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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY

ON THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

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A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL
COMMENTARY

ON THE

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

BY

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VOLUME II.

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ERRATA IN VOL. II.

- Page 10, line three from bottom, read "sacred" instead of "second."
- Page 54, line seven from bottom, read *ὁμοιοπαθής* for *ὁμοιπαθής*.
- Page 147, line four from bottom, read "Stoa Pœcile" for "Stoic Pœcile."
- Page 244, line two from top, read "Matthæi" for "Matthiæ."
- Page 395, line four from top, read *ἡμέραις* for *ἡμέρας*.
- Page 434, line twelve from bottom, read *ἐπιμείναι* for *ἐπιμείνα*.
- Page 437, lines six and three from bottom, read *στοατοπεδάρχη* for *στρατοπεδάρχη*.

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PART II.
THE MISSIONARY LABOURS OF THE
APOSTLE PAUL.

SECTION I.

PAUL IN CYPRUS.—ACTS XIII. 1-12.

1 Now there were at Antioch, in the church which was there, prophets and teachers, both Barnabas and Symeon called Niger, and Lucius the Cyrenian, and Manaen the comrade of Herod the tetrarch, and Saul. 2 And as they ministered to the Lord, and fasted, the Holy Ghost said, Separate to me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I have called them. 3 And when they had fasted and prayed, and laid their hands on them, they sent them away.

4 They, therefore, having been sent forth by the Holy Ghost, came down to Seleucia, and from that they sailed to Cyprus. 5 And when they were at Salamis, they proclaimed the word of God in the synagogues of the Jews: and they had also John as an attendant. 6 And when they had gone through the whole island unto Paphos, they found a certain man, a Magian, a false prophet, a Jew, whose name was Barjesus; 7 Who was with the proconsul Sergius Paulus, an intelligent man: the same having called for Barnabas and Saul, desired to hear the word of God. 8 But Elymas the Magian (for so is his name by interpretation) withstood them, seeking to turn away the proconsul from the faith. 9 But Saul, who also is called Paul, filled with the Holy Ghost, gazing stedfastly on him, said, 10 O thou who art full of all deceit and all mischief, thou son of the devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? 11 And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season. And immediately there fell on him a mist and darkness; and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand. 12 Then the proconsul, when he saw what had happened, believed, being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. *Times* after *ἦσαν δέ*, found in E, G, H, is wanting in A, B, D, *κ*, and is rejected by most recent critics. Ver. 6. "*Ολην* before *τὴν νῆσον* is wanting in G, H, but is undoubtedly genuine, being found in A, B, C, D, E, *κ*. "*Ἄνδρα* before *τινὰ* is omitted in G, H, but is fully attested, being found in A, B, C, D, E, *κ*. It might easily have been omitted, being considered superfluous.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

The second part of the Acts of the Apostles commences with this section. Hitherto Luke had given an account of the progress of Christianity in general, and had narrated the labours of several evangelists; but from this thirteenth chapter and onwards, he confines himself almost exclusively to the missionary labours of the new apostle Paul.¹

Several critics suppose that the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters form a separate document, which Luke has incorporated into his history. In proof of this hypothesis, they appeal to the form, the completeness, and the independence of the narrative. Bleek and Meyer suppose that this document proceeded from the church of Antioch, and was founded on the oral communications made to that church by the two missionaries.² Olshausen thinks that it is an extract from a fuller report sent directly to the mother church by Paul and Barnabas, which Luke has inserted in his narrative just as he had received it; so that, as he observes, in reading the discourses of Paul, we may be reading the very notes of Paul himself.³ Schwanbeck thinks that the two chapters are part of a biography of Barnabas which the compiler of the Acts freely adopted.⁴ But there do not seem to be sufficient grounds for any of these suppositions. The narrative is per-

¹ See introductory chapters, articles v. and vii.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 260.

³ Olshausen *on the Gospels and the Acts*, vol. iv. p. 390.

⁴ Schwanbeck's *Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 244.

vaded throughout with Luke's peculiar style, and is not so unconnected with the preceding history as is asserted. In Acts xii. 25 we are informed that Paul and Barnabas, accompanied by Mark, returned from Jerusalem; and now here we find these three persons present at Antioch. In a former part of the history we learned how Christianity was planted in Antioch; and here a flourishing church in that city is presupposed. Perhaps also Lucius is said to be a Cyrenian (ver. 1), because Cyrenian teachers were among the first preachers at Antioch (Acts xi. 20); and Herod is called the tetrarch, to distinguish him from Herod the king (Acts xii. 1).

The church is here seen in a new and important aspect as a missionary church. Hitherto Christianity had been propagated in a measure by informal efforts and casual occurrences; the persecution at Jerusalem having given rise to the dispersion of the Christians, and the diffusion of their opinions. But now the church at Antioch plans measures and makes regular efforts to extend the gospel among the heathen. Paul and Barnabas are sent forth as the first Christian missionaries—the forerunners of that noble band of Christian heroes who sacrifice everything in order to diffuse the unsearchable riches of Christ among the Gentiles.

Ver. 1. *Προφῆται καὶ διδάσκαλοι*—*prophets and teachers*. The mention of prophets and teachers presupposes the existence of a flourishing church at Antioch; a church, as we have elsewhere inferred, composed rather of Gentile than of Jewish Christians. We were already told that there came prophets down from Jerusalem to Antioch (Acts xi. 27). By prophets are meant those who were gifted with inspiration, and delivered divine communications to the church; and by teachers, those who devoted themselves to the work of instruction. We are not informed who of the five men here mentioned were prophets, and who were teachers. Meyer infers from the arrangement of the conjunctions, *τε, καί, τε*, that the three first, Barnabas, Symeon, and Lucius, were prophets; and the two last, Manaen and Saul, were teachers.¹

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 260.

Ο τε Βαρνάβας—both *Barnabas*—Barnabas is here mentioned first, as being the most prominent person in the church of Antioch: he also formed the bond of connection between that church and the church of Jerusalem. Συμεὼν ὁ καλούμενος Νίγερ—*Symeon called Niger*. Niger was a common Roman name, and therefore there is no reason to suppose that he was an African, and was called Niger on account of his dark complexion. Some have made the unfounded conjecture that he was the same as Simon the Cyrenian who carried the cross of Christ. Λούκιος ὁ Κυρηναῖος—*Lucius the Cyrenian*, i.e. a native of Cyrene, an important city in Africa. (See note to Acts vi. 9.) Among those who preached the gospel at Antioch were men of Cyrene; and hence probably this Lucius was one of them. Some have identified him with the Lucius mentioned in the Epistle to the Romans, and whom Paul calls his kinsman (Rom. xvi. 21); but for this identification no reason can be assigned. Certainly he is not the same as Luke the author of the Acts, as the names Lucius and Lucas are distinct. Μανανὴν Ἡρώδου τοῦ τετράρχου σύντροφος—*Manaen, the comrade of Herod the tetrarch*. The Herod here mentioned is not Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 1), for he received the royal title from the first; nor his son Herod Agrippa II. (Acts xxv. 13), for he was then only seventeen, and a comrade of his would be too young to be mentioned among the prophets and teachers of Antioch; and besides, although he received the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, yet, like his father, he was not called tetrarch, but king. Herod Antipas, tetrarch of Galilee, who never received the royal title, is here meant, the same who slew John the Baptist, and who is called in the Gospels “Herod the tetrarch” (Luke iii. 1): he was at this time in banishment at Lyons. A comrade of his must have been a man advanced in life. Two meanings have been given to σύντροφος. Some (Walch, Kuinöel, Olshausen, De Wette, Tholuck, Alford, Wordsworth) understand by it a *foster-brother* (*collactaneus*, Vulgate; ὁμογάλακτος), so that the mother of Manaen was the nurse of Herod Antipas. Others (Luther, Calvin, Castalio, Grotius,

Schott, Baumgarten, Ewald, Lechler) translate it, *one who has been brought up with another, a comrade (nutritus)*. Against this meaning, Walch objects that Manaen might with equal propriety be called the comrade of Archelaus, because, as we learn from Josephus, Herod Antipas and his brother Archelaus were educated together at Rome (*Ant.* xvii. 1. 3). But Herod Antipas may be here mentioned, because he was the best known. *Σύντροφος* has both meanings—a foster-brother and a comrade—but the latter is the more usual. Josephus mentions a Manaen, belonging to the sect of the Essenes, who predicted to Herod the Great, when a child, that he would be king of the Jews; and he says that when Herod became king, he favoured the sect of the Essenes on his account (*Ant.* xv. 10. 5). It has accordingly been plausibly conjectured that Herod may have received a son or nephew of this Manaen into his court, and made him the comrade of his own son Herod Antipas. At all events, this Manaen must have been a person of considerable rank, and a courtier.¹ *Σαῦλος*. Saul is mentioned last, according to some, because he was then a teacher, and not a prophet; according to others, because he stood last in the document from which Luke drew his information; and according to others, because at this time he occupied the lowest position among the prophets and teachers of the church at Antioch.

Ver. 2. *Λειτουργούντων*—*ministering*. *Λειτουργεῖν* is the usual word in the Old Testament for the performance of the priestly office: here it is used for the performance of Christian worship.² It is not to be restricted to preaching (Chrysostom), nor to prayer (Grotius), but is to be understood as including all the acts of worship. *Εἶπεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον*—*the Holy Ghost said*. Perhaps by means of one of the prophets, who delivered the communication as a command of the Holy Ghost. *Ἀφορίσατε μοι*—*Separate to me*. Hence Paul speaks of himself as *ἀφορισμένος εἰς εὐαγγέλιον Θεοῦ*—

¹ See Lightfoot's *Horæ Talmudicæ*, vol. iv. p. 109. The Talmudists mention a Manaen who, in the time of Herod the Great, was vice-president of the Sanhedrim. See Biscoe *on the Acts*, pp. 73, 74.

² Hence our English word *liturgy*.

“separated to the gospel of God” (Rom. i. 1). Here we have a new mode of appointment. The church does not, as a body, elect its own missionaries; but the Holy Ghost nominates those whom it was to send. The language implies the personality and divinity of the Holy Ghost. He is represented as an agent acting directly—“the Holy Ghost said”—and hence His personality. He constitutes Paul and Barnabas to be ministers to Himself, and hence His divinity. They were the ministers neither of men nor of angels, but of Jesus Christ and of God the Father (Gal. i. 1), and of the Holy Ghost. *Τὸν Βαρνάβαν καὶ Σάυλον*—*Barnabas and Saul*. Some suppose that Barnabas and Saul were chosen to fill up the vacancies in the apostleship caused by the deaths of Judas Iscariot and James the brother of John. *Εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ προσκέκλημαι αὐτούς*—*for the work to which I have called them*; namely, to be my instruments in the spread of the gospel. Perhaps the words refer to a former call made personally to Paul and Barnabas, and now publicly repeated to the church.

Ver. 3. *Τότε νηστεύσαντες καὶ προσευξάμενοι*—*and having fasted and prayed*. This refers not to the ministration and fasting mentioned in ver. 2, when the announcement of the Holy Ghost was made, but to a special act of fasting and prayer when Paul and Barnabas were set apart to their work as missionaries.

Ver. 4. *Κατήλθον εἰς τὴν Σελεύκειαν*—*they went down to Seleucia*. Went down from Antioch, which was inland, to Seleucia, which was near the coast. Seleucia, built by Seleucus Nicator about B.C. 300, was a strong and almost impregnable city on the Orontes, about four miles from its mouth. It was the port of Antioch, and was about sixteen miles distant from it by land, and, according to Colonel Chesney, about forty by the river, on account of its windings. The Orontes in the time of the apostles was navigable up to Antioch (Strabo, xvi. 2. 7), but its channel is now partially filled up. This Seleucia, to distinguish it from other Syrian cities of the same name, was called Seleucia-ad-Mare, and Seleucia Pieria, from Mount Pierius on which

it was built. On the fall of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ it fell into the hands of the Romans, and received the privileges of a free city from Pompey (Strabo, xvi. 2. 8). Its ruins are considerable, and of an interesting description. There is a large excavated way, partly in the form of deep cuttings, and partly in the form of tunnels, from north-east to south-west, leading from the upper part of the city to the coast, and which is supposed to be the remarkable excavation of which Polybius takes notice (Polyb. v. 59). Some of the piers of the ancient harbour are also still standing; in all probability the same which stood when Paul embarked for Cyprus. The harbour itself is now choked up with sand and mud; but it is said that its masonry is so good, that a Turkish pasha entertained the design of clearing out and repairing it.¹

Ἐκεῖθεν τε ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Κύπρον—and from that they sailed to Cyprus. This large and fertile island, situated off Syria, nearly opposite to Seleucia, is about forty-eight miles distant from the coast, and may be seen from the mouth of the Orontes. It is about 130 miles in length, and fifty in its greatest breadth. In ancient times it was remarkable for its fruitfulness, being celebrated for its wine, wheat, oil, pomegranates, figs, and honey. In the time of the apostles it had many considerable cities, of which Citium, Salamis, and Paphos were the principal. The first inhabitants of Cyprus were Phœnicians and Greeks. It formed part of the Persian empire, and after the conquests of Alexander fell to the share of the kings of Egypt, to whom it belonged until it was subjected to the Romans by Marcus Cato, B.C. 58 (Strabo, xiv. 6. 6). At first it was attached to Cilicia; but after the battle of Actium it was constituted a separate province. In the ninth century it fell into the hands of the Saracens, but was reconquered by the Crusaders in the twelfth, and became a dependency of the re-

¹ See Winer's *Realwörterbuch*; Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 165-169; Lewin's *St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 129-131. Lewin gives a plan of ancient Seleucia taken from Pococke's *Travels*.

public of Venice. The Turks took it in the sixteenth century, and it is now part of their dominions.

Several reasons may be assigned why Paul and Barnabas sailed first to Cyprus. 1. It was in the immediate neighbourhood of Antioch, and no doubt there was frequent communication between the two places. 2. It was the birth-place of Barnabas, and he might be anxious to preach the gospel in his native land. 3. There were in it numerous Jews, who, according to Merivale, constituted a half of its population. 4. Christianity had already made some progress in Cyprus; for men of Cyprus were among the number of those who preached the gospel at Antioch. Indeed, as has been remarked, "no place out of Palestine, with the exception of Antioch, had been so honourably associated with the work of successful evangelization."¹

Ver. 5. *Καὶ γενόμενοι ἐν Σαλαμῖνι*—*and being at Salamis.* Salamis was a large town on the east coast of Cyprus, situated at the mouth of the river Pedæus. Formerly a royal residence, it was at this time the mercantile city of the island. It was destroyed by an earthquake in the reign of Constantine the Great, but rebuilt by that emperor, and called by him Constantia. Afterwards it was finally destroyed by the Saracens. The rise of Famagusta, the Venetian capital of the island, about three miles distant, probably helped to complete its desolation. Its ruins are known by the name of Old Famagusta.²

Ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων—*in the synagogues of the Jews.* Although Paul was eminently the apostle of the Gentiles, yet it was his usual custom first to go to the Jewish synagogues, and there preach the gospel, before he turned to the Gentiles. Various reasons may be assigned for this course. 1. It appears to have been the order laid down by Christ, first to preach to the Jews and then to the Gentiles. 2. Paul himself was a Jew, actuated by a patriotic love to his countrymen, which moved him to make special efforts for their conversion. 3. The Jewish synagogues were the

¹ Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 164.

² Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*.

best channels of communication to the Gentiles : they were attended not only by Jews, but by Jewish proselytes from among the Gentiles, and by many who, like Cornelius, dissatisfied with their own religion, had not yet become actual proselytes to Judaism. 4. Thus in the synagogues the susceptible both among the Jews and Gentiles assembled, and therefore it was the most likely place to meet with success ; and hence, even although Paul felt that his peculiar mission was to the Gentiles, yet, in order to fulfil that mission, he would in the first place go to the synagogues. 5. The synagogues were the most convenient places for assemblies : they were open to all, and Paul as a Jew had liberty to speak in them.

It would seem, from the word being in the plural (*συναγωγαῖς*), that there were several synagogues, and consequently numerous Jews, in Salamis ; and from other authorities we learn that the Jews were very numerous in Cyprus. The Jews were patronized by the Ptolemies ; and Cyprus being one of their possessions, they might reside there without the molestations to which they were subjected in the dominions of the Seleucidæ princes. Josephus and Philo mention the Jews of Cyprus (Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*). Augustus made Herod the Great a present of half the revenue of the copper mines of Cyprus, and committed the other half to his care (*Ant.* xvi. 4. 5) ; so that numerous Jewish families would then be settled in that island. And in the reign of Trajan, the Jews were so numerous and powerful in Cyprus, that when they rose in rebellion under the leadership of one Artemio, they took possession of the whole island, and massacred 240,000 of its Greek inhabitants. When the rebellion was extinguished by Hadrian, afterwards emperor, the Jews were either slain or banished ; and were forbidden, under pain of death, thenceforth to approach the island¹ (*Dio Cass.* lxxviii. 31).

Εἶχον δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην—*and they had also John as an attendant ;* that is, John surnamed Mark, the nephew

¹ Merivale's *History of the Romans*, ch. lxxv. ; Milman's *History of the Jews*. At present, we are informed, that there is only one Jew in Cyprus.

of Barnabas, who had accompanied Paul and Barnabas from Jerusalem. *Ἐπιτηρέτης* refers to his inferior position with reference to the two missionaries. He acted under their direction, and attended to external matters, and perhaps to the baptism of the converts (1 Cor. i. 14), so that Paul and Barnabas might give their undivided attention to the preaching of the word.

Ver. 6. *Διελθόντες δὲ ὅλην τὴν νῆσον*—and having gone through the whole island. Salamis was on the east coast, and Paphos on the west, so that they had to traverse the whole length of the island. The distance between the two cities was about 110 miles. *Ἀχρι Πάφου*—unto Paphos. Paphos, then the capital of the island, and the residence of the proconsul, was situated on the south-west coast. New Paphos is here meant, four miles distant from Old Paphos, where stood the famous temple of Venus. New Paphos had also a beautiful temple (Strabo, xiv. 6. 3). In the time of Augustus Paphos was destroyed by an earthquake, but had been rebuilt by the emperor (Dio Cass. liv. 23). It was then a place of great resort on account of the worship of the Paphian Venus (Strabo, xiv. 6. 3). Tacitus gives an account of a pilgrimage which Titus made to it shortly before the Jewish war (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 2. 3). The city is now known by the name *Baffa*.¹

Εὗρον ἄνδρα τινα μάγον—they found a certain man, a Magician. Magician is hardly a suitable translation, as that word is used by us in a bad sense, whereas *μάγος* is a neutral term (Matt. ii. 1). The evangelist, by adding the words “a false prophet,” intimates what kind of a Magician he meant. *Βαρισησοῦς*, i.e. the son of Jesus—Jesus being a common name among the Jews. The other names found in some manuscripts—Barjoshua, Barsuma, Barjehu, Barjesuban—have their origin from respect to the name of Jesus, the transcribers being averse to apply this second name to a false prophet.² The educated Romans were infidels with regard to their own religion; and hence those among them who

¹ Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*.

² See remarks on the prevalence of magicians and sorcerers in note to Acts viii. 9.

were religiously inclined sought after men who claimed to be prophets, and too often became the dupes of such impostors as Simon Magus and Barjesus. No words can describe more forcibly at once the infamy and the influence of such sorcerers than those of Tacitus: "a class of men who will be always discarded and always cherished" (*Hist.* i. 22).¹ It is worthy of remark that Simon the magician, whom Felix employed, was a Jew, and by birth a Cyprian (*Ant.* xx. 7. 2).

Ver. 7. Ὁς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθύπατῳ—*who was with the proconsul.* Ἀνθύπατος is the Greek term for proconsul. The consuls were called by the Greeks ὑπατοὶ, because they were the chief magistrates at Rome; hence ἀνθύπατος, compounded of ἀντί and ὑπατος, a proconsul. So also the Greeks called the prætors στρατηγοί, and the proprætor ἀντιστράτηγος. Augustus, when he made an arrangement of the empire, divided the provinces into two classes: the one class he made over to the senate, and the other he retained for the emperor. The governor of a senatorial province, although he may never have been a consul, was called a proconsul (ἀνθύπατος). He had no military power, and at first held his office only for a year. The governor of an imperial province, although he may never have been a prætor, was called a proprætor (ἀντιστράτηγος). He was entrusted with an army, and held his office during the pleasure of the emperor. Now Luke in the Acts is attentive to this distinction. Thus he speaks of Gallio as proconsul of Achaia (*Acts* xviii. 12), and we know that Achaia was a senatorial province; whereas this title is never assigned to Felix or Festus, who were only deputy-governors of the proprætor of Syria. The word he uses with reference to them is ἡγεμόν, a general term, corresponding to our English word *governor*. By employing here the term ἀνθύπατος, it would follow that he regarded Cyprus as a senatorial province governed by a proconsul. Now, how stands the matter? Strabo informs us that Augustus reserved Cyprus for himself (*Strabo*, xiv. 6. 6), and consequently governed it by a proprætor; and hence it

¹ *Genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostrâ et vetabitur semper et retinebitur.*

has been asserted that Luke has committed a mistake, and should have used the term *ἀντιστράτηγος* (Grotius, Hammond, Beza). Subsequent research, however, has fully justified Luke. A passage has been discovered in Dio Cassius, where he tells us that Augustus subsequently restored the provinces of Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis to the senate, and took instead of them Dalmatia; and he states that thenceforth these provinces were governed by proconsuls¹ (Dio Cass. liii. 12, liv. 4). And not only so, but coins have been found of the reign of Claudius (the very time when Paul paid this visit to Cyprus), which declare that Cyprus was at this time a proconsulate. In one of these coins there is on the obverse the head and name of Claudius, and on the reverse the inscription Cyprus, with the name Cominius Proclus, and the title *ἀνθύπατος*. This Proclus must have been one of the immediate successors or predecessors of Sergius Paulus.²

Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ, ἀνδρὶ συνετῷ—*Sergius Paulus, an intelligent man*. Nothing is known of Sergius Paulus. He is called an intelligent man; and his admitting Elymas the sorcerer into his company is not at variance with this. He appears to have been one of that numerous class of Gentiles who, dissatisfied with idolatry, sought a purer religion. Elymas recommended himself to him as being a Jew, and he had partially yielded to his counsels; but only partially, because his desire to hear Barnabas and Paul proved that he was not completely under his sway.

Ver. 8. *Ἐλύμας ὁ μάγος*, etc.—*But Elymas the Magian, for so is his name by interpretation*. Elymas is an Arabic word signifying a *wise man*: so that *ὁ μάγος*, the Magian,

¹ Καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο. The same word as that used by Luke is here applied by Dio Cassius to the governor of Cyprus.

² See Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament*, pp. 39–42. From coins and monumental evidence he gives the names of four proconsuls (*ἀνθύπατοι*) of Cyprus: namely, Aulus Plautus, in the reign of Augustus and Tiberius; Aquius Scaura, in the reign of Caligula; Cominius Proclus and Quadratus, in the reign of Claudius. See also Lardner's *Works*, vol. i. p. 19; Marsh's *Lectures*, Lect. xxvi. Eckhel's *Doctrina Numorum*, vol. iii. p. 84.

is a word of a somewhat similar import. (See Matt. ii. 1.) Ζητῶν διαστρέψαι τὸν ἀνθύπατον ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως—*seeking to turn away the proconsul from the faith*. Probably he was influenced by selfish motives; for if Sergius Paulus became a convert to Paul and Barnabas, his influence over him was gone.

Ver. 9. Σαῦλος δὲ ὁ καὶ Παῦλος—*But Saul, who also is called Paul*. Here the name Paul occurs for the first time in the Acts. Before this he is always called by his Hebrew name Saul; after this, the name Paul is constantly employed, except when there is a reference to the earlier period of his life (Acts xxii. 7, 13, xxvi. 14). In the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem he receives the name of Paul, and when Peter writes of him he calls him “his beloved brother Paul” (2 Pet. iii. 15). Various reasons have been assigned for this change of name. We may pass over the reason assigned by Augustine as wholly inadmissible, that he called himself Paul, which signifies *little*, out of humility, conceiving himself to be less than the least of all saints¹ (*De Spir. et Lit.* c. vii.). The opinion of Jerome is worthy of more attention. As the name Paul occurs in the narrative of the conversion of Sergius Paulus, he supposes that the change of name is connected with that event. *Saulus ad prædicationem gentium missus, a primo ecclesiæ spolio Proconsule Sergio Paulo victoriæ suæ tropæa retulit, erexitque vexillum ut Paulus diceretur e Saulo* (in Ep. Philem.). The same opinion is adopted with some variations by Bengel, Olshausen, Baumgarten, Meyer, Ewald, Stier, and Baur. According to Jerome, Paul adopted the name himself; according to Meyer, he was so called by his fellow-Christians; according to Ewald, he took the name at the request of the proconsul. This hypothesis is, however, liable to various objections. It seems at variance with the modesty of the apostle. It is, besides, highly improbable that Sergius Paulus was Paul’s first Gentile convert, as he had already preached for at least two

¹ *Paulus apostolus, cum Saulus prius vocaretur, non ob aliud, quantum mihi videtur, hoc nomen elegit, nisi ut se ostenderet parvum, tanquam minimum apostolorum.*

years in Cilicia and Antioch ; nor did he pay such extreme deference to rank as this hypothesis would imply. It was customary for the pupil to adopt the name of the teacher; but not for the teacher to adopt the name of the pupil. Besides, it is to be observed that Luke introduces the change of name before he mentions the conversion of Sergius Paulus.

The more probable opinion is, that Paul, as a Hellenistic Jew and a Roman citizen, had two names—Saul being his Jewish name, and Paul his Roman. So Lightfoot, Schrader, Winer, Wieseler, Du Veil, Henrichs, De Wette, Lechler, Neander, Alford. It was then a usual thing for Hellenistic Jews to have two names; the one Hebrew, and the other Greek or Latin. We have several instances of this in Scripture: John surnamed Marcus, Symeon called Niger, Joseph Barsabas surnamed Justus, and Jesus who is called Justus. Sometimes these Greek or Latin names were translations of Hebrew names; as Peter of Cephas, and Didymus of Thomas. Sometimes there was a similarity between them, as here: Saul, who is also called Paul. But still the question arises, Why does Luke at this particular moment introduce the Roman name of Saul? It cannot be accidental, as Heinrichs supposes: "Luke having mentioned Sergius Paulus, recollects that Saul also was called Paul;" because at the time Luke wrote, the name Paul was used universally, whereas the name Saul was long out of use. The change must have been intentional; and the common reason assigned seems sufficient, that Paul now came prominently forward as the apostle of the Gentiles. Hitherto his labours had been chiefly confined to the Jews, and hence Luke retained the name by which he was then best known among them; but now he addresses himself to the Gentiles, and henceforth Luke mentions him only by his Gentile name.

Ver. 10. *Ῥαδιουργίας*—*mischief*. The word primarily signifies *indolence, effeminacy*; in a secondary sense, *knavery, mischief*. *Τὴν διαβόλου*—*son of the devil*. It is far-fetched to suppose, with Meyer, any allusion to the name Barjesus, son of Jesus. *Οὐ παύση διαστρέφων τὰς ὁδοὺς Κυρίου τὰς εὐθείας*—*Wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the*

Lord? Not merely the ways of the Lord, as then providentially displayed: God would lead Sergius Paulus to the salvation in Christ by means of Paul and Barnabas, but Elymas set himself to prevent this (Meyer). But it refers to the ceaseless opposition of Elymas to righteousness and truth in general: he sought to pervert the ways in which man should walk before God (De Wette).

Ver. 11. *Χεὶρ Κυρίου*—the hand of the Lord; according to the usual meaning of the phrase in the Old Testament, the judgments of God. *Ἄχρι καιροῦ*—for a season. Judgment was mingled with mercy. Elymas was to be struck with blindness; but he was not to be blind for life, but only for a season. The first miracle which Paul performed was the infliction of a judgment; and that judgment the same which befell himself when arrested on his way to Damascus. *Παραχρῆμα δὲ ἐπέπεσεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν*, etc.—And immediately there fell on him a mist and a darkness. The denunciation of the apostle was fulfilled: Elymas became instantaneously blind. We are not, however, to suppose that the apostles possessed the power of working miracles at pleasure, but only when they felt a divine impulse urging them to perform one. Paul struck Elymas with blindness because he felt inspired to perform that miracle; but he could not cure Epaphroditus of his sickness, or remove from himself the thorn in the flesh. The miraculous power with which he was invested was not under his own control, but under the control and direction of Him who bestowed that power.

Several attempts have been made to explain away this miracle. Heinrichs supposes that Elymas was naturally disposed to blindness, and that, frightened by the rebuke of Paul, the disease reached its climax. But this is not to explain, but to contradict the text. It is evident that Luke represents this blindness as a divine punishment, effected without the intervention of any natural cause. Accordingly Baur and Zeller adopt the mythical explanation: they suppose that Paul's encounter with Elymas is but the counterpart and the copy of Peter's encounter with Simon Magus.¹

¹ Baur's *Paulus*, vol. i. p. 105; Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 212.

Baur dwells upon the points of resemblance between these two. Both were magicians, both were opponents of the apostles, and both were ignominiously discomfited. Elymas was addressed by Paul in terms similar to those with which Peter addressed Simon Magus. But all this only proves that the apostles came in contact with the powers of darkness; and as sorcerers and magicians were then numerous, it was by no means improbable that both Peter and Paul would encounter one of them. And while there are points of resemblance, there are also points of difference, which prove that the one narrative could not have been taken from the other. Simon Magus professed to be a convert, and was baptized by Philip; he was inside the church—he was a type of heretics. Elymas never professed to be a Christian; he was outside the church—he was a type of infidels. Simon Magus was punished by Peter with exclusion from the church; Elymas was struck with blindness. Simon Magus did not avowedly oppose himself to the Christians; whereas Elymas did all he could to withstand Paul, and to turn away the proconsul from the faith.¹

Ver. 12. *Ἐπίστευσεν*—*believed*. The proconsul became a convert to Christianity. He was convinced of the truth of the gospel by the miracle wrought upon Elymas. He was one of those few great men after the flesh who in the days of the apostles were converted to Christ. *Ἐκπλησόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ διδαχῇ τοῦ Κυρίου*—*being astonished at the doctrine of the Lord*: that is, the doctrine of Christ preached by the apostles. The miracle wrought by Paul confirmed this doctrine.

¹ Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*, vol. i. p. 168.

SECTION II.

PAUL'S DISCOURSE AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.—ACTS XIII. 13–41.

13 Now Paul and his companions, having set sail from Paphos, came to Perga in Pamphylia: and John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem.

14 But they, proceeding from Perga, came to Antioch in Pisidia; and entering into the synagogue on the Sabbath-day, they sat down. 15 And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent to them, saying, Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. 16 Then Paul arose, and beckoning with his hand, said, Men of Israel, and ye who fear God, hearken. 17 The God of this people chose our fathers, and exalted the people in their sojourn in the land of Egypt, and with a high arm brought them out of it. 18 And about the space of forty years, He cherished them in the wilderness. 19 And having destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, He gave them their land to inherit. 20 And after this, for about four hundred and fifty years, He gave them judges, until Samuel the prophet. 21 And afterward they requested a king: and God gave to them Saul the son of Kish, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, for forty years. 22 And having removed him, He raised up to them David to be their king; to whom also He gave testimony, and said, I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my own heart, who will do all my will. 23 Of this man's seed has God, according to promise, brought to Israel a Saviour, Jesus: 24 John having preached before His coming the baptism of repentance to all the people of Israel. 25 And as John fulfilled his course, he said, Whom think ye that I am? I am not He. But, behold, there cometh One after me, the shoes of whose feet I am not worthy to loose. 26 Men and brethren, children of the race of Abraham, and whosoever among you feareth God, to you the word of this salvation has been sent. 27 For the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and their rulers, not knowing Him, nor the voices of the prophets which are read every Sabbath, have fulfilled them by condemning Him. 28 And though they found no cause of death, yet they desired Pilate that He should be slain. 29 And when they had fulfilled all things that were written concerning Him, having taken Him down from the tree, they laid Him in a sepulchre. 30 But God raised Him

from the dead: 31 And He was seen many days by them who came up with Him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now His witnesses unto the people. 32 And we preach unto you the promise made to the fathers, that God has fulfilled the same to us their children, having raised up Jesus; 33 As it is also written in the first Psalm, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee. 34 And that He raised Him from the dead, no more to return to corruption, He has thus spoken: I will give you the sure holy things of David. 35 Wherefore He saith also in another place, Thou shalt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption. 36 For David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell asleep, and was gathered to his fathers, and saw corruption: 37 But He, whom God raised from the dead, saw no corruption. 38 Be it known unto you therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is announced to you the forgiveness of sins: 39 And from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses, in Him every one that believes is justified. 40 Beware, therefore, lest that come upon you which is spoken in the prophets; 41 Behold, ye despisers, and wonder, and perish: because I work a work in your days, a work which ye will in no wise believe, though one should declare it to you.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 17. Ἰσραήλ, found in A, B, C, D, κ, and adopted by Lachmann and Bornemann, is wanting in E, G, H, and rejected by Tischendorf and Meyer. Ver. 18. Ἐτροφοφόρησεν is found in B, D, G, H, κ; whereas A, C, E have ἐτροφοφόρησεν, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 19. Κατεκληροδότησεν, the reading of the *textus receptus*, is found in no uncial MS. A, B, C, D, E, G, H, κ have κατεκληρονόμησεν, the reading adopted by all recent editors. Ver. 20. In A, B, C, κ, ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα precede καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, the reading adopted by Lachmann; whereas in E, G, H they follow, as in the *textus receptus*, the reading adopted by Tischendorf, Meyer, and Alford. In D, the words μετὰ ταῦτα are omitted. (See Exegetical Remarks.) Ver. 23. ἤγαγεν, found in A, B, E, G, H, κ, is to be preferred to ἤγειρε, found only in C, D. Ver. 26. Ἐξαπεστάλη, found in A, B, C, D, κ, is more strongly attested than the simple verb ἀπεστάλη, found in E, G, H. Ver. 31. Νῦν after

οἵτινες is wanting in B, E, G, H, but found in A, C, κ , and inserted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 33. *Δευτέρῳ* of the *textus receptus* is the reading of A, B, C, E, G, H, κ , and is accordingly externally the better attested reading, and is adopted by Scholz and De Wette. *Πρώτῳ* is only found in one uncial MS. (D), but is also supported by the Fathers, Origen, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, and is adopted by Tischendorf, Lachmann, Meyer, and Alford, as being the more difficult reading.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 13. *Οἱ περὶ Παύλου*—*Paul and his companions*. This phrase is used to denote the leader of a party (Winer's *Grammar*, p. 425). Paul now takes the precedence: formerly it was Barnabas and Paul, henceforth it is in general Paul and Barnabas. *Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας*—*Perga of Pamphylia*. We cannot assign the reasons which induced them to go to Pamphylia. It was the country opposite to Paphos in Cyprus: communication would be frequent, and the distance was not great. Pamphylia was a small district, extending along the shores of the Mediterranean, situated between Cilicia and the Lycian part of proconsular Asia. Under the Romans, after the battle of Actium, on the division of the provinces by Augustus, it became an imperial province, governed by a proprætor. At this time, in the reign of Claudius, it was united with Lycia and Pisidia; afterwards we find it united with Galatia (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 9). Perga, its capital, was a large and flourishing town situated on the river Cestrus, about seven miles from its mouth. It was chiefly remarkable for a famous temple dedicated to Diana. *Pergæ fanum antiquissimum et sanctissimum Dianæ scimus esse* (Cic. *Verr.* i. 20). "There is," says Strabo, "the river Cestrus, up which when one has sailed sixty furlongs, he comes to the city Perga, near which is the temple of Diana of Perga, where every year there is a solemn convention" (Strabo, xiv. 4. 2). The city is now in ruins, and is known by the name Eski-Kalessi.

Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν—but John departed from them. At Perga, John surnamed Mark left the mission, and returned to Jerusalem. We are not informed what induced him to do so. Some suppose that it was because he was opposed to the freeness with which the gospel was preached to the Gentiles; others, that he was jealous of Paul taking the lead instead of his uncle Barnabas; and others, with greater probability, that he shrank from the dangers and difficulties of the mission. That the reason of his return was blameable, is evident from Paul's afterwards refusing to take him on his second missionary journey (Acts xv. 37-39). Ewald supposes that the place of Mark was now supplied by Titus (Ewald's *Geschichte*, p. 421). Titus is not mentioned in the Acts, and yet we know that he accompanied Paul to the Council of Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 1). Hence the probability is that he was with the apostle before Luke, the author of the Acts, joined him.

Ver. 14. Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν Πισιδίαν—*Antioch of Pisidia*. Pisidia was a mountainous district lying to the north of Pamphylia, stretching along the range of Mount Taurus. It seems never to have been a separate country, and was at this time united to Pamphylia. Antioch, called by Pliny Antioch of Pisidia, by Strabo Antioch of Phrygia, and by Ptolemy Antioch of Pamphylia, was its chief town. It was one of those numerous cities which were built by Seleucus Nicator, B.C. 300; under Augustus, it was raised to the dignity of a Roman colony, and called Cæsarea: *Pisidianorum colonia Cæsarea eadem Antiocheia* (*Plin.* v. 24). Its situation is minutely described by Strabo: "In the district of Phrygia, called Paroreia, there is a mountainous ridge stretching from east to west. On each side there is a large plain, and two cities in the neighbourhood. Philomelium lies on the north side of the ridge, and Antioch, called Antioch near Pisidia, on the south; the former standing on a plain, and the latter on a hill, and occupied by a Roman colony" (*Strabo*, xii. 8. 14). This situation has been identified by Arundell as the site of the modern town Jalobatch or Yalobatch; and an inscription has been found there by Hamilton, containing

the words Antiocheæ Cæsare,—the remainder having been entirely effaced,¹

Ver. 15. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τῶν προφητῶν—but after the reading of the law and the prophets. (See note upon the synagogue and its worship attached to Section XII. vol. i.) Probably the reading of the law commenced in the days of Ezra, if not during the captivity. When Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the reading of the law, sections from the prophets were substituted; and after the restoration of the Jewish religion by the Maccabees, both the law and the prophets were read. Bengel supposes that the particular Sabbath lesson which was on this day read can be determined. In Paul's discourse, the words ὑψώσεν, ἐτροφοφόρησεν, and κατεκληρονόμησεν, rarely used in Scripture, occur; of which the first is in Isa. i. 2, and the second and third in Deut. i. 31, 38. He therefore infers that these two chapters, Deut. i. and Isa. i., were read on this very Sabbath; and it is a singular fact that these two chapters are even at the present day read together on one Sabbath.² The inference, however, rests on insufficient ground, the allusions to these two chapters (especially to Isa. i.) being very slight; and besides, it is now generally agreed that the modern division of the law and the prophets into sections is more recent than the days of the apostles.

Ἀπέστειλαν οἱ ἀρχισυνάγωγοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς—The rulers of the synagogue sent to them, saying, Men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on. After the law and the prophets were read, any qualified teacher who happened to be present was asked by the elders of the synagogue to address the assembly. Such a request was now made to Paul and Barnabas. Some (Wetstein, Kuinöel) suppose that they had sat down on the rabbinical seats, thus announcing

¹ Arundell's *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 269; Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. i. pp. 472-474.

² Bengel's *Gnomon*, vol. ii. p. 627, Clark's translation. The forty-fourth section of the Parashioth (the law) and Haphtaroth (the prophets) is now Deut. i.-iii. 22, Isa. i. 1-27. Wordsworth on the Acts, p. 105.

that they were teachers. The probability, however, is that they had already been some days in Pisidian Antioch, and had already taught the people, and were thus recognised as teachers. The curiosity of the members of the synagogue would be aroused to know what new doctrine this was which these strangers came from such a distance to proclaim.

Ver. 16. *Ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλείται, καὶ οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν Θεόν*—*Men of Israel, and ye who fear God.* By “men of Israel” Paul means the Jews and Jewish proselytes then present; and by “those who fear God,” the devout Gentiles who had renounced idolatry, and worshipped God in the synagogues, without however becoming proselytes to Judaism by submitting to the rite of circumcision—the so-called proselytes of the gate.

Ver. 17. *Ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ λαοῦ τούτου—the God of this people.* Ὁ λαός, restricted in the Acts to the Jewish nation. (See, however, Acts xviii. 10.) *Καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑψώσεν—and exalted the people.* Different meanings have been attached to this phrase. Some (Beza, Grotius) refer it to the prosperity of the Israelites in the days of Joseph. Others (Calvin, Elsner, and Heinrichs) refer it to the deliverance from Egypt; but according to the text, the exaltation took place during their sojourn in Egypt. Meyer supposes that it alludes both to the increase of the people in Egypt, and to their exaltation in consequence of the miracles of Moses; but those miracles are afterwards indicated by *μετὰ βραχιόνος ὑψηλοῦ*. The allusion, then, is to the increase of the people. The children of Israel increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty (Ex. i. 7). So Kuinæ, Olshausen, De Wette, Lechler, Stier, and Alford. *Μετὰ βραχιόνος ὑψηλοῦ—with a high arm, i.e. with mighty power.* God is here represented as the leader of His people, with His arm uplifted for their defence against their enemies. The allusion is evidently to the miracles wrought by Moses for their deliverance.

Ver. 18. *Ἐτροφοφόρησεν αὐτοὺς—cherished them.* The reference is to Deut. i. 31: “The Lord thy God bare thee (*τροφοφορήσει*, Septuagint), as a man doth bear his son, in

all the way that ye went, until ye came to this place." The metaphor is taken not from the care of a nurse, but from the protecting and nourishing care of a father.

Ver. 20. *Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πενήκοντα, ἔδωκεν κριτὰς*—*And after this, for about four hundred and fifty years, He gave them judges.* These words have given rise to considerable difficulty. According to them, it would appear that the period assigned for the rule of the judges after the settlement of Israel in Canaan amounted to 450 years. Now this agrees exactly with the years of the judges, and of the servitudes as mentioned in the book of Judges: the years of the judges from Othniel to Eli are 339, and of the servitudes 111; in all, 450.¹ It also corresponds with the chronology of Josephus. He observes that Solomon began to build his temple in the fourth year of his reign, 592 years after the departure of the Israelites from Egypt (*Ant.* vii. 3. 1). This number is made up as follows: 40 years' sojourn in the wilderness; 25 years under Joshua (*Ant.* v. 1. 29); 443 as the period of the judges, including the rule of Samuel; 40 years under Saul (*Ant.* vi. 4. 9); 40 years under David; and 4 years of Solomon's own reign,—thus giving 443 years as the period of the judges, which in round numbers agrees with the reckoning of Paul. But whilst there is this agreement, there is a decided disagreement between this number and 1 Kings vi. 1: there we are told that "in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, he began to build the house of the Lord." This would give only 331 years as the period assigned to the judges, being 119 years less than the number here given by Paul. Various attempts have been made at reconciliation. 1. Perizonius supposes that in 1 Kings vi. 1 the years of the judges only are enumerated, whilst the years of servitude are omitted; but this is evidently erroneous, as it is the time from the departure from Egypt that is mentioned. 2. Others (Mill, Calovius, Doddridge) supply *γενόμενα* after *πεντήκοντα*, and

¹ See Biscoe on the Acts, p. 605.

translate the verse as follows: "After these things which happened in the space of 450 years, He gave them judges." And they calculate this period from the birth of Isaac to the acquisition of the land of Canaan under Joshua, a period of 450 years in round numbers. The words, however, will not admit of such a construction. 3. Others (Lange, etc.) suppose that the word *judges* is here used in a wide sense, including the rule both of Moses and Joshua, so that the period is to be reckoned from the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt. But this is at variance with the text, as the period is there calculated from their settlement in Canaan (*μετὰ ταῦτα*). 4. Others attempt critical emendations, but against the authority of MSS. Luther and Beza read 350 years; Vitranga and Heinrichs think that *ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοίοις καὶ πενήκοντα* is a gloss which has found its way into the text; Michaelis supposes that there is an interpolation in 1 Kings vi. 1; and Kuinœl, that the text in the book of Kings is corrupt. It must be candidly admitted that all these attempts at reconciliation have failed. 5. If, however, we adopt the other reading of the text, which has the support of the four oldest MSS. (A, B, C, S), also of D, which omits *μετὰ ταῦτα*, and is approved of by critics so eminent as Lachmann and Bornemann, then the discrepancy disappears.¹ (See Critical Note.) According to this reading, the words are to be translated as follows: "He gave them their land to inherit for about 450 years. And after these things He gave judges." There is, however, an obvious difficulty in fixing on the time when this 450 years commenced. The most plausible opinion is, that the period is to be dated from the gift of the land of Canaan to Abraham: Bengel dates it from the birth of Isaac, when God chose their fathers for the possession of the land. If this reading be not adopted, then the only other alternative is, that Paul uses a chronology distinct from 1 Kings vi. 1, but, as appears from Josephus, in use at that time among the Jews.²

¹ This reading is decidedly the best attested by external testimony, and is in all probability the correct one.

² See Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 271, 272; Kuinœl's *Libri Historici*,

Ver. 21. Ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα—*forty years*. These forty years evidently refer to the period of the reign of Saul. It is contrary to the text to suppose (Beza, Heinrichs, Doddridge) that they include also the government of Samuel. The duration of the reign of Saul is not given in Scripture; but Josephus tells us that he reigned eighteen years during the life of Samuel, and two-and-twenty after his death (*Ant. vi. 14. 9*). It is, however, extremely improbable, indeed utterly incredible, that Saul survived Samuel two-and-twenty years. David was only thirty when he succeeded to the throne of Judah (2 Sam. v. 4), and consequently according to this he would not have been eight when he was anointed by Samuel, slew Goliath, married the daughter of Saul, and was persecuted by Saul; for we find that David, after these events, fled to Samuel (1 Sam. xix. 18). This, however, does not militate against the statement that Saul reigned forty years over Israel, but only against the division of that period as given by Josephus.¹

Ver. 22. Μεταστήσας αὐτόν—*having removed him*. This removal refers to the death of Saul, not to his deposition (Kuinöel); for it was only after his death that David succeeded to the throne. Ἐύρον Δαυίδ, etc.—*I have found David the son of Jesse, a man after my own heart*. These words do not occur in the Old Testament, but are made up from two passages: Ps. lxxxix. 20, where God testifies, "I have found David my servant;" and 1 Sam. xiii. 14, where Samuel, addressing Saul, says, "The Lord hath sought Him a man after His own heart." Κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν μου—*after my own heart*; referring to the general character of David. He was not, like Saul, a bad man, who had occasional fits of piety; but a good man, who occasionally committed acts of wickedness.

vol. iii. p. 207; Bengel's *Gnomon*, vol. i. pp. 627, 628; Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 605, 606; Stier's *Words of the Apostles*, p. 190, Clark's translation.

¹ "Saul's youngest son Ishbosheth," observes Biscoe, "was forty years of age at the time of his father's death; and yet his father is said to be but a young man when he was first inaugurated by Samuel" (*Acts*, p. 560). So that a reign of forty years is highly probable.

Vers. 23-25. Κατ' ἐπαγγελίαν — according to promise; not referring to any particular promise, but to the Messianic promises in general, made to the fathers by the prophets. Προκηρύξαντος Ἰωάννου—John having preached before. The apostle mentions the preaching of the Baptist in this incidental manner, as a thing already known. It created so great an excitement throughout all Judea, that it might be heard of in countries at least as remote as Pisidia. Mention is afterwards made of John's disciples in Ephesus (Acts xix. 3). Πρὸ προσώπου τῆς εἰσόδου αὐτοῦ—literally, before the face of His coming—a Hebraism: not before His coming into the world—His incarnation; but before His entrance upon His public ministry. Τίνα με ὑπονοεῖτε εἶναι; οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγώ—Whom think ye that I am? I am not He. Some (Luther, Grotius, Kuinöel) understand these words as a relative sentence: I am not He whom ye think me to be,—a translation which is perhaps allowable.¹ Still, however, the liveliness of the discourse decides in favour of understanding τίνα as an interrogative. Οὐ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἄξιος τὸ ὑπόδημα τῶν ποδῶν λύσαι—the shoes of whose feet I am not worthy to loose. It was considered the office of the lowest slaves to unbind the sandals of their masters. Thus Suetonius says of Vitellius, the father of the emperor, that, to leave no artifice untried to secure the favour of Claudius, he requested as the greatest favour from Messalina, that she would be pleased to allow him to take off her shoes (Suet. Vitellius, ii.).

Ver. 27. Οἱ γὰρ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ—*for the dwellers in Jerusalem.* The force of the conjunction γὰρ has been differently understood. Some (De Wette, Winer, Hackett, Lechler) suppose that it refers to the fulfilment of prophecy; that it is not causal, but explanatory: To you is the word of this salvation sent; for the Jews, by putting Jesus to death, have fulfilled the prophecies, and thus proved Him to be the Messiah. It is, however, more natural, with Meyer, to suppose that there is here a contrast between the Jews of the dispersion (ὑμῶν) and the Jews in Jerusalem:

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 182. So also Tischendorf reads the clause, as is evident from his punctuation.

The gospel is sent to you, because the Jews in Jerusalem have rejected it. This affirms, not the universal, but the general rejection of Christ by the Jews at Jerusalem, and is an indication of the righteous judgment of God in sending the apostles away from Jerusalem to foreign countries. The expression is somewhat similar to ver. 46: "Seeing ye put it from yourselves, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, lo, we turn to the Gentiles" (compare Matt. xxi. 43). Ἀγνοήσαντες—not *knowing*. This sentence has also been differently translated. Some (Castalio, Meyer, Alford) render it, "Not knowing Him, or in their ignorance of Him, by condemning Him, they have fulfilled the voices of the prophets." The insertion of *καί* after ἀγνοήσαντες is an objection to this rendering. Others apply τούτου not to Jesus, but to the word of this salvation: "Being ignorant of this word," etc. The usual, and perhaps the most natural, interpretation is, to refer ἀγνοήσαντες not only to τούτου, but to τὰς φωνὰς τῶν προφητῶν: "Not knowing Him, nor the voices of the prophets." So Luther, Calvin, Grotius, Kuinçel, and Hackett.

Ver. 29. Ἐθηκαν εἰς μνημεῖον—they laid Him in a sepulchre; that is, the inhabitants of Jerusalem and their rulers did so. Although it was the enemies of Jesus who crucified Him, and His friends who buried Him, yet in this summary narrative it was not necessary to make any distinction between friends and foes; as it was only the facts of the crucifixion and the burial that were of importance to the hearers. And yet the statement was literally correct; for both Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus were rulers of the Jews, being members of the Sanhedrim.

Vers. 30, 31. Ὁ δὲ Θεός—but God. The deed of God is here contrasted with the deed of men. Men crucified Him, but God raised Him from the dead. The resurrection from the dead was the great proof of the Messiahship of Jesus, and the great fact of the apostolic testimony. Ὅς ᾤφθη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείους—who was seen many days,—namely, the forty days which intervened between the resurrection and the ascension (Acts i. 4). Οἵτινες νῦν εἰσιν μάρτυρες—who now are His

witnesses: now, at this moment. The resurrection of Jesus was not a fact which rested on tradition, or could only be proved from the testimony of men who were dead: the witnesses of it were still alive.

Ver. 32. *Καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα*—*and we preach to you*. They, the apostles, are now witnessing to His resurrection; we, Paul and Barnabas, are preaching this great fact to you. *Ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν*—*having raised up Jesus*. Some (Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Bengel, Kuinæ, Olshausen, Stier, Lechler) refer this not to the resurrection of Christ, but to His appearance in this world as the Messiah: having raised up Jesus as the Saviour. They assert that *ἀναστήσας* can only refer to the resurrection when *ἐκ νεκρῶν* or some similar words are added. The context, however, proves that it is to the resurrection of Christ to which the apostle refers. The Jews have put Jesus to death, and buried Him; God has raised Him from the dead: we proclaim then to you that the promise of the Messiahship is now fulfilled by raising up Jesus; for it is His resurrection that is the great proof of His Messiahship (Meyer). So Luther, De Wette, Meyer, Baumgarten, Lange, Hackett, and Alford.

Ver. 33. *Ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ψαλμῷ*—*in the first Psalm*. This is the only quotation from the Old Testament so circumstantially made in the New. The majority of MSS. are in favour of *δευτέρῳ*; but critics have in general preferred the reading *πρώτῳ*, as being the more difficult, and adverted to by the Fathers. (See Critical Note.) It is accounted for on the supposition that our first Psalm was not numbered, but was composed as an introduction to the Psalter, and that the second Psalm was properly the first: in some Hebrew MSS. this order occurs. *Τίος μου εἶ σύ*, etc.—*Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten Thee*: taken verbatim from the Septuagint, and agreeing with the Hebrew text. For the Messianic character of this psalm, see notes to Acts iv. 25, 26. Some refer these words to the incarnation of Christ, but here they are introduced as a prediction of His resurrection. Although He was the Son of God from eternity, yet by His resurrection He was openly declared to be so: it was the inauguration

of His Sonship. "He was," says Paul, "declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead" (Rom. i. 4).

Ver. 34. "Ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά—I will give you the sure holy things of David. A second quotation in proof of the resurrection and immortal life of the Messiah. The quotation is from Isa. lv. 3. There is a slight variation between these words and the Septuagint: instead of ὅτι δώσω ὑμῖν, the Septuagint has διαθήσομαι ὑμῖν διαθήκην αἰώνιαν—"I will establish an everlasting covenant with you," wherein it agrees with the Hebrew. On the other hand, the words τὰ ὅσια Δαυεὶδ τὰ πιστά are taken from the Septuagint, and differ slightly from the Hebrew, where it is "the sure mercies of David." Ὑμῖν here refers to believers—those who accepted the salvation. By ὅσια is meant the gracious blessings which God has promised and bestowed on the Messiah—the blessings of the Messiah's reign. And Δαυεὶδ is used either because these blessings were promised to that prince, or more probably the name David is here employed for the Messiah, whose ancestor He was. The connection between the prediction and the resurrection of the Messiah is not at first sight obvious. The force of the expression seems to lie in the word πιστά: If the mercies bestowed by the Messiah on His people are sure; if among them there is the gift of an eternal life; then they must be bestowed by a living Messiah. "This place of Isaiah," observes Calvin, "which is here cited, seemeth to make but little for proof of Christ's immortality. But it is not so. For, seeing Isaiah speaketh of the redemption promised to David, and affirmeth that the same shall be firm and stable, we do well gather by this the immortal kingdom of Christ, wherein the eternity of salvation is grounded. If the grace be eternal which God saith He will give in His Son, the life of His Son must be eternal, and not subject to corruption."¹

Ver. 35. λέγει—He saith. The subject is necessarily God, as in the former quotations; not David (Bengel, Lechler) nor the Scripture. It is true that the words quoted are the

¹ Calvin on Acts xiii. 34.

words of David addressed to God; but David is to be considered as inspired by God, who put this prayer into his mouth. *Οὐ δώσεις τὸν ὅσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν*—*Thou shalt not suffer Thy Holy One to see corruption.* This quotation is from Ps. xvi. 10 (LXX. xv. 10), taken verbatim from the Septuagint. It is an evident prediction of the Messiah, and cannot possibly apply to David himself. It is the same quotation which is made by Peter in his discourse on the day of Pentecost, but for a different purpose. Peter wishes to prove that Christ must rise from the dead, because it was foretold that He should do so. Paul asserts that Jesus has risen from the dead, and in doing so has fulfilled the prediction of the Psalmist. For the interpretation of the passage, and its application to the Messiah, see notes to Acts ii. 25–31.

Ver. 36. Interpreters differ as to the translation of this verse. Some (Luther, Bengel, Kuinœl, Olshausen, Lechler, Baumgarten, Meyer) render the passage, “after he had in his own generation served the will of God.” The objection to this is, that it gives to the verb “served” an abstract object, whereas it is more natural to give it a personal object. Others (Erasmus, Castalio, Calvin) connect τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ βουλῇ with ἐκοιμήθη: “After he had served his own generation, he fell asleep by the will of God.” But this weakens the sentence, and renders the remark unimportant. It is better to connect the words with ὑπηρετήσας. Accordingly we adopt the translation: “But David, after he had served his own generation by the will of God, fell asleep.” So Alford, Hackett, Robinson. The chief thought is, that David, like other men, only served his own generation; whereas the Messiah was appointed to serve all generations: on Him an endless life was bestowed.

Vers. 38, 39. Ἀφεσις ἁμαρτιῶν—the forgiveness of sins. Justification is in these verses regarded in a negative point of view, as consisting in the forgiveness of sins; not in its full meaning, as a declaration of righteousness. *Καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ὧν οὐκ ἠδυνήθητε ἐν νόμῳ Μωϋσέως δικαιοθῆναι*—*from all things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.* These words do not mean that in Christ men are justified

even from those sins from which there was no justification in the law (Schwegler); which would imply that by the law men could be justified from some sins; that there are two justifications,—an imperfect one under the law, and a perfect one under the gospel: a statement directly contrary to the Pauline doctrine of justification. Paul knows only one justification, and that through Christ; and asserts that by the law there is no justification at all. The relative *ὅν* refers to *πάντων*: so that the full meaning is, “from all things, from which (all things) ye could not be justified by the law of Moses;” thus excluding justification completely from the law.

Ver. 41. *Ἴδετε οἱ καταφρονῆται*—*Behold, ye despisers.* The quotation is from Hab. i. 5, according to the Septuagint, with some unimportant variations. The words refer to the invasion of the land by the Chaldeans, as a judgment brought upon the Jews on account of their sins. But the language here employed is applicable to all ages, and denounces the wrath of God upon unbelief and rebellion: “I will work a work in your days,”—namely, a work of judgment; “a work which ye will in no wise believe, though one should declare it to you:” even although warned of the judgment, you will be so hardened and insensible as not to believe in it: you will cling to delusive hopes of safety, even when danger is at the door. Well might Paul apply these words as a warning to those who rejected the gospel.

Such is the discourse of Paul in Pisidian Antioch—the first discourse of the apostle on record. Very different judgments have been formed concerning it. Some (Baur, Paulus, Zeller, Schneckenburger) suppose it to be unhistorical, and a mere imitation and repetition of the speech of Peter. “This speech,” observes Schneckenburger, “is but an echo of the discourses of Peter and Stephen. The same glorification of the Jewish fathers in the introduction (xiii. 17–22, compare vii. 2). The Messiah is David’s son, borne witness to by John (xiii. 23–26, compare iii. 13). His rejection by the Jews at Jerusalem from ignorance fulfilled the divine counsel (xiii. 27, compare iii. 14). Those who lived with Him are the witnesses of His resurrection (xiii.

31, compare i. 22). The same Old Testament proof (xiii. 34-38, compare ii. 25-32) to show that the words of the psalm cannot refer to David, but to Christ. The exhortations and threatenings are entirely the same with those in the speech of Peter (xiii. 40, compare ii. 19). If we call to mind the well-known doctrine of Paul, we cannot but be surprised to find that here, like Peter, he lays the emphasis on the resurrection, not on the death; indeed, he connects the forgiveness of sins itself, not indeed directly with the resurrection, but with the Messiahship, which is proved by the resurrection."¹ Now there is certainly a similarity between the speeches of Peter and Paul, but not greater than is to be expected in two discourses on the same subject addressed to similar audiences. The only minute point of agreement is, that they both refer to Ps. xvi. in proof of the resurrection; but then this is the most remarkable prediction of that event in the Old Testament, and to it they would naturally allude. It must also be considered that Paul here is addressing the unbelieving Jews—not believers, as in his epistles; and therefore it is that he dwells chiefly upon the resurrection of Christ, because that is the crowning evidence of Christianity. Further, there is nothing un-Pauline either in the form or in the contents of the discourse; on the contrary, the reference to the doctrine of justification is a strong presumption in favour of its genuineness. And we must also remember that it is uncertain whether we have the whole of Paul's discourse, or merely an outline of it. The discourse is worthy of Paul: it bears the impress of his character. He first wins the attention of the Jews, by referring to the glories of their nation and the promises of the Messiah: he traces their history to David, from whose posterity the Messiah should spring; he asserts that Jesus is that Messiah: rejected by the Jews in Jerusalem, He is now preached to them; in Him the prophecies are fulfilled: God has raised Him from the dead, and has thus declared Him to be the Messiah in accordance with the voices of the prophets: forgiveness is proclaimed to all who believe on Him,—a for-

¹ Quoted in Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 301.

givenness which the law is unable to procure; but those who reject this salvation must beware lest they should expose themselves to the judgments of God. "Paul's discourse in the synagogue," observes Neander, "is a specimen of the peculiar wisdom and skill of the great apostle in the management of men's dispositions, and of his peculiar antithetical mode of developing Christian truth."¹

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 108.

SECTION III.

EFFECTS OF PAUL'S SPEECH AT PISIDIAN ANTIOCH.—

ACTS XIII. 42-52.

42 And as they were going out, they requested that these words might be spoken to them on the next Sabbath. 43 And when the congregation was dispersed, many of the Jews and devout proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas; who, speaking, exhorted them to continue in the grace of God. 44 And on the next Sabbath, almost the whole city assembled to hear the word of the Lord. 45 But the Jews, seeing the multitudes, were filled with envy, and contradicted those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming. 46 Then Paul and Barnabas spoke boldly, and said, It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you; but since you reject it, and judge yourselves unworthy of eternal life, behold, we turn to the Gentiles: 47 For thus has the Lord commanded us, I have set Thee as a light of the Gentiles, that Thou mightest be for salvation unto the end of the earth. 48 But when the Gentiles heard this, they rejoiced, and glorified the word of the Lord; and as many as were appointed to eternal life believed. 49 And the word of the Lord was published throughout the whole region. 50 But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women, and the chief men of the city, and raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and expelled them from their coasts. 51 But they, shaking off the dust of their feet against them, came to Iconium. 52 But the disciples were filled with joy and the Holy Ghost.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 42. Ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων of the *textus receptus*, found in G, is an interpolation, being inserted because a church lesson began at this place. Instead of these words, A, B, C, D, E, \aleph have only αὐτῶν. After παρεκάλουν the *textus receptus* has τὰ ἔθνη, with G; but it is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, \aleph , and regarded by recent critics as spurious. Ver. 43. Αὐτοῖς after προσλαλοῦντες, found in A, B, C, D, \aleph , is wanting in E, G, and is omitted by

Tischendorf. Ver. 45. Ἀντιλέγοντες καὶ are wanting in A, B, C, G, κ, and are erased by Lachmann. They are found in D, and are retained by Tischendorf, Meyer, and De Wette. Ver. 51. Αὐτῶν after ποδῶν (*textus receptus*) is found in D, E, G, but omitted in A, B, C, κ, and is rejected by Lachmann and Tischendorf.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 42. Ἐξιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν παρεκάλουν—*And as they were going out, they requested.* The reading of the *textus receptus* is, ἐξιόντων δὲ ἐκ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παρεκάλουν τὰ ἔθνη—“As the Jews were going out of the synagogue, the Gentiles requested.” (See Critical Note.) The probable reason of this interpolation was to remove the ambiguity in αὐτῶν, and to supply a subject to παρεκάλουν (Alford). Αὐτῶν is certainly ambiguous. According to Alford, the meaning is: “As they (the congregation) were going out, they (the same) requested.” But the dismissal of the congregation is not mentioned until the next verse. Others (Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Neander, Olshausen), with greater probability, understand by those who were going out, Paul and Barnabas; and by those who requested additional instruction, either the congregation in general, or the rulers of the synagogue who had asked Paul and Barnabas to preach (ver. 15). The Jews had not as yet become hostile. From this it would follow that Paul and Barnabas went out before the meeting was ended, perhaps because they were strangers. Olshausen indeed thinks that “the words ἐξιόντων αὐτῶν are not placed historically before the phrase λυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς; but the fact is only anticipated because it was the occasion of the leading circumstance in the narrative,—namely, the request that they would appear again.”¹ But the evident order of the narrative is, that the dismissal of the congregation took place afterwards.

Εἰς τὸ μεταξὺ σάββατον—*on the next Sabbath.* Μεταξύ ordinarily signifies *intervening, intermediate.* Accordingly

¹ Olshausen on the Gospels and the Acts, vol. iv. p. 401.

some (Calvin, Beza, Rosenmüller) render it, "between the Sabbaths," or "during the intervening week." The Jews were accustomed to meet on Mondays and Thursdays as well as on Saturdays.¹ But ver. 44, τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σαββάτῳ, determines the meaning of μεταξύ in this passage—the *next* or *following* Sabbath. So Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Neander. There is certainly no other example in the New Testament of μεταξύ being so used, nor is it so employed in classical Greek; but critics have shown that such a meaning is not uncommon in the later Greek. Examples of it have been found in the writings of Plutarch and Josephus.²

Ver. 43. *Αυθείσης δὲ τῆς συναγωγῆς, etc.*—*But the congregation being dissolved, many of the Jews and devout proselytes followed Paul and Barnabas.* The order of events seems to be as follows:—As Paul and Barnabas were going out of the synagogue before the close of the service, they were requested by the rulers to discourse again next Sabbath; and when the congregation was dismissed, many of the Jews and proselytes, impressed by the preaching of Paul, followed Paul and Barnabas in order to receive further instruction. *Τῶν σεβομένων προσηλύτων*—*of the devout proselytes; i.e.* those among the Gentiles who had become proselytes to Judaism. The epithet *devout* does not here refer to their pious disposition, but merely implies that, whereas they were formerly idolaters, they were now the worshippers of God (see ver. 50). The term *proselytes*, as used in the Acts, refers to those who had fully embraced Judaism by being circumcised, not to the so-called "proselytes of the gate." *Ὅτινες προσλαλοῦντες ἐπειθον αὐτούς*—*who speaking, exhorted them.* Calvin strangely refers *ὅτινες* to the Jews and proselytes, and *αὐτούς* to Paul and Barnabas: "They exhorted Paul and Barnabas that they should not faint, but stand stoutly in the grace of God." But *ὅτινες* evidently refers to Paul and Barnabas, the nearest antecedent: "who (Paul and Barnabas) speaking, exhorted them (the Jews and proselytes)."

¹ Lightfoot's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. iv. p. 124.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 283, 284; Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 109, note.

Ver. 44. Τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σαββάτῳ—*but on the next Sabbath.* During the week Paul and Barnabas would be engaged in teaching the people; and in consequence of this, the report of the new doctrine would be spread throughout the whole city, and all would be anxious to hear it. Σχεδὸν πᾶσα ἡ πόλις—*almost the whole city.* Not only the Jews, the proselytes, and the devout Gentiles, but the heathen inhabitants of Pisidian Antioch, flocked into the synagogue. Συνήχθη—*assembled*: namely, in the synagogue.

Ver. 45. Ἐπλήσθησαν ζήλου—*were filled with zeal.* When the Jews saw such numbers of Gentiles coming to their place of worship, they were filled with indignation and envy. Their spiritual pride and national bigotry were aroused. They envied the growing popularity of the new preachers. Hitherto they had treated Paul and Barnabas with respect; but now their zeal for Judaism is excited: they cannot bear to think that the Gentiles should be admitted to equal privileges with themselves. Ἀντέλεγον . . . ἀντιλέγοντες—*contradicted those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting.* The repetition of the word here is for the sake of emphasis.¹ Ἀντιλέγοντες is also strengthened by βλασφημοῦντες—*contradicting and blaspheming.* They not only called in question what was spoken by Paul and Barnabas, but they blasphemed—used abusive language; perhaps even blasphemed that Holy One whom Paul and Barnabas proclaimed to be the Messiah.

Ver. 46. Παρρησιασάμενοι—*spoke boldly*: not merely, as in our version, “waxed bold;” but spoke out boldly, freely. Ὑμῖν ἦν ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον λαληθῆναι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ—*It was necessary that the word of God should first have been spoken to you.* This necessity was founded on the order laid down by Christ: the gospel was first to be preached to the Jews, the theocratic nation, and then to the Gentiles. See Acts i. 8, iii. 26; Rom. i. 16. The order was merely one of priority: the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles did not depend on its rejection by the Jews. Οὐκ ἀξίους κρίνετε ἑαυτοὺς τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς—*and judge yourselves unworthy*

¹ Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 372.

of eternal life. Nothing was further from the thoughts of the Jews than declaring themselves unworthy of eternal life because they had rejected the gospel. But they did so in point of fact: by contradicting and blaspheming the gospel, they furnished matter for their own condemnation. *Στρέφόμεθα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη*—*we turn to the Gentiles*. Paul and Barnabas do not assert their determination never again to preach the gospel to the Jews, and henceforth to confine themselves to the Gentiles; but they address themselves solely to the Jews of Pisidian Antioch, and assert that so long as they, the apostles, continued in that city, they would not waste their time in preaching to them: they would turn to the Gentiles, who would give them a better reception. *Non de omnibus Judæis Paulus hæc intelligi voluit, tradidit enim postea quoque Judæis doctrinam Christianam, sed spectabat his verbis Judæos Antiochenos doctrinam Christi rejicientes* (Kuinoel).

Ver. 47. *Οὕτως γὰρ ἐντέταλται ἡμῖν ὁ Κύριος*—*for thus has the Lord commanded us*. Paul and Barnabas fortify their resolution to preach the gospel to the Gentiles by an appeal to the prophets: it was not from irritation of spirit, nor from mere wilfulness, that they now turned to the Gentiles, but it was in accordance with the counsel of God. *Τέθεικά σε εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν*—*I have set Thee as a light to the Gentiles, that Thou mightest be for salvation unto the end of the earth*. The quotation is from Isa. xlix. 6. It differs but slightly from the Septuagint. Instead of *τέθεικά σε*, the Septuagint has *ἰδοὺ δέδωκά σε εἰς διαθήκην γένους*. The words are addressed to the Servant of Jehovah, and are a promise that His salvation would extend to the Gentiles. Hence, then, Paul rightly argues from these words that his preaching Christ to the Gentiles was not a mere arbitrary work on his part, opposed to the divine plans, but was an event already determined by God, and predicted by the prophets: the salvation which the Messiah came to effect was not to be restricted to the Jews, but was to embrace the Gentiles. *Σε* refers not to Paul nor to the Christ in the apostles (Ewald), but to the Messiah.

Ver. 48. *Καὶ ἐπίστευσαν ὅσοι ἦσαν τεταγμένοι εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*—*And as many as were appointed to eternal life believed.* This verse has given rise to much discussion, both in a critical and in a dogmatical point of view. The interpretations which have been given to it are numerous, and so different that it has been adduced in proof of opposite doctrines. The literal meaning of the verb *τάσσειν* is to put in order, to arrange. It is generally used in a military sense, to signify to arrange in order of battle; hence, in a secondary sense, to appoint, to constitute. It has been variously translated in our English version. It is rendered *ordained* only in the text and in Rom. xiii. 1; elsewhere it is rendered *appointed* (Matt. xxviii. 16; Acts xxii. 10, xxviii. 23), *determined* (Acts xv. 2), *addicted* (1 Cor. xvi. 15), *set* (Luke vii. 8). Its meaning here is to be determined by the context.

The principal interpretations are the following: 1. Some unite *εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον* to *ἐπίστευσαν*, and render the phrase either “As many as were met together believed to eternal life” (Knatchbull), or “As many as were destined, believed to eternal life” (Heinrichs); but the order in which the words are placed will not admit of these translations. 2. Others (Rosenmüller, Kuinöel) suppose that the meaning is, that eternal life was made certain to them, provided they had faith—*quibus, dum fidem doctrinæ divinæ habebant, certa erat felicitas futura*; but this is not to explain *τεταγμένοι*, but to explain it away. 3. Others (Calovius, etc.) suppose that *τάσσειν* here denotes the order of God, the plan of salvation: *qui juxta ordinem a Deo institutum dispositi erant*—“who were disposed, according to the order instituted by God;” a rendering which wants simplicity. 4. Others take the word in a military sense. Thus Mede and others render the phrase, *qui de agmine et classe erant sperantium vel contententium ad vitam æternam*—“who were of the company of those who hoped, or earnestly endeavoured, to obtain eternal life.” Similarly Bishop Wordsworth: “Those who were set in order to eternal life, believed, made profession of their faith, in the gospel.”¹ But, as Meyer observes, the context

¹ Wordsworth on the Acts, p. 107.

affords no ground for adopting the *sensus militaris*. 5. Others (Grotius, Krebs) suppose *τεταγμένοι* to be used not in a passive, but in a middle sense, and hence render the phrase, "Such as had ordained themselves to eternal life," *i.e.* as had resolved upon it. This meaning is supported by Acts xx. 13, *οὕτω γὰρ ἦν διατεταγμένος*—"for so had he himself appointed or resolved."¹ It is, however, inadmissible to understand *ἦσαν τεταγμένοι* in a middle sense. 6. Bretschneider renders it: "Such as were disposed, inclined—that is, made fit by the preaching of Paul—to obtain eternal life." And so similarly Whitby, Alford, Stier, etc.: "As many as were disposed to eternal life believed."² 7. Perhaps the most natural meaning, keeping in view the primary sense of the word and the context, is *appointed, determined*: "As many as were appointed to eternal life believed." So similarly Doddridge, Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Hackett.³ Calvin refers it to the *decretum absolutum*: "We need not doubt that Luke calls those *τεταγμένους* who were chosen by the free adoption of God. For it is a ridiculous cavil to refer this unto the affection of those who believed, as if those received the gospel whose minds were well-disposed. For this ordaining must be understood of the eternal counsel of God alone."⁴ But this is pressing the word too far, more especially as its exact meaning is somewhat doubtful. Luke merely mentions a historical fact—that those believed who were appointed to eternal life; a statement similar to Acts ii. 47: "The Lord added to the church daily *τοὺς σωζομένους*." (See note.) Bengel supposes that the reference is to the present operation of grace by the gospel. The ordaining took place at the time of the hearing. The historian speaks not of God's eternal purpose, but of His present efficacious grace.⁵

¹ See Humphry on the Acts, p. 116.

² Stier's *Words of the Apostles*, pp. 209-212.

³ The Vulgate translates it *præordinati*, and hence our English version *ordained*.

⁴ Calvin, *in loco*.

⁵ For a list of the different interpretations given to this obscure passage, see Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 284, 285; and Kuinöel, *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*, vol. iii. pp. 217, 218.

Ver. 49. Διεφέρετο δὲ ὁ λόγος τοῦ Κυρίου—*But the word of the Lord was published throughout the whole region.* It is not stated how long Paul and Barnabas remained in Pisidian Antioch; but probably it was for some time, during which they would preach the gospel in the neighbourhood. Christianity would also be diffused throughout the region by the zeal of their converts.

Ver. 50. Οἱ δὲ Ἰουδαῖοι παρώτρυναν τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας τὰς εὐσχήμονας—*But the Jews stirred up the devout and honourable women.* These women were Jewish proselytes, and for this reason are called *devout* (σεβομένας): they had renounced idolatry, and were the worshippers of the true God. The epithet *honourable* (εὐσχήμονας) applies to their rank: they were among the chief people in Pisidian Antioch. At this time many women among the Gentiles embraced Judaism. Thus Josephus tells us that almost all the married women in Damascus were attached to the Jewish religion (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 20. 2). These women, having resisted the preaching of Paul and Barnabas, would, as proselytes, be more zealous than others for their adopted religion, and were therefore fit instruments for the enraged Jews to work upon. Καὶ τοὺς πρώτους τῆς πόλεως—*and the chief men of the city.* These were probably the husbands and relatives of those devout and honourable women, and would be instigated by them. Καὶ ἐπήγειραν διωγμὸν—*and raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas.* As Pisidian Antioch was a Roman colony, it is improbable that any legal proceedings were taken against Paul and Barnabas which ended in their banishment. There seems merely to have been a tumult excited: the place was made too hot for them; and for the sake of peace they felt constrained to retire. We find them revisiting Antioch (Acts xiv. 21), which they could not have done had there been a legal expulsion.

Ver. 51. Οἱ δὲ ἐκτιναζάμενοι τὸν κοινορτὸν τῶν ποδῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς—*But they, shaking off the dust of their feet against them.* This proceeding was in conformity with the directions of Christ: "Whosoever will not receive you, when you go out of that city, shake off the very dust from your

feet for a testimony against them" (Luke ix. 5). This was not a sign of contempt (Meyer), but of rejection and condemnation: that they renounced all fellowship with them, and that even the dust of their city was a witness against them.

ἤλθον εἰς Ἰκόνιον—*They came to Iconium.* Iconium, about fifty miles to the east of Pisidian Antioch, on the high road between Ephesus and Syrian Antioch, was situated on a large fertile plateau at the foot of Mount Taurus. On account of the many variations in the division of the Asiatic provinces, it has been assigned by different writers to different countries. According to Xenophon (*Anab.* i. 2. 19), it belonged to Phrygia; according to Strabo (xii. 6. 1), Cicero (*ad Fam.* v. 4), and the elder Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* v. 25), to Lycaonia; and according to Ammianus Marcellinus (xiv. 2), to Pisidia. Strabo describes it as a small town, well built, and situated on a fertile plain. In the time of the apostles it was the capital of a small tetrarchy, governed by a tetrarch subject to the Romans: "There is," observes the elder Pliny, "given a tetrarchy out of Lycaonia, where it borders on Galatia, composed of fourteen states, the capital of which is Iconium" (*Nat. Hist.* v. 25). At a later period of the empire it became a Roman colony.¹ In after ages it was celebrated as the capital of the Seljukian Sultans. At present it is a considerable town, retaining its ancient name Konieh, and containing a population of upwards of 30,000: it is the capital of the Turkish province of Caramania. The city is about four miles in circumference, but much waste land is included within these limits. According to Hamilton, it is a scene of destruction and decay, with heaps of ruins and dilapidated mosques.²

Ver. 52. Οἱ τε μαθηταὶ ἐπληροῦντο χαρᾶς καὶ Πνεύματος ἁγίου—*But the disciples were filled with joy and the Holy Ghost, i.e. with joy proceeding from the Holy Ghost.* Δέ—

¹ Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. iii. p. 33. No colonial coins have been found of Iconium earlier than the reign of Gordian.

² Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 197-210; Ainsworth's *Travels in Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 65-67.

but. Notwithstanding the departure of their teachers, the disciples, far from being discouraged or depressed, were filled with the joy of the Holy Ghost,—a joy arising from a consciousness of the privileges and happiness which they possessed as Christians.

SECTION IV.

PAUL AT ICONIUM AND LYSTRA.—Acts xiv. 1-20.

1 And it came to pass in Iconium, that they went both together into the synagogue of the Jews, and so spoke, that a great multitude both of Jews and Greeks believed. 2 But the Jews who believed not stirred up and incensed the minds of the Gentiles against the brethren. 3 Long time therefore abode they speaking boldly in reliance on the Lord, who gave testimony to the word of His grace, by granting signs and wonders to be done by their hands. 4 But the multitude of the city was divided; and some were with the Jews, and others with the apostles. 5 And when there was a movement both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, with their rulers, to abuse and stone them, 6 They became aware of it, and fled to Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia, and to the neighbourhood: 7 And they were there evangelizing.

8 And a certain man at Lystra, impotent in his feet, lame from his mother's womb, who never had walked, sat there: 9 This man heard Paul speak; who, gazing on him, and perceiving that he had faith to be healed, 10 Said with a loud voice, Stand upright on thy feet. And he leaped and walked. 11 And the multitude seeing what Paul had done, lifted up their voices, saying in the Lycaonic dialect, The gods in the likeness of men are come down to us. 12 And they called Barnabas, Jupiter; and Paul, Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. 13 Then the priest of Jupiter, whose (temple) was before the city, having brought oxen and garlands to the gates, would have done sacrifice with the multitude. 14 But when the apostles, Barnabas and Paul, heard that, they rent their clothes and rushed forth unto the multitude, crying out, and saying, 15 Men, why do ye these things? We also are men of like nature with yourselves, and preach to you that ye should turn from these vanities to the living God, who made heaven, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are in them: 16 Who in past generations suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; 17 Although He left not Himself without witness, doing good, and giving you rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness. 18 And with these words with difficulty they restrained the multitude from offering sacrifice to them.

19 And Jews from Antioch and Iconium came thither, who persuaded

the multitude, and, having stoned Paul, dragged him out of the city, supposing that he was dead. 20 But as the disciples stood around him, he arose and came into the city; and on the morrow he departed with Barnabas to Derbe.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 2. Ἀπειθήσαντες, found in A, B, C, κ, is preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann to ἀπειθοῦντες, found in G, H. Ver. 3. Καί before δίδόντι, found in C, G, is omitted in A, B, D, E, κ, and rejected by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 8. Ὑπάρχων, found in G, H, but wanting in A, B, C, D, E, κ, is an evident insertion. Ver. 9. The aorist ἤκουσε, A, D, E, G, H, κ, is by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Bornemann preferred to the imperfect ἤκουε, B, C, which however is adopted by Meyer, De Wette, and Alford. Ver. 13. Αὐτῶν after πόλεως, found in E, G, H, and omitted in A, B, C, D, κ, is rejected by recent critics. Ver. 17. Ἀγαθουργῶν (A, B, C, κ) is preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann to ἀγαθοποιῶν (D, E, G, H). Ἡμῖν, ἡμῶν, *textus receptus*, are by Tischendorf and Lachmann replaced by ὑμῖν, ὑμῶν, found in B, C, D, E, κ.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν Ἰκονίῳ—*And it came to pass in Iconium.* For Iconium, see note to Acts xiii. 51. Κατὰ τὸ αὐτό—together: *simul* (Vulgate). This phrase occurs only here in the New Testament. Elsewhere it is ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό (Acts ii. 1, iii. 1). Ἑλλήνων—*of the Greeks.* Meyer restricts this term here to the Gentiles, who were proselytes of the gate, as distinguished both from those who were proselytes by circumcision, and from those who were heathens.¹ There does not, however, seem to be any reason for this restriction. There is no apparent contrast between Ἑλλήνων and ἔθνῶν (ver. 2). Nor is the argument, founded on these Greeks being present in the Jewish synagogue, conclusive; for the fame of Paul's preaching would attract numbers of the in-

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 288.

habitants of Iconium to the synagogue, as was the case in Pisidian Antioch.

Ver. 2. *Οἱ δὲ ἀπειθήσαντες Ἰουδαῖοι*, etc.—*But the Jews who believed not, stirred up and exasperated the minds of the Gentiles.* At this time the persecutions against the Christians were caused by the unbelieving Jews. Their jealousy and bigotry were excited against the gospel. They were especially grieved that their peculiar privileges, as the special people of God, should be attacked, and that the Gentiles should be admitted to equal privileges; and hence they looked upon Christianity as antagonistic to Judaism, and were greatly provoked at its success. Justin Martyr tells us that the Jews went about the world propagating falsehoods concerning the Christians, and stirring up the Gentiles against them. Of the numerous persecutions recorded in the Acts, there were only two which were not occasioned by the Jews.

Ver. 3. *Οὖν—therefore*: in consequence of the success which Paul and Barnabas had in the conversion of both Jews and Greeks (ver. 1). *Ἰκανὸν χρόνον—a long time.* The whole missionary journey may have occupied from three to four years; so that “a long time” may have included many months (see note to ver. 26). *Ἐπὶ τῷ Κυρίῳ—upon the Lord; i.e. in reliance on the Lord.* Some (Kuinoel, Meyer) refer *Κυρίῳ* to God, others (Henrichs, Olshausen) to Jesus. The latter is the more probable, as being the usual meaning of the word in the Acts. *Διδόντι—by granting—without καί* (see Critical Note): the manner in which the testimony was given. *Σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα γίνεσθαι—signs and wonders to be done.* Miracles were a proof of a divine commission to the Gentiles; whereas, in reasoning with the Jews, the appeal was to the prophecies of the Old Testament, as when Peter preached on the day of Pentecost, and when Paul preached to them in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch.

Ver. 5. *Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ὄρμη—But when there was a movement.* *Ὀρμή* literally signifies a rushing on, an onset, an assault; and is so rendered by Luther, Calvin, and our English version. This, however, cannot be its meaning here, as

any open violence was prevented by the timely flight of the apostles. On the other hand, the meaning *plot* (Kuinoel, De Wette) is contrary to the usage of the word. In a secondary sense, when applied to the mind, it signifies impulse, movement, purpose, strong inclination (Jas. iii. 4); and this seems to be its meaning in this passage. So Meyer, Lechler, Alford: "There was a strong feeling among them." Ἐθνῶν τε καὶ Ἰουδαίων—both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, i.e. the Jewish faction in the city (ver. 4). Σὺν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν—with their rulers. Some restrict this to the rulers of the Gentiles, others to the rulers of the Jews; and others suppose that the rulers of both parties are intended. It is probable that the Jewish rulers—that is, the elders of the synagogue—are here meant, as it is unlikely that the rulers of the city would lend themselves to a tumultuary movement. It is, however, to be observed that Iconium was not at this time under the Roman rule, but was under the government of a tetrarch, who would have the civil power in his own hands. Λιθοβολῆσαι αὐτούς—to stone them. What the Jews of Iconium intended, the Jews of Lystra effected. "Once," says Paul, "was I stoned" (2 Cor. xi. 25), namely at Lystra. "Had, then," as Paley observes, "this assault at Iconium been completed; had the history related that a stone was thrown, as it relates that preparations were made both by Jews and Gentiles to stone Paul and his companions; or even had the account of this transaction stopped, without going on to inform us that Paul and his companions 'were aware of their danger, and fled,' a contradiction between the history and the epistle would have ensued. Truth is necessarily consistent; but it is scarcely possible that independent accounts, not having truth to guide them, should thus advance to the very brink of contradiction without falling into it."¹

Ver. 6. Συνιδόντες—having become aware of it. Therefore the assault was not made, but only threatened. Εἰς τὰς πόλεις τῆς Λυκαονίας—to the cities of Lycaonia. Lycaonia is used rather in an ethnological than in a political sense: it never seems to have been a distinct country. It was bounded

¹ Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, on 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

on the north by Galatia, on the east by Cappadocia, on the south by Cilicia, and on the west by Pisidia and Phrygia. This district was a plateau between two ranges of mountains to the north of Mount Taurus, watered by few streams, but still, on account of its high situation, affording excellent pasturage for sheep. At this time Lycaonia was subject to the Romans, and formed part of the imperial province of Galatia, governed by a proprætor (Pliny, v. 42; Strabo, xii. 6. 1-5).

Λύστραν—*Lystra*. Lystra was situated about thirty miles to the south of Iconium, near to a singular mountain, now called Kara-dagh, or the Black Mountain. According to Pliny it belonged to Galatia (v. 42), and according to Ptolemy to Isauria (v. 4. 12); but neither of these statements contradict the statement of Luke, that it was a city of Lycaonia, as Lycaonia was then a part of the Roman province of Galatia, and as Strabo expressly says that Isauria belongs to Lycaonia (Strabo, xii. 6. 2). The Isaurian range appears to have stretched to Lystra. Under the Roman emperors it never appears to have been a town of any importance; but under the Byzantine emperors it became the seat of a bishopric, and the names of its bishops appear on the records of several councils. It is now in ruins, and its former situation has not yet been ascertained. Formerly the village Lutik was supposed to be the ancient Lystra; but it is now generally agreed that the more probable conjecture is that advanced by Hamilton,¹ who identifies it with ruins called Bin-bir-Killisseh, at the foot of Kara-dagh. These ruins consist of about twenty Byzantine churches,—thus proving that the place was once of ecclesiastical importance, which agrees with the description of Lystra as an episcopal see of some note.

Δέρβην—*Derbe*. Derbe could not have been far from Lystra. According to Winer, it lay south of Iconium, and south-east of Lystra. It is mentioned by Cicero in his *Letters* (*Epist.* xiii. Ep. 73). Its situation is doubtful; but

¹ Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 316-319; and inscription, No. 423.

it must have been somewhere in the south-eastern extremity of the great Lycaonian plain (Strabo, xii. 6. 3). It is also doubtful to whom it belonged in apostolic times: according to some, it was comprised in the Roman province of Galatia; whereas, according to others, it formed part of the dominion of Antiochus king of Commagene, a small dependent monarchy. Its site is uncertain. Some suppose it to be Bin-bir-Killisseh; but it is now generally agreed that this is probably the ruins of Lystra. Hamilton fixes upon the modern Divlé, near the lake of Ak Ghiel, as the ancient Derbe.¹

Καὶ τὴν περίχωρον—*and the neighbourhood.* *Περίχωρος* denotes the places in the vicinity of Lystra and Derbe; hence the adjacent parts of Lycaonia. Some extend the term to Galatia, and suppose that it was then that Paul first preached the gospel to the Galatians; and in the wide sense of the term Galatia, as meaning the Roman province, Paul certainly at this time did preach the gospel in that country. But in Scripture the name Galatia appears to be used in a narrow sense, denoting the original country of that name, without its appendages; and in this sense it does not appear that Paul visited Galatia on his first missionary journey.

Ver. 7. *Κακεῖ ἦσαν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι*—*And there they were evangelizing.* It does not appear that there were any synagogues at Lystra, to which Paul and Barnabas could repair to preach the gospel. They would therefore preach in the market-place, and in other places of public resort, as is the practice of modern missionaries in the East.

Vers. 8-10. In these verses we have an account of an illustrious miracle performed by Paul at Lystra. *Ἐκάθητο*—*sat*: not dwelt (Kuincel), but sat, as being unable to walk, in the market-place, or some other place of public resort. *Χωλὸς ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ*—*lame from his mother's womb.* His lameness was not caused by some accident which might be remedied, but arose from some natural defect. *Ἀτενίσας αὐτῷ*—*gazing on him*: fixing his eyes steadily upon him, to see whether he had faith to be healed. Paul was attracted to him by the eagerness with

¹ Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 313.

which he saw him listening to his discourses. Ἰδὼν ὅτι ἔχει πίστιν τοῦ σωθῆναι—and perceiving that he had faith to be healed: that is, confidence in the saving and healing power of the gospel; or perhaps rather faith in Jesus as the Messiah and Saviour. In general, faith was required of those upon whom miracles were wrought; and such faith was possessed by the lame man. Ἀνάστηθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου ἄρθός—Stand upright on thy feet. There is here no mention of Christ, in whose name and by whose power the miracle was performed; but this is presupposed, as the faith of the lame man was faith in Christ.

Baur and Zeller consider this miracle to be devoid of historical authority, and to be a mere repetition of the miracle performed by Peter, when he cured the lame man in the temple. "The connection between both narratives," observes Zeller, "is certainly surprising: not only is the principal incident the same in both cases; but the subordinate matters, and even the very expressions, are for the most part the same. This agreement would excite suspicion, even if it referred to an event in itself credible; but as, instead of this, we have an account of an incredible incident, a miracle, so it proves that this narrative has no historical foundation, and is merely a repetition of the early narrative of the miracle performed by Peter."¹ But these two miracles, when closely examined, are not found to be so similar as they at first sight appear. There are at least three important variations. This lame man had faith to be healed; whereas the lame man whom Peter healed expected nothing but to receive an alms. It is not here said that Paul invoked the name of Jesus; whereas this omission is supplied in the narrative of the Petrine miracle. Here the lame man of his own accord leaped up and walked; whereas there we are informed that Peter took the lame man by the hand and lifted him

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 214. So also Dr. Davidson observes: "The cure of the lame man at Lystra is so similar to the cure performed by Peter, that it seems modelled after it. The very language employed by the writer in both cases is alike."—*New Introduction to the New Testament*, ii. 251.

up.¹ Indeed, except the simple fact that Peter and Paul both cured a man lame from his birth, there is not much resemblance between the two narratives; at least certainly not such a resemblance as to justify the suspicion that they are both derived from the same incident.

Ver. 11. *Λυκαονιστὶ λέγοντες*—*saying in the Lycaonic dialect*. Hitherto Paul and Barnabas had conversed with them in Greek; but now the multitude cry out in Lycaonic—the dialect of the district—which perhaps bore as little resemblance to Greek as Gaelic or Welsh does to English. The dialect is mentioned probably to intimate that Paul and Barnabas did not understand what was said, and to assign the reason why they did not interfere until the oxen and garlands were brought for the sacrifice. Zeller thinks this mention of the Lycaonic dialect invented; but, on the contrary, it is entirely natural: the more the people were taken by surprise, so much the more natural was it to express their surprise in the popular dialect of the district, than in an acquired language. Different opinions have been formed concerning the nature of the Lycaonic dialect. Grotius and Stier think that it was the same as the language spoken in the neighbouring country of Cappadocia—a mixture of Greek and Syriac. Jablonsky, in his learned dissertation *de lingua Lycaonica*, infers that it was a mixture of Greek and Chaldaic. Gühling thinks that it was merely a corrupt Greek. Nothing certain can be determined, as no remains of such a dialect have come down to us; although its existence is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus, who lived in the fifth century.²

Οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοιωθέντες ἀνθρώποις κατέβησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς—*The gods in the likeness of men are come down to us*. Here Baur and Zeller object that such an exclamation is an anachronism; that it transfers the opinions which prevailed in the Homeric times to the days of the apostles; that there was then a be-

¹ Lange's *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte*. Von Lechler, pp. 239, 240.

² Might it not be the Galatian dialect, a language allied to the Celtic? Lycaonia adjoined to the Galatian territory, and indeed formed part of the Roman province of Galatia.

lief in demoniacal possessions, but not in the manifestations of the gods in the likeness of men; and hence they conclude that this exclamation of the Lycaonians must be unhistorical.¹ But such a statement is not borne out by fact. Apollonius Tyanæus, who lived in the apostolic times, was regarded as a god in human form.² Although such notions might have been rejected by the learned, and the heathen mythology disbelieved by them, yet there is nothing to lead us to suppose that they were in general discredited by the multitude; and there was no place where we would have expected them to be more deeply rooted than among a rude and uncivilised people, as the Lycaonians seem to have been.

Ver. 12. Ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Βαρνάβαν Δία, τὸν δὲ Παῦλον Ἑρμῆν—*And they called Barnabas Jupiter, and Paul Mercury.* Luke gives us the reason why Paul was called Mercury: ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ ἡγούμενος τοῦ λόγου—literally, *because he was the leader of the discourse.* So Jamblichus (A.D. 310) speaks of Mercury in terms precisely similar: Θεὸς ὁ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμών. This god was represented as the messenger of Jupiter—the interpreter of the gods. Perhaps also Paul had a more youthful appearance than Barnabas; but he was not called Mercury on account of his mean appearance (Neander), as that god is always represented as a graceful young man. Barnabas may have been called Jupiter because he was the older of the two, and had a more venerable appearance. Ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως ἀξιοπρεπέως εἶναι ὁ Βαρνάβας (Chrysostom, *Hom.* xxx.).

The reason why the Lycaonians fixed upon Jupiter and Mercury, in preference to other gods, may have been because the city of Lystra was under the special protection of Jupiter. He had a temple before the city; and it was a heathen notion that the gods sometimes appeared in those cities of which they were the tutelar deities (Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxiii.). Mercury is added because he was regarded as the inseparable

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 215; Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 112.

² See Renan's *Saint Paul*, p. 44, where the contrary opinion to Zeller and Baur is maintained.

attendant of Jupiter. Besides, there was a tradition that Jupiter and Mercury once came down and visited the neighbouring country of Phrygia, where they were received and entertained by Philemon and Baucis (Ovid, *Met.* viii.). This fable may have suggested to the Lycaonians, that those strangers who now performed this wonderful miracle were Jupiter and Mercury, who again visited the district. Ewald supposes that the memory of this myth might be kept up at Lystra by an annual festival in honour of these two gods, and that therefore the people arrived the more readily at their conjecture concerning Paul and Barnabas.¹

Ver. 13. "Ὁ τε ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως—*Then the priest of Jupiter who was before the city. Τοῦ Διὸς* is directly connected with τοῦ ὄντος πρὸ τῆς πόλεως—*Jupiter who was before the city.* There is no ellipsis of ἱεροῦ (Kuinoel). The meaning is, that the temple of Jupiter was erected at the entrance into the city; and, according to the notions of the heathen, the god was considered as resident within his temple. The heathens built the temples to their patron gods in front of their cities; so that Jupiter was probably the tutelar deity of Lystra—Ζεὺς πρότυλος. Ταύρους καὶ στέμματα—*oxen and garlands.* This is not to be taken for ταύρους ἐστεμμένους, "oxen adorned with garlands" (Beza, Heinrichs), according to the figure of speech termed a hendiadys. The design of the garlands was not to crown Paul and Barnabas (Grotius), but the oxen; perhaps also the images of the deities, the altars, and the priests. Garlands were also worn by the sacrificers. They were made of various trees and flowers, such as were peculiar to their several gods.

Ἐπὶ τοὺς πυλῶνας—to the gates. It is doubtful whether the gates of the city are here meant, or the doors of the house in which Paul and Barnabas resided. Some (Neander, Meyer, Lechler, Hackett) refer the expression to the gates of the city. This reference is supposed to be required because the temple of Jupiter stood before the city, because πυλῶνας standing by itself is most naturally to be understood of the city gates, and because the plural would hardly have been

¹ Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 426.

used to denote the house in which Paul and Barnabas were staying. Others (De Wette, Biscoe, Alford, Wordsworth, Conybeare and Howson) refer the expression to the doors of the house where the apostles were; perhaps the outer door which led into the court. It is argued that if the priest had only brought the victims to sacrifice them at the city gates, it would have been no offering to Paul and Barnabas. The former opinion seems the more probable, as the preparations for sacrifice were first known to the apostles by report.

Ver. 14. Ἀκούσαντες—*having heard*. They were informed of it; so that it is unlikely that the preparations for the sacrifice took place at their own doors, before their eyes. Οἱ ἀπόστολοι Βαρνάβας καὶ Παῦλος—the apostles Barnabas and Paul. Both Barnabas and Paul are expressly called apostles; and, singularly enough, Barnabas here precedes Paul. They are also called apostles in ver. 4. There is no reason to suppose that the word is employed in a wide or lax sense. Barnabas then, it would seem, was an apostle. He was called to the apostolic office not by man, but directly by God, when the Holy Ghost said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them" (see note to Acts xiii. 2). Διαῤῥήξαντες τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν—*having rent their clothes*. It was the custom among the Jews to rend their clothes on occasions of grief. The apostles do so here, as an expression of their sorrow and abhorrence at the conduct of the multitude. They act a part directly the reverse of the conduct of Herod Agrippa I. when he received the impious homage of the assembly.

Ver. 15. Ὀμοιοπαθεῖς—*of like nature, i.e. obnoxious or liable to the same infirmities; whereas the gods were represented as immortal, of a superior nature. Compare Jas. v. 17: "Elias was a man of like nature (ὁμοιοπαθής) to us." Τούτων τῶν ματαίων—these vanities; referring to the idea that they were Jupiter and Mercury, who yet themselves were no gods, but vanities and nonentities. Θεὸν ζῶντα—the living God, in contrast to the vanities (μάταια) of the heathen.*

Ver. 16. Ἐν ταῖς παρῳχημέναις γενεαῖς—in past generations

suffered all nations to walk in their own ways. A mitigation of the guilt of heathenism, but not an excuse, because God had not left Himself without a witness. This suffering them to walk in their own ways was a judgment inflicted on them for their perversion of the truths of natural religion: God forsook them, because they first forsook God (Rom. i. 24).

Ver. 17. *Καίτοιγε οὐκ ἀμάρτυρον ἑαυτὸν ἀφήκεν*—*although He left not Himself without witness.* Although the Gentiles in past generations had no written revelation, yet they were not left in complete darkness: God left among them the witnesses of His existence and perfections in the works of creation, and in His benevolent dealings with them. And accordingly we find that several of the heathen philosophers became acquainted with God through the light of nature. Socrates and Plato, for example, though in a certain sense heathens, yet were in another sense the worshippers of the true God. And this knowledge of the true God was perhaps more extensive than is generally supposed. *Ἀγαθοῦργῶν, οὐρανόθεν ὑμῖν ὑετοῦς διδοῦς*—*doing good, and giving us rain from heaven, and fruitful seasons.* With these words the apostle would turn the attention of the Lystrians from the false gods they worshipped to the real Giver of every good. They were indebted for the blessings of life, which they ascribed to Jupiter and Mercury, to the living God. Jupiter was regarded as the giver of rain and fruitful seasons; and Mercury, as the god of merchandise, was looked upon as the dispenser of food.¹ There is a striking resemblance between this short discourse of Paul at Lystra, and his longer discourse at Athens (Acts xvii. 23–31), and the development of the same ideas in the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. i. 19–25). A Pauline character runs through the whole three, which, if it does not demonstrate that they proceeded from one mind, yet renders it highly probable. It is also to be observed that Paul in this discourse, as well as in that to the

¹ The mention of rain from heaven as a proof of the divine benevolence, as Lechler observes, was so much the more appropriate, as there was a scarcity of water in Lycaonia. Strabo mentions that in Soatra, a Lycaonian city, water was sold (Strabo, xii. 6. 1).

Athenians, dwells upon those truths which his hearers could appreciate: he builds upon the principles of natural religion,—thus affording to all succeeding missionaries an example for imitation in their reasoning with the heathen. *Egregiam hic habemus formam orationis, quam imitari debeant, qui apud populos in idololatria evangelium educatos prædicant* (Grotius).

Ver. 19. Ἐπήλθαν δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἰκονίου Ἰουδαῖοι—*But there came from Antioch and Iconium Jews.* The arrival of these Jews from the neighbouring city of Iconium and the more distant city of Pisidian Antioch was certainly not accidental. They had heard of the success of Paul and Barnabas at Lystra, and they had come on purpose to oppose them. *Καὶ πείσαντες τοὺς ὄχλους καὶ λιθάσαντες τὸν Παῦλον*—*and having persuaded the multitude and stoned Paul.* We have here an example of the proverbial fickleness of the multitude. In the same city where they were with difficulty restrained from worshipping Paul as a god, they stoned him until they thought that he was dead. Christ Himself experienced the same inconstancy: the multitude who had received Him with hosannas, a few days afterwards cried, Crucify him, crucify him. This popular fickleness was shown to Paul at Malta in an opposite manner. The barbarous people there at first regarded him as a murderer, whom vengeance suffered not to live; and shortly after they changed their minds, and said that he was a god. It is observable that we read of no injury being offered to Barnabas. It is probable that it was Paul's superior zeal, as being the chief speaker, that marked him out as the special object of persecution.

Ver. 20. Κυκλωσάντων δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτόν—*But the disciples standing around him.* “The disciples”—that is, those whom he had converted at Lystra—“stood around him,” not in order to bury him (Kuinoel, Bengel), but to express their sympathy, to see if he were yet alive, and if so to assist in restoring him. Ἀναστὰς—*having risen up.* The impression which the narrative leaves is certainly that Paul recovered from his stoning through a miracle; for it could have been nothing less than a miracle, that he who

was stoned until his enemies were satisfied that he was dead, should be able to rise up of his own accord, walk into the city, and the next day depart for Derbe. *Εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν*—*he came into the city*, in order to show himself alive to the disciples, and to confirm them in the faith. *Ἐξῆλθεν εἰς Δέρβην*—*he went to Derbe*, another city of Lycaonia, at no great distance.

SECTION V.

PAUL'S RETURN TO ANTIOCH.—ACTS XIV. 21–28.

21 And preaching the gospel in that city, and having made many disciples, they returned to Lystra, and Iconium, and Antioch, 22 Confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith, and that “through many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of God.” 23 And when they had chosen them elders in every church, they commended them by prayer and fasting to the Lord, on whom they had believed. 24 And having passed through Pisidia, they came to Pamphylia. 25 And having preached the word in Perga, they went down to Attaleia; 26 And thence sailed to Antioch, whence they had been commended to the grace of God for the work which they had fulfilled. 27 And when they had arrived and assembled the church, they related how much God had done with them, and how He had opened to the Gentiles a door of faith. 28 And they remained long time with the disciples.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 21. *Εὐαγγελιστάμενοι* is found in B, C, G, \aleph , whereas the present participle *εὐαγγελιζόμενοι* is found in A, D, E, H, and is preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 28. After *διέτριβον δὲ* the *textus receptus* has *ἐκεῖ*, found in E, G, H. It is, however, omitted in A, B, C, D, \aleph , and is rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Meyer.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 21. *Εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τε τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην* — *And preaching the gospel in that city, and having made many disciples.* Paul and Barnabas were successful in their ministry at Derbe: they made many disciples. They appear to have been allowed to preach unmolested: no mention is made of their being persecuted. Accordingly Paul omits Derbe, when

enumerating, years afterwards to Timothy, the places where he suffered persecution during his first missionary journey: "Thou hast fully known the persecutions, afflictions, which came unto me at Antioch, at Iconium, at Lystra" (2 Tim. iii. 11). There is here, as Paley remarks, an undesigned coincidence between the history and the epistle. "In the apostolic history," he observes, "Lystra and Derbe are commonly mentioned together. In the quotation from the epistle, Lystra is mentioned, and not Derbe. And the distinction will appear on this occasion to be accurate: for Paul is here enumerating his persecutions; and although he underwent grievous persecutions in each of the three cities through which he passed to Derbe, at Derbe itself he met with none. The epistle, therefore, in the names of the cities, in the order in which they are enumerated, and in the place at which the enumeration stops, corresponds exactly with the history."

Ἔπεστρεψαν εἰς τὴν Δύστρον—*They returned to Lystra, and Iconium, and Antioch.* In journeying from Pisidian Antioch to Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe, Paul and Barnabas were on their way to Syrian Antioch; and at Derbe they had arrived near the well-known pass called the Cilician Gates, which led down from the Lycaonian plateau, through the Isaurian range, to Tarsus, whence they could proceed by a short voyage to Antioch.¹ But instead of proceeding on their journey, they retrace their steps, and traverse the road they had formerly taken. The reason of this was evidently to revisit their converts, to confirm them in the faith, and to establish among them a regular ministry. From each of the cities where they had preached the gospel they had departed suddenly, before the churches had been properly settled in the faith, and before arrangements had been made for their government; and hence they felt constrained to revisit them. We do not read that the persecutions were renewed on their return.

Ver. 22. *Ἐπισηρίζοντες τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν μαθητῶν παρακαλοῦντες*—*confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them.* *Παρακαλοῦντες* denotes the manner in which the

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 240.

apostles confirmed the disciples; not by any outward rite, but by exhortation. *Καὶ ὅτι*—*and that*. “Ὅτι . . . Θεοῦ depends on *παρακαλοῦντες*, and denotes the nature of the exhortation which was given. Hence *λέγοντες*, or some similar verb, requires to be supplied: “Exhorting them to continue in the faith, and saying that,” etc. *Δεῖ ἡμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν*—*we must enter*. *Δεῖ* refers to the divine decree, the appointment of God; perhaps also to the necessity of the case, as the will of God is not arbitrary. Man can only be purified through suffering. *Ἡμᾶς*—*we*; that is, we Christians. Alford supposes that there is here an intimation of the presence of Luke, the historian of the Acts. “Is not this,” he observes, “a token of the presence of the narrator? My own conjecture would be, that he remained in Antioch (of Pisidia) during the journey to Iconium, etc., and back. The events between these two limits are much more summarily related than those before or after.”¹ But such a supposition rests on doubtful grounds. *Ἡμᾶς* here is not part of the mere narrative, but part of the words of the apostles. It is not Luke who writes these words as an observation of his own; it is Paul and Barnabas who speak them in an address to their converts. And if this is the case, as Alford admits, we cannot see how there is any indication of the presence of the author. *Εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*into the kingdom of God*; namely, the Messianic kingdom. As these converts had already entered the church of Christ, and so were members of Christ’s visible kingdom, “the kingdom of God” here must refer to the state of the redeemed in heaven.

Ver. 23. *Χειροτονήσαντες*—*having chosen*. The meaning of this word has been much disputed. The primary meaning of *χειροτονέω* (compounded of *χείρ* and *τείνω*) is to stretch out the hand; hence to vote, to elect by voting. The word, however, occurs where it means simply to choose, without any voting: as in Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 2. 2), *χειροτονοῦμεν δὲ σε σήμερον ἀρχιερέα*—“but we appoint thee to-day high priest.” It is only employed once again in the New Testament, where it is probably used in its primary sense, to choose

¹ Alford’s *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 146.

by voting (2 Cor. viii. 19). The word, then, admits of two meanings—"to choose by election," or simply "to choose:" according to the one meaning, the churches themselves chose their elders; according to the other, Paul and Barnabas selected them. The context must decide which meaning is the more suitable. Meyer adopts the first meaning, that the election was made by the churches—*suffragiis delectos* (Erasmus); and for this he appeals to the manner in which the deacons were chosen, and to the meaning of the word in 2 Cor. viii. 19. But whereas *χειροτονήσαντες* is not represented as the act of the churches, but of Paul and Barnabas, he supposes the meaning to be, that the apostles conducted or guided the election of the churches.¹ This, however, is an arbitrary supposition, for which there is no ground in the context. We prefer, then, to take the word in its secondary signification, meaning to choose, to select. The apostles themselves appointed the elders. This is more in accordance with the state of these churches, as newly formed communities. So Olshausen, De Wette, Stier, Wordsworth. There does not appear in primitive times to have been any uniform mode of electing the office-bearers of the church. The deacons were elected by the whole church; here it would appear that Paul and Barnabas chose elders; and Titus was empowered to ordain elders in every city (Tit. i. 5). Clemens Romanus gives the following rule as the one handed down by tradition from the apostles: "that persons should be appointed to ecclesiastical offices by approved men, the whole church consenting." (See Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 263.)

Πρεσβύτερος—elders. This is the second mention of elders in the Acts. Allusion was formerly made to the elders of the churches in Judea (Acts xi. 30).² The ministers of the church were called *πρεσβύτεροι*, with reference to the Jewish element in the church; and *ἐπίσκοποι*, with reference to the Greek element. "The bishops," says Spanheim, "were so called from the care of overseeing: and

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 295.

² For the nature of the eldership, see note to Acts xi. 30.

the same were also called *πρεσβύτεροι*, from their age and gravity; *ποιμένες*, from their office of feeding; *διδάσκαλοι*, from their office of teaching; and *ἡγούμενοι*, from their right of governing.¹ It would appear that there were several elders appointed to each church (*κατ' ἐκκλησίαν*): and this is in accordance with the fact that there were several elders attached to each synagogue. Hence we read of the elders of the church of Ephesus (Acts xx. 17), and of the bishops and deacons of the church of Philippi (Phil. i. 1). Schrader objects to this appointment of the elders, that it anticipates an arrangement which took place only at a later period. But it is evident that office-bearers were essential for these churches: they were far removed from Syrian Antioch, their mother church; and were cut off from the synagogues, owing to the hostility of the Jews: and hence it was essential for their preservation that they should have a government of their own.

Ver. 25. *Καὶ λαλήσαντες ἐν Πέργῃ τὸν λόγον*—*and having spoken the word in Perga*. Perga, a city of Pamphylia on the river Cestrus. (See note to Acts xiii. 13.) Paul and Barnabas had formerly visited it, when they came from Cyprus, but they appear then merely to have passed through: now, however, they preach the gospel in it, but with what success we are not informed. *Κατέβησαν εἰς Ἀττάλειαν*—*they came down to Attaleia*. Attaleia was a seaport of Pamphylia, at the mouth of the river Catarrhactes, not far from the boundary of Lycia, and about sixteen miles to the southwest of Perga. It was built by Attalus Philadelphus, king of Pergamos, as a port for the trade between Syria and Egypt (Strabo, xiv. 4. 1). It seems to have been a place of minor importance, as its name seldom occurs in ancient history. It is now known by the name of Adala or Adalia.

Ver. 26. *Κἀκεῖθεν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*—*and thence they sailed to Antioch*: that is, the famous Antioch, the capital of Syria. *Εἰς τὸ ἔργον ὃ ἐπλήρωσαν*—*for the work which they had fulfilled*. Thus closed the first great missionary journey of Paul. On this occasion he was accom-

¹ Quoted by Du Veil, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 311.

panied by Barnabas. They had preached the gospel in the island of Cyprus, and had visited the three Asiatic districts of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia. Besides individual conversions, they had founded at least four Christian churches in the cities of Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe. They had thus materially extended the gospel, although the space traversed was small compared with the countries visited by Paul in his second and third missionary journeys. The time spent in this journey is a matter of uncertainty. Wieseler supposes that it must have occupied some years. It was at the close of the year 44 that Paul returned from Jerusalem to Antioch; and it was about the year 51 (fourteen years after his conversion, Gal. ii. 1) that he again went up to Jerusalem (Acts xv. 2). Six years, then, were spent in Antioch, and in this missionary journey; but how the time is to be divided is uncertain. It would appear that the greater part of it was spent in the journey. They traversed the whole of Cyprus; they continued so long in Pisidian Antioch, that we are informed the word of the Lord was diffused throughout the whole region; at Iconium we are told that they remained a long time; at Lystra their stay must have been considerable, for time must be allowed for their success, for its fame to have reached the cities of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium, and for the hostile Jews to come from these cities. Nor could their stay at Derbe have been short, for there they made many disciples. Although, then, the space traversed was not extensive, yet, considering the length of their residences in each city, and the time which the history allows us, the period occupied might be about three or four years (A.D. 45-48).¹

Vers. 27, 28. *Συναγαγόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνήγγελλον—* And having assembled the church, they reported. Paul and Barnabas were sent forth by the church of Antioch, and now on their return they give in their report. *Μετ' αὐτῶν—*

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 224. Renan supposes the time occupied to have been four or five years (*Saint Paul*, p. 53). During this period Paul would support himself, as he afterwards did at Corinth and Ephesus, by the labour of his hands.

with them, i.e. in connection with them, assisting them: not *by them* (Beza, Heinrichs), nor *to them* (Calvin, Grotius, Kuinoel). "Ἐνοιξεν θύραν πίστεως—*had opened a door of faith*. This refers not merely to the external call and opportunity to believe the gospel afforded them by the preaching of Paul and Barnabas, but to the internal call and opening which the Holy Ghost made to them; the reference being to the numerous conversions among the Gentiles. Χρόνον οὐκ ὀλίγον—*long time*; literally, not a little time. How long is uncertain, depending on the time occupied by the missionary journey; but probably two or three years (A.D. 49, 50).

SECTION VI.

THE COUNCIL OF JERUSALEM.—ACTS xv. 1-21.

1. And certain men, having come down from Judea, taught the brethren, If ye be not circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved. 2 And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and dispute with them, they appointed Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them, to go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question. 3 And being sent forward by the church, they passed through Phœnicia and Samaria, declaring the conversion of the Gentiles: and they caused great joy unto all the brethren. 4 And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received by the church, and the apostles and elders; and they declared what things God had done with them.

5 But there arose certain of the sect of the Pharisees who believed, saying, That it was necessary to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the law of Moses. 6 And the apostles and elders were gathered together to consider this matter. 7 And when there had been much dispute, Peter arose, and said to them, Men and brethren, ye know that a long time ago God made choice among you, that the Gentiles by my mouth should hear the word of the gospel, and believe. 8 And God, who knoweth the hearts, bare them witness, giving them the Holy Ghost, even as unto us; 9 And put no difference between us and them, purifying their hearts by faith. 10 Now therefore why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? 11 But we believe that, through the grace of the Lord Jesus, we shall be saved in the same manner as they. 12 Then all the multitude were silent, and hearkened to Barnabas and Paul, declaring what signs and wonders God had done among the Gentiles by them. 13 And when they had ceased speaking, James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me: 14 Symeon has declared how at first God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a people for His name. 15 And to this agree the words of the prophets; as it is written, 16 After this I will return, and will rebuild the tabernacle of David, which is fallen; and I will rebuild its ruins, and will set it up: 17 That the remnant of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles, upon whom my name has been called, saith the Lord, who doeth these things, 18 Which were known from the beginning.

19 Wherefore I judge, that we trouble not those from among the Gentiles who are turned to God: 20 But that we enjoin them to abstain from pollutions of idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood. 21 For Moses from ancient generations has in every city them who preach him in the synagogues, being read every Sabbath.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 2. Ζητήσεως, found in A, B, C, D, G, H, κ, is preferred by all recent critics to συζητήσεως of the *textus receptus*, which is found in no uncial MS. Ver. 7. Ἐν ὑμῖν, found in A, B, C, κ, is preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann to ἐν ἡμῖν, found in E, G, H, which, however, is adopted by Meyer. Ver. 11. Χριστοῦ is omitted by Tischendorf and Lachmann, being wanting in A, B, E, G, H, κ, and found only in C, D. Ver. 17. After ταῦτα the *textus receptus* reads πάντα, along with E, G, H: it is, however, rejected by recent critics, being wanting in A, B, C, D, κ. Ver. 18. The reading of this verse has been disputed. Griesbach, Tischendorf, Meyer, De Wette, and Alford read only γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος, along with B, C, κ. The reading of the *textus receptus*, γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνός ἐστι τῷ Θεῷ πάντα τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ, is found in E, G, H. Lachmann, Lange, and Bornemann adopt the reading, γνωστὸν ἀπ' αἰῶνος τῷ Κυρίῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῦ, found in A, D, which, however, too much resembles a correction.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

We have here an account of the famous controversy which arose within the primitive church, and threatened its disruption into two branches—a Jewish Christian church, and a Gentile Christian church. Ever since the admission of the Gentiles, in the person of Cornelius, without circumcision, there was a strong Jewish party among believers who held fast to their peculiar privileges as God's people, and wished to enforce circumcision and the other rites of Judaism upon the Gentile Christians. The defence of Peter (Acts xi. 1–18) only quieted for a time the complaints of these Judaizers;

but on the report of the success of Paul and Barnabas among the Gentiles, and of the free gospel which they preached, these complaints broke out afresh. The church was now passing through a great crisis. The subject to be decided was, whether Christianity should be engrafted upon Judaism, or whether it should be freed from the restrictions of the Jewish law; whether, in fact, it should be confined to the narrowness of a Jewish sect, or be propagated as the religion of the world. Even the decision of the question by the apostles and elders at Jerusalem did not settle the dispute. The controversy reappeared in various forms, and greatly disturbed the peace of the primitive church, until at length in the second century these Judaizing Christians finally separated from the great body of believers, and propagated their opinions under the names of Ebionites and Nazarites.

Ver. 1. *Καί τινες κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*—*And certain men having come down from Judea.* These men came from Judea, the headquarters of those who held these Judaizing opinions, pretending perhaps to have been sent by the apostles at Jerusalem. They came to Antioch, because that was the headquarters of those who preached the gospel to the Gentiles, and the chief seat of Gentile Christianity. It is evident that they did not come accidentally, but with the design of inculcating their opinions. Paul calls them “false brethren, unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out the liberty which the Gentile Christians had in Christ Jesus, that they might bring them into bondage” (Gal. ii. 4).

Ἐδίδασκον τοὺς ἀδελφούς—*They taught the brethren, If ye be not circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.* The doctrine which they taught was, that circumcision was essential for the salvation of the Gentiles. Of course, obedience to the law of Moses followed: he who was circumcised became a proselyte to Judaism (Gal. v. 3). The opinions of the Jews themselves were divided on this point. Thus, in the case of the convert Izates king of Adiabene, we find that one Jewish teacher, Ananias, taught him that he might worship God without being circumcised, and that the

worship of God was superior to circumcision; whereas another teacher, Eleazer, told him, that by being uncircumcised he broke the chief of the Mosaic laws, and was offensive to God (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 2. 3, 4).¹ In general, the Jews held that circumcision was essential to salvation. It was a common saying among them, that all uncircumcised persons went to hell; and others asserted that no uncircumcised person would rise at the last day.

It is to be observed, that such extreme views were then more plausible than they now appear to us. The Jewish religion was of divine origin; circumcision was the badge of the covenant; and hence it was not easy for Jews to admit that its observance was to be abolished, or at least to be regarded as unessential. The apostles themselves could with difficulty be induced to embrace this opinion: all the attachment of a Jew to his national religion, and all his pride in his peculiar privileges as the favourite of Heaven, were opposed to it; and therefore we are not to wonder at the extreme conservatism of a large body of the Jewish converts. The question, however, was of vital importance: if circumcision were held to be essential to salvation, the whole gospel system would be overthrown. These Jewish teachers do not seem to have denied that salvation was only through Christ; but with the work of Christ they connected circumcision and the observance of the Mosaic law as essential conditions,—thus destroying the freeness of the gospel: in a word, substituting the law of works for free justification.

Ver. 2. *Γενομένης δὲ στάσεως καὶ ζητήσεως οὐκ ὀλίγης*—*there being no small dissension and dispute.* Perhaps these Judaizing teachers succeeded in persuading some of the Jewish Christians at Antioch to adopt their views. *Ἀναβαίνειν Παῦλον καὶ Βαρνάβαν*—*that Paul and Barnabas should go up.* We here take for granted that this journey of Paul

¹ Eleazer is represented as saying to Izates, “How long wilt thou continue uncircumcised? Hast thou not read what the law says about circumcision? Dost thou not know of what great impiety thou art guilty by neglecting it?”

to Jerusalem is the same as that to which he refers in his Epistle to the Galatians (Gal. ii. 1–10), reserving the full discussion of this subject until the end of the section. In Gal. ii. 2, Paul says that he went up by revelation: here we are informed that he was appointed by the church of Antioch. Between these statements there is no discrepancy: the brethren may have been divinely directed to send Paul and Barnabas; or Paul himself may have, through the Spirit, made the proposal. Luke, in recording the history of the church, mentions only the appointment, not Paul's feelings on the matter. So, in a similar manner, on Paul's departure from Jerusalem on his first visit, the same two motives are mentioned—the human and the divine: we are informed by Luke, that the brethren, learning of a conspiracy against his life, persuaded him to retire; whereas he himself tells us, that he was induced to depart in consequence of a revelation (Acts ix. 30, xxii. 17, 18). The one motive, then, does not exclude the other. *Τίνας ἄλλους*—*certain others*. Certain others of the brethren of the church of Antioch, among whom, as we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians, was Titus (Gal. ii. 1). *Εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*—*to Jerusalem*. Jerusalem was the mother church of Christianity: it was the stated residence of the apostles, and therefore was regarded with veneration by the other churches. The dispute, which could not be settled at Antioch, was rightly transferred to Jerusalem. The time when this journey occurred is thus stated by Paul: "Fourteen years after I went up to Jerusalem with Barnabas" (Gal. ii. 1). This, according to some, signifies fourteen years after the three years previously mentioned (Gal. i. 18), that is, seventeen years after the apostle's conversion. But others, with greater probability, think that the apostle dates both periods from his conversion, as the great epoch of his life. According to the most approved chronology of the apostle's life, this visit occurred A.D. 51.¹

Ver. 3. *Προπεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*—*Being sent forward by the church*; that is, the church escorted them

¹ See Lardner's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 271.

part of the way, thus conferring honour upon them. This is a proof that the church of Antioch in general agreed with Paul and Barnabas in their disputes with the Judaizing teachers: they gave them this testimony of their approbation. *Φοινίκην καὶ Σαμάρειαν*—*Phœnicia and Samaria*, the two countries or districts which intervened between Antioch and Jerusalem. *Ἐποίουν χαρὰν μεγάλην πᾶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*—*caused great joy to all the brethren*, namely, by their visit, and their information concerning the conversion of the Gentiles; thus proving that the disciples of Phœnicia and Samaria sympathized with Paul and Barnabas, and not with the Judaizers.

Ver. 4. *Παρεδέχθησαν*—*they were received*. Not merely they were received as deputies of the church of Antioch; but the words imply the favourable reception which Paul and Barnabas, as the great missionaries of Christianity, received from the apostles and elders at Jerusalem.

Ver. 5. *Ἐξανέστησαν δέ*—*but there arose*. Some (Beza, Heinrichs) suppose that these are the words of the deputation, and that there is here a change from the oblique to the direct form of expression, *ἔλεγον* being understood. The reason of this supposition is, because there is otherwise no mention that the deputation stated the design of their mission. But it is to be taken for granted that, in declaring what things God had done with them, they mentioned the reason why they came to Jerusalem. *Τίτες τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν Φαρισαίων*—*certain of the sect of the Pharisees*. For the peculiar views of the Pharisees, see note to Acts xxiii. 6. The Pharisees were the strictest adherents to the law of Moses: they were the representatives of an extreme Judaism. Paul himself had belonged to this sect, but he had cast off their narrow-mindedness. Although these Pharisees were, like him, believers in Jesus as the Christ, yet they had not become liberal as he: they still retained their extreme Jewish notions; they held fast the indispensable obligation of the Mosaic law, and wished to make the Gentiles, through the medium of Christianity, Jews.

Ver. 6. *Οἱ ἀπόστολοι*—*the apostles*. We do not know

how many of the apostles were present. Mention is only here made of Peter, and James the Lord's brother. Elsewhere we learn that John was also there (Gal. ii. 9). More might be present, but it is scarcely probable that all the apostles were then in Jerusalem. *Καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι—*and elders. Besides the apostles and elders, the disciples in general were present. This appears from what is afterwards said. We read of "all the multitude" (ver. 12); we are told that "it pleased the apostles and elders, and the whole church, to send chosen men" (ver. 22); and the decree was in the name of "the apostles, and elders, and brethren" (ver. 23). Some (Mosheim, Kuinœl, Neander) think that it was only the apostles and elders who deliberated, and that afterwards their decision was approved of by the church. The objection that the whole church was far too numerous to allow of its members meeting for consultation (Neander) is without weight, as we are not informed of the place of meeting; and though there might be a general meeting of the disciples, it is unnecessary to suppose that all were present. There were in this assembly some of the most distinguished men in the Christian church: the two most illustrious of the original apostles, Peter and John, James the Lord's brother, the two apostles of the Gentiles, Paul and Barnabas, and of apostolic men, Silas and Judas. This assembly has been denominated the Council of Jerusalem, and yet it bears little resemblance to the general councils of the church. It was not composed of deputies from all countries, but included only the church of Jerusalem, with those sent from Antioch. And it does not appear to have been a representative assembly, but a general meeting of the church.

Ver. 7. *Πολλῆς δὲ συζήτησεως γενομένης—but when there had been much dispute.* From this it would appear that the Judaizing party had their supporters in the assembly. This would naturally be the case, as the church of Jerusalem was chiefly composed of Jewish Christians; and not only so, but of Hebrews, who were in general stricter Jews than the Hellenists. *Πέτρος εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς—Peter said to them.*

Peter addresses the meeting, probably on account of his eminent position in the assembly, and also because it was he who first preached the gospel to the Gentiles, and admitted them without circumcision into the Christian church. It is evident, however, that there are no signs of Peter's headship over the apostles; for although he first addressed the assembly, yet it would seem that it was not he, but James, who presided, and delivered the judgment of the meeting.

Vers. 7-11. In these verses we have the substance of Peter's speech. *Ἀφ' ἡμερῶν ἀρχαίων*—*a long time ago*; literally, *from ancient days*. The reference is evidently to the conversion of Cornelius. That was a long time ago, when viewed in relation to the existence of Christianity. Seventeen years had elapsed since the memorable day of Pentecost, and perhaps ten since Peter first preached the gospel to the Gentiles. Peter, in alluding to the time, intends to say that it was not a new thing about which they were contending: the reception of the believing Gentiles without circumcision was a matter which had been settled by God years ago. *Ἐν ὑμῖν ἐξελέξατο ὁ Θεός*—*God made choice among you*. There is no necessity to supply *ἐμέ* (Olshausen), or to conceive that *ἐν ἡμῖν* (*textus receptus*) is equivalent to *ἡμᾶς* in the sense of *me* (Kuinoel). If the reading be *ἐν ὑμῖν*, the meaning is, *among you, Christians*; if *ἐν ἡμῖν*, the meaning is, *among us, the apostles*. (See Critical Note.) *Τὸν λόγον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*—*the word of the gospel*. This phrase is only employed in this passage; and only once more is the word *εὐαγγέλιον* used in the Acts (ch. xx. 24). *Ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῖς*—*bear them witness*: testified that they should be admitted into the Christian church by bestowing upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost. *Τῇ πίστει καθαρῖσας τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν*—*purifying their hearts by faith*. God purified the hearts of the Gentiles, whereas according to the notions of the Judaizers it was their bodies which were unclean; and the instrument of this purification was not circumcision, but faith. *Τί πειράζετε τὸν Θεόν*—*Why tempt ye God?* By insisting on circumcision as an essential prerequisite for salvation, they tempted God; because they opposed

His intentions, shown by the bestowal of the Holy Ghost, of receiving the Gentiles without circumcision into the church. Ἐπιθεῖναι ζυγόν—to *put a yoke*. Peter does not here call circumcision, but the Mosaic law in general, and that viewed chiefly as a condition of salvation, a yoke which neither they themselves nor their fathers were able to bear. He does not so much refer to the outward ceremonies which he and the other Jewish Christians still observed, as to the law as a ground of justification.¹ The law, indeed, itself was a heavy burden, but it was insupportable when regarded as a condition of salvation. Οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν—*neither our fathers*; that is, not Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—for circumcision was not a yoke to them, but a promise—but the fathers since the time of Moses. Κάκεῖνοι—even as they. Ἐκεῖνοι does not refer to the fathers (Calvin, Calovius, Melancthon), but to the Gentile Christians, about whose salvation the question was in debate. As they were saved not by circumcision, but by faith in Christ, so shall we be saved in the same manner.

Peter's argument is plainly this: Circumcision and the observance of the law of Moses cannot be necessary for the Gentile converts, because God by the effusion of His Spirit has declared His acceptance of the uncircumcised Gentiles in the person of Cornelius and his company. The argument was conclusive, even if the Gentiles be taken in the most extensive sense, that is, for all who are neither by birth nor by proselytism Jews.

Ver. 12. Πάν τὸ πλῆθος—all the multitude; that is, either the assembly of apostles and elders, or more probably the multitude of disciples—the church of Jerusalem (see ver. 6). Ἐσίγησεν—*were silent*. The dispute was quieted: the Judaizing Christians for the time yielded to the authority of Peter. Καὶ ἤκουον Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλου—and heard Barnabas and Paul. Barnabas is mentioned first, because, as the elder and better known, he probably first addressed the assembly. By relating the signs and wonders which God had done among the Gentiles by them, they confirmed the

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 117.

remarks of Peter, proving that in numerous instances the uncircumcised Gentiles had received the gift of the Holy Ghost: that the conversion of Cornelius and his company was by no means a solitary instance.

Ver. 13. James next addresses the assembly. He is the same as James the Lord's brother (Gal. i. 19), and the writer of the epistle which bears his name. (See note to Section xxv.) He seems to have remained in Jerusalem, and is called in ecclesiastical history the bishop of Jerusalem. It is generally supposed that he was the president of this council; at least he was the last to speak, and he delivers the judgment of the assembly. He is described in ecclesiastical history as having strong legal propensities, being a strict observer of the Mosaic law. We are informed that, like the ancient Nazarites, he drank neither wine nor strong drink, and abstained from animal food. No razor ever came upon his head. And he was continually in the temple interceding for the people (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23). The judgment, then, of such a person must have had great weight with the Judaizing party; and when it was declared in favour of the freedom of the Gentiles, the dispute was settled. It has been inferred that James was at the head of the Judaizing party,¹ because mention is made in Galatians of certain Judaizing teachers who came from him (*τινας ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου*, Gal. ii. 12). But it is not there said that they were sent by him, nor that he approved of their conduct; and it is evident from the proceedings of the council, that he was one in sentiment with Peter and Paul. The compromise which he proposed for the sake of peace infringed but little upon the liberty of the Gentiles, and certainly bore no resemblance to the demands of the pharisaical party in the church.

Ver. 14. *Συμεὼν*—*Symeon*: a Jewish form of the name Simon, used by Peter himself (2 Pet. i. 1). Peter's original name Simon seems to have been still current in the church of Jerusalem (Luke xxiv. 34). *Λαβεῖν ἐξ ἐθνῶν λαόν*—*to take from the Gentiles a people*. *Δαός*, used generally for the people of Israel—the people of God; whereas *τὰ ἔθνη*,

¹ Renan's *Saint Paul*, pp. 78-86.

in the Jewish sense, signifies the Gentiles, all those who are not Israelites. *Τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ*—for *His name*, i.e. for the glory of His name.

Vers. 16, 17. The quotation contained in these verses is from Amos ix. 11, 12. It is taken, with some variations, from the Septuagint. In the sixteenth verse the difference is considerable. The reading of the Septuagint is as follows: *Ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ ἀναστήσω τὴν σκηνὴν Δαυὶδ τὴν πεπτωκυῖαν, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω τὰ πεπτωκότα αὐτῆς, καὶ τὰ κατεσκαμμένα αὐτῆς ἀναστήσω, καὶ ἀνοικοδομήσω αὐτὴν καθὼς αἱ ἡμέραι τοῦ αἰῶνος.* The seventeenth verse agrees almost exactly with Amos ix. 12. The words of the eighteenth verse, according to the most approved reading *γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, are not in the Septuagint. But whilst the text agrees generally, and the sense precisely, with the Septuagint, there is a remarkable difference between it and the Hebrew: instead of the words, "that the remnant of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom my name is called," the Hebrew text has, "that they may possess the remnant of Edom, and of all the Gentiles that are called by my name." The Septuagint translators seem to have possessed a different text from that which we now possess. James either delivered his address in Greek, or quoted from a Hebrew text resembling it; or Luke, or the Greek document employed by him, gave the words according to the Septuagint.¹

The royal house of David is here represented as a tabernacle that had fallen into decay. It was weakened by the revolt of the ten tribes, and reduced by repeated disasters. God promises to restore it, and rebuild its ruins, so that the kingdom would again flourish as in the days of David and Solomon. The remnant of men—that is, the Gentiles—would become members of the theocracy. God's name would be called upon them: they also, as well as the Israelites, would be His people. This prophecy may be said to have received a partial fulfilment when Zerubbabel restored the kingdom of Judea, and when, in the time of the Maccabees, several

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 305.

of the surrounding nations, and especially the Edomites, were incorporated among the Jews. But certainly such a fulfilment was very partial; and it can only receive its full accomplishment in the Messiah. Viewed as a Messianic prediction, the tabernacle of David represented the church of God—the theocracy; and hence this prophecy foretells that the Gentiles shall be brought within the pale of the visible church; that they, as well as the Jews, shall become the people of God.

James, with good reason, applies this prophecy to existing circumstances. According to it, the Gentiles should be called into the church of God. On them as well as on the Jews the name of God was to be set; and in the conversions of the Gentiles there was a fulfilment of the prediction. But in the prophecy there is no mention of circumcision, nor of the observance of the law of Moses; and therefore, seeing that the Gentiles had already become believers, it was not for the assembly to impose these burdens upon them.

Ver. 18. *Γνωστὰ ἀπ' αἰῶνος*—*which were known from the beginning.* The reading of the text is doubtful. (See Critical Note.) According to the reading of the *textus receptus*, “known unto God are all His works from the beginning,” the words are a reflection of James. The calling of the Gentiles is a certain truth founded on the omniscience of God. It is not an unexpected event: it is what He Himself had foretold. According to the altered reading, “which were known from the beginning,” some (Lechler, etc.) suppose that they are an addition to the prophecy by James, as if he had said, “What has happened to-day, God has from the beginning known and determined to do: what we live to see, is only the fulfilment of an eternal counsel of God;”¹ whilst others (Tischendorf, Meyer, Alford) regard them as part of the prophecy itself. The words, however, are now found neither in the original Hebrew nor in the Septuagint. *Γνωστὰ*—*known*; that is, those things above mentioned—the call of the Gentiles into the church of Christ—are

¹ Lange's *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte.* Von Lechler, p. 253.

known. The context decides by whom these things were known,—namely, by God, who doeth these things (ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα); not, as De Wette renders the clause, “known by means of the prophets from of old.” Ἄπ’ αἰῶνος can only mean “from the beginning” (Luke i. 70).

Ver. 19. Διὸ ἐγὼ κρίνω—*therefore I judge*. There does not appear to be any weight attached to κρίνω, as if James here gave judgment, acting as president of the meeting. It merely signifies, “I give my opinion.” Μὴ παρενοχλεῖν—that we trouble not, by imposing upon them circumcision and the ceremonies of the Mosaic law.

Ver. 20. Ἀλλὰ ἐπιστέλλαι αὐτοῖς—but that we enjoin them. Ἐπιστέλλω signifies to send word by letter; hence, to enjoin by an epistle. James proposes, for the sake of peace, the abstinence from certain things on the part of the Gentiles; namely, from these four particulars—the pollutions of idols, fornication, things strangled, and blood.

Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων—from pollutions of idols. Ἀλισγημα is not found in classical Greek, and only occurs here in the New Testament. It is derived from the Hellenistic verb ἀλισγεῖν, to pollute, which occurs twice in the Septuagint (Dan. i. 8; Mal. i. 7), and in both instances in the sense of to defile by means of food. Some (Meyer, Lechler, Stier) extend the word ἀλισγημάτων to all the following particulars, because the preposition ἀπό is not repeated. Others restrict it to τῶν εἰδώλων. The Greek admits of both renderings; but probably the latter is the more correct, as “pollutions of idols” is a definite act, inasmuch as what is here called “pollutions of idols” is in the decree termed “meats offered to idols” (εἰδωλοθύτων, ver. 29). The heathen ate the flesh of their sacrifices partly in feasts in their temples, and partly in their own houses (1 Cor. x. 27, 28). What was not eaten by the worshippers, or given to the priests, was sold in their markets (1 Cor. x. 25). Hence Paul, in writing on the same subject, distinguishes between that which was partaken of in the temples—eating which would be idolatry—and that which was sold in the markets, or eaten in private houses—eating which was in

itself a matter of indifference. The Jews were strictly prohibited from eating anything which had been offered to an idol (Ex. xxxiv. 15); and here, for the sake of peace, the Gentiles are also enjoined to abstain.

Καὶ τῆς πορνείας—*and from fornication.* The word here given without any explanation is to be taken in its strictly literal sense, however strange it may appear that a moral prohibition should be mixed up with things indifferent. In consequence of this strange connection, various meanings have been attached to *πορνείας*. Some (Beza, Selden) understand by it, spiritual fornication, or idolatry; but if so, there would be little difference between it and the pollutions of idols. Heinrichs understands by it, fornication committed at the religious rites of the heathen. Others refer it to concubinage (Calvin, Calovius); others, to marriage within forbidden degrees (Lightfoot, Gieseler); others, to marriage with a heathen (Teller, Lardner), or to a second marriage (Schwegler). Bentley, against the authority of all manuscripts, would substitute *χοιρέας*, *swine's flesh*, for *πορνείας*.¹ But if the word must be taken in its literal sense, how is it that a moral action, namely, abstinence from fornication, should be placed in the same category with things indifferent,—the eating of meats offered to idols, of things strangled, and of blood? The answer to this question seems to be, that the moral sense of the heathen was so perverted, and their natures so corrupt, that they looked upon fornication as a thing indifferent. The moral evil of fornication is not the point here in question, but its prevalence among the Gentiles: elsewhere it is repeatedly prohibited in the Scriptures as a heinous offence in the sight of God (Alford, Wordsworth).

Καὶ τοῦ πνικτοῦ—*and from things strangled.* The flesh of such animals as were killed in snares, and whose blood was not poured forth, was forbidden to the Israelites. Hence all strangled animals were regarded as unclean. *Καὶ τοῦ αἵματος*—*and from blood.* Nothing was more strictly pro-

¹ For these and other meanings, see Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 307; and De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 122.

hibited to the Jews than blood; because in the blood was the life of the animal, and because it was the blood that was consecrated to make an atonement (Lev. xvii. 10-14). The heathen were accustomed to drink the blood of the animals at their sacrifices. Cyprian, Tertullian, and others, interpret *αἷμα* "homicide," but certainly in contradiction to the text.

Ver. 21. *Γάρ*—*for*. James gives as a reason why the Gentiles should abstain, that Moses from a remote period of antiquity has in every city, where there are Jews, those who preach him, being read in the synagogues every Sabbath-day. It is not, however, obvious what is here intended: different meanings have been assigned to it. (1.) Some (Grotius, Hammond) think the meaning to be, that the Jews cannot complain that Moses is despised by the Gentile Christians, seeing that he is read in the Christian assemblies every Sabbath-day, even as is done from ancient times by the Jews themselves. But evidently James speaks of Moses being preached, not in the Christian assemblies, but in the Jewish synagogues. (2.) Others (Chrysostom, Neander, Whitby, Wordsworth) suppose the meaning to be, that those instructions were for the Gentile Christians; but that no special instructions were necessary for the Jewish Christians, because they already knew what to practise as Jews, Moses being read every Sabbath in their synagogues. But no dispute was raised about the conduct of the Jewish Christians. (3.) Others (Erasmus, Wetstein, Schneckenburger, Thiersch, Ewald) think that James argues that there is no reason to fear that the Mosaic law should be neglected or despised, because it is read in every city on the Sabbath-day: a meaning not to be despised, as it tended to remove the objections of the Jewish Christians, and perhaps corresponded with the sentiments of James, but yet not sufficiently natural and simple. (4.) Lange adopts the strange meaning: "As for Moses, we have nothing to do with him: he has his own preachers: we are preachers, not of Moses, but of Christ."¹ (5.) Baur and Gieseler suppose the meaning to be: Although the law of Moses is preached in every city, yet

¹ Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*, vol. ii. p. 189.

it has completely failed in the conversion of the Gentiles: it is an obstacle in the way which must be removed: let us then try the preaching of the gospel without circumcision. But this is a sentiment hardly appropriate in the mouth of James. (6.) The true meaning appears to be, that the Gentiles should abstain from these things, in order to avoid giving offence to the Jews; for in every city the law is preached every Sabbath, and so these matters are brought prominently forward; and thus, unless there be an abstinence from these particulars, the preaching of the law would perpetuate the offence of the Jewish to the Gentile Christians. In order then to maintain peace, let the Gentile Christians abstain from those actions which are regarded by the Jews as causing pollution. So approximately Meyer, Winer, Olshausen, De Wette, Stier, Schaff, Alford.

ON THE IDENTITY OF THIS VISIT TO JERUSALEM WITH
THE VISIT MENTIONED IN GAL. II. 1-10.

In the Acts of the Apostles, five visits of Paul to Jerusalem are mentioned:—1. When he escaped from Damascus (Acts ix. 26). 2. When he came with the collection from Antioch (Acts xi. 30, xii. 25). 3. The visit at the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.). 4. On his return from his second missionary journey (Acts xviii. 22). 5. His last visit to Jerusalem (Acts xxi.). In the Epistle to the Galatians two visits are mentioned: the one three years after his conversion (Gal. i. 18), and the other fourteen years after that event (Gal. ii. 1). There is no difficulty in identifying the first visit mentioned in the Galatians with the first visit mentioned in the Acts. The identification of the second visit with any of these visits in the Acts is a subject of greater difficulty.

There are four opinions: 1. That it is a journey not mentioned in the Acts. 2. That it is identical with Paul's second visit. 3. That it is identical with Paul's fourth

visit. 4. That it is identical with Paul's third visit. All admit that it could neither be the first nor the fifth.

1. The first opinion is, that the journey in the Epistle to the Galatians is not mentioned in the Acts. This opinion is adopted by Beza, Paley, Schrader, and Tate. "To me," observes Paley, "it appears more probable that Paul and Barnabas had taken some journey to Jerusalem, the mention of which is omitted in the Acts." According to Paley and Tate, this visit occurred between the second and third recorded visits of Paul during his long residence at Antioch (Acts xiv. 28). For this, however, Paley assigns no reason, merely saying, "Is it unlikely that, during this long abode, they might go up to Jerusalem and return to Antioch?" Schrader inserts it between the fourth and fifth visits during Paul's protracted residence at Ephesus (Acts xix. 10, 22). The ground of this opinion depends entirely on the impossibility of showing that this visit can be identified with any of those recorded,—an impossibility which we think does not exist.

2. The second opinion is, that the journey mentioned in the epistle is identical with Paul's second visit, when he went up with Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem with the collection to the saints. This opinion is adopted by Calvin, Paulus, Kuinöel, Böttger, and Fritzsche. The great reason on which it rests is the supposition that Paul, in the Galatian epistle, relates his visits in the order in which they occurred, and that therefore the second visit mentioned in the epistle is also the second mentioned in the Acts. But, as we have already seen, it does not appear that the apostle mentions all his visits to Jerusalem in their order; but only those which he judged of importance for the object he had in view,—namely, the establishment of his apostolic office. (See note to Acts xii. 30.) And, not to mention other objections, the difference in time is an insurmountable obstacle against the identification of the Galatian journey with the second visit recorded in the Acts. Paul's second visit occurred about the year 44 or 45, shortly after the death of Herod Agrippa I., which by no calculation can be fourteen

years after his conversion, when the journey mentioned in the epistle took place.

3. The third opinion is, that the visit mentioned in the Galatian epistle is identical with Paul's fourth visit, on his return from his second missionary journey (Acts xviii. 22). This opinion only claims our regard because it has been adopted by the distinguished Wieseler (*Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalter*, pp. 180-208). The argument on which he chiefly rests is of a negative description: that in the epistle there is no mention of the Council of Jerusalem, and the decrees which were then issued; whilst in Acts xv. no notice is taken of the interview between Paul and the three apostles. But this opinion is exposed to several objections. 1. In Gal. ii. 1, Barnabas is said to have accompanied Paul to Jerusalem; whereas, according to the Acts, Barnabas had previously separated from Paul and gone to Cyprus (Acts xv. 39). The only answer which Wieseler gives to this, is the arbitrary supposition that Barnabas joined Paul during his second missionary journey, perhaps at Cyprus or in Cæsarea. 2. In recording his journeys to Jerusalem, in the Epistle to the Galatians, Paul would hardly have omitted his visit on the occasion of the council; because such a visit had a strong bearing upon his argument, for then he had conferences with the apostles: he met at least with Peter, and James the Lord's brother. 3. According to the Acts, the fourth visit seems to have been unimportant: many readers would hardly suspect from the words of the historian that such a visit was made. He merely writes: "And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up, and saluted the church, he went down to Antioch."

4. The fourth opinion, which we regard as correct, is that this visit, recorded in the epistle, is identical with the third visit on the occasion of the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv.). This opinion is adopted by Irenæus, Pearson, Eichhorn, Winer, Olshausen, Anger, Schneckenburger, Neander, De Wette, Ewald, Meyer, Lechler, Stier, Lange, Lardner, Lightfoot, Burton, Davidson, Alford, Wordsworth, Conybeare and Howson, etc. There is a correspondence in

several particulars. In both cases there is a journey of Paul and Barnabas to Jerusalem on the question of the relation of the Gentile Christians to the law of Moses; in both cases, Peter and James take an active part in the conference; and so far as we can judge, the dates correspond. The objections raised to the identity of these visits are not, we think, insuperable. 1. In Gal. ii. 2, it is said that Paul went up by revelation; whereas in the Acts he was sent by the church. But, as we have already observed, there is no contradiction between these statements: the church might have been directed to send him. 2. In Gal. ii. 1, Titus is mentioned as accompanying the apostle, whereas there is no mention of him in the Acts. But he may well be included in the "certain others" who, we are informed, were sent along with Paul and Barnabas. 3. The objects of the journey in the two cases are said to be dissimilar: according to the Acts, it was to settle the question whether the Gentiles should be circumcised; according to the epistle, it was to have Paul's apostleship recognised. But here also there is no discrepancy; on the contrary, the recognition of Paul's apostleship depended on the question concerning the circumcision of the Gentiles. 4. In the Acts there is no mention made of the private meeting which Paul had with James, Peter, and John (Gal. ii. 2). But it is not to be expected that there should have been, because the Acts, as a history, deals chiefly with public transactions. In private (*κατ' ἰδίαν*) Paul communicated the nature of the gospel which he preached to those in reputation (Gal. ii. 2); whereas in public he declared the signs and wonders which God had done by him among the Gentiles (Acts xv. 2). 5. In the epistle there is no mention of the apostolic decree. But the apostolic decree had only an indirect reference to the subject under discussion,—namely, the recognition of Paul's apostleship by the other apostles; whereas, in the result of this private conference with them, the reference was direct and pertinent.

The result of the whole discussion is thus concisely and well stated by Conybeare: "The Galatian visit could not

have happened before the third visit; because if so, the apostles at Jerusalem had already granted to Paul and Barnabas the liberty which was sought for the *εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας* (Gal. ii. 8): therefore there would have been no need for the church to send them again to Jerusalem upon the same cause. And again, the Galatian visit could not have happened after the third visit; because almost immediately after that period Paul and Barnabas ceased to work together as missionaries to the Gentiles; whereas, up to the time of the Galatian visit, they had been working together."¹

¹ For discussions on this subject, see Davidson's former *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 112-122; Alford's *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 26, 27; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 539-547; and, as already mentioned, Wieseler's *Chronologie*, pp. 180-208; also Schaff's *Apostolic History*, vol. i. pp. 289-291. In his *New Introduction*, vol. ii. pp. 214-222, Dr. Davidson considerably alters his opinion, but he still asserts the identity of the Galatian visit with this visit at the Council of Jerusalem.

SECTION VII.

THE SYNODICAL LETTER.—ACTS xv. 22–35.

22 Then it seemed good to the apostles and elders, with the whole church, having chosen men from themselves, to send them to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas named Barsabbas, and Silas, leading men among the brethren: 23 Having written by their hands: The apostles, and elders, and brethren, to the brethren from among the Gentiles throughout Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia, greeting: 24 Since we have heard that certain having come from us have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, whom we did not authorize; 25 It seemed good to us, being assembled with one accord, to choose and send men to you with our beloved Barnabas and Paul; 26 Men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. 27 We have sent therefore Judas and Silas, who also shall declare the same things by word. 28 For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no further burden than these necessary things; 29 That ye abstain from meats offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if ye keep yourselves, ye shall do well. Farewell.

30 They therefore, being dismissed, came to Antioch; and having assembled the multitude, they delivered the epistle. 31 And having read it, they rejoiced for the consolation. 32 And Judas and Silas, being themselves also prophets, exhorted the brethren with many words, and confirmed them. 33 But after they had tarried some time, they were dismissed in peace from the brethren to those who had sent them. 34, 35 But Paul and Barnabas continued in Antioch, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord with many others.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 23. *Kai oi* before *ἀδελφοί* is found in E, G, H, but omitted in A, B, C, D, *κ*. Lachmann has cancelled the words; but Meyer and Tischendorf retain them, because their omission was probably the result of a hierarchical feeling. Ver. 24. The words *λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι και τηρεῖν*

τὸν νόμον (*textus receptus*) are found in C, E, but omitted in A, B, D, κ. They are rejected as spurious by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Bornemann, but retained by Meyer and De Wette. Ver. 33. Instead of ἀποστόλους, found in E, G, H, Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Meyer read ἀποστείλαντας αὐτούς, found in A, B, C, D, κ. Ver. 34. This verse, ἔδοξε δὲ τῷ Σίλῳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ, is contained in C, D, but is omitted in A, B, E, G, H, κ, and is accordingly rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Meyer. It was probably interpolated in order to account for the presence of Silas at Antioch (ver. 40).

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 22. Ἐδοξε—*It seemed good*. Ἐδοξε is used to express the formal resolution of a senate or an assembly; and hence the resolutions themselves are termed δόγματα (Acts xvi. 4). Τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις σὺν ὅλῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ—to the apostles and elders, with the whole church. The three classes of which the assembly was composed:—1. The apostles—those of the original twelve then in Jerusalem. 2. The presbyters—the elders of the church of Jerusalem. 3. The members of the church: thus proving that the disciples in general were present, not merely to listen, but to deliberate. Ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας—*having chosen men*. We have here (ἀποστόλοις—ἐκλεξαμένους—γραφῶντες) an example of what grammarians call an anacoluthon—a looseness of construction—as regards the cases of these participles. Ἐκλεξαμένους is not to be taken for ἐκλεχθέντας (Kuinoel), for the first aorist middle never has a passive signification.¹ The correct translation is, *having chosen men*; i.e. “the apostles and elders, with the whole church, resolved to choose and to send men.” Ἰούδαν τὸν καλούμενον Βαρσαββᾶν—*Judas called Barsabbas*. Ewald supposes that this Judas was the same with Joseph called Barsabbas, the candidate with Matthias for the apostleship (Acts i. 23).² But this is im-

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 314.

² Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 440.

probable, as the name of the one was Judas, and of the other Joseph. Grotius supposes that the two were brothers, the sons of one Sabba (Bar Sabbas). *Καὶ Σίλαν*—*And Silas*. Silas—or, as he is elsewhere called, Silvanus—was afterwards the companion of Paul during the greater part of his second missionary journey. He is honourably mentioned in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and in the second Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Thess. i. 1; 2 Thess. i. 1; 2 Cor. i. 19). It is doubtful whether he was the Silvanus by whom the first Epistle of Peter was conveyed to the churches of Asia (1 Pet. v. 12). His Latin name renders it probable that he was a Hellenistic Jew, and we are informed that he as well as Paul was a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 37). According to tradition, he became bishop of Corinth.¹ *Ἄνδρας ἡγουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*—*leading men among the brethren*, i.e. men of influence in the church of Jerusalem. The words do not necessarily imply that they were office-bearers (*πρεσβύτεροι*) of the church.

Ver. 23. *Γράψαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν*—*having written by them*, i.e. by Judas and Silas. This, as Neander observes, is the earliest public document of the Christian church known to us. Clemens Alexandrinus calls it *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολικὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπάντων*—*the catholic epistle of all the apostles*. This epistle proves that the church of Jerusalem, as the mother church, still exercised a superintendence over the other churches. It was also a testimony to the unity of the church. The Christian church was to be a united body, not split up into separate factions, but to be regulated by the same general rules, and animated by a spirit of love and forbearance. It is probable that Luke has inserted the original document verbatim. Copies of it would be distributed throughout the churches, and would be easily obtained by the historian. It was doubtless originally written in Greek, both because it was addressed to the Gentiles, and because its beginning, *χαίρειν*, and its close, *ἔρρωσθε*, are in the usual form of the Greek epistolary style. Some (Bengel,

¹ For a refutation of Schwanbeck's hypothesis, that Silas was the author of the Acts, see Introductory Observations.

Bleek, Baumgarten, Stier) suppose that it was composed by James the Lord's brother, because it agrees with his sentiments as stated in the council, and because the salutation *χαίρειν* is only found in the beginning of his epistle (Jas. i. 1). But these are insufficient grounds on which to rest such an opinion. *Καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ*—*and the brethren*. In some MSS. *καὶ οἱ* are omitted (see Critical Note), and accordingly some consider *ἀδελφοὶ* as the designation of the apostles and elders: *the apostles and elders, brethren, to the brethren*.

Κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν—*throughout Antioch, and Syria, and Cilicia*. In Antioch the dispute arose, and probably the same dissension prevailed throughout Syria and Cilicia. We here learn that there were churches in Cilicia, probably founded by Paul when at Tarsus (Acts ix. 30).¹ Paul and Barnabas had also established churches in the districts of Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia; but they are not named in the epistle, perhaps because the Judaizing teachers had not as yet propagated their doctrines in these churches. The decrees, however, included them, and were delivered to them (Acts xvi. 4). Indeed, the letter was designed for the regulation of the conduct of all Christians, wherever there were both Gentile and Jewish converts; as is evident from the words of James, uttered several years afterwards: "As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written, and concluded that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from strangled, and from fornication" (Acts xxi. 25).

Ver. 24. *Τινὲς ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξελθόντες*—*certain having come from us*. The Judaizers not only came from Jerusalem, but, as it appears, pretended that they came authorized by the church. *Ἀνασκευάζοντες*—*subverting*; only used here in the New Testament. *Ἀνασκευάζειν*, to subvert, to destroy; the opposite of *οἰκοδομεῖν*, to build, to edify. *Λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον* (*textus receptus*)—*saying, Ye must be circumcised, and keep the law*. These words are rejected by Tischendorf, but retained by Meyer and De Wette.

¹ For Cilicia, see note to Acts vi. 8.

The internal evidence is in favour of their genuineness, as otherwise the question in dispute would not have been mentioned in the epistle. The external evidence is strongly against their reception. *Οἷς οὐ διεστείλαμεθα*—whom we did not authorize; thus charging the Judaizing Christians with falsehood, if they pretended to use the names of the apostles.

Ver. 25. *Γενομένοις ὁμοθυμαδόν*—being assembled with one accord. Some (Grotius, Bengel, Baumgarten, Lechler, Meyer, Stier, Hackett) render these words, *being unanimous*; implying that the Judaizing party was silenced, and that the council was unanimous in its decision. This, however, is not the usual meaning of *ὁμοθυμαδόν* in the Acts (Acts i. 14, ii. 1, iv. 24, v. 12). The meaning adopted by Alford is to be preferred, *being assembled with one accord*. The unanimity of the council cannot with certainty be inferred from these words. At first it was not unanimous (ver. 7); and hence Wieseler and De Wette suppose that the decree was passed by a majority of votes. It is, however, not improbable that unanimity prevailed at last. The resolution of the council was of the nature of a compromise. The advocates for the freedom of the Gentiles would be satisfied, seeing that circumcision and the rites of the Mosaic law were not to be insisted on; whilst the Judaizing Christians might, for the time, be persuaded by the address of James, the apostle of the circumcision, seeing that some allowance was made for their scruples. But this unanimity, if it did exist, was temporary. The Judaizing teachers did not relinquish their opinions: they were more active than ever in propagating them; they followed the footsteps of Paul; and hence we find in his epistles a continual protest against their views, and earnest warnings to his converts not to be led astray by such teaching; and to beware of relinquishing that liberty which they had in Christ Jesus, and of being brought into bondage under the law.

Βαρνάβα καὶ Παύλω—Barnabas and Paul. Here, as in ver. 12, Barnabas has the precedence of Paul; whereas, since ch. xiii. 9, Paul is generally placed first. This position of the names is not to be considered purely accidental

(Zeller), but arises from the relation of both to the church of Jerusalem. Barnabas is placed first, because, as already stated, he was the elder and better known, and once occupied an influential position in the apostolic church. It is therefore not without reason that Bleek considers this unusual arrangement as an internal proof of the genuineness of the epistle,—a remark in which Meyer, Baumgarten, and De Wette concur.

Ver. 26. Ἀνθρώποις παραδεδωκόσω τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν, etc.—*men who have hazarded their lives for the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Zeller finds fault with this commendation of Paul and Barnabas, as being inappropriate. “To what purpose,” he observes, “this commendation of Paul and Barnabas, which contrasts so strikingly with the meagre contents of the epistle? Those commended required no such recommendation, as they stood in a much nearer relation to the disciples of Antioch, as being the authors of their Christianity, than did the apostles at Jerusalem; and not a hint of personal attack against them occurs in the preceding narrative. Even in a case where this did occur (2 Cor. iii. 1), Paul says expressly that he disdained such letters of commendation. Our author indeed thought otherwise, whose entire work is nothing else than an epistle of commendation (ἐπιστολὴ συστατικῆ) for the apostle, and who had in view readers with whom a recommendation by the original apostles might be neither superfluous nor ineffective.”¹ But it is highly probable that there was a Judaizing party even in the church of Antioch (ver. 2); and the Judaizers from Jerusalem would do all in their power to depreciate the character and the labours of the Gentile apostles, representing them as falsifiers of Christianity. There was then a special reason for the church in Jerusalem testifying to the integrity of the two deputies from Antioch: it would serve to counteract whatever impressions had been made by the Judaizers.

Ver. 27. Καὶ αὐτοὺς διὰ λόγου ἀπαγγέλοντας τὰ αὐτά—*themselves also declaring the same things by word.* Τὰ αὐτά—the same things contained in the letter; not the same things

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 246, 247.

which Paul and Barnabas taught (Neander). *Διὰ λόγον*—*by word*. The church of Antioch would thus have oral and written testimony. The letter would inform them of the resolution of the council; and Judas and Silas would testify to the genuineness of the letter, and corroborate its statements. This was the more necessary, as forged letters were then not unusual (2 Thess. ii. 2.)

Ver. 28. *Ἔδοξεν γὰρ τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι καὶ ἡμῖν*—*for it seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us*. These words are not to be weakened, as if they were equivalent to *the Holy Ghost in us* (Olshausen), or *to us by the Holy Ghost* (Grotius). The Holy Ghost and the church are to be regarded as distinct. He bore witness by means of the miraculous influences conferred on the disciples. Or perhaps the effusion of the Spirit on Cornelius and his company was the declaration of the Holy Ghost, that the Gentiles without circumcision should be admitted into the Christian church. *Πλὴν τῶν ἐπιβάναγκες*—*except these necessary things*. The necessity here referred to was conditioned by the circumstances of the case. Abstinence from the things mentioned in the decree was undoubtedly necessary to promote the free converse between the Jewish and the Gentile Christians, and especially to secure communion among them at the Lord's table.

Ver. 29. The articles of abstinence here mentioned are the same as those stated in the address of James (ver. 20). *Εἰδωλοθύτων*, *meats offered to idols*, is the equivalent of *ἀλισγημάτων τῶν εἰδώλων*, *pollutions of idols*. *Ἐδὲ πράξετε*—*ye shall do well*. Not equivalent to *σωθήσεσθε*, *ye shall be saved* (Kuinoel), as if the decree were the exact counterpart of the doctrine of the Judaizers, "Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved;" but merely, *Ye shall act properly*. *Ἐρῶσθε*—*Farewell*: the customary conclusion of epistles among the Greeks. Compare the epistle of Claudius Lysias to Festus, which also begins with *χαίρειν*, and closes with *ἔρρωσο* (Acts xxiii. 26–30).

Some suppose that these four articles—meats offered to idols, things strangled, blood, and fornication—were for-

bidden, because they were included in the seven so-called precepts of Noah, and which were binding on "the proselytes of the gate;"¹ so that the intention of the injunction was to convert the Gentiles, not into "proselytes of righteousness" by circumcision, as the Judaizers demanded, but, as a compromise, into "proselytes of the gate." But all this is entirely fanciful. Of the four articles, only one, "the eating of blood," is directly named in the so-called precepts of Noah. And besides, as already stated, this distinction of proselytes into "proselytes of righteousness" and "proselytes of the gate," rests on doubtful authority. The evident object of the decree was to remove, as far as possible, those obstacles which prevented free intercourse and communion between the believing Jews and Gentiles. The Jewish Christians, so long as they adhered to the law of Moses, could not partake of food with the Gentile Christians without contracting ceremonial uncleanness; unless the Gentile Christians would agree to abstain from those articles of food which the Jews regarded as unclean. By this means the barrier which still separated the Jewish from the Gentile Christians would be in a great measure broken down. The reason why only these four articles are specified in the decree, was because, next to circumcision, they were the greatest obstacles to friendly intercourse between Jews and Gentiles.

From this, it follows that the decree of the Council of Jerusalem was only of temporary obligation. It was merely an article of peace, and was only in force so long as the circumstances of the case lasted; that is, so long as the Jewish Christians persevered in their legal strictness, and held it unlawful to partake of certain kinds of food. As soon as they were enabled to entertain more enlightened notions, and to perceive that in Christ the distinction between clean and unclean meats was abolished, and that there was no kind of food unclean of itself, the obligation of the decree terminated. The moral part of it—abstinence from fornication—is elsewhere abundantly inculcated in the word of God. Perhaps the decree was only local, extending to

¹ For the seven precepts of Noah, see note to Acts x. 2.

Syria, Cilicia, and the adjoining provinces; at least there would be no reason for its observance where there were no Jewish Christians. We find that Paul, in his first Epistle to the Corinthians, when writing on the distinction of clean and unclean meats, makes no allusion to it; but whilst he asserts the lawfulness of all kinds of meats, he exhorts the Gentile Christians to abstain from meats offered to idols, not because they were expressly forbidden in this decree, but from the principle of charity, lest by partaking they should offend their weaker brethren (1 Cor. x. 23–33). It would, however, seem that the primitive church in general considered the decree as binding upon all Christians. Augustine appears to have been the first who asserted its temporary obligation (*Contra Manich.* 32, 13). In the Western churches generally the opinion of Augustine is adopted, whilst the Greek Church regards the decree as still binding upon Christians. Several distinguished modern critics, as Grotius, Salmasius, Curcellæus, and Du Veil, also assert its permanent obligation.¹

The decision of the Council of Jerusalem was a great step in advance. Had it been otherwise, had the council decided that circumcision and the observance of the law of Moses were necessary, the progress of Christianity would have been impeded. But now Gentile Christianity could be freely propagated without let or hindrance: all the obstacles which stood in the way of its diffusion were removed; and the apostolic church was delivered from legal bondage. We see the immediate effects of this decision in the joy and confidence which the reading of the decree imparted to the Christians at Antioch, and in the great success of Paul on his second missionary journey. Christian churches soon began to arise in all the principal cities of the Roman empire. The triumph of the free Christian over the Judaizing party was one great element in the success of the gospel.

Ver. 30. *Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπολυθέντες*—*They therefore, being dismissed.* Probably there was a formal and solemn dismissal

¹ See this subject discussed at great length by Lardner (Lardner's *Works*, vol. v. pp. 494–519).

on the part of the church, as when Paul and Barnabas were sent forth on their missionary journey (Acts xiii. 3).

Ver. 31. *Παρακλήσει*—*consolation*. Meyer renders it *exhortation*, because in the next verse *παρεκάλεσαν* must necessarily signify *exhorted*. But this is an insufficient reason. The exhortation contained in the letter was not the cause of the joy; but the consolation that the Gentiles were to be freed from the yoke of the Mosaic services. It must have been a great comfort for them to hear that these carnal ordinances were not to be imposed, and that the cause of Christian liberty had triumphed.

Ver. 32. *Καὶ αὐτοὶ προφήται ὄντες*—*Being themselves prophets*. The term *prophets* is here used, not to signify that they foretold the future, but to denote that they were inspired men; the reference being to their capability to exhort (*παρακαλεῖν*) and to confirm (*ἐπιστηρίζειν*) the brethren.

Ver. 33. *Ἀπελύθησαν μετ' εἰρήνης*—*They were dismissed with peace*; in a solemn assembly, with prayer and fasting (ver. 30). There is a probable reference to the form of dismissal, *ὑπάγετε ἐν εἰρήνῃ* (Jas. ii. 16). It would appear that both Judas and Silas returned to Jerusalem, to give in their report to the church, but that Silas came back to Antioch. Ver. 34 is considered by the best critics as an interpolation, designed to account for the presence of Silas in Antioch. The Codex Bezae (D), which contains the clause, has also the addition, *μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη*.

Ver. 35. *Παῦλος δὲ καὶ Βαρνάβας διέτριβον ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ*—*But Paul and Barnabas continued in Antioch*. Critics are in general agreed that it was at this time that the dispute between Paul and Peter, mentioned in Gal. ii. 11–16, occurred. From the order of events as given in the epistle, it evidently occurred after the Council of Jerusalem. And this is the only place where we are told that Paul, after the council, remained for any length of time at Antioch. Peter, it would appear, went down from Jerusalem to Antioch. At first, acting upon the decrees of the council, he associated freely with the Gentile Christians. Some Judaizing Christians, however, having come down from Jerusalem, Peter,

from fear of offending them, withdrew from the Gentiles: he manifested an inconsistency of character—a sinful compliance with the prejudices of the Jews. Other Jewish Christians were influenced by the conduct of the great apostle; and even Barnabas, one of the apostles of the uncircumcision, was carried away with their dissimulation. Such conduct, sanctioned by an apostle, evidently tended to foster the opinions of the Judaizing Christians; and therefore it met with a firm resistance from Paul: the younger apostle rebuked the elder; and no doubt the rebuke was well taken, and the fault corrected. It is to be observed that no change of opinion is ascribed to Peter, but an inconsistency of conduct—an act of dissimulation: he displayed the same want of moral courage and decision which he formerly showed when he denied his Master; and as then, so now, the fault committed was doubtless followed by a speedy repentance. The dispute is omitted by Luke, not because he would conceal the important difference which there was between Paul and Peter (Baur, Schrader, Schneckenburger), but because it had no reference to the history of the church—it was followed by no important consequences; whereas, on the other hand, the subsequent dispute between Paul and Barnabas resulted in the separation of these two missionaries, and in their occupation of different fields of missionary labour. As already stated, the Acts of the Apostles is not a biography of Paul, but a history of the diffusion of the gospel.

Μετὰ καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν—*With many others also.* There was a flourishing church at Antioch. At this time it contained more Christians than any other city in the world, except Jerusalem. We do not know who the other teachers were; but among them were Mark and Silas.

SECTION VIII.

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY.

PAUL'S JOURNEY THROUGH ASIA MINOR.—Acts xv. 36—xvi. 8.

36 And after certain days, Paul said to Barnabas, Let us return and visit the brethren in every city in which we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. 37 But Barnabas was minded to take with them John, surnamed Mark. 38 But Paul thought it not right to take him with them, who had fallen away from them from Pamphylia, and had not gone with them to the work. 39 And there was a sharp contention, so that they separated from each other; and Barnabas took Mark, and sailed to Cyprus. 40 But Paul having chosen Silas, departed, being recommended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord.

41 And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches. Ch. xvi. 1 Then he came to Derbe and Lystra. And, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus, the son of a Jewish woman who believed, but of a Greek father; 2 Who was well reported of by the brethren in Lystra and Iconium. 3 Him Paul wished to go forth with him; and he took and circumcised him, because of the Jews who were in these quarters: for they all knew that his father was a Greek. 4 And as they journeyed through the cities, they delivered to them the decrees to keep, which had been determined on by the apostles and elders who were in Jerusalem. 5 Therefore were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily. 6 Now when they had gone through Phrygia and the region of Galatia, and were prevented by the Holy Ghost from speaking the word in Asia, 7 After they were come toward Mysia, they attempted to go into Bithynia: and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not. 8 Then, having passed by Mysia, they came down to Troas.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 36. *Ἡμῶν* after *ἀδελφούς* is found in G, H, but wanting in A, B, C, D, E, *κ*, and is therefore omitted by all recent critics. Ver. 40. *Κυρίου*, found in A, B, D, *κ*, is

preferred by Lachmann and Tischendorf to Θεοῦ, found in C, E, G, H. Ch. xvi. 1. After γυναικός the *textus receptus* has τινος, found in G, H; but it is rejected by all recent critics, being wanting in A, B, C, D, E, κ. Ver. 6. Διεληθέντες (*textus receptus*) only occurs in G, H; but still it is preferred by Tischendorf to διήλθον, A, B, C, D, E, κ, which is considered as an emendation, to avoid the repetition of so many participles. Ver. 7. Εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν, A, B, C, D, E, κ, is much better attested than κατὰ τὴν Βιθυνίαν, G, H. Ἰησοῦ after τὸ Πνεῦμα is found in A, B, D, E, κ, and is adopted by all recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 36. Μετὰ δέ τινος ἡμέρας—*But after certain days.* The time of the commencement of Paul's second missionary journey is stated indefinitely: it was "after certain days," that is, certain days after the return of Judas and Silas to Jerusalem (ver. 33). Εἶπεν πρὸς Βαρνάβαν Παῦλος—*Paul said to Barnabas.* This missionary journey was not suggested by the church, but arose from a proposal made by Paul to Barnabas. It was designed to be a journey of visitation to the churches in those cities where these apostles had already preached the gospel.

Ver. 37. Βαρνάβας δὲ ἐβουλεύσατο συμπαραλαβεῖν—*But Barnabas was minded to take with them John, surnamed Mark.* Barnabas was anxious to take Mark, because he was his relative (Col. iv. 10), and felt a warm interest in him; and also, as we may well suppose, because he had a favourable opinion of him, and judged that he would be serviceable to the mission. His conduct here was in accordance with his benevolent spirit (Acts xi. 24), which led him to judge favourably of his fellow-believers, and which was formerly exercised toward Paul himself, when he introduced him to the apostles in Jerusalem, at a time when the other disciples regarded him with jealousy.

Ver. 38. Paul judged otherwise: he considered that Mark's conduct in departing from them in Pamphylia (Acts xiii. 13)

had rendered him unworthy to accompany them. The word which Paul employs in censuring his conduct is strong—*τὸν ἀποστάντα*, *who had apostatized*; yet it is to be observed that he does not accuse him of having apostatized from Christ, but from them (*ἀπ' αὐτῶν*), the missionaries of Christ. We are not then to conceive that Mark departed in obedience to the call of the apostles, who required his aid for the conversion of the inhabitants of Palestine (Benson); or, as others think, that he left on account of the feeble state of his health: for if so, Paul would not have so severely censured his conduct. The probable reason was, that he shrank from the labours and dangers of the mission. Inconstancy in the service of Christ was, in the eyes of such a man as Paul, a heinous offence, deserving of severe censure.

Ver. 39. Ἐγένετο δὲ παροξυσμός—*And there was a sharp contention.* Παροξυσμός signifies a sharp contention, an angry dispute: hence our English word *paroxysm*. It would appear that sharp words passed between them. There is here an instance of the imperfections of good men, which the word of God does not conceal. Barnabas was actuated by the mildness of his disposition, which caused him to extenuate the fault of Mark; Paul was actuated by a holy severity and zeal, which led him to regard Mark's desertion as disqualifying him for missionary work. Barnabas perhaps saw in Mark the germs of that spirit which afterwards rendered him a distinguished preacher of the gospel; Paul felt that preaching the gospel would be accompanied with great labours and sufferings, and he judged that Mark had already proved himself unequal for them. Barnabas was loath to reject a relative who might be disheartened, if repelled; Paul was afraid lest, by accepting him, the interests of the mission would suffer. A benevolent spirit actuated the one; a just severity influenced the other. Probably there were faults on both sides, though we do not agree with Olshausen in conceiving that, wherever there is a contention, this must necessarily be the case.¹ Paul, however, seems to have been most in the right: with Barnabas the

¹ Olshausen *on the Gospels and the Acts*, vol. iv. p. 423.

natural love of a relation may have caused him in a measure to overlook the higher interests of the gospel; though perhaps Paul's severity was also carried to excess. *Paulus severior Barnabas clementior: uterque in suo sensu abundat. Et tamen dissensio habet aliquid humanæ fragilitatis* (Jerome). Ewald supposes that Paul's confidence even in Barnabas may before this have been somewhat shaken, and that this dispute about Mark was augmented by reason of a previous misunderstanding. The dispute between Peter and Paul had occurred shortly before this; and at that time Barnabas had been "carried away with their dissimulation" (Gal. ii. 13); he also had been guilty of temporizing, and was at least indirectly censured by Paul; and perhaps, in consequence, a degree of coolness may have arisen between them.¹

"Ὡστε ἀποχωρισθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων—so that they separated from each other. Since they could not agree about Mark, they thought it better to part. And this separation was highly conducive to the progress of the gospel. Barnabas and Paul could now work with greater freedom. Barnabas would be delivered from a somewhat false position, in which he might, from the increasing importance of Paul, feel that his own influence was diminishing; and Paul would, on the other hand, feel more thoroughly independent. Besides, instead of one mission, now there were two: Barnabas and Mark labouring in one quarter, and Paul and Silas in another; and thus double work would be performed. "The one stream of missionary labour thus became divided into two parts, and the more regions were in consequence supplied with the water of life" (Olshausen). But although Barnabas and Paul separated, yet we are not to suppose that

¹ Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 443. Renan takes the part of Barnabas, and accuses Paul of pride and ingratitude: "but the exigencies of the work," he observes, "imposed this on Paul; and what man of action has not once in his lifetime committed a great crime of the heart?"—Renan's *Saint Paul*, p. 120. But there is nothing in the narrative to justify this opinion. Paul felt that his companions in the mission must sacrifice themselves entirely.

they did so in anger. Paul, in his epistles, speaks of Barnabas with the greatest respect and affection (1 Cor. ix. 6; Gal. ii. 9). And he was afterwards not only fully reconciled to Mark, but employed him as a companion in his labours. He recommends him to the favourable regard of the church of Colosse (Col. iv. 10); mentions him among the number of his fellow-labourers (Philem. 24); and in the last epistle which he wrote, directs Timothy to bring Mark with him, because he was profitable for the ministry (2 Tim. iv. 11). And doubtless also this dissension resulted in good to Mark himself: the severity of Paul would lead him to repentance and renewed activity; whilst the mildness of Barnabas would preserve him from despondency, and strengthen the good which was in him (Lechler). There is no reason to doubt that this is the same Mark whose praise is now in all the churches as the author of the second Gospel, and who has thus so nobly made amends for the fault committed in his youth.

Τὸν τε Βαρνάβαν παραλαμβάνοντα τὸν Μάρκον—And Barnabas took Mark, and sailed with him to Cyprus. Barnabas, in going to Cyprus, acted on the proposal of Paul, to revisit the places where they had formerly preached the gospel. This is the last mention of Barnabas in the Acts. Of his future career we know nothing. Tradition varies in its accounts. According to one tradition, he went to Milan, and was the first bishop of the church in that city. According to another, he preached the gospel in Rome and Alexandria, and at length was put to death by the Jews in Cyprus.

Ver. 40. Παῦλος δὲ ἐπιλεξάμενος Σίλαν—but Paul having chosen Silas. Silas was in every respect qualified to be the companion of Paul. He was one of the deputies sent from Jerusalem to Antioch; he was highly esteemed by the apostles; and he could from personal knowledge testify to the agreement in doctrine between Paul and the original apostles, being himself present at the Council of Jerusalem. This was also a proof of the high standing which Paul now occupied in the Christian church, that a man of the position of Silas should consent, as a subordinate, to accompany him

on his missionary journeys. *Παραδοθεὶς τῇ χάριτι τοῦ Κυρίου ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν*—*being recommended by the brethren to the grace of the Lord.* Some (Calvin, Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Alford, Cook) suppose that there is here an intimation that the church of Antioch took part with Paul in the dispute: he departed with the prayers of the church, whereas Barnabas left without any expression of their sympathy. "We may," observes Calvin, "from the context collect that in this contest Paul's conduct was most approved of by the church: for when Barnabas went away with his companion, there is no mention of the brethren, as if he had privately withdrawn himself, without taking leave of them; but Paul is recommended by the brethren to the grace of God: whence it appears that the church rather took part with him than with Barnabas in this matter." But too much is made of this statement. It was not the design of Luke to pursue the history of Barnabas further, and therefore he had no occasion to state his departure more minutely than he has done.

Ver. 41. *Διήρχετο δὲ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν*—*And he went through Syria and Cilicia.* It is to be observed that both Barnabas and Paul go first to their native countries—Barnabas to Cyprus, and Paul to Cilicia. The disciples in Syria and Cilicia seem to have been disturbed by the doctrines of the Judaizers: to them the apostolic decree was specially directed (Acts xv. 23); and hence Paul's work would be to quiet these disturbances, and to establish the Gentile Christians in their freedom from Jewish observances. By these means he would confirm the churches (*ἐπιστηρίζων τὰς ἐκκλησίας*); and as formerly, at Antioch, the reading of the decrees caused great joy among the brethren, the same would be the case in Syria and Cilicia.

Ch. xvi. 1. *Κατήγησεν δὲ εἰς Δέρβην καὶ Λύστραν*—*Then he came to Derbe and Lystra.* In journeying from Cilicia to Lycaonia, Paul would have to cross the mountain range of Taurus by the well-known defile called the Cilician Gates, "a rent or fissure in the mountain chain, extending from north to south, through a distance of eighty

miles.”¹ Paul came first to Derbe, the city he visited last in his former journey, because he was now travelling in the opposite direction.

Καὶ ἰδοὺ μαθητῆς τις ἦν ἐκεῖ ὀνόματι Τιμόθεος—*And, behold, a certain disciple was there, named Timotheus.* It is disputed whether Timothy was a native of Derbe or Lystra. Wieseler and Olshausen fix on Derbe. They found this opinion on Acts xx. 4, which they render: “Of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus, and Secundus, and Gaius; also Timotheus of Derbe; and of the Asiatics, Tychicus and Trophimus.” But this is an unnatural rendering of *Γάιος Δερβαῖος καὶ Τιμόθεος*: the *καὶ* intervening shows that *Δερβαῖος* refers not to Timothy, but to Gaius. On the other hand, in our passage, *ἦν ἐκεῖ*, *was there*, refers most naturally to Lystra, the place last mentioned; and when in the next verse mention is made of the cities where Timothy was favourably known, Lystra is named, and the neighbouring city of Iconium, whilst Derbe is omitted. Hence the more probable opinion is, that Lystra was the birth-place of Timothy. So Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Baumgarten, Neander, Alford, and Wordsworth. Wieseler attempts to remove these objections, by supposing that although Timothy was a native of Derbe, he was at present residing in Lystra.² Timothy was already a disciple (*μαθητῆς τις*), and, as we are elsewhere informed, a convert of Paul (1 Tim. i. 2); so that in all probability he was converted during the previous visit of Paul to Lystra.

Τὸς γυναικὸς Ἰουδαίας πιστῆς, πατρὸς δὲ Ἑλλήνος—*The son of a Jewish woman who believed, but of a Greek father.* Timothy was the offspring of a mixed marriage. His mother, whose name was Eunice (2 Tim. i. 5), was a Jewish Christian. His father was a Greek: as it is not said that he was also a believer, it is probable that he remained a heathen, or perhaps was by this time deceased. Such mixed marriages were not uncommon at this time. Grotius asserts that whilst the law strictly prohibited Jews marrying Gentile women, it did

¹ For a description of this route, see Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. pp. 301–306.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie*, pp. 25, 26.

not forbid a Jewess to marry a Gentile; and he appeals to the case of Esther. But Josephus, on the other hand, in mentioning the marriage of Drusilla to Felix, expressly says that Drusilla married Felix in contempt of the law (*Ant.* xx. 7. 2). According to the notions of the strict Jews, the children of such mixed marriages were regarded as illegitimate (Ewald). Timothy, although the son of a Jewess, was at this time uncircumcised: hence he would be regarded by the Jews as a Gentile, or perhaps as an apostate from Judaism, and not in any sense a proselyte. We are informed that he was religiously brought up by the pious care of his mother, so that he had never been an idolater, but, like many devout Gentiles, had embraced the principles of Judaism, though not actually a proselyte; and under the preaching of Paul, he and his mother had become Christians.

Ver. 3. *Τούτου ἠθέλησεν ὁ Παῦλος σὺν αὐτῷ ἐξελθεῖν*—*Him Paul wished to go forth with him.* Besides Timothy's personal qualifications and good report, the peculiarity of his birth rendered him a suitable companion to the apostle: he was related both to the Jews and to the Greeks. He was now to Paul and Silas what Mark was on the former missionary journey to Barnabas and Paul.

Καὶ λαβὼν περιέτεμεν αὐτὸν, διὰ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, etc.—*And took and circumcised him, because of the Jews who were in these quarters.* Paul circumcised Timothy, not, as Ewald supposes, to remove the reproach of illegitimacy,¹ but to remove the offence of the Jews against the gospel. The Jews here mentioned are the unbelieving Jews. They would regard Timothy not merely as an uncircumcised Gentile, but as an apostate from Judaism; and hence it would excite great offence if he, being uncircumcised, assisted Paul in preaching the gospel: it would perhaps have completely closed the door of access to them. Baur objects that such conduct in Paul is inconceivable. "That the same Paul who opposed with all his might the circumcision of Titus out of regard to the Jews, should, not long afterwards, from the same regard to the Jews, cause Timothy to be circumcised, belongs

¹ Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 445.

certainly to those things in the Acts of the Apostles which are incredible. It would be a denial of his principles.”¹ But the cases are not similar; there are at least three points of difference: 1. Titus was a pure Gentile; whereas Timothy was a Jew by the mother’s side. 2. It was the Jewish Christians who demanded the circumcision of Titus; whereas it was for the sake of the unbelieving Jews that Paul circumcised Timothy. 3. A principle of doctrine was involved in the case of Titus,—namely, that circumcision was essential to salvation; whereas in the case of Timothy there was no question of doctrine, but merely a question of prudence. Paul here acted according to his principles of becoming in matters of indifference all things to all men, in order to promote the gospel of Christ; acting as a Jew among the Jews that he might gain the Jews, and as a Gentile among the Gentiles that he might gain the Gentiles (1 Cor. ix. 20–22); but certainly not in compliance with the doctrine of the Judaizers, that circumcision was necessary to salvation. It is easy to see how the want of circumcision in Timothy would have hindered the entrance of the gospel among the Jews, whilst his circumcision would promote that object. We thus recognise in the apostle a grand liberal spirit, which made all external circumstances subservient to the advancement of the gospel; whilst in matters of principle he would not yield one iota. He acted on the principle which Luther promulgates when he says: “Just as I myself in the present day, if I were to go among the Jews, and had to preach the gospel, but saw that they were weak, should be willing and ready to submit to circumcision, and to eat and abstain as they did. For in whatever respect I did not adapt myself to them, I should shut the door against myself, and against the gospel that I preached.”²

Ver. 4. Ὡς δὲ διεπορεύοντο τὰς πόλεις—*And as they journeyed through the cities.* Paul revisited Derbe, Lystra,

¹ Baur’s *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 147.

² For discussions on this question, see Neander’s *Planting*, vol. ii. p. 119; Lekebusch’s *Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 273; Meyer’s *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 322; Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 566–577.

and Iconium: no mention is made of Pisidian Antioch; and it is improbable that he revisited it, as it was out of the route which he now took. From Iconium he would proceed by the direct road to Phrygia.

Ver. 5. *Αἱ μὲν οὖν ἐκκλησῖαι ἐστερεοῦντο τῇ πίστει*—*Therefore were the churches established in the faith, and increased in number daily.* Οὖν—*therefore*; in consequence of the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem, a great hindrance to the reception of the gospel by the Gentiles had been removed. The churches prospered both externally and internally; externally by the increase of their numbers, and internally by their establishment in the faith. *Rarum incrementum, numero simul et gradu* (Bengel).

Ver. 6. *Διελθόντες δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν*—*And having gone through Phrygia.* Phrygia is used in an ethnological rather than in a political sense; as there was at this time no country, strictly speaking, so called. The name resembles the old names of certain districts of Germany, such as Westphalia, Swabia, Franconia, the Palatinate, etc., which have ceased to have any political import. There were two Phrygias: Phrygia Major, situated to the north of the Taurian range; and Phrygia Minor, along the shores of the Hellespont (Livy, xxxviii. 39; Strabo, xii. 8. 1). It is Phrygia Major that is here meant. This district cannot be exactly defined: in the south it was separated from Pisidia by the range of Taurus; on the west it was bounded by Caria, Mysia, and the other districts of proconsular Asia; on the north by Bithynia; and on the east by Galatia. Its principal cities, mentioned in the New Testament, are Colosse, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, situated in the south of the district. According to Josephus, numerous Jews were settled in Phrygia in the time of the Maccabees (*Ant.* xii. 3. 4). Phrygia at this time belonged to two provinces: its southern portion was attached to proconsular Asia, and its northern portion to Galatia.

Γαλατικὴν χώραν—*Galatian region.* Galatia, or, as it is called, Gallo-Græcia, was at this time a Roman province, bounded on the north by Bithynia, on the east by Pontus and

Cappadocia, on the south by Pamphylia, and on the west by proconsular Asia. Besides Galatia proper, it included the districts of Lycaonia and the northern portion of Phrygia. It would, however, appear that the term Galatia in the Acts is not used politically to denote the Roman province, but ethnologically to denote the district inhabited by the Galatians, as it is in this chapter distinguished from Lycaonia and Phrygia.¹ The Galatians were the descendants of Gauls who invaded Greece and Asia about B.C. 280, and after various adventures settled down in that part of Asia. They were reduced to a nominal dependence on the Romans by Cneius Manlius B.C. 189 (Livy, xxxviii. 12), but were ruled by their own princes, called at first tetrarchs, and afterwards kings. Their last king, Amyntas, was rewarded by Augustus for his desertion of Antony with a large extension of territory. On his death (B.C. 26), Augustus converted his kingdom into a province (Strabo, xii. 5. 1). The language of the Galatians was at first Celtic, but they soon learned Greek, and hence were called Gallo-Grecians. Jerome tells us that even in his time a dialect was spoken at Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, similar to that spoken at Treves. May there not have been some relation between this and the dialect of the Lycaonians? (Acts xiv. 11.)²

From the incidental manner in which it is here mentioned that Paul passed through Phrygia and Galatia, we would be led to suppose that it was merely a flying visit which he paid to these two districts; but we learn from the Epistle to the Galatians that this was not the case. Concerning his labours in Phrygia, indeed, we have no further account. It is improbable that he then, as some suppose, preached the gospel in Colosse and Laodicea; as these cities lay too far to the south, and indeed it is doubtful if he ever visited them (Col. ii. 1). But it was at this time that the churches in Galatia were founded. What cities he visited, and how

¹ De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 127; Meyer's *Brief an die Galater*, pp. 2, 3.

² Winer's *Wörterbuch*; Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*; Smith's *Dictionary*; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*.

long he tarried, is not mentioned; yet we infer from the epistle that he remained in the district for a considerable time. He speaks of having preached to them the gospel at the first through infirmity of the flesh (*δι' ἀσθένειαν τῆς σαρκὸς*, Gal. iv. 13), probably some bodily affliction under which he then laboured. No country embraced the gospel so readily and cordially: Paul was received and welcomed by them as if he were an angel sent from heaven (Gal. iv. 14, 15). It is difficult to account for the omission by Luke of these important and successful evangelistic labours of Paul in Galatia. Meyer supposes that it was on account of the imperfection of the records which he employed; Olshausen and Lange think that he hastened to record the labours of the apostle in Europe; Baumgarten thinks that it was outside of his plan, which was to trace the development of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome; Schneckenburger, that it was because there were no Jews in these quarters; and Alford, because the narrator was not with the apostle during this part of his route. Whatever be the reason, the omission shows that the Acts contains only an imperfect account of the missionary labours of Paul.

Κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος—*being prevented by the Holy Ghost*. From Galatia Paul intended to go south to proconsular Asia, but was prevented preaching there by the Holy Ghost. By the Holy Ghost we are not to understand “the spirit of prudence, which judged correctly of circumstances” (De Wette), or “the internal tact of the apostle, which he regarded as the voice of the Spirit” (Zeller), but the objective Spirit of God. The Spirit spoke to him either through one of the prophets, or by an internal impression. The reason why he was prevented preaching in Asia cannot be referred to the absolute decrees of God (Calvin), but because he was now to pass over to Europe—to the very centre of heathenism. Afterwards Paul fully preached the gospel of Christ in Asia.

Ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ—*in Asia*. By Asia, in the Acts of the Apostles, as already observed, we are to understand neither the continent of Asia nor the peninsula of Asia Minor, but

the proconsular province of Asia, including the districts of Lydia, Caria, and Mysia—the ancient kingdom of Pergamus¹ (see note to Acts ii. 9).

Ver. 7. Ἐλθόντες κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν—*after they were come toward Mysia, i.e. to the borders of Mysia.* Mysia was a district of proconsular Asia, lying along the shores of the Hellespont, adjoining to Bithynia (Strabo, xii. 4, 5). This is the only place where the word occurs in the New Testament. Ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι—*they attempted to go into Bithynia.* Bithynia was a Roman province adjoining proconsular Asia, and situated along the south-western shores of the Black Sea (Strabo, xii. 4. 1). It was left as a legacy to the Romans by its last king, Nicomedes III., B.C. 73 (Eutrop. vi. 6). In the reign of Augustus, Bithynia and Pontus constituted one province (Dio, liii. 12); but under Nero, Pontus was converted into a separate province. It was over Bithynia that Pliny was governor, when he wrote his remarkable letter concerning the purity and constancy of the Christians to the Emperor Trajan. At that time, as Pliny states, many of all ages, and of every rank, had embraced the gospel, and the temples were almost forsaken (Plin. x. 96, 97). Nicomedia, the residence of the emperors of the East before the building of Constantinople, and Nicæa and Chalcedon, celebrated for their ecclesiastical councils, were cities in Bithynia. Καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ Πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ—*and the Spirit of Jesus suffered them not.* This remarkable expression, “the Spirit of Jesus,” which does not elsewhere occur in Scripture, is the unquestionable reading of the text.

Ver. 8. Παρελθόντες δὲ τὴν Μυσίαν—*and having passed by Mysia.* “Passed by,” not in the sense of avoiding it, for Paul could not get to Troas without traversing Mysia; but in the sense of hastily passing through it. They did not preach the gospel there, because they had been prevented by the Holy Ghost from preaching the word in Asia. Κατέβησαν—*they came down, descended to the coast.*

¹ Perhaps here the term is employed in a still more limited sense, and is restricted to Lydian Asia, as it is distinguished from Mysia.

Εἰς Τροάδα—to Troas. Troas, or, according to its full name, Alexandria Troas, was a seaport on the Hellespont, between the promontories of Lectum and Sigeum, about four miles distant from the site of ancient Troy. It was situated in the Mysian district of proconsular Asia, and was, as we find in the Acts, a frequent point of embarkation to Greece from proconsular Asia (Acts xx. 5). It was built by Antigonus, one of the successors of Alexander, and called by him Antigoneia Troas; but this name was afterwards changed by Lysimachus into Alexandria Troas, in honour of Alexander the Great (Strabo, xiii. 1. 26).¹ Under the Romans it became one of the most important cities of proconsular Asia: it received from Augustus the privilege of being a Roman colony (Plin. v. 30). According to Suetonius, Julius Cæsar once contemplated to transfer to it the capital of the empire (Julius Cæs. lxxix.): and Constantine had still more serious thoughts of doing so; for before he ultimately fixed on the site of Constantinople, he commenced to build at Alexandria Troas (Gibbon, ch. xvii.): the name which it still bears among the Turks is Eski-Stamboul, or Old Constantinople. Troas is now in ruins; but these are extensive and magnificent, proving the importance that it once possessed. "The ground in every direction," observes Fellows, "within the walls, was strewn with carvings, mouldings, and pedestals in marble, some of which had inscriptions, generally in the Greek language." The harbour is still traceable, though now shut out from the sea by a narrow strip of land.²

¹ The full name on the coins is *Col. Alexandria Augusta Troas*. See Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 481.

² Fellows' *Asia Minor*, pp. 59-75.

SECTION IX.

PAUL AT PHILIPPI.—Acts xvi. 9–40.

9 And a vision appeared to Paul in the night: There stood a certain Macedonian, beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. 10 And after he had seen the vision, immediately we sought to go into Macedonia, concluding that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them. 11 Then, having sailed from Troas, we came by a straight course to Samothracia, and the next day to Neapolis; 12 And thence to Philippi, which is the first city of the district of Macedonia, and a colony: and we were in that city abiding certain days. 13 And on the Sabbath-day we went out of the gate to a river, where a place of prayer was wont to be; and we sat down, and spoke to the women who were assembled. 14 And a certain woman named Lydia, a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, who worshipped God, heard us: whose heart the Lord opened, to attend to the things spoken by Paul. 15 And when she was baptized, and her house, she besought us, saying, If ye have judged me to be a believer in the Lord, come into my house, and abide. And she constrained us.

16 And it came to pass, as we were going to the place of prayer, a certain female slave having a Pythonic spirit met us, who brought her masters much gain by soothsaying: 17 The same, following Paul and us, cried, saying, These men are the servants of the most high God, who announce to you the way of salvation. 18 And this she did many days. But Paul, being grieved, turned and said to the spirit, I command thee, in the name of Jesus Christ, to come out of her. And he came out the same hour. 19 And when her masters saw that the hope of their gains was gone, they seized on Paul and Silas, and drew them to the marketplace to the rulers, 20 And brought them to the prætors, saying, These men, being Jews, create disturbance in our city, 21 And teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive, nor to practise, being Romans. 22 And the multitude rose up together against them: and the prætors having rent off their clothes, commanded to beat them with rods. 23 And when they had laid many stripes upon them, they cast them into prison, having charged the jailor to keep them safely: 24 Who, having received such a charge, thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. 25 And at midnight Paul and Silas praying, sang praises unto God: and the prisoners heard

them. 26 And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken : and immediately all the doors were opened, and the bands of all were loosened. 27 And the jailor awaking from sleep, and seeing the doors of the prison open, drew his sword, and would have killed himself, thinking that the prisoners had fled. 28 But Paul cried with a loud voice, Do thyself no harm : for we are all here. 29 Then he called for lights, and sprang in, and came trembling, and fell down before Paul and Silas, 30 And brought them out, and said, Sirs, what must I do to be saved? 31 And they said, Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved, and thy house. 32 And they spake to him the word of the Lord, with all who were in his house. 33 And he took them at that hour of the night, and washed their stripes ; and was baptized, he and all his, immediately. 34 And when he had brought them into the house, he set meat before them, and rejoiced, that he with all his house had believed on God.

35 But when it was day, the prætors sent the lictors, saying, Release these men. 36 And the jailor told these words to Paul, The prætors have sent that ye may be released : now therefore depart, and go in peace. 37 But Paul said to them, They have beaten us openly uncondemned, men who are Romans, and have cast us into prison : and now do they thrust us out secretly? Nay verily ; but let them come themselves and fetch us out. 38 And the lictors told these words to the prætors : and they were afraid, when they heard that they were Romans. 39 And they came and besought them, and brought them out, and desired them to depart from the city. 40 And having come out of prison, they went into the house of Lydia : and having seen the brethren, they exhorted them, and departed.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 13. *Πόλεως* is the reading of E, G, H ; whereas A, B, C, D, κ read *πύλης*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 16. *Πύθωνος* (*textus receptus*) is found in D, E, G, H ; whereas A, B, C, κ read *πύθωνα*, the reading adopted by almost all recent critics. Ver. 17. *Ἑμῶν* after *καταγγέλλουσιν* is adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf, according to B, D, E, κ ; *ἡμῶν* is the reading of A, C, G, H, and is preferred by Meyer and Alford. Ver. 31. *Χριστόν*, found in C, D, E, G, H, is wanting in A, B, κ , and is rejected by Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Meyer. Ver. 32. *Καὶ πᾶσι* occurs in E, G, H ; whereas *σὺν πᾶσι* is the reading of A, B, C, D, κ , and is adopted by

all recent critics. Ver. 40. *Πρὸς* is decidedly to be preferred to *εἰς*, which is found in no uncial MS.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 9. *Καὶ ὄραμα διὰ νυκτὸς τῷ Παύλῳ ὄφθη*—*And a vision appeared to Paul in the night.* The expression does not necessarily suppose that the revelation was imparted to Paul in a dream (Heinrichs, Kuinœl, Zeller); for if so, it would have been more definitely stated (Matt. ii. 22). *Ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν τις ἦν ἐστῶς*—*there was standing a certain Macedonian.* Paul recognised his country from the words of the vision. Grotius arbitrarily supposes that it was the guardian angel of Macedonia who now appeared. Perhaps it might be the form of the Philippian jailor, as *τις* implies a certain definiteness.¹ We are not to suppose anything real, but merely a representation to the mind. *Ἀνὴρ Μακεδῶν*, the well-known expression of Demosthenes referring to Philip. "The Macedonian spirit once, as a proud conqueror, crossed the Hellespont, and filled Asia with his glory; but now he stands as a suppliant before a man who has no other weapon than the sword of the Spirit" (Lange).²

Διαβὰς εἰς Μακεδονίαν—*having passed over to Macedonia.* This most celebrated country lay to the north of Greece. Its boundaries varied at different periods. Under Philip and his more distinguished son it reached the climax of its glory. Macedonia was conquered by the Romans B.C. 167, when Perseus, the last of its kings, was defeated by Paulus Æmilius. It was then converted into a Roman province, and divided into four parts, each district having a capital of its own. *Capita regionum, ubi concilia fierent, primæ regionis Amphipolîn, secundæ Thessalonîcen, tertiæ Pelliam, quartæ Pelagoniam fecit* (Liv. xlv. 29).³ Thessalonica was the

¹ Just as the high priest Jaddua is said to have been seen by Alexander in a vision, inviting him to come over to Asia (Joseph. *Ant.* xi. 8. 5).

² Lange's *das apostolische Zeitalter*, p. 202.

³ Akerman, in his *Numismatic Illustrations*, gives examples of coins of each of these four divisions, pp. 43, 44.

general capital of the whole province, and the residence of the Roman governor. Macedonia had numerous flourishing cities: of these, Philippi, Thessalonica, Amphipolis, Apollonia, and Berea, are mentioned in the Acts.¹ It now constitutes part of Turkey; and notwithstanding the oppression of the Turks, Christianity, though in a poor condition, exists to this day.

Ver. 10. *Ἐζητήσαμεν*—*we sought*. After the vision, Paul and his companions immediately sought to go to Macedonia, namely, by inquiry after a ship to cross the Ægean Sea. It is observable that the *first person* is here introduced for the first time, the author thus intimating his presence. From this, it appears that Luke joined Paul's company at Troas. Wieseler fancifully supposes that he did so as a physician, on account of the state of Paul's health. With regard to the reasons why Luke never mentions his own name throughout the whole history, Meyer supposes that it was because it was well known to Theophilus;² whereas Olshausen, with more probability, suggests a feeling of modesty. Though Paul mentions him in honourable terms in his epistles, yet he himself omits any relation of what he did in the cause of Christianity. With regard to the other suppositions, as to the authorship of those portions of the Acts where the author includes himself—that they were written by Timothy (Schleiermacher, Mayerhoff, Ulrich, Bleek, De Wette) or by Silas (Schwanbeck)—see introductory chapter.

Συμβιβάζοντες ὅτι προσκέκληται ἡμᾶς ὁ Κύριος εὐαγγελίσασθαι αὐτοὺς—*concluding that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them*. Paul and his companions had been prevented by the Spirit preaching the gospel in proconsular Asia and Bithynia: they had now arrived at Troas, on the Ægean Sea, directly opposite to Macedonia; and now a vision appears to Paul, calling him to come over to Macedonia and help them: hence they rightly conclude that the call proceeded from Christ Himself.

¹ The Roman province of Macedonia comprised Macedonia proper, Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Illyricum.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 325.

Ver. 11. *Εὐθύδρομήσαμεν*—*we came by a straight course*: a nautical expression, referring to the favourable nature of the voyage—"we sailed before the wind." Two days were occupied in sailing from Troas to Neapolis; whereas five days were consumed in sailing in a contrary direction from Neapolis to Troas (Acts xx. 6).

Σαμοθράκην. Samothracia, a small island, eight miles long, and six broad, in the Ægean Sea, was so called because it lay off the coast of Thrace, and to distinguish it from the island of Samos, off the coast of Ionia (Acts xx. 15). In ancient times it was celebrated for its religious mysteries—a mixture of Grecian and Oriental mythology (Strabo, x. 3. 20, 21). Its modern name is Samotraki.

Εἰς Νεάπολιν. Neapolis was a seaport on the Gulf of Strymon (Strabo, *Fragm.* 32), opposite the island of Thasos, about ten miles from Philippi. At this period it was a town of Thrace, Philippi being the frontier town of Macedonia (Pliny, iv. 18). In the time of Vespasian, Neapolis, along with the whole country of Thrace, was united to the Macedonian province (Suetonius, *Vesp.* 8). It is now known by the name of Cavallo, a small seaport belonging to the Turkish province of Macedonia.¹ A few ruins and inscriptions serve to point out the site. It must ever be illustrious as the first place in Europe visited by Paul, the greatest missionary of the Christian faith.

Ver. 12. *Εἰς Φιλίππους*—*to Philippi*. Philippi was situated about ten miles from the sea, with which it communicated by its port Neapolis. Its original name was Crenides, or the Fountains, so called from its numerous springs: afterwards it was known by the name of Datum.² Datum was a Thracian town, but was conquered by Philip, who rebuilt and fortified it, giving it the name of Philippi

¹ The identity of the modern Cavallo with the ancient Neapolis has been proved by Dr. Hackett, who visited it and Philippi in December 1858. See also Clark's *Travels*, ch. xii. and xiii.

² "Philippi," observes Strabo, "was formerly called Crenides: it was a small settlement, but increased after the defeat of Brutus and Cassius" (Strabo, *Fragm.* 41, 43).

after himself (B.C. 358). In the neighbourhood were gold mines, which Philip worked to such advantage that he is said to have acquired the supremacy of Greece by the treasures which he thus obtained. Philippi is celebrated in history as the battle-field where the Roman republic received its death-blow, when Brutus and Cassius were totally overthrown by Augustus and Antony. But to Christians it is still more interesting, as the city where Paul first preached the gospel in Europe, and to the church of which he wrote his epistle. Its site is now occupied by an insignificant village called Filiba. The ruins are extensive, though the only remains of importance are two gateways, supposed to belong to the age of Claudius.

"*Ἦτις ἐστὶν πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις—* which is the first city of the district of Macedonia. *Μερίς*, a part or district. Some suppose that the reference is to the division of Macedonia into four parts, made two hundred years before this by Paulus Æmilius; but this division was in all probability temporary. It may refer to the district or country of Macedonia, as distinguished from the province, which included also Epirus and Thessaly. Several meanings have been given to this description of Philippi. 1. Some suppose that *πρώτη πόλις* signifies the capital, the chief city, —a translation of which the words easily admit, but which does not accord with history. Ewald thinks that Philippi was the capital of the whole province, and the residence of the Roman proconsul; but these distinctions belonged to Thessalonica. Others suppose that it was the capital of that part of Macedonia, *Macedonia Prima*, where Paul then was; but we learn from Livy that this was Amphipolis. It is, however, maintained that Amphipolis had by this time decayed, and that Philippi, by reason of its increasing importance, was now esteemed the chief city of Macedonia Prima. This assertion, however, is not confirmed by history; and besides, the division of Macedonia into four parts had probably long before this ceased. 2. Other interpreters suppose that the true reading is not *πρώτη τῆς*, but *πρώτης* (Pierce, Doddrige), a city of the first part of Macedonia; but this is

a critical emendation unsupported by the authority of MSS., and is therefore to be rejected. 3. Others (Kuinoel, Hug, Stier, Humphry) take *πρώτη πόλις* in the sense of a chief town—a town dignified by the title *πρώτη*; and for this they appeal to inscriptions on coins in which certain Greek cities, although not capitals, are styled *πρώτη*. This title is found on the coins of Pergamus and Smyrna, cities of proconsular Asia, as well as of Ephesus, the capital of the province. But there is no proof from coins that this title was conferred on Philippi; and, so far as has yet been discovered, it is restricted to the cities of proconsular Asia. 4. Others (Grotius, Baumgarten, Meyer, Lange) combine *πρώτη πόλις* with *κολωνία*—the *first colonial city of the district*: either in point of importance the most distinguished (Meyer), or of geographical situation the first at which Paul arrived (Grotius). But it is more natural to consider *κολωνία* as an independent predicate. 5. Others (Bengel, Olshausen, De Wette, Winer, Lechler, Wieseler, Davidson, Alford, Conybeare and Howson) render it, the first city of the district of Macedonia—that is, of Macedonia proper, at which Paul arrived. The expression *πρώτη πόλις* is thus understood in a topographical sense. This appears to be the correct meaning, especially as it has been rendered probable that Neapolis was not only the mere port of Philippi (Olshausen), but at that time a town of Thrace, and not of Macedonia. The objection to this rendering is, that the verb *ἔστι*, *is*, denotes a permanent distinction; whereas, had Luke meant to denote the first city at which they arrived, he would have used *ἦν*, *was*. But this is hypercriticism: Luke might well say, “which is the first city of Macedonia,” meaning the first city to which they came.

