

gift

BR  
160  
H3

# Heathen Contact with Christianity during its First Century and a Half

Being all references to Christianity  
recorded in Pagan writings during  
that Period

BY

C. R. HAINES, M.A., B.D., F.S.A.



Graffito of Christ crucified with an Ass's Head  
(now in the Kircher Museum).

620114953

**LIBRARY**  
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FULLERTON  
FULLERTON, CA 92634

CAMBRIDGE  
DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO., LTD.

1923

## PREFACE

THE present book is put forward as the first in a projected series of little works on early Christianity up to the end of the second century. They are intended to provide the student with convenient materials for the proper understanding of the relations that progressively subsisted between it and the Roman Empire.

If this volume is found satisfactory, and meets with success, it will be followed by a reconstruction of the anti-christian polemic of Celsus, to be succeeded by other volumes on the Early Apologists, the first authentic martyrdoms, and a General Sketch of the attitude of the Roman Administration towards the Christian religion, and in particular a separate treatment of the reign of Marcus Aurelius in this respect.

My best thanks are due to the Rev. F. A. Haines for kindly reading the proofs of this little work and making most valuable criticisms and suggestions.

C. R. HAINES.

PETERSFIELD,  
*September 1923.*

TO MY DEAR WIFE

Ecclesiasticus vii. 19

Proverbs xxxi. 11, 12

## INTRODUCTION

THE fact of Christ's death at the hands of the Jews under Pontius Pilatus must have been well known to the Home Government. Justin Martyr tells us<sup>1</sup> that Pilate sent Tiberius a report of the trial and death of Jesus with an account of the marvellous incidents that attended it<sup>2</sup>. Tertullian<sup>3</sup> repeats the statement, and Eusebius<sup>4</sup> amplifies it, adding that Tiberius communicated the report to the Senate, and even wished to enroll Christ among the Gods. The Senate however, whose authority was necessary for the introduction of a new religion, rejected the proposal. But Tiberius is said to have retained his favourable opinion, and he forbade the Jews to molest the followers of Christ. Apocryphal though all this sounds, we know that the Jews were treated with severity in this reign<sup>5</sup>.

This story seems to have been set out in certain *Acta Pilati* of which Justin speaks as τὰ ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου γερόμενα Ἄκτα<sup>6</sup>. Unfortunately the *Acts of Pilate*, as we have it, is a late fabrication, and we do not know the nature of the record to which Justin refers. Since Tiberius was so superstitious, a report of the marvels narrated in the Gospels, if it reached him,

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* I 35, written about 150 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 116 for a spurious version of this.

<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* 21.

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* II 2.

<sup>5</sup> Jews expelled under Tiberius were 8000.

<sup>6</sup> Pelagaud (*Celse* p. 104) says of Justin's reference *il faut bien reconnaître que cette assertion devait reposer sur un fait véritable et conclure, par conséquent, à la réalité de l'existence des Actes de Pilate dans les archives de l'Empire.*

may well have struck his imagination. The intervention of Claudia Procla<sup>1</sup>, supposing it to be an authentic fact, would naturally, owing to her connexion with the royal house, come to the Emperor's knowledge. Tiberius kept a watchful eye over the provinces, and any unusual events, especially if they related to the Jews and their expected Messiah, would be sure to attract his attention. That the trial of our Lord and the concomitant circumstances made a great impression on Pilate himself is beyond question. St John's account<sup>2</sup> makes us think that he was actually present at the Cross, superintending the putting up of the title above it, and it was he who authorized the watching of the sepulchre.

The attitude of the Imperial Government and its officials towards the Christians prior to Nero's persecution is known to us only from the Scriptures. They were looked upon simply as Jews, and when under Claudius, the predecessor of Nero, repressive measures<sup>3</sup> were again taken against the latter, the comparatively few Christians then in the city cannot fail to have been involved<sup>4</sup>. At all events Aquila and Priscilla<sup>5</sup>, who it is natural to suppose were already Christians, were among the Jews banished from Rome.

It was on the occasion of the Great Fire at Rome in 64 A.D. that the obscure sect of Christians was first differentiated from the Jews. In order to divert suspicion from Nero as the author of the fire, they were made his scapegoats, possibly at the instigation of his wife, Poppaea Sabina, who had a leaning to Judaism. It

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxvii 19.

<sup>2</sup> John xix 21.

<sup>3</sup> In 49-50 A.D.; see below, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> Persius (*Sat.* v 179) among the religions of Rome does not mention Christians.

<sup>5</sup> Acts xviii 2.

is however not certain that the Jews themselves did not suffer in the persecution, as the fact of the Jewish quarter in the city having almost entirely escaped the ravages of the fire was likely to have raised a presumption of guilt against them. If they were charged, they contrived to save themselves at the expense of the Christians. At all events it is indubitable that they were the authors and disseminators of the stories of child-murder and incest which brought such odium upon the Christians in their early years of conflict. But owing to the silence of Josephus there is very little information<sup>1</sup> as to the Jewish attitude towards the Christians after the close of the *Acts*.

We should have had a much more satisfactory knowledge of the State policy in reference to Christianity, if the various rescripts and enactments against it had not been excised from the *Digest* by Justinian. The two or three documents of this sort, which have survived to our time, are but the flotsam and jetsam thrown up by the general stream of literature. We know from Lactantius<sup>2</sup> that Ulpian in Caracalla's reign collected all these anti-christian ordinances, Trajan's rescript to Pliny no doubt among them, and published them in the seventh book of his treatise *De Officio Proconsulis*<sup>3</sup>. They must have come under the heading *De Sacri-legiis* or else under that of *Ad Legem Iuliam maiestatis*, probably the former. Neumann<sup>4</sup> and others have quite wrongly supposed that the rescript of Marcus in the *Digest*, given by Modestinus, was directed against the Christians. Had it been so, it would not have been

<sup>1</sup> For what there is see below, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>2</sup> VII 12.

<sup>3</sup> Lact. *Inst.* v 11. 19, *Digest* 48. 13. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Der Römische Staat und die Allgemeine Kirche* p. 29 n. 1.

kept in its place by Justinian, nor would it have appeared under the title *De Poenis*<sup>1</sup>.

It is much to be deplored that we have no pagan account of Christianity till towards the end of the second century. Possibly Tacitus had something more definite to say of it in his lost *Histories* than he has vouchsafed to us in his *Annals*, but even so his account must almost certainly have been perfunctory and unsympathetic. Seneca was too early to realize the importance or merits of this new philosophy of life. Celsus certainly about 176 A.D. dealt with the subject with remarkable fulness, but the remains of his polemic are so considerable that they must be presented separately in another volume. In our present compilation of testimonies we shall get most from Galen and Lucian, who apart from the emperor Marcus were the greatest men of their age.

In this connexion it is worthy of note that the term *Χριστιανός* was eschewed, as vulgar, by the best heathen writers. It appeared no doubt as an official designation in State documents<sup>2</sup>, and Suetonius, writing of Nero's reign, uses it, as we shall see. Tacitus too in his account of the Neronian persecution quotes it as the vulgar term, and even (it appears) uses the vulgar spelling *Chrestiani*. But *chrétien* is due to regular vowel change. Epictetus calls the Christians *Γαλιλαῖοι*, as the Emperor Julian habitually did<sup>3</sup>. Aristides

<sup>1</sup> *Digest* 48. 19. 30 *Si quis aliquid fecerit, quo leves hominum animi superstitione numinis terrentur, Divus Marcus huiusmodi homines in insulam relegari scripsit.*

<sup>2</sup> A. Gercke 'Der Christenname ein Scheltname' (in Siebs' *Festschrift zur Jahrhundertfeier der Univers. z. Breslau* 1911) claims to show that the word was used by the Emperors, *utpote quod sit formula Latina*, in the time of Nero.

<sup>3</sup> See also the supposed letter of Tiberianus to Trajan given below, p. 117. This may be a slight argument in favour of its genuineness.

speaks of them as "the impious (*ἄθεοι*) people of Palestine<sup>1</sup>." Galen, if we can trust the Arabic translation, preferred the name Naziraei. Dio Cassius, where we have his own words, describes the Christians as persons who "followed a Jewish manner of life." Plutarch and Lucian are content on occasion with the geographical designation of "Syrians," though the latter, in the *Peregrinus* and *Alexander*<sup>2</sup>, does not scruple to employ the common name. The word *Χριστιανός* only occurs once in Marcus Aurelius<sup>3</sup>, but its presence there is suspicious, and due, as is most likely, to the incorporation of a gloss. It is not probable that in a philosophic treatise, written with a certain aloofness and under the obvious influence of Epictetus, Marcus would have used a term deliberately avoided by his master, and that too in a passage where he seems to have in mind what the latter says of the 'Galileans.'

It may be considered certain that the State officials from very early days knew of the existence of the Christians as an obscure offshoot of Judaism, but it was only when they had greatly increased in numbers within the capital itself, that the Government had its attention inevitably drawn to their intransigent opinions and the impossibility of reconciling these with the policy and social order of the State. They were then kept under surveillance by the city prefect and by the various provincial governors, like other law-breakers and disturbers of the peace. With the exception of Nero's personal and incidental outbreak against them at the

<sup>1</sup> Hardy *Studies in Roman History* p. 65 (1906) points out that Jews as well as Christians could be charged by the pagans with *ἀθεότης* (sacrilege).

<sup>2</sup> Some critics are inclined to doubt Lucian's authorship of these works.

<sup>3</sup> *Meditations* XI 3.

time of the Great Fire<sup>1</sup>, and thirty years later Domitian's repressive measures actuated by political motives and in the interests of the national cult, directed more noticeably against prominent individuals suspected of innovations in State affairs—with the exception of these there was no deliberate and authorized persecution of Christians, as Lactantius rightly states, till the time of Decius<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Sulp. Severus and Orosius seem to imply that Nero's persecution extended beyond Rome. If the Apocalypse was written about 68-70, we know of one martyr in the Provinces, Antipas of Pergamum (Revel. ii 13). The illegality of Christianity was now established.

<sup>2</sup> *De morte Persecutorum* c. 3.

## PREFATORY NOTES ON THE AUTHORS CITED BELOW

### 1 Lucius Annaeus Seneca<sup>1</sup> (*circa* B.C. 5-65 A.D.).

The high morality of Seneca's writings and their resemblance here and there in expressions and sentiments to the N.T. disposed certain of the Fathers to regard this Stoic moralist as almost a Christian. Tertullian, writing in the third century, does not scruple to style him *Seneca saepe noster*<sup>2</sup>, and Jerome<sup>3</sup> two hundred years later echoes his words. In consequence it has become a pleasing fancy that Seneca may have known St Paul personally at the very end of their lives, which ran almost exactly parallel in time. It has been supposed that he gathered from St Paul some knowledge of Christ and His teaching before they both perished at the hands of the same tyrant within a year or two of each other.

At first sight it seemed quite possible that he might have heard of the Apostle from his favourite brother M. Annaeus Novatus, who on being adopted into the family of the Gallios took the names L. Junius Gallio, and is the very proconsul of Achaia mentioned in the *Acts*<sup>4</sup>. But on reflection it appears highly unlikely that

<sup>1</sup> Though Seneca's knowledge of Christianity cannot be said in any sense to be established, yet the intrinsic interest of the question as to whether he was acquainted with it, and the striking personality of the writer must justify his insertion in this section of the Testimonies.

<sup>2</sup> *De anima* 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Adv. Iovin.* 1 49.

<sup>4</sup> xviii 12-18.

Gallio, who as an official took no cognizance of these things, should have interested himself in the doings of an obscure and despised Jew.

However when St Paul was brought as a prisoner to Rome and placed under the charge of Burrus, the prefect of the Praetorian Guard and Seneca's close friend, it is not wholly impossible, though it cannot be called likely, that the philosopher and the prisoner were brought into contact. As Nero's adviser Seneca may also have been present at St Paul's first trial and acquittal, in which case he could scarcely have failed to be struck with so remarkable a personality. It has been further suggested that Acté (according to Chrysostom a convert of St Paul), whose amour with Nero was promoted, it is said, by Seneca, may have been the means of bringing the two men together. This is all that can be adduced in favour of the possibility of any personal contact between the Apostle and the philosopher. But it must never be forgotten that Seneca detested the Jews and called them a *gens sceleratissima*<sup>1</sup>.

Nevertheless it is undeniable that Seneca's works contain a number of passages which recall parallel sayings in the N.T. A few of the most striking are here given<sup>2</sup>. But in spite of their great superficial resemblance it is difficult to believe that Seneca could have been so familiar with Christian teaching and phraseology as these would seem *prima facie* to imply. Moreover the vital question of priority in writing has to be considered, and few of Seneca's works can be accurately dated. But while it is practically certain that in some

<sup>1</sup> See Augustine *De Civitate Dei* vi 2, from which passage it would seem that Seneca had never even heard of the Christian colony at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> The cumulative effect of quoting *all* the parallel passages makes a much greater impression. See Lightfoot *Philipp.* pp. 268 ff.

of the instances generally adduced Seneca was the earlier writer, yet it is noticeable, as Lightfoot<sup>1</sup> points out, that the resemblances become more frequent in his later works, a fact which calls for explanation. Ramsay thinks that "it is plain from his writings that Seneca had some slight acquaintance with Christian teaching," but he overlooks the possibility that the diction and phraseology of philosophy, especially that of the Stoics, may have coloured St Paul's ideas and his mode of expressing them, and so assimilated them to those of Seneca. Still, besides the longer passages, the little similarities of expression are more frequent than we should expect under cover of this or any like explanation: as, for instance, *Isti quos pro felicibus aspicitis, si non qua occurrunt sed qua latent videritis, miseri sunt sordidi turpes ad similitudinem parietum suorum extrinsecus culti*, compared with the "whited sepulchres" of St Matthew<sup>2</sup>, and further illustrated by Seneca's subsequent words, "the counterfeit splendour covers a deep and real foulness"; and, again, *in ipso usu sui periturum*, by the side of *ἐστὶ πάντα εἰς φθορὰν τῇ ἀποχρήσει*. The supposed reference to the Trinity is a mere coincidence of language, the work in which it occurs having been written too early to be indebted to Christian sources. The unfamiliar use of *caro*<sup>3</sup> in the Christian sense of "flesh" as opposed to "spirit," as in *omne animo cum hac carne grave certamen est*, derives from Epicurus<sup>4</sup>. As the Christians were not

<sup>1</sup> See his Essay quoted above p. 289. Professor W. M. Ramsay in *The Church in the Roman Empire* p. 273.

<sup>2</sup> *De Provid.* 6; Matt. xxiii 27.

<sup>3</sup> Seneca *De Vita Beata* 7; Coloss. ii 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Ad Marciam* 24; see also *Epist.* 65: cp. Galatians v 17.

<sup>5</sup> See Lightfoot *Philippians* p. 285 n.



persecuted till the last year of Seneca's life, the references to the *tunica molesta*<sup>1</sup> and to the man who could smile under hideous torments<sup>2</sup> cannot point to the Christians.

That some of the *Gens Annaea*, to which Seneca belonged, became Christians in later times may be inferred from an inscription found at Ostia on the *Via Severiana*<sup>3</sup> in 1887, the reference to the *Di Manes* not militating against this.

### 2 Epictetus (circa 45-120 A.D.).

As reported by Arrian, this Stoic writer does not use the term Christians, but he calls them "Galileans," and perhaps in one place, like Plutarch and Lucian, "Syrians." In some of his words and phrases he recalls the N.T.; but here again, as in the case of Seneca, it is not clear how far the Stoic background and the philosophic terminology generally were responsible for this. Besides the more important parallelisms there are many thoughts and turns of expression which echo familiar Scripture sayings, as for instance *Κύριε ἐλέησον*<sup>4</sup>, *εἰ νομίμως ἠθλήσας*<sup>5</sup>, with which compare *ἐὰν μὴ νομίμως ἀθλήσῃ*, and *τίς σοι ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκε*<sup>6</sup>, *οὐδεὶς ἁμαρτάνων ἐλεύθερος*<sup>7</sup>, and *ὄρκον παραιτήσαι*<sup>8</sup>.

There is *a priori* much more likelihood that Epictetus, the slave of Epaphroditus, Nero's freedman and

<sup>1</sup> *Epist.* 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Epist.* 78.

<sup>3</sup> 'D(IS) M(ANIBUS) M ANNIO PAULO PETRO M ANNEUS PAULUS FILIO CARISSIMO.'

<sup>4</sup> *Epict.* II 7 § 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* III 10 § 8 and II *Timoth.* ii 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Epict.* I 29 § 11 and *Matt.* xxi 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Epict.* II 1 § 23 and *John* viii 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Epict. Encheir.* 33 § 5 and *James* v 12. See also *Epict.* III 1 § 26 = I *Pet.* iii 3, 4; III 22 § 3 = *Matt.* xxiv 48-51; III 24 § 86 = *Mark* xi 12.

secretary, living too as he did to so much later a period, should have been brought into contact with Christianity than Seneca the *dives* and courtier. If he was brought to Rome before 64, he as well as Seneca may have witnessed the cruelties suffered by the Christians in the Vatican gardens<sup>1</sup>.

### 3 Gaius Plinius Secundus, the Younger (circa 61-113 A.D.).

With the famous correspondence between Trajan and Pliny we get the first clear reference to the Christians by name. Pliny had been sent out by the Emperor as *Legatus* of Bithynia and Pontus to restore order in a province that had been suffering from lax administration. He was a lawyer, a financier, a polished Roman gentleman, and an intimate friend of the Emperor's.

The Christians at that time were ranked in the category of brigands and disturbers of the peace, members of a body that set themselves in deliberate opposition to the unifying policy of the State. Pliny's primary duty of restoring discipline in the province brought him before long into conflict with the Christian community of Amisus. He did not hesitate, naturally humane though he was, to deal summarily, in his capacity of Roman administrator, with the situation that arose there. A sudden outbreak of public feeling, caused apparently by the effect of a decay of temple worship upon certain trades, brought the whole question of the legality of Christianity to the front in an

<sup>1</sup> On the expulsion of the philosophers in 89 A.D. he retired to Nicopolis where Paul had perhaps passed the last winter of his life (*Titus* iii 12).

abrupt and violent manner. Pliny's letter explains pretty fully what occurred.

It is quite a mistake to suppose that Trajan's answer to Pliny established any new principle in dealing with the Christians. It only explained clearly for Pliny's guidance what the standing law and usage were. But Trajan, as Pliny had evidently hoped and desired, without shewing the slightest intention of altering the legal status of the Christians, was at the same time unwilling to press the law against them. The mere admission that the accused was a Christian was sufficient, so long as a responsible accuser was forthcoming, to bring about his condemnation and death; but inconsistently enough, as Tertullian<sup>1</sup> later on was not slow to point out, the Emperor ruled that Christians must not be hunted out, as brigands and other malefactors, with whom they were graded, habitually and necessarily were. Yet the mere fact of their disobedience to authority and opposition to the imperial system was enough to justify the extreme penalty.

The account Pliny gives us of the Christian worship and manner of life is the earliest we have from the heathen side and, though ambiguous in one or two points, it is full of interest for us. We do not know how many persons suffered in this persecution. Some were sent to Rome to be dealt with by the Emperor as Roman citizens, others were degraded from their rank<sup>2</sup>, and many more were executed by Pliny. Probably there were between 100 and 200 martyrs<sup>3</sup>, more,

<sup>1</sup> *Apol.* I.

<sup>2</sup> Tertullian *Apol.* I.

<sup>3</sup> The *Acts of Phocas* bishop of Sinope place his martyrdom under Trajan, but the Governor of the Province is named Africanus.

possibly, than under Nero or in the whole reign of Marcus.

#### 4 Marcus Ulpius Traianus (Emperor 98-117).

Though we can gather from his letters to Pliny that neither by character nor principle was Trajan a persecutor of the Christians, yet we have much reason to suppose that Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, was thrown to the beasts by his authority in Rome itself. The prisoners sent by Pliny to Rome to be dealt with by the Emperor were doubtless beheaded by his orders. Nor were these the only martyrs under Trajan. Symeon bishop of Jerusalem and cousin of our Lord, fell a victim a few years before. Polycarp in his Letter to the Philippians<sup>1</sup> mentions Zosimus and Rufus in association with Ignatius. The martyrdom of Phocas above referred to is more doubtful. The Acts of Sharbil and Barsamya<sup>2</sup> evidently belong to the reign of Traianus Decius, as the mention of Fabianus the Roman bishop shews.

#### 5 Marcus Cornelius Tacitus (*circa* 55-120 A.D.).

As we know from Pliny's letter to Tacitus describing the elder Pliny's death, they were on friendly terms and Pliny assisted the historian with materials for his work. We may therefore with some confidence suppose that Tacitus heard of his predecessor's experience with the Christians in the Province, where it appears that Tacitus succeeded Pliny in the command. Moreover, as *consul suffectus* in the year of Domitian's death, he must have known all about his persecution of the Christians and Nerva's milder policy towards them<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot *Ignat. and Polycarp* 166 f.

<sup>3</sup> It has been thought by some that Tacitus may have drawn upon the

But in what he has to say about the Christians under Nero he is noticeably hard and unsympathetic. He takes their guilt for granted, terms their religion a pernicious superstition, calls them enemies of the human race, and implies that they deserved their fate. Unless he had more and better things to say of them in his lost Books, we cannot credit him with any real knowledge of them or their belief. Nor in what he does say can we be sure that his account has not been coloured by the standpoint of the Roman world towards Christianity when he wrote at the end of Trajan's reign.

From what we learn of Pomponia Graecina in the extract given here it seems pretty clear that she must have been a Christian<sup>1</sup>, though this cannot be said to be absolutely established. We know that several of the *Gens Pomponia*, holding high positions in the State, were Christians by the end of the second century. De Rossi has suggested that Pomponia Graecina may have received the name *Lucina* at her baptism, and be in fact the Lucina, on whose property was situated a cemetery on the Quirinal Hill near the Catacomb of Callixtus, where members of the *Gens Pomponia* and the *Gens Caecilia* were buried.

The third passage, relative to the Council of War held by Titus at the siege of Jerusalem, has been recovered from the pages of Sulpicius Severus by the acumen of Bernays. It gives the substance, though

elder Pliny's *Histories* (from Claudius to Vespasian) now lost. See Batiffol *The Credibility of the Gospel* 36. Engl. Trans.

<sup>1</sup> Wandinger in his tract on Pomponia suggests that her acquittal in her husband's court was due to the *flagitia* laid to the charge of Christians not being proved against her, and that, as Christianity was not yet distinguished from Judaism, she escaped under the privilege accorded to the latter as a *religio licita*.

doubtless not the precise words, of what Tacitus wrote, and is valuable as shewing that the distinction between Jew and Christian was clearly recognized by that time.

### 6 Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus (circa 70-150 A.D.).

Critics are not agreed whether in the first extract *Chresto* stands for *Christo* or not. *Chrestus* was a common name, especially among slaves. On the other hand *Chrestiani* was the vulgar form of *Christiani*<sup>1</sup>. The Sinaitic MS (*pr. manu.*) spells it so in Acts xi 26, and we have seen above that the word was probably so spelt by Tacitus.

Orosius<sup>2</sup> quoting this passage of Suetonius says "ait hoc modo, *Claudius Iudaeos impulsore Christo adsidue tumultuantes Roma expulit*, quod utrum contra Christum tumultuantes coerceri et comprimi iusserit, an etiam Christianos<sup>3</sup> simul velut cognatae religionis homines voluerit expelli, nequaquam discernitur."

The second extract given below is of some importance owing to its position among sumptuary and police regulations, such as a prohibition of disorders among charioteers, made by Nero. It is clear from this that action against the Christians, which must have followed closely upon the fire, was not based on any regular judicial process by means of a *quaestio*, but was of the nature of summary jurisdiction (*cognitio*). Such remained still the case under Trajan and after. The trial of Christians did not come before a constituted Court, but was conducted, in right of his power of *coercitio*,

<sup>1</sup> See Justin *Apol.* I 4.

<sup>2</sup> VII 15.

<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely that there were many Christians in Rome so early as 50 A.D. There were probably a few.

by the *legatus* or proconsul of a province, or by the *praefectus urbi* at Rome.

The rest of the quotations from Suetonius refer to Domitian's persecution, and though the Christianity of the victims is not expressly stated, it is fairly certain that Flavius Clemens, and possible that Acilius Glabrio also, were converts to Christianity, and that Clemens was put to death not only for suspected treason but also for his adoption of a new religion. As his sons were heirs designate to the Empire<sup>1</sup>, this must have opened out an unwelcome prospect for the future. With respect to Cerialis and Orfitus, mentioned with Clemens, the case is not so clear. Some converts from Judaism of the humbler classes<sup>2</sup>, by being counted as Jews owing to their being circumcized, may have suffered incidentally under the harsh and degrading regulations of the *Fiscus Judaicus*<sup>3</sup>.

#### 7 Publius Aelius Hadrianus (Emperor 117-138).

The authenticity has been impugned both of the Rescript<sup>4</sup> and of the Letter subjoined. The former appears first at the end of Justin's earlier *Apology* in Greek, though it must surely have been issued in Latin. It was probably Eusebius who for the purposes of his *History* translated it into Greek, from whence we may suppose that it was transferred to the MS of Justin. Rufinus in his Latin version of Eusebius no doubt went back to the original Rescript as Hadrian wrote it. In style and matter it certainly reads like his work. Lightfoot and Mommsen have upheld its genuineness. Professor Ramsay calls it a sarcasm, but such a verdict does

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 15.  
<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Dom.* 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Juvenal below p. 98.  
<sup>4</sup> Tertullian ignores it.

not seem required. It is quite in keeping with Hadrian's somewhat easy-going and cosmopolitan ideas of religion. As an Epicurean<sup>1</sup> he would not be so much opposed to Christianity as the followers of some other philosophies. The statement however that he wished to install Christ among his gods is probably a mistaken inference from the *templa Hadriana*<sup>2</sup>, which were set up here and there in his reign without being dedicated to any god.

In his Rescript Hadrian reaffirms, somewhat ambiguously it is true, the ruling of Trajan that Christians are liable to prosecution as such before a proper tribunal, but he apparently qualifies this by requiring proof of some breach of law against them, with punishment to follow in proportion to their misdoings. Popular outcries or appeals to prejudice against Christians he sternly prohibits, and decrees that calumnious accusations should be severely dealt with. This, partly illogical as it was, must have seemed to the Christians of the proconsular province of Asia, where persecution was always most rife, as little short of a charter of liberty. Popular feeling in that province, which had obviously risen to an unusual height, was by it kept in check. But the Rescript really made no new departure in the State policy. It merely reflected Hadrian's personal attitude of *laissez-faire*. It did not free the Christians from the sword of Damocles which always hung over them in the shape of their liability at any moment to be persecuted for the *nomen ipsum*.

<sup>1</sup> See Cagnat *L'Année Epigraphique* 1892 no. 20, a letter of Hadrian's.

<sup>2</sup> Lampr. *Alex. Sev.* 43. Withrow *Catacombs of Rome* p. 261 says that (shortly before 1897?) a slab was found in the Vigna Nusseriner with the representation of an ass on it, and the inscription *Hic est deus Hadriani*. He gives no particulars and the story is no doubt apocryphal.

The letter to Servianus has been more generally questioned. Harnack rejects it. But it is not easy to believe that such a curious and racy letter could have been forged. It surely must have come from Phlegon's Biography of Hadrian, inspired as was supposed by the Emperor himself. That it is difficult to understand is perhaps a point in its favour, and the character attributed in it to the Egyptians is partly endorsed by Plutarch<sup>1</sup>. Christianity as embraced by the Egyptian populace may have meant a partial continuance of old beliefs under Christian forms<sup>2</sup>. In fact, as was said of the Assyrian settlers in Galilee, they might "fear the Lord and yet serve their own gods<sup>3</sup>." It is certainly nothing incredible to be told that mammon was the universal deity.

#### 8 Phlegon (circa 80-140 A.D.).

A freedman of the Emperor's, he brought out his *Life*, as previously stated, under his own direction, and the loss of this is much to be regretted. He also wrote a book on *Marvels*; and the extracts from his work on *Chronology*, made by Origen and Syncellus, deal besides with prophecy and wonders in Nature. His acquaintance with Christianity was clearly but superficial. Still the loss of his actual words is unfortunate.

#### 9 Marcus Cornelius Fronto (circa 95-167 A.D.).

Fronto was held to be the greatest Latin orator of his day, but we have only two or three fragments of

<sup>1</sup> *Isis and Osiris* 72.

<sup>2</sup> Much as, for instance, Roman Catholic converts in China invest their ancestral Goddess of Mercy, Kwannon, with the attributes of the Virgin Mary. And indeed Isis and her son Horus at her breast did duty not seldom for the Madonna and Child.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xvii 33.

his speeches. The one here given, but how far it is *verbatim* we cannot tell, is historically the most important. The words *Cirtensis noster* refer to Fronto<sup>1</sup>. Though only the second part of this extract, describing the *Convivium*, is attributed expressly to Fronto by Minucius Felix, yet there can be little doubt that the equally rhetorical picture of another *flagitium* laid to the Christians' charge<sup>2</sup>, which precedes this, comes also from the same hand. Indeed it is far from unlikely that a great part of the indictment put into the mouth of Caecilius by Felix, is taken from Fronto's declamation. Octavius, the apologist for Christianity in this dialogue, is made explicitly to say that Fronto did not prove his charges by evidence, but made the most of them as an orator. It is clear from its character that this could have been no reasoned impeachment of Christianity, but rather a theme for the display of rhetoric. Even so it seems strange that a man of affairs like Fronto could have credited, or expected his hearers to credit, such puerile and revolting nonsense<sup>3</sup>. Probably it was an early performance, preceding his friendly intercourse with Pius and Marcus. The views of the latter would more nearly coincide with the cross-examination of Justin Martyr by Rusticus<sup>4</sup>.

It is to be feared that colour was given to these calumnies against the Orthodox by the doctrines of certain heretical sects, such as the Carpocratians and

<sup>1</sup> As we see from another passage in the *Octavius* (31 § 3).

<sup>2</sup> Lucian evidently disbelieved such charges, see his *Saturnalia* 6: ἔσθ' ὅστις ἄνθρωπος (οὐ γὰρ θεὸν ἐρῶ) ὑπομεινεῖεν ἂν ἐκὼν αὐτὸς καταφαγεῖν τὰ τέκνα; Celsus too ignores them in his *True Word*. In his *Convivium* (§ 46) Lucian describes a scene at a feast of false philosophers where a lamp is overturned and an orgy follows.

<sup>3</sup> See Tertullian's scathing sarcasms on such fables *Apol.* 2.

<sup>4</sup> Ruinart *Acta Sincera* pp. 105 ff.

Marcosians, who were not clearly differentiated by the heathen from what Celsus calls the "Great Church." It still remains within the memory of some that baseless charges, similar to that of the *Convivium*, were brought even in our time against the "Salvation Army" in its earlier days.

The date of the *Octavius* is disputed, the guesses of scholars varying between 160 and 225 A.D. It is obvious that the author imitated Tertullian—for we cannot easily imagine the rough, original, impetuous rhetorician imitating the polished classical stylist—and was in his turn plagiarized by Cyprian in his *De Idolorum Vanitate*. In Fronto's correspondence there is no allusion to the Christians nor any hint of interest in them. Yet, if the accepted date for Justin's martyrdom is correct, Justin and his companions were martyred at Rome by Rusticus, the friend of Marcus and Fronto, in 163 A.D. We see from Fronto's Letters that Marcus was absent from Rome for a part of that year. During his absence Fronto himself was, it appears, in Rome.

#### 10 Titus Antoninus Pius (Emperor 138-161).

Melito, bishop of Sardis, in his *Apology* addressed to Marcus about 170 A.D.<sup>1</sup> gives us the valuable piece of information, not elsewhere recorded, that Pius with Marcus as his coadjutor, and therefore at some date between 147 and 161, possibly about the time of Polycarp's martyrdom in 155, tried, as Hadrian had done, by rescript to check mob violence against the Christians in the Greek cities of Greece proper and elsewhere. Let it not be forgotten that Marcus was party

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* IV 26.

to this injunction, as Melito expressly tells us, from the central Government. Both these emperors clearly discouraged popular violence and forbade any innovation in the treatment of Christians. Like Trajan and Hadrian they were prepared, as Romans and patriots, to uphold the traditional policy of the State but not to aggravate it. From Nerva to Commodus there is, for nearly 100 years, an absolute continuity in the State's attitude towards the Christians. We do not know what disorders called forth the Rescript, but possibly other martyrdoms, such as those of Thraseas, bishop of Eumeneia, or Sagaris of Laodicea<sup>1</sup>, took place at the same period as Polycarp's, that is about 155 A.D. It is curious that there are some slight reasons to suppose (from Malalas<sup>2</sup> and Aristides<sup>3</sup>) that Pius was in the East about this time.

#### 11 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (Sub-emperor 147-161; Emperor 161-180).

It is not certain whether this *Letter to the Commune of Asia* was sent by Pius or Marcus or both. Eusebius, followed by the *Chronicon Paschale*, ascribes it to Marcus<sup>4</sup>. As quoted at the end of Justin's *Apology* it is attributed to Pius. Harnack<sup>5</sup> rightly upholds the genuineness of

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* V 24, IV 26. The martyrdom of Publius, bishop of Athens, and the religious troubles there, of which Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, makes mention (Euseb. *H. E.* IV 33), probably took place before 147.

<sup>2</sup> XI 280 (Bonn). Fronto nearly took up the proconsulship of Asia that very year.

<sup>3</sup> I 453 (Dindorf); Waddington *Mém. de l'Acad.* 1867 p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> Though he puts it among events connected with Pius.

<sup>5</sup> *Texte und Untersuchungen* XIII. The silence of Melito is against the authenticity of the Rescript, though he mentions letters of similar remonstrance sent by Pius and Marcus to the Greek cities. Zonaras (XII 2) says that in consequence of Justin's apology Pius δόγμα τῷ Κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπέστειλε μηδένα Χριστιανὸν διὰ τὴν θρησκείαν κολάζεσθαι.

the Rescript in the main, and he dates it about 152 A.D. The dating, as given in the Justin version, is absurd and impossible, and Mommsen alters it so as to give the date 158 A.D. The numbers in Eusebius point to 161. If then the Rescript was drawn up in the last months of the life of Pius and issued by Marcus after his death, the double ascription would admit of some sort of explanation. Being really the work of Pius and Marcus in conjunction, it would not be required to bear the name of Verus. This date might also suit the allusion to an earthquake, which we find in the document<sup>1</sup>. The Letter as we have it opens abruptly and the beginning seems to have been lost<sup>2</sup>.

Besides the passages given below from the *Meditations* of Marcus, there is another, which if set beside the one from Book XI would seem to glance at the Christian 'disobedience' or policy of opposition to the Imperial Government. He says<sup>3</sup>: "Never forget that the Ruling Reason shews itself unconquerable. When concentrated in itself, it is content with itself, so that it do nothing that it doth not will, even if it refuse from mere opposition and not from reason."

In speaking of exorcisms Marcus can scarcely fail to have had Christians in mind. The power of exorcizing demons was claimed by the Church as an infallible test of the truth of their religion<sup>4</sup>. Ulpian in the *Digest* calls exorcists impostors<sup>5</sup>. Abercius, bishop of

<sup>1</sup> See Fronto (Loeb Edition) II pp. 41, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Whether the Letter was originally in Latin is not known, but probably not. It is difficult to explain the differences between the two versions.

<sup>3</sup> VIII 48.

<sup>4</sup> Tert. *Apol.* 23; Justin *Apol.* II 6; Min. Felix 27; Theoph. II 8; Orig. *c. Cels.* VII 67 etc.

<sup>5</sup> *Digest* 50. 13 § 3.

Hieropolis, is credited in his legendary Life with casting out a devil from Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus himself<sup>1</sup>.

In the second extract the persons described as "those who do not believe in the Gods, are unpatriotic, and hide their deeds from the light of day," can only be Christians, who were accused of these very things. In the third and fourth the sufferings of the martyrs seem certainly meant, for the victims are obviously not looked upon as malefactors in the usual sense, and who but they were for no crime "pursued with curses, cried out against by all, and thrown to the beasts"?

In the last passage the word *Χριστιανοὶ* must be rejected, for it is ungrammatical, as written, and due no doubt to a gloss. But even so the Christians must be glanced at. Yet Marcus no doubt had no little sympathy at heart for such misguided enthusiasts. Did they not indeed carry out to the full his own precept that a man should obey "the conscience enthroned in his bosom"<sup>2</sup>? His supposed letter to the Senate on the victory over the Quadi in 174 is, doubtless, as we have it, an evident forgery<sup>3</sup>; but though he was in no sense the deliberate and bitter persecutor of the Christians, which he has so often been represented as being, yet he did not, and could not, any more than his great predecessors, approve of their disobedience to the laws of the State and the conduct of some of their number, when brought to trial.

<sup>1</sup> The account cannot be reconciled with chronology.

<sup>2</sup> *Medit.* II 13 etc. Cp. the remarkable admission by Celsus (Origen VIII 66) *ἐὰν μέντοι γε κελεύει τις, εἰ τύχοι, θρησκευόντα θεὸν ἢ ἀσεβεῖν ἢ ἄλλο τι αἰσχρὸν εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς πιστευτέον· ἀλλὰ πρὸ τούτων πάσαις βασάνοις ἐγκαρτερητέον καὶ πάντας θανάτους ὑπομονητέον πρὶν τι ἀνόσιον περὶ θεοῦ, μὴ ὅτι γε εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μελετήσαι.*

<sup>3</sup> See below p. 120.

12 Titus Flavius Domitianus (Emperor 81-96 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>.

Some obscurity rests upon the persecution of Christianity by Domitian, but this much is clear, that what he did in this way was due to political motives, and that he attacked chiefly persons in high position at Rome, who were suspected of disloyalty to his Government, or supposed descendants of the ancient Jewish kings. His father Vespasian had already after the fall of Jerusalem sought out with some rigour towards the Jews<sup>2</sup> all the descendants of David that could be found, and these were still held in suspicion under Trajan, when Symeon, the centenarian bishop of Jerusalem and a cousin of our Lord, suffered death owing to his royal lineage<sup>3</sup>, his accusers also being subsequently arrested on the same charge. Vespasian himself is generally acquitted of any action against the Christians<sup>4</sup>. But Ramsay broaches an untenable theory that he first made the religion illegal, and he presses into his service a passage from Suetonius, *neque enim caede cuiusquam umquam <laetatus est et> iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit*, as if these referred to Christian martyrdoms<sup>5</sup>.

Juvenal implies that some persons of the lower classes were sufferers under Domitian, but nothing is known about these<sup>6</sup>. Hegesippus and Tertullian imply that Domitian himself put an end to the persecution,

<sup>1</sup> The account of Domitian's persecution comes here because reported by Hegesippus (circa 110-180 A.D.) and Bruttius (circa 150 A.D.?).

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* III 12 (after Hegesippus). <sup>3</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* III 32.

<sup>4</sup> Hilary of Poitiers about 350 A.D. names him as a persecutor with Nero and Decius, but he must mean Domitian.

<sup>5</sup> *The Church in the Roman Empire*: see Suet. *Vespas.* 15. The allusion is quite vague and might refer to the philosophers punished under this reign.

<sup>6</sup> See below p. 99.

but Eusebius and Dio give this credit to Nerva, who repealed all the acts of his predecessor<sup>1</sup>.

Besides the grandchildren (or children) of Jude Domitian is said to have arrested and examined the apostle John also, either owing to his eminence in the Church or perhaps because he was said to be related to our Lord and therefore of the lineage of David. Tertullian affirms that he was plunged into boiling oil, and escaping unhurt<sup>2</sup> was sent back into exile. Malalas<sup>3</sup>, a quite untrustworthy authority, gives further details, stating that the Emperor addressed John with the words, "Ἀπελθε καὶ ἡσύχασον ὅθεν ἦλθες, adding Καὶ ἐλοιδορήθη· καὶ ἐξώρισεν αὐτὸν εἰς Πάτμον. πολλοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Χριστιανοὺς ἐτιμωρήσατο, ὥστε φυγεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸν Πόντον, καθὼς Βώπτιος<sup>4</sup> ὁ σοφὸς χρονογράφος συνεγράψατο κατ' αὐτῶν.

Little is known about this Bruttius, but from the words of Eusebius<sup>5</sup>, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἀποθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου συγγραφεῖς μὴ ἀποκνήσαι ταῖς αὐτῶν ἱστορίαις τὸν τε διωγμὸν καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ μαρτύρια παραδοῦναι, we may perhaps conjecture that he was a heathen.

Nicephorus Callistus<sup>6</sup> says that not only Christian, but much more non-Christian writers gave an account of the severe persecution under Domitian and

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* III 22; Tertull. *Apol.* 5; Euseb. *H. E.* III 20; Dio, *Nerv.* LXVIII 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Praesc. c. Haer.* 36. Tradition makes the Lateran Gate the scene of this. <sup>3</sup> *Chronographia* x 262 ed. Bonn.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* Bruttius, of whom he also tells us that he wrote an account of Danaë and compared Alexander to a *πάραλις*. Lightfoot (*Clement of Rome* I 48), referring this to Daniel (vii 6), and from other indications, thinks that Bruttius was a Christian. Eusebius may also have been thinking of Dio.

<sup>5</sup> *H. E.* III 18. The *Chron. Paschale* 4683 calls him *ἱστορικὸς καὶ χρονογράφος*. Scaliger suggested that he might be the Bruttius Praesens, father of Crispina who married Commodus.

<sup>6</sup> *Hist.* III 9.



the confession and martyrdom of eminent persons in it, dating it in the fifteenth year of his reign. He says that "after many others" Flavia Domitilla suffered.

Hegesippus, a converted Jew, was the earliest Church historian, but his work is lost, except for the fragments quoted by Eusebius<sup>1</sup>. From these we glean some interesting facts in early Church history, among them the interview between Domitian and the descendants of our Lord's brother Judas or Jude, and the search by Vespasian for descendants of David, in which inquisition the Desposyni<sup>2</sup>, or relatives of the Master, must have been involved.

**13 Dio Cassius Cocceianus of Nicaea (circa 155-235 A.D.).**

Owing to the loss of large portions of the work of this historian, their place being poorly supplied by the Epitome of Xiphilinus in the eleventh century, we cannot be sure what direct mention, if any, Dio made of the Christians, for instance in the story of the "Thundering Legion." Where we have his own words he seems to have avoided the term *Χριστιανός*. Of course as a public official and man of affairs he must have been well acquainted with Christianity and its followers.

As far as it goes, his testimony is valuable. He differs in his account of Domitian's persecution from that which is given by Bruttius, in making Domitilla, who suffered with Clemens, his wife and not his niece, and exiling her to Pandateria and not to Pontia. Pos-

<sup>1</sup> See E. Preuschen *Analecta* and Lawlor's *Eusebiana*.

<sup>2</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* I 14.

sibly there were two Domitillas<sup>1</sup>. The islands named were close to one another. To the charges brought against Glabrio Dio adds that of fighting with beasts in the arena at Albanum<sup>2</sup>, an act impossible<sup>3</sup> for a Christian except under compulsion. There seem to have been tombs to various Acilii in the catacomb of Priscilla, that name also being found in the Acilian *gens*.

**14 Publius Aelius Aristides (circa 120-189 A.D.).**

The long extract from a speech on *The Four*<sup>4</sup> is a bitter character-sketch, heightened by all the arts of a practised rhetorician, of certain philosophers unnamed, who are compared to the "impious people of Palestine," the traits of the two sets of persons being subsequently run into one another. Opinions have varied since the early scholiasts, as to whether Jews or Christians are meant by the "godless folk." But on the whole it seems clear that primarily the Cynics are decried, and then the Christians held up to odium on similar grounds. Many of the characteristics depicted cannot be held to apply to the Christians, but there are others which are plainly meant for them, such as their cosmopolitanism, their talk of a community of goods, their severance from the rest of the world, their hole-and-corner life, and their general incivism and anti-hellenism.

Aristides must have been familiar with the persecution of Christians<sup>5</sup>, and have had a general, if superficial, knowledge of them. The Cynics, with whom he

<sup>1</sup> But this is far from likely. The Domitilla who was wife of Clemens was probably the niece of Domitian. So Lightfoot *Clem.* I 48.

<sup>2</sup> See Fronto (Loeb Series), I 210; Juvenal IV 95.

<sup>3</sup> Tert. *Apol.* 44.

<sup>4</sup> *i.e.* the four great Greek Orators.

<sup>5</sup> He was a friend of Statius Quadratus the proconsul of Asia, who condemned Polycarp and his companions in 155.

compares them, are the later Cynics<sup>1</sup>, against whom Lucian also inveighs in his *Peregrinus* and *The Runaway Slaves*. They brought the sacred name of Philosophy into hatred and contempt, for they used the garb of philosophers only to cloak their vulgarity and offensive vices. But this was not universally the case, and the better Cynics retained many of the characteristics of Stoicism, from which they were an offshoot, and made an approximation, in their profession at least, to the Christian philosophy<sup>2</sup>. In fact there was enough common ground between Cynicism and Christianity<sup>3</sup> for *Peregrinus* to pass at a step from the one to the other. Justin half implies that Crescens denounced him for fear of being himself thought too favourable towards some of the Christian ideas<sup>4</sup>. So closely did Cynics approximate to the celibate phase of Christianity that Hippolytus<sup>5</sup> does not hesitate to say of the Encratites that they were more like Cynics than Christians.

Aristides makes a further passing allusion to the Christians in his speech on the Temple of Eleusis, where he speaks of persons, who are κοινὸι τῶν ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς θεῶν πολέμιοι<sup>6</sup>.

15 Lucianus (Lycinus) of Samosata (circa 120-190 A.D.).

Interested as he was in all philosophies and forms of religious thought, Lucian could not but have had his attention drawn to Christianity, a religion which

<sup>1</sup> Bernays points out that their three characteristics were παρρησία, ἐλευθερία, φιλανθρωπία, which Aristides brings out in his sketch.

<sup>2</sup> As Justin Martyr expressly calls it, *Dial. Tryph.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> See Bernays *Lucian und die Kyniker* p. 36; Friedländer *Roman Life* III 243 f. (Engl. Transl.).

<sup>4</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* IV 16 = Justin *Apol.* II 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Refut. Haeres.* VIII 20. <sup>6</sup> See Bernays *Lucian* p. 104.

had arisen so recently in his own native Syria. It is clear that, though he did not take it seriously, he knew more about it than any of his contemporaries except Celsus, who had studied it for polemical purposes, and Galen, whose cosmopolitan and encyclopaedic mind was prepared to give this new philosophy a fair hearing.

It is even possible that in his *Hermotimus* Lucian is recording his own experience, in which case it would appear that his conversion was at one time not wholly impossible<sup>1</sup>. Though he speaks scoffingly enough of the religion and its Founder, it is not done with animus, and by coupling its votaries with the Epicureans he shews that he had some sort of regard for it<sup>2</sup>. He gives the Christians credit, with the Epicureans, of being uncompromising opponents of the charlatan Alexander of Abonouteichos, and seems to approve of their generosity and kindness to their co-religionists. The picture of the "City of God," the home of good and happy citizens, as drawn in the *Hermotimus*, can surely be no other than a eulogy of the Christian ideal. He had probably been present at martyrdoms, for he speaks of Christians giving themselves up voluntarily to death<sup>3</sup>.

Lucian was not unacquainted with Christian literature. In his *Peregrinus* we trace a knowledge of the Epistles of Ignatius and of Polycarp's martyrdom. In fact much of the framework of the *Peregrinus* is a veiled parody of the Ignatian Letters with a hint or two of Polycarp's martyrdom shredded in to embellish

<sup>1</sup> Is he imitating Justin Martyr's personal experience in *Dial. Tryph.* 3?

<sup>2</sup> See his *Alexander* and *Peregrinus*.

<sup>3</sup> Is he not also thinking of them in *Iupiter Tragoedus* 19 in the words ἀνασκοπιζομένους δὲ καὶ τυμπαυιζομένους ἐνίστε τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας?

the recital of the Cynic's self-immolation. Lucian describes Peregrinus as τὸν ἐν Συρίᾳ δεθέντα...πάσαις σχεδὸν ταῖς ἐνδόξοις πόλεσιν ἐπιστολὰς διαπέμφαντα, which ἐπιστολαὶ he calls διαθήκας (using the Christian term) καὶ παραινέσεις καὶ νόμους, and says that he πρεσβευτὰς τινὰς τῶν ἐταίρων ἐχειροτόνησε νεκραγγέλους καὶ νερτεροδρόμους προσαγορεύσας<sup>1</sup>. Lightfoot points out that "the whole description is charged with early Christian ideas," even in the portions which do not refer to the Christian career of Peregrinus, such as in the references to the Phoenix and the Sibyl<sup>2</sup>.

Touches that may have been derived from Polycarp's martyrdom are: ἀνήψαν τὸ πῦρ μέγιστον ἅτε ἀπὸ δάδων καὶ φρυγάνων<sup>3</sup>, ἀποθέμενος τὴν πήραν καὶ τὸ τριβώνιον, ὠπτημένον γερόντιον. Other slight resemblances could be adduced, the cumulative effect of all these being considerable.

In the *Vera Historia* we have what looks much like a reminiscence of the *Apocalypse*<sup>4</sup>: αὐτὴ μὲν οὖν ἡ πόλις πᾶσα χρυσοῦ, τὸ δὲ τεῖχος παράκειται σμαράγδινον. πύλαι δὲ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ, πᾶσαι μονόξυλοι κινναμώμιοι. τὸ μέντοι ἔδαφος τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ τεύχους γῆ ἐλεφαντίνη. ναοὶ δὲ πάντων θεῶν βηρύλλου λίθου ὠκοδομημένοι καὶ βωμοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς μέγιστοι μονόλιθοι ἀμεθύστινοι, ἐφ' ὧν ποιοῦσι τὰς ἐκατόμβας.

Again the account of a shipwreck has some points of resemblance with the account in the *Acts*<sup>5</sup>; and Lucian speaks elsewhere of "walking on the water"<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Peregr.* 41, cp. *Ign. Phil.* 10, *Polyc.* 7, *Smyrn.* 11.

<sup>2</sup> Lightfoot *Ign.* 1 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Peregr.* 37; *Martyr. Polyc.* 13, 15. Cp. *Fugitivὸς* 1 οὕτω χρηστὸς ὁ γέρον ἦν καὶ ἀνάξιος ἐν πυρὶ ἀπολωλέναι.

<sup>4</sup> 11 11 = *Revel.* xxi 21; see also 1 3, compared with *Jonah*.

<sup>5</sup> *De merc. cond.* 3 = *Acts* xxvii.

<sup>6</sup> *Philops.* 13.

and of Heracles as God-man: εἶτα τέθνηκε Διὸς υἱὸς ὦν;...καὶ δυνατὸν ἐξ ἡμισείας μὲν τινα θεὸν εἶναι, τεθνάναι δὲ τῷ ἡμίσει; Ναί· οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τέθνηκεν κ.τ.λ. Christ's simile of the "reed shaken in the wind" is found in Lucian<sup>1</sup>: ἡ καὶ νῆ Δία <ἐοικὼς> καλάμῳ τινὶ ἐπ' ὄχθη παραποταμῖα πεφυκότι καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ πνέον καμπτομένῳ, καὶ μικρὰ τις αὔρα διαφυσῆσασα διασαλεύσῃ αὐτόν. There is also the passage where a gardener, Midas, bitten by a snake, is healed by a Chaldean with a charm καὶ ἀράμενος τὸν σκίμποδα, ἐφ' οὗ ἐκεκόμιστο, ὄχρετο ἐς τὸν ἀγρὸν ἀπιών<sup>2</sup>.

16 Apuleius of Madaura in Africa (*circa* 120–190 A.D.).

The greatest African writer of his time, Apuleius, must have been familiar with Christianity, and it is possible that the Martyrs of Madaura<sup>3</sup> suffered there in his own lifetime. One of these called Namphamo (a Punic name like those of his companions) is called "Archimartyr," which is taken (but on insufficient grounds) to mean 'protomartyr' of Africa. But there were no African martyrs before 180 A.D. Some have thought—but there is no evidence for it—that the *Metamorphosis* of this writer was written to commend Paganism and its mysteries in opposition to Christianity. The author evidently had no interest in the new religion.

17 Claudius Galenus of Pergamos (*circa* 130–210 A.D.).

Galen the philosopher and physician was one of the

<sup>1</sup> *Hermot.* 68.

<sup>2</sup> *Philopseudes* 11. Cp. *Matt.* ix 6; *Mark* ii 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Augustine Letters* xv, xvi, quoting from the grammarian Maximus of Madaura.

most remarkable men in history. Equally proficient in medicine and philosophy<sup>1</sup>, he made such an impression by his character and intellect that after his death he was called *θαυμάσιος*. Except the Emperor himself he was the best and greatest man of his day. We are therefore all the better pleased to find that he understood the Christian character and ethics better than any predecessor or contemporary, though he has not so good an opinion of their intellect as of their morality. He notes however their stubborn adherence to their faith, and credits them with being true philosophers. The Parables and Miracles of the N.T. seem especially to have attracted his attention. Galen certainly visited Palestine at least once. He had seen Christians die for their faith. In all probability he was in Rome when Rusticus, the city prefect, condemned Justin and his companions to death.

The really important testimonies from this author are only preserved in Arabic, among the writers of which Galen was held in high estimation. There is no real reason to doubt the authenticity of the evidence, though there is some confusion as to the title of the tract in which the passage of most value occurs. The term *Naziraei* for Christians is noticeable if it was, as is probable, the one which Galen used.

Benvenuto da Imola (14th cent. end) in his commentary on Dante *Inf.* xv 106 (Lacaita vol. I 522)<sup>2</sup> mentions a saying of Galen's that the Christians have few men of any account because they are involved in many errors. It is not known where this comes from.

<sup>1</sup> Marcus said of him that he was "the first of physicians, and the only philosopher," see Galen xiv 658 (Κύην).

<sup>2</sup> See Coulton *Med. Garn.* p. 619.

### 18 Graffito on the Palatine<sup>1</sup> at Rome (circa 180 A.D.).

This inscription, which was found in 1856, is scrawled on the plaster beneath a caricature which represents a figure with an ass's head crucified, and a man raising his hand in adoration as he gazes upon it<sup>2</sup>. The caricature is supposed to have been made by one of the royal pages quartered on the spot and directed against a fellow page. Tertullian<sup>3</sup> tells us of a caricature showing a figure with ass's ears and hooves, holding a book, with the inscription *θεὸς ὀνοκοίτης* beneath it, which was exhibited by a renegade Jew in Carthage.

### 19 Numenius of Apamea (circa 170 A.D.).

This philosopher, whose tenets combined Pythagorean with Platonic doctrines, tried to correlate his philosophy to the religious ideas of the Jews, Egyptians, and Indians. He called Plato the "Atticizing Moses," and allegorized parts of the Scriptures, as we learn from Origen, interpreting them in a figurative sense. His speculations took a Gnostic character.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Domus Gelotiana*, where stood the quarters for the royal pages.

<sup>2</sup> Near by was found another graffito *Alexamenos fidelis*.

<sup>3</sup> *Apol.* 16. See, for a similar figure, Champfleury *Hist. of Ancient Caricature* p. 284 (1867) and Duruy *Hist. Rom.* v 752 (Engl. Transl.).

Ἐροῦσι δὲ τάδε, ὅτι οὕτω διακείμενος ὁ δίκαιος μαστιγώσεται  
 στρεβλώσεται δεδήσεται...τελευτῶν πάντα κακὰ παθὼν ἀνασχινδου-  
 λευθήσεται καὶ γνῶσεται ὅτι οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἀλλὰ δοκεῖν δεῖ  
 ἐθέλειν.

PLATO *Resp.* II 361 C (*circ.* 390 B.C.).

Adgredere o magnos, aderit iam tempus, honores,  
 Cara Deum suboles, magnum Iovis incrementum!  
 Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,  
 Terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum,  
 Aspice venturo laetantur ut omnia saeclo.

VERGIL *Ecl.* IV 48 (B.C. 40).

Pluribus persuasio inerat antiquis sacerdotum literis con-  
 tineri eo tempore fore ut valesceret Oriens profectique Iudaea  
 rerum potirentur.

TACITUS *Hist.* V 13 (*circa* 110 A.D.).

Percrebruerat oriente toto vetus et constans opinio esse in  
 fati ut eo tempore Iudaea profecti rerum potirentur.

SUETONIUS *Vesp.* 4 (*circa* 115 A.D.).

## I. ALLUSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY

## I SENECA\*

(a) *Epist.* 87 § 21.

Animus nisi purus ac sanctus est, deum non capit.

(b) *Epist.* 87 § 24.

Non nascitur ex malo bonum—non magis quam ficus ex olea<sup>1</sup>.

(c) *Epist.* 38 § 2.

Seminis modo spargenda sunt verba. Quod quamvis sit exiguum, quum occupavit idoneum locum, vires suas explicat, et ex minimo in maximos auctus diffunditur.

(d) *De Benef.* 4 § 26.

Si deos imitaris, da et ingratis beneficia. Nam et sceleratis sol oritur.

(e) *De Provid.* 4 (p before 30 A.D.).

Hos itaque deus quos probat, quos amat, indurat recognoscit exercet.

(f) *De Provid.* 5.

Boni viri laborant impendunt impenduntur, et volenter quidem.

(g) *Epist.* 41.

Prope est a te deus, tecum est, intus est. Ita dico, sacer intra nos spiritus sedet, malorum bonorumque nostrorum observator et custos.

(h) *Epist.* 63 § 7.

Excutit redeuntem natura sicut intrantem. Non licet plus efferre quam intuleris... Abstulit fatum sed dedit.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Plut. *de Tranquill.* 13 τὴν ἀμπελον σῦκα φέρειν οὐκ ἀξιοῦμεν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐλαίαν βότρυς. Also Galen *de Curat.* τὸν βᾶτον ἐκφέρειν βότρυς.

## I. ALLUSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY

## I SENECA

(a) Unless it be pure and holy, the mind does not receive God<sup>1</sup>.

(b) Good is not the product of evil, any more than a fig of an olive-tree<sup>2</sup>.

(c) Words should be sown like seed. For though a seed be small, yet when it has found a congenial soil, it puts forth its powers, and from the tiniest of beginnings spreads out into the mightiest of growths<sup>3</sup>.

(d) If thou wouldst be like the Gods, bestow benefits even on the thankless. For the sun rises on the wicked also<sup>4</sup>.

(e) Those then whom God approves, whom he loves, he hardens, he tests, he disciplines<sup>5</sup>.

(f) Good men toil, they spend and are spent, and that too of their own free-will<sup>6</sup>.

(g) God is nigh unto thee, is with thee, is within thee. This I say, a holy spirit dwells within us, the watchman and overseer of what is good and bad in us<sup>7</sup>.

(h) Nature strips a man when he goes back as when he came in. Thou mayest not carry out more than thou didst carry in... Fortune has taken away, but fortune gave<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Matt. v 8. <sup>2</sup> Matt. vii 17=Lk. vi 43. <sup>3</sup> Matt. xviii 32.  
<sup>4</sup> Lk. vi 35=Matt. v 45. <sup>5</sup> Hebr. xii 5 (cp. Proverbs iii 11).  
<sup>6</sup> 11 Corinth. xii 15. <sup>7</sup> Rom. viii 9, 11; 1 Corinth. iii 16, vi 19; Lk. xii 15 etc. <sup>8</sup> 1 Tim. vi 7; Job i 21. The Epistle to Timothy was probably written after Seneca's death.

(i) *Epist.* 73 *ad fin.*

Semina in corporibus humanis divina dispersa sunt.  
Quae si bonus cultor excipit, similia origini prodeunt.  
...Si malus, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris  
necat, ac deinde creat purgamenta pro frugibus.

(k) *Epist.* 47 § 16.

Non potest amor cum timore misceri.

## 2 EPICTETUS

(a) *Diss.* II 9 § 20.

Τί οὖν Στωικὸν λέγεις σεαυτόν; τί ἐξαπατᾶς τοὺς πολλούς; τί ὑποκρίνη Ἰουδαίους ὡς Ἕλληνας; οὐχ ὄρας πῶς ἕκαστος λέγεται Ἰουδαῖος; πῶς Σύρος; πῶς Αἰγύπτιος; καὶ ὅταν τινὰ ἐπαμφοτερίζοντα ἴδωμεν, εἰώθαμεν λέγειν, 'οὐκ ἔστιν Ἰουδαῖος, ἀλλ' ὑποκρίνεται'. ὅταν δ' ἀναλάβῃ τὸ πάθος τὸ τοῦ βεβαμμένου καὶ ἡρημένου, τότε καὶ ἔστι τῷ ὄντι καὶ καλεῖται Ἰουδαῖος. οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς παραβαπτισταὶ λόγῳ μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἄλλο τι· ἀσυμπαθεῖς πρὸς τὸν λόγον, μακρὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἃ λέγομεν, ἐφ' οἷς ὡς εἰδότες αὐτὰ ἐπαιρόμεθα.

(b) *Diss.* III 22 § 69.

Τοιαύτης δὲ οὐσης καταστάσεως, οἷα νῦν ἔστιν, ὡς ἐν παρατάξει, μήποτε ἀπερισπαστὸν εἶναι δεῖ τὸν Κυνικὸν ὅλον πρὸς τῇ διακονίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἀνθρώποις δυνάμενον, οὐ προσδεδεμένον καθήκουσιν ἰδιω-

(i) Divine seeds are scattered in human bodies. These, if they find a good husbandman, turn out like their origin... If a bad one, he kills them just as does a barren and water-logged soil, and then grows weeds instead of corn<sup>1</sup>.

(k) Love cannot coexist with fear<sup>2</sup>.

## 2 EPICTETUS

(a) Why then do you call yourself a Stoic? Why deceive the generality? Why, being a Greek, personate Jews? Do you not see how each individual is called a Jew, a Syrian<sup>3</sup>, an Egyptian? and when we see that a man is halting between two opinions we are wont to say, This man is no Jew, but feigns; but when he has taken upon him the condition of one who is 'dipped<sup>4</sup>', and has made his choice, then is he both a Jew indeed and is called one. Thus we too, sham 'dippers,' are nominally Jews but in reality something else; we are out of harmony with the doctrine, and are far from practising the principles we profess, on which we pride ourselves as adepts<sup>5</sup>.

(b) But such being the present constitution of things, as though we were in battle-array, is it not essential that a Cynic should be wholly given up without distraction to the service of God<sup>6</sup>, able to go about among men without being bound by duties or entangled in

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii 7 ff.<sup>2</sup> John, I Epist. iv 18.<sup>3</sup> Possibly means Christian, see below, p. 95.<sup>4</sup> We should rather have expected circumcision to be mentioned. There was a tendency to adopt Jewish customs, but not circumcision, among the Romans. See Hor. *Sat.* I 9. 69; Seneca (Aug. *de Civit. Dei* VI 11); Plut. *de Superst.* III 166<sup>a</sup>; Juv. *Sat.* XIV 9.<sup>5</sup> Romans II 28; IV 17-28.<sup>6</sup> Cp. 2 Tim. II 4, and especially ἀπερισπαστως and ἐμπλέκεται. See also I Cor. VII 26, VIII 33 f.

τικοῖς, οὐδὲ ἐμπεπληγμένον σχέσεσιν, ἃς παραβαίνων οὐκέτι σώσει τὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ πρόσωπον, τηρῶν δὲ ἀπολεῖ τὸν ἄγγελον καὶ κατὰσκοπον καὶ κήρυκα τῶν θεῶν;

(c) *Diss.* II 8 § 13.

Ἐν σαυτῷ φέρεις αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν θεόν) καὶ μολύνων οὐκ αἰσθάνη ἀκαθάρτοις μὲν διανοήμασι ῥυπαραῖς δὲ πράξεσιν.

(d) *Diss.* II 26 § 4.

Ὁ θέλει οὐ ποιεῖ καὶ ὃ μὴ θέλει ποιεῖ.

(e) *Diss.* IV 7 § 3.

Ἄν οὖν τῶν δορυφόρων τις αἰσθάνηται καὶ ὅτι μαχαίρας ἔχουσιν, ἐπ' αὐτῷ δὲ τούτῳ προσέρχεται αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ τυράννῳ) θέλων ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τινα περίστασιν καὶ ζητῶν ὑπ' ἄλλου παθεῖν αὐτὸ εὐκόλως, μὴ τι φοβεῖται τοὺς δορυφόρους; Θέλει γὰρ τοῦτο δι' ὃ φοβεροὶ εἰσιν...

*Ibid.* § 6.

εἶτα ὑπὸ μανίας μὲν δύναται τις οὕτω διατεθῆναι πρὸς ταῦτα, καὶ ὑπὸ ἔθους οἱ Γαλιλαῖοι· ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως οὐδεὶς δύναται μαθεῖν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποίηκε τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ...;

### 3 PLINY

*Epist.* X 97.

C. Plinius Traiano Imperatori salutem.

Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam. Ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant;

relationships to individuals, which if he neglect he will no longer keep the character of a good and honourable man; but if he observe them, he will forfeit being the messenger and scout and herald of the Gods.

(c) Thou bearest God in thyself, and thou knowest not that thou art defiling him with impure thoughts and filthy deeds<sup>1</sup>.

(d) What he would he does not do, and what he would not, that he does<sup>2</sup>.

(e) If then a man be fully aware of the guards, and that they wear swords, but for this very reason beards the tyrant, because some circumstance makes him wish to die, and he would fain die easily by another's hand, does such an one fear the guards? No, for he wishes that which makes the guards feared...

Then can a man from madness be so disposed towards these things, and the Galilaeans from habit<sup>3</sup>, but no one be able from reason and conviction to learn that God has made everything in the world...?

### 3 PLINY

Gaius Plinius to the Emperor Trajan greeting<sup>4</sup>.

As I have never taken part in the trial of Christians, I am ignorant of the nature and range of the customary procedure or penalties. And indeed I have felt no small hesitation whether there should be some discrimination as to age, or whether persons however tender should be treated in no way differently from

<sup>1</sup> 1 Corinth. vi 19.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. vii 15.

<sup>3</sup> *i.e.* be voluntary martyrs.

<sup>4</sup> This letter was written in A.D. 112 from Amisus on the Euxine.



detur poenitentiae venia, an ei qui omnino Christianus fuit desisse non prosit; nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim in eis qui ad me deferebantur hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani; confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus, perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, quaecumque esset quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerant alii similis amentiae, quos quia cives Romani erant adnotavi in Urbem remittendos.

Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine, plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore, multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant se esse Christianos aut fuisse, quum praeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicaverit, praeterea maledicerent Christo, quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur qui sunt revera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi. Alii, ab indice nominati, esse se Christianos dixerunt, et mox negaverunt: fuisse quidem sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti quinque<sup>1</sup>. Omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt ii, et Christo maledixerunt. Adfirmabant hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent soliti stato die ante lucem

<sup>1</sup> *v.l. quoque.* Some editors read *viginti.* *Hi quoque* or *Omnes qui* omitting *ii.*

those who are stronger; whether repentance should be granted pardon, or whether he who has once been a Christian should gain nothing by having ceased to be one; whether the name itself, even if unaccompanied by crimes, or only the crimes that cling to the name, should be punished. Meanwhile in the case of those who were denounced to me I have adopted this course: I enquired of them individually whether they were Christians; if they admitted it, I repeated the question a second and a third time with threats of punishment; if they persisted I ordered them to be led away<sup>1</sup>. For indeed I was satisfied that, whatever their confession involved, their persistence at all events and their inflexible obstinacy deserved punishment. Others there were equally fanatical, whom, as they were Roman citizens, I ear-marked for despatch to the City.

Soon in the actual handling of the affair, as commonly happens, the area of the charge widened, and numbers of special cases arose. An anonymous paper was put in, containing the names of many persons. Those who denied that they were or had been Christians, on their calling on the Gods in words dictated by me, and with incense and wine supplicating your statue, which I had for this purpose ordered to be brought in with the images of the Gods, and moreover on their reviling Christ—none of which things, it is said, can they be forced to do who are really Christians—these I thought should be released. Others, who were named by the informer, said they were Christians and in the same breath denied it: they had been Christians but had ceased to be such, some three years, some many, more than one even twenty-five years before. All these revered your statue and the images of the Gods and reviled Christ. They declared however that this had been the sum total of their delinquencies or their delusion, that they had been wont to come together on a fixed day before dawn and sing a

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* for punishment.

convenire carmenque Christo, quasi deo, dicere secum invicem, seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta ne latrocinia ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent ne depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse, rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium, quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram.

Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri et per tormenta quaerere. Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam et immodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis omnis ordinis utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civitates tantum sed vicus atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari et sacra solemnia diu intermissa repeti, pastumque venisse victimarum, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit poenitentiae locus.

hymn alternately to Christ<sup>1</sup> as a God, and to bind themselves by a solemn obligation not for any guilty purpose, but not to commit theft or robbery or adultery, nor to break faith or repudiate a deposit when called upon to pay it. That done, their habit had been to disperse and meet again to take food, but of the customary and harmless kind<sup>2</sup>; that they had moreover ceased doing even this since my proclamation, whereby following your injunctions I had forbidden the existence of Fraternities<sup>3</sup>.

This made me think it all the more necessary to seek to discover even by means of torture what the truth was from two slave-girls, called deaconesses. But I discovered nothing but a degraded and extravagant superstition. So, adjourning the enquiry, I have had recourse to your advice, for the matter seemed to me a proper subject for consultation, especially on account of the number of persons endangered. For many persons of all ages, of every class, as well as of both sexes, are being, and will be, called into danger of their lives. Nor is it the cities only but the villages and the country also, throughout which the infection of this superstition has spread. Yet it seems possible for it to be checked and amended. At all events it is well known that the temples which were already almost deserted have begun to be thronged, and the customary rites which had been long neglected to be resumed; and there is a market for the food of sacrificial beasts, buyers of which were hitherto very seldom to be met with. From this it is easy to gather what a multitude of persons can be brought into the right way if allowed room for repentance<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Or "repeat a set form of words to." The *Sacramentum* below cannot, I think, in spite of Lightfoot, have the Christian sense. <sup>2</sup> Referring apparently to the calumnies as to Christian meals, see above, p. 19, and 49 n. 1. <sup>3</sup> What Pliny says does not apply to both the apostates (from whom he got his account) and the believers. His edict issued quite recently could not have affected the former. <sup>4</sup> But the number of apostates cannot have been great enough to account for this marked revival of pagan worship.

## 4 TRAJAN

Pliny, *Epist.* x 98.

Traianus Plinio salutem.

Actum quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt: si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen ut qui negaverit se Christianum esse, idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando diis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex poenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli in nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.

## 5 TACITUS

(a) *Annals* XIII 32.

Pomponia Graecina insignis femina Plautio, qui ovans se de Britannis rettulit, nupta ac superstitionis externae rea, mariti iudicio permissa. Isque prisco instituto propinquis coram de capite famaue coniugis cognovit, et insontem nuntiavit.

Longa huic Pomponiae aetas et continua tristitia fuit. Nam post Iuliam Drusi filiam dolo Messalinae interfectam per quadraginta annos non cultu nisi lugubri non animo nisi maesto egit, idque illi imperitante Claudio impune, mox ad gloriam vertit.

## 4 TRAJAN

Trajan to Pliny greeting.

You have followed the right course, my Secundus, in investigating the cases of those who have been denounced to you as Christians. For no stereotyped rule that is universally applicable can be laid down.

They must not be sought out: if denounced and proved to be Christians, they must be punished, with the proviso however that everyone who denies that he is a Christian, and proves his assertion by acts, that is by supplicating our Gods, should, however open to suspicion in the past, gain pardon by his repentance. But anonymous letters must not be admitted in any accusation. For they form the worst of precedents, and are not in keeping with our times.

## 5 TACITUS

(a) Pomponia Graecina, a noble lady married to that Plautius, who returned with an ovation from his successes over the Britons, being accused of a foreign<sup>1</sup> superstition, was handed over to her husband for cognizance. He, following ancient precedent, held an enquiry before relations which involved her status and reputation, and pronounced her innocent.

This Pomponia<sup>2</sup> had a long life and one of unbroken sadness. For after Julia the daughter of Drusus had been treacherously put to death by Messalina, she passed forty years in a garb of mourning only and with a mind given up only to sorrow. While Claudius reigned this brought her no molestation, and later came to be an honour.

<sup>1</sup> So *externae superstitiones*, *Ann.* XI 15.

<sup>2</sup> She was related to Cicero's friend Atticus. Her husband's sister possibly married into the family of Clemens, to which the Fl. Clemens put to death by Domitian belonged: see Edmundson, *Bampton Lectures*, 1913, p. 250.

(b) *Annals* xv 44<sup>1</sup>.

Sed non ope humana non largitionibus principis aut deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iussum incendium crederetur. Ergo abolendo rumori Nero subdidit reos, et quaesitissimis poenis affecit, quos per flagitia<sup>2</sup> invisos vulgus Chrestianos<sup>3</sup> appellabat. Auctor nominis eius Christus Tiberio imperitante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio adfectus erat; repressaque in praesens exitiabilis superstitio rursum erumpebat non modo per Iudaeam, originem eius mali, sed per Urbem etiam, quo cuncta undique atrocia atque pudenda confluunt celebranturque.

Igitur primo correpti qui fatebantur, deinde indicio eorum multitudo ingens haud perinde<sup>4</sup> in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis coniuncti<sup>5</sup> sunt. Et pereuntibus addita ludibria, ut ferarum tergis connecti laniatu canum interirent, aut crucibus adfixi inflammandi<sup>6</sup>, ut ubi defecisset dies in usum nocturni luminis urerentur. Hortos<sup>7</sup> suos ei spectaculo Nero obtulerat, et circense ludicrum edebat habitu aurigae permixtus plebi vel curriculo insistens. Unde, quamquam adversus sontes et novissima exempla meritos, miseratio oriebatur, tamquam non utilitate publica sed in saevitiam unius absumerentur.

<sup>1</sup> (For A.D. 64) and written about 115.

<sup>2</sup> The word used by Livy of the Bacchanalian orgies, xxxix 16.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the original reading of the best MS.

<sup>4</sup> Cod. *proinde*. Clem. Rom. *Epist.* i 6 recalls the *multitudo ingens* with his πολλὸν πλῆθος. Livy xxxix 13 calls about 7000 victims *multitudinem ingentem, iam prope populum*.

<sup>5</sup> Editors: *convicti*.

<sup>6</sup> M<sup>2</sup> for *flammandi*. Cod. Med. has *aut flammandi atque ubi*....

<sup>7</sup> Now the Vatican Gardens. St Peter was buried on the Vatican Hill and some have considered him one of the victims.

(b) But by no human contrivance, whether lavish distributions of money or offerings to appease the Gods, could Nero rid himself of the ugly rumour that the fire was due to his orders. So, to dispel the report, he substituted as the guilty persons, and inflicted unheard-of punishments on, those who, detested for their abominable crimes<sup>1</sup>, were vulgarly called Chrestians. The source of the name was Christus, who in the principate of Tiberius had been put to death by the procurator Pontius Pilatus. Checked for a moment, the pernicious superstition broke out again not only throughout Judaea, the original home of that pest, but also through Rome to which from all quarters everything outrageous and shameful finds its way and becomes the vogue.

So those who confessed were first hurried to trial, and then, on their showing, an immense number<sup>2</sup> were involved in the same fate, not so much on the charge of incendiarism as from hatred of the human race. And their death was aggravated with mockeries, insomuch that, wrapped in the hides of wild beasts, they were torn to pieces by dogs, or fastened to crosses to be set on fire, that when darkness fell they might be burnt to illuminate the night. Nero had offered his own gardens for the spectacle, and exhibited a circus show, mingling with the crowd himself dressed as a charioteer, or riding in a chariot. Whence it came about that, though the victims were guilty and deserved the most exemplary punishment, a sense of pity was aroused by the feeling that they were sacrificed not on the altar of public interest, but to satisfy the cruelty of one man<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The Thyestean banquets and incestuous orgies alleged against the Christians; see below, p. 58, and Justin *Dial. Tryph.* 10, 17, 108; 1 *Apol.* 26, 2 *Apol.* 12; Tert. *Apol.* 2, 4, 7, 8, 39; and Euseb. *H. E.* v 1.

<sup>2</sup> There could not have been very many Christians in Rome so early. Perhaps 200 or 300 victims are meant. Tert. *Apol.* 21 uses the same phrase for the disciples converted by our Lord. The "confession" is generally taken to mean "of Christianity," but Henderson, *Princ. Ner. App. B*, says it means 'confessed to a crime they had not committed.' *Indicio* is difficult, and can hardly = *tractatu* in Pliny's letter. Christians can scarcely have betrayed Christians even from excess of zeal.

<sup>3</sup> For Nero as incendiary cp. Tac. *Ann.* xi 67, Statius *Silv.* III 7.

(c) Sulp. Sever. *Hist. Sacr.* II *ad med.*<sup>1</sup>

Fertur Titus adhibito consilio prius deliberasse an templum tanti operis everteret. Etenim nonnullis videbatur aedem sacratam ultra omnia mortalia illustrem non debere deleri: quae servata modestiae Romanae testimonium, diruta perennem crudelitatis notam praeberet. At contra alii et Titus ipse evertendum templum in primis censebant, quo plenius Iudaeorum et Christianorum religio tolleretur. Quippe has religiones, licet contrarias sibi, iisdem tamen auctoribus profectas. Christianos ex Iudaeis exstitisse: radice sublata stirpem facile perituram. Ita Dei nutu accensis omnium animis templum dirutum.

#### 6 SUETONIUS

(a) *Claud.* 25 (circa A.D. 49).

Iudaeos impulsore Chresto adsidue tumultuantes Roma expulit (*sc.* Claudius).

(b) *Nero* 16 (A.D. 64-68).

Adflicti suppliciis Christiani, genus hominum superstitionis novae ac maleficae.

(c) *Domit.* 10 (A.D. 95).

Complures senatores, in his aliquot consulares, interemit; ex quibus Civicam Cerialem in ipso Asiae consulatu, Salvidienuum Orfitum, Acilium Glabrionem in exsilio, quasi molitores novarum rerum.

(d) *Domit.* 15 (A.D. 95).

Denique Flavium Clementem patrualem suum contemptissimae inertiae<sup>2</sup>, cuius filios etiam tum parvulos successores palam destinaverat, et abolito priore nomine

<sup>1</sup> The statement here given is probably taken from a lost book of Tacitus' *Histories* (under date 70 A.D.), as Bernays perceived, written in Trajan's reign.

<sup>2</sup> Apollonius (Philostr. *Vit. Ap.*) calls Orphitus *νωθρὸς* (sluggish).

(c) It is said that Titus first took counsel<sup>1</sup> and deliberated whether he should destroy a temple of such workmanship. For some thought that a sacred edifice, famous beyond all works of men, ought not to be destroyed; for if saved it would be a witness to Roman moderation, but destroyed would affix to them an everlasting stigma of vandalism. Some on the other hand and Titus himself<sup>2</sup> were for the destruction of the Temple first and foremost, that the religion of Jews and Christians might be the more completely eradicated, inasmuch as these two religions<sup>3</sup>, though opposed to one another, yet originated from the same sources. The Christians being an offshoot of the Jews, let them remove the root, and the stock would readily wither away. So, by God's will, the feelings of all being worked up, the Temple was destroyed.

#### 6 SUETONIUS

(a) For constant riots instigated by Chrestus he (Claudius) expelled<sup>4</sup> the Jews from Rome.

(b) The Christians, a race of men addicted to a new and pestilent superstition, were severely dealt with.

(c) Domitian put several senators including some consulars to death, among them Civica Cerialis while actually proconsul of Asia, Salvidienuus Orfitus, and Acilius Glabrio<sup>5</sup> in his exile, on the charge of being revolutionaries.

(d) Finally Flavius Clemens his own cousin, a man of the most despicable inactivity (whose sons, though still little children, he had openly marked out as his successors, and suppressing their former names had

<sup>1</sup> If we read *ducum* for *prius* with some MSS, translate "a council of war."

<sup>2</sup> This seems contrary to the express testimony of Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* VI 4 § 7.

<sup>3</sup> The distinction between Jew and Christian first became clear to the Romans on the occasion of the Great Fire.

<sup>4</sup> This was not fully carried out. See Dio Cassius LX 6.

<sup>5</sup> For Glabrio see below p. 68. The burial place of the Acilii Glabriones has been found on the Via Salaria, where was the catacomb of St Priscilla. The Christianity of this Glabrio is not accepted by all, e.g. by Aubé and Lightfoot.

alterum Vespasianum appellari iusserat, alterum Domitianum, repente ex tenuissima suspicione tantum non in ipso eius consulatu interemit, quo maxime facto maturavit sibi exitium.

(e) *Domit.* 12.

Praeter ceteros Iudaicus fiscus acerbissime actus est, ad quem deferebantur qui vel professi<sup>1</sup> Iudaicam intra urbem viverent vitam, vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent. Interfuisse me adulescentulum memini quum a procuratore frequentissimoque consilio inspiceretur nonagenarius senex, an circumsectus esset.

#### 7 HADRIAN

(a) Euseb. *H. E.* IV 9<sup>2</sup>.

Exemplum Epistolae Imperatoris Adriani ad Minucium Fundanum proconsulem Asiae.

Accepi litteras ad me scriptas a decessore tuo Serenio Graniano clarissimo viro, et non placet mihi relationem silentio praeterire, ne et innoxii perturbentur, et calumniatoribus latrocinandi tribuatur occasio. Itaque si evidenter provinciales huic petitioni suae adesse valent adversum Christianos ut pro tribunali eos in aliquo arguant, hoc eis exequi non prohibeo. Precibus autem in hoc solis et adclamationibus uti eis non permitto. Etenim multo aequius est, si quis volet accusare, te cognoscere de obiectis. Si quis igitur accusat et probat adversum leges quicquam agere memoratos homines, pro merito peccatorum etiam

<sup>1</sup> *v.l. improfessi.*

<sup>2</sup> From Rufinus' version. In Euseb. and in Justin *Apol. I ad finem* the rescript is in Greek. No doubt Hadrian issued it in Latin, and Rufinus probably went to the original for his version. The words read like Hadrian's, and there is little reason to doubt their genuineness.

ordered them to be called, the one Vespasian, the other Domitian) was put to death by him, almost in his very consulship, on the flimsiest suspicion, whereby most of all he hastened his own destruction.

(e) Beyond all others the claims of the Treasury against Jews were most stringently enforced. For before this were denounced those who either professedly<sup>1</sup> lived the life of Jews within the city, or hiding their origin had not paid the tax imposed on Jews. I remember as a boy being present when an old man of 90 was examined by the treasury official before a crowded court to see if he was circumcized.

#### 7 HADRIAN

(a) Copy of a Rescript of the Emperor Hadrian to Minucius Fundanus proconsul of Asia.

I received a Letter sent to me by your predecessor Serenius Granianus<sup>2</sup> the illustrious senator, and I am not disposed to pass over his report in silence, that the innocent be not molested, and no opportunity be given to informers of preying on others. And so if your provincials shew themselves able so far to endorse this petition of theirs against the Christians, as to prove something against them at your tribunal, I do not forbid them to do so. But I will not allow them in doing this to make use of mere solicitations and outcries. For it is much fairer, if anyone wishes to make an accusation, that you should take cognizance of the charges alleged. If therefore anyone comes forward as accuser, and can prove that the persons in question do anything illegal, you must further order punish-

<sup>1</sup> Or reading *improfessi*, "without professing Judaism." These might be Christian converts.

<sup>2</sup> Q. Licinius Silvanus Granianus Quadronius Proculus (*C.I.L.* II 4509; Klein's *Fasti*) was *cons. suff.* in 107, and so proconsul of Asia about 122. Possibly Serenius was yet another name of his, cp. Heineken *Chron. Euseb. in loc.*

supplicia statues. Illud mehercule magnopere curabis, si quis calumniae gratia quemquam horum postulaverit reum, in hunc pro sui nequitia supplicii saevioribus vindices.

(b) *Vopiscus Saturninus* 8<sup>1</sup>.

Hadrianus Augustus Serviano consuli salutem.

Aegyptum, quam mihi laudabas, Serviane carissime, totam didici levem pendulam et ad omnia famae momenta volitantem. Illic qui Serapem colunt Christiani sunt, et devoti sunt Serapi qui Christi se episcopos dicunt. Nemo illic archisynagogus Iudaeorum, nemo Samarites, nemo Christianorum presbyter non mathematicus, non haruspex, non aliptes. Ipse ille patriarcha<sup>2</sup> quum Aegyptum venerit, ab aliis adorare Serapidem<sup>3</sup>, ab aliis cogitur Christum. Genus hominum seditiosissimum vanissimum iniuriosissimum. Civitas opulenta dives fecunda, in qua nemo vivat otiosus. Alii vitrum conflant, aliis charta conficitur, alii linifones, omnes certe cuiuscunque artis et videntur et habentur. Podagrosi quod agant habent; habent caeci quod faciant; ne chiragrici quidem apud eos otiosi vivunt. Unus illis deus est nummus<sup>4</sup>: hunc Christiani, hunc Iudaei, hunc omnes venerantur et gentes.

### 8 PHLEGON

(a) apud Orig. *c. Celsum* II 14.

Φλέγων μέντοι ἐν τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἢ τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτῳ οἶμαι τῶν Χρονικῶν καὶ τὴν περὶ τινῶν μελ-

<sup>1</sup> Probably from Phlegon's Biography of Hadrian, (*circa* 140 A.D.). The date of the letter would be between 130 and 138 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear who is meant. Justus or Eumenes would have been the Bishop of Alexandria at this time.

<sup>3</sup> But *Serapem* (?) above, and Serapi (dat.).

<sup>4</sup> MS *nullus*.

ments proportionate to the offences. But by heaven you must above all see to it that, if anyone prosecutes a Christian calumniously, you exact from him severer penalties in proportion to his wickedness.

(b) Hadrianus Augustus to Servianus the consul greeting.

The Egypt, which you eulogize to me, my dearest Servianus, I have found wholly flippant, fickle, and ready to run after every changing rumour. In that country worshippers of Serapis are Christians, and those who call themselves "bishops" of Christ are votaries of Serapis. In Egypt there is not a single head of a Jewish synagogue, not a single Samaritan, not a Christian presbyter, who is not an astrologer, a diviner, a quack. The very Patriarch, when he comes to Egypt, is by some forced to worship Serapis, by others Christ. A race of men these are beyond all others seditious, empty-headed, malicious; their city<sup>1</sup> splendid, rich, and prosperous, so that it has no idle person in it. Some are blowers of glass, others make paper or weave linen; at all events everyone both seems to be and is considered an artizan of some sort. There is something for the gouty to do, some occupation for the blind; not even those whose hands are crippled among them live idle. They all have one God—mammon: him Christians worship and Jews, and every race.

### 8 PHLEGON

(a) Phlegon in the thirteenth or fourteenth book, as I think, of his *Chronology* credited Christ with the power

<sup>1</sup> Alexandria.

λόντων πρόγνωσιν ἔδωκε τῷ Χριστῷ, συγχυθεὶς ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πέτρου ὡς περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν ὅτι κατὰ τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀπήντησεν.

(b) Euseb. *Chron.* 148 (Syncellus, p. 324)<sup>1</sup>.

Ἰησους ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν κατὰ τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ προφητείας ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος προήει ἔτους ἰθ' τῆς Τιβερίου βασιλείας. καθ' ὃν καιρὸν καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις μὲν Ἑλληνικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι εὔρομεν ἱστορούμενα κατὰ λέξιν ταῦτα· “ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε· Βιθυνία ἐσεισθη· Νικαίας τὰ πολλὰ ἔπεσεν.” ἃ καὶ συνάδει τοῖς περὶ τὸ πάθος τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν συμβεβηκόσι. Γράφει δὲ καὶ Φλέγων ὁ τὰς Ὀλυμπιάδας < συναγαγῶν > περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ῥήμασι αὐτοῖς τάδε· “Τῷ δ' ἔτει τῆς σβ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐγένετο ἔκλειψις ἡλίου μεγίστη τῶν ἐγνωρισμένων πρότερον καὶ νύξ ὥρα ἕκτη τῆς ἡμέρας ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστέρας ἐν οὐρανῷ φανῆναι· σεισμός τε μέγας κατὰ Βιθυνίαν γενόμενος τὰ πολλὰ Νικαίας κατεστρέψατο.”

### 9 FRONTO

Min. Felix *Oct.* IX 6<sup>2</sup>.

[Iam de initiandis tirunculis fabula tam detestanda quam nota est. Infans farre contextus, ut decipiat incautos, adponitur ei qui sacris imbuatur. Is infans a tirunculo, farris superficie quasi ad innoxios ictus provocato, caecis occultisque vulneribus occiditur. Huius—proh nefas!—sitientes sanguinem lambunt, huius certatim membra dispertiunt, hac foederantur hostia, hac conscientia sceleris ad silentium mutuum pignerantur. Haec sacra sacrilegiis omnibus tetriona.]

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Orig. *c. Cels.* II 33, 59.

<sup>2</sup> This passage, ascribing sacramental cannibalism to the Christians, very possibly came from the same oration of Fronto's as the following one. Felix may also have drawn upon the same speech (he is a great plagiarist) for the *caput asini* story and the adoration of the *sacerdotis genitalia*, *ibid.*

even of prediction as to certain future events, confusing<sup>1</sup> what relates to Peter with what relates to Christ; and he testified that his words came to pass as he had said<sup>2</sup>.

(b) Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Lord, as the prophecies about Him foretold, went to His Passion in the nineteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. At which time, as we found recorded in other Greek memoranda also word for word as follows, “The sun was eclipsed; there was an earthquake in Bithynia; the greater part of Nicaea was destroyed,” and this tallies with the events which accompanied the Passion of our Saviour. And Phlegon also, who compiled the Olympiads, writes about the same events in his 13th book in these very words: “In the fourth year of the 202nd Olympiad an eclipse of the sun took place greater than any hitherto known, and night came on at twelve o'clock, so that even the stars appeared in the sky<sup>3</sup>; and a great earthquake took place in Bithynia, which levelled the greater part of Nicaea.”

### 9 FRONTO

Now as to the initiation of novices the story is as well known as it is detestable. A baby, covered with pie-crust to deceive the unsuspecting, is set before the candidate for initiation, and the novice being led to suppose by the surface of crust that it may be cut without harm, the baby is killed by blind and hidden wounds. Its blood—oh horror!—they lick up thirstily, its limbs they share with eager rivalry; on this victim is their covenant made; by this common fellowship in crime are they pledged to mutual secrecy. Such sacred rites as these are more horrible than any sacrilege.

<sup>1</sup> “Mistakenly attributing to Christ what is related of Peter.”

<sup>2</sup> Müller *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* III 606, IV 107; and Lardner *Works* VII 107 ff.

<sup>3</sup> This must be a fanciful touch as the darkness could not have been due to a real eclipse at full moon.



Et de conviviis notum est: passim omnes loquuntur. Id etiam Cirtensis nostri testatur oratio. Ad epulas solemnibus die coeunt, cum omnibus <coniugibus> liberis sororibus matribus sexus omnis homines et omnis aetatis. Illic post multas epulas, ubi convivium caluit et incestae libidinis ebrietatis fervor exarsit, canis qui candelabro nexus est, iactu offulae ultra spatium lineae qua vinctus est, ad impetum et saltum provocatur. Sic everso et extincto conscio lumine, impudentibus tenebris nexus infandae cupiditatis involvunt per incertum sortis; et si non omnes opera, conscientia tamen pariter incesti; quoniam voto universorum appetitur quidquid accidere potest in actu singulorum.

## 10 ANTONINUS PIUS

Melito (*apud* Euseb. *H.E.* IV 26 §§ 9 f.<sup>1</sup>).

Μόνον πάντων ἀναπεισθέντες ὑπό τινων βασκάνων ἀνθρώπων τὸν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν διαβολῇ καταστήσαι λόγον ἠθέλησαν Νέρων καὶ Δομετιανός· ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τὸ τῆς συκοφαντίας ἀλόγῳ συνηθείᾳ περὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ῥηναὶ συμβέβηκε ψεῦδος. ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀγνοίαν οἱ σοὶ εὐσεβεῖς πατέρες ἐπανωρθώσαντο πολλάκις πολλοῖς ἐπιπλήξαντες ἐγγράφως, ὅσοι περὶ τούτων νεωτερίσαι ἐτόλμησαν. ἐν οἷς ὁ μὲν πάππος σου Ἀδριανὸς πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις καὶ Φουνδάνῳ δὲ τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ, ἡγουμένῳ δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας, γράφων φαίνεται· ὁ δὲ πατήρ σου, καὶ σοῦ τὰ πάντα διοικούντος αὐτῷ<sup>2</sup>, ταῖς πόλεσι περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἔγραψεν· ἐν αἷς καὶ πρὸς Λαρισσαίους καὶ πρὸς Θεσσαλονικεῖς καὶ Ἀθηναίους καὶ πρὸς πάντας Ἑλλήνας.

<sup>1</sup> In an apology addressed to Marcus about 170 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> There is no MS authority for πάντα συνδιοικούντος αὐτῷ.

And about their banquets the facts are known: they are common talk everywhere. The speech of our fellow-citizen from Cirta bears witness to them. On a set day they come together for a feast with all their wives, children, sisters, and mothers, persons of both sexes and every age. Then after much feasting, when the banquet has waxed warm, and the passion of impure lust and drunkenness has been kindled, a dog which has been tied to a standing lamp is incited to jump and bound up by a little cake thrown to it beyond the reach of its tether. The tell-tale light being by this means thrown down and extinguished, the guests under cover of the shameless darkness embrace one another in their unspeakable concupiscence as chance brings them together, and if not in fact, yet in guilt all are alike incestuous, since whatever can result by the act of individuals is potentially desired by the wish of all.

## 10 ANTONINUS PIUS

Nero and Domitian alone, persuaded over by certain malicious persons, wished to bring our religion into odium, and it has come to pass that the stream of lying charges has continued to flow on through an irrational and ingrained prejudice derived from them. But thy god-fearing ancestors corrected their ignorance, many times and in writing rebuking many who ventured to act riotously against them. Among these thy grandfather Hadrian appears<sup>1</sup> to have written both to others and to the proconsul Fundanus, then Governor of Asia; and thy father, when thou also wast administering all things for him<sup>2</sup>, wrote to the cities warning them against any riotous action in respect of us, among others to the Larissaeans, the Thessalonians, the Athenians, and all the Greeks.

<sup>1</sup> *Φαίνεται* does not imply any doubt.

<sup>2</sup> This express testimony should not be disregarded. There is no reason why the Letter to the Commune of Asia should not be one of these rescripts.

## II MARCUS AURELIUS

(a) Euseb. *H. E.* IV 13 = Niceph. III 28<sup>1</sup>.

Ἀντωνίνου πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπιστολὴ  
περὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς λόγου<sup>2</sup>.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος  
Σεβαστὸς [Ἀρμενι<ακ>ὸς]<sup>3</sup> ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος δημαρ-  
χικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ πέμπτον καὶ τὸ δέκατον ὑπατος τὸ  
τρίτον τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας χαίρειν·

... Ἐγὼ μὲν οἶδα<sup>4</sup> ὅτι καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιμελές ἐστι, μὴ  
λαυθάνειν τοιοῦτους—πολὺ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἐκείνοι<sup>5</sup> κολά-  
σειαν ἂν τοὺς μὴ βουλομένους αὐτοῖς προσκυνεῖν ἢ  
ὑμεῖς—οὓς ἐς ταραχὴν<sup>6</sup> ἐμβάλλετε, βεβαιοῦντες<sup>7</sup> τὴν  
γνώμην αὐτῶν ἥνπερ ἔχουσιν, ὡς ἀθέων κατηγοροῦντες<sup>8</sup>.  
εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκείνοις αἰρετὸν<sup>9</sup> τὸ δοκεῖν κατηγορουμένοις  
τεθνᾶναι μᾶλλον, ἢ ζῆν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ. [ὅθεν καὶ  
νικῶσι προῖεμένοι τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχάς, ἥπερ πειθόμενοι  
οἷς ἀξιοῦτε πράττειν αὐτούς.] περὶ δὲ τῶν σεισμῶν τῶν  
γεγονότων καὶ γινομένων οὐκ ἄτοπον<sup>10</sup> ὑμᾶς ὑπομνήσαι,  
ἀθυμοῦντας [μὲν] ὅτανπερ ὦσι, [παραλαβόντας δὲ τὰ  
ἡμέτερα πρὸς τὰ ἐκείνων. οἱ μὲν οὖν<sup>11</sup> εὐπαρρησιαστό-  
τεροι γίνονται πρὸς τὸν θεόν<sup>12</sup>, ὑμεῖς δὲ] παρὰ πάντα<sup>13</sup> τὸν

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Justin *Apol.* I *ad fin.*<sup>2</sup> Heading added by Eusebius. The passages in brackets are rejected by Harnack.<sup>3</sup> Ἀρμένιος is an incorrect form, and Marcus did not receive the title till 164. In Justin's text we have Εὐσεβῆς here and πατὴρ πατρίδος, a title given to Marcus in 167.<sup>4</sup> ὦμην τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιμελὲς ἔσεσθαι J.<sup>5</sup> ἐκείνους and εἴπερ δύναιντο J., which rings false.<sup>6</sup> οἷς ταραχὴν ὑμεῖς J.<sup>7</sup> καὶ J.<sup>8</sup> κατηγορεῖτε καὶ ἑτέρα τινα ἐμβάλλετε ἄτινα οὐ δυνάμεθα ἀποδείξει J., where the person of δυνάμ. is suspicious.<sup>9</sup> χρήσιμον... ἐπὶ τῷ κατηγορουμένῳ, omitting μᾶλλον—ὅθεν J.<sup>10</sup> εἰκός... (omitting μὲν...δέ)... ὑμέτερα... J.<sup>11</sup> ὅτι for οἱ μὲν οὖν J.<sup>12</sup> τὸν πρὸς τ. θ. <λόγον> J.<sup>13</sup> ἐκείνον J. Harnack to reconstruct the edict would insert ὅτι before παρά, and θεόν after ἀθάνατον.

## II MARCUS AURELIUS

(a) A Letter of Antoninus to the Commune of Asia in regard to our religion<sup>1</sup>.

The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus [Armeniacus], Pontifex Maximus, in the fifteenth year of his Tribunate, consul for the third time, to the Common Assembly of Asia greeting:

...I am confident that the Gods also look to it that such persons should not escape detection<sup>2</sup>—for it is much more their concern than yours to punish those who refuse them worship—but you harass<sup>3</sup> these men, and harden them in their conviction, which they hold, by accusing them of impiety. For they indeed would rather, when accused, choose the repute of dying for their own God than living. Consequently they even come off victorious by giving up their lives rather than comply with your demands. And with regard to the past and present earthquakes, it is not amiss<sup>4</sup> to remind you of them, despondent as you are whenever they occur, and yet accustomed to contrast our<sup>5</sup> conduct with theirs. They indeed are more outspoken in respect to their God, while you during the whole time of

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. *H. E.* IV 13 = Niceph. III 28; as this Letter is inserted by Euseb. in his account of Pius' reign, he apparently means Pius by Antoninus. Yet he must have found the title to Marcus as he gives it. In his History he makes utter confusion between Pius, Marcus and Verus.<sup>2</sup> Cp. Tac. *Ann.* I 13 *Deorum iniuriae dis curae.*<sup>3</sup> "Charge them with disorder and bring other charges against them which we cannot prove," J. The Justin version omits μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ὑπὲρ τοῦ οἰκείου θεοῦ, by mistake, probably.<sup>4</sup> "It is not right that you should bring them to our notice," J.<sup>5</sup> "Your," J.

χρόνον καθ' ὃν ἀγνοεῖν δοκεῖτε τῶν τε θεῶν<sup>1</sup> [καὶ] τῶν ἄλλων ἀμελεῖτε καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀθάνατον, ὃν δὴ τοὺς [Χριστιανοὺς] θρησκευούσας ἐλαύνετε καὶ διώκετε [ἕως θανάτου]. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἤδη καὶ πολλοὶ<sup>2</sup> τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπαρχίας ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῷ θεοτάτῳ ἡμῶν<sup>3</sup> ἔγραψαν πατρί· οἷς καὶ ἀντέγραψε μηδὲν ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς τοιούτοις, εἰ μὴ <δὲν> φαίνοντό τι περὶ τὴν <τῶν> Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν ἐγχειροῦντες· καὶ ἐμοὶ δὲ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πολλοὶ ἐσήμαναν, οἷς δὴ καὶ ἀντέγραψα κατακολουθῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμῃ. εἰ δὲ τις ἐπιμένει τινα τῶν τοιούτων εἰς πράγματα φέρων<sup>4</sup> ὡς δὴ τοιούτου, ἐκεῖνος ὁ καταφερόμενος ἀπολελύσθω τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ εἰς φαινῆται τοιούτος ὢν, ὁ δὲ καταφέρων ἔνοχος ἔσται δίκης.

προσετέθη ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τῆς Ἀσίας<sup>5</sup>.

(b) *Medit.* I 6.

Παρὰ Διογνήτου τὸ ἀπιστητικὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τερατευομένων καὶ γοήτων περὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ περὶ δαιμόνων ἀποπομπῆς καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λεγομένοις.

(c) *Medit.* III 16.

τὸ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν ἐπὶ τὰ φαινόμενα καθήκοντα καὶ τῶν θεοῦς μὴ νομιζόντων καὶ τῶν τὴν πατρίδα ἐγκαταλείπόντων καὶ τῶν ποιούντων ἐπειδὰν κλείσωσι τὰς θύρας.

(d) *Medit.* VII 68.

Ἀβιάστως διαζῆσαι ἐν πλείστη θυμηδία κὰν πάντες καταβοῶσιν ἄτινα βούλονται, κὰν τὰ θηρία διασπᾶ τὰ μελύδρια τοῦ περιτεθραμμένου τούτου φυράματος.

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀμελεῖτε, θρησκείαν δὲ τὴν περὶ τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐπίστασθε (which looks like an alteration), ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς θρησκευούσας ἐξηλώκατε καὶ δ. ἐ. θ. J. <sup>2</sup> ἄλλοι τινὲς J.

<sup>3</sup> μου J. The πατρί in J. refers to Hadrian, here to Pius.

<sup>4</sup> εἰ δὲ τις ἔχει πρὸς τινα τῶν τοιούτων, πρᾶγμα καταφέρειν (an attempt at improvement.) <sup>5</sup> This is wanting in Eusebius.

your apparent ignorance<sup>1</sup> neglect both the other Gods and the worship of the Immortal One, and harass and persecute even to the death the Christians who worship him. And on behalf of such persons many governors also of provinces have before now both written to our deified Father (whose answer in fact was not to molest such persons unless they were shown to be making some attempt against the Roman Government<sup>2</sup>), and to me also many have given information about such persons. To whom indeed I also replied in accordance with my father's view. And if anyone persist in bringing any such person into trouble for being what he is, let him, against whom the charge is brought, be acquitted even if the charge be made out, but he that brings the charge shall be called to account.

Published at Ephesus in the Common Assembly of Asia.

(b) From Diognetus (I learnt) not to give credence to the tales of miracle-mongers and sorcerers about incantations and exorcizing of demons and suchlike marvels.

(c) To take their intelligence as a guide to what they deem their duty is an attribute even of those who do not believe in Gods and those who fail their country in its need and those who do their deeds behind closed doors.

(d) Thou mayest live out thy life under no constraint in the utmost peace of mind even though the whole world cry out against thee what they will, even though beasts tear limb from limb this plastic clay that has grown up round thee.

<sup>1</sup> This difficult phrase has been improved in J. "During that time you apparently ignore the Gods and neglect their temples, and know nothing of the worship of the Christians' God, etc."

<sup>2</sup> If this edict was by Pius we should expect some such injunction in his deified father Hadrian's rescript given above. On the other hand what is said here might apply to the rescript of Pius to "all the Greeks," Euseb. *H. E.* IV 10.

(e) *Medit.* XI 3.

Οἷα ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ ἔτοιμος, εἰ ἤδη ἀπολυθῆναι δέη τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἤτοι σβεσθῆναι ἢ σκεδασθῆναι ἢ συμμῆναι. τὸ δὲ ἔτοιμον τοῦτο, ἵνα ἀπὸ ἰδικῆς κρίσεως ἔρχηται, μὴ κατὰ ψιλὴν παράταξιν [ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί], ἀλλὰ λελογισμένως καὶ σεμνῶς καὶ ὥστε καὶ ἄλλον πείσαι ἀτραγῶδως.

(f) *Medit.* VIII 51.

“Κτείνουσι κρεανομοῦσι κατάραις ἐλαύνουσι.” τί οὖν ταῦτα πρὸς τὸ τὴν διάνοιαν μένειν καθαρὰν φρενήρη σῶφρονα δικαίαν;

(g) Euseb. *H.E.* V I § 42.

Ἐπιστείλαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος τοὺς μὲν ἀποτυμπανισθῆναι, εἰ δὲ τινες ἀρνοῦντο, τούτους ἀπολυθῆναι<sup>1</sup>.

## 12 DOMITIAN

(a) Hegesippus *apud* Euseb. *H.E.* III 20.

Περὶ τῶν πρὸς γένους τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.

Ἔτι δὲ περιῆσαν οἱ ἀπὸ γένους τοῦ Κυρίου υἱοὶ τοῦ Ἰούδα τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, οἳς ἐδηλατόρευσαν ὡς ἐκ γένους ὄντας Δαβίδ<sup>2</sup>. τούτους δὲ ὁ ἠουόκατος ἤγαγε πρὸς Δομετιανὸν Καίσαρα· ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὡς καὶ Ἡρώδης. καὶ ἐπηρώτησεν αὐτούς, εἰ ἐκ Δαβίδ εἰσι. καὶ ὠμολόγησαν. τότε πόσας κτήσεις ἔχουσιν, ἢ πόσων χρημάτων κυριεύουσιν. οἱ δὲ εἶπαν ἀμφοτέροι ἐννακισχίλια δηνάρια ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς μόνα, ἐκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἀνήκοντος

<sup>1</sup> This was merely a reaffirmation of Trajan's rescript. These few words cannot have been the whole rescript, which was also undoubtedly in Latin.

<sup>2</sup> *Chron. Hieron.* (Euseb.) II 163 Schöne. *Domicianus eos qui de genere David erant interfici praecipit, ut nullus Iudaeorum regni reliquus foret.*

(e) What a soul is that which is ready to be released from the body at any requisite moment, and be quenched or dissipated or last on. But this readiness must spring from a man's own judgment and not be by way of mere opposition, as in the case of the Christians, but be the result of deliberation and marked by dignity and, if others too are to be convinced, free from all bravado.

(f) “They kill us, they tear us limb from limb, they pursue us with curses!” How does that prevent thy mind being still pure, sane, sober, just?

(g) The Rescript from the Emperor<sup>1</sup> was that the Christians should be put to death<sup>2</sup>, but if any denied, they should be released.

## 12 DOMITIAN

(a) Concerning the Relations of our Saviour.

There were still living of the family of our Lord the grand-children<sup>3</sup> of Jude, who is said to have been our Lord's brother according to the flesh. Information was laid against them that they were of the family of David, and they were brought to the Emperor Domitian by his orderly<sup>4</sup>. For the Emperor was afraid of the coming of Christ, as Herod had been. And he asked them if they were descendants of David, and they admitted it. Then he asked them how much property they owned, and how much money they possessed. And they both answered that they only had 9000

<sup>1</sup> The Emperor is generally supposed to be Marcus, but there is little certainty of it. Commodus was at this time joint emperor with him.

<sup>2</sup> This word need not here mean “beaten to death,” as so many do not scruple to translate it, for (1) the word was used to mean simply “kill,” (2) Rufinus so translates it, (3) the martyrs were not beaten to death, (4) such a punishment would have been illegal, and Marcus never did illegal things.

<sup>3</sup> Or “sons,” as Hegesippus may have written. See Cramer *Anec. Graeca* 1839. Their names were Zocer and James.

<sup>4</sup> A time-expired soldier who took up military duties for special service at special pay.

τοῦ ἡμίσεος· καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ἀργυρίοις ἔφασκον ἔχειν ἀλλὰ ἐν διατιμήσει γῆς πλέθρων τριάκοντα ἔννεα μόνων, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τοὺς φόρους ἀναφέρειν καὶ αὐτοὺς αὐτουργοῦντας διαφέρεσθαι. εἶτα δὲ καὶ τὰς χεῖρας τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδεικνύναι, μαρτύριον τῆς αὐτουργίας τὴν τοῦ σώματος σκληρίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς συνεχοῦς ἐργασίας ἐναποτυπωθέντας ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων χειρῶν τύλους παριστάντας. ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὅποια τις εἶη καὶ ποῖ καὶ πότε φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι, ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος γενησομένη, ὀπηνίκα ἐλθὼν ἐν δόξῃ κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ. ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότα τὸν Δομετιανόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα ἐλευθέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαι δὲ διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν.

(b) Euseb. *Chron. Hieron.* an. Abr. 2114 = 95 A.D. ad Schöne, p. 163<sup>1</sup>.

Scribit Bruttius plurimos Christianorum sub Domitiano fecisse martyrium, inter quos et Flaviam Domitillam, Flavii Clementis consulis ex sorore neptem, in insulam Pontiam relegatam quia se Christianam testata est.

<sup>1</sup> The Armenian Version (Latinized) has Refert autem Brettius multos Christianorum sub Dometiano subiisse martyrium; Flavia vero Domitilla et Flavius (sic) Clementis consulis sororis filius in insulam Pontiam fugit (sic) quia se Christianum esse professus est (sic). Cp. *Chron. Pasch.* anno 94: Ἱστορεῖ ὁ Βρούιτιος πολλοὺς Χριστιανοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἰδ' ἔτος Δομετιανοῦ μεμαρτυρηκέναι.

denarii, shared equally between them, but that this consisted not in money but in the value merely of 39 roods of land, from which they paid their taxes and by working with their hands just managed to pay their way. Then they showed their hands, exhibiting as evidence of their manual work the hardness of their bodies and the calluses produced upon their hands by continual toil. And being questioned about the Christ and his kingdom, what was its nature and when and where it was to appear, their account was that it was no earthly or worldly one, but heavenly and angelic, that should appear at the end of the world<sup>1</sup>, when Christ coming in glory would judge living and dead and render unto every man according to his works. Upon hearing this account, Domitian finding nothing against them, but despising them as of no account, let them go free<sup>2</sup> and by a decree put a stop to the persecution of the Church.

(b) Bruttius<sup>3</sup> writes that numbers of Christians suffered martyrdom under Domitian, and among them Flavia Domitilla, niece of Flavius Clemens the consul, being the daughter of his sister, was banished to the island Pontia, because she avowed herself a Christian.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "the consummation of the age."

<sup>2</sup> Immediately after the Jewish war Vespasian proscribed all the descendants of the royal line of David (Eus. *H. E.* III 12). On the same grounds Symeon, our Lord's cousin and bishop of Jerusalem, was put to death under Trajan (*ibid.* *H. E.* III 32).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 650 (Bonn) πολλοὶ δὲ Χριστιανῶν ἐμαρτύρησαν κατὰ Δομετιανόν, ὡς ὁ Βρέτιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν οἷς καὶ Φλαουτὰ Δομέτιλλα ἐξαδελφὴ Κλήμεντος Φλαουτοῦ ὑπατικοῦ ὡς Χριστιανὴ εἰς νῆσον Ποντίαν φυγαδεύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ Κλήμης ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ ἀναιρείται.

13 DIO CASSIUS<sup>1</sup>

(a) *Domit. XIV*, for year 95 (written *circa* 220 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>.

Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν Φλαούϊον Κλήμεντα ὑπατεύοντα, καίπερ ἀνέψιον ὄντα καὶ γυναιῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν συγγενὴ ἑαυτοῦ Φλαούαν Δομιτίλλαν ἔχοντα, κατέσφαξεν ὁ Δομετιανός. ἐπηνέχθη δὲ ἀμφοῖν ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ ἄλλοι ἐς τὰ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθη ἐξοκέλλοντες πολλοὶ κατεδικάσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ τῶν γούν οὐσιῶν ἐστερήθησαν· ἡ δὲ Δομιτίλλα ὑπερωρίσθη μόνον ἐς Πανδατερίαν. τὸν δὲ δὴ Γλαβρίωνα τὸν μετὰ τοῦ Τραιανοῦ ἄρξαντα, κατηγορηθέντα τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ οἶα οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ὅτι καὶ θηρίοις ἐμάχετο, ἀπέκτεινεν. ἐφ' ᾧ πού καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ὀργὴν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ φθόνου ἔσχευ, ὅτι ὑπατεύοντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν Ἄλβανὸν ἐπὶ τὰ νεανισκείμενα<sup>2</sup> ὠνομασμένα καλέσας λέοντα ἀποκτείνειν μέγαν ἠνάγκασε, καὶ ὃς οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐλυμάνθη ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐστοχώτατα αὐτὸν κατειργάσατο.

(b) *Nerva I*.

Καὶ ὁ Νερούας τοὺς τε κρινομένους ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ ἀφήκε καὶ τοὺς φεύγοντας κατήγαγε, τοὺς τε δούλους καὶ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τοὺς τοῖς δεσπότηις σφῶν ἐπιβουλεύσαντας πάντας ἀπέκτεινεν. καὶ τοῖς μὲν τοιούτοις οὐδ' ἄλλο τι ἔγκλημα ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεσπότης ἐφήκε, τοῖς δὲ δὴ ἄλλοις οὐτ' ἀσεβείας οὐτ' Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βίου κατατιᾶσθαί τινας συνεχώρησεν.

<sup>1</sup> Contrary to the general arrangement of these extracts, according to the date of writing, I insert these from Dio Cassius here to bring them into juxtaposition with the others which relate to Domitian.

<sup>2</sup> *Juvenilia*, that is, Sports for Juniors.

## 13 DIO CASSIUS

(a) In the same year Domitian put to death among many others Flavius Clemens also while consul, though he was his cousin and married to Flavia Domitilla, who was herself his kinswoman<sup>1</sup>. Against them both was brought a charge of sacrilege<sup>2</sup>, under which also many others were condemned who attached themselves to the customs of the Jews, some losing their lives and others having their property escheated. Domitilla was merely banished to Pandateria. But Glabrio, who had been consul with Trajan, accused both on other charges like the majority, and also that he was wont to fight with beasts, was put to death. And I think it was chiefly due to this that Domitian for envy became enraged against him. For, summoning him when consul to Albanum<sup>3</sup>, to the *Juvenilia* as they were called, he compelled him to encounter a huge lion, which he dispatched not only without injury to himself but with the greatest ease and skill.

(b) And Nerva released those who were awaiting trial for treason, and recalled the exiles, but put to death all the slaves and freedmen who had plotted against their masters. And he did not permit such persons to prefer against their masters any other charge either, nor people in general to accuse others of *maiestas* or Jewish practices<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Probably niece.

<sup>2</sup> For difference between *ἀθεότης* and *ἀσεβεία* see Ramsay *Church and Empire* p. 260 and Neumann *Der römische Staat* etc. p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Where Domitian had a villa. The word may mean "the Alban Mount."

<sup>4</sup> This must cover Christians.

## 14 ARISTIDES

*Orat.* 46 ὑπὲρ τῶν Τεττάρων (the four great Greek orators), Dindorf 400 ff.<sup>1</sup>

Καίτοι τις ἂν εἰς ζῶντας τελῶν τούτων ἀνάσχοιτο, οἱ πλείω μὲν σολοικίζουσιν ἢ φθέγγονται, ὑπερορῶσι δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον αὐτοῖς ὑπερορᾶσθαι προσήκει, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐξετάζουσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ οὐδεπώποτ' ἤξιωσαν, καὶ σεμνύνουσι μὲν τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀσκοῦσι δ' οὐ πᾶν, περιέρχονται δὲ ἄλλως "βροτῶν εἶδωλα καμόντων<sup>2</sup>," "Ἡσιόδου κηφήνες<sup>3</sup>," "Ἀρχιλόχου πίθηκοι<sup>4</sup>"...

Καινότατον δέ μοι δοκοῦσι τρόπον τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν ὀρίζεσθαι, οὐκ εἰ μεγάλα δώσουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ μικρὰ λήψονται [ἤδη]· οὐ γὰρ τῷ μεγάλῳ δωρεῖσθαι δεικνύουσιν αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἀξιῶν λαμβάνειν, ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ τοῦθ', ὡς ἀκούω, δόγμα πεποίηται, προσίεσθαι μὲν τὸ διδόμενον, λαμβάνοντες δὲ λαιδορεῖν. μόνους δὲ τούτους οὐκ ἐν κόλαξιν οὔτ' ἐν ἐλευθέροις ἄξιον θεῖναι· ἐξαπατῶσι μὲν γὰρ ὡς κόλακες, προπηλακίζουσι δὲ ὡς κρείττους, δύο τοῖς ἐσχάτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις λόγοις ἔνοχοι κακοῖς ὄντες ταπεινότητι καὶ αὐθαδείᾳ, τοῖς ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ δυσσεβέσι παραπλήσιοι τοὺς τρόπους· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοις τοῦτ' ἐστὶ σύμβολον τῆς δυσσεβείας, ὅτι τοὺς κρείττους οὐ νομίζουσι, καὶ οὗτοι τρόπον τινα ἀφυστᾶσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντων τῶν κρείττωνων, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀφωρότεροι τῆς σκιᾶς τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ἐπειδὴν δὲ κακῶς τινὰς εἰπεῖν δέη καὶ διαβαλεῖν, τῷ Δωδωνεῖω μὲν οὐκ ἂν εἰκάσαις αὐτοὺς χαλκείῳ, μὴ γάρ, ὦ Ζεῦ, ταῖς δὲ ἐμπῖσι καὶ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ βομβοῦσαις·

<sup>1</sup> For the whole attack on Cynics and Christians see Bernays *Lucian* p. 38 ff.; Ramsay *Church in the Empire* p. 351 f.; Harnack *Expansion of Christianity* II, p. 129 n. (Engl. Trans.); Lightfoot, *Ign.* I 533.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *Od.* XI 476.

<sup>3</sup> Hesiod *Op.* 302.

<sup>4</sup> Bergk 91.

## 14 ARISTIDES

And yet what living being can tolerate these men<sup>1</sup>? They utter more solecisms than words, and look down on all others as much as they deserve to be looked down upon themselves, and scrutinize others, but have never yet taken their own measure, and make much of virtue, but practise it not a whit, but go about merely as "ghosts of the dead," "drones" of Hesiod, "apes" of Archilochus...

In quite new fashion do they seem to me to define magnanimity, not that a man should give great gifts, but that he should not receive little ones<sup>2</sup>. For they show it not by the greatness of their liberality, but by the greatness of what they expect to receive. And some have now even made this a rule, as I hear, to hold out the hand for the gift but, while receiving it, to revile the giver. Of all men these alone it is not right to reckon as either flatterers or freemen. For as flatterers they gull others, but throw mud at them as their betters, being open to the two worst and most contradictory of evil charges, baseness and arrogance, being very similar in their character to the impious folk of Palestine<sup>3</sup>; for of *their* impiety the hall-mark is that they do not acknowledge the higher Powers, and these men have in a way apostatized from the Greeks, or rather from all who are higher than they; in other respects more dumb than their own shadows, but when it is a question of reviling or calumniating others, you cannot compare them to the caldron of Dodona, no by Zeus, but to gnats that buzz even in the dark. They are the most useless of

<sup>1</sup> Who rail at Demosthenes. He is attacking the later degenerate Cynics.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Fronto *Letter to Appian* II 268 ff. (Loeb).

<sup>3</sup> If the Cynics are aimed at throughout, these words may refer either to Jews or Christians.

συγκαταπράξει μὲν τι τῶν δεόντων ἀπάντων ἀχρηστό-  
 τατοι, διορύξει δὲ οἰκίαν καὶ ταραξει καὶ συγκρούσαι  
 τοὺς ἔνδον πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φῆσαι πάντ' αὐτοὺς διοι-  
 κήσειν πάντων δεινότατοι· οἱ λόγον μὲν ἔγκαρπον οὐ-  
 δένα πώποτ' οὐτ' εἶπον οὐθ' εὖρον οὐτ' ἐποίησαν, οὐ  
 πανηγύρεις ἐκόσμησαν, οὐ θεοὺς ἐτίμησαν, οὐ πόλεσι  
 συνεβούλευσαν, οὐ λυπουμένους παρεμυθήσαντο, οὐ  
 στασιάζοντας διήλλαξαν, οὐ προὔτρεψαν νέους οὐτ'  
 ἄλλους οὐδένας, οὐ κόσμον τοῖς λόγοις προὔνοήσαντο·  
 καταδύντες δὲ ἐς τοὺς χηραμοὺς ἐκεῖ τὰ θαυμαστὰ  
 σοφίζονται, "σκιᾶ τινι λόγους ἀνασπῶντες<sup>1</sup>," ἔφησ, ὦ  
 Σοφόκλεες, τὴν ἀνθέρικον θερίζοντες, τὸ ἐκ τῆς ψάμμου  
 σχοίνιον πλέκοντες, οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντιν' ἰστὸν ἀναλύοντες·  
 ὅσον γὰρ ἂν προκόψωσι τῆς σοφίας, τοσοῦτον ἀνταφαι-  
 οῦσι μεγάλα φρονούντες ἂν ῥητορικὴν εἰπωσι κακῶς,  
 ὥσπερ οὐ καὶ δούλους...εἰκότως δέ μοι δοκοῦσι κακῶς  
 ἅπαντας λέγειν, πολλὸν γὰρ τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῖς περι-  
 εστιν, οἷ γε κὰν μηδένοσ ἀνθρώπων μεμνήσωνται λέ-  
 γουσιν ἂ λέγουσι κακῶς· ὥστ' ἀφ' ὧν ἔχουσιν χαρίζονται.  
 καὶ τολμῶσιν ἤδη τῶν ἀρίστων ἐν τοῖς "Ἑλλησι μνημο-  
 νεύειν, ὥσπερ ἔξον αὐτοῖς· ὧν εἴ τις ἐξέλοι τὴν ψευδο-  
 λογίαν καὶ τὴν κακοθήθειαν, ὥσπερ εἰ τὰ ἰσχύρ' ἀφήρη-  
 κε τοῦ βίου. εἶτα τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτοῖς  
 τεθεῖνται φιλοσοφίαν, ὥσπερ...τῇ μεταθέσει τῶν ὀνο-  
 μάτων τὰ τοιαῦτα κρινόμενα ἀλλ' οὐ τοῖς πράγμασιν.....  
 καὶ οὗτοι τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας εὐφημίαν προκαλυσφάμενοι  
 διὰ ταύτης κλέφειν οἶονται τὰνδόθεν...ἀρχὴν δὲ οὐδ'  
 εἰδέναι μοι δοκοῦσιν οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τῆς φιλοσοφίας,  
 ὅπως εἶχε τοῖς "Ἑλλησι καὶ ὅτι ἠδύνατο, οὐδ' ὄλως τῶν  
 περὶ ταῦτ' οὐδέν.

<sup>1</sup> Soph. *Aias* 301.

all men to co-operate in any necessary work, but the most adept of all at forcing their way into a house and at disturbing the inmates and setting them at variance<sup>1</sup>, and saying they will put everything right; not a word, not an idea, not a deed of theirs has ever borne fruit. They grace no national festival, honour no gods; they never co-operate for the good of cities, never comfort the afflicted, never reconcile discordant factions, never encourage the young or anyone else. They have no eye for style in their speech, but diving into their holes they there devise amazing things, "pouring out their words to some phantom," as you, Sophocles, might say, harvesting asphodel, weaving a rope of sand, undoing I know not what loom-work. For however much progress they make in wisdom, they discount as much, priding themselves greatly if they revile rhetoric in such terms as they do not use to slaves....And naturally enough, it seems to me, do they speak evil of all, for they have plenty of this sort of thing to draw from, since even if they can think of no one to speak ill of, they say ill what they do say; so they are lavish of what they have. And they are not abashed even to make mention of the noblest of the Greeks, as if it were in their competence. But if one take away their falsities and their malice, he strips them as it were of their vitals. Then they have arrogated to themselves the most glorious of all names, Philosophy<sup>2</sup>, as though ...such things are decided by a transference of names and not by facts.....And these people shelter themselves under the fair name of Philosophy, thinking that by means of it they will steal the inner reality....But they seem to me to be ignorant of the very name of Philosophy, the position it held among the Greeks and what it meant, and in fact of anything at all about these things.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. x 35, Luke xii 53.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Galen, below, p. 86.



## 15 LUCIAN

(a) *Hermotimus* 22 (circa 160 A.D.).

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ. Σκόπει δὴ, καὶ μὴ καταγελάσης εἰ παντάπασιν ἰδιωτικῶς ἀναζητῶ αὐτό. ἀνάγκη γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπεὶ σὺ μὴ ἐθέλεις σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν, εἰδὼς ἄμεινον. ἔστω δὴ μοι ἢ μὲν ἀρετὴ τοιούδε τι, οἶον πόλις τις εὐδαίμονας ἔχουσα τοὺς ἐμπολιτευομένους (ὡς φαίη ἂν ὁ διδάσκαλος ὁ σὸς ἐκεῖθεν ποθεν ἀφυγμένος), σοφοὺς ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον, ἀνδρείους ἅπαντας δικαίους σῶφρονας, ὀλίγον θεῶν ἀποδέοντας· οἶα δὲ πολλὰ γίγνεται παρ' ἡμῖν, ἀρπαζόντων καὶ βιαζομένων καὶ πλεονεκτούντων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἴδοις, φασίν, ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει τολμώμενον, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ συμπολιτεύονται· μάλα εἰκότως· ἃ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, οἶμαι, τὰς στάσεις καὶ φιλονεικίας ἐγείρει, καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ταῦτα πάντα ἐκποδῶν ἔστιν ἐκείνοις· οὐ γὰρ οὔτε χρυσίου ἔτι οὔτε ἡδονᾶς οὔτε δόξας ὀρώσιν ὡς διαφέρεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάσαι τῆς πόλεως ἐξεληλάκασιν αὐτά, οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἠγησάμενοι συμπολιτεύεσθαι. ὥστε γαληνὸν τινα καὶ πανευδαίμονα βίον βιοῦσι, σὺν εὐνομίᾳ καὶ ἰσότητι καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ. Τί οὖν, ὦ Λυκίνε; οὐκ ἄξιον ἅπαντας ἐπιθυμεῖν πολίτας γίγνεσθαι τῆς τοιαύτης πόλεως, μήτε κάματον ὑπολογιζομένους τὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ, μήτε πρὸς τὸ μῆκος τοῦ χρόνου ἀπαγορευόντος, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἀφικόμενοι ἐγγραφήσεσθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ μεθέξειν τῆς πολιτείας;

ΛΥΚΙΝΟΣ. Νῆ Δί', ὦ Ἑρμότιμε, πάντων μάλιστα ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπουδαστέον· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀμελητέον, καὶ μήτε πατρίδος τῆς ἐνταῦθα ἐπιλαμβανομένης πολλὴν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον, μήτε παίδων ἢ γονέων, ὅτῳ εἰσὶν, ἐπικατεχόντων καὶ κλαυθμυριζομένων ἐπικλᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ

## 15 LUCIAN

*Lycinus*. Then attend and do not laugh at me if I make my enquiry in quite an unprofessional manner. For I can do nothing else, since you who know better will not speak more plainly. Let me suppose then that virtue is something like a city, the citizens in which are happy—as your professor who hails from somewhere there would say—, wise to the *n*<sup>th</sup>, all of them brave, just, masters of themselves, in fact but little short of gods. Numbers of things that go on among us, robbery, assault, profiteering, you would never, it is said, find ventured on in that city, but all live there as citizens together in peace and concord; and quite naturally so. For all that in other cities, as I take it, stirs up faction and strife, and causes men to plot one against another, is quite outside their lives. For they no longer have an eye for gold or pleasures or honours, that they should quarrel about them, but long since they have chased them from their city, not thinking them indispensable to fellow-citizenship. So they live a calm and wholly happy life, in the enjoyment of law and equality and freedom and all other blessings.

*Hermotimus*. Well then, Lycinus, must not all men long to be citizens of such a city, never giving a thought to the toil of the journey thither, nor fainting at the length of time it takes, if they can but arrive there and be enrolled as citizens, and share in the citizenship?

*Lycinus*. By heaven, Hermotimus, this above all things should be our aim; and we ought to neglect all else, and neither make much account of the country to which we belong here, nor be unmanned by the clinging to us and crying of children or parents, if any have them, but, as the best course, invite them

μάλιστα μὲν κάκεινους παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐθέλοισιν ἢ μὴ δύναιτο, ἀποσεισάμενον αὐτοὺς χωρεῖν εὐθὺ τῆς πανευδαίμονος ἐκείνης πόλεως· καὶ αὐτὸ ἀπορρίψαντα τὸ ἱμάτιον, εἰ τούτου ἐπειλημένοι κατερύκοιεν, ἐσσύμενον ἐκείσε· οὐ γὰρ δέος μὴ σέ τις ἀποκλείση καὶ γυμνὸν ἐκείσε ἤκοντα.

"Ἦδη γὰρ ποτε καὶ ἄλλοτε πρεσβύτου ἀνδρὸς ἤκουσα διεξιόντος, ὅπως τὰ ἐκεῖ πράγματα ἔχοι, καὶ με προὔτρεπεν ἔπεσθαι οἱ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. ἠγήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐλθόντα ἐγγράψειν καὶ φυλῆτην ποιήσεσθαι καὶ φρατρίας μεταδώσειν τῆς αὐτοῦ, ὡς μετὰ πάντων εὐδαιμονοίην. "ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην<sup>1</sup>," ὑπ' ἀνοίας καὶ νεότητος τότε, πρὸ πεντεκαίδεκα σχεδὸν ἐτῶν. ἴσως γὰρ ἂν αὐτὰ ἤδη ἀμφὶ τὰ προάστεια καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἦν ἄν. ἔλεγε δ' οὖν περὶ τῆς πόλεως, εἴ γε μέμνημαι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ καὶ ἤδη καὶ τάδε, ὡς σύμπαντες μὲν ἐπήλυδες καὶ ξένοι εἶεν, αὐθιγενῆς δὲ οὐδεῖς· ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρους ἐμπολιτεύεσθαι πολλοὺς καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀμόρφους καὶ μικροὺς καὶ πένητας· καὶ ὅλως μετέχειν τῆς πόλεως τὸν βουλόμενον. τὸν γὰρ δὴ νόμον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἐγγραφήν οὐδ' ἀπὸ σχημάτων ἢ μεγέθους ἢ κάλλους, οὐδ' ἀπὸ γένους οὐδὲ λαμπρῶν ἐκ προγόνων· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ νομίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀποχρῆν δ' ἐκάστω πρὸς τὸ πολίτην γενέσθαι σύνεσιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν τῶν καλῶν καὶ πόνου καὶ τὸ λιπαρὲς καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦναι μηδὲ μαλακισθῆναι πολλοῖς τοῖς δυσχερέσι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐντυγχάνοντα· ὡς ὅστις ἂν ταῦτ' ἐπιδείξῃται καὶ διεξέλθῃ πορευόμενος ἄχρι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, αὐτίκα μάλα πολίτην ὄντα τοῦτον, ὅστις ἂν ἦ, καὶ ἰσότημον ἀπάσι· τὸ δὲ χείρων ἢ κρείτ-

<sup>1</sup> Hom. *Od.* IX 228. In the original this is said with *remorse*.

to take the same road as ourselves. Failing that, if they will not or cannot, then must we shake them off and make straight for that city of all happiness, even shedding one's very coat, if they lay hold of it to keep a man back<sup>1</sup> in his eager haste thither: you need never fear that once gotten there anyone will shut you out even if you have no coat.

For I remember hearing an old man<sup>2</sup> once in former days tell me all about the life there, and urge me to follow him to the city. He was ready, he said, to guide me and, when I got there, to enroll me and make me a tribesman and a member of his own brotherhood, that I might share in the general happiness. But my "heart was hardened," foolish as I then was and young, fifteen years, it may be, ago. Otherwise I had perhaps already been in the suburbs of that city, aye at the very gates. Much else also did he tell me about the city, if I remember rightly, and this in particular, that all the inhabitants are incomers and strangers, and not one is home-born; but among the citizens are many barbarians and slaves and deformed persons and dwarfs and paupers: in fact anyone who wishes can share in the citizenship. For their law does not base the franchise on wealth or on externals as stature or beauty, or upon race or distinguished ancestry. Such things are not even considered among them; it suffices that everyone, to become a citizen, should have understanding and a thirst for what is right, and industry and perseverance, and a determination not to give in or be daunted by the many hardships met with in the way. Whosoever gives proof of these and wins through in his journey till he reaches the city, on that very instant becomes a citizen, be he who he may, and stands on a footing

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, *ad init.*

<sup>2</sup> See the striking parallel in Justin *Dial. Tryph.* 3. This passage of Lucian and the whole description of the (Christian) City of God may have given rise to the idea (held by some) that Lucian was an apostate from Christianity.

των ἢ εὐπατρίδης ἢ ἀγεννῆς ἢ δοῦλος ἢ ἐλεύθερος οὐδ' ὄλως εἶναι ἢ λέγεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

ΕΡΜΟΤΙΜΟΣ. Ὁρᾶς, ὦ Λυκῖνε, ὡς οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ περὶ μικρῶν κάμνω πολίτης ἐπιθυμῶν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτω καλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος πόλεως;

(b) *Philopseudes* 16.

Ἐγὼ γοῦν ἠδέως ἂν ἐροίμην σε, τί περὶ τούτων φῆς, ὅσοι τοὺς δαιμονῶντας ἀπαλλάττουσι τῶν δειμάτων, οὕτω σαφῶς ἐξάδοντες καὶ τὰ φάσματα. καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐμὲ χρῆ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἴσασι τὸν Σύρον ἐκ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, τὸν ἐπὶ τούτων σοφιστήν, ὅσους παραλαβὼν καταπίπτοντας πρὸς τὴν σελήνην καὶ τὸ ὄφθαλμῶ διαστρέφοντας καὶ ἀφροῦ πιμπλαμένους τὸ στόμα, ὅμως ἀνίστησι καὶ ἀποπέμπει ἀρτίους, ἐπὶ μισθῷ μεγάλῳ ἀπαλλάξας τῶν δεινῶν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἐπιστῆ κειμένοις, καὶ ἔρηται ὅθεν εἰσεληλύθασι εἰς τὸ σῶμα, ὁ μὲν νοσῶν αὐτὸς σιωπᾷ, ὁ δαίμων δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ἐλληνίζων ἢ βαρβαρίζων ἢ ὅθεν ἂν αὐτὸς ᾖ, ὅπως τε καὶ ὅθεν ἀπῆλθεν εἰς ἄνθρωπον· ὁ δὲ ὄρκους ἐπάγων, εἰ δὲ μὴ πεισθεῖη καὶ ἀπειλῶν, ἐξελαύνει τὸν δαίμονα.

(c) *Alexander* 25<sup>1</sup>.

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἤδη πολλοὶ τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐκ μέθης βαθείας ἀναφέρουτες, συνίσταντο ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι Ἐπικούρου ἐταῖροι (πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν), καὶ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐπεφώρατο ἡρέμα ἤδη πᾶσα ἡ μαγανεία καὶ συσκευὴ τοῦ δράματος, ἐκφέρει φοβητρὸν τι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς λέγων ἀθέων ἐμπέπλησθαι καὶ Χριστιανῶν τὸν Πόντον, οἱ περὶ αὐτοῦ τολμῶσι τὰ κάκιστα βλασφημεῖν· οὐδ' ἐκέλευε λίθοις ἐλαύνειν, εἴ γε ἐθέλουσιν ἴλεω ἔχειν τὸν θεόν.

<sup>1</sup> This Alexander was an impostor who set up as a prophet and oracle-monger at Abonouteichos in Paphlagonia, and had a great vogue till his death about 170 A.D.

of equality with all. Such differences as inferior and superior, well born or of humble birth, bond or free<sup>1</sup>, do not in fact exist or are so much as named in the city.

*Hermotimus*. Ah, Lycinus, you see that mine is no idle endeavour, or about trifles, my desire, I mean, to become myself also a citizen of so beautiful and blissful a city.

(b) However I should much like to know what you have to say about those who free demoniacs of their terrors, thus clearly expelling even spectral beings by their incantations. There is no need for me to go into the subject, but everyone knows of the Syrian from Palestine, the adept at these matters, how often does he receive a man, who has fallen down in a lunatic fit, and is rolling his eyes and foaming at the mouth, and nevertheless sets him on his feet again and sends him away all right. Not but that he takes a large fee for freeing them from their terrible disorder. When he stands over them as they lie, and asks where the spirits have come from into their bodies, the sick man himself is silent, but the demon answers in Greek or in the speech of whatever country the man himself comes from, how and whence it came into the man. Thus by using adjurations, and, if these fail, even threats, he drives the demon out.

