, was to the spot. They petitioned Lucius to renew in their favour the original grant made by Arviragus. (g) The twelve "hides" of Glastonbury, which remained always in possession of the monastery, as the original donation of Arviragus to S. Joseph and his eleven companions, afford surely a strong corroborative proof. (h) In 530, S. David, bishop of Menevia, with seven of his suffragans, came out of Wales to Glastonbury, added to the buildings, and offered a valuable gem,⁴ always known thenceforward as "the great sapphire," which remained among the treasures of the house until its spoliation by Henry VIII. who had the stone set in a thumb-ring for himself. (i) On the arrival of

² S. Gildas, *De Excidio Britannie*, quoted by S. Bede, *Hist. Ecc.* l. 13. See Hume, vol. i. p. 14.

³ For the tradition, see Baronius, *ad ann.* 35. Parsons, *De Tribus Angliæ Conversionibus*, *Alford, Ann. Eccl. Brit. ad ann.* 53, "aliosque complures Britannicos archæologos," says Selvagio, *Antiq. Christian. Institutiones*, lib. i. c. 4. p. 29.

⁴ It is stated to have been "a super-altar;" rather, perhaps a large gem placed there—and to have been of very great value. It occurs in the list of valuables delivered to the King, May 15, ann. xxxi. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, in *Glast. Append.* n. 140.

S. Augustine from Rome, one of his first measures, after his mission was established, was to erect the house at Glastonbury into a more regularly constituted society. (*j*) Ina, king of the West Saxons, is the first on a list of crowned heads, bishops and nobles, who became benefactors to the abbey, rehearsing the aforesaid reasons for its especial sanctity. Their names, charters, and benefactions, fill many pages in Dugdale. (*k*) After the sack of so many places in England by the Danes, King Edmund raises it again from its ruins. (*l*) Under S. Dunstan, it becomes a Benedictine abbey, of such repute that the heads of the chief Benedictine houses in England were chosen from it. (*m*) William the Conqueror, on taking possession of the kingdom, *visis et cognitīs chartis ecclesie Glastoniae*, grants to it certain lands in perpetuity. (*n*) Thenceforward, as also before, it took a precedence among the other religious houses in the country, on the ground of its being the first in point of time, and of the miraculous consecration always assigned to it. (*o*) At the Council of Pisa in 1409, of Constance in 1417, of Siena in 1424, and of Basle in 1434, the English ambassadors claimed precedence over the French by appealing to the Glastonbury tradition, as against the French claim, which rested on S. Dionysius the Areopagite.

(2.) Tertullian expressly says that Christianity was introduced very early into Britain. *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo verò subdita*. Eusebius (*Demonstratio Evangelica*, lib. iv.) says, that while some preached the Name of our Lord in Persia, others crossed the ocean to those islands that are named British. S. Chrysostom (*Orat. Quod Christus Deus*, t. i. p. 575), says that the action of the Church had extended "even beyond our habitable world here," viz. "to the British isles, which are beyond this sea, and in the very Ocean itself." Cf. *De Incompreh. Dei Nat.* ii. 4. They are all speaking of the labours of the Apostles themselves. Cf. S. Clem. *Rom. 1 Cor.* n. 5, quoted in *Fasti*, ad ann. 44 and 61: where observe the probability of SS. Peter and Paul having evangelized our island. As to S. Paul's coming, add the statement of Theodoret, in *Tim.* iv.: "Quando appellatione usus Romana Festo missus est, defensione audita fuit absolutus, et in Hispaniam profectus est, et ad alias gentes excurrrens eis doctrinæ lucem attulit." Also, Venantius Fortunatus, in the sixth century, says of the Apostle of the Gentiles:

Transiit Oceanum, vel qua facit insula portum,
Quasque Britannus habet terras, quasque ultima Thule.

(Lib. iii. *De Vita S. Martini*.)

(3.) Nicephorus states that S. Simon Zelotes brought the doctrine of the Gospel "to the western ocean, and the British islands."

V (A. 113).

APOLLONIUS OF TYANA.

I.

A writer (*in h. nom.*) in Goschler's French translation of the *Dict. Encycl. de la Theol. Catholique* gives an account of this remarkable pseudo-prophet, freed from much of the romance thrown around him by Philostratus, and others.

“From his first biographer, Flavius Philostratus, to Dr. Bauer¹ of Tübingen, we have but vague information on his doctrine, life, and writings. Leaving aside the fabulous in these accounts, we may with tolerable certainty lay down the following particulars as the real history of this pretended wonder-worker.

“Apollonius, a cotemporary of Christ, travelled extensively both in the East and West, especially in India. After making himself acquainted with most of the philosophical systems of the day, he finally embraced the neopythagorean; foreseeing, as he safely might, that during a period of such empiric uncertainty and intellectual commotion, the fantastic character of that abnormal teaching would secure to him the favour of the many. A man formed by study, and with the power of calculation, his vivid imagination enabled him to make forecasts which passed for oracles, and effect cures that were reputed miracles; while his life, always austere, presented such a contrast to the all-absorbing sensuality of the time, as to gain him confidence and repute among his cotemporaries.

“During his travels, he contrived to interest in his favour the priests of the most celebrated temples, and of the most famous oracles. From Greece he went to the island of Crete, and thence to Rome in the time of Nero; this has caused him to be confounded with Simon Magus. Perceiving that his credit was on the wane, he left Rome,² whither he afterwards returned, to clear himself of having taken part in a conspiracy against Domitian. He there spoke out with boldness, says the legend; he was thrown into prison, and suddenly disappeared. Accounts of the place, the time and mode of his death, greatly vary. Anyhow, he seems to have attained the age of at least eighty years; some say, of an hundred and seventeen. Philostratus derived the particulars he gives us, in his eight books on the life of Apollonius,

¹ In his work entitled *Christ and Apollonius of Tyana*.

² But see *ad A.D.* 68 for the motive of his departure from the City.

from notes written by Julia, wife of the emperor Alexander Severus ; these, consequently, were only put together in the third century. Apollonius united with the neo-pythagorean doctrine, astrology, wonder-workings, magic, and necromancy. According to Dio Cassius, the emperor Caracalla placed him among the gods, and dedicated a temple to him. Alexander Severus also admitted him among his household deities, Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ. The eight books of Philostratus are full of manifest fables, and have no pretensions to discrimination ; his whole history is simply a parody of the life of our Lord, and of His gospel. This is evidenced, for example, by the miraculous birth, the reform of the world, the miracles wrought, the demons expelled, the ascension into heaven : all which are attributed to this pretended *thaumaturgus*. Before [Philostratus], Hierocles of Nicomedia in Bithynia, as early as the days of Diocletian, had used against our Lord the legends concerning Apollonius, and had drawn upon himself a refutation from Eusebius of Cæsarea. Some ten writings have been attributed to Apollonius, none of which have as yet been shown to be genuine.”

II.

“Charles Blount, who lived in the seventeenth century . . . translated the life of the celebrated impostor, Apollonius of Tyana, written by Philostratus, and added to his translation a quantity of notes, mostly taken from the manuscripts of Lord Herbert,³ a notorious Deist in his day. The only tendency of these notes was to ruin religion, and bring the Sacred Scriptures into contempt ; not by reasons gravely and seriously adduced, but almost always by profane raillery and petty quibbles. This impious book, printed in London in 1680, was only condemned in 1693. In that same year 1693, the author published a treatise entitled *Reason's Doubts*, together with some other works of the same kind. The same year, he had a tragical end. He had become attached to his brother's widow, and maintained that it would not be incestuous to marry her ; in proof of which, he composed a treatise. But, rendered desperate at seeing no prospect of gaining the consent of the Anglican Church to this, he committed suicide” (Moreri's *Grand Dictionnaire*, in voc. Blount, quoting Bayle's *Critical Dictionary*, in the notes on Apollonius of Tyana.

³ Lord Herbert of Cherbury.

III.

“In order to counteract the influence exercised by the simple yet wonderful and prepossessing life of Jesus, Flavius Philostratus, a neo-Pythagorean, opposed to it the life of the philosopher, Apollonius of Tyana, a theosophist and sorcerer, who lived in the first century. Apollonius, though he seems—by embracing an ascetic life, and professing voluntary celibacy, according to the philosophy and discipline of Pythagoras—to rise superior to paganism, is nevertheless in every sense thoroughly imbued with its spirit. He is represented as a man of great piety and of unknown origin, a benefactor and teacher of mankind, a worker of wonders, a prophet, and the restorer of paganism. Many incidents of his life bear a striking similarity to those in the life of Jesus, and are evidently borrowed from the gospels [added in a note]. Dr. Rieckher⁴ . . . has also shown that the biography written by Philostratus, in eight volumes, is a travesty on the life of Christ and on the New Testament gospels, fabricated under the influence of Julia, wife of the emperor Alexander Severus. In this way, the surprising parallelism of Apollonius’ birth, the plan of his improvement of the world, his miracles, expulsion of demons, ascension into heaven, &c., are explained” (*Alzog, Univ. Church Hist.* vol. i. pp. 290, 291 : Cincinn. 1874).

 W (*p.* 115).

WAS SAINT THOMAS IN MEXICO?

This opinion, startling at first from its novelty, is ably maintained, in the face of however great improbabilities, by the writer of a short article in the New York *Catholic World*, for December, 1881. It is here partly given, partly summarized.

I.

Remains of an ancient Christianity in the South American continent. The localities chiefly specified are, Lower California, Cozumel about Yutacan, Nicaragua, and Peru. The authors quoted are, Prescott, *History of Mexico*, Veytia, *Ancient History of Mexico*, and Father Gleason, *History of the Catholic Church in California*.

⁴ *Studies of the Clergy of Wurtzburg, year 1847*, in refutation of Dr. Bauer's *Christ and Apollonius of Tyana*: Tüb. 1832.

The Spanish discoverers of the country found among the Aztecs many religious observances, strikingly resembling the rites of the Church.

(i.) An extensive *cultus of the Cross*; a certain temple was called "The Temple of the Holy Cross," and was considered to be the oldest place of worship in the country.

(ii.) *Monastic establishments* for both men and women, the inmates of which lived in great purity and austerity, passing their days in fasting, prayer, psalmody, and tending a perpetual sacred fire; vowed to their life, and living under obedience.

(iii.) *A solemn baptism* by immersion, at which a name was given to the baptized. "It was considered as a new disposition to become good, the means of escaping damnation, and of gaining an imperishable glory." This sacred ablution was called by the people "a new birth," by means of which they hoped to gain the kingdom of Heaven, and to wash away the sins they had carried since their mother's womb. "I pray," said the baptismal formula, "that these heavenly waters may destroy, and separate from thee, all the evil of sin which has been given to thee before the beginning of the world; forasmuch as we are all under its power, being all the sons of Calchiritycuc."

(iv.) *Auricular confession*. "Not less worthy of remark," says Veytia, "was the custom they had established [in the Mexican dominions] of confessing their sins to the priests, relating all that they considered as faults, and accepting the penance which was imposed." "It is worthy of notice," observes Prescott, "that the priests administered the rites of confession and absolution. The secrets of the confessional were looked upon as inviolable."

(v.) *The consecration of bread and wine*. Father Sahagun says: "Exactly at the same time at which we celebrate the Pasch, the Mexicans celebrated theirs, after a fast of forty days, during which they abstained from flesh-meat. . . A public penance preceded the celebration of the feast. . . The water was blessed solemnly, as we Catholics are accustomed to do on Holy Saturday." "Nothing is better known," says Veytia, "than that the offerings are made of bread and wine—that is, bread from flour without fermentation, and that what was drunk was wine." He also relates that the Mexicans celebrated a solemn feast in honour of the god of wheat, by forming the body of that god into the shape of a human countenance, with a pedestal made of flour unleavened, mixed with certain herbs. Having baked it, on the day of the feast they carried it in procession. Around the statue of this deity they placed a great quantity of particles of the same composition, which being

blessed by all the priests with certain formulas and ceremonies, they believed to be changed into the flesh of that god. At the end of the ceremony, the bread was distributed to the people. All, children and adults, men and women, rich and poor, came to it, receiving with great veneration, humility, and tears, saying that they were eating the flesh of their god.

(vi.) *The state of souls in the other world.* Torquemada, Prescott, and Father Gleason concur in representing the Mexican belief to be in great measure in harmony with the teaching of the Catholic Church.

II.

Probability that S. Thomas was the Apostle of those regions. This minor premiss, it must be said, appears to rest upon much weaker grounds than the primitive Christianity evidenced above. It is chiefly supported on the coincidence, a remarkable one, no doubt, that the traditional evangelizer of these countries had a name (Quetzalcohuatl) which in one dialect found there—the Nahuatl—signifies “the illustrious or glorious Twin.” The “Twin” (*i.e.*, Didymus), seems to have been the name by which this great and holy personage has always been remembered throughout the extensive sphere of his ministrations. Thus, when persecuted by an apostate king, Huemac, he retired from Nahuatl to Cholula, and thence passed into Yucatan and the neighbouring islands, which latter are known as “The islands where the Twin hid himself.” He is said to have been “a white man, with a flowing beard, a large mantle adorned with crosses spread over his shoulders, with his head uncovered, his feet bare, and carrying a staff in his hand.” He came from the north, some years after a great solar eclipse and a terrific earthquake, which seem to have coincided pretty nearly with the prodigies occurring at the Crucifixion. “According to the universal tradition of the country, he was a holy and venerable man, who taught the people an admirable doctrine: the abolition of incontinence and the love of virtue, the worship of an only God, the mysteries of the Holy Trinity, the incarnation of the Son of God, His birth of a virgin and His death upon a cross, the practice of confession, the annual fast of forty days, religious continence, with all the religious observances mentioned above. Some Catholic historians have pronounced Quetzalcohuatl an impostor, because the Spaniards found in Mexico his name mixed with some idolatrous customs. But this judgment, in our opinion, is too severe. There is nothing strange that in the lapse of many centuries his doctrine might have been adulterated and confounded amidst idolatrous

practices. It is rather to be wondered at, that so many true dogmas have been preserved. We must remark also that these traditions were not confined to Mexico alone, but were greatly spread over all that part of the two American continents where his name became known, and which it is probable he visited; in which places both the man, and the doctrine which he taught, preserved a most admirable sameness.

“In the national histories of Mexico it was affirmed that Quetzalcohuatl had promised that his followers, also *white men*, would come to that country, and would venerate the Cross. Shortly before the arrival of Cortez, there existed throughout the empire of Mexico a common belief that the time had come, when ‘the followers of Quetzalcohuatl should arrive in the country.’

“Sahagun, who wrote at the time of the Conquest . . . assures us, that at the arrival of the Spaniards on the coast, the natives went out to meet them in canoes, and prostrated themselves before them, believing that the god Quetzalcohuatl, along with his followers, whom they expected every day, had come to visit them. Boturini says that the year *caacatl* was the one announced by Quetzalcohuatl, and that in that very year the Spaniards landed in Mexico.”

III.

It is an instance of the uncertainty of opinion, that after the above very remarkable facts, or from unacquaintance with the authors detailing them, Moreri, publishing in 1725 his learned and generally accurate *Grand Dictionnaire*, should write thus (*in voc.* Apôtre): “Entre toutes ces missions apostoliques, il n’est point parlé de l’Amérique, qui est le nouveau monde; et il n’y a point d’apparence, que si les Apôtres ou leurs disciples y avoient annoncé l’évangile, les auteurs n’en eussent rien dit. Les historiens qui ont écrit de la découverte de ce pays par les Espagnols, assurent qu’ils n’y trouverent aucun vestige de la religion Chrétienne, comme les Portugais en avoient trouvé dans les Indes Orientales.” He cites Godeau, *Hist. de l’Eglise*, lib. i.

On the facilities existing in early times for penetrating to the great Western continent, and the possibility of the lost Atlantis as a stepping-stone on the way, see an interesting article in the *Dublin Review* for November, 1841, on “The successive Discoveries of America.”

X (*p.* 119).

CONSTRUCTION OF THE ROMAN CATACOMBS.

The following passages from the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1859, are so accurate in archæological details, and written in so fair a spirit, as to deserve reproduction.

“The first condition to be considered in the structure of the subterranean cemeteries, is the nature of the rock in which they are perforated. Recent geological observations on the soil of the *Agro Romano*, and the site of Rome itself, have determined the fact that the vast amphitheatre destined to witness so many of the greatest events in human history, and the most violent revolutions of political power, was itself formed by the action of volcanic fire, commencing before the Sabine or the Latin hills had risen above the plain, before the Tiber and the Anio had found their way to the sea. These igneous rocks bear indisputable traces of the different periods at which they were projected to the earth’s surface, and still retain an entirely distinct character. The earliest of the series, which is found in the more immediate vicinity of Rome, consists of a red volcanic tufa; and it is sufficiently hard to be employed—as it has constantly been employed from the earliest ages—in the buildings of the city. The massive blocks of the *Cloaca Maxima*, of the *Tabularium* of the Capitol, and of the recently discovered wall of Romulus which encircles the base of the Palatine, attest the durability of this *tufa lithoide*, as it is termed by the Romans; and geology traces its origin to the action of submarine craters, every vestige of which has disappeared. At a far later period, fresh currents of lava, mingled with ashes and pumice, forced their way over the plain, and these proceeded from the comparatively modern craters still visible in the Alban hills; but this substance is far less compact than the primitive tufa; it is distinguished by the name of *tufa granolare*, and though it has just consistency enough to retain the form given to it by the excavators, it cannot be hewn or extracted in blocks; and in the lower strata it degenerates into the friable volcanic ashes known as *pozzolana*, which have been extensively used in all ages for mortar or Roman cement.

“The history of these volcanic formations has a direct bearing on the structure of the Catacombs. They are never hewn in the *tufa lithoide* or

more compact tufa, though that stone was largely quarried by the old Romans for building purposes.

“The Christian architects carefully avoided these massive strata ; and we believe it is ascertained that all the known catacombs are driven exclusively along the courses of the *tufa granolare*. With equal care these subterranean engineers avoided the layers of pozzolana, which would have rendered their work insecure, and in which no permanent rock tomb could have been constructed. Thus we arrive at the curious fact, that in making the Catacombs, the excavators carefully avoided the strata of hard stone and the strata of soft stone, used respectively for building and for mortar, and selected that course of medium hardness which was best adapted to their peculiar purpose. The Romans, no doubt, had their *arenariæ* ; and probably we are to understand by that term, the sand-pits from which pozzolana was dug. Cicero mentions (*Orat. pro Cluentio*) that the young patrician Asinius had been enticed into these dark abodes, and murdered ; and when Nero, in the last frightful night of his life, took refuge in the villa of his freedman Phaon, between the Nomentane and Salarian roads, he was advised to hide himself in the adjacent sand-pit ; but he vowed he would not go alive underground, and remained trembling beneath the wall. But these *arenariæ* were totally unlike the Christian cemeteries, and the comparison may be the more easily made, as in some instances, as at S. Agnese, the shaft which gave admission to the Catacombs has been sunk from the floor of one of the Pagan excavations above ; so that on the higher level the broad and lofty quarry still remains, with such supports as were necessary to sustain the vault, whilst beneath, in a lower stratum, the Christians gradually formed one of the most extensive cemeteries known to exist in the vicinity of Rome. Possibly this contrivance served more effectually to mask the entrance to the lower passages, by concealing them altogether from external observation ; whilst it afforded an easy means of removing the broken stuff from the deepest excavations. In the Roman *arenariæ* there are no vestiges of tombs, and not the slightest indication that they were ever used for purposes of sepulture. In the Christian Catacombs not a yard seems to have been excavated except for the purpose of making tombs : they line the walls throughout, as close to one another as the berths in the side of a ship, only divided by an intervening shelf of rock. Each tomb appears to have been made exactly of the proper size for the body which was to occupy it. Myriads are to be found adapted for infants only. In some instances they were enlarged to contain two bodies, the tomb being

then called a *bisomum*; or even more—husband and wife, or other members of one Christian family. Every grave was closed, when filled, with tiles or with a marble slab. In one of the Catacombs visited by Padre Marchi, he found the gallery of Christian tombs abruptly terminated by a wall. On further examination, it was discovered that the *fossores*, or excavators, had come upon a sunken pagan *columbarium*, such as was used for sepulture by the Roman families. The Christians instantly closed the gallery and walled it up, leaving the *columbarium* outside: a remarkable proof of their repugnance to suffer the presence of the unconverted heathen in their cemeteries.

“There is no evidence that the Romans ever regarded this mode of sepulture with any feelings but those of abhorrence and contempt. To use the vituperative language applied by Horace to the site of Mæcenas’ palace on the Esquiline, where, by the way, there is no catacomb—

Huc prius angustis ejecta cadavera cellis
 Conservus vili portanda locabat in arcâ.
 Hoc miseræ plebi stabat commune sepulchrum.

“The *puticoli*, into which the carrion of the Roman slaves might be flung, had not the slightest analogy with the decorous, careful, and expensive provisions made by the early Christians for the conservation of their dead. Throughout the whole extent of the Christian cemeteries, no trace has been found of any admixture of the pagan population. Every inscription, however humble, attests the Christian faith of him who was “deposited”—to use the peculiar and appropriate expression—within that narrow cell. The curt or desponding tone of the heathen mortuary inscription disappears. The Christian “sleeps,” and sleeps “in peace.” No badge of slavery or of freedom is to be seen amongst his fellows; for, in the sublime language which S. Paul himself had addressed to these very Romans, ‘the creature also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.’

“It is impossible to survey the half-obliterated memorials of this extinct race of men, and to compare them with the remains of Pagan Rome, without feeling that every broken fragment of a grave, every pinch of human dust and ashes scattered round, belongs altogether to a different faith, a different era of the world’s history; and that Imperial Rome had no hand in the mysterious structures which thus encompassed her walls, except when she peopled them with the victims of persecution.”

The sources from which the above extracts derive their facts are, of

course, the standard works of Bosio, Boldetti, Arringhi, de Rossi, and Garucci; to which the late Padre Marchi has added his valuable contribution. The history and exploration of "Subterranean Rome" form a subject of the greatest interest, as well as of very wide extent. It is given, with very careful detail, in Northcote and Brownlow's *Roma Sotterranea*; a work which cannot be too strongly recommended to the reader.

Y (*p.* 111).

THE VATICAN CEMETERY.

This small cemetery on the Vatican has for centuries become the most celebrated spot in the world, except the Sacred Places themselves. It possesses the following successive stages of interest:

(1.) After the martyrdom of the holy Apostles, the body of S. Peter was brought down from the Janiculum, the place of his crucifixion, which is now occupied by the small church of San Pietro in Montorio, and was carried to the neighbouring hill of the Vatican. This hill, mentioned by Horace (*Od.* i. 20, 8), was then probably a wooded slope, looking down on the Tiber, which was crossed by the Milvian bridge, two or three miles below. It was also in the immediate neighbourhood of the gardens and circus of Nero, where, under the same persecution that had sent the Apostles to heaven, so many Christians preceded or followed them by the agonizing death of fire (see *ad A.D.* 66, 67, 69). Meanwhile, S. Paul's body was laid by S. Lucina in her cemetery on the Ostian Way, near the place where he was decapitated (*Ad Aquas Salvias*).

(2.) Later on, when tidings of the double martyrdom had reached the East, some Oriental, probably Israelite, Christians, appear to have set out for Rome, with the intention of appropriating the holy relics for their native country. Unable to persuade the Roman Christians to resign their treasure, they succeeded in exhuming them secretly, each from the separate place of burial, and set out on their return, along the Appian Way, making for Brundisium, as their nearest route homewards. They had reached the second milestone, not far beyond the point where roads leading from the Vatican and from the cemetery of S. Lucina would unite. Here they were delayed by a tempest: and meanwhile the Romans, having discovered the theft, pursued

them, recovered the sacred bodies, and placed them for the time in a deserted building, of pagan construction, near the spot.

These facts have several distinct attestations.

a. S. Damasus, Pope, in the fifth century. Anastasius, the Byzantine historian, says of him, that "he built a *platonía*, where the bodies of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, lay, and embellished it with verses." Another reading gives: "He built a basilica *in catacumbis*, where the bodies of S. Peter and S. Paul lay, in which he adorned with verses the platonía where the holy bodies reposed." *Platonía*, *placoma*, or *placoton*, is interpreted by Baronius (*Hist. ad Ann.* 384) to mean "a church-pavement ornately laid with slabs of marble in various designs."¹ The verses of S. Damasus are as follows:

Hic habitasse prius sanctos cognoscere debes,
Nomina quisque Petri pariter Paulique requiris.
Discipulos Oriens misit, quod sponte fatemur;
Sanguinis ob meritum, Christum per astra secuti,
Ætherios petiere sinus, regnaque piorum:
Roma tamen potius meruit defendere cives;
Hæc Damasus vestras referat nova sidera laudes.

b. S. Gregory the Great wrote in the year 594 to the Empress Constantina, in answer to her request that he would send her some relic of S. Paul, for the church then recently completed in the imperial palace at Constantinople. He declines the request, alleging that attempts made in the time of his predecessor to translate the bodies of the Apostles, as also that of S. Laurence, had been followed by signal tokens of the Divine displeasure. The relics of the Saints, he continues, which it was then the custom of the Roman Church to bestow, consisted of silken or linen cloths (*brandea*²), which had been let down through an aperture, to touch their tombs. These were carefully preserved in churches; "and thereby as mighty works are there wrought,

¹ Cassiodorus, *Variar.* iii. 9. Compare *Λιθόστρωτος*, or "the Pavement," S. John xix. 13.

