

feast of St. John almost corresponds with the summer solstice, and Christmas with the winter solstice; but it does not seem that such symbolism influenced the choice of days for these feasts" (*S. Jean*, in loc.).

So St. John's public ministry and his witness to Christ end on a note of dignity, of joy, and of complete self-abasement. "Ye bear me witness yourselves," he reminds his disciples, "that I said: 'I am not the Christ, but am sent before him'" (Jn. iii, 27).

The events connected with St. John's arrest and imprisonment, his sending of his disciples to Christ, and our Lord's testimony to his great Herald cannot detain us at this point, though we may remark in passing that the mysterious words: "Yet the least in the Kingdom of God is greater than he" (Lk. vii, 28) in no way detract from the uniqueness of John's witness, but bring out, even more fully than before, John's role as the last and most transcendent of the Old Testament prophets. "A prophet? Yea, I say to you, and more than a prophet. . . ." (Lk. vii, 26). The closing scene in St. John's career sets the final seal upon his witness, by way of the testimony of blood. He was not merely a prophet, not merely a messenger of the Most High, but a martyr, the acts of whose martyrdom may be clearly read in the narratives of St. Matthew (xiv, 3-12) and St. Mark (vi, 17-29).

"So died the Forerunner of our Lord in an obscure dungeon for the cause of eternal morality, and, one may add, for the sake of the moral teaching of the Gospel of Christ. He brought to an end his noble mission as a preacher by the most eloquent of all sermons, the cheerful acceptance of a martyr's death" (Buzy, E.T., p. 222).

JOHN M. T. BARTON.

GALLIO THE PROCONSUL OF ACHAIA

(ACTS xviii, 12-17)

THE references to Gallio outside of the New Testament would leave him a shadowy figure if we had nothing else. But in fact his family as a whole is as well known to us as any Roman family in that century. Placed in that setting he becomes a more life-like character. We possess considerable works written by his father, brother, and nephew, and this brother (the younger Seneca) played a momentous part in Roman history.

Gallio acquired that name by adoption. He started life as Annaeus Novatus. His home was Cordova, at that time the most cultured city in Spain and already a great centre of Roman civilization. His father, Lucius Annaeus Seneca, was a very successful and wealthy professor of

oratory, a Roman citizen by birth, for Cordova had the rank of a *colonia*. Novatus was the eldest of his three sons, the other two being named Seneca and Mela. Novatus was born a few years before the Christian era,¹ and must have been almost exactly the same age as Christ. While the children were still in infancy, their father took his family to Rome and settled there.² A great many of their fellow-countrymen were already living in Rome and some were making their mark in Roman society and were accepted as friends by the leading families. Seneca did not at first move in such high circles, but his profession easily brought him into touch with the literary world, especially the many orators and poets of that generation, who to us are mere names for nearly all their works have perished. One exception is Ovid, who knew Seneca³ and probably knew his children as boys. Oratory was the goal and crown of Roman education, and was cultivated with an almost religious zeal. Any person outside the noble families who wished to reach the highest honours must distinguish himself either as an officer or as an orator. Seneca's two elder boys were ambitious and as neither showed any taste for soldiering, oratory was the natural path.

When the three sons had reached early manhood, they persuaded their father, who was then about seventy, to begin a large book which we might call *Memoirs and Specimens of the Orators and Professors of Oratory*.⁴ He wrote at it for the rest of his life, and a large portion of it has come down to us. It is little read now (being unsuitable for university examinations) but it is an interesting historical document. It is one of the few intimate *contemporary* records of cultured Roman society during the days when our Lord was on earth. And it brings us back into the very atmosphere in which young Novatus lived. The elder Seneca was, for all his Spanish origin, a thorough Roman in his outlook, a shrewd, capable man, kindly but in some ways rather strict and narrow, with much of the old Roman dislike of the contemporary Greeks. As orators he considered them flamboyant in style and violent in delivery. He relates with approval how Augustus said to one of them: "I like listening to you in winter." He writes a good plain style based on Cicero, and as a critic he is excellent.