(c) But when already many of the sensible people, just as if they had come to themselves after a deep intoxication, combined against him, especially the followers of Epicurus (and there were many), and this quackery with its theatrical stage-setting began to be gradually detected in the cities, Alexander put out a manifesto to frighten them, saying that Pontus was swarming with atheists and Christians, who did not scruple to utter the vilest blasphemies against himself: he bade them stone such persons if they wished to win the favour of the God.

<sup>1</sup> Galatians iii 28, Coloss. iii 11.

(d) *Alexander* 38 (after 150 A.D.).

Καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προεμηχανᾶτο. τελετὴν τε γὰρ τινα συνίσταται καὶ δαδουχίας καὶ ἱεροφαντίας τριῶν ἑξῆς αἰὲς τελουμένων ἡμερῶν· καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ πρόρρησις ἦν, ὡσπερ Ἀθήνησι, τοιαύτη· “Εἴ τις ἄθεος ἢ Χριστιανὸς ἢ Ἐπικουρείος ἢ κει κατάσκοπος τῶν ὀργίων, φευγέτω· οἱ δὲ πιστεύοντες τῷ θεῷ τελέσθωσαν τύχη τῇ ἀγαθῇ.” εἰτ’ εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐξέλασις ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἡγεῖτο λέγων “Ἐξω Χριστιανούς!” τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἅπαν ἐπεφθέγγετο “Ἐξω Ἐπικουρείους!”

(e) *Peregrinus* 11 (after 165 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>.

“Ὅτεπερ καὶ τὴν θαυμαστὴν σοφίαν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξέμαθε περὶ τὴν Παλαιστίνην τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ γραμματεῦσιν αὐτῶν συγγενόμενος. καὶ τί γάρ; ἐν βραχεῖ παιδᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνε, προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ συναγωγεὺς καὶ πάντα μόνος αὐτὸς ὢν· καὶ τῶν βίβλων τὰς μὲν ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ διεσάφει, πολλὰς δὲ αὐτὸς καὶ συνέγραφε. καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοι ἡγούντο<sup>2</sup> καὶ νομοθετῇ ἐχρῶντο καὶ προστάτην ἐπέγραφον. τὸν μέγαν γοῦν ἐκείνον ἔτι σέβουσιν ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ἀνασκολοπισθέντα, ὅτι καινὴν ταύτην τελετὴν εἰσήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον. τότε δὲ καὶ συλληφθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ ὁ Πρωτεὺς ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὸ δεσμοτήριον. ὅπερ καὶ αὐτὸ οὐ μικρὸν αὐτῷ ἀξίωμα περιεποίησε πρὸς τὸν ἑξῆς βίον καὶ τὴν τερατείαν καὶ δοξοκοπίαν, ὃν ἐρῶν ἐτύγχανεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ οὖν ἐδέδετο, οἱ Χριστιανοὶ συμφορὰν ποιούμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα πάντα ἐκίνουν ἔξαρ-

<sup>1</sup> This masquerader as Christian was also called *Proteus*, as a quick-change artist. After incurring the hostility of his fellow-citizens at Parium, for parricide and immorality, he went into voluntary exile, and became a pretended Christian as here told.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Polycarp *Martyr.* 17; *Epist. Lugd.* 9 (Euseb. *H. E.* v 1 § 29); Acts of Phocas § 4 (Conybeare p. 105).

(d) And with a view to his operations in Italy these and the like were the measures that Alexander devised, and the following. He instituted a kind of initiation with torch-bearers and hierophants, the mysteries always lasting three successive days. On the first a proclamation was made, as at Athens, to the following effect: “If any atheist or Christian or Epicurean is present to spy upon our rites, let him begone! but let those who believe be consecrated to the God, and all happiness attend them!” The proceedings then opened with the ejection of the infidels; and he led the chorus with “Out with the Christians!” and all the people answered with “Out with the Epicureans!”

(e) During his exile Peregrinus forgathered with the priests and scribes in Palestine, and became perfectly familiar with the wonderful doctrine of the Christians. What then? It did not take him long to show that they were as babes in his hands, for he became in his own person prophet, congregation-leader and convener of their synagogue, in fact everything. He also expounded and interpreted some of their books, and even wrote many others himself. They looked upon him as a god, acknowledged him as their legislator and registered him as their patron. The Christians, as it is, still worship that great man, who was crucified in Palestine for introducing this as a new religion into the world. Well, after this Proteus was in consequence arrested and thrown into prison, the very thing wanted to invest with immense prestige his subsequent career with its charlatanism and craze for notoriety so characteristic of him. However, when he was locked up, the Christians, taking the matter greatly to heart, left no stone unturned to procure

πάσαι πειρώμενοι αὐτόν. εἴτ', ἐπεὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδύνατον, ἢ γε ἄλλη θεραπεία πᾶσα οὐ παρέργως ἀλλὰ σὺν σπουδῇ ἐγίγνετο· καὶ ἔωθεν μὲν εὐθύς ἦν ὄραν παρὰ τῷ δεσμοτηρίῳ περιμένοντα γραῖδια, χήρας τινας, καὶ παιδία ὀρφανά· οἱ δὲ ἐν τέλει αὐτῶν καὶ συνεκάθειδον ἔνδον μετ' αὐτοῦ, διαφθείροντες τοὺς δεσμοφύλακας· εἶτα δεῖπνα ποικίλα εἰσεκομίζετο, καὶ λόγοι ἱεροὶ αὐτῶν ἐλέγοντο καὶ ὁ βέλτιστος Περειγρίνος (ἔτι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐκαλεῖτο) καινὸς Σωκράτης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὠνομάζετο. καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀσίᾳ πόλεων ἔστιν ὧν ἡκόν τινες τῶν Χριστιανῶν στελλόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ, βοηθήσαντες καὶ συναγορεύσαντες καὶ παραμυθησόμενοι τὸν ἄνδρα. ἀμήχανον δέ τι τὸ τάχος ἐπιδείκνυνται, ἐπειδὴν τι τοιοῦτον γένηται δημόσιον, ἐν βραχεῖ γὰρ ἀφειδοῦσι πάντων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ Περειγρίνῳ πολλὰ τότε ἦκε χρήματα παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ προφάσει τῶν δεσμῶν, καὶ πρόσδοτον οὐ μικρὰν ταύτην ἐποίησατο. πεπεῖκασι γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ κακοδαίμονες τὸ μὲν ὄλον ἀθάνατοι ἔσεσθαι καὶ βιώσεσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον. παρ' ὃ καὶ καταφρονούσι τοῦ θανάτου, καὶ ἔκοντες αὐτοὺς ἐπιδιδόασιν οἱ πολλοί. ἔπειτα δὲ ὁ νομοθέτης ὁ πρῶτος ἔπεισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀδελφοὶ πάντες εἶεν ἀλλήλων· ἐπειδὴν ἅπαξ παραβάντες θεοὺς μὲν τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἀπαρνήσονται, τὸν δὲ ἀνεσκολοπισμένον ἐκείνον σοφιστὴν αὐτῶν προσκυνῶσι, καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου νόμους βιώσι. καταφρονούσιν οὖν ἀπάντων ἐξίσης καὶ κοινὰ ἡγοῦνται ἄνευ τινὸς ἀκριβοῦς πίστεως τὰ τοιαῦτα παραδεξάμενοι. ἦν τοίνυν παρέλθη τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος καὶ πράγμασι χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο, ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχαυών.

his release. When all their efforts failed in this, every other service they could do for him they did, not perfunctorily but with enthusiasm. As soon as it was daylight, they were to be seen waiting at the prison doors<sup>1</sup>, old women (widows, they call them)<sup>1</sup> and orphan children; while their chief people were able by bribing the gaolers to sleep with the prisoner<sup>2</sup> inside the building. Recherché dinners were smuggled in, sacred discourses held, and the excellent Peregrinus (he was still called so) was dubbed by them the "new Socrates." More than this, from some of the cities of Asia came deputies, sent by the Christian communities<sup>3</sup> to offer the sufferer assistance, legal advocacy, and consolation. It is inconceivable what alacrity they show when an occasion like this arises touching the whole body, for in a trice they are lavish of their all. As a case in point money flowed in on Peregrinus at once from them by reason of his bonds, and he made quite a good income out of it. For these unhappy creatures have persuaded themselves that they will in their whole being be immortal and live for ever. Whence it comes that they despise death<sup>4</sup>, and very many of them give themselves up voluntarily. And next their first lawgiver made them believe that they become all brethren one of another<sup>5</sup>, when once they have gone over and denied the gods of Greece, and worship that crucified sage of theirs, and live according to his laws. Accepting such beliefs without any precise warrant, they despise all worldly goods alike and count them common property<sup>6</sup>. So a cheat or a clever rogue versed in the affairs of the world need but get an entry among them, and therewith in a trice he becomes quite rich—laughing in his sleeve at such simpletons.

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot *Ignat.* I 345 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, and *Acts of Perpetua*.

<sup>3</sup> A parody of the Ignatian Letters.

<sup>4</sup> An Ignatian expression. Cp. also Galen (c) below, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Matt. xxiii 8.

<sup>6</sup> Acts iv 32.

(f) *Peregrinus* 16.

Ἐξήκει οὖν τὸ δεύτερον πλανησόμενος ἱκανὰ ἐφόδια τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἔχων, ὑφ' ὧν δορυφορούμενος ἐν ἀπάσιν ἀφθόνοις ἦν. καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα οὕτως ἐβόσκετο· εἶτα παρανομήσας τι καὶ ἐς ἐκείνους (ᾧφθη γάρ τι, ὡς οἶμαι, ἐσθίων τῶν ἀπορρήτων αὐτοῖς), οὐκέτι προσιεμένων αὐτῶν, ἀπορούμενος ἐκ παλινοφθίας ᾤετο δεῖν ἀπαιτεῖν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως τὰ χρήματα<sup>1</sup>.

16 APULEIUS

*Metamorphosis* IX 14.

Nec vel unum vitium nequissimae illi feminae de-  
erat, sed omnia prorsus ut in quamdam caenosam la-  
trinam in eius animum flagitia confluerant: saeva  
scaeva, virosa ebriosa, perversa pertinax... inimica fidei,  
hostis pudicitiae. Tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis  
numinibus in vicem certae religionis mentita sacrilega  
praesumptione dei, quem praedicaret unicum, confictis  
observationibus vacuis fallens omnes homines et mise-  
rum maritum decipiens...

17 GALEN

(a) Περὶ διαφορᾶς σφνυγμῶν II 4 (Kühn VIII 579).

Κάλλιον δ' ἂν ἦν πολλῶ προσθεῖναι τινα, εἰ καὶ μὴ  
βεβαίαν ἀπόδειξιν, παραμυθίαν γ' οὖν ἱκανὴν τῷ λόγῳ  
περὶ τῶν ὀκτῶ ποιότητων, ἵνα μὴ τις εὐθὺς κατ' ἀρχάς,  
ὡς εἰς Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ διατριβὴν ἀφιγμένος, νόμων  
ἀποδεικτῶν ἀκούῃ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν οἷς ἤκιστα χρεῖ.

(b) Περὶ διαφορᾶς σφνυγμῶν III 3 (Kühn VIII 657).

Θάττον γὰρ ἂν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Μωϋσοῦ καὶ Χριστοῦ  
μεταδιδάξειεν ἢ τοὺς ταῖς αἰρέσεσι προστετηκότας ἰα-  
τρούς τε καὶ φιλοσόφους.

<sup>1</sup> He had in a fit of bravado given his patrimony to his fellow-citizens of Parium.

(f) *Peregrinus* now set out on his travels a second time, having in the Christians quite sufficient for his travelling expenses. Under their escort he lived in all affluence, and for a time batted on this treatment. Finally he committed some offence against them also—was found, I fancy, eating some meats<sup>1</sup> tabu with them—and they disowned him<sup>2</sup>. So being in a fix he thought it best to recant his deed of gift and ask back the property he had given to the state.

16 APULEIUS

That abandoned woman was free from no single vice, but into her mind as into some muddy sewer had flowed together absolutely all abominations. She was savage stupid, lecherous lickerish, persistent perverse... a foe to faith, an enemy to chastity. Then she threw aside and spurned our sacred deities, and for a religion that was sure substituting impious falsities on the presumption of a God, whom she vaunted as the one God, by devising empty observances she escaped the notice of the outside world and hoodwinked her husband.

17 GALEN

(a) But it would have been far better to add if not a sure proof, yet at all events some sufficient likelihood, to the argument about the eight qualities, that one may not at the very outset, like a follower of Moses or Christ, assent at once to laws imposed<sup>3</sup>, and that too where it is least of all right.

(b) For it were easier to convert Jews or Christians, than physicians or philosophers who are wedded to their sects.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly meats offered to idols.

<sup>2</sup> He then took up the Cynic rôle; for which see Aristides above.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. *demonstrated*. The Rev. G. H. Whitaker suggests (ἀν)ἀποδεικτῶν "unproved."

(c) Abulfeda (1272-1331 A.D.) *Hist. Anteislam.*<sup>1</sup>

Galeni tempore religio Christianorum magna iam incrementa ceperat, eorumque mentionem <Galenus> fecit in libro *de Sententiis Politiae Platonicae* his verbis:

"Hominum plerique orationem demonstrativam continuam mente assequi nequeunt; quare indigent ut instituantur parabolis<sup>2</sup> veluti nostro tempore videmus homines illos, qui Christiani vocantur, fidem suam a parabolis petiisse. Hi tamen interdum talia faciunt qualia qui vere philosophantur. Nam quod mortem contemnunt, id quidem ante oculos habemus; item quod verecundia quadam ducti ab usu rerum venerearum abhorrent. Sunt enim inter eos et feminae et viri qui totam per vitam a concubitu abstinerint; sunt etiam qui in animis regendis coercendisque ex acerrimo honestatis studio eo progressi sint ut nihil cedant vere philosophantibus."

(c<sup>1</sup>) Greg. Abulfaragius (= Barhebraeus 1226-1286 A.D.) *Hist. Dynast.* 77 and 78 apud Casiri *Bibl. Arab.-Hisp.* I 253<sup>3</sup>.

Ceterum Galenum post Christum Dominum natum floruisse argumento sunt illius in commentario libri *de Republica* Platonis haec verba:

"Novimus gentem illam, quae Christiani nuncupatur, religionem suam a parabolis ac miraculis constituisse. Cernimus praeterea philosophis in morum disciplina minime cedere; coelibatum, uti et complures eorum feminae, excolere: in cibo potuque parcimoniam amare; in ieiuniis et orationibus adsiduos esse; laedere neminem: adeo ut virtutum et studio et exercitatione philosophos longe superaverint. Aequitate, morum probitate, continentia, et vera miraculorum patratiōne quam maxime eos antecellere miramur."

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the Arabic, H. O. Fleischer, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Narrationes dicit de praemiis et poenis in vita futura sperandis* (note from the Arabic).

<sup>3</sup> Transl. from the Arabic 1760.

(c) In Galen's time the religion of the Christians had already received great accessions, and he makes mention of them in his book on the *Doctrines of Plato's Republic* as follows:

The majority of men have not the mental capacity to follow the proof of any proposition conveyed in a consecutive discourse. Consequently they require to be taught by parables, as we see in our own times that those men who are called Christians have drawn their belief from parables. These men however act sometimes like true philosophers. For we have ocular demonstration of the fact that they despise death; also that from obedience to a sort of modesty they abstain from sexual pleasures. For there are among them women and men who their whole life through have refrained from sexual intercourse. Some too there are who have progressed so far in self-control arising from their earnest pursuit of righteousness as to be no whit inferior to true philosophers.

(c<sup>1</sup>) But that Galen flourished after the birth of our Lord Christ is proved by these words in his book of Commentaries on the *Republic* of Plato:

We know that the race of men called Christians have founded their religion on parables and miracles. We see besides that they are no whit inferior to philosophers in moral discipline; cherish a single life, as also do many of their women; love temperance in food and drink; are constant in fastings and prayers; do no one wrong, so that in the pursuit and exercise of the virtues they have left philosophers far behind. We notice with astonishment how far they excel them in justice, in moral probity, continence, and true exercise of miraculous powers.

(c<sup>2</sup>) *Hist. Compend. Dynast.* auctore Greg. Abul Pharagio Malatiensi medico<sup>1</sup>.

Videbis populum istum, qui Christiani appellantur, disciplinam suam aenigmatibus et miraculis superstruxisse, neque philosophis veris operibus cedere, continentiam amare, in ieiuniis et orationibus continuos esse, ab iniuriis abstinere, atque esse inter ipsos homines qui se mulieribus non polluunt.

(c<sup>3</sup>) Greg. Abulphargii sive Barhebraei *Chron. Syriac.* II 55<sup>2</sup>.

Titus Antoninus Caesar, qui Pius cognominatus est, nec non Iustus pater una cum filiis suis annos XXII <regnavit>. Haec praecepit ut Christiani nulla persecutione vexarentur. Eius tempore floruit Galenus.... Dixit etiam in commentario in *Phaedonem* Platonis, "Conspiciuntur viri isti qui Naziraei vocantur, qui aenigmatibus et miraculis fidem suam superstruxerunt. Horum non pauci revera philosophi sunt, amant enim temperantiam, perseverant in ieiunio, adhibentque curam ut nihil gustent. Sunt etiam inter eos qui per totum vitae eorum spatium matrimonia non celebrant."...

Quum portenta et sanationes, quas Christus Dominus Noster perpetravit, ei narrarentur, respondit se non dubitare, quin adiutus potentia divina haec fecerit. Interroganti ubinam aliqui discipulorum eius commorarentur responsio data est, 'Hierosolymis commorari.' Viam igitur ingressus est Hierosolymam versus, sed quum in Siciliam pervenisset mortuus est ibi anno aetatis LXXXVIII.

18 See *Frontispiece*

<sup>1</sup> Transl. by Ed. Pocock, p. 78 (1663 Oxon.).

<sup>2</sup> Trans. by P. J. Bruns and G. G. Kirsch.

(c<sup>2</sup>) You will see that the people who are called Christians have based their rule of life upon enigmas and miracles; that they do not fall short of true philosophers in their deeds; that they love continence, are constant in fastings and prayers, refrain from injuring others, and that there are among them those who do not defile themselves with women<sup>1</sup>.

(c<sup>3</sup>) Titus Antoninus Caesar, who was called Pius and also Justus, reigned, the father with his (two) sons, 22 years. He ordered that Christians should not be persecuted<sup>2</sup>. In his reign Galen flourished...who has also said in his commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*, "Noticeable are those men who are called Nazarenes, who have built up their faith on enigmas and miracles. Not a few of them are genuine philosophers. For they love temperance, are constant in fasting, and are careful to eat nothing. Among them too are found those who their whole life through eschew marriage."...

When he was told of the marvels and cures which our Lord Jesus Christ had wrought, he replied that he doubtless did such things by the aid of divine power. When he asked where some of Christ's disciples lived<sup>3</sup>, he was told that they lived at Jerusalem. He therefore started for Jerusalem, but on reaching Sicily died there in the eighty-eighth year of his age.

18 See *Frontispiece*

<sup>1</sup> Or "there are among them men who."

<sup>2</sup> See Edict above, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> This last part is plainly apocryphal.



## 19 NUMENIUS

Origen *c. Cels.* IV 51.

Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα Νομήμιον τὸν Πυθαγόρειον ἄνδρα πολλῶ κρείττον διηγησάμενον Πλάτωνα καὶ τὰ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δόγματα<sup>1</sup> πρᾶσβεύσαντα, πολλαχοῦ τῶν συγγραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐκτιθέμενον τὰ Μωϋσέως καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπιθάνως αὐτὰ τροπολογοῦντα, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ "Ἐπωπι" καὶ ἐν τοῖς "περὶ ἀριθμῶν" καὶ ἐν τοῖς "περὶ τόπου." ἐν δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ "περὶ τὰγαθοῦ" ἐκτίθεται καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἱστορίαν τινα, τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ οὐ λέγων, καὶ τροπολογεῖ αὐτήν· πότερον δ' ἐπιτετευγμένως ἢ ἀποτετευγμένως ἄλλου καιροῦ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν...ἀποδεχόμεθα δ' αὐτὸν...βουληθέντα φιλομαθῶς καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα ἐξετάσαι, καὶ κινηθέντα ὡς περὶ τροπολογουμένων καὶ οὐ μῶρων συγγραμμάτων.

<sup>1</sup> Lommatzsch for τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων.

## 19 NUMENIUS

I know that Numenius the Pythagorean, a more than usually brilliant exponent of Plato and chief champion of the doctrines of Pythagoras, in many places in his works sets forth the sayings of Moses and the prophets and allegorizes them not unpersuasively, as in his work called *Erops* and in those which are called *On Numbers* and *On Place*. And in his third book *On the Good* he sets forth a narrative about Jesus, without naming him, and allegorizes it, whether successfully or unsuccessfully, I leave it to another occasion to discuss...and we approve of him because he was willing from a love of knowledge to examine our Scriptures too, and because he showed interest in them as allegorical and not senseless compositions.

## II. DOUBTFUL ALLUSIONS TO CHRISTIANITY

I give these here for the sake of completeness and by way of reference, but I have not thought it necessary to translate the extracts as their relevance is doubtful.

### 1 GAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS MAIOR (A.D. 23-79)

It is somewhat strange that in Pliny's encyclopaedic work, the *Natural History*, we find no reference whatever to Christianity, unless in the extract here given there is a passing allusion to Elymas the sorcerer<sup>1</sup> (called by the Cod. Bezae 'Ετοίμας). But see introductory note on Suetonius, p. 15.

*H. N.* xxx 1 *De origine magicae artis.*

Est et alia magicis factio, a Mose et Iamne et Iotape<sup>2</sup> Iudaeis pendens sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrum. Tanto recentior est Cypria.

### 2 GRAFFITO AT POMPEII<sup>3</sup> (before 79 A.D.)

This must have been scribbled by an idle hand before the burial of the city under volcanic ashes on

<sup>1</sup> Acts xiii 8-12.

<sup>2</sup> For Jannes and Jambres see 2 Tim. iii 8 where we are told they resisted Moses. How then were they Jews? Origen on Matt. xxvii 8 and xxiii 37 gives Mambres and refers to an apocryphal work as their source. In his *c. Cels.* he quotes Numenius of Apameia (see above) as mentioning them. Apuleius also (*Apol.* 9) speaks of I[oh]annes as a *magus* with Moses. Moses of course was long before Zoroaster, whose date may have been about 500 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> For other graffiti at Pompeii relative to Christianity see de Rossi *Bollet. di Arch. Crist.*, Sept. 1864, pp. 69-72. Champfleury *Hist.*

24 August 79 A.D. The inscription<sup>1</sup>, now wholly defaced, appears never to have been very legible, but the really important word <C>hristianos may be considered practically certain. It was found in the atrium of a house in the *Vico del Balcone Pensile* traced in charcoal on the white plaster. Harnack does not admit that Christianity had gained a footing at Pompeii so early<sup>2</sup>.

ΑΔ  
ADIA  
B-IC VIG ΣΑΥDICHRIΣTIANOS  
× SIIVOSO ONIS  
I\ /CA\

### 3 PLUTARCH (*circa* 45-120 A.D.)

Considering Plutarch's religious character, his widespread interest in history and literature, and the range and nature of his voluminous works, it is more than surprising that we find Christianity all but, if not quite, ignored in his writings. In his *Life of Nero* however, which has not come down to us, he could hardly have failed to mention the Christians, in spite of Hartmann's<sup>3</sup> dictum that, had he ever heard of them, he must have alluded to them in his essay on *Superstition*. Of course he must have heard of the Christians, and almost certainly he calls them "Syrians<sup>4</sup>" in the following extract:

*de la caricature antique* p. 284 n. (1867) says: "Dans le palais d'Édile Pansa, rue de la Fortune, on vient de trouver contre des murailles une croix ciselée, non encore terminée, avec des inscriptions injurieuses et des caricatures à l'adresse d'un Dieu crucifié." (But query?)

<sup>1</sup> *C. I. L.* IV 679.

<sup>2</sup> *Expans. Christianity* II 391 n. (Engl. Trans.). See Tertull. *Apol.* 40.

<sup>3</sup> *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho*. See *De Superstitione* 169 c.

<sup>4</sup> As Lucian and Epictetus probably do.

#### (a) *De Stoicorum Repugn.* 38.

Οὐδὲν ἔδει λέξεις παρατίθεσθαι καὶ τὸ χρηστοὺς ἅπαντας εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς προσλαμβάνειν. καίτοι χρηστοὺς οὐ πάντας εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς προσλαμβάνειν. ὄρα γὰρ οἷα Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Σύροι περὶ θεῶν φρονούσιν· ὄρα τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν πόσης ἐμπέπλησται δεισιδαιμονίας. φθαρτὸν δὲ καὶ γενητὸν οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διανοεῖται θεόν.

#### (b) *Praec. Coniug.* 19.

Ἰδίους οὐ δεῖ φίλους κτᾶσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα, κοινοῖς δὲ χρῆσθαι τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρός· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ φίλοι πρῶτοι καὶ μέγιστοι. διὸ καὶ θεοὺς οὐς ὁ ἀνὴρ νομίζει σέβεσθαι τῇ γαμέτῃ καὶ γιγνώσκειν μόνους προσήκει, περιέργοις δὲ θρησκείαις<sup>1</sup> καὶ ξέναις δεισιδαιμονίαις ἀποκεκλείσθαι τὴν αὐλειον οὐδενὶ γὰρ θεῶν ἱερὰ κλεπτόμενα καὶ λαυθάνοντα δρᾶται κεχαρισμένως ὑπὸ γυναικός.

### 4 DIO OF PRUSA (*circa* 50-117 A.D.)

Dio of Prusa, the "Golden-tongued," a rhetor and philosopher, took up philosophy on its practical side as a means towards a better administration of the affairs of life and the State. In spite of his integrity and abilities his fellow-citizens for some reason took a dislike to him, and he left Prusa for Rome under Domitian, but was exiled with the rest of the philosophers by that Emperor. After travels in the north-eastern parts of the Roman world he returned on Domitian's death to the capital and warmly supported Nerva. Returning to Prusa he was again obliged to leave his native town, and the extract here

<sup>1</sup> Christianity must surely be included here. The charge of "secret rites" was a stock one against Christians. The Bacchanalia to which it had applied formerly were now not prohibited.

given is from his speech of remonstrance to his fellow-citizens. He compares his case with that of Socrates, and draws up an imaginary indictment against himself, which he intends to be as false as the famous indictment of Socrates by Meletus, Anytus and others. Some have thought that the curious expression τῷ τυραννήσαντι τοὺς θεοὺς refers to Christ. This seems a perilous interpretation, but it is difficult to suggest a more simple one.

*Orat.* 43 *ad fin.* (written about 100 A.D.).

Ἄδικεὶ Δίῳ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς μὴ τιμῶν μήτ' ἐν θυσίαις μήτ' ἐν ὕμνοις, καταλύων τὰς πατρίους ἑορτάς, ἀναπίστας δὲ ἡγεμόνα πονηρὸν<sup>1</sup> ὥστε τὸν μὲν δῆμον βασανίσαι καὶ ἐξελάσαι ὅσους ἂν δύνηται πλείστους, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, παρασχὼν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῖς ἐκουσίως ἀποθανεῖν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι πρεσβύτας ὄντας φυγεῖν μηδὲ ὑπομένειν καταλιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα· συμπράττων δὲ καὶ νῦν ἅπαντα τῷ τυραννήσαντι τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνος καλῶς ἀγωνιέεται καὶ κατὰ κράτος παραλήψεται τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς δήμους, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατασκευάζων.

##### 5 MARCUS VALERIUS MARTIALIS (circa 40–104 A.D.)

As Martial came to Rome about the time of Nero's persecution, and resided there throughout Domitian's reign, he had full opportunities of learning about the Christians. Yet in the whole of his 1500 epigrams there are only three passages that have ever been supposed (and only on the flimsiest grounds) to bear in the slightest degree upon the Christians.

<sup>1</sup> Does he mean Domitian?

(a) *Epigrams* x 25. On a criminal who to avoid worse agrees to personate Mucius Scaevola and put his hand into the flames.

In matutina nuper spectatus arena  
Mucius, imposuit qui sua membra focus,  
Si patiens durusque tibi fortisque videtur,  
Abderitanae pectora plebis habes.  
Nam quum dicatur, tunica praesente molesta<sup>1</sup>,  
"Ure manum," plus est dicere "non facio"<sup>2</sup>."

(b) (1) *Epigr.* IV 13.

Claudia, Rufe, meo nubit peregrina Pudenti<sup>3</sup>:  
Macte esto taedis, o Hymenaeae, tuis!  
Tam bene rara suo miscentur cinnama nardo,  
Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis;  
Nec melius teneris iunguntur vitibus ulmi,  
Nec plus lotos aquas, litora myrtus amat.  
Candida perpetuo reside concordia lecto,  
Tamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo!  
Diligat illa senem quondam, sed et ipsa marito  
Tum quoque quum fuerit, non videatur anus!

(2) *Epigr.* XI 53.

Claudia<sup>4</sup> caeruleis quum sit Rufina Britannis  
Edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!

<sup>1</sup> This "uncomfortable shirt" of pitch was used by Nero for the Christians (see also Juvenal below). Seneca also (*Ep.* 14) mentions it previously.

<sup>2</sup> Some have seen in this word (cp. Greek ῥέζω) the meaning "to sacrifice," and have tried to substitute *Thure* for *ure*.

<sup>3</sup> Some have identified these two names with the persons mentioned in 2 Tim. iv 21, but they are there separated by another name. The identification is impossible. See Lightfoot *Clement* i 78 ff. These epigrams were written about 88 and 96 A.D. The Pudens is mentioned elsewhere by Martial, and was no Christian.

<sup>4</sup> John Williams in 1848 wrote a pamphlet to show that Claudia was daughter of Cogidubnus, a British subject, king in southern England. His name together possibly with that of a Pudens occurs on an inscription at Chichester which is mutilated and shows *-ente*.

Quale decus formae! Romanam credere matres  
 Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.  
 Di bene! quod sancto peperit fecunda marito,  
 Quod sperat generos, quodque puella nurus.  
 Sic placeat superis, ut coniuge gaudeat uno  
 Et semper natis gaudeat illa tribus.

6 DECIMUS JUNIUS JUVENALIS (circa 60–140 A.D.)

Such insignificant persons as Christians must have been somewhat beneath the notice of Juvenal, whose satire aimed at higher game, and we can discover only two doubtful allusions to their existence. The first, if we give any weight to the Scholiast's note, glances at the Neronian cruelties, and the second is a veiled allusion (if an allusion at all) to Domitian's persecution.

The Scholiast's comment is as follows:

*Pone te vituperare Tigellinum; quem si laeseris, vivus ardebis quemadmodum in munere Neronis, quum fixa essent illis guttura, ne se curvarent. Nero maleficos homines taeda et papyro et cera supervestiebat, ut arderent.*

In the second extract it is implied that Domitian did not spare even the humbler citizens in his cruelties. As his object was political, not personal, it is difficult to see who these could have been if not Christians. At all events Stephanus<sup>1</sup>, who stabbed Domitian, was steward of Domitilla, who was exiled for her faith, and afterwards perhaps martyred.

<sup>1</sup> Tertullian (*Ap.* 35), though he implies that no Christian was concerned, attributes the murder to Sigerus (or Sigerius) and Parthenius, chamberlains of Domitian. See also Martial, *Epigr.* IV 45, 78; V 6; Suet. *Domit.* 16.

Edmundson<sup>1</sup> thinks that a play called *Laureolus*, in which a robber chief so named is crucified on the stage, may have been a satire on the Crucifixion. But this is mere guess-work.

(a) *Sat.* I 155.

Pone Tigellinum: taeda lucebis in illa  
 Qua stantes ardent qui fixo gutture fumant.

(b) *Sat.* IV 150.

Atque utinam potius nugis tota illa dedisset  
 Tempora servitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbe  
 Illustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.  
 Sed periit postquam cerdonibus<sup>2</sup> esse timendus  
 Coeperat.

7 M. FABIUS QUINTILIANUS (circa 40–118 A.D.)

Quintilian was tutor to the sons of Flavius Clemens, the supposed Christian martyr, as heirs designate to the Empire, and was in a position to know all about Christianity.

In *Inst. Orat.* III 7 we find this passage:

Parentes malorum odimus. Et est conditoribus urbium infame contraxisse aliquam perniciosam ceteris gentem qualis est primus Judaicae superstitionis auctor.

Some have thought that he alludes to Christ, but it is more likely that he had in mind Moses and the Exodus, as it appears in Manetho and Tacitus.

<sup>1</sup> *Bampton Lectures* (1913). Juvenal VIII 187. The play was by a Catullus or Catulus. See also Mart. *Spect.* 7; Suet. *Calig.* 57; Josephus *Ant.* XIX 1 § 13.

<sup>2</sup> The word came to mean merely 'slave,' lit. handicraftsman.

### III. THE JEWISH ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHRIST AND CHRISTIANITY

The Jewish campaign of falsehood, slander and, where possible, active persecution against the Christians began with our Lord's Resurrection. The soldiers on guard at the Tomb (if this incident can be accepted as historically true) were bribed by the Sanhedrin<sup>1</sup> to say that the disciples had stolen the body of Jesus from the Sepulchre, while the guards slept—a most improbable tale.

No time was lost after the Resurrection before the Chief Priests and Sadducees took action against the leading Apostles with threats, scourging, and imprisonment; and within a few years of the Crucifixion a general persecution broke out against the Christian community at Jerusalem. In this Stephen was martyred and apparently others with him<sup>2</sup>, if the plural *ἀναιρουμένων* may be taken literally. Others were punished in the synagogues and efforts made to force them to deny their faith. The persecution was extended to Damascus, where there were Christians even at that early date, and possibly also to other centres.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii 12.

<sup>2</sup> See Acts xxvi 10 πολλοὺς τῶν ἀγίων ἐγὼ ἐν φυλακαῖς κατέκλεισα, τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἐξουσίαν λαβὼν, ἀναιρουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν κατῆνεγκα ψῆφον.

The next time we hear of active hostility is when Herod Agrippa in 44 A.D. put to death James<sup>1</sup> the son of Zebedee. Two years later at the Pisidian Antioch Paul and Barnabas were cast out of the city by the municipal authorities at the instigation of the Jews. In the same way they were driven out of Iconium, and Paul stoned, nearly to death, at Lystra. In a subsequent journey persecution befell Paul and Silas at Philippi in Europe, the Apostles being accused by the mob of preaching a new and unlicensed form of religion contrary to Roman laws. After scourging and imprisonment<sup>2</sup>, they were finally sent out of the city by the magistrates. At Thessalonica<sup>3</sup> much the same happened, and the Jews incited the people against the Apostles, accusing them of acting contrary to the decrees of the Emperor and preaching a new king<sup>4</sup>. From Beroea also they were driven by the efforts of Jewish emissaries from Thessalonica. At Athens the Jews seemed to be without influence, and at Corinth, where they tried to secure the help of the secular arm of the Roman Government against the Christians, they were signally rebuffed.

Somewhere about 55 A.D. the Apostle came into collision with the city populace at Ephesus, as at Philippi, owing to a supposed interference with the industrial gain of "workers." The action of the Jews here in putting forward a certain Alexander as their

<sup>1</sup> Why he was chosen is not clear. An ancient tradition says John also suffered at the hands of the Jews: Παππας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῆρέθησαν. Philip of Side, *Hist. Christ. (Texte u. Unters.* v 170, 1888).

<sup>2</sup> In 2 Corinth. xi St Paul says that he was beaten by the Jews five times (39 strokes each time); and three times by the municipal authorities (this no doubt being one instance).

<sup>3</sup> Acts xvi 11 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* xvii 7.

spokesman, ἀπολογεῖσθαι τῷ δήμῳ, is puzzling<sup>1</sup>. The year following found Paul again at Corinth, but a plot of the Jews forced him to leave the city<sup>2</sup>.

On his return to Jerusalem in 57 a riot was raised against him, and he only escaped death through the prompt action of Lysias the Roman governor and his garrison<sup>3</sup>. In his subsequent trial before Felix, who had married a Jewess, he was charged with being a causer of sedition among the Jews, but neither Felix nor his successor Festus endorsed the charge.

The appeal to Caesar and his transference to Rome followed. Accusers from the Jewish hierarchy must have gone thither to support their case, when the trial at last came on. But we learn with some surprise, that on Paul's arrival the Jews at Rome had received as yet no report about him from Jerusalem<sup>4</sup>, though they admitted that the new sect was everywhere spoken against. Paul soon found that the Roman Jews would not listen to him, and now took place the final separation of the Christians from the Jewish synagogues. If Tacitus<sup>5</sup> is not reading into his account the circumstances of the later times in which he wrote, we may infer from his reference to the *flagitia*, of which the Christians were accused, that the Jews must even at this early date (64 A.D.) have already invented and propagated those calumnies<sup>6</sup> against the followers of Christ, which afterwards

<sup>1</sup> According to Blass he was one of the followers of St Paul.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xix 33; *Ibid.* xx 3. <sup>3</sup> Acts xxi 27 ff. <sup>4</sup> Acts xxviii 21.

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 48. *Orig. c. Cels.* vi 27 says that the Jews spread these calumnies from the very first. Cp. *Eus. H. E.* iv 18.

<sup>6</sup> By a singular retribution the Jews were accused during the Middle Ages (and even as late as last century in Hungary) of crucifying boys and using their blood in the Paschal meal, an impossible thing for Jews. See the story of Hugh of Lincoln and Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale*.

became so infamously celebrated. We meet with the same term again in Pliny's letter<sup>1</sup> to Trajan, and the *flagitia* are later set forth in an elaborate declamation by Fronto. That anyone of his standing and intelligence should have credited such things, is inexplicable. Celsus, if we may rely upon Origen's excerpts, says not a word of them, nor does Rusticus in the *Acts of Justin* make any allusion to any matters of a criminal nature<sup>2</sup>. Lucian and Galen speak highly of the Christian morality.

These calumnies were that the Christians not only worshipped an ass's head<sup>3</sup>, and adored the *genitalia* of their priests, but also—and these were the real *flagitia*—sacrificed an infant and partook of its flesh in a sacramental feast; and at their banquets, when the lights were extinguished, all who were present indulged in promiscuous and incestuous orgies in the darkness.

Justin in his Dialogue with Trypho, a philosophical and modernist Jew (about 150 A.D.), asks him whether he believed *ὅτι ἐσθίομεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἰλαπίνην ἀποσβεννύντες τοὺς λύχνους ἀθέσμοις μίξεσιν ἐγκυλιόμεθα*. Trypho disclaims any such belief in *ἂ πολλὰ λέγουσιν*, as abhorrent to human nature. In subsequent passages<sup>4</sup> Justin accuses the Jews of being the authors of wicked prejudice<sup>5</sup> against Christ and his followers, asserting that after the Crucifixion they

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Orig. *c. Cels.* VI 40 says the stories lingered on up to his own day, but were little credited even by the heathen.

<sup>3</sup> See the graffito from the Palatine p. 33 and the Θεὸς Ὀνοκοτρῆς of Tertullian (*Apol.* 16). The Jews themselves were accused of worshipping an ass. See Josephus *Contra Apion.* Book II.

<sup>4</sup> *Dial. Tryph.* 17, 108, 117.

<sup>5</sup> κακῆς προλήψεως.

sent out select emissaries throughout all the land, denouncing the new belief as an impious and lawless heresy, introduced by Jesus a Galilean deceiver<sup>1</sup>, and spreading abroad the falsehoods<sup>2</sup>, which all who do not know the Christians have been so ready to believe. These and the set form of curse against the Christians, heard in every synagogue<sup>3</sup>, they had not ceased to utter even after the destruction of their city, which was the retribution for their crimes sent on them by God. Justin paints the Jewish hatred so strongly that he even adds "You permit no Christian to live."

We see indeed what the Jews would have done to the Christians, had they been in a dominant position over them, by the treatment accorded to them in the national revolt under Barcochba<sup>4</sup>. Justin says that he inflicted terrible punishments<sup>5</sup> on Christians who refused to abjure their faith. In his *Second Apology*<sup>6</sup> he says that women and children and slaves were tortured to extort a confession<sup>7</sup> that *ταῦτα τὰ μυθολογούμενα* were perpetrated in Christian homes, whereas, says Justin, the accusers themselves did perpetrate similar atrocities.

A quarter of a century later<sup>8</sup> we find evidence of the same calumnies being believed in Gaul. The efforts of the Governor and his *officium* were directed with relentless fury to forcing a confession from the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xxviii 63.

<sup>2</sup> πικρὰ καὶ σκοτεινὰ καὶ ἄδικα.

<sup>3</sup> *Dial. Tryph.* 47, 117. In the *Apol.* I 26 Justin makes several allusions to *δύσφημα ἐκείνα* and calls them *ψευδῆ καὶ ἄθεα κατηγορήματα*. He hints however that some heretical sects might be guilty of them.

<sup>4</sup> In 131-132 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> τιμωρίας δεινὰς.

<sup>6</sup> II 12.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. the Letter of the Lyons martyrs.

<sup>8</sup> If the date of the Lyons persecution is rightly given as 177 A.D. Euseb. *H. E.* v 1.



martyrs, that they did eat human flesh and indulged in promiscuous intercourse between the sexes, in fact the whole object of their torture was not to make the victims recant but to get confirmation of their guilt<sup>1</sup>. So fixed was the belief in these stories, that even some of those who apostatized were punished contrary to the law as murderers.

About the same time as Celsus wrote, Athenagoras<sup>2</sup> the Apologist says *τρία ἐπιφημίζουσιν ἡμῖν ἐγκλήματα, ἀθεότητα, Θυέστια δεῖπνα, καὶ Οἰδιποδείους μίξεις*<sup>3</sup>, but he shrewdly adds that even their persecutors cannot really believe in these charges, for they urge the martyrs to deny the name of Christians, and so evade the punishment which, if the charges were true, they should suffer, whether they called themselves Christians or not.

Tertullian, writing somewhat later, speaks emphatically of *synagogas Iudaeorum fontes persecutionum*<sup>4</sup>; and again *Quod enim aliud genus seminarium est infamiae nostrae?* It is clear then that, apart from the calumnies they spread, the Jews were everywhere and on all occasions ready to instigate the heathen to persecute the hated sectaries, and were ever foremost in co-operating with them to that end. This sufficiently appears in the account of Polycarp's martyrdom in 155 A.D. in which the Jews

<sup>1</sup> The heathen slaves fearing torture declared that their masters did perpetrate these atrocities. Euseb. *H. E.* v 1 § 14. <sup>2</sup> Ch. 3.

<sup>3</sup> He returns to these again in ch. 24, 25 and denies that any slaves have ever been found even to invent such tales against the Christians. He seems to know nothing of the Lyons persecution where this very thing occurred, though he wrote not earlier than 177. Cp. also Justin quoted above.

<sup>4</sup> *Scorp.* 10; *ad Nation.* 1 14. He may be thinking especially of African Jews, for in his *Apology* (see above, p. 33) he gives the instance of a renegade African Jew making a caricature of Christ.

showed great zeal in collecting wood for the burning of the martyr, *ὡς ἔθος αὐτοῖς*<sup>1</sup>, as the account adds; and again they were urgent that his body should not be rescued from the fire by the Christians. We hear again of Jews being among the persecutors at the martyrdom of Pionius under Decius<sup>2</sup>.

## JEWISH TESTIMONIES

### I JOSEPHUS

#### *The alleged account of Christ*

(a) *Ant.* XVIII 3; Euseb. *H. E.* I 11, *Demon. Evang.* III 5; Jerome *De Vir. Illust.* I 13.

Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς σοφὸς ἀνὴρ [εἰ γε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή]. ἦν γὰρ [παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής,] διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῆ τάληθῆ δεχομένων<sup>3</sup>, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. [ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν]. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδείξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν σταυρωῖ ἐπιτετιμηκότος Πιλάτου οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἱ τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαπήσαντες. [ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων<sup>4</sup> ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μύρια περὶ αὐτοῦ θαυμάσια<sup>5</sup> εἰρηκότων]. εἰς ἔτι τε νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὀνομασμένον οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φῦλον.

This passage, which appears in all our present MSS of Josephus, was unknown before Eusebius, for Origen<sup>6</sup> expressly says that Josephus did not admit Jesus to be the Christ. Even later than Eusebius Chrysostom<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> § 13.

<sup>2</sup> § 3.

<sup>3</sup> *σεβομένων* Euseb. For *τάληθῆ* some read *τὰ ἡθη*.

<sup>4</sup> Omit Euseb. *Dem. Evang.*

<sup>5</sup> Omit *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *c. Cels.* I 47, *Comm. in Matt.* x 17.

<sup>7</sup> Homil. on John viii p. 73 a.

does not know of it, nor is it found in Photius. Both Jerome however and the author of *De Excidio Urbis Hierosolym.* (II 12) assert that Josephus in his 18th Book of Antiquities most expressly acknowledges that Christ was slain by the Pharisees on account of the greatness of his miracles. Our passage cannot be genuine<sup>1</sup> as it stands, though by the omission of the clauses in brackets, it might just pass muster, but even then it is out of place in Josephus' account.

Reville in his *Jesus of Nazareth*<sup>2</sup> reconstructs the passage in Josephus so as to give the following sense:

"At that time appeared Jesus, a wise man, who did astonishing things. That is why a good number of Jews and also of Greeks attached themselves to him. (Then followed some sentence probably signifying that these adherents had committed the error of proclaiming him the Christ.) But denounced by the leading men of the nation, this Jesus was compelled to die upon the Cross. But those who had loved him before persevered in their sentiment, and still to-day there exists a class of people who take from him the name of Christians."

(a<sup>1</sup>) Malalas<sup>3</sup> quotes Josephus as saying ὅτι ἐξότε Ἰουδαῖοι ἐσταύρωσαν Ἰησοῦν, ὃς ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος, εἶπερ ἄρα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον δεῖ λέγειν καὶ μὴ θεόν, οὐκ ἐξέλειψεν ὄδυνή ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας χώρας<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Müller *Christus bei Josephus* 1895 upholds it. But see Schürer *Jewish People* I 2. 143 and Hastings' *Bible Dict.* v 472.

<sup>2</sup> p. 272 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Chronogr.* x 318. Not found in our MSS of Josephus.

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Origen *Comm. in Matt.* x 17 says that Josephus stated that the Jews thought they suffered the miseries of the war because of their treatment of James.

*The death of James, the Lord's brother*<sup>1</sup>

(b) *Antiq. Jud.* xx 9.

Ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἄνανος, ὃς τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἔφαμεν εἰληφέναι, θρασὺς ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ τολμητῆς διαφερόντως, αἴρεσιν δὲ μετήει τὴν Σαδδουκαίων, οἵπερ εἰσὶ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις ὡμοὶ παρὰ πάντα τοὺς Ἰουδαίους, καθὼς ἤδη δεδηλώκαμεν. ἅτε δὴ οὖν τοιοῦτος ὦν ὁ Ἄνανος, νομίσας ἔχειν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι μὲν Φῆστον, Ἀλβίνον δ' ἔτι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὑπάρχειν, καθίζει συνέδριον κριτῶν καὶ παραγαγὼν εἰς αὐτὸ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ (Ἰάκωβος ὄνομα αὐτῷ) καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρους, ὡς παρανομησάντων κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος παρέδωκε λευσθησομένους· ὅσοι δ' ἐδόκου ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ἀκριβεῖς βαρέως ἤνεγκαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ πέμπουσιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κρύφα παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν ἐπιστεῖλαι τῷ Ἀνάτῳ μηκέτι τοιαῦτα πράσσειν· μηδὲ γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν πεποιηκέναι. τινὲς δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν Ἀλβίνον ὑπαντιάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁδοιποροῦντα καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξὸν ἦν Ἀνάτῳ χωρὶς τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθίσειν συνέδριον. Ἀλβίνος δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς λεγομένοις γράφει μετ' ὀργῆς τῷ Ἀνάτῳ λήψεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ δίκας ἀπειλῶν. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀγρίππας διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν ἄρξαντα μῆνας τρεῖς Ἰησοῦν τὸν τοῦ Δαμναίου κατέστησεν.

(c) Suidas s.v. Ἰησοῦς, ad finem. Not found in our MSS of Josephus.

Εὐρομεν Ἰώσηπον τὸν συγγραφέα τῆς ἀλώσεως Ἱεροσολύμων φανερώς λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας

<sup>1</sup> Origen *Comm. in Matt.* x 17 says that Josephus bore witness to the righteousness of James.

αὐτοῦ ὑπομνήμασιν ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἠγίαζεν.

(d) *Chron. Pasch.* 574A § 122, Migne 92.

“Ὅτι δὲ τρεῖς ἐνιαυτοὺς ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐδίδαξε τὸ κήρυγμα δέικνυται καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων ἀναγκαίων λόγων, ἐκ τε τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων καὶ ἐκ τῶν Ἰωσήππῳ τῷ παρ’ Ἑβραίοις σοφῶ γραφέντων, καὶ ἐξ ὧν, ὡς προκεῖται, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλλησι χρονογράφος ἱστόρησε Φλέγων<sup>1</sup> κ.τ.λ.

(e) Orosius VIII 6, 15. Not found in our MSS of Josephus.

Anno eiusdem (sc. Claudii) nono expulsos per Claudium urbe Iudaeos Josephus refert, sed me magis Suetonius movet qui ait *etc.*<sup>2</sup>

(f) Josephus also gives an account of

- (1) the death of John the Baptist<sup>3</sup>,
- (2) the risings of Theudas and Judas<sup>4</sup>,
- (3) the death of Herod Agrippa, where he throws light on St Luke’s account<sup>5</sup>.

## 2 HEGESIPPUS

### *Death of James the Just, the Lord’s brother*

Hegesippus *apud Euseb.* II 23 § 6. Cp. Eriph. *Haer.* 78. 14 (p. 1046 D).

Διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ κυρίου Ἰάκωβος, ὁ ὀνομασθεὶς ὑπὸ πάντων δίκαιος.... τινὲς οὖν τῶν ἑπτὰ αἱρέσεων, τῶν ἐν

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 50.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* XVIII 5. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* I 11. See Matt. xiv 1-12, Mk vi

14-29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ant.* XX 5. Cp. Euseb. *H. E.* II 12. See Acts v 36, 37.

<sup>5</sup> *Ant.* XIX 8. Cp. Eus. *H. E.* II 10. See Acts xii 20-23.

τῷ λαῷ τῶν προγεγραμμένων<sup>1</sup> μοι ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ἐπυθάνοντο αὐτοῦ, “τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ;” καὶ ἔλεγε τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Σωτῆρα· ἐξ ὧν τινες ἐπίστευσαν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν ὁ Χριστός. αἱ δὲ αἱρέσεις αἱ προειρημέναι οὐκ ἐπίστευον οὔτε ἀναστάντα <ἐκ νεκρῶν> οὔτε ἐρχόμενον ἀποδοῦναι ἐκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ. ὅσοι δὲ καὶ ἐπίστευσαν, διὰ Ἰάκωβον<sup>2</sup>. πολλῶν οὖν καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων πιστευόντων ἦν θόρυβος τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ γραμματέων καὶ Φαρισαίων λεγόντων, ὅτι κινδυνεύει πᾶς ὁ λαὸς Ἰησοῦν τὸν Χριστὸν προσδοκᾶν. ἔλεγον οὖν συνελθόντες τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· “Παρακαλοῦμέν σε, ἐπίσχος τὸν λαὸν ἐπεὶ ἐπλανήθη εἰς Ἰησοῦν ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. παρακαλοῦμέν σε πείσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ πάσχα περὶ Ἰησοῦ. σοὶ γὰρ πάντες πειθόμεθα<sup>3</sup>. ἡμεῖς γὰρ μαρτυροῦμέν σοι καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός, ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ καὶ ὅτι πρόσωπον οὐ λαμβάνεις. πείσον οὖν σὺ τὸν ὄχλον περὶ Ἰησοῦ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι... στηθὶ οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἵνα ἄνωθεν ἦς ἐπιφανῆς καὶ ἡ εὐάκουστά σου τὰ ῥήματα παντὶ τῷ λαῷ. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πάσχα συνεληλύθασιν πᾶσαι αἱ φύλαι μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν.” ἔστησαν οὖν οἱ προειρημένοι γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι τὸν Ἰάκωβον ἐπὶ τὸ πτερύγιον τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἔκραξαν αὐτῷ καὶ εἶπαν· “Δίκαιε, σοὶ πάντες πείθεσθαι ὀφείλομεν· ἐπεὶ ὁ λαὸς πλανᾶται ὀπίσω Ἰησοῦ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, ἀπάγγελον ἡμῖν τίς ἡ θύρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.” καὶ ἀπεκρίνατο φωνῇ μεγάλῃ· “Τί με ἐρωτᾶτε περὶ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου; καὶ αὐτὸς κάθηται ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.”

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Ἑσσαῖοι, Γαλιλαῖοι, Ἡμεροβαπτισταί, Μασβῶθεοι, Σαμαρεῖται, Σαδδουκαῖοι, Φαρισαῖοι. They were prominent also in Symeon’s martyrdom. See Euseb. III 32 § 2.

<sup>2</sup> *sc.* ἐπίστευσαν.

<sup>3</sup> Such expressions do not sound true. The Jews could not have expected James to denounce Christ.

καὶ πολλῶν πληροφορηθέντων καὶ δοξαζόντων ἐπὶ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου καὶ λεγόντων “Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ Δαβίδ,” τότε πάλιν οἱ αὐτοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ Φαρισαῖοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον· “Κακῶς ἐποιήσαμεν τοιαύτην μαρτυρίαν παρασχόντες τῷ Ἰησοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἀναβάντες καταβάλωμεν αὐτόν, ἵνα φοβηθέντες μὴ πιστεύσωσιν αὐτῷ.” καὶ ἔκραξαν λέγοντες· “Ὡ, ὦ, καὶ ὁ δίκαιος ἐπλανήθη.” καὶ ἐπλήρωσαν τὴν γραφὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ Ἑσαία<sup>1</sup> γεγραμμένην· “Ἄρωμεν τὸν δίκαιον, ὅτι δύσχρηστος ἡμῖν ἐστί· τοίνυν τὰ γεννήματα τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν φάγονται.” ἀναβάντες οὖν κατέβαλον τὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἔλεγον ἀλλήλοις· “Διθάσωμεν Ἰάκωβον τὸν δίκαιον,” καὶ ἤρξαντο λιθάζειν αὐτόν, ἐπεὶ καταβληθεὶς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ἀλλὰ στραφεὶς ἔθηκε τὰ γόνατα λέγων· “Παρακαλῶ, κύριε θεὲ πάτερ, ἄφες αὐτοῖς· οὐ γὰρ οἶδασι τί ποιοῦσιν.” οὕτω δὲ καταλιθοβολούντων αὐτόν εἰς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν υἱῶν Ῥηχάβ υἱοῦ Ῥαχαβεὶμ τῶν μαρτυρουμένων ὑπὸ Ἱερεμίου<sup>2</sup> τοῦ προφητοῦ ἔκραξε λέγων· “Παύσασθε· τί ποιεῖτε; εὐχεται ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ δίκαιος<sup>3</sup>.” καὶ λαβὼν τις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν εἰς τῶν γναφῶν τὸ ξύλον, ἐν ᾧ ἀπεπίεξε τὰ ἱμάτια, ἤνεγκε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ δικαίου. καὶ οὕτως ἐμαρτύρησεν.