² "*Brandeam*, nom usité dans les auteurs de la basse latinité, pour signifier un linceuil de soie ou de lin, dont on enveloppoit les corps des saints et leurs reliques. On donnoit le même nom aux linges que l'on faisoit toucher aux reliques des saints. Du tems de saint Gregoire le Grand, qui tenoit le siege de Rome l'an 600, et avant lui, on ne touchoit point aux corps des saints; et au lieu de leurs os, on se contentoit d'envoyer dans une boîte un morceau de ce drap ou de ce corporal. Le pape saint Gregoire parle de cette coûtume, et ajoute qu'on la croyoit par tradition du tems du pape saint Leon, vers l'an 450. Quelques Grecs ayant douté si l'on devoit tenir ces reliques pour bonnes, ce saint pontife, pour les convaincre, se fit apporter des ciseaux, et coupa en leur presence un de ces *brandeam*, c'est-à-dire, une de ces pieces de drap, d'où il sortit du sang, comme si c'eût été le corps du même saint (*Greg. Turon. de Gloria Conf.* c. 37; Pet. Damian, *Epist.* l. iv; Bede, *Hist. Angl.* i. 3; Du Cange, *Glossar.*; Moreri, *Dict. in verb.*)

as if their very bodies had been transported thither." He then goes on to give an account of the theft of the Orientals, and the recovery of the Apostles' relics, almost in the words given above.³

c. In the Acts of the martyrdom of S. Quirinus, the *platonía* of S. Damasus is mentioned as "the basilica of SS. Peter and Paul, where they lay for some time . . . in the place which is called "Ad catacumbas." From this spot, with its title of debased and mongrel latinity,⁴ all the Roman cemeteries were, in process of time, denominated *catacombs*.

d. In the portico of the ancient basilica of S. Peter's were two remarkable paintings, delineated in Bosio's *Roma Subterranea*; one of them representing the Orientals surprised in their flight by the Roman Christians, and compelled to restore the sacred bodies; the other, the solemn extraction of the relics from their temporary resting-place by S. Linus and the Roman clergy.

(3.) In this "deserted building on the Appian Way," the Apostles' relics remained for a year and seven months: a duration assigned to their stay there, by a very ancient account of the martyrdom, which Mabillon says was read in the French churches on their festival, before the time of Charlemagne. It is corroborated by a MS. of the fourteenth century, in the collection of De Rossi, which adds, that when suitable places of sepulture had been prepared for them, they were reverently interred [of course, by S. Linus], S. Peter's body on the Vatican, and that of S. Paul by the second milestone on the Ostian Way:⁵ "where their benefits are dispensed to those who ask with perseverance, to the praise and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever." S. Linus himself, who was martyred, A.D. 76, is expressly said, in his Acts, to have been interred "on the Vatican hill, near the body of S. Peter the Apostle."⁶ The *Liber Pontificalis*, or

³ S. Greg. *Epist. IV.* 30. Compare Cardinal S. Borgia's *Vaticana Confessio*, p. ix.

⁴ Originally, perhaps, *κατὰ τumbas*, the word employed by S. Gregory in a sermon preached in the basilica of SS. Nereus and Achilleus:—"Sancti isti, ad quorum tumbam consistimus" (*Hom.* 28). Or, *cumba* from *cumbo*, with an analogous meaning to *κοιμητήριον*.

⁵ "From S. Peter's on the Vatican, the mind passes naturally to the resting-place of the Apostle of the Gentiles on the other side of the river and of Rome. But here, too, the hill has been cut away to make room for the magnificent basilica of S. Paul *extra muros*; and hence the greater part of the catacomb of Lucina (or of Commodilla, for both these names occur in ancient records) has been destroyed, and what galleries yet remain are so choked with earth and ruins of various kinds, as to be almost impassable. . . Boldetti read within this catacomb the most ancient inscription with a consular date that has come down to us" (*Northcote and Brownlow's Roma Subterranea*, i. p. 114).

⁶ "Early in the seventeenth century, Urban VIII. made extensive excavations round the 'confession' of S. Peter, in the course of which, several marble sarcophagi came to light. . . Another, as we learn from an eye-witness (Torriglio, *La Sacre Grotte Vaticane*, p. 61), was

Catalogue of the Popes, agrees with an ancient list of their burial-places appended to Vignoli's edition, in saying that eleven out of the fifteen⁷ first Pontiffs were buried "on the Vatican, near the body of S. Peter." It also states that S. Anacletus built the sepulchral monument—*construxit memoriam*—of blessed Peter, by whom he had been ordained priest; "and the other burial-places where the bishops might be laid."

(4.) The relics of the Prince of the Apostles, thus re-interred on the Vatican, continued long undisturbed in the small cemetery, which thence became, to the infant Church, a place of resort for private devotion, for celebrating the Adorable Sacrifice, and for holding the "stations;" especially, it would seem, the Saturday vigil of the Four Seasons.⁸ The proximity of Nero's gardens and circus, in which so many Christians had been martyred, must already have increased the number of martyrs' bodies interred round the tomb of the Apostle.⁹

(5.) In the year 218, under the pontificate of S. Callistus, a freak of the emperor Elagabalus occasioned a fresh removal. Not content with the dimensions of Nero's circus, which was only adapted to horse-races, he determined to witness a race of elephants, harnessed four abreast: and gave orders that the circus should be enlarged.¹⁰ The workmen encroached on the slope of the Vatican hill; and, after demolishing some pagan tombs within the line drawn for the new work, approached S. Peter's cemetery. S. Callistus, fearing a profanation of the Apostle's tomb, transported the body back to the spot *Ad catacumbas*, near which he had made or enlarged a cemetery

inscribed with the single word *LINUS*, a name of extremely rare occurrence on Christian monuments; and, considering where it was found, it does not seem rash to believe with De Rossi that this was the sepulchre of the immediate successor of S. Peter, of whom we read: *Sepultus est juxta corpus Beati Petri*" (Northcote and Brownlow, *ut sup.*).

⁷ The list given, however, seems only to include nine, from S. Linus to S. Victor. It excludes, of course, S. Clement, plunged into the sea and entombed miraculously in Chersonesus; and S. Alexander, whose remains, gathered immediately after his martyrdom by a pious Roman lady, were buried in her estate on the Via Nomentana.

⁸ "Let us fast the Wednesday and Friday; and on Saturday, let us keep our vigil by Blessed Peter" (S. Leo, *Serm. VII. De Jejun. 7 mens.*).

⁹ A stone is still preserved in the subterranean church in S. Peter's, once called by the pagans the accused, and by the Christians the holy, stone. The inscription over it is: *Super isto lapide multa corpora sanctorum martyrio cæsa sunt.*

¹⁰ Onophr. Panvinus, *De Septem. Urbis Eccles.* p. 34; Papebrocke, *Acta Sanct.* t. v. p. 436; Baronius, *Ad Ann.* 221, discredits this account of the second translation of the relics, and quotes against it the passage of S. Gregory, quoted above. The only satisfactory way of reconciling the two statements, seems to be that of Padre Marchi, which is here followed.

afterwards called by his name. Here S. Peter's body reposed, for the second time, during forty years; and the bodies of sixteen of the early Pontiffs were also deposited around him. The Index Vaticanus (ed. Vignoli) and the Liber Pontificalis enumerate them, from S. Anicetus to S. Dionysius, inclusive. The place is a crypt of semicircular form, to which a passage in S. Sebastian's Beyond the Walls opens. An ancient solid altar is in the centre, and the Pontiffs repose in rude *arcisolia*, or arched recesses, pierced in the surrounding walls. The altar covers a square vault, ten or twelve feet below the pavement, divided into two compartments, and lined with Parian marble to the height of three or four feet. An ancient fresco painting was traceable, representing our Lord with S. Peter on His right, S. Paul on the left, and the rest of the Apostles less distinctly delineated. Opposite to the altar once stood the pontifical chair, in which S. Stephen I. was martyred: this, sprinkled with his blood, was buried with him, as his Acts relate.¹¹ It was removed to Pisa, by Cosmo III. of Tuscany.

(6.) After forty years, *i.e.* A.D. 258, S. Sixtus II. transported the body of S. Peter to the Vatican once more. The crypt *Ad Catacumbas*, however, from which the sixty Christian cemeteries around Rome received the generic name of catacombs, remained a place of concealment as well as of devotion for the Pontiffs and the faithful, while persecution lasted. "In those cemeteries," says De Rossi, "to which history or tradition assigns an apostolic origin, I see, in the light of the most searching archæological criticism, the cradle alike of Christian underground sepulchres, of Christian art, and of Christian inscriptions. There I find memorials of persons who appear to belong to the times of the Flavii and of Trajan; and lastly, I discover the exact dates of those times." Besides the martyrdom of S. Stephen I., just mentioned, S. Sixtus II. himself was seized here as he was celebrating the Holy Mysteries, and slain with five of his deacons. S. Caius, Pope, escaped the emissaries of Diocletian for eight years, by hiding "in the Catacombs," probably at or near this spot. S. Urban was concealed here, when S. Cæcilia sent Valerian to him for baptism. "Go," she said to him, to the third milestone¹² from the City, on the way which is called the Appian; thou wilt there find the poor. . Give them a benediction, saying, 'Cæcilia hath sent me to you, that you may show me the holy aged man Urban,'" &c.

¹¹ "Sepelierunt corpus ejus cum ipsâ sede sanguine ejus aspersâ, in eâdem cryptâ, in loco qui dicitur cœmeterium Callisti" (*Acta S. Steph.*). The very same detail attended the martyrdom of S. Sixtus II.

(7.) On the conversion of Constantine, S. Silvester, aided by the Emperor's zeal and munificence, erected the earliest basilica on the spot, A.D. 323, placing the high altar over the place where S. Peter's body rested. A small aperture, somewhat after the model of the crypt on the Appian Way, enabled the suppliant to look down and pray above the relics, and also to let down the *branda* to touch the Apostle's tomb, in the manner described by S. Gregory (§ (2) *b*). The first Pope buried in the new church was S. Leo the Great, in 461; who thus had the same marks of devotion given on Ember Saturdays to his tomb, which he had inculcated for that of the Apostles (cf. (4) *supra*). This holy Pontiff had previously built a monastery near the basilica of S. Peter, and had appointed special custodians for "the tombs of the Apostles;" probably, therefore, for the spot where S. Paul was buried on the Ostian Way, *Ad Aquas Salvias*, as well as for the Vatican. These officers were named *cubicularii*, a title of analagous meaning to the word cemetery—*κοιμητήριον*—or sleeping place (on this term, see *ad A.D.* 69, *sub med.*).

(8.) The crypt *Ad Catacumbas* must have continued to be a place of pious resort and devotion to the faithful, long after the bodies of the Apostles had been withdrawn thence: it was a constant memorial of the days of persecution, and sixteen of the early Popes still remained in the arcisolia round the Apostles' tomb. This excited the zeal of S. Damasus to adorn the crypt with marble slabs and verses, and thus convert it into a *platonía* (*sup.* (1) *a*). The same Pope restored the adjoining church of S. Sebastian, enriched it with a marble colonnade, and sumptuously adorned the tombs of other martyrs, specially those of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria, SS. Felix and Adauctus, and SS. Protus and Hyacinthus.

AA (*p.* 123).

THE COLOSSEUM.

"Posterity admires, and will long admire, the awful remains of the amphitheatre of Titus, which so well deserved the epithet of colossal. It was a building of an elliptical figure, 564 feet in length, and 467 in breadth, founded on fourscore arches, and rising with four successive orders of architecture, to the height of 140 feet. The outside of the edifice was encrusted with marble, and decorated with statues. The slopes of the vast concave,

which formed the inside, were filled and surrounded with sixty or eighty rows of seats of marble, likewise covered with cushions, and capable of receiving with ease above fourscore thousand spectators. Sixty-four *vomitories* (for by that name the doors were very aptly distinguished) poured forth the immense multitude; and the entrances, passages, and staircases were contrived with such exquisite skill, that each person, whether of the senatorial, the equestrian, or the plebeian order, arrived at his destined place without trouble or confusion. Nothing was omitted which, in any respect, could be subservient to the convenience and pleasure of the spectators. They were protected from the sun and rain by an ample canopy, occasionally drawn over their heads. The air was continually refreshed by the playing of fountains, and profusely impregnated by the grateful scent of aromatics. In the centre of the edifice, the *arena*¹ was strewed with the finest sand, and successively assumed the most different forms. At one time, it seemed to rise out of the earth, like the garden of the Hesperides, and was afterwards broken into the rocks and caverns of Thrace. The subterraneous pipes conveyed an inexhaustible supply of water; and what had just before appeared a level plain might be suddenly converted into a wide lake, covered with armed vessels, and replenished with the monsters of the deep. . . We read, on various occasions, that the whole furniture of the amphitheatre consisted either of silver, or of gold, or of amber. The nets designed as a defence against the wild beasts were of gold wire; the porticoes were gilded, and the *belt* or circle which divided the several ranks of spectators from each other, was studded with a beautiful mosaic of precious stones" (*Decline and Fall*, vol. ii. c. xii, pp. 103—105).

BB (*p.* 125).

LATER YEARS OF SAINT JOHN.

I.

