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*ST. PAUL IN ATHENS.*

THE episode, St. Paul in Athens, marks an epoch in the history of the human race a correct appreciation of which is of equal value to the philologist, the historian, and the theologian. I, for my part, am endeavouring to contribute to this as I fix my attention first of all upon the external circumstances of the narrative as related in Acts xvii. To this investigation I am the more inclined, and to a certain extent committed, as in my *History of the City of Athens* (p. 262) I put forward a view which differs in important points from the traditional conception, and which, I cannot fail to recognize, contains what at first sight will seem strange. For a like reason do the evangelical ministers in Athens still lead the members of their communities to the rocky hill of the Areopagus, endeavouring to realize the more vividly the Apostle's words on the spot where they are supposed to have been uttered.

I am convinced that whoever, unbiassed by any theory, will allow himself to be influenced by the account given in the Acts, he will find it impossible to escape the impression that the incident has been depicted by a well-informed and trustworthy witness. Such an abundance of historical material is contained in the sixteen verses of the text, there is in it all such a depth of meaning and such an individuality, it is so full of life and so characteristic! There is no mere empty formal verbiage and stereotyped conformity to model as would be the case were one relating a fabricated tale. It is also impossible to establish any "purpose" in the story which could lend any probability to a designed invention. In order rightly to understand the account we must be familiar with Athenian life.

The market-place of Athens was for the world a stage whereon every new learning had to undergo its test. Athens

was pre-eminently that city where discourses upon higher truth could be certain of engaging the general interest. Therefore St. Paul acted here just like Socrates, entering day by day into conversation with those who met him in the street (ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν πρὸς τοὺς παρατυγχάνοντας [διελέγετο]). So the report of a διδαχὴ καινὴ of a quite peculiar kind was spread abroad. The market became filled with a public disposed to listen, both residents and strangers; and the philosophers, who here were spokesmen; were invited to measure themselves with the casual teacher of wisdom. To allay their curiosity they induce St. Paul to discourse at greater length, and endeavour to give to the expected speech a higher consequence by causing the magistrates of the city to take part in it (ἤγαγον ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον).<sup>1</sup> This cannot mean that they led him to a rocky hill situated at a distance from the market, for the market has ever remained the place where business is transacted and the public of the market always remained the same, neither was any one to be found upon the bare top of the rock. There the criminal judges assembled only on appointed days of the month to pronounce sentence in solemn session under the open sky. The office of the archon-king, where law-suits were instituted, was down below in the market in the King's Hall. It is here that Euthyphro, in the introduction to Plato's *Dialogue*, presents himself to apply for an indictment for murder; it is here that he meets

<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ c. accus. is the proper expression to signify a going or leading when to a public board of magistrates; so in Herod. iii. 156: ἤγον δὴ μὲν οἱ πυλοποῖ ἐπὶ τὰ κωμό: and iii. 46, καταστάντες (in the sense of *deducti* or *producti*) ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας. Likewise viii. 79, στὰς ἐπὶ τὸ συνέδριον. Where there is no conception of movement ἐπὶ c. gen. in sense of *coram* takes its place; ἐπὶ ματῶρων, ἐπὶ βασιλέως, ἐπὶ Θεῶν. In the case of the Areopagus a misunderstanding could arise through the habit of using from ancient times, instead of the complete title ἡ βουλὴ ἢ ἐξ Ἄρειου πάγου, the name of the place for that of the assembly which held diet there.

Socrates, who has been indicted for crimes against religion and ancestral custom. For cases coming under the jurisdiction of the Areopagus an especially close preliminary investigation took place, and it is probable that in olden times the King's Hall was used for this preliminary investigation, the Areopagites taking part in it.<sup>1</sup> It is certain that in the Roman time the court of Areopagus had a place for business in the market.

At that time the Areopagus was entrusted with various powers to provide for order and good behaviour in a city which was always in a state of agitation. It was the supreme police authority, as we can infer from its powers in the matter of buildings and statues, and it is very probable that a committee of the Areopagus, sitting in the market hall, was also entrusted with a superintendence over the market traffic in order to take steps against unlawful and turbulent movements.

This much is clear, that in Acts there can be no reference to the sacred place of meeting on the rocky hill. It is no lawsuit, no indictment, that is taking place. It was merely the philosophers' mode of giving a more emphatic expression to their curiosity. They had then no ground for leading St. Paul away from the market hall to the exposed height which was the most unsuitable place imaginable for assemblies and speeches. The Agora, on the contrary, where the philosophers daily carried on their intercourse, was well suited to speaking and hearing. It was a large space surrounded with pillars, in which religious and political assemblies were held, and was separated from the space in front which lay to the north, the market-place proper, where the

<sup>1</sup> The place of the *προδικασταί* is nowhere stated. According to Schömann, *Gr. Antiq.*, i. p. 496, and Philippi, *Areop.* p. 85 ff., they took place on the Areopagus. For such legal preliminary inquiries the sacred place of assembly, according to my view, was unsuited.

money changers' tables, the stalls and shops, lay close together, and where the most restless activity prevailed (*History of Athens*, p. 172 f.). In front of the Stoa Basilike stood the seats of the Areopagites, who were installed there as an executive committee. If they sat in a semi-circle, St. Paul could stand ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου, and yet be intelligible across the market-place to the crowd which pressed together in a motley ring in front of the Stoa.

The Areopagites are not the most important persons in the scene, but the citizens and the strangers present. St. Paul is addressing the Athenians and not the Areopagites. It is a popular address, and not a speech to a court, and it is only because he could not help supposing that malevolent listeners would gladly have laid a trap for him, accusing him of proclaiming new gods, that he makes the ingenious application of the altar to the unknown god. As the assembly had only come together casually, so also it breaks up in an informal manner. At the word ἀνάστασις all becomes noise and confusion.

As regards the history of religion Athens was a place perfectly unique. On the one hand it was the home of the cult of the most high deity, not honoured by any image, (Ζεὺς ὑψίστος) to which the Athenians always remained faithful. The simple holydays of the highest deity of heaven remained the most venerable popular feasts. On the other hand, the city was the most brilliant reflection of the polytheistic world because every form of divine worship was here fostered with especial piety, and from ancient times the supreme intention was to make Athens a central point where every Hellene should feel at home. We learn from inscriptions how in the time of Lycurgus even non-Greek institutions were favoured (*Hist.*, p. 218). In Hellenistic times, owing to the active relations with eastern princes, foreign worships were introduced in considerable numbers. The religious

fidelity of the Athenians, their *εὐσέβεια*, degenerated into a superstitious terror of the gods, a *δεισιδαιμονία*. It was feared that the deities who were overlooked by them would make them atone for it. Therefore Athens was, more than all other Greek cities, inundated with idols, a *πόλις κατειδωλος*, a word not occurring elsewhere. Athens formed a contrast to cities like Ephesus, where the old native worship of Zeus, the dispenser of blessings, was extinguished in the oriental pantheism of the worship of Artemis, and at the same time this had darkened all other forms of worship. Athens was the place where the religious history of heathendom was most clearly portrayed on Greek soil. In the midst of the bewildering throng of idols St. Paul could find a point of contact [for his new doctrine] in the fundamental feature of the monotheistic view of the Deity, which here had never been extinguished, the faith in an unconditioned Supreme Being, the *πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε* whose image reposed indelibly in the depth of the soul, with whom men felt themselves united as participators in His nature and as belonging to one family. As St. Paul, expressing the inmost thought of the Greeks, says, He is the First Cause of all life, *ἐν ᾧ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμεν*: not, however, an inconceivable, pantheistic existence, but a personal God, near to each individual, *οὐ μακρὰν ἀπὸ ἐνός ἐκάστου*, who may be recognized and found of him who seeks Him. The original connexion with God is dimmed and relaxed; men withdraw and become estranged from the life that is in God (*ἀπαλλοτριούνται τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, Ephes. iv. 18). The consciousness of God is being darkened under the misleading influence of the service of idols which is penetrating into the country. The truth which was contained in the original worship at the altar of the God of heaven is being renounced—that is the *μετάλλαξις τῆς ἀληθείας τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν τῷ ψεύδει*

(Rom. i. 26)—and the increasing separation from God is shown in the neglect of the divinely appointed ordinances of nature, and the springing up of unnatural vices (*χρῆσις ἢ παρὰ φύσιν*) to the dishonour of the body which God had created. But God has withdrawn Himself from rebellious men and allowed them to wander in their own ways (*παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἀκαθαρσίαν*).