Oratorical training consisted largely in writing and delivering speeches on a certain number of stock themes, and even after student days were over, experienced orators often went on composing speeches on the old themes for the sake of practice. Under the heading of each theme Seneca gives a large number of short extracts from speeches he had himself heard, the "purple passages" of each speech, sometimes only

¹ W. A. Edward: *Suasoriae*, Int. (Life of Seneca); Stein on younger Seneca in *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.* ed. 2.

² Seneca: *Cons. ad Helviam*, 19, 2.

³ *Controversiae* ii, 2, 8.

⁴ *Ibid.* I Præf. 1.

a sentence, sometimes a page or two. Thus we have quotations from dozens of authors, partly professors of rhetoric, partly men who had risen to high office, governed provinces and commanded armies. But the extracts are not all. Seneca frequently digresses to give a critique, a character sketch, or an anecdote. And at intervals there are "prefaces" addressed to his three sons, "my dear boys." These contain sometimes very personal matter.

The first section of the book, of which very little has been preserved, dealt with deliberative speeches, e.g., Alexander the Great considers whether he shall sail out into the Atlantic in search of a new continent to subdue; or Cicero deliberates whether he shall burn his Philippic orations in order to escape Mark Antony's vengeance.¹ The second part, the *Controversiae*, contains a large number of imaginary cases of a judicial or quasi-judicial character. One example must suffice here: a man who has two sons marries a second wife; she falsely accuses one son of trying to murder his father; the father orders his other son to kill the supposed criminal; the son shrinks from the task and sets his brother adrift in a boat without oars; the boat is captured by pirates and eventually the young man becomes a pirate chief; later he takes his father prisoner and releases him; the father reaches his home and disinherits his other son for having disobeyed his orders.² At first sight this looks like a case in moral theology or in law. But Seneca has little interest in the moral or legal issues. For him the question was: what new and original turn could an orator give to this well-worn theme, what ingenious reasoning, bold flash of imagination or unexpected shade of emotion could he import into it? An orator could speak in the character of either the father or the son. I give a few of the sentences quoted from speeches for the son: ASINIUS POLLIO: My father said: "Your brother is alive" I would not believe him. He said: "He saved my life." On that evidence I had to believe him. AESERNINUS: I believed he was guilty—so easily do we all deceive ourselves—and hesitated whether to obey my father. My brother said "You, brother, will be the first murderer in our family." CORNELIUS HISPANUS: Did he first learn goodness among the pirates? Is it not truer to say that he was already so good that he did not lose his goodness even among them? PORCIUS LATRO: You would have perished, my father, if you had not fallen into the hands of this parricide. POMPEIUS SILO: Do you wish to know, my father, whether the accuser or the accused is the more guilty? Place my stepmother in a boat. Let her swear, as she hopes to be saved, that she has not traduced the innocent: she will meet with another sort of pirates, pirates who show no mercy to their captives.

¹ *Suasoriae* I and 7.

² *Contr.* vii, 1.

As exercises for students such themes are no doubt in their place, and Seneca by all accounts made very effective use of them with his pupils. But it seems strange to us that men of experience like Pollio and Aeserninus should still in middle life continue to sharpen their wits at these unreal subjects.

Such then was the environment of Novatus's early life. Both he and his brother Seneca were thought to show signs of consumption, though both lived to old age. But we may infer that they had something of the appearance of consumptives. The two brothers were ambitious, as I have said. The family had wealth and in time acquired some influential connections. The young men's aunt had married Galerius who about A.D. 16 was appointed governor of Egypt, one of the most important posts open to non-senators. The Emperor Tiberius thought so highly of him that he kept him in Egypt for sixteen years.¹ This uncle and aunt took a special interest in young Seneca, who spent some time with them in Egypt and later wrote a book (now lost) on that country. Novatus found a yet more powerful friend. This was Lucius Junius Gallio, probably a Spaniard, a man of greater ability than the elder Seneca, to whom he was about fifteen years junior. Gallio had come to Rome about 10 or 12 B.C. and had soon been admitted to very high literary society. He was one of the group that gathered round Messalla Corvinus² in his old age, a group which included Ovid. Gallio himself was an orator of some eminence, and is often quoted in Seneca's book. Tiberius raised him to one of the offices which gave admission to the senate, though he was never consul or prætor. Gallio, having no son of his own, took Novatus under his protection: finally he adopted him, but that seems to have been many years later. During the years A.D. 20 to 30 therefore the prospects of the brothers were good. Novatus seems to have had no special gift for writing or oratory, though he could appreciate literature. He was upright and sincere, with a strong dislike of flattery and falseness of any sort.³ His brother says that he had never known his equal for gentleness and good-humour. The two brothers were always bound by strong affection and among the lost works of Seneca there was a large collection of letters written by him to Novatus.⁴ Seneca himself was different, a person of feverish energy and multifarious interests; strongly attracted to the more ascetic kinds of philosophy (Pythagoreanism and Stoicism) and full of lofty ideals for himself and the world; eager for political power and honour; and anxious to win literary glory of any and every kind. He tried his hand at nearly every branch of literature, wrote too hastily and without sufficient