Κολωνία—a colony. Augustus bestowed upon Philippi the privilege of a colony, with the *Jus Italicum* (Plin. iv. 18; Dio Cass. li. 4). Its full name on its coins is, *Colonia Augusta Julia Philippensis*.¹ The Roman colonies are not to be understood as similar to our colonies. They were

¹ According to Akerman, there are colonial coins of Philippi from the reign of Augustus to that of Caracalla. He gives an example of a coin

rather an extension of Rome itself. The colonists were not only governed by Roman laws, but they had their rulers—their senate and magistrates—similar to those which Rome possessed, and were recognised as the full citizens of the empire, with the right of voting at Rome. Only the descendants of the colonists, and not the original inhabitants of the city, had the privilege of Roman citizens. The privileges of these colonial cities varied. Some had to pay a tax for the land, as being provincial ground; others received the additional privilege of *Jus Italicum*, by which they were freed from such taxation. *Ager Italicus immunis est: ager provincialis vectigalis est.* Philippi was one of those colonies which enjoyed the *Jus Italicum* (Dion Cassius, li. 4).¹

Ver. 13. Παρὰ ποταμὸν—*by a river.* This river was not the Strymon (De Wette, Neander), which was nearly a day's journey from Philippi, and between which and the town was the plain where the celebrated battle was fought; but probably the Gangas, or Gangites, a small rivulet which flows close by Philippi, generally dry in summer, but swollen in winter (Hackett). Οὐ ἐνομιζέτο προσευχῆ εἶναι—*where a place of prayer (proseucha) was wont to be.* The *proseuchæ* were places of prayer, which the Jews had in cities where, either on account of the smallness of their numbers, or the prohibition of the magistrates, they had no synagogues. Sometimes they were buildings, and at other times they were open places, such as groves, gardens, etc. Sometimes they were within the walls of cities, but in general without the gates. Here it would seem from the word ἐνομιζέτο that the *proseucha* at Philippi was an open place. The Jews generally had these places of prayer by the sea-side, or near rivers, for the sake of purification. Thus Josephus states one of the terms of the decree of the city of Halicarnassus

of Claudius, which is contemporary with the visit of Paul to Philippi. See Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. pp. 75, 76.

¹ For further information, see Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, pp. 331 and 344, and works on Roman antiquities; also Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 120–122; and Alford's *New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 162.

in favour of the Jews to be, "that they may make their *proseuchæ* at the sea-side, according to the customs of their forefathers" (*Ant.* xiv. 10. 23). And Tertullian mentions, among other Jewish rites and customs, *orationes littorales*, i.e. prayers offered up on the shores (*adv. Nationes*, i. 13).¹ It would appear that there was no synagogue at Philippi. The number of Jews seems to have been small, as it was not a mercantile, but a military town. We do not read of opposition from the Jews, as in other places; and the *proseucha* by the river-side was frequented only by women. *Taîs συνελθούσαις γυναιξίν*—to the women assembled. Calvin supposes that the reason why there were only women, was because they were more susceptible of religion than the men. Schrader thinks that the Jews had been banished. These are mere arbitrary suppositions. Most probably these women were chiefly Jewish proselytes, as we learn elsewhere that Judaism was embraced by many women among the Greeks. Lydia, here mentioned, was a proselyte.

Ver. 14. *Λυδία*—*Lydia*. Lydia was a common female name among the Greeks and Romans; and therefore it is improbable that she was so called merely because she was a Lydian by birth (Grotius). *Πορφυρόπωλις*—a seller of purple: either of the colouring matter, or what is more likely, of the fabric already dyed. *Πόλεως Θυατείρων*—of the city of Thyatira. Thyatira was a city of the Lydian district of proconsular Asia. It is one of the seven churches mentioned in the Apocalypse. We are informed that it was a Macedonian colony (Strabo, xiii. 4. 4); but what is a still more remarkable coincidence, we learn from authentic records that the district of Lydia, and the city of Thyatira in particular, was famous for its purple dyes. Thus Claudian: *non sic decus ardet erburnum Lydia Sidonia quod fœmina tinxerit ostro* (*Rapt. Proserp.* i. 270). See also Homer's *Iliad*, iv. 141, 142. And among the ruins of Thyatira an inscription has been found relating to the guild of dyers (*οἱ βαφεῖς*).²

¹ Lardner's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

² It is said that the art of dyeing is still practised in the modern town called Akhissar (Cook on the *Acts*, p. 195).

Σεβομένη τὸν Θεόν—*who worshipped God*; a proselyte to Judaism—a convert from heathenism.

Ver. 15. Καὶ ὁ οἶκος αὐτῆς—and *her house*. It has been disputed whether this phrase includes the children of Lydia, and can be adduced as an argument in favour of infant baptism. Meyer, De Wette, Neander, and Olshausen deny that infants are here included; Bengel, Wordsworth, and Alford take the opposite view of the subject. Evidently the passage in itself cannot be adduced as a proof either for or against infant baptism: there is in it no indication whether there were or were not children in the household of Lydia. The argument rests not on any solitary passage, but on the number of instances in which it is said that households were baptized. *Quis credat, in tot familiis nullum fuisse infantem?* (Bengel.) The subject, however, belongs to dogmatical, and not to exegetical theology. *Εἰ κεκρίκατέ με πιστὴν τῷ Κυρίῳ εἶναι*—*if ye have judged me to be a believer in the Lord*: not *faithful to the Lord*, for that judgment would have been precipitate; but *a believer in the Lord*. The perfect here is entirely correct, and is not to be taken for the present (Kuinoel); because Paul, by administering the sacrament of baptism, had already pronounced the judgment that she was a believer in the Lord.

Ver. 16. Ἐγένετο δὲ—*But it came to pass*: not on the same day (Kuinoel), but evidently some time after. Paul and his companions continued for several Sabbaths to frequent the *proseucha* by the river-side, and to discourse there to the women assembled. Πνεῦμα πύθωνα—a *Pythonic spirit*. Python was the serpent that guarded Delphi, which was slain by Apollo; and hence that god was called Pythius. In the temple of Apollo the organ of the oracle was always a woman, said to be inspired by the god. The heathen inhabitants of Philippi accordingly regarded this woman as inspired by Apollo; and Luke here uses the term in accommodation to their views. In later times a Pythonic spirit was regarded as the same as a ventriloquist (ἐγγαστριμύθοι; Plutarch, *de oracul. defectu*, p. 414).¹ Hence some suppose

¹ Augustine calls this female slave *ventriloqua femina* (*de Civ. Dei*, ii. 23).

that this female slave possessed the gift of ventriloquism, but lost it through alarm at the sudden address of Paul. The manner, however, in which Luke relates the history, plainly implies that she was one of those who in early Christian times were possessed with a devil: in other words, that she was a demoniac, and not an impostor. Paul addresses the evil spirit, and commands him to come out of her; and we are informed that he came out of her the same hour. We are not, however, to suppose that Paul adopted the superstitious notions of the heathen, that this woman was inspired by Apollo. He himself asserts that an idol is nothing in the world (1 Cor. viii. 4). To him the individual deity Apollo was a nonentity—a mere phantom of the imagination. Apollo did not actuate this slave, but some evil spirit did. According to the views of the heathen, she had a Pythonic spirit; according to the views of Paul, she was a demoniac, similar to those who are so frequently mentioned in the Gospels. We reserve the discussion of demoniacal possession until we come to consider Acts xix. 13–16. *Τοῖς κυρίοις αὐτῆς*—*to her masters*. It would appear from this that she was the property of several masters. She was a valuable possession to them, because her soothsaying, which was supposed to emanate from Apollo, was a source of great gain; just as fortune-telling is, when men are credulous and superstitious.

Ver. 17. *Οὗτοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι δοῦλοι τοῦ Θεοῦ*, etc.—*These men are the servants of the most high God*. It is unnecessary to suppose that she merely uttered what she had heard spoken by others; but the case is similar to the testimonies of evil spirits in favour of Christ recorded in the Gospels, however such testimonies are to be explained (Matt. viii. 29; Mark iii. 11; Luke viii. 28). Either the evil spirits were constrained, against their will, to bear this testimony to Christ and His disciples, or they wished to make it appear that they were confederate with them. Certainly not, as Walch supposes, “the damsel so called after Paul, in order to obtain money from him.”

Ver. 18. *Διαπονηθεὶς*—*being grieved*. The word involves the idea both of grief and indignation: grief for the unfor-

tunate condition of the slave; indignation at the evil spirit by whom she was possessed. *Τῷ πνεύματι εἶπεν*—said to the spirit: thus distinguishing the evil spirit from the woman. Neither Christ nor His apostles would receive testimony from devils. *Ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐξελθεῖν ἀπ' αὐτῆς*—In the name of Jesus Christ, come out of her. Christ performed miracles in His own name; the apostles did so in the name of Christ. The one was the Son; the others were the servants of the household. "In my name shall they cast out devils" (Mark xvi. 17).

Ver. 19. *Ἐπιλαβόμενοι τὸν Παῦλον καὶ Σίλαν*—seizing on Paul and Silas, as being the principal persons. Timothy and Luke were left unmolested. *Εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν*—to the market-place: the chief place of concourse, where the courts of justice were held. *Ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας*—to the rulers: a generic term, the same as the *στρατηγοί* in the next verse.

Ver. 20. *Τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*—to the prætors. The usual name of the two chief magistrates of a Roman colony was *duumviri*, answering to the consuls of Rome. They, however, took a pride in calling themselves by the Roman title, *prætores*, as being a more honourable appellation. Thus Cicero, speaking of the magistrates of Capua, says: *Cum in cæteris coloniis Duumviri appellantur, hi se Prætores appellari volebant* (*De Leg. Agr.* c. 34).¹ And no doubt the example set by Capua was followed by other colonial cities. *Στρατηγοί*, then, is an appropriate term to denote the magistrates of Philippi, a Roman colony, being the Greek equivalent for the Latin *prætores*. Wetstein informs us that even in the present day (1754) the inhabitants of Messina call the prefect of their city Stradigo.² *Ἰουδαῖοι ὑπάρχοντες*—being Jews; used in a contemptuous manner, to excite the prætors and the multitude against the disciples. The Jews were despised and hated by the Gentiles, and were at this time in special disgrace, as they had lately been banished from Rome by Claudius. The magistrates would be especially enraged if they found that Jews were propagating

¹ Biscoe on the Acts, p. 317.

² Lewin's *St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 246.

their noxious opinions among the citizens. The distinction between Christians and Jews does not appear to have been recognised at Philippi.

Ver. 21. *Καὶ καταγέλλουσιν ἔθῃ*—*and teach customs which are not lawful for us to receive or practise, being Romans.* As Calvin strikingly remarks: "The accusation was craftily composed: on the one hand, they boast of the name of Romans, than which no name was more honourable; on the other hand, they excite hatred against the apostles, and bring them into contempt by calling them Jews, which name was at that time infamous: for, as regards religion, the Romans had less affinity to the Jews than to any other nation." It is not clear how far the teaching of strange religious customs was then punishable by the Roman law. The Romans granted absolute toleration to the nations whom they conquered to follow their own religious customs: they took the gods of these countries under their protection. But, on the other hand, there were laws which forbade the introduction of strange deities among the Romans themselves (Liv. xxxix. 16). For example, the Jews were allowed the unrestricted observance of their own religion, but it was contrary to the strict Roman law to propagate their opinions among the Romans: they might make proselytes of other nations, but not of the Romans: hence the force of the words *Ῥωμαίοις οἴσειν*. "Judaism," observes Neander, "was a *religio licita* for the Jews. Nevertheless they were not allowed to propagate their religion among the Roman pagans, who were expressly forbidden under heavy penalties to undergo circumcision."¹ These laws were perhaps not generally acted upon, but they might at any time be put into execution. And on the ground of these laws, Christianity was afterwards systematically persecuted by the Roman government: it was regarded as a *religio illicita*, especially as it was the religion of no particular country.

Ver. 22. *Καὶ συνεπέστη ὁ ὄχλος κατ' αὐτῶν*—*And the multitude rose up together against them.* The multitude made common cause with the masters of the female slave against

¹ Neander's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 123, Bohn's edition.

the Christians: there was a popular tumult; and the prætors, terrified thereby, without examining into the case, hastily commanded Paul and Silas to be beaten, in order to appease the clamours of the people. *Περιρήξαντες αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια*—*having rent off their clothes*. Not that the prætors rent their own clothes from indignation, as Erasmus strangely imagines; or that they rent off the clothes of Paul and Silas with their own hands, as Bengel thinks; but that they commanded the lictors to do so. When persons were ordered to be scourged, the clothes were violently pulled off by the executioners: *lacere vestem* (Liv., Tac.). *Ἐκέλευον ῥαβδίξειν*—*they commanded to beat them with rods*. In 2 Cor. xi. 25 Paul says, “Thrice was I beaten with rods:” this was one of the instances; the other two are not recorded. *Ῥαβδίξειν*—“to beat with a rod:” the mode in which scourging was administered by the Romans.

Ver. 24. *Εἰς τὴν ἐσωτέραν φυλακὴν*—*into the inner prison*. The jailor having received the order to keep them safely, adopted a double precaution: he thrust them into the inner prison, and made their feet fast in the stocks. The stocks (*ξύλον*, Latin *nervus*) was an instrument not only of detention, but of torture. It consisted of a wooden block, furnished with holes, into which the legs of the prisoner were put, and which could be stretched from each other. Potter, in his *Roman Antiquities*, tells us that not unfrequently they dislocated the joints. Eusebius informs us that Origen, in his old age, was put to this torture: “For many days he was extended and stretched to the distance of four holes on the rack” (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 39).

It is to be observed that here, for the first time, mention is made of a persecution of the Christians caused by the Roman authority. In other places, as at Jerusalem, Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, and Lystra, either the Jews were the sole persecutors, or else the multitude was stirred up by them: there was no interference on the part of the Roman government. But here the Jews do not seem to have been concerned at all; on the contrary, the Christians are punished on the mistaken notion that they were propagating Jewish

opinions. The charge brought against them was, that they were disturbers of the peace. The mob was excited against them, and the magistrates yielded to their clamours. And this was a prelude to those frequent persecutions to which, during the first three centuries, the Roman government subjected the Christians.

Ver. 25. *Προσευχόμενοι ὑμῶν τὸν Θεόν*—*Praying, they sang hymns to God*: not, as in our version, “prayed, and sang praises to God.” Their singing of hymns was their prayer: probably the Psalms of David, many of which were appropriate to their situation. *Nihil crus sentit in nervo, quum animus in cælo est* (Tertullian): “The limb feels nothing in the stocks, when the mind is in heaven.”

Ver. 26. *Ἄφνω δὲ σεισμός ἐγένετο μέγας*—*And suddenly there was a great earthquake*. There is no doubt that this is represented by the historian as a miraculous interposition. Whilst Paul and Silas are singing praises to God, an earthquake shakes the prison, all the doors are thrown open, and the chains of all the prisoners are loosened. Natural explanations are inadmissible. The objections which Baur and Zeller advance, arise solely from the supposed incredibility of the miracle, and therefore can have no weight with those who believe in the reality of miraculous intervention. Zeller observes: “The entire miracle is superfluous, as the deliverance of the two prisoners was effected not by the miracle, but by the order of the *duumviri*.”¹ But it is not our province to judge of the use or uselessness of particular miracles: and besides, the conversion of the jailor was the result of the miracle.

Ver. 27. *Ἐμελλεν ἑαυτὸν ἀναιρεῖν*—*would have killed himself*. The jailor, awaking from his sleep, seeing the prison doors open, drew his sword, and in the excitement of the moment would have killed himself, naturally concluding that the prisoners had escaped. If the prisoners had escaped, he was liable to the same punishment which they were to suffer. Suicide was then prevalent among the Romans, and was not regarded as a crime. On the contrary, it was at that time

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 253.

even looked upon as an honourable action.¹ It had been sanctioned by the illustrious example of Cato; and even at this very place, in Philippi, Brutus and Cassius, and many of the conspirators of Cæsar, put an end to their lives. It has been asked why the jailor, before he proceeded to such a desperate act, “did not first go and see if things were really as bad as he feared” (Baur). But the answer is obvious: men will do those things in the excitement of the moment, which they would refrain from doing in their calmer moods.

Ver. 28. *Ἄπαντες γὰρ ἐσμεν ἐνθάδε*—*for we are all here.* Most probably the terrified jailor might give vent to loud expressions of despair; for we are not to suppose that he could have remained silent under the circumstances. And from these exclamations Paul would become aware of the desperate deed which he was about to commit. The other prisoners, although their chains were loosened, and the prison doors open, had made no attempt to escape. They would remain panic-struck at what had happened, and would feel a deep sense of the presence of God. The example and authority of Paul and Silas would also exercise a powerful influence upon them. They must have felt that there was something supernatural about these men, seeing that Heaven itself had interposed on their behalf. The supposition of Chrysostom, that the prisoners did not see that the doors were open, is wholly unnecessary.

Ver. 29. *Αἰτήσας δὲ φῶτα*—*then having called for lights.* Not a light, as in our version, but lights; several of them, to examine everything closely. *Προσέπεσεν τῷ Παύλῳ καὶ Σίλῳ*—*he fell down before Paul and Silas.* Although several of the attendants would come in with lights, the jailor does not scruple to throw himself, in their presence, at the feet of his prisoners. He no longer regarded Paul and Silas as criminals, but as the favourites of Heaven.

Ver. 30. *Προαγαγὼν αὐτοὺς ἔξω*—*having brought them out;* namely, from the inner prison into the court of the prison. *Τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ*—*What must I do to be*

¹ Biscoe on the Acts, p. 320.

saved? The salvation after which he inquires is not freedom from the wrath of the rulers, as if he had said, What methods shall I take for my security? The prisoners were all safe, and he was in no danger on that point. And, besides, even if he felt exposed to such danger, his prisoners could not help him. Nor are the words to be rendered as if he had said, How shall I escape the punishment of the gods on account of my cruelty towards you? The jailor, in imprisoning Paul and Silas, was only the instrument in the hands of the magistrates of Philippi: he was obeying his superiors. It is the gospel salvation after which he inquires, the salvation which Paul and Silas had proclaimed; and so Paul understood the question. Paul and Silas had probably been for several weeks in Philippi preaching the gospel before they had been arrested. Their preaching must have created excitement in the city; and, without doubt, reports of it had reached the jailor, even if he himself had not heard them. And thus awakened in his conscience, and believing in some confused manner that these men were "the servants of the most high God, who announce the way of salvation," he asks the most momentous question which can be put by any human being.

Vers. 31, 32. *Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ σωθήσῃ*—"Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou shalt be saved." Paul places before him faith in Jesus as the condition of his salvation. He calls upon him to embrace the religion of Christ. Paul would of course explain to him more fully the nature of Christianity; for we read that "he spoke the word of the Lord to him, and to all who were in his house." *Σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκος σου*—*thou and thy house*. These words refer both to *πίστευσον* and to *σωθήσῃ* (Meyer). They do not mean that his faith would save his household as well as himself; but that the same way of salvation was open both to him and to his household.

Ver. 33. *Ἐλουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν*—*washed their stripes*. *Ἀπό* has an emphatic sense. He washed and cleansed them from their stripes; that is, from the blood caused by their stripes, with which they were covered. See Winer's *Grammar*,

p. 389. *Καὶ ἐβαπτίσθη*—*and was baptized*; apparently at the same time, and perhaps in the same pool in which he had washed their stripes in the court of the prison. As Chrysostom beautifully expresses it: *ἔλουσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐλούθη ἐκείνους μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν ἔλουσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἐλούθη*—“He washed them, and he was washed; he washed them from their stripes, he himself was washed from his sins.” *Αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες*—*he and all his*. From the baptism of himself and his household, Chrysostom conjectures that the jailor is the person called Stephanas alluded to in 1 Cor. i. 16, xvi. 15, 17. But Stephanas was the first-fruits of Achaia, and not of Macedonia; he was a native of Corinth, and not of Philippi.

Ver. 34. *Ἀναγαγῶν αὐτοὺς*—*having brought them up*. This does not necessarily imply that the dwelling of the jailor was above the prison (Meyer), but only that it was above the court of the prison, where they then were. *Παρέθηκεν τράπεζαν*—*apposuit mensam: set meat before them*. *Πανοικεῖ*—*with all his house*; equivalent to *σὺν ὅλῳ τῷ οἴκῳ*, and to be connected with *πεπιστευκῶς*. *Πεπιστευκῶς τῷ Θεῷ*: not “believing in God” (Eng. ver.), but *that he had believed on God*, assigning a reason for his joy. That he believed also in Jesus is implied.

Ver. 35. *Τοὺς ῥαβδούχους*—*the lictors*. *Ῥαβδουχοί*—those who hold the rod, lictors: hence the same who had scourged Paul and Silas the day before. The lictors accompanied the *duumviri* of the colonial cities, as they did the consuls at Rome, to execute their decrees. *Λέγοντες, Ἀπόλυσον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνους*—*saying, Release these men*. This change in the disposition of the prætors has been differently accounted for. Some (Olshausen, Meyer, De Wette, Neander) suppose that the report of the earthquake and the miraculous deliverance may have terrified them; others, that they may have made themselves better informed as to the character of Paul and Silas, and may have discovered the selfish motives of their accusers; others, that they may have had their suspicions that they were Romans. But the most natural reason is, that they had formerly acted in the

excitement of the moment, under the influence of popular commotion, and that on reflection they found that they had acted rashly and illegally; and therefore they thought it the wisest course to hush up the matter as quietly as possible.

Ver. 37. *Πρὸς αὐτοὺς*—to them: namely, to the lictors. *Ἀκατακρίτους*—uncondemned. Paul here accuses the prætors of two violations of the law: they had beaten those who were uncondemned (Acts xxv. 16); and they had beaten those who were Roman citizens. *Ῥωμαίους ἰπάρχοντας*—being Romans. Paul on another occasion asserts that he was a Roman citizen; and it appears from this that Silas also possessed the same privilege. How Silas obtained his freedom we do not know. Paul says of himself that he was free born. (See, on this subject, notes to Acts xxii. 25–28.) The privilege of Roman citizenship was not so uncommon among the Jews as some suppose. It is frequently adverted to by Josephus: he mentions those who were by birth Jews, and yet were Romans, and that even of the equestrian order (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 9). Among the privileges of the Roman citizen, one was freedom from scourging. There were two laws which forbade a Roman citizen to be scourged: the Valerian law, passed B.C. 508; and the Sempronian or Porcian law, passed B.C. 300 (*Liv.* x. 9). The former forbade its infliction until an appeal to the people was decided; the latter forbade it absolutely. *Lex Porcia virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpore amovit* (Cicero, *Pro Rabirio*): “The Porcian law removes the rod from the bodies of all Roman citizens.” There are many references to this privilege of the Roman citizen. “It is,” says Cicero, “a misdeed to bind a Roman citizen—a crime to scourge him—almost parricide to put him to death.”¹ “How often has this exclamation, ‘I am a Roman citizen,’ brought aid and safety, even among barbarians, in the remotest part of the earth!” “There was a Roman citizen scourged with rods in the market-place of Messina. In the midst of his pain and the noise of the rods, nothing was heard from this wretched

Facinus est vinciri civem Romanum, scelus verberari, prope parricidium necari.

man than the words, I am a Roman citizen" (Cicero, *in Verrem*).¹

Δάθρα ἡμᾶς ἐκβάλλουσιν—Do they thrust us out secretly? *Δάθρα* opposed to *δημοσίᾳ*. As the punishment was public, so must the reparation be public. It has been often asked, Why Paul did not make this appeal to his privilege as a Roman citizen before, when the prætors ordered him to be scourged? Why did he not then stop the proceedings with the exclamation, *Civis Romanus sum*? The common opinion is, either that he was not heard in the tumult, or that he knew that he would not be heard. "The execution," observes Biscoe, "was so hasty, that he had not time to say anything that might make for his defence; and the noise and confusion were so great, that had he cried out with never so loud a voice that he was a Roman, he might reasonably believe that he should not be regarded."² Others suppose that he did not appeal because he was not questioned, and had no opportunity of asserting his privilege. But neither of these seems to be the correct reason. On a somewhat similar occasion Paul avoided scourging, by appealing to his Roman citizenship (Acts xxii. 25–28). Paul seems here voluntarily to have waived his rights, for some reasons with which we are unacquainted: he perhaps felt that the cause of the gospel would be more benefited by his endurance than by his avoidance of suffering; and this we find was actually the case. *Οὐ γάρ· ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντες αὐτοὶ ἡμᾶς ἐξαγαγέτωσαν*—Nay verily; but let them come and fetch us out. In the answer which Paul now made, he had respect not merely to his own honour, but to the honour and interest of Christianity in Philippi. They had been publicly scourged and imprisoned: if, therefore, they had departed without a public declaration of their innocence, a stain would have rested on their reputation, and thus the cause of the gospel would have been injured. Besides, such a public declaration of the illegality

¹ For these and other references, see Kuinzel's *Novi Testamenti libri historici*, vol. iii. pp. 253, 254; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 364, 365, etc.

² Biscoe on the *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 321.

of their punishment on the part of the magistrates would undoubtedly encourage the new converts, and at the same time shield them from popular violence.

Ver. 38. Ἐφοβήθησαν—*they feared*. The prætors were afraid, because they had violated the rights of Roman citizens. Heavy penalties were denounced against those who did so: it was regarded as an injury inflicted on the majesty of Rome.

Ver. 39. Παρεκάλεσαν αὐτούς—*besought them*; that is, entreated them not to make any legal complaint—apologized for their conduct, and implored forgiveness. Ἀπελθεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως—to *depart out of the city*, lest there should be any further disturbance among the people.

Ver. 40. Καὶ ἐξῆλθον—and *departed*. Though many circumstances might have invited their continuance at Philippi, yet, from respect to the authorities, they comply with the request of the prætors, and depart. But although Paul and Silas depart, Luke seems to have remained, in order to instruct and strengthen the infant church. The direct style of narrative is here dropped, and is not resumed until some years afterwards, when Paul revisited Macedonia, and Luke again joined him (Acts xx. 5). Whether Timothy also remained, cannot be determined. He is not again mentioned until Acts xvii. 14, when he was left with Silas at Berea; but it cannot from this be determined whether he departed with Paul and Silas from Philippi, or, remaining behind, joined them again at Berea.

SECTION X.

PAUL AT THESSALONICA AND BEREА.—ACTS XVII. 1-15.

1 And after passing through Amphipolis and Apollonia, they came to Thessalonica, where was the synagogue of the Jews. 2 And Paul, according to his custom, went in unto them, and for three Sabbaths reasoned with them from the Scriptures; 3 Opening and propounding that the Christ must suffer, and rise from the dead; and that this is the Christ, even Jesus, whom I preach unto you. 4 And some of them were convinced, and were added to Paul and Silas; also a great multitude of the devout Greeks, and not a few of the chief women. 5 But the Jews who did not believe, having taken to themselves certain wicked men of the market loungers, and having raised a mob, set the city in an uproar; and having beset the house of Jason, they sought to bring them out to the people. 6 But when they did not find them, they drew Jason and certain brethren to the city rulers, crying, These who have disturbed the world, are come hither also; 7 Whom Jason has received: and these all do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there is another king, Jesus. 8 And they troubled the people and the city rulers when they heard these things. 9 And after taking security from Jason and the others, they let them go.

10 And the brethren immediately, by night, sent away Paul and Silas to Berea: who on their arrival went into the synagogue of the Jews. 11 These were nobler than those in Thessalonica, inasmuch as they received the word with all readiness of mind, searching the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so. 12 Therefore many of them believed; and of honourable Greek women and men, not a few. 13 But when the Jews of Thessalonica had knowledge that the word of God was also preached by Paul in Berea, they came and stirred up the populace there also. 14 Then immediately the brethren sent away Paul to go toward the sea: but Silas and Timotheus remained there. 15 And they who conducted Paul brought him to Athens; and after receiving a commandment to Silas and Timotheus, that they should come to him as quickly as possible, they departed.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. 'H before *συναγωγῆ* is found in E, G, H, but is wanting in A, B, D, κ : Tischendorf, De Wette, Meyer, and

Alford retain it as genuine. Ver. 5. The reading of the *textus receptus*, *ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι*, is found only in a few cursive MSS. The reading adopted by Tischendorf is, *προσλαβόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι οἱ ἀπειθοῦντες*, found in G, H: Meyer and Alford read only *προσλαβόμενοι δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*. The reading best attested by external authority is that adopted by Lachmann, *ζηλώσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ προσλαβόμενοι*, found in A, B, E, κ.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. *Διοδεύσαντες δὲ*—*And having passed through*. The road which Paul and his companions traversed from Philippi to Thessalonica was the *Via Egnatia*, the Greek extension of the *Via Appia*. It led from Dyrrhachium in Epirus to Cypselus on the Hebrus in Thrace, a distance, according to Strabo, of 535 miles (Strabo, vii. 7. 4), and was afterwards continued to Constantinople. The distances between the towns mentioned are stated in the different itineraries. The *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti* gives them as follows: From Philippi to Amphipolis, thirty-two Roman miles; from Amphipolis to Apollonia, thirty-two miles; from Apollonia to Thessalonica, thirty-six miles—in all, a hundred miles. The Peutinger table gives a slight difference of two miles, stating the distance between Apollonia and Thessalonica to be thirty-eight miles.¹ Thus, then, the distance between Philippi and Thessalonica is about a hundred miles,—a journey which Paul, as he did not tarry at Amphipolis and Apollonia, might have accomplished in five days.

Τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν—*Amphipolis*. This town was situated on the Strymon, at the lower end of the lake Cercinitis, formed by the river, and at a short distance from the Strymonic Gulf. It commanded the only easy entrance from the coast into the great Macedonian plain; and hence its position was important in a military point of view. *Amphipolis quæ obiecta claudit omnes ab oriente sole in Macedonia aditus*

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 40.

(Livy, xlv. 30). Its former name was *ἐννέα ὁδοί*, or the "Nine ways," on account of the number of roads which met at this point (Herod. vii. 114). The Athenians under Cimon colonized it, and called it Amphipolis, because it was completely surrounded by the Strymon (Thuc. iv. 102). When Paulus Æmilius conquered Macedonia, and divided it into four districts, Amphipolis was made the capital of *Macedonia Prima* (Livy, xlv. 29). It would, however, seem in the days of the apostles to have declined in importance, whilst Philippi flourished at its expense. It is now known by the modern name of Emboli.

Καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν—and *Apollonia*. There were several places of this name, of which three were in the province of Macedonia. The Apollonia through which Paul now passed was a colony of the Corinthians in the district of Mygdonia (Pliny, iv. 7). It was a place of small importance, and must not be confounded with a much more celebrated Apollonia in Illyrian Macedonia, near Dyrrhachium. Its situation is uncertain: some identify it with Klisali, a modern post-station, and others with a village called Pollina.

Ἦλθον εἰς Θεσσαλονίκην—*They came to Thessalonica*. This celebrated city was beautifully situated on the slope of a hill at the northern end of the Thermaic Gulf, now called the Gulf of Salonika. Its original name was Therma. Cassander, the son of Antipater, rebuilt and fortified it, calling it after his wife Thessalonica, the sister of Alexander the Great (Strabo, vii., Frag. 24); Thessalonica herself having obtained her name on account of a victory which her father Philip gained over the Thessalians on the day of her birth. Under the Romans, Thessalonica became a great commercial city. During the temporary division of Macedonia into four districts, it was the capital of *Macedonia Secunda* (Liv. xlv. 29); and afterwards, when the province of Macedonia was formed, it became the metropolis, and the residence of the proconsul. It received the privilege of a "free city" after the battle of Philippi, on account of its attachment to the cause of Augustus and Antony. Strabo, in the first century, mentions it as the largest city of Mace-

donia (Strabo, vii. 7. 4); and the same fact is asserted by Lucian in the second century (Lucian, *Asinus Aureus*, xlvi.). Since then it has always been a city of great importance; and at present it is considered the second city of European Turkey, having a population of 70,000. Its modern name is Saloniki.¹

“Ὁπου ἦν ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων—where was the synagogue of the Jews. Critics are in general agreed that the article before συναγωγή is genuine. (See Critical Note.) This signifies that it was the chief, if not the only synagogue of the district. At Philippi there was no synagogue, but only a *proseucha*; and probably this was also the case with Amphipolis and Apollonia.² Thessalonica, being a large commercial city, would be much frequented by Jews. In the present day there is no town in Europe which has such a large proportion of Jews. They are said to amount to 35,000, or nearly one-half of the population, and to have no fewer than 36 synagogues.³ Most of these Jews are the descendants of refugees from Spain.

Ver. 2. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ εἶωθός τῷ Παύλῳ—and Paul, according to his custom; literally, “according to the custom with Paul.” Paul’s custom was first to preach to the Jews, and then, when these had either received or rejected the gospel, to turn to the Gentiles. We never find him omitting the Jews, and preaching only to the Gentiles. (See on this point, note to Acts xiii. 5.) Ἐπὶ σάββατα τρία—for three Sabbaths. From this it has been concluded that Paul continued only three weeks in Thessalonica; but from statements in the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, this opinion is seen to be highly improbable. We find that a large and flourishing church,

¹ The authorities for these geographical notices are Winer’s *biblisches Wörterbuch*; Wieseler’s *Chronologie*, pp. 40, 41; Smith’s *Biblical Dictionary*; Conybeare and Howson’s *St. Paul*; and Lewin’s *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*.

² “*Articulus additus significat Philippis, Amphipoli et Apolloniæ nullas fuisse synagogas, sed si qui ibi essent Judæi, eos synagogam adisse Thessalonicensem*” (Grotius).

³ *Jewish Intelligence* for 1849, quoted in a note by Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. p. 383.

chiefly composed of Gentile converts, was formed (1 Thess. i. 8); that Paul wrought with his own hands for his support (1 Thess. ii. 9); and that the Philippians sent twice to his necessities (Phil. iv. 16), the distance between these two cities being a hundred miles; so that he must have remained in Thessalonica a considerable time. Perhaps Paul preached for three successive Sabbaths in the synagogue; but finding the Jews obstinate, he desisted and turned to the Gentiles. *Διελέγετο αὐτοῖς*—*he reasoned with them*. The word primarily denotes to carry on a discussion in the form of a dialogue; and we elsewhere learn that this mode of discussion was not regarded as unsuitable in the synagogues (Luke iv. 16–27; John vi. 25–59). *Ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν*—*from the Scriptures*. It is disputed whether these words are to be connected with *διελέγετο αὐτοῖς* (Tischendorf, Winer, De Wette) or with *διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος* (Ewald, Kuinzel, Meyer): the former opinion seems the more natural.

Ver. 3. *Διανοίγων καὶ παρατιθέμενος*—*opening and propounding*. As formerly remarked, the apostles, in reasoning with the Jews, appealed to the Old Testament, proving from the Scriptures that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah; whereas with the Gentiles the appeal was to miracles. Paul's argument here is: there are various prophecies in the Old Testament, whose divinity you admit, which declare that the Messiah must suffer and rise from the dead; all these prophecies are fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; therefore this Jesus whom I preach to you is the Messiah. *Καὶ ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Χριστός, Ἰησοῦς ὃν ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν*—*and that this is the Christ, (namely) Jesus whom I preach to you*. These words have been variously rendered, although the difference in meaning is immaterial. The rendering here given seems the most natural, and is that adopted by Tischendorf, Bengel, Lechler, and Hackett. Meyer and Lange render it, "and that this Messiah is Jesus, whom I preach to you." Others (Castalio, De Wette, Baumgarten, Alexander) omit the comma between *Χριστός* and *Ἰησοῦς*, and render the clause, "this is the Jesus Christ," or, "this is the Christ Jesus whom I preach to you." Alford

renders it, "That Jesus whom I preach to you is οὗτος ὁ Χριστός, the Christ." The meaning is obvious: the person Jesus is the Messiah who, according to the Scriptures, was to suffer and rise again. Ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω—I preach; emphatic,—a change from the indirect to the direct form of speech. See Acts i. 4.

Ver. 4. Καὶ τινες ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέισθησαν—*And some of them were convinced*; namely, of the Jews of Thessalonica. Καὶ προσεκλήρωθησαν—*and were added*; not in a middle sense, "attached themselves to" (Castalio, Bengel), but in a passive sense, "were added,"—as disciples, namely, by God.¹ Προσεκλήρωω, used only here in the New Testament, literally signifies "to give by lot," "to allot," "to choose in addition by lot." Τῶν τε σεβομένων Ἑλλήνων—*and of the devout Greeks*; partly proselytes, and partly those among the religious Gentiles who attended the Jewish synagogues, although they had not actually embraced Judaism. Γυναικῶν τῶν πρώτων—*of the chief women*—female proselytes to Judaism: these were the wives or daughters of the chief people in Thessalonica. This gives us an account of the success of the gospel chiefly among the Jews and Jewish proselytes, the result of the preaching for three Sabbaths in the synagogue; but we learn from the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, that Paul met with still greater success among the Gentiles (1 Thess. i. 5–10).

Ver. 5. Τῶν ἀγοραίων ἄνδρας τιμὰς πονηροῦς—*certain wicked men of the market loungers*. Ἀγοραῖοι are the market loungers, the rabble, those who have no settled business, but who crowd about the market and other frequented places, like the Lazzaroni at Naples. Such men are called by Aristophanes, πονηρὸς κατὰ ἀγορᾶς; by Xenophon, τὸν ἀγοραῖον ὄχλον; by Cicero, *subrostrani*; and by Plautus, *subbasilicani* (Alford). Τῇ οἰκίᾳ Ἰάσονος—*the house of Jason*, where Paul and Silas lodged. It is doubtful whether Jason was a pure Gentile or a Hellenistic Jew, who changed his Hebrew name Jesus, or Joshua, into the Greek form Jason, as was the case with one of the apostate Jewish high priests

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 277.

(2 Macc. i. 7; Joseph. *Ant.* xii. 5. 1). He has been identified with Jason, mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, whom Paul calls one of his kinsmen. If so, he must have removed to Corinth, from which city the Epistle to the Romans was written. The name, however, was common, so that such an identification is extremely doubtful; and as a general rule, all such identifications are to be discountenanced.

Ver. 6. *Μὴ εὐρόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς*—*but not finding them*. The absence of Paul and Silas was either accidental, or more probably designed, they having received information of the attack. *Ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτάρχας*—*to the city rulers*; literally, “to the politarchs.” This word, in the form *πολίταρχος*, has also been found in *Aeneas Tacticus* (B.C. 366); its usual form is *πολιάρχος*. It is to be observed that the chief magistrates of Thessalonica are here called by a title different from that of the chief magistrates of Philippi; and this difference corresponds with the different characters of the cities. Philippi was a Roman colony (*colonia*), and hence its magistrates resembled those at Rome, and were called *στρατηγοί, prætores, duumviri*; whereas Thessalonica was not a Roman colony, but a “free city” (*urbs libera*), and was governed by its own rulers; and hence its chief magistrates were called, not *στρατηγοί*, but *πολιτάρχαι, city rulers*. It is a very remarkable and striking coincidence, that this rare word is seen to this day on an inscription upon an arch at Thessalonica. There the names of the politarchs of Thessalonica are mentioned, seven in number; thus proving the extreme accuracy of Luke, in using this term to denote the magistrates of that city. The arch is by competent antiquarians thought to have been built in commemoration of the victory of Philippi; and if so, was standing when Paul was at Thessalonica.¹ We have had frequently occasion to notice Luke’s extreme accuracy; as when he calls Herod Agrippa I. the king (*ὁ βασιλεύς*); Sergius Paulus the pro-consul of Cyprus (*ἀνθυπάτος*); Philippi a colony (*κολώνια*), and its magistrates prætors (*στρατηγοί*); and here the

¹ Böckh, No. 1967. According to Böckh, this inscription is not older than the reign of Vespasian, A.D. 69–70.

magistrates of Thessalonica are called by the most unusual title, politarchs (πολιτάρχαι),—a strong argument in favour of the genuineness of his history.¹

Οἱ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀναστατώσαντες—these who have disturbed the world: an exaggerated expression, the language of passion. Τὴν οἰκουμένην—probably the Roman world—the empire (Kuinel).

Ver. 7. Ἀπέναντι τῶν δογμάτων Καίσαρος—contrary to the decrees of Cæsar. Under the republic the law was, “that whoever excited an enemy against the state, or betrayed a citizen to an enemy, was to be punished with death;” but under the emperors it was declared high treason to violate the majesty of the state—*crimen majestatis*. It was on this accusation that the tyrannical emperors condemned those whom they wished to put to death: it admitted of an extreme latitude of interpretation (Tac. *Ann.* i. 72; Merivale’s *History*, ch. xxxi. 4). Here also the difference of the accusation brought against the disciples at Thessalonica, from that brought against them at Philippi, is observable. In Philippi they were accused of introducing new customs (*illicita religio*) which Roman citizens were not permitted to observe; but Thessalonica was not a colony, and therefore such an accusation could have no force there: accordingly the charge here preferred against them is treason against Cæsar (*crimen majestatis*). The accusation was artfully made; it was one into which it behoved the city rulers to inquire: whereas if the Jews had accused them merely of disturbing their mode of worship, the complaint would probably not have been listened to. Baur and Zeller object that the whole accusation is anticipatory, because it was not until the second century that the Christian religion was regarded as dangerous to the state.² But it is very natural that the excited mob should state their charge in the language of exaggeration; and the Romans were exceedingly jealous of any invasion of their authority. No accusation was at this time more common

¹ For these and other incidents of Luke’s accuracy, see Conybeare and Howson, vol. i. 396.

² Zeller’s *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 259.

than that of *crimen majestatis*: Jesus Himself was similarly accused before Pilate.

Βασιλέα λέγοντες ἕτερον εἶναι Ἰησοῦν—*saying that there was another king, Jesus.* Jesus Christ was accused by the Jews of the crime of making Himself a king in opposition to Cæsar (John xix. 12); and so now His disciples are accused of asserting His claims to the kingly office. It is not improbable that the title Lord, so frequently given by Christians to their great Master, may have given occasion to such a charge. It would also appear from the Epistles to the Thessalonians, that Paul when at Thessalonica dwelt much upon the kingdom of Christ and His second coming as the Judge of the world; and hence certain expressions of his might be perverted, as if he taught that Jesus was an earthly monarch. *Βασιλέα ἕτερον*—*another king.* The Latin title *rex* was not given to the Roman emperor—he was called by the military title *imperator*; but the Greeks were accustomed to apply the title *βασιλεὺς* to him. And although the title *βασιλεὺς* was not restricted to the emperor, yet in all conquered or dependent countries no one could be called king without his permission.

Ver. 9. *Δαβόντες τὸ ἰκανὸν*—*having taken security—satisfactione acceptâ*: a legal phrase. The security might either be personal bail or a deposit of money. Chrysostom thinks that Jason became surety in person; but as he was permitted to depart, the security was probably a deposit of money. Opinions vary as to the purpose for which the security was given. According to Grotius, it was that Paul and Silas should appear before the court; according to others (Ewald, Michaelis, Heinrichs), that Jason should no longer entertain them; and according to others (Kuinoel, Lange), that they should depart immediately from the city. But the evident purpose was that the peace should be kept—that there should be no violation of the majesty of the state—nothing done contrary to the decrees of Cæsar (Meyer, De Wette). Neander supposes the two objects combined: that there should be no violation of the public peace, and that those persons who had been alleged as the cause of this disturbance should quit the

city.¹ The conduct of the magistrates of Thessalonica appears in a favourable light, when compared with that of the magistrates of Philippi in similar circumstances.

Ver. 10. *Διὰ νυκτὸς ἐξέπεμψαν*, etc.—*sent away Paul and Silas by night*. Although Paul and Silas were not compelled to depart, yet the safety of the Christians at Thessalonica, who had become surety for them, would be endangered by their presence, as the disturbance might be renewed by the Jewish faction. *Εἰς Βέρουαν*—*to Berea*. According to the *Itinerarium Antonini*, Berea was sixty-one miles from Thessalonica, and according to the Peutinger table fifty-seven miles.² It was situated in *Macedonia Tertia*, according to the division made by Paulus Æmilius. *Tertia regio nobiles urbes Edessam et Bervæam et Pellam habet* (Livy, xlv. 30). Its former name was Pheræa, but pronounced by the Macedonians Berea: afterwards it was called Irenopolis, “the city of peace.” Little noticed by ancient writers, it does not appear to have been a place of much consequence. It is now a town of the second rank in European Turkey, containing a population of about 20,000, and is known by its most ancient name, Pheræa, corrupted into Verria, or Kara-Verria. Although we are informed that Paul met with unusual success in Berea, yet there is no mention of this church in any of his epistles. Baumgarten accordingly thinks that it soon decayed, or was destroyed; but this is a mere arbitrary supposition. When we think of the many places where Paul preached the gospel, and the numerous churches which he founded, it ought not to be reckoned as anything surprising that he does not mention Berea.

Ver. 11. *Οὔτοι δὲ ἦσαν εὐγενέστεροι τῶν ἐν Θεσσαλονίκη*—*These were nobler than those in Thessalonica*. Luther and Calvin apply *εὐγενέστεροι* to the Thessalonians: “These were the more noble of the Thessalonians who received the word;” intimating, as they suppose, that it was the chief men in Thessalonica who embraced the gospel.³ But such a

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 185.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 41.

³ Calvin on the *Acts*, in loco.

remark would be here out of its proper place. The historian here compares the conduct of the Jews of Berea with that of the Jews of Thessalonica. The Berean Jews were not so prejudiced or bigoted as the Thessalonian Jews: they did not prejudge the case, nor were they actuated with envy against the disciples, but gave Paul and Silas a fair and impartial hearing. *Εὐγενέστεροι*—not spoken of rank, but of character—of a nobler disposition. *Ἀνακρίνοντες τὰς γραφάς*—*searching the Scriptures*. They compared what Paul said with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and especially the life and sufferings of Jesus with the words of the prophets; and seeing the correspondence, they came to the conclusion that this Jesus whom Paul preached unto them was the Messiah.

Ver. 12. *Οὖν*—*therefore*: in consequence of this impartial spirit and diligent examination of the Scriptures. *Τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν*—*of honourable Greek women and men*. *Ἑλληνίδων* construed with *γυναικῶν* also refers to *ἀνδρῶν*. The epithet *honourable* (*εὐσχημόνων*), restricted to *γυναικῶν*, applies to their rank: they were among the chief people in Berea. (See note to Acts xiii. 50.) These were not, as some think, Hellenistic Jews, but partly proselytes and devout Gentiles who heard Paul preach in the synagogue, and partly heathens converted to Christianity by the more private discourses of the apostle.¹ Wieseler supposes that Paul remained a considerable time in Berea; and Ewald that he made it a centre from which to preach the gospel in the neighbouring cities.

Ver. 13. *Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης Ἰουδαῖοι*—*the Jews from Thessalonica*. As the Jews of Pisidian Antioch and Iconium came to Lystra to incense the multitude against the disciples (Acts xiv. 19), so the Jews of Thessalonica came for a similar purpose to Berea. *Κἀκεῖ*—*there also*: to be connected, not with *ἦλθον*, “came thither also,” but with *σαλεύοντες*, “stirred up the populace there also,” *i.e.* as they formerly did in Thessalonica.

¹ Among those converted, mention is elsewhere made of Sopater of Berea (Acts xx. 4).

Ver. 14. *Πορεύεσθαι ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν*—*to go toward the sea*. These words have been differently rendered. Some (Beza, Grotius, Bengel, Olshausen, Lange) translate them, *to go as if to the sea*; and suppose that Paul and his companions, in order to escape his enemies, pretended to go away by sea, whereas in reality they went by land from Berea to Athens.¹ The words do certainly admit of this translation. But if Paul journeyed by land to Athens, we would have expected from Luke some account of this journey, and the mention of some of the important cities through which he passed, as in ver. 1; though it is admitted that not much stress can be laid on this, on account of the fragmentary nature of the Acts. The distance between Berea and Athens by land is 250 Roman miles, and would have occupied about twelve days; whereas three days would have sufficed for the voyage by sea: and it is natural to suppose that Paul would take the most expeditious mode of travelling. Accordingly others (Kuinoel, Lechler, Meyer, De Wette, Winer, Wieseler, Stier, Alford, Conybeare and Howson) render the passage, *to go toward the sea*. Winer remarks that ὡς joined to ἐπὶ denotes either the actual purpose of following a certain direction, or even the mere pretence or assumed appearance of doing so; and that the former acceptation is simpler and more suited to the context.² We are not, however, to consider ὡς as redundant: it denotes the definite intention of the direction, ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.

Ὁ Τιμόθεος—*Timotheus*. This is the first time Timothy is mentioned since Paul's departure from Philippi. But we are not from this to suppose that he first rejoined the apostle at Berea. The probability is, that he was with the apostle at Thessalonica, as he appears to have been intimately connected with that church. Paul sent him to it as his messenger, and he is joined with Paul and Silas in both epistles to the Thessalonians.

Ver. 15. *Οἱ δὲ καθιστάνοντες τὸν Παῦλον*—*and they who conducted Paul*. A different word from that used in ch.

¹ Olshausen on the Gospels and the Acts, vol. iv. p. 437.

² Winer's Grammar of the New Testament, p. 640.

xv. 3, and implying a different mode of convey. There the word employed is *προπεμφθέντες*, and implies that the disciples gave Paul a convey to do him honour. Here the word is *καθιστάοντες*, and implies that the disciples went with Paul throughout the journey for the sake of guidance and protection: they brought him to Athens. *Λαβόντες ἐντολήν πρὸς τὸν Σίλαν καὶ Τιμόθεον*—*receiving a commandment to Silas and Timotheus, that they should come to him as quickly as possible.* It would seem, according to Luke, that Paul was alone at Athens, and that Silas and Timothy did not join him until he came to Corinth (Acts xviii. 5). In the Epistle to the Thessalonians, however, Paul says: "Wherefore, when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left at Athens alone, and sent Timotheus, our brother and minister of God, and our fellow-labourer in the gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you concerning your faith" (1 Thess. iii. 1, 2). From this some infer that Timothy joined Paul at Athens, but was sent back to Thessalonica to inquire into the state of the converts in that city. Hence Meyer and De Wette suppose that there is a mistake in Luke's narrative, which is to be acknowledged, and not to be reconciled by attempts at agreement.¹ But certainly the mere omission by Luke of Timothy's visit to Athens and return to Thessalonica is no discrepancy, as the circumstance had no bearing upon his narrative. If Timothy had remained with the apostle, and thus had not rejoined him at Corinth, the case would have been different. But, after all, the fact that Timothy came to Athens at all is a mere supposition: it is not asserted in 1 Thess. iii. 1. The probability is, that he was sent by Paul to Thessalonica from Berea, and not from Athens; and that after his return, he and Silas went directly from Berea to Corinth.

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 346; De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 134.

SECTION XI.

PAUL AT ATHENS.—ACTS XVII. 16-34.

16 Now, while Paul waited for them at Athens, his spirit was aroused within him, when he observed that the city was full of idols. 17 Therefore he disputed in the synagogue with the Jews, and with the devout persons, and in the market-place daily with those who met with him. 18 And certain of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers encountered him. And some said, What will this babbler say? others, He appears to be an announcer of strange divinities: because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. 19 And they took him, and brought him to the Areopagus, saying, Can we know what is this new doctrine, which thou announcest? 20 For thou bringest certain strange things to our ears: we wish therefore to know what these things mean. 21 For all the Athenians and resident strangers spent their time in nothing else than either to tell or to hear some new thing.

22 Then Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus, said, Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all respects ye are more God-fearing (than others). 23 For as I passed by, and observed your sacred things, I found also an altar on which was inscribed, To an Unknown God. What therefore you ignorantly worship, that do I declare unto you. 24 God, who made the world, and all things therein, as He is Lord of heaven and earth, dwells not in temples made with hands; 25 Neither is ministered to by human hands, as if He needed anything, seeing He giveth to all life, and breath, and all things. 26 And He made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth, having fixed their appointed times, and the boundaries of their habitation; 27 That they should seek God, if perchance they might feel after Him, and find Him, although He is not far off from any one of us: 28 For in Him we live, and move, and are; as also certain of your own poets have said, For we are also His offspring. 29 Being therefore the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like to gold, or silver, or stone, to an image of art and of man's device. 30 And the times of ignorance God has overlooked; but now He commands all men everywhere to repent: 31 Inasmuch as He has appointed a day in which He is about to judge the world in righteousness by a man whom He has ordained, having given assurance to all by raising Him from the dead.

32 But when they heard of a resurrection of the dead, some mocked;

but others said, We will hear thee again concerning this. 33 So Paul departed from the midst of them. 34 But certain men joined themselves to him, and believed: among whom were Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris, and others with them.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 23. Instead of $\delta\nu$. . . *τούτων*, found in E, G, H, Tischendorf and Lachmann read δ . . . *τούτο*, found in A, B, D, κ . Ver. 25. *Ἀνθρωπίνων*, found in A, B, D, κ , is by modern critics preferred to *ἀνθρώπων*, the reading of E, G, H. Ver. 26. *Προσπεταγμένους*, found in A, B, E, G, H, κ , is by Tischendorf and Lachmann preferred to *προπεταγμένους*, found in D. Ver. 27. *Θεόν*, in A, B, G, H, κ , is by Tischendorf preferred to *Κύριον*, found in E. Ver. 31. *Καθότι*, in A, B, D, E, κ , is far better attested than *διότι*, in G, H.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 16. *Ἐν δὲ ταῖς Ἀθήναις*—and in Athens. Athens, in an intellectual point of view the most notable city in early times, was the great seat of learning among the ancients, and might well be called the university of the world. Its philosophers, orators, poets, and historians have been the wonder of all ages; and its books of genius have been read with admiration by the scholar of every time. It merits the eulogium of Cicero: *Athenæ omnium doctrinarum inventrices* (Cic. *de Orat.* i. 4). Athens received its name from Minerva (*Ἀθήνη*), its tutelar goddess. Situated about five miles from the Ægean Sea, it was connected with it by its port Piræus. Four small hills rose within its walls. The highest was the celebrated Acropolis, or the citadel, being a rock about 150 feet high. On it were the most famous temples, statues, arches, and monuments; and towering above all stood the colossal statue of Minerva Polias, the defender of the city. At a little distance from the Acropolis were three smaller hills: the Areopagus, where the celebrated court held its sittings, and to Christians still more memorable as the place where Paul delivered his address; the Pnyx, on which the

assemblies of the people were held; and the Museum. In the time of Paul, Athens belonged to the province of Achaia, whose capital was Corinth, and was, like Thessalonica, a free city of the empire, governed by its own laws. It is still an important city, being the capital of modern Greece; but the traveller is chiefly attracted to it by the remarkable ruins still remaining as the monuments of its former greatness.¹

Ἐκδέχοντο αὐτοὺς τοῦ Παύλου—*Paul waiting for them, i.e. for Silas and Timothy, whom he had left at Berea, and who rejoined him not at Athens, but at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5).* *Παρωξύνετο*—*was aroused*: a verb, from which our word paroxysm is derived. Paul was filled with holy indignation on account of the emblems of idolatry which met him at every turn. Instead of being inspired with admiration at those splendid monuments of genius and art, for which Athens was so celebrated, he looked upon them with grief and abhorrence, because he regarded them as the emblems of idolatry, the creations of an impure religion. He could not detach those works of art from the purpose for which they were made: these beautiful temples and glorious statues were designed for the worship of false gods.

Κατείδωλον—*full of idols*. This word occurs only in this passage; but according to the analogy of words similarly formed, its meaning is obvious: as *κατάδενδρος*, full of trees (Diod. Sic. xvi. 31); *κατάμπελος*, full of vines (Strabo, iv. 1. 5); *κάθυγρος*, full of water (Soph. *Col.* 158), etc. Hence *κατείδωλον* is not *given to idolatry*, as in our version, but *full of idols*: it applies primarily to the city, and only indirectly to the inhabitants. This epithet appears from various testimonies to have been peculiarly appropriate. Thus Xenophon calls Athens one great altar, one great sacrifice to the gods: *ἅλη βωμὸς ἅλη θύμα θεοῖς καὶ ἀνάθημα (De Reipub. Ath.)*. Livy says that in Athens there were to be seen images of gods and men, of all kinds and of all materials: *simulacra deorum hominumque omni genere et materiae et artium insignia*

¹ The reader is referred, for a full description of Athens as it was when Paul visited it, to Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ch. x.; Lewin's *St. Paul*, vol. i. pp. 270-275; and Renan's *Saint Paul*, pp. 170-172.

(Liv. xlv. 27). Pausanias observes that Athens had more images than all the rest of Greece put together (*Attic*. ch. xvii. 24). Strabo says: "As in other things, the Athenians always showed their admiration of foreign customs; so they displayed it in what respected the gods. They adopted many sacred ceremonies, particularly those of Thrace and Phrygia, for which they were ridiculed in comedies" (Strabo, x. 3. 18); and Petronius observes that it was easier to find a god at Athens than a man (*Sat.* ch. xvii.).

Ver. 17. *Ὅθεν*—*therefore*: that is, not merely in consequence of his being at Athens (De Wette), but because he was stirred up to indignation by the sight of so much idolatry (Meyer). He felt himself impelled to depart from his usual practice of preaching first to the Jews, and then to the Gentiles, and to preach to both at the same time. *Τοῖς σεβομένοις*—*to the devout persons*; that is, those Gentiles, whether proselytes to Judaism or not, who, having renounced idolatry, were the worshippers of the true God, and attended the synagogue. Even in Athens, the stronghold of idolatry, there were such devout persons. *Ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ*—*in the market-place*. Paul disputed every Sabbath in the synagogue with the Jews and religious Gentiles, and in the market-place daily with those who happened to meet with him. Some suppose that there were two market-places in Athens, an old and a new—the old in the district of the town called the Ceramicus, and the new, called the Eretrian place (*Ἐρέτρα*)—and that the latter at this time received the exclusive name of *ἡ ἀγορὰ*. The opinion now, however, most generally adopted is, that there was never more than one market-place in Athens, although it frequently varied in size. It was situated in the valley, bounded by the four hills—the Acropolis, the Areopagus, the Pnyx, and the Museum. In the immediate neighbourhood, or forming a part of it, was the celebrated porch or colonnade called the Stoic Pœcile, or painted cloister, and from which the Stoics derived their name.

Ver. 18. *Τῶν Ἐπικουρείων καὶ Στοικῶν φιλοσόφων*—*of the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers*. Besides these, there

were two other sects at Athens—the Peripatetics, or the disciples of Aristotle, and the Academicians, or the disciples of Plato. These are not mentioned, probably because they did not frequent the market-place, and thus did not meet with Paul; the Academy of the Platonists and the Lyceum of the Aristotelians being situated without the city. Others suggest as the reason, that their opinions were not so much opposed to Christianity as those of the Epicureans and Stoics, or that they had then diminished in number.¹ The Epicureans, or the disciples of Epicurus, were in reality atheists. Although in words they acknowledged God, yet they denied His providence and His active superintendence over the world. The soul, according to their notions, was material, and annihilated at death. Pleasure was regarded as the chief good; and although it is said that their founder meant only that pleasure was the inseparable attendant of virtue, yet his disciples in the days of the apostle made sensual pleasure the great end of their existence. If the Epicureans were atheists, the Stoics were pantheists. According to them, God was either the soul of the world, or the world was God. His nature resembled fire, which diffused itself through all parts of the world. There was no providence; everything was governed by unbending fate, to which God Himself was subject. They denied the universal and personal immortality of the soul, though they differed in their opinions as to its condition after death. Some supposed that the soul was swallowed up in the soul of the Deity; others restricted immortality to the wise and the good; and others taught that the soul survived only until the final conflagration. They looked upon virtue as its own reward, and vice as its own punishment; and taught that pleasure was no good, and pain no evil. They were so inflated with pride, that they regarded themselves as the equals of the gods. “Jupiter,” observes Seneca, “does not excel a good man: Jupiter is longer good; and a wise man does not think the less of himself because his virtues are bounded within a short space of time” (*Epist.* 73). In the days of the apostle, the

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 346.

Epicurean system was the more popular among the Greeks, whereas Stoicism was more conformable to the Roman mind. It would be hard to say which system was more opposed to Christianity. The ruling principle of the one was love of pleasure, and the ruling principle of the other was pride: the former resembled the Sadducees in their infidelity, and the latter the Pharisees in their self-righteousness. It must, however, be acknowledged, that some of the most estimable characters of antiquity belonged to the school of the Stoics, whose philosophy involved a certain moral earnestness conspicuously wanting among the Epicureans.

Σπερμολόγος—*a babbler*. The primary meaning of this word is a sparrow, or rook, or other bird which frequents the streets and markets, picking up seeds—a seed-picker. It is so used by Aristophanes (*Avv.* 232). From this a variety of secondary meanings are derived: such as a beggar or worthless person, who lives by picking up refuse; a flatterer or parasite, who lives upon others; and a babbler, who picks up and retails scraps of knowledge or of news—a garrulous person. The same epithet was employed by Demosthenes concerning his rival Æschines (*Pro Corona*). The philosophers of Athens were remarkable for their haughtiness and self-sufficiency; and hence they regarded Paul as a vain babbler. And yet the doctrines which Paul taught confounded the wisdom of the Grecian schools, and in the end destroyed and superseded the philosophy both of Stoics and Epicureans.

Ξένων δαιμονίων—*of strange gods*; that is, foreign divinities. The Jews used the word *δαιμόνια* in a bad sense—*devils*; but by the Greeks it was employed in a good sense—*divinities*. The introduction of strange gods was a part of the charge brought against Socrates: “that he acknowledged not the gods whom the city acknowledges, but introduced other strange divinities:” *Ἄτερα δὲ καινὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων* (*Xen. Mem.* i. 1. 1). Different meanings have been attached to the phrase *ξένων δαιμονίων*. Some (Kuinoel, Meyer) suppose that Jesus only is here referred to, and that the plural is employed either instead of the singular, or to designate

the class. Others (De Wette, Alford, Hackett) think that Jesus and the living God are the strange gods whom Paul was supposed to announce. And others (Chrysostom, Heinrichs, Baur, Lange, Baumgarten) imagine that the Athenians took Jesus for a deified man, and the Resurrection, or the Anastasis, for a goddess. It is objected to this latter view, that we cannot conceive that Paul would have expressed himself so obscurely as to give occasion to such a mistake, or that the philosophers would have fallen into so gross an error. But it must be remembered that the heathen not only deified heroes and great men, but also abstract ideas: there were altars in Athens to Fame, Desire, Shame, Pity, etc.; and hence there is nothing so very improbable in the supposition that they might also regard the resurrection as a goddess. The words which follow appear to confirm this opinion: "for he preached to them Jesus and the resurrection." If it were not the intention of the historian to denote that these were the strange gods whom Paul announced, we do not see the reason of the addition of *τὴν ἀνάστασιν*. If the meaning were only that Paul preached Jesus as the Risen One, the pronoun *αὐτοῦ* would have been added.

"Ὅτι τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν εὐηγγελίζετο—because he preached Jesus and the resurrection. "They supposed," observes Chrysostom, "the Anastasis to be some deity, being accustomed to worship female divinities also." Some restrict "the resurrection" to Jesus: he preached to them Jesus as the Risen One; but if so, Luke would have written "Jesus and His resurrection." The word, then, denotes the resurrection generally; and hence, as an abstract idea, the Athenians regarded it as a goddess.

Ver. 19. *Ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀρειὸν πάγον—to the Areopagus.* The Areopagus, or Mars Hill, was a rocky eminence to the west of the Acropolis. It was so called from the legend of the trial of Mars for the murder of the son of Neptune. It is much lower than the Acropolis, being only sixty feet above the valley. This was the meeting-place of the illustrious senate of Athens, who were in consequence called Areopagites. They sat in the open air, and their stone seats may still be

discerned on the Areopagus. The court was composed of the noblest and most virtuous men in Athens. Although the city had now lost in a great measure its independence, yet being a free city, it was governed by its own laws; so that under the Romans the council of the Areopagus was still a constituted court, invested with considerable powers. It was before this court that Socrates was tried and condemned.

Some (Hemsen, Zeller, Wordsworth) suppose that Paul was forcibly taken to the Areopagus, and was there tried by the court on the charge of introducing strange gods (*illicita religio*). But such a supposition rests on no foundation. There is nothing in the narrative to countenance, but, on the contrary, much to oppose it. The reason Luke assigns for bringing Paul to the Areopagus was not to accuse him, but merely to satisfy curiosity. Nor is there mention of a judicial process being entered into against the apostle. His address bears no resemblance to an apology or defence; and his dismissal does not resemble that of a person who had been accused. The simple reason why he was led to the Areopagus was, that it was of easy access from the market-place, and that he would be there better heard, and able to speak without interruption.

Vers. 19—21. *Δυνάμεθα γινῶναι*—*Can we know?* A polite request, thus contradicting the notion that there was a judicial trial. The Athenians were celebrated for their politeness. *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πάντες*—*but all Athenians*. A remark introduced by the historian giving the reason why the Athenians made this request: it was to gratify their curiosity. The omission of the article denotes that this was their national character. *Καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες ξένοι*—*and the resident strangers*. The youth of Italy repaired to Athens for their education. This was especially the fashion at this time: the philosophers of Athens were in high repute throughout the world. *Ἡὺκαίρουν*—*spent their time*. A word belonging to the later Greek: *vacare alicui rei* (Kuinoel). The imperfect does not refer to a past time, but denotes that they were still engaged in doing so—were spending their time. *Ἡ λέγειν τι ἢ ἀκούειν καινότερον*—*either to tell or to*

hear some new thing. The comparative *καιώτερον* renders the expression emphatic: it denotes that they wished to hear something newer than what was new—the latest news; or, as Bengel happily expresses it, *Nova statim sordebant; noviora quærebantur*: “new things became immediately depreciated; newer things were sought for.” Demosthenes reproaches the Athenians with the same feelings of curiosity—trifling their time in the market-place, inquiring after the news: “Tell me, is it all your care to go about up and down the market, asking each other, Is there any news?” (*Phil. i. p. 43.*) “Philip acts the part of a soldier, endures fatigue, faces danger without any regard to the seasons of the year, and neglects no opportunity; whilst we Athenians sit at home doing nothing, always delaying, and making decrees, and asking in the market if there be anything new” (*Phil. Epist.*).

Ver. 22. *Σταθεὶς δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρειοῦ πάγου*—*But Paul, standing in the midst of the Areopagus.* Paul is led to Mars Hill, a place famous in Grecian history, where the most celebrated of all their courts assembled in the open air. Here Paul would find himself surrounded with all the most splendid monuments of art. The Acropolis was directly above him, and the city of Athens lay at his feet. “He stood,” observes Bishop Wordsworth, “on that hill in the centre of Athens, with its statues and altars and temples around him. The temple of the Eumenides was immediately below him; behind him was the temple of Theseus; and he beheld the Parthenon of the Acropolis fronting him from above. The temple of Victory was on his right, and a countless multitude of temples and altars in the Agora and Ceramicus below him. Above him, towering over the city from its pedestal on the rock of the Acropolis, was the bronze colossus of Minerva, the champion of Athens.”¹

The remarkable speech which follows can only be fully understood by taking into consideration the position in which Paul was placed. His audience consisted of the wise and learned of Athens—the philosophers of the Grecian schools. He takes as his text the inscription on an altar which he saw,

¹ Wordsworth *on the Acts*, p. 126.

“To an Unknown God;” and from this he proclaims the true God as the Creator and Preserver of the world, and of all things therein. Surrounded with splendid temples, he asserts the folly of thinking that the Godhead resides in temples made with hands; and pointing to those magnificent statues in his immediate neighbourhood, he exclaims, “We ought not to think that the Godhead is like to gold, or silver, or stone, to an image of art, or the device of a man.” And having thus asserted the majesty of God, and man’s dependence upon Him—the great truths of natural religion—he proceeds to proclaim the message with which he was peculiarly entrusted, the call to repentance, the future judgment and the resurrection, when he is interrupted, and his speech left unfinished.

Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι—*Ye men of Athens*; the usual form of address employed by their orators. Κατὰ πάντα—in all respects. Ὡς, *as*, does not belong to the comparative δεισιδαιμονεστέρους as an intensive particle, but denotes that Paul recognised them as such. Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους—*more God-fearing*, the comparative of δεισιδαίμων. It is difficult to give a correct translation of this word; no single word in English contains the full meaning: “more religious” approaches nearest to it. Δεισιδαίμων (δειδω δαίμων)—*fearing the gods*. The word, similar to the “fear of God” with us, is used both in a good and in a bad sense, signifying in some places religious, and in other places superstitious, the meaning being determined by the context. Our version renders it *too superstitious*;¹ but it cannot be supposed that Paul would commence his discourse with an appellation which would incense his audience against him. It is used five times by Josephus, and always in a good sense. Chrysostom employs the word in a good sense, as equal to εὐλαβεστέρους, “more religious.” The word δεισιδαιμονίας occurs in Acts xxv. 19, rendered in our version *superstition*, but evidently signifying *religion*; for Festus would not call the Jewish religion a superstition before Agrippa, who was him-

¹ So also the Vulgate, which our version here follows, renders it *superstitiosiores*, and Luther translates it *allzu uebergläubig*.

self a Jew. The comparative is not to be here taken as expressing a high degree, but implies that the Athenians were more actuated by the fear of the gods than others. German critics in general translate it by the word *gottesfürchtig*, or still more appropriately, *gottesfürchtiger*. English critics have translated the word by different phrases. Lardner renders it "very devout;" Hackett, "more religious;" Humphry, "exceeding scrupulous in your religion;" Alford, "carrying your religious reverence very far;" Doddridge, "exceedingly addicted to the worship of invisible powers;" Conybeare, "careful in your religion;" Wordsworth, "more fearful of the gods." In most of these translations the force of the comparative is overlooked. The literal meaning is evidently *more demon-fearing*, the word "demon" being used in a good sense. That this was the character of the Athenians, is abundantly confirmed by Greek writers. Josephus says that "the Athenians are the most religious of the Greeks" (*Against Apion*, ii. 12); Xenophon, that they observed twice as many festivals as any other people (*De Repub. Athen.*); Pausanias, that they exceeded all others in their piety toward the gods, and that they only of all the Greeks had an altar to Mercy (*Paus. Attic.*); Sophocles, that they went beyond all the world in the honours they paid to the gods (*Æd. Col.* 1060); and Philostratus calls the Athenians *φιλοθύται*, "addicted to sacrificing" (*Vit. Apoll.*).¹

Ver. 23. *Τὰ σεβάσματα ἑμῶν*—*your sacred things*; not, as in our version, "your devotions." The word denotes all objects of their worship—their temples, altars, and images.

Ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ—*to an unknown god*; not, as in our version, "To the unknown God," the article being wanting. "That there was at least one altar at Athens with this inscription," observes Meyer, "would appear historically certain from this passage itself, even though other testimonies were wanting, since Paul appeals to a fact of his own observation, and that, too, in the presence of the Athenians themselves."² But there are other proofs that there were such altars at Athens.

¹ See Biscoe on the Acts, p. 293; Kuinœl, *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 262.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 350.

Thus Pausanias, who lived A.D. 174, in his description of Athens, tells us that there were such altars at Phalerus, the port of Athens: *βωμοὶ θεῶν τε ὀνομαζομένων ἀγνώστων* (Paus. i. 1. 4). And Philostratus, who lived about A.D. 244, in his *Life of Apollonius*, says: "It is more discreet to speak well of all the gods, especially at Athens, where there are erected altars of unknown gods" (*οὐ καὶ ἀγνώστων δαιμόνων βωμοὶ ἱδρύνται*,¹ *Vit. Apoll.* vi. 2). It is to be observed that in our history it is asserted that the inscription on the altar was, "To an unknown god;" whereas Pausanias and Philostratus assert that there were "altars of unknown gods." Some accordingly suppose that the true inscription was, "To the unknown gods," but that Paul for his own purpose changed it from the plural to the singular. Thus Jerome observes: "The inscription on the altar was not, as Paul asserted, 'To the unknown God,' but thus, 'To the gods of Asia, and Europe, and Africa—to unknown and foreign gods.' But because Paul required not many unknown gods, but only one unknown God, he used the word in the singular" (Jerome on Tit. i. 12). But there is no historical trace of such an inscription. As Winer observes: "It does not follow from the language of Pausanias and Philostratus that every altar had the inscription *ἀγνώστοις θεοῖς* in the plural; but more naturally, that each altar was dedicated to *ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*, but that the writers were obliged to change the singular into the plural, because they spoke of the altars taken collectively."²

The origin of these altars has been variously explained. Eichhorn supposes that the altars were very ancient, erected before writing was known, and therefore without inscription; and that the Athenians, ignorant of the god to whom they were originally dedicated, and lest they should offend any

¹ The passage from (Pseudo) Lucian, in his *Philopatris*, where it is asserted that the unknown god is worshipped at Athens, cannot be cited as an authority, as it is now generally agreed that the dialogue is spurious, and the reference is only an allusion to the statement in the Acts.

² Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*—Athens.

particular god, inscribed on each, ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ. But this is improbable, as tradition would have preserved the names of these gods. Others give the following account of their origin. Diogenes Laertius, in his *Life of Epimenides*, informs us, that when the Athenians at one time suffered under a pestilence, Epimenides arrested the plague in this manner: he ordered the Athenians to let go white and black sheep from the Areopagus, and on the spots where they lay down to sacrifice them τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ, that is, to the appropriate god, the unknown god who sent the pestilence; and Diogenes adds, "Therefore there are at Athens βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους," that is, not altars without inscriptions, but anonymous or unnamed altars (*Vit. Epim.*).¹ From this then, it appears probable that, in the times of pestilence or public calamities, altars were erected in honour of the unknown god who sent the deliverance. Another supposition is, that the Athenians erected such altars from superstitious motives, in case that, in the multiplicity of gods, they had overlooked any (Chrysostom).

Another opinion, but more improbable, is, that the altar with the inscription "To an unknown god," was actually erected in honour of Jehovah the God of the Jews.² The reasons for this conjecture are, that the Athenians erected altars to the gods of other nations, and that therefore it is not improbable that there should have been at Athens an altar to Jehovah. The Jews, however, religiously abstained from pronouncing the name of God to the Greeks, and hence He was called "The Unknown." The Emperor Caligula speaks of Him as "the unnamed God" (Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*); and Lucan calls Him *incertus Deus* (*Phars.* ii. 593). And thus it is supposed that the inscription on the altar to the God of the Jews was "To the unknown God," because His appropriate name was unknown. It is not, however, to be supposed that the Athenians would be so ignorant of the Jewish religion as this opinion supposes, especially as the Jews were so numerous at Athens as to have a synagogue.

¹ See Lardner's *Works*, vol. iv. pp. 171-176.

² Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 295-297.

ἌΟ οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες εὐσεβεῖτε, τοῦτο ἐγὼ καταγγέλλω ὑμῖν—
What therefore ye worship without knowing, that declare I unto you. The neuters δ . . . τοῦτο are critically to be preferred to the masculines δν . . . τοῦτον of the *textus receptus*. (See Critical Note.) Paul does not exactly identify the true God with the unknown god to whom the altar was inscribed; but draws the inference that the Athenians, besides the known gods, recognised something divine to be worshipped which was different from them. And justly might Paul make this application: Ye worship an unknown god: ye thus acknowledge that there is a divinity whom you know not: now such a divinity do I declare to you. The Athenians, it may be said, did not understand the inscription in the sense given by the apostle, but according to their heathen notions; but still, underneath their religious errors there was, especially among their philosophers, some dim idea of God.¹ Ἀγνοοῦντες—*without knowing*. The apostle, in using this term, does not directly find fault with the Athenians; but the reference is to the inscription on the altar—"an unknown god:" they confessed themselves to be ignorant of the god whom they worshipped.

Ver. 24. Ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον—*God who made the world*. The apostle here announces God as the Creator of the world. This fundamental doctrine of natural religion was lost sight of by the Epicureans and the Stoics. The idea of an absolute Creator was not recognised by them. The Epicureans either supposed the world eternal, or ascribed its formation to chance; and the Stoics supposed that God animated the world, or that the world itself was God: they admitted an organization, but not a creation of the world by God. The recognition of the one Creator is antagonistic to polytheism; and hence this doctrine of creation was in general overlooked or denied by the ancient schools of philosophy.

Ver. 25. Οὐδὲ ὑπὸ χειρῶν ἀνθρωπίνων θεραπεύεται—*neither is ministered to by human hands*; namely, by sacrifices, etc. The heathen were accustomed to clothe the images of their gods with splendid garments, and to minister to them

¹ See Note to ch. xiv. 17.

in various ways. *Προσδεόμενος τιῶς*—*as if He needed anything*. The heathen certainly had on striking occasions their expiatory sacrifices, where the idea of an atonement was brought forward; but in general, they regarded their sacrifices as if they were gifts to their deities—presents to propitiate their favour—as if the friendship of the gods could be purchased by gifts. *Ζωὴν καὶ πνοήν*—*life and breath*; not merely life, but the breath by which it is continued: God is the Preserver as well as the Creator. Others take the words as synonymous, “life, namely breath”—as in the Old Testament, “the breath of life;” but this is a feeble rendering.

Ver. 26. *Ἐποίησέν τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἵματος πᾶν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων*—*And He made of one blood all nations of men*. Paul here asserts the unity of the human race. Olshausen supposes that this statement was designed to represent the contempt in which the Jews were held among the Greeks as absurd; but there is no allusion to the Jews in the whole of the discourse.¹ Kuinöel thinks that it was especially directed against the pride of the Athenians, who boasted that they were *αὐτόχθονες*, or the children of the soil;² but such an allusion appears far-fetched. Paul introduces this remark in opposition to the polytheism of the heathen, who regarded the different nations as derived from different sources, and as consequently under the superintendence of different divinities. “On the polytheistic standpoint,” observes Neander, “a knowledge of the unity of human nature is wanting, because it is closely connected with a knowledge of the unity of God. Polytheism prefers the idea of distinct races, over whom their respective gods preside, to the idea of one race proceeding from one origin. As the idea of one God is divided into a multiplicity of gods, so the idea of one human race is divided into the multiplicity of national character, over each of which a god is supposed to preside, corresponding to the particular nation. On the other hand, the idea of one human race, and their descent from one man, is connected with the idea of one God. Thus Paul

¹ Olshausen *on the Gospels and the Acts*, vol. iv. p. 442.

² Kuinöel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. pp. 270, 271.

sets the unity of the theistic conceptions in contrast with the multiplicity existing in the deification of nature.”¹

Ὅρισας προστεταγμένους καιροὺς, etc.—*having fixed their appointed times, and the boundaries of their habitation.* God has appointed the residence of the nations both according to their duration and according to their boundaries. He is not only the Creator and Preserver, but also the Governor of the nations. This statement is made in opposition to the doctrine of the Epicureans, who denied God’s superintendence of the world, and to the notion of the Stoics, who supposed that all things were subject to fate.

Ver. 27. Ζητεῖν τὸν Θεόν—to seek God; the intention of God’s providential government. It does not necessarily denote a previous acquaintance with God, and a subsequent apostasy (Olshausen), but rather a present ignorance of Him. Εἰ ἄρα γε—if perchance: implying a contingency in the result of the search. Ψηλαφήσειαν αὐτὸν—that they might feel after Him, as one who gropes in the dark. Καίγε οὐ μακρὰν, etc.—*although He is not far from any one of us.* It is not God who is distant from us, so that He requires to be sought and found: it is we who are ignorant of God. God is near to us, but we know it not.

Ver. 28. Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν—for in Him we live, and move, and are. Ἐν αὐτῷ, not by Him or on Him, but in Him as the element of life. Some understand these words as a climax; and others as an anti-climax. Thus Olshausen supposes that they contain a climax, —ζῆν denoting the life of the body (σώμα), κινεῖσθαι the activity of the soul (ψυχή), and εἶναι the true life of the spirit (πνεῦμα). Meyer, on the other hand, supposes an anti-climax: “Without God we can have no life: not even motion, which many lifeless things have, as plants, water, etc.; not even bare existence, such as a stone has.”² Evidently what is here stated is something peculiar to man, and which is not shared in by the inferior animals; because the apostle adds as an illustration of the statement, the saying of the poet, “We are also His offspring.” Still, however, the

¹ Neander’s *Planting*, i. p. 192.

² Meyer’s *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 356.

words are not to be interpreted in a pantheistic sense, as if we were emanations from God. The apostle had already sufficiently guarded against such a sense, by asserting the majesty, independence, and moral government of God — His superiority to the world as its Creator and Preserver. There is, however, a deep truth that lies at the bottom of the error of pantheism—the relation of the human spirit to the divine, and its dependence on it; keeping always in view the personality of God, and the essential difference which there is between Him and the creature. In a true and deep sense, all things, and especially all men, are in God.

Ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν, etc.—*as some of your poets have said, For we are also His offspring.* The words τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν are an exact quotation from the poet Aratus: πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κερήμεθα πάντες τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμὲν (Aratus, *Phænomena*, 5). Aratus was a native of Soli in Cilicia, and hence a countryman of Paul: he flourished about B.C. 270, and wrote several astronomical poems, of which two remain. A similar expression is found in the hymn of Cleanthes to Jupiter, one of the noblest pieces of antiquity: ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμὲν—"For from Thee we are the offspring" (Hymn, in *Jov.* 5). Cleanthes was a native of Assos in Troas, and a contemporary of Aratus: he was one of the most celebrated of the Stoic philosophers, and taught at Athens. The apostle, in using the plural ποιητῶν, had perhaps several poets in view. The extent of Paul's knowledge of Greek literature has been often discussed; some asserting that his quotations from the Greek poets are no proofs of a Grecian education, and others maintaining the opposite view. But although such quotations are in themselves no decisive proofs of his learning, yet when we recollect that Paul was a native of Tarsus, a city celebrated for its schools, it is by no means unlikely that he had a liberal, and not a mere rabbinical education. Besides this quotation, he elsewhere quotes from Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33), and from Epimenides (Tit. i. 12). The apostle, in giving this quotation from Aratus, evidently approves of the sentiment it contains.

Ver. 29. *Γένος οὖν ὑπάρχοντες τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*being therefore the offspring of God.* The apostle proceeds to infer from this the absurdity of image-worship. We cannot conceive that the Godhead is like to gold, or silver, or stone: to do so would be to call in question our divine origin. These words must have made a deep impression upon his hearers. The most splendid images of the gods stood before them—the masterpieces of ancient sculpture; and in sight of them Paul asserts the contrast which there must be between them and God. It is true that the thinkers among the Greeks had risen above such a degraded view of the gods as to suppose that they resembled their images; but anthropomorphism was very prevalent among the people, and in all probability Paul's audience was not entirely composed of philosophers.

Ver. 30. Paul having shown the unreasonableness of idolatry, now proceeds to discourse on the doctrines of Christianity. Hitherto he has dwelt on the truths of natural religion; now he turns to those of revelation. *Ἐπεριδόν*—*having overlooked*: that is, did not appear to take notice of them, by sending express messages to them, as He formerly did to the Jews; or did not observe them with a view to punishment: God in His mercy passed them by. But now the time of forbearance is past, there is a universal call to repentance. The ignorance of the heathen is not an excuse, but an extenuation of their guilt. *Πᾶσω πανταχοῦ*—*all men everywhere*: thus emphatically asserting the universal character of Christianity. *Μετανοεῖν*—*to repent*: to change their mind and their views, to renounce their idolatries.

Ver. 31. *Καθότι*—*inasmuch as*: the reason given why God now commands all men to repent. The day of judgment is appointed; and if they do not repent, they will be condemned. *Ἐν ἀνδρὶ*—*in a man*: *i.e.* in the person of a man who will be God's representative. *Πίστω παρασχὼν πᾶσι*—*having given assurance to all*; or, as others render it, "having rendered faith possible to all." Until Christ came, a belief in a future state of retribution was hardly possible; and hence the greater number of philosophers denied it. As we

have seen, it formed no part of the creed of Epicurus; and the notions of the Stoics regarding it were very confused. Ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν—*having raised Him from the dead.* The resurrection of Christ is the proof which God has given of the certainty of a future state.

Ver. 32. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν—but when they heard of a resurrection of the dead. Whenever Paul spoke of the resurrection he was interrupted, and thus his speech remains unfinished. He had not as yet even named Jesus, but had directed attention to His person; and evidently, had he been allowed to proceed, he would have discoursed upon His life and sufferings. Ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν—a resurrection of the dead: not specifically the resurrection of Christ, but the resurrection generally. Οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ—*some . . . others.* If we be permitted to distinguish between these two parties, we would refer the some who mocked to the Epicureans, and the others who deferred the further hearing of the apostle to the Stoics; but there are not sufficient grounds for this distinction. Ἀκουσόμεθα σου περὶ τούτου καὶ πάλιν—*We will hear thee again concerning this.* Some (Calvin, Grotius, Rosenmüller, Alford) suppose that these words were spoken in earnest; but if so, we would have expected an account of the apostle's continuance and further labours in Athens: instead of this, we are informed that he soon afterwards departed. The words contain merely a polite dismissal, although those who spoke them might for the time be impressed, perhaps feeling that there was some truth in what Paul said.

Ver. 33. Οὕτως—*thus*: with such a result. Paul seems to have had less success in Athens than in any other city; whereas we might have supposed that the superior education of its inhabitants would have prepared them for the reception of the gospel. The pride of philosophy was here the great obstacle to the success of the gospel. But "though the immediate effect of the apostle's sermon was not great, the Parthenon in time became a Christian church. Athens ceased to be κατείδωλος πόλις; and the repugnance of the Greeks to images became so great, as to be a principal cause

of the schism between the churches of the East and West in the eighth century.”¹

Ver. 34. *Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης*—*Dionysius the Areopagite*. The members of the court of the Areopagus were chosen from among the best and noblest families in Athens, and therefore Dionysius must have been a man of distinction. Nothing certain is known about him. According to the statement of Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, he became bishop of Athens (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 23), where, according to another tradition, he suffered martyrdom (Niceph. iii. 11). The mystical writings ascribed to him are beyond question spurious. *Καὶ γυνὴ ὀνόματι Δάμαρις*—and a woman named *Damaris*. Probably a woman of distinction in Athens. Chrysostom supposes that she was the wife of Dionysius, but only on the ground that she is named along with him. Grotius conjectures that her proper name was *Δάμαλις*, a common female name among the Greeks. The names differ only in one letter; and the interchange of the letters ρ and λ was not without example. The supposition, however, is entirely arbitrary.

Such is the memorable speech of Paul at Athens. It is a specimen of eloquence at once dignified and sublime. The prudence which he displays in not needlessly offending his auditors, the art he shows in the application of the inscription to an unknown god, the lofty views he expresses of the nature of God, the great principle of the unity of the human race which he advances in opposition to polytheism, are all proofs of the eloquence and wisdom of the apostle. He did not denounce the philosophy of his opponents; he endeavoured calmly to convince them, not harshly to censure them; he does not so much confute error as establish truth. “The address of Paul before this assembly,” observes Neander, “is a living proof of his apostolic wisdom and eloquence: we perceive here how the apostle, according to his own expression, could become a Gentile to the Gentiles, to win the Gentiles to the gospel.” On the other hand, Zeller supposes that the whole discourse is only a counterpart to the defence

¹ Humphry on the Acts, p. 139.

of Stephen in Jerusalem, and differs chiefly in the tragical end of Stephen, and the free dismissal of Paul.¹ But the resemblance between these discourses is certainly very slight, and hardly traceable. Indeed, there is rather a contrast; Stephen's speech being an apology, and Paul's a simple address. The ideas are purely Pauline, and bear the internal impress of Paul's mind. The speech is incomplete: it was interrupted before it was finished; but there is no reason to consider that it is a meagre abridgment of what Paul said, though in the opinion of some it is more fully given at the beginning than at the conclusion. If it be inquired how Luke obtained it, seeing he was certainly not present, nor indeed any other Christian, for Paul was alone at Athens, the reply is obvious: Paul himself communicated it; and in this portion of the Acts we have, it may be, a document composed by the apostle himself.

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 261.

SECTION XII.

PAUL AT CORINTH: CLOSE OF PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY.—ACTS XVIII. 1–22.

1 And after these things, having departed from Athens, he came to Corinth; 2 And finding a certain Jew, named Aquila, born in Pontus, lately come from Italy, and his wife Priscilla, because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome, he came to them. 3 And because he was of the same trade, he abode with them, and wrought: for by trade they were tentmakers. 4 And he reasoned in the synagogue every Sabbath, and persuaded both Jews and Greeks. 5 And when Silas and Timotheus came from Macedonia, Paul was engrossed with the word, testifying to the Jews Jesus as the Christ. 6 And when they opposed, and blasphemed, he shook his garments, and said to them, Your blood be upon your own heads; I, pure, shall henceforth go to the Gentiles. 7 And having departed thence, he came into the house of one named Justus, a worshipper of God, whose house adjoined the synagogue. 8 And Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed on the Lord with all his house: and many of the Corinthians hearing believed, and were baptized. 9 And the Lord said to Paul in the night by a vision, Fear not, but speak, and be not silent: 10 Because I am with thee, and no one shall set on thee to hurt thee; because I have much people in this city. 11 And he continued there a year and six months, teaching the word of God among them. 12 But when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, the Jews with one accord assaulted Paul, and brought him to the judgment-seat, 13 Saying, This person persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law. 14 And when Paul was about to open his mouth, Gallio said to the Jews, If it were a wrong or a vile crime, O ye Jews, I should then reasonably bear with you: 15 But if it be questions concerning a word and names, and your law, look ye to it yourselves; I will be no judge of such matters. 16 And he drove them from the judgment-seat. 17 Then all seized on Sosthenes, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and beat him before the judgment-seat: and Gallio cared for none of these things.

18 And Paul remained there yet a considerable time; and having

taken leave of the brethren, he sailed to Syria, and with him Priscilla and Aquila, having shaved his head in Cenchrea: for he had a vow. 19 And they came to Ephesus, and he left them there; but he himself entered into the synagogue, and reasoned with the Jews. 20 But when they desired him to remain longer time with them, he consented not: 21 But taking leave of them, and saying, I will return to you, if God will, he sailed from Ephesus. 22 And when he had landed at Cæsarea, and gone up and saluted the church, he came down to Antioch.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. Ὁ Παῦλος is found in A, E, but omitted in B, D, κ : it is rejected by Tischendorf and Lachmann, being inserted as the commencement of a church lesson. Ver. 5. The reading τῷ πνεύματι is found in only one uncial ms. (H), whereas A, B, D, E, G, κ read τῷ λόγῳ, which is adopted by all the recent critics. Ver. 7. The reading Τίτου, or Τιτίου Ἰούστου, is found in B, D (corrected), E, κ , and the Vulgate; whereas A, D (original), G, H read simply Ἰούστου, which is the reading adopted by Tischendorf. Ver. 17. After πάντες the *textus receptus* has οἱ Ἕλληνες, found in D, E: the words are wanting in A, B, κ , and are rejected by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Meyer. Ver. 19. The plural κατήγησαν, found in A, B, E, κ , is by recent critics preferred to the singular, found in G, H. Ver. 21. The sentence, δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα (*textus receptus*), is found in D, G, H, but is omitted in A, B, E, κ : it is rejected by Tischendorf and Lachmann, but retained by Meyer and Alford.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. Ἦλθεν εἰς Κόρινθον—He came to Corinth. Paul, in going from Athens to Corinth, came in contact with a very different society. Athens was the great seat of philosophy; Corinth was celebrated for its commerce and luxury. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, was the tutelary divinity of the one; Venus, the goddess of love, was the chief object of the worship of the other. And yet Paul was more successful

in sensual Corinth than in intellectual Athens. *In illâ urbe, literæ et philosophia; in hâc, mercatura maxime florebat. Inde utriusque urbis habitus ad evangelium pulcre inter se conferri possit. Multo majorem fructum Corinthi Paulus habuit, quam Athenis* (Bengel). Corinth, originally called Ephyra, was situated on the isthmus which connects the Peloponnesus with the rest of Greece, and separates the Ægean from the Ionian Sea. In a military point of view it was of great importance, as it commanded the entrance into the peninsula, and hence was called by Xenophon "the gate of the Peloponnesus." It was also most favourably situated for the commerce both of the East and the West. It had two ports; of which the eastern, Cenchræa, on the Ægean Sea toward Asia, was about eight miles distant; and the western, Lechæum, on the Ionian Sea toward Italy, was about a mile and a half from the city (Strabo, viii. 6. 20). In its immediate neighbourhood was the citadel, or Acrocorinthus, a hill rising to the height of 2000 feet, and so difficult of ascent that it was almost impregnable. It was to Corinth what the Acropolis was to Athens. The Greek town of Corinth was completely destroyed by the Romans under Lucius Mummius, B.C. 146, about the same time that Carthage was destroyed. After lying in ruins about a hundred years, Corinth was rebuilt by Julius Cæsar, and converted into a Roman colony (Strabo, viii. 6. 23). Its proper name was *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*.¹ Under the Romans it speedily recovered its former prosperity: it became a great commercial city, and was constituted the capital of the province of Achaia. It was celebrated for its wealth and magnificence, as well as for the refinement of its inhabitants. Cicero calls it "the light of all Greece" (*totius Græciæ lumen*), and Florus "the capital of Achaia, and the glory of Greece" (*Achaiaæ caput Græciæ decus*). It was, however, infamous for its licentiousness: Venus, whose temple was on the Acrocorinthus, was its favourite goddess; and impurity prevailed to such an extent, that *κορυνθιάζειν*, "to live like a Corinthian," was equivalent to *scortari*. Dio Chry-

¹ See Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 237.

sostom terms it a city "the most licentious of all that are or have been." Corinth is now a miserable village, still bearing its ancient name.¹

Ver. 2. Ἀκύλαν, Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει—*Aquila, born in Pontus.* Some suppose that Ποντικὸν τῷ γένει is an error of the transcriber, and that the name of Aquila was Pontius. A Pontius Aquila is mentioned by Suetonius as an opponent of Julius Cæsar (Cæs. 78); and it has been supposed that the Aquila of the Acts may have been one of his freemen. This, however, is a mere conjecture, which rests on no foundation, and is unsupported by the reading of any MS.² It has been disputed whether Aquila and Priscilla were already Christians when Paul met with them. Some (Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Alford) consider that they were not at that time Christians. The reasons for this supposition are: that Aquila is called only a Jew, and not a disciple or a believer; that he is classed among the Jews who were expelled from Rome; and that Paul joined him, not on account of their common Christianity, but on account of their common trade. Others (Kuincel, Neander, Wieseler, Olshausen, Lange, Ewald), with greater probability, suppose that they were already disciples. There is no mention of their conversion; and Paul's companionship affords a presumption in favour of their Christianity. Only among Christians could the apostle feel himself at home. They are frequently noticed in Paul's epistles: they were with him at Ephesus when he wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 19); and we find them again at Rome when he wrote the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xvi. 3, 4). On some occasion they rendered Paul very important service; for in the Epistle to the Romans he speaks of them as having for his life laid down their own necks. Pontus, where Aquila was born, was situated along the shores of the Black Sea. Christianity was early introduced into it, pro-

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ch. xii.; Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*, pp. 233, 234; Kuincel's *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*, p. 275; Renan's *Saint Paul*, pp. 212-214.

² Lange's *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte*. Von Lechler, p. 299.

bably by some Jews, natives of Pontus, who were converted on the day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 9). It is a singular coincidence that the Aquila who translated the Old Testament into Greek was also a native of Pontus.

Διὰ τὸ διατεταχέναι Κλαύδιον χωρίζεσθαι πάντας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης—because Claudius had commanded all Jews to depart from Rome. The Jews were very numerous at Rome, and inhabited a separate district of the town, on the banks of the Tiber. They were often very troublesome, and were several times expelled from Rome. Suetonius expressly informs us that they were banished by the Emperor Claudius. His words are remarkable: *Judæos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*—“He banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of Chrestus” (Claudius, 25). Meyer supposes Chrestus to have been some unknown Jewish demagogue at Rome, whose treasonable attempts led to this decree of expulsion. But it is more probable that Chrestus is a mistake for Christ, especially as, according to Tertullian, the word was often thus wrongly pronounced (*Apol.* 3). Some (Kuinoel, Gieseler) accordingly suppose that the cause of the disturbance was a tumult raised by the Jews against the Christians, as we find from the Acts was their frequent practice, and that Claudius, without examining which party was in the wrong, banished them all from Rome. The most probable opinion is, that the Jews were excited to rebellion by the expectation of the Messiah, perhaps by a false Christ, as was frequently the case in Judea. The Jewish expectation of the Messiah was known to the Romans, and is mentioned both by Tacitus and Suetonius. The statement of Suetonius concerning the expulsion of the Jews is, however, apparently at variance with another statement of Dio Cassius, who tells us that Claudius was afraid to expel so vast a multitude, and only prohibited their assemblies (Dio Cassius, lx. 6). But it is probable that Dio Cassius refers to a decree which preceded the edict of expulsion, and may have been the cause of the disturbances among the Jews. At all events, the fact of the expulsion mentioned by Luke is corroborated by the

testimony of Suetonius. It would appear that this edict of Claudius was soon reversed, or at least ceased to be acted upon; for when Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans, Aquila and Priscilla had returned to Rome; and when he himself came to Rome, he found numerous Jews. Some suppose that the edict was reversed when Nero ascended the imperial throne.

Ver. 3. Ἦσαν γὰρ σκηνοποιοὶ τῇ τέχνῃ—*for they were tent-makers by trade.* It was the custom of the Jews, even of the richest families among them, to train up their children to some useful trade. The reasons of this were probably the esteem which the Jews had for trade, and their prudence in providing against the changes of fortune. "He," says Rabbi Judah, "that teaches not his son a trade, does the same as if he taught him to be a thief." The word *σκηνοποιός* has been variously translated. Luther renders it *Teppichmacher*, a carpet manufacturer. Michaelis thinks that Paul and Aquila were makers of instruments. De Dieu thinks the word signifies a worker in leather, a saddler, because tents were in general made of leather. Hug supposes that Paul was a maker of tent-cloth; and he adverts to the fact that in Cilicia, Paul's native country, there was a manufactory of tent-cloth from the hair of the Cilician goats, and which was called *κιλίκια* (Cilician cloth).¹ The word literally signifies a tent-maker, and probably refers to the manufactory of tent-cloth, a trade which Paul may have learned in his native country; or to the making of the cloth into tents. This passage is peculiarly interesting, as it informs us of the trade by which Paul supported himself and his companions when he preached the gospel. "Paul," observes St. Chrysostom, "after working miracles, stood in his workshop at Corinth, and stitched hides of leather together with his hands; and the angels regarded him with love, and the devils with fear." We learn that Paul supported himself by his trade at Thessalonica (1 Thess. ii. 9; 2 Thess. iii. 8) and Ephesus (Acts xx. 34), as well as at Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 12).

¹ For other opinions, see Kuinoel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 276, and Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 365.

Ver. 5. Σίλας καὶ ὁ Τιμόθεος—*Silas and Timotheus*. Paul had left Silas and Timothy at Berea, with directions to follow him to Athens. Timothy had, however, been sent by Paul to Thessalonica to confirm the church there; and in consequence of this delay, they did not rejoin the apostle until he came to Corinth. Συυείχετο τῷ λόγῳ ὁ Παῦλος—*Paul was engrossed with the word*. There is a variety in the reading. (See Critical Note.) In the *textus receptus* it is *συυείχετο τῷ Πνεύματι*—*was pressed by the Spirit*; that is, was powerfully excited by the Holy Spirit. The reading τῷ λόγῳ, however, is to be preferred. Συυέχω signifies to hold together, to press together, to constrain, to urge. Such is the evident meaning of the word in 2 Cor. v. 14, “The love of Christ constrains (συυέχει) us.” Hence in the passive it signifies to be constrained, to be pressed, to be much occupied—*Paul was engrossed by the word*. So Kuinœl, Olshausen, De Wette, and Meyer. The meaning is not, that when Silas and Timothy came they found Paul thus occupied; but that their arrival imparted a new impulse to him: he felt that he was no longer alone, that he had fellow-workers in the great cause, and therefore he devoted himself to it with greater earnestness. He himself tells us, that when he first came to Corinth he was with them “in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling” (1 Cor. ii. 3); and we can easily conceive how the arrival of such associates as Silas and Timothy must have encouraged him.

Ver. 6. Ἐκτιναξάμενος τὰ ἱμάτια—*shaking his garments*. A symbol of similar import with shaking off the dust from the feet (Acts xiii. 51), denoting his entire separation from them. Τὸ αἷμα ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑμῶν—*your blood be upon your heads*; not an imprecation, but a statement of fact, that by their resistance they brought destruction upon themselves. The expression has no reference to the custom of laying the hand on the head of the sacrifice (Elsner), or of witnesses laying their hands on the head of the accused (Piscator); but is a proverbial expression, denoting the destruction which one brings upon himself, the head being here used for the person. The destruction here alluded to is the

eternal destruction which will come upon all who reject the gospel.¹ *Καθαρὸς ἐγὼ*—*I pure*; that is, I with a pure conscience. There is a probable reference to Ezek. xxxiii. 1–9. Paul, in warning the Jews in Corinth of their danger, had delivered his own soul—their blood was upon their own head.

Ver. 7. *Καὶ μεταβὰς ἐκεῖθεν*—*and having departed thence*: that is, from the synagogue, the nearest and most natural antecedent; not from the house of Aquila (Heinrichs, Alford). *Ἰούστου*—*Justus*. There is a variety in the reading here. (See Critical Note.) Some MSS. read, Titus Justus. If this be the correct reading, then Titus is here mentioned, who, as we otherwise learn, was with the apostle in some part of his missionary journeys (Gal. ii. 1).

Ver. 8. *Κρίσπος δὲ ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος ἐπίστευσεν*—*But Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, believed*. Probably Paul's separation from the synagogue brought matters to a crisis, so that many waverers became avowed disciples. Crispus was one of those who in Corinth received the ordinance of baptism at the hands of the apostle. "I thank God," says he, "that I baptized none of you but Crispus and Gaius" (1 Cor. i. 14).

Vers. 9, 10. *Δι' ὀράματος ἐν νυκτὶ*—*by a vision at night*. (See note to Acts xvi. 9.) At Troas, a man of Macedonia appeared to Paul in a vision at night, entreating him to come over to Macedonia and help them; but here we learn that this call to Macedonia was not to be restricted to that particular country, but was intended to embrace the adjoining countries. Jesus Himself appears in a vision, and enjoins Paul to remain for some time in Corinth. *Διότι λαὸς ἐστὶ μοι πολλὸς*—*because I have much people*. *Λαός*, the word employed for Israel, the people of God, in contrast to *ἔθνη*. This does not include those who were already converted, but refers to those who should be converted by the preaching of the apostle. Even in this wicked and abandoned city of Corinth, Christ had a people: the gospel met with great success. Perhaps Paul may have been somewhat discouraged with his

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 366.

comparative want of success at Athens; and hence the encouragement now given to him was opportune and needful.