Saint Irenæus, from his see of Lyons, wrote an epistle to Florinus, of which a precious fragment remains. Florinus and Valentinus had both been his fellow-disciples under S. Polycarp. They both afterwards fell into the Gnostic heresy; Florinus going so far into those errors, as to affirm that God

¹ Gibbon adds the words, "or stage," which is surely a strange misnomer, by way of explanation.

is the author of sin. The following passage is extant from S. Irenæus' letter to him :

“These doctrines, Florinus, (to speak gently, and to spare thee), are not those of sound opinion ; they are out of harmony with the Church, and cast their disciples into the extreme of impiety ; not even heretics outside the Church have ever ventured to utter them ; the priests who were before us, who consorted with the Apostles themselves, have not delivered such to thee. For I saw thee, when I was still a boy with Polycarp, in Lower Asia, while thou heldst a brilliant position at the Emperor's court, and wert aiming at his favour. What occurred at that time, I remember better than more recent events ; for our boyish impressions grow with the mind's growth, and become one with it : so that I could describe the very spot where the blessed Polycarp sat and discoursed ; how he moved out and in, from place to place ; his rule of life and personal appearance, the discourses he made to the people, and how he related his converse with John and with others who had seen the Lord : how he recorded their words, and what he had heard from them concerning the Lord, His miracles and His teaching : how Polycarp had received from those eye-witnesses, details of the life of the Word, and narrated everything in accordance with the Scriptures. All this, by the mercy of God that was upon me, I diligently hearkened to, laying it up for remembrance, not on paper, but in my heart ; and by God's grace I ever ruminat upon it in detail. And I can testify before God, that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard anything like [thy doctrines], he would have cried out and stopped his ears, and would have said, as he was wont to do : ‘O good God, to what times hast Thou reserved me, that I should endure this !’ and he would have fled from the place where he was sitting or standing when he heard such words. This may be proved, moreover, by the epistles which he sent, both to the neighbouring Churches, to confirm them, and to certain brethren, to admonish and exhort them.”¹

II.

The attributes of the Beloved Disciple are so beautiful and engaging, that any authentic incident in his life must needs be of great interest. One special anecdote is preserved for us by Clement of Alexandria,² who writes in the second century. It belongs to the latter days of S. John's life, and reveals

¹ S. Irenæus, *Fragm.* p. 1227, ed. Migne.

² Clem. Alex., *Serm.* xlii., *Quis dives.*

to us him to whom was committed, as a "daily anxiety, the solicitude"³ of the Seven Churches of Asia, and the neighbourhood, making his apostolic rounds, "as he passed through, visiting all."⁴ We see, also, his daily anxiety and solicitude not only spread over the mass of the faithful, but individualized on particular persons, as on Caius, on the lady Electa,⁵ and on the youth who forms the subject of this narrative.

"Hear now a tale," writes Clement; "or rather, not a tale, but a true narration, handed down and preserved, concerning the Apostle S. John. Upon the death of the tyrant [Domitian], he returned from the island of Patmos to Ephesus; and, on their invitation, visited the neighbouring regions. On coming to a certain city, the name of which is by some reported, he refreshed in manifold ways the spirit of the brethren. Finally, observing a youth of noble bearing, engaging countenance, and ardent spirit, he turned to the bishop of the place, and said: 'With all earnestness, in the presence of the Church, and of Christ, who is witness to the trust, I commend this youth to your care.' The bishop made every promise; and John, after having again pressed this charge upon him, and conjured him duly to fulfil it, set out on his return to Ephesus. The priest⁶ took the youth, thus committed to him, unto his own home. He expended much pains upon him; he instructed him, restrained him from evil, treated him with all kindness, and at length baptized him. Afterwards, however, he relaxed somewhat of that extreme spiritual care and guardianship of the young man; as having set upon him the seal of the Lord, which would be his ample safeguard. But evil soon followed this premature liberty; for some idle and dissolute companions, of the young man's own age, already far advanced in evil, took advantage of it to corrupt him.

"First, they enticed him by repeated clandestine banquetings. Then they sallied forth at night, for plunder and highway robbery; taking him with them on these nocturnal expeditions. At length, they persuade him to unite with them, and to participate in things even worse. He, too, by degrees, became inured to iniquity; and, having started aside from the right track, like a powerful, hardmouthed steed, seizing the bit with his teeth, was hurried by the energy of his character, all the more vehemently, down the abyss. At

³ 2 Cor. xi. 28.

⁴ Acts ix. 32.

⁵ 2 and 3 S. John.

⁶ That is, the Bishop. The terms were interchanged in primitive times, though it is more frequent to find the priest called *episcopus*, than vice versâ. The episcopate is in truth, the fulness of the priesthood.

length, convinced that he had lost all hope of Divine salvation, he formed designs of no common wickedness; and, being given over to perdition, thought to perpetrate some great enormity, and so to bring on his own head the same fate as his companions. He therefore gathered and attached himself to a band of robbers, of whom he became foremost and leader; the most violent, fierce, and bloodthirsty of them all.

“Some time after, John was sent for to this city, on some urgent occasion. After setting in order what he had undertaken his journey for, he said: ‘Now, O bishop, restore to me the pledge which I, together with our Lord, intrusted to your charge, in presence of the Church over which you preside.’ At first, the bishop was astonished at these words; imagining some false accusation laid to his charge, of having detained monies which he had never received. While, on the one hand, he could not persuade himself that he had what he had not, so, on the other hand, he could not disbelieve John. On this, the latter said: ‘I claim again that youth, and the soul of our brother!’ The old man, with a sigh, and shedding many tears, exclaimed: ‘He is dead!’ ‘How?’ said John: ‘what death did he die?’ ‘He is dead to God,’ was the answer; ‘for he has turned out ill, a reprobate, and in one word, a robber. Now, instead of frequenting the Church, he frequents the mountain, with a band of robbers like himself.’ On this, the Apostle, rending his garments, with groans, and smiting his head, exclaimed: ‘An excellent guardian have I left, of a brother’s soul! Let me at once have a horse, and let some one be my guide!’ He then rode straightway from the Church, even as he was, and made all speed upon his journey. On arriving at the place, he was captured by those who occupied the outposts for the robber-band. He neither sought to escape, nor used any intreaty; but cried aloud: ‘For this am I come; lead me to your chief.’ He, meanwhile, was waiting for his captive, ready armed. When he recognized John approaching him, he was so overwhelmed with confusion, that he immediately took to flight. But John hastened after him, with all speed, forgetful of his age; and cried out: ‘Why dost thou fly from me, my son—unarmed, and aged, as I am? Have compassion on me, my son:—fear not!’ Thou mayest still hope for life. I will render an account for thee to Christ. If needful, I will most willingly bear thy death, as the Lord bore ours: I will give my life for thine. Stay! Believe! Christ hath sent me.’

“On hearing this, the young robber at first stood still, and cast his eyes on the ground. He flung away his weapons; he trembled, and wept bitterly.