### 3 THE TALMUD AND MIDRASH<sup>4</sup>

(a) Jesus is spoken of in the Talmud under various appellations, e.g.

(1) Ben Stada = son of a woman unfaithful to her husband<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> III 10.

<sup>2</sup> XXXV.

<sup>3</sup> These words are by Epiph. *Haer.* 78. 14 attributed to Symeon son of Clopas, cousin of James, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, a martyr.

<sup>4</sup> This my own summary is taken by the kind permission of the Rev. R. T. Herford from his book *Christianity in the Talmud* (1903).

<sup>5</sup> Herford thinks that the word may have meant originally “that Egyptian.”

(2) Jeshu ha Nōtzri.

(3) Jeshu ben Pantiri (or Pandira<sup>1</sup>).

(4) Peloni = a certain person.

(5) Balaam.

(b) His Mother is called Miriam (Stada) Meggaldala Nashaia, and her husband Pappus ben Jehuda, and her paramour Pandira, their son being born out of wedlock.

She is said to have been a descendant of princes, and to have been a “dresser of women’s hair,” and to have played the harlot with carpenters.

(c) Five disciples are assigned to Jesus (of whom only Matthai is named), who were able to work cures in his name. He himself is accused of using magic spells learnt in Egypt.

He is accused of

(1) Practising magic;

(2) Causing the multitude to sin;

(3) Mocking at the words of the wise;

(4) Deceiving Israel;

(5) Calling himself God and saying he would ascend into Heaven. He also said that he made himself live by the name of God<sup>2</sup>.

(d) Being brought to the Beth Din or Assembly of the Rabbis, he was stoned at Lydda, and hanged or

<sup>1</sup> Origen (apud Epiph. *Haer.* 78. 7) οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀδελφὸς παραγίνεται τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. ἦν δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ ἐπίκλην δὲ Πάνθηρ καλουμένου. ἀμφότεροι οὗτοι τοῦ Πάνθηρος ἐπίκλην γεννῶνται. John of Damascus says (*de Fide Orth.* iv 15) that the Virgin’s great-grandfather, on her mother’s side, was named Panther. See *Expos. Times*, Nov. 1906. The Jews pretended that Panther was a soldier.

<sup>2</sup> But Ulla a Rabbi of III Cent. says: ... The merciful hath said “Thou shalt not spare nor shalt thou conceal him” (Deut. xiii 8). But it was different with Jeshu ha Nōtzri, for he was near to the kingdom, b. Sanh. 43a.

crucified on the eve of the Passover, which was also the eve of a Sabbath. He was put to death by Pinhas the robber (? Pilate) at the age of 33.

(e) *Anecdotes of a certain James about 130 A.D.*

(i) Talmud, *Hull.* II 22, 23.

Rabbi Eleazar ben Damal had been bitten by a snake, and wished to call in a certain Jacob (James), a man of Chephar Sama<sup>1</sup>, who worked cures in the name of Jeshu ben Pandira<sup>2</sup>. But his uncle Rabbi Ishmael would not permit him, saying that it was not allowed. Eleazar said he could prove that Jacob might heal him, but he died before he had time to prove his point. Whereupon Ishmael addressed his body thus: "Happy art thou, Ben Damal, for thou hast not broken through the ordinance of the wise: upon him who breaketh through cometh punishment<sup>3</sup>."

(ii) Talmud, *Hull.* II 24 and *Aboda Zarah* 16 and 17, and Midrash on Eccles. (Koheleth) I 8.

The Rabbi Eleazar ben Hyrcanos<sup>4</sup>, who was suspected of heresy (Minnith) and a leaning towards Christianity, possibly about the time when Symeon was martyred, is reported to have said to Rabbi Akiba<sup>5</sup>, "I was once walking in the upper street of Sepphoris, when I met one of the disciples of the Nazarene Jesus, Jacob of Kefar Sekanya, who said to me, 'It is written in your law Thou shalt not bring the hire of a harlot into the house of God<sup>6</sup>. May a privy be made with it for the High Priest?' When

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* Kefr Suneir = Sechanja or Sichnin.

<sup>2</sup> See also Talmud, *Hull.* II 22, 23 and Herford pp. 103, 108.

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesiastes x 8. <sup>4</sup> Circa 90-120 A.D.

<sup>5</sup> He joined Barcochba in his rebellion.

<sup>6</sup> Deut. xxiii 18.

I was at a loss for an answer, he said to me, 'Jesus of Nazareth thus taught me, Of the hire of a harlot hath she gathered them, and unto the hire of a harlot shall they return<sup>1</sup> (*i.e.* it came from a source of filth and to a place of filth shall it return).' This exposition pleased me, and on this account I was accused of heresy, because I transgressed the word of Scripture."

*Anecdote of a "philosopher."*

(iii) Talmud, *Shabboth* 116.

Imma Salome, wife of Rabbi Eleazar and sister of R. Gamaliel the second, tested the reputed integrity of a neighbouring philosopher by asking his opinion as to her right to a part of the inheritance of her father. As a gift she brought him a golden candlestick. He said, "Divide the inheritance"; but on her quoting the Jewish law that a daughter does not inherit, where there is a son, he said, "Since the Exile the Law of Moses has been abrogated and the Gospel taken its place which says 'Son and daughter inherit alike.'"

Gamaliel then gave the philosopher a Libyan ass, and asked for a second opinion, which was that in the passage of the Gospel referred to it was written, "I, the Gospel, came not to take from you the Law of Moses, but to add to it<sup>2</sup>." They then derided him because he had allowed the gifts to colour his decisions.

<sup>1</sup> Micah i 7.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. v 17.

IV. APOCRYPHAL DOCUMENTS<sup>1</sup>

(1) Though Pilate no doubt made a report to Tiberius<sup>2</sup> of the events connected with our Lord's trial and condemnation, the records that purport to give this report are manifestly legendary and of very late origin. Those who wish can find them in Tischendorf, and it would serve no useful purpose to give them here. We find several different and equally worthless versions:

(a) *Anaphora Pilati*<sup>3</sup>, a report sent by Pilate the Governor (ὁ τὴν ἀνατολικὴν διέπων ἀρχὴν) of Palestine and Phoenice "to the most noble august divine and dreaded Augustus Caesar" in Rome.

(b) *Letter to Tiberius Caesar*<sup>4</sup> the Roman Emperor.

(c) *Letter to Claudius*<sup>5</sup> Emperor of Rome.

(2) *An inscription*<sup>6</sup> supposed to have been found in Spain.

Neroni · Cl · Caes ·  
 Aug · Pont · Max ·  
 ob · provinc · latronib ·  
 et · his · qui · novam ·  
 generi · hum · super ·  
 stition · inculcab ·  
 purgatam ·

<sup>1</sup> I have not thought it necessary to give the spurious correspondence between our Lord and Abgarus, king of Edessa, so confidently recorded by Eusebius, *H. E.* I ad finem.

<sup>2</sup> See Tert. *Apol.* 5 and Justin *Apol.* I 35. See Van Dale *De Oraculorum duratione.*

<sup>3</sup> Tisch. *Apocr. Evang.* p. 435.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.* p. 433.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.* p. 413. Gospel of Nicodemus II 13 (29).

<sup>6</sup> Gruter 238, no. 9. A noted forger of inscriptions, Cyriacus Anconitanus, is the only authority for this, and the whole inscription is dolent of forgery.

(3) *Letter of Tiberianus to Trajan*

Malalas *Chronogr.* XI p. 269 (Bonn).

Αὐτοκράτορι νικητῇ Καίσαρι θειοτάτῳ Τραϊανῷ ἀπέκαμον τιμωρούμενος καὶ φονεύων τοὺς Γαλιλαίους<sup>1</sup> τοὺς τοῦ δόγματος τῶν λεγομένων Χριστιανῶν κατὰ τὰ ὑμέτερα θεσπίσματα· καὶ οὐ παύονται ἑαυτοὺς μνηύοντες εἰς τὸ ἀναιρεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup>. ὅθεν ἐκοπίασα τούτοις παραινῶν καὶ ἀπειλῶν μὴ τολμᾶν αὐτοὺς μνηύειν μοι ὑπάρχοντας ἐκ τοῦ προειρημένου δόγματος· καὶ ἀποδιωκόμενοι οὐ παύονται. θεσπίσαι μοι οὖν καταξιώσατε τὰ παριστάμενα τῷ ὑμετέρῳ κράτει τροπαιούχῳ.

Malalas says that while Trajan was at Antioch making preparations for war against Parthia, Tiberianus, Governor πρώτου Παλαιστίνων ἔθνους<sup>3</sup>, wrote him the above letter. Trajan in reply ordered him to stop slaying the Christians, and (adds Malalas) this order was transmitted to the governors of provinces everywhere, and the Christians had a short respite.

The fabulist goes on to describe Trajan's dealings with Ignatius and five Christian women, one of whom was named Drosine, of whom he asked what hope they had which induced them to give themselves up to death. They answered, The hope that they would rise again with their very bodies to everlasting life. They were then martyred and puerile precautions

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a mark of early date.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Tert. *Scap.* 5.

<sup>3</sup> Lightfoot *Ign.* II 439 gives many reasons for not accepting this Letter as authentic, such as difficulties of dates, the exaggerated expressions of T., the reference to Palestina Prima, Trajan's titles, the fact that Eusebius knows nothing of the persecution, and the legendary story that follows. But Wieseler *Christenverfolg.* p. 126 (1878) upholds the Letter.

taken that they might not rise again with the same bodies.

(4) Migne *Patr. Graec.* CXV 1211. Life of Abercius by Symeon Metaphrastes § 17.

Μάρκος πρὸς τὸν Εὐξενιανὸν Ποπλίωνα.

Ἄντωνίνος Αὐτοκράτωρ Σεβαστὸς Εὐξενιανῶ Ποπλίῳ χαίρειν. ἐγὼ εἰς πείραν τῆς σῆς ἀγχινοίας ἔργοις αὐτοῖς καταστάς, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς ἑναγχος προστάξει τοῦ ἡμετέρου κράτους διεπράξω κατὰ τὴν Σμύρναν, ἐπικουφίσας Σμυρναίοις τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλόνου τῆς γῆς<sup>1</sup> ἐπιγενομένην αὐτοῖς συμφορὰν, ἥσθην τε, ὥσπερ εἰκός, καὶ σὲ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελείας ἐπήνεσα· ἔμαθον γὰρ ἅπαντα μετὰ ἀκριβείας, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ παρών. ἢ τε γὰρ παρὰ σοῦ πεμφθεῖσα ἀναφορά, ὃ τε ἀποδιδούς ταύτην, καὶ Καικίλιος ὁ ἐπίτροπος ἡμῶν ἅπαντά μοι σαφῶς διηγήσατο. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ παρόντος γνωσθὲν τῷ ἡμετέρῳ κράτει Ἀβέρκιόν<sup>2</sup> τινα τῆς Ἱεραπολιτῶν ἐπίσκοπον παρὰ σοὶ διατρίβειν, ἄνδρα εὐσεβῆ οὕτω τὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ὡς δαιμονῶντάς τε ἰᾶσθαι καὶ νόσους ἄλλας εὐκολώτατα θεραπεύειν, τοῦτον κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἡμεῖς χρῆζοντες, Οὐαλέριον καὶ Βασιανὸν μαγιστριανοῦς τῶν θείων ἡμῶν ὀφφικίων ἐπέμψαμεν τὸν ἄνδρα μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ὡς ἡμᾶς ἀγαγεῖν. κελεύομεν οὖν τῇ σῇ στερρότητι πείσαι τὸν ἄνδρα σὺν προθυμίᾳ πάσῃ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀφικέσθαι, εὖ εἰδότε ὡς οὐ μέτριός σοι κείσεται παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου ὁ ἔπαινος. ἔρρωσο.

A letter from Abercius to Marcus (a forgery no doubt) was in the hands of Baronius, but carelessly

<sup>1</sup> This was much later, in 180 A.D.

<sup>2</sup> Really bishop of Hieropolis. He was said to have cured Phrygella mother of Poplio of blindness, and cast out many devils. He went to Rome, as requested, and cured Lucilla by exorcizing the demon which vexed her. She is said to have been 16 and betrothed to Verus (162 A.D.). Marcus is said to have been away fighting the barbarians, which did not occur till five or six years later.

lost by him<sup>1</sup>. He describes it as *apostolicum redolens spiritum*.

(5) *Marcus Aurelius to the Senate and Roman People*.

Justin *Apol.* II Appendix<sup>2</sup>.

Μάρκου βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐν ἣ μαρτυρεῖ Χριστιανοὺς αἰτίους γεγενῆσθαι τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν.

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Μάρκος Αὐρήλιος Ἄντωνίνος Γερμανικὸς Παρθικὸς Σαρματικὸς δῆμῳ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ συγκλήτῳ χαίρειν. φανερὰ ἡμῖν ἐποίησα τὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ σκοποῦ μεγέθη, ὅποια ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ ἐκ περιστάσεως διὰ περιβολῆς ἐπακολουθήματα ἐποίησα ἐν τῇ μεθορίᾳ καμῶν καὶ παθῶν<sup>3</sup>, ἐν Κοτίνῳ<sup>4</sup> καταλαμβανομένου μου ὑπὸ δρακόντων<sup>5</sup> ἑβδομήκοντα τεσσάρων ἀπὸ μιλίων ἐννέα. γενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἐξπλωράτωρες ἐμήνυσαν ἡμῖν, καὶ Πομπηϊανὸς ὁ ἡμέτερος πολέμαρχος ἐδήλωσεν ἡμῖν, ἅτινα εἶδομεν (καταλαμβανόμενος δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν μεγέθει πλήθους ἀμίκτου καὶ στρατευμάτων λεγεῶνος πρίμας, δεκάτης γεμίνας, Φρεντησίας μῦγμα κατηριθμημένον) πλήθη παρεῖναι παμμίκτου ὄχλου χιλιᾶδων ἐνακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα ἐπτὰ.

ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων, κατέδραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὐχεσθαι πατρώοις. ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστι-

<sup>1</sup> *Annals Mart. Rom.* Oct. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The victory of the miraculous storm took place, it is generally supposed, in 174. The title Sarmaticus was not assumed till 175.

<sup>3</sup> MS *σπαθῶν*. Sylburg suggested *Κουάδων καὶ Σαρμάτων*.

<sup>4</sup> Emended *Καρνούντῳ*.

<sup>5</sup> = standards of cohorts. See also Lucian *Quom. Hist.* 29. Here for the barbarian regiments (Drungii).

ανούς· καὶ ἐπερωτήσας εὖρον πλήθος καὶ μέγεθος αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐμβριμησάμενος εἰς αὐτούς, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔπρεπε διὰ τὸ ὕστερον ἐπεγνωκέναι με τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν.

“Ὅθεν ἀρξάμενοι οὐ βελῶν παραρτήσιν οὔτε ὄπλων οὔτε σαλπίγγων...διὰ τὸ ἐχθρὸν εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτο αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸν θεόν, ὃν φοροῦσι κατὰ συνείδησιν. εἰκὸς οὖν ἐστίν, οὐς ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀθεοὺς εἶναι, ὅτι θεὸν ἔχουσιν αὐτόματον ἐν τῇ συνειδήσει τετειχισμένον. ῥίψαντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ μόνον ἐδεήθησαν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρόντος στρατεύματος, παρήγορον γενέσθαι δίψης καὶ λιμοῦ τῆς παρούσης. πεμπταῖοι γὰρ ὕδωρ οὐκ εἰλήφειμεν διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεῖναι· ἡμεν γὰρ ἐν τῷ μεσομφάλῳ τῆς Γερμανίας καὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν. ἅμα δὲ τῷ τούτους ῥίψαι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ εὐχεσθαι θεῷ, ᾧ ἐγὼ ἠγνόουν, εὐθὺς ὕδωρ ἠκολούθει οὐρανόθεν, ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμᾶς ψυχρότατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ἐπιβούλους χάλαζα πυρώδης. ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐθὺ θεοῦ παρουσίαν ἐν εὐχῇ γινομένην παραντίκα ὡς ἀνυπερβλήτου καὶ ἀκαταλύτου...<sup>1</sup>.

Αὐτόθεν οὖν ἀρξάμενοι συγχωρήσωμεν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις εἶναι Χριστιανοῖς, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἡμῶν τι τοιοῦτον αἰτησάμενοι ὄπλον ἐπιτύχωσι. τὸν δὲ τοιοῦτον συμβουλεύω, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι Χριστιανόν, μὴ ἐγκαλεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ εὐρεθῆι τις ἐγκαλῶν τῷ Χριστιανῷ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι, τὸν μὲν προσαγόμενον Χριστιανὸν πρόδηλον εἶναι βούλομαι γίνεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ὁμολογήσαντα τοῦτο, ἄλλο ἕτερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλούμενον ἢ ὅτι Χριστιανός ἐστι μόνον, τὸν προσαγόντα δὲ τοῦτον ζῶντα καίεσθαι· τὸν δὲ Χριστιανὸν ὁμολογήσαντα καὶ συνασφαλισάμενον περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου τὸν πεπιστευμένον τὴν ἐπαρχίαν εἰς μετανοίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ μετάγειν.

<sup>1</sup> Some verb like κατείδομεν is wanted.

<sup>2</sup> Take γίνεσθαι after ὁμολογήσαντα.

Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι κυρωθῆναι βούλομαι, καὶ κελεύω τοῦτό μου τὸ διάταγμα ἐν τῷ Φόρῳ τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ προτεθῆναι πρὸς τὸ δύνασθαι ἀναγινώσκεσθαι· φροντίσει ὁ πραίφεκτος Βιτράσιος Πολλίων<sup>1</sup> εἰς τὰς πέριξ ἐπαρχίας πεμφθῆναι· πάντα δὲ τὸν βουλόμενον χρῆσθαι καὶ ἔχειν μὴ κωλύεσθαι λαμβάνειν ἐκ τῶν προτεθέντων παρ' ἡμῶν.

Though this letter is obviously spurious, Marcus no doubt wrote to the Senate on this remarkable occasion. A coin with “Religio Augusti” and a figure of Mercury commemorates it, and *perhaps* also a scene on the Antonine column.

<sup>1</sup> He married Annia Faustina cousin of Marcus and if *praef. praet.* at all must have succeeded Vindex in 172.



## INDEX

The nature of this book and the arrangement of its contents renders a full and complete index, such as most books require, unnecessary. A concise guide is all that seems wanted, and this I give.

- Abercius, b. of Hieropolis 22 f., 118  
 Abgarus 116 n.  
 Acilii 27  
*Acta Pilati* 1  
 Acté 8  
 Akiba, the Rabbi 114  
 Albanum 68 f.  
 Alexamenos 33 n.  
 Alexander of Abonouteichos 29, 78 f.  
 allegorizing of Scriptures 33, 90 f.  
 Amisus 11  
 Annaea gens 10  
 anonymous accusation 43  
 antichristian edicts 3  
 Antipas, a martyr 6 n.  
 apostates 45, 84 f.  
 Apuleius 31 f., 84 f.  
 Aquila and Priscilla 2  
 Aristides 27 ff., 70 f.  
 ass-headed human figure 33, 104 n.  
 Athenians 58 f.  
 Baptism 38 f.  
 Barcochba 105  
 Bishops 54 f.  
 Bruttius the historian 25, 66 f.  
 Burrus, *praef. praet.* 8  
 Caecilius 118  
 cannibalism charged against Christians 49 n., 56 f., *see under* flagitia  
 Carthage 33  
 Celsus, *Introd.* 4, 29  
 Cerialis 16, 50 f.  
 Christ 78 f., 82 f., 96?, 107 f.; passion of 56 f.; in Talmud 112 ff.; Jewish accusations against 113; his death 113; his disciples 113; saying of 114; among the Roman Gods 1; reviled 43; service in Temple 110; three years ministry 110; name Chrestus? 50  
 Christians, differentiated from Jews 2; the name 4; spelled Christianus 4, 15, 48 f.; how regarded by the State 5; by Tacitus 14; tried by *cognitio* 15; number of in Rome A.D. 50 15 n.; their "opposition" to the Government 22; torture of 23; Vespasian's attitude to 24; religious service of 43; ranked as brigands, etc. 11; character of 72 f., 80 ff.; coupled with Epicureans 80 f.; their simplicity 89 f.; their chastity 81 f.; their "enigmas" 88 f.; calumnies against 104; *see under* flagitia  
 Christianity, in form of Judaism 5; relation to Cynics 28; a philosophy 72 f., 86 ff.  
 circumcision 39 n.  
 city of God 76 f.  
 Claudia 97  
 Claudius 1, 15, 50 f., 110, 116  
 Clemens, Flavius 16, 50 f., 66 f., 68 f.  
 Cynics 27 f., 38 f., 70 f., 85 n.  
 Cyprian 20  
 Cyprus 93  
 David's descendants 24, 64 f., 67 n.  
 Digest of Laws against Christians 3  
 Dio Cassius 26, 68 f.  
 Dio of Prusa 95

## INDEX

123

- Diognetus 62 f.  
 Domitian 24, 26, 50 f., 58 f., 64 f., 95, 98 f.; his heir Domitian 52 f.  
 Domitilla 26, 66 f., 68 f., 98  
 Drosine 117  
 earthquake 22, 56 f., 60 f.  
 eclipse 56 f.  
 Egypt 18, 38 f., 54 f.  
 Eleazar, a Rabbi 114  
 Elymas, the sorcerer 93 (Hetoimas)  
 Encratites 28  
 Ephesus 62 f.  
 Epictetus 10 ff., 38 ff.  
 Epicurus 78 f.  
 Eucharist ? 45  
 Euxenianus 118  
 exorcisms 22, 62 f., 78 f.  
 Fabianus, b. of Rome 13  
 Felix, Minucius 19  
 fire at Rome 2, 48 f.  
 flagitia attributed to Christians 19, 36 f., 42, 48 f., 103. *See also* cannibalism and incest  
 Fronto 18 ff., 22 n., 56 f.  
 Galen, the physician 29, 31 f., 84 ff.  
 Galileans 5, 10, 40 f.  
 Gallio 7  
 Germany 120  
 Glabrio, Acilius 16, 27, 50 f., 68 f.  
 Gospel quoted 115  
 Hadrian 16 ff., 52 f., 54 f., 58 f., 63 n.  
 Hegesippus 24 n., 26, 65 n., 110 f.  
 heretics 19 f.  
 Hippolytus 28  
 Ignatius 13, 29, 83 n., 118  
 immortality 82 f.  
 incense to Gods 43  
 incest, *see* flagitia 48 n., 58 f.  
 James, a Christian, 130 A.D. 114  
 James, the Lord's brother 109 ff.  
 Jannes and Jambres 93  
 Jews expelled from Rome 1 n., 15; in the great fire 3; Seneca on 8; Domitian and the Jews 25 f., 38 f.; their customs adopted by Romans 38 f., 68 f.; synagogue of 54 f.; slanders by 101; persecution of Christians by 101 f., 105; Jews and the heathen Gods 95; the *fiscus* and Jews 16, 52 f.  
 John the Evangelist 25; Apocalypse of 30  
 Josephus 107 f.  
 Jotapata 93  
 Jude 24, 64 f.  
 Justin 1, 16, 20, 22, 28, 52 n., 104, 105, 119  
 Larissaeans 58 f.  
 Laureolus 99  
 Lucian 14, 19 n., 28 ff., 74 f.  
 Lyons persecution 65, 105 f.  
 Madaura martyrs 31  
*Maiestas* 5 n., 69  
 Mammon or God 54 f.  
 Marcus Antoninus, rescripts of 3, 60 f., 64 f.; use of word *Christianus* 5; coadjutor of Pius 20 f.; letter to Commune of Asia 21 ff.; letter to Euxenianus 118 f.  
 Martial 96 f.  
 Mary, the Blessed Virgin 18 n., 113  
 Mary of Magdala 113  
 Matthew the Apostle 113  
 Melito 21 n., 58  
 Minucius Felix, *see* Felix  
 Minucius Fundanus 52 f., 58 f.  
 miracles of Christianity 86 f.  
 "Miraculous Victory" 23, 120  
 Namphamo, a Punic martyr 31  
 Naziraei 5, 32, 88 f.  
 Nero 2, 48 f., 50 f., 58 f., 98 f.; forged inscription of 116  
 Nerva 13, 68 f.  
 Nicaea 56 f.  
 Nicephorus Callistus 25  
 Numenius 33, 88 f.  
 Origen 33, 54

- Orosius 15, 110  
 Orfitus 16, 50 f.
- Pandateria, an island 60 f.  
 Panther or Pandira 113  
 Palatine graffito 33  
 Palestine, godless folk of 27, 70 f.;  
   Syrian exorcist from 78 f.  
 parables of Christianity 86 f.  
 Patriarch of Egypt 54 f.  
 Paul 102 f.  
 Peregrinus 29 ff., 80 ff.  
 Philosophy 72 f., 86 f.  
 Phlegon 18, 54 f.  
 Phocas, the martyr 12 n.  
 Pilate 1; present at the Cross 2,  
   48 f., 116; acts of 1  
 Pionius 106  
 Pius, Antoninus 20 f., 21 f., 58 f.,  
   62 f. (?)  
 Plato 33, 35, 89 f.  
 Pliny the Elder 93  
 Pliny the Younger 11 ff., 40 ff.  
 Plutarch 94  
 Polycarp 13, 21, 27 n., 29 f., 106  
 Pompeii, graffito at 93  
 Pomponia Graecina 14, 46 f.  
 Pontia, an island 66 f.  
 Poppaea Sabina 2  
 Priscilla 2  
 Procla, Claudia 2  
 Publius 21 n.  
 Pudens 97  
 Pythagoras 33, 90 f.
- Quadi 23, 120 f.  
 Quadratus, Staius 27 n.  
 Quintilian 99
- Religio Augusti 121  
 religion of a wife 95
- Rufus 13, 97  
 Rusticus 19, 104
- sacramentum 45  
 sacrilege 5 n., 69 n.  
 Sagaris 21  
 Samaritans 54 f.  
 Seneca 4, 7 ff., 11, 36 ff.  
 Serapis 54 f.  
 Serenius Granianus 52 f.  
 Servianus, letters of Hadrian to 18,  
   54 f.  
 Sharbil, acts of 13  
 Stephanus, steward of Domitilla 98  
 Stoics 28, 38  
 Suetonius 15, 35, 50 f.  
 Symeon, b. of Jerusalem 6, 13,  
   24, 67 n.  
 Syrians 5, 10, 38 f., 78 f., 94 f.
- Tacitus 4, 13 ff., 35, 46 f. 103  
 Talmud 112 ff.  
 Temple at Jerusalem 50 f.  
 Tertullian 19 n., 33, 106  
 Tiberius and Christ 1, 48 f., 56 f.,  
   116  
 Tiberianus 4 n., 117  
 Titus 50 f.  
 Thessalonica 58 f.  
 Thraseus, b. of Eumeneia 21  
 torture of Christians 45  
 Trajan 12 f., 24, 40 f., 46 f., 117  
*tunica molesta* 10, 97
- Vergil quoted 35  
 Vespasian 24, 67 n.; heir designate  
   to Domitian 52 f.  
 Vitrasius Pollio 121
- Zosimus 13