What is here given is sufficient to show how far the Apostle's thoughts travelled beyond the educational limits of his own nation. He recognizes how God has also been guiding the Gentiles to whom he imparted no other revelation than that contained in Nature and the requirements of the human consciousness. Moreover he endeavours to comprehend from the historical side the religious life of the heathen world. These are points of view which could only occur to the mind of one who was familiar with Hellenic modes of thought.

After gaining this conviction I could not withstand the inducement to follow up from the philological standpoint the traces of these Greek modes of thought in the Pauline writings, and I put together concisely what I observed without claiming any systematic treatment or exhaustive completeness.

I begin with the Pauline description of Christian moral life. It is here that I have most distinctly perceived the influence of the Greek way of looking at life. It is in the Epistle to the Philippians, to whom he pours out his heart in the warmest manner, chap. iv. 8: *ὅσα ἀληθῆ, ὅσα σεμνά, ὅσα δίκαια, ὅσα ἀγνά, ὅσα προσφιλή, ὅσα εὐφήμα, εἴ τις ἀρετὴ καὶ εἴ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογιζέσθε*. The words stream from his lips to meet a prejudice that the Christian faith demanded a one-sided contraction of the natural disposition and injured the free evolution of intel-

lectual life. Like a healthy tree, it should grow to full bloom. Everything that is good in humanity should be the goal of our exertions. The inner connexion with Greek ethics is most clearly expressed in the word *εὐφημα*, which in the New Testament occurs in this passage alone, and which, in an expression which cannot be adequately translated, signifies the delicacy which guards the lips, that nothing may be expressed in public worship that could disturb devotion or give rise to scandal.

Near akin to what pertains to the grace of Hellenic life is the Apostle's warning not to indulge their own humour in their daily discourse, but that it should be wisely weighed, and should be seasoned with salt like a well-prepared dish, in order to gladden their neighbours (Col. iv. 6: *ὁ λόγος ὑμῶν πάντοτε ἐν χάριτι, ἅλατι ἠρτυμένος*). So the Attic salt is introduced into Christian ethics, and so too is the popular form of greeting among the Greeks adopted. The old formula receives, in the form *χαίρειν ἐν Κυρίῳ*, a new meaning—is consecrated to a new purpose. It was imparted by St. Paul to the new communities not merely as a casual salutation, but as a fixed motto for their whole life; *χαίρετε ἐν Κυρίῳ πάντοτε, πάλιν ἐρῶ, χαίρετε* (Phil. iv. 4).

To these echoes of Greek manners I join another word which is far from being confined to Pauline usage, *εὐαγγέλιον*, and which seems to me to be derived in like manner from the popular views held by the Greeks. It was a genuine Greek trait to assign special importance to the first announcement of a fortunate discovery, a victory, a conclusion of peace. The shepherd, Pixodarus, who happened to discover the stone quarries at Ephesus, received the eponym "Euangelos" (Vitruv. x. 7). Hermes himself bore this name. A priestly caste among the Milesians was called "Eungelidæ" (*Conon. Narr.* 44). In Attic dedicatory inscriptions we see messengers of good tidings



represented with galloping chargers. It was in the Greek sense, therefore, that St. Paul said (Rom. xv. 19 f.) that he had his "glorying" in this, that he first had brought to Europe the joyous message of Him who had become the salvation of mankind. He added, in order to obviate any misconstruction, that it was no ostentatious forwardness on his part (*καυχήσις*), but that he had no alternative—that it was a divine *ἀνάγκη*. Cp. Aristophanes, *Knights*, 643 : *λόγους ἀγαθοὺς φέρων εὐαγγελίσασθαι πρῶτος ὑμῖν βούλομαι*. The term *συνείδησις*, so important in Pauline theology, in the sense of consciousness of sin, was familiar to the ancients. We also find *πίστις*, in the sense of fidelity, near *ἀρετή* and *σοφία* presented in the relief which contains the Apotheosis of Homer.

Finally, I point to how living an idea in St. Paul is that of proportion, so characteristic of the Greeks. According to the idea of organism which Aristotle perfected, he sees the members of the body bound to mutual service, *ἐν μέτρῳ ἐνδὸς ἐκάστου μέρους*. Proportion prevails also in the spiritual world, and the old *μηδὲν ἄγαν* is expressed by the Apostle in the form that God forbids him to exceed proportion in his words (*οὐκ εἰς τὰ ἄμετρα, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τοῦ κανόνος, οὗ ἐμέρισεν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς μέτρον*, 2 Cor. x. 13).

From these conceptions, which obtained a value in the natural character of the ancients, and now, like gold pieces out of the treasure of Greek ethics, were put again into circulation at a new valuation, are distinguished the ideas which essentially dominated and shaped the historical life of the ancients,—above all, the idea of the State as the Society in which alone human faculties could develop according to nature. Whereas in the Gospels the pictures borrowed from human life are principally connected with the occupations of agriculture, cattle breeding, and fishing,

we find in St. Paul a new conception of life. He cannot imagine the cultivated man not forming part of a State; the course of life and citizenship are to him synonymous. Nothing shows that more clearly than the sentence with which he begins his defence before the Sanhedrim; *ἐγὼ πάσῃ συνειδήσει ἀγαθῇ πεπολίτευμαι τῷ Θεῷ*. God is the Lawgiver. "As a citizen of the City of God, I have without blame discharged my obligation." In conformity with the Greek point of view, he conceives his human duties as the duties of a citizen; and when he cites *φόβος* and *ἀγάπη* as the sources of genuine civic duty, this corresponds to the teaching of Aristotle that veneration for the laws must find its complement in the *φιλία* between the citizens.

With the conception of a State and citizenship are connected the legal institutions which derive their validity from the State. There are here two special forms of civic order which are of importance in Pauline doctrine. The first is *διαθήκη*, a word employed by St. Paul, in conformity with classical usage, in two senses—a testamentary disposition and a covenant; while Luther only introduced the word in its first sense. The other term, which belongs to the laws regulating family procedure, is Adoption, the religious realization of which the Apostle has very much at heart. What in ordinary language is expressed by God giving men a filial spirit towards Himself is defined in legal language as a Divine contrivance for uniting again with Himself, by the process of adoption, mankind which had fallen away. It is as when life is restored to a desolate house and a new posterity is obtained. This legal conception is applied by St. Paul in a threefold sense. It is transferred to the election of Israel (Rom. ix. 4), to the relation of the Christian Church to God (Rom. viii. 15), and lastly to the glorified condition of the children of God in

full enjoyment of the privileges of sonship which have been promised through the adoption—the crowning consequence of *προορίζειν εἰς υἰοθεσίαν*.

In contrast with the forms of worship in oriental heathendom, which had stiffened into sluggishness or degenerated into ecstatic fanaticism, nothing in popular Greek life was more characteristic than the union of athletic contests with the religious festivals. No author of the Hellenistic period has the contests of the games more clearly before his eyes than the Apostle. I draw attention only to the expressions *διώκειν τὴν δικαιοσύνην, στέφανος ἀπόκειται, βραβεῖον*. Even the rare *καταβραβεύειν* is not wanting. It forms a complete circle of thought in which he likes to move, and it is no mere accessory, but is in the closest connexion with the very essence of his doctrine of salvation. With a sure and intimate knowledge, and a rare intelligence, he knows how to turn cleverly to account all the details like the *ἐγκρατεύεσθαι* (1 Cor. ix. 25) of the athletes, in order to turn to account such points of view as could typify the Christian life. Expressions like *τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι* (Phil iii. 13) show us in the most vivid way the body of the runner stretched forward as he is nearing the goal, just as he was represented in the life-like bronze statues of the Olympic victors. Neither is an honourable love of fame disowned by the Apostle, as is shown by his repeated use of *φιλοτιμέομαι* and likewise *εἰ τις ἔπαινος* quoted above.

These ways of looking at things have their roots in classical times. On the contrary, all that has a military connexion belongs to an age of Hellenism, in which militarism had been developed, but which is felt to lie entirely outside the idea of a civil commonwealth. Mercenaries were quite a regular institution in Cilicia, and St. Paul knew how to gain from these circumstances amid which he had been brought up a meaning ready to hand for his mis-

sion. The warrior who is not engaged in the providing of means of sustenance, and looks only to the master in whose service he is, is a type of the Apostle's position and of that of his comrades (2 Tim. ii. 4), and, therefore, he calls Epaphroditus his fellow-soldier (*συστρατιώτης*).

From the profession of Art also there is no lack of intimation to show how St. Paul lived his life within the Greek world. The word *στῦλος*, which came more and more into use for *κίων* is used to designate men who are pillars of the community (Gal. ii. 9). *Τύπος*, the mould in which are cast figures in relief, betokens the settled form which the new doctrine had acquired (*τύπος διδαχῆς*, Rom. vi. 17), and at the same time the model that we should present in life, the *exemplum imitandum* (1 Cor. x. 6). In Athens St. Paul refers to the works of art in the precious metals and marble by one common expression—*χαράγματα τέχνης καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως*. By this expression he can mean nothing else than the thoughts which men put into their works ; apart from the technical side they are the source from which the works of art spring, and St. Paul uses the rare word to show how foolish it is to render divine honours to objects which have been produced in accordance with one's own fancy.

That St. Paul was no stranger to Greek science, we recognize from the fact that he characterizes the Greeks as a people in search of wisdom ; and of all the scientific work which Alexandria afforded, nothing must have had a greater charm for him, restless missionary as he was, than the information about countries and peoples that was collected and arranged there.

The sphere of operations of the Apostle of the Gentiles did not present itself to him as an unlimited world (*κόσμος*), but a world in the sense in which the Alexandrians interpreted *οἰκουμένη*. In this sense he speaks in Romans

x. 18 of the "ends of the world." It is the world which is inhabited by Greeks, then the Græco-Roman world of which the emperors were termed the masters and founders. Within this sphere Eratosthenes had compared together the three South European peninsulas as forming the most important portions of the ancient world. To them had St. Paul particularly directed his attention. Of these, he conceives the eastern as forming one whole, as did also Eratosthenes, and unites Macedonia with Achaia as one district for a common generosity towards the poor brethren in Jerusalem (Rom. xv. 26).

To contemplate the history of the nations from the point of view of their geographical situation, to which expression is given in the speech before the Athenians, is also agreeable to Eratosthenes, who brought geography and history into their proper connexion. While in the Old Testament the nations of the earth were only arranged on genealogical principles, here it is a matter of *ὁρθοθεσία* according to the genuine Greek conception. To every nation not only the time limits have been assigned within which it flourished, but also the space limits within which it should fulfil its historical vocation.

As regards the religious life of the Greeks, we have already seen how St. Paul was able to recognize in its purity the old Pelasgic worship which preceded the idol worship that had penetrated in its place, and how he was able to find in it a point of contact for his doctrine. He applies to himself one only, and that the simplest, of the forms of worship, the *σπονδή*, using the expression—twice in a noteworthy manner—*σπένδεσθαι* of the service of a Christian sacrificing himself in faithful submission to his God (Phil. ii. 17; 2 Tim. iv. 6).

The more, however, he opposes temple and statue worship, the more was he in sympathy with the view which

had been especially formed among the Athenians that the knowledge of the Deity was no concern of the general crowd, but of a select company, a narrower community, which guards the contemplation of the Divine as a secret entrusted to it. The mysteries went up in respect in the same degree as public worship had lost in value, and in the Alexandrian age the knowledge of God is called *μύστις τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐπιστήμης* (*Sap. Sal.* viii. 4). In the New Testament, expressions relating to mysteries are nowhere more frequent than in St. Paul. He employs *μυεῖν* (*initiare*) to express the development of his moral and religious consciousness (*Phil.* iv. 12), and he calls himself the bearer of divine secrets like an Eleusinian hierophant.

I should be inclined to believe that *τέλειος*, in the sense of the perfect man, is connected with *τέλη* (*τελετή*), and denotes the man who has accomplished all the steps of initiation.

There are many kinds of references to the philosophy of the ancients after it became an ethical philosophy.

When St. Paul gives warning of the false teachers of his time, an opposition becomes manifest very akin to that between the Socratic school and the Sophists: first of all outwardly in his not offering his teaching for sale, but of free love imparts the teaching of salvation in order to help mankind (*ἀδάπανον θήσω τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, *1 Cor.* ix. 18). Then he characterizes these false teachers as men who do not make men better. He marks with a Platonic expression the sophistical art of persuasion which busies itself with secondary matters and leads men astray (*ἐν πιθανολογία παραλογίζεσθαι*, *Col.* ii. 4). He lashes the false *παιδεία* which neglects the true aims of human education (*ἀπαιδευτοὶ ζητήσεις*, *2 Tim.* ii. 23). Compare such expressions as *μωραὶ ζητήσεις*, *βέβηλος κενοφωνία*, to denote the meaningless discourses of his opponents (*πάντοτε μανθάνοντες καὶ μηδέποτε εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας ἐλθεῖν δυνάμενοι*): ever

teaching and learning, they never come to the knowledge of the truth, and give men no sound food for spiritual life (*ὕγιαίνοντες λόγοι*).

The close union in St. Paul between knowledge and virtue is also truly Platonic. The darkening of the understanding is estrangement from God (*ἐσκοτωμένοι τῇ διανοίᾳ*, Eph. iv. 18). He defines as the aim of Christian life the *πληροφορία τῆς συνέσεε* (Col. ii. 2), and warns his people not to be rocked to and fro like young children by changing views.

Very Hellenic and Platonic is St. Paul's conception of freedom as the inalienable right of human nature, his defence against every constraint of literalism. Just as among the ancients the *ἀγραφα νόμιμα* were the holiest, so also should God's commandments not stand over against men as an external statute, but should be written in their hearts (*ὁ νόμος γραπτὸς ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις*, Rom. ii. 15), and he recognizes the evidence for the validity of the Divine commands in the fact that unspoiled men, by following the guidance of their conscience, recognize its truth, and, by a critical weighing of each side of the moral question, arrive at the same goal (*λογισμῶν κατηγορούντων ἢ καὶ ἀπολογουμένων*).

The devoted investigation of truth raises men above their natural relations. There arises from those who accept the teaching of Socrates a new stock which looks upon Socrates as their spiritual ancestor. Athenians, Bœotians, Eleans become *Σωκρατικοί*. So does St. Paul also call Timothy his son. As the Academicians withdrew from the city defiled by the death of Socrates and founded a new Society, so should Christians be a new family though in the midst of the old world (*ἄμωμοι μέσον γενεᾶς σκολιᾶς καὶ διεστραμμένης*, Phil. ii. 15).

As mankind since Socrates became looked upon as in

want of conversion and improvement, so also did Nature appear sunk and in decay ; and when St. Paul speaks of corruption (*φθορά*) which weighs like a heavy fatality on the creature, we are involuntarily reminded of Plato, who describes clearly in the fragment of his Critias how all Nature—mountains and islands, vegetation and springs, is in a diseased, stunted condition, and falls far short of its original efficiency.

The comparisons which I have pointed to in these reflections are not intended to lead to surprising or strange results. That cannot be my intention, as though new wine were being put into old bottles. But it is inconceivable that a language like Greek, the inheritance of the nation richest in culture, should have been used as the organ for conveying the new teaching without an abundance of ancient conceptions and views streaming into it. It remains one of the most important tasks of the history of moral culture to recognize the productive and stimulating elements which have passed from the old possession to the new. St. Paul did not learn Greek by study, as a missionary learns the language of the natives in order to acquire the bare power of making himself intelligible. He did not acquire the language for missionary purposes, but had grown up in the use of it. Formerly it was the custom to point out Cilician provincialisms in his writings. It was not the country, however, but the capital that formed the cradle of his education. Tarsus was the most esteemed seat of learning next to Alexandria. Tarsus had the advantage of being an old city on the frontier of Syria and Asia Minor, situated on sea and river, an ancient focus of oriental and western civilization. It was not an artificial city like Alexandria, where learning was artificially fostered in Court and State institutions, but Hellenism had been accepted by the native population. It was no meeting-



place where the different elements of the population which was drawn to the place continued to remain strangers. Strabo expressly brings into prominence the fact that the many celebrated Tarsians, of every branch of science and art, were natives of the place. Tarsus was the Athens of Asia Minor. As the geographer so enthusiastically recognizes, a general desire of learning animated the citizens, and served to blend harmoniously their different component parts. So also the Jewish inhabitants, who were naturally present in large numbers at this great universal market, could be here most easily Hellenized. And so much was Greek the general language of literature that St. Paul quotes the old Testament writings according to the Greek text.

If St. Paul's parents had already acquired the Roman citizenship, it becomes thereby evident how precisely this house had become intimately connected with the Græco-Roman world. He is the only Apostle who entered on the mission with a Roman name, and this name was not unusual in his home, as the historian Menander testifies: *Παῦλος ὁ Κίλιξ* (*Frag. Gr. Hist.*, iv. p.<sup>2</sup>245).

In this atmosphere did the Apostle grow up assimilating its influences with active mind. It was impossible to learn Greek speech without at the same time learning to think and feel as a Greek. We find in him a lively variety of style and an abundant supply of language, such as is not easily attained in the case of a language designedly acquired. Besides, he employs rare words, which must have been remote from daily use, and he shows the most delicate sense in the use of verbal forms. He knows how to stir the tenderest chords of our feelings. He is at home in conducting a train of reasoning and in that lively form of discussion that was acquired in the law courts. He has always poetical images at command as they become a

Pindar or an Æschylus. I recall only the bold picture in Colossians, where he calls the law a *σκιά τῶν μελλόντων*. The Person of the Saviour is the historic reality, the body which, so long as the sun is low in the heavens, is unrecognizable, and only throws its shadows far over mankind until when the sun stands high the substance becomes visible and the shadow disappears. Romans viii. 22, *ἡ κτίσις συστενάζει καὶ συνωδίνει*, is also an evidence of poetic power in feeling and language. The inhabitants of Lystra are the best witnesses how completely Greek St. Paul had become when they wanted to bestow on him the honours of a Hermes—*λόγιος* (Acts xiv. 12).

So also was St. Paul called to speak in the market at Athens, and by virtue of his Greek education he had a subtle appreciation of the religious feature of the oldest city. But the Semite is not submerged in the Greek, and on that fact rests the full significance of his appearance in Athens.

The interchange of relations between Aryans and Semites on Greek soil has a history which extends through centuries. The economic life of Hellas was founded, and its inhabitants were drawn into, the traffic of nations through seafaring Semites. In proportion as the national consciousness was formed foreign influences receded. First in the Socratic period, as universal human interests asserted themselves, the intermingling of these nations became freer, and the Semitic peoples could also share in the Greek intellectual work. The example of the Stoa shows how one of the most important schools of philosophy was essentially under Semitic influence. Foreign Stoics became Greeks.

St. Paul was the first Semite, belonging to a select tribe of the race, who remained true to his people and brought its most valuable possession, the energy of religious life and pure conception of God, in the Greek language to Hellas.

He thereby stepped into the great gap in Greek education.

It has indeed been said that Greek polytheism was still at that time at its height, and that the wonderful success of the homely messenger is thereby rendered all the more incomprehensible. But how can the worship of the gods be spoken of as flourishing when already after the Peloponnesian War men like Lysander received divine honours, when the Divine name was appended like an ornament to whole dynasties and Roman governours were deified? The significance of the Olympian gods depended upon the exclusiveness of their circle; they were a reality in national consciousness as the bearers of national ideas. When the national consciousness grew weaker, and foreign worships luxuriated side by side with the national gods; when to these former course was had for safety, the established public worship could claim no respect, and those who had religious wants sought their satisfaction elsewhere.