Ver. 11. Ἐκάθισέν τε ἑνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας ἕξ—and he continued a year and six months. Some (Rückert, Meyer, De Wette) suppose that this denotes only his residence in Corinth until the disturbance occasioned by the Jews arose. They think that, according to the Lord's promise, Paul continued in quiet for a year and a half, but that afterwards disturbances arose. So that to denote the whole period of his residence, the time which Paul remained after the tumult must be added to the year and a half. But the fruitless attempt of the Jews against Paul, the complete failure of the assault which they made upon him, was a remarkable fulfilment of Christ's promise to him, "that no one would attack him to hurt him." Others (Wieseler, Anger, Lechler, Alford) suppose that the whole period of Paul's residence in Corinth is mentioned, both the period before and the *many days* which he remained after the tumult. "This opinion," observes Wieseler, "appears to me to be undoubtedly correct, for several reasons. The particle τε connects this verse in the closest manner with the preceding: 'The Lord said, Fear not, but speak, and be not silent; and so he continued a year and six months teaching among them the word of God.' The main thought of the words which the Lord spoke to Paul in the vision is undoubtedly, 'Speak in this city, and be not silent;' and accordingly the period of time during which the apostle obeys this command of Christ must refer to the whole time in which he spoke at Corinth, and therefore must include the time until his departure. The same conclusion follows from the general expression ἐκάθισε, he continued in Corinth. Meyer, indeed, understands the expression in the sense of 'he remained in quiet;' but I cannot see how the word can have that meaning."¹ Διδάσκων ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ—teaching among them the word of God. Corinth being a commercial and maritime city, visited by strangers from all parts, Paul had an opportunity of preaching the gospel to the natives of many countries.

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 46.

It was during his long residence in Corinth that he wrote the two Epistles to the Thessalonians.

Ver. 12. Γαλλιόνος — *Gallio*. Gallio belonged to an illustrious family. His father was the rhetorician Marcus Annæus Seneca, and his brothers were Lucius Annæus Seneca, the celebrated philosopher and tutor of Nero, and Annæus Mela, the father of the poet Lucan. His original name was Marcus Annæus Novatus; but being adopted by the rhetorician Lucius Junius Gallio, he took the name of Junius Annæus Gallio. Tacitus alludes to him several times in his *Annals*: once when he was rebuked by Tiberius, whom he attempted to flatter (*Ann.* vi. 3); and another time on the occasion of the death of his more distinguished brother Seneca, when he showed some degree of cowardice, “being terrified at the death of his brother, and earnestly praying that his life might be spared” (*Ann.* xv. 73). Seneca speaks of him in the highest terms as a man of a most amiable disposition, and greatly beloved by all: *Gallionem fratrem meum, quem nemo non parum amat, etiam qui amare plus non potest* — “My brother Gallio, whom every one loves too little, even he who loves him to the utmost.” And again: *Nemo enim mortalium mihi tam dulcis est, quam hic omnibus* — “No one is so delightful to me, as he is to all” (*Nat. Ques.* iv.). Statius calls him *dulcis Gallio* (*Silv.* ii. 7. 32). His fate is doubtful: according to one account, he committed suicide (Euseb.); according to another, he was put to death by Nero (Dio Cassius), whereas according to Tacitus he seems to have been spared.

Ἀνθυπατεύοντος τῆς Ἀχαΐας — *being proconsul of Achaia*. The province of Achaia was almost of the same extent with the modern kingdom of Greece: it included the Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece proper; whereas Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and part of Illyria formed the province of Macedonia. These two provinces were granted by Augustus to the senate; but Tacitus informs us that Tiberius, at the entreaty of the provinces themselves, converted them into imperial provinces, so that they would then be governed not by proconsuls, but by proprætors (*Ann.* i. 76). Suetonius,

however, tells us that "Claudius gave up to the senate the provinces of Achaia and Macedonia, which Tiberius had transferred to his own administration" (Claud. xxv.). And it was toward the latter end of the reign of Claudius that Paul was at Corinth. This is another remarkable confirmation of the extreme accuracy of Luke. As Tholuck well remarks, if only the passage of Tacitus were extant, and the passage of Suetonius wanting, it might have been supposed that Luke had committed a mistake, whereas his accuracy is now undoubted.¹ We have no precise information from other authorities that Gallio was the proconsul of Achaia; but in one of Seneca's epistles mention is made of his being forced to leave Achaia on account of his health. "The saying of Gallio occurred to me, who, when he was taken ill of a fever in Achaia, immediately embarked, saying it was the disorder not of the body, but of the place" (*Epist.* 104).

Κατεπέστησαν τῷ Παύλῳ—*assaulted Paul*. The verb *κατεπίστημι* only occurs here in the New Testament; it is not found in the Septuagint. Probably the change of government on the arrival of Gallio encouraged the unbelieving Jews to make this assault on Paul.

Ver. 13. "Ὅτι παρὰ τὸν νόμον, etc.—*This person persuadeth men to worship God contrary to the law*. The law here spoken of is not so much the Roman as the Jewish law. It is evident, from the answer of Gallio, that the accusers mentioned wherein Paul had violated the law. The Romans had granted the Jews full liberty to practise their own religion; and therefore Paul's accusers hoped that Gallio would interfere and punish him for teaching doctrines which they asserted were in opposition to the law of Moses. According to their views, it was the duty of the Roman government to prevent any attempt to pervert or overturn their religion.

Vers. 14, 15. *Μέλλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου ἀνοίγειν τὸ στόμα*—*but when Paul was about to open his mouth*. Gallio does not permit Paul to reply,—not from any disrespect to the apostle, but because he did not think it necessary for him to

¹ Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 173.

enter upon his defence. He was accused of no crime which came under the cognizance of the Roman law. Although the Romans protected the Jews in the performance of their religion, yet it belonged to the Jews themselves to regulate their own affairs. Ἀδίκημα—a *wrong*; an act of injustice, an infringement of private rights, which might be the ground of a civil action. Ραδιούργημα πονηρὸν—a *wicked crime*, which might be the ground of a criminal action. Κατὰ λόγον—*according to reason*—reasonably. “If it were either of these, I should have given you a patient hearing.” Εἰ δὲ ζητήματά ἐστι περὶ λόγου, etc.—*but if it is a question concerning a word, and names, and your law*. The accusers had doubtless mentioned the names of the Messiah, and of Jesus of Nazareth; for Paul’s assertion that Jesus was the Messiah was the main cause of the opposition of the Jews. Νόμον τοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς—*your law*. The special law of the Jews, and not the law of the Romans. Κατὰ, with the accusative of the personal pronoun, is to be considered as a circumlocution for the possessive pronoun.¹ Ὀψεσθε αὐτοί—*look ye to it yourselves*; i.e. decide upon it according to your own laws. Κριτῆς ἐγὼ τούτων οὐ βούλομαι εἶναι—I *will be no judge of such matters*. Gallio here acted the part of a wise and equitable judge. Had the charge referred to an act of dishonesty or to a criminal action, he would have examined into it; but as it referred merely to a question of the Jewish law, he declined to interfere, as it did not fall under his jurisdiction. This conduct entirely agrees with the character of Gallio given by his brother Seneca—that of an amiable and upright man.

Ver. 16. Καὶ ἀπήλασεν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος—*And he drove them from the tribunal*. Ἀπήλασεν implies that some force had to be employed to expel the Jews from the court.

Ver. 17. Ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ πάντες Σωσθένην τὸν ἀρχισυναγωγόν—*And all seized on Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue*. This Sosthenes was evidently the leader of the Jewish party opposed to Paul. He was the ruler of the synagogue, having, as some suppose, succeeded Crispus,

¹ Winer’s *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 167.

who was expelled when he became a Christian; or, as others think, being along with Crispus among the chief rulers; or, according to Grotius, the chief ruler of another synagogue, there being probably several in the large commercial city of Corinth. There is no reason for identifying him with the Sosthenes who is united with Paul in the salutation of the first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. i. 1). But who are the πάντες who beat Sosthenes before the judgment-seat? The reading of the MSS. here varies. Some MSS. read οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, *the Jews*,—a gloss arising probably from mistaking this Sosthenes with the person mentioned in 1 Cor. i. 1, and supposing that he was a Christian. But it is very improbable that, after judgment had been given against the Jews, they would have been permitted to beat one of their opponents. Other MSS. read οἱ Ἕλληνας, *the Greeks*. This also is a gloss, but approaches nearer the truth. Πάντες are those round the tribunal—the officers of the governor. Enraged at the pertinacity of the Jews, they took their leader and beat him. Calvin strangely imagines that Sosthenes was one of Paul's companions whom the Greeks beat, although the Jews were the acknowledged authors of the tumult, and the defeated party.¹

Καὶ οὐδὲν τούτων τῷ Γαλλίῳ ἔμελεν—*And Gallio cared for none of these things*. This is usually charged upon Gallio as a matter of reproach, as if he were indifferent to religion; and hence a Gallio is often used to denote an indifferent person: we speak of religious Gallios and political Gallios. But this charge arises from a complete misunderstanding of the passage. That Gallio was indifferent to religious matters is possible, but this is not the fact which is here stated. All that is asserted is that Gallio did not choose to interfere. He was wrong in not interfering; he should have prevented this assault on Sosthenes: he should have kept the peace; but no doubt he was incensed at the intolerance and pertinacity of the Jews. Perhaps also the beating took place when the Jews were forcibly driven from the judgment-seat. "The object of this remark," observes Meyer, "is to represent

¹ Calvin, *in loco*.

the complete failure of the attempt of the Jews. So little did the charge against Paul prosper, that the accusers were themselves beaten without the interference of the judge, who by this indifference declared himself on the side of the accused."¹

Ver. 18. Ἐξέπλει εἰς τὴν Συρίαν—*he sailed to Syria.* Paul, after the tumult, remained for a considerable time longer (ἡμέρας ἰκανὰς) in Corinth, and afterwards set sail for Antioch, in Syria, as his ultimate destination. As there is no mention of Silas and Timothy accompanying him, it is probable that he left them to minister to the church at Corinth.

Κειράμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν—*having shaved the head.* It is disputed whether this shaving of the head refers to Aquila or Paul. Some (Castalio, Grotius, Heinrichs, Kuinœl, Schneckenburger, Meyer, Wieseler, and Howson) suppose that it was Aquila who shaved his head. The reasons of this supposition are because Aquila is last named, and that in a noticeable manner, after his wife Priscilla: a position supposed to be designedly chosen by Luke for the purpose of making the reference of *κειράμενος* to Aquila more evident. Besides, it is argued that it is contrary to Paul's character to suppose that he was still so bound to Judaism as voluntarily, and without any purpose, to submit to the ceremony of shaving his head. When afterwards in Jerusalem, he took upon himself the vow of the Nazarites, he regarded it as a matter of indifference, and did so for a particular purpose. Nothing, however, can be inferred from Priscilla being named before Aquila, as they are elsewhere thrice named in the same order (Rom. xvi. 3; 1 Cor. xvi. 9; 2 Tim. iv. 19). Besides, Paul is the important person, and Aquila and Priscilla are entirely subordinate, so that it is more natural to refer the shaving of the head to Paul. That Aquila shaved his head cannot possibly be a matter of any moment, and would not have been noticed by the historian.

Accordingly the other opinion, adopted by Augustine,

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 370.

Luther, Beza, Calvin, Bengel, De Wette, Baumgarten, Olshausen, Neander, Lange, Lechler, Zeller, Hackett, Alford, Wordsworth, referring the shaving of the head to Paul, is the more correct. Meyer, indeed, objects that this opinion is at variance with Paul's character, and inconsistent with his principles concerning the abrogation of the Jewish law. But although Paul held that the Jewish law was not binding on the Gentile Christians, and not essential to the Jewish Christians, yet he was far from forbidding the Jewish Christians to observe it. He himself, as a Jew, no doubt would keep the law in many particulars, otherwise his influence among the Jews would have been gone: "To the Jews he became as a Jew, that he might gain the Jews." He did not renounce the ceremonies of Judaism; but, on the contrary, James could testify that he walked orderly, and kept the law (Acts xxi. 24). The objection, then, arises from a misconception of Paul's character and conduct.

Ἐν Κεγχρεαῖς—*in Cenchræa*. Cenchræa was the eastern harbour of Corinth, on the Ægean Sea, the emporium of its trade with the East. "The port of Cenchræa," observes Strabo, "was about seventy stadia from the city: it served for the commerce of Asia; whereas the other port Lechæum served for the commerce of Italy" (Strabo, viii. 6. 22). There was a church in Cenchræa which was probably planted at this time by the apostle (Rom. xvi. 1). It is now known by the modern name Kikries. Paul went from Corinth to Cenchræa for the purpose of taking his passage in some vessel bound for Ephesus.

Ἐἶχεν γὰρ εὐχὴν—*for he had a vow*. We are not informed what was the precise nature of this vow. Most critics suppose that it was the vow of the Nazarites, called by Philo the great vow (*εὐχὴ μεγάλη*), according to which a man abstained from shaving his head. It was either taken for life, as in the case of Samson, or for a definite period: if for a period, the Nazarite at its termination shaved his hair. Such a vow was frequently taken by the Jews at this time. We have an example of it in the case of the four men who had a vow on them, whom Paul accompanied into the temple to

be at charges with them, that they might shave their heads (Acts xxi. 23, 24). Josephus observes, that it was usual with those that had been either afflicted with a distemper or with any other distress to make vows; to abstain from wine for thirty days before they offered their sacrifices, and to shave their heads (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 15. 1). It does not, however, appear that this vow of Paul was precisely similar to that of the Nazarites, because the loosening of the vow could only be effected in the tabernacle or temple, and there is no account of any relaxation of the law for the sake of foreign Jews (Num. vi. 1–21). Some suppose that Paul's vow had been broken by some ceremonial impurity, as contact with a dead body, or intercourse with the Gentiles; and that the shaving of his head represented the renewal of his vow. But not to insist that the text refers to the termination of his vow, such a renewal could only be made in the temple. Others accordingly (Salmasius, Kuinœl, Olshausen, Meyer) suppose that it was a private vow; that Paul made a vow, on the occasion of some remarkable deliverance, that he would not shave his head for a certain period. Permitting the hair to grow was with the Nazarites a sign of consecration to God; and hence a vow to do so was a similar symbol. The opinion of Neander seems to be the most correct, that although this vow was not precisely the same as the Nazarite vow, yet it was a modification of it, practised by those Jews who were abroad, and who were necessarily prevented from strictly observing the conditions of the law.¹ This vow was probably an expression of gratitude on the part of the apostle for the divine goodness in preserving him from imminent danger during his long abode at Corinth.

Ver. 19. *Κατήντησαν δὲ εἰς Ἔφεσον*—and they came to Ephesus. Paul crossed the *Ægean* Sea from Corinth to Ephesus. Means of communication between these large cities would at this time be frequent. For a description of Ephesus, see note to Acts xix. 1. *Κάκεινους κατέλιπεν αὐτοῦ*—and he left them there. Mentioned by anticipation that Paul left Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, when he journeyed to

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 207.

Cæsarea. The Syriac version inserts this clause at the beginning of ver. 21, which seems its most natural place: "And he left Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus, and he himself sailed and came to Cæsarea."

Ver. 21. The reading of this verse has been disputed. See Critical Note. Critics are nearly equally divided in their opinions. The clause, *δεῖ με πάντως τὴν ἑορτὴν τὴν ἐρχομένην ποιῆσαι εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα*—*I must by all means keep the coming feast at Jerusalem*—is rejected by Bengel, Griesbach, Kuinöel, Neander, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Lechler; but retained by Bornemann, Meyer, De Wette, Olshausen, Wieseler, Baumgarten, Wordsworth, and Alford. The preponderance of external evidence is slightly against it; whereas the internal evidence is in its favour: if not originally in the text, no good reason can be assigned for its insertion. In such a doubtful case, perhaps the preferable plan is to retain the reading. It has been disputed what feast is here meant. Wieseler supposes it to be the feast of Pentecost, whereas Ewald considers it to be the Passover. No argument in favour of the Passover can be drawn from the article *τὴν ἑορτὴν* (Ewald), as if it denoted the chief feast, namely the Passover, for the particular feast is further defined as the coming (*τὴν ἐρχομένην*) feast.

Ver. 22. *Καὶ κατελθὼν εἰς Καισάρειαν*—*And having come down to Cæsarea*. Paul sailed from Ephesus to Cæsarea, then the Roman capital of Judea. *Ἀναβὰς καὶ ἀσπασάμενος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*—*and having gone up and saluted the church*. Some (Calovius, Kuinöel, Schott) refer these words to Cæsarea, and suppose that they mean only that Paul went up from the shore to the city. Others (Calvin, Bengel, Olshausen, Neander, Meyer, De Wette, Wieseler, Lange, Lechler) refer them to Jerusalem; that Paul went up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, and saluted the mother church. Certainly the mere going up from the shore to the city is too unimportant to be mentioned; whereas *ἀναβάς* is a fitting term to represent a journey from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. The following words also—*κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*, *went down to Antioch*—are inappropriate to represent a journey

from Cæsarea to Antioch, as Antioch is in a more elevated situation; but appropriate to represent a journey from Jerusalem to Antioch. If the words, "I must by all means keep this feast that cometh in Jerusalem" (ver. 21), be genuine, there can be little doubt that the reference is to a visit to Jerusalem. If, on the other hand, the words be spurious, still, although there is not the same certainty, the above reasons are of weight. This was Paul's fourth visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, and is only alluded to in this passage. His stay was probably short and unimportant. Wieseler's opinion, that this was the visit mentioned in the Epistle to the Galatians, has been already stated and animadverted upon. *Κατέβη εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν*—*went down to Antioch*. Paul thus returns to the city from which he had set out on this his second missionary journey. Neander, Renan, and others, suppose that it was during this visit of Paul to Antioch that the dispute arose between him and Peter concerning the relation of the Jewish law to the Gentiles.¹

Thus terminated Paul's second missionary journey. It was much more extensive than the first. Besides visiting the churches formerly planted by him in Cilicia and Pisidia, he established churches in Phrygia and Galatia, and then crossed over to Europe and planted Christianity in at least four cities—Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth,—perhaps also in Athens. The time spent in this journey has been variously estimated. In Corinth we are told that he resided for at least a year and a half; and to this has to be added the time spent in preaching the gospel in the countries of Phrygia, Galatia, and Macedonia. Wieseler supposes two years and six months; but this is too short a period to embrace all that Paul performed: in all probability, the journey occupied at least three years. If we suppose, as is most probable, that he left Antioch in the year A.D. 51, his return may be fixed in the year A.D. 54.

¹ See, on this subject, note to Acts xv. 35.

SECTION XIII.

ON APOLLOS.—ACTS XVIII. 23–28.

23 And having spent some time, he departed, passing in succession through the Galatian region and Phrygia, strengthening all the disciples.

24 And a certain Jew named Apollos, an Alexandrian by birth, an eloquent man, being mighty in the Scriptures, came down to Ephesus. 25 This man was instructed in the way of the Lord; and being fervent in the Spirit, he spoke and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John. 26 And he began to speak boldly in the synagogue; but when Aquila and Priscilla heard him, they took him to them, and explained to him the way of God more accurately. 27 And when he wished to go to Achaia, the brethren, exhorting, wrote to the disciples to receive him; who, when he was come, helped them much who had believed through grace: 28 For he powerfully confuted the Jews in public, showing by means of the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 25. *Περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*, the reading of the *textus receptus*, is found in G, H; whereas *περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* is far better attested, being found in A, B, D, E, and \aleph , and is adopted by modern critics. Ver. 26. *Ἀκύλας καὶ Πρίσκιλλα* is found in D, G, and H, and is adopted by Tischendorf, Lechler, and Meyer: on the other hand, *Πρίσκιλλα καὶ Ἀκύλας* is the reading of A, B, E, and \aleph , and is adopted by Lachmann and Alford.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 23. *Καὶ ποιήσας χρόνον τινὰ ἐξῆλθεν*—*And having spent some time, he departed.* This was the commencement of Paul's third missionary journey. It is probable that his

residence at Antioch at this time was short, and that he left it in the year A.D. 54 or 55. Like his second missionary journey, this was at first a journey of visitation: he visited those churches in Galatia and Phrygia which he had already established. We are not informed who his companions were. Silas had ceased to accompany him: he had been left behind at Corinth, and had probably returned afterwards to Jerusalem: the next time we read of him he is the associate of Peter (1 Pet. v. 12). Paul had several associates during his long residence at Ephesus: mention is made of Timothy and Erastus (Acts xix. 22), and of Gaius and Aristarchus (Acts xix. 29); but we do not know whether these joined him at Ephesus, or accompanied him from Antioch. Timothy, at least, must have joined him at Ephesus, if, as is probable, he had been left behind at Corinth (Acts xviii. 18). Titus, though not mentioned in the Acts (see, however, note to Acts xviii. 7), was also with the apostle during the early part of this journey, as he was sent by him from Ephesus to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 18). *Διερχόμενος καθεξῆς τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*—*passing in succession through the Galatian territory and Phrygia*. The exact route of the apostle is uncertain. It is probable, though not mentioned in the Acts, that he passed through Cilicia and Lycaonia, visiting the churches in these countries, and went from them into Galatia.¹ Wieseler supposes that he did not revisit Lycaonia at this time, but journeyed northward through Cappadocia into Galatia, and thence into Phrygia.² The direction he now took was the reverse of his former journey: then “he went throughout Phrygia and the region of Galatia” (Acts xvi. 6); but now he goes first to Galatia, and then to Phrygia; and the reason was, because he had proconsular Asia, adjoining to Phrygia, and especially Ephesus, in view.

Ver. 24. *Ἰουδαῖος δέ τις Ἀπολλῶς ὀνόματι*—*but a certain Jew, named Apollos*. *Ἀπολλῶς*, a contraction for *Ἀπόλ-*

¹ See a description of the route which Paul probably took in Renan's *Saint Paul*, pp. 331-333.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 52.

λῳνιος, as the Codex Bezae reads.¹ We know nothing of his previous history beyond what is here stated: that he was born of Jewish parents, and a native of Alexandria. He laboured successfully in Corinth. Shortly afterwards he joined Paul at Ephesus; for he was with him when he wrote the first Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 12). The last mention made of him is in one of the later epistles of Paul, written many years after this, when, writing to Titus, he says, "Bring Zenas the lawyer, and Apollos, on their journey diligently, that nothing be wanting to them" (Tit. iii. 13). According to an uncertain tradition, he became bishop of Cæsarea.

Ἀλεξανδρεὺς τῷ γένει—*an Alexandrian by birth.* (For a description of Alexandria and its Jewish population, see note to Acts vi. 9). The alabarch or governor of the Jews at this time, in all probability, was Alexander the brother of the celebrated Philo (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 8. 11). Alexandria was famous for its schools, and especially for its eclectic philosophy, a mixture of Greek and Oriental systems. At this period there was a celebrated school of Jewish learning, the school of Philo, which in freedom from mere form, liberty of thought, and spirituality, was in advance of the age; and which, though tainted with mysticism in its doctrine of the Logos, approached nearest the truth of the gospel. In the third century, the Alexandrian philosophy, as taught by Clement and Origen, exercised on Christianity an important influence, both for good and evil. It is probable that Apollos, in the Jewish school of Alexandria, enjoyed the benefit of a liberal education.

Ἀνὴρ λόγιος—*an eloquent man.* Λόγιος is used in three senses: 1. One skilled in history—*historicus*, Herod. ii. 3. 2. Learned—*doctus*, Herod. ii. 77; Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* vi. 5. 3. 3. Eloquent—*eloquens, facundus*, Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 6. 2.² Neander supposes that the meaning here is *learned*, because a learned literary education, and not eloquence, was the distinction of the Alexandrians; and the disputation of

¹ The Sinaitic manuscript reads Ἀπελλῆς.

² Kuinæel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 284.

Apollos with the Jews at Corinth suits this meaning of *λόγιος*, taken from the Jewish standpoint.¹ But the usual meaning *eloquent* corresponds equally well with an Alexandrian education, and is more appropriate to represent the effect of the labours of Apollos at Corinth. Besides, the learning of Apollos is afterwards alluded to by the words, "being mighty in the Scriptures." Hence most critics adopt the meaning *eloquent*. So De Wette, Meyer, Olshausen, Lange, Lechler. *Ανατὸς ὢν ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*—*being mighty in the Scriptures*. He possessed an accurate knowledge of the Old Testament, and an ability to explain and apply it.

Ver. 25. *Οὗτος ἦν κατηχημένος τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου*—*this man was instructed in the way of the Lord*. "The way of the Lord" is a phrase which is elsewhere only used in relation to the ministry of the Baptist (Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3). By the Lord here is not meant God (Lechler), but Christ; and hence "the way of the Lord" is the doctrine of Christ: the divine plan to redeem Israel through the Messiah. It would appear that Apollos recognised Jesus as the Messiah, and was acquainted with the chief incidents of His life; for we read that "he spoke and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus." He did not merely regard Jesus as the forerunner of the Messiah (Baumgarten), but, like the Baptist, as the Messiah Himself. The amount of his knowledge seems to have been, that he had correct views of the spiritual nature of the Messiah's kingdom, and believed in Jesus. He appears, however, to have been ignorant of the effects of Christ's mission and sufferings, and of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost (Acts xix. 2): he knew only, we are informed, the baptism of John. It is improbable that he was one of the Baptist's immediate disciples; but rather that he received his religious instructions from one of John's disciples who had come to Alexandria, and who was ignorant of the great events which followed the death of Christ.

Καὶ ζέων τῷ πνεύματι—*and being fervent in the Spirit*. The same phrase is employed in Rom. xii. 11, *τῷ πνεύματι*

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 229.

ζέοντες. On account of the article before πνεύματι, some, and especially the Fathers, suppose that the Holy Spirit is meant. So Chrysostom and Theophylact. "Luke," observes Calvin, "attributes zeal to the Spirit, because it is a rare and peculiar gift: neither do I so expound it, that Apollos was moved forward by the instinct of his own mind, but by the motion of the Holy Spirit." The objection to supposing the Holy Spirit to be here meant is that Apollos was only baptized to John's baptism, and was ignorant of the mission of the Holy Spirit. But this did not prevent him from being actuated by the Spirit; and in all likelihood his ignorance referred not to the existence, but to the miraculous influences, of the Spirit.

Ἐλάλει καὶ ἐδίδασκεν ἀκριβῶς τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ—*He spoke and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus.* Ἐλάλει—spoke in conversation. Ἐδίδασκεν—taught in public, in the synagogue. Ἀκριβῶς must have the same meaning as its comparative ἀκριβέστερον in ver. 26: hence not *diligently*, as in our version, but *accurately*. He taught accurately, according to the measure of his knowledge. His knowledge, however, is limited by the statement which follows: "knowing only the baptism of John." Τὰ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ—the things concerning Jesus; i.e. what he knew concerning the life of Jesus, recognising Him as the Messiah.

Ἐπιστάμενος μόνον τὸ βάπτισμα Ἰωάννου—*knowing only the baptism of John.* This does not mean that Apollos only believed in a Messiah to come, and was ignorant of the fact that He had already appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth; for the Baptist had pointed out Jesus to his disciples as the Messiah. Nor does it even imply an absolute ignorance of Christian baptism, but merely that Apollos did not recognise the characteristic distinction between it and the baptism of John: he regarded them as the same—the baptism of repentance.¹ He had only received the baptism of John, and still wanted baptism in the name of Jesus. He was ignorant of the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and perhaps of the glorification of Christ (Acts xix. 2). Baur and Zeller

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 376.

object that there is here a contradiction in terms: Apollos is said to have been instructed in the way of the Lord, and to teach accurately the things concerning Jesus; and yet notwithstanding he knows nothing of the baptism of Christ, but only of the baptism of John, and requires to be more accurately instructed by Aquila.¹ But there is here no contradiction: the imperfection, and even the partial erroneousness of his knowledge, were not incompatible with his zeal, or with his accurate teaching of Jesus according to the measure of his knowledge. Still, however, it is somewhat difficult to account for his ignorance. His residence at Alexandria will not entirely explain it. More than twenty years had elapsed since the death of Christ and the outpouring of the Spirit; and we are informed that among those present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost were dwellers in Egypt: hence, doubtless, long before this the gospel must have penetrated to Alexandria. Perhaps, however, the number of Christians at Alexandria were then few; and as the city was immensely populous, containing about 600,000 inhabitants, Apollos had not come in contact with them.—With regard to the disciples of John, they may be divided into three classes. The greater number of them, as several of the apostles, passed over to Christianity: from being the disciples of John, they became the disciples of Christ. Others opposed Christianity, establishing a sect of their own, afterwards known by the name Zabeans, and teaching that the Baptist, contrary to his own declarations, was the Messiah. And a third, and probably a small party, in consequence of their connection with Palestine being early broken off, remained stationary, like Apollos and the twelve men at Ephesus, knowing only the baptism of John, but being ignorant of the effusion of the Spirit (Olshausen).

Ver. 26. Ἀκριβέστερον αὐτῷ ἐξέθεντο τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδόν—*explained to him the way of God more accurately.* Τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁδόν is synonymous with τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ Κυρίου (ver. 25), inasmuch as the doctrine of Christ is from God. Aquila and

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 263; Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 280.

Priscilla would inform him of the resurrection of Christ, the effects of His death, the universality of His religion, and the mission of the Holy Ghost; and thus, from being a disciple of John, Apollos became a disciple of Christ, and an eloquent preacher of Christianity. It has been disputed whether Apollos was rebaptized. We are informed that the twelve disciples of John at Ephesus were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus (Acts xix. 2, 5), whereas there is no mention made of the baptism of Apollos. Some (Grotius, Lange, Wordsworth) suppose that his baptism is necessarily to be taken for granted. Olshausen thinks that he was baptized in the name of Christ at Ephesus by Aquila, but first received the Holy Ghost through means of Paul at Corinth.¹ Others (Chrysostom, Bengel, De Wette, Meyer, Ewald) think that he was not rebaptized. He stood on a different footing from the twelve disciples of John at Ephesus: he had already received the thing signified—the baptism of the Holy Ghost; and therefore did not require the sign—the baptism of water. But this is an insufficient reason: both Paul and Cornelius were baptized after they had received the Holy Ghost. The first opinion, then, is the more probable, that Aquila, when he instructed Apollos, also baptized him in the name of Jesus.

Ver. 27. *Βουλομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν*—*but he, wishing to pass into Achaia.* Achaia was the Roman province of which Corinth was the capital; and it was to Corinth that Apollos repaired. Perhaps what he had heard from Aquila and Priscilla concerning the work of Paul in Corinth, may have excited within him the desire to go into Achaia. *Προτροπυζόμενοι οἱ ἀδελφοὶ*—*the brethren exhorting.* The language is ambiguous: it may either mean that the brethren wrote to the Corinthian disciples, exhorting them to receive Apollos, or that the brethren exhorted Apollos to go to Achaia. Accordingly some (Luther, Castalio, De Wette, Meyer) adopt the former meaning—that the brethren wrote exhorting the Corinthian disciples. Others (Calvin, Erasmus, Beza, Grotius, Bengel, Kuinœl, Lange, Lechler) adopt the

¹ Olshausen *on the Gospels and Acts*, vol. iv. p. 455.

latter meaning, that the brethren exhorted and encouraged Apollos to go to Achaia. The position of the words, *προτρεψάμενοι* preceding *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔγραψαν*, rather favours this latter meaning: nor does there seem any good reason to object that, if this were the meaning, *αὐτόν* would have been expressed. According to the other rendering, *προτρεψάμενοι* indicates the tone of the epistle, or the spirit in which it was written: "The brethren, exhorting, wrote to the disciples." "*Ἐγραψαν τοῖς μαθηταῖς ἀποδέξασθαι αὐτόν*—wrote to the disciples to receive him. This is the first instance which we have of a Christian letter of commendation (*ἐπιστολὴ συστατικῆ*). There is no reason, however, to suppose, with Hackett, that this letter is alluded to in 2 Cor. iii. 1.

Συνεβάλετο πολὺ—helped them much. The best comment on these words is what Paul says in his first Epistle to the Corinthians: "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase" (1 Cor. iii. 6). *Τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν*—who had believed. *Rigavit Apollos non plantavit* (Bengel). *Διὰ τῆς χάριτος*—through grace. Some (Calvin, Grotius, Kuinöel, Bengel, Olshausen, Meyer, Lange, Lechler, Wordsworth) connect these words with *συνεβάλετο*, and apply them to Apollos: "Apollos, through the grace which was in him, helped believers;" because the design of the text is to characterize Apollos and his labours, and not the Corinthian Christians. This, however, is contrary to the position of the words, and consequently to their natural meaning. Others accordingly (Hammond, De Wette, Hackett, Alford) more correctly connect them with *τοῖς πεπιστευκόσιν*—"who had believed through grace." By grace here is not meant the gospel (Hammond), or grace in speech and utterance (Heinrichs), but the grace of God—divine influence.

Ver. 28. *Ἐντόνως*—mightily: used by the Greeks of orators. *Τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις διακατηλέγχετο*—confuted the Jews: a strong expression—"utterly confuted," "effectually silenced all their opposition." He would thus be a great assistance to the Corinthian disciples in their disputations with the unbelieving Jews. *Δημοσίᾳ*—publicly: preaching in the synagogues and elsewhere—in public controversies. *Ἐπιδεικνύς*

διὰ τῶν γραφῶν—*showing by means of the Scriptures*: proving from the predictions of the Old Testament; using its expressions for the purpose of establishing the truth of the proposition that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ. Apollos, though eminently successful at Corinth, yet was the involuntary instrument of exciting a sectarian spirit among the disciples. After his departure, factions arose in the Corinthian church: one party called themselves by the name of Paul, as being the founder of the church; and another party called themselves by the name of Apollos, being attracted by his eloquence. Such a state of matters was as displeasing to Apollos as it was to Paul: there was no rivalry between these two great men, whatever there might be between their admirers and followers; each was perfectly disinterested; each worked simply for the cause of Christ. Hence it was that Apollos, though requested by the Corinthians and urged by Paul, declined to go to Corinth; because he thought his presence there might only increase the factious spirit which prevailed. “As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desired him to come to you with the brethren; but his will was not at all to come at this time, but he will come when he shall have a convenient time” (1 Cor. xvi. 12).

SECTION XIV.

PAUL AT EPHEBUS.—ACTS XIX. 1-20.

1 And it came to pass, while Apollos was at Corinth, that Paul, having passed through the upper districts, came to Ephesus, and found certain disciples. 2 And he said to them, Did ye receive the Holy Ghost when ye believed? And they said to him, We did not even hear whether there be a Holy Ghost. 3 And he said, Unto what, then, were ye baptized? And they said, Unto John's baptism. 4 But Paul said, John indeed administered the baptism of repentance, saying to the people that they should believe on Him who should come after him, that is, on Jesus. 5 When they heard this, they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. 6 And when Paul had laid his hands on them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spoke with tongues, and prophesied. 7 And all the men were about twelve.

8 And having entered into the synagogue, he spoke boldly for three months, discoursing and persuading concerning the kingdom of God. 9 And when some were hardened and unbelieving, speaking evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them, and separated the disciples, discoursing daily in the school of Tyrannus. 10 And this continued for two years; so that all the inhabitants of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks. 11 And God wrought extraordinary miracles by the hands of Paul: 12 So that handkerchiefs or aprons from his body were carried to the sick, and the diseases departed from them, and the evil spirits went out. 13 But some of the strolling Jews, exorcists, also took upon them to invoke the name of the Lord Jesus over those who had evil spirits, saying, I adjure you by Jesus, whom Paul preacheth. 14 And there were certain men, seven sons of Sceva, a Jewish chief priest, who did this. 15 And the evil spirit answering, said, Jesus I know, and with Paul I am acquainted; but who are ye? 16 And the man in whom the evil spirit was, leaping on them, having overcome both, prevailed against them, so that they fled from that house naked and wounded. 17 And this was known to all the Jews and Greeks dwelling in Ephesus: and fear fell on them all, and the name of the Lord Jesus was magnified. 18 And many who believed came, confessing, and acknowledging their deeds. 19 And many of them who had practised curious arts brought their books

together, and burned them before all: and they counted the price of them, and found it fifty thousand pieces of silver. 20 So mightily grew the word of the Lord, and prevailed.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. *Εὔρειν* is found in A, B, κ, and is preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann to *εὐρών*, found in E, G, H. Ver. 4. *Χριστόν* before *Ἰησοῦν* is found in G, H, but is wanting in A, B, E, κ, and omitted by recent critics. Ver. 9. *Τινός* after *Τυράννου* is found in D, E, G, H, but is wanting in A, B, κ, and omitted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 10. *Ἰησοῦ* after *Κυρίου* is only found in G, and is omitted by all recent critics. Ver. 13. The singular *ὀρκίζω* is found in A, B, D, E, κ, and is preferred by recent editors to the plural *ὀρκίζομεν*, found in G, H. Ver. 16. *Ἀμφοτέρων* is found in A, B, D, κ, and is preferred by Lachmann and Tischendorf to *αὐτῶν*, found in G, H. Ver. 20. *Κυρίου* of the *textus receptus* is the reading of A, B, κ, and is retained by Tischendorf and Lachmann in preference to *Θεοῦ*, the reading of D and E. The English version deviates from the *textus receptus*, and follows the reading of the Vulgate, *Dei*.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. *Τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*—*the upper districts*; that is, the inland districts compared with Ephesus, which was on the coast: the more elevated regions of Galatia and Phrygia, at a distance from the Mediterranean.

Εἰς Ἐφεσον—*to Ephesus*. This celebrated city of Ionia, situated between Smyrna and Miletus, on the Cayster, not far from its mouth, was built partly on Mount Prion, partly on Mount Coressus, and partly on the valley which separates these hills. It had a commodious harbour, called Panormus, formed by the river, which here widened out into a spacious basin (Strabo, xiv. 1. 20). The situation of the city was favourable both for inland and maritime commerce: it lay

on the main road of traffic between the East and the West, and became the resort of all nations. Ephesus was built by Andrœclus the Athenian, and gradually rose under the Macedonian and Roman governments to be one of the chief cities of the East. Under the Romans it became the capital of the province of Asia, and was reputed to be the metropolis of no less than five hundred cities. Although the residence of the Roman proconsul, yet it enjoyed the privileges of a free city of the empire, and was self-governed. The magnificent temple of Diana, reckoned one of the seven wonders of the world, added to its celebrity. Ephesus is famous in the history of the church. Here, according to tradition, the Apostle John spent his old age, and was buried; and here also was the grave of Mary the mother of Jesus. The city gradually declined; and now nothing remains of the metropolis of Asia, but a wretched Turkish village called Ayasaluch or Asalook, said to be a corruption of *ἄγιος θεόλογος*, the name by which the Apostle John was known.¹ The renowned harbour is now converted into an unhealthy marsh. The ruins of the ancient city are extensive and interesting: the theatre may yet be traced; but of the celebrated temple not one stone remains above another.²

Τινὰς μαθητὰς—*certain disciples*. By this we can only understand Christians, especially as Paul addresses them as believers (*πιστεύσαντες*). These men were indeed the disciples of the Baptist; but they seem to have attached themselves to the Christians at Ephesus, and to have acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah. Their knowledge was very imperfect, as they were ignorant of the mission of the Spirit; and hence they may be regarded as a kind of half-Christians. Kuinzel thinks that the word “disciples” is to be taken with considerable latitude, meaning the disciples of Christ or the

¹ Ayasaluch is about a mile and a half distant from Ephesus. Fellows' *Asia Minor*, p. 275.

² For descriptions of Ephesus, see Winer's *Wörterbuch*; Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*, vol. ii. p. 262; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 81 ff.; and Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 355 ff.

Messiah—persons believing in a coming Messiah, but not acknowledging Jesus as the Messiah.¹ But in this sense all the Jews were disciples. Besides, the expressions are too strong to admit of such an interpretation. Paul regards them as believers, which must mean that at least they believed in the Messiahship of Jesus.

Ver. 2. *Εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐλάβετε πιστεύσαντες*—*Did you receive the Holy Ghost when you believed?* The aorist form of both verbs intimates that both actions, believing and the reception of the Holy Ghost, were regarded as simultaneous. There is no question as to what happened after believing, but the question is about what occurred when they believed. Hence the clause is not to be rendered, as in our version, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" but, "Did you receive Him on believing?" (Alford, Hackett.) Paul, on conversing with them, may have discovered something defective in their knowledge or attainments, and thus have been induced to put this question to them. By the Holy Ghost here is meant His divine influences, which were especially conferred under the Christian dispensation; perhaps the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, since these were bestowed on those Ephesian converts (ver. 6). From this it would almost appear that, in general, there was among the early Christians a sensible outpouring of the Holy Ghost in the way of miraculous gifts at baptism; for otherwise the inquiry of the apostle into the nature of their baptism cannot be accounted for.

Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ εἰ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐστίν, ἠκούσαμεν—*We did not even hear whether there be a Holy Ghost.* These words cannot be taken absolutely, as if these Ephesian converts had never heard of the existence of the Holy Ghost. As Jews, and especially as disciples of John, whose baptism of water pointed to the baptism of the Holy Ghost, they must have heard of His existence. *Nam neque Mosen, neque Johannem Baptistam sequi potuissent, quin de Spiritu Sancto ipso audissent*—"They could not have followed either Moses or John the Baptist, without hearing of the Holy Ghost" (Bengel). The words,

¹ Kuinçel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 286.

then, must signify that they did not know that the Holy Ghost was already given: they were ignorant of His effusion upon the church. They knew nothing of His miraculous influences. Olshausen understands their answer in a dogmatic point of view, that they were ignorant of the Holy Ghost as a distinct personality of the Godhead; but such an interpretation appears inappropriate and far-fetched.¹

Ver 3. *Εἰς τὸ Ἰωάννου βάπτισμα*—into John's baptism; that is, into a belief of the truths which John's baptism declared,—namely, faith in a coming Messiah, and the necessity of repentance. These men, as the Baptist himself, recognised Jesus as that Messiah; but still they were ignorant of the effects of His sufferings, of the effusion of His Spirit, and of all those truths which are declared in Christian baptism, as distinguished from the baptism of John. Some (Heinrichs, Wetstein, Renan) suppose that these men were the disciples of Apollos, and had been instructed and baptized by him, before he himself was fully instructed. But this is improbable: for Apollos would not have left these disciples in ignorance; and besides, in their intercourse with the other Christians, especially with Aquila and Priscilla, information would have been communicated to them concerning the Holy Ghost. The probability is, that they were disciples of the Baptist, who had lately come from some remote country to Ephesus, and had not enjoyed any opportunity of being instructed regarding the Holy Ghost, beyond what, as Jews, they had already acquired from the Old Testament, and hence were ignorant that the promised effusion of the Spirit had taken place. They appear to have been in a condition similar to that of Apollos when he first came to Ephesus, though in a lower stage of development.

Ver. 4. *Μὲν*—indeed. *Μὲν* is here without its corresponding *δὲ*. Instead of completing the sentence by mentioning the manner in which Christ would baptize, the apostle adds, "that is, on Jesus." *Ἐβάπτισεν βάπτισμα μετανοίας*—administered the baptism of repentance. John's baptism was the baptism of repentance, of mortification;

¹ Olshausen on the Gospels and the Acts, vol. iv. p. 457.

Christ's baptism is the baptism of revival, of vivification (Melancthon). *ἵνα πιστεύσωσιν*—that they should believe: the purpose or design of John's baptism. It was wholly preparatory: it prefigured and had its fulfilment in the Christian baptism; as the Baptist himself said: "I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance; but He that cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost" (Matt. iii. 11). *Τούτ' ἔστω εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν*—that is, on Jesus. An explanatory clause added by Paul. John taught them to believe on a Messiah to come, and that Messiah is Jesus.

Ver. 5. *Ἀκούσαντες δὲ ἐβαπτίσθησαν*, etc.—And when they heard this, they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. It has been disputed whether these disciples of John were rebaptized. The early Protestant divines, from dogmatic views, in opposition not only to the Anabaptists, but also to the doctrine of the Romanists on the essential difference between the baptism of John and the Christian baptism, adopted the negative side of the question. The Council of Trent maintained: *Si quis dixerit baptismum Johannis eandem vim cum baptismo Christi habuisse, anathema esto*. Different hypotheses have accordingly been advanced to explain the text. 1. Some (Beza, Calixtus, Calovius, Drusus, Du Veil) suppose that the words are not those of the evangelist, but a continuation of the address of Paul. They read them as follows: "When they—namely, the people to whom John spoke—heard this testimony of his concerning Christ, they were baptized by John in the name of Jesus."¹ Their great argument for this rendering is, that the *δὲ* in ver. 5 answers to the *μὲν* in ver. 4. But *μὲν* frequently occurs without being followed by *δὲ* (Acts i. 1). And we nowhere read that John baptized his disciples into the name of Jesus, although he directed them to Him as the Messiah. 2. Calvin and others maintain, that not the baptism of water, but the baptism of the Holy Ghost, is here meant. "I deny," observes Calvin, "that the baptism of water was repeated; because the words of Luke only import that they were bap-

¹ Du Veil on the Acts, p. 405.

tized with the Spirit.”¹ But the baptism of the Holy Ghost is never spoken of by the phrase of “being baptized in the name of Jesus.” 3. Ziegler supposes that these disciples of John believed that the Baptist himself was the Messiah; so that they had never received the true baptism of John, and thus might well be regarded as unbaptized. But it is not said that they were baptized to John, but into John’s baptism, namely, into a belief of the Messiah who was to come; and besides, they are expressly called disciples, that is, believers in the Messiahship of Jesus. Hence, then, the natural meaning of the passage is, that these disciples were rebaptized with the Christian baptism, either by Paul himself or by some of his associates.

It is, however, disputed by those who adopt this meaning, whether this rebaptism was the general rule, or only an exception; in other words, whether those who were baptized by the baptism of John were, as a matter of course, rebaptized on their believing in Christ. Nothing is said of the second baptism of Apollos, though no argument can be derived from this omission. The apostles certainly, several of whom were baptized by John, do not appear to have received the Christian baptism; but then they were the disciples of Christ before the institution of baptism. The same may be affirmed of the original disciples before the day of Pentecost. On the other hand, the numerous converts who were converted on that day were all baptized as a matter of course, and no inquiry was made as to whether they had or had not received the baptism of John; although it is almost certain, that among such a great multitude there were some of John’s disciples.

Ver. 6. Ἦλθεν τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐπ’ αὐτούς—the *Holy Ghost came upon them*. They received the miraculous gifts of the Spirit, which is a presumption that the inquiry as to their reception of the Holy Ghost referred to His miraculous influences. *They spoke with tongues*—gave vent to inspired utterances; and *prophesied*—discoursed in such a manner as to show that they were gifted with spiritual knowledge.

¹ Calvin on the Acts, in loco.

Baur, Zeller, and Schneckenburger suppose that this narrative is merely an imitation of the conversion of Cornelius; but there is this important difference between these two accounts, that the miraculous influences of the Spirit were conferred on Cornelius before baptism; whereas here they were conferred after baptism.

Ver. 7. Ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἄνδρες ὡσεὶ δεκαδύο—and all the men were about twelve. Baumgarten fancifully supposes that the number twelve answers to the twelve tribes of Israel, and that these disciples are set forth as a new Israel.¹ It is also fanciful to suppose that they were set apart for the ministry: the gift of prophecy was not restricted to the office-bearers of the church.

Ver. 8. Εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν—having entered into the synagogue. We learn from Josephus that there were not only numerous Jews at Ephesus, but that many of them were Roman citizens (*Ant.* xiv. 10. 13).

Ver. 9. Ἐν τῇ σχολῇ Τυράννου—in the school of Tyrannus. As the word Tyrannus signifies a king or prince, some (Knatchbull and others) suppose that a certain nobleman or ruler of the city is meant. But there is no reason for this supposition, as Tyrannus, like “King” with us, was a proper name among the Greeks. Others (Vitranga, Hammond, Wolfius, Meyer) suppose that Tyrannus was a Jewish teacher, and that his school was a private synagogue—a Beth-Midrash, as the Jews called it. In *Beth-Midrash docuerunt traditiones atque earum expositiones* (see Vitranga, *Synag.* p. 137). Paul and his converts withdrew from the public synagogue to the private synagogue of Tyrannus, where he could preach to Jews and Gentiles without fear of disturbance.² Others (Lechler, Ewald, Lange), with greater probability, suppose that Tyrannus was a Greek, and a public teacher of philosophy or rhetoric, who had become a convert to Christianity. The lecture-rooms of philosophers were called in later Greek *σχολαί*. Tyrannus is also not a Jewish, but a Greek name, and occurs as such in Josephus (*Ant.* xvi. 10. 3). Suidas

¹ Baumgarten's *Apostolic History*, vol. ii. p. 270.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 385.

mentions a rhetorician of this name who wrote a work entitled *περὶ στάσεως καὶ διαίρεσεως λόγοι*, without, however, mentioning his age or nation.

Ver. 10. *Ἐπὶ ἔτη δύο*—*for two years*. This period refers to the time after Paul had separated the disciples from the Jewish synagogue; so that, to reckon the whole time which Paul spent at Ephesus, we must at least add to these two years the three months during which he preached in the synagogue. In his farewell address to the Ephesian elders, however, he says that by the space of three years he ceased not to warn every one (Acts xx. 31). Some suppose that "three years" is merely a general expression, and corresponds with the two years and three months here mentioned. Wieseler, however, thinks that to this period of two years and three months, about nine months have to be added. He supposes that the two years mentioned in ver. 10 terminates at ver. 20, as the next verse begins with the chronological notice, *ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα*, "when these things were accomplished;" and after this we are informed that Paul, having sent away Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia, tarried in Asia for a season (ver. 22).¹ Upon the whole, it is probable that the two years here mentioned are not only exclusive of the three months during which Paul discoursed in the synagogue, but also of the time occupied by the events which occurred after ver. 20.

Ὡστε πάντας τοὺς κατοικοῦντας τὴν Ἀσίαν, etc.—*so that all the inhabitants of Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks*. By Asia is meant proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital.² The expression is hyperbolic, denoting the extensive diffusion of the gospel; yet it may have been almost literally true. It is not asserted that all the inhabitants of Asia heard Paul preach, but only that they heard the word of the Lord. Ephesus being a large commercial city, and the centre of a great district, there was a constant influx of people, both of Jews and Gentiles, for the purpose of commerce, and the latter also as pilgrims to the

¹ Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 52, 53.

² Perhaps it may even be restricted to Lydian Asia, as in Acts xvi. 6.

temple of Diana. The sensation which Paul made would excite multitudes to hear him; and the lecture-room of Tyrannus was daily occupied by him, and open for the free admission of all. Those who had visited Ephesus, and had heard Paul, would report to their different cities what they had heard, so that the fame of the gospel may well have been diffused throughout all Asia. Besides, during his long residence of three years, Paul would probably make circuits into the neighbouring cities and places; and his companions, such as Timothy, Titus, Aquila, Erastus, Gaius, and Aristarchus, would be sent by him to preach the gospel in other parts of the province. It is not improbable that the foundation of the seven churches of Asia was now laid. "The whole western part," observes Renan, "of Asia Minor, especially the basins of the Meander and the Hermus, were about this time covered with churches, and without doubt Paul was in a more or less direct manner their founder. Smyrna, Pergamus, Thyatira, Sardis, Philadelphia, and probably Tralles, thus received the germs of the faith."¹ It seems also to have been at this time that the churches of Colosse, Hierapolis, and Laodicea were founded by Epaphras (Col. i. 7, iv. 12, 13), though these cities were not visited by Paul in person (Col. ii. 1).

Ver. 11. *Δυνάμεις οὐ τὰς τυχεύουσας*—*extraordinary miracles*. *Τυχῶν* signifies vulgar, common, one of the people; hence *οὐ τὰς τυχεύουσας* is uncommon, extraordinary. *Moses Judæorum legislator dicitur οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν ἀνὴρ, non vulgaris intelligentiæ homo* (Longinus, ix.). Instances of these extraordinary miracles are mentioned in the next verse.

Ver. 12. *Σουδάρια ἢ σιμικίνθια*—*handkerchiefs or aprons*. Both words are Latin. *Σουδάρια* (Lat. *sudaria*) are handkerchiefs, which, on account of the heat and the dust, are constantly in the hands of the Orientals. It is the same word which occurs in Luke xix. 20, John xi. 44, xx. 7, and is there translated "napkin." *Σιμικίνθια* (Lat. *semicinctia*) are aprons or waist-bands; probably the aprons employed by workmen when engaged at work. They may have been

¹ Renan's *Saint Paul*, p. 351:

the clothes worn by Paul when engaged in his occupation of a tentmaker. It is possible, however, that these handkerchiefs and aprons were brought to Paul, that he might touch them, by those who desired to be cured. *Τὰς νόσους τὰ τε πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ*—*diseases and evil spirits*. Luke here distinguishes natural diseases from demoniacal possessions.

These miracles performed by Paul are called "extraordinary." There are two instances somewhat similar recorded in sacred history: the cure of the woman who touched the hem of the Saviour's garment (Matt. ix. 20), and the miracles performed by the shadow of Peter (Acts v. 15). As might have been expected, they are attacked by rationalistic critics. "Even on the basis of a belief in miracles," observes Zeller, "such a coarse and magical representation of the healing power of the apostle is too absurd for belief. We do not know what legends of relics we need be ashamed to credit, if such things as are here related demand our belief. The apostolic miraculous power of Paul certainly throws all Jewish and heathen magic completely into the shade."¹ Some have accordingly attempted to soften the objection, by supposing that Paul was ignorant of what was done; and that although much superstition was displayed by the people, yet, as their faith was real, God's mercy overlooked what was amiss. "When," observes Olshausen, "these articles of clothing have a healing efficacy ascribed to them which is traced back to God, this can only be regarded as a condescension of the divine mercy to individuals who, although erring, are yet well-intentioned. The apostles themselves certainly have not given countenance to such ideas, for there is no trace of them anywhere to be found."² But this is a lame defence. It is impossible to suppose that Paul could have been ignorant of what was done: it was, no doubt, with his consent and approbation that the clothes were brought to the sick. These were the

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 265.

² Olshausen *on the Gospels and the Acts*, vol. iv. p. 460; see also Humphry *on the Acts*, p. 152.

instruments by which the miraculous efficacy was conveyed ; and, so far from obscuring, they displayed in a striking manner the supernatural power of the apostle—there was healing even in the very clothes he wore. Paul in Ephesus was in the very heart of superstition : he was, like Moses in Egypt, surrounded by magicians and exorcists ; and therefore, to manifest beyond dispute his superior power, God granted that extraordinary miracles should be wrought by him—miracles more striking than those which he was accustomed to perform : and the effect of these miracles was not to foster superstition, but to root it out, to confound the exorcists of Ephesus, and to destroy their magical works.¹

Ver. 13. *Τινες τῶν περιερχομένων Ἰουδαίων ἐξορκιστῶν*—*certain of the strolling Jews, exorcists.* These were Jews who wandered about from place to place as magicians or sorcerers, practising exorcism. Ἐξορκιστής is derived from ἐξορκίζω, to adjure, to use the name of God, to expel demons. Such exorcists were very numerous in the days of Christ and the apostles, especially among the Jews. Our Lord alludes to them when He says : “ If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out ? ” (Matt. xii. 27.) These Jewish exorcists pretended to a power of casting out evil spirits by some magical arts which they affirmed were derived from Solomon. Allusion is made to this by Josephus : “ God,” says he, “ enabled Solomon to learn the art of expelling demons. He left behind him the manner of using exorcisms by which demons are driven away, so that they never return ; and this manner of cure is of great force unto this day.” And he relates the case of one Eleazar, who before Vespasian and his officers cast out demons by means of certain incantations which Solomon composed (*Ant.* viii. 2. 5). He also mentions a certain rare root which it was dangerous to gather, and which, being brought to those who were possessed, quickly expelled the demons out of their bodies (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 6. 3). Ὁρκίζω ἡμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν—I adjure you by Jesus. The exorcists use the name of Jesus, because this name was employed by Paul

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 16, 17.

in the expulsion of demons. As Jesus was a common name among the Jews, they add "whom Paul preaches" as a description of his person.

Ver. 14. Ἦσαν δὲ τινες—and there were certain. *Tines* is not to be understood as qualifying ἑπτὰ, "about seven;" for if so, the words would have been placed together—ἑπτὰ τινες. The correct meaning seems to be, "There were certain men, namely seven sons of Sceva, a Jewish chief priest." Σκευᾶ Ἰουδαίου ἀρχιερέως—of Sceva, a Jewish chief priest. The title ἀρχιερεύς applied to a Jew in Ephesus creates a difficulty. Some suppose that he was once high priest in Jerusalem; but this is contrary to history, as Josephus in his list of high priests makes no mention of one of that name. Others think that he was chief of one of the twenty-four courses of priests (Wordsworth); but it is improbable that such a person should be resident in Ephesus, and not in Jerusalem. Others, that he was an apostate Jew, and that the term chief priest has reference to the worship of Diana; but there is nothing in the text to support this view. The most probable opinion is, that he was one of the chiefs of the Ephesian Jews—perhaps one of the chief rulers of the synagogue.

Ver. 15. Ἀποκριθὲν δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ πονηρὸν—but the evil spirit answered; that is, the man under the influence of the evil spirit. The evil spirit was compelled to bear an unwilling testimony to Jesus and His servant Paul. Τὸν Ἰησοῦν γινώσκω, καὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἐπίσταμαι—Jesus I know, and with Paul I am acquainted. Different verbs are employed to denote the evil spirit's knowledge of Jesus and Paul—a difference which is overlooked in our English version. Ὑμεῖς δὲ τίτες ἐστέ—but who are ye? "The question," observes Raphelius, "is not one of ignorance, but of censure, because they arrogated to themselves what belonged not to them; and of contempt, because they considered not their own and their opponents' strength, but with rashness dared to contend with one more powerful, to whom it was mere play to overcome them."¹

¹ Quoted in Kuinzel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 291.

Ver. 16. *Κατακυριεύσας ἀμφοτέρων*—*having overcome both.* (See Critical Note.) If this be the correct meaning, then it would appear that only two of the seven sons of Sceva on this particular occasion undertook to cast out the evil spirit. According to Ewald, *ἀμφοτέρων* is neuter; and the meaning is, that the evil spirit attacked them on both sides, that is, from above and from below:¹ but this would have been expressed by *ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων* or *ἀμφοτέρωθεν*. Others think that *ἀμφοτέρων* refers to Sceva and his seven sons; but it is not mentioned that Sceva took any part in the exorcism. Kuinœl supposes that *αὐτῶν* is the correct reading, and *ἀμφοτέρων* a gloss, because it was regarded as inconceivable that the person possessed should overcome seven men.

Ver. 17. *Ἐμεγαλύνετο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ*—*The name of the Lord Jesus was magnified.* The first impression which the event made on the Ephesian multitude was that of fear: they were constrained to feel that there was something supernatural about Paul. The failure of the sons of Sceva in their attempt to cast out devils showed that the miracles performed by Paul in the name of the Lord Jesus were real, and were therefore undoubted evidences of the truth of Christianity.

Ver. 18. *Πολλοί τε τῶν πεπιστευκότων*—*many of those who believed.* The previous verse informed us of the effect of the transaction on unbelievers; this informs us of its effect on believers. Many who, although professed disciples, were not entirely delivered from their former superstitions, but secretly practised magical arts, now come forward and confess and renounce them. Meyer supposes that these were new converts, who had become believers in consequence of the events just recorded; but the use of the perfect tense would seem to imply that they had been believers for some time. They had not, in consequence of their faith, entirely renounced their superstitious practices: the old was not so easily destroyed. *Τὰς πράξεις αὐτῶν*—*their deeds.* Certainly not the acts of faith which they had performed (Luther), nor their sins in a general sense (Kuinœl,

¹ Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 478.

Lechler), but their magical practices, as is evident from what follows.

Ver. 19. *Τὰ περίεργα*—*curious arts*. Ephesus was noted even in that age of superstition for the addiction of its inhabitants to sorcery, magic, and such like curious arts; and these are now revealed by the gospel, as the introduction of light reveals what formerly was shrouded in darkness. *Συννεύγκαντες τὰς βίβλους*—*brought their books together*. The *Ἐφέσια γράμματα* (Ephesian letters) are frequently alluded to by heathen writers. They appear to have been mysterious symbols or magical sentences, written on paper, which the Ephesians were accustomed to carry about with them as charms or amulets, either to secure them from harm or to procure benefits for them. Plutarch observes that the magicians prescribe to those who were possessed with devils to read and recite τὰ Ἐφέσια γράμματα (Plut. *Symp.*). Eustathius informs us that Cræsus, when on his funeral pile, repeated the Ephesian letters; and he mentions that, in the Olympian games, an Ephesian wrestler struggled successfully against his opponent from Miletus, because he had around his ankle Ephesian letters, but that, being deprived of them, he was thrice overthrown (Eustath. *ad Hom. Odys. i. 247*).¹ *Ἀργυρίου μυριάδας πέντε*—*fifty thousand pieces of silver*. Some (Grotius, Hammond) suppose that these are to be reckoned as Jewish money; and if so, the sum would amount to £7000. But it is highly improbable that the Jewish shekel would be employed in a Greek city, and by those who were doubtless Greeks. The Roman denarius is in all probability the coin here alluded to, the value of which was about ninepence, so that the entire sum would amount to £1875. This vast sum is to be accounted for by considering the rarity of books in those days, and their consequent expensiveness: probably also magical works brought a fictitious price.

Ver. 20. *Οὕτως κατα κράτος τοῦ Κυρίου ὁ λόγος ἤξανεν καὶ ἴσχυεν*—*so mightily grew the word of the Lord, and pre-*

¹ Kuinæel, *Libri Historici*, vol. iv. p. 293; Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. 16.

vailed. The value of the books burned was a proof of the success of the gospel. Its power must have been mighty indeed, when it made men willing not only to give up their superstitious practices, but also to destroy their valuable property.

In this passage mention is made of the successful expulsion of evil spirits by Paul, and of the failure of the attempt by the sons of Sceva. It is not only in the New Testament that we read of such demoniacal possessions, but likewise in Josephus, Plutarch, and other Greek writers. Strauss and his school explain them on the mythical principle; but the accounts of them are so involved in the gospel narrative, that they cannot be thus separated from it. Others, again, suppose that many natural diseases, such as dumbness, blindness, epilepsy, and especially insanity, were ascribed by the Jews to evil spirits; and that our Saviour and His apostles accommodated themselves to such views.¹ But not to speak of the doubtful morality of such accommodations, the evil spirits are represented acting as distinct personalities, and in this chapter possession is distinguished from natural disease (ver. 12). That there was a real possession, that evil spirits exerted a direct influence over the bodies and souls of men, is undoubtedly the natural meaning of those passages of Scripture where demoniacs are mentioned. No doubt madness seems to have been an inseparable accompaniment of possession: the man was deprived of his own free will, and ruled by the evil spirit. For all that we know, such possessions may occur in our days: if we had the power of discerning spirits, it might be discovered that such cases were not unknown; and therefore that they occurred only in the days of our Saviour and His apostles, is a statement which cannot be proved. In an age of such extreme sensuality, it is not improbable that demoniacal possession was more frequent; but we are not at all sure that it has entirely ceased in our days: at least, cases occur which bear a close resemblance to the descriptions of demoniacal possession given in the

¹ See this opinion stated at great length, and defended with much erudition, in Lardner's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 235-272.

New Testament. We live in a spiritual world: there are powers and agencies around us and within us; and in the case of mental disease especially, it is often impossible to say whether the mere derangement of the physical organs, or some spiritual disorder, is the cause of the disease. At all events, there is no reason to call in question the reality of demoniacal possession in the early days of Christianity, as if it were contrary to reason, and savoured only of superstition, or were the result of mythical exaggeration.

SECTION XV.

THE TUMULT AT EPHESUS.—ACTS XIX. 21–41.

21 And when these things were fulfilled, Paul purposed in the Spirit, after passing through Macedonia and Achaia, to go to Jerusalem, saying, After I have been there, I must also see Rome. 22 And having sent into Macedonia two of them who ministered to him, Timotheus and Erastus, he himself remained in Asia for a season.

23 And about that time there arose no small commotion about that way. 24 For a certain man named Demetrius, a silversmith, who made silver shrines of Diana, brought no small gain to the artisans; 25 Whom having called together with the workmen of the same occupation, he said, Sirs, ye know that by this craft we have our prosperity. 26 And you see and hear, that not only at Ephesus, but almost throughout all Asia, this Paul has persuaded and perverted much people, saying that they are no gods which are made with hands: 27 So that not only this our craft is in danger of being brought into contempt; but also that the temple of the great goddess Diana should be counted for nothing, and that her greatness should be destroyed, whom all Asia and the world worship. 28 And when they heard these things, they were full of wrath, and cried, saying, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. 29 And the city was filled with the confusion: and having caught Gaius and Aristarchus, Macedonians, Paul's companions in travel, they rushed with one accord into the theatre. 30 And when Paul wished to enter in unto the people, the disciples suffered him not. 31 Also certain of the Asiarchs, who were his friends, sent to him, and besought him not to venture into the theatre. 32 Some therefore cried one thing, and some another: for the assembly was confused; and the greater part knew not wherefore they were come together. 33 And they drew Alexander out of the crowd, the Jews putting him forward. And Alexander, beckoning with his hand, wished to make his defence to the people. 34 But when they knew that he was a Jew, all with one voice cried out, for about two hours, Great is Diana of the Ephesians. 35 And when the town-clerk had appeased the multitude, he said, Ye men of Ephesus, who is there that knows not that the city of the Ephesians is the guardian of the great Diana, and of the image which fell from Jupiter? 36 Seeing, then, that these things cannot be contradicted, ye ought to be quiet, and to do nothing rashly. 37 For

you have brought these men, who are neither robbers of temples, nor blasphemers of your goddess. 38 Wherefore if Demetrius, and the artisans with him, have a matter against any man, court-days are held, and there are proconsuls; let them accuse one another. 39 But if you have any further demand, it shall be settled in a legal assembly. 40 For we are in danger of being called in question for this day's uproar, there being no ground on which we could give an account of this concourse. 41 And having said this, he dismissed the assembly.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 27. The *textus receptus* has λογισθῆναι, μέλλειν δὲ καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῆς, in accordance with G, H, the reading adopted by Tischendorf. Lachmann, on the other hand, reads λογισθήσεται, μέλλει δὲ καὶ καθαιρεῖσθαι τῆς μεγαλειότητος αὐτῆς. Ver. 29. Ὀλη, found in D, E, G, H, is wanting in A, B, K, and is omitted by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 33. The *textus receptus* has προεβίβασαν, in accordance with D², G, H, the reading adopted by Tischendorf. On the other hand, συνεβίβασαν is much better attested, being found in A, B, E, K; but it yields no sense. Ver. 35. Θεᾶς is found in G, H, but is wanting in A, B, D, E, K, and rejected by recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 21. Ὡς δὲ ἐπληρώθη ταῦτα—*And when these things were fulfilled*; namely, those things which are recorded in the previous verses (vers. 1–20)—after Paul had already spent two years and three months in Ephesus. (See note to ver. 10.) Doubtless many things occurred during this long residence at Ephesus which are not recorded in the Acts. Most critics suppose that Paul made at that time a second visit to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 14), which Luke has not recorded;¹ and it was during his residence in Ephesus that he wrote his first Epistle to the Corinthians. Ἔθετο ὁ Παῦλος ἐν τῷ πνεύματι—*Paul purposed in the Spirit*. By this we are probably to understand neither a direct intimation of the

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 21–24.

Spirit, as in Acts xvi. 6, nor yet a mere resolution formed by Paul himself; but a secret impulse of the Spirit by whom he was directed in all his journeys. In such a man as Paul it is difficult to distinguish between his own determinations and the suggestions of the Spirit. *Διελθὼν τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν*—*after passing through Macedonia and Achaia.* These provinces are mentioned in the order of his proposed journey. In these he had already planted several flourishing churches, as at Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Corinth. Two reasons are to be assigned for Paul's desire to visit Macedonia and Achaia: first, as we learn from his epistles, he desired to promote the collection for the poor saints at Jerusalem; and secondly, he had received intelligence of the disorders which prevailed in the church of Corinth, and he was anxious to rectify them. *Δεῖ με καὶ Ῥώμην ἰδεῖν*—*I must also see Rome.* He felt that Rome, the political capital of the world, the great centre of power and influence, was the goal of his apostolic activity. Paley notices an undesigned coincidence between this verse and Rom. i. 13 and xv. 23–28. "The conformity," he observes, "between the history and the epistle is perfect. In the first quotation from the epistle, we find that a design of visiting Rome had long dwelt in the apostle's mind; in the quotation from the Acts, we find that design expressed a considerable time before the epistle was written. In the history, we find that the plan which Paul had formed was to pass through Macedonia and Achaia; after that to go to Jerusalem; and when he had finished his visit there, to sail for Rome. When the epistle was written, he had executed so much of his plan as to have passed through Macedonia and Achaia, and was preparing to pursue the remainder of it, by speedily setting out toward Jerusalem; and in this point of his travels he tells his friends at Rome, that when he had completed the business which carried him to Jerusalem, he would come to them. The very inspection of the passages will satisfy us that they were not made up from one another. In the Epistle to the Romans, we are informed of Paul's intention to go to Spain. If, then, the passage in the epistle was

taken from that of the Acts, why was Spain put in? If the passage in the Acts was taken from that in the epistle, why was Spain left out? If the two passages were unknown to each other, nothing can account for their conformity but truth."¹

Ver. 22. *Τιμόθεον*—*Timotheus*. In order to prepare the churches for his own visit, and to forward the collection of the saints, Paul sent two of his companions, Timothy and Erastus, before him. Timothy, who had been left at Corinth (Acts xviii. 18), seems to have rejoined the apostle at Ephesus. Here also there is another coincidence between the history and the epistles of Paul. From the history we learn that Timothy was sent into Macedonia; and though Achaia, whose capital is Corinth, is not directly mentioned, yet it is included, as Timothy was sent before Paul, and Paul purposed to pass through Macedonia and Achaia. In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, written shortly after this, we are informed of the mission of Timothy to Corinth: "For this cause I have sent to you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I teach everywhere in every church" (1 Cor. iv. 17). "Now, if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you without fear" (1 Cor. xvi. 10).²

Καὶ Ἐραστον—*and Erastus*. In the Epistle to the Romans, which Paul wrote at a later period from Corinth, he sends to the Roman Christians the salutations of Erastus, the chamberlain of the city (Rom. xvi. 23). Most critics suppose that this is a different person from the Erastus of the Acts, as his office of chamberlain would necessarily detain him at Corinth. In the Second Epistle to Timothy, mention is made of an Erastus in close relation to the apostle: "Erastus abode at Corinth" (2 Tim. iv. 20); but his identity with the Erastus of our text is also uncertain.³

Αὐτὸς ἐπέσχευ χρόνον—*he himself stayed for a season*. In

¹ Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*—Romans, No. III.

² Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*—1st Corinthians, Nos. III. and IV.

³ Perhaps the same Erastus may be alluded to in all these three pas-

the first Epistle to the Corinthians, written shortly after he had sent away Timothy, he writes, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost" (1 Cor. xvi. 8). *Eis tēn 'Asiā*—*in Asia*. The use of *eis* here is peculiar. Some (Heinrichs, Kuinöl, De Wette) suppose that it stands for *en tē 'Asiā*; others (Winer, Olshausen) understand by it "for Asia," that is, for the good of Asia. Meyer gives its force more correctly, "in the direction of Asia."

Ver. 23. *Περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*—*concerning that way*; that is, concerning the religion of Jesus Christ which Paul inculcated: that method of worshipping God, and securing an interest in eternal life, which he taught. (See ch. ix. 2.)

Ver. 24. *Ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς Ἀρτέμιδος*—*silver shrines* (literally temples) *of Diana*. These silver shrines were small models of the temple of Diana, containing an image of the goddess. They were purchased by the pilgrims to the temple, and on their return home were set up as objects of domestic worship. Such images of temples were called *ἀφιδρύματα*, and are frequently adverted to. Thus, Diodorus Siculus tells us that the Carthaginians, to propitiate their god Hercules at Tyre, sent golden shrines to hold the miniature images: *χρυσοῦς ναοὺς τοῖς ἀφιδρύμασι* (Diod. Sic. xx. 14). Ammianus Marcellinus observes of the philosopher Asclepiades: *deæ cælestis argenteum breve figmentum quocumque ibat secum solitus efferre* (Amm. Marc. xxii. 13). And Dionysius Halicarnassus directly mentions these shrines of the Ephesian Diana: *τὰ τῆς Ἐφεσίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφιδρύματα* (Dion. Hal. ii. 22).¹ Others think that not small models of the temple are meant, but medals or coins, on the reverse of which the temple was represented, and many of which are still extant. But the words *ναοὺς ἀργυροῦς* cannot be made to signify coins.

Ἀρτέμιδος—*Diana*. Diana was worshipped under a variety of characters, as the goddess of hunting, of travelling, of the night, of childbirth; and under different names: in heaven sages (Acts xix. 22; Rom. xvi. 23; 2 Tim. iv. 20), as he may have resigned the office of chamberlain on becoming a Christian.

¹ Biscoe on the Acts, p. 275; Humphry on the Acts, p. 153.

she was Luna, in the woods Diana, and in hell Hecate. There is, however, a decided difference between the Greek and the Ephesian Diana. The Greek Diana is represented with a bow in her hand, and dressed in a hunting habit; whilst the Ephesian Diana is represented as a female with many breasts, supposed to signify the fruitful attributes of Nature.¹ Thus Jerome observes: *Scribebat Paulus ad Ephesios Dianam colentes, non hanc venatricem quæ arcum tenet atque succincta est, sed illam multimammiam, quum Græci πολυμαστήν vocant.* It has been supposed that when the Athenians colonized Ephesus, they found the worship of some Asiatic goddess established there, whose name they changed into Diana, from some fancied points of resemblance between her and their own goddess. According to tradition, the worship of the Ephesian Diana was introduced by the Amazons.

Παρείχετο τοῖς τεχνίταις ἐργασίαν οὐκ ὀλίγην—*brought no small gain to the artisans.* The miniature temples would doubtless find a great sale. The temple of Diana was celebrated throughout the world; and the goddess was the chief object of the worship of proconsular Asia: and thus travellers and pilgrims to Ephesus would be anxious to carry away with them memorials of their visit.

Ver. 25. *Τοὺς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐργάτας*—*the workmen of the same occupation*; literally, the workmen about such things. The difference between *τεχνῖται* and *ἐργάται* is supposed to be that between skilled and unskilled workmen. *Alii erant τεχνῖται, artifices nobiliores; alii ἐργάται operarii* (Bengel). It is probable that Demetrius not only assembled his own workmen, but likewise the workmen of other silversmiths, and all those who derived their subsistence from trades connected with the worship of Diana.

Ver. 26. *Οὐ μόνον Ἐφέσου ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν πάσης τῆς Ἀσίας*, etc.—*not only at Ephesus, but almost throughout all*

¹ There are many Ephesian coins with the figure of Diana. See Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, pp. 47-49. He gives a coin of Claudius, which must have been contemporary with this visit of the apostle.

Asia, this Paul has persuaded and perverted much people. We have here the forced testimony of a heathen to the success of the ministry of Paul in Ephesus and proconsular Asia. The sale of the silver shrines for Diana had greatly diminished; the trade of making them had declined; the workmen were in danger of losing their means of livelihood. This would be more sensibly felt if, as is probable, the Ephesian games in honour of Diana were now being celebrated,¹ and the city was crowded with visitors, when Demetrius and his craftsmen expected to have had a greater demand for their silver shrines. There is a close resemblance between this tumult at Ephesus and the tumult at Philippi. Both arose, not from the Jews, but from the Gentiles: this peculiarity distinguishes them from all the persecutions recorded in the Acts, to which the Christians were exposed: all others were persecutions instigated by the Jews. And both originated from sordid motives: in Philippi, the masters of the Pythonic slave feared that they would lose their gains; in Ephesus, Demetrius and his craftsmen feared that their craft would be brought to nought. *Λέγων ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοὶ οἱ διὰ χειρῶν γινόμενοι*—*saying that they are no gods which are made with hands.* The people identified the images of the gods with the deities themselves, or at least thought that a kind of divinity resided in them. The philosophers may have regarded the images as mere symbols, but the multitude could not rise to their refined notions.

Ver. 27. *Οὐ μόνον δὲ τοῦτο κινδυνεύει ἡμῖν τὸ μέρος*—*so that not only this our craft is in danger; literally, "our part,"* the department of trade in which we are engaged. *Τὸ τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος*—*the temple of the great goddess Diana.* This celebrated temple was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Its building commenced even before the Persian empire. Cræsus king of Lydia, and all the Greek cities of Asia, contributed to its erection. More than two hundred years were spent in the building. Xerxes, in his war against images, when he burned all the temples of Asia, spared it on account of its magnificence (Strabo, xiv. 1. 5).

¹ See note to ver. 31.

But this edifice was burned by Herostratus, who wished by this action to gain for himself an immortal name. The date of the burning is given as the day on which Alexander the Great was born, B.C. 355 (Strabo, xiv. 1. 22; Plut. *Alex.*). A second temple, of still greater magnificence, rose on the ruins of the first, the work of Cheiocrates, the same who built Alexandria. Its length was 425 feet, and its breadth 220 feet: 127 pillars, each 60 feet high, the gifts of illustrious kings, adorned and supported the building: the roof of that part which was not open to the sky was formed of beams of cedar, and its altar was adorned with the matchless sculptures of Praxiteles. It was regarded as the only house fit for the residence of the gods: ὁ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ναὸς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μόνος ἐστὶ θεῶν οἶκος (Philo, *Byz. Spect. Mund.* 7). In the time of Paul the temple of Diana was in all its glory, and pilgrims from all nations flocked to its shrine: it was to polytheism what the temple of Jerusalem was to the Jews. Strabo informs us that the chief object of worship at Marseilles was the Ephesian Diana; and that all the colonies sent out from Marseilles held this goddess in peculiar reverence, preserving both the shape of the image of the goddess, and also every rite observed in the metropolis (Strabo, iv. 1. 4). This magnificent temple was destroyed by the Goths in the reign of Gallienus, about A.D. 260. No ruins of it remain, and the site on which it stood is doubtful: "its remains are to be sought for in mediæval buildings, in the columns of green jasper which support the dome of St. Sophia, or even in the naves of Italian cathedrals."¹ Τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος—the great goddess Diana. The epithet "great" was the usual appellation of the gods, but particularly of the Ephesian Diana. Thus Xenophon Ephesius (A.D. 408) calls

¹ Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 85, 86; Winer's *Wörterbuch*, and Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*, article Ephesus; Gibbon's *Roman History*. Hamilton places the temple at the western extremity of the town, near the harbour. "Here," he observes, "must have stood the celebrated temple of the Ephesian Diana, immediately in front of the port, raised upon a base thirty or forty feet high, and approached by a grand flight of steps, the ruins of which are still visible." Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 23-25.

her τὴν μεγάλην Ἐφεσίων Ἀρτέμιω (Xen. Eph. i. 15); and there is an inscription in Boeckh containing the words, τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος πρὸ πόλεως.¹ The artful character of the address of Demetrius is here to be observed: he appeals both to the mercenary feelings of the workmen and to the fanaticism of the people: not only is our trade in danger of being destroyed, but the worship of the great goddess Diana is endangered: that temple which is the glory of our city and of the world is attacked; we are called upon to fight for our hearths and our altars. Ephesus depended for its wealth upon its temple: both rose and fell together.

Ver. 29. ὤρμησαν—they rushed; namely, Demetrius and his workmen, and those among the Ephesians who were stirred up. εἰς τὸ θέατρον—into the theatre. The theatres among the Greeks were used not only for the representation of the games, but also for popular assemblies. Thus Josephus speaks of the people of Antioch meeting together for debate in the theatre (*Bell. Jud.* vii. 3. 3). And Tacitus, in his history of Vespasian, observes that Mucianus, one of his great supporters, went into the theatre, where the inhabitants were accustomed to hold their public debates (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 80). The theatre of Ephesus may still be traced. It is the largest which has yet been discovered, and is said to have been capable of containing fifty-six thousand persons. It was built on the flank of Mount Prion, with rows of seats rising above one another; and was, according to the custom of the ancients, open to the sky. "Of the site of the theatre," observes Sir C. Fellows, "the scene of the tumult raised by Demetrius, there can be no doubt, its ruins being a wreck of immense grandeur. I think it must have been larger than the one at Miletus, and that exceeds any I have elsewhere seen in scale, although not in ornament. Its form alone can now be spoken of, for every seat is removed, and the proscenium is a hill of ruins."²

Συναρπάσαντες—having caught, probably on their way to the theatre. Γάϊον—Gaius. Gaius is the Greek form of the Latin Caius, one of the most common names among the

¹ Boeckh, No. 2963.

² Fellows, *Asia Minor*, p. 274.

Romans. This Gaius, otherwise unknown to us, is distinguished by his being a Macedonian from three persons of the same name mentioned in Scripture: first, from Gaius of Derbe, who at a later period joined the apostle (Acts xx. 4); secondly, from Gaius of Corinth, who was among those few persons whom Paul baptized (1 Cor. i. 14), and with whom Paul lodged during his second (third?) visit to Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23); and thirdly, from Gaius of Ephesus, to whom long after this John wrote his third epistle (3 John 1). Ἀρίσταρχον—*Aristarchus*. Aristarchus, on the other hand, is elsewhere mentioned in Scripture. He accompanied Paul on his memorable journey to Jerusalem (Acts xx. 4), and sailed with him, either as a fellow-prisoner or a volunteer, from Cæsarea to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2). In one of his epistles, Paul speaks of him as his “fellow-prisoner” (Col. iv. 10), and in another as his “fellow-worker” (Philem. 24). Tradition varies in its account of him: according to one account, he was beheaded with Paul at Rome; and according to another, he became bishop of Apamea.

Ver. 30. *Εἰς τὸν δῆμον*—into the people. Δῆμος, the people assembled in council, a different word from ὄχλος, the multitude.

Ver. 31. *Τίνας δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν*—also certain of the Asiarchs. The Asiarchs were persons chosen from the province of Asia, on account of their influence and wealth, to preside at and to defray the expenses of the public games in honour of the emperor and of the gods. According to Strabo, the Asiarchs were generally selected from the city of Tralles, as the inhabitants of that city were reckoned among the most wealthy in Asia (Strabo, xiv. 1. 42). There were similar persons in the other provinces: thus we read of the Galatarchs, the Bithyniarchs, the Syriarchs, Lyciarchs, etc. The manner in which the Asiarchs were chosen was as follows: Each city of the province of Asia elected a delegate; these delegates met together in a council (τὸ κοινόν), and elected ten who were to be the Asiarchs for that year. The election was annual, and had to be confirmed by the Roman proconsul before it was valid. It has been disputed

whether there were ten Asiarchs, or whether there was only one chosen by the proconsul out of the ten whom the cities of Asia had elected. Those who think that there was only one Asiarch suppose that the plural is here used, either because the whole ten bore the honorary title, or because the former Asiarchs, like the Jewish high priests, retained the name. The probability is, that one out of the ten was elected president, but that the whole ten bore the expenses of the games.¹ Eusebius, in his history, speaks of Philip the Asiarch at Smyrna declining to let loose a lion upon Polycarp, because he had already completed the exhibition of the games (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 15). From the presence of the Asiarchs at Ephesus, it has been plausibly inferred that it was the season of the celebration of the games in honour of Diana. These Ephesian games, we are informed, occurred in the month of May; and the month itself was called Artemision in honour of the goddess. Now the riot evidently took place toward the close of Paul's residence: he had resolved to remain at Ephesus until Pentecost, and this Jewish feast occurred about the end of May. From the great influx of the worshippers of Diana, the fanaticism of the people would be the more easily stirred up. "Ουτες αὐτῷ φίλοι—*who were his friends*: not that they were converts to Christianity, but they entertained a respect for Paul, and wished to befriend him. Paul had so conducted himself during his long residence at Ephesus, as to secure the friendship of the chief inhabitants of the city.²

Ver. 32. Ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλο τι ἔκραζον—*Some therefore cried one thing, and some another.* This is a description of a tumultuous meeting taken from life: assembled, they knew not for what purpose; driven about by every gust of passion; drawn together by noise and excitement; and giving vent to their feelings by senseless outcries.

Ver. 33. Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὄχλου προεβίβασαν Ἀλέξανδρον—*And they drew Alexander out of the crowd, the Jews putting him*

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 392.

² See Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, pp. 50–22. He justly observes: "That the very maintainers and presidents of the heathen sports

forward. The abrupt manner in which Alexander is mentioned has given rise to various conjectures concerning him. Some (Calvin, Meyer, Baumgarten, Wieseler) suppose that he was a Christian, whom the Jews, hating as an apostate to their religion, wished to sacrifice to the rage of the people. They think that this is evident from the expression ἀπολογεῖσθαι, "he wished to make his defence," which they refer to the accusation against the Christians. Others (Grotius and others) suppose that he was once a professed Christian, but at this time an apostate and an enemy of Paul, and that he now stood forth to accuse him. And others (Beza, Winer, Neander, Lechler, Olshausen, Lange, Ewald, Howson, Davidson) suppose that he was a Jew, who was now put forth as an advocate for his countrymen to turn away the violence of the multitude from them to the Christians. This is certainly the most probable opinion. In the uproarious meeting there would be loud exclamations against all the opponents of the gods; and among these opponents the Jews as well as the Christians would be included; the rage of the multitude would be directed against both parties without distinction; both would be attacked as the enemies of the gods. ἠθέλεν ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ—*wished to make his defence to the people*; that is, he would apologize to the people—make a defence, not of himself as an individual, but of his countrymen the Jews: he wished to throw the whole blame of the tumult on Paul and the Christians, and to exculpate the Jews. It is disputed whether this Alexander is the same with Alexander the coppersmith (ὁ χαλκεύς) mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy, and against whom Paul wrote with so great severity (2 Tim. iv. 14). The generality of critics distinguish between them. Ewald, however, observes that this Alexander so abruptly named must have been a well-known person. Had he not been long known in Ephesus as a fluent mob-orator and as an enemy of Paul, the Jews would not have put him forward; and

and festivals of a people to whom the doctrine of Christ and the resurrection was foolishness, were the friends of Paul, was an assertion which no fabricator of a forgery would have ventured upon."

hence he infers that he is the same with the bitter opponent of the apostle mentioned in the epistle.¹ Besides, the Alexander of the epistle was a coppersmith, and his trade may have brought him into connection with Demetrius and the craftsmen of like occupation. The identity between them is not improbable.

Ver. 34. *Ἐπιγινόντες δὲ ὅτι Ἰουδαῖος ἐστίν*—*but when they knew that he was a Jew.* *Ἔστιν* in the present, for the sake of vividness in the description. This would seem to prove that Alexander was an unconverted Jew; for if he were a Christian, that alone would have been sufficient to excite the fury of the multitude. The Jews were as much opposed to idolatry as the Christians, and, besides, were regarded by their heathen neighbours with feelings of contempt and dislike.

Ver. 35. *Ὁ γραμματεὺς*—*the town-clerk.* The town-clerk (*ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ τῆς πόλεως*, Thuc. vii. 10) was not, as some suppose, the officer chosen by the people to preside over the games, for this was the duty and office of the Asiarchs; but the person who had the care of the archives of the city, and whose duty it was to draw up the official decrees, and to read them in the assemblies of the people. Next to the commander (*στρατηγός*), he was the person of greatest importance in the Greek free cities. His name frequently occurs on coins and inscriptions.² The town-clerk here, like the Asiarchs, seems to have been friendly to Paul.

Νεωκόρον τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος—*the guardian of the great Diana.* The usual meaning of *νεωκόρος* is a temple-sweeper, or temple-keeper (*νεὸς*, a temple, and *κορέω*, to sweep): it afterwards became an honorary title, and is so used in this passage. It was conferred on persons and cities. Particular cities were appointed guardians of particular deities; and thus Ephesus received the honourable appellation of the guardian (*νεωκόρος*) of the great Diana. This title is of frequent occurrence on the coins of Ephesus.

¹ Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 484.

² Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 53; Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 519.

Thus, one of the coins of Nero, given by Akerman, has on it the figure of the temple Diana, with the word *νεωκόρον*: a coin which is of peculiar interest, as it was contemporary with the time of Paul's residence in Ephesus.¹ There are other coins in which this title is conferred on individuals. Thus we have on the coins of Hadrian, *Ἐφεσίων δις νεωκόρων*. So also on the coins of Heliogabalus is the inscription, *Ἐφεσίων τετρακίς νεωκόρων*; and of Geta and Caracalla, *Ἐφεσίων τρίς νεωκόρων καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος*.²

Τοῦ Διοπετοῦς — of the image which fell from Jupiter. *Διοπετής* compounded of *Δίος*, Jupiter, and *πίπτω*, to fall. *Ἀγάλματος* has to be supplied to *τοῦ Διοπετοῦς*: the image of Diana worshipped in the temple of Ephesus, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven. There is no other mention of the supposed heavenly origin of this image; but the heathen attached this superstitious notion to many of the images of their gods. Thus the image of the same goddess, the Diana of Tauris (Eurip. *Iph.* 977), the Minerva Polias of Athens (Paus. i. 26. 6), the Palladium of Troy (Apollod. iii. 12. 3), the Ceres of Sicily (Cic. *in Verr.*), the Cybele of Pessinus (Herodian, i. 35), and the Ancile at Rome (Dion. Hal. ii. 71: Plut. *in Numa Pom.*), were all said to have fallen from heaven.³ Olshausen accounts for this superstition on the supposition that many of these images were aerolites. "The stone," he observes, "which the Romans brought from Asia to Rome as the image of Cybele, was undoubtedly a meteoric stone."⁴ This, however, was not the case with the image of the Ephesian Diana, as we are expressly informed that it was of wood (Plin. xvi. 79; Xen. *Anab.* v. 3). The image was like a rude mummy with many breasts; in each hand was a rod of iron; and the head was surmounted with a mural crown. It bore no resemblance to the works of Grecian art, but rather to the images of the Hindoos. In

¹ Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 55; Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. ii. p. 519.

² Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum*, vol. ii. p. 520.

³ Biscoe on the *Acts*, p. 281.

⁴ Olshausen on the *Gospels and Acts*, vol. iv. p. 465.

all probability, it was the image which the Greeks found as the object of worship when they colonized Ionia, and to which they attached a mysterious significance. It must have escaped the burning of the temple by Herostratus.

Vers. 36, 37. *Ἀναντιρρήτων οὖν ὄντων τούτων*—*these things, then, being incontrovertible*. Spoken from the standpoint of a heathen: “since no one can call in question the zeal of the Ephesians, or doubt the sincerity and truth of their belief.” *Οὔτε ἱεροσύλους*—*neither robbers of temples*: not guilty of sacrilege; they have made no attempt to plunder the temple or altar of Diana. The early preachers of Christianity avoided everything the least approaching to violence; the only weapon which they employed was persuasion. *Οὔτε βλασφημοῦντας τὴν θεὰν ἡμῶν*—*nor blasphemers of your goddess*. They have employed no harsh or reproachful language against Diana. Different meanings have been attached to this part of the speech of the town-clerk. As Paul must certainly have denounced idolatry, some suppose that the assertion that he was not a blasphemer of the goddess was a mere falsehood, designed to calm the multitude; others, that it only affirmed that Paul did not directly attack the worship of Diana; and others, that in attacking idolatry he used no opprobrious language. The words, however, it is to be observed, were spoken not with reference to the conduct of Paul at all, but to that of his companions Gaius and Aristarchus. At all events, we may well believe that Paul exercised the utmost prudence and moderation in preaching to the heathen: he did not needlessly hurt their prejudices by invective and offensive language: he reasoned with the people, but did not revile their gods: he did not so much attack error, as establish truth. In his speech to the Athenians we have probably only an instance of the remarkable prudence which pervaded his discourses.

Ver. 38. *Ἀγόραιαι ἄγονται*—*court-days are held*. The governors of the Roman provinces held courts in the chief cities to which they repaired on circuit. Ephesus, as we learn from Pliny, was one of these assize towns (Pliny, v.

31). Besides this, it was a free town, and had also its own courts and magistrates. The senate (*γερονσία*) of the Ephesians is mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10. 25), and the popular assembly (*δῆμος*) is alluded to in this passage (vers. 30, 33). *Καὶ ἀνθύπατοι εἰσὶν*—and there are proconsuls. It is undoubtedly certain that Asia was in the time of Paul a senatorial province, and hence governed by proconsuls: the title *ἀνθύπατος* frequently appears on the coins of this period.¹ The use of the term in the plural here (*ἀνθύπατοι*) has given rise to some discussion, as there does not appear to have been ever more than one proconsul at a time. Some (Basnage, Biscoe, Doddridge, Lewin), however, suppose that at this particular time there were two men who executed the proconsular office in Asia. In the beginning of the reign of Nero, Junius Silanus, the proconsul of Asia, was murdered by Celer and Helius at the instigation of Agrippina, the emperor's mother (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 1); and it is supposed that they now administered the proconsular office until a new appointment was made.² Tacitus, however, does not say that they succeeded to the office of Silanus; nor would they be called proconsuls, even although they had the temporary management of the province during the vacancy. Howson conjectures that some of the proconsuls of the neighbouring provinces, as Achaia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Bithynia, Pamphylia, might be present at the public games; but the mention of them could not tend to quiet the multitude, as they would have no jurisdiction beyond the boundaries of their respective provinces. Grotius thinks that the proconsul and his lieutenant are meant; and Alford understands the proconsul and his assessors. The opinion of Meyer appears to be the most probable, that the term proconsuls is used in a general sense, and that the meaning is, that there is always a proconsul; just as we speak of Asia being governed by proconsuls, or India being ruled by governors-general.

Ver. 39. *Ἐν τῇ ἐννόμῳ ἐκκλησίᾳ*—in a legal assembly: an assembly convened according to law. *Legitimus coetus*

¹ Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 55.

² Lewin's *St. Paul*, vol. i. p. 450.

est, qui a magistratu civitatis convocatur et regitur (Grotius). The town-clerk thus indirectly affirmed that the present assembly was an illegal one. The rule of the people (*δημὸς*) was recognised in Ephesus as a free city, but it was necessary that their assemblies should be called in a legal manner, and not on the mere excitement of the moment.

Vers. 40, 41. *Κινδυνεύομεν ἐγκαλεῖσθαι στάσεως περὶ τῆς σήμερον*—*we are in danger of being called in question for this day's uproar*. The Romans, although they granted freedom to many of the Greek cities, yet were very jealous of their popular assemblies. There was a Roman law which made it capital to raise a riot. *Qui cœtum et concursum fecerit capite puniatur* (Sulpicius Victor, *Instit. Orat.*); *Qui cœtum et concursum fecerit capitale sit* (Seneca, *Controv.* iii. 8). The Greek words here used, *στάσεως* and *συστροφῆς*, correspond to the Latin terms in the law, *cœtum* and *concursum*. *Μηδενὸς αἰτίου ὑπάρχοντος*, etc.—*there being no ground on which we could give an account of this concourse*; such as fire, sudden invasion, or some similar emergency, which might justify a concourse of the people. *Ἀπέλυσεν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*—*he dismissed the assembly*. “Thus he extinguished their wrath. For as it is easily kindled, it is easily extinguished” (Chrysostom).

SECTION XVI.

PAUL'S JOURNEY THROUGH MACEDONIA AND PROCONSULAR ASIA.—ACTS xx. 1-16.

1 And after the uproar was ceased, Paul, having called the disciples, and embraced them, departed to go to Macedonia. 2 And when he had gone through those parts, and had given them much exhortation, he came to Greece. 3 And after staying three months, a conspiracy against him being formed by the Jews as he was about to sail to Syria, he purposed to return through Macedonia. 4 And there accompanied him as far as Asia, Sopater the son of Pyrrhus of Berea; and of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus; and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. 5 These, having gone before, waited for us at Troas. 6 But we sailed from Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, and came to them to Troas in five days; where we remained seven days.

7 And upon the first day of the week, when we came together to break bread, Paul discoursed to them, ready to depart on the morrow; and continued his speech until midnight. 8 And there were many lights in the upper chamber, where we were assembled. 9 And a certain young man named Eutychus sat at the window, being fallen into a deep sleep: and as Paul was long discoursing, he was overcome by sleep, and fell from the third storey, and was taken up dead. 10 But Paul, having gone down, fell on him, and embracing him, said, Trouble not yourselves; for his life is in him. 11 Then having gone up, and broken bread, and eaten, and discoursed a long while, even till break of day, so he departed. 12 And they brought the lad alive, and were not a little comforted.

13 And we went before to ship, and sailed to Assos, there intending to take up Paul: for so he had appointed, intending himself to go by land. 14 And when he met with us at Assos, we took him up, and came to Mitylene. 15 And we sailed thence, and came on the following day over against Chios; and the next day we arrived at Samos, and tarried at Trogyllium; and the next day we came to Miletus. 16 For Paul had determined to sail past Ephesus, because he would not spend the time in Asia; for he was hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. A, B, D, κ insert *καὶ παρακαλέσας* before *ἀσπαόμενος*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Alford: these words are, however, omitted by Tischendorf and Meyer, in accordance with G, H. Ver. 4. *Ἀχρὶ τῆς Ἀσίας* are omitted in B, κ , but found in A, D, E, G, H, and regarded as spurious by Lekebusch, but retained by Tischendorf and Meyer. *Πύργου* after *Σώπατρος* is found in A, B, D, E, κ , and is inserted by all the later critics. Ver. 7. *Τῶν μαθητῶν* (*textus receptus*) are found in G, H; whereas A, B, D, E, κ have *ἡμῶν*, the reading adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Bornemann. So also *ἡμεν* before *συνηγμένοι*, in ver. 8, is to be preferred to *ἦσαν*. Ver. 15. The words *καὶ μείναντες ἐν Τρωγυλίῳ* are omitted in A, B, C, E, κ , and are rejected by Lachmann: they are contained in D, G, H, and retained by Tischendorf and Meyer. The probable reason of their omission is, that the text would seem to imply that Trogyllium was in the island of Samos, whereas in reality it was on the mainland. Ver. 16. G, H read *ἔκρινε*, whereas A, B, C, D, E, κ read *κεκρίκει*, the reading adopted by modern critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. *Μετὰ δὲ τὸ παύσασθαι τὸν θόρυβον*—*And after the uproar was ceased*. Some (Hug, Michaelis, Ewald) suppose that the uproar was the occasion of Paul's departure; but its cessation and failure are arguments against this view of the subject. The words indicate the time, not the motive, of Paul's departure. He had, before the disturbance, made his arrangements to leave Ephesus (Acts xix. 22). It is probable, then, that he did not depart sooner than he intended—namely, at Pentecost of the year 57; for, writing to the Corinthians, he says, "I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost" (1 Cor. xvi. 8); exactly a year before he came to Jerusalem, where he arrived on the Pentecost of the following year (Acts xx. 16). *Ἐξῆλθεν*—*departed*. Paul had

remained at Ephesus longer than at any other city: he himself says that he had continued there for the space of three years (Acts xx. 31); during which period it is probable that he preached the gospel in other cities of proconsular Asia. *Πορευθῆναι εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν*—*to go into Macedonia*. We learn from the second Epistle to the Corinthians that he went to Macedonia by the way of Alexandria Troas (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13), sailing in all probability from Ephesus to Troas. In Troas he remained for some time preaching the gospel: “a door was opened unto him of the Lord.” But he did not continue long there: he had expected the arrival of Titus with tidings from the church of Corinth; but being disappointed in this, and unable to endure longer suspense, he left Troas and crossed over to Macedonia, where he met with Titus (2 Cor. vii. 5, 6).

Ver. 2. *Διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα*—*and having gone through these parts*. He would again visit those cities of Macedonia where he had founded churches—namely, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Berea. Six years had elapsed since Paul had first visited Macedonia, and been beaten with rods in the market-place of Philippi. It was at this time that Paul preached the gospel in the neighbourhood of Illyricum. In the Epistle to the Romans, written a few months later, he says: “From Jerusalem, and round about unto Illyricum, I have fully preached the gospel of Christ” (Rom. xv. 19). By Illyricum is meant the district of country along the shores of the Adriatic to the west of Macedonia. Now Paul had only visited Macedonia twice: on his former visit he had traversed only the eastern part, whereas this second visit is here stated in general terms: it must, then, have been on this occasion that he crossed over to the western part of the country adjoining Illyricum.¹ The whole province of Macedonia was thus fully evangelized. Paul had visited the four districts into which the country was divided: Philippi and Amphipolis were in Macedonia Prima; Thessalonica was the capital of Macedonia Secunda; Berea was a town of Macedonia Tertia; and now in his second visit he completed

¹ See Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*—Romans, No. IV.

the circuit of the province by preaching the gospel in Macedonia Quarta, bordering on Illyricum (Liv. xlv. 30).

It was during the earlier part of his journey through Macedonia that Paul wrote the second Epistle to the Corinthians. It was in Macedonia that Titus met the apostle (2 Cor. vii. 6): in his epistle he speaks of the liberality of the churches of Macedonia (2 Cor. viii. 1, 2), and announces his intention of coming to Corinth (2 Cor. xiii. 1). Titus was accordingly sent back to Corinth with the epistle, accompanied by two brethren (2 Cor. viii. 18–22). It has been plausibly conjectured that one of these brethren was Luke, the author of the Acts. He had been left behind by Paul on his former visit at Philippi (Acts xvi. 40), and must now have rejoined him; but it is not until Paul's return from Corinth that the narrative takes the direct form (Acts xx. 5).¹ Hence, then, it is probable that, during this visitation of the churches of Macedonia, Luke was not with the apostle, but had been sent by him to Corinth in company with Titus, as one of the messengers of the churches (2 Cor. viii. 23).

Ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα—*came into Greece*. Schrader supposes that by Greece is meant the district between the Peloponnesus and Thessaly, especially Attica, of which Athens was the capital. But it would rather seem that Greece here denotes the Roman province of Achaia, comprehending Greece proper and the Peloponnesus, the capital of which was Corinth (Acts xix. 21). As Paul must have spent several months in Macedonia and Illyricum,² it would be the winter season, and hence it is probable that he went to Greece (Corinth) by land. Athens is not again mentioned after Acts xviii. 1, so that it is uncertain if he revisited that city.

Ver. 3. *Ποιήσας* is an example of what grammarians call an anacoluthon—an instance of altered construction: grammatically it should be in the dative, *ποιήσαντι*, to agree with *αὐτῷ* understood.³ *Ποιήσας τε μήνας τρεῖς*—*having stayed*

¹ See Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 277, note.

² Probably from June to November 57: Renan's *Saint Paul*, 439.

³ Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 589.

there three months. These three months¹ were doubtless spent at Corinth, and in its neighbourhood. His long-promised visit to that city was accomplished, and he now carried into fulfilment his purpose of wintering there (1 Cor. xvi. 6).

It was during this residence at Corinth that Paul wrote the Epistle to the Romans. In it he mentions the "contributions for the poor saints" which were then being made in the churches of Macedonia and Achaia, and with which he was going to Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 25-27): he speaks of Gaius, his host (Rom. xvi. 23), and there was a Corinthian convert of that name (1 Cor. i. 24): salutations are sent from Timothy and Sosipater (Sopater) (Rom. xvi. 21), and these two accompanied the apostle from Corinth into Asia (Acts xx. 4): and the epistle was sent by Phœbe, a deaconess of the church at Cenchrea, the port of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 1).

Γενομένης ἐπιβουλῆς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, etc.—a conspiracy against him being formed by the Jews as he was about to sail to Syria. Paul intended to sail direct from Cenchrea, the western port of Corinth, to Antioch in Syria, but was prevented by a conspiracy of the Jews. It does not appear how a journey by land was less dangerous than a voyage by sea. Some suppose that Paul was constrained to leave Corinth earlier than he intended in the winter season, when no voyages were made; but according to the text, the conspiracy occurred as he was about to sail to Syria. The probability is, that the Jews became aware of Paul's intention to sail, and watched the port of Cenchrea in order to kill him. The apostle thus concluded his ministry in Macedonia and Achaia; and, as he writes to the Romans, he had no more place in those parts, and now casts a longing look toward Rome (Rom. xv. 23). The work of the collection was finished; the gospel was propagated to Illyricum; now he was on his way to Jerusalem, and thence to Rome.

Ver. 4. *Συνέπετο δὲ αὐτῷ—*but there accompanied him: from Macedonia, but possibly also from Corinth. *ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας—*as far as Asia. The genuineness of these words has been questioned. They are wanting in the Vatican and

¹ Probably from December 57 to February 58.

Sinaitic manuscripts, in two cursive manuscripts (13, 81), in the Vulgate, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions.¹ They have, however, been received by the majority of recent critics. If genuine, the meaning is, that the following persons accompanied Paul as far as proconsular Asia: they went with him the length of Miletus. But this appears at variance with the fact that we find Trophimus with the apostle in Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29), and Aristarchus accompanying him to Rome (Acts xxvii. 2). Either, then, the words are a general statement that the whole seven went no farther than Asia, although some of them may have accompanied the apostle to Jerusalem; or, what is less probable, that Trophimus and Aristarchus, although they remained behind with the rest, yet afterwards rejoined the apostle.²

Σώπατρος Πύρρον Βεροιαῖος—*Sopater the son of Pyrrhus of Berea*; the same name as Sosipater, and probably the same as Paul's kinsman of that name mentioned in Rom. xvi. 21, who was with him at Corinth. Θεσσαλονικέων δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ Σεκούνδος—and of the Thessalonians, *Aristarchus and Secundus*. Aristarchus was already mentioned as a Macedonian (Acts xix. 29), with which his being a native of Thessalonica agrees. He attended Paul on his voyage to Rome, and was a fellow-labourer and a fellow-prisoner with him in that city.³ Secundus is nowhere again mentioned. Καὶ Γάιος Δερβαῖος, καὶ Τιμόθεος—and *Gaius of Derbe, and Timotheus*. This Gaius was a different person from Gaius the Macedonian formerly mentioned (Acts xix. 29), as Derbe was a city of Lycaonia. Some (Kuinoel, Wieseler, Olshausen), in order to identify them, render the passage thus: "Of the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus and Gaius, also Timotheus of Derbe;" thus referring the epithet *Δερβαῖος* not to Gaius, but to Timothy. The conjunction *καὶ*, however, occurring in this list of names, and intervening between *Δερβαῖος* and *Τιμόθεος*, does not admit of this rendering. To obviate this objection, Kuinoel, contrary to the authority

¹ See Lekebusch's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 164.

² Oertel's *Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte*, p. 50.

³ See note to Acts xix. 29.

of manuscripts, would read *Δερβαῖος δὲ Τιμόθεος*; but conjectural emendation is inadmissible. Besides, Timothy was most probably a native not of Derbe, but of Lystra.¹ No local epithet is attached to Timothy, perhaps because his residence was supposed to be well known. The Syriac version reads, "Timotheus of Lystra." *Ἀσιανὸς δὲ, Τυχικός καὶ Τρόφιμος*—and of Asia, Tychicus and Trophimus. Both are elsewhere alluded to in Scripture. Tychicus was the bearer of the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians (Col. iv. 7, 8; Eph. vi. 21, 22). Paul there calls him "a beloved brother and faithful minister of the Lord." In the Epistle to Titus he mentions his intention of sending him to Crete (Tit. iii. 12); and in his last epistle he tells Timothy that he had sent Tychicus to Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 12). According to tradition, he afterwards became bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. Trophimus appears on this occasion to have accompanied the apostle not only to Asia, but to Jerusalem; for his being in Paul's company in that city was the occasion of the apostle's apprehension (Acts xxi. 29). He is again mentioned in Paul's last epistle: "Trophimus have I left at Miletum sick" (2 Tim. iv. 20). According to tradition, Trophimus was one of the seventy disciples, and after the death of Paul was beheaded under Nero. Besides the above seven, the historian Luke was of the number of Paul's companions.

The number and mention of the names of Paul's companions do not permit us to suppose that it was accidental. Some think that they accompanied Paul as a body-guard, to protect him from the violence of the Jews. Others imagine that it was to aid him in his missionary work. Baumgarten supposes that they went with Paul to Jerusalem, as the representatives of the converted Gentile world, both to the community of believers in Jerusalem and to the unbelieving inhabitants of the city; and that they were seven in number, to correspond with the number of the deacons.² Were it not for the disputed words, *ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας*, we would assent to

¹ See note to Acts xvi. 1.

² Baumgarten's *Apostolic History*, vol. ii. pp. 311, 312.

the opinion that they were the messengers of their respective churches, carrying the contributions to the poor saints at Jerusalem. Such contributions we know were made, and Paul advised the churches to appoint messengers to accompany him (1 Cor. xvi. 3, 4). Perhaps several of those who now accompanied Paul, as Aristarchus, Trophimus, and Luke, and who went with him to Jerusalem, were those messengers of the churches.

Ver. 5. *Οὗτοι προελθόντες*—*these going before*. The natural rendering is to refer *οὗτοι* to the whole seven who went before, as distinguished from *ἡμᾶς*, *us*, who remained behind at Philippi. If so, this verse is decisive against the hypothesis that Timothy is the writer of those parts of the Acts where the author speaks of himself; inasmuch as Timothy was one of those who went before and waited for the apostle and author at Troas.¹ *Ἐμενον ἡμᾶς*—*waited for us*. Here the author rejoins the apostle, and the direct style of narrative is continued until the arrival at Jerusalem. There is now a freshness and minuteness about the narrative, indicating the description of an eye-witness. Luke seems, on Paul's first visit to Macedonia, to have remained behind at Philippi, as the direct style of narrative is there dropped (Acts xvi. 16); and now when Paul, passing again through Macedonia, came to Philippi, Luke rejoins him, and the direct style is resumed. *Ἐν Τρωάδι*—*at Troas*. For a description of Alexandria Troas, see note to Acts xvi. 8.

Ver. 6. *Μετὰ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἀζύμων*—*after the days of unleavened bread*. No reason is assigned why Paul's companions preceded him. Meyer supposes that Paul remained behind at Philippi to celebrate the Passover. This reason certainly did not equally apply to his companions, as most of them were Gentiles; but it hardly accords with the freedom of Paul's views. The days of unleavened bread seem to be merely mentioned as a date. The section Acts xx. 1–6 comprehends a period of ten months, from Pentecost of the year 57 to the Passover of the year 58; three of which months Paul spent in Corinth. *Ἄχρι ἡμερῶν πέντε*—*in five*

¹ See remarks upon the authorship of the Acts in the Introduction.

Ver. 5. *Εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τούτου*—for having found this man. We have here an anacoluthon: *ἐκρατήσαμεν αὐτόν* should have followed directly; but instead of this a relative clause intervenes, and the principal verb itself is annexed to it.¹ *Δοιμὸν*—a pest. *Δοιμός* signifies the plague, the pest; but it is also employed in classical writers for a mischievous person. *Κινοῦντα στάσιω*—a mover of sedition—a disturber of the public peace. *Κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην*—throughout the world: here, in the mouth of a Roman, before a Roman court of justice, it signifies “throughout the Roman empire.” *Τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως*—of the sect of the Nazarenes. This is the only place in Scripture where the term Nazarenes is used to denote the Christians. It was doubtless the Jewish appellation for them, as the Jews could not employ the sacred name of Christ to denote those whom they regarded as apostates. The name originated from Jesus being known by the distinction “Jesus the Nazarene” (Matt. ii. 23), just as the followers of Judas of Galilee were called Galileans. There does not appear to be anything peculiarly offensive in the appellation. The name afterwards came to be applied to those Judaizing Christians who, after the death of the apostles, separated themselves from the Christian church.

Ver. 6. *Ὅς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐπέiraσεν βεβηλώσαι*—who also attempted to profane the temple. The charge was cleverly chosen: Tertullus does not accuse Paul of the actual profanation of the temple (as in Acts xxi. 28),—an accusation which could easily be refuted; but of an attempt to do so—of actions which led the Jews to suspect that this was his object. The Romans granted the Jews the power of punishing any of their countrymen who profaned their worship; and it would almost appear that they could put to death any Gentile, even though he were a Roman, who crossed the barrier between the court of the Gentiles and that of the Jews (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 4).

The charges which Tertullus brought against Paul were three. First, that he created disturbances among the Jews

¹ Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 368; Meyer's *Apostel-geschichte*, p. 454.

throughout the empire—an offence against the Roman government—*crimen majestatis*. Secondly, that he was a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes—disturbed the Jews in the exercise of their religion, guaranteed by the state—introduced new gods, a thing prohibited by the Romans. And thirdly, that he attempted to profane the temple,—a crime which the Jews were permitted to punish.

Vers. 6-8. The genuineness of the entire passage, *καὶ κατὰ . . . ἔρχεσθε ἐπὶ σε*, has been called in question. The external evidence is decidedly against its reception. It is wanting in the uncial MSS. A, B, G, H, K (C and D are here defective), and in several important versions; and in those cursive versions where it occurs there are many variations. The only uncial MS. in which it is found is E. Had the words been genuine, no reason can be assigned for their omission. On the other hand, the internal evidence is rather in their favour. Without them, the speech of Tertullus is apparently defective, and awkward in point of construction. The words which follow the disputed passage—*παρ' οὗ, from whom*—give a much better sense when referred to Lysias, to whom they would apply were the passage genuine, than when referred to the prisoner Paul, to whom otherwise they must apply. Besides, there is nothing in the words themselves out of place: on the contrary, it was very natural in Tertullus to allude to the conduct of Lysias, and to refer Felix to him for further information; and it is a corroboration of this, that we find that Felix actually put off the trial until the arrival of Lysias (ver. 22). But where the external evidence is so defective, much weight is not to be placed on these purely subjective reasons. Accordingly, the passage has been rejected by the most distinguished of our modern critics. So Mill, Bengel, Griesbach, Matthiæ, Lachmann, Tischendorf, De Wette, Meyer, Lechler.¹

Ver. 8. *Ἰαπ' οὗ*—*from whom*; that is, “from Paul,” if the disputed passage be rejected. Grotius supposes that examination by torture is here meant, but this was inad-

¹ Alford retains it, but encloses it within brackets; Wordsworth considers it to be genuine. See De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 171.

missible in the case of a Roman citizen; perhaps, however, Tertullus, knowing the character of the judge, insinuates that other means having failed, this might be resorted to. The object of the speech was evidently to persuade Felix to permit Paul to be tried by the Jewish courts, as the offences with which he was charged were offences against the Jewish law; in which case it is probable they would have attempted his assassination (Acts xxv. 3).

Ver. 9. *Συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*—*and the Jews also assailed him.* The Jews—that is, Ananias and the elders—joined with their advocate in accusing Paul, and assented to the truth of the charges brought against him. *Συνεπιτίθημι*, to put or lay together, to assail, to join in assailing.

Ver. 10. *Ἀπεκρίθη τε ὁ Παῦλος*—*and Paul answered.* The accuser having brought forward his charges, it was now the part of the accused to answer. This he could either do himself or through an advocate. Paul adopted the former alternative. After a brief exordium (vers. 10, 11), he takes up the charges brought against him, and refutes them in succession: that he was not a disturber of the public peace (vers. 12, 13); that although belonging to the so-called sect of the Nazarenes, he was not an apostate from the Jewish religion (vers. 14–16); and that, far from making any attempt to profane the temple, the sole purpose of his presence there was to honour it (vers. 17–21).

Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τοῦτῳ ἐπιστάμενος—*As I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation.* Paul, without descending to the flattery of Tertullus, opens his address in a respectful manner. With a view of gaining a favourable hearing from his judge, he commences with the statement of a known fact, that Felix had been for many years a judge of the nation, and therefore was better acquainted with their affairs than a stranger would be, so that he could speak to him with the greater confidence. Felix was appointed procurator of Judea, after the recall of Cumanus, A.D. 51 or 52 (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7. 1), and had therefore been governor for a period of six or seven years. According to Tacitus, he was governor of Samaria

when Cumanus was procurator of Judea (*Ann.* xii. 54): if this were the case, he would have come into the country as early as A.D. 48. And even although the statement of Tacitus, that Felix then exercised an independent command in Samaria, is doubtful, yet it may have arisen from his holding some important subordinate office in that province under Cumanus. But even six or seven years, during which he was procurator of Judea, were "many years" compared with the short periods of the administrations of his three immediate predecessors. Cuspius Fadus was governor for two years; Tiberius Alexander for two; and Ventidius Cumanus for four: so that the government of all these three together lasted only eight years.

Ver. 11. "Ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν μοι ἡμέραι δεκαδύο—that there are no more than twelve days since I came up to Jerusalem to worship. Paul means that, as it was only twelve days since his arrival at Jerusalem, the crime of which he was accused—namely, an attempt to profane the temple—must have been of recent occurrence, and therefore could be easily investigated. These twelve days have been variously calculated. They evidently denote the whole time since Paul had come to Jerusalem; and therefore the idea that the days which he spent at Cæsarea are not to be included, is to be rejected (Heinrichs, Kuinœl). Wieseler reckons them as follows: Two days for his journey to Jerusalem; the third day, his interview with James; the fourth (Pentecost), his arrest in the temple; the fifth, his appearance before the Sanhedrim; the sixth, his departure to Cæsarea at night; the seventh, his arrival at Cæsarea; the twelfth (five days after that), the departure of Ananias from Jerusalem; and the thirteenth, the arrival of Ananias at Cæsarea, and the trial of Paul before Felix.¹ This reckoning proceeds on the supposition that Paul was arrested on the day of Pentecost, the very day on which he entered the temple with the four Nazarites; an opinion which we have endeavoured to show is erroneous (see note to Acts xxi. 27). Besides, it is from the time of his arrival at Jerusalem that the twelve days are

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 104.

extend for miles: on every side are columns of beautiful sculpture, and many of them with exquisite carvings. But the most singular of these remains is the *Via Sacra*, or the Street of Tombs, stretching for miles. The distance of Assos from Troas by land was about twenty miles; whilst it was more than twice that distance by sea, as in sailing a vessel had to go round Cape Lectum. Hackett mentions that a friend of his travelled on foot between these two places in five hours. Sir C. Fellows, however, took eight hours to travel from Assos to Troas, and calculated the distance at thirty miles.¹

Μέλλων αὐτὸς πεζεύειν—*intending himself to go by land.* Paul's companions went from Troas to Assos by sea, but he himself went on foot. Calvin supposes that Paul's journey by land was from a regard to health (*valetudinis causâ*), in order to escape sea-sickness; Michaelis, in order to avoid the snares of the Jews; Meyer and Alford, for the sake of ministerial usefulness in the intermediate places; Olshausen, that he might enjoy the company of believers from Troas; Ewald, Baumgarten, and Howson, from a desire to be alone. "The desire for solitude," observes Howson, "was one reason why he lingered at Troas after his companions. The discomfort of a crowded ship is unfavourable for devotion; and prayer and meditation are necessary for maintaining the religious life even of an apostle. That Saviour to whose service he was devoted, had often prayed in solitude on the mountain, and crossed the brook Kedron to kneel under the olives of Gethsemane. And strength and peace were sought and obtained by the apostle from the Redeemer, as he pursued his lonely road that Sunday afternoon in spring among the oak woods and streams of Ida."² All these, however, are mere conjectures, as no reason is assigned by the evangelist.

Ver. 14. *Εἰς Μιτυλήνην*—*to Mitylene.* From Assos Paul and his companions sailed to Mitylene, a distance of about thirty miles. Mitylene, the capital of the island of Lesbos,

¹ For a minute and very interesting description of the ruins of Assos, see Fellows' *Asia Minor*, pp. 46-56.

² Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 259

was celebrated for the beauty of its situation and the magnificence of its buildings. Horace calls it *Mitylene pulchra* (*Epis.* i. 11. 17); and Cicero observes, *et natura et descriptione ædificiorum et pulchritudine imprimis nobilis* (*Cic. contra Rull.* ii. 16). It was famous as the birth-place of Sappho and the poet Alcæus (*Strabo*, xiii. 2. 2). Like most of the Greek cities, it received from the Romans the privilege of freedom. The whole island is now under the Turkish power, and is called by the ancient name of its capital, Mitylene. The capital itself, upon the same site, is now called Castro: there are extensive ruins in the neighbourhood.

Ver. 15. Ἀντικρὺς Χίου—*over against Chios*. Chios, a fertile island in the Archipelago, between Lesbos and Samos, off the coast of Ionia, was celebrated in ancient times for its products of wine and gum (*Strabo*, xiv. 1. 15, 35). In the time of Paul it enjoyed the privileges of freedom. It is now called Scio, and was the scene of the memorable massacre of the Greeks by the Turks in 1823.

Παρεβάλομεν εἰς Σάμον—*we arrived at Samos*. Samos was at this time a very populous island, off the coast of Lydia, from which it was separated by a narrow channel. It was celebrated for its fertility and numerous products. Under the rule of the Turks it has greatly decreased in population. The vessel in which Paul sailed did not remain over-night at Samos, but crossed over to Trogyllium on the mainland.

Ἐν Τρωγυλλίῳ—in Trogyllium. Trogyllium was the name of a city and promontory between Ephesus and the mouth of the Meander, at the foot of Mount Mycale. The channel between it and the island of Samos was very narrow, being only about a mile broad (*Strabo*, xiv. 1. 12). A little to the east of the head of the promontory there is an anchorage which is still called St. Paul's Port.

Εἰς Μίλητον—to Miletus. Miletus, called also Miletum, was a very celebrated city in ancient times, situated near the mouth of the Meander. It was the ancient capital of Ionia, the mother of numerous colonies, and the birth-place of a great number of distinguished men. When in its glory it possessed four harbours, and was renowned for its riches and

commerce. "This city," observes Strabo, "has four harbours, one of which will admit a fleet of ships. The citizens have achieved many great deeds, but the most important is the number of colonies which they established. The whole Euxine and the Propontis, and many other places, are peopled with their settlers." Miletus suffered much from war: it was successively taken and destroyed by the Lydians, Persians, and Greeks (Strabo, xiv. 1. 6). In the time of Paul it had declined, and was only a second-rate town. The silting up of the Meander damaged its commerce, and the neighbouring city of Ephesus flourished at its expense. The site of the once famous city of Miletus is now a swamp, and few remains exist of the proud capital of Ionia.¹

Ver. 16. *Παραπλεύσαι τὴν Ἐφεσον*—to sail past Ephesus. Miletus was about thirty miles to the south of Ephesus. Paul had already sailed past Ephesus when he came to Samos, and he was much nearer it at Trogyllium than at Miletus. But the ship only anchored for the night at Trogyllium; whereas at Miletus, being a commercial town, it remained for some days. Paul did not himself go to Ephesus, because he might be detained in that city; and therefore he sent for the Ephesian elders to come to him. Some suppose that there is evidence from the narrative that the ship was at Paul's disposal, and had been hired at Troas for the voyage to Patara (Acts xxi. 1). There does not, however, seem to be sufficient grounds for this: there is nothing to show that it depended on Paul's decision whether they stopped or proceeded: if so, we would have expected that he would have met with the Ephesian elders at Trogyllium rather than at the more distant city Miletus. His journey to Assos on foot is easily accounted for, as the ship had double the distance to sail, and anchored at Assos for the night, so that Paul would arrive there in perfect time.

Ἐσπευδεν γὰρ, εἰ δυνατόν ἦν αὐτῷ, τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς Πεντηκοστῆς—for he was hastening, if it were possible for him, to be at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost. Paul did not think

¹ See Fellows' *Asia Minor*, pp. 264, 265. Also for these geographical notices generally, see Lewin, and Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*.

that he was under any moral obligation to go up regularly to the annual festivals at Jerusalem. Although a Jew, he was free from the strictness of the Jewish laws. But he would have an opportunity at the great annual feast of meeting a vast number of Jews, assembled from all quarters at Jerusalem; and thus, as he trusted, of removing many prejudices which had been formed against his person and ministry. For this reason he thought it most important to be at Jerusalem on Pentecost. Already three of the seven weeks which intervened between the Passover and Pentecost had elapsed, and still a great distance had to be traversed, and many delays might be expected, so that no time could be lost. We shall find that the purpose of Paul was accomplished, and that he actually arrived at Jerusalem a few days before Pentecost.

SECTION XVII.

PAUL'S ADDRESS TO THE EPHESIAN ELDERS.—ACTS xx. 17–38.

17 And sending from Miletus to Ephesus, he called the elders of the church. 18 And when they came to him, he said to them, You know how, from the first day that I came into Asia, I have been with you the whole time, 19 Serving the Lord with all humility, and with tears, and temptations, which befell me by the plots of the Jews: 20 How I kept back none of those things which were profitable, but have declared them to you, and have taught you publicly, and from house to house, 21 Testifying both to Jews and Greeks, repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus. 22 And now, behold, I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things that shall befall me there: 23 Save that the Holy Ghost witnesses to me in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions await me. 24 But I esteem my life of no account, as if it were precious to myself, in order that I might finish my course, and the ministry which I received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. 25 And now, behold, I know that you all, among whom I went preaching the kingdom, will see my face no more. 26 Wherefore I testify to you this day, that I am pure from the blood of all; 27 For I have not shrunk from declaring to you the whole counsel of God. 28 Take heed therefore to yourselves, and to all the flock among whom the Holy Ghost has set you as bishops, to feed the church of the Lord, which He purchased by His own blood. 29 For I know this, that after my departure grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock. 30 And from yourselves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away the disciples after them. 31 Therefore watch, and remember that, for the space of three years, I ceased not to warn every one night and day with tears. 32 And now I commend you to God, and to the word of His grace, who is able to build up, and to give an inheritance among all the sanctified. 33 I coveted no man's silver, or gold, or raiment. 34 Ye yourselves know that these hands have ministered to my necessities, and to those who were with me. 35 I have showed you all things, how that, so labouring, you ought to assist the weak; and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.

36 And when he had thus spoken, he kneeled down, and prayed with

them all. 37 And there was much weeping among all, and they fell on Paul's neck and kissed him, 38 Sorrowing most for the word which he had spoken, that they should see his face no more. And they accompanied him to the ship.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 19. *Πολλῶν* before *δακρῶν*, found in C, G, H, is wanting in A, B, D, E, *κ*, and is omitted by recent critics. Ver. 23. A, B, C, D, E, *κ* insert *μοι* after *διαμαρτύρεται*, a reading received by all recent critics. Ver. 24. The reading of the *textus receptus*, *ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγον ποιῶμαι οὐδὲ ἔχω τὴν ψυχὴν μου τιμίαν ἐμαυτῷ*, is found in E, G, H: it is rejected by Tischendorf, who reads, *ἀλλ' οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαυτῷ*, in accordance with B, C, *κ*. The words *μετὰ χαρᾶς*, found in C, E, G, H, are wanting in A, B, D, *κ*, and are rejected by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 25. *Τοῦ Θεοῦ* after *βασιλείαν*, found in E, G, H, are wanting in A, B, C, *κ*, and omitted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Meyer. Ver. 28. In this verse we have one of the most important variations in the text of the New Testament. The two important readings are, *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου*. The following is a summary of the evidence in favour of either reading. In favour of *τοῦ Θεοῦ* are the two oldest uncial MSS. (B, *κ*), about twenty cursive MSS., the Vulgate, the Philoxenian Syriac in the text, Epiphanius and Ambrose; Ignatius has, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the expression *αἷμα Θεοῦ*; and Tertullian uses the expression *sanguine Dei* (*ad Uxor.* ii. 3). In favour of *τοῦ Κυρίου* are A, C, D, E, about fourteen cursive MSS., the Armenian and Coptic versions, the *Apostolic Constitutions* (belonging to the third century), Eusebius, Augustin, Jerome. From this it would appear that the external evidence is rather in favour of *Θεοῦ*. The internal evidence is also, if anything, in favour of *τοῦ Θεοῦ*, as the expression *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ* is Pauline, whereas *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου* is nowhere else employed by the apostle; others, however, assert that *Κυρίου* might be changed into *Θεοῦ* to adapt it to the Pauline usage. Critics are divided in their opinions:

the reading Θεοῦ is adopted by Beza, Mill, Wolf, Bengel, Knapp, Matthiæ, Scholz, Rinck, Stier, Bloomfield, Alford, Wordsworth; whereas Κυρίου is adopted by Grotius, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Griesbach, Kuinœl, De Wette, Meyer, Lechler, Lange, Tischendorf, Bornemann, Olshausen, Baumgarten, Lachmann, Conybeare, Hackett, Davidson.¹ (See Exegetical Remarks.) Ver. 32. Ἀδελφοὶ after ὑμᾶς is wanting in A, B, D, κ, and omitted by most recent critics. Ἰμῶν after δοῦναι is found in C, G, H, but wanting in A, B, D, E, κ, and is rejected by recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 17. Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Μιλήτου πέμψας εἰς Ἐφεσον—*And from Miletus having sent to Ephesus.* Miletus, as already observed, was about thirty miles to the south of Ephesus, so that Paul must have remained there from three to four days. Τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς ἐκκλησίας—the elders of the church. Some, from prelatie views, because these elders are called bishops (ver. 28), suppose that, besides the rulers of the church of Ephesus, the rulers of the neighbouring churches were also present. Thus Irenæus observes: *In Mileto convocatis episcopis et presbyteris, qui erant ab Epheso et a reliquis proximis civitatibus* (iii. 14. 2). It is certainly possible that the elders of the church of Miletus, and of the churches in the immediate neighbourhood, might be present; but there was evidently no time to summon the elders of the various churches of Asia. Mention, however, is made only of the Ephesian elders. That there were several elders belonging to the church of Ephesus, was in accordance with the practice of apostolic times, and with the custom in the Jewish synagogues. Those who are here called πρεσβυτέρους, are in ver. 28 termed ἐπισκόπους; thus proving that at this early period there was no difference between presbyters and bishops. See Phil. i. 1; 1 Tim. iii. 2, 8;

¹ It is, however, to be observed, that many of those critics who adopt Κυρίου, did so before it was ascertained that Θεοῦ was the reading of the Vatican, and before the discovery of the Sinaitic ms.

Tit. i. 7. On this subject the reader is referred to note on Acts xi. 30.

Ver. 18. Ἀπὸ πρώτης ἡμέρας ἀφ' ἧς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν—from the first day on which I came into Asia. These words are to be connected with πῶς ἐγενόμην, "how I have been with you," and not with ἐπίστασθε, "ye know."

Ver. 19. Μετὰ πάσης ταπεινοφροσύνης—with all humility. A favourite expression of the apostle. The word ταπεινοφροσύνη is used by him five times—Eph. iv. 2; Phil. ii. 3; Col. ii. 18, 23, iii. 12: whereas elsewhere it only occurs once, in 1 Pet. v. 5. Καὶ δακρύων—and with tears: because the opposition of the Jews impeded his work, and retarded the progress of the gospel among the Gentiles. Ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβουλαῖς τῶν Ἰουδαίων—in the plots of the Jews. There is no distinct mention in the Acts of the machinations of the Jews at Ephesus; but we are informed that their disposition was so hostile, that Paul had to separate himself and his disciples from the synagogue; and in the tumult, Alexander a Jew came forward, with the evident intention of accusing the disciples (Acts xix. 9, 23). That the condition of the apostle in Ephesus was one of great danger, we learn from his Epistles to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xv. 31, 32; 2 Cor. i. 8–10).

Ver. 20. Ὡς—how—depends still on ἐπίστασθε, "you know how." Ἐπεστειλάμην—I kept back: suppressed from fear of giving offence. Τοῦ μὴ ἀναγγεῖλαι ὑμῖν—but have declared to you: the object or design of ἐπεστειλάμην; literally, "in order that I shall not declare to you, and teach you,"—namely, "the things which were profitable to you." Δημοσίᾳ—publicly: as when he taught three months in the synagogue, and two years in the school of Tyrannus.

Ver. 21. Repentance toward God, and faith toward the Lord Jesus, were the great subjects of the apostle's preaching—the two chief duties of Christianity. *Summa eorum quæ utilia sunt, summa doctrinae Christianæ, summa consilii divini, Pœnitentia et Fides* (Bengel). We are not, with Beza, Kuinœl, and Bengel, to refer repentance toward God to the Gentiles, and faith toward the Lord Jesus to the Jews; for

although the Jews were not guilty of idolatry, yet they had apostatized in heart from God, and equally with the Gentiles required repentance.

Ver. 22. *Δεδεμένος τῷ πνεύματι*—*bound in the spirit*. The meaning of this phrase is doubtful. Some (Erasmus, Grotius, Bengel) take *δεδεμένος* in its primary sense, “bound with chains;” as if Paul had said, I feel myself already bound: the chains are present before my mind. So also Conybeare: “*δεδεμένος*—that is, a prisoner in chains, but as yet only in the spirit, *τῷ πνεύματι*, not in body.” This, however, is too artificial a meaning: it is simpler to take the word in its metaphorical sense—constrained, impelled, necessitated. Again, some understand by *τῷ πνεύματι* the Holy Spirit: “constrained by the Holy Spirit” (Beza, Calvin, Stier, Wordsworth); “restrained by the Holy Spirit”—that is, from knowing certainly what should befall him (Alexander); “on the impulse of the Holy Spirit” (Theophylact); “bound to the Holy Spirit” (Meyer, 1st edition); “led captive by the Holy Spirit” (Humphry). The objection to these interpretations is, that the Holy Spirit is mentioned in the next verse, and is apparently distinguished from *τῷ πνεύματι* in this verse by the epithet *τὸ ἅγιον*; otherwise, “constrained by the Spirit” would afford an excellent sense. It is perhaps better to understand by *τῷ πνεύματι* Paul’s own spirit: “bound in the spirit;” that is, constrained by an overpowering sense of duty. He felt himself shut up to the conclusion that he must go up to Jerusalem, and therefore he could neither be terrified by dangers, nor moved by entreaties and remonstrances: he had no choice in the matter: a necessity was laid upon him. So approximately Heinrichs, Kuinæel, Meyer, De Wette, Lange, Lechler, Ewald, Alford. *Τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ συναντήσοντά μοι μὴ εἰδώς*—*not knowing the things that shall befall me in it*. He knew that severe trials and calamities of some kind awaited him; but he did not know of what description they would be, or in what they would terminate: he had a general, but not a particular knowledge.

Ver. 23. *Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον κατὰ πόλιν διαμαρτύρεται μοι*—*the Holy Ghost witnesses to me in every city*. This

refers, not to internal intimations by the Spirit, but to prophetic declarations. In every city through which the apostle journeyed—as in Philippi, Troas, Assos, Mitylene, Trogyllium, and Miletus—he received such communications. Two instances of these are afterwards mentioned by Luke: one at Tyre, and the other at Cæsarea (Acts xxi. 4, 11). Hence Schneckenburger asserts that, in this remark in the address to the Ephesian elders, the historian is guilty of an historical prolepsis, as such communications did not occur until afterwards. But in answer to this, it is sufficient to observe that the account which Luke gives is summary, so that earlier prophetic intimations may have been omitted; and that it is natural to suppose that, as Paul drew nearer Jerusalem, these intimations became more frequent and distinct. Already at Corinth, as Paley observes, where he wrote his Epistle to the Romans, he was under the same apprehensions that his journey to Jerusalem would be disastrous. He there beseeches the Roman Christians to strive together in their prayers for him, that he might be delivered from them who do not believe in Judea (Rom. xv. 30). Comparing this with our passage, Paley remarks: “The two passages, without any resemblance between them that could induce us to suspect that they were borrowed from one another, represent the state of Paul’s mind with respect to the event of the journey in terms of substantial agreement. They both express his sense of danger in the approaching visit to Jerusalem; they both express the doubt which dwelt upon his thoughts concerning what might befall him there. The only difference is, that in the history his thoughts are more inclined to despondency than in the epistle, . . . which is no other alteration than might well be expected, since these prophetic intimations to which he refers when he says, ‘The Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city,’ had probably been received by him in the course of his journey.”¹

Ver. 24. Ἄλλ’ οὐδενὸς λόγου ποιῶμαι τὴν ψυχὴν τιμίαν ἐμαυτῷ—but I esteem my life of no account, as if it were precious to myself; that is, the preservation of my life is

¹ Paley’s *Horæ Paulinæ*—Romans, No. V.

nothing compared with the performance of my ministry: I esteem it of no value. Ὡς τελειῶσαι—in order that I might finish. The infinitive with ὥς expresses design: it gives the reason why he did not esteem his life as precious. Τὸν δρόμον μου—my course: a figure common and peculiar to Paul (1 Cor. ix. 24–27; Phil. iii. 14; 2 Tim. iv. 7).¹

Ver. 25. Ἐγὼ οἶδα—I know: expressing either conviction or a strong presentiment. The grounds of his knowledge were the intimations which he received from the Holy Ghost that bonds and afflictions awaited him at Jerusalem. He felt as one condemned to die; that calamities, and perhaps martyrdom, were in store for him: and hence his presentiment that he would never return to Ephesus. Ὅτι οὐκέτι ὄψεσθε τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ὑμεῖς πάντες—that ye all shall see my face no more. The natural meaning of these words is, that the apostle was strongly impressed with the idea that he would not revisit Ephesus. Many, however, affirm that the apostle some years after this did return to Ephesus. This depends upon the question whether he was released from his Roman imprisonment. The journeys alluded to in the pastoral epistles, it is affirmed, can only be accounted for on the supposition of his release.² But supposing that Paul was released from his Roman imprisonment, is it necessary also to suppose that he revisited Ephesus? We think that this question must be answered in the affirmative. In his Epistle to Philemon, Paul requests that a lodging might be prepared for him at Colosse (Philem. 22); and in the second Epistle to Timothy mention is made of his having been at Troas Alexandria, and Miletus (2 Tim. iv. 13, 20). Paul, then, was again in

¹ On these words, Lechler, in his last edition of his *Apostelgeschichte*, has the following instructive remark: "Without doubt, Paul, as a Hellenist, had seen in his youth the Greek games. In fact, there has been found at Tarsus a Greek inscription (*Corpus Inscr. Græc.* iii. 209, No. 4437) which was set up as a monument at the termination of the walls surrounding the racecourse; by which is proved, what is not elsewhere found in written sources, that the native city of Paul possessed a racecourse."

² This point is afterwards fully discussed in the last section of this *Commentary*.

proconsular Asia ; and it can hardly be supposed that he should have been in the immediate neighbourhood of Ephesus without revisiting it ; although it is possible, but hardly probable, that circumstances might have prevented him doing so. Paul, in stating to the Ephesian elders that they would see his face no more, merely gives his strong impression that he would not revisit Ephesus : if he were in this mistaken, his mistake does not derogate from his apostolic character or from his inspiration. He was not infallible, and he does not make this statement as an intimation proceeding from the Holy Ghost ; for he expressly says that he knew not what should befall him—that the knowledge of the result of his bonds and afflictions was withheld from him. Other interpretations are to be rejected : as, that πάντες is here emphatic, “Ye *all* shall see my face no more ;” for although some saw him, yet all did not : or that all the elders then present were dead before Paul returned to Ephesus. Some (De Wette, Baur, Schneckenburger, Zeller) assert that this declaration was made *post eventum*, after the death of Paul, and is therefore a proof that Paul was not delivered from his Roman imprisonment ; but the strong language of the text, the only reason which they give, is no proof of this assertion.¹

Vers. 26, 27. Σήμερον ἡμέρα—*this very day* : emphatic ; it was the day of separation ; his ministry among them was finished. Οὐ γὰρ ὑπεστειλάμην—*for I have not shrunk*. The same word as in ver. 20.

Ver. 28. Οὖν—*therefore* : as I am innocent, take heed lest the guilt of neglect shall fall on you. Παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ—*to all the flock* : a common metaphor both in the Old and in the New Testament. Τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον—*the Holy Ghost*. The Holy Ghost, as the great Agent in the selection of ministers ; the Lord of the harvest, who sends forth labourers into His harvest (Acts xiii. 2). Ἐπισκόπους—*bishops*, denoting the official duty of the presbyters. Διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου—*through His own blood* ; “by the shedding of which He has redeemed believers from the dominion of the devil, and has constituted them the heirs of His eternal

¹ De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 155.

salvation" (Meyer). By the shedding of which also He has offered up Himself as a sacrifice for our sins, and has satisfied the justice of God.

τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου—*the church of the Lord.* (See Critical Note.) The reading of Tischendorf is adopted, not that it seems in itself preferable, but because Tischendorf's text has been made the groundwork of our translation. Dr. Davidson enumerates six different readings of this passage: 1. *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*the church of God*; 2. *τοῦ Κυρίου*—*the church of the Lord*; 3. *τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ Θεοῦ*—*the church of the Lord and God*; 4. *Κυρίου Θεοῦ*—*the church of the Lord God*; 5. *Θεοῦ καὶ Κυρίου*—*the church of God and the Lord*; 6. *Χριστοῦ*—*the church of Christ.* Of these, however, only the two first are entitled to examination; the other four being weakly attested. Formerly, the external evidence was decidedly in favour of *Κυρίου*; but lately new evidence has been obtained. *Θεοῦ* is ascertained to be the undoubted reading of the Vatican, whereas formerly it was doubtful, and it is the reading of the newly-discovered Sinaitic manuscript: so that the external evidence is now rather in favour of *Θεοῦ*. The internal evidence has been claimed on both sides, and is a point of great nicety. *Ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ* is a favourite expression of Paul, being used by him at least ten times; whereas the expression *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Κυρίου* does not elsewhere occur. The expression "the blood of God" is certainly very bold, and one which *à priori* we would not have expected; but it is an expression employed by the Fathers as early as Ignatius and Tertullian, and the probability is that it was not invented by them, but derived from this passage. Upon the whole, we are disposed to think that the preponderance of evidence is in favour of the reading *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*.¹

Ver. 29. *Μετὰ τὴν ἀφιξίμ μου*—*after my departure.* The

¹ This whole subject is very fully discussed by Dr. Davidson in his *Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii. pp. 441-448. He gives the preference to *τοῦ Κυρίου*. When, however, that work was written, the Sinaitic ms. had not been discovered. The subject is also well discussed in Humphry's *Commentary on the Acts*, p. 163.

usual meaning of ἀφιξίς is arrival, coming; and hence some (Bengel, Lechler) translate it "after my coming:" *primum venit Paulus; deinde venient lupi* (Bengel). Here, however, it would seem to be employed in the unusual sense of departure (Demosth. *de Pace*, p. 58). Paul does not specially mean his death, but his absence, of which the false teachers would take advantage to propagate their errors. *Λύκοι βαρέϊς—grievous wolves*. The apostle makes a distinction between two classes of teachers—the grievous wolves who shall enter in from without, and the perverse teachers who shall arise from within. The former class he compares to grievous wolves not sparing the flock (see Matt. vii. 15). By these grievous wolves Grotius understands the Roman persecutors, *persecutio sub Nerone*; but they are evidently false teachers who "entered in among them." Accordingly it is probable that the Judaizing teachers who came from a distance, and who had already done much mischief at Corinth and in Galatia, are intended.

Ver. 30. Ἄνδρες λαλοῦντες διεστραμμένα—*men speaking perverse things*. The other class of false teachers: they were to arise from within (ἐξ ὑμῶν);¹ from among the Ephesians themselves, not necessarily from the elders whom Paul now addressed. By these perverse teachers are probably meant the gnostic heretics, whose headquarters were proconsular Asia. There were many such false teachers afterwards in the church of Ephesus. Mention is made in Scripture of no fewer than six belonging to Ephesus: Hymeneus and Alexander (1 Tim. i. 20), Phygellus and Hermogenes (2 Tim. i. 15), Philetus (2 Tim. ii. 17), and Diotrephes (3 John 9). In the apocalyptic epistle to the church of Ephesus, it is said that there were those among them who held the doctrine of the Nicolaitanes (Rev. ii. 6). And according to church history, it was at Ephesus that the heresiarch Cerinthus encountered the Apostle John (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 14). It is not improbable that during his three years' residence in Ephesus

¹ See 1 John ii. 19,—an epistle written probably from Ephesus. When speaking of false teachers, St. John says, "they went out from us" (ἐξ ἡμῶν).

and proconsular Asia, Paul already saw symptoms of heretical doctrines. The Ephesian mind was especially given to speculation. "Ephesus," observes Creuzer, "was, above all others, the place where oriental views were in various ways combined with the philosophy and mythology of Greece. In truth, this city was a complete storehouse of magical arts and deceptions." And although in Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians there is no direct allusion to false teachers, yet it is evident from his epistle to the neighbouring church of Colosse, written at the same time as the Ephesian epistle, that errors of a gnostic character were already propagated in proconsular Asia. Zeller asserts that the author of the Acts inserts an anachronism in the speech of the apostle, in alluding to heretics, who did not exist until afterwards, and that he mentions them in indefinite terms for the purpose of concealing his error. "We have here," he observes, "an historical prolepsis, not of the apostle, but of his biographer."¹ But there is certainly no ground for such an assertion: it arises solely from the denial of the prophetic element in the address of the apostle.

Ver. 31. *Τριετίαν*—*the space of three years*. Paul was at least two years and three months in Ephesus: three months preaching in the synagogue of the Jews, and two years in the school of Tyrannus (Acts xix. 8, 10). Some accordingly suppose that by three years are meant two years and part of a third. But, as has already been shown, it is probable that Paul remained still longer at Ephesus. (See note to Acts xix. 10.) Wieseler supposes that Paul was at Jerusalem at a feast of Pentecost (Acts xviii. 22, 23), and from Jerusalem he went to Ephesus by way of Galatia and Phrygia (Acts xviii. 23, xix. 1), and remained there until after another Pentecost (1 Cor. xvi. 8); so that there is a space of three years from one Pentecost to another, all of which Paul spent at Ephesus, with the exception of the short period occupied with his journey from Jerusalem.²

Ver. 32. *Τῷ δυναμένῳ*—*who is able*. Some (Erasmus,

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 271.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 53-60.

Heinrichs, Kuinœl, Lange) refer these words to τῷ λόγῳ, which, *i.e.* the doctrine of God, is able. But although it might be said that the word is able to build up or edify (ἐποικοδομῆσαι), yet such a personal action as the bestowal of the inheritance (δοῦναι κληρονομίαν) could hardly be ascribed to it. Others (Gomarius, Witsius, Wordsworth) think that by τῷ λόγῳ is meant the personal Word, the Logos; but this is a form of expression confined to the Apostle John. Others (Beza, Calvin, Grotius, De Wette, Meyer, Stier, Alford) more correctly refer τῷ δυναμένῳ to τῷ Θεῷ.

Ver. 33. *I coveted no man's silver, or gold, or raiment.* Paul concludes his address with an assertion of his disinterestedness, not in order to refute the calumnies of the Jews (Olshausen), or from a regard to the preservation of the liberty and independence of the church in the world (Baumgarten), but as an example to the Ephesian elders, and as a warning against avarice and covetousness (Meyer). Ἰματισμοῦ—*raiment*. Raiment is here mentioned along with gold and silver, because among the Orientals it was a chief part of their wealth. The Ephesians, we are informed, were celebrated for their luxurious apparel (Athenæus, xii. p. 525).

Ver. 34. *Αἱ χεῖρες αὐταῖ—these hands*: no doubt stretching out his hands toward his audience. This refers to the fact that Paul and his companions supported themselves chiefly by their own labour. No mention is made of this fact in the account of Paul's residence at Ephesus. Luke, however, informs us that he laboured as a tentmaker at Corinth; and in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, written from Ephesus, express mention is made of his still continuing to work with his own hands: "Even unto this present hour, we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labour, working with our own hands" (1 Cor. iv. 11, 12). Here, then, is another example of the undesigned coincidences between the Acts of the Apostles and the epistles of St. Paul.¹

¹ See Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*—1st Corinthians, No. VI.

Ver. 35. *Τῶν ἀσθενοῦντων*—*the weak*. Some (Calvin, Beza, Bengel, Neander, Tholuck, Baumgarten, Lechler, Meyer) understand by the weak, the weak in faith. They suppose that the meaning of the apostle is, that by refusing any maintenance when in Ephesus, he had given them an example which they should follow, on account of the weakness of the disciples. If those who were weak in the faith saw a teacher receiving money, they might think that he was labouring for the sake of gain; and therefore they would be prejudiced both against his person and his doctrine. But this would contradict the apostle's view. Although he himself, in his peculiar circumstances, waived his right to support, yet he ever maintained that the labourer was worthy of his hire, and that he who preaches the gospel should live by the gospel: and this was a point on which he would not yield to the prejudices of others. Others (Wetstein, Heinrichs, Kuinœl, Olshausen, De Wette, Hackett, Alford, Conybeare) understand by the weak, the poor, or the physically weak. According to this opinion, the apostle is here inculcating liberality: that we should labour in order that we might possess the means of relieving the poor. To this it is objected, that although the adjective *ἀσθενής* signifies "poor," yet the verb *ἀσθενεῖν* and its participle never have that meaning. This, however, has been disputed by Wetstein and others. According to Kuinœl, although the word *ἀσθενοῦντων*, taken by itself, may not signify the poor, yet this meaning is derived from the context.

Μακάριον ἐστὶν μᾶλλον δίδοναι ἢ λαμβάνειν—*it is more blessed to give than to receive*. These words are not to be found among the sayings of Jesus recorded in the Gospels. Paul therefore gives them, either as an inference drawn from similar expressions of Christ, or as the actual words spoken by Him. This, as has been well remarked, is a true and precious monument of apostolic tradition. The primary intention of the quotation is to enforce liberality to the poor; but the words are evidently capable of a much higher meaning. They assert the superior blessedness of giving to receiving as a universal maxim. It is true in its

application to God, who alone is perfectly blessed, because He gives everything, and receives nothing. The sentiment of the heathen was the reverse: ἀνοήτος ὁ δίδους, εὐτυχὴς δὲ ὁ λαμβάνων—"The giver is foolish, but the receiver is fortunate" (Athenæus, viii. 5).

Such is the celebrated address of Paul to the Ephesian elders. Its authenticity has not escaped question. Schneckenburger, De Wette, and Renan, although they admit that the general outline may be correct, yet think that the historian has inserted several remarks of his own. Baur and Zeller, on the other hand, assert that it is entirely the free composition of the author, and wholly unhistorical.¹ But the speech bears impressed on it the mark of Paul's mind: its ideas, its idioms, and even its very words, are Pauline; so much so as to lead Alford to observe, that we have probably the literal report of the words spoken by Paul. "It is," he remarks, "a treasure-house of words, idioms, and sentiments peculiar to the apostle himself." And Ewald, no partial critic, remarks, "*an ihrer Geschichtlichkeit in allgemeinen zu zweifeln ist die Thorheit selbst*"—"To doubt of its authenticity in general is folly."²

Vers. 36-38. Θεῖς τὰ γόνατα αὐτοῦ—*having knelt down*. The attitude of prayer, indicating reverence and humility. The early Christians were accustomed to pray standing on the Lord's day, and during the seven weeks which intervened between the Passover and Pentecost, as the appropriate posture of exultation and thanksgiving: on other occasions they knelt. It cannot, however, be shown that this distinction of postures was observed in apostolic times.

¹ See Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 269-274.

² Ewald's *Geschichte des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 488. Lekebusch gives an interesting list of linguistic affinities between this speech and the writings of Paul (Lekebusch's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 339). The speech is also minutely analyzed by Oertel, in his recent work on the Apostle Paul (Oertel's *Paulus in der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 69, 70). See also some valuable remarks by Neander, in his *Planting of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 296, 297. He observes: "Whoever might have forged after the event an address of Paul, would have made him speak in a very different and more decided tone."

Ἰκανὸς δὲ κλαυθμὸς ἐγένετο πάντων—*And there was much weeping among all, and they fell on Paul's neck and kissed him.* Well might Lekebusch observe: "A living picture, such as only could be drawn by an eye-witness, himself deeply affected, from personal recollection." Προέπεμπον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον—*and they conducted him to the ship.* The site of the ancient Miletus is at present some miles from the sea; and probably even in the time of Paul it was at some little distance.

SECTION XVIII.

PAUL'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.—ACTS XXI. 1-16.

1 And it came to pass, having separated from them, we set sail, and came by a straight course to Cos, and the next day to Rhodes, and thence to Patara: 2 And finding a ship sailing over to Phœnicia, we embarked and set sail. 3 And after sighting Cyprus, and passing it on the left, we sailed to Syria, and landed at Tyre: for there the ship was to unlade its cargo. 4 And having found out the disciples, we remained there seven days; who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem. 5 And when we had completed those days, we departed, and proceeded on our journey; they all accompanying us, with their wives and children, until we were out of the city. And having knelt down on the shore, and prayed, 6 We took leave one of another, and we embarked; but they returned home.

7 And we, finishing our voyage, came from Tyre to Ptolemais, and saluted the brethren, and remained with them one day. 8 And departing on the morrow, we came to Cæsarea; and entering into the house of Philip the evangelist, being one of the seven, we abode with him. 9 Now this man had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy. 10 And as we remained there several days, there came down from Judea a certain prophet, named Agabus. 11 And when he was come to us, he took Paul's girdle, and bound his own feet and hands, and said, Thus saith the Holy Ghost, So shall the Jews at Jerusalem bind the man who owns this girdle, and shall deliver him into the hands of the Gentiles. 12 And when we heard these things, both we and they of that place besought him not to go up to Jerusalem. 13 Then Paul answered, What do ye, weeping and breaking my heart? for I am ready not to be bound only, but also to die at Jerusalem for the name of the Lord Jesus. 14 And when he would not be persuaded, we ceased, saying, The will of the Lord be done.

15 And after those days we packed up our baggage, and went up to Jerusalem. 16 There went with us also some of the disciples of Cæsarea, conducting us to one Mnason, a Cyprian, an old disciple, with whom we should lodge.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 4. Τοὺς before *μαθητὰς*, the reading of the *textus receptus*, is found in A, B, C, E, 8, and is retained by

Tischendorf and Meyer: it is omitted in G, H. Vers. 5, 6. *Προσηξάμεθα καὶ ἀσπασάμενοι* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, C, E, κ, with some orthographical variations, read *προσευξάμενοι ἀπησπασάμεθα*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 8. After *ἐξελθόντες* the *textus receptus* has *οἱ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον*, found in G, H. The words, however, are omitted in A, B, C, E, κ, and rejected by all recent critics. Ver. 11. *Αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ* is found in G, H; whereas *ἐαυτοῦ* is the reading of A, B, C, D, E, κ, and is adopted by all recent critics. Ver. 15. *Ἀποσκευασάμενοι*, the reading of the *textus receptus*, is not found in any uncial ms. A, B, E, G, κ have *ἐπισκευασάμενοι*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. *Ὡς δὲ ἐγένετο ἀναχθῆναι ἡμᾶς*—*When now it came to pass that we set sail.* Those who now journeyed with Paul to Jerusalem were Luke, the author of the Acts, Trophimus (Acts xxi. 29), and Aristarchus (Acts xxvii. 2). No mention is made of the others who accompanied him into Asia (*ἄχρι τῆς Ἀσίας*, Acts xx. 4); so that it is probable they remained behind at Miletus. *Ἀποσπασθέντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν*—*having departed from them.* Some (Chrysostom, Kuinæl, Meyer, Alford) suppose that *ἀποσπασθέντας* is emphatic—"having torn ourselves away from them;" expressing the grief and reluctance with which they parted from one another. The verb, however, is elsewhere employed by Luke, where such an emphasis is inappropriate (Luke xxii. 41).

Ἦλθομεν εἰς τὴν Κῶ—*we came to Cos.* Cos or Coos is a small island in the Archipelago, about forty miles directly south of Miletus, opposite the cities of Cnidus (Acts xxvii. 7) and Halicarnassus. It was famous for its wines (Pliny, xv. 18; Strabo, xiv. 2. 19), its ointments (Athen. xv. 688), and its fabrics (*nec Coæ referunt jam tibi purpureæ*, Hor. *Od.* iv. 13. 13). The chief town of the same name, situated at the eastern extremity of the island, was celebrated for a

temple to Æsculapius, and was a renowned school of medicine. It was the birthplace of Hippocrates the physician, and Apelles the painter (Strabo, xiv. 2. 19). We learn from Josephus that many Jews were resident in the island (*Ant.* xiv. 7. 2). The Emperor Claudius, shortly before this, had granted to its inhabitants an immunity from taxes (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 61). Cos is noticed in church history as having a succession of bishops. Its modern name is Stanchio, and it is still renowned for its fertility.

Τῆ δὲ ἐξῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον—and on the next day to Rhodes. This famous island lay about fifty miles to the south of Cos. It was celebrated for its beauty, its fertility, and the variety of its products. It was a proverb, that the sun shone every day in Rhodes (*Plin.* ii. 62). The city of the same name, situated at the western extremity of the island, was celebrated for its schools, its navies, and its colossal statue of the sun, which was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. In the time of Paul this statue was lying prostrate on the ground, being overthrown by an earthquake. Rhodes occupies a not unimportant place in history. In the Greek age, its navy possessed the supremacy of the sea, and was eminently useful in the suppression of piracy. When the Romans came into power, Rhodes became their faithful ally, and was rewarded by the preservation of its freedom, and the gift of certain portions of land in the neighbouring provinces of Lycia and Caria. Before the time of Paul, however, it had been deprived of its continental possessions, but still enjoyed a nominal freedom. Thus Tacitus tells us that Claudius restored to the Rhodians their liberty, which had been often withdrawn and re-established, according as they obliged the Romans by their assistance in foreign wars, or provoked them by their seditions at home (*Ann.* xii. 58). It was not until the reign of Vespasian that it was finally reduced to the condition of a province. In the middle ages, Rhodes became still more famous as the residence of the Knights of St. John. It was rescued by them from the Saracens in the year 1310, and retained until 1523, when it was conquered by Solyman the Magnificent. It now belongs

to the Turks, still bears its ancient name, and has a population of about 20,000.¹

Κακέϊθεν εἰς Πάταρα—and thence to Patara. Patara, called by Strabo a large city, was a seaport of Lycia, situated near the mouth of the river Xanthus, and opposite to the island of Rhodes. It may be considered as the port of the city Xanthus,² the capital of Lycia, from which it was ten miles distant. Here was a famous oracle of Apollo, which gave responses for the six winter months, and was regarded as scarcely inferior to the oracle at Delphi (Strabo, xiv. 3. 6). Hence Horace calls that god *Delius et Patareus Apollo* (*Od.* iii. 4. 64). Patara is now in ruins, exhibiting some interesting remains, especially many tombs with Greek inscriptions, a theatre, and a triple arch which was one of the gates of the city. Its port is now an inland marsh, blocked up with sandhills.³

Ver. 2. *Εύρόντες πλοῖον διαπερῶν εἰς Φοινίκην*—finding a ship sailing over to Phœnicia. At Patara Paul quitted the vessel in which he had sailed from Alexandria Troas, or perhaps from Neapolis in Macedonia, probably because it had reached the termination of its voyage, and embarked in another ship. The vessel was on the point of sailing to Phœnicia, so that no time was lost at Patara.

Ver. 3. *Ἀναφανέντες δὲ τὴν Κύπρον*—and having sighted Cyprus; literally, “having been shown Cyprus:” a nautical expression, as, when sailing, the land to which the vessel approaches appears to rise out of the sea. Paul might see in the distance New Paphos, which he had visited thirteen years before, at the commencement of his missionary career (Renan). *Καὶ καταλιπόντες αὐτὴν εὐώνυμον*—and having passed it on the left hand. They thus kept Cyprus to the east, and sailed

¹ For a description of the modern city of Rhodes, see Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 46–52.

² Celebrated for its artistic remains: the Xanthian marbles now in the British Museum.

³ For these geographical notices, see Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, Lewin's *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, and Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*. For a description of the ruins of Patara, see Fellows' *Asia Minor*, pp. 222–224.

to the south of it. Ἐπλέομεν εἰς Συρίαν—we sailed to Syria. Syria is here used to denote the Roman province, including Phœnicia, of which Tyre was the capital. Κατήχθημεν εἰς Τύρον—we landed at Tyre. The voyage between Patara and Tyre was in the open sea: the distance was about 340 geographical miles, and might be accomplished with a favourable wind in three or four days.

It would be out of place to describe in a note the city of Tyre, about which so much has been written: a notice of its condition in the days of the apostle must suffice. The Tyre of the apostolic times was built upon a peninsula; the former island having been connected with the mainland by the embankment formed by Alexander. Although much shorn of its glory, and injured by the rise of the rival commercial cities of Antioch and Cæsarea, it was still a large city, and possessed a considerable commerce, especially in purple dyes and fabrics (Strabo, xvi. 2. 22, 23). According to some, it was little inferior in point of population to Jerusalem. Although attached to the province of Syria, it enjoyed the privilege of being a free city of the empire.¹ Tyre continued a city of considerable importance until the year 1291, when it was taken and completely destroyed by the Saracens. After that period it never rose above the condition of a wretched village. Ἐκεῖσε γὰρ—for there; literally “thither:” the meaning being, that the vessel was sailing to Tyre in order to unload (Winer, Meyer). There is no necessity to take ἐκεῖσε for ἐκεῖ.

Ver. 4. Ἀνευρόντες δὲ τοὺς μαθητὰς—and having found out the disciples. There were disciples at Tyre: the gospel had been preached in that city. The preachers of the dispersion, we are informed, travelled as far as Phœnicia (Acts xi. 19); and Paul himself had in all probability been at Tyre, for he had passed through Phœnicia on his journey to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts xv. 3). But still the disciples appear to have been few in number in comparison with the heathen and Jewish inhabitants of the city; for they required to

¹ It was not until the reign of Septimius Severus that Tyre became a colony (Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. iii. p. 387).

be sought out. This is easily accounted for, when we consider that Tyre was at this time a populous commercial city. Some suppose that the article before *μαθητὰς* denotes that the disciples whom Paul found out were those with whom he was previously acquainted (Lewin). This, however, is a forced interpretation. *Ἐπεμείναμεν αὐτοῦ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ*—*we remained there seven days*. The reason why the apostle, after hurrying away from Asia, remained seven days at Tyre, was probably because he had to wait until the vessel in which he sailed had unladen its cargo and received another freight. *Ὅτινες τῷ Παύλῳ ἔλεγον διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος*—*who said to Paul through the Spirit, that he should not go up to Jerusalem*. There is here an apparent discrepancy in the declarations of the Spirit. The disciples of Tyre through the Spirit assert that Paul should not go up to Jerusalem; whereas the apostle himself felt constrained in the spirit—impelled by a strong sense of duty—to go up (Acts xx. 23). We must here distinguish between the intimations of the Spirit, and the inferences drawn by men from these intimations. The Spirit revealed to the Tyrian disciples the dangers that awaited the apostle at Jerusalem; and they, from love to the apostle, besought him not to go up. But Paul entertained a juster view of the matter; he recognised more correctly the voice of the Spirit: he was certain that, in spite of these bonds and sufferings which the Holy Ghost witnessed in every city, it was his duty to proceed. If the Spirit had actually forbidden him to go up to Jerusalem, he would have desisted from his dangerous journey. As Chrysostom well remarks on these words: *τούτεστι διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος εἰδότες· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τὴν παραίνεσιν διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος ἐποιούντο*: “that is, knowing by the Spirit (namely, that afflictions awaited the apostle); for of course they did not make the exhortation by the Spirit.”¹

Ver. 5. *Ἐξαρτίσαι ἡμᾶς τὰς ἡμέρας*—*when we had completed these days*. Some understand *ἐξαρτίζω* as a naval expression, to equip or fit out—“when we had refitted during these days” (Meyer—first edition); but such a meaning

¹ Chrysostom on the Acts—Homily xlv.

does not well suit the context. The meaning is, when the seven days spent at Tyre had come to an end (Meyer—last edition). *Σὺν γυναίξει καὶ τέκνοις*—*with wives and children*. Baumgarten observes that this is the first time, in the notice of a Christian church, that children are mentioned—that “we have here the first recorded instance of Christianity pervading a whole family.” *Ἐπὶ τὸν αἰγιαλὸν*—*on the shore*. Evidently because this was the place of departure; not, as Hammond supposes, because there was here a *proseucha* or place of prayer.

Ver. 7. *Τὸν πλοῦν διανύσαντες*—*finishing our voyage*. The verb *διανύω* only occurs in this place in the New Testament, but it is frequently used in the classics in the sense of to complete a journey. Meyer observes that *διανύσαντες* is contemporaneous with *κατηντήσαμεν*, as both verbs are in the aorist, and is therefore to be translated, “finishing our voyage, we came.”¹ *Ἀπὸ Τύρου*—*from Tyre*. These words are not to be connected with *τὸν πλοῦν*, as in our version, but with *κατηντήσαμεν*. It is the whole voyage from Neapolis to Ptolemais that is alluded to. The voyage was finished by sailing from Tyre to Ptolemais; the rest of the journey to Jerusalem was made by land.

Κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Πτολεμαίδα—*we came to Ptolemais*. Ptolemais was situated on the coast of the Mediterranean, at the northern extremity of that spacious bay, the southern extremity of which was formed by the promontory of Mount Carmel. It is called in the book of Judges Accho (Judg. i. 31), and was assigned to the tribe of Asher. It seems, however, never to have been possessed by the Israelites, but was always considered as a city of Phœnicia. It was regarded as the key of Galilee from the Mediterranean, and was a place of considerable importance in a military point of view. On the division of the Macedonian empire, it fell to the lot of the kings of Egypt, and received its name Ptolemais from one of the Ptolemies, probably Lathurus. Strabo mentions it as a great city (xvi. 2. 25). The Emperor Claudius raised it to the rank of a colony with the name

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 416.

Colonia Claudii Cæsaris Ptolemais (Plin. *H. N.* c. 17).¹ In the middle ages, under the name of St. Jean d'Acre, it was famous in the wars of the Crusaders, being among the last towns of Palestine which surrendered to the Saracens (A.D. 1291); and in modern times it has received additional notoriety from its successful defence by Sir Sidney Smith against the arms of Napoleon in 1799, and its bombardment by the English fleet under Sir Charles Napier in 1840. It is now called Acre, and has a population of about 15,000.

Ver. 8. *Εἰς Καισάρειαν*—to Cæsarea. Paul and his companions proceeded from Ptolemais to Cæsarea by land, although that city was also a seaport. The distance between these cities is from thirty to forty miles. It is variously given in the different itineraries: according to the Jerusalem Itinerary, the distance is thirty-one miles; whereas according to the Antonine Itinerary it is forty-four miles.² For a description of Cæsarea Palestinæ, see note to Acts viii. 40.

Εἰς τὸν οἶκον Φιλίππου τοῦ εὐαγγελιστοῦ, etc.—to the house of Philip the evangelist, being one of the seven. This was Philip whose evangelistic labours in Samaria were already recorded (Acts viii.). We were informed that he went to Cæsarea (Acts viii. 40); and now in this city, twenty years afterwards, he is visited by Paul. As his usual residence seems to have been Cæsarea, he must either have resigned the office which he held in Jerusalem as almoner of the poor; or perhaps rather that office was only temporary, to meet an emergency that had occurred in the history of the church. Philip is here called the evangelist, a term which literally denotes one who preaches the gospel. In the apostolic ages, evangelists seem to have held an office similar to that of missionaries: they were set over no particular church, but preached the gospel among the heathen: they were itinerant preachers. Eusebius thus describes their office: "After laying the foundation of the faith in foreign parts, as the peculiar object of their mission, and after appointing others

¹ Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. iii. p. 424.

² Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 287.

as shepherds to the flock, and committing to them the care of those that had been recently introduced, they went again to other regions and nations with the grace and co-operation of God" (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 37). Afterwards the name became appropriated to the four writers of the life of Christ. Hence John is surnamed in a peculiar manner "the evangelist," to distinguish him from John the Baptist. Philip is here called the evangelist, probably on account of his missionary labours in Samaria. "Ὁντος ἐκ τῶν ἑπτὰ—being one of the seven. Meyer translates these words, "who was the evangelist of the seven;" *i.e.* he was the one of the seven who performed the office of an evangelist. Such an interpretation, however, is forced: the words simply mean that Philip was one of the seven deacons.

Ver. 9. *Τούτῳ δὲ ἦσαν παρθένοι θυγατέρες τέσσαρες προφητεύουσαι*—Now this man had four daughters, virgins, who did prophesy. This remark does not seem to be merely incidentally introduced; but is probably an indication that the daughters of Philip, influenced by the spirit of prophecy, foretold the sufferings which awaited the apostle at Jerusalem. Some suppose that the notice of their virginity is intended to intimate that they had devoted themselves to the service of Christ; but perhaps it is a simple statement of fact: at least it is not to be adduced as an argument in favour of the condition of a nun. Eusebius, in his *Church History*, confounds Philip the evangelist with Philip the apostle. He informs us, after Papias and Polycrates, that Philip the apostle had four daughters who did prophesy; that he resided in Hierapolis in Asia; and that their tombs are to be seen there (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 31, 39). He further states that two of these daughters afterwards married, and that two continued virgins. "Philip," he observes, "gave his daughters in marriage to husbands." And again: "Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters" (*Hist. Eccl.* iii. 30, 31). These traditions are probably of little value; at least there is an evident confusion of two different persons. Gieseler, however, infers from these passages in Eusebius, that ver. 9 is an

interpolation, originating from some one confounding Philip the evangelist with Philip the apostle. But such an inference is completely unfounded, as all manuscripts are in favour of the genuineness of the passage. Of all reporters of tradition in the early ages, Papias, as Eusebius admits, is the least trustworthy.

Ver. 10. *Προφήτης ὀνόματι Ἀγαβος*—*a prophet named Agabus*. There is no reason to doubt that this is the same Agabus as he who predicted the famine which occurred in the reign of Claudius (Acts xi. 28). It certainly seems as if Agabus were here introduced to the reader for the first time. This is explained by some on the ground that Luke drew his information of these two incidents from different sources; and by others, that he had forgotten that he had previously mentioned him. But there is no necessity for assigning a reason for a mere form of expression.

Ver. 11. *Ἄρας τὴν ζώνην τοῦ Παύλου*—*having taken Paul's girdle*. The girdle was an indispensable part of the oriental dress. The loose flowing robes worn in eastern countries are bound by a girdle or sash round the body. *Ἄσας ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας*—*having bound his own feet and hands*. Agabus did not bind Paul's feet and hands, as the reading of the *textus receptus* renders doubtful (*αὐτοῦ* or *αὐτοῦ*), but his own feet and hands (*ἑαυτοῦ*). In doing so, he imitated the symbolical actions of the prophets of the Old Testament. (See examples of this in 1 Kings xxii. 11; Isa. xx. 1; Jer. xiii. 1; Ezek. iv. 1, etc.) So also our Saviour, when He taught His disciples humility and charity, had recourse to a similar method of teaching by symbols, when He washed the feet of His disciples, and wiped them with the towel wherewith He was girded (John xiii. 5). *Οὕτως δήσουσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*—*thus shall the Jews in Jerusalem bind*. It was, indeed, the Romans who bound Paul, but it was at the instigation of the Jews in Jerusalem. It is to be observed that in the same city where Paul's imprisonment was so plainly revealed to him, he was afterwards bound for two years.

Ver. 12. *Οἱ ἐντόπιοι*—*they of that place*; namely, the

Christians of Cæsarea: used only here in the New Testament. *Τοῦ μὴ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*—*not to go up to Jerusalem*. Not only the Christians of Cæsarea, but Luke and Paul's other companions, made this request. There is here a commendable affection for Paul, and yet a mixture of human infirmity, as Paul's companions at least must have known that he had undertaken the journey by divine direction; that he went up by the Spirit to Jerusalem. The incident reminds us of the similar conduct of Peter, when he tried to dissuade our Lord from the path of suffering on which He had entered.

Ver. 13. *Τί ποιεῖτε κλαίοντες καὶ συνθρύπτοντες μου τὴν καρδίαν*—*What do ye, weeping and breaking my heart?* This teaches us at once the loving spirit of the apostle, and his inflexible determination to follow the path of duty. At no time does the apostle appear more noble. We are strongly reminded of some incidents in the life of Luther, especially when on his journey to the Diet of Worms. Placed in almost precisely similar circumstances, surrounded by weeping friends who tried to dissuade him from his perilous journey, he exhibited the same loving spirit and holy determination.

Ver. 14. *Τοῦ Κυρίου τὸ θέλημα γινέσθω*—*the will of the Lord be done*. *Κυρίου* refers not to God (Calvin, Kuinœl, De Wette), but to the Lord Jesus, as mentioned in the previous verse (Meyer). Alford and Wordsworth suppose that there is here an allusion to the second petition of the Lord's prayer, and that this is a proof that that prayer was used by the Christians of the apostolic age; but such an opinion is far-fetched.

Ver. 15. *Ἐπισκευασμένοι*—*having packed up our baggage*. There is a variety in the text. (See Critical Note.) According to the reading of the *textus receptus*, *ἀποσκευασμένοι*, defended by Olshausen, the meaning is, "having packed away our baggage"—having stored away in Cæsarea the luggage that had been necessary on a long sea-voyage (Robinson). According to this meaning, Paul left the greater part of his baggage in Cæsarea, and took with him only those things which were necessary. The better attested reading, *ἐπισκευα-*

σάμενοι, is more suitable, "having packed up our baggage." There is in our English version a singular use of the word carriages, "we took up our carriages," signifying not the means of conveyance, but the articles conveyed. *Ἀνεβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα*—*we came up to Jerusalem*. Paul purposed being at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost (Acts xx. 16); and we find, on examining the minute account of his journey given us by Luke, who was also his fellow-traveller, that he accomplished his purpose. He left Philippi after the days of unleavened bread, that is, six days after the passover, and came to Troas in five days, where he abode seven days (Acts xx. 6): in all, eighteen days after the passover. The voyage from Troas to Miletus occupied four days (Acts xx. 13–15); and at Miletus he must have remained two days: in all, twenty-four. The voyage from Miletus to Patara occupied three days (Acts xxi. 1); and from Patara to Tyre would in all probability take four days: in all, thirty-one. In Tyre he remained seven days: in all, thirty-eight. The voyage from Tyre to Ptolemais would be easily accomplished in one day, and the journey from Ptolemais to Cæsarea in two days: in all, forty-one. So that Paul would have four or five days to spend in Cæsarea, as three days would suffice for a journey between Cæsarea and Jerusalem; and on the fiftieth day after the Passover, the feast of Pentecost occurred.¹

Ver. 16. *Ἀγοντες παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν Μνάσωνι*—*conducting us to one Mnason, with whom we should lodge*. These words admit of two renderings, which are to be judged of by the context. Some (Erasmus, Beza, Calvin, Wordsworth) render them, as in our English version, "brought with them one Mnason, with whom we should lodge." According to this view, *Μνάσωνι* is in the dative, agreeing by attraction with *ᾧ*. This is an improbable rendering, as we must suppose that Mnason was at Cæsarea, and that he went with Paul and his companions to Jerusalem; whereas there must have been many Christians in Jerusalem who would gladly have received the apostle. Others, again (Meyer, De Wette,

¹ See Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 100.

Lechler), resolve the attractive construction thus: ἀγοντες παρὰ Μνάσωνα παρ' ᾧ ξενισθῶμεν—“conducting us to Mnason, with whom we should lodge.” The object, then, of the disciples of Cæsarea accompanying the apostle, was to introduce him to Mnason, with whom they were more intimately acquainted. Nothing is further known of Mnason: he is here called an old disciple, and a native of Cyprus. Some (Grotius, Hammond) suppose that he was converted by Paul and Barnabas on their visit to Cyprus; but this is an arbitrary and improbable supposition, for he is here represented as unacquainted with Paul. The words “an old disciple” would induce us to believe that he was converted on the day of Pentecost, or at least in the early days of the church. The name is Greek; so that in all probability he was a Hellenist, or Greek Jew. Considering the disposition of the Hebrew Christians against Paul, it was prudent in him to fix his abode with one who was a Hellenist.

SECTION XIX.

OCCASION OF PAUL'S IMPRISONMENT.—ACTS XXI. 17-40.

17 Now when we were come to Jerusalem, the brethren gladly received us. 18 And on the next day Paul went with us to James; and all the elders were present. 19 And having saluted them, he declared particularly what things God had done among the Gentiles by his ministry. 20 And when they heard it, they glorified God, and said to him, Thou seest, brother, how many myriads there are among the Jews who have believed; and they are all zealots for the law: 21 And they have been informed concerning thee, that thou teachest all the Jews among the Gentiles apostasy from Moses, saying that they should not circumcise their children, nor walk after the customs. 22 What is it therefore? a multitude is sure to come together: for they will hear that thou hast come. 23 Do therefore this that we say to thee: We have four men who have a vow on themselves; 24 Them take, and purify thyself with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all shall know that those things, whereof they were informed concerning thee, are nothing; but that thou thyself also walkest, keeping the law. 25 But concerning the Gentiles who have believed, we have written and decided that they observe no such thing, save only that they keep themselves from things offered to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication. 26 Then Paul having taken the men, the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple, giving notice of the fulfilment of the days of the purification, until the offering was brought for each of them.

27 And when the seven days were almost ended, the Jews from Asia, having observed him in the temple, stirred up all the people, and laid hands on him, 28 Crying out, Men of Israel, help: This is the man who teacheth all men everywhere against the people, and the law, and this place: and further brought Greeks also into the temple, and has polluted this holy place. 29 For they had seen before with him in the city Trophimus the Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple. 30 And the whole city was stirred up, and there was a concourse of people: and they took Paul, and drew him out of the temple, and immediately the doors were shut. 31 And while they sought to kill him, tidings came to the tribune of the cohort, that all Jerusalem was in an uproar; 32 Who immediately took soldiers

and centurions, and ran down to them : and when they saw the tribune and the soldiers, they ceased beating Paul. 33 Then the tribune coming up, took him, and commanded him to be bound with two chains ; and inquired who he might be, and what he had done. 34 And some cried one thing, and some another, among the multitude : and when he could not know the certainty because of the tumult, he commanded him to be led into the barracks. 35 And when he was upon the stairs, it came to pass, that he was borne by the soldiers on account of the violence of the people. 36 For the multitude of the people followed after, crying, Away with him. 37 And as he was about to be led into the barracks, Paul said to the tribune, May I speak to thee ? And he said, Knowest thou Greek ? 38 Art not thou that Egyptian, who before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out to the desert the four thousand men of the Sicarii ? 39 But Paul said, I am a Jew of Tarsus, a citizen of no insignificant city of Cilicia : I pray thee, suffer me to speak to the people. 40 But when he had permitted him, Paul, standing on the stairs, beckoned with the hand to the people. And when there was made a great silence, he addressed them in the Hebrew dialect, saying,

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 20. Θεόν, the reading of A, B, C, E, G, \aleph , is preferred by Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Meyer, to Κύριον, the reading of D, H. The words ἐν ταῖς Ἰουδαίαις, found in A, B, C, E, are preferred by Tischendorf and Lachmann to Ἰουδαίων, found in G, H. The words are wanting in the Sinaitic, which has only the words πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσιν τῶν πεπιστευκότων, the reading adopted by Lechler. Ver. 24. Γνώσονται, found in A, B, C, D, E, \aleph , is preferred by recent critics to γνῶσι, the reading of G, H. Ver. 34. Ἐπεφώνουν, the reading of A, B, D, E, \aleph , is preferred by Lachmann and Tischendorf to ἐβόων, the reading of G, H. Ver. 36. Κράζοντες, the reading of A, B, E, \aleph , is adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf in preference to κρᾶζον, the reading of D, G, H.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 17. Γενομένων δὲ ἡμῶν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα—*but we, having come to Jerusalem.* This was Paul's fifth visit to

Jerusalem since his conversion, and occurred at Pentecost (May) in the year 58 (Acts xx. 16). *Οἱ ἀδελφοί*—*the brethren*. The brethren here particularly alluded to are Mnason and his friends. Kuinœl supposes that the apostles and elders are meant; but Paul did not meet with them until the following day.

Ver. 18. *Εἰσῆει ὁ Παῦλος σὺν ἡμῖν*—*Paul went in with us*. *Σὺν ἡμῖν* is an attestation of the credibility of the narrative; Luke himself was present at the interview. *Πρὸς Ἰάκωβον*—*to James*. This was undoubtedly James the brother of the Lord; but whether one of the twelve—James the son of Alphæus—or a son of Joseph and Mary, is a matter of dispute. He seems to have resided in Jerusalem, and is known in church history as bishop of Jerusalem (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 5). He was, we are informed, a strict observer of the law of Moses, lived like a Nazarite, and was, on account of his virtues, surnamed “the Just.”¹ It does not appear that Peter, or any of the other apostles, was then at Jerusalem; for otherwise they would have been mentioned. *Πάντες τε παρεγένοντο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*—*and all the elders were present*; that is, the elders of the church of Jerusalem. A formal assembly of the elders was called to receive Paul and the deputies of the Gentile churches.

Ver. 19. *Καὶ ἀσπασάμενος αὐτοὺς*—*and having saluted them*. At this interview with the elders, Paul and the deputies of the Gentile churches would deliver over the collection which had been made for the saints in Jerusalem. Then Paul gave an account of his ministry from the time he had last visited Jerusalem—“what things God had done among the Gentiles by his ministry.”

Ver. 20. *Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες ἐδόξαζον τὸν Θεόν*—*and when they heard it, they glorified God*. The elders, with James at their head, acknowledge the hand of God in the ministry of Paul among the Gentiles; at the same time, they inform him that the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem were in general prejudiced against him. *Θεωρεῖς πόσαι μυριάδες εἰσὶν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τῶν πεπιστευκότων*—*Thou seest how many myriads*

¹ See an account of James in a note attached to Section xxv. vol. i.

among the Jews there are who have believed. This vast number of Jewish believers in Jerusalem has been called in question. Baur supposes that the words τῶν πεπιστευκότων are a gloss, and that the Jewish multitude in Jerusalem in general are spoken of, and not merely those who believed.¹ Zeller thinks that there is an exaggeration on the part of the author, and that he puts into the mouth of James what could only be true of the Jewish Christians throughout the world taken collectively.² It is, however, to be observed, that the expression here employed is one which is often used for a large but indefinite number (1 Cor. iv. 15, xiv. 19): it does not necessarily mean that the Jewish Christians in Jerusalem, or even in Judea, amounted to many tens of thousands, but that there were vast multitudes of them. Further, the expression is not necessarily to be restricted to the Jewish Christians resident in Jerusalem; for at the feast of Pentecost many would come from all quarters, and the Jews throughout Judea are probably included. Now we are informed that, about twenty years before this, the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem amounted to 5000 (Acts iv. 4). Since then, Christianity had continued to spread, and churches had been established throughout Judea, Galilee, and Samaria; so that it might be no exaggeration to affirm that there were at this time many myriads of Hebrew Jews (as distinguished from Hellenists) who acknowledged Jesus as the Messiah.³ Hegesippus informs us that, a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, many of the rulers believed, and that there arose a tumult among the Jews, the scribes and Pharisees saying that there was danger that the people would now accept Jesus as the Messiah (Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23). So that to a large extent Christianity had spread even among the bigoted Jews. It is very probable that many of these

¹ Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 228.

² Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 280.

³ Lechler supposes that the reference is not to the Christian Jews in Judea, but to the converted Jews throughout the world; and there is nothing in the text against this opinion. (Lange's *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte*. Von Lechler, p. 346).

Jewish converts differed from other Jews only in confessing that Jesus was the Messiah; and that in the hour of trial they either relapsed into Judaism, or, separating themselves from the Christian church, formed a Jewish Christian sect of their own.

Καὶ πάντες ζηλωταὶ τοῦ νόμου ὑπάρχουσιν—and they are all zealots of the law. These Jewish Christians, although baptized, and acknowledging Jesus as the Messiah, yet held by the Mosaic law: they diligently observed its peculiar rites; they conceived that it was of perpetual obligation for the Jews at least; and perhaps they still considered the Jews to be in a peculiar sense the people of God, and more highly favoured than the Gentiles. Their religion was not pure Christianity, but a mixture of Judaism and Christianity. After the death of the apostles, many of them seceded from the Christian church, and are known in church history under the names Ebionites and Nazarites. After the lapse of a few centuries, the sect became extinct.

Ver. 21. *Κατηχήθησαν δὲ περὶ σοῦ*—and they have been informed concerning thee: probably by the Judaizing teachers. Actual instruction is here meant. "*Ὅτι ἀποστασίαν διδάσκεις ἀπὸ Μωϋσέως*—that thou teachest all the Jews among the Gentiles apostasy from Moses, saying that they should not circumcise their children, nor walk after the customs. The charge brought against Paul was, that he taught the Jews of the dispersion that they should relinquish their Jewish peculiarities, cease circumcising their children, and live as do the Christian Gentiles. Zeller affirms that this charge was true; and he appeals to the views expressed by Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians, of the uselessness and even pernicious nature of circumcision, and of the freedom of Christians from the law. But to this it is replied that Paul is there addressing the Gentile Christians, and warning them against the Judaizing teachers, who wished to bring them into bondage under the law. Paul certainly strongly insisted that circumcision and the observance of the law were ineffectual for justification in the sight of God; that there was no merit in legal ceremonies; that they were mere matters of indifference and forbearance;

and hence we may easily perceive how such an accusation may have arisen. Indeed, his principles, carried out, naturally led to the abolition of the law. But still he never taught that the Jewish Christians should forsake the law, and cease to circumcise their children; he left this to the development of the spirit of the gospel: he inculcated a mild conservatism. "Is any called being circumcised? let him not become uncircumcised. Is any called in uncircumcision? let him not be circumcised. Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called" (1 Cor. vii. 18-20). And he himself several times showed the example of keeping the law, as when he shaved his head at Cenchrea, circumcised Timothy, and lived as a Jew with the Jews, that he might gain the Jews. The charge, then, brought against Paul was untrue: he would not permit the Gentile Christians to be circumcised, but he did not forbid circumcision to the Jewish Christians.

Ver. 22. *Τί οὖν ἐστίν*—*What is it, therefore?* not, "What is your opinion upon this matter?" but, "What is now to be done?" *Πάντως δεῖ συνελθεῖν πλῆθος*—*a multitude must needs come together*; that is, a multitude of Jewish Christians. By this is not meant that James and the elders feared a tumultuous onset on the part of the Jewish Christians (Kuinoel): the actual uproar was caused by the unbelieving Jews. Nor is a regular assembly of the Christian church here referred to (Calvin, Grotius, Bengel); otherwise the definite article would have preceded *πλῆθος*. But by *πλῆθος* is meant a multitude drawn together from curiosity, to hear and see the supposed Christian opponent of Judaism. James and the elders were afraid of a collision in sentiment between Paul and these Jewish Christians. Baur asserts that there is a discrepancy between this and the previous assertion that the brethren received Paul gladly; but although the Jewish Christians in general were hostile, yet James and the elders were friendly.

Ver. 23. *Τούτο οὖν ποίησον ὃ σοι λέγομεν*—*Do therefore this that we say to thee*. The advice given was the united

opinion of James and the elders; and we are not permitted to separate James from the other members of the assembly, as if the proposal originated not with him, but with them (Howson). The proposal, of course, must have been made on the understanding that Paul could with a safe conscience assent to it. *Ἐσὶν ἡμῖν ἄνδρες τέσσαρες*—*we have four men.* These four men were Jewish Christians. *Ἐὐχὴν ἔχοντες ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν*—*having a vow on themselves.* This vow corresponds with the vow of the Nazarite, described in Num. vi. 1–21. It is a different vow from that of Paul, when he shaved his head at Cenchrea. (See note to Acts xviii. 18.) The offerings and the shaving of the head were here to be performed, according to the Mosaic rites, in the temple. The vow of the Nazarite was undertaken either by man or woman. The person who took it bound himself to abstain from wine, and to allow the hair of his head to grow. The vow was either for life, as in the cases of Samson and Samuel, and perhaps also of John the Baptist, and according to tradition of James the brother of the Lord; or it was for a certain definite period. No precise time is stated in the law of Moses; but we learn from the Talmud (*Tract Nazir*) and Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 15. 1), that the customary period among the Jews was thirty days. At its expiry, the Nazarite repaired to the temple, and offered a he-lamb for a burnt-offering, a ewe-lamb for a sin-offering, a ram for a peace-offering, together with a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, and a drink-offering; his hair was then shaven, and cast into the fire when the thank-offering was burning (Num. vi. 15–18). The import of this vow appears to be, that the Nazarite dedicated himself specially to the service of God: his vow was a solemn act of self-sacrifice.¹

Ver. 24. *Ἀγνίσθητι σὺν αὐτοῖς*—*purify thyself with them.* It is a matter of dispute whether, according to this advice of James and the elders, and upon which Paul acted, he took upon himself the Nazaritic vow; or whether he merely joined with the four Nazarites, by paying the expenses of

¹ Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*—Nasiräer.

their sacrifices. Some (Meyer, De Wette, Oertel, Hackett, Alford, Wordsworth) affirm that Paul actually took upon himself the vow of a Nazarite. He purified himself with them (*σὺν αὐτοῖς*); that is, he entered with them upon their course of purification. The four Nazarites had before this entered upon their period of separation, and that period was drawing to a close when Paul joined them; but it is supposed that if a person joined himself to a Nazarite, and paid the expenses, the period of separation which had already run was put to his credit.¹ According to this view, Paul and the four Nazarites would be freed from their vow on the same day. This, however, is a mere conjecture, and not a very probable one, and is unsupported by any authority. Others, again (Wieseler, Lechler, Schaff, Zeller, Howson), suppose that the purification here mentioned only referred to the appearance in the temple, and to the prayers and offerings to be made there, for which the worshipper must prepare and purify himself. The word *ἀργίσθητι* is certainly used of the vow of the Nazarite (Septuagint, Num. vi. 3), but this does not appear to be its meaning in this connection; and the addition *σὺν αὐτοῖς* merely intimates that Paul should unite with them in their acts of worship, but not that he himself should take the actual vow of the Nazarite along with them.

Καὶ δαπάνησον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς—*and be at charges with them.* A person who was not a Nazarite might bind himself to take part of the sacrifices. It was regarded by the Jews as a meritorious action to contribute to defray the expenses of the Nazarites. Thus Josephus informs us, that when Herod Agrippa I. came to Jerusalem, in order to obtain the favour of the Jews, and to be regarded by them as a devout adherent to the law, he offered all the sacrifices that belonged to him, and omitted nothing which the law required; on which account he ordained that many of the Nazarites should have

¹ According to Wordsworth, Paul was probably already under the vow of Nazariteship when he joined the four Nazarites. This opinion is founded on what we consider an erroneous interpretation of Acts xviii. 18.

their heads shaved (*Ant.* xix. 6. 1). And the Gemara relates that Alexander Jannæus contributed towards supplying nine hundred victims for three hundred Nazarites. The charges of these four Nazarites would be the price of eight lambs, four rams, besides unleavened bread, fine flour, and drink-offerings (*Num.* vi. 14, 15).

Ἴνα ξυρήσονται τὴν κεφαλὴν—that they might shave the head. This was an essential part of the ceremony of loosening a Nazarite from his vow. So we read in Numbers: “And the Nazarite shall shave the head of his separation at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and shall take the hair of the head of his separation, and put it in the fire which is under the sacrifice of the peace-offerings” (*Num.* vi. 18).¹

Καὶ γνώσονται πάντες ὅτι ὧν κατήχηται περὶ σοῦ οὐδὲν ἔστω—and all shall know that these things whereof they were informed concerning thee are nothing; but that thou thyself walkest in the observance of the law. The reason assigned for this advice was, that Paul, by taking part in the Jewish ceremonies, might show that, so far from teaching apostasy from the law, he himself observed it. It is evident from this that James and the elders had not relinquished the Jewish ceremonies, but, although Christians, still conformed themselves to the law; and this was almost a necessity with the church at Jerusalem, otherwise they would have been persecuted by the Sanhedrim as apostates. Paul, however, living without the limits of Judea, exercised greater freedom, although he also does not seem to have relinquished Jewish observances. The words, “that thou thyself walkest in the observance of the law,” are certainly not to be understood that Paul should by his actions declare that he observed the law always, and under all circumstances; but merely that he had not himself apostatized from the law.

Ver. 25. *Περὶ δὲ τῶν πεπιστευκότων ἔθνῶν ἡμεῖς ἐπεστείλαμεν*—but concerning the Gentiles who have believed, we have written. The object of this remark was to remove a probable scruple on the part of Paul; lest, by acting on the

¹ See also Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 15. 1.

advice of James and the elders, he should infringe on the liberty of the Gentile Christians. They respect the decision of the Council of Jerusalem, and assert the perfect freedom of the Gentiles from the law of Moses, except from the four mentioned particulars, which were still to be observed as articles of peace.

Ver. 26. *Τότε ὁ Παῦλος παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἄνδρας*—*Then Paul, having taken the men, the next day purifying himself with them, entered into the temple.* Paul's conduct in this instance has given rise to much discussion: its propriety has been called in question.¹ Baur, indeed, admits that Paul might have consented to such a course of action, without any contradiction to his principles, in order to contradict a widespread prejudice against him, and to diminish the hatred of his enemies; but that he could not do so from the motives presented by James, in order that all might know that he himself walked in the observance of the law, as this was in point of fact not the case.² But if by walking in the observance of the law be only meant a general conformity to it, or that he had not apostatized from it, then there is no contradiction between this action and Paul's principles. According to Paul's views, the ceremonies of the law were matters of indifference: he himself appears to have observed them, though with no great strictness; hence he felt himself at liberty to accommodate himself to the conduct of others in these indifferent things. And it was this very liberality of spirit, this freedom of action, that enabled him to comply with the request of James and the elders. Christian love, which was the grand moving principle of his conduct, caused him to accommodate himself to the views of the Jews, when he could do so without any sacrifice of principle, in order to remove their prejudices.³ It must, however, be admitted that Paul could only consistently unite

¹ Schaff's *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. i. p. 360.

² Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. pp. 224-226; Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 275, 276.

³ See an excellent remark on this subject in Neander's *Planting of Christianity*, vol. i. pp. 302-305.

with the Nazarites in their vow, provided he gave no countenance to the erroneous notion of the Judaizing teachers, that salvation was by the works of the law. Hence Meyer observes, that Paul could only comply with the proposal on the supposition that the four Nazarites did not regard the ceremony as a work of justification; otherwise Paul must at once have rejected it, in order to give no countenance to the error of justification by the law. Moreover, he must have been convinced that his observance of the law was not demanded in the sense of justification by the law, by those who regarded him as an opponent of it; otherwise he would as little have consented to the proposal made to him, as he formerly did to the demand that Titus should be circumcised. And no explanations, which Schneckenburger supposes he must have made, would have sufficed, but rather stamped his accommodation as a mere empty show.¹

Διαγγέλλων τὴν ἐκπλήρωσιν τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ ἀγνισμοῦ, ἕως οὗ προσηέχθη ὑπὲρ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν ἢ προσφορά — *giving notice of the fulfilment of the days of purification, until the offering was brought for each one.* There is here a variety of translation, and consequently of meaning. The difficulty lies with the verb *προσηέχθη* being the indicative instead of the subjunctive of the aorist. Howson connects the sentence with *εἰσῆει εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, and gives the following translation: "He entered into the temple, giving public notice that the days of purification were fulfilled, (and stayed there) until the offering for each one of the Nazarites was brought."² According to this view, which is also the view of Wieseler, the period of the Nazarite vow was accomplished; and Paul now made to the priests the official announcement of its fulfilment, and his readiness to pay for the necessary sacrifices which were to be offered on the same day. Most interpreters, however, regard the announcement as having

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 424. See also, for some excellent remarks on this subject, Schaff's *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. i. pp. 360, 361.

² Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 302.

reference to the future: that Paul here announced to the priest when the days of purification were completed—namely, in seven days (ver. 27); and that then, at the close of them, the offering would be made for each of the Nazarites. Meyer regards the occurrence of the indicative instead of the subjunctive as an instance of the direct instead of the indirect form of communication. According to the other interpretation, the words “and stayed there” have to be supplied.

Ver. 27. Ὡς δὲ ἔμελλον αἱ ἑπτὰ ἡμέραι συντελεῖσθαι—*but when the seven days were almost ended.* There is considerable difficulty with regard to the seven days. (1.) Some (Neander and others) suppose that they refer to the time to which the Nazarite vow used to extend. But this is obviously erroneous, as a week is too short a period to permit of any perceptible growth of the hair, and as we learn from the Talmud and Josephus the customary period was thirty days. The seven days mentioned in Num. vi. 9 are, as Neander admits, not applicable to the case, as they refer to the interruption of the vow by a person who during the course of it has defiled himself by touching the dead.¹ (2.) Others (Wieseler, Schaff, Howson) suppose that the seven days are the pentecostal week, which the Jews were accustomed to observe before the feast, and that they were now concluded at Pentecost. They suppose that on the day of Pentecost Paul and the four Nazarites came to present their offerings.² But to this it is objected that such days of preparation before Pentecost are not elsewhere mentioned; and that when Paul was seized, the seven days had not elapsed, but were only almost ended. (3.) Others (Olshausen, Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Wordsworth), with greater reason, suppose that the seven days are the same with “the days of purification” in ver. 26, and denote the period to which the vow of the Nazarites yet extended. When these seven days expired, they would be released from their vows. These seven days were drawing to a close (ἔμελλον συντελεῖσθαι); and it was during their

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 306.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 109.

course—on the fifth day, as we shall afterwards see—that Paul was arrested.

Οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας Ἰουδαῖοι—the Jews who were from Asia; that is, proconsular Asia, of which Ephesus was the capital. Paul had spent three years there, and had met with great opposition from the Jews: he was therefore well known to the Asiatic Jews, and hated by them. They were amazed to see him whom they regarded as a bitter enemy to Judaism in the temple; and having seen him formerly in company with uncircumcised Gentiles, they hastily drew the conclusion that he had polluted the temple.

Vers. 28, 29. *Ἔτι τε καὶ Ἑλληνας εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*—And further also, he brought Greeks into the temple, and has polluted this holy place. Any stranger might worship in the outer court, called “the court of the Gentiles;” but these Asiatic Jews asserted that Paul had brought some uncircumcised Greeks into the inner court, which was restricted to the Jews. Josephus informs us that there was a stone partition between the court of the Gentiles and the court of the Israelites, and several pillars, on which there was the following inscription in Greek and Latin: *Μὴ δεῖν ἀλλόφυλον ἐντὸς τοῦ ἁγίου παριέναι*—“No foreigner must enter within the sanctuary” (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 2). The punishment in case of disobedience was death. Titus is represented as saying: “Have you not been allowed to put up pillars, and to engrave on them in Greek the prohibition that no foreigner shall go beyond the partition-wall? Have we not given you leave to kill such as go beyond it, though he were a Roman?” (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 4.) *Ἑλληνας*—Greeks: the plural of the class; only one is mentioned. *Τὸ ἱερόν*—the temple: here the inner court, or that of the Israelites, is meant. *Τρόφιμον τὸν Ἐφέσιον*—Trophimus the Ephesian. Trophimus was one of those who accompanied Paul on his journey from Philippi in Macedonia to Jerusalem. Being an Ephesian, he would be personally known to the Asiatic Jews.

Ver. 30. *Ἐκινήθη τε ἡ πόλις ὅλη*—and the whole city was moved. The fanaticism of the Jews was excited. No doubt Paul was known, at least by name, among them; and they,

entertaining the views of the Christians of Jerusalem in a still stronger form, regarded him as an apostate to Judaism, and the great enemy of their religion. *Καὶ εὐθέως ἐκλείσθησαν αἱ θύραι*—and immediately the doors were shut. The Jews dragged Paul out from the court of the Israelites, and shut the doors, that is, the gates between the inner and the outer courts. Some (Bengel, Baumgarten) suppose that the gates were shut in order to prevent Paul flying for refuge to the altar. But by seizing Paul they had sufficiently guarded against this; and the right of asylum referred only to those who had committed unpremeditated murder. According to Lange, the closing of the doors was an intimation of the temporary suspension of worship, in order that it might be ascertained whether the temple had been profaned.¹ But the obvious reason why the doors were shut, was to guard against the spaces of the temple being stained by the shedding of blood (De Wette, Meyer), and, as it was already supposed that the inner court had been polluted by the entrance of a Gentile, to prevent its further pollution (Lechler).

Ver. 31. *Ζητούντων τε αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνειν*—and while they sought to kill him. Philo says that any uncircumcised person who came within the separating wall might be stoned to death without any further process (*Legat. ad Caium*). But in this case, even supposing Paul had taken Trophimus into the temple, it would have been Trophimus, and not Paul, who had incurred the penalty of death. *Χιλιάρχῳ τῆς σπείρης*—to the tribune of the cohort. *Χιλιάρχος*—a chiliarch: the Greek translation for the military tribune among the Romans; a commander of a thousand men. The name of this tribune was Claudius Lysias (Acts xxiii. 26). A detachment of Roman soldiers was always quartered in the Castle of Antonia, adjoining the temple, to overawe the Jews, and to prevent popular tumults: this detachment was increased during the celebration of their three great annual festivals. In the same manner, in the present day, the Turks have a detachment of soldiers to guard the holy

¹ Lange's *apostolisches Zeitalter*, vol. ii. p. 306.

sepulchre, and to prevent any tumults which might arise from a collision between the Greek and Latin Christians during the celebration of their feasts.

Ver. 34. *Εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν*—into the barracks. *Παρεμβολή* is an encampment, and is here used for the barracks in which the Roman soldiers were quartered. These barracks were in the Castle of Antonia. This castle was built by the high priest John Hyrcanus I., and called by him Baris, in order that there the priestly robes might be laid up, which the high priest wore only when he offered sacrifice. It was afterwards enlarged, ornamented, and strongly fortified by Herod the Great, and called by him Antonia in honour of Mark Antony. It was situated on the north-west corner of the temple, on a rock fifty cubits high, and surrounded by great walls. The interior had the extent and arrangements of a palace, and had broad open places which were used for encampments. The entire structure resembled a tower; and it had also four distinct towers, of which the tower at the south-east corner was the largest, being seventy cubits high, and overlooked the temple. In it there was always quartered a band of soldiers to command the temple; for, as Josephus observes, as the temple was a fortress that guarded the city, so was the tower of Antonia a guard to the temple (Joseph. *Ant.* xviii. 4. 3; *Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 8).¹

Vers. 35, 36. *Ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς*—on the stairs. These stairs are particularly mentioned by Josephus as leading up from the temple to the Castle of Antonia. There were two flights of stairs, one leading to the northern and the other to the western cloister. "On the corner," observes Josephus, "where the castle joined to the two cloisters of the temple, it had passages down to them both, through which the guard went several ways among the cloisters with their arms on the Jewish festivals, in order to watch the people" (*Bell. Jud.* v. 5. 8). *Αἶρε αὐτόν*—away with him. The same cry that was uttered by the infuriated multitude against his Divine Master (Luke xxiii. 18).

¹ For a minute description of the Castle of Antonia, see Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, pp. 230–238. John Murray, London 1856.

Ver. 37. Ἑλληνιστὶ γινώσκεις — *Knowest thou Greek?* Paul addressed the tribune in Greek; at which that officer expressed his surprise. According to Bengel, he drew from this the inference that he was the Egyptian impostor; but it is evident from the text that it was an opposite inference which he drew—that he was not the Egyptian whom he at first suspected him of being. Such an inference could hardly be derived from the mere language, as Greek was at this time generally spoken in Egypt, unless indeed it was a notorious fact that this impostor could not speak Greek.

Ver. 38. Οὐκ ἄρα σὺ εἶ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος—*Art thou not that Egyptian who before these days madest an uproar, and leddest out to the desert the four thousand of the Sicarii?* We have two accounts of this Egyptian impostor by Josephus (*Ant.* xx. 8. 6; *Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 5). He was a false prophet, who in the reign of Nero, when Felix was governor of Judea, collected a multitude of thirty thousand, whom he led out from the wilderness to the Mount of Olives, saying that the walls of Jerusalem would fall down at his command, and that they would have a free entrance into the city. But Felix with an army dispersed the multitude, slew four hundred, and took two hundred alive, whilst the Egyptian himself escaped and was never more heard of. This account agrees with the narrative of Luke in several particulars. In Luke's narrative, the Egyptian is said to have led his men out into the desert; and Josephus tells us that he led them round about from the wilderness. According to both narratives, the Egyptian himself escaped. But there is a disagreement in the numbers. According to Luke, the Roman tribune mentions only 4000 Sicarii; whereas Josephus says that 30,000 were deluded by him. In the statement of number, however, the two accounts of Josephus differ: in the one, he asserts that the greater part were destroyed by Felix; while in the other, that only 400 were slain. We would almost suspect that the 30,000 mentioned by Josephus was an exaggerated number. Perhaps, however, they denote the deluded rabble, whilst the 4000 were the armed followers—the Sicarii. Eusebius alludes to this

Egyptian; but his account is taken from Josephus (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 21).

Τοὺς τετρακισχιλίους ἄνδρας τῶν Σικαρίων—*the four thousand men of the Sicarii.* The Sicarii were so called from the Latin *sica*, a short sword or dagger, which they carried and concealed under their garments. These disturbers of the public peace are frequently mentioned by Josephus. They were a set of murderers who arose in these unfortunate times. They frequented Jerusalem especially at the times of the feasts, and mingling themselves among the multitude, murdered their enemies. They were also ready to be hired by others for the purpose of assassination (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 3). Felix is said to have hired one of these Sicarii to murder the high priest Jonathan, and to have protected the murderer (*Ant.* xx. 6. 7). After such a crime, according to Josephus, many were slain every day: no man deemed his life secure, and the Sicarii increased in boldness and excesses.

Ver. 39. Ἐγὼ ἄνθρωπος μὲν εἶμι Ἰουδαῖος Ταρσεὺς—I *am a Jew of Tarsus.* The force of μὲν may be: I am not indeed an Egyptian, but a Jew. Τῆς Κιλικίας—*of Cilicia.* This depends not on Ταρσεὺς, as in our version—"in Cilicia;" but on πόλιος—"of no insignificant city of Cilicia."

Ver. 40. Ἐπιτρέψαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ—*having permitted him.* Baur and Zeller object that it is most improbable that the Roman tribune would permit Paul to address the multitude. "Is it probable," asks Baur, "that the tribune who had taken the apostle in a tumult, whom he suspected of being a dangerous conspirator, and concerning whom he knew nothing more than what he heard from himself, would grant him permission to make a speech, the effect of which upon the excited multitude he could not foresee?"¹ But Paul had already disarmed the suspicions of the tribune, and there was doubtless something about him which swayed the minds of men; so that the Roman officer did not withhold his consent. Τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ—*in the Hebrew dialect;* that is, in the language then spoken by the Jews in Palestine. It was a

¹ Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 238.

mixture of Syriac and Chaldaic, hence called Syro-Chaldaic. Paul does not address them in Greek, the language probably most familiar to himself, but in the Syro-Chaldaic, in order to obtain a favourable hearing from the multitude, since he addressed them in their native tongue—the dialect most loved and best understood by them.

SECTION XX.

PAUL'S DEFENCE BEFORE THE JEWS.—ACTS XXII. 1-29.

1 Men, brethren, and fathers, hearken to my defence now made unto you. 2 And when they heard that he addressed them in the Hebrew dialect, they kept the more silence: and he said, 3 I am a Jew, born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city, and instructed at the feet of Gamaliel, according to the strictness of the ancestral law, being a zealot for God, as ye all are this day. 4 And I persecuted this way unto death, binding and delivering into prisons both men and women. 5 As also the high priest bears me witness, and all the elder-ship: from whom also, having received letters to the brethren, I went to Damascus, to bring them who were there bound to Jerusalem, that they might be punished. 6 And it came to pass, that, as I journeyed, and drew nigh to Damascus, suddenly, about noon, there flashed around me a great light from heaven. 7 And I fell to the ground, and heard a voice saying to me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? 8 And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And He said to me, I am Jesus the Nazarene, whom thou persecutest. 9 And they who were with me saw the light, and were afraid; but they heard not the voice of Him who spoke to me. 10 And I said, What shall I do, Lord? And the Lord said to me, Arise, and go into Damascus; and there it will be told thee of all things that are appointed thee to do. 11 But when I could not see for the glory of that light, being led by the hand of them who were with me, I came to Damascus. 12 And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law, having a good report of all the resident Jews, 13 Came to me, and stood, and said to me, Brother Saul, look up. And on the same hour I looked up upon him. 14 And he said, The God of our fathers chose thee to know His will, and to see the Just One, and to hear the voice of His mouth. 15 For thou shalt be His witness to all men of what thou hast seen and heard. 16 And now, why tarriest thou? Arise, and be baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on His name. 17 And it came to pass, that, when I was come again to Jerusalem, and was praying in the temple, I was in an ecstasy; 18 And saw Him saying to me, Make haste, and depart quickly from Jerusalem; for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. 19 And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and scourged in every synagogue those who believed on Thee: 20 And when the blood of Stephen, Thy

witness, was shed, I also was standing by, and consenting, and keeping the garments of those who slew him. 21 And he said unto me, Depart : because I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles.