¹ *Ad Helviam* 19, 6 and Favez's introd. xxxi.

² *Suas.* 3, 6.

³ *Nat. Quaest.* iv Præf. 10-12.

⁴ Priscian: *De ponderibus*, 3.

order, but always with vigour, and left a large output of which the thousand pages or so that survive are only a fraction. Mela did not aim so high as his brothers, but succeeded in amassing a great fortune.

About A.D. 30 or soon afterwards the three brothers married. Mela married a Cordovan lady, Acilia Lucana, but we know nothing for certain about the others' wives. It seems possible that Novatus's wife was a daughter of Gallio. In 32 the family fortunes met with a setback. A too servile proposal of Gallio's in the Senate irritated the emperor (as servile flattery often did) and provoked an outburst of rage.¹ He accused Gallio of sedition, arrested him and kept him in private custody at Rome till the end of his reign (in 37). About the same time (A.D. 32) Galerius was recalled from Egypt and died on his voyage back to Italy.² Thus both Novatus and Seneca had lost their powerful supporters and for five years their careers were at a standstill. But in 37 the accession of the young emperor Gaius brought a change. He and his sisters were friendly to both Gallio and the Senecas. Gallio was restored to honour and during the next year or two both Novatus and Seneca seem to have held the quæstorship and gained admission to the Senate. But a speech of Seneca's was of such startling brilliance that it aroused the insane jealousy of Gaius who was proud of his own eloquence. He longed to destroy his rival and only spared him because somebody assured him that Seneca was practically dying of consumption.³

The death of the elder Seneca must be placed about this time (A.D. 39 or 40). He could not have been much under ninety years old. In 41 the death of Gaius gave Seneca only a short relief, for he somehow incurred the enmity of the awful Messallina, wife of the next emperor, Claudius. On a trumped-up charge he was banished to Corsica,⁴ and there he remained for seven years, his path to honour completely barred. This sentence did not affect Novatus however. Gallio had still sufficient influence to promote his affairs, and Novatus probably held the prætorship about 45 or 46. His wife had died about 42, leaving him with a daughter ten or twelve years old, Novata or Novatilla,⁵ a child to whom Seneca was very much attached. Seneca's own wife seems to have been divorced from him and their son Marcus⁶ seems to have died in childhood during his father's exile. Mela also had a son, born in 39, who was destined to have a short and meteoric career, Marcus Annæus Lucanus or Lucan as he is generally called. The various members of the family will be clear from the following table:—

¹ Tacitus, *Ann.* vi, 3.

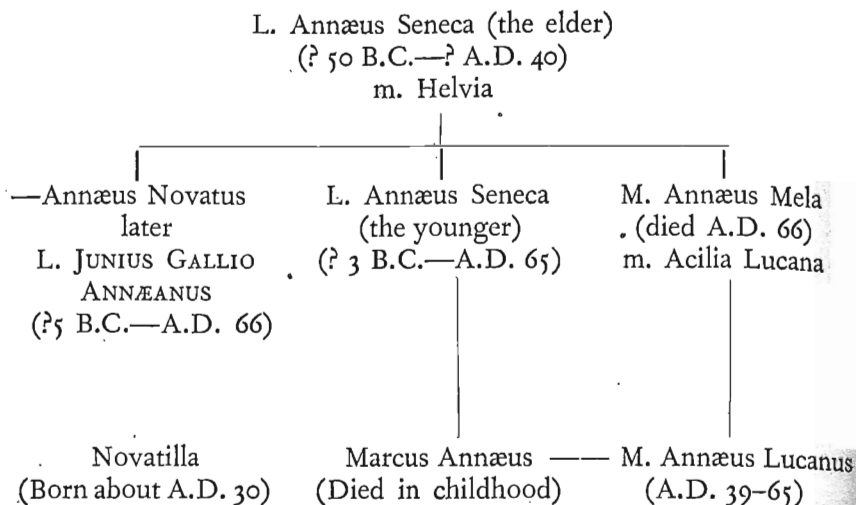
² *Ad Helv.* 19.

³ Dio lix, 19.

⁴ *Ibid.* lxi, 10.

⁵ *Ad Helv.* 18, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.* 18, 4 and Favez, *Int.* xxxv—vii.



The year 48 launched the family on a course of dazzling prosperity. Messallina perished after a last lurid scandal. The emperor soon married Agrippina, sister of the last emperor Gaius and a firm friend of Seneca. He was recalled from exile and made the chief tutor of her son by her former marriage, a boy of eleven named Domitius, who was destined to become the emperor Nero.¹ It was a post of trust which at once gave Seneca great though unofficial influence in the state. It was not a happy position for a good man, for Agrippina was determined that her son should succeed to the throne in preference to the emperor's own son Britannicus, a boy of eight, and she expected Seneca to assist her in this scheme. Seneca himself was now about fifty. About this time he published his book *On Anger*, containing much sound advice about the control of that passion. It was appropriately dedicated to Novatus, from whom this fault was far removed—one of three books dedicated to this brother.

In 49 or 50 Gallio died, leaving his property to Novatus, whom he adopted either just before his death or else in his will. The evidence is against an earlier date for this adoption. Novatus therefore now assumed the formal name of Lucius Junius Gallio Annæanus (which appears in an inscription). His brother calls him simply Gallio, and so does St. Luke in *Acts*. As an ex-prætor he was now due to govern a province, and the province assigned to him was Achæa. In view of his age and delicate health it is very unlikely that he held the province longer than the usual term of one year. It is fairly certain that he arrived in Achæa in the early summer (the usual time) of A.D. 51 and remained there till the summer of 52, residing generally at Corinth, the capital. He was now a man of about fifty-five and probably still retained that pallid

¹ Tac. *Ann.* xii, 8.

and emaciated appearance which was thought to indicate consumption. Seneca tells us that while in Achæa he was attacked by "fever" (apparently malaria) and sought relief by making a short voyage.¹

It was probably soon after his arrival at Corinth that the Jews brought their accusation against St. Paul before him (Acts xviii, 12-17). It seems not unlikely that the Jewish authorities at Corinth were in fact claiming a right of jurisdiction and punishment over the Jewish colony there, such as the Jews enjoyed in some Asiatic cities. Gallio rejected the claim. Such a privilege seems never to have been granted in any Roman city. It now appears probable that the case was heard in the south basilica, whose foundations have only recently been discovered² and whose porch faced directly on the Forum: the riot which followed would be in the Forum but would be visible to Gallio through the open doorway. His refusal to interfere shows that he had all the usual Roman contempt for the Jews and their religion.

Not long after this the citizens of Delphi applied to Gallio in connexion with some of the privileges they enjoyed as guardians of the famous temple and oracle of Apollo. He wrote to the emperor, and Claudius sent a letter to the Delphians confirming their endangered rights. The grateful Delphians inscribed the letter on stone and set it up near the temple. Four fragments of the first part of this inscription have been discovered, enough to enable scholars to make a good guess at the opening lines.³ The emperor speaks of "disputes reported to me by my friend Lucius Junius Gallio, Proconsul of Achæa." A very precise date was given, and though this is partly missing, we can pretty certainly conclude that it was in the first part of Claudius's twelfth year, i.e., between January and August of 52. This enables us to fix Gallio's year in Achæa as 51-52, a most valuable help for dating the events of *Acts*.