This spiritual state was met by Judaism with its twofold offer, for which a special welcome was manifested. One was the Sabbath rest, which was experienced as a benefit in the restless activity of the day. The second was the raising of their minds to a Supreme Being, who was worshipped without statue or temple. It was those Greeks and Romans who were susceptible to this influence, who, because they would know only of a superterrestrial God, were taunted as worshippers of the sky and as cloudgazers ("cælicolæ—nil præter nubes et cæli numen adorantes," Juv. xiv. 95).

Religious circles of this kind were marked by the expressions *σεβόμενοι τὸν Θεόν, σεβόμενοι, εὐλαβεῖς, εὐσεβεῖς* (treated of by Bernays in his *Collected Works*, ii. 71 ff.). How the Gospel was received by such circles is seen by the first missionary journey made by St. Paul and St. Barnabas on European soil. They go down the river from Philippi to where they might expect to find a place for prayer

(οὐ ἐνομιζομεν προσευχὴν εἶναι, Acts xvi. 13). If this expectation was not altogether ungrounded, they must have been relying on the analogy of other places. There were then shady places here and there where men were to be met in whom the two missionaries hoped to find sympathy. As the school of Plato used to withdraw from the city to the river valley in the country, so also did persons from among the people, who felt themselves repelled from the city image worship, seek out such places before the gates, where, without belonging to a Jewish community, they fostered a pure worship of God on Sabbath days. The whole communication, however laconic, affords us nevertheless a glance into the condition of the Greek people which otherwise would escape our historical knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

We can also recognize how Hellenism was influencing Judaism, as the Greeks sought to borrow from Judaism, as its chief content, the feature that must have interested them most—the indissoluble connexion between wisdom and pure morals, the claims of a spiritual worship of God without requiring the acceptance of the Mosaic Law. In Alexandria, this intention was the cause of the appearance of the Book of Wisdom; and I can well believe that in such cities as received Greek colonization early, like Samaria, such an influence was at work, endeavouring to transform the substance of Judaism into a free form of religion.

We find, then, three phases of Judaism in the period of Hellenism. First, that which prevailed at Herod's court, loudly priding itself on being more Greek than Jewish; a second, which, without disowning Judaism, sought to make it more accessible to foreigners as an enlightened mono-

<sup>1</sup> That *προσευχή* is also used for synagogue is clear from *Bullet. de Corresp. Hellen.*, xiii. 129; *Corp. Inscrip. Gr.*, ii., add. 2114b, n. 66; *Vgl. Schürer, Gesch. des Jüd. Volkes*, ii. p. 330. But every *προσευχή* is not therefore a synagogue and the existence of such could not have been the subject of a conjecture.

theism ; and, finally, that according to which all who wished to share in the worship of Jehovah must bow beneath the yoke of the law. This party took up such an exclusive position that Josephus, in accordance with the Pauline use of *πολιτεύεσθαι* mentioned above, says of himself, *ἐπολιτευόμενῃ τῇ τῶν Φαρισαίων αἵρέσει συνακολουθῶν*. St. Paul joined this party with all the energy of his fiery spirit, though, at the same time, not without an inner scruple. For if I look merely at what the words *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν* (Acts xxvi. 14) mean, it appears to me impossible to find in them an expression suited to one now for the first time entering on a disobedient course, but a foolish, refractory temper of long standing is meant. I must assume, then, from this expression, that St. Paul had endeavoured to stamp out, in the fanatical rage of persecution, the impressions which he had received since the appearance of John the Baptist, and the stings of conscience which he had perhaps experienced at the death of Stephen.

What I have given here is a study which, in the most favourable event, will serve to stir attention. They are reflections which, unsought, have been evolved from a topographic discussion on St. Paul's speech in the market-place ; and, reverting to what I started from, I can merely express my opinion, that whoever disputes the historical value of the account of St. Paul in Athens tears one of the most important pages from the history of the human race.

ERNST CURTIUS.

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