22 And they heard him unto this word, and then raised their voices, saying, Away with such a fellow from the earth ; for it was not fit that he should live. 23 And as they cried out, and threw up their garments, and cast dust into the air, 24 The tribune commanded him to be brought into the barracks, saying that he should be examined with scourges ; that he might know for what cause they so cried out against him. 25 And as they stretched him out to the thongs, Paul said to the centurion standing by, Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned? 26 When the centurion heard that, he went to the tribune, and told him, saying, What art thou about to do? for this man is a Roman. 27 Then the tribune came, and said to him, Tell me, art thou a Roman? And he said, Yes. 28 And the tribune answered, I procured this citizenship with a great sum. But Paul said, But I was so born. 29 Then immediately they who were about to examine him departed from him : and the tribune also was afraid, after he knew that he was a Roman, and because he had bound him.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 9. *Καὶ ἔμφοβοι ἐγένοντο* are wanting in A, B, H, κ , and are omitted by Lachmann ; they are found in D, E, G, and are retained by Tischendorf, Meyer, and Alford. Ver. 16. *Τοῦ Κυρίου* are found in G, H ; whereas A, B, E, κ have *αὐτοῦ*, the reading adopted by recent critics. Ver. 20. The words *τῇ ἀναίρεσει αὐτοῦ* are found in G, H, but are wanting in A, B, D, E, κ , and rejected by all recent critics. Ver. 25. The singular *προέτεινεν* is not found in any uncial MS. ; the plural *προέτειναν* is considered the best attested reading by Tischendorf and Meyer. Ver. 26. "*Ὅρα* before *τί μέλλεις* is found in D, G, H ; it is wanting in A, B, C, E, κ , and rejected by recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

This speech of Paul to the Jews was an apology in answer to the accusation that he taught all men everywhere against the people, the law, and the temple (Acts xxi. 28). In his defence he adapts himself to his hearers, using every lawful

method to propitiate their favour, and secure a patient hearing. He addresses them in their native language; he mentions that he himself, although a Greek Jew, was brought up in Jerusalem, and educated under one of their most renowned rabbis; he alludes to his former zeal for Judaism, and his persecution of the Christians; he represents Ananias, who administered to him the initiatory rite of Christianity, as a devout man according to the law, and well reported of by all the Jews resident in Damascus; and he tells them that even after his conversion he did not neglect the rites of Judaism, but that it was while he was worshipping in the temple that a vision was imparted to him. He was not interrupted until he came to announce his mission to the Gentiles.

Vers. 1, 2. *Τῇ Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ*—*In the Hebrew dialect.* Paul addresses the Jews in their native language, the better to secure an attentive hearing. This, however, implies that he might have addressed them in Greek, and would have been understood by them. Greek was probably at this time pretty generally understood in Judea.¹ *Μᾶλλον παρέσχον ἡσυχίαν*—*they kept the more silence*; because Hebrew was their favourite language, and better understood by them. Just as Highlanders, although they understand English, prefer being addressed in Gaelic.

Ver. 3. *Γεγεννημένος ἐν Ταρσῷ*—*born in Tarsus.* Hence we see how unfounded is the assertion of Jerome, that Paul was born in Gischalis of Judea: *Paulus de tribu Benjamin et oppido Judææ Gischalis fuit, quo a Romanis capto cum parentibus suis Tarsum Ciliciæ commigravit (de Script. Eccles. c. 5).* *Ἀνατεθραμμένος*—*brought up.* The verb *ἀνατρέθω* signifies “to nourish,” “to bring up a child;” but also, in the secondary sense of mental training, “to educate,” “to train up.” *Παρὰ τοὺς πόδας Γαμαλιήλ*—*at the feet of Gamaliel.* Critics differ in the punctuation of this passage. Some (Calvin, Beza, Castalio, Meyer, Alford) place a comma after *Γαμαλιήλ*, and render the clause, as in our English version,

¹ It seems also to imply that the addresses of the apostle were generally in Greek.

“but brought up in this city, at the feet of Gamaliel.” The reason of this is, that it is more in accordance with the structure of the sentence, according to which a new circumstance is introduced after each of the three participles, *γεγεννημένος*, *ἀνατεθραμμένος*, and *πεπαιδευμένος*.¹ Others (Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, De Wette, Lechler) place the comma after *ταύτη*, and render the passage, “brought up in this city, and instructed at the feet of Gamaliel.” The reason for this is because *παρὰ τοὺς πόδας* seems more appropriate to *πεπαιδευμένος*, “instructed,” than to *ἀνατεθραμμένος*, “brought up.”² The difference is of slight importance. The expression “at the feet of Gamaliel” refers to a custom of the Jews, according to which the scholars sat partly on benches and partly on the floor, whilst the teacher was raised on an elevated platform.³

Κατὰ ἀκριβειαν τοῦ πατρώου νόμου—according to the strictness of the ancestral law. These words are not to be weakened by rendering *κατὰ ἀκριβειαν* adverbially, “carefully instructed in the ancestral law” (Castalio). The reference is to the strictness of the pharisaical sect. Gamaliel was a Pharisee; and Paul was educated according to the tenets of that sect. Hence he says: “After the most strictest sect (*κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν*) of our religion, I lived a Pharisee.” So also Josephus speaks of the sect of the Pharisees in similar terms: *Φαρισαῖοι οἱ δοκῶντες μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὰ νόμιμα* (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14). *Ζηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων τοῦ Θεοῦ*—being a zealot for God. The apostle here uses the word zealot in an indifferent sense, capable of being taken either in a good or in a bad meaning (*Rom.* x. 2). He does not find fault with them for their zeal, but rather commends them.

Ver. 4. *Ἄχρι θανάτου*—unto death; that is, intending to put them to death (Grotius, Meyer). Paul did not actually put any to death himself, but he was the agent employed in committing them to prison; and, as he himself says,

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 431.

² De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 163.

³ For an account of Gamaliel, see note to Acts v. 34.

“when they were put to death, I gave my voice against them” (Acts xxvi. 10). Mention is only made of the martyrdom of Stephen in this persecution; but it seems probable, from these expressions in the Acts, that Stephen was not the only victim.

Ver. 5. Ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μαρτυρεῖ μοι—as also the high priest bears me witness. By the high priest, to whom he appeals, and from whom he received letters, is probably meant the high priest in office when Paul went to Damascus. This is generally supposed to have been Theophilus the son of Annas, who was still living (see note to Acts ix. 1). Others suppose that the high priest now in office, namely Ananias (but see note to Acts xxiii. 2), is meant. Although not high priest when Paul persecuted the Christians, yet he was then most probably a member of the Sanhedrim. The words which follow, “from whom having received letters,” favour the first of these opinions. Καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρεσβυτέριον—and all the eldership. By the eldership is meant the Sanhedrim, the supreme court of the Jews. Although deprived by the Romans of the power of life and death, yet it exercised absolute authority in all ecclesiastical matters, and from its sentence there was no appeal. Hence Paul, furnished with letters from them to Damascus, was invested with great authority.¹ Πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς—to the brethren; that is, to the Jews resident in Damascus. Paul here speaks as a Jew, and hence regards his countrymen as brethren. The rendering of Bornemann, “against the brethren,” that is, the Christians, is inadmissible. Ἐπορευόμενον—I went, or more literally, “I was journeying,” the verb being in the imperfect. Εἰς Δαμασκόν—to Damascus. For a description of Damascus, see note to Acts ix. 2. Ἐκεῖσε—thither: according to some, used instead of ἐκεῖ, there (De Wette, Robinson); or perhaps referring to the Christians, who, by reason of the persecution which had arisen after the death of Stephen, had gone to Damascus.

Vers. 6–11. These words contain an account of Paul’s conversion, given by himself, the same in essential points

¹ See an account of the Sanhedrim, attached to Section VII. vol. i.

with the account given by Luke. For the particulars here mentioned, see notes to Acts ix. 3-8; and for the variations and supposed discrepancies in the accounts, see note to Acts ix. 7. The following are the chief points of difference. We are here informed that the appearance of Christ took place *περὶ μεσημβρίαν*, *about noon* (*ἡμέρας μέσης*, ch. xxvi. 13),—a fact which is not mentioned in ch. ix.; so that there could be no possibility of mistaking it for a visionary deception. Our Lord, in answer to the question of Paul, “Who art thou, Lord?” reveals Himself under the title of Jesus ὁ Ναζωραῖος, *the Nazarene*, a title which occurs neither in ch. ix. nor in ch. xxvi. Paul was going to Damascus to persecute the Christians, perhaps even then called by their enemies Nazarenes (Acts xxiv. 5), when he was stopped by the Lord announcing Himself as Jesus the Nazarene. Others suppose that the name is here mentioned as a title of distinction, because Paul mentions Jesus for the first time before an assembly of unconverted Jews (Lechler). It is said of Paul’s companions, that *τὴν φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι*—*they heard not the voice of Him who spoke to me*. By this is meant, from a comparison with the other accounts, that they heard only a confused sound, but did not understand the words which were spoken: to Paul the words were intelligible, but to his companions they were unintelligible. In the former account we were merely told that Paul was blinded; here we are informed as to the cause of his blindness: he could not see, *ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης τοῦ φωτὸς ἐκείνου*—*for the glory of that light*. He was dazzled with the heavenly glory, and deprived of natural sight (see note to Acts ix. 8).

Ver. 12. Ἀνανίας δέ τις, ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον—*And one Ananias, a devout man according to the law*. It is not here stated, as in Acts ix., that Ananias was a disciple; but that he was ἀνὴρ εὐλαβῆς, a strict observer of the Mosaic law. Thus Paul affirms that he was not introduced to Christianity by an opponent of Judaism, but by a strict Jew.

Ver. 13. Σαοῦλ ἀδελφεῖ, ἀνάβλεψον. Καὶ γὰρ αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ

ἀνέβλεψα εἰς αὐτόν—*Brother Saul, look up. And on the same hour I looked up upon him.* The same verb, ἀναβλέπω, is used in both clauses, although translated in our English version by different words: “Brother Saul, receive thy sight. And on the same hour I looked up upon him.” It admits of both translations—to recover sight, and to look up (Robinson’s *Lexicon of the New Testament*). The latter meaning is here, however, the correct one, as is evident from εἰς αὐτόν—“I looked up upon him.” De Wette unites the two meanings: “I looked up with recovered sight upon him.”

Vers. 14–16. In the address of Ananias there is the same accommodation to the views and feelings of the audience. God and Christ are both mentioned by their purely Jewish names—ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν, and ὁ δίκαιος. Ananias here asserts that Paul saw Christ; so that we infer that an actual appearance of Christ was granted him, which is not indeed precisely stated either in Luke’s account of the transaction, or in either of the accounts given by the apostle himself (see, on this point, note to Acts ix. 17). The universal ministry of Paul is expressed in these terms: πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους—to all men, the Gentiles being as yet not directly mentioned, for fear of irritating the Jews; whereas, on the contrary, in Acts ix. 15 the commission is to bear the name of Jesus before the Gentiles (ἔθνῶν), and kings, and the people of Israel. Ἀναστὰς βάπτισαι καὶ ἀπόλουσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας σου—*Arise and be baptized, and wash away thy sins.* Baptism in the adult, except in the peculiar case of our Lord, was accompanied by a confession of sin, and was a sign of its remission; hence called baptism in order to the forgiveness of sins (Acts ii. 38). Ἐπικαλεσάμενος τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ—*calling on His name.* Evidently Christ, as being the Person mentioned directly before and after; not God (Grotius). This is one of those incidental proofs of the divinity of Christ which continually occur in the sacred narrative. He was the object of Christian worship; and hence Christians are represented as those who in every place call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Cor. i. 2). And Pliny, in his celebrated letter, when describing the wor-

ship of the Christians, says that they sang a hymn of praise to Christ as God.

Ver. 17. Ὑποστρέψαντι εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ—*having returned to Jerusalem.* Paul did not immediately after his conversion return to Jerusalem; but he went, as he himself tells us, to Arabia, where he abode for nearly three years, spending the time probably in prayer and preparation for the great work of the ministry; and then, as he himself writes, “after three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days” (Gal. i. 17, 18).¹ Ἐν ἑκστάσει—in an *ecstasy.* Wieseler supposes that this ecstasy was the same as that mentioned in 2 Cor. xii. 1-3, when Paul was taken up into the third heavens.² But the revelations made in these ecstasies were different: here Paul was constituted the apostle of the Gentiles; there a vision of heaven was imparted to him. The importance of the revelation made to him at this time cannot be over-estimated. Three years ago Paul had been converted from being a persecutor of the Christians to be a preacher of Christianity; now, at a time when he was regarded with hatred or suspicion by the Jews, he is called to be the apostle of the Gentiles: his sphere of labour is not to be Jerusalem, but the world.

Ver. 18. Οὐ παραδέξονται σου τὴν μαρτυρίαν περὶ ἐμοῦ—*They will not receive thy testimony concerning me.* “They,” that is, certainly the unbelieving Jews, but perhaps also the Jewish Christians. The former hated Paul as an apostate from Judaism; and the latter, remembering his former persecutions, regarded him with suspicion (Acts ix. 26).

Ver. 19. Καὶ γὰρ εἶπον Κύριε, αὐτοὶ ἐπίστανται ὅτι ἐγὼ, etc.—*And I said, Lord, they know that I imprisoned and scourged in every synagogue those who believed on Thee.* Paul here, as it were, expostulates with Christ. He does not express his unwillingness to go to the Gentiles, but his unwillingness to leave Jerusalem. He alludes to his former persecutions of the Christians as a matter of notoriety: “Lord, they know that I imprisoned and scourged in every synagogue them

¹ See note to Acts ix. 25.

² Wieseler's *Chronologie der Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 163-165.

that believed on Thee ;” as if he had said : I was once as hostile to the Christians as they now are ; surely they will not resist my testimony concerning Thee : the fact of my conversion, and the miraculous circumstances attending it, must have weight with them. Or perhaps he wished, by his continued ministry in Jerusalem, in some measure to repair the injury he had done. *Δέρων κατὰ τὰς συναγωγὰς—scourged in every synagogue.* It was the custom of the Jews to scourge offenders or heretics in their synagogues. Thus Eusebius, in citing from a writer against the Montanists, represents this as no uncommon practice with the Jews (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 16).

Ver. 20. *Στεφάνου τοῦ μάρτυρός σου—of Stephen, Thy witness.* The technical meaning of the term *μάρτυρ* or *μάρτυς*, *martyr*, as signifying one who by his death bears witness to the truth of Christianity, was probably not in use at this time, so that it is better to render the word in its primary sense, *witness*. It certainly, however, occurs in this technical sense in the Apocalypse (Rev. ii. 13, xvii. 6), and was soon thus generally employed by the Christians. Thus Eusebius, speaking of Stephen, says : “ He first received the crown, answering to his name (*στέφανος*), of the victorious martyrs of Christ” (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1). The martyrs at Lyons in the second century refused the title, because they considered it to be appropriate only to Christ. “ If any of us, either by letter or in conversation, called them martyrs, they seriously reprovèd us ; for they cheerfully yielded the title of martyr to Christ, the true and faithful Martyr, the first begotten from the dead, the Prince of divine life” (*Hist. Eccl.* v. 2).

Ver. 21. *Πορεύου, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰς ἔθνη μακρὰν ἐξαποστελῶ σε—Depart, because I will send thee far hence to the Gentiles.* Paul, in the relation of this vision, declares to the Jews his intense love for their nation ; that he did not willingly forsake Jerusalem, but departed in consequence of the repeated command of Christ. In the narrative we are informed that his departure was occasioned by the plots of the Jews to kill him ; here the motive which he assigns was an express com-

mand from Christ. There is no discrepancy; both reasons may be true (see note to Acts ix. 30).

Ver. 22. Ἦκουον δὲ αὐτοῦ ἄχρι τούτου τοῦ λόγου—*And they heard him to this word; namely, the word "Gentiles."* The national pride of the Jews was wounded, and their bigotry excited. The assertion of Paul, that the Messiah Himself, in the very temple, commanded him to forsake the Jews, the peculiar people, and repair to the uncircumcised Gentiles, was regarded by them as blasphemy. The Jews no doubt expected that the Gentiles should own the Messiah, but it was by becoming Jews. They alone were the peculiar people of God—the favourites of Heaven. They could not bear the thought of the Gentiles being admitted to equal privileges with themselves; far less that they should be rejected, and the Gentiles accepted. Such an assertion must have been regarded by them as the greatest blasphemy: to their minds, the accusation preferred against Paul, that he blasphemed the Mosaic law and the temple, was fully proved. And this was the great stumbling-block in the way of the Jews accepting Christianity. They must relinquish their fondly cherished privileges; they must cease considering themselves the peculiar people of God; they must regard the Gentiles as on a religious equality with themselves. Nor can we wonder at the strength of their prejudices: the sacrifice which they were required to make was the renunciation of Jewish hopes and privileges—the heirloom of centuries. It was the doctrine of equality between Jews and Gentiles, so strongly insisted on by Paul, that was the cause of the bitter hatred of the unconverted Jews, and of the suspicions of the Jewish Christians. This, and not any supposed profanation of the temple, was the real cause of the present attack upon him. It cannot, then, be surprising that when he alluded to his mission to the Gentiles, his speech was interrupted by the clamours of the Jews, and was left unfinished, like the defence of Stephen before the Sanhedrim, and his own noble address to the Athenians.

Ver. 23. Κραυγαζόντων τε αὐτῶν, καὶ ῥιπτούντων τὰ ἱμάτια, etc.—*And as they cried out, and threw up their garments,*

and cast dust in the air. Some (Grotius, Meyer, Baumgarten) suppose that by these actions they showed their readiness and eagerness to stone Paul. They cast off their garments as preparing to stone him, and threw up dust as the symbol of throwing stones.¹ But it is a sufficient answer to this, that Paul was in the custody of the Roman tribune, and that any attempt at stoning would be futile. It is better to regard the actions as proofs of the intense excitement which prevailed. The multitude were roused into a fury; they uttered loud cries, waved their garments, and threw dust in the air.

Ver. 24. *Εἶπας μάστιξιν ἀνετάξῃσθαι αὐτόν*—saying that he should be examined with scourges. Scourging was a common method of examination resorted to by the Romans. It was administered by the lictors, and was usually inflicted by rods. The tribune, however, in ordering Paul to be immediately scourged, acted contrary to the Roman law, which enjoined that no examination should commence with scourging: *et non esse a tormentis incipiendum, Div. Augustus constituit (Digest. Leg. 48, tit. 18, c. 1)*. Perhaps, in ordering Paul to be scourged, he designed to appease the wrath of the multitude, as Pilate for this reason scourged Jesus (John xix. 1). *ἵνα ἐπιγινῶσι δι' ἣν αἰτίαν οὕτως ἐπεφώνουν αὐτῷ*—that he might know for what cause they so cried out against him. As Paul addressed the multitude in Hebrew, the tribune, being ignorant of that language, was not able to understand what he said. But when he saw the result, the rage and violent actions of the Jews, he naturally concluded that he had before him some dangerous criminal.

Ver. 25. *Ὡς δὲ προέτειναν αὐτόν τοῖς ἰμάσιν*—and as they stretched him out to the thongs. *Προτεῖνω*, to extend, to stretch out. These words admit of two meanings, according as we understand *τοῖς ἰμάσιν* as the instruments by which, or the objects to which, he was stretched out. Some (Erasmus, Bengel, Alford, Humphry, Hackett, Wordsworth) render it, "while they stretched him out with the thongs;" *i.e.* while they bound him with thongs in a stretched-out

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 435.

position. According to this view, *μάστιξιν* (ver. 24) are the instruments of torture, and *ἰμάσιν* the thongs by which he was bound. But by this rendering the force of *προ* in *προέτειναν* is weakened, and the article before *ἰμάσιν* is unnecessary. Others (Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Lange, Howson, Robinson) render it, “while they stretched him out to the thongs,” as the instruments of torture. According to this view, *ἰμάσιν* is not precisely equivalent to *μάστιξιν*; for the scourge was composed of several thongs. *Εἰ ἄνθρωπον Ῥωμαῖον καὶ ἀκατάκριτον ἕξεστιν ὑμῖν μαστίξειν—Is it lawful for you to scourge a man who is a Roman, and uncondemned?* Two violations of the law are here mentioned: first, that they were about to scourge a Roman citizen; and secondly, that they were about to scourge a man without examination.¹

Ver. 26. *Τί μέλλεις ποιεῖν; ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν—What art thou about to do? for this man is a Roman.* Paul here stood on vantage-ground. The appeal to his privilege as a Roman citizen had its instant effect, as it formerly had when he made a similar appeal at Philippi. The Roman tribune was afraid that he had already gone too far.

Ver. 27. *Λέγε μοι, σὺ Ῥωμαῖός εἶ; ὁ δὲ ἔφη Ναί—Tell me, art thou a Roman? And he said, Yes.* It is to be observed that the tribune does not call in question Paul's statement, but takes its truth for granted. According to the Roman law, it was death for any falsely to assert that he was entitled to the privileges of a Roman citizen. “Claudius,” writes Suetonius, “prohibited foreigners from adopting Roman names, especially those which belonged to families. Those who falsely pretended to the freedom of Rome he beheaded on the Esquiline” (*Claud.* xxv.). Perhaps also Roman citizens would carry with them documents containing evidence of their freedom.

Ver. 28. *Ἐγὼ πολλοῦ κεφαλαίου τὴν πολιτείαν ταύτην ἐκτησάμην—I procured this citizenship with a great sum.*

¹ See the privileges of the Roman citizen mentioned in a note to Acts xvi. 37.

Κεφάλαιον, literally the head, hence capital, a sum of money. Lysias was not by birth a Roman, but had procured his citizenship by purchase. The name Lysias is not Roman, but either Syriac or Greek: he adopted the Roman name Claudius, probably because he had obtained his citizenship from the Emperor Claudius. Under the first emperors the freedom of Rome was obtained with great difficulty, and by the payment of a large sum of money. In the early part of the reign of Claudius it was sold at a high rate; but when that emperor came under the influence of Messalina, it was sold with shameless indifference, and could be procured for a trifle (Dio Cassius, lx. 17).

Ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ γεγέννημαι—*but I was born so*. Paul, on the other hand, was a Roman citizen by birth. Some suppose that he became entitled to this privilege because he was a native of Tarsus. But that city was not a Roman colony, like Pisidian Antioch, Troas Alexandria, and Philippi, but merely a free city (*urbs libera*): it was exempt from certain taxes, and had rulers of its own; but it did not possess the privilege of citizenship. It was highly favoured both by Julius Cæsar and Augustus, on account of its services during the civil wars; but neither of them exalted it to the rank of a colony. Paul, then, must have obtained his freedom from his father, or some ancestor. The Roman citizenship was conferred as a reward for some service done to the emperor; or a slave who was manumitted according to certain forms became a citizen; or, as in the case of Lysias, this citizenship could be purchased for a sum of money. In one of these ways Paul's family became free; but all more definite explanations are mere conjectures. We learn from Josephus that the Jews were not unfrequently Roman citizens: he mentions several Jews, residents at Ephesus, who were citizens of Rome (*Ant. xiv. 10. 13*); and certain Jews who, though Roman citizens of the equestrian order, were illegally scourged and crucified by Florus shortly before the Jewish war (*Bell. Jud. ii. 11. 9*)¹

¹ Renan supposes that Luke, on his own authority, confers on Paul the title of a Roman citizen; but the only reason he assigns is, that

Ver. 29. *Εὐθέως οὖν ἀπέστησαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, etc.*—*And immediately they who were about to examine him departed from him*; that is, the centurion and soldiers who were about to examine him by scourging. *Καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτὸν δεδεκώς*—*and because he had bound him.* Here we are informed that the Roman tribune was afraid of the consequences arising from having bound Paul. And yet we find that he did not loose Paul from his chains until the next day; and even after that he was again bound and retained as a prisoner in chains (Acts xxvi. 29). Besides, the tribune bound Paul in ignorance of his citizenship, and for the purpose of securing him from the rage of the Jews. Hence De Wette supposes that this supposed fear of the tribune rests on an error of the reporter.¹ Meyer thinks that, although the tribune was convinced of his mistake in binding Paul, yet he did not release him at once, because his pride would not permit him to acknowledge his error to his prisoner.² But the true explanation seems to be, that the binding refers to his being bound with a view to scourging, which was regarded as an outrage upon the person of a Roman citizen; whereas it was not unlawful to bind a Roman citizen with a view to custody. As Calvin remarks: "How can this correspond, that the tribune was afraid because he had bound a Roman citizen, and yet did not loose him from his bonds until the morrow? It may be he deferred it until the next day, lest he should show some token of fear. But I judge that the tribune was afraid because Paul was bound at his command in order to be scourged, this being an injury done to a Roman citizen, although it was lawful to put a Roman in prison" (Calvin, *in loco*).

Paul was thrice beaten with rods. These illegal acts might, however, easily have been committed in popular tumults. There is positively nothing to countenance the suspicion. Renan's *Saint Paul*, p. 526.

¹ De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 166.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 437.

SECTION XXI.

PAUL BEFORE THE SANHEDRIM.—ACTS XXII. 30—XXIII. 11.

30 And on the morrow, wishing to know the certainty why he was accused of the Jews, he released him, and commanded the chief priests and all the Sanhedrim to assemble; and having brought down Paul, he set him before them. Ch. xxiii. 1 And Paul, looking stedfastly on the Sanhedrim, said, Men and brethren, I have lived as a citizen in all good conscience toward God until this day. 2 And the high priest Ananias commanded those who stood near him to smite him on the mouth. 3 Then Paul said to him, God is about to smite thee, thou whited wall; and dost thou sit judging me according to the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law? 4 And the bystanders said, Revilest thou the high priest of God? 5 Then Paul said, I did not know, brethren, that he is the high priest; for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people. 6 But Paul, perceiving that the one part were of the Sadducees, and the other part of the Pharisees, called aloud in the Sanhedrim, Men and brethren, I am a Pharisee, the son of Pharisees; concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead I am judged. 7 And when he had said this, there arose a discussion between the Pharisees and the Sadducees; and the multitude was divided. 8 For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit; but the Pharisees acknowledge both. 9 And there was a great outcry; and the scribes of the Pharisees' party arose and contended, saying, We find nothing evil in this man; but if a spirit or an angel spoke to him? 10 And when there arose a great uproar, the tribune, fearing lest Paul should be torn in pieces by them, commanded the guard to go down and rescue him from the midst of them, and to bring him into the barracks.

11 And on the following night the Lord stood by him, and said, Be of good courage; for as thou hast testified of me at Jerusalem, so must thou also testify at Rome.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ch. xxii. 30. The words *ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν*, found in G, H, are wanting in A, B, C, E, K, and rejected by recent

critics. *Αὐτῶν* after *συνέδριον*, the reading of G, H, is wanting in A, B, C, E, \aleph , and omitted by recent critics. Ch. xxiii. 6. *Υἱὸς Φαρισαίου* is the reading of E, G, H; whereas *υἱὸς Φαρισαίων* is the reading of A, B, C, \aleph , and is preferred by Lachmann, Meyer, and Tischendorf. Ver. 8. *Μηδὲ ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα* (*textus receptus*) is the reading of G, H; whereas A, B, C, E, \aleph read *μήτε ἄγγελον μήτε πνεῦμα*, the reading preferred by Lachmann and Alford, whilst Tischendorf retains the reading of the *textus receptus*. Ver. 9. The *textus receptus* reads *οἱ γραμματεῖς*, which is not found in any uncial MS.; G, H read *γραμματεῖς*, the reading adopted by Tischendorf; B, C, \aleph have *τινὲς τῶν γραμματέων*, the reading adopted by Meyer and Bornemann; A, E have simply *τινὲς τῶν Φαρισαίων*, the reading adopted by Lachmann. The words *μη θεομαχῶμεν*, found in G, H, are omitted in A, B, C, E, \aleph , and rejected by most recent critics. Ver. 11. *Παῦλε* is found in G, H, but is wanting in A, B, C, E, \aleph , and omitted by recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 30. *Βουλόμενος γινῶναι τὸ ἀσφαλές*—*wishing to know the certainty*. The accusations brought against Paul were vague and general; and the tribune was anxious to know the truth of the matter—what was the reason of the popular clamour. *Παρὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*—*on the part of the Jews*. *Παρὰ*, “on the side of the Jews,” a more exact preposition than *ὑπὸ* (the reading of certain MSS.), “by the Jews,” as no formal charge had been laid against him.¹ *Ἐκέλευσεν*—*he ordered*. In the absence of the procurator, the commander of the Roman forces in Jerusalem had the chief authority; and the Sanhedrim at this time was much under the power of the Romans, and had to obey their orders. This accounts for the convocation of the Sanhedrim in obedience to the command of the Roman tribune. *Συνελεθῆν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον*—*the chief priests and all the Sanhedrim to assemble*. The Sanhedrim formerly assem-

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 383.

bled in a room called the Hall of Gazzith, situated within the sacred spaces of the temple; but, according to the Talmud, they removed from it forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem, and assembled in a chamber situated in the upper city, near the foot of the bridge leading across the ravine from the western court of the temple (Lewin, Biscoe).¹ This removal was doubtless caused by the Romans, as they would thus have the Sanhedrim more completely under control. Had the Sanhedrim continued to meet within the temple, its assemblies could not have been directly interfered with, as no Roman could pass the sacred limits on pain of death. This accounts for Lysias being able to lead his soldiers into the place of meeting. *Καὶ καταγαγὼν τὸν Παῦλον*—*and having brought down Paul*; that is, down from the Castle of Antonia to the council-room of the Sanhedrim.

Ch. xxiii. 1. *Πεπολίτευμαι*—*I have lived as a citizen*. The verb *πολιτεύω*, derived from *πολίτης*, signifies “to live as a citizen,” “to conduct oneself as a citizen;” and there is no reason why the word should not have here its full meaning. Meyer thinks the reference is to the Christian church, and renders the clause, “I have performed my apostolic office.” But it seems rather to refer to the Jewish theocracy, and to be a direct answer to the charge preferred against him, that he taught men everywhere against the law and the temple. According to this view, the meaning is: “I have, according to my conscience, lived as a loyal subject of the Jewish theocracy.” So also Alford explains it: “I have lived a true and loyal Jew.” Paul might well assert this as a Christian, inasmuch as Christianity was in an important sense the fulfilment of the law. *Ἄχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας*—*until this day*. Most writers (Calvin, Meyer, De Wette, Hackett) limit this assertion to the time after his conversion; as it was his conduct after he became a Christian that was attacked, and because Paul often accuses himself on account of his former life. But there is no reason for this restric-

¹ Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 672; Biscoe *on the Acts*, p. 205.

tion: Paul acted conscientiously before as well as after his conversion; he walked up to the light which he then had; he thought that he was doing God service, even when persecuting the disciples of Christ.

Ver. 2. 'Ο δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀνανίας—*but the high priest Ananias.* This was undoubtedly Ananias the son of Nebedäus, a man who played an important part in Jewish history. He was made high priest by Herod king of Chalcis about the year 47, when Tiberius Alexander was governor of Judea. "Herod king of Chalcis," writes Josephus, "removed Joseph the son of Camydus from the high-priesthood, and made Ananias the son of Nebedäus his successor" (*Ant.* xx. 5. 5). In the procuratorship of Cumanus, in consequence of certain complaints of the Samaritans against the Jews, Ananias was sent prisoner to Rome by Quadratus, the president of Syria, to answer for himself and the nation before the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 52) (*Ant.* xx. 6. 2). Owing to the influence of Herod Agrippa the younger, the Jews were acquitted, and the Samaritans punished. The further history of Ananias is doubtful. According to some, he was deposed from the high-priesthood, and Jonathan the son of Annas, afterwards murdered by Felix, was appointed his successor. According to others, he retained the priesthood until displaced by Herod Agrippa the younger in the year 59, who gave the office to Ismael the son of Phabi, shortly before the departure of Felix from Judea (*Ant.* xx. 8. 8).¹ Even after he ceased being the actual high priest, he still exercised great influence among the Jews, and obtained the favour and esteem of the citizens, although he used his power in a violent and illegal manner (*Ant.* xx. 9. 2).

τύπτειν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα—to smite him on the mouth. A common mode of treating offenders in the East. Our Saviour was thus treated when on His trial before the same council (*John* xviii. 22). In Persia it is still customary for a person in authority to cause those who have made unpalatable remarks to be thus smitten. "As soon as the ambassador came,"

¹ According to this, Ananias would be high priest for the comparatively long period of twelve years.

writes Morier, "the king punished the principal offenders by causing them to be beaten before him; and those who had spoken their minds too freely, he smote on the mouth with a shoe."¹ It is not probable that this order of the high priest was put in force; it would be prevented by the stern rebuke of Paul.

Ver. 3. *Τύπτειν σε μέλλει ὁ Θεός*—*God is about to smite thee.* These words are not to be understood as an imprecation, but rather as a prophetic denunciation of punishment—that his violent dealing would be returned on his own head. It has been disputed whether these words were rashly spoken, as if Paul for a moment lost command of himself; or whether they were warranted by the conduct of the high priest. Certainly they are not much to be blamed: they are the language of moral indignation. Still it is perfectly allowable to contrast the conduct of Paul with the meekness and gentleness of Christ under similar circumstances. This contrast is well brought out by Jerome when he says: *Ubi est illa patientia Salvatoris, qui quasi agnus ductus ad victimam non aperuit os suum, sed clementer loquitur verberanti: Si male locutus, argue de malo, si autem bene, quid me cædis?* But with justice he adds: *Non apostolo detrahimus, sed gloriam Domini prædicamus, qui in carne passus carnis injuriam superat et fragilitatem.* *Τοῦχε κεκονιανέμε*—*thou whited wall.* Alluding to the beautiful outside of some walls, which were constructed with mud and other base materials. This proverbial expression is analogous to our Saviour's words, in which he compares the Pharisees to whited sepulchres: beautiful outside, but within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness (Matt. xxiii. 27). And that such a character was exhibited by Ananias, is fully borne out by the account of his violent and unjust conduct given us by Josephus, who informs us that he violently took away the tithes that belonged to the priests, and did not refrain from beating such as would not surrender these tithes (*Ant.* xx. 9. 2). The words of Paul, whether a denunciation or a prediction, were remarkably fulfilled in the death of Ananias at the commencement of the Jewish war. We are informed that,

¹ Quoted by Hackett, p. 371.

in consequence of commotions raised by his own son Eleazer, the Sicarii, led by Manahem, a son of Judas of Galilee, entered Jerusalem, and committed the greatest atrocities. They attacked and burned the palace of Ananias, captured him in a drain where he had in vain attempted to conceal himself, and murdered him, along with his brother Hezekiah (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 17. 9). *Καὶ σὺ καθή κρινών με κατὰ τὸν νόμον*—and dost thou sit judging me according to the law? Thus fully realizing that he was addressing Ananias, and not, as some suppose, that he was ignorant of the person by whom the insulting words were uttered.

Ver. 4. *Οἱ δὲ παρεστῶτες*—but the bystanders: either the members of the court or the audience generally. They were struck with the boldness, and, as they conceived, the impiety of Paul's language. *Τὸν ἀρχιερέα τοῦ Θεοῦ*—the high priest of God. It was contrary to the law to revile those in authority; but especially it must have been regarded as great impiety to revile so sacred a person as the high priest—the visible head of the theocracy—the representative of God.

Ver. 5. *Οὐκ ᾔδεν ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρχιερεὺς*—I did not know that he is the high priest. These words have occasioned considerable difficulty. How can Paul's ignorance be accounted for? 1. Baur and Zeller cut the knot. They understand the words as containing an actual untruth, and assert that they were never spoken by Paul, but put into his mouth by the historian. Zeller supposes that there may have been a tradition of the hasty answer of Paul to the high priest, and that the historian, in order to justify the apostle, used this untruthful expression.¹ But exactly such a supposition, that the words contain a falsehood, would cause an inventor of history to avoid them; and the very difficulty of explanation is a presumption in favour of their genuineness. 2. Some (Chrysostom, Beza, Calovius, Lechler) take the words in their most literal sense, and suppose that Paul did not personally know the high priest. The apostle was for many years absent from Jerusalem, and the high priest was frequently changed, so that he did not know by sight the person

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 233.

now holding the office. Nor was it always the case that the high priest presided at the meetings of the Sanhedrim: his place was sometimes occupied by a vice-president, called in the Talmud "the father of the house of judgment." This is a possible solution, but hardly a probable one. Paul must have been well acquainted with the meetings of the Sanhedrim, so as to be able to distinguish the high priest; and Ananias, if still high priest, had been so for ten years, and was a noted man in Jerusalem, and among the Jews.

3. Some (Clericus, Alford) think that Paul was not aware of the person who addressed him, and thus did not know that it was the high priest whom he rebuked. They suppose that Paul only heard a voice, but did not in the crowd see the speaker. Alford thinks that the solution of his ignorance lies in the fact of his imperfect vision. But it is expressly said that Paul, in addressing the Sanhedrim, fixed his eyes on them (*ἀτενίσας*); and that when Ananias uttered his insolent command, Paul spoke to him (*πρὸς αὐτὸν*).

4. Others (Calvin, Grotius, Heinrichs, Thiess, Meyer, Baumgarten, Stier) think that Paul meant that he did not acknowledge or own Ananias to be the high priest. According to them, the words were spoken ironically, as if he had said, "A man who has given such an unjust command cannot surely be the high priest; I do not regard him as such: by his conduct he has forfeited his right to so sacred an office."¹ But such a solution is unnatural and far-fetched: the irony, if present, is certainly not apparent.

5. Others (Alexander, etc.) think that Paul did not acknowledge Ananias to be the high priest, because that now, when Jesus Christ, the great High Priest, had appeared, the office was abolished; as if Paul had said, "I did not know, and do not know, that he is the high priest of God: the office exists only in appearance and in name."² Such a solution requires no refutation: were this Paul's meaning, his answer would be a mere evasion.

6. Others (Lightfoot, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Whiston, Lewin) assert that Ananias was not at this time the high priest. They

¹ Stier's *Words of the Apostles*, pp. 401-408, Clark's translation.

² Alexander on the *Acts*, vol. ii. p. 326.

suppose that, when Ananias was sent prisoner to Rome, he was deprived of the high-priesthood, and that, although acquitted, he was not restored to his former dignity, but that the office was conferred on Jonathan the son of Annas. In the account given of the murder of Jonathan by Felix, he is called the high priest (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5). Accordingly, it is thought that there was a vacancy in the office in consequence of the late assassination of Jonathan, and that Ananias, as the former high priest, and by reason of his influence, merely supplied the vacancy. Such a solution is plausible, and is not destitute of support. Still, however, as Winer and Wieseler show, it is more probable that Ananias was not deposed, there being no mention of his deposition in Josephus; that he was then the actual high priest, and was not superseded until the appointment of Ismael the son of Phabi by Agrippa. It is true that Josephus calls Jonathan the high priest; but he may have done so not on account of his present, but of his former occupancy of the office. This is the more probable, as Josephus is very particular in mentioning the succession of high priests. In one passage he mentions Jonathan and Ananias together as high priests, at a time when Ananias was the actual high priest (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 6).¹ 7. Others (Wetstein, Kuinœl, Bengel, Olshausen, Neander, Schaff, Hackett, Wordsworth, Howson) suppose that Paul meant that he did not recollect or consider that it was the high priest whom he was addressing. According to this view, Paul apologizes for his rash words; that they were spoken inadvertently, without reflecting on the sacred office of the person whom he addressed. And this well suits the words which follow: "for it is written, Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people." This certainly appears to be the most plausible solution. It suits the connection, and is in keeping with the courteous character of the apostle. There are, however, two objections to it. The verb ᾗδεν can scarcely be rendered *considered* (*reputabam*); and the passages adduced in favour of such a meaning (*Eph.* vi. 8;

¹ Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*, article Ananias; Wieseler's *Chronologie*, p. 77.

Col. iii. 24) are not sufficient to support it, unless indeed such a meaning can be expressed in the form, "I did not perceive (*i.e.* I forgot) that he was the high priest." And the idea that Paul's language was improper, and required to be apologized for and retracted, appears to be inconsistent with the promise made to the disciples, that the Holy Ghost would assist them in their defence before kings and rulers; though such a promise may not exclude the element of personal frailty.

Γέγραπται γάρ, Ἐργοντα τοῦ λαοῦ σου οὐκ ἐρεῖς κακῶς— For it is written, *Thou shalt not speak evil of a ruler of thy people.* The quotation is from Ex. xxii. 28, exactly according to the Septuagint. According to the opinion that Paul forgot that he was addressing the high priest, this quotation gives the reason why he should apologize for the words he had spoken. But if, according to the other opinion, the apostle declined to acknowledge Ananias as high priest, it gives the reason of οὐκ ᾔδειν, and is a vindication of his language: "Certainly one must not speak evil of a ruler of his people, but on account of his conduct I do not know or recognise him as such."¹

Ver. 6. *Γινούσ δὲ ὁ Παῦλος ὅτι τὸ ἐν μέρος ἐστὶν Σαδδουκαίων,* etc.—but Paul, perceiving that the one part were of the Sadducees, and the other part of the Pharisees. The Sanhedrim was at this time divided between these two factions. The Pharisees were the popular party, and were perhaps the more numerous; but Josephus informs us that many of the sect of the Sadducees were high in office. It would almost appear that the high-priesthood was frequently conferred on those of this party. We are expressly informed that Ananus, afterwards high priest, was a Sadducee (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 9. 1). It was no doubt favourable for the church that there was at this time this division of parties in the Sanhedrim. The Sadducees were chiefly incensed against the Christians, because they taught the doctrine of the resurrection; whereas the Pharisees, out of opposition to their rival sect, were sometimes inclined to favour them.

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 443.

For a description of the Sadducees, see note to Acts iv. 1. The Pharisees are supposed to derive their name from a Hebrew word signifying "separated," and were so called because of the strictness with which they kept the law. Some suppose that they are the Assideans mentioned in the books of Maccabees (1 Macc. ii. 42; 2 Macc. xiv. 6). They are first noticed along with the Sadducees and the Essenes in the time of Jonathan Maccabeus (Joseph. *Ant.* xiii. 5. 9), though perhaps their origin may have been as early as the time of Ezra. The Pharisees had the appearance of great piety, and gained the favour of the people. "They have," observes Josephus, "such great power over the multitude, that when they say anything against the king or the high priest, they are presently believed" (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 5). Hence they exercised a most important influence in the state; and this was the greater, as they were not confined to Jerusalem, but scattered throughout the country.

The Pharisees differed from the Sadducees in the three following points:—1. They recognised, besides the Scriptures of the Old Testament, oral traditions either as explanatory of the law or enjoining new ordinances (*ἡ παράδοσις τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*, Matt. xv. 2). "The Pharisees," observes Josephus, "have delivered to the people a great many observances by succession from their fathers, which are not written in the law of Moses" (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6). In consequence of these traditions, the law was often made void, and pernicious practices inculcated. 2. The Pharisees, in contradistinction to the Sadducees, inculcated the doctrine of a future state. "They believe," says Josephus, "that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; that the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again" (*Ant.* xviii. 1. 3). "All souls are corruptible; but the souls of good men are only removed into other bodies, whilst the souls of bad men are chastised by eternal punishment" (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14). From this it would appear that the Pharisees taught a doctrine somewhat

similar to that of the heathen idea of transmigration. But it is generally supposed that Josephus here misrepresents the views of the Pharisees, in order to bring them into a nearer agreement with the philosophy of the Greeks, and that, as appears from certain expressions in the Talmud, their views had a much closer correspondence with the Christian doctrine of the resurrection. 3. Whilst the Sadducees appeared to have denied the doctrine of divine influences, the Pharisees insisted upon it; and whilst they admitted the free will of man, taught also a subjection to Providence. "The Pharisees say that some actions, but not all, are the work of fate; that some things are in our own power, and that these are liable to fate, but are not caused by fate" (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 9). "They ascribe all to fate and to God, but yet allow that to do what is right or the contrary is in the power of men, although fate does co-operate in every action" (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14). By fate in these passages is probably meant Providence. From all this it appears that the Pharisees approached much nearer Christianity than the Sadducees.

In the age of Christ and His apostles, the Pharisees were themselves divided into two schools—the school of Hillel and the school of Schammai. The school of Hillel, to which Gamaliel belonged, were the most liberal in their sentiments; whilst the school of Schammai were bigoted Jewish zealots. It was chiefly the latter party who persecuted the Christians.

There is a remarkable resemblance between these two sects, the Sadducees and the Pharisees, and the two celebrated schools of antiquity, the Stoics and Epicureans, both in their views and practices: the Sadducees may be regarded as Jewish Epicureans, and the Pharisees as Jewish Stoics. Both parties were opposed to Christianity: the rationalism of the former, and the hypocrisy and formalism of the latter, were equally antagonistic to the supernatural and spiritual religion taught by Christ and His apostles.¹

¹ *Ἐκραξεν ἐν τῷ συνέδριῳ*—called aloud in the Sanhedrim.

¹ Smith's *Biblical Dictionary*; Winer's *biblisches Wörterbuch*; Lardner's *Works*, vol. i. pp. 66–69; Biscoe on the *Acts*, pp. 83–93.

When Paul saw that it was impossible to obtain a fair hearing, he made the attempt to enlist the better part of the council on his side. "He availed himself," as Neander observes, "of that means for the victory of truth which has often been used against it—*divide et impera* in a good sense."¹ Ἐγὼ Φαρισαῖός εἰμι, υἱὸς Φαρισαίων—*I am a Pharisee, the son of Pharisees.* The plural (see Critical Note) Φαρισαίων refers not to his parents (Grotius), but to his ancestors in general. The meaning is, that he was not only a Pharisee himself, but that he belonged to a family who were Pharisees. Zeller objects that Paul *was* certainly a Pharisee, but he could not at that time affirm that he *is* a Pharisee; on the contrary, his views of the Jewish law were diametrically opposed to those entertained by that sect.² But evidently the meaning is, that Paul agreed with the Pharisees on those points wherein they differed from the Sadducees, especially the doctrines of the Messiahship and the resurrection. On these points, which alone are here stated, he was a Pharisee: like them, he was a believer in the hope of the Messiah, and in the resurrection. He could say to them what he formerly said to the Athenians: That which ye, without knowing it, profess to believe, declare I unto you in the person of Jesus and His resurrection.

Περὶ ἐλπίδος καὶ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν ἐγὼ κρίνομαι—*Concerning the hope and resurrection of the dead I am judged.* By the hope and resurrection, some (Bengel, Baumgarten, Meyer, De Wette) understand the hope of the resurrection; but it gives a more complete sense to understand two points as here meant—the hope of the Messiah, and the resurrection of the dead (Lechler). According to this view, the resurrection here refers primarily to the resurrection of Christ, and in a secondary sense to the resurrection generally, inasmuch as the apostle grounds his doctrine on Christ's resurrection (1 Cor. xv. 12–20). Here again the apostle is accused of misrepresenting the point in dispute, which was not the doctrine of the resurrection, but whether the apostle

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 307.

² Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 284.

had or had not inveighed against the Mosaic law. But it was the apostle's Christianity that was the great cause of offence, and he ever founded Christianity on the resurrection of Christ: this was the great subject of his testimony; so that he could justly say that this was the great principle at issue. And from the language of Festus, it would appear that this was actually a great point in dispute: "Against whom, when the accusers stood up, they brought none accusation of such things as I supposed; but had certain questions against him of their own religion, and of one Jesus, who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive" (Acts xxv. 18, 19). But to this it is replied that this does not remove the difficulty: Paul's notion of the resurrection was different from that of the Pharisees. The essential points of dispute were, whether the hope of Israel was fulfilled in Jesus of Nazareth, and whether His resurrection was the earnest of the general resurrection.¹ But although Paul and the Pharisees did not agree on these points, yet they did agree on the fact of the resurrection: both held, in opposition to the Sadducees, that there was a resurrection; and this is the sole point on which Paul insists. In thus addressing the Pharisees, he makes a last appeal to them. There was a principle between him and them in common: what they held as a mere abstract truth, he embraced as a reality; and thus he urged on them to believe on Jesus Christ, in whom the hope of Israel and the resurrection were both fulfilled.

Ver. 7. Ἐγένετο στάσις τῶν Φαρισαίων καὶ Σαδδουκαίων
 —Then arose a dissension between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The Pharisees, especially the school of Hillel, were more inclined to Christianity than the Sadducees. Gamaliel had formerly protected the Christians in the council, and many of the Jewish converts were from the Pharisees (Acts vi. 7, xv. 5). Probably several of the Pharisees in the council were half disposed toward Christianity; perhaps a few may have been, like Nicodemus, secret disciples; and others may have admitted the possibility of Jesus of Naza-

¹ Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 232; Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 283.

reth being the Messiah. This feeling in favour of Paul is not at variance with those hostile feelings which were soon afterwards displayed.¹ These hostile feelings probably arose from the Sadducees, and their hostility would not be diminished, but increased, by the Pharisees siding with the apostle. Besides, in all probability, this favourable disposition of the council was transitory; it was the mere result of a passing impression: afterwards, both Pharisees and Sadducees united against the apostle. We cannot suppose that the pharisaical faction would long be favourable to him, seeing he was such a determined opponent to their views of legal righteousness.

Ver. 8. Σαδδουκαῖοι λέγουσιν μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν, μηδὲ ἄγγελον, μήτε πνεῦμα—*The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, nor angel, nor spirit.* There are not three things, but two classes of objects stated—the resurrection, and the existence of spirits, whether angels or the souls of men. Φαρισαῖοι ὁμολογοῦσιν τὰ ἀμφότερα—*the Pharisees confess both*; namely, (1) ἀνάστασις, and (2) ἄγγελος and πνεῦμα.² The Pharisees, as we have seen, were believers in a future state. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were materialists, and denied both the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body (*Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 8. 14*).

Ver. 9. Ἐγένετο δὲ κραυγὴ μεγάλη—*and there was a great outcry.* The Sanhedrim was converted from a deliberative council into a tumultuous assembly. Γραμματεῖς τοῦ μέρους τῶν Φαρισαίων—*scribes of the party of the Pharisees.* The scribes in general belonged to the Pharisees, as that sect paid most attention to the Mosaic law, which it was the duty of the scribes to interpret; whereas the Sadducees were rationalistic in their views. It would, however, appear from this that there were also scribes of the party of the Sadducees. Οὐδὲν κακὸν εὐρίσκομεν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τούτῳ—*we find nothing evil in this man.* So in a similar manner Pilate asserted the innocence of Jesus. “Thus party spirit,” observes Hess, “sometimes even forces us both to do and say things which a love of truth and justice would never have extorted

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 285.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 445.

from us." *Εἰ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐλάλησεν αὐτῷ ἢ ἄγγελος*—*but if a spirit or angel has spoken to him?* An abrupt sentence: the words by which it is completed in the *textus receptus*, *μὴ θεομαχῶμεν*, are spurious, being borrowed from Acts v. 39. The clause may either be understood as implying that a spirit or angel may have spoken to him; or interrogatively, that supposing this to be the case, what is to be done? *Πνεῦμα* and *ἄγγελος* are mentioned designedly, as their existence was denied by the Sadducees. There may perhaps be a reference to what Paul said in his defence to the Jews concerning the appearance of Jesus; or, more probably, the words are to be taken as a general statement that Paul may have received his knowledge by revelation.

Ver. 10. *Μὴ διασπασθῆ ὁ Παῦλος*—*lest Paul should be torn in pieces*; not merely murdered (Kuinoel), but literally torn in pieces. Evidently a tumult had arisen in the council, and Paul was seized by both parties: the Pharisees laying hold on him to rescue and protect him; the Sadducees endeavouring to obtain possession of him in order to kill him. *Ἐκέλευσεν τὸ στράτευμα καταβὰν ἀρπάσαι αὐτὸν*—*he commanded the guard to go down and rescue him*. Paul, being a Roman citizen, was under the special protection of the Roman commander.

Ver. 11. *Ἐπιστάς αὐτῷ ὁ Κύριος*—*the Lord stood by him*. We are not informed whether this vision of Christ to Paul took place in a dream or in an ecstasy. *Ὅτως σε δεῖ καὶ εἰς Ῥώμην μαρτυρῆσαι*—*so must thou also testify of me at Rome*. Thus Paul was assured of his safety in this present attack made upon him by the Jews; and this vision would comfort and console him in his subsequent trials—his long imprisonment at Cæsarea, and his voyage to Rome. Formerly he expressed his wish to preach the gospel at Rome (Rom. i. 10, 11; Acts xix. 21); now he has the assurance that his desire will be gratified. *Ἱερουσαλήμ*—*Ῥώμην*. *Jerusalem, Romæ, duæ metropoles orbis* (Bengel); Jerusalem being the metropolis of the religious, and Rome of the civil world.

SECTION XXII.

PAUL SENT PRISONER TO CÆSAREA.—ACTS XXIII. 12-35.

12 But when it was day, the Jews made a conspiracy, and bound themselves by a curse, saying that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed Paul. 13 And there were more than forty who made this conspiracy; 14 Who came to the chief priests and elders, and said, We have bound ourselves with a great curse, to taste nothing until we have killed Paul. 15 Now therefore do ye with the Sanhedrim give notice to the tribune, that he bring him down to you, as though ye would inquire something more accurately concerning him: and we, before he has come near, are ready to kill him. 16 But the son of Paul's sister heard of the plot, and went and entered into the barracks, and told Paul. 17 Then Paul, having called one of the centurions, said, Bring this young man to the tribune; for he has something to tell him. 18 So he took him, and brought him to the tribune, and said, The prisoner Paul called me, and requested that I should bring this young man to thee, who has something to say to thee. 19 Then the tribune, taking him by the hand, and going aside privately, inquired, What is it that thou hast to tell me? 20 And he said, The Jews have agreed to ask thee that thou wouldest bring down Paul to-morrow to the Sanhedrim, as though they would inquire something more accurately concerning him. 21 But be not thou persuaded by them: for there lie in wait for him more than forty men of them, who have bound themselves with a curse, neither to eat nor to drink until they have killed him: and now are they ready, expecting a promise from thee. 22 Then the tribune let the young man depart, after charging him to tell no man that thou hast showed these things to me.

23 And having called two centurions, he said, Make ready two hundred soldiers to go to Cæsarea, and seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, at the third hour of the night. 24 And that they should provide beasts, to set Paul on, and to bring him in safety to Felix the governor. 25 And he wrote a letter after this manner: 26 Claudius Lysias to the most noble governor Felix, greeting. 27 I, having come with the guard, rescued this man, who was taken by the Jews, and was about to be slain, having learned that he was a Roman. 28 And wishing to know the cause whereof they accused him, I brought him down to their Sanhedrim; 29 Whom I found to be accused of questions of

their law, but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds. 30 And when it was told me that they laid in wait for the man, I immediately sent him to thee, and enjoined his accusers to say before thee what they had against him.

31 Then the soldiers, according to their instructions, took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris. 32 On the morrow, leaving the horsemen to go with him, they returned to the barracks: 33 Who, when they came to Cæsarca, and delivered the epistle to the governor, presented Paul also before him. 34 And after reading the letter, and asking of what province he was, and learning that he was of Cilicia, he said: 35 I shall hear thee when thine accusers are also come. And he commanded him to be kept in the prætorium of Herod.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 12. *Τινες τῶν Ἰουδαίων* is the reading of G, H; whereas A, B, C, E, \aleph read *οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*, the reading adopted by most recent critics. Ver. 15. *Ἀὔριον* after *ὅπως* is found in G, H, but is wanting in A, B, C, E, \aleph , and rejected by recent critics. Ver. 20. *Ὡς μέλλοντες*, the reading of the *textus receptus*, is found in no uncial ms.; A, B, E read *ὡς μέλλον*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. The Sinaitic ms. reads *ὡς μέλλον*. Ver. 30. *Ἐπὶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων* are found in G, H; *ἐξ αὐτῶν* is the reading of A, E, \aleph ; whereas B simply omits the words: this last is the reading adopted by Tischendorf. *Ἐρῶσω* is found in E, G, \aleph , but omitted in A, B, and rejected by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 34. *Ὁ ἡγεμὼν*, found in G, H, is omitted in A, B, E, \aleph , and rejected by most recent critics. Ver. 35. *Ἐκέλευσέ τε* are found in G, H; whereas A, B, E read *κελεύσας*, the reading adopted by most recent critics. The Sinaitic ms. reads *κελεύσαντος*.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 12. *Ποιήσαντες συστροφὴν*—*having made a conspiracy*. *Συστροφὴν*, a concourse, a combination, a confederacy: here more exactly defined by *συνωμοσίαν* (ver. 13), a conspiracy. *Οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*—*the Jews*; that is, those Jews who were hostile to Paul; the Jews from Asia (Acts xxi. 27), according to

Ewald. Kuinœl supposes that they belonged to the Sicarii, and were instigated by Ananias the high priest, who, he judges, was a Sadducee. This opinion, however, is not proved from the text; though it is evident that they were fanatical Jews or zealots, who thought it their duty to slay those whom they esteemed to be breakers of the law, but whose death could not be effected by a legal process. *Ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἑαυτοὺς*—*bound themselves with an oath*; literally, “anathematized themselves”—invoked the curse of God upon themselves, in case of violation of their vow, asserting that they would neither eat nor drink until they had killed Paul. Such was at this period the state of Jewish society, that such execrable oaths were not only made by the fanatical Jews, but made with the cognizance and approval of their rulers. Josephus mentions a similar conspiracy against Herod the Great, into which a number of Jews entered, on account of his introducing new customs, which they esteemed violations of the Mosaic law. Ten men conspired to slay him, and swore to undergo any dangers in the attempt; and when the plot was discovered, and they were put to death, they declared that the conspiracy to which they had sworn was a holy and pious act (*Ant.* xv. 8. 3, 4). See also 1 Macc. ii. 23–26, where Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees, put to death the apostate Jews. Even the philosophic Philo justifies assassination in the case of apostates. The Jews who had made such oaths could, in case of failure, easily procure absolution from their rabbis. Lightfoot gives the following quotation from the Talmud: “He that hath made a vow not to eat anything, woe to him if he eat, and woe to him if he eat not. If he eat, he sinneth against his vow; if he eat not, he sinneth against his life. What must a man do in his case? Let him go to the wise men, and they will loose his vow; according as it is written, The tongue of the wise is health” (*Horæ Hebraicæ*, vol. iv. p. 147).

Ver. 14. *Προσελθόντες τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις*—*having come to the chief priests and elders*. It is generally supposed that it was to the Sadducean faction of the Sanhedrim that the forty conspirators repaired, as the

Pharisees rather favoured the apostle (Meyer, De Wette). But it is more probable that this favourable feeling on the part of the Pharisees was transient, being the impulse of the moment, and that they soon united with the Sadducees in hostility to the apostle. It is evident that they as well as the Sadducees accused him before Felix (Acts xxiv. 15). *Ἀναθέματι ἀνεθεματίσαμεν ἑαυτοὺς*—*we have bound ourselves with a great curse*: literally, “we have anathematized ourselves with an anathema;” the notion of intenseness being here expressed by prefixing to the verb its cognate noun.¹

Ver. 15. *Ὡς μέλλοντας διαγινώσκειν ἀκριβέστερον τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ*—*as though you would inquire something more accurately concerning him*. The reason assigned for again bringing Paul before the Sanhedrim was plausible; as the former hearing was interrupted, and the information obtained imperfect. If God had not in His providence interfered, Lysias would in all likelihood have granted the request, and the conspiracy of the Jews might have been successful.

Ver. 16. *Δὲ ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀδελφῆς Παύλου*—*but the son of Paul's sister*. This is the only direct reference which we have in Scripture to Paul's family. It is altogether uncertain whether Paul's nephew had his stated residence in Jerusalem, or whether he was one of those who had come up with Paul. Ewald supposes that the whole family settled in Jerusalem when Paul was a young man. Others think that the nephew, like the apostle himself, was sent to Jerusalem for education. *Ἀκούσας τὸ ἐνεδρον*—*having heard of the plot*. *Ἐνεδρον*, a snare, an ambush, a lying in wait; referring to the plot to assassinate Paul when he went from the Castle of Antonia to the council-room. We are not informed how Paul's nephew obtained his knowledge of the conspiracy; but as the conspirators were numerous, and as they had given information of their designs to the chief priests and elders, the plot could not have remained long concealed. *Ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ Παύλῳ*—*he told Paul*. Paul, although a prisoner, yet being a Roman and uncondemned, was not prevented from receiving visits from his friends. Perhaps also Lysias,

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 487.

who seems to have been favourably impressed with him, treated him with peculiar indulgence. Such also was the lenient nature of his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea (Acts xxiv. 23), and again at Rome (Acts xxviii. 30, 31).

Ver. 17. *Τὸν νεανίαν τούτου ἀπάγαγε πρὸς τὸν χιλιάρχον*—bring this young man to the tribune. Although Paul had an express promise from Christ of security, that he would escape the snares of the Jews, and bear witness for Him at Rome, yet he did not neglect any proper means of safety; thus proving how far removed he was from the character of an enthusiast. His prudence also is here observable: he does not tell the centurion, but thinks it safer to inform the tribune himself.

Ver. 18. *Ὁ δέσμιος Παῦλος*—the prisoner Paul. *Δέσμιος* signifies "one bound:" hence it is generally supposed that Paul was still bound by a chain to the arm of a soldier, according to the Roman manner of confinement. As a Roman citizen, he was in *custodia militaris*. Perhaps, however, as we were previously informed that Paul was loosened from his chains (Acts xxii. 30), the term may be here used in a general sense, and may only signify that Paul was kept in confinement in the Castle of Antonia, without being again bound.

Ver. 19. *Ἀναχωρήσας κατ' ἰδίαν*—having gone aside privately. Both expressions, "aside" and "privately," are in the original,—the former being included in the verb, and the latter in the phrase *κατ' ἰδίαν*.—*Ἀναχωρέω*, to withdraw for privacy, to go aside.

Ver. 21. *Προσδεχόμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἐπαγγελίαν*—expecting the promise from you. *Ἐπαγγελία* is not to be rendered *jussum*, "an order" (Rosenmüller), nor *nuntius*, "a message" (Beza, Grotius); but, according to its usual meaning in the New Testament, *promissio*, "a promise" (Meyer).

Ver. 22. *Παραγγείλας μηδενὶ ἐκλαλῆσαι*, etc.—having charged him to tell no man "that thou hast showed these things to me." Here there is a change from the indirect to the direct form of expression. See a similar instance of such a variation in Acts i. 4.

Ver. 23. Δύο τινὰς—*some two*: “two or three,” “about two.” Compare Luke vii. 19. Στρατιώτας—*soldiers*; namely, the heavy-armed foot-soldiers, the legionaries—here distinguished from the horsemen and spearmen. Δεξιόλαβους—*spearmen*. This word, compounded of δεξιός and λαμβάνω, “one taking the right,” is not found in classical Greek, and occurs only in a passage from the writings of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The δεξιόλαβοι are here distinguished from the heavy-armed legionary soldiers (στρατιῶται), and from the horsemen (ἵππεῖς), and hence are generally supposed to denote a species of light-armed troops. In the passage from the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, quoted by Meyer, they are also distinguished from bowmen (τοξοφόρους) and from targeteers (πελταστάς). Some (Suidas, Beza, Kuinœl) suppose that they were a kind of body-guard, those who protected the right side of the commander; and others (Meursius) that they were a kind of military lictors—those who were bound to the right side of their prisoners. But their number, two hundred, is against both of these opinions, as it is not to be supposed that the commander of a cohort should have so large a body-guard or so many lictors at his command. Meyer supposes that the name refers to the nature of their weapons—those who grasped their weapons with the right hand—and that they were slingers or javelin-throwers. Ewald thinks that they were Arabian auxiliaries, because Arabia was celebrated for its slingers. Perhaps our English version “spearmen” is as correct as any. The Codex Alexandrinus reads δεξιόβόλους, from δεξιός and βάλλω, “javelin-throwers,” the reading preferred by Lachmann; and which Meyer, although he looks upon it as a later correction, regards as the correct interpretation.¹ Ἀπὸ τρίτης ὥρας τῆς νυκτός—*from the third hour of the night*. The military guard was to be ready to depart at the third hour of the night, that is, at nine in the evening, for the sake of safety, when they would be favoured by the darkness.

The whole number of soldiers appointed to convey Paul

¹ See Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 448, 449.

to Cæsarea was 470; so that we are inclined to say, with Bengel, "Far too large a number of soldiers was put in motion against more than forty zealots." But the disturbed state of Judea must be kept in view. Then, as we learn from Josephus, the Sicarii abounded, and murders were of daily occurrence. So numerous were these zealots, that a few years after this an army of them took possession of Jerusalem, and held it for several days, murdering the principal men, and committing great atrocities. Besides, the conspiracy against Paul was of a formidable nature, as it was countenanced and supported by the Sanhedrim; and as he was a Roman citizen, it was the bounden duty of the tribune to protect him to the utmost of his power. The Roman soldiers were also kept in constant action, and employment was sought for them; and being numerous in Jerusalem, such a number might well be spared for two or three days. Claudius Lysias probably erred in sending so many, but it was natural for him to err on the safe side.

Ver. 24. Πρὸς Φήλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα—to *Felix the governor*. Felix is elsewhere known to us from the writings of Tacitus, Suetonius, and Josephus. He is called by Suidas, Claudius Felix; but from Tacitus it would appear that his proper name was Antonius Felix. He was the brother of Pallas, the favourite and minister of the Emperors Claudius and Nero; and was originally a freedman of the Empress Antonia, the mother of Claudius, from whom he received the name Antonius. According to Tacitus, he was the governor of Samaria when Cumanus was procurator of Judea (A.D. 48) (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 54),—a fact not mentioned by Josephus, and which is generally supposed to be a mistake. On the deposition of Cumanus, he was, chiefly by the influence of the high priest Jonathan, appointed procurator of Judea, in the twelfth year of the reign of Claudius, A.D. 52 (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 5), and was continued in his procuratorship by Nero through the influence of his brother Pallas. His character and government are thus succinctly described by Tacitus: *ius regium servili ingenio exercuit*—"he exercised the authority of a king with the spirit of a slave" (*Hist.* v. 9); and

again he says of him, *cuncta malefacta sibi impune ratus tantâ potentiâ subnixo*—"Relying on such powerful protection (namely, the influence of his brother Pallas), he supposed he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villany" (*Ann.* xii. 54). And the character which Josephus gives of him entirely corresponds with this description of Tacitus. He certainly displayed considerable vigour in clearing the country of robbers, and putting down rebellions; but he was cruel, tyrannical, and avaricious in his government. One of his worst actions was to employ the Sicarii to murder the high priest Jonathan, to whom he was partly indebted for his procuratorship, who had excited his displeasure by advising him to be more moderate in his government (*Joseph. Ant.* xx. 8. 5). According to Suetonius, he was the husband of three queens—*trium reginarum maritum* (*Claud.* xxviii.): one of them was Drusilla, the daughter of Herod Agrippa I. (see note to Acts xxiv. 24); a second, as we learn from Tacitus, was the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, the niece of the Empress Antonia, and the full cousin of Claudius (*Hist.* v. 9); the third is unknown. After ruling over Judea for the comparatively long period of seven or eight years, he was recalled by Nero, and succeeded by Festus, A.D. 60. Josephus informs us that, after his recall, the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea sent a deputation after him to Rome to accuse him before the emperor, and that he would certainly have been punished for his misgovernment had he not been protected by Pallas, who at that time was high in favour with the court (*Ant.* xx. 8. 9). According to Merivale, however, Pallas was disgraced as early as the year 56, although he was not put to death by Nero until the year 63 (*History of the Romans*, vol. vii. p. 196). But although Pallas was then in partial disgrace, yet he might still retain sufficient influence to screen his brother.

Ver. 25. *Γράψας ἐπιστολὴν περιέχουσαν τὸν τύπον τοῦτου*—having written a letter after this manner. *Τύπος*, a type, a pattern, an outline, corresponds with the Latin *exemplum*. The Roman law required that a subordinate officer, in sending a prisoner to his superior, should send along with him

a written statement of the case. Such letters were called *elogia* (Hackett). Probably the letter, being a public document, was read in open court, so that Luke might obtain a copy of it. Alford supposes that its contents transpired through some officers at Jerusalem or at Cæsarea friendly to Paul.

Ver. 26. *Κλαύδιος Λυσίας*—*Claudius Lysias*. Here the name of the tribune is incidentally given. There is no mention of him in Roman history; but certainly his character and conduct contrast most favourably with that of his superior Antonius Felix, and with that of Pontius Pilate, when placed in somewhat similar circumstances. He exhibited energy, decision, and prudence: he had evidently taken a great interest in his prisoner, and was determined to rescue him at all hazards. The letter (*elogium*) which he sent along with him was a testimonial in his favour, rather than an accusation. *Τῷ κρατίστῳ ἡγεμόνι*—*to the most noble governor*: the official title of Felix, as in our country the governor of a colony is addressed as “his excellency the governor.” So Tertullus addresses Felix (Acts xxiv. 3), and Paul Festus (Acts xxvi. 25). Luke uses the same term in the dedication of his Gospel to Theophilus (Luke i. 3).

Ver. 27. *Ἐπιστὰς σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι ἐξελάμην αὐτὸν, μαθὼν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖός ἐστι*—*I, having come with the guard, rescued him, having learned that he is a Roman*. It would seem from this that Lysias wished to convey the impression that Paul's citizenship was the cause of his rescuing him, whereas he did not know this until afterwards. Du Bois thinks that the tribune here alludes to the second rescue, when he stood before the Sanhedrim (Acts xxiii. 10); but this is opposed to ver. 28, where it is stated that after the rescue Lysias brought him before the Sanhedrim. Others (Beza, Grotius, Doddridge, Lechler) think that *μαθὼν* does not refer to any definite time, but is equivalent to *καὶ μαθὼν*, “and I learned that he was a Roman.” Others (Meyer, De Wette, Lechler, Wordsworth, Baumgarten) think that the tribune intentionally told a falsehood in order to

make his conduct appear more praiseworthy. He wished to conceal the fault he had committed in ordering a Roman citizen to be scourged, and misrepresented the circumstances of the case for his own advantage. Probably, however, we have only an instance of mere negligence in composition, and not any wilful falsehood. All that the tribune wished to say was, that he had taken special precautions for the safety of his prisoner, because he had learned that he was a Roman.

Ver. 29. *Μηδὲν δὲ ἄξιον θανάτου ἢ δεσμῶν ἔχοντα ἔγκλημα*—*but to have nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds.* *Θανάτου* the highest penalty, and *δεσμῶν* the lowest penalty of the law. It is observable that all the judges—Claudius Lysias, Felix, King Agrippa, and Festus—testify to the innocence of the apostle.

Ver. 30. *Μηνυθείσης δέ μοι ἐπιβουλῆς εἰς τον ἄνδρα μέλλειν ἔσεσθαι*—*and when it was told me that they laid in wait for the man; literally, "a plot having been warned to me that it was about to be laid against the man."* There is here an anacoluthon: the conclusion of the clause should have been, *τῆς μελλούσης ἔσεσθαι*.¹

Ver. 31. *Εἰς τὴν Ἀντιπατρίδα*—*to Antipatris.* Antipatris was a town on the way from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, about twelve miles from Joppa, situated in a fruitful and well-watered plain. Its former name was Capharsalama; and under this name it is mentioned in the wars of the Maccabees (1 Macc. vii. 31; *Ant.* xiii. 15. 1). Herod the Great rebuilt it, and called it Antipatris in honour of his father Antipater. "Herod," says Josephus, "erected another city in the plain, called Capharsaba, where he chose out a fit place both for plenty of water and goodness of soil; this he named Antipatris from his father Antipater" (*Ant.* xvi. 5. 2).² At the commencement of the Jewish war, we are informed that Vespasian led his army from Cæsarea to Antipatris (*Bell. Jud.* iv. 8. 1). Afterwards the city fell into decay, and is mentioned by Jerome as *semirutum oppidulum*. It has been identified with the village Kefr Sâba,

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 590. ² See also Joseph. *Bell. Jud.* i. 21. 9.

supposed to be a corruption of its old name Capharsaba. No ruins have been discovered in the neighbourhood.¹

The distance of Antipatris from Jerusalem was about forty Roman miles. The *Jerusalem Itinerary* gives the distance as follows: from Jerusalem to Nicopolis, twenty-two miles; to Lydda, ten miles; and to Antipatris, ten miles. Such a distance could not have been traversed, even by a forced march, in a single night. Probably they reached Nicopolis on the morning of the first day, and having rested there, would arrive at Antipatris on the second day.² According to this, *διὰ νυκτός*, “by night,” must refer either to their travelling during the night—namely, two nights (*Κινοῶν*); or more probably to their departure—that they left Jerusalem during the night (*De Wette*).

Ver. 32. *Τῇ δὲ ἐπαύριον*—and on the morrow; that is, not on the morrow after leaving Jerusalem, as the text would at first sight suggest, but on the morrow after they arrived at Antipatris,—having taken, in all, part of three days to accomplish their journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea. *Ἐπέστρεψαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν*—they returned to the barracks. When they reached Antipatris, the foot-soldiers left and returned to Jerusalem, whilst the horsemen proceeded with Paul to Cæsarea. The foot-soldiers were no longer necessary to secure Paul’s safety, as they were forty miles distant from Jerusalem, and no plot by the way was now to be apprehended. The distance between Antipatris and Cæsarea was about twenty-six miles.

Ver. 34. This is a participial sentence, being composed of three participles—*ἀναγνούς*, *ἐπερωτήσας*, and *πυθόμενος*; literally translated, “And after reading the letter, and asking of what province he is, and learning that he was of Cilicia,

¹ Robinson’s *Biblical Researches*, pp. 138, 139. London: John Murray, 1856.

² There are two roads from Jerusalem to Antipatris,—the one by Beth-horon, the other by Gophna. The latter road is the shorter, and was traversed by Dr. Eli Smith, an American, for the express purpose of illustrating this night march. It is barely possible that by a forced march the distance could be traversed in a single night; but the narrative does not constrain us to this supposition.

I shall hear you, he said," etc. Felix does not inquire whether Paul was a Roman, as this was stated in the letter; but of what province he was, concerning which no information was given.

Ver. 35. Διακούσομαι σου—I shall hear thee. Διακούειν, "to hear fully in a judicial sense"—*ad finem usque audire*. According to the Roman law, the governor of the province to whom a prisoner was sent was not to be satisfied with the statement of the case sent by his subordinate, but was to examine into it for himself. *Qui cum elogio mittuntur, ex integro audiendi sunt* (Böttger's *Beiträge*, ii. 8).¹ Ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ τοῦ Ἡρώδου—in the *prætorium* of Herod. This was the palace built by Herod the Great when he rebuilt Cæsarea, and made it his residence. Judea being now a Roman province, the palace of its former kings had become the official residence of the governor. Probably some tower belonging to it might be used as a kind of state prison. From this it appears that Paul was leniently dealt with: he was not cast into the common prison, but detained in the governor's own residence, and was also, as we are informed, allowed a considerable degree of liberty, and permitted to receive the visits of his friends (Acts xxiv. 23). For this his position as a Roman citizen, and uncondemned, and the favourable letter of Lysias, sufficiently account.

¹ Quoted by De Wette, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 170.

SECTION XXIII.

PAUL BEFORE FELIX.—Acts xxiv. 1-27.

1 And after five days the high priest Ananias came down with the elders, and a certain orator Tertullus, and informed the governor against Paul. 2 And when he was summoned, Tertullus began to accuse him, saying, That through thee we enjoy much peace and many excellent arrangements effected to this nation through thy providence, 3 We acknowledge it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all thankfulness. 4 But that I may not weary thee too much, I entreat thee to hear us briefly of thy clemency. 5 For we have found this man a pest, and a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world, and a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes: 6 Who also attempted to profane the temple: whom also we seized. 7, 8 From whom thou thyself mayest learn, by examination, concerning all those things of which we accuse him. 9 And the Jews also assailed him, saying that these things were so.

10 Then Paul, the governor having beckoned on him to speak, answered, As I know that thou hast been for many years a judge of this nation, I do cheerfully defend myself: 11 Since thou art able to ascertain that there are no more than twelve days since I came up to Jerusalem to worship. 12 And they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, nor raising up a popular tumult, neither in the synagogues nor in the city: 13 Nor can they prove the things of which they now accuse me. 14 But this I confess to thee, that after the way which they call a sect, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the prophets: 15 Having a hope toward God, which they themselves also admit, that there shall be a resurrection, both of the just and unjust. 16 Herein also do I exercise myself, to have always a blameless conscience toward God and men. 17 Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation, and offerings. 18 While doing this, they found me purified in the temple, neither with multitude, nor with tumult; but certain Jews of Asia (found me), 19 Who ought to have been here before thee, and to have accused me, if they had anything against me. 20 Or let these same say what crime they have found in me, while I stood before the Sanhedrim, 21 Except it be for this one exclamation, that I cried standing

among them, Concerning the resurrection of the dead I am judged by you this day.

22 But Felix deferred them, being more accurately instructed concerning that way, saying, When Lysias the tribune shall have come down, I will fully hear you. 23 And he commanded the centurion to keep him, and to grant him indulgence, and to prevent none of his friends from ministering unto him.

24 And after certain days, when Felix came with his wife Drusilla, who was a Jewess, he sent for Paul, and heard him concerning the faith in Christ. 25 And as he discoursed concerning righteousness, and chastity, and the judgment which is to come, Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I obtain a convenient season, I shall call for thee. 26 At the same time he hoped that money would be given him by Paul: wherefore he sent for him the oftener, and communed with him. 27 But after two years had elapsed Felix received Porcius Festus as his successor: and Felix, wishing to win the favour of the Jews, left Paul bound.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Vers. 6-8. The following words—*καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον ἠθελήσαμεν κρίνειν. Παρελθὼν δὲ Λυσίας ὁ χιλιάρχος, μετὰ πολλῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν ἡμῶν ἀπήγαγε κελεύσας τοὺς κατηγοροὺς αὐτοῦ ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ σέ*—of the *textus receptus* are only found in one uncial ms. (E), and are wanting in A, B, G, H, \aleph . The mss. C and D are here deficient. The words are rejected by Griesbach, De Wette, Meyer, Lachmann, and Tischendorf. (See Exegetical Remarks.) Ver. 9. *Συνέθεντο* is found in no uncial ms.; A, B, E, G, H, \aleph have *συνεπέθεντο*, the reading adopted by recent critics. Ver. 10. *Εὐθυμότερον* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, E, \aleph read *εὐθύμως*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 15. *Νεκρῶν*, found in E, G, H, is wanting in A, B, C, \aleph , and is omitted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 18. *Τινές* without *δὲ* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, C, E, \aleph read *τινές δὲ*, the reading adopted by Tischendorf. Ver. 20. *Εἰ* after *εἰπάτωσαν* is wanting in A, B, C, E, G, H, \aleph , and is rejected by all recent critics. Ver. 22. *Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα* are found only in one uncial ms. (G), and are rejected by recent critics. Ver. 23. *Τὸν Παῦλον* are found in G, H; whereas A, B, C, E, \aleph read *αὐτόν*, the reading generally

adopted by recent critics. **Ἡ προσέρχουσα*, found in G, H, are wanting in A, B, C, E, K, and are generally rejected. Ver. 26. The words *ὅπως λύσῃ αὐτόν* occur in G, H, but are omitted in A, B, C, E, K, and are generally rejected.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. *Μετὰ δὲ πέντε ἡμέρας*—*but after five days*. These five days have been differently reckoned. Some (Basnage, Michaelis, Rosenmüller) reckon them from the imprisonment of Paul in Jerusalem; but this would not afford sufficient time, as it was probably five days after that event before Paul himself arrived at Cæsarea. (See note to Acts xxiii. 31, 32.) Others (Wieseler, Anger) reckon them from the arrival of Paul at Cæsarea; but it is difficult to reconcile this with ver. 11, as in that case more than twelve days would have elapsed since he came to Jerusalem. (See note to ver. 11.) The most natural meaning is, five days after Paul's departure from Jerusalem. So Heinrichs, Kuinöel, Meyer, De Wette, Lange, Renan, Howson. *Μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων*—*with the elders*; obviously not with the whole Sanhedrim, but a deputation from it. Ananias and certain members of the Sanhedrim came in obedience to the order of Lysias to Cæsarea, as the accusers of Paul.

Καὶ ῥήτορος—*and an orator*: that is, *orator forensis*, or *causidicus*, an advocate. Such advocates were called *ῥήτορες*; in the older classical Greek, *συνήγοροι*. They were numerous in the provincial courts, because the young Romans used to practise there to prepare themselves for the political contentions of the forum (Cicero, *pro Cælio*, c. 30).¹ The Jews, as subjects of the Roman empire, seem to have had no professed advocates of their own; and being themselves little acquainted with the laws and forms in use among the Romans, they had to employ Roman advocates. It is a matter of dispute whether the pleading in the provincial courts was in Latin or in the language of the province. Valerius Maximus tells us that Latin was the language of

¹ Humphry on the Acts, p. 182.

the law courts throughout the Roman empire (Val. Max. ii. 2). But it would appear from a passage in Dio Cassius, that under the emperors trials were permitted in Greek even in Rome itself (Dion Cass. lvii. 15). *Τερτύλλου*—*Tertullus*. Tertullus was a common Latin name, being a diminutive of Tertius; as Tertullianus, again, is similarly derived from Tertullus. From this it is inferred that he was a Roman advocate. *Οἷτινες ἐνεφάνισαν τῷ ἡγεμόνῳ*—*who informed the governor against Paul*. According to the Roman mode of procedure, a special charge had first to be made by the accuser; and this was intimated to the accused, and then the trial proceeded in the presence of both parties (Acts xxv. 16).

Ver. 2. *Ἦρξατο κατηγορεῖν ὁ Τέρτυλλος*—*Tertullus began to accuse him*. The charge against Paul being made, and he being called into court, Tertullus, the advocate of the Jews, commences as the accuser. It is probable that we have here the mere outlines of his speech. The commencement is elaborate, but the contents are very meagre, and this is especially the case if the passage contained in vers. 6–8 is spurious. But still, from what we have, it is evident that Tertullus must have been a skilful advocate: the eulogium which he pronounces was at once delicate and artful; and the charges brought against Paul were well chosen, being such as it became the Roman governor to investigate.

Vers. 2, 3. *Πολλῆς εἰρήνης τυγχάνοντες*—*that we enjoy much peace*. *Τυγχάνω* signifies to obtain, to receive, hence to enjoy. *Κατορθωμάτων*—*excellent regulations*. This word occurs only here in the New Testament: it is governed by *τυγχάνοντες*, forming part of one participial sentence. *Κατόρθωμα* is anything rightly or successfully done; it most frequently applies to military deeds or achievements. Here the meaning seems to be, improved regulations of government. Most critics suppose that *πολλῆς* applies to both ideas, and hence supply *πολλῶν* (De Wette, Hackett). *Διὰ τῆς σῆς προνοίας*—*through thy providence*—*τιὰ providentiá*. So *Providentia Augusti* is a common title on the coins of the

emperors. *Πάντη τε καὶ πανταχοῦ*—*always and in all places*. These words, according to Meyer, are to be referred to *γυνομένων*—“excellent regulations effected on every side, and in all places;” but it is more in accordance with their position in the text to refer them, as Tischendorf does, to *ἀποδεχόμεθα*—“we receive them always, and in all places.” Accordingly the passage may be rendered thus: “That through thee we enjoy much peace, and many excellent arrangements effected to this nation through thy providence, we acknowledge it always, and in all places, most noble Felix, with all gratitude.”

Tertullus commences his speech by flattering Felix. He thus proves himself to be skilled in that art of oratory mentioned by Grotius: “It is one of the rules of rhetoric to secure the good-will of the judge by praising him.” He praises him for the peace and improved regulations which resulted from his government; and, as Ulpian states, it is the first duty of a procurator to secure peace for his province (Ulpianus, *De officio præsidis*). Nor was such praise entirely undeserved. Felix showed considerable vigour and decision in suppressing robberies and rebellions. “As to the number of robbers,” observes Josephus, “whom he caused to be crucified, and of those whom he brought to be punished, they were a multitude not to be enumerated” (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 13. 2). He seized and sent to Rome a famous brigand called Eleazer, who had ravaged the country for nearly twenty years; he repressed the rebellion of the Egyptian impostor; and quieted a sedition which arose between the Jewish and Greek inhabitants of Cæsarea (*Ant.* xx. 8. 5–7). Yet, notwithstanding, he was probably the worst governor that Judea had. He had a number of the Sicarii continually in his employment; and instead of pacifying the Jews, he only fanned the spirit of sedition. “Felix,” observes Tacitus, “by applying unseasonable remedies, inflamed the dissatisfaction, emulated, as he was, in his abandoned courses by Ventidius Cumanus” (*Ann.* xii. 54; *Hist.* v. 9). As has been well remarked, he was more criminal than those robbers and rebels whom he put to death: *ipse tamen his omnibus erat nocentior* (Wetstein).

Ver. 5. *Εὐρόντες γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον*—*for having found this man.* We have here an anacoluthon: *ἐκρατήσαμεν αὐτόν* should have followed directly; but instead of this a relative clause intervenes, and the principal verb itself is annexed to it.¹ *Δοιμόν*—*a pest.* *Δοιμός* signifies the plague, the pest; but it is also employed in classical writers for a mischievous person. *Κινοῦντα στάσιω*—*a mover of sedition*—a disturber of the public peace. *Κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην*—*throughout the world*: here, in the mouth of a Roman, before a Roman court of justice, it signifies “throughout the Roman empire.” *Τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἰρέσεως*—*of the sect of the Nazarenes.* This is the only place in Scripture where the term Nazarenes is used to denote the Christians. It was doubtless the Jewish appellation for them, as the Jews could not employ the sacred name of Christ to denote those whom they regarded as apostates. The name originated from Jesus being known by the distinction “Jesus the Nazarene” (Matt. ii. 23), just as the followers of Judas of Galilee were called Galileans. There does not appear to be anything peculiarly offensive in the appellation. The name afterwards came to be applied to those Judaizing Christians who, after the death of the apostles, separated themselves from the Christian church.

Ver. 6. *Ὅς καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐπέπειρασεν βεβηλῶσαι*—*who also attempted to profane the temple.* The charge was cleverly chosen: Tertullus does not accuse Paul of the actual profanation of the temple (as in Acts xxi. 28),—an accusation which could easily be refuted; but of an attempt to do so—of actions which led the Jews to suspect that this was his object. The Romans granted the Jews the power of punishing any of their countrymen who profaned their worship; and it would almost appear that they could put to death any Gentile, even though he were a Roman, who crossed the barrier between the court of the Gentiles and that of the Jews (*Bell. Jud.* vi. 2. 4).

The charges which Tertullus brought against Paul were three. First, that he created disturbances among the Jews

¹ Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 368; Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 454.

throughout the empire—an offence against the Roman government—*crimen majestatis*. Secondly, that he was a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes—disturbed the Jews in the exercise of their religion, guaranteed by the state—introduced new gods, a thing prohibited by the Romans. And thirdly, that he attempted to profane the temple,—a crime which the Jews were permitted to punish.

Vers. 6-8. The genuineness of the entire passage, *καὶ κατὰ . . . ἔρχεσθε ἐπὶ σε*, has been called in question. The external evidence is decidedly against its reception. It is wanting in the uncial MSS. A, B, G, H, K (C and D are here defective), and in several important versions; and in those cursive versions where it occurs there are many variations. The only uncial MS. in which it is found is E. Had the words been genuine, no reason can be assigned for their omission. On the other hand, the internal evidence is rather in their favour. Without them, the speech of Tertullus is apparently defective, and awkward in point of construction. The words which follow the disputed passage—*παρ' οὗ, from whom*—give a much better sense when referred to Lysias, to whom they would apply were the passage genuine, than when referred to the prisoner Paul, to whom otherwise they must apply. Besides, there is nothing in the words themselves out of place: on the contrary, it was very natural in Tertullus to allude to the conduct of Lysias, and to refer Felix to him for further information; and it is a corroboration of this, that we find that Felix actually put off the trial until the arrival of Lysias (ver. 22). But where the external evidence is so defective, much weight is not to be placed on these purely subjective reasons. Accordingly, the passage has been rejected by the most distinguished of our modern critics. So Mill, Bengel, Griesbach, Matthiæ, Lachmann, Tischendorf, De Wette, Meyer, Lechler.¹

Ver. 8. *Παρ' οὗ*—*from whom*; that is, “from Paul,” if the disputed passage be rejected. Grotius supposes that examination by torture is here meant, but this was inad-

¹ Alford retains it, but encloses it within brackets; Wordsworth considers it to be genuine. See De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 171.

missible in the case of a Roman citizen; perhaps, however, Tertullus, knowing the character of the judge, insinuates that other means having failed, this might be resorted to. The object of the speech was evidently to persuade Felix to permit Paul to be tried by the Jewish courts, as the offences with which he was charged were offences against the Jewish law; in which case it is probable they would have attempted his assassination (Acts xxv. 3).

Ver. 9. *Συνεπέθεντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι*—*and the Jews also assailed him.* The Jews—that is, Ananias and the elders—joined with their advocate in accusing Paul, and assented to the truth of the charges brought against him. *Συνεπιτίθημι*, to put or lay together, to assail, to join in assailing.

Ver. 10. *Ἀπεκρίθη τε ὁ Παῦλος*—*and Paul answered.* The accuser having brought forward his charges, it was now the part of the accused to answer. This he could either do himself or through an advocate. Paul adopted the former alternative. After a brief exordium (vers. 10, 11), he takes up the charges brought against him, and refutes them in succession: that he was not a disturber of the public peace (vers. 12, 13); that although belonging to the so-called sect of the Nazarenes, he was not an apostate from the Jewish religion (vers. 14–16); and that, far from making any attempt to profane the temple, the sole purpose of his presence there was to honour it (vers. 17–21).

Ἐκ πολλῶν ἐτῶν ὄντα σε κριτὴν τῷ ἔθνει τούτῳ ἐπιστάμενος—*As I know that thou hast been for many years a judge unto this nation.* Paul, without descending to the flattery of Tertullus, opens his address in a respectful manner. With a view of gaining a favourable hearing from his judge, he commences with the statement of a known fact, that Felix had been for many years a judge of the nation, and therefore was better acquainted with their affairs than a stranger would be, so that he could speak to him with the greater confidence. Felix was appointed procurator of Judea, after the recall of Cumanus, A.D. 51 or 52 (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7. 1), and had therefore been governor for a period of six or seven years. According to Tacitus, he was governor of Samaria

when Cumanus was procurator of Judea (*Ann.* xii. 54) : if this were the case, he would have come into the country as early as A.D. 48. And even although the statement of Tacitus, that Felix then exercised an independent command in Samaria, is doubtful, yet it may have arisen from his holding some important subordinate office in that province under Cumanus. But even six or seven years, during which he was procurator of Judea, were "many years" compared with the short periods of the administrations of his three immediate predecessors. Cuspius Fadus was governor for two years; Tiberius Alexander for two; and Ventidius Cumanus for four: so that the government of all these three together lasted only eight years.

Ver. 11. "Ὅτι οὐ πλείους εἰσὶν μοι ἡμέραι δεκαδύο—that there are no more than twelve days since I came up to Jerusalem to worship. Paul means that, as it was only twelve days since his arrival at Jerusalem, the crime of which he was accused—namely, an attempt to profane the temple—must have been of recent occurrence, and therefore could be easily investigated. These twelve days have been variously calculated. They evidently denote the whole time since Paul had come to Jerusalem; and therefore the idea that the days which he spent at Cæsarea are not to be included, is to be rejected (Heinrichs, Kuinzel). Wieseler reckons them as follows: Two days for his journey to Jerusalem; the third day, his interview with James; the fourth (Pentecost), his arrest in the temple; the fifth, his appearance before the Sanhedrim; the sixth, his departure to Cæsarea at night; the seventh, his arrival at Cæsarea; the twelfth (five days after that), the departure of Ananias from Jerusalem; and the thirteenth, the arrival of Ananias at Cæsarea, and the trial of Paul before Felix.¹ This reckoning proceeds on the supposition that Paul was arrested on the day of Pentecost, the very day on which he entered the temple with the four Nazarites; an opinion which we have endeavoured to show is erroneous (see note to Acts xxi. 27). Besides, it is from the time of his arrival at Jerusalem that the twelve days are

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 104.

to be calculated, so that two days are not to be reckoned for his journey to that city. The arrangement adopted by Meyer is perhaps the most correct. According to him, the first day was the arrival in Jerusalem (ch. xxi. 15-17); the second, the interview with James (ch. xxi. 18); the third, the uniting with the Nazarites in their vow (ch. xxi. 26); the fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh days, the days of the Nazaritic offering, interrupted by the arrest of Paul in the temple (ch. xxi. 27); the eighth day, the apostle before the Sanhedrim (ch. xxii. 30); the ninth, the conspiracy of the Jews (ch. xxiii. 12), and the departure of Paul the same night from Jerusalem (ch. xxiii. 23); the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth days (including part of the ninth and thirteenth), the five days after which Ananias and the elders came down to Cæsarea (ch. xxiv. 1); and the thirteenth day, the trial before Felix.¹

Ver. 12. In this verse we have Paul's answer to the first charge, that he was a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the Roman empire. To this he replies, that this was a mere assertion incapable of proof. *Καὶ οὔτε ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ εὐρόν με*—and they neither found me in the temple disputing with any man, nor raising up a popular tumult, neither in the synagogues nor in the city. Before the words, "neither in the synagogues nor in the city," are to be supplied, "They found me disputing with any man, or raising up a popular tumult." So that these acts—disputing, and raising up a popular tumult—are denied with reference to these three places—the temple, the synagogues, and the city (Hackett).

Ver. 14. *Ὁμολογῶ δὲ τοῦτό σοι*—but this I confess to thee. Paul now comes to the second charge, that he was a ring-leader of the sect of the Nazarenes. He at once admits that he did belong to this so-called sect; but at the same time maintains that, by doing so, he did not relinquish the religion of his fathers. *Κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν*—after the way; that is, according to the views, the mode of thinking, the religious opinions, of those whom they called Nazarenes. *Ἦν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν*—which they call a sect. The allusion is to the

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 457, 458.

speech of Tertullus, in which he speaks of the sect of the Nazarenes,—an allusion lost sight of in our English version, by the same word being rendered *sect* in ver. 5 and *heresy* in ver. 14. The word *αἵρεσις* is generally used in Scripture, and especially in the Acts, in an indifferent sense (*vox media*), as signifying a sect, a school, a party. Thus it is said that some believers were of “the sect of the Pharisees” (Acts xv. 5); Paul says, “According to the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee” (Acts xxvi. 5); and the Jews at Rome inquired of Paul “what he thought of this sect,” that is, the Christians (Acts xxviii. 22): in all these passages the word is used in an indifferent sense. It would, however, seem that it was here employed by Tertullus in a bad sense, as signifying a schismatic sect; in which sense the word is also used by Paul in 1 Cor. xi. 19. *Οὕτως λατρεύω τῷ πατρίῳ Θεῷ*—*so worship I my fathers' God*: a classical phrase familiar to Felix, and highly appropriate on the present occasion. The Romans protected the Jews in their national religion, and regarded any attempt to disturb them in its exercise as a crime. They also looked with disfavour at the introduction of new and foreign gods. Hence Paul here asserts that he was no schismatic—that he was a worshipper of the God of the Jews; and thus he maintains that according to the Roman law, which allowed all men to worship according to the religion of their country, he was not open to any charge of schism. According to him, Christianity was not a new religion, but the true development of Judaism: he was a Jew in the truest sense of the term; he had carried out the principles of the Jewish religion to their legitimate conclusion. As Lange well expresses it: “By these words Paul maintains that, along with his Christian faith, he was a true Jew; for Christianity is the fulfilment and truth of Judaism. He was a Jew who believed all things which were written in the law and the prophets, not a mere half-believer as the Sadducees, nor an erroneous believer as the Pharisees. He possessed the hope of the resurrection, the centre truth of the Old Testament, which these half-Jews, it is true, expected, but only expected. But

the chief matter was, that he possessed this faith in its moral influence, and that it constrained him to make it his constant endeavour to have a conscience void of offence toward God and men."¹

Ver. 15. Ἦν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι προσδέχονται—*which they themselves also admit, that there shall be a resurrection both of the just and unjust.* From this it would appear that the Pharisees were among the accusers of Paul before Felix; and that the favourable impression produced upon them by his speech before the Sanhedrim was only momentary (Acts xxiii. 9). Paul here asserts that the doctrine of the resurrection formed part of the general belief of his nation; because the opinions of the Sadducees were embraced only by few, whereas the nation in general adopted the views of the Pharisees. Josephus expressly tells us, that while the Sadducees were able to persuade none but the rich, the Pharisees had the multitude on their side (*Ant.* xiii. 10. 6).

Ver. 16. Ἐν τούτῳ—*herein*; that is, "on this account,"—"because of my belief in the resurrection." My belief is not merely speculative, but real and living. Ἀπρόσκοπον συνείδησιν ἔχειν—to have a conscience void of offence. Paul appeals to the general rectitude of his conduct, in proof of his freedom from the charges brought against him. Whatever accusations are brought against me, it has been my constant endeavour to live free of blame.

Ver. 17. Δὶ ἐτῶν δὲ πλείονων—*But after many years.* Paul now proceeds to the third charge—that he had attempted to profane the temple. More than four years had elapsed since his former visit to Jerusalem (Acts xviii. 22). Ἐλεημοσύνας ποιήσω εἰς τὸ ἔθνος μου παρεγερόμην—I came to bring alms to my nation; namely, the alms which he had collected from the churches in Macedonia and Achaia for the poor saints at Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26). This is the only place in the Acts where these collections are mentioned, and that in a most incidental manner; and is an instance of one of those undesigned coincidences which

¹ Lange's *das apostolische Zeitalter*, vol. ii. p. 323. See also Stier's *Words of the Apostles*, p. 428, Clark's translation.

exist between the Acts and the epistles.¹ The contributions were for the saints at Jerusalem, and the church of Jerusalem was then chiefly composed of Jewish Christians. (See also Rom. xv. 27.) *Καὶ προσφορὰς*—and offerings. The alms for the people, and the offerings for the temple. If this was one special purpose of Paul's visit to Jerusalem, then it would appear that he had not desisted from taking part in the sacrifices of the temple. The allusion, however, may be to his joining the four Nazarites in their offerings (Acts xxi. 24–26). So far from any attempt to profane the temple, he had come there to engage in its religious exercises.

Ver. 18. *Ἐν οἷς*—in which; that is, “while so engaged” —“in the midst of these occupations.” *Εὗρον με*—they found me; that is, “my accusers found me;” or indefinitely, “I was found.” *Ἡγνισμένον*—purified: taking part in the religious exercises of the Nazarites. *Τινὲς δὲ*—but certain: the reading considered best attested by modern critics. (See Critical Note.) According to this reading, a verb requires to be supplied; and accordingly different verbs have been suggested. Hackett supplies *ἐθορύβησαν*: “not I, but certain Jews from Asia, excited the tumult.” Bengel supplies *εἶδον*: “certain Jews from Asia saw me.” But it is most natural to supply *εὗρον* from the previous sentence: “not they, the Jewish rulers, found me in the temple, but certain Jews from Asia.”

Ver. 21. *Ἡ περὶ μῆς ταύτης φωνῆς*—except it be for this one exclamation. *Φωνῆς*, “voice,” here “exclamation.” Paul speaks in irony: for, so far from any fault being found in this exclamation, it met with the highest approval from the pharisaical faction of the Sanhedrim; as if the apostle had said: In this exclamation they must discover my crime.

The speech of Paul, which in all probability Luke heard, was a most appropriate defence. His answer corresponds to the three articles of the charge of Tertullus—sedition, heresy, and the profanation of the temple. It is, as Bengel observes, a candid, spontaneous, and full confession: con-

¹ See Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*—Romans, No. I.

fessio ingenua, voluntaria, plena. It has not, however, escaped the animadversions of critics of a certain school, who consider it as an attempt of the writer to make Paul appear in a favourable light to the Judaizing portion of the Christian church (Baur, Zeller, Schneckenburger). But there is nothing in the speech contrary to Pauline notions: the relation of Christianity to Judaism as its development and perfection, the establishment of the law by faith, is a truth which he, beyond all the New Testament writers, sought to inculcate.

Ver. 22. *Ἀνεβάλετο δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Φῆλιξ*—but *Felix deferred them.* Felix adjourned the case: *ampliavit eos* (both parties). *Ἀναβάλλομαι*, to put off, to defer in a judicial sense. He thus adopted a middle course: he was convinced of the innocence of Paul, and so would not condemn him; but he was unwilling to incur the displeasure of the Jews, and so would not acquit him. *Ἀκριβέστερον εἰδὼς τὰ περὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*—*being more accurately instructed concerning that way.* These words have been differently rendered. Some (Beza, Grotius, Heinrichs, Doddridge, Ewald) regard them as part of the speech of Felix: “saying, When I have been more accurately informed concerning that way, and when Lysias is come down.” But to this rendering it is objected that *εἶπας* would not then follow at such a distance. Others think that the meaning is, “since he had now obtained more accurate knowledge concerning Christianity;” the reference being to the information contained in Paul’s speech. But *εἰδὼς* cannot be rendered *certior factus*; and besides, this would not be a reason for delay, but for delivering judgment. Kuinöl renders the passage: “being desirous to know more accurately what belonged to that doctrine.” But *εἰδὼς* cannot admit of such a rendering. The only meaning of which the words will admit, is that Felix was more accurately instructed concerning Christianity; that is, probably more than the accusers of Paul supposed. So approximately Chrysostom, Meyer, De Wette, Wieseler, Stier, Lechler, Howson, Wordsworth. Felix had already been procurator of Judea for six years; his stated residence was Cæsarea, where Philip the

evangelist and other Christians resided; his wife Drusilla was a Jewess: so that he could not have been ignorant of the nature of Christianity. "Ὅταν Λυσίας ὁ χιλιάρχος καταβῆ—When Lysias the tribune shall have come down, I will fully hear you. This was a mere pretext on the part of Felix: he required no further information: his mind was already made up to decide neither the one way nor the other; and accordingly we hear nothing more of the coming of Lysias.