Then, as the aged man drew near, he embraced him, and, pleading for himself as best he might, with many groanings he was baptized in his tears,⁷ hiding all the while his right hand. Then the Apostle, pledging and assuring him, that on his knees he had obtained pardon for him through the Saviour, and kissing that right hand that had been cleansed through repentance, brought him back to the Church. Thenceforward, deprecating the Divine wrath by frequent supplications, and also wrestling for him by continual fasts which they observed together, comforting moreover his soul with frequent discourses, he desisted not (it is said) until he had restored him to the Church; thus affording in his example a great testimony to the new birth, and a trophy of the resurrection as an object of hope.”

Z (*p.* 121).

TRANSLATION OF THE HEAD OF SAINT ANDREW THE APOSTLE FROM GREECE
TO ROME.

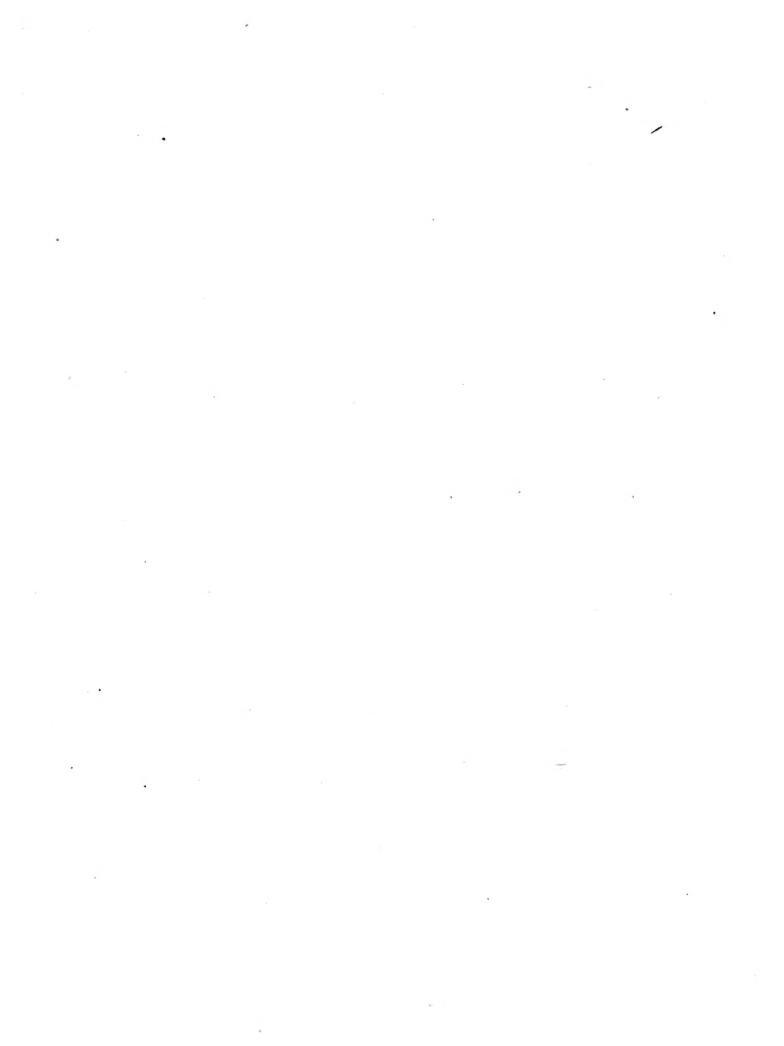
“Thomas Paléologus, king of the Peloponnesus,¹ had bestowed [this sacred relic] on Pope Pius II., to preserve it from the invasion of the Turks. It had been first deposited at Ancona, then in the citadel of Narni. The Pope sent thither the Greek Cardinal Bessarion, with two other Cardinals, to accompany the relic to Rome, and to arrange for its receiving all due honour on the transit. The Cardinals returned to Ponte Molle on the 13th of April, 1462, which was Palm Sunday; and the relic was temporarily placed in the tower which defended the entrance of the bridge. Next day, the Pontiff came forth in cavalcade by the Flaminian Gate, accompanied by the Sacred College, the ambassadors, and the Roman princes. All places adjacent to the road, the fields and vineyards, were covered with spectators; the crowd was so great, that the Pope directed the Cardinals and prelates to dismount, and follow him on foot, having first robed themselves in sacred vestments. He bore a palm in his hand; the Cardinals and prelates carried those they had received from the Pope the day before; all the other ecclesiastics bore

⁷ Not meaning, of course, that he received the sacrament of Baptism again, which is impossible; but that his tears of sincere repentance, through the merits of our Lord's Most Precious Blood, washed his soul, as a preparation for the ecclesiastical penance he would receive at the hands of the Apostle, who “brought him back to the Church.”

¹ S. Andrew, it will be remembered, was crucified at Patras in Achaia.

each his palm, and this long suite of bishops and priests walked with slow step, two and two; every mitre and ornament being of white, and looking all the whiter upon the green meadow-land. The procession took its way towards a platform that had been constructed near the bridge [Ponte Molle], having two flights of stairs, with gentle and easy steps; one towards the Tiber, the other towards the City. While the Pope ascended the nearest, Cardinal Bessarion and the two other Cardinals came by the other one, carrying the shrine that contained the relic, which he placed on an altar, amid the sound of sacred chants. There was a reverential silence, while the keys of the shrine were presented to the Pontiff. After he had verified the seals, it was opened, and Cardinal Bessarion, taking the head of the Apostle in his hands, gave it, weeping, to the Pope, who also wept. But the Holy Father would not at first touch the relic; he placed himself on his knees before the altar. His head was bowed; his countenance pale with emotion; and with a trembling voice he thus spoke:”

The noble and touching address of the Pope is then given in full from the authority quoted. It was a reverential welcome offered to S. Andrew, on the entrance of the great relic into the City consecrated by the martyrdom of his brother, the Chief of the Apostles. Upon that head had visibly descended the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost. Pious Christians undertake a pilgrimage as far as to Jerusalem, to venerate the sacred spots where the feet of the Saviour had rested; here is the place where the Holy Ghost had reposed; the throne of the Divinity. The eyes that here once occupied their places, had often seen the Word manifest in the flesh; that mouth had often spoken to Him; those cheeks, it is not to be doubted, had often received His Divine Kiss; this head is a glorious tabernacle, in which abode charity, piety, gentleness, and all spiritual consolation. Divine Apostle, we are transported with joy and triumph at thy coming; for assuredly thou thyself dost indeed come, accompanying this relic, and, with it, art now entering the City. The Turks are hateful, as the enemies of our religion; yet not wholly so, since they are the cause of thy coming among us, &c. (Gerbet, *Rome Chrétienne*, vol. i. p. 55, &c.)



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