One other relic of Gallio's governorship has survived. At the opposite end of the Isthmus from Corinth stood the little town of Plataea, then hardly more than a village. It was illustrious in the history of Europe as the scene of the final defeat of the great Persian invasion in 479 B.C. an event still commemorated by an annual sacrifice to Zeus the Liberator, which was attended by delegates from all Greece. Gallio bestowed some special favours on this place, and apparently continued to take an interest in it after he had left Greece, for the Plataeans erected a statue to him some years later, after he had held the consulship at Rome. The statue has gone but the inscription on its pedestal has been found: "Erected by the city of the Plataeans in honour of its benefactor Lucius Junius Gallio Annæanus, Consul."⁴

¹ Sen. *Ep.* 104, 1.

² *Amer. Journ. of Archaeology*; xxxix, p. 60.

³ Full account in Deissmann's *Paul* (Eng. tr. 1926) App. 1, and Jackson and Lake's *Beginnings of Christianity* v, 460 ff.

⁴ I.G. vii, 1676 Plataeae. See Groag: *Reichsbeamten von Achaia*, coll. 32 f.

Gallio held the consulship not long after his return to Rome. The exact year is uncertain but it was probably 53 or 54. He held the office for a few months in the latter part of the year. At Pompeii the remains of a number of writing-tablets have been found, such as the Romans carried about as memorandum-books. On one of these Alfenus Varus had scribbled a note of money paid to him on August 27 "in the consulship of ——— and Junius Gallio." His colleague's name is represented by a few scratches for which no probable guess can be made.¹ Gallio had thus attained the summit of a Roman's ambition, an honour not enjoyed before by any member of his family or by his adoptive father.

Meanwhile the emperor had adopted his stepson, whereby the latter acquired the name of Nero, but had not given any sign that he meant him to succeed in place of his own son Britannicus. Seneca however lent his active help to Agrippina's scheme. Somehow he reconciled this with his professed high principles. He was not the first good man who has permitted himself to do evil that good may come. Moreover he must have known that Nero was at least utterly selfish. In October of A.D. 54 the emperor died. Seneca with the help of his friend Burrus, commander of the guards, had Nero, who was now sixteen, proclaimed emperor. If Gallio was consul in that autumn, he must have connived or helped. An ex-consul usually governed one of the more important provinces, but we hear of no such appointment for Gallio, and probably he did not desire it. He was about sixty (above the usual age for consuls) and we know that he was again in bad health. After his consulship he left Italy for a long voyage,² apparently to Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean. We hear no more of him for five years. During these years Fortune seemed to smile on the family. Seneca practically governed the empire, and governed it justly and efficiently. Good did seem to have come of his evil deed. Nero left matters of state in his hands and devoted himself to his two dearest objects—his enthusiasm for the Greek ideal, (art and athletics) and the indulgence of his lust and intemperance in private. His imperious mother was soon deprived of public influence. Seneca apparently smothered his suspicions when Britannicus died suddenly. He held the consulship about 56 and married his second wife Paulina. He inevitably gathered immense wealth. His brother Mela held lucrative posts in the emperor's service and he too became very wealthy.

By A.D. 59 Nero, who was now twenty, was at irreconcilable enmity with his mother. Seneca somehow convinced himself that either Nero or Agrippina must perish, and in March 59 gave at least passive assistance in putting Agrippina to death. He composed for Nero a defence

¹ CIL, iv, pp. 338-40 and Groag: *Reichsb.*

² Pliny, N.H. xxxi, 62.

of the act, on the ground that she had attempted to murder her son. The high-minded philosopher had been led to place himself in a very strange position. In the next autumn Nero tried to bring the Romans a step nearer to the Greek ideal. He induced many young Romans to take part in competitions in music, poetry, and athletics, held in a park west of the Tiber. The crowning event was Nero's own singing, a poor performance, but his prepared audience gave thunderous applause to his Divine Voice, as they called it. As Nero in flowing Greek robes appeared on the stage, he was preceded by Gallio, arrayed as a Greek herald, to announce the emperor's name and titles.¹ Seneca and Burrus had to applaud. The ludicrous scene takes on a Satanic hue from the events of the preceding March. Very likely St. Paul was at this time a prisoner in Rome and heard of it all from the soldiers who were present, and remembered his old acquaintance Gallio.

Seneca's influence continued precariously for two or three more years. Mela's son, young Lucan, now became prominent. He was almost the same age as Nero, and had the versatile energy of his uncle Seneca—poet, orator, philosopher. Nero showered favours and gifts on him, and for a time Lucan was dazzled and hailed Nero as the ideal prince in his early poems. His one surviving poem, on the war between Pompey and Cæsar, is the greatest Latin epic after Virgil. But the friendship between Lucan and Nero soon cooled and turned to hatred.

In 62 Seneca on the plea of ill-health practically retired from public life. Henceforth Nero governed as a bloodthirsty tyrant, and Seneca must have bitterly regretted placing him on the throne. The next three years were to him and his brothers like the dreadful calm before a storm. To a man like Nero their wealth, ability, good name, and his own obligations to them, were cogent reasons for destroying them. As far as possible they seem to have lived quietly at the various country-houses they possessed. Seneca turned back to an old interest, natural science, and wrote an inquiry into the causes of thunder, earthquakes, etc., which has been preserved. He and Gallio had a common friend in Lucilius, to whom Seneca's extant letters are addressed. Another friend of Gallio, and probably of Seneca also, was Columella, who was just now engaged in writing that treatise on agriculture, which for sixteen centuries was regarded as the last word on the subject. He too was a Spaniard; he and Seneca had neighbouring country-houses,² where Seneca, Gallio and Columella may often have met. Columella had just reached the subject of horticulture and was persuaded by Gallio and another friend that gardening deserved something better than prose.³ He therefore composed a Virgilian poem on it, very creditable for an amateur poet. Afterwards

¹ Dio, lxi, 20.

² W. Becher: *De Vita et Scriptis Columellae*, pp. 12-13.

³ Columella, *De Re Rustica*, ix, 16, 2.

he regretted this poetic flight and went over the same matter in prose. But he thought his poem too good to burn, and there it stands to this day in the middle of his sober treatise, a curious monument to Gallio's love of gardening and poetry.

In the summer of 64 Rome was half destroyed by fire. Nero encouraged the false rumour that the Christians had fired the city, and soon afterwards had many of them burned to death in his private park where St Peter's now stands—just then it was a great camping ground for the houseless people. That autumn a widespread plot was formed among those who were disgusted with Nero's rule. Its first aim was to kill Nero, but the plotters were not agreed as to what was to follow. Some were for abolishing the monarchy, others for choosing a new emperor. A man of ancient family named Piso was the one chiefly spoken of, but a section of the conspirators thought Seneca would be a better choice.¹ Lucan was certainly in the plot and Seneca probably knew or guessed a good deal. It is very unlikely that Gallio was involved. In the spring of 65 the plot was discovered, and some executions followed. Lucan and Seneca received notice that Nero considered them guilty. In such cases, if the accused person committed suicide, the accusation was usually dropped and his property was saved for his family. Both Lucan and Seneca took the opportunity and died by their own hands. Gallio and Mela were not accused. A little later one of Gallio's personal enemies tried to inculcate him in the Senate, but the senators took Gallio's part so decidedly that he had to desist.² Next year (A.D. 66) Mela, by foolishly trying to collect a debt due to Lucan, whose property he had inherited, excited the hostility of a man who falsely accused him of participation in the plot. Mela too committed suicide.³ For a little longer, some months perhaps, Gallio remained, the sole male survivor of the family. We know that before the end of the year he also had committed suicide,⁴ and that is all we do know. We may guess that the accusation was very like the one in Mela's case. Gallio's daughter may have survived him. We know that Lucan's wife lived till about the end of the century, and in her old age Statius addressed to her a poem on Lucan, in which the "gentle Gallio" is also mentioned:

Aut dulcem generasse Gallionem.⁵

It is the same word as Seneca had used about his brother.

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¹ Tac. *Ann.* xv, 65.

² *Ibid.* xv, 73.

³ *Ibid.* xvi, 17.

⁴ Dio lxii, 25 and Jerome, *Chron.*

⁵ Statius: *Silvae*, ii, 7.