Ver. 23. "Ἐχειν τε ἄνεσιν—and to grant him indulgence. "Ἄνεσις, not "liberty," as in our version, but "remission," "relaxation." Although kept in confinement, Paul was to be leniently dealt with. The Romans had three kinds of custody. First, confinement in the public prison (*custodia publica*), as when Paul and Silas were cast into prison at Philippi. Secondly, military custody (*custodia militaris*), when the prisoner was bound to a soldier, whose duty it was to keep him; which appears to have been the nature of Paul's imprisonment at Rome. Thirdly, free custody (*custodia libera*), when the prisoner was either given in charge to a magistrate, who became responsible for his appearance (*custodia apud magistratus*), or when he was released on bail (*custodia apud vades*).¹ Some (De Wette, Lange, Renan) suppose that ἄνεσιν here signifies free custody (*custodia libera*, φυλακῆ ἄδεσμος). But, as Wieseler shows, it was only illustrious men who were consigned to the care of magistrates; and there is no mention of Paul having been bailed. Besides, we are informed that Felix commanded a centurion to keep him. The imprisonment, then, to which Paul was now subjected was *custodia militaris*, but with such alleviations as that kind of imprisonment would admit of. The same word ἄνεσις is applied to the confinement of Herod Agrippa I., although he was in *custodia militaris* (*Ant.* xviii. 6. 10). Probably Paul was not kept always in chains; but was merely guarded by a soldier, to whom, however, he was not necessarily bound. On the other hand, it is said, that when Felix departed from the province, he left Paul bound (*δεδεμένον*). Καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ

¹ See Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 355.

ὑπηρετεῖν αὐτῷ—and to hinder none of his friends from ministering unto him. Τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ; that is, those belonging to the apostle—his relatives, his friends, his disciples. This circumstance would render Paul's confinement much lighter than it would otherwise have been, and would give him an opportunity of greater usefulness. Among those friends who ministered unto him we are doubtless to reckon Luke and Aristarchus, who had come with him to Jerusalem, and both of whom accompanied him on his voyage to Rome; and Philip the evangelist and his family, who were resident in Cæsarea.

Ver. 24. Σὺν Δρουσίλλῃ τῇ γυναικί—with Drusilla his wife. Drusilla was the second daughter of Herod Agrippa I., an account of whose death we have in Acts xii. She was, in the lifetime of her father, betrothed to Antiochus Epiphanes, the prince of Commagene; but as he declined to become a Jew, the marriage was broken off. Her brother, Herod Agrippa II., gave her in marriage to Azizus the king of Emesa, who for her sake embraced the Jewish religion. This marriage, however, was of short duration; for, when Felix saw her, he became enamoured with her beauty, and employed Simon, a Cyprian magician, who persuaded her to forsake her husband Azizus and to marry Felix. She bore him a son named Agrippa, and both mother and son perished at the eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of Titus (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 7. 2, 3). According to Tacitus, the wife of Felix was Drusilla, the granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra (*Hist.* v. 9). Considering the sameness of the names, this statement of Tacitus would undoubtedly be regarded as a complete contradiction of the statements of Luke and Josephus, had not the apparent discrepancy been removed by a statement of Suetonius, that Felix was the husband of three queens (Claud. xxviii.). One of these was Drusilla, the granddaughter of Cleopatra; and another the Drusilla here mentioned, the daughter of Herod Agrippa I.

Ver. 25. Περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἐγκρατείας καὶ τοῦ κρίματος τοῦ μέλλοντος ἕσθαι—concerning righteousness, and chastity, and the judgment which is to come. How suitable was this

discourse to so unjust, lewd, and tyrannical a prince as Felix! Paul reasoned of righteousness, in opposition to his injustice; and Tacitus remarks, that he acted as if he might commit every kind of villany with impunity. Paul reasoned of chastity, in opposition to his sensuality; and Drusilla, the partner of his guilt, sat by his side. Paul reasoned of a future judgment; and Felix was the murderer of Jonathan the high priest, whose only crime was, that, like Paul, he acted the part of a censor. No wonder that Felix was conscience-struck, though he quickly recovered from his fears. It is to be observed, that in public Paul treats Felix with all the respect due to a judge, and that it is in private that he expostulates with him on account of his wickedness. Before others, Paul recognises the judge; with Felix alone, Paul sees the sinner. *Μετακαλέσομαι σε—I shall call for thee.* He thought that it did not become the dignity of a judge to listen to such reproofs from his prisoner, and therefore he dismissed him with a trifling excuse.

Ver. 26. "Αμα καὶ ἐλπίζων ὅτι χρήματα δοθήσεται αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου—at the same time hoping that money would be given him by Paul. He hoped that the Christians would contribute to purchase Paul's liberation. Perhaps his expectations were founded on the knowledge that Paul had been entrusted with the alms for the brethren at Jerusalem, and that accordingly he was probably possessed of funds. Felix could not be ignorant of the love which the Christians had to one another, for he must have seen many instances of it; but he was ignorant of the high principles by which they were actuated, and which did not permit them to tamper with the ends of justice by bribery. To take bribes was in direct violation of the Roman law, but was in perfect accordance with the character of this unjust and avaricious judge. The Julian law, *De Repetundis*, expressly prohibited a judge to receive anything for a person's imprisonment or liberation (*Dig. xlviii. 11. 7*). Nor was Felix the only instance of a governor of Judea who was guilty of taking bribes. Albinus, one of his successors, on his

departure from the province, freed all those prisoners who gave him money; "by which means," as Josephus remarks, "the prisons were indeed emptied, but the country was filled with robbers" (*Ant.* xx. 9. 5).

Ver. 27. *Διετίας δὲ πληρωθείσης*—*but two years being completed.* For two years Paul remained in confinement in Cæsarea: two years apparently cut off from his active and useful life; two years lost to the world and to the church. No epistles have come down to us written during this imprisonment. We do not know how Paul employed himself, and it is useless to conjecture. Doubtless Luke was one of those friends who ministered to him; but he has left us no record of this part of his life. But perhaps Paul required repose after so much laborious service, and in order to prepare himself for still greater and more beneficial labours—for preaching the gospel at Rome. Besides, he was not altogether laid aside, for he was permitted to see and converse with his friends; and we can hardly believe that he was entirely prevented from still taking upon himself the care of all the churches. Olshausen well remarks: "Two years appear now to have been completely lost by the apostle; for in Cæsarea itself he probably had but small opportunity of labouring. But the main design of God in this remarkable procedure might perhaps be, to grant the apostle a quiet period for inward recollection and meditation. The continual movement of Paul's life must have made it difficult for him to be occupied with his own state, although this is the necessary condition of a blessed inward development. Divine grace, therefore, is able to unite both objects; for while it uses its instruments for the advancement of truth among others, it sometimes takes these instruments themselves to school for their own personal improvement."¹

Θέλων χάριτας καταθέσθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις—*wishing to put the Jews under obligations.* The meaning is, that Felix not only wished to please the Jews, but to lay them under obligations to himself, so that on his departure they might be the less inclined to accuse him to the emperor. *Κατέλιπεν τὸν*

¹ Olshausen on the Gospels and the Acts, vol. iv. p. 491.

Παῦλον δεδεμένον—he left Paul bound; that is, in *custodia militaris*. Lange and De Wette suppose that Felix, before his departure, revoked the liberty (*ἀνεστω*) which he had formerly granted Paul, and changed his confinement from *custodia libera* into *custodia militaris*. But it does not appear that any change was made in the nature of Paul's confinement. The same reason, the desire to please the Jews, which induced Pilate to deliver up Christ to be crucified, caused Felix to leave the apostle bound. This act of Felix, however, was not sufficient to remove the resentment of the Jews; for, as Josephus informs us, after his recall the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea went to Rome to accuse him; and he had certainly been brought to punishment, had not Nero yielded to the pressing solicitations of his brother Pallas (*Ant.* xx. 8. 9).

SECTION XXIV.

PAUL'S APPEAL TO CÆSAR.—ACTS xxv. 1-12.

1 Now, when Festus was entered upon the province, after three days he went up from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. 2 Then the chief priests, and the chief of the Jews, informed him against Paul, and besought him, 3 Asking a favour against him, that he would send for him to Jerusalem, laying wait in the way to kill him. 4 But Festus answered, that Paul was kept at Cæsarea, and that he himself was about shortly to depart. 5 Let then, he said, those in power among you go down with me, and accuse him, if there be anything in this man. 6 And when he had tarried among them not more than eight or ten days, he went down to Cæsarea; and on the morrow, having taken his seat on the tribunal, he commanded Paul to be brought. 7 And when he was come, the Jews who had come down from Jerusalem stood round about, and preferred many and grievous accusations, which they were not able to prove. 8 While Paul defended himself, Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I offended in anything. 9 But Festus, wishing to win the favour of the Jews, answered Paul, and said, Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged before me concerning these matters? 10 Then Paul said, I stand before Cæsar's tribunal, where I ought to be judged: to the Jews I have done no wrong, as thou thyself also knowest very well. 11 If, therefore, I be an offender, or have committed anything deserving of death, I refuse not to die: but if there be nothing in those things whereof these men accuse me, no man can deliver me unto them. I appeal unto Cæsar. 12 Then Festus, having conferred with his counsellors, answered: Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar; unto Cæsar shalt thou go.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 2. 'Ο ἀρχιερεὺς is the reading of H; whereas οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς is found in A, B, C, E, G, κ, the reading preferred by most recent critics. Ver. 4. 'Εν Καισαρείᾳ are found in G, H; whereas εἰς Καισάρειαν are supported by A, B, C,

E, κ, and adopted by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 6. Πλείους ἢ δέκα is the reading of G, H; whereas οὐ πλείους ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα is the reading of A, B, C, E, κ (except that B reads πλείουας, E omits οὐ, and κ inserts ἡμέρας after πλείους), the reading adopted by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 7. Φέροντες κατὰ τοῦ Παύλου are found in G, H; whilst A, B, C, κ read only καταφέροντες, the reading adopted by Tischendorf. Ver. 11. Γάρ is the reading of G, H; whereas οὖν is attested by A, B, C, E, κ, and adopted by most recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. Φῆστος—*Festus*. Porcius Festus, the successor of Felix, was made procurator of Judea about the year 60 or 61.¹ Nothing is known of his previous history, as he is not mentioned either by Tacitus or Suetonius. When he arrived, the country was in an unsettled state, being infested by the Sicarii. They not only committed numerous murders, but attacked and plundered villages. Festus acted with vigour against them, suppressed all robbers and murderers, and defeated a certain false prophet who had deceived the multitude with the promise of deliverance from the Roman yoke. He became involved in a dispute with the Jews in reference to a wall which they built in front of the temple, and which screened it from the view of the Roman guard quartered in the Castle of Antonia; a dispute which, through the influence of Poppæa (who was a proselyte), the wife of Nero, terminated in favour of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 8. 9–11). From the character given him by Josephus, he seems to have been a very different ruler from either his predecessor Felix or his successor Albinus, and to have governed Judea with energy and justice (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 14. 1). “The new procurator,” observes Lewin, “had a straightforward honesty about him, which forms a strong contrast to the mean rascality of his predecessor. He certainly did not do all

¹ See remarks on the chronology of the Acts in the introductory chapter, vol. i. p. 35.

the justice which he might have done; but allowing somewhat for the natural desire to ingratiate himself with the most influential men of the nation subject to his government, his conduct, on the whole, was exemplary; and his firmness on many trying occasions cannot fail to elicit our highest admiration."¹ Unfortunately for Judea, his endeavours to restore quietness to the country were cut short by his death, after he had been procurator for less than two years. He is the only procurator of Judea who is mentioned as having died in office.

'Επιβὰς τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ—*having entered upon the province.* Some render it, "having entered upon his office," or "having undertaken the government." 'Επαρχία is generally used to denote the greater provinces, whether imperial, over which proprætors (ἀντιστρατηγοὶ) were appointed; or senatorial, which were governed by proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι). Judea was a lesser or subordinate province, being part of the imperial province of Syria, and governed by a deputy. Such a province was usually called ἐπίτροπή, and its governors were called procurators (ἐπίτροποι, procuratores). The word ἐπαρχία, however, was sometimes employed to denote a province governed by a procurator. Josephus calls Festus ἐπαρχος (*Ant.* xx. 8. 11).² Judea might receive this name on account of its importance. Μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας—*after three days.* Festus here showed that decision of character for which he was noted. Having entered upon his province, he only remained three days in Cæsarea, and then went up to Jerusalem. Ἀνέβη εἰς Ἱερουσόλυμα—*he went up to Jerusalem.* He visited without delay the chief city of his province, perhaps not so much from curiosity, as from a desire to acquaint himself with the character of the nation he was appointed to govern.

Ver. 2. Οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς—the high priests. (See Critical Note.) If ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς be the correct reading, the high priest in office here mentioned was Ismael the son of Phabi, who shortly before the recall of Felix was appointed high priest by Herod

¹ Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 699.

² Kuinzel's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 350.

Agrippa II., in the room of Ananias the son of Nebedæus, shortly before the appointment of Festus as governor (*Ant.* xx. 8. 8). *Καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων*—and the chief of the Jews. By *οἱ πρῶτοι* are meant the chief people of the Jews; and as most of these were members of the Sanhedrim, it probably denotes a deputation from that body (*πρεσβύτεροι*), as in ch. xxiv. 1. Festus, in mentioning this application, calls them *πρεσβύτεροι*. So Grotius, De Wette, Ewald. Meyer supposes that it is a more general term, including the principal men of the Jews, although not members of the Sanhedrim, and that this is a proof that the feeling of hatred to Paul, as the enemy of their religion, had spread throughout the nation.¹ Two years had elapsed since Ananias and the elders had appeared before Felix to accuse Paul; yet their enmity against the apostle had not decreased. They had found themselves baffled by the procrastinating spirit of Felix; but now that a new governor of greater decision had arrived, they thought they might succeed better with him; and as it was his policy to ingratiate himself with them on his entrance into office, they had reason to hope that their request would be granted.

Ver. 3. *Αἰτούμενοι χάριν*—asking favour; that is, requesting it as a favour from Festus on his accession to office. *Ὅπως μεταπέμψηται αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλήμ*—that he would send for him to Jerusalem. According to the account which Festus gave of the transaction, the Jews first asked that judgment might be pronounced against Paul; and to this request Festus replied that it was not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to death before the accused had his accusers face to face, and has had opportunity to answer for himself concerning the crime laid against him (vers. 15, 16). Having failed in this, they then requested that Paul might be brought up to Jerusalem, and there tried. The plea would doubtless be, that he was accused of offences chiefly against the Jewish law, and that his accusers and the witnesses against him were in Jerusalem; whereas the real purpose was to assassinate him on the way. *Ἐνέδραν ποιοῦντες*—

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 467.

forming an ambuscade. Perhaps they had already made arrangements by hiring the Sicarii, not doubting that Festus would grant their request. *Ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν—* to slay him by the way. According to Josephus, the chief priests and principal men among the Jews were for the most part infamous for their wickedness, so that we are not to wonder that such a design should have been formed by the rulers of the nation.

Ver. 4. *Τηρεῖσθαι τὸν Παῦλον εἰς Καισάρειαν—* that Paul was kept; not “should be kept,” as in our version, which expresses the denial too strongly and peremptorily. Festus refused the request of the Jews, but he did so in as conciliatory a manner as possible. The request of the Jews was so plausible, and the answer of Festus so contrary to what might naturally have been expected, that we may well discern here the interposition of God, in whose hands are the hearts of all men. “Here,” says St. Chrysostom, “God’s providence interposed, not permitting the governor to do this: for it was natural that he, having just come to the government, should wish to gratify them; but God suffered him not.” Observe also the contrast between Jewish wickedness and the strict order of the Roman government (Meyer).

Ver. 5. *Οἱ οὖν ἐν ὑμῖν δυνατοὶ—* Let those in power among you. These words have been differently rendered. Bengel supposes that their meaning is, “those among you who are able to perform the journey;” Festus thus answering the Jews who objected to the inconvenience of the journey. Others (Beza, Calvin, Grotius) in a similar manner render the clause, “those to whom it is convenient;” others (Schmid, Castalio), “those who are able to prove the guilt of Paul”—who can give evidence against him; others (Meyer, Lechler, Howson), “those who are authorized to prosecute”—who are invested with official authority. But there is no reason to depart from the usual meaning of the word *δυνατοὶ*, “those who are powerful among you.” So Kuinöel, Hackett, Robinson, Wordsworth. According to this, *οἱ δυνατοὶ* is equivalent to *οἱ πρῶτοι* (ver. 2); and these

were for the most part members of the Sanhedrim (*οἱ πρεσβύτεροι*). *Εἴ τι ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ*—*if there be anything in this man*. The answer of Festus was dignified, and worthy of his character. Paul was a Roman citizen; and the law forbade that he should be hastily tried, and commanded that he should have full opportunity for his defence.

Ver. 6. *Ἡμέρας οὐ πλείους ὀκτῶ ἢ δέκα*—*not more than eight or ten days*. (See Critical Note.) This denotes the whole period of the residence of Festus in Jerusalem, and not merely the time which elapsed after his answer to the Jewish rulers. *Τῇ ἐπαύριον*—*on the morrow*. Here we have another proof of the decided character of Festus: on the next day after his arrival at Cæsarea, he took his seat on the tribunal, and commanded Paul to be brought into court.

Ver. 7. *Πολλὰ καὶ βαρέα αἰτιώματα καταφέροντες*—*having preferred many and grievous accusations*. The charges brought against Paul were probably the same as those urged by Tertullus: that Paul was a disturber of the public peace, a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes, and a profaner of the temple. These charges may be classed under three heads—treason, heresy, and sacrilege.

Ver. 8. *Οὔτε εἰς τὸν νόμον τῶν Ἰουδαίων, οὔτε εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, οὔτε εἰς Καίσαρα τι ἤμαρτον*—*Neither against the law of the Jews, nor against the temple, nor against Cæsar, have I offended in anything*. This denial corresponded with the three principal charges of the Jews above referred to: heresy against the law of the Jews, sacrilege against the temple, and treason against Cæsar. Wieseler supposes that a new charge is here brought against Paul, not mentioned in the trial before Felix,—namely, treason against Cæsar, similar to the charge that was brought against him in Thessalonica, that he did contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there was another king, Jesus (Acts xvii. 7); but the accusation corresponds with that mentioned by Tertullus, that he was a mover of sedition among all the Jews throughout the world (Acts xxiv. 5).

Ver. 9. *Ὁ Φῆστος θέλων τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις χάριν καταθέσθαι*—*Festus, wishing to lay the Jews under obligations*. Festus,

being newly come into the province, naturally wished to ingratiate himself with the rulers of the Jews, provided he could do so without any great injustice to his prisoner. But although he perhaps carried his desire to please the Jews too far, he did not act the part of Pilate, who from the same motive sacrificed Jesus to the Jews; nor of Felix, who detained Paul in confinement. *Θέλεις εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἀναβὰς ἐκεῖ περὶ τούτων κριθῆναι ἐπ' ἐμοῦ*;—*Wilt thou go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged before me concerning these matters?* The question is ambiguous: it may mean either that the trial of Paul should be transferred from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, being conducted by Festus according to the Roman law; or it may mean that Festus would transfer the trial to the Jewish Sanhedrim, whilst he himself would be present, and see that matters were properly conducted: *ἐπ' ἐμοῦ* may be understood either as *me judge* or *coram me*. The latter seems to be the correct meaning; for so Paul understood it, as a wish of Festus to transfer the trial to the Jews: and if a change of the court itself were not intended, a removal to Jerusalem would have been superfluous. The meaning then is, Whether he would go up to Jerusalem, and there be judged by the Jews, in the presence of Festus? The question is asked Paul as a Roman citizen, having a right to be tried by the Roman law: he could not be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim without his consent. Perhaps Festus anticipated the rejection of his proposal by Paul; but in making it, he wished to show his willingness to gratify the Jews, and to make it appear that the frustration of their wishes was no fault of his (Meyer).

Ver. 10. *Ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος Καίσαρος ἐστὼς εἶμι*—*I stand before Cæsar's tribunal.* The tribunal of the Roman governors in the provinces, as it was held in Cæsar's name, was looked upon as Cæsar's tribunal. The arms of Rome, the golden eagle, were engraven upon it. Ulpianus, on the duty of procurators, observes: *quæ acta gesta que sunt a procuratore Cæsaris, sic ab eo comprobantur, atque si a Cæsare ipso gesta sint* (Ulpianus, *De Officio Procuratoris*).¹ This

¹ Quoted by Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 383.

rule especially held good with reference to Judea, because Syria, of which Judea was a part, was not a senatorial, but an imperial province, under the direct government of the emperor. With regard to these two kinds of provinces, Nero, on his accession to the government, had enjoined, "that Italy and the public provinces should address themselves to the tribunals of the consuls, and have access to the senate; but that he himself would provide for the provinces and the armies committed to the emperor" (*Tac. Ann.* xiii. 4). Ὡς καὶ σὺ κάλλιον ἐπιγινώσκεις—as thou thyself also knowest better. Κάλλιον is not to be here taken for the superlative—"as thou very well knowest;" but is the comparative elliptically expressed. The ellipsis is to be supplied from the context: "as thou thyself knowest better than appears from thy question, or than thou choosest to confess." Paul here asserts that Festus was better acquainted with his innocence than he pretended to be, and that therefore it was disingenuous to make such a proposal, as if he had been an actual offender against the laws of the Jews.

Ver. 11. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἀδικῶ, καὶ ἄξιον θανάτου πέπραχά τι, etc.—If therefore I be an offender, or have committed anything deserving of death, I refuse not to die; but if there be nothing in these things whereof these men accuse me, no man can deliver me unto them. The dilemma put by Paul is as follows:—I am either guilty or not guilty: if guilty, I can be legally tried and condemned, not by them, but by Cæsar, at whose tribunal I stand, and I shall acquiesce in the sentence; but if not guilty, no man can deliver me, a Roman citizen, into their power: and therefore, guilty or not guilty, I shall not be judged by them (*Alford*). The above declaration by no means proves that the Jews had the power of life and death. But Paul might reasonably apprehend not only that he might be murdered on the way to Jerusalem; but that, if tried before the Sanhedrim and condemned by them, Festus might permit and warrant the execution.

Καίσαρα ἐπικαλοῦμαι — I appeal to Cæsar — *Cæsarem appello*. The right of appeal from a subordinate judge to the emperor was one of the privileges of a Roman citizen.

By the Valerian law, a Roman citizen could appeal from the sentence of any magistrate to the tribunes of the people (*appellatio ad tribunos*); afterwards the tribunitial power was conferred upon the emperor, so that the appeal was to him. And the *Lex Julia* strictly forbade any unnecessary impediment to be put in the way of a Roman citizen who had thus appealed. After such an appeal had been admitted, the inferior magistrate had no further power in the case: it became highly penal after that to proceed to extremities. Mere provincials had not this privilege, but were entirely subject to the jurisdiction of their respective magistrates without appeal. Thus Pliny, whilst he punished the provincials, sent to Rome the Bithynian Christians who were Roman citizens and had appealed to Cæsar. *Fuerunt alii similis amentia; quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos* (*Ep. x. 97*). These appeals were generally made in writing; but when it was done in the open court, it was sufficient for the accused to declare his intention of appealing to Cæsar by uttering the single word *Appello*. Of course, such appeals could not all be heard by the emperor in person; and accordingly the Emperor Augustus appointed persons of consular dignity, one for each province, to hear them. "All appeals," observes Suetonius, "in causes between the inhabitants of Rome, Augustus assigned every year to the prætor of the city; and where provincials were concerned, to men of consular rank, to one of whom the business of each province was referred" (*Suet. Augustus, 33*). Some suppose that Paul's desire to see Rome (*Acts xix. 21*), and the promise of the Lord that he would bear witness for Him in that city, may have influenced him in making this appeal; but he was naturally led to do so by the course of circumstances.

Ver. 12. *Συλλαλήσας μετὰ τοῦ συμβουλίου*—*having conferred with the council*. Not with the Jewish council (*Chrysostom*), but with his own council. It was the custom of the Roman governors to have a council consisting of their friends and other chief Romans of the province. These counsellors are called by Suetonius *consilarii* (*Tib. 33*) and

assessores (*Galba*, 19). They appear merely to have acted as advisers in questions of difficulty. Thus, Josephus informs us that Cumanus took the advice of his friends before he put to death a Roman soldier who had wantonly destroyed the sacred books of the Jews (*Ant.* xx. 5. 4); and that Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, on receiving contradictory reports from Florus the procurator of Judea, and from the rulers of Jerusalem, concerning the disturbances among the Jews, consulted with his principal men (*μετὰ ἡγεμόνων ἐβουλευέτο*), that is, with his council (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 16. 1).¹ The point of consultation in the present instance was, whether the appeal of Paul should be admitted. The governors of provinces were permitted to exercise a certain degree of discretion on this point: they were to throw no unnecessary obstacles in the way; but an appeal to the emperor might be disallowed if the affair did not admit of delay,² or if the criminal were a known robber or pirate. As no reason for refusal could be stated in the case of Paul, his right of appeal to Cæsar was at once conceded.³ Festus accordingly pronounced the decision of the court: "Thou hast appealed unto Cæsar; unto Cæsar shalt thou go."

¹ See Lardner's Works, vol. i. p. 59.

² Si res dilationem non recipiat, non permittitur appellare (*Dig.* xlix. 5. 7).

³ See Lewin's *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 705.

SECTION XXV.

PAUL BROUGHT BEFORE AGRIPPA.—ACTS xxv. 13-27.

13 And after the lapse of certain days, king Agrippa and Bernice came down to Cæsarea to salute Festus. 14 And when they had spent many days there, Festus declared unto the king the charge against Paul, saying, There is a certain man left a prisoner by Felix; 15 About whom, when I was in Jerusalem, the chief priests and the elders of the Jews lodged information, desiring judgment against him. 16 To whom I answered, It is not a custom with the Romans to deliver up any man, before the accused has his accusers face to face, and an opportunity be granted of defending himself regarding the charge. 17 Therefore, when they were come thither, without any delay, the next day I sat on the tribunal, and commanded the man to be brought. 18 Standing around whom, the accusers brought no accusation of such things as I supposed; 19 But they had certain questions against him concerning their own religion, and concerning a certain Jesus who was dead, whom Paul affirmed to be alive. 20 And as I was perplexed regarding these matters in dispute, I asked him whether he would go to Jerusalem, and there be judged concerning these things. 21 But when Paul had appealed to be kept for the judgment of Augustus, I commanded him to be kept till I might send him to Cæsar. 22 Then Agrippa said unto Festus, I myself also would wish to hear the man. To-morrow, said he, thou shalt hear him.

23 On the morrow, therefore, Agrippa and Bernice having come with great pomp, and having entered into the place of hearing with the tribunes and principal men of the city, at the command of Festus, Paul was brought forth. 24 And Festus said, King Agrippa, and all men who are present with us, ye see this man about whom all the multitude of the Jews, both in Jerusalem and here, pleaded with me, crying out that he ought not to live any longer. 25 But when I found that he had committed nothing worthy of death, and as he himself appealed to Augustus, I resolved to send him. 26 Concerning whom I have nothing certain to write unto my lord. Wherefore I have brought him before you, and especially before thee, king Agrippa, that, after examination, I may know what I should write. 27 For it appears to me unreasonable to send a prisoner, and not to signify the charges against him.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 16. The words εἰς ἀπώλειαν after ἄνθρωπον, found in G, H, are wanting in A, B, C, E, K, and omitted by most recent critics. Ver. 20. Τούτου before ζήτησιν is only found in H; whereas A, B, C, E, G, K read τούτων, the reading adopted by most recent critics. Ver. 26. Σχῶ τι γράψαι is the reading of E, G, H; whereas A, B, C, K have σχῶ τι γράψω, the reading adopted by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Bornemann.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 13. Ἀγρίππας ὁ βασιλεὺς—*Agrippa the king*. This was Herod Agrippa II., or the younger. His full name, as appears from his coins, was Marcus Agrippa,¹ so named, as Eckhel supposes, from Marcus Agrippa, the son-in-law and minister of Augustus. He was the only son of Herod, the king whose terrible death is recorded in Acts xii. 20–23, and the great-grandson of Herod the Great. According to Eusebius, he was appointed king of the Jews by Claudius (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 19); but this is a mistake, if by it is meant that he succeeded his father as king of Judea. When his father died, A.D. 44, he was only seventeen, and was then detained as a hostage at Rome. Claudius wished to bestow upon him his father's kingdom, but was dissuaded by his counsellors, as it was judged dangerous to commit the government of so important a kingdom to one who was only a youth; and accordingly Judea was again converted into a Roman province, and Cuspius Fadus was sent as procurator (*Ant.* xix. 9. 1, 2). Four years afterwards, A.D. 48, his uncle Herod king of Chalcis died; and Claudius, in the eighth year of his reign, A.D. 49, conferred on him the principality of Chalcis, with the oversight of the temple, and the power of appointing the high priests (*Ant.* xx. 5. 2). Four

¹ Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, pp. 57, 58; Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, pp. 117–120; Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. iii. p. 494.

years after this, A.D. 53, instead of that principality, Claudius bestowed on him a larger kingdom,—namely, the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias (Luke iii. 1), including Batanea, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Abilene, with the title of king (*Ant.* xx. 7. 1). He then fixed his residence in Cæsarea Philippi, as the capital of his dominions. To this greater kingdom Nero, on his accession, A.D. 55, added Tiberias and part of Galilee, and Julius, a city of Perea, with fourteen neighbouring villages (*Ant.* xx. 8. 4).

Herod Agrippa was a Jew in his religion, though he does not appear to have been actuated by any religious feelings; nor was he, like his father, careful to accommodate himself to the Jewish customs. In the Talmud there is indeed a story that he wept at the reading of the law, because it forbade a foreigner to reign over Israel, and he was an Idumean by descent; but this is an obvious fable, and contrary to his character. He was by no means a popular prince among the Jews, and was regarded by them with suspicion, as if he were a spy set over them by the Romans. His frequent and arbitrary removals of the high priests, and his compliance with heathen customs, gave great offence. He had also a quarrel with the Jewish rulers in the procuratorship of Festus: he had raised the walls of his palace so that he could overlook the temple, and the Jews in retaliation had raised the walls of the sanctuary to shut out his view. The dispute was carried by appeal to Rome, and terminated in favour of the Jews, and served to increase the dislike with which they regarded him (*Ant.* xx. 8. 11). Like the other princes of the Herodian house, Agrippa expended great sums of money in magnificent buildings: he enlarged and beautified his capital Cæsarea Philippi, and called it Neronias in honour of the emperor (*Ant.* xx. 9. 4).¹ At the commencement of the Jewish war Agrippa did all he could to prevent it, and acted as mediator between the Jews and the Romans (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 4). But after the war had broken out he joined the Romans (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 2. 4), though on various

¹ This fact is confirmed by the coins of Agrippa II. See Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. iii. 493.

occasions he exerted himself to procure peace at the risk of his person. Agrippa survived the destruction of Jerusalem for a great number of years, residing chiefly at Rome,¹ and is said to have died at an advanced age, in the third year of the reign of Trajan, A.D. 99. He was the last of the celebrated Herodian family. At this period, when he came to salute Festus, A.D. 60, he would be in the thirty-first year of his age.

Βερνίκη—*Bernice*. Bernice, or as she is otherwise called, Berenice (*Βερενίκη*: Dio Cassius), was the sister of Agrippa, and the eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., and consequently the sister of Drusilla, the wife of Felix. She was celebrated for her beauty and her profligacy, and is frequently mentioned both by Josephus and by Roman writers. In the lifetime of her father she was betrothed to Marcus the son of Alexander Lysimachus, the alabarch of Alexandria; but in consequence of the death of Marcus, this marriage was never consummated (*Ant.* xix. 5. 1). After this she was married to her uncle Herod the king of Chalcis, by whom she had two sons, Berenicianus and Hyrcanus (*Ant.* xx. 5. 1). On the death of her husband she resided with her brother Agrippa, who had succeeded to the kingdom of Chalcis. According to a widespread report, their intercourse was of a criminal nature. To this Juvenal alludes when he says: *Adamas notissimus, et Berenices in digito factus pretiosior: hunc dedit olim barbarus incestæ, dedit hunc Agrippa sorori* (*Sat.* vi. 156). And Josephus informs us that, in order to avoid suspicion, she persuaded Polemo, the king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her; which he was induced to do by reason of her beauty and riches. This marriage, however, was soon dissolved, as Bernice deserted him and returned to her brother (*Ant.* xx. 7. 3). It was at this period, after she had returned to her brother a second time, that she accompanied him to Cæsarea to salute Festus. During the disturbances which arose before the Jewish war, in the

¹ Madden gives specimens of the coins of Agrippa II. under the Emperors Claudius, Nero, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian (Madden's *Jewish Coinage*, pp. 113-133).

absence of her brother in Egypt, Bernice acted a patriotic part, and exerted herself on behalf of the Jews. We are informed that she stood barefoot as a suppliant before the tribunal of Florus the procurator, and besought him to spare the Jews; and this she did at the risk of her own life (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 15. 1). On the outbreak of the war, however, she, along with her brother Agrippa, attached herself to the side of the Romans. Tacitus seems to insinuate that she became the mistress of the Emperor Vespasian: *Regina Bernice partes juvabat, florens ætate formæque, et seni quoque Vespasiano magnificentiâ munerum grata*—"Queen Bernice, at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty, espoused the interest of Vespasian, to whom, notwithstanding his old age, she had made herself agreeable by magnificent presents" (*Tac. Hist.* ii. 81). It is certain that she was the mistress of his son Titus, although she must have been thirty-nine years of age, and twelve years his senior, when she first became acquainted with him (*Merivale*, vii. p. 210). This connection is mentioned by Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 2),¹ Suetonius (*Titus*, 7), and Dio Cassius (lxvi. 5). According to Dio Cassius, Titus would have made her his empress, had not the clamours of the Romans at his marrying a Jewish princess prevented it; and Suetonius informs us that he sent away Bernice from the city against both their inclinations: *Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit incitus invitam*.

Ἀσπασόμενοι τὸν Φῆστον—*having saluted Festus*. Although Agrippa was king of a district partly in Palestine and partly bordering upon it, yet he was completely dependent on the Roman empire; and therefore it was his interest as a vassal to cultivate a good understanding with the Roman procurators of Judea; and throughout his long life he was always a partisan of Rome. Hence the occasion of his present journey from Cæsarea Philippi to Cæsarea Palestinæ was to congratulate the new governor Festus on his accession to office. This would occur soon after the arrival of Festus, in the

¹ *Fuère qui ad censum desiderio Berenices reginæ, vertisse iter crederent. Neque abhorrebat a Bernice juvenilis animus; sed gerendis rebus nullum ex eo impedimentum.*

short interval between the appeal of Paul to Cæsar, and his departure for Rome.

Ver. 14. Ὁ Φῆστος τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀνέθετο τὰ κατὰ τὸν Παῦλον—*Festus informed the king of the charge against Paul.* Paul, having appealed to Cæsar, was beyond the jurisdiction of Festus, and could not be again tried by him. But the object of Festus was to procure more definite information regarding the accusations against Paul; and hence he took the opportunity of consulting King Agrippa, who as a Jew might probably be better acquainted with the points of dispute between Paul and his accusers. Besides, Agrippa was the legal guardian of the temple, and one of the crimes laid to the charge of Paul was that he had attempted to profane the temple.

Ver. 15. Αἰτούμενοι κατ' αὐτοῦ δίκην—*desiring judgment against him.* Δίκην here evidently signifies sentence of condemnation, to be followed by punishment. The judgment which the Jews requested from Festus was not that Paul should be tried by him; but a sentence upon a previous conviction, which, as they falsely pretended, had been procured in the trial before the former governor Felix. As, however, Paul was a Roman citizen, Festus determined to examine into the matter himself.

Ver. 16. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἔθος Ῥωμαίοις χαρίζεσθαι τινα ἄνθρωπον—*It is not a custom of the Romans to surrender any man before the accused have his accusers face to face, and have an opportunity of defending himself in regard to the charge.* This noble law of the Romans was at this period by no means common among other nations. "They (the Romans) became," says Philo, "common judges, hearing equally the accusers and the accused, condemning no man unheard, but judging without favour or enmity, according to the nature of the case" (*in Flaccum*). Τόπον, literally "place," here used metaphorically in the sense of "opportunity," "occasion:" such a use of the word is unknown in classical Greek.

Ver. 18. Περὶ οὗ—*around whom.* These words are not to be connected with ἔφερον, as in our English version, "against whom they brought;" but with σταθέντες, "stand-

ing around whom," the preposition being used in a local sense.¹ *Οὐδεμίαν αἰτίαν ἔφερον ὧν ὑπέοον ἐγὼ*—*they brought no accusation of such things as I supposed.* Paul was accused of treason against Cæsar, and of stirring up the Jews throughout the whole Roman empire, and the rulers of the Jews were furious against him; and hence Festus naturally supposed that he must be some great criminal, perhaps a leader of one of those bands of robbers with which Judea was at this time infested. But when he came to examine into the matter, he found not a vestige of proof of any such treasonable designs; but merely a dispute between Paul and the Jews concerning certain points of their religion which he, Festus, could not understand; and particularly concerning Jesus, whom the Jews asserted was crucified, but whom Paul affirmed to have been raised from the dead.

Ver. 19. *Περὶ τῆς ἰδίας δεισιδαιμονίας*—*concerning their own religion.* *Δεισιδαιμονία* is a word which may be understood either in a good or in a bad sense (*vox media*). (See note to Acts xvii. 22.) Here it is to be understood in a good sense, and is not to be rendered, as in our version, "superstition,"—a word which is always used in a bad sense. Agrippa was himself a Jew by religion, and therefore we cannot imagine that Festus would employ so uncourteous a term as "superstition" when adverting to the Jewish religion, although the Romans regarded it as such (*Judaica superstitio*; Quinctilian, iii. 8). We have no proper term answering to the Greek in our language, as the word "religion" without any qualifying adjective is generally used in a good sense. At the same time, Festus, by speaking of it not as Agrippa's religion, but as the religion of the Jews, seems to imply that he considered Agrippa as far too enlightened really to believe in it, although for political reasons he might outwardly profess it. *Περὶ τῶς Ἰησοῦ*—*concerning a certain Jesus.* These words convey the impression not of mere ignorance, but also of indifference; as if the point of dispute between Paul and the Jews was a matter of no importance.

¹ Winer's *Grammar*, p. 390.

Ver. 20. Ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν περὶ τούτων ζήτησιν—*but as I was perplexed concerning these matters in dispute.* Festus confesses his ignorance before Agrippa, and appeals to his better knowledge. Εἰ βούλοιτο πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα—*if he were willing to go to Jerusalem, and there be judged concerning these things.* He proposed to shift the trial to Jerusalem, as if he wished to obtain more accurate information. It is generally supposed that Festus here wilfully misrepresents the case. He wishes to convey the impression to Agrippa that he desired to transfer the trial to Jerusalem in order that he might obtain better information, and that consequently Paul's appeal to Cæsar was a rash and uncalled-for proceeding; whereas his real reason was a wish to please the Jews, and to lay them under obligations. Still, however, Festus may have had more than one reason for wishing to transfer the trial to Jerusalem—both to please the Jews and to obtain better information.

Ver. 21. Τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ—*of Augustus.* Σεβαστός, an adjective signifying venerable, *venerandus*; a religious title. It was applied to the first emperor, whose original name was Octavianus, and afterwards became the royal title conferred on the Roman emperors in general. Cæsar, on the other hand, was, properly speaking, the family name conveyed to the reigning Emperor Nero by adoption, though used as synonymous with *imperator*. Toward the decline of the empire, Augustus was the title of the elder and superior, and Cæsar that of the younger and subordinate emperors.

Ver. 22. Ἐβουλόμην καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀκοῦσαι—*I myself also would wish to hear the man.* The narrative of Festus had excited the curiosity of the young Jewish prince. Agrippa could not have been ignorant of the Christian religion. He was the son of that Herod who had taken an active part in the persecution of the Christians, who had slain the Apostle James, and imprisoned the Apostle Peter. He had spent much of his life among the Jews, and therefore must frequently have heard of that new sect which had sprung up among them. He was acquainted with the Messianic prophecies, and doubtless also with the claims of

Jesus to be the Messiah. Hence he would naturally be curious to see and discourse with so distinguished a teacher of Christianity as Paul—one who was esteemed a ringleader of the sect of the Nazarenes.

Ver. 23. *Μετὰ πολλῆς φαντασίας*—*with great pomp.* *Φαντασία* properly signifies appearance, a lively image in the mind, phantasy; but by the later Greeks it is used to signify pomp, splendour, parade. Wetstein well remarks on these words: “Agrippa and Bernice appear with great pomp, in the same city where their father, being eaten with worms, perished on account of his pride.” *Εἰς τὸ ἀκροατήριον*—*into the place of hearing*: in Latin, *auditorium*. Either the usual place where such causes were heard, the judgment-hall, or perhaps rather the place of hearing, set apart for the present occasion. *Σὺν χιλιάρχοις*—*with the tribunes.* These were the commanders of the Roman cohorts stationed at Cæsarea. According to Josephus, the number of cohorts, and consequently of tribunes, at Cæsarea, were five (*Bell. Jud.* iii. 4. 2). *Καὶ ἀνδράσι τοῖς κατ’ ἐξοχὴν τῆς πόλεως*—*and with the chief men of the city.* Among them were the *assessores*, or counsellors of the governor (Acts xxvi. 29, 30). Thus Paul was brought before Festus, the representative of Cæsar; King Agrippa, the representative of the Jews; and all the nobles of Cæsarea. Now was our Lord’s prophecy fulfilled: “Ye shall be brought before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony against them” (Matt. x. 18). But we know too little of the history of the other apostles to be able to affirm, with Olshausen, that this prediction was then fulfilled for the first time. Perhaps James the brother of John, and Peter, appeared before Herod Agrippa I. (Meyer).

Ver. 25. *Καταλαβόμενος μηδὲν ἄξιον αὐτὸν θανάτου πεπραχέναι*—*having found that he had committed nothing worthy of death.* Festus having discovered the innocence of Paul, should, as a just judge, at once have released him; but instead of this, he weakly and wrongfully proposed to transfer the trial to the Jews, and thus perhaps surrender him to their rage: so that, in order to prevent this, Paul

felt constrained to appeal unto Cæsar. Perhaps, however, Festus was in reality somewhat perplexed about the matter; as, having lately come to the province, he would know less about Christianity than Felix, and therefore would have greater difficulty in coming to a decision.

Ver. 26. *Τῷ κυρίῳ*—*to the lord*. In the use of this title, as applied to the emperor, we have an instance of the extreme accuracy of the historian of the Acts. It was a title which was refused by the two first emperors. Thus Suetonius says of Augustus: "He always abhorred the title Lord, as ill-omened and offensive; and he would not suffer himself to be addressed in that manner, even by his own children or grandchildren, either in jest or in earnest" (*Aug.* 53); and of Tiberius he says: "Being once called Lord by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner" (*Tib.* 27). So also Tertullian says: "Augustus, the founder of the empire, did not wish any to call him Lord" (*Apol.* 34). The emperors who followed, however, accepted the appellation. Caligula accepted the title; Herod Agrippa I. applied it to Clæudius; in the time of Domitian it was a recognised title; and Pliny addressed Trajan as My Lord Trajan. Antoninus Pius was the first who put it on his coins.¹

Ver. 27. *Μὴ καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ αἰτίας σημάσαι*—*and not to signify the charges laid against him*. In sending a prisoner to Rome, it was necessary for the provincial governor to send along with him to the emperor a specification of the crimes with which he was charged, and an account of the legal proceedings which had been instituted against him. Such documents were called *literæ dimissoriæ*.

¹ See Eckhel's *Doctrina numorum veterum*, vol. viii. pp. 364-366.

SECTION XXVI.

PAUL'S DEFENCE BEFORE AGRIPPA.—Acts xxvi. 1–32.

1 Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou art permitted to speak concerning thyself. Then Paul, stretching forth his hand, defended himself.

2 I think myself happy, king Agrippa, because I may defend myself this day before thee concerning all the things of which I am accused by Jews; 3 Especially because thou art acquainted with all the customs and questions among the Jews: wherefore I pray thee to hear me patiently. 4 My manner of life from my youth, which was from the beginning among mine own nation at Jerusalem, know all Jews; 5 Who knew me from the first, if they would testify, that according to the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee. 6 And now I stand on my trial for the hope of the promise made by God unto our fathers; 7 Unto which promise our twelve tribes, earnestly serving God night and day, hope to attain. On account of this hope, O king, I am accused by Jews. 8 Why is it judged incredible with you, if God raises the dead? 9 I indeed thought with myself, that I ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus the Nazarene. 10 Which I also did in Jerusalem: and many of the saints did I shut up in prison, having received authority from the chief priests; and when they were put to death, I gave my vote against them. 11 And punishing them often in all the synagogues, I compelled them to blaspheme; and being exceedingly mad against them, I persecuted them even to foreign cities. 12 Whereupon, as I went to Damascus with authority and commission from the chief priests, 13 At mid-day, O king, I saw on the road a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me, and them who journeyed with me. 14 And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking to me, and saying in the Hebrew dialect, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? it is hard for thee to kick against the goads. 15 And I said, Who art thou, Lord? And the Lord said, I am Jesus whom thou persecutest. 16 But arise, and stand on thy feet: for to this end have I appeared to thee, to appoint thee a minister and a witness both of these things which thou hast seen, and of those things in which I shall appear to thee; 17 Delivering thee from the people, and from the Gentiles, to whom I send thee, 18 To open their eyes, that they may be turned from darkness to light,

and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among the sanctified by faith which is in me. 19 Whereupon, king Agrippa, I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision: 20 But announced first to them at Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and in all the region of Judea, and to the Gentiles, that they should repent and turn to God, and do works worthy of repentance. 21 On account of these things, the Jews caught me in the temple, and attempted to kill me. 22 Having therefore obtained help of God, I continue to this day, testifying both to small and great, saying none other things than what the prophets and Moses have said should happen: 23 Whether the Christ is liable to suffering, and whether He, as the first of the resurrection of the dead, should proclaim light to the people and to the Gentiles.

24 And whilst he thus defended himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Thou art mad, Paul; much learning makes thee mad. 25 But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak the words of truth and soberness. 26 For the king knows of these things, to whom also I speak boldly: for I am persuaded that none of these things are concealed from him; for this thing was not done in a corner. 27 King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest. 28 Then Agrippa said unto Paul, Thou somewhat persuadest me to be a Christian. 29 And Paul said, I would to God, that both in a small measure and in a great, not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, might become such as I am, except these bonds. 30 Then arose the king, and the governor, and Bernice, and those who sat with them: 31 And having retired, they communed together, saying, This man doeth nothing deserving of death or of bonds. 32 Then Agrippa said unto Festus, This man could have been set at liberty, had he not appealed unto Cæsar.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. Ἐπὶ before *σεαυτοῦ* is found in B, G; whereas A, C, E, H, & read *περὶ*, the reading adopted by recent critics. Ver. 7. The proper name Ἀγρίππα is found in G, H, but is wanting in A, B, C, E, &, and is rejected by recent critics. *Τῶν* before Ἰουδαίων is found in no uncial ms., and is rejected by all recent critics. Ver. 15. Ὁ δὲ is the reading of H; whereas A, B, C, E, & have ὁ δὲ Κύριος, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 17. Instead of *νῦν*, all the uncial mss. read *ἐγώ*. Ver. 22. *Μαρτυρούμενος* is found in E; whereas A, B, G, H, & have *μαρτυρούμενος*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and

Tischendorf. Ver. 28. *Γενέσθαι* is the reading of E, G, H, whereas *ποιῆσαι* is the reading of A, B, κ. Tischendorf, Meyer, and Alford adopt *γενέσθαι*, and Lachmann and Bornemann read *ποιῆσαι*. Ver. 29. *Πολλῶ* is the reading of G, H; whereas A, B, κ have *μεγάλῳ*, the reading adopted by Tischendorf and Lachmann. Ver. 30. The words *καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ* are found in G, H, but are wanting in A, B, κ, and rejected by recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

This speech, like Paul's address to the Jews from the stairs of the Castle of Antonia, was a defence (*ἀπολογία*); but it was spoken to a very different audience. Then, Paul addressed a hostile multitude, and had to propitiate their favour in order to secure their attention; but now, at their own request, he addresses the greatest men of the land, who are already prepared to give him a patient hearing. Hence this speech of Paul is not so much a defence against the crimes of which he was accused by the Jews, as an apology for Christianity. Addressing himself specially to King Agrippa, he tells him that in reality the accusation against him referred to the Messianic hope which was embraced by the whole nation, inasmuch as he held that hope was fulfilled in the person of Jesus of Nazareth. He then relates the circumstances of his conversion, and the chief points of dispute between him and his Jewish opponents; and does so with such force of reasoning and eloquence, as to produce a sensible impression upon his illustrious audience.

Ver. 1. *Ἐπιτρέπεται σοι περὶ σεαυτοῦ λέγειν*—*it is permitted thee to speak concerning thyself*. Paul was brought before Agrippa at his special request; and accordingly that king opens the proceedings by requesting Paul to address the audience. It is, however, to be observed that Paul did not on this occasion stand as a prisoner at the bar before his lawful judges: his appeal to Cæsar had placed him beyond their jurisdiction; but he was called upon to give a statement of his own peculiar religious notions, and especially of

the points of dispute between him and the Jews. Ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα—*having stretched forth the hand*; that is, the hand which was at liberty, if we are to suppose from ver. 29 that Paul pled before Agrippa in chains (but see note). This was not the same action as κατασεύσας τῇ χειρὶ (Acts xii. 17), “having beckoned with the hand:” that was done to secure silence, whereas this was a formal attitude used by orators.¹

Ver. 3. Γνώστην ὄντα σε—that thou art acquainted; literally, “a knower.” We have here an example of an anacoluthon. The words ought properly to have been in the genitive, to correspond with σοῦ in the previous verse. Some explain it of the accusative absolute, but such a construction is unknown in the New Testament.² Beza supplies εἰδώς, but without any authority from manuscripts. So also does our English version, “because I know thee to be expert.” Ἐθῶν τε καὶ ζητημάτων—*customs and questions*. Ζητημάτων signifies points of dispute, inquiries, controversies. Agrippa was not only a Jewish king, but a Jew in his religion. He must have had great advantages for gaining an accurate acquaintance with Jewish customs and questions, both from his education under his father Herod Agrippa I., who was a rigid observer of Jewish ordinances, and from his frequent intercourse with the Jews. From an expression used by Paul, he appears not only to have been acquainted with Jewish prophecies, but also to have been a believer in them (see below); and mention is made by rabbinical writers of his knowledge of the law. Agrippa was peculiarly qualified to appreciate Paul's defence. As a Jew, he had a knowledge of Jewish affairs; as a king, he was invested with civil power; and as the guardian of the temple, he possessed religious authority. And hence it was that Paul esteemed himself happy to have such a hearer, who could understand the points of dispute between him and the Jews, and who could pronounce a judgment upon them.

Ver. 4. Τὴν μὲν οὖν βίωσίν μου ἐκ νεότητος, etc.—*my*

¹ Demosthenes and other Greek orators employed this gesture. See a quotation from Apuleius given by Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 475.

² Winer's *Grammar of the New Testament*, p. 244.

manner of life from my youth, which was from the beginning among mine own nation in Jerusalem. So also, in his defence before the Jews, he says that he was ἀνατεθραμμένος ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ, "brought up in this city" (Acts xxii. 3). From these expressions it would appear that Paul went from Tarsus to Jerusalem in early youth, when he came to study under the celebrated Gamaliel. He could hardly have been older than sixteen. Ἴσασιν πάντες Ἰουδαῖοι—know all the Jews. Here Paul mentions how long the Jews knew him—from his youth; where they knew him—in Jerusalem; and how they knew him—as a member of their strictest sect, a Pharisee.

Ver. 5. Κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν—According to the strictest sect of our religion, I lived a Pharisee. Similar expressions are used by Josephus to denote the opinions of the Pharisees. "The Pharisees," he observes, "are a certain sect of the Jews who appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more strictly" (*Bell. Jud.* i. 5. 2). And in another place he observes: "The Pharisees are those who are esteemed most skilful in the exact explication of the law" (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 14).¹

Ver. 6. Ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐπαγγελίας—on the hope of the promise. The promise here referred to is not the promise of the resurrection (Grotius), for in such a hope all the Jews were not agreed; but the promise of the Messiah. This was the great promise made to the Jewish nation, and the fulfilment of which all sects appear to have expected. The advent of the Messiah was in a peculiar sense the promise made to the Old Testament church, as the coming of the Spirit is the promise made to the New Testament church. Agrippa, as a Jew, would without further explanation understand what was meant by the promise made by God unto the fathers.

Ver. 7. Τὸ δωδεκάφυλον ἡμῶν—our twelve tribes. Δωδεκάφυλον, a word only found here in the New Testament. The twelve tribes are also mentioned in the Epistle of James (ταῖς δώδεκα φυλαῖς, *Jas.* i. 1). This is probably an expres-

¹ See notes to Acts xxii. 3 and xxiii. 6.

sion used for the Israelites in general ; for although ten of the tribes were carried away into captivity, and appear to have been lost among the nations, yet the Jews did not dis-sever themselves from the twelve tribes of Israel. Besides, several of the ten tribes returned with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin from the Babylonish captivity (Ezra vi. 17, viii. 35) ; and although as a nation they were carried captive to Assyria, yet several remained behind, and lived among the Samaritans. *Ἐν ἐκτενείᾳ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν λατρεῖον*—with earnestness serving God night and day : alluding to the zeal and earnestness with which the Jews clung to their religion ; a zeal which has carried them through the severest persecutions, and which still preserves them as a separate people, distinct among the nations in the midst of whom they dwell ; a zeal which no violence has been able to destroy, and no persuasion to overcome. *Περὶ ἧς ἐλπίδος ἐγκαλοῦμαι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων*—concerning which hope I am accused by Jews. The accusations brought against Paul by the Jews referred to the Messianic hope, because he had taught that Jesus of Nazareth was the Messiah : he had preached the fulfilment of the hope in the risen Jesus. Hence, then, Paul affirms that he was not chargeable with apostasy from Judaism. He was no apostate, but, on the contrary, a true Jew : along with his accusers, he believed in the promise of the Messiah made to the fathers ; but whilst they looked forward to His advent, he affirmed that He had already come. Thus, then, in his defence before Agrippa, as well as in his defence before Felix, he connects Christianity with Judaism, affirming that it is its development, the legitimate carrying out of its principles. From this it follows that he was not a teacher of a new religion unrecognised by the State (*religio illicita*), but a believer in a religion already recognised and protected.¹

Ver. 8. *Τί ἄπιστον κρίνεται παρ' ὑμῶν*—Why is it judged incredible with you ? Some (Beza, Griesbach, Kuinœl, De Wette, Lange, Conybeare), by giving another punctuation to these words, impart a slight variation to the meaning. They place a point of interrogation after *τί*, and read thus :

¹ See note to Acts xxiv. 14.

“What? Is it to be judged incredible with you whether God raises the dead?” But the other rendering seems more suited to the calm dignity of Paul’s address; and besides, as Meyer observes, *τί* by itself is not thus used: the expression requires to be *τί γάρ*, *τί δέ*, or *τί οὖν*.¹ The best critics—Tischendorf and Lachmann—read *τί ἀπιστον* without any mark of interrogation. *Εἰ ὁ Θεὸς νεκροὺς ἐγείρει*;—*if God raises the dead?* *Εἰ* here is not to be taken for *ὅτι*, “that God raises the dead” (Luther, Beza, Grotius, Conybeare, Eng. ver.); or in the sense of “whether” (De Wette); but according to its ordinary meaning, “if” (Meyer, Alford, Lechler). These words are not to be considered as an interruption of the speech. We have probably a mere outline of the defence. The connection seems to be: “I am accused concerning the hope of the promise made unto the fathers, because I affirm that the resurrection of Jesus constitutes Him the Messiah; but His resurrection the Jews will not believe. But what is there incredible if God raises the dead?” This was an *argumentum ad hominem*, as the Jews, from instances in the history of their nation, admitted that this power resided in God. It is to be observed that the question was not put to Festus, who had only confused ideas about a resurrection; but to Agrippa, a professor of the Jewish religion. Its propriety would be still more evident, if it were true, as is commonly asserted, that the Herodian family were tainted with Sadduceism.

Ver. 9. *Πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα*—*against the name*; in a hostile sense. Paul’s endeavour at that time was to prevent the confession of Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. *Δεῖν πολλὰ ἐναντία πράξαι*—*ought to do many contrary things*; that is, I felt it to be my bounden duty to do what I could to suppress the name of Jesus. It is to be observed that Paul’s zeal was at all times sincere. Even when persecuting Christ’s people, he thought that he was doing not only what was lawful, but what was praiseworthy: he considered that he was doing God service.

Ver. 10. *Πολλοὺς τῶν ἁγίων*—*many of the saints*. Paul

¹ Meyer’s *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 477.

did not call Christians by this name when he was addressing the hostile Jews, for this would only have served to increase their fury; but before Agrippa he speaks from a Christian standpoint, without any danger of giving offence. *Ἀναιρουμένων αὐτῶν*—*they being put to death*. As in the Acts mention is only made of the death of Stephen, many critics (Grotius, Kuinæ) suppose that the plural is here used for the singular; but there is nothing improbable in the supposition that several other Christians were put to death in the persecution which arose after the death of Stephen, although this fact is not recorded in the Acts (Meyer). *Κατήνεγκα ψῆφον*—*I gave my vote against them*. *Ψῆφος* is literally the voting-stone. Black and white stones were used for voting, as in the ballot: if the person was to be condemned, a black stone was given; if acquitted, a white stone. Hence *ψῆφον καταφέρειν* is literally to lay down the voting-stone. Some (Alford, Wordsworth) understand the words literally, and suppose that Paul was a member of the Sanhedrim, and voted with the other judges to put the Christians to death. But this is extremely improbable, because the Jews who held this office were not only men of years, but also the most distinguished and influential among the nation—the aristocracy of the Jews; and there is nothing to lead us to suppose that Paul belonged to this class. Besides, according to tradition, one of the necessary qualifications of a member of the Sanhedrim was that he should be married and have a family,—a qualification which we have every reason to believe Paul did not possess. The phrase is frequently used metaphorically, signifying to assent. “*Ψῆφον καταφέρειν*,” observes Lechler, “is as little as the German word *beistimmen*, originally signifying the same thing, to be understood literally of a vote given by a judge and lawful assessor in a court, but it expresses only moral assent and approval.”¹ Paul took an active part in the persecution of the Christians; he instigated the multitude against them; their death met with his approval: so that to all intents and purposes he was art and part in their murder.

¹ Lange's *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte*. Von Lechler, p. 389.

Ver. 11. Ἡνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν — *I compelled them to blaspheme.* The same measures were resorted to by the heathen persecutors. They obliged those who were brought before them not only to renounce the Christian religion, but if they denied that they were Christians, to blaspheme Christ as a test of their sincerity. Thus Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan, says: *qui negarent se esse Christianos aut fuisse, quum præunte me deos appellarent et imagini tue, quam propter hoc jusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, thure ac vino supplicarent, præterea maledicerent Christo: quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur qui sunt revera Christiani. Ergo dimittendos putavi.* “Some denied that they were or had been Christians: those repeated after me a supplication to the gods and thy image, which I ordered for this purpose to be brought along with the images of the gods, at the same time reviling Christ; none of which things it is said that those who were really Christians could be compelled to do. I then concluded that they might be dismissed” (*Epist.* x. 97).

Vers. 12–15. We have in these verses the third account of Paul’s conversion. For remarks, see notes to Acts ix. 3–8. The following are the chief points which are peculiar to this narrative:—We are informed that the light which shone from heaven was above the brightness of the sun (*ὑπὲρ τὴν λαμπρότητα τοῦ ἡλίου*); whereas in Acts ix. it is merely called a light from heaven, and in Acts xxii. a great light. It is here said that Paul and his companions were all fallen to the ground (*πάντων καταπεσόντων ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν γῆν*). By this, from a comparison with the other accounts, is meant that they were all terror-stricken, prostrate through fear. The voice is here said to have addressed Paul in the Hebrew dialect (*τῇ Ἑβραϊδι διαλέκτῳ*),—a circumstance which is not alluded to in either of the other narratives, and which in Acts xxii. could not well be mentioned, as Paul addressed the multitude in Hebrew. Here, however, he speaks before Agrippa and Festus in Greek, and hence it was natural that he should state that the voice spoke to him in the Hebrew dialect. *Hebræa lingua, Christi lingua in terrâ et e cælo* (Bengel). The addition, “it is hard for thee to kick against

the goads" (*σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*), is only found in this passage. The words which occur in the *textus receptus* of Acts ix. 5 are spurious; and in Acts xxii. 7 they are only found in one uncial manuscript (E). The metaphor or proverb is derived from oxen at the plough, which, on being pricked with the goad, kick against it, and so cause it to pierce them more severely. The meaning is obvious: that it was both unavailing and injurious to resist Christ by persecuting His disciples. This metaphor was probably a Jewish proverb, though not discovered in Jewish writings. It was frequently employed by Greek and Roman writers. Thus Euripides applied it as here: *θυμούμενος πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζοιμι, θητὸς ὦν θεῷ* (*Bacch.* 791). Pindar employs it thus: *ποτὶ κέντρον δὲ τοι λακτιζέμεν τελέθει δλίσθηρος οἶμος* (*Pyth.* ii. 173). So also, among the Latin writers, Terence uses the proverb, *Nam quæ incititia est, advorsum stimulum calces* (*Phorm.* i. 2. 27). And Plautus: *Si stimulos pugnis cædis, manibus plus dolet* (*Truc.* iv. 2. 59).¹

Vers. 16-18. These verses contain the address of Christ to Paul. Ἀλλὰ ἀνάστηθι καὶ στῆθι ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας σου—but *arise, and stand on thy feet*. "Christ," observes Calvin, "did throw down Paul, that He might humble him; now He lifteth him up, and biddeth him be of good courage." *Εἰς τοῦτο*—*to this purpose*, referring to what follows. Ὡν τε ὀφθήσομαί σοι—and *of those things in which I shall appear to thee*. Ὡν is to be resolved into τούτων ἅ. Ὀφθήσομαι is not to be rendered, "of those things which I shall make thee see" (Luther); but is passive, "in which I shall be seen to thee," that is, "appear to thee." Ἐξαιρούμενός σε—*delivering thee*. Some (Heinrichs, Kuinœl, Robinson, Conybeare) render these words "choosing thee," to correspond with the designation then given to Paul as a chosen vessel (Acts ix. 15). But although Paul was chosen from the people of Israel (ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ), yet he could hardly be said to be chosen from the Gentiles (ἐκ τῶν ἐθνῶν). Ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ—*from the people*; the theocratic nation—the Jews. *Εἰς οὗς*—

¹ Humphry on the Acts, p. 195; Hackett on the Acts, p. 402; Kuinœl's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 154.

to whom; referring not exclusively to the Gentiles (Calvin), but to the people and the Gentiles. Τοῦ ἐπιστρέψαι—that they might be turned; denoting the purpose why Paul was sent to open their eyes. Ἀπὸ σκοτῶν εἰς φῶς—from darkness to light; that is, from sin and error to holiness and truth. The expression which follows is similar, “from the power of Satan, whose kingdom is darkness, unto God, who is Light.” Πίστει τῇ εἰς ἐμέ—by faith which is in me. These words are not to be restricted to ἡγιασμένοις, “sanctified by faith which is in me;” but extend to the whole clause, and denote that both the forgiveness of sins and the inheritance among the sanctified result from faith in Christ.

Some suppose that the above words were spoken by Christ to Paul when He met him on the road to Damascus. Baumgarten thinks that Jesus, on His first appearance to Paul, gave him a survey of his later ministry.¹ But a portion of this address is the message which Ananias was inspired to deliver unto Paul (Acts xxii. 14, 15); and it is improbable that the words uttered by Christ Himself to Paul at his conversion would again be repeated to him by Ananias. Hence, then, the more probable opinion is, that Paul here condenses into one saying of Christ the various utterances which were made to him by the Lord at different periods. According to this opinion, we do not suppose that “Paul here puts his own thoughts into the mouth of the Lord” (Stier);² for the thoughts alluded to are not those of Paul or of Ananias, but of the Lord Himself.³

Ver. 20. Ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν Δαμασκῶ πρώτον, etc.—but announced first to them at Damascus, and at Jerusalem, and to all the region of Judea, and to the Gentiles. The extent of Paul’s ministry is here stated—from the period of his conversion down to the time at which he now addressed Agrippa. Μετανοεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεόν—that they should repent and turn to God. This refers both to Jews and Gen-

¹ Baumgarten’s *Apostolic History*, vol. iii. pp. 136, 137.

² See Stier’s *Words of the Apostles*, pp. 467, 468, Clark’s translation.

³ Lange’s *Bibelwerk: Apostelgeschichte*. Von Lechler, p. 389. Also Alford’s *Greek Testament*, vol. ii. p. 259.

tiles, and is not to be understood as if μετανοεῖν referred chiefly to the Jews, and ἐπιστρέφειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν chiefly to the Gentiles (Bengel). Although the Gentiles were idolaters, and the Jews professed worshippers of the true God, yet the Jews, by reason of their wickedness and unbelief, required, as well as the Gentiles, to be turned to God. Ἄξια τῆς μετανοίας ἔργα πράσσοντας—that they should do works worthy of repentance. Zeller objects to these words, that they remind us rather of the preaching of the Baptist or of the discourses of Peter, than of the doctrine of Paul concerning justification by faith alone.¹ But there is nothing un-pauline in this statement: Paul had already stated that all the blessings of the gospel flowed from faith (ver. 18); and he ever held that good works were the necessary evidences of faith.

Ver. 22. Ἐπικουρίας οὖν τυχὼν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ—having therefore obtained help from God. Perhaps Paul here alludes to the many remarkable interpositions of Providence in his favour, after he had been arrested by the Jews in the temple, being frequently delivered from their rage, first by the tribune Lysias, and then by the procurators Felix and Festus. Ἄχρι τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης ἔστηκα—I continue even to this day. Ἐστηκα, I stand unharmed, notwithstanding the fury of my enemies. Μαρτυρόμενος μικρῷ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ—witnessing both to small and great. (See Critical Note.) Meyer retains the reading of the *textus receptus*, μαρτυρούμενος. This, accordingly, must be rendered in the passive, “witnessed to by small and great.”² To this, however, it is objected that Paul, instead of being favourably regarded, was despised and persecuted by the Jews. But notwithstanding he might be “witnessed to,” even by the consciences of his persecutors: even they might be forced to bear witness to his integrity. The other reading, μαρτυρόμενος, however, is decidedly to be preferred, and certainly gives the best meaning.

Ver. 23. Ὁ Χριστὸς—the Christ; not here denoting the person Christ Jesus, but the Messiah. Παθητὸς—passibilis

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 300.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 481.

(Vulg.)—*liable to suffering*; and yet not in a metaphysical sense, “capable of suffering;” but whether the prophets predicted a suffering Messiah. This was, in general, disbelieved by the Jews: they believed in a triumphant and victorious Messiah; and the sufferings of Jesus were a great obstacle to their receiving Him as the Messiah. Hence Paul endeavoured to remove this obstacle, by proving from the books of the prophets that the Messiah was liable to suffering. This constituted the first great point of dispute between Paul and the Jews. The other point had reference to the call of the Gentiles into the Christian church.

Πρῶτος ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν—*the first from the resurrection from the dead.* Compare with this the following similar expressions: *ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων*, 1 Cor. xv. 20; *πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν*, Col. i. 18; and *ὁ πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν*, Rev. i. 5. The Messiah is called “the first from the resurrection of the dead,” not because He was the first who rose from the dead, but because He is the efficient cause of the resurrection—the Prince of life. *Φῶς μέλλει καταγγέλλειν τῷ τε λαῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*—*should proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles.* The reference is to those numerous prophecies which predicted the Messiah as a Light unto the Jews and the Gentiles (Isa. ix. 2, xlii. 16, xlix. 6, lx. 2). This was the other point of dispute between Paul and his Jewish opponents; Paul maintaining that, in preaching the gospel to the Gentiles, he was only acting in accordance with the predictions of their prophets.

Ver. 24. *Μαίνῃ Παῦλε*—*Thou art mad, Paul.* Festus heard Paul with patience until he commenced to insist on the resurrection, and then he interrupted him with the exclamation, “Thou art mad!” The force of these words is not to be weakened, as if they meant only, “Thou art an enthusiast.” *Τὰ πολλά σε γράμματα εἰς μανίαν περιτρέπει*—*Thy much learning is turning thee to madness.* Some (Heinrichs, Kuinöl) render *γράμματα*, writings, books: “Thy many writings which thou readest have made thee mad.” But were this the case, we would have expected the

word *βιβλία*. Paul would be known as a distinguished scholar, and an eloquent teacher among the Christians; and no doubt the speech which he now made would impress Festus with a high idea of his learning and eloquence. Much of what Paul had said must have been utterly unintelligible to Festus; and the warm eloquence of the apostle must have appeared strange to the cold-hearted Roman statesman (Neander). But when he commenced to speak of the resurrection of the dead as accomplished by a man whom the Romans had crucified; when he asserted that one proceeding from such a barbarous nation as the Jews should come to enlighten such civilised nations as the Greeks and Romans, Festus could no longer forbear. Paul probably appeared to him as some visionary enthusiast, who had disordered his intellect by overmuch study. "Festus saw that it is not nature which acts in Paul; he was not capable of seeing grace: wherefore he supposes that it was a Jewish kind of enthusiastic frenzy of the same kind as was that among the Gentiles according to their fables" (Bengel). Olshausen supposes that the words were spoken by Festus in jest; but they seem to have been uttered in earnest.

Ver. 25. *Οὐ μαινόμεαι κράτιστε Φῆστε*—*I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak the words of truth and soberness.* Truth in opposition to the fancies, and soberness to the extravagances of madness. By this answer Paul demonstrated that, so far from being a madman, he was not even an enthusiast; for this calm and respectful answer is not the language of enthusiasm. He does not for a moment forget the position of Festus as his judge.

Ver. 26. *Ἐπίσταται γὰρ περὶ τούτων ὁ βασιλεὺς*—*for the king knows of these things.* Those assertions which were unintelligible and seemed as madness to Festus, conveyed an intelligent meaning to the better informed Agrippa. *Οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐν γωνίᾳ πεπραγμένον τοῦτο*—*for this thing was not done in a corner.* The death of Christ and His resurrection were events which took place, not in some obscure corner of Judea, but in Jerusalem itself, during the paschal week, at a time of more than ordinary publicity. And so also Paul's

former life as a Pharisee and a persecutor, and his sudden conversion to Christianity, were facts which were well known.

Ver. 27. Πιστεύεις, βασιλεῦ Ἀγρίππα, τοῖς προφήταις; οἶδα ὅτι πιστεύεις—*King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest.* With these words Paul brings the truth home to the conscience of Agrippa. He, as a professor of the Jewish religion, professed at the same time to be a believer in the Jewish prophets. Perhaps, however, these words are to be taken in a stronger sense,—namely, that Agrippa was actually a believer in the prophets: for οἶδα is not to be weakened, as if it signified “I think.” This would impress us with a higher opinion of the religious and moral character of Agrippa than is generally entertained; and would incline us to believe that all those rumours of incest against him were mere falsehoods. Certainly nowhere does King Agrippa appear in so favourable a light as in this chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: there is something noble and kindly about his conduct.

Ver. 28. Ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις Χριστιανὸν γενέσθαι—*In a little thou persuadest me to become a Christian.* These words have been variously represented as the language of sincere conviction, as being uttered in irony, as a mere complimentary form of expression, and as a bitter sarcasm. Ὀλίγῳ, an adjective in the neuter, without a supplement; as in Eph. iii. 3, προέγραψα ἐν ὀλίγῳ. Consequently some noun has to be supplied. The meaning also depends on the contrast contained in Paul’s answer in the next verse, ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ (πολλῷ); and the sense of Paul’s answer depends on the critical reading of the verse, whether μεγάλῳ or πολλῷ is to be preferred. (See Critical Note.) The Douay version translates the words literally, without any supplement: “In a little thou persuadest me to become a Christian. And Paul said, I would to God that both in a little and in much (πολλῷ),” etc. Different nouns have been supplied, as χρόνῳ, λόγῳ, πόνῳ, and μέρει.

Among the various explanations which have been given, there are four which are deserving of notice. 1. Some (Chrysostom, Luther, Castalio, Beza, Grotius, Du Veil,

Bengel, Ewald, Stier) render them, as in our English version, "Almost thou persuadest me:" *propemodum* (Beza, Castalio). But there are two objections to this rendering. No clear instance has been adduced of *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* signifying *almost*. This sense requires *ὀλίγου*, or *ὀλίγου δεῖ*, or *παρ' ὀλίγον*. And it is equally objectionable to translate the contrast *altogether*. For these reasons, the translation "almost" has, in general, been rejected by recent critics. 2. Others (Œcumenius, Olshausen, Baumgarten, Meyer, Lechler, Alford) render the clause, "With little labour, or with few words, persuadest thou me to become a Christian!" As if he had said, Do you think to persuade me with such reasonings as these? Alford adopts the old English word *lightly*: "Lightly art thou persuading me to be a Christian!" Œcumenius gives the following explanation: *ἐν ὀλίγῳ τούτεστι δι' ὀλίγων ῥημάτων, ἐν βραχέσι λόγοις, ἐν ὀλίγῃ διδασκαλίᾳ, χωρὶς πολλοῦ πόνου καὶ συνεχοῦς διαλέξεως*.¹ According to this view, *λόγῳ* or *πόνῳ* have to be supplied; and in Eph. iii. 3 *λόγῳ* is perhaps the word which requires to be supplied. The great objection to this view is, that it supposes that the words were spoken in irony; which is not in any way intimated in the context, and which appears unnatural, as being inconsistent with the impression which we feel such a speech as that of Paul must have made upon Agrippa. (See below.) 3. Others (Calvin, Wetstein, Kuinœl, Neander, De Wette, Lange, Robinson, Hackett, Conybeare) render the clause, "In a little time thou persuadest me:" which may either be understood as spoken in earnest, "If thou go on speaking as thou art doing, thou wilt soon persuade me to become a Christian;" or in irony, "Thinkest thou to persuade me in a little time?" According to this view, *χρόνῳ* is the word which has to be supplied. And certainly this is more in conformity with the usage of the Greek language: the phrase *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* in general means "in a little time," "briefly." It also suits the contrast, provided *πολλῶ* be the correct reading; but hardly if *μεγάλῳ* be preferred. Accordingly Neander remarks: "If the reading *ἐν μεγάλῳ* in Paul's

¹ Quoted by Meyer, *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 484.

answer be adopted, the words of Agrippa must be thus explained: With a little or with few reasons (which will not cost you much trouble) you think of making me a Christian."¹ 4. Another rendering—which, however, has been embraced only by few critics (Tyndale, Cranmer, Alexander)—is, "Thou persuadest me in a small measure:" *somewhat* (Cranmer). According to this view, *μέρει* has to be supplied. If the reading *ἐν μεγάλῳ* in Paul's answer be adopted, this rendering is perhaps the least objectionable. Some (Chrysostom, Calvin, Humphry) think that Agrippa used the word in one sense, and Paul in his answer employed it in another. Thus Chrysostom observes: *οὐκ ἐνόησεν ὁ Παῦλος τί ἐστὶν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀλλ' ἐνόμισεν ὅτι ἐξ ὀλίγου*—"Paul did not understand what the phrase *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* meant; but he thought that it meant *ἐξ ὀλίγου*." But there is no ground for this opinion in the text. Upon the whole, we think that if *ἐν πολλῶ* in Paul's answer be the correct reading, *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* is to be rendered "in a little time;" but if *ἐν μεγάλῳ* be preferred, then *ἐν ὀλίγῳ* is perhaps to be rendered "in a little measure."²

But another question arises, In what spirit were these words spoken? The general opinion among recent critics is, that they were spoken in irony or in jest. In support of this, it is argued that the word *Christian* was then the designation employed by the enemies of the church. But although this may have been the case, yet the term was not used in a contemptuous sense, but merely for the sake of distinction. We rather think that Paul's speech had made a deep impression upon the king, but that he was unwilling to show this before Festus and the nobles of Cæsarea; and that the words were spoken to conceal his feelings: as if he had said, Certainly there is some little truth in what you have said. He dismisses Paul with a slight compliment.

Ver. 29. *Ἐν ὀλίγῳ καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ*—*in little and in great*. The meaning of these words depends on the interpretation

¹ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 310.

² See an excellent and exhaustive note on these words in Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 484, 485.

given to ἐν ὀλίγῳ in the preceding verse. 1. If these words mean "almost," then Paul says, "I would to God that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost and altogether such as I am:" *propemodum et plane* (Castalio). 2. If, on the other hand, Agrippa said, "With little trouble persuadest thou me!" then Paul's answer is, "I would that you were persuaded, whether with little trouble or with great difficulty." 3. If Agrippa's words are to be rendered, "Truly in a short time thou wilt make me a Christian," Paul replies, "I pray God that in a longer or shorter time (sooner or later) He would make you such as I am." 4. If Agrippa meant that he was in a small measure impressed, Paul replies, "I would to God that you and all my hearers were not only in a small, but in a great measure, such as I am." Παρεκτὸς τῶν δεσμῶν τούτων—*except these bonds*. Some think that this refers to his imprisonment in general, as there would be an impropriety in Paul pleading before Agrippa in chains. But we learn from Tacitus that it was not unusual for prisoners to be bound when they pled before their judges (Tac. Ann. iv. 28).

Vers. 30-33. Ἀνέστη τε ὁ βασιλεὺς, etc.—*And the king arose, and the governor, and Bernice, and those who sat with them*. They arose in the order of their rank. This apparently trivial notice proceeds from an eye-witness—indicating that Luke, in all probability, was present in court when Paul made his noble defence. Οἱ συγκαθήμενοι are the assessors, the counsellors of the governor. Οὐδὲν θανάτου ἄξιον ἢ δεσμῶν πράσσει—*This man does nothing worthy of death or of bonds*. Πράσσει refers not to Paul's past conduct, but to the general tenor of his life—his general character and views. The defence of Paul had the natural effect of impressing his judges with a sense of his innocence. Εἰ μὴ ἐπέκκλητο Καίσαρα—*if he had not appealed to Cæsar*. The appeal to Cæsar had placed him beyond their jurisdiction: they could now neither condemn nor acquit him, but had to refer the matter simply to the emperor (Grotius). It might seem an unfortunate circumstance that Paul had appealed to Cæsar, as otherwise he would probably have been set at

liberty; but his visit to Rome in the character of a prisoner was overruled by Providence for the highest good. One result of Agrippa's decision, and the favourable opinion of Paul's judges, may have been that Festus sent a favourable despatch to the emperor, in consequence of which Paul was treated with great indulgence by the centurion in charge during his voyage to Rome; and when at Rome, instead of being detained in prison, was permitted to dwell in his own hired house.¹

¹ Stier also observes: "As far as King Agrippa was concerned, this much at least was attained by his hearing of the apostle's discourse, that the king did not persecute the Christians, but rather protected those whom he had *almost* joined; for at the outbreak of the Jewish war he gave them succour, and received them kindly into his territory." — *Words of the Apostles*, p. 492.

SECTION XXVII.

PAUL'S VOYAGE TO ROME: ARRIVAL AT CRETE.—

ACTS XXVII. 1-12.

1 Now when it was determined that we should sail to Italy, they delivered Paul, and certain other prisoners, to a centurion named Julius, of the Augustan cohort. 2 And having embarked in a ship of Adramyttium, which was about to sail to the places along the coasts of Asia, we set sail; Aristarchus, a Macedonian of Thessalonica, being with us. 3 And the next day we landed at Sidon; and Julius, treating Paul courteously, permitted him to go to his friends, and to receive their attentions. 4 And having set sail from it, we sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. 5 And when we had sailed over the sea off the coasts of Cilicia and Pamphylia, we came to Myra in Lycia. 6 And there the centurion having found a ship of Alexandria sailing to Italy, he put us on board. 7 And when we had sailed slowly many days, and had with difficulty come over against Cnidus, the wind not suffering us, we sailed under Crete, over against Salmone; 8 And coasting it with difficulty, we came to a place called Kalo Limenes, near to which is the city of Lasea.

9 Now, when much time had elapsed, and when the voyage was now dangerous, because the fast was already past, Paul exhorted them, 10 Saying to them, Sirs, I perceive that this voyage is about to be with hardship and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of our lives. 11 But the centurion was persuaded by the steersman and shipowner, more than by those things which were spoken by Paul. 12 And as the haven was inconvenient for wintering, the majority advised to sail thence also, if by any means they might reach Phenice, a haven of Crete, looking toward the south-west and north-west, and winter there.

CRITICAL NOTE.

Ver. 2. The nominative plural μέλλοντες is found in G, H; whereas the dative singular μέλλοντι is contained in A, B, κ , and is preferred by Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Meyer.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

In no writing of ancient times which has come down to us, have we in so small a compass such a minute description of a voyage as that contained in this chapter of the Acts. The passage abounds in nautical words and expressions.¹ We can trace with exactness the ship's course, and can determine even the direction of the winds; and we receive from the narrative information regarding the nature of the ships, and the mode of the navigation of the ancients. This passage has been so fully explained and illustrated by the late Mr. Smith of Jordanhill, in his *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*—a work of European reputation—that it may be almost affirmed that the subject is exhausted. All modern commentators, whether English or German, have derived their information from this work, and appeal to it as their authority. Mr. Smith has applied his nautical knowledge to the elucidation of this chapter, and by doing so has furnished us with a new and independent argument in favour of the authenticity of the Acts. Dr. Hackett also, in his Commentary, is particularly full and minute on this portion of the Acts.² To account for the great minuteness with which this voyage is described, Olshausen supposes that Luke kept a diary at the time, and afterwards inserted it unchanged into his work.³ But the supposition is unnecessary, as such minuteness is sufficiently explained by the fact that the historian himself was on board the vessel.

Ver. 1. Ὡς δὲ ἐκρίθη τοῦ ἀποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν—*Now when it was determined that we should sail into Italy.* The determination here does not refer to the fact that they should sail into Italy, for this had been previously resolved upon; but to the time and manner of the voyage. Τοῦ

¹ See a list of these nautical words and expressions in Baumgarten's *Apostolic History*, vol. iii. pp. 237, 238.

² Hackett on the Acts, pp. 408–444. See also Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, ch. xxiii.; and Lewin's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 713–742.

³ See also Tholuck's *Glaubwürdigkeit*, p. 376, zweite Auflage.

ἀποπλεῖν expresses the purpose of the determination. 'Ἡμᾶς—*that we*. The direct style is here resumed, which had been dropped since Acts xxi. 18; Luke thus indicating that he accompanied Paul on his voyage to Rome. Παρεδίδου τὸν Παῦλον—*they delivered Paul*; namely, those who were entrusted with the execution of the decree of the governor. Καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρουσ δεσμώτας—*and certain other prisoners*. Meyer supposes that ἑτέρουσ is designedly used instead of ἄλλουσ, to indicate that these prisoners were of another kind, not Christians. Luke, however, employs the terms ἄλλουσ and ἑτέρουσ indiscriminately (Luke viii. 3). It was a common practice for provincial governors to send prisoners of importance to Rome; and especially was this the case with Roman citizens who had appealed to Cæsar. Thus Josephus mentions that, when Felix was procurator of Judea, there were certain priests of his acquaintance who on a small and trifling occasion were put into bonds, and sent to Rome to plead their cause before Cæsar (Jos. Vit. 3). Ἐκατοντάρχη ὀνόματι Ἰουλίῳ—*to a centurion named Julius*. It has been conjectured that this Julius was a freedman of the Julian or imperial family. Some (Wieseler, Howson), but without assigning any reasons, identify him with Julius Priscus, who, from being a centurion, was advanced to the command of the prætorian guards under the Emperor Vitellius (Tac. Hist. ii. 92, iv. 11).

Σπειρῆσ Σεβαστήσ—*of the Augustan cohort*. It has been proved that several legions, particularly the second, the third, and the eighth, were honoured with the title Augusta, and accordingly some suppose that the Augustan cohort might be a cohort of one of these legions. But there is no proof that any of these legions were at this time quartered in the East, nor is there any mention elsewhere of an Augustan cohort (*cohors Augusta*).¹ 1. Some (Schwarz, Kuinzel, Akerman) suppose that by the Augustan or Sebastene cohort is meant a cohort composed of Samaritans, called Sebastene, from Sebaste, the capital of Samaria. These

¹ See Akerman's *Numismatic Illustrations*, p. 59; Hackett on the Acts, vol. ii. p. 409.

troops are twice mentioned by Josephus as being quartered in Cæsarea. Thus, in narrating the quarrel between the Samaritans and the Jews, under the procuratorship of Cumanus, he says: "Cumanus took the Sebastene cohort, with four regiments of foot, and armed the Samaritans, and marched against the Jews" (*Ant.* xx. 6. 1); and in another place, that he took a troop of horsemen, called the Sebastene troop (*ἴλην ἰππέων καλουμένην Σεβαστηνῶν*), out of Cæsarea (*Bell. Jud.* ii. 12. 5). The Roman troops in Cæsarea were recruited from the province, and thus were chiefly composed of Syrians and Samaritans, as the Jews did not serve as soldiers; and therefore it is supposed that one of the five cohorts which were stationed at Cæsarea was called the Sebastene cohort, as being composed of Samaritans. But the adjective employed by Josephus (*Σεβαστηνῶν*) is different from the word used by Luke, and signifies natives of Sebaste; whereas here the term *Σεβαστῆς* is the name of the city, and calling a cohort by the name of a city, (the cohort of Sebaste) is said to be without example.¹ 2. Others (Wieseler, Alford, Howson, Wordsworth) suppose that by a centurion of the Augustan cohort is meant an officer of the body-guard of Nero, called *Augustani*.² Nero, as Tacitus informs us, organized a body-guard, composed of Roman knights selected from the prætorian guard, whom he called *Augustani* (*Ann.* xiv. 15). It is supposed that Julius was a centurion of this distinguished cohort, who happened to be at Cæsarea on some special mission, and that Festus took advantage of his return to entrust the prisoners to his care. But this body-guard of Nero was not formed until the year 60, the very year in which, in all probability, Paul sailed from Cæsarea to Rome. Besides, according to this supposition, the centurion Julius would be independent of Festus, and it is improbable that the governor would entrust the matter to one who was not under his command. 3. Others (Meyer, Olshausen) suppose that the cohort in question was

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 489.

² This opinion is stated and supported in a long and valuable note by Wieseler, *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 389-393.

a body-guard of the emperor; that one of the five cohorts stationed at Cæsarea was called the Augustan or imperial cohort, because it was set apart for the emperor's special service; and that a centurion from that cohort was therefore chosen on the present occasion. Such an opinion, however, is unsupported by authority. The most probable opinion seems to be, that the Augustan cohort was the body-guard of the governor, and was so called because it bore the same relation to him as the prætorian guard did to the emperor. According to this view, the Augustan cohort was the same as the Italian cohort (see note to Acts x. 1): the title Augustan was the honorary appellation, and it was called Italian because it was composed of soldiers from Italy.

Ver. 2. Ἐπιβάντες δὲ πλοίῳ Ἀδραμυττηνῶ—*but having embarked on board a ship of Adramyttium.* This was not Adrametum on the north coast of Africa (Grotius), for with this the spelling does not agree; but Adramyttium, a seaport of Mysia, opposite Lesbos. Adramyttium was an Athenian colony, and was at this time a town of considerable importance (Strabo, xiii. 1. 51). Paul never reached Adramyttium: he was only put on board a ship belonging to that town, in the expectation that they would find in one of the numerous seaports of Asia a vessel sailing direct to Italy. Ὀντος σὺν ἡμῶν Ἀριστάρχου—*Aristarchus being with us.* Aristarchus was with the apostle at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29), accompanied him from Macedonia to Asia (Acts xx. 4), and probably to Jerusalem, and now he sails with him to Rome. Paul, in his Epistle to the Colossians, speaks of him as his fellow-prisoner (Col. iv. 10); and hence some have inferred that he was now sent as a prisoner to Rome. But there is nothing in the narrative to favour this opinion: Luke accompanied Paul of his own accord, and so in all probability did Aristarchus.

Ver. 3. Τῇ τε ἑτέρᾳ κατήχθημεν εἰς Σιδῶνα—*and the next day we landed at Sidon.* The distance between Cæsarea and Sidon was about seventy miles; and therefore, with a favourable wind, the voyage might be accomplished in one day. This celebrated city of Phœnicia was situated about twenty-

five miles to the north of Tyre. It is one of the oldest cities in the world, being mentioned in the book of Genesis before the time of Abraham (Gen. x. 19), and being spoken of in the book of Joshua as "the great Sidon" (Josh. xix. 28). Homer alludes to it both in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey* (*Il.* xxiii. 743; *Od.* xv. 425). In all probability, it was the mother-city of the still more famous Tyre. In the time of Solomon it appears to have been subject to Tyre, but revolted when Shalmaneser the king of Assyria invaded Phœnicia, and thus did not suffer in the Assyrian and Babylonian wars. Under the Persian empire it reached its highest prosperity, and encountered its greatest disaster when, having revolted in the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, it was taken and destroyed (*Diod. Sic.* xvi. 42-45). Soon after it was rebuilt; and on the invasion of Alexander, from hatred to the Persian rule, it united its fleet with that of the Macedonians, and materially assisted them at the siege of Tyre. After the death of Alexander, Sidon belonged sometimes to the Syrian and sometimes to the Egyptian kingdom, until at length it fell into the hands of the Romans. In the days of the apostles Sidon was a flourishing city; so much so, that Strabo says, "Both (Tyre and Sidon) were formerly, and are at present, distinguished and illustrious cities; but which should be called the capital of Phœnicia, is a matter of dispute among the inhabitants" (*Strabo*, xvi. 2. 16). Sidon carried on a great traffic by sea and land: its glass and linen manufactures, and its articles of *vertù*, were famous throughout the Roman empire. Sidon, or as it is now called, Saida, is still a seaport of some importance, having a population of about 6000, though its harbour is now partially silted up, and the trade between Syria and Europe has in a great measure removed to Beyrout.

Φιλανθρώπως τε ὁ Ἰούλιος τῷ Παύλῳ χρησάμενος—and *Julius treating Paul courteously*. The character of Paul must have favourably impressed such a humane centurion as Julius: no noble mind could come in contact with the apostle without being attracted toward him. Perhaps also Festus, being convinced of the innocence of Paul, had

given directions to Julius to treat him with courtesy and mildness. Ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν—to receive their attentions. Perhaps by this is meant, that Paul was to receive from them such things as were necessary for so long a voyage.

Ver. 4. Ἐπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κύπρον διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους—We sailed under Cyprus, because the winds were contrary. Ἐπεπλεύσαμεν is a nautical expression: “we sailed under the lee of Cyprus,” i.e. under the protection of the land. Some suppose that they sailed to the south of Cyprus, and kept the island to their right. Others, more correctly, that their course was to the north-east of the island, leaving Cyprus on their left. Had the wind been favourable, the direct course was to sail to the south of Cyprus, and then across to Myra, as in Acts xxi. 3; but they were prevented doing so by contrary winds. Besides, the expression sailing through the sea off the coasts of Cilicia and Pamphylia, indicates that they must have sailed between the coasts of Cilicia and Cyprus.

Ver. 5. Τὸ τε πέλαγος τὸ κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλεύσαντες—and having sailed through the sea off the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia; that is, they sailed between the coast of Cilicia and Pamphylia and the northern coast of Cyprus. By doing so, according to Smith, they were “favoured by the land breeze (off the coast of Cilicia) which prevails there during the summer months, as well as by the current which constantly runs to the westward along the south coast of Asia Minor.”¹

Κατήλθαμεν εἰς Μύρα—we came to Myra. The reading of MSS. varies: some read Σμύρναν, and others Λύστρα; but Smyrna is too far to the north, and Lystra is inland. Myra was an important city of Lycia, distant, according to Strabo, about two miles and a half from the sea on a navigable river (Strabo, xiv. 3. 7); its port was called Andriace. On the establishment of Christianity it became the ecclesiastical and political capital of Lycia. It is now in ruins, but the magnitude of its theatre attests its former greatness. Its splendid tombs are adverted to by every traveller:

¹ Smith's *Voyage of St. Paul*, p. 67.

“sepulchres, which for elegance of their design, costliness of execution, and size, seem to have been suited rather for the keeping of the ashes of rulers and kings than of common citizens.”¹ *Τῆς Λυκίας*—of *Lycia*. Lycia was a district of proconsular Asia, attached at this time to the province of Pamphylia. In its prosperous times it possessed twenty-three considerable cities.

Ver. 6. *Πλοῖον Ἀλεξανδρινὸν*—a ship of *Alexandria*. At Myra, Paul and the other prisoners were transferred from the vessel of Adramyttium into an Alexandrian ship bound for Italy. According to Lewin, the centurion here changed his purpose. His original intention was, that Paul and his party should sail direct to Adramyttium, then cross over to Macedonia, and proceed overland by the *Via Egnatia* to Italy; but on finding an Alexandrian vessel, he unluckily changed his plan, and resolved to proceed to Italy by sea.²

There was a great traffic in corn between Alexandria and Rome, Egypt being at this time the granary of Italy; and it would appear from the narrative that this ship was laden with wheat (ver. 38). The Alexandrian ships were of great size, equal to our largest merchant vessels, fully capable of containing on board 276 persons (ver. 37). The vessel in which Josephus was wrecked on his voyage to Italy contained 600 persons (*Vita*, 3). Myra was due north of Alexandria, and out of the direct course from that city to Rome, which is by the south of Crete. “But,” as Smith remarks, “with the westerly winds which prevail in those seas, ships, particularly those of the ancients, unprovided with a compass, and ill calculated to work to windward, would naturally stand to the north till they made the land of Asia Minor, which is peculiarly favourable for such a mode of navigation, because the coast is bold and safe, and the elevation of the mountains makes it visible at a great distance. . . . The Alexandrian ship was not therefore out of her course at Myra, even if she had no call to touch there for the purpose

¹ Spratt and Forbes' *Lycia*, vol. i. p. 132.

² Such, also, is the opinion of Wordsworth: *Commentary on the Acts*, p. 162.

of commerce. We may suppose that the same westerly winds which forced the Adramyttian ship to the east of Cyprus drove the Alexandrian ship to Myra.”¹

Ver. 7. *Ἐν ἰκαναῖς δὲ ἡμέρας βραδυπλοοῦντες*—and sailing slowly many days. The distance between Myra and Cnidus is about 130 miles, and might, with a favourable wind, have been accomplished in one or two days. *Καὶ μόλις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον*—and with difficulty were come over against Cnidus. Cnidus was a city of Caria, a district of proconsular Asia, situated on a promontory of the same name, the modern Cape Crio, nearly opposite the island of Chios (Acts xx. 15). It stood upon the brow of a hill rising gradually from the sea. It was celebrated for the worship of Venus. The celebrated Venus of Praxiteles was kept here, and was visited by great multitudes (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 5. 4). According to Strabo, there were two excellent harbours at Cnidus, sheltered by a small island which was united by a mole to the continent (Strabo, xiv. 2. 15).² *Μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου*—the wind not suffering us. According to Meyer, the meaning of this clause is, that the wind did not suffer them to put into Cnidus, where there was an excellent harbour. According to others (Alford, Howson, Smith, Robinson), the meaning is that the wind did not suffer them to proceed farther on their intended voyage: they had to alter their course, and make for the island of Crete. Smith proves that the wind must have been north-west—the Etesian winds which prevail in those parts of the Mediterranean toward the close of summer.³ According to Pliny, these winds begin in August, and blow for forty days (Plin. *H. N.* ii. 4).

Ἵπεπλεύσαμεν τὴν Κρήτην—we sailed under Crete; that is, under the lee of Crete. They sailed to the south of Crete, which would protect them from the north-west winds as far as Cape Matala. Crete, the modern Candia, is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean. It is from east

¹ Smith's *Voyage*, p. 71.

² For a description of the ruins of Cnidus, see Hamilton's *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. pp. 39–45.

³ Smith's *Voyage*, p. 74.

to west about 150 miles long, and has an average breadth of thirty miles. Though mountainous, it is a fertile island, and abounds in fruitful valleys. It is more celebrated in mythological than in real history. Homer calls it *ἑκατόμπολις* (*Il.* ii. 649), from its possessing a hundred cities. It was conquered by the Romans under Metellus (B.C. 67), and along with Cyrenaica in Africa was converted into a Roman province. We learn both from Tacitus and Josephus that it was the residence of numerous Jews. Cretes are mentioned among the nations who came to Jerusalem to worship at Pentecost (*Acts* ii. 11); and it is evident from the *Epistle to Titus*, that many of the Christians of Crete were converted Jews (*Tit.* i. 10, iii. 9). Paul must have preached the gospel in Crete (*Tit.* i. 5), but there is no mention of this in the *Acts of the Apostles*: hence it is generally supposed that he did so in the interval between his first and second imprisonments. Under the despotic rule of the Turks, Crete has lost much of its fertility. Two-thirds of its inhabitants are Greeks, and one-third Mohammedans. Greek is the language spoken. *Κατὰ Σαλμώνην*—*towards Salmone*. Salmone, or Sammonium, was a cape or promontory on the eastern extremity of Crete. It still retains its ancient name.

Ver. 8. *Μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτήν*—*coasting it with difficulty*. *Παραλέγομαι*, as a nautical term, signifies to sail near or along a coast. *Αὐτήν* does not refer to Cape Salmone, but to the island of Crete. They coasted along the south of the island.

Καλοὺς Λιμένας. *Kaloi Limenes*, or the Fair Havens, is not mentioned by any ancient writer, but there is no doubt as to its situation. The place is still known by its ancient name. "In searching after Libena," observes Pococke, "farther to the west, I found out a place which I thought to be of greater consequence, because mentioned in Holy Scripture, and also honoured by the presence of St. Paul, that is, the Fair Havens, near unto the city of Lasea; for there is another small bay about two leagues to the east of Cape Matala, which is now called by the Greeks Good or

Fair Havens" (*Λιμένες Καλοῦς: Travels in the East*, ii. 250). The harbour consists of an open roadstead, and affords shelter from the north-west winds. According to Captain Spratt, the bay receives its name Fair Havens only by comparison with the less sheltered bays on the south-east of Crete. It is situated within two or three islets, and is open to the east and south-east; so that, as he remarks, as the east and south-east winds blow direct into the bay, it would be both inconvenient and unsafe in winter for any vessel not particularly well found in anchors and cables, and not well secured to the island itself.¹ It is possible that while the ship anchored for some time at the Fair Havens, waiting for a change of wind, Paul might employ himself in preaching the gospel in the neighbouring city of Lasea (Spratt). Christianity had probably been already introduced into Crete, perhaps by some of the converts on the day of Pentecost.

Ἡ ἐγγὺς ἦν πόλις Λασέα—*near to which was the city of Lasea.* There is a variety in the reading of the name of this town. The Alexandrian MS. reads Ἀλασσα, the reading adopted by Lachmann; the Vulgate, Thalassa; and other Latin versions, Thessala. Pliny mentions Lasos among the cities of Crete, but does not indicate its situation. In the Peutinger Table the town of Lisia occurs as sixteen miles to the east of Gortyna, which agrees with the situation stated in the Acts. It is therefore probable that Lisia, or, as it might otherwise have been pronounced, Lasos, is the same with the Laseá of our passage. Its exact situation was, however, unknown until very recently. In the year 1856 it was identified by the Rev. G. Brown. He ascertained that the natives of Crete gave the name Lasea to some ruins on the coast, about five miles to the east of the Fair Havens. Two white pillars and other remains still mark the spot.²

Ver. 9. Ἰκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου διαγενομένου—*much time having elapsed.* Although they might have left Cæsarea early

¹ Spratt's *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. ii. pp. 1-5.

² Smith's *Voyage*, pp. 262, 263. See also Spratt's *Crete*, vol. ii. pp. 7, 8.

enough, yet in consequence of the delay they could not now expect to reach Italy before winter. *Καὶ ὄντος ἤδη ἐπισηλοῦς τοῦ πλοῦς*—*and the voyage being now dangerous*. The Greeks and Romans considered navigation unsafe from the beginning of November until the middle of March (Plin. *H. N.* ii. 47). Although that period of the year had not arrived, yet it was perilous to attempt so long a voyage as to Rome. *Διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι*—*because the fast was already past*. The fast mentioned was the great day of atonement, called by the Jews “the fast” by way of eminence. It occurred on the tenth day of the seventh month (Lev. xxiii. 27), that is, about the end of September; so that the time referred to was probably the beginning of October. The ancients were destitute of the compass, and therefore could not navigate their ships when exposed to storms, and when the heavens were obscured by clouds. *Παρήνει ὁ Παῦλος*—*Paul exhorted them*; advised them to winter at the Fair Havens, and not to continue the voyage. That he was allowed to give his advice, although a prisoner, shows the estimation in which he was held in the ship.

Ver. 10. *Μετὰ ὑβρεως*—*with hardship*. “*Ἵβρις* primarily signifies pride, arrogance, presumption. Hence Meyer and Ewald translate it “presumption;” meaning that in the near approach of winter it would be presumptuous to continue the voyage: they thus take the word in a subjective sense, as applied to the people on board the ship. But taken in connection with *ζημίας*, it is evidently used in a metaphorical sense: this is the case in ver. 21 (*κερδήσαί τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν*), where it cannot be a term of reproach. It here refers, then, to the violence or insolence of the tempest: *savitia tempestatis*. Such a figurative use of the term is by no means uncommon. “*Ἵβρεως* refers to the fury of the tempest, and *ζημίας* to the damage to the cargo and the ship, and the danger to which the lives of those on board were exposed.

Ver. 11. *Ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχης τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ἐπέειπε*—*but the centurion was persuaded by the steersman and owner of the ship*. *Κυβερνήτης* was the steersman,

who had the sole direction of the ship—the captain of the vessel—*gubernator*. *Ναύκληρος* was the shipowner, the proprietor of the vessel and its cargo. It was natural in the centurion to follow the advice of these persons rather than that of Paul. He would naturally suppose that the captain of the ship was better acquainted with sailing than a mere landsman; and that the owner of the ship would be sufficiently interested in the safety of his vessel and its cargo not to incur any great risk. Besides, what determined him and them the more, was that the haven was not convenient for wintering in.

Ver. 12. *Οἱ πλείους ἔθεντο βουλὴν ἀναχθῆναι κακείθεν—the majority advised to sail thence also.* The affair was considered of such importance that it was put to the vote of the persons on board; and the majority decided that they should proceed. The idea of sailing to Italy was indeed given up by all; but it was thought advisable to shift their quarters, and to winter at the more commodious haven of Phenice, which was at no great distance, and might be reached in a few hours.

Εἰς Φοίνικα—to Phenice. Phenice, or, as it is more properly rendered, Phœnix, is a seaport in the south of Crete, to the west of the Fair Havens. Strabo mentions it as a seaport (x. 4. 3); Ptolemy calls the haven Phœnicus, and the town situated a little inland Phœnix. There is a difference of opinion regarding the exact situation of the ancient Phœnix. Lutro, Sphakia, and Franco Castello, places on the south coast of Crete, to the west of Cape Matala, have each been fixed upon. Most modern commentators are now agreed that the modern port of Lutro is meant. This is the only port, as Spratt tells us, on the south coast of Crete in which a vessel could find security for the whole season; and he informs us that a wide bay a little to the west of it is still known by the name of Phœnix.¹ Most probably it is this bay to the west which is meant; as the haven of Lutro is open to the east, and therefore does not suit the description of it given by Luke, as looking toward the south-west and

¹ Spratt's *Crete*, vol. ii. pp. 250-254.

north-west, whereas the bay of Phœnice does, being open to the west.¹

Βλέποντα κατὰ λίβα καὶ κατὰ χῶρον—*looking toward the south-west and north-west.* Δίψ is the south-west wind—*Africus*; χῶρος is the north-west wind—*Chorus*. Some (Smith, Alford) suppose that κατὰ denotes, not the quarter from which these winds come, but the direction toward which they blow—*down the wind*; and accordingly translate the words, “looking toward the north-east and the south-east.” In this manner they identify the ancient Phenice with Lutro, which is a haven open to the east. But this gives an unnatural sense, and is contrary to the usage of the Greek language; besides, it would assign opposite meanings to λίβα and χῶρον.² Howson attempts to remove the difficulty by supposing that the words were spoken from a sailor’s point of view, and that the harbour of Lutro does look—from the water toward the land which encloses it—in the direction of the south-west and north-west.³ But, as Alford observes, this is a mere confusion of ideas: not even sailors could speak of a harbour as looking in the direction which they would look when entering it. The ancient interpretation, then, is to be maintained, “looking toward the south-west and the north-west.” So Kuinœl, Meyer, Olshausen, Lechler, Hackett, Robinson, Humphry, Wordsworth. According to this, the harbour was open to the west, which is against the identifica-

¹ According to Captain Spratt, though his language is not very clear, there is a promontory, on the eastern side of which is Lutro, with its port looking toward the east, and on the western side a wide bay looking toward the west, known by the name of Phenice; and on the promontory itself are the ruins of the city Phenice. This view, that Phenice is not Lutro, but the adjoining bay to the west, is also adopted by Humphry (*Commentary on the Acts*, p. 202) and by Bishop Wordsworth (*Commentary*, pp. 163, 164).

² See this point discussed at considerable length in Smith’s *Voyage*, pp. 84–93, on the one side; and Hackett’s *Commentary*, pp. 421, 422, on the other side.

³ See Conybeare and Howson’s *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 400. See another solution of the difficulty in Spratt’s *Crete*, vol. ii. p. 18; as if Luke’s intention was not to describe the port Phenice, but to mark the directions in which the vessel must steer to reach it.

tion of the ancient Phenice with Lutro, but rather identifies it with the bay adjacent to Lutro, open to the west, and still known by the name Phenice.¹

¹ A place named Phœnikias in Pashley's map, and Finikias in Spratt's map, is situated near Plaka Bay; but it is not on the coast. It may possibly be the inland city which Ptolemy mentions, which also had a port of the same name: so that, after all, the ancient Phoenix may be at Plaka Bay, which is open to the south-west; and if so, its situation has yet to be discovered.

SECTION XXVIII.

PAUL'S SHIPWRECK.—Acts xxvii. 13-44.

13 And when the south wind blew softly, thinking that they had gained their purpose, having weighed anchor, they coasted close to Crete. 14 But not long after there rushed down from it a tempestuous wind, called Euroclydon. 15 And when the ship was hurried along, and was unable to bear up against the wind, we yielded to it, and were carried along. 16 And running under a certain island called Clauda, we were with difficulty able to become masters of the boat. 17 And when they had taken it up, they used helps, undergirding the ship; and fearing lest they should fall on the Syrtis, having lowered the tackling, they were thus borne along. 18 And we being exceedingly tempest-tossed, the next day they lightened the ship. 19 And the third day with our own hands we cast out the furniture of the ship. 20 And when neither sun nor stars appeared for many days, and no small tempest pressed on us, henceforth all hope that we should be saved was taken away. 21 But, after long abstinence, Paul stood forth in the midst of them, and said, Sirs, ye should have yielded to me, and not have set sail from Crete, and so have saved yourselves this hardship and loss. 22 And now I exhort you to be of good cheer: for there shall be no loss of life among you, but only of the ship. 23 For there stood by me this night an angel of God, whose I am, and whom I serve. 24 Saying, Fear not, Paul: thou must stand before Cæsar; and, behold, God has given thee all who sail with thee. 25 Wherefore, sirs, be of good cheer: for I believe God, that it shall be according as it has been told me. 26 But we must be stranded on a certain island.

27 But when the fourteenth night was come, as we were driven up and down in the Adriatic, about midnight the sailors thought that land came near to them. 28 And having sounded, they found it twenty fathoms; and when they had gone a little further on, sounding again, they found it fifteen fathoms. 29 Then, fearing lest we should be stranded on the rocks, they cast four anchors out from the stern, and wished for day. 30 And as the sailors sought to escape from the ship, and had lowered the boat into the sea, on the pretext of letting down anchors from the bow, 31 Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers, If these do not remain in the ship, ye cannot be saved. 32 Then the soldiers cut away the ropes of the boat, and let it fall off. 33 And until it began to be day, Paul exhorted them all to take meat, saying,

Waiting until this fourteenth day, ye continue fasting, having taken nothing. 34 Wherefore I exhort you to take food; for this is for your safety: for there shall not a hair perish from the head of any of you. 35 And having said this, and having taken bread, he blessed God in the presence of all; and when he had broken it, he began to eat. 36 Then were they all of good courage, and they also took food. 37 And we were all in the ship two hundred and seventy-six persons. 38 And when they had eaten enough, they lightened the ship, by casting out the corn into the sea. 39 And when it was day, they did not recognise the land: but they perceived a certain creek with a beach, into which they resolved, if it were possible, to drive the ship. 40 And having cut away the anchors, they let them fall into the sea; having at the same time loosened the bands of the rudders, and hoisted up the foresail to the wind, they made toward the beach. 41 And having fallen into a place where two seas met, they ran the ship aground; and the bow stuck fast, and remained unmoveable, but the stern was broken with violence. 42 And the soldiers' plan was that they should kill the prisoners, lest any of them should escape by swimming. 43 But the centurion, wishing to save Paul, restrained them from their purpose, and commanded that those who could swim should throw themselves first into the sea, and get to land: 44 And the rest to do so, some on planks, and others on pieces of the ship. And thus it happened that they all came safe to land.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 19. *Ἐρρήψαμεν*, in the first person, is supported by G, H, and adopted by Tischendorf and Lachmann; whereas A, C, & have the third person, *ἔρρηψαν*, the reading adopted by Meyer. Ver. 29. *Ἐκπέσωσιν* is not found in any uncial MS.; whereas A, B, C, G, H have *ἐκπέσωμεν*, the reading adopted by recent critics. Ver. 34. *Πεσεῖται* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, C, & have *ἀπολείται*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 40. *Ἀρτέμονα* is the reading of G; whereas A, B, C, H, & have *ἀρτέμωνα*, the reading adopted by most recent critics. Ver. 41. The words *τῶν κυμάτων* are found in C, G, H, but are wanting in A, B, &, and are rejected by Lachmann and Tischendorf.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 13. *Ἵππονεύσαντες δὲ νότου*—*but when the south wind blew softly*. Having formed the resolution of removing

from the Fair Havens to Phenice, they waited for a change of wind; and when the south wind began to blow, they thought that they might accomplish their purpose. As, about four miles from the Fair Havens, the coast at Cape Matala turns to the north, and the direction to Phenice is north-west, the south wind was favourable for their purpose. The distance between the Fair Havens and Phenice was less than forty miles, and might with a fair wind be accomplished in a few hours. *Ἄραυτες*—*having weighed anchor*. A nautical expression, signifying either having weighed anchor, or having set sail, as sometimes τὰς ἀγκύρας is supplied, and sometimes τὰ ἰστία. The word also occurs by itself, as here, without any supplement. Ἄσσον παρελέγοντο τὴν Κρήτην—*they coasted close to Crete*. Some suppose ἄσσον to be the name of a city of Crete; and a town of Crete called Assus is mentioned by Pliny, but situated in the interior (*Nat. Hist.* iv. 12). The Vulgate renders the words, *cum sustulissent de Asson*, but the construction does not admit of such a translation. Others (Luther, Castalio) suppose Asson to be in the accusative of direction—“when they had sailed to Assus” (*ἄραυτες ἄσσον*). But, as already stated, Assus was inland; and there is no example of *ἄραυτες* by itself expressing locomotion.¹ It is now generally agreed that ἄσσον is an adverb, being the comparative of ἄγχι, *more nearly*. They had to coast close by Crete, until they came to Cape Matala, after which the wind was favourable.

Ver. 14. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ—*not long after*; probably when they had reached Cape Matala. Ἐβαλεν κατ' αὐτῆς—*there rushed down from it*. Different interpretations have been given to κατ' αὐτῆς. Some (Luther, Lange) suppose that it refers to the preceding προθέσεως—“there arose against their purpose.”² The south wind favoured their design, whilst the Euroclydon was against it. But such a rendering is harsh and unnatural. Others (Kuinoël, De Wette, Wordsworth) refer αὐτῆς to the nearest antecedent, Κρήτην, and

¹ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 493, 494.

² So also Spratt renders the expression. Spratt's *Crete*, vol. ii. pp. 17, 18.

render it, "there arose against Crete a tempestuous wind." But if such were the case, they would have been driven against the island, and stranded on its shores; whereas, in reality, we are informed that they yielded to the wind, and were driven from Crete. Others (Lechler, Bloomfield, Hackett) refer *αὐτῆς* to the ship—"there arose against the ship." According to them, *αὐτῆς* refers to the idea chiefly in the writer's mind, namely the ship, although the word does not occur in the context. The great objection to this is that *αὐτῆς* is feminine; whereas the word which Luke generally employs for a ship is not the feminine noun *ναῦς* (which occurs only in ver. 41), but the neuter noun *πλοῖον*. The most approved rendering is still to refer *αὐτῆς* to *Κρήτην*, as the nearest and most obvious antecedent, but to give to the preposition a different meaning. *Κατά* governing the genitive often signifies a downward direction, as *βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμπιοι καρῆων* (Homer). Hence the words may be rendered, "there rushed down from it;" that is, from Crete. So Alford, Howson, Humphry, Smith.¹ The wind was from the land, and accordingly drove the vessel out to sea.

Ἄνεμος τυφωνικὸς—a typhonic wind. *Τυφωνικὸς* describes the violence of the wind: it denotes a sudden squall, a hurricane, a whirlwind. Thus Pliny, speaking of sudden blasts, says that they cause a vortex which is called a typhoon: *vorticem faciunt quæ Typhon vocatur* (lib. ii. 48). *Ὁ καλούμενος εὐροκλύδων*—called Euroclydon. Manuscripts vary in their reading of this word. *Εὐρακίλων* is the reading of the Alexandrian and Sinaitic mss., and is adopted by Lachmann, Ewald, Lechler, Olshausen, Wordsworth, Smith, Hackett. So also the Vulgate has *Euroaquilo*. If this be the correct reading, there is no difficulty in the meaning of the term, as *εὐρακίλων* is the north-east wind, or rather E.N.E., being compounded of *eurus*, the east wind, and *aquilo*, the north wind. But the words *ὁ καλούμενος* would be inappropriate, as such a wind was well known. Besides, *εὐρακίλων* resembles too much a correction, the transcriber not understanding what was meant by *εὐροκλύδων*. Hence

¹ Humphry on the Acts, p. 203. Alford, *in loco*.

many critics (Tischendorf, Meyer, Howson, Alford) prefer the less supported reading *εὐροκλύδων*, found in G, H, as being the more difficult. It is generally supposed to be compounded of *εὐρος*, the east wind, and *κλύδων*, a wave, and to denote a violent agitation of the waters caused by an easterly wind: *Eurus fluctus excitans*. Meyer, on the other hand, supposes it to be compounded of *εὐρος*, breadth, and *κλύζω*, to wash, to dash; a wind forming broad waves. Alford thinks that it is a corruption by the Greek sailors of *εὐρακύλων*, as the last part of that word was not Greek, but Latin. The addition *ὁ καλούμενος* denotes that it was a popular name given to the wind by the sailors; just as a similar wind in the Mediterranean is now known to our seamen by the name of the Levanter. As the wind came down from Crete, and drove the ship from it in a south-westerly direction toward the small island of Clauda, and as the sailors were afraid that they should be driven on the Syrtis, still further to the south-west, it is evident that the gale must have been from the north-east; so that the reading *εὐρακύλων* rightly denotes the direction of the wind. We learn from voyagers that such a sudden change from a southern to a violent northern wind is not uncommon in those seas. Thus Captain Stewart, in his remarks on the Archipelago, as quoted by Smith, observes: "It is always safe to anchor under the lee of an island with a northerly wind, as it dies away gradually; but it would be extremely dangerous with southerly winds, as they almost invariably shift to a violent northerly wind."¹

Ver. 15. *Ἀντοφθαλμῶν τῷ ἀνέμῳ*—*to bear up against the wind*; literally, "to look the wind in the face." *Ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα*—*giving up, we were driven along*: that is, either supplying from the context, "giving up the ship to the wind, we were driven" (Vulgate, Luther); or, using the verb in a reflex sense, "giving ourselves up." The meaning is: Since we could not resist the wind, we were forced to permit the ship to be driven before it.

Ver. 16. *Νησίον δέ τι ὑποδραμόντες καλούμενον Κλαύδην*—

¹ Smith's *Voyage of St. Paul*, p. 99.

but running under a certain island called Claudia. Claudia, called by Ptolemy Claudos, and by Pliny Glandos, is a small island off the south-west corner of Crete. It was about twenty-five miles nearly due south from the port of Phenice, which the sailors had desired to reach. It is now called by the Greeks Gaudo or Gaudonesi, and by the Italians Gozzo, and is inhabited by about seventy families, scattered over three or four hamlets.¹ Ἰσχύσαμεν μόλις περικρατέϊς γενέσθαι τῆς σκάφης—we were with difficulty able to become masters of the boat. Σκάφη was the small boat attached to the vessel. Then, as at present, large vessels had one or more boats along with them. At the commencement of a voyage, and when the sea was calm, the boat was in general not taken up and secured on the deck, but left in the water, attached to the stern of the vessel by a rope. This was more convenient, as in sailing the ancients had frequent communications with the land, because, from want of the compass, they were constrained to keep as near the coast as possible. When a storm arose, and there was danger of the boat being either swept away or dashed in pieces against the sides of the vessel, it was drawn up and secured on deck. The difficulty here experienced in securing the boat probably arose from its being filled with water, and from the violence of the tempest. When under the lee of Claudia, they would be partially sheltered, so that they were able, although with difficulty, to effect their object.

Ver. 17. Βοηθείαις ἐχρῶντο—they used helps. By helps here are meant the ropes and chains (not planks, as is sometimes supposed), called ὑποζώματα, which were used in undergirding the ship. We learn that all large vessels carried these ὑποζώματα with them. Ἐποζωνύντες τὸ πλοῖον—undergirding the ship. It was the custom of the ancients in a storm to draw thick cables round their ships, and so to undergird them, in order to prevent the planks yielding. Horace is thought to allude to this practice when he says: *Sine funibus vix durare carinæ possint imperiosius æquor*

¹ For a description of the island of Claudia, see Spratt's *Crete*, vol. ii. pp. 274–280.

(*Od.* i. 14. 6). This process, called in nautical language *frapping*, is thus described by Falconer in his *Marine Dictionary*: "To frap a ship is to pass four or five turns of a large rope round the hull or frame of a ship, to support her in a great storm, or otherwise when it is apprehended that she is not strong enough to resist the violent efforts of the sea." Some suppose that the ropes were drawn in a horizontal manner, lengthways, from the stern to the prow (Boeckh); but it has been ascertained that, as is the case in modern times, the ropes were drawn perpendicular to the ship, around the hull at the middle, and fastened on the deck. They were sunk from the prow, and then drawn toward the middle of the vessel. This expedient, however, is seldom put in practice in modern times. Smith in his *Voyage of St. Paul*, and Conybeare and Howson in their *Life of St. Paul*, adduce modern instances of it.¹

Εἰς τὴν Σύρτιν—*on the Syrtis*: not, as in our English version, "on quicksands;" but "on the Syrtis," the article defining it. There were two shoals of this name—the Syrtis Major and the Syrtis Minor. It was the Syrtis Major that they were in danger of falling upon, as the Syrtis Minor lay too far to the west. The Syrtis Major, now called the Gulf of Sidra, is a dangerous shallow on the coast of Africa, between Tripoli and Barca, south-west of the island of Crete.

Χαλάσαντες τὸ σκεῦος—*having lowered the tackling*. *Σκεῦος* signifies a utensil, an implement; and hence, when applied to a ship, it denotes all the ship's appurtenances, such as masts, sails, rigging, anchors, cables, boats, etc. Hence its meaning has to be discovered from the context. Some (Kypke) suppose that the anchor is meant; but this is contradicted by the words which follow, "and thus were driven." Castalio renders it *demissá scaphá*, having let down the boat; a meaning also to be rejected, as they had just lifted up the boat. Others (Grotius, Kuinoel, Olshausen) refer it to the mast—"having lowered the mast;" but it is not probable that

¹ Smith's *Voyage*, pp. 102-106; Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii. pp. 404, 405.

the masts of such large ships were capable of being let down; on the contrary, they seem to have been fixed, as the masts in our vessels. Others (Meyer, Lechler, Hackett) refer it to the sails—having “lowered the sails,” or, as in our version, “having strake sail;” that is, they allowed the vessel to be driven without sails. But, as Smith remarks, this would be a sure way of running into the very danger which they wished to avoid; for without sails they would inevitably be driven on the Syrtis. Accordingly he translates the words “lowering the gear,” and supposes that by it is meant that they lowered down upon the deck the gear connected with the fair-weather sails, such as the *suppara* or topsails, but that they hoisted the small storm-sail. “They had,” as he observes, “but one course to pursue to avoid the apprehended danger, which was to turn the ship’s head off shore, and to set such sail as the violence of the gale would permit them to carry.” *Οὕτως ἐφέροντο—and thus were driven.* “Not only with the ship undergirded, but with the storm-sails set, and on the starboard tack, which was the only course by which she could avoid falling into the Syrtis.”¹

Ver. 18. *Ἐκβολὴν ἐποιούντο—they lightened the ship;* literally, “they made a casting out:” a nautical phrase, used by the ancients to denote the lightening of a ship at sea. They had recourse to the same expedient as the sailors in Jonah’s vessel: “Then the mariners were afraid, and cried every man unto his god, and cast forth the wares that were in the ship into the sea, to lighten it” (Jonah i. 5). We are not told what was at this time thrown overboard. Meyer supposes that it was the cargo, as being in the circumstances the least indispensable, and the heaviest article. But if the cargo was wheat, as was probably the case with an Alexandrian vessel trading to Italy, this was reserved to the last extremity (ver. 38); and it is natural to suppose that they would make many sacrifices before they destroyed it.

Ver. 19. *Τὴν σκευὴν τοῦ πλοίου ἐρρίψαμεν—we cast out the furniture of the vessel.* Smith thinks that by *τὴν σκευὴν* the mainyard is meant—“an immense spar, probably as long

¹ Smith’s *Voyage of St. Paul*, pp. 108–111.

as the vessel, and which would require the united efforts of the passengers and crew to launch overboard;" and he adds, "The relief which a ship would experience by this would be of the same kind as in a modern vessel when the guns are thrown overboard."¹ But, as Howson observes, it is improbable that the sailors would sacrifice so large a spar, which in case of a shipwreck would be capable of supporting thirty or forty men in the water. Some (Erasmus, Grotius, Olshausen, Ewald) suppose the implements of the ship are meant—*armamenta navis*—such as masts, rudders, anchors, and the like. But this is still more improbable, as these articles are indispensable in the time of danger, and besides were at a later period actually put to use. Others (Wetstein, Kuinœl) suppose that the baggage of the passengers is intended. But although it is probable that this also was sacrificed, yet the words *τοῦ πλοίου* imply that it was something belonging to the ship which was cast out. The most generally received opinion is that it was the furniture of the ship—beds, tables, chests, and all those articles which were not absolutely essential. So Meyer, De Wette, Lange, Hackett, Wordsworth.

Ver. 20. *Μήτε δὲ ἡλίου μήτε ἀστρῶν ἐπιφαινόντων*—but neither sun nor stars appearing. The ancients had no mariner's compass; and therefore, when they did venture out to open sea, it was only by the appearance of the heavenly bodies that they could guide their course. When, then, as in the present case, they were out of sight of land, and the heavens were obscured by clouds, it was impossible for them to know whither they were drifting. *Ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας*—for many days. Fourteen days elapsed from the time they left Crete to the time when they were stranded on the coast of Malta; and probably during the greater part of this period the heavens were obscured by clouds, and the tempest continued to rage. *Λοιπὸν περιηρεῖτο ἐλπὶς πᾶσα τοῦ σώζεσθαι ἡμᾶς*—henceforth all hope that we should be saved was taken away. They were now in a state of extreme peril, without any instrument to direct thir course, drifting they knew not whither, whilst the sea raged, and the tempestuous

¹ Smith's *Voyage*, p. 112.

wind continued to blow. Smith, from various notices, supposes that the ship also had sprung a leak, and that all their exertions by successive lightenings to subdue it had been unavailing; so that unless they could fall in with land to run their ship ashore, they must founder at sea. Their apprehensions, therefore, were not so much caused by the unabated fury of the tempest, as by the leaky condition of the vessel.¹

Ver. 21. Πολλῆς τε ἀστικής ὑπαρχούσης—and after long abstinence. Their abstinence was not owing to want of provisions, for the cargo of wheat was still secure (ver. 38). But, as Kuinœl observes, their mental anxiety and fatigue had deprived them of all desire for food.² Besides, it was difficult to prepare food in these circumstances, and much of the provisions might have been damaged by the leaking of the vessel. Τότε σταθεὶς ὁ Παῦλος ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν—Then Paul, standing in the midst of them. Paul stood forth in this extremity to comfort and encourage them. Τότε—then: bringing vividly before us the state of matters. Ἐδει μὲν πειθαρχήσαντάς μοι—ye should have yielded to me. Paul's object in alluding to the correctness of his former advice was not to taunt those who rejected it, now that it could not be remedied, but to induce them to follow his present counsel. Κερδήσαι τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν—and to have escaped this hardship and loss. Κερδήσαι literally signifies "to have gained." But the word was employed not only in the sense of positively gaining an advantage, but also of negatively avoiding or escaping a loss: in doing so, a person has gained by the avoidance of calamity. In a similar manner the verb *lucrari* is employed.

Ver. 22. Ἀποβολὴ γὰρ ψυχῆς οὐδεμία ἔσται ἐξ ὑμῶν—for there shall be no loss of life among you. Ἀποβολή, literally "a casting away," "a rejection." In warning them not to sail from the Fair Havens, Paul had said that the voyage would be with hardship and much damage, not only of the lading and ship, but also of their lives; but here, as the messenger of God, he asserts that no life would be lost.

¹ Smith's *Voyage*, p. 113.

² Kuinœl's *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 372.

Then he spoke from a calm consideration of the state of matters, but now he speaks from revelation; then he gave his own opinion, but now he announces the purpose of God.

Ver. 23. Παρέστη γάρ μοι ταύτη τῇ νυκτὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄγγελος—*for there stood by me this night an angel of God.* The words τοῦ Θεοῦ are added because Paul addressed heathens, who otherwise would have understood by an angel a messenger of the gods. The context does not determine whether this vision was made to Paul in a dream, or when awake; probably the latter. There is certainly no ground for Zeller's rationalistic explanation, that Paul, thinking on the importance of his journey, might have implored the safety of himself and his companions, and that he dreamed that his request was granted.¹ The narrative evidently intimates that the vision imparted to Paul was supernatural, being a revelation from God.

Ver. 24. Ἴδὸν, κεχάρισται σοι ὁ Θεὸς πάντας τοὺς πλείοντας μετὰ σοῦ—*behold, God has given thee all who sail with thee.* Doubtless Paul prayed earnestly for the safety of those who were in the ship with him; and their lives were granted in answer to his prayers. De Wette thinks that these words savour of vanity; and he supposes that they were not the words of the apostle, but of the author, who wished to honour the apostle.² But Paul does not here exalt himself, but merely states what was revealed to him. Bengel well remarks on this passage: *Facilius multi mali cum paucis piis servantur, quam unus pius cum multis reis perit. Navi huic similis, mundus.*

Ver. 27. Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῃ νύξ—*the fourteenth night.* That is, the fourteenth night since they left the Fair Havens. Ἐν τῷ Ἀδριαῖ—*in the Adriatic.* Ἀδριαῖ is not to be restricted to what is now called the Gulf of Venice, but embraces all that part of the Mediterranean which lay south of Italy, east of Sicily, and west of Greece, and thus included the Ionian Sea. This is certain from the writings of Strabo, Ovid, Statius, and Ptolemy. Procopius says that the island of

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 290.

² De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 184.

Malta separates the Adriatic from the Tuscan Sea.¹ It was in this part of the Mediterranean, between Crete and Sicily, that the vessel containing Paul and his companions was driven up and down. Προσάγειν τιὰ αὐτοῖς χώραν—that land came near them. According to appearance, when sailing to a place, the land approaches; whereas in sailing from a place the land recedes. Thus Virgil: *Provehimur portu: terræque, urbesque recedunt* (*Æn.* iii. 72). According to Smith, if we assume that St. Paul's Bay in Malta was the scene of the shipwreck, the sailors would perceive that they drew near land by the noise of the breakers off the point of Koura.

Ver. 28. Βολίσαντες, εὖρον ὀργυιᾶς εἴκοσι—having sounded, they found it twenty fathoms. Βολίζειν (from βολις, the sounding-lead) is to cast or let down the sounding-line. Ὀργυία is a fathom or six feet, the space measured by the arms stretched out. The decrease in their soundings, at first twenty fathoms, and a little farther on fifteen fathoms, convinced them that their supposition was correct, and that they could not be far distant from land.

Ver. 29. Ἐκ πρύμνης ῥίψαντες ἀγκύρας τέσσαρας—having cast out from the stern four anchors. The design of anchoring was to arrest the motion of the ship during the night, and thus to prevent it being stranded in the dark. It would seem that they were successful in this. We are informed that in St. Paul's Bay the anchorage is good; and that while the cables hold, there is no danger, as the anchors will never start.² The anchors in use at this time bore a close resemblance to modern ones: they were, however, much smaller, as the ancients were deficient in mechanical means for lowering and raising heavy anchors. Some suppose that the four anchors here mentioned was a four-fluked anchor. A large ship, however, often carried several anchors. Athenæus mentions a ship that had eight iron anchors. Cæsar speaks of ships with four: *Naves quaternis ancoris destinabat, ne fluctibus moverentur* (*Bell. Civ.* i. 25). The ship in which Paul was, although they had already dropped four anchors

¹ For authorities on this point, see Biscoe on the Acts, pp. 349, 350.

² Smith's Voyage, p. 128.

from the stern, had more remaining, as is evident from the next verse. In general, the ancients, like the moderns, anchored from the bow, but their ships were also fitted for anchoring from the stern. The reasons why anchoring from the stern was resorted to on the present occasion are obvious: it stopped at once the progress of the ship; for if anchored from the bow, the wind would have caused it to swing round; and it kept the bow directed toward the land, so as to be ready to push forward. At the battle of Copenhagen, Nelson ordered the fleet to anchor from the stern, in order to keep the vessels in their proper positions; and we are informed of the singular fact, that this measure was suggested to him by his having read that morning this twenty-seventh chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.¹

Ver. 30. *Τῶν ναυτῶν ζητούντων φυγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου*—*the sailors, seeking to escape from the ship.* Whilst they lay at anchor, and the progress of the ship was thus happily arrested, the sailors made the natural but ungenerous attempt to escape by means of the boat. They let down the boat, on the pretext of casting anchors from the prow, which would certainly have the effect of keeping the ship in a steadier position; but with the real design of getting ashore, and leaving the soldiers and the passengers, along with the ship, to their fate.

Ver. 31. *Εἶπεν ὁ Παῦλος τῷ ἑκατοντάρχη*—*Paul said to the centurion and to the soldiers.* The plot of the sailors was discovered by Paul, and communicated by him to the centurion and the soldiers, because they had the power in the urgency of the moment instantly to avert the danger by force. *Ἐὰν μὴ οὗτοι μείνωσιν ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ, etc.*—*If these do not abide in the ship, ye cannot be saved.* Although Paul was divinely assured of the safety of all on board, yet he does not hesitate to affirm that, if the sailors left the ship, their safety would be impossible. Notwithstanding the divine promise, means were to be employed, and these were ordained as well as the end. It was ordained that the ship's company should be saved through the instrumentality of the

¹ Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 414.

sailors. The sailors, by their skill, brought the vessel as near the land as possible before it struck; which if they had fled could not have been effected, and thus the ship would have foundered at a greater distance from the shore, so that escape would have been more difficult, if not impossible.

Ver. 33. Ἀχρι δὲ οὐ ἤμελλεν ἡμέρα γίνεσθαι—and until it began to be day. So long as the darkness continued, nothing could be done in the way of rescue. Τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην σήμερον ἡμέραν προσδοκῶντες—waiting until the fourteenth day; that is, waiting for the abatement of the storm. Ἄστοι διατελεῖτε μὴθὲν προσλαβόμενοι—ye continue fasting, having taken nothing. By this is not meant that they had taken nothing at all for fourteen days, but that they had taken no regular meal. Paul uses a strong expression, which could not be misunderstood by his hearers. So Appian speaks of an army which for twenty days took neither food nor sleep; by which he must mean that they neither took regular meals, nor slept whole nights together.

Ver. 34. Τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας ὑπάρχει—for this is for your safety. It would be necessary on the morrow that each should exert himself to the uttermost; and therefore it was important that they should be strengthened and refreshed by food. Οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὑμῶν θριξὶ ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπολείται—for there shall not a hair perish from the head of any of you. A proverbial expression denoting their entire safety. The same expression occurs in Luke's Gospel (Luke xxi. 18).

Ver. 35. Εὐχαρίστησεν τῷ Θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων—he gave thanks to God in the presence of all. Paul does not here observe the *agapæ* with the disciples on board, as Olshausen strangely imagines; nor does he, as the father of a family, offer up the thanksgiving over the bread at the commencement of a meal, as Meyer thinks; but he conducts himself as a pious Jew, who gives thanks to God before he eats (De Wette). Καὶ κλάσας ἤρξατο ἐσθίειν—and having broken it, he began to eat. He showed them the example; and encouraged by his words and actions, they were all of good courage, and partook of food. Paul, although a prisoner,

must now have obtained a great influence over the soldiers and the crew.

Ver. 37. Διακόσσαι ἐβδομήκοντα ἕξ — *two hundred and seventy-six*. For the size of the ships of the ancients, see note to ver. 6. Lucian describes an Alexandrian vessel, sailing from Egypt to Italy, which by stress of weather was driven into the port of Athens; and from what he states, it must have been about 1200 tons burden.

Ver. 38. Ἐκβαλλόμενοι τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν — *casting the corn into the sea*. Some (Meyer, Lange, Alford) suppose that by σῖτον the provisions of the ship are meant, which would consist chiefly of prepared corn, as meat and bread. The reasons given for this opinion are, because the casting out of the corn is mentioned in connection with their partaking of food; and because the ship's cargo, which it is otherwise supposed to denote, was in all probability already thrown overboard (ver. 18). Others (Baumgarten, Lechler, Hackett, Wordsworth, and Smith) suppose that σῖτον denotes the freight or cargo of the vessel; and this is certainly the more probable opinion. The provisions of the ship would afford only a trifling lightening. The ship was a merchant vessel bound from Alexandria to Rome, and the imperial city derived its chief supply of corn from Egypt, which was regarded as the granary of Italy; and therefore it is reasonable to suppose that it was laden with grain. The cargo of corn had probably been damaged by the leaking of the vessel; but if not, it was of no value compared with the lives of those on board; besides, it was known that the vessel would be lost. This lightening was for a different purpose than when the same expedient was resorted to on two former occasions: then it was done if possible to preserve both the ship and cargo; but now their object was to drive the vessel as near the shore as possible, in order to save their lives: hence both ship and cargo were now to be sacrificed.

Ver. 39. Τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἐπεγίνωσκον — *they recognised not the land*; that is, although they saw the shore before them, yet they did not know the name of the coast. Malta might be well known to the Alexandrian sailors, yet the particular

spot on which they were driven was distant from all the great harbours, and possessed no marked features by which it could be recognised (Smith). *Κόλπον δέ τινα κατενόουν ἔχοντα αἶγυαλόν*—*but they perceived a certain creek with a beach.* *Αἶγυαλός* is a smooth or sandy beach, thus fitted for landing, as distinguished from *ἀκτή*, a stony beach. The people of Malta have from time immemorial considered this creek to be what is now called St. Paul's Bay; and Smith, from a great variety of particulars, has proved that this opinion is correct. "The conditions," he observes, "required to be fulfilled in order to make any locality agree with that of the shipwreck, are so numerous as to render it morally impossible to suppose that the agreement which we here find can be the effect of chance."¹ St. Paul's Bay is at the north-eastern extremity of Malta, and is formed by the island of Salmonetta on the north and the point of Koura on the south: it is about two miles deep and one broad. There is now a smooth beach (*αἶγυαλός*) at that part of it called the Mestara valley; but Smith supposes that the beach on which the ship stranded is a little to the north of that—on a spot where, although there is no longer a sandy beach, there must formerly have been one.²

Ver. 40. *Καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας περιελόντες*—*and having cut away the anchors*; not, as in our English version, "when they had taken up the anchors." *Περαιρέω*, to take away, to remove. *Περι* may refer to their cutting the cables round about. They now prepare to strand the vessel. First they cut away the anchors, as there was now no use of spending time in raising them. *Ἐΐων εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν*—*letting them fall into the sea*; not, as in our English version, "they committed themselves to the sea," but "they committed the anchors to the sea." "*Ἀμα ἀνέντες τὰς ζευκτηρίας τῶν πηδαλίων*—*having at the same time loosened the bands of the rudders.* Secondly, they loose the rudder-bands: *πηδαλίων* not used for the singular (*Beza*); for the ships of the ancients had generally two rudders, one on each side of the stern. These rudders did not resemble our helms, but were

¹ Smith's *Voyage*, p. 126.

² *Ibid.* pp. 137, 138.

rather like large and broad oars or paddles. They were joined together at the extremities by a pole, and were managed by one man, the steersman (*κυβερνήτης*, ver. 11), and kept parallel to each other. When occasion required, they could be pulled out of the water, and fastened with bands (*ζευκτηρία*) to the ship. This had been done on the preceding night, in order to anchor at the stern, and as the ship was brought to rest. But now, wishing to drive the vessel forwards, they loosened the bands of the rudders, in order that they might act in propelling it. *Καὶ ἐπάραντες τὸν ἀρτέμωνα τῇ πνεύσῃ*—and having hoisted up the foresail to the wind. Thirdly, they hoist up the foresail. *Ἀρτέμων* does not occur elsewhere in Greek. The *artemon* is not the mast, but a species of sail: Luther's translation, "the mast" (*Segelbaum*), is erroneous. It has been variously supposed to be the mainsail, the foresail, the mizzen-sail at the stern, and the topsail. It is now generally agreed to have been the foresail, as this was the sail which was employed for speed, and would be the most useful in driving the ship forward. So Grotius, Kuinoel, Smith, Humphry, Alford, Wordsworth.

Ver. 41. *Περίπεσόντες δὲ εἰς τόπον διθάλασσον*—but having fallen into a place where two seas met. Some suppose *τόπον διθάλασσον* to have been a concealed shoal or sandbank formed by the action of two opposite currents. Such sandbanks may have worn away, even if none at present exist in St. Paul's Bay. Others suppose it to have been a tongue of land or promontory running out into the sea, and the extremity of which was covered by the waves; so that, when the ship struck upon it, they were still separated from the dry land by a considerable surface of water. Others render it, as in our English version, "a place where two seas met," and suppose it to be at the north of St. Paul's Bay, near to the narrow channel which separates the island of Salmonetta from the mainland. Two seas would there meet; the sea on the outside of the island would communicate with the sea within the bay.

Ver. 42. *Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν βουλὴ ἐγένετο*, etc.—but the plan of the soldiers was to kill the prisoners. *Βουλὴ*, not

merely a purpose, but a counsel, an advice, a plan. Paul and his fellow-prisoners might have escaped death by sea; but they were exposed to another danger—death by the soldiers. The Roman soldiers were answerable with their lives for the detention of their prisoners: hence their cruel proposal made to the centurion, to kill the prisoners, lest any of them should escape.

Ver. 43. Ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς τοῦ βουλήματος—*kept them from their purpose.* Thus God, for Paul's sake, not only saved all the rest of the ship's company from being drowned, but kept the prisoners from being murdered, according to the barbarous proposal of the soldiers.

Ver. 44. Καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς—*and the rest.* These words depend on ἐκέλευσεν, “he ordered the rest,” *scil.* ἐξίέναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, “to get to land.” Ἐπὶ σανίσιν—*on planks,* which were at hand in the ship. Ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου—*on things from the ship;* that is, probably on broken pieces of the ship, the hinder part of which had been broken up. Καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο πάντας διασωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν—*and thus it happened that all came safe to land.* Thus were Paul's words fulfilled: “There shall be no loss of life among you. There shall not a hair fall from the head of any of you.”

SECTION XXIX.

PAUL AT MALTA.—Acts xxviii. 1-10.

1 And having escaped, then we learned that the island is called Malta. 2 And the foreigners showed us extraordinary kindness: for, having kindled a fire, they received us all on account of the rain which had set in, and on account of the cold. 3 But when Paul had gathered a bundle of sticks and laid them on the fire, there came out a viper on account of the heat, and fastened on his hand. 4 And when the foreigners saw the beast hang from his hand, they said among themselves, Doubtless this man is a murderer, whom, though he has escaped the sea, Justice suffered not to live. 5 But he shook off the beast into the fire, and suffered no harm. 6 But they expected that he would have swollen, or fallen down dead suddenly: but after they had waited long and saw no harm come to him, they changed their minds, and said that he was a god. 7 In the neighbourhood of that place were estates belonging to the first man of the island, Publius by name; who received us, and lodged us three days courteously. 8 And it came to pass that the father of Publius lay sick of a fever and of dysentery: to whom Paul entered in, and prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him. 9 Now when this was done, the rest also who had diseases in the island came and were healed: 10 Who also honoured us with many honours; and when we set sail, supplied us with what was necessary.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 1. *Ἐπέγνωσαν* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, C, & have *ἐπέγνωμεν*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 3. The words *ἐκ τῆς θέρμης* are found only in cursive MSS.; all the uncial MSS. have *ἀπὸ τῆς θέρμης*, the reading adopted by recent critics. *Ἐξεληθούσα* is the reading of B, C, &; whereas A, G, H have *διεξεληθούσα*, the reading adopted by Tischendorf.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 1. "*Ὅτι Μελίτη ἡ νῆσος καλεῖται*—that the island is called *Melita*. Formerly there was an opinion, now generally

exploded, that this island was Meleda in the Gulf of Venice. This opinion was first advanced by the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the tenth century, and was adopted and defended by Giorgi, a Venetian; and in more modern times it has been embraced by Bryant, Falconer, and Coleridge among our countrymen, and by Paulus among the Germans. The great objection against Malta is that the ship was said to be driven up and down in the Adriatic (*ἐν τῷ Ἀδριατῷ*), by which the Gulf of Venice is supposed to have been meant. But we have seen that the Adriatic, as the term was employed by the ancients, includes all that part of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily and Greece. (See note to Acts xxvii. 27.)¹ The other objections against Malta—that the inhabitants are called barbarians, that there are now no venomous serpents in the island, and that the disease of dysentery is there unknown—are singularly weak, and will be referred to in the course of the exposition. On the other hand, the positive arguments in favour of Malta amount almost to a demonstration: the north-east wind would drive the ship to Malta; the nature of St. Paul's Bay, and the soundings in the neighbourhood, correspond in a remarkable manner with the locality of the shipwreck; and an uninterrupted tradition fixes on Malta as the scene of the occurrence. The voyage to Puteoli suits a vessel sailing from Malta, but not one sailing from Meleda. Besides, a vessel from Meleda would certainly not sail first to Syracuse and then to Rhegium, as Rhegium is nearer than Syracuse to Meleda. Nor is it at all probable that the Alexandrian vessel, on board of which Paul again embarked, would winter so far out of its course at such an obscure island as Meleda, whereas Malta lies on the direct course between Alexandria and Puteoli.²

The island of Melita, now called Malta, situated near the middle of the Mediterranean, between Europe and Africa,

¹ Ptolemy distinguished between the Adriatic Sea and the Adriatic Gulf.

² See this point discussed at length in Smith's *Voyage of St. Paul*, pp. 161-172.

is about sixty miles distant from Cape Passaro, the nearest point in Sicily, and about 200 miles from the African coast. Malta was originally colonized by the Phœnicians, from whom it was taken by the Greek colonists of Sicily: afterwards it became part of the Carthaginian dominions, and was in a flourishing condition during the continuance of that republic. It was taken possession of by the Romans during the second Punic war (Liv. xxi. 51); and when Paul visited it, it constituted a part of the province of Sicily (Cic. *Verr.* iv. 18). After the fall of the Roman empire, its celebrity greatly increased. In the ninth century it fell into the hands of the Saracens, from whom it was taken toward the close of the eleventh century by the Normans. After the fall of Rhodes, Malta became the residence of the Knights of St. John; and after various changes, it now constitutes a part of the British empire. To Christians, an additional interest is imparted to it by its being the now undoubted locality of Paul's shipwreck.

Ver. 2. *Οἱ τε βάρβαροι*—*and the barbarians.* This designation of the inhabitants has been thought to militate against the opinion that the island was Malta; because, from the proximity of Malta to Sicily and Italy, the Maltese were undoubtedly civilised. But the term *βάρβαρος* does not necessarily signify uncivilised. The Greeks and Romans regarded all nations as barbarians, who, like the natives of Malta, spoke neither the Greek nor the Latin language. "We are," remarks Strabo, "to understand the expressions 'barbarous speaking' and 'barbarous speakers' of persons whose pronunciation of the Greek language is faulty" (xiv. 2. 28). Hence the term *βάρβαρος* more properly denotes a foreigner, one whose language was not understood; and we have so translated it. In this sense the word is used by Paul: "If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me" (1 Cor. xiv. 11). And hence he employs the term to signify all who are not Greeks: "I am debtor both to the Greeks and to the barbarians" (Rom. i. 14). The inhabitants of Malta at this time were

of Phœnician or Carthaginian descent, and appear to have spoken the Punic language, with perhaps an admixture of Greek. Although under the dominion of the Romans, yet that nation had not been able to impose their language on them. Even in the present day the natives of Malta have a peculiar language, termed the Maltese, which has been proved to be essentially an Arabic dialect, with an admixture of Italian,—a result from the fact that Malta was for nearly two centuries under the dominion of the Arabs. In the original sense of the term, the inhabitants of Malta might still be called barbarians both by the English and the Italians. *Τὸν ἐφ’εστῶτα*—*which had set in*; not “which had come suddenly,” but “which was upon us.” The storm which drove them to Malta was accompanied by the rain.

Ver. 3. *Ἐχίδνα*—*a viper*. As another objection against the island being Malta, it is asserted that there are no venomous serpents there. But this is no objection to the existence of such reptiles in the time of Paul. The increased population and high cultivation of the island would have extirpated them. No portion of Europe is so densely populated as Malta: it is said to contain 1200 persons to every square mile; and therefore it is no wonder that vipers were exterminated from so small a space of territory. *Διεξελθοῦσα*—*coming through*. A more vivid description of the occurrence than the simple verb *ἐξελθοῦσα* (*textus receptus*), denoting that the viper came forth through the bundle of sticks where it had lain concealed.

Καθῆψεν τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ—*it fastened on his hand*. It is certainly not positively asserted that the viper bit Paul; but that is clearly implied. The viper fastened on his hand; he shook it off; and the islanders expected that he would have swollen or fallen down dead suddenly. They must have known that the bite of that particular serpent was deadly, and it was not doubted by them that it had bitten the apostle. From the whole narrative it is evident that Paul’s escape from death is represented as miraculous. Hence all rationalistic explanations are to be rejected as conflicting with the narrative. Bochart supposes that the serpent

fastened on Paul's hand, but did not bite him; an opinion also adopted by Lange and Ewald. Lekebusch puts the alternative: "Either the serpent was poisonous, and then it did not bite the apostle; or if it bit him, it was not poisonous."¹ So also Kuinœl makes the same remark: *Erat autem vipera ista aut non venenata, etsi Melitenses eam pro venenata habuerint, aut si erat, insinuavit quidem se Pauli manui non vero momordit.*² De Wette, on the other hand, in order to get rid of the miraculous in the narrative, observes: "That the serpent bit Paul's hand is not said, but is probable; that it was poisonous, the natives supposed; but Luke does not so much as hint that any divine intervention took place."³ But if the viper was poisonous, and if it actually bit the apostle, a divine intervention in his favour follows as a necessary consequence.

Ver. 4. Πάντως φονέυς ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος, etc.—*Doubtless this man is a murderer, whom, though he has escaped the sea, Justice suffers not to live.* The inhabitants of Malta, when they saw the viper hanging on Paul's hand, concluded that it was an instance of divine retribution, the work of Justice, which punishes death with death. The ancients believed that a murderer, although he might evade human justice, yet would not finally escape the avenging justice of Heaven. The islanders were also probably informed that Paul was a prisoner, and hence naturally concluded that he had been guilty of some grave offence. Some (Elsner, Kuinœl, Lange) suppose that they drew the inference that he was a murderer from seeing the viper fastening on his hand; because, according to their ideas, Justice inflicted punishment upon the member that committed the crime. But this is fanciful, as the same remark would equally apply to all crimes committed by the hand. The fact that, as they supposed, Paul was bitten to death by a viper, was their reason for thinking him a murderer, because death was the punishment of murder. Δίκη—Justice, or Nemesis: the

¹ Lekebusch's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 382.

² Kuinœl's *Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 378.

³ De Wette's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 186.

personification of justice—*Justitia*. Justice was regarded by the Greeks as the daughter of Jupiter. The text does not determine whether the inhabitants of Malta used the well-known Greek epithet *Δίκη*, although it is probable that the Greek mythology was known to them. The idea, however, of Justice following on the footsteps of crime is common to all nations.

Ver. 5. Ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀποτιναξάμενος τὸ θηρίον εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἔπαθεν οὐδὲν κακόν—he then, having shaken off the beast into the fire, suffered no harm. Thus our Saviour's promise to His disciples was in this instance fulfilled: "They shall take up serpents; and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them" (Mark xvi. 18).

Ver. 6. Οἱ δὲ προσεδόκων αὐτὸν μέλλειν πίμπρασθαι ἢ καταπίπτειν ἄφνω νεκρόν—but they expected that he would have swollen or fallen down dead suddenly. Both these effects—the inflammation of the body, and the falling down dead suddenly—are recorded as the results of the bite of the African serpent (Alford). Ἐπὶ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῶν προσδοκῶντων—but after they had waited long; or, more literally, "while they were long expecting." Μεταβαλλόμενοι—having changed their opinion. Μεταβαλλόμενοι is often used by classical writers to express a change of view or opinion.¹ The Maltese change their opinion; they first regard Paul as a criminal, and then as a god: but they do so in an opposite manner from the Lystrians, who first wished to sacrifice to Paul as a god, and then stoned him as a criminal (Acts xiv. 11). Ἐλεγον αὐτὸν εἶναι θεόν—they said that he was a god. They considered him a god in human appearance, seeing that the poison of serpents could do him no harm. Elsner supposes that the inhabitants of Malta formed this opinion, because the ancients attributed a divine nature to serpents, and frequently worshipped them as gods. The Egyptians were peculiarly addicted to the worship of serpents; and the Babylonians in the time of Daniel worshipped the dragon. Some (Grotius, Whitby) suppose that the particular god here meant was Hercules, who strangled serpents in his

¹ See Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 510.

cradle, and was worshipped by the Phœnicians; others (Wetstein) think that it was Æsculapius, as that god is represented with a serpent: but both suppositions are extremely fanciful.

Ver. 7. *Τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νήσου ὀνόματι Πουπλίῳ*—*to the first man of the island, by name Publius.* The title ὁ πρῶτος τῆς νήσου is the official title of Publius, and does not refer to his rank or possessions, as in that sense his father, who was then alive, would have been the first man of the island. It is accordingly thought that Publius was the governor of Malta, being the legate of the prætor of Sicily. This title ὁ πρῶτος does not indeed occur as the official title of the governor of Malta in any ancient author; but it is a remarkable fact that it has been found in two inscriptions, one in Greek and the other in Latin, which were discovered at Citta Vecchia in Malta. The Greek inscription has the words *πρῶτος Μελιταιῶν*, and the Latin the words *Mel. Primus*.¹ It is indeed doubtful what is the precise meaning of this title, whether it denotes the Roman governor of Malta, or some other distinction; but unquestionably it is an official title: and this is another instance of the extreme accuracy of Luke as a historian. According to tradition, not only Publius, but almost all the inhabitants of Malta, were converted to Christianity by the preaching and miracles of Paul. Publius is said to have been the first bishop of Malta, and afterwards to have succeeded Dionysius as bishop of Athens. Jerome records a tradition of his having suffered martyrdom.

Ἀναδεξάμενος ἡμᾶς, etc.—*having received us, lodged us three days courteously.* It is disputed to whom ἡμᾶς refers. Baumgarten, Stier, and Lewin refer it to the whole company; whereas Meyer limits it to Paul and his companions. It is to be observed, that when it is said that the islanders received the whole company, the words *πάντας ἡμᾶς* (all of

¹ The most important of these inscriptions is that in Greek (Boeckh, *Corp. Insc. græc.* 5754): it was first explained in 1647. The Latin inscription was discovered at Citta Vecchia in 1747. Smith, however, when in Malta, was unable to find either of these inscriptions.

us) are employed; whereas here it is simply ἡμᾶς (us): besides, in ver. 10 ἡμᾶς can only refer to Paul and his friends. Hence, then, it is the more probable opinion that Publius received for three days as his guests, Paul, Luke, and Aristarchus, and perhaps also the centurion Julius (Lechler). The report of his miraculous escape from the bite of the viper would direct the attention of Publius to Paul as a remarkable man; and Paul repaid his kindness by restoring his father to health. “He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive a prophet’s reward.”

Ver. 8. Πυρετοῖς καὶ δυσεντερίῳ—*of a fever and of dysentery*. Luke, as a physician, particularizes the nature of the complaint of the father of Publius. Πυρετοῖς, in the plural, denotes successive attacks of fever. This also has been adduced as an argument against the island being Malta. “The disease,” says Dr. Falconer, “with which the father of Publius was affected (dysentery combined with fever) affords a presumptive evidence of the nature of the island. Such a place as Melita Africana (Malta), dry and rocky, and remarkably healthy, was not likely to produce a disease which is almost peculiar to moist situations.” But this is founded on an entire mistake. Smith states that in point of fact, according to the statement of a physician in the island made to him, such a disease is by no means uncommon in Malta.

Ver. 9. Οἱ λοιποὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἔχοντες ἀσθενείας—the rest who had diseases in the island. It is probable, considering the small extent of the island, and the comparatively long stay of Paul upon it, that, as Baumgarten remarks, there did not remain one sick person who did not find healing; but it is fanciful to suppose that Luke records this as a representation of the completed kingdom of God.¹ Προσῆρχοντο καὶ ἐθεραπεύοντο—*came and were healed*. Lekebusch supposes, from ἡμᾶς occurring in the next verse, that the inhabitants of Malta owed their recovery partly to the professional skill and treatment of Luke as a physician.² But such a

¹ Baumgarten’s *Apostolic History*, vol. iii. p. 302.

² Lekebusch’s *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 382.

rationalistic explanation is directly opposed to the account of the cure of Publius (ver. 8), and to the general sense of the narrative. Zeller, on the other hand, avoids the miraculous in the narrative, by supposing the account to be a mythical exaggeration.¹ Such unfounded assertions cannot be met with arguments. As interpreters, our business is to discover the meaning of the author; and beyond question he records a number of miraculous cures effected by the Apostle Paul. By no natural explanations can the miraculous element be expunged from the narrative.

Ver. 10. *Οὐ καὶ πολλαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν ἡμᾶς*—*who also honoured us with many honours.* *Ἡμᾶς*—*us*: evidently Paul and his friends, in consequence of the miracles wrought. Some render *τιμαῖς* rewards or gifts—*honoraria*; but it is more natural to translate them distinctions or honours. Paul could receive no rewards as a recompense for the miracles performed (Matt. x. 8). At his departure, indeed, he and his friends were supplied with what things were necessary for their wants; but even these were received not as rewards for services done, but as tokens of gratitude. *Ἐπέθεντο τὰ πρὸς τὰς χρείας*—*supplied us with what was necessary.* This would be the more needful, as all their clothing had been lost at sea.

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 291.

SECTION XXX.

PAUL'S JOURNEY FROM MALTA TO ROME.—
ACTS xxviii. 11-16.

11 Now after three months we set sail in an Alexandrian vessel, which had wintered in the island, having the sign of the Dioscuri. 12 And landing at Syracuse, we remained there three days. 13 From which place, by tacking about, we came to Rhegium; and after one day, the south wind having arisen, we came on the second day to Puteoli; 14 Where finding brethren, we were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we came to Rome. 15 And the brethren having heard of us, came thence to meet us as far as Appii Forum, and Tres Tabernæ; whom when Paul saw, he thanked God, and took courage. 16 And when we came to Rome, Paul was permitted to dwell by himself with the soldier who guarded him.

CRITICAL NOTE.

Ver. 16. The words *ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκε τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχη*, found in G, H, are omitted in A, B, K, and the Vulgate. They are retained by Meyer, De Wette, and Alford, but are rejected by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Lechler.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 11. *Μετὰ δὲ τρεῖς μῆνας*—*but after three months*. Paul and his company wintered at Malta. They had set sail from the Fair Havens about the beginning of October (see note to Acts xxvii. 9); and consequently it must have been toward the end of that month when they were shipwrecked. The three months' residence, then, would embrace November, December, and January; and the voyage from

Malta would commence in the February of the following year (A.D. 61).

Παρασήμω Διοσκούροις—with the sign of the Dioscuri. *Παρασήμω* may be taken either as an adjective—*Dioscurorum effigiebus insignita*, “distinguished by the Dioscuri” (De Wette, Lechler); or as a substantive dependent upon *ἀνήχθημεν*, “with the sign of the Dioscuri” (Meyer). *Παράσημον* or *ἐπίσημον* is the sign of a ship, *insigne*—that which distinguishes it from other ships, and gives it its name: this might be the image of a god, of a man, or of a beast, a helmet, the shield of Minerva, or some other object. Such a figure was sculptured or painted on the prow of the ship. It differed from the *tutela*, which was the figure of the guardian deity affixed to the stern of the vessel. Thus in Ovid we read, *Est mihi, sitque precor, flavæ tutela Minervæ navis; et a picta casside nomen habet* (Ovid, *Trist.* i. 10. 1). Here the *insigne* or name of the ship was a helmet, whilst the *tutela* or guardian divinity was Minerva. In the instance before us, probably the *insigne* and the *tutela* were the same, namely figures of the Dioscuri.¹ The Dioscuri were Castor and Pollux, the sons, according to the mythology of the ancients, of Jupiter and Leda. They were represented either by two stars, or as two young men on horseback. These divinities were regarded as the tutelary gods (*θεοὶ σωτήρες*) of sailors. Thus in Catullus we have mention of a vessel placed under their special protection (Catul. iv. 27). So also Horace alludes to them as *fratres Helenæ lucida sidera* (*Od.* i. 3. 2). The ancients identified them with the phosphoric lights which are sometimes seen on the masts of ships, and which are called the fires of St. Elmo. Luke does not mention that the ship had this particular sign to show that Paul was constrained to sail in a vessel with an idolatrous sign, or, as Baumgarten thinks, to intimate that “on that vessel there did not reign any confident security, but confidence in superhuman protection and assistance;”² but merely as a historical fact, being the reminiscence of one who sailed in the same vessel with Paul.

¹ Kuinzel's *Novi Testamenti Libri Historici*, vol. iii. p. 380.

² Baumgarten's *Apostolic History*, vol. iii. p. 303.

Ver. 12. *Καὶ καταχθέντες εἰς Συρακούσας*—*and having landed at Syracuse.* This famous city was situated on the east coast of the island of Sicily, about eighty miles, or a day's sail, from Malta. It was made up of five cities—namely, the island of Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, Epipolæ, and Neapolis—and hence probably its plural termination. According to Strabo, its wall was twenty-two miles in circumference, and it rivalled Carthage in wealth (vi. 2. 4). It was originally a Corinthian colony, founded B.C. 700. Syracuse long maintained its independence against the attacks of the Carthaginians and the Romans; but about B.C. 212 it was taken and destroyed by the Romans under Marcellus, during the second Punic war. It soon recovered from its desolation, and received the privilege of a Roman colony from Augustus. In the time of Paul it was much reduced from its former greatness, and occupied only the island of Ortygia, with a small portion of the mainland (Strabo, vi. 2. 4). At present, although not now the capital of Sicily, it still survives as a town of some importance, having a population of about 18,000.

Ver. 13. *Ὁθεν περιελθόντες*—*from which place having gone round.* The meaning of *περιελθόντες* is doubtful. The verb *περιέρχομαι* signifies “to go about,” “to wander up and down.” See Acts xix. 13; 1 Tim. v. 13; Heb. xi. 37. De Wette supposes that they sailed round the island of Sicily, or the southern extremity of Italy; others suppose that they coasted round the eastern shore of Sicily. Lewin thinks that the wind was westerly; and as they were under shelter of the high mountainous range of Etna, they were obliged to stand out to sea in order to fill their sails, and so came to Rhegium by a circuitous sweep; and he adds in a note: “I was informed by a friend many years ago, that when he made the voyage himself from Syracuse to Rhegium, the vessel in which he sailed took a similar circuit for a similar reason.”¹ Smith supposes that the wind was north-west, and that they worked to windward, availing themselves of the sinuosities of the coast; but that with this

¹ Lewin's *St. Paul*, p. 736.

wind they could not proceed through the Straits of Messina, and were therefore obliged to put into Rhegium, at the entrance of the straits.¹ Probably the word signifies that, on account of contrary winds, they were obliged to sail in a zigzag direction by tacking. So Lechler, Alford, Howson, Wordsworth.

Κατηντήσαμεν εἰς Ῥήγιον—*we came to Rhegium.* Rhegium received its name from the Greek verb *ρήγνύω* or *ρήγνυμι*, "to break," because it was thought that the island of Sicily was at this point broken off from Italy (Strabo, vi. 1. 6). It was situated in the Bruttian territory, near the southern extremity of the Straits of Messina. It was originally a Greek colony, and was destroyed by Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse; but was afterwards rebuilt, and in the time of Paul was a considerable city. Ptolemy calls it Julian Rhegium. It still exists under the modern name of Reggio, having a population of about 15,000, and is the seat of an archbishopric. Howson mentions as a singular coincidence, that the figures on the coins of Rhegium are Castor and Pollux, the same divinities whose forms were sculptured or painted on the vessel in which Paul sailed.²

Ἐπιγενομένου νότου—*the south-west wind having arisen.* The south wind was favourable both for sailing through the Straits of Messina and for sailing north to Puteoli. *Δευτε-
ραῖοι ἤλθομεν εἰς Ποσιόλους*—*on the second day we came to Puteoli.* This celebrated seaport, called by Howson "the Liverpool of Italy," was situated on the northern extremity of the Bay of Naples, about 120 miles from Rome. In its immediate neighbourhood were Baiæ, the resort of the wealthy Romans; and Misenum, the station of the Roman navy. Its original name was Dicæarchia, which was changed into Puteoli (from *putei*, wells) on account of its mineral springs (Strabo, v. 4. 6). Josephus mentions it twice by its Greek name, Dicæarchia (*Ant.* xvii. 12. 2, xviii. 7. 2); and

¹ Smith's *Voyage of St. Paul*, p. 151.

² Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. p. 430. This coin is not noticed by Eckhel. There is, however, a coin of Locri, a neighbouring city, with the figures of the Dioscuri (Eckhel, i. p. 175).

in a third passage he says: "I came to Dicæarchia, which the Italians call Puteoli" (*Vita*, 3). Puteoli, originally a Greek colony, came into notice during the second Punic war. At an early period it became a Roman colony (*Liv.* xxxiv. 42), which privilege, according to Tacitus, was renewed in the reign of Nero (*Tac. Ann.* xiv. 37). It was the principal seaport of southern Italy, and was at this time a Roman city of the first rank. The ships of Alexandria resorted to this port, and there discharged their merchandise. Thus Strabo says: "Alexandria exports to Italy more than it receives from it, as any one may see who visits both ports, Alexandria and Dicæarchia (Puteoli), and watches the arrival and departure of the merchant vessels" (*Strabo*, xvii. 1. 7). The Alexandrian corn vessels, as we are informed by Seneca, had the peculiar privilege of sailing into the harbour of Puteoli with all their sails set, whereas other vessels were compelled to lower their topsails (*Ep.* 27); so that we are acquainted with the very manner in which this wheat ship of Alexandria entered into port. Puteoli was also the point of embarkation for the East. Thus Suetonius tells us that Titus, in coming from Alexandria, arrived first at Rhegium, and sailed thence in a merchant vessel to Puteoli (*Suet. Titus*, v.). It was also familiar to the Jews, as they were accustomed to land and embark there in their journeys to and from Rome (*Joseph. Ant.* xviii. 7. 2). Puteoli is now a small town, or rather village, known by the name of Pozzuoli. The remains of the ancient town are considerable. The most worthy of note are sixteen piers, forming a part of the ancient mole, which stretched into the sea, and over which Paul must have walked; and the so-called temple of Serapis, which, on account of its being pierced in several places at different altitudes by *lithodomi*, affords unquestionable evidence of the subsidence and rise of the land (see Lyell's *Principles of Geology*).

The distance between Rhegium and Puteoli, which is about a hundred and eighty miles, was accomplished by the Alexandrian vessel "Castor and Pollux" in less than two days. The voyage must have been a rapid one, at the rate of six or

seven miles an hour; the south wind being extremely favourable. The rate of sailing among the ancients was often very considerable: there is mention of long voyages made in a short space of time. Strabo mentions that a vessel could sail from Sammonium (Salmone in Crete) to Egypt in four days,—a distance of 5000 furlongs, or 625 miles, which gives a rate of six and a half miles an hour (Strabo, x. 4. 5). Herodotus tells us that a ship could sail in twenty-four hours 1300 furlongs, or about six and a half miles an hour. Pliny mentions passages from the Straits of Gibraltar to Ostia in seven days; from the nearest port of Spain in four; from the province of Narbonne in three; and from Africa in two; which would afford an average rate of seven miles an hour. Thus, then, the rapid voyage of the apostle between Rhegium and Puteoli is not unexampled in voyages made by the ancients.¹

Ver. 14. *Οὐ εὐρόντες ἀδελφοῦς*—*where finding brethren.* At Puteoli Paul met Christian brethren. Being a seaport of great resort, and the usual landing-place from Syria, the gospel might easily be carried there by travellers from the East. Alford supposes that these Christians were Alexandrians, because the commerce was so considerable between these two places. But there is no necessity for this supposition: they were in all probability natives of Puteoli. *Παρεκλήθημεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιμεῖνα ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ*—*we were desired to tarry with them seven days.* We are not informed who made this request, but probably it was the brethren of Puteoli; nor are we told whether this request was granted, but this is evidently to be understood. It was doubtless with the permission of Julius that Paul, and consequently the whole company, remained at Puteoli for seven days. This is another proof of the high esteem in which Paul was held by the centurion. *Καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθαμεν*—*and thus we went to Rome:* either mentioned by anticipation, or a statement that after the seven days they proceeded on their journey to Rome. They would first proceed to

¹ See Biscoe *on the Acts*, p. 345; Smith's *Voyage of St. Paul*, pp. 208, 209.

Capua, about twelve miles distant, where they would join the celebrated Appian Way, which led direct to Rome.

Ver. 15. *Κακέϊθεν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀκούσαντες τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν, etc.*—*And the brethren, having heard the things concerning us, came thence to meet us.* By the brethren here are meant the native Christians, resident at Rome. As Paul tarried seven days at Puteoli, the news of his arrival would easily have reached Rome, so as to afford time for the brethren to meet him. It is remarkable that we have no certain information by whom Christianity was introduced into Rome. Probably it was by some of the Jewish residents there, who, being at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, were then converted (Acts ii. 10). At first the church would be composed chiefly of Jewish Christians; but these would be dispersed, when Claudius banished all the Jews from Rome. Afterwards, when the edict was reversed, numerous Christians, as appears from the Epistle to the Romans, came and settled there; and an intimacy would be kept up between Paul and the church by means of Aquila and Priscilla, and others of Paul's friends who were among the leading Christians at Rome. The Roman Christians had also been made aware that Paul had been for some years desirous to visit them (Rom. i. 10–15, xv. 28).

Ἄχρῖς Ἀππίου Φόρου—*as far as Appii Forum.* Appii Forum was an obscure town on the Appian Way, about forty miles from Rome. It probably received its name from Appius Claudius, the constructor of this part of the road. It is mentioned both by Cicero (*ad Att.* ii. 10) and by Horace (*Sat.* i. 5. 4). The latter speaks of it as the resort of boatmen and low tavern-keepers: *Inde Forum Appi, differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.*¹ The celebrated Via Appia, along which Paul travelled, called by Statius “the queen of ways,” was the oldest and most frequented road in Italy. It was constructed by Appius Claudius, and

¹ Appii Forum was an inland town, but it was at the extremity of the canal formed by Augustus for draining the Pomptine marshes; and hence the sailors (*nautis*) mentioned by Horace were the boatmen employed on this canal.

led from Rome to Capua, and thence was continued to Brundisium on the Adriatic Gulf, on the other side of which it was succeeded by the Via Egnatia.

Καὶ Τριῶν Ταβερῶν—and *Tres Tabernæ*. *Tres Tabernæ* was another obscure town on the Appian Way, about ten miles nearer Rome. The *Antonine Itinerary* gives the following table of distances, reckoning southwards from Rome: to Aricia, sixteen miles; to *Tres Tabernæ*, seventeen miles; to Appii Forum, ten miles. Cicero mentions both towns in one of his epistles: *Ab Appii Foro hora quarta; dederam aliam paullo ante Tribus Tabernis* (Cic. *ad Att.* ii. 10). *Tres Tabernæ* was in the reign of Constantine the seat of a bishopric; for among the bishops appointed by that emperor to decide the controversy between Donatus and Cæcilianus, there is mention of Felix the bishop of *Tres Tabernæ*. The brethren from Rome thus met Paul in two parties: some came as far as Appii Forum, forty-three miles distant; and others to *Tres Tabernæ*, thirty-three miles distant.

Ὅς ἰδὼν ὁ Παῦλος, εὐχαριστήσας τῷ Θεῷ, ἔλαβεν θάρσος—whom Paul seeing, having thanked God, took courage. Paul knew that there was a flourishing church in Rome, to which several years ago he had written a long epistle, and which he had earnestly desired to visit; and now this friendly reception by the brethren who had come so many miles to meet him, even although he was a prisoner, must have cheered his heart, and greatly encouraged him in the work of the Lord. *Videbat Christum etiam Romæ esse. Non semper idem impetus etiam in Paulo fuit. Jam obliviscitur molestiarum itineris* (Bengel).

Ver. 16. Ὅτε δὲ εἰσῆλθαμεν εἰς Ῥώμην—but when we came to Rome. Paul entered Rome by the Appian Way through the gate Capena.¹ He would then be led to the Prætorium, the quarter of the household troops attached to the palace on the Palatine hill; or to the great prætorian camp (*Castrum Prætorium*) situated outside the wall to the north-

¹ Paul arrived at Rome in March 61, in the seventh year of the reign of Nero, in the consulship of Cæsonius Pætus and Petronius Turpilianus (Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 29).

east of the city. And now Paul found himself in Rome, the political metropolis of the world, where were assembled the representatives of all nations, and where Jesus Christ had already a flourishing church. We cannot over-estimate the importance of this event in the history of the church and of the world. Paul was probably the first of the apostles of Christ who trod the streets of the imperial city: his long residence there, and the liberty which he enjoyed in preaching the gospel, must have given a mighty impetus to the spread of Christianity.

Ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκεν τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ—*The centurion delivered up the prisoners to the prætorian prefect.* The genuineness of these words is disputed. (See Critical Note.) The external authorities are against their admission; whereas the internal evidence is in favour of their reception. By *στρατοπεδάρχῃ* is undoubtedly meant the prefect of the prætorian guard—*præfectus prætorio*. The prætorian camp was first formed by Sejanus, the favourite of Tiberius; and the commander of it was the most influential subject of the empire. In general, the power was shared between two, as it was regarded too great to be entrusted to one person. One of the duties of the prætorian prefect was to keep in custody all accused persons who were to be tried before the emperor. Thus Herod Agrippa I., when a prisoner at Rome, was entrusted to the care of Macro, the successor of Sejanus (*Joseph. Ant.* xviii. 6. 6). And we learn from Pliny that this was usually the case with prisoners sent from the provinces: *vinctus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet* (*Plin. Ep.* x. 65). In the early part of the reign of Nero, the celebrated Afranius Burrus was the prefect of the prætorian guard. Wieseler endeavours to determine the chronology of Paul's life from the fact that the word *στρατοπεδάρχῃ* is in the singular. Both before and after Burrus there were two prætorian prefects, whereas Burrus occupied this office alone; hence Wieseler infers that *στρατοπεδάρχῃ* necessarily refers to Burrus, and that consequently Paul must have come to Rome in the spring of the year 61, as Burrus died early in the year

62.¹ But to this Meyer replies, that by the singular is meant no more than the prætorian prefect who acted in this particular case, and who took the charge of Paul and the other prisoners.² And certainly the expression may be so understood; so that no chronological date can be inferred from this statement.

Ἐπετρέπη τῷ Παύλῳ μένειν καθ' ἑαυτὸν—but it was permitted to Paul to dwell by himself. The prisoners who were sent from the provinces were usually confined in a prison adjoining the prætorian camp; but sometimes indulgence was given to those not charged with heinous crimes, or who possessed sufficient influence, to dwell by themselves. This favour was accorded to Herod Agrippa I. when a prisoner at Rome (Jos. Ant. xviii. 6. 11). Paul received this privilege probably from the favourable report that was sent from Festus and Agrippa; and the centurion Julius would certainly use what influence he possessed on his behalf. Thus Paul was not kept in the prætorian prison, where he would have had no opportunity of preaching the gospel; but in his own house, where liberty of intercourse with all who came was granted him. "Let us know," observes Calvin, "that God did govern from heaven the bonds of His servant; not only that He might ease him of his trouble, but that the faithful might have freer access unto him. For He would not have the treasure of his faith shut up in prison; but He would have it laid open, that it might enrich many far and wide." Σὺν τῷ φυλάσσοντι αὐτὸν στρατιώτῃ—with the soldier who guarded him. Paul thus remained in *custodia militaris*. As the soldiers were frequently relieved, Paul would by this means become known to several of the prætorian guard; and thus Christianity might find an entrance among them. Hence Paul speaks of his bonds in Christ being manifested in the Prætorium, and in all other places (Phil. i. 23).

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, p. 86.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 513.

SECTION XXXI.

PAUL AT ROME.—ACTS xxviii. 17-31.

17 And it came to pass, after three days, that he summoned those who were the chief of the Jews: and when they were assembled, he said to them, Men and brethren, I, having done nothing against this people or the customs of our fathers, was delivered a prisoner from Jerusalem into the hands of the Romans: 18 Who, having examined me, wished to release me, because there was no cause of death in me. 19 But the Jews speaking against it, I was constrained to appeal unto Cæsar; not as having anything to accuse my nation of. 20 For this cause therefore I desired to see you, and to speak with you: because for the hope of Israel I am encompassed with this chain. 21; But they said to him, We neither received letters from Judea concerning you, neither did any of the brethren who came hither relate or speak any evil concerning you. 22 But we think it right to hear from you what you think: for concerning this sect, we know that it is everywhere spoken against. 23 And when they had appointed him a day, more came to him to his lodging; to whom he expounded, testifying the kingdom of God, and persuading them concerning Jesus, both from the law of Moses and from the prophets, from morning till evening. 24 And some were convinced by what was spoken, but others believed not. 25 And when they agreed not among themselves, they departed, after that Paul had spoken one word, Well spoke the Holy Ghost by Isaiah the prophet to your fathers, 26 Saying, Go ye to this people, and say, With hearing you shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing you shall see, and not perceive: 27 For the heart of this people has become fat, and they have heard heavily with their ears, and their eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and be converted, and I will heal them. 28 Be it known therefore unto you, that this salvation of God has been sent to the Gentiles, and they shall hear.

29, 30 And he dwelt for two whole years in his own hired house, and received all who came to him, 31 Preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ with all boldness, without hindrance.

CRITICAL NOTES.

Ver. 17. *Τὸν Παῦλον* is the reading of G, H; whereas A, B, κ have *αὐτόν*, the reading generally adopted by recent critics. Ver. 25. *Ἡμῶν* after *πατέρας* is found in G, H; whereas A, B, κ have *ὑμῶν*, the reading adopted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 28. *Τὸ σωτήριον* is the reading of E, G, H; whereas A, B, κ have *τούτο τὸ σωτήριον*, the reading approved of by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 29. This whole verse, *καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος ἀπήλθον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πολλὴν ἔχοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς συζήτησιν*, found in G, H, is wanting in A, B, E, κ , and the Syriac, and is omitted by Lachmann and Tischendorf. Ver. 30. The words *ὁ Παῦλος*, found in G, H, are wanting in A, B, E, κ , and are rejected by most recent critics.

EXEGETICAL REMARKS.

Ver. 17. *Ἐγένετο δὲ μετὰ ἡμέρας τρεῖς*—*but it came to pass after three days*. Paul showed his earnestness, in sending for the rulers of the Jews only three days after his arrival at Rome. The three days would probably be spent in intercourse with the Roman Christians, in procuring a lodging, and in refreshing himself after his long journey. *Συνκαλέσασθαι αὐτὸν τοὺς ὄντας τῶν Ἰουδαίων πρώτους*—*that he summoned those who were the chief of the Jews*. The Jews were very numerous at Rome, and were confined to a particular quarter of the city on the other side of the Tiber (Trans-tiberine). There were so many of them, that when a petition was sent to the emperor from Jerusalem against Archelaus, the son of Herod the Great, it was supported by eight thousand Jews resident in Rome (Joseph. *Ant.* xvii. 11. 1).¹ They had indeed been banished by Claudius; but this decree had been abrogated on the accession of Nero, if not in the lifetime of Claudius himself. Aquila and Priscilla several years before this had returned to Rome (Rom.

¹ See Lewin's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 753, 754.

xvi. 3).¹ By the chief of the Jews are here meant the rulers of the synagogues, or the heads of the principal Jewish families at Rome. Paul was naturally anxious to justify himself before them, and thus to remove any obstacle which might hinder the reception of the gospel. He thought that reports prejudicial to him might have been sent and circulated among them by the Jews of Judea—that he was an apostate from Judaism, that everywhere he attacked the Mosaic law, and that by appealing to Cæsar he intended to accuse the Jews. Besides, the fact that he was a prisoner might cause the Roman Jews to regard him with suspicion. In all this he had not a regard to his own interests, but he did all things for the sake of the gospel. He also acted upon his principle of preaching the gospel to the Jew first, and then to the Gentile (Rom. i. 16). Zeller objects that it is highly improbable that Paul should seek to justify himself to the Jews, before he had first made acquaintance with the Christian church, whom according to the Epistle to the Romans he desired so greatly to see; and hence he affirms that the author of the Acts here ignores the existence of this church, from a wish to represent Paul as the founder of Christianity at Rome.² But Luke had already mentioned the existence of Christians at Rome who had come to meet the apostle (ver. 15). Besides, the object of his history was not to represent the labours of the apostle among those who were Christians, but the progress of Christianity among those who were not. And it is highly probable that part of the three previous days were spent with the Christians; or if not, the apostle would have ample opportunities of seeing and conversing with them afterwards.

Ἐγὼ οὐδὲν ἵναντιον ποιήσας τῷ λαῷ ἢ τοῖς ἔθεσιν τοῖς πατρώοις—*I having done nothing against this people or the customs of the fathers.* Here again Zeller objects: “With what conscience can the apostle say that he has done nothing against the Mosaic institutions—he, whose whole aim in life was nothing else than an endeavour to supplant these institu-

¹ See note to Acts xviii. 2.

² Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 292, 372.

tions by faith in Christ, whose whole religious consciousness had its centre in the abolition of the law by the gospel?"¹ But this objection arises from a mistaken view of the apostle's opinions. He held that, so far from abolishing, he fulfilled the law by the gospel; that Christianity was the true development of Judaism; and that the Christian was the true Jew. His opposition was not against the law, but against its abuse—against the opinion that it was sufficient for justification; but, so far from calling in question, he maintained and defended its divine origin and authority.

Ver. 18. *Οἷτινες ἀνακρίναντές με ἐβούλοντο ἀπολύσαι—*who, having examined me, wished to release me. Had the Roman rulers been left to their own judgment, Paul would certainly have been released. *Διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν αἰτίαν θανάτου ὑπάρχειν ἐν ἐμοί—*because there was no cause of death in me. The Roman governors united in pronouncing Paul innocent. Lysias, the chief captain, declared that there was nothing laid to his charge worthy of death or of bonds (Acts xxiii. 29). Felix did not treat him as a criminal (Acts xxiv. 23). Festus affirmed that he had committed nothing worthy of death (Acts xxv. 25). And the judgment of King Agrippa was: "This man might have been set at liberty, if he had not appealed unto Cæsar" (Acts xxvi. 32).

Ver. 19. *Ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἠναγκάσθαι ἐπικαλέσασθαι Καίσαρα—*but the Jews contradicting, I was constrained to appeal to Cæsar. This notice, as Meyer observes, completes the narrative of Paul's appeal to Cæsar (Acts xxv. 2–12). We are thus to conceive of the matter: After Paul had made his defence, Festus expressed his willingness to release him; the Jews, however, opposed his doing so; whereupon Festus proposed that the trial should be removed to Jerusalem, and then it was that Paul felt himself constrained in self-defence to appeal to Cæsar.² *Οὐχ ὡς τοῦ ἔθνους μου ἔχων τι κατηγορεῖν—*not as having anything to accuse my nation of. Paul's appeal was entirely defensive:

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 292. See also Davidson's *New Introduction*, vol. ii. pp. 225, 226, where the same objection is stated.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 515.

he saw that the Jews were determined to destroy him, and he felt that he could not trust the protection of Festus; and hence, to save himself, he exercised his privilege as a Roman citizen of appealing to Cæsar. The Jews seem to have insinuated that he appealed in order that he might have an opportunity of accusing his nation of maltreating him; but such a charge the apostle repudiates. Although most unjustly and cruelly treated, he was not an accuser of his brethren.

Ver. 20. *Ἐνεκεν γὰρ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ*—*because on account of the hope of Israel.* By “the hope of Israel” here is meant the Messianic hope—the promise of the Messiah. (See note to Acts xxvi. 6.) As if the apostle had said: “My sufferings are caused on account of my belief in the fulfilment of the hope of Israel.” And this was certainly the case. It was his belief in Jesus as the promised Messiah that was the cause of the hatred of the Jews, and of all those persecutions and sufferings which he endured. *Τὴν ἄλωσιν ταύτην περικείμαι*—*I am encompassed with this chain.* *Περίκειμαι*, “to surround,” “to encompass,” referring perhaps to the fact that the chain encompassed his arm. As already noticed, it was the custom of the Romans to bind their prisoners to soldiers who kept them. Perhaps, however, the expression may be a general allusion to his imprisonment, without necessarily implying that he was always bound to a soldier.

Ver. 21. *Ἡμεῖς οὐτε γράμματα ἐδεξάμεθα περὶ σοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*, etc.—*We neither received letters from Judea concerning thee, neither did any of the brethren who came hither relate or speak any evil of thee.* At first sight, it appears strange that the Roman Jews should profess such ignorance of Paul. It is, however, probable that no official letter from the Sanhedrim concerning him had reached Rome. During Paul’s two years’ imprisonment at Cæsarea, the Jews in Jerusalem would have no cause to communicate with the Roman Jews, because Paul was in their own country, and they trusted that they might destroy him there, and his removal to Rome was not expected. After his appeal, and

the resolution of Festus to send him to Cæsar, the Jews had not time to send information. Paul left shortly after the appeal, about autumn, and the sea was soon closed; and besides, it was with a favourable voyage that he came from Malta to Puteoli, so that he would be at Rome sooner than any intelligence from Jerusalem (Meyer). But although no official letters from Judea may have reached Rome, yet it is strange that the Jews there had not heard something to Paul's disadvantage from the brethren who came from Judea. For many years Paul was one of the most prominent leaders of Christianity, and was everywhere hated by the Jews; and three years before this, all Jerusalem was in an uproar in consequence of his appearance in the temple. The communication between Jerusalem and Rome was frequent, and about this very time a deputation of the chief of the Jews in Cæsarea had come with a petition against Felix (Joseph. *Ant.* xx. 8. 9).¹ Olshausen supposes that, as the Jews had been expelled from Rome by Claudius, the connections which the Jews of Jerusalem had with them were interrupted, and had not been as yet completely resumed, and thus it happened that no intelligence had been sent to Rome.² This, however, is in the highest degree improbable, if not historically erroneous. Meyer supposes that the Roman Jews here acted with reserve, and affirm only that they had no official information, in order to appear impartial, and to encourage Paul to an unreserved communication.³ The probability is, that they express themselves politely to Paul; for although they may have heard of him, and that to his disadvantage, yet they do not feel themselves obliged to acknowledge it. Removed from the scene, they had no reason to be prejudiced against him. There was no official communication concerning him, and the reports which reached them were mere rumours.⁴

¹ Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 295-297.

² Olshausen *on the Gospels and the Acts*, vol. iv. p. 505.

³ Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 516, 517.

⁴ According to Stier and others, the Roman Jews here show a want of candour, and utter a falsehood (Stier's *Words of the Apostles*, p. 510).

Ver. 22. *Περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς αἰρέσεως ταύτης*, etc.—for concerning this sect we know that it is everywhere spoken against.¹ Baur and Zeller object to this statement of the Jews, that it represents their knowledge of Christianity as proceeding entirely from hearsay, whereas there was at this time in Rome a large and flourishing church. “We know,” observes Zeller, “from the Epistle to the Romans, that some years before this a very considerable Christian church existed in Rome,—a church whose faith was spoken of throughout the whole world (Rom. i. 8). We learn also from the same document, that several of its members were Jewish Christians, and that it had in it a considerable Judaizing element, from which it is evident that it could not have existed without a connection with the Roman Jews. How, then, is it possible that of such a church nothing further should be known by the chief of the Jews, than that their doctrine was everywhere spoken against?”² Different answers have been given to this objection. Olshausen thinks that, since the expulsion of the Jews by Claudius, both Jews and Christians alike maintained a designed separation, and thus gradually lost their acquaintance with one another. Neander observes: “If we consider the immense size of the metropolis, and the vast confluence of human beings it contained, and if to this we add that the main body of that church consisted of Gentiles, and that those wealthy Jews busied themselves far more about other objects than the concerns of religion, it is not inconceivable that they knew little or nothing of the Christian church which existed in the same city with themselves.”³ Some (Schneckenburger, Tholuck) think that the Jews dissimulated, and purposely concealed their better acquaintance with Christianity; others (Philippi, Hackett, Humphry), that since their expulsion by Claudius the situation of the Jews at Rome was insecure, and that as it is probable from the statement of Suetonius they had been

¹ For the hostility of the Jews to Christianity, see note to Acts xiv. 2.

² Zeller's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 293, 294; Baur's *Apostel Paulus*, vol. i. p. 363.

³ Neander's *Planting*, vol. i. p. 311.

expelled on account of their dissensions about Christianity, they were extremely guarded in their statements, for fear of again bringing themselves into trouble;¹ and others (Meyer, Lechler), that there was an intentional reserve, partly from caution toward the Roman authorities, and partly in order that Paul might explain himself freely and unreservedly.² But we do not see that the statement of the Jews requires any apology. With full knowledge of the existence of a Christian church among them, they might with perfect truthfulness express themselves as they do: "Concerning this sect, we know that it is everywhere spoken against."

Ver. 23. *Πλείονες*—*more*; that is, more than were with him on the former occasion. *Διαμαρτυρόμενος τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*testifying the kingdom of God*; that is, the Messianic kingdom. The apostle insisted on the spiritual nature of this kingdom, in opposition to the common Jewish notion of a temporal kingdom. *Πείθων*—*persuading*; not "teaching" (Kuinoel), but arguing, reasoning with them. *Περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*—*concerning Jesus*; maintaining from the predictions concerning the Messiah in the law of Moses and in the prophets, that Jesus was the Messiah. Thus, then, the apostle insisted on these two points: that the Messianic kingdom was spiritual, and that Jesus was the Messiah.

Ver. 24. *Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπείθοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστουν*—*And some were persuaded by what was spoken, and others believed not*. The result of Paul's reasoning with the Jews was various: some were convinced, and embraced Christianity; others remained in unbelief. It would appear from the words which follow, that the majority of the meeting did not believe.

Ver. 25. *Ἀσύμφωνοι δὲ ὄντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους*—*and as they agreed not among themselves*. From this it would appear that the believing and unbelieving Jews disputed among themselves: the gospel was the cause of dissension. "The malice and wickedness of unbelievers," observes Calvin, "is the cause that Christ, who is our peace, and the only bond of

¹ Humphry on the Acts, p. 216; Hackett on the Acts, p. 458.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 518.

holy union, becomes the occasion of dissension among those who were friends before. For when these Jews came together to hear Paul, they were all of one mind, and all professed that they embraced the law of Moses. But so soon as they hear the doctrine of reconciliation, a dissension arises among them, so that they are divided. And yet we must not think that the preaching of the gospel is the cause of discord, but that enmity which before lay hid in their wicked hearts does then break out; as the brightness of the sun does not create new colours, but shows the difference which in the darkness was not discernible.”¹ *Εἰπόντος τοῦ Παύλου ῥῆμα ἓν—Paul, having said to them one word.* Just as they were in the act of departing, Paul addressed to them an important remark. “*Ἐν—one.* An additional observation after so much discourse, and that a saying of great moment. Of course the apostle did not apply the passage from the prophecies of Isaiah to all, but only to those who rejected the gospel.

Vers. 26, 27. The prediction contained in these verses is a quotation from Isa. vi. 9, 10; and the words almost exactly agree with those in the Septuagint. It is quoted oftener than any other passage from the Old Testament, being found in the New Testament no less than six times (Matt. xiii. 14; Mark iv. 12; Luke viii. 10; John xii. 40; Rom. xi. 8; and here, Acts xxviii. 26, 27). The original meaning of the prediction is obvious. It is contained in a passage wherein Isaiah receives his divine commission to be a prophet in Israel. He is told that the effect of his preaching on the great mass of the people would not be to convert, but to blind and harden them; that they would obstinately harden themselves against his declarations. The words themselves require no explanation. The passage received its Messianic fulfilment in the impenitence of the Jews, and in their opposition to the gospel. The only effect which Christianity had upon the great mass of the nation was to harden them.

Ver. 28. *Ὅν—therefore*; because ye are hardened and irreclaimable. Not, however, that the preaching of the gospel to the Gentiles depended on its rejection by the

¹ Calvin, *in loco*.

Jews. *Τοῦτο τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*this salvation of God*: not merely the Christian doctrine (Kuincel, Grotius), but this Messianic salvation announced in the above prediction (Meyer). *Αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀκούσονται*—*and they shall hear it*: thus predicting the success of the gospel among the Gentiles. And this was in general the result of the apostles' preaching: the Gentiles were convinced, whilst the Jews remained in unbelief.

Ver. 30. *Ἐνέμεινεν δὲ διετίαν ὄλην*—*but he remained for two whole years*. Böttger supposes that Paul was a prisoner only for a few days after his arrival at Rome; that then he obtained his liberty, and lived for these two years in absolute freedom.¹ But this is not borne out by the narrative. We read, indeed, that he received all who came to him; but we do not read that he had liberty to visit the synagogues or the Christian assemblies. And the very expression with which Luke concludes his narrative, that he preached the word with all boldness and without molestation, implies that it was something remarkable, which it would not have been were the apostle at perfect liberty. Besides, in the epistles which Paul wrote at this time, he makes mention of his bonds in Christ (Phil. i. 13, 16); thus showing that he was still in custody. These two years' imprisonment at Rome remind us of his two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea. On both occasions Paul was treated with mildness; but it appears that greater freedom was granted him at Rome than at Cæsarea. At Cæsarea he was confined in the Prætorium, and was only permitted to receive the visits of his friends; whereas at Rome he dwelt in his own hired house, and received all who came to him. We read nothing of his preaching the gospel at Cæsarea, and no epistles written during that imprisonment have come down to us; whereas at Rome he was allowed to preach without molestation, and to correspond with the churches which he had planted.

We are not to wonder at the delay of the trial, when we consider the forms and procrastinating nature of the

¹ Böttger, *Beiträge zur historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die paulinischen Briefe*.

Roman law. It was requisite that Paul's accusers should appear in person: the witnesses against him had also to be summoned from Jerusalem; and, as Howson observes, perhaps another cause of delay may have arisen from the official notice of the case by Festus having been lost in the shipwreck, so that another had to be procured. Many of the emperors also were noted for their procrastinating habits. Thus Josephus, in speaking of the imprisonment of Herod Agrippa I., says that Tiberius, according to his usual custom, kept him in bonds, being a delayer of affairs, if ever there was a king or tyrant that was so (*Ant.* xviii. 6. 5).

Ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι—*in his own hired house*. Many critics (Meyer, Wieseler, Hackett, Howson) consider that there is a difference between *εἰς τὴν ξενίαν*, to which the Jews came by appointment (ver. 23), and *ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι*, where Paul dwelt for two years. According to them, the former implies the temporary residence of a guest with friends, whereas the latter is a hired lodging which Paul took for a permanent residence. The Christians at Rome, and the contributions which he received from the Philippian (Phil. iv. 10–14) and other churches, would support the apostle in his imprisonment. Perhaps also, although a prisoner, he was not prevented from working with his own hands, as he formerly did at Corinth and Ephesus.

Ver. 31. *Κηρύσσω τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ Θεοῦ*—*preaching the kingdom of God, and teaching the things concerning the Lord Jesus Christ. Tam vivâ voce præsentibus, quam per literas absentibus* (Kuinoël). Paul's chief employment at Rome was preaching the gospel. His liberty was, indeed, in some measure restricted. He could not go where he would. He could not, as in other cities, teach in the synagogues of the Jews. He had to confine himself to his own house. But, on the other hand, he was under the protection of the Roman government, and met with no molestation either from the unbelieving Jews or from the ignorant multitude. And from his epistles we learn that his preaching was successful, and that the gospel of Christ penetrated even into the Prætorium of Cæsar. It was also during these

two years that he wrote several of his immortal epistles. Critics are in general agreed that it was during this imprisonment that the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon were written. 'Ακωλύτως — *without hindrance*. With this word closes the Acts of the Apostles, thus shadowing forth the final victory of the gospel. *Victoria verbi Dei. Paulus Romæ, apex evangelii, Actorum finis: quæ Lucus alioqui facile potuisset ad exitum Pauli perducere. Hierosolymis cæpit, Romæ desinit* (Bengel).

Thus Luke concludes his history with the two years' imprisonment of Paul at Rome. We are not informed, as some might expect, and all would desire, what occurred after the lapse of these two years; whether Paul then suffered martyrdom, or whether he was released from his imprisonment, or whether his condition remained unchanged. Some, indeed (Wieseler, Lekebusch), assert that the words *ἔμεινε δὲ διετίαν ἄλλην ἐν ἰδίῳ μισθώματι*, with which Luke concludes his account of Paul, necessarily imply that at the end of the two years some important change took place in the situation of the apostle—either his release or his martyrdom; for if his situation remained unchanged, Luke would have used either the present or the perfect tense.¹ But the force of this observation is by no means apparent. Luke might well employ the historical tense in describing a situation which still continued. And yet we are not to infer that the conclusion of the work is abrupt: for, as Meyer well observes, the two last verses are linguistically sonorous and rounded, and form a suitable conclusion; indeed, a conclusion similar to that with which the author ends his Gospel (Luke xxiv. 52, 53).² A great variety of opinions have been formed to account for the reason why Luke concludes his work as he does, without giving us information concerning the fate of the apostle. Schleiermacher supposes that he was prevented finishing the work, and Schott thinks that the conclusion is lost; but both explanations are contradicted by the concluding words of the historian. Others suppose

¹ Lekebusch's *Apostelgeschichte*, pp. 415, 416.

² Meyer's *Apostelgeschichte*, p. 520.

that the author had exhausted the documents from which he drew his history. One of the most common opinions is, that after his second treatise Luke intended to write a third, but was prevented doing so perhaps by his death: so approximately Heinrichs, Credner, Ewald, Estius, Meyer. Hug supposes that Luke did not mention the fate of Paul, because it was already known to Theophilus, for whose use he wrote this history. Alford and Schaff think that the narrative was carried up to the time that Luke wrote; that then no considerable change in the circumstances of the apostle took place; and that, consequently, he had nothing further to relate. The most probable opinion is, that Luke had accomplished the purpose which he intended in the composition of the work. It must ever be remembered that the Acts of the Apostles is not a biography of Paul, and therefore, however interesting his fate might be to us, it formed no part of the design of the author. What Luke intended, was to give an account of the progress of Christianity. He commences with its rise at Jerusalem, and concludes with its reception at Rome; and having arrived at this point, he seems to have felt that his work was accomplished; and thus, with an emphatic and artistically formed sentence, he concludes his history. So approximately Hilgenfeld, Baumgarten, De Wette, Lekebusch, Alexander, Wordsworth.

ON PAUL'S SECOND ROMAN IMPRISONMENT.

It is a question much discussed, whether Paul was released after his two years' imprisonment at Rome. Some hold that, after the lapse of two years, Paul was tried and acquitted; that he then left Rome, and for several years preached the gospel in Macedonia, Achaia, Crete, proconsular Asia, and perhaps accomplished his intended journey to Spain (Rom. xv. 24); that he was again arrested and imprisoned for the second time at Rome, and there suffered martyrdom. Others, again, hold that Paul was never released from his imprison-

ment, but that it terminated with his martyrdom. The belief of two Roman imprisonments was almost universal among the Fathers and ancient commentators; modern critics are much divided in their opinions. Baronius, Hug, Mosheim, Schott, Credner, Guericke, Gieseler, Neudecker, Neander, Olshausen, Lange, Bunsen; and of English divines, Usher, Pearson, Lardner, Paley, Alford, Humphry, Lewin, and Howson; and Hackett of America—are among those who maintain that there are two imprisonments; whereas on the other side of the question are to be named Petavius, Schrader, Schmidt, Hemsén, Eichhorn, Winer, De Wette, Baur, Zeller, Wieseler, Schaff, Thiersch, Renan, and among English divines, Davidson.

The arguments in favour of a second Roman imprisonment may be arranged under two heads—the argument derived from the tradition of the church, and the argument derived from certain allusions in the pastoral epistles.

Clemens Romanus, a disciple of Paul, asserts that Paul preached the gospel in the East and in the West, that he taught the whole world righteousness, that he came to the extremity of the West, and bore witness before the rulers (Clem. Rom. i. ch. v.): the expression “the extremity of the West” (τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως) is, in a letter from Rome, supposed to denote Spain. In the Muratorian Canon, written about A.D. 180, we have the following statement: “Luke relates to Theophilus the events of which he was an eye-witness, as also in a separate place he evidently declares the martyrdom of Peter (viz. in Luke xxii. 31–33), but (omits) the journey from Rome to Spain.”¹ Eusebius informs us that “Paul, after pleading his cause, is said to have again gone forth to preach the gospel, and afterwards came to Rome a second time, where he finished his life with martyrdom” (*Hist. Eccl.* ii. 22). Chrysostom says, “Paul,

¹ The words of this fragment are: *Lucus optime Theophilo conprindit (comprehendit) quia (quæ) sub præsentia ejus singula gerebantur, sicuti et semote passionem Petri evidenter declarat, sed projectionem Pauli ab urbe ad Spaniam proficiscentis.* To make sense of them, *omittit* has to be supplied. See Westcott on the Canon, pp. 466–473.

after a residence in Rome, departed for Spain;" and Jerome tells us that "Paul was dismissed by Nero, that he might preach the gospel in the West."¹

To these testimonies, however, it is replied that the words of Irenæus are declamatory, and that the expression "the extremity of the West" does not necessarily denote Spain; that the statement found in the Muratorian Canon is corrupt in the text, and ambiguous in its meaning; that Eusebius mentions the release of Paul from imprisonment, not as his own opinion, but as a tradition (*λόγος ἔχει*); and that Chrysostom and Jerome lived at too distant a period from the event to be received as authorities. The tradition that Paul preached in Spain is supposed to have had its origin from Rom. xv. 24, where the apostle expresses his intention of visiting that country; and certainly those who hold the hypothesis of a second imprisonment find a difficulty in introducing a visit to Spain in the apostle's journey (see below). Upon the whole, we think that the argument from tradition is by no means conclusive, and that if this were all that could be said in favour of a second imprisonment, this hypothesis could not be maintained.

When, however, we turn to the pastoral epistles, the case is altered. We do not, indeed, place much weight upon certain expressions in Paul's epistles, written during his two years' imprisonment, in which he expresses his expectation of being restored to liberty; as when he writes to the Philippians, that he trusts in the Lord that he would come shortly to them (Phil. ii. 24), and asks Philemon to prepare for him a lodging (Philem. 22); because circumstances might have altered, and these expectations might have been disappointed. But it is different with the three pastoral epistles (1st and 2d Timothy, and Titus); for in them journeys are mentioned which do not fit in or correspond with any of the missionary journeys recorded in the Acts, and which can only be accounted for by the supposition that Paul was released from

¹ Conybeare and Howson's *St. Paul*, vol. ii. pp. 537, 538; Alford's *New Testament*, vol. iii. pp. 92, 93; Schaff's *Apostolic Church*, vol. i. pp. 397-401.

his imprisonment, and again visited the East. Thus, in the first Epistle to Timothy he says: "I besought thee to abide still at Ephesus when I went into Macedonia" (1 Tim. i. 3). In the second Epistle he speaks of having left Trophimus at Miletum sick (2 Tim. iv. 20). And in the Epistle to Titus mention is made of a visit which he had paid to Crete, and of his intention to winter at Nicopolis (Tit. i. 5, iii. 12). All attempts to make these allusions agree with the narrative of Paul's journeys in the Acts have signally failed. The only plausible hypothesis is that of Wieseler, supported with great ingenuity. He supposes a journey of Paul, omitted in the Acts, during his three years' residence at Ephesus. According to his view, Paul, after labouring for two years at Ephesus, departed from it on a journey of visitation, first to Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3), and then to Corinth, and returned to Ephesus by Crete, where he left Titus (Tit. i. 5); and he supposes that it was after his final departure from Ephesus, as mentioned in Acts xx. 1, that he proposed spending the winter in Nicopolis, a city of Epirus (Tit. iii. 12), in the province of Achaia (Acts xx. 3), where Titus was to join him. Wieseler further supposes that the first Epistle to Timothy was written during the course of his journey, the Epistle to Titus on his return to Ephesus, and the second Epistle to Timothy at the close of his imprisonment.¹ But this hypothesis does not agree with the nature and character of the epistles. From the peculiarity of thought and diction, they were evidently composed about the same period; and they treat of heresies which must have arisen at a later period of Paul's ministry:² not to mention the improbability of so long a journey occurring during the apostle's residence at Ephesus, which would militate against his assertion to the elders of Ephesus, that for the space of three years he had not ceased to warn every one (Acts xx. 31). The statement that Paul left Trophimus at Miletum sick (2 Tim. iv. 20), can only be made to correspond with the narrative of the Acts by a most arbitrary supposition. When Paul was at Miletum, Trophi-

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie*, pp. 347-354.

² See Renan's *Saint Paul*, p. xxvii.

mus was with him (Acts xx. 4, 15); but so far from being left behind, he accompanied the apostle to Jerusalem, and was the innocent occasion of his imprisonment. Wieseler accordingly supposes that Trophimus sailed with the apostle for Rome, in order as a witness to testify to his innocence, but left at Myra, with the understanding that he should proceed in the Adramyttian vessel to Miletum.¹

Those who adopt the hypothesis of only one imprisonment, have no positive arguments to produce. They rest their opinion merely on the negative ground, that the theory of two imprisonments has not been proved. There is one passage of Scripture, indeed, which appears to favour their views—that in which Paul, in his address to the Ephesian elders, states his conviction (*οἶδα*) that he would see their face no more (Acts xx. 25); whereas, according to the hypothesis of a second imprisonment, he must again have visited Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3).² (See note to Acts xx. 25.) But the argument tells two ways: in his Epistle to the Philippians Paul uses the same word (*οἶδα*) to denote his confidence that he would again visit Philippi (Phil. i. 25), and consequently be released from his imprisonment. Either in the one case or in the other the apostle was mistaken in his confidence: if he was released from his imprisonment, he was mistaken when he said to the Ephesian elders that he should see their faces no more; if he was not released, he was mistaken when he wrote to the Philippians that he would come and see them again.³

¹ Wieseler's *Chronologie*, pp. 466, 467.

² Another objection against the hypothesis of a second imprisonment is drawn from the fact that Timothy is spoken of in the pastoral epistles as a young man (1 Tim. iv. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 22). If Paul was released from his Roman imprisonment, and the two epistles to Timothy were written some years after (A.D. 67), it must have been sixteen years since Timothy first joined the apostle (A.D. 51); so that Timothy would at least be thirty-four. But granting this, he may well have been called young, considering the important office which he was to occupy, and the high authority entrusted to him.

³ This question is discussed at great length by Alford in his *Greek Testament*, vol. iii., Prolegomena, pp. 87-97; by Conybeare and Howson in their *Life of St. Paul*, vol. ii., Appendix ii., in support of the hypo-

The arguments in favour of two imprisonments certainly preponderate. The rest of the life of the great apostle, however, is involved in uncertainty. If released from imprisonment, it must have been before the summer of the year 64, when the great persecution of the Christians in the reign of Nero, occasioned by the conflagration of Rome, occurred; and after his release, Paul visited again provincial Asia, Macedonia, and Achaia, went into Crete, where he left Titus, and proposed spending a winter at Nicopolis in Epirus.¹ His visit to Spain is more doubtful, as it rests not on Scripture, but on tradition. Afterwards he was again arrested, in all probability by the Romans, as a leader of the now proscribed sect of the Christians, who had been accused of setting fire to Rome. There is nothing improbable in Howson's conjecture, that this arrest was by the magistrates of Nicopolis, then a Roman city. Paul was brought a second time to Rome, probably in the year 67 or 68, and there suffered martyrdom by being beheaded, his privilege of Roman citizenship saving him from crucifixion. "Paul," says Eusebius, "is said to have been beheaded at Rome, and Peter to have been crucified, under Nero. This account is confirmed by the fact that the names of Peter and Paul still remain in the cemeteries of that city, even to this day" (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 25). And Jerome informs us that Paul was beheaded in the fourteenth year of Nero (A.D. 68), on the road to Ostia (*Hieron. Cat. Script.*). Thus in all probability died the most illustrious of Christian missionaries, the prince of the apostles, the noblest of the noble army of martyrs.

thesis of two imprisonments. And on the other side of the question, by Wieseler in his *Chronologie des apostolischen Zeitalters*, pp. 286-315; by Schaff in his *History of the Apostolic Church*, vol. i. pp. 384-401; and by Davidson in his *Introduction to the New Testament*. In his new edition, Dr. Davidson avoids the difficulty by denying the authenticity of the pastoral epistles.

¹ Howson supposes that five years intervened between Paul's first and second imprisonments.

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