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TEN LECTURES ON THE MARTYRS

BY
PAUL ALLARD

WITH A PREFACE BY MGR. PÉCHENARD
RECTOR OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF PARIS

AUTHORISED TRANSLATION

BY
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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

OUR translation of M. Allard's *Dix leçons sur le martyre* is made on the second French edition; the Author, however, kindly placed at our disposal the MS. of all the extra notes which have appeared in the third French edition just published. We also owe the Author our thanks for having read and approved our translation, and for having made several valuable suggestions.

We have added to the work a few footnotes, indicated by square brackets, and an index of names. The frequently recurring abbreviation *H. E.* stands for *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the references to the *Church History* of Eusebius are given according to the Leipzig (1871) edition of his Greek text.

We may mention that the writer of the Preface, Mgr. Péchenard, has since been consecrated Bishop of Soissons.

PREFACE

THE book which we have undertaken to present to the public, *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs*, is among the number of those which stand in no need of recommendation, because, on the one hand, they have nothing to fear, even from the most searching criticism, and on the other, they are bound to please on account of their sincere and convincing tone. Hence we are compelled to believe that when the writer asked us to introduce his work to the reading public he was thinking more of us than of himself, and that his real motive was to serve the interests of our Catholic University. He had already done it good service in attracting thither, last winter, a numerous audience, which followed with rapt attention his course of ten lectures, and doubtless he wished to do it a still greater service by putting this printed memento of his Lectures under the protection (whatever that may be worth) of its Rector, and thus adding yet another work to the already long list of books which have been produced by this centre of studies in defence of our holy faith.

M. Paul Allard is too well known to the learned world for it to be necessary for us to sound his praises. His previous works have already gained him a place in the first rank of our contemporary apologists. Not only have his works on the persecutions brought him readers and admirers from

among the Catholics, but even the opponents of our faith have on several occasions acknowledged his high qualities, the breadth of his scholarship, the sureness of his criticism, the strength of his methods, the moderation of his conclusions, and the courtesy which has never failed him when dealing with an adversary.

To his earlier apologetic work these *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs* will make a happy addition.

Nothing certainly could be simpler than this work. It is an exposal under its many aspects of a great fact of history, the violent death of an innumerable multitude of Christians of every age and sex, and country, and condition, who have willingly given testimony to Christ—to His life, and death, and resurrection, and to the truth of His doctrine, and who preferred to lose their life rather than be false to their religious convictions.

Martyrdom, *i.e.* testimony given, by means of suffering and death, to the reality of a fact and the divinity of a doctrine, is an exclusive privilege of Christianity. There were no martyrs of philosophy, no martyrs of paganism, nor even of Judaism. Christians were alone in sacrificing their life, in the hope of asserting the reality of fundamental facts and the doctrines of their religion, of which they wished to be the witnesses and the respondents.

This testimony as a proof of Christianity, and of its reality and superiority, entered into the plans of the Founder. Sending His disciples into the world, Christ had commanded them to be witnesses to His person and mission: "You will be My witnesses . . . even to the ends of the earth."

The writer's task was then to show how the disciples of Christ gave this testimony which they

had been commanded to give, and also to show what demonstrative force attaches to this testimony in favour of the divinity of the Christian religion.

This task has been admirably performed. The writer has shown, with all the amplitude which such an important subject demands, the motives which occasioned the testimony, the situation in which it was given, the number of those who gave it, the proceedings taken against them, the tortures and sufferings which they endured, the impression made by their testimony on the minds of their contemporaries, the honours bestowed on their relics, and the inferences which we are entitled to draw from all this. All these questions are dealt with and suitably answered.

Martyrdom having followed the expansion of Christianity, it was only right that the author should begin with a brief consideration of the spread of the Christian faith during the first three centuries. This he has done with much learning.

If he does not leave us under the impression that Christianity became at once a universal religion, this is because he is too well acquainted with the facts, and can demonstrate by the study of texts that its diffusion took place by degrees, more rapidly in some localities than in others. He sketches the geographical growth of Christianity, at first in the Roman world, spreading gradually through Greece, Italy, Gaul, Great Britain, Germany, Sarmatia, and the Iberian peninsula, North Africa, Egypt, and the immense provinces of Western Asia, and he completes his map of the places about to become the scene of martyrdom by tracing the progress of Christian beliefs in the countries lying beyond the limits of the Roman Empire.

What historical fact could be more exceptional and inexplicable by ordinary means than the progressive conquests of a doctrine which spread amongst the most diverse and hostile surroundings, which seemed to thrive in every state of civilisation and to adapt itself to the highest and the simplest minds, which was accepted by corrupt natures, though it meant in their case the sacrifice of all that they had held dear, which surmounted all obstacles and all persecutions, though in itself it seemed to contain nothing but weakness and utter want of power?

Besides considering the rapid propagation of the Gospel, the author was also justified in seeking to find to what social classes the witnesses to Christ's divinity belonged, for knowing this we obtain a yet more accurate knowledge of the degree in which the different classes of society had been permeated by Christianity.

From the documents brought together by M. Allard it is evident that Christianity, far from having been, as some imagine, a democratic religion which at first was confined to the lower classes and only later on ascended to the higher ranks of society, was in reality from its very beginning, and by the Apostles themselves, preached to every one, poor and rich, scholars and ignorant men; scarcely had it made its first appearance in the world than it leaped the Jewish horizon and reached the highest quarters of the Roman world, finding adherents, and martyrs too, on every rung of the social ladder.

It made innumerable conquests among the poor despised slaves, preaching to them the feeling of duty and transforming their servile obedience into voluntary submission to the will of God; it lessened their hardships by persuading their masters that all men

are equal in the sight of God. The day will soon come when Christianity will burst asunder their bonds, but in the meantime it educates them in the school of freedom. These poor wretches, once mere pariahs, rapidly became real heroes, and from their ranks emerged some of the principal confessors of the faith.

Above the slaves Christianity afforded an abode to the lower classes, to the humble workmen and men of business who hastened to associate themselves with it, because they found that it satisfied their religious and moral aspirations, and even afforded them more material security.

Military men, too, early began to come over to the side of the new religion, and the armies of Rome were soon full of Christians. Even the aristocracy did not escape its invasion, and Christianity implanted itself strongly even in the palace of the Cæsars. Then came the turn of the men of study, who were converted slowly indeed, but surely; orators, grammarians, rhetors, philosophers, physicians, lawyers, all, in fact, who sought a doctrine to satisfy the yearnings of their soul, as soon as they had found the pearl of great price, threw away their previous superstitions and embraced the Christian faith, defended it by word and by pen against popular prejudices, against the arguments of lawyers and of philosophers, and against imperial tyranny, and so created an entirely new literature, which contains more than one masterpiece.

Thanks to this wonderful development of the faith, the life of the State gradually passed into the Church. In taking possession of the most important cities of the Empire, Christianity knew how to add to their peculiar character new elements, which soon

became their glory. The townships which were most renowned by their cult of letters and philosophy—Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Cæsarea in Palestine, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Carthage—soon discovered that they had acquired a new nobility, and that a new power was becoming manifest in their biblical schools, in the learning and literary activity of their bishops, and even in the councils which then began to be held. Everywhere Christianity manifested itself by brotherly love and mutual assistance; everywhere, by its missionaries and constant gatherings, it gives the impression of movement and life. “By its power and by its activity, ecclesiastical and intellectual,” says the famous De Rossi, “the Christian Rome of the first three centuries was a centre scarcely inferior to imperial and civil Rome.” According to St. Cyprian, the Emperor Decius knew this so well that he would have preferred to hear of a mutiny led by one of his rivals than to learn of the election of a successor to the See of Peter. “It was only at the Christian councils that new ideas were broached and serious discussion took place on legal and doctrinal questions of real interest. There alone it was that ideas were exchanged, points of doctrine settled, and laws drawn up which afterwards were enforced on the Christian millions who were also citizens.” Hence what the martyrs came from was not “a dead and stagnant slough of despond, but a spring overflowing with life and moral health and energy.”

How can we explain the large number of Christians who were found to seal their testimony to Christ with their blood? The causes of this phenomenon are many.

First of all, during two and a half centuries, from Nero to the edict of toleration, Christians were living

in a legal atmosphere which was hostile to their freedom of conscience, to their personal security and that of their goods.

The sources of the obnoxious legislation are not easy to determine. It seems that a breach was made, to the prejudice of Christianity, in the ordinarily broad toleration extended by the Romans to all religions, and that an edict was issued, of which we possess no longer the text, but of which the substance might be reduced to this simple formula: Let there be no more Christians.

Whatever may have been the first occasion of the persecutions, the actual crime with which the Christians were charged was one of religion, and of religion alone.

At the beginning, too, we often find traces of popular prejudice. The common people despised the Christians as an inferior race. They laid to their charge all manner of imaginary crimes, and attributed every scourge to their influence. This prejudice was shared by many magistrates, and by most writers, and even by the emperors, excepting those of the Antonine dynasty. Under the influence of these prejudices the populace often rose in arms against the Christians, denouncing them *en masse*, and so lighting anew the smouldering fires of local or even general persecutions.

Statecraft also, though only towards the end of the second century, began to take the side of the populace. By this time the old popular calumnies had gone out of fashion, Christians could no longer be charged with unheard-of crimes, but the magistrates and statesmen could still reproach them with not taking part in the worship of the national gods, and with their freedom of conscience, which was held

incompatible with imperial absolutism. Christians thus came to be considered as separatists, deserters of public order, as outlaws, and the Church as an *imperium in imperio*, and a standing menace to the security of the civil empire.

Other less noble motives were also present to goad on the persecutors. Sometimes the emperors obeyed their personal passions, or gave way before the foolish suggestions, the hatred or cupidity of their courtiers and advisers. We are astonished at the pettiness of their motives as revealed by the anecdotes and reminiscences concerning some of the emperors whom we had been accustomed to consider as judicious statesmen.

What was the number of the victims of all these causes? This is a question which confronts every student of this period of religious history, but it is a point on which it behoves us to be cautious; for, on the one hand, historians and critics are divided on the subject, and, on the other, accurate statistics are wanting. Our author has found the means of avoiding any exaggeration. If he has been careful not to follow those who imagine that the martyrs amounted to ten or twelve millions, yet neither has he subscribed to the opinion of those critics who would bring it down to a very minimum. With great prudence he discusses the value of the testimonies which still survive, and, though appealing only to documents of indisputable authority, he infers that "the opinion which maintains the existence of a great number of martyrs is the exact translation of historic truth," but with regard to the actual number it cannot even be guessed, and "God alone knows it."

The picture of the actual questionings to which

the confessors of the faith were subjected is well worth our attention. Happily early Christian literature has preserved a considerable number of historical documents, by means of which one who is at once a scholar and a lawyer may reconstruct the trials, though even with these advantages the work of collecting the scattered accounts must necessarily have been very laborious; our author, however, has succeeded so well that of his whole book this part is the most striking; he has put together the whole mechanism of the trial, and so allows us to follow the martyr from his arrest down to the sentence and its fulfilment.

The trial of the martyrs was a strange business. The proceedings were always exceptional in character. The Christian was accused of no crime except his religion. There were no witnesses, for what could they allege? The Christian had to bear witness against himself, and this he did with the utmost alacrity. No lawyer was allowed to intervene in his defence; if one dared to rise to defend the righteousness of the Christian's belief he was forthwith seized, summarily judged, and executed. The only ground of the sentence was the Christian's contumacy. When he consented to apostatise he was immediately released on his own recognisances, when he persisted in affirming himself to be a Christian he was condemned. Hence it was by his own free-will that he suffered a violent death, and his condemnation thus voluntarily incurred became a most striking proof of the moral freedom brought into the world by Christ.

Another remarkable point about these proceedings is, that as civil law became more lenient, they became more severe; under the influence of despotism the penal law became more and more hostile to the

liberty of the citizens, and in its application to the Christians it passed all measure, and was made to depend wholly on the whim of the magistrate or judge.

If the feeling of justice which lives in all of us is shocked at the iniquity of these proceedings, our sensitiveness, too, is outraged by the physical tortures which were inflicted on the confessors to compel them to deny Christ, and the sufferings by which their invincible faithfulness was punished.

When common criminals were tortured, this was to make them confess their crimes ; but as Christians began by freely declaring their belief, which was the only crime they were accused of, there was nothing more to extort from them, and consequently torture was useless. Nevertheless, by a reversal of all equity, they were subjected to it simply because they were Christians, and to force them to deny or abandon the belief of which they had made profession.

The horror of the darksome dungeons, their filthiness and promiscuity, the chains and the scourgings, the rack and the iron rakes, the flaming torch and the red-hot irons, hunger and thirst, all these cruelties were the amusement of the judges, and sometimes, too, that of a rabble already drunk with the sight of blood. Against women and girls the wickedness and depravity of the pagans had recourse to stratagems of a different nature, of which the ignominy stands as an everlasting reproach against decadent Rome.

And yet we should not be giving the martyrs their due if we considered only their physical tortures. There were moral tortures which were every whit as bad, and which served them as a schooling for the tortures of the body.

Among them many had, in order to embrace the religion of Christ, first to sacrifice their affections,

their career, and their fortune. Many others saw their goods confiscated before they themselves were exiled or put to death. Many a wealthy Christian was forced to retire into misery; worse still, he had often to choose between apostasy on the one hand and the total ruin of his family on the other. Nothing is more touching and heartrending than the natural love of the Christians for their relatives, and the efforts made by the latter to save the confessors at the expense of their faith. More than once in these calamitous times we find the Roman generals purifying their armies, and depriving Christian officers of their dignities, degrading them and compassing their civil death.

Religious life entered largely into civil life. There was no public functionary, senator, officer, *ædilis*, *duumvir*, who was not frequently called upon to worship the gods on occasions of public festivals. Hence those in high position had to endure much torture of conscience and to run many risks. It was only by means of elaborate precautions and tacit arrangements and a liberal use of "reflex principles" that Christians in high places could contrive to abstain from acts condemned by their religion, whilst continuing to occupy their positions in public life; this was the case until Diocletian, before himself becoming a persecutor, permitted the Christians to retain government posts without performing any acts which might hurt their religious scruples. It is easy to imagine how, in the midst of these moral trials which were felt most severely by the better classes, well-nigh insuperable difficulties often arose, nor can we be astonished at the frequency of apostasies. We also understand how it happened that though, speaking generally, male martyrs were the more numerous, the

women being less exposed by their position in the world, yet in the ranks of the nobility there were more women martyred than men; the latter, alas, frequently encountering too many obstacles to allow of their persevering in the faith.

By the help of God those who remained steadfast until they had been sentenced, men and women, old and young, were ever ready to cheerfully abide the carrying out of the sentence, in the meantime thanking God for the happy realisation of their desires.

And yet how dreadful were the sufferings which they had to undergo! Sometimes they died at the hand of the mob, but more usually it was the magistrates who inflicted the penalties of the law with a zeal none the less cruel for being more cold. They were condemned to die, according to the whim of the magistrate, either on the ignominious wood of the cross, a punishment at first reserved for slaves, or by beheading, or by being burnt, frozen to death, quartered, strangled, drowned, by being immersed in boiling oil or pitch, or molten lead, or quicklime, or by being roasted on a grill or red-hot iron bed; at other times they were thrown to the beasts, and so helped to provide for the populace some of that sanguinary fun which it expected on public holidays.

Those who escaped death departed into exile, or were transported to penal settlements; such punishment was sometimes worse than death, but to the torture of perpetual imprisonment at the bottom of the mines, to excessively hard labour and privations, the pagans contrived to add new sufferings, laming, blinding, and otherwise mutilating their captives.

It is impossible to read without a thrill of emotion of the agonies suffered by the confessors of Christ. The bald narration of the facts as recorded, not in

legendary stories, but by perfectly authentic documents, succeeded in drawing tears from the eyes of many who listened to this course of lectures.

The heroic victims of the persecutions had always at their service as a last resource the appeal to Cæsar, but not once did they make use of it, either because they could not trust the emperors, or more probably because they preferred to give testimony to Christ. In the very midst of the diabolical torments of the mines the Christians were still able to group themselves into little Churches, and thus sweeten the horrors of their imprisonment by the reading in common of the Scriptures, and sometimes by the reception of the Eucharist. So striking was their virtue that the very sight of it was often the cause of unexpected conversions; the jailors or soldiers, vanquished by their holiness, often threw themselves at the feet of the martyrs to ask for baptism, and not seldom accompanied their charges to martyrdom.

Favoured by the laws that then were, the Christians were allowed to give to the mortal remains of their slaughtered brethren all the honour due to their constancy. It indeed happened occasionally that the persecutors opposed the burial of the martyrs, either through rage or from motives of superstition, or again to suppress the worship which was given to them, and which contributed to further the new doctrine. But Christians were never wanting who were ready to expose themselves in order to save the precious relics, and give them decent burial in a place where they might be guarded as a treasure. They contended among themselves for the honour of interring their own relatives close to the spot hallowed by the remains of a martyr. Nothing pleased them more than to make their prayers to

God, whether on their own behalf or on behalf of their beloved departed, through the intermediary of the martyrs. Even in quite early times the tombs of the martyrs became the centres of frequent pious pilgrimages, and their relics were unceasingly venerated. Round about their sepulchres there clung a spirit of prayer which testifies to a very lively faith in a purification beyond the grave and in the efficaciousness of the intercession of the saints. Before some of the tombs there hung lamps of scented oil, others were adorned with pictures and mosaics, and in some of them, which had been enlarged into veritable oratories, crowds of faithful flocked together to listen to the sermons on the martyrs and to venerate their relics.

Even at that time the Church had a place for them in her liturgy, and was careful that the title of martyr should not be bestowed indiscriminately, but only on those whose claim had been proved well founded.

To hinder the spread of Christianity and to drown it in its own blood, its enemies adopted every possible device. Under Nero and Domitian the persecutions were simply explosions of fury; under Trajan the persecutors became more cautious, and confined themselves to proceeding against those who fell into their hands; under Septimius Severus the persecution assumed method, and began to discriminate between Christian common folk, on the one hand, and the preachers and new converts on the other, to the disadvantage of the two latter classes. Under Decius, a fanatic devotee of the old order of things, every one was threatened with death who should not be able to bring a certificate attesting that he had taken part at stated times in the national

worship. Under Valerian the persecutor sought before all to overthrow the corporate existence of the Church; he confiscated her goods and forbade the faithful to resort to the cemeteries or places of worship. Lastly, under Galerius, Diocletian, and Maximin Daia, the nether forces made their last furious assault. Their efforts were no longer to correct, but to exterminate; the Christians were expelled from the army and from their positions in the State, their holy books were burnt, and their sacred edifices destroyed, the clergy were outlawed, and the whole Empire ran with blood; every national interest had disappeared in the intensity of the war against the Church.

The power was in the hands of a party, and to safeguard itself this party had to strike its adversaries without pity. But its efforts were vain, and it had to betake itself to artifice. Maximin, setting an example which was to be followed by Julian and by other renegades in later times, procured petitions to be drawn up in the different towns of the Empire, asking him to abolish Christianity; he also had the Christians accused of infamous crimes, and he took care that the cases should be publicly notified by means of placards; to every village he dispatched stupidly calumnious pamphlets, which the local schoolmasters had to spread abroad and bring under the notice of their scholars. All the while the emperor was endeavouring to keep alive by artificial respiration paganism, which was all too evidently at the point of death. How true it is that history repeats itself; but its efforts and its tricks were thrown away; the Christians were already a majority in the Empire, and the party which still retained the reins of power was tottering to its fall.

It may be asked why the Christians, when they had become numerous and powerful, did not turn on their persecutors, why they did not use their own power to make themselves victorious. Doubtless nothing of this sort entered into the plans of Providence; Christ wished to vanquish the world by peaceful means, and it was by their faith, by their sweetness and patience, that the martyrs brought about the triumph of the Gospel. Moreover, anything in the nature of a conspiracy would have given ground to the impression, already widespread, that the Christians were enemies of the Empire, a prejudice which apologists never ceased fighting, and which they finally succeeded in uprooting by dint of their unswerving fidelity to the laws of their country.

The conduct of the real children of the Church was very different from that of the heretical sects who invariably showed themselves extremists, either seeking after or flying from martyrdom. The testimony given to the truth by the true faithful was always marked by constancy to principle and perfect moderation; there was in it no morbid longing, no excessive enthusiasm for martyrdom; the rule recommended by the Church to her children was to distrust themselves, never wantonly to provoke their adversaries, never to yield before the representatives of public power, never to deny their Master. Their testimony was a result at once of their faith, their reason, and their virtue, and this is why it had such great evidential value. The philosopher Justin, when still a pagan, had come to the conclusion that men who could endure suffering with such intrepidity, could not but be just men, and this caused him to look into their doctrine and finally to associate himself with them. This evidence worked so effectively on

the minds of attentive onlookers that it led to numerous conversions, so that Tertullian could say with good reason that the blood of martyrs is the seed of Christians.

Among the motives of credibility advanced by the Church in favour of the divinity of the Christian faith, the argument furnished by the martyrs' perseverance in suffering and death is one which appeals to minds of every calibre. As Pascal says, it is difficult to disbelieve a story of which the witnesses are willing to be slain. Christ Himself ratified beforehand the worth of the martyrs' testimony when He asked His disciples to be His witnesses throughout the world, and when He promised them the assistance of His Holy Spirit when they should be brought to judgment; the Apostles, too, seem to have believed its force, for their only answer to those who would have stopped their preaching was: We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard. This simple witness was in their eyes more powerful than any argument, and they continued to bear it even to the shedding of their blood.

The heathen, too, accepted its force when they enrolled themselves in their thousands under the banner of Christ, being drawn thereto by the mere sight of the death of the confessors of the faith.

Theologians, apologists, and the faithful of every age have appealed to it as a decisive proof, one which is as striking as it is simple.

To-day its position as an argument is as strong as ever. The violent death of so many martyrs still constitutes an irrefragable testimony in favour of the Gospel-fact, for it was to witness to this fact that the martyrs allowed themselves to be slaughtered. Some of them were of the first hour; they had lived

with our Saviour, and had personally verified the object of their attestation. The others, who came later, held their information from those who had preceded them, and of whose miracles they had been witnesses; they died for their testimony to the Catholic tradition, which they in turn passed on to others. St. John, his disciple St. Polycarp, and this latter's disciple, St. Irenæus, bring us down to the end of the second century, and yet in this chain of tradition there are only three links. Those who died gave testimony at one and the same time to the facts and to the doctrines of Christianity ever living in the bosom of the Church. If the last of the martyrs were already far removed in time from Christ and His Apostles, they were in close union with the Church, and it was for the sake of the traditional faith that they were so cheerfully lavish with their blood. The patience and perseverance amidst such sufferings shown by such multitudes, constitute a historical fact which is so extraordinary and so peculiar to Christianity that it can only be explained by assuming a special Divine assistance whereby the martyrs were sustained; as Felicitas said in her prison at Carthage, "It is I who now suffer, but then another will be in me who will suffer for me, because I shall be suffering for Him."

The demonstration is thus complete: "The edict of peace was the solemn avowal of the powerlessness of paganism to overcome Christianity. The history of the martyrs from the first to the fourth century is one complete whole, self-sufficing, and bearing with it its own inferences."

Such is the substance of the book which M. Paul Allard offers the educated public. The method by which he has marshalled his facts is excellent; it

would be difficult to find anywhere a book better stocked with facts and documents. It contains no fancies, no adventurous hypotheses or conjectures; the author builds exclusively on facts attested by the best possible sources, which are always referred to with commendable exactitude. A whole crowd of points relating to ancient history are touched upon in the course of this work; it was necessary to speak of the politics of the Roman Empire, of the organisation of Christian charity, of the emancipation of the slaves, of the Roman legislation in general and in its bearing on the Christians, of the constitution of ecclesiastical property, of the moral combinations tolerated by the Church, and, above all, of the high religious questions involved in martyrdom.

At every page comparisons suggest themselves between what happened in those remote ages and what is going on even now before our eyes, but our author is discreet and never ventures beyond the merest allusion. Yet the narrative of the sufferings inflicted on the early Christians, for no other reason than their faith, is curiously appropriate just now. If it was M. Allard's hope to choose a propitious moment for the publication of his book, then he has certainly succeeded in finding it, for he has depicted figures which, for all that they are eighteen centuries old, are still to be seen to-day.

P. L. PÉCHENARD,

Rector of the Catholic University of Paris.

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TEN LECTURES ON THE MARTYRS

LECTURE I

THE APOSTLES AND THE MARTYRS—THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

I

EVEN if martyrdom were not one of the most important facts of religious history, it would still be one of the most peculiar and remarkable of historical phenomena.

Martyrdom, in its proper meaning, was unknown before the appearance of Christianity; there were no martyrs of philosophy. "Nobody," writes the apologist Justin Martyr, "had such great faith in Socrates as to die for his doctrines."¹ At no time were men to be found ready to bear witness by suffering cheerfully submitted to, and by violent death willingly undergone, to the truth of any of the heathen religions; such forms of worship did not demand of their adherents that absolute faith which is a part of life itself; they were all willing to compromise, if needs be to accept defeat, or to accommodate themselves as well as they could to all kinds of strange alliances. No Latin would have thought of throwing away his life to prevent the

¹ Justin, *II. Apol.*, 10.

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Greek gods from obtaining a footing in Italy, nor would it have entered into the head of a Celt to protest with his blood against Græco-Roman deities being worshipped in his regions, side by side with the old Gallic triads. Heathen religions produced an abundance of fanatics like those Galli¹ who disfigured their limbs and submitted to shocking mutilations in honour of Cybele, but whose frantic orgies nevertheless found a place even in the official calendar of Rome. Religious intoxication may occasionally have gone as far as suicide, as in the case of those Hindoo devotees who could throw themselves under the car of Juggernaut in order to be crushed to death by their idol; but such savage instances of self-immolation, such offerings of blood, or even of life itself, had no value as testimonies. Superstition, even when pushed to frenzy on the part of certain pagans, proves no more than the indifference or scepticism of others. There was nothing in it to bespeak a cool, deliberate, and unshakable determination to affirm a fact or doctrine.

I might go further and say that there were, strictly speaking, no Jewish martyrs. Doubtless the martyr-type is admirably seen in its infant stage under the old Law. The three young men in the furnace of Nabuchodonozor, Daniel in the lions' den, the Machabean mother and her seven sons are sublime instances of faithfulness to the true God and to His law. But if among these heroes of Jewish faith we find something unknown to the pagan world, viz., the will to die rather than sully their soul by strange worship, as yet we do not find that testimony which transforms the Christian martyr

¹ No satisfactory origin can be assigned to the name which was given to these eunuch priests of Cybele.—[*Trans.*]

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into an apostle of world-wide truth. Whereas the Jew allows himself to be slain to remain faithful to a religion which is a privilege of his race and the law of his people, the Christian martyr accepts death to prove the divinity of a religion which he believes is destined to become that of all men and of all nations.

This is what the word martyr means: *μάρτυς*, a witness even to certainty, that is, if the greatest sign of certainty be to sacrifice our life to prove the truth of what we affirm. The word in its fullest sense is unknown before the Gospel. It does not exist in the Old Testament, even in the books written in Greek, where we might expect to find it, for instance, in the books of the Machabees. To be accurate, it is found once and in circumstances which would be appropriate to its Christian meaning, yet it is there used in an entirely different sense: "Heaven and earth shall be *witnesses* (*μαρτυρεῖ*) for us, that you put us to death wrongfully."¹ The sacred writer has evidently no thought of attaching the meaning of a testimony to the heroic self-abnegation of these scrupulous Jews. We must wait till the time of Christ to find the intention, the declared wish, of making men the witnesses, and as it were the respondents of religion.

Such an injunction was given by Christ to His disciples when He was about to take His leave. "You are *witnesses* of these things."² He adds, "You will be my *witnesses* in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the ends of the earth."³ The Apostles accepted this mission with

¹ 1 *Mach.* ii. 37.

² *Luke* xxiv. 48.

³ *Acts of the Apostles* i. 8.

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all its consequences. When the need arose of filling the gap in their ranks caused by Judas's desertion, St. Peter addresses his companions as follows: "Wherefore of these men who have companied with us all the time that the Lord Jesus came in and went out among us, beginning from the baptism of John until the day wherein He was taken up from us, one of these must be made a *witness* with us of His resurrection."¹ A little later, at his very first discourse to the Jews after Pentecost, Peter himself appears in the shape of such a witness, "This Jesus hath God raised again, whereof we all are *witnesses*."² Again, in company with John, before the Chief Priest and all the heads of the Jewish religion, he exclaims, "We cannot but speak the things which we have seen and heard."³ And yet again, all the Apostles together when, after having escaped from prison in the night, they were brought a second time before the magistrates, proceed to address them thus: "We are *witnesses* of these things, and the Holy Ghost whom God hath given to all that obey Him."⁴ And when they had been scourged they quitted the hall of justice "rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer reproach for the name of Jesus." At the very end of his ministry Peter still uses similar language. Writing from Rome to the Churches of Asia he speaks of himself as "an ancient, and a *witness* of the sufferings of Christ."⁵

¹ Μάρτυρα τῆς ἀναστάσεως αὐτοῦ σὺν ἡμῖν.—*Acts of the Apostles* i. 22.

² Ἐσμὲν μάρτυρες.—*Ibid.*, ii. 32.

³ *Acts of the Apostles* iv. 20.

⁴ Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν αὐτοῦ μάρτυρες τῶν ῥημάτων τούτων.—*Ibid.*, v. 32.

⁵ Ὁ συμπροσβύτερος καὶ μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων.—

1 *Peter* v. 1.

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This was the primary meaning of the word martyr. It signified the ocular witnesses of the death and resurrection of Christ, who were to testify to them before the world. But even then the testimony was mostly given by a cheerful submission to tribulations and sufferings, and after these first trials came the sacrifice of life itself, that last and supreme testimony to the truth of the word. Jesus Christ had Himself predicted this last painful end of His witnesses: "They shall deliver you up to councils, and in the synagogues you shall be beaten, and you shall stand before governors and kings for my sake, for a testimony unto them."¹ And He proceeds to give to His future martyrs the promise of His assistance: "And when they shall lead you and deliver you up, be not thoughtful beforehand what you shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye, for it is not you that speak but the Holy Ghost."² He also predicted the cruel fissures, which would be caused by persecution, both in the home and in the State, and how death will follow close on the confession of His faithful ones: "The brother shall betray his brother unto death, and the father his son, and children shall rise up against the parents and shall work their death, and you shall be hated by all men for my name's sake; but he that shall endure unto the end shall be saved."³ When events had taught Christians the full meaning of the words of their Master, the glorious death of His oldest and most faithful disciples, slaughtered as He had pre-

¹ Εἰς μαρτύριον αὐτοῖς.—*Mark* xiii. 9. Cp. *Matt.* x. 17, 18; *Luke* xxi. 12, 13.

² *Mark* xiii. 11. Cp. *Matt.* x. 19, 20; *Luke* xii. 11, 12.

³ *Mark* xiii. 12, 13. Cp. *Luke* xxi. 16, 17.

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dicted, through hatred of His name, came to be considered as the natural complement of their testimony, so much so that the two things were no longer kept distinct even in thought.

Thus you can see how, even before the end of the apostolic age, the word "martyr" had received its technical meaning. Henceforth it is applied to him who has confessed Christ, not only by word, but also by blood. But at the same time it is extended to those witnesses whom we might call witnesses in the second degree—to those blessed ones, who, as Christ Himself expressed it, believed without seeing,¹ and who, having so believed, poured out their blood in witnessing to their belief. This is shown by the last of the books of the New Testament. Writing at the very end of the first century, St. John uses, in two passages of the *Apocalypse*, the word "martyr," in the sense which it carries to-day. In the message to the Church of Pergamus, mention is made of Antipas, "my faithful witness,"² who was slain among you where Satan dwelleth." That is, of a Christian martyred under Nero by the heathens of the town for not having been willing to renounce his faith. Further on, in a vision, when the fifth seal of the mysterious book had been opened, the Apostle beholds, "Under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the word of God and for the *testimony* which they held."³

Henceforth the word "martyr" has its definite meaning. It signifies those who witnessed by their blood to the reality of the Gospel-facts and the

¹ *John* xx. 29.

² 'Ο μάρτυς μου ὁ πιστός.—*Αποκ.*, ii. 13.

³ Διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἣν εἶχον.—*Ibid.*, vi. 9.

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constancy of Christian tradition. The last text also hints clearly enough that the first generation of believers will not be alone in giving such a testimony, that the history of martyrdom is only just beginning.

II

This history will continue during three centuries in the countries held in thrall by Rome. The time will come when an emperor will publish the first edict of religious peace; but even then the era of blood will only cease here to begin elsewhere, as new countries and other nations "seated in the shadow of death"¹ afford each day new fields for missionary effort. The *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* will be the natural continuation of the *Acta Martyrum*. But at the time when these latter end, *i.e.* that of Constantine, Christianity will already have effected the peaceful conquest of the whole of those Mediterranean regions where the spirit of Greece and the laws of Rome held sway, and which were then the centre of civilisation, and which thus became the starting-point of the propaganda of the Gospel through the whole of the world. It will have accomplished this in spite of apparently unsurmountable difficulties, and simply because the blood of martyrs will have proved itself stronger than any resistance which heathendom was capable of offering, stronger, too, than the arguments of philosophers, the prejudices of statesmen, or the cruelty of executioners. Their blood will not have been spilt occasionally and as it were drop by drop, a whole series of methodical and ingeniously devised persecutions will have caused it to flow in abundant

¹ *Luke i. 79.*

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torrents. The edict of peace was the solemn avowal of the powerlessness of Paganism to overcome Christianity. The history of the martyrs from the first to the fourth century is thus one complete whole, self-sufficing, and bearing with it its own inferences. This it is that will form the object of our research ; but first of all we must discuss another question.

The number of the martyrs grew with the spread of Christianity. It was only in the track of missionaries that martyrs were found. Before describing the death undergone by Christians for their faith we must be able to say which countries contained Christians. Casting a superficial glance at the history of the primitive Church, we seem to find Christians well-nigh everywhere ; we find them in the countries bordering on the birthplace of the new religion and in the countries furthest removed from it. We see, too, that martyrs make their appearance in the remotest districts at the very beginning of the preaching of the Gospel, in the second, nay even in the first century. We might thus gather that Christianity leapt at once to the position of a universal religion. This impression may not be altogether false, but it requires some correcting. There were such things as degrees and inequalities in the rapid spread of Christianity. At a time when it had completed its invasion of some countries, in others it was still scarcely heard of. Hence some regions furnished candidates for martyrdom much sooner than others, though, speaking generally, persecution seems to have broken out at one and the same time in every part of the Roman Empire. To get a clear idea of the history of the martyrs of Christianity we must then follow the track of its

first missions, what might be called its geographical movement. Our Lord himself suggests this method, for in commencing the discourse, which I quoted a moment back, and in which He predicts the trials to come, He says, "Unto all nations the Gospel must first be preached;"¹—between preaching and martyrdom there is, in fact, a relation of cause and effect.

A glance, then, at the diffusion of the Christian faith in the ancient world during the first three centuries is a necessary preliminary to the study of our subject.

III

The Church began its work on the first Whitsunday. "Intoxicated" as it were with the Holy Ghost, the Apostles gave testimony in the presence of the vast crowd of pilgrims then in Jerusalem. In this crowd were people of all nations, who heard, each in his own language, the divine word. The writer of the *Acts* is careful to specify the countries from which the audience hailed. Some came from the East, from beyond the confines of the Roman Empire, Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and natives of Mesopotamia; others were Asiatics belonging to the Roman Empire, people from Judea and Cappadocia, Pontus and Proconsular Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia; others were Africans from Egypt and the parts of Lybia; there were Arabs, too, and visitors from the islands of the Mediterranean, and even pilgrims from Rome.² Doubtless many of these

¹ Καὶ εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη δεῖ πρῶτον κηρυχθῆναι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον.—*Mark* xiii. 10.

² *Acts* ii. 5–11.

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strangers were amongst the three thousand men converted and baptized by St. Peter,¹ and when they returned to their respective countries they were no doubt the first harbingers of the new faith.

Another swarm of Christians departed from the old Jewish hive after the death of the first martyr St. Stephen. "At that time"—says the *Acts*—"there was raised a great persecution against the Church which was at Jerusalem;"² only the Apostles remained in the city, the faithful being dispersed through all the countries of Judea and Samaria.³ This was an occasion for the evangelisation of the sea-border, Phœnicea, and the ancient country of the Philistines; disciples carried the faith also to Damascus, and even to Antioch in the far north of Syria; others migrated to Cyprus.⁴

Yet notwithstanding the various inroads which Christianity had made into heathen lands, its exponents still addressed themselves exclusively to Jews and Jewish proselytes. But all of a sudden Christianity took a new direction and resolved on sowing the seed in heathendom as well as in Jewry. St. Peter had quitted Jerusalem to visit and establish the new Churches.⁵ During his journey, in obedience to a vision, he baptized numerous pagans.⁶ "Greeks," *i.e.* pagans, were simultaneously being instructed at Antioch by disciples from Cyprus and Cyrene.⁷ Soon after, drawn out of his retreat by Barnabas, the former persecutor and the great convert, St. Paul, came to the Syrian metropolis.

¹ *Acts* ii. 41.

³ *Acts* v. 31-37; ix. 32, 36, 40.

⁵ *Acts* ix. 32.

⁷ *Acts* xi. 20.

² *Acts* viii. 1.

⁴ *Acts* xi. 19.

⁶ *Acts* x. 9-28, 47-48.

There and then under his influence the cleavage was effected between Judaism and the new Faith, of which the adherents now received the name of Christians.¹

About the year 44 St. Paul began his apostolic travels which in fifteen years carried him through the whole of Western Asia Minor, Cilicia, Lycaonia, Pisidia, Isauria, Phrygia, Mysia, Proconsular Asia, Cyprus, Salamina, Paphos, Macedonia, and Achaia,² and possibly also Illyria.³ These travels were not entered on without thought. Paul's aim was to select convenient towns which might be, as it were, strategical points, or, to use his own expression, "great doors"⁴ opened to him; Ephesus, where he lived for two years and whence the faith spread over all the west of Asia Minor from Lycia to Propontis;⁵ Antioch, which put the new Church in communication both with the sea and with the East; Thessalonica, whence it spread to Macedonia;⁶ Corinth, which was to be the centre of Christian propaganda in Achaia.⁷

But St. Paul had brought the faith to only one-half of the Asiatic peninsula; there remained the eastern half with the great provinces between the Pontus Euxinus and the Taurus; Bithynia and

¹ *Acts* xi. 26.

² *Acts* xiii.—xxi.

³ See *Romans* xv. 19.

⁴ *1 Cor.* xvi. 9.

⁵ *Col.* i. 7–8; iv. 12–13; *Philem.* i. 2; *Acts* xix. 10, 26. A detail furnished by *Acts* (*ibid.*, 19) gives us an idea of the number of the conversions effected at Ephesus. When the converts, who had meddled with magic, brought together their books to be burnt, the books thus burnt were valued at "fifty thousand pieces of silver," or say, roughly, two thousand pounds sterling.

⁶ *1 Thess.* i. 7–8.

⁷ *2 Cor.* i. 1.

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Pontus, Galatia,¹ properly so called, and Cappadocia. St. Paul does not seem to have visited any of these places. The hypothesis which attributes their evangelisation to St. Peter is one which is well worth consideration.² The first epistle of the Prince of the Apostles, written from Rome after 64 to the Christians of "Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia,"³ presupposes Churches already founded and provided with a clergy,⁴ which have suffered already, or are on the eve of suffering persecution.⁵ St. Peter speaks to these Churches in the tone of a man who is personally acquainted with them, and in point of fact he may well have tarried in Proconsular Asia on his way to the West.

We know nothing of the journey of St. Peter to Rome; on the other hand, the first voyage of St. Paul to the capital of the Roman world is known perfectly. Arrested at Jerusalem in 59, and retained for two years a prisoner in Judea, having appealed to Cæsar he began in the autumn of 61, in company with other prisoners, that adventurous and dangerous voyage of which the *Acts of the Apostles* gives us such a vivid picture.⁶ On arriving

¹ For a discussion of the question as to whether St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians was written to the inhabitants of the southern portion of the Galatian province, *i.e.* to the Lycaonians, Phrygians, and Pamphyliaus, or to the Galatians properly so-called, see Jacquier, *Hist. des Livres du Nouv. Test.*, i. pp. 171-185. [English translation by J. Duggan, publ. by Kegan Paul, 1907. —*Trans.*]

² Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, vol. i., art. xxviii., and also note 26, on St. Peter; Fouard, *Saint Pierre et les premières années du christianisme*, pp. 329-331. [English translation by Griffith, publ. by Longmans, 1892. —*Trans.*]

³ 1 Peter i. 1.

⁵ 1 Peter iv. 14-16.

⁴ 1 Peter v. 1-3.

⁶ Acts xxvii.-xxviii.

in the south of Italy he found on disembarking at Puteoli a Christian Community already existing, which took care of him during his stay.¹ On the Appian Way two deputations of Roman Christians came forth to greet him, one at the Forum of Appius, the other at the Three Taverns.²

The narrative of *Acts* closes with this last incident, and the remainder of St. Paul's travels must be gathered from other sources.³ I may remind you in a few words that he seems to have been set free after a couple of years in Rome, and to have resumed his missionary duties, visiting Spain,⁴ landing perhaps, on the outward or return journey, in the south of Gaul,⁵ visiting again Crete, Asia Minor, Macedonia, the Peloponnesus and Epirus, and returning finally to Rome.⁶ Several of his disciples who had accompanied him on this last journey to the East remained there; Crescens stayed to preach to the Galatians,⁷ and Titus, after having organised the Churches of Crete,⁸ went westward carrying on the work of his master in Dalmatia.⁹

We now come to one of the most salient points in the first century, the celebrated year 64, from which we may conveniently take a bird's-eye view of events. Christians were already then recognised as such by Rome, and Nero was about to inaugurate

¹ *Acts* xxviii. 13–14.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

³ Cp. Jacquier, *Hist. des Livres du Nouv. Test.*, vol. i. pp. 413–414; Fouard, *Saint Paul, ses dernières années*, pp. 263–296. [English translation by Griffith, publ. by Longmans, 1901.—*Trans.*]

⁴ *Romans* xv. 24; St. Clement, *Cor.*, 5; *Canon of Muratori*.

⁵ Renan, *l'Antéchrist*, p. 108.

⁶ 1 *Tim.* i. 3; 2 *Tim.* iv. 13, 20; *Titus* i. 5; iii. 12.

⁷ 2 *Tim.* iv. 10.

⁸ *Titus* i. 5.

⁹ 2 *Tim.* iv. 10.

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the first persecution in which Peter and Paul will water with their blood the foundations of the Roman Church. From this point we may easily measure how much way has been made by Christianity during the thirty years which have elapsed since the death of Christ.

All the Gospels were not yet written, but the Gospel had been preached throughout the Empire. It was known in all the provinces of Roman Asia, from the desert of Arabia to the Black Sea. Not only had it adherents in those regions, they also possessed numerous properly organised Churches. It had entered the African continent, having been brought to Egypt and Cyrene by the witnesses of Pentecost. It had entered Europe by Macedonia, Achaia, Epirus, Illyria, and Dalmatia. There were groups of believers in Southern Italy; its members and martyrs formed even at Rome, according to contemporaries, the Christian Clement, or the Pagan Tacitus, "a great multitude."¹ Lastly, as Clement says, it had been borne "to the extremities of the West,"² that is to say, even to the south of Spain where the ancients placed the columns of Hercules.³ In the short space of thirty years the new Faith had overrun not only Roman Asia but the whole of the Mediterranean basin. As Renan well expressed it: "A flash of lightning, with its starting-point in Syria, illuminating almost simultaneously the three great peninsulas of Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy, and followed quickly by a reflected flash

¹ Πολὺν πλῆθος ἐκλεκτῶν.—St. Clement, *Cor.*, 6. Multitudo ingens.—Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv. 44.

² Ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως.—St. Clement, *Cor.*, 5.

³ See Lightfoot's note on this passage: *St. Clement of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 30-31.

which lit up nearly all the Mediterranean coasts, such was the first coming of Christianity.¹

IV

This “reflected flash of lightning,” to use the rationalist historian’s ingenious expression, did not come from the East, it was from Rome that in the following two centuries light spread every moment more rapidly along the shores of the Mediterranean.

Rome became from the second century the centre of Christian effort in the West.² No doubt in the primitive Church of Rome, Hellenism was an important factor. A large number of its faithful spoke Greek, and its earliest writings are in that tongue.³ In its cemeteries Greek epitaphs predominate until the third century;⁴ those of the Popes, even in the third century, are written in Greek,⁵ with the exception of one.⁶ Yet we should be wrong were we to think that the Roman Church only sloughed off by dint of effort these exoteric influences. As a matter of fact, she transformed them by impressing on them her own character. She used Greek because Greek

¹ Renan, *les Apôtres*, p. 284.

² Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 81.

³ St. Clement’s epistle, the *Shepherd* of Hermas, and the *Philosophumena* are written in Greek. The Greek titles of Hippolytus’s works are inscribed on the throne on which his statue is seated. It is probable that the Muratorian fragment was originally in Greek (see Lightfoot, *St. Clement of Rome*, vol. ii. pp. 405–413). The edict of Pope Callixtus on penance, and the letters of the Popes down to Cornelius inclusively, were all of them in Greek (see Batiffol, *Anciennes littératures chrétiennes: La littérature grecque*, pp. 125–126).

⁴ De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, vol. i. p. cx.; *Roma sotteranea*, vol. ii. pp. 250, 288, 308; vol. iii. pp. 96, 102, 106, 110, 123, 132, &c.

⁵ *Roma sotteranea*, vol. ii. plate i., ii., iii.; p. 115.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i. pp. 277–279, and plate iv.

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was the universal language, and carried further than Latin.¹ Though her writings were in Greek, the very first is a pastoral letter in which she speaks as one having authority to a city of the East. All over Central and Southern Italy the Churches obey the signal of Rome. In the middle of the third century Pope Cornelius convoked in council sixty Italian bishops.² The Italian episcopate was so closely linked with its head that, even in the eyes of the pagan authorities, their union was the mark of orthodoxy. When in 272 the Emperor Aurelian had to decide a question of property between the Catholics and certain heretics in the city of Antioch, he gave the following judgment: "The disputed building will belong to those who are in communion with the Bishops of Italy and the Bishop of Rome."³ The importance and the cohesion of the Italian episcopate shows the deep roots which Christianity had taken in the peninsula. If we reflect on the difficulties of communication at the time, the sixty bishops assembled by Pope Cornelius seem to show that there must have been in Italy fully a hundred bishoprics.⁴ But, of course, they were not equally plentiful all over the country; there were many in the south, but there seem to have been very few between the Apennines and the Alps even at the end of the third century.⁵ Christianity spread much less

¹ *Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus, latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur.*—Cicero, *Pro Archia*, 10.

² Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 43, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. 30, 19.

⁴ Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, p. 501. The computation is a rough one, but it is probably not far off from the truth.

⁵ Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 33–35. Bologna and Imola possibly had martyrs before having bishops. Fedele Savio in *Revista di scienze storiche*; Pavia, 1904, p. 206; F. Lanzoni in *Revista storico-critica di scienze teologiche*, 1905, p. 496.

rapidly in Northern than in Central and Southern Italy.

We may now turn to another great Mediterranean country, Gaul. Here we find that Christianity followed a similar route. In the Narbonensis and in the south of the Lugdunensis—that is to say, the countries forming the basins of the Rhône and Saône—we find early traces of Christians, manifestly emigrants from Greece and Asia. The sea-borne trade, of which Marseilles—a Greek city in origin and character—was the port and Lyons the emporium, had sown these regions with colonies which kept up the spirit of the East. It also was the means of introducing Christianity. Christian Gaul enters suddenly on the stage of history with the admirable epistle written in 177 by the Churches of Lyons and Vienne to those of Asia and Phrygia,¹ a letter which testifies to the intimate relations which existed between these so widely separated Churches. Among the martyrs then slain at Lyons fully one-half bore Greek names;² of some it is said that they came from Asia;³ many answered the magistrates in Greek.⁴ The most ancient Christian epitaph found in Gaul, the celebrated inscription of Pectorius in the “polyandrium”⁵ of Autun, is not only Greek in

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 1.

² De Rossi-Duchesne, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, pp. lxvii.—lxviii.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 1.

⁴ The *Letter* records that one of the martyrs, who bore a Latin name, Sanctus, replied, τῆ Ῥωμαϊκῆ φωνῆ, which seems to show that most of the others replied in Greek (*ibid.*, 20). Further on (44) we are told that the Phrygian Attalus also answered, τῆ Ῥωμαϊκῆ φωνῆ; but this latter, though a Phrygian by birth, was a Roman citizen.

⁵ A *polyandrium* usually signified a tomb containing the remains of several martyrs; here, however, it is synonymous with “cemetery.”—[*Trans.*]

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language but utterly Eastern in its conception. In Christian epigraphy it ranks with that of Abercius in Hierapolis of Phrygia.¹ Nevertheless, with all this primitive element, the Roman influence, "the second reflection," is easily recognisable. The Bishop of Lyons, Irenæus, was born at Smyrna, but he twice visited Rome, and was in personal relations with the Popes. The council over which he presided in 196 testified that for the date of the celebration of Easter the Churches of Gaul followed the Roman custom, and not that of Asia.² This suffices to show that if the first groups of faithful came from the East, yet they soon assimilated Western traditions. The later evangelisation of Gaul was to be entirely Latin, in fact largely the result of the work of Roman emissaries.

As we leave the Greek zone to enter at the south-west, west, east, and north, into the lands of Celtic traditions, Aquitania, the rural portion of the vast province associated with the name of Lyons, Belgium, we find Christianity spreading much less rapidly, because cities are few and, as it were, smothered by the immense *pagi* where the national gods of paganism still reign supreme. Nevertheless, twenty years after the scenes enacted at Lyons, Tertullian is able to say that the "different tribes of Gaul" have heard of Christ.³ These words must be understood of the regions which I have just

¹ On the relationship between the epitaph of Pectorius, in the Autun *polyandrium*, and the inscription of Abercius, see De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. urbis Romæ*, vol. ii. pp. xvii.—xxiv.

² Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 23.

³ *Galliarum diversæ nationes.*—Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 7. Mgr. Batiffol points out that these words must be more than a mere rhetorical embellishment, for the Carthaginians were well aware of the condition of Christianity in Gaul.—*L'extension géographique de l'Eglise*, in the *Revue Biblique*, April 1895, p. 139.

named. In effect, bishops begin to make their appearance at the end of the second century¹ and during the third.² In 314 we shall only find sixteen Gallic dioceses represented at the Council of Arles.³ Though this number is far from comprising all those which then existed in France,⁴ yet it shows that the bishops there were less numerous than they had been in Italy even a century before. But it is only right to say that in several towns in which there was as yet probably no bishop, there were martyrs in the last persecution, and even before.⁵ The faith was therefore spreading from place to place quicker than Churches could be organised.

Two facts show, moreover, that at the moment when the era of persecution was about to close, Christianity, without being uniformly distributed all over France, of which many parts were still withdrawn from its influence, had yet attained a position of eminence. One of these facts is the great number of faithful who belonged, at the end of the third century, to the court of the Emperor Constantius Chlorus ;⁶ the other is Constantine's decision, arrived at whilst passing through Gaul on his way to Italy, to quit Paganism and embrace Christianity. This psychological fact, as Professor Harnack calls it,⁷

¹ Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums*, p. 508.

² Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, vol. i. pp. 3–33.

³ Arles, Vaison, Nice, Orange, Marseilles, Apt, Lyons, Vienne, Rouen, Bordeaux, Eauze, Mende, Bourges, Rheims, Trèves.

⁴ Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

⁵ Valence, Besançon, Auxerre, Troyes, Nantes, Amiens, Augusta Vermanduorum (Saint-Quentin), Beauvais, Tournai, Agen, Bâle. See our works, *Histoire des persécutions pendant les deux premiers siècles*, 3rd ed. p. 186 ; *Les dernières persécutions du troisième siècle*, 3rd ed., p. 253 ; *La persécution de Dioclétien*, 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 40, 41, 42.

⁶ Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, i. 16, 17.

⁷ Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christenthums*, p. 510.

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would probably not have occurred had Christianity in Gaul not been widely diffused and in a position of importance.

Spain, a country whose shores like those of Gaul are washed both by the Mediterranean and the ocean, seems to have depended even more directly on the Church of Rome. Apart from a short expedition to Bætica undertaken by St. Paul right at the end of his career, we do not find a trace of those Eastern influences which had been such powerful factors in the conversion of Southern Gaul. Christians seem to have never spoken Greek in this country, which was so strongly impregnated with Roman ideas that in the first and second centuries it gave to the Empire its most celebrated writers¹ and some of its best sovereigns.² Christianity here is completely Latin, and its history occupies only a few lines. At the end of the second century St. Irenæus mentions the Churches of Spain;³ a few years later Tertullian states that the Faith had spread over "all the frontiers" of this land.⁴ In the middle of the third century the persecution of Decius and Valerian broke out here, producing not a few martyrs⁵ and apostates.⁶ At the end of the same century a council held in a town of Bætica comprised the representatives of some fifty dioceses.⁷ These were unequally distributed through the land, there being many in the South and but few in the

¹ Seneca, Martial, Quintilian.

² Trajan, Adrian, Marcus Aurelius.

³ St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæreses*, i. 10.

⁴ *Hispaniarum omnes termini*.—Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 7.

⁵ *Acta SS. Fructuosi, Augurii, Eulogii*, in Ruinart, *Acta Martyrum sincera*, 1689, p. 220.

⁶ St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 67.

⁷ Duchesne, *Le concile d'Elvire et les flamines chrétiens*, in *Mélanges Renier*, 1886.

centre and North. All the bishops of Spain were certainly not present at the council; there were also communities which had no bishop but which were administered by deacons.¹ The persecution of Diocletian secured throughout the country, even in the smallest towns, a quantity of victims.² Yet in spite of the extent to which the Faith had spread over the Iberian peninsula, the resistance of idolatry continued long, owing to the attachment with which the pagan traditions of the Empire had inspired the so conservative and tenacious mind of the Spaniards.³

We may now cross the Mediterranean to its opposite shore. Here we are in Roman Africa, composed of three provinces of very unequal population: Proconsular Africa, corresponding with the modern province of Tunis; Numidia, corresponding with Algeria; and Mauritania, a region in part outside the Roman Empire, which is now represented by Morocco. All this vast portion of a continent enters suddenly into Christian history, fully grown and presupposing a long development. Yet it does not seem that this development can have begun in the first century, seeing that persecution broke out for the first time in Proconsular Africa and Numidia only in 180.⁴ But at that date the Church of Carthage, which is the best known, seemed to be in a perfect state of organisation and to comprise a large population of faithful, with a clergy, and

¹ See the 77th canon of this council.

² See Prudentius, *Peri Stephanon*, i., iii., iv., ix., and cp. *La persécution de Dioclétien*, 2nd ed., pp. 141-144, 459-469.

³ See the letter of Pope Siricius in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. xiii., col. 1136, and laws of 381, 392, 393, Theodosian Code XVI., vii. 1, 2, 3, 5.

⁴ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 3.

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with many ecclesiastical edifices and cemeteries.¹ At the end of the same century a council of seventy bishops of Proconsular Africa and Numidia was assembled at Carthage,² and, during the whole course of the third century, equally representative councils were frequent. This seems to show that the number of bishops at this time must have been about equal to that of Italy, viz., about a hundred.³ As a judicious historian has noted, with the development of Christianity there took place a concomitant desertion of the sanctuaries of Baal, the African Saturn; this is manifest from recent excavations, and it indicates that the heathens must have been converted *en masse*.⁴ Hence Christianity appeared suddenly in North Africa, without our knowing when or by whom it was introduced. It may have come from the East,⁵ with which Carthage as a dutiful daughter of Phœnicia never ceased to correspond and trade. At the same time it is highly probable that Rome played a great part in introducing it.⁶ This multiple origin of African Christianity is seen by, among other things, the co-existence of Greek and Latin in its earliest Christian literature, which fact betrays a mixed Asiatic and Roman influence.⁷ Yet the latter seems to have been the greater, for as De Rossi remarked in 1867—and subsequent epigraphical discoveries have brought no change to the

¹ Paul Monceaux, *Hist. littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, vol. i. pp. 11–17.

² St. Cyprian, *Ep.* 71, 73.

³ See Paul Monceaux, vol. ii. pp. 7–9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁵ St. Augustine, *Ep.* 52, 3.

⁶ Tertullian, *De Præscript*, 36; St. Augustine, *Ep.* 43, 7; 52, 2.

⁷ Paul Monceaux, vol. i. pp. 4–8.

state of the question—all the Christian inscriptions of Proconsular Africa and Numidia are in Latin.¹

V

In the Mediterranean hinterland another line of European provinces soon received the Gospel.

First we have the regions bordering on the Rhine, the two Germanies, which form as it were the bulwarks of Gaul, which they shield on the east along the whole length of the river, reaching from its source to its mouth, touching in the north the German Ocean, and at south almost reaching Lyons. They had Churches at the end of the second century,² but until the fourth these were rare and far apart.³ The same thing may be said of another province, Britain, the furthest north of the Roman Empire. In that country the Romans encamped indeed, but never firmly established themselves, and their civilisation there was that of their army merely. It was the advanced post set to keep behind the walls of Adrian and Antoninus the ferocious hordes of the North. In this large country, the present England, there were Christians at the end of the second century, if we may believe Tertullian, who also adds that the Faith had even penetrated further than the Romans, viz., into Caledonia.⁴ In the time of Diocletian martyrs are mentioned in a few towns of the South.⁵ Three

¹ De Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia Cristiana*, 1867, p. 65.

² St. Irenæus, *Adv. Hæreses*, i. 10, 2.

³ Tongres, Cologne, Mainz, possibly Besançon (which was then in Higher Germany).—Harnack, *Die Mission, &c.*, pp. 511–512.

⁴ Et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca.—Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 7.

⁵ At Verulam (St. Albans), at Caerleon and Lichfield; see *La persécution de Dioclétien*, 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 43.

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bishops, those of London, Lincoln, and York, took part in the Council of Arles, and probably enough there were others besides them in Britain. Yet the almost complete absence of ancient Christian inscriptions seems to show that for long the faithful were few in number.¹ Origen in the middle of the third century reckons the Germans and Britons among the nations to whom the Christian faith is scarcely known.²

Origen has the same to say of the Goths, Sarmatians, and Scythians,³ *i.e.* of the inhabitants of the provinces which line the Danube and correspond with the present Balkan States. They were on the military confines of the Empire. Of these provinces, one, Dacia beyond the Danube, had in 274 been lost to it, but during the century and a half, from the time of Trajan to that of Aurelian, when it formed part of the Empire, it does not seem to have been evangelised. The monuments of the worship of Mithra are numerous there, and mark the places where the legions encamped, but as for vestiges of Christianity at the same epoch none are to be found.⁴ Perhaps it was only in the last quarter of the third century that missionaries, either from the East or from the West—probably from both sides at once—spread the Faith in the provinces yet retained by Rome on the right side of the Danube, Noricum, Pannonia, Dacia Riparia,

¹ See Hübner, *Inscript. Britann. Christ.* Cp. Northcote, *Epitaphs of the Catacombs*, p. 184.

² Origen, *Comment. series in Matt.*, 39; in Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, xiii.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, vol. i. p. 250. M. Cumont thinks that Tertullian is guilty of exaggeration in the passage (*Adv. Judæos*, 7) where he speaks of the Dacians and Scythians as having already heard the Gospel.

and Scythia, but the seed scattered quickly bore fruit; these "new-comers," as they were still considered in the fourth century,¹ numbered groups of faithful and even organised Churches by the time of the last persecution; bishops, clerics, soldiers, and laymen of all ranks shed their blood for Christ.² In the Eastern Martyrology of the fourth century we find frequent mention made of the towns and fortresses which fringed the lower reaches of the Danube.³

VI

Whilst Rome was sowing the Faith in the West, the Churches were continuing to grow in all the eastern countries of the Mediterranean, where they had been planted by the Apostles.

Christians were so numerous in the Archipelago in the middle of the second century as to have become a frequent occasion of public disturbance. The Emperor Antoninus Pius was obliged to intervene on several occasions to hinder the pagans from resorting to mob-law on their account. To this end he sent letters to the council of the province of Achaia, to the town of Larissa in Thessaly, and to that of Thessalonica in Macedonia.⁴ Documents of the second century mention the Churches of Epirus and Thracia.⁵ At Byzantium in this latter province the Christians were so powerful that the adversaries of the emperor Septimius Severus were

¹ Τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ νεολαίας.—Eusebius, *De Vita Const.*, iv. 43.

² There were martyrs at Siscia, Sirmium, Cibalæ, Singidunum Dorostorum. See *La persécution de Dioclétien*, 2nd ed., vol. i. pp. 119, 122, 292, 295, 298; vol. ii. pp. 143, 299.

³ Cp. De Rossi-Duchesne, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, p. lvi.

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 26, 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, v. 16, 19.

much angered at their political loyalty; when defeated in an insurrection they could only exclaim, "*Christiani gaudete.*"¹ Had they wished, the Christians might easily have formed a party and put a new and appreciable weight into the scales of the Empire. Byzantium, where, in the sudden flash of civil war, this external force of Christianity was perceived for the first time, was the point of juncture between Europe and the provinces of Asia Minor, in which the followers of the Gospel had already long since formed a compact society. On passing the Bosphorus we seem to enter a Christian country.

This was the impression made on Pliny the younger when he came, in 112, as imperial legate to Bithynia and Pontus. During an administrative journey across this immense province, of which the coasts extended over full one-half of the south side of the Black Sea, he was astonished to meet numerous Christians of every age and sex and rank.² He was still more surprised and shocked by the conditions into which Christian propaganda had caused paganism to lapse. The temples were almost forsaken, the sacrifices had long ceased, and the victims of the gods found but few buyers.³ This position of things was already old, as Pliny's expression shows, *diu intermissa*. He himself informs us that persecution had already done its work under Domitian in Bithynia and in Pontus.⁴ The

¹ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 3.

² Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 96.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ He speaks of people who had apostatised, "since more than twenty years," which carries us back to the time of Domitian, and clearly shows that the persecution commanded by that emperor, of which we have little information, was carried out even in the far eastern provinces.

word "contagion,"¹ which the Roman magistrate uses contemptuously to show the success of the Gospel in the province confided to his care, shows the manner in which the Faith spread from one to the other. As the letter which he wrote on the subject to the Emperor Trajan seems to have been despatched from Amisus in Pontus,² he must have already traversed the whole of this region before he made his statement.³ Although he is pleased to think that the measures taken by him will put an end to the disorders, later documents show that at the end of the century the situation had not changed.⁴ Under Marcus Aurelius, another pagan, the Paphlagonian impostor, Alexander Abonotichita, caused an oracle to state that Pontus is "all full of atheists and Christians," two words which then meant much the same thing.⁵

Even more striking, perhaps, is the picture afforded by a province south of Bithynia, the ancient Phrygia, which in the second century depended for its government on Proconsular Asia. At least in its southern extremity⁶ it was one of the first countries to be completely evangelised. It

¹ Superstitionis istius contagio.

² *Cp. Pliny, Ep.*, x. 93, 99.

³ The Bithynian province of Pontus seems to have extended only as far as the Iris. Pontus Polemiacus was a dependency of Cappadocia.

⁴ In 196 the Churches of Pontus gathered in council under the presidency of Palma (Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 23, 3). With these Churches Dionysius of Corinth was in communication (*ibid.*, 23, 6), Marcion was the son of a Bishop of Sinope (see Epiphanius, *Hereses*, xlii.).

⁵ Lucian, *Alexander*, 25.

⁶ In that part which is crossed by the road leading from Antioch of Pisidia to Ephesus and the neighbourhood of Iconium. In the north of the province Christianity spread less rapidly.

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provided some martyrs under Marcus Aurelius,¹ but afterwards the Christians found means to live there in almost unbroken peace until the great persecutions of the third century. Here they were not obliged, as elsewhere, to conceal their faith. The inscription of Abercius is well known;² it is the first of a whole series of epitaphs, confessedly Christian, which are to be met with in this country, not merely as in Rome amidst the darkness of subterranean passages, but on the surface of the earth, and in the full glare of day.³ In these epitaphs we have formulæ like the following: "A Christian has erected this to a fellow-Christian."⁴ In them we find greetings to the "Friends of God," and the violators of tombs

¹ Thraseas, Bishop of Eumenia; Sagaris, Bishop of Laodicea. See the letter of Polycrates of Ephesus in Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 24; *Cp.* iv. 26.

² It is impossible to give here a complete account of the inscription of Abercius. For its explanation see De Rossi, *Inscript. Christ. urbis Romæ*, vol. ii. pp. xii.-xxiv.; for a facsimile, see plates iii.-vii. in the *Nuovo Bullettino di archeologia Cristiana*, 1895. The arguments adduced by Ficker, Harnack, and Dietrich against the Christian origin of the inscription have been refuted by De Rossi, Duchesne, Schultze, Zahn, Wilpert, Batiffol, Grisar, Wehofer, and the writers of the *Analecta Bollandiana*. M. Cumont summed up the results of the discussion as follows: "Most of the arguments which were brought forward in support of this hypothesis (of the pagan origin of the inscription) fall to the ground as soon as we compare this inscription with other undoubtedly Christian inscriptions of the same period. The peculiarities of this remarkable epitaph may be explained by the persistence among the Phrygians of old customs and fashions of speaking."—*Les inscriptions chrétiennes d'Asie Mineure*, in the *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, published by the École française at Rome, 1895, p. 290.

³ De Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, vol. i. p. 107; Duchesne, *Saint Abercius*, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, July 1883, p. 31. F. Cumont says (*Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, p. 296): "Phrygia has preserved something which we are unable to find even at Rome, viz., a series of Christian sepulchres which, though constructed before Diocletian, are above the surface of the ground."

⁴ Χριστιανὸς χριστιανῷ ἐποίησεν.—See Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, vol. iii., No. 783; Armanet, *Echos d'Orient*, vol. vii., 1904, p. 206; Mirbeau, *ibid.*, p. 329.

are threatened with "the vengeance of God";¹ we also find in them frequent allusions to the municipal offices filled by Christians;² they make no odds of asserting their attachment to their native city, nor of condemning in advance all those who shall lay sacrilegious hands on their sepulchres to being mulcted in fines, which shall go to the funds of the city or to the public treasure.³ They are at once good Romans and good Christians. In fact, writes Mgr. Duchesne, "in this far-off district of the Asiatic province Christianity is already free and dominant";⁴ and Renan, after having described the evangelisation of these regions, goes on to state that "Phrygia was even then, and remained for three hundred years, an essentially Christian land."⁵

Phrygia stood for about half of that province of Asia which comprised also, under the authority of the same proconsul, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria. These countries, washed by the Grecian waves of the Ægæan Sea, and full of classical reminiscences, were also filled with recollections of the earliest Christian efforts, the preaching of St. Paul and the rule of St. John. The population was more gifted and less given to credulous enthusiasm than that of

¹ Le Bas and Waddington, *Voyage archéologique*, vol. iii. No. 1703.

² Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Nos. 359, 361, 364, 368, 391. *Cp.* Cumont, Nos. 137, 141, 146, 162.

³ See the Christian inscriptions of Phrygia, quoted by H. Leclercq in the *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*; art. *Amendes dans le droit funéraire*, pp. 1582-1583.

⁴ Duchesne, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, July 1883, p. 31. An epitaph, dated 216, bestows on Hierapolis the title of "elect," ἐκλεκτή; not improbably the word is here used in its Christian meaning, thereby implying that the town in question was already in the main converted.—Duchesne, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, 1895, p. 167, footnote.

⁵ Renan, *Saint Paul*, p. 363.

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rugged Phrygia, yet here Christianity was as widespread and almost as powerful. All those great cities with fine-sounding names, Ephesus, Smyrna, Sardis, Pergamus, Philadelphia, Thyatira, Troas, Magnesia, Tralles, Parium, were full of Christians. There was scarcely one which did not glory in some "great light," *i.e.* the recollection of some martyr or illustrious teacher.¹ The episcopate here goes back very far, and it was exceedingly powerful, though intimately united with both clergy and people.² Bishoprics were found close together, a fact which can only be accounted for by the presence of a dense Christian population. We find episcopal towns only fifteen or seventeen miles distant from each other.³ The consideration or even sympathy shown by "many"⁴ magistrates to the Christians, a policy of which we have evidence in the letter of Granianus, proconsul of Asia, to the Emperor Adrian, and in the latter's reply to the proconsul's successor,⁵ attest the power which even then was in the hands of the Christians of this region. At the end of the second century the bishops of Asia were so well aware of this power that one of them, the apologist, Melito of Sardis, writing to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, offers him the co-operation of the Church, and suggests an alliance with it as the best means of perpetuating his dynasty.⁶ Even then the great number of Christians gave

¹ Polycrates of Ephesus, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 24.

² See the letters of St. Ignatius.

³ Magnesia, where there was a bishop, was only fifteen miles distant from Ephesus and seventeen or eighteen from Tralles, both of which were episcopal cities.

⁴ Πολλοίς.—Melito, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 26, 10.

⁵ Melito, *loc. cit.*; Justin in the appendix to his first *Apologia*; Eusebius-Rufinus, *H. E.*, iv. 9.

⁶ Melito, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 26, 7–8.

pause to the persecutors. Under Commodus, the unworthy successor of Marcus Aurelius, in a town of which unfortunately the name has not come down to us, a proconsul of Asia was so frightened by the immense number of faithful who clamoured for martyrdom that he refused to pass sentence.¹

We have fewer details of the origin of Christianity in the important province of Cappadocia, which extended diagonally across Asia Minor from the Taurus to the Black Sea. Certain episodes, however, with which we are acquainted lead us to surmise that large Christian bodies existed here at a very early period. When the philosopher St. Justin was charged before the prefect of Rome under Marcus Aurelius with the crime of Christianity, several of his disciples were accused together with him. When questioned by the magistrate, one of them replied, "I attended Justin's lectures, but I learnt Christianity from my parents." "Where are thy parents?" "In Cappadocia."² There was therefore in Cappadocia in the second century more than one generation of Christians. Their standing was sufficiently high to enable them to convert, in the latter years of the century, the wife of the governor of the province.³ In his spite this latter avenged himself cruelly, and when he fell ill he seems to have feared the expression of their opinion, for he requested that his sufferings should be concealed from them; "I have no wish that Christian men should rejoice or that Christian women should find grounds for hope."⁴ His concern for what

¹ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 5.

² *Acta S. Justinii*, in Ruinart, p. 44.

³ Between 180 and 196. This is the view of Neumann, *Der Römische Staat und die Allgemeine Kirche*, vol. i. p. 70, note 7.

⁴ Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 3.

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Christians might think shows the important place they occupied in the mind of their persecutor. In the middle of the third century they had become so numerous that the pagans attributed plagues and famines to their increase and to the more and more noticeable discredit of the gods, and in their anger they set fire to the sacred buildings which the Christians had been bold enough to construct openly.¹

But Cappadocia was far too vast for the Faith to have been preached over the whole of it at the same time. Thus its Pontine district on the shores of the Black Sea had only a handful of Christians² when Gregory Thaumaturgos evangelised it with such signal success in the middle of the third century; whereas another district, that of Lesser Armenia, contained, even in the second century, so many Christians that the 12th legion (*Fulminata*), which was recruited in this country, was nearly wholly composed of them.³ When, at the beginning of the fourth century, the last persecution was started, Melitene, the chief township of Lesser Armenia, was among the first to be singled out by Diocletian, because of its strong body of clergy.⁴

¹ Origen, *Comment. series in Matt.*; *Patr. Græc.*, xiii., col. 1654.

² Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita S. Gregorii Thaum.*; Migne, *Patr. Græc.*, xli., col. 953.

³ Though the story of the rain obtained by the prayers of a company of the *legio Fulminata*, during the war waged by Marcus Aurelius against the Quadi, is very obscure, yet it is certain that this tradition mentioned by the contemporary apologist, Apollinaris (quoted by Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 5, 4), has some foundation in history. See Lightfoot, *St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp*, vol. i. p. 492; Harnack, *Die Quelle der Berichte über das Regenthunder im Feldzuge Marc Aurel's gegen die Quaden*, in the *Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin*, July 19, 1894, pp. 835-882.

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii. 6, 6.

VII

Stretching along the Mediterranean, from the frontiers of Asia Minor even to those of Arabia and Egypt, the great province of Syria seems to me the oddest of all the provinces into which the empire was divided. In the north it included Cœle-Syria with its capital, Antioch; towards the east it ended with the half-independent state of Palmyra; on the west it comprised the narrow land of the Phœnician coast, which lies strangled between Lebanon and the sea; and in the south, Palestine with open and fertile Galilee, rugged Judea, and the old Philistine coast-line. In it were spoken Greek, Latin, Syrian, Phœnician, and Hebrew, and worship was extended not only to the God of Israel but to those of the Greeks and to Astarte and Baal. Existing side by side with the most exalted religious feelings was to be found the commercial and industrial spirit, with its cool calculations and its enterprise, making the neighbouring seas to swarm with vessels and establishing all along their coasts marts and exchanges. In all these Syrian regions the Faith had been disseminated either by the Apostles or by their first disciples, but the soil proved unequally fertile and in parts less capable of good fruit than the virgin soil of Asia Minor. In Syria there were too many moribund civilisations, too many interests to divide souls.

It was in the north that, under the double push of the Greek spirit and that of Syria, Christianity spread the fastest. Cœle-Syria was soon as thickly populated with Christians as Bithynia and Pontus. From the day when St. Paul first visited it, to the

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middle of the fourth century when practically the whole population had been converted, Antioch never ceased to provide a refuge for Christianity. The sanctity and the learning of its bishops, of which fortunately the list has come down to us, contributed no doubt to this constant progress. All of them, the best and the less good, make a fine succession from St. Ignatius, whose unpolished Greek gives a magnificent display of thought and imagery, showing what Christian enthusiasm could effect in a Syrian soul, to the heresiarch Paul of Samosata, who, with his political manœuvres and the grandeur of his retinue, furnished even in the middle of the third century a picture of the ideal prince-bishop. By the time of the last persecution the neighbourhood of Antioch was totally Christian, and in nearly every town and hamlet of Cœle-Syria, the persecutors had only to stretch forth their hands to apprehend bishops, priests, deacons, and clerics of every order.¹

In Phœnicia matters were far otherwise. On the coast, indeed, there were many Christians, because there the Gospel had been preached from the beginning, and because in its trading centres the original inhabitants had been swamped by the Greek element. But in the interior of the country, which was in a way cut off from the rest of the world by the double range of Lebanon, the sensuality and the fanaticism of the older worships still held sway. Here the population remaining Phœnician, with scarcely any mingling of race, remained also firmly attached to its gods of blood and clay. At Emesa the bishop was not able to dwell in the town, but was compelled to govern his tiny flock from a point beyond its

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii. 6.

walls.¹ At Heliopolis, where the Venus of Lebanon was worshipped with infamous rites, there was no bishop before the reign of Constantine.² The town remained utterly pagan to the end of the fourth century,³ and two hundred years later the pagans were still in a majority. We may say that this obdurate town passed directly from paganism to the standard of Mahomed.⁴ In this strange quarter of the globe the old worships, only with difficulty kept in check by Constantine and then again let loose by Julian,⁵ defended themselves with an obstinacy of which we have no instance elsewhere. The only towns which allowed Christianity to leak into them were Damascus and Paneas, both of them half Greek and on the track of the caravans, being in communication with the Levant, through the cleft which divides Hermon from Anti-Lebanon.

Palestine itself was far less Christian than it might appear at first sight. The province in which Christianity was cradled was also one of the countries in which the Faith experienced the greatest difficulty in spreading. The bloody reprisals which followed the Jewish insurrections at the end of the first century and at the beginning of the second, had effectually destroyed the recollections of the Gospel with those of Judaism. This accounts for the com-

¹ Silvanus, who lived during the last persecution, is not called by Eusebius Bishop of Emesa, but Bishop of the Churches about Emesa: τῶν ἀμφί τῆν Ἐμισαν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπος (*H. E.*, viii. 13).

² Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, iii. 58; *Cp.* Socrates, *H. E.*, i. 18.

³ Theodoretus, *H. E.*, iv. 19; Sozomen, *H. E.*, vii. 15.

⁴ *Cp.* Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, vol. ii. p. 251.

⁵ There were outbursts of fury on the part of the populace in 362 at Emesa, at Heliopolis, at Aphaca, at Arethusa. Gregory Nanzianzen, *Orat.*, iv. 88: v. 29; Julian, *Misopogon* (ed. Hertlein, p. 401); Theodoretus, iii. 3; Sozomen, v. 9, 10.

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plete disappearance of all the fruits of the first evangelisation of the country. On the eve of the siege of Jerusalem, the Jewish Christians of the Holy City fled to Perea and to the south of Syria :¹ but the little Churches they founded never bore fruit, and the number of Jewish Christians steadily decreased.² Most of the Christian communities established in Palestine in the second century were composed of strangers, and they prospered only in towns where the Greek element predominated. In 136, in Jerusalem, now emptied of its Jewish population and transformed into a Roman colony, Ælia Capitolina, an uncircumcised bishop sat for the first time on the throne of James.³ But, in spite of the importance which the Church of Jerusalem assumed in the third century, the Christian flock in that city must have been very small and weak, seeing that until the time of Constantine it had made no effort to discover the tomb of Christ. Some regions of Palestine remained for long completely closed against Christians ; to the end of the second century practically the whole of Samaria worshipped Simon Magus, who had risen to the status of a kind of tribal god.⁴ In Galilee, Tiberias and the neighbourhood became the dwelling-place of a Jewish colony, with a strong rabbinical school ; their hostility was an effectual barrier against Christian incursions.⁵ On the southern coast Christians were kept back by a different kind of fanaticism. At Gaza, a thoroughly pagan city, where the most sensual worships of the East held sway in their worst

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iii. 5 ; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, liii. 1.

² Justin, *I. Apol.*, 53, 3.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 6, 4 ; v. 12.

⁴ Justin, *I. Apol.*, 26, 3 ; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, i. 57.

⁵ Epiphanius, *Hær.*, xxx. 4, 21 ; Socrates, *H. E.*, ii. 3 ; Theodoretus, *H. E.*, iv. 19.

forms, the bishop did not dare to live in the city.¹ The first church here was built by Constantine,² and half a century later the pagans of that town and of the other coast cities, Ascalon and Anthedon, had not yet outgrown their intolerance:³ at Gaza they remained the strongest party for long after. Though Palestine furnished many martyrs in the last persecution,⁴ and though at that time the province contained many dioceses, yet, with the exception of Cæsarea, which since Origen and Pamphilus had become a centre of theology, no single one of these communities appears to have possessed any power worth speaking of until peace was proclaimed between the Church and the Empire.

VIII

The last great Mediterranean country, of which as yet we have said nothing, is Egypt.

Like Gaul and Africa, Christian Egypt does not make an appearance in history before the last quarter of the second century. Yet when it does enter the scene it is even more fully fledged than these latter, and its religious organisation evidently presupposes that the Gospel had been preached there long before. The tradition, mentioned by a writer⁵ of the fourth century, which claims St. Mark as the founder of the

¹ Silvanus, the bishop of this city, like his namesake of Emesa, is not called by Eusebius Bishop of Gaza, but bishop of the neighbourhood of Gaza: *ἐπίσκοπος τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν Γάζαν ἐκκλησιῶν*.—*H. E.*, viii. 13, 5.

² This is inferred from the *Vita Porphyrii*, 20, in *Acta Sanctorum*, January, vol. iii. p. 648.

³ Sozomen, *H. E.*, v. 9; Theodoretus, *H. E.*, iii. 3.

⁴ In Eusebius's *De Martyribus Palestinæ* Greek names are more abundant than Jewish or Syrian names.

⁵ Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 16.

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Church of Alexandria, should not be lightly set aside. When this Church suddenly burst into the light during the long episcopate of Demetrius (188–231), with its high school of theology where Pantænus and Clement had taught and where Origen is destined to teach, it had already produced several heresiarchs,¹ which fact alone attests a long existence. At the end of the second century, or at the beginning of the third, Clement says that the Christian faith is “spread among the whole population of every place and town.”² About the same time, when the persecution of Septimius Severus broke out, it produced martyrs not in Alexandria alone, but also inland, and, according to the statement of Eusebius, throughout all the province of Thebes.³ At the middle of the third century we see, by the frequent allusions of the same historian,⁴ that Churches were numerous all over Egypt; a papyrus found recently mentions a Christian community which existed under Diocletian in the great Oasis, *i.e.* in the extreme south.⁵ Even the isle of Philæ, where Isis was worshipped until the sixth century, seems to have possessed Christian Churches at a very early date.⁶ *The Acts of St. Peter of Alexandria* relate that during his episcopate

¹ Basilides, Carpocrates, and perhaps Valentinus.—Eusebius, *H. E.*, iv. 22; Epiphanius, *Har.*, xxiv. 1 : xxxi. 2.

² Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vi. 18.

³ Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 11, 42; vii. 6, 24, 26; viii. 9.

⁵ *Nuovo Bull. di archeologia Cristiana*, 1902, pp. 15–26; Grenfell-Hunt, *Greek Papyri*, No. 73. A Christian woman of Alexandria was banished to the Great Oasis, and recommended to a priest of those parts. One text which, so far as I know, has not been adduced in support of this papyrus is the following: Est quoddam genus quasi in insulam relegationis in provincia Ægypto, in Oasin relegare (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, XLVIII., xxii. 1, 55).

⁶ Wilchen, *Heidnisches und Christliches in Egypt.*, in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, vol. i. pp. 396–436.

(300–311) he consecrated no less than fifty-five bishops in Lower Egypt.¹ The great number of bishoprics is a characteristic of Christian Egypt in the third and fourth centuries. There is another which is not less peculiar to this country; this is the growth of monasticism in the province of Thebes from the year 250, and its great success even amongst the most deeply indigenious portions of the population. We may add that in no other country did the last persecution bring forth more victims or treat the faithful with greater cruelty.² In remembrance of this time the Christians of Egypt adopted the custom of dating their era from the reign of Diocletian, which they called “the era of the martyrs.”

Egypt, together with the Roman provinces of Asia, formed a portion of the territory ruled by the last and most obstinate of the persecutors, Maximin Daia. He has left us an accurate statement of the religious situation of the countries which he turned red with Christian blood. When, in 313, he was constrained by his colleague, Constantine, to give peace to the faithful under his government, he sent to the prefect of the pratorium a rescript of which we have the text. This document is prefaced by a historical statement in which he explains that his predecessors, Diocletian and Maximian Hercules, at the end of the previous century had considered themselves successful in bringing back to the altars of the gods “nearly all those men who had fallen away and joined the mass of the Christian population.”³

¹ Migne, *P. G.*, vol. xviii., col. 455. These Acts, published by Mai, seemed to him authentic. They are quoted by C. de Smedt, *Organisation des Eglises chrétiennes au troisième siècle*, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, October 1891.

² Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii. 8–10.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. 9, 13.

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These latter words would not have been as yet true of the rest of the Empire, but the position and character of the writer guarantees their accuracy with respect to the oriental provinces. We may already say in a general way that, in the rest of the Roman world, Christian communities no longer formed, as it were, islands in the midst of a pagan sea; the positions are reversed, and now it is the districts which remain pagan which form so many black spots on the map of the *Orbis Christianus*.

LECTURE II

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY OUTSIDE THE ROMAN EMPIRE—THE STRENUOUS LIFE OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

I

WE have sketched the map of the diffusion of Christianity in the Roman world ; but a few more strokes are necessary to complete the picture of the scene which will soon be occupied by the Martyrs.

In Europe, Africa, and Asia, the Roman Empire comprised nations different both in race and in civilisation. The most widely divergent national characters existed together under the thin veil of political solidarity. There must have been almost as many divergences as points of contact between the Roman subjects of Spain, Gaul, and Africa and the Roman subjects of Egypt or Asia Minor. The official language was everywhere the same, but the languages in everyday use were everywhere different. Intelligence, morals, customs, and the whole philosophy of life were as different in the different parts of the Empire as were the languages. Nor was the religious bond less superficial than the political. All agreed in giving homage to the gods of Rome, which were those of the Empire, but each was free to honour his own country's gods in company with those of Rome. In the unwieldy conglomeration of nations and cities which constituted the Roman Empire, moral unity existed only between the

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upper classes. These were, and are still, everywhere the same ; literary and philosophical currents and the power of fashion being quite sufficient to draw them together. But the populace, except in the few towns which trade had made cosmopolitan, continued to cherish its customs, its traditions, and its local superstitions just as it retained its national dress and fashion of speaking. An Alexandrian doctor could hobnob with a poet or philosopher from Rome or Athens, but a Celtic peasant and a Phrygian mountaineer would soon have discovered that they had no thought in common, nor a word to express it.

The rapid spread of Christianity—which knew how to make itself acceptable amidst surroundings so different, and sometimes so hostile to one another, which adapted itself as easily to the most cultured as to the rudest intellects, enrolling now a Greek in sunny Ionia, now a native of mist-clad Britain, as if it knew no distinction of Greek and barbarian—belongs to a category of facts which cannot be explained by the ordinary laws of history, especially if we bear in mind the obstacles which had to be overcome and the persecutions which had to be undergone, and which, according to a phrase of Tertullian's, made every catechumen a candidate for martyrdom. But the history of the progress of Christianity in the first centuries would not be complete did we restrict our investigations within the confines of the Roman Empire.

In waging war on Christianity Rome was, all unknown to itself, helping on the cause of Christ. Imperial unity was a providential preparation for ecclesiastical unity. As Lacordaire said, the great military roads, which assured communications between the remotest districts, and of which the

granite foundations cut in all directions even the deserts of Syria and the forests of Gaul, were convenient highways for missionaries as well as for the legions of Rome. Christians were not unaware of the advantages which the *Pax Romana* secured to them. "By the Romans," writes St. Irenæus, "the world is in peace, and we may travel where we please by land or sea."¹ Fifty years later Origen waxes still more eloquent, and long before Bossuet he too perceives the hand of God in the reign of order in the Roman world. "Providence had united all nations in one single empire, even from the time of Augustus, that its peace and the freedom of trade might facilitate the preaching of the Gospel."² As soon as the exponents of the new faith passed beyond the frontiers, over which the Roman eagles kept their watch, to carry their message to independent or hostile states, they lost all these advantages. Nevertheless in the second and especially in the third century such attempts were frequently made, and in certain directions they were successful in extending the frontiers of Christianity.

Naturally enough missions to the outside world only departed from countries where the faith was already firmly established. Only those districts in which the Christian population was very thick, and where evangelisation inwards had become unnecessary, were able to furnish missionaries who would proceed outwards to seek new fields of work. This explains why in Europe the Gospel scarcely anywhere crossed the Roman frontier. When St. Irenæus speaks of the Churches of Germany³ he

¹ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, iv. 30.

² Origen, *In Jos.*, *Hom.* iii. (Migne, *P. G.*, vol. xii.).

³ Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.*, i. 10.

is alluding only to the two Roman provinces of Higher and Lower Germany; he does not mention any Churches as existing among the independent Germans. These latter had to come and seek Christianity in Roman territories, which they did either by peaceful or warlike invasions. Tertullian's allusion to the Gospel having penetrated in Britain even further than the Roman legions¹ is probably only a rhetorical embellishment, at least we can find no confirmation of what he states. The European border-provinces, both those of the Rhine and those of the Danube, only assimilated Christianity with difficulty, and their Churches remained, for long, less plentiful and less populous than elsewhere, hence, hindered as they were by internal difficulties, they were the last to furnish missionaries for outside work. In the West the limits of Roman power will long act as a wall in restraining Christian enterprise.

We must not forget that in these regions Christianity encountered another obstacle. A new superstition, which in the interior of the Empire was of trifling importance, had fixed its headquarters all along the frontiers, being brought thither by civilians, slaves, and soldiers. All along the military line of camps, in Germany along the Rhine, in Britain along Adrian's Wall, in Pannonia and Dacia along the Danube, the worship of Mithra established itself, building its monuments and excavating its caves as if its intentions were to protect Roman territory from the invasions of the barbarians, and at the same time to protect the barbarians from the benefits of Christianity. In every place held by the legions which watched over the safety of the Empire we

¹ Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 7.

find a zone of superstitions imported from the East which have become the favourite worships of the soldiers, which were imposed by them on the populations amidst which they were quartered, to an extent of which we may form some idea by glancing at the map of the monuments of Mithra published by M. Franz Cumont.¹ This worship on the outlying parts of the Empire was, as it were, the last rampart of paganism, one which for a long time hindered the development of the few and but recently established Churches which existed in those garrison districts.

There were reasons of a different nature to prevent the African Churches from enlarging their borders towards the south. As we have seen, they were numerous and powerful in Proconsular Africa and in Numidia, round about Carthage and Lambesa, they had also conducted their warfare with indigenous superstitions far too successfully for Mithra-worship, which, moreover, was scarcely known in the country, to have proved a serious obstacle to them. But they encountered two natural barriers, that of the Atlas and that of the desert. They succeeded in making some headway among the Getuli, a semi-independent nation living in the Sahara to the west of the Atlas,² but towards the south they were unable to accomplish much among the nomad hordes, who were scarcely less difficult to catch than the dust raised by their horses' hoofs. The main task imposed on them, one which they never succeeded in accomplishing, was the evangelisa-

¹ *Textes et monuments figurés des mystères de Mithra*, vol. i. This map is also to be found in the abbreviated work published by M. Cumont in 1902.

² Tertullian, *Adv. Judæos*, 7.

tion of Mauritania on the west, which, in spite of the presence of Roman armies and Christian bishops, never became completely affiliated either to Rome or to Christianity.

Egyptian Christianity was more successful in its conquests. Leaving behind it the Empire whose power stopped short at the first cataract of the Nile, it advanced by means of the river as far as Ethiopia, and by means of the Red Sea as far as the Straits of Aden. It was also Egypt, rather than Syria or the North Arabian Roman province, which brought Christianity to the towns of the Yemen in the south of the peninsula. The first impulse to missionary effort seems to have been given at the end of the second century by Pantænus, the founder of the Christian school of Alexandria. Eusebius relates of him that, being consumed with apostolic zeal, he left his chair and departed to carry the faith to the Indies,¹ *i.e.* probably, having regard to the fashion of speaking, to the south of Arabia, where numerous Jewish colonies were then in existence. Eusebius adds that when preaching Pantænus was wont to make homilies on the Gospel of St. Matthew, which as a matter of fact would have been most appropriate when addressing audiences consisting mainly of Jews and Jewish proselytes.

But to witness the greatest effects of Christianity on the nations outside Roman influence we must return to Asia Minor, a spring of Gospel propaganda which for three centuries never ceased to flow in every direction.

The provinces on the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea were, from the first century onwards, too densely populated with Christians not to be a centre from

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 10, 3.

which the Gospel teaching would spread to the countries with which they were brought into contact either casually or by reason of their neighbourhood. Their missionaries, and even their hostages carried it to the barbarians. The half-savage tribes leading a wandering life in their chariots on the steppes of the Black Sea contained Christians at the end of the second century.¹ In 258 the Gothic inhabitants of the regions between the Danube and the Dniester were evangelised by prisoners whom they had seized in an incursion into Cappadocia; these Christians held their services in their masters' tents, converted many, and established a bond of union between these nascent Churches of independent Scythia and the ancient Church of Cappadocia.² We are less well informed as to the exact time when, coming from Bithynia and Pontus, the faith arrived in the Chersonesus Taurica (Crimea), in the north of the Black Sea, but we do know that before the end of the third century this country formed a Christian principality, and that its rulers had the cross stamped on their coins.³ A whole kingdom to the east of Cappadocia came over to Christianity about this time; this was Armenia Major, the mountains of which dominate the southern shores of the Pontus Euxinus. The first, or at least the best known apostle of Armenia was Gregory, surnamed the Light-bringer, who, having been forced to leave his native land during a Persian invasion, went to study at Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, Christian doctrine and Greek literature. On returning to Armenia he brought over to the faith Tiridata II., and per-

¹ Justin, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, 117.

² Philostorgius, *H. E.*, ii. 5.

³ De Rossi, *Bull. di archeol. Crist.*, 1864, pp. 5-6.

sueded him that Christianity would form a better rallying-cry and defence against the Persians than the old Armenian beliefs which were more or less related to the Persian religion. The official conversion of the whole country followed on that of its prince, the temples of the gods were destroyed, and the new Armenian Church acknowledged its indebtedness to the Church of Cæsarea, from which Gregory had brought the faith, and accepted its bishop as their metropolitan. The fierce persecutor, Maximin Daia, refusing to see how much Roman interests would gain by this religious union, which definitively withdrew Armenia from the Persian sphere of influence and associated it with a portion of his own dominions, declared war on Armenia in 313 in order to punish it for having submitted to Christianity. This is the first religious war which history records; the fourth-century writer to whom we are indebted for our knowledge adds that in this instance and by God's grace the Cross and the national enthusiasm of the Armenians were victorious over pagan fanaticism.

Even more remarkable than these conquests of the Gospel in the north of Asia Minor was the onward march of Christianity towards Central Asia. Apart from a few attempts which are supposed to date back to Apostolic times, and which we are acquainted with only by vague and legendary traditions,¹ we have seen that during the first two centuries the Gospel tended in a westerly direction, being attracted by the facilities offered by the Mediterranean, and borne by the commercial currents which connected Asiatic ports with Rome and the principal nations of the West. But already in the

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, ix, 8.

second century we perceive a current setting in another direction, and in the following century it is strengthened; this current is towards the East across the oriental frontiers of the Empire. To begin with, Christianity had followed the highways of trade through that land-locked sea which links three continents together; now it is about to essay, in the opposite direction, the track of the caravans, to travel in an inverse sense along the road taken by the Magi when visiting the cradle of Christ.

Starting from Antioch the faith reached, in the first instance, the little kingdom of Osrhoena on the left bank of the Euphrates. Some of its towns remained even long afterwards refractory to the advances of Christianity; such was Carrhæ, which remained pagan down to the sixth century,¹ but Edessa, its capital, was soon filled with Christians. About the year 150 its religious life was active enough to have produced a Syriac version of the Old Testament,² and a few years later a similar version of the Gospels.³ The Gnostic Bardesanes, born in 154, wrote his books and hymns at Edessa.⁴ About 196 a council assembled in the same town reckoned not only representatives of the Church of Osrhoena, but even some from the neighbouring countries.⁵ The king himself, Abgar VIII. (or IX.) a contemporary of Septimius Severus, became a convert, and commenced drawing up a new code of

¹ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii. 3; Sozomen, *H. E.*, vi. 1; Theodoretus, *H. E.*, iv. 18; *Peregrinatio Silvæ*, in the *Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto*, 1888, p. 135; Procopius, *De Bello Pers.*, i. 13.

² The Peschito.—Rubens Duval, *Anciennes littératures chrétiennes : La littérature syriaque*, pp. 31–32.

³ Tatian's *Dialeptaron*.—*Ibid.*, pp. 44–47.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 241–248.

⁵ Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 23, 4.

laws which should be animated by the spirit of Christian morality.¹ Unfortunately this new Christian kingdom was not destined to be long-lived. At the beginning of the third century, Caracalla annexed it to the Roman Empire. But Edessa still remained a starting-point for Christian missioners. Issuing both from Osrhoena and Armenia, even more than from Antioch, Christianity will spread itself through Mesopotamia and over the whole Persian Empire.

Had later events justified early promises, this might have been one of the greatest facts of religious history. A document dating from the commencement of the third century speaks of Christians living all over the enormous territories ruled by Persia, not only in the states bordering the Roman Empire, those between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but also in Persia proper, in Media and in Gelia,² that is to say, throughout the Iranian tableland lying between the Persian Gulf, the Caspian Sea, and the Indus.³ We have no precise information as to the importance of these Persian Churches. In Mesopotamia, which was always a bone of contention between Persia and Rome, there were in the middle of the third century Churches sufficiently powerful to stand side by side with those of Asia Minor⁴; being at the time subject to the Roman Empire, they produced quite a number of martyrs during the reign of Diocletian.⁵

¹ Bardesanes, in Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, vi. 10; Epiphanius, *Hær.*, lvi. 1.

² Now the Persian province of Guilan, at the south-west of the Caspian Sea.

³ Οἱ ἐν Παρθία χριστιανοὶ . . . , οἱ ἐν Μηδία . . . , οἱ ἐν Περσίδι . . . , παρὰ Βάρκροισ καὶ Γήλοις.—Bardesanes, quoted by Eusebius, *Præp. evang.*, vi. 10.

⁴ Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 5, 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, viii. 12.

The historian Sozomen, who must have been well informed, says that one of the northern provinces of Persia, Adiabene, close to Christian Armenia, was, like this latter, nearly "wholly Christian."¹ The first results of the persecutions were fortunate for Persia, for many Christians flying from the Roman power there found a refuge with full facilities for preaching their faith; the Persian authorities at first tolerated the faith out of hatred of Rome, which had not only forbidden it, but also martyred several Persian subjects.² But all this changed when Rome passed over to the side of Christianity. The letter written by Constantine to the Persian King Sapor, commending to his protection "the innumerable Churches of God" and "the myriads of Christians" existing under his domination,³ probably did more harm than good, and the war which, at the end of Constantine's reign, was resumed between Rome and Persia, contributed to make the Persian authorities view with a suspicious eye the Christians established in their territories, in whom they saw allies and secret agents of Rome."⁴

This was the principal motive of the great Persian persecution, which lasted forty years, from 339 to 379, *i.e.* longer than any single Roman persecution, and which only ceased to begin again after a short respite and to last even to the middle of the fifth century.

¹ Κατὰ τὴν Διαβηνῶν χώραν κλίμα δὲ τοῦτο Περσικὸν, ὡς ἐπίπαν χριστιανίζον.—Sozomen, *H. E.*, ii. 12.

² Abdon and Sennen, Marius, Martha, Audifax and Abacuc, in the third century.

³ Quoted by Eusebius, *De Vita Constantini*, iv. 8.

⁴ Such was the charge already brought against the Christians by Sapor in 341.—*Actes de Saint Simon Barsabbaé*, in H. Leclercq, *Les Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 151. The same accusation was renewed in 376.—*Actes des quarante martyrs de la province de Kaschkar*, *ibid.*, pp. 210, 211.

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But Christianity was so well grounded in Persia that the torrents of blood shed during nearly one hundred years were not sufficient to quench the spark of the faith. The first stage of the persecution resulted, according to Sozomen, in the death of sixteen thousand martyrs whose names were preserved, and besides these there was an immense number of unknown martyrs.¹ The "Passions" which have come down to us relate to martyrdoms which took place in Babylonia, Chaldea, Susiana, and Adiabene,² but they are too few to allow of our obtaining any clear notion of the countries which had been evangelised before this first persecution. A list which contains exclusively the names of the clergy, *i.e.* of the bishops, priests, and deacons martyred between 344 and 345, mentions a large number of bishoprics, several of which were no doubt ancient foundations.³

Deplorable events of another kind were destined to put a stop in Persia to the progress of Christianity, but its initial success in this important portion of the ancient world, this "other eye of the universe" as a Persian ambassador speaking to a Roman emperor picturesquely described it⁴—shows that Christian doctrines, institutions, and morals contained nothing to offend a nation, alike a stranger to Greek mental culture and to Roman social customs, such as was Persia. Here, then, we again find an instance of that adaptability of Christianity to all kinds of sur-

¹ Sozomen, *H. E.*, ii. 14.

² See J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*, pp. 42–82.

³ Syriac martyrology of the fifth century.—De Rossi-Duchesne, *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, pp. li., lxiii.–lxv.

⁴ A. de Broglie, *L'Église et l'Empire romain au quatrième siècle*, vol. ii. p. 307.

roundings, and degrees of civilisation, which we have already witnessed in the different parts of the Roman Empire. Had the Church of Persia not been weakened and split up by heresies in the fifth century, and had Persia not been invaded by the Moslems in the seventh, it is probable that the churches there would have played in the East a part similar to that played by the Roman Churches in the West; possibly they might have converted the whole of Asia, for as it was the Iranian missionaries succeeded in actually carrying the Gospel to the island of Socotora, to Ceylon, to the Malabar coast, and across Tartary into the very heart of China.¹

II

To console ourselves for possibilities which never came to pass, let us consider more closely the actual reality. The spread of Christianity, within the confines of the Roman Empire, where we know it best, presents still several points with which we must needs acquaint ourselves if we wish to gain a clear idea of the surroundings in the midst of which the martyrs of the first four centuries spent their lives. We must first say something about the Christian country-sides.

When Pliny, for the benefit of the Emperor Trajan, summed up the chief characteristics of the Gospel-propaganda in the province of Bithynia, he made much of the fact that its invasion had extended beyond the towns into thoroughly country districts, *neque civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque*

¹ Vide Cosmas's *Christian Topography* (sixth century), in Migne, *P. G.*, vol. lxxxviii., col. 169; cp. Duchesne, *Eglises séparées*, p. 24; Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire perse*, pp. 165, 166, 306, 327, 350.

agros.¹ The importance of this fact did not escape the wisdom of the Roman legate; though as yet he had not entered into relations with the Christians—since his letter had for its object to inquire of the emperor how they should be treated—nevertheless he was perfectly aware that their religion had, in the first instance, made its way into the towns. Here there were invariably Jewish colonies which, when they were not the most hostile, were the most fruitful soil on which the Gospel could be sown. Among the town-dwelling pagans, too, it was easy to find open minds, people who were troubled with religious doubts and who disbelieved in the gods, and who consequently were well disposed to receive the Gospel. But for Christianity to extend beyond the town-walls into the country districts, for it to take possession of the rude and unpolished soul of the peasantry, for this it required a strength and adaptability amounting to a veritable empire. This it was that scared the Roman legate. He saw that the stamp of complete success was set on Christian endeavour by its conquest of the land. The impression of this second-century Roman is full of instruction for us, and suggests a discrimination between the Roman provinces in which Christianity had reached the rural districts, and those in which it was more or less confined to the towns; this will be a good way of confirming what we have already said concerning its relative power in the different Roman provinces at the time of the persecutions.

In several great western countries the faith was for long hemmed in by the walls of the larger towns. This was particularly the case with Gaul, where, even in the time of St. Martin, *i.e.* in the fourth

¹ Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 96.

century, we find paganism still rampant in the country districts of the centre, and where it was necessary to send missionaries in the fifth, sixth, and even seventh centuries to effectually uproot idolatry in the northern and eastern country-sides.¹ Even now we can find the traces of this long persistence of rural paganism. In what remains of the primitive forests, which in Roman times covered the larger part of France, on the hills which rear their heads above the river-side, there are still to be found the ruins of numerous little temples—*fana*—each with its little dwelling-place for the attendant priest; and the coins which lie scattered about show that their destruction took place at a comparatively recent date. The position of affairs was the same in Northern Italy, between the Alps and the Po; the fierce natives of the villages here will martyr many a Christian at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.² At the same time, and in spite of the laws, statues of the gods still stood in Liguria, where, on wooden altars erected in front of the idols, rustic priests continue to sacrifice victims, whose entrails they inspect in the hope of discerning the future.³ All this agrees perfectly with what we have already said of the paucity of bishoprics and faithful in these provinces; it agrees, too, with the scarcity of towns, which in Gaul at least were much further apart than elsewhere, and so less able to exercise influence on the surrounding country.

¹ See Lecoy de la Marche, *Saint Martin*; Bulliot et Thollier, *La mission et le culte de S. Martin, essai sur le paganisme rural*; and the article of Abbé Vacandard, *L'Idolatrie en Gaule au VI^e et au VII^e siècle*, in the *Revue des questions historiques*, April 1899.

² Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vol. x. pp. 542, *seq.*, article on St. Vigilius.

³ St. Maximus of Turin, *Sermo*, 101.

On the contrary, in Central and Southern Italy, where episcopal cities were many, the whole situation of Christianity is different; even in the third century we hear of humble villages containing bishops who from the description given must have been mere peasants.¹ The same is true of Northern Africa, where bishoprics were even more common than in Italy. The African country-sides were highly cultivated and very densely populated. In the fourth century we meet bishops here even in the little hamlets (*fundi, saltus*) inhabited by Christian farmers. An incident in the last persecution will suffice to bring one of these rural Churches very vividly before us. It happened in the *Possessio Cephalitana*, near Thuburbo, in Proconsular Africa. Its peasant-inhabitants were assembled by the proconsul, and the following conversation took place: "Are you Christians?" asked the proconsul. "We are," they replied in one voice. The proconsul resumed: "The pious and august emperors have ordered me to assemble all the Christians and to call on them to offer sacrifice; those who refuse or disobey will be punished by divers tortures." As a result the whole population, including also the priests and the deacons there resident, was weak enough to give way and offer sacrifice, only two maidens who had not formed part of the assembled crowd, but who had been denounced by a peasant woman, refused to yield, and bravely suffered mar-

¹ Ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους.—Letter of St. Cornelius, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 43, 8. See an article, *I vescovi di campagna nell' antichità cristiana*, pp. 212-217, in *Civiltà cattolica*, October 15, 1904. St. Alexander, Bishop of Baccano (*vicus Baccanensis*), who was martyred under Caracalla, was a country bishop.—*Bull. di arch. Crist.*, 1875, pp. 142-152.

tyrdom for their constancy.¹ We owe to a recently discovered document our acquaintance with this curious episode which throws so much light on the then state of Christianity in rural Africa.

The Egyptian country parts which, near the Mediterranean and round about the mouth of the Nile, were thickly populated, but of which the population decreased gradually towards the South because of the proximity of the desert, also contained many Christians; it was also one of the regions in which the faith was least confined to the towns. Even the peasants who were not Christians were favourably disposed to Christianity, and always happy to play little tricks on the persecutors. Hence the ease with which fugitive Christians were able to conceal themselves in Egypt. St. Dionysius of Alexandria relates in one of his interesting letters the amusing incident of his own flight, his arrest, and his subsequent rescue. A Christian finds the bishop's room empty, and on hearing that he had been captured, promptly takes to his heels; in his flight he meets a peasant on his way to a wake which was being held in preparation for a wedding, and who, being informed how matters stood, hastens to the place of meeting and tells the guests what has happened, whereupon they all jump up from table, run to the village to which the soldiers had led their captive, and having put the soldiers to flight, they effect the bishop's rescue. And when Dionysius naturally enough refuses to make use of a freedom thus illegally acquired, they take him by

¹ *Passio SS. Maximillæ, Donatillæ, et Secundæ*, in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1890, vol. ix. pp. 110-116. On the distinction between the authentic and suspected parts of this document, see Monceaux, *Histoire littéraire de l'Afrique chrétienne*, vol. iii. pp. 148-150.

his feet and hands, march out again, put him on a donkey and hurry him off.¹ These peasants who so highly appreciated the opportunity of playing off a rough practical joke on the soldiery do not seem to have been Christians, but it must have been an easy thing to convert such as them to Christianity, and, in point of fact, there was a very active propaganda going on in all the Egyptian country districts. In the third century there were "priests and catechists" who instructed "the village brethren."² The persecution of Decius here gave many martyrs their crown.³ Two papyri recently found tell of the Christians being constrained to sacrifice in a village of Cyrene, and again in one of the Fayum.⁴ In the course of the last persecution the bishop Meletius, ignoring the rights of his captive brother bishops, held several ordinations in their dioceses, alleging as an excuse for this irregularity the fact that "the villages were bereft of their pastors." To this it was retorted that visiting priests (*circumeuntes*) had been appointed to see to the wants of the villagers until the return of more peaceful times.⁵ Egypt was emphatically the home of rural Christianity.

You will not be surprised to hear that in Asia Minor where, as we have seen, so many regions were impregnated with Christianity, the country districts were as full of Christians as the towns. A few moments back I called attention to Pliny's testimony

¹ Letter of Dionysius of Alexandria, in Eusebius, *H. E.*, vi. 40.

² Τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδασκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἀδελφῶν. —Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 24, 6.

³ *Ibid.*, vi. 42.

⁴ Published by Krebs and by Wessely. See my book on *Le Christianisme et l'Empire romain*, 6th ed., pp. 296–297.

⁵ See the documents published and summarised by Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, French trans. by Delarc, vol. i. pp. 333 *seq.*

regarding Bithynia. With regard to Pontus a strange episode related by St. Hippolytus brings Christian peasants on the scene. A pseudo-prophet having predicted that the coming of the Lord was imminent, the people "forsook their fields and gardens," but after having waited awhile and found that nothing happened they again returned to their ordinary business and resumed the "cultivation of the soil."¹ In Phrygia many villages were possessed of Churches. It was above all in the country, in fact in its most rugged parts, that Montanism secured adherents. Pepuza and Thymion, two noted spots in the history of this heresy, were only moderate-sized villages.² Comana, whose bishop was one of the most zealous opponents of Montanism, was itself nothing more than a village.³ According to Renan, Phrygian Christianity was "a religion of villages and country parts;"⁴ this expression is true, though not wholly so, since the inscriptions found in this province have shown us that Christianity was professed also by "distinguished citizens" and by city magistrates.⁵ In Lesser Armenia the spiritual government of many villages was in the hands of priests or deacons.⁶ In Cappadocia, in Coele-Syria,⁷ in Cilicia, in Isauria, in Bithynia,⁸ in fact all over the East the third

¹ St. Hippolytus, *Comment. in Daniel*, ed. Bonwetsch, Leipzig, 1897, p. 232.

² Eusebius, *H. E.*, v. 18, 2.

³ κώμη.—*Ibid.*, 16, 17.

⁴ Renan, *Marc Aurèle*, p. 211.

⁵ See above, p. 28.

⁶ See the *Testament des quarante martyrs de Sébaste*, in H. Leclercq, *Les Martyrs*, vol. iii. p. 388. On the authenticity of this document, consult *Analecta Bollandiana*, vol. xviii., 1898, pp. 467-469.

⁷ In the synod of Antioch, in 296: ἐπίσκοποι τῶν ὁμόρων ἀγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων.—Eusebius, *H. E.*, vii. 30.

⁸ Forty chorepiscopi of these five provinces recorded their names at the Council of Nicæa. There were martyred chorepiscopi in Cappadocia and in Syria.—*Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, pp. lxiii., 105, 115.

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century witnessed the introduction of *chorepiscopi*, literally country-bishops, whose business it was to act as representatives and vicegerents of the bishops in those districts where the dioceses were too large to allow of their performing their duties outside of the towns.¹

III

We may now return to the towns to see exactly what position the Christians had attained before the end of the persecutions.

One of the last victims of the great persecution, Lucian, who was the head of the biblical school of Alexandria, and one of whose disciples had been Arius, pronounced at Nicomedia in the presence of the Emperor Maximin an *apologia* for Christianity. Of this a fragment has been preserved by a fourth-century historian. "At the present moment"—said the martyr—"already nearly half of the world has embraced the truth; whole cities, *urbes integræ*, or if you cannot trust the urban districts, the crowds of rustics who are incapable of guile, are witnesses to this fact."² Hence there existed in Roman Asia in 311, not only Christian country-parts but cities of which the whole population had gone over to Christ.

Eusebius attests this of Edessa where "Christ

¹ The Eastern chorepiscopi, who were subject to the urban bishops, must not be confounded with the country-bishops of Italy and Africa, who were not thus subject. See *Civiltà cattolica*, October 15, 1904, pp. 205-206.

² Pars pæne mundi jam major huic veritati adstipulatur, urbes integræ; aut si in his aliquid suspectum videtur, contestatur de his etiam agresta manus, ignora pigmenti. Quoted by Rufinus, *H. E.*, ix. 6. Tillemont (*Mémoires*, vol. v., art. on *Lucian of Antioch*) suspects this *apologia* of being a composition of Rufinus himself. This is, however, not the view of Harnack, who admits the exactitude of the passage quoted (*Die Mission*, pp. 374, 436).

only was adored ;”¹ and probably the same is true of Apamea in Phrygia, of which the coins in the beginning of the third century bear a biblical symbol.² One of the intellectual adversaries of Christianity, the philosopher Porphyry, who wrote at the end of the third century, alludes in terms of sorrow and anger to another city from which the last pagan had long since been driven. This town having been afflicted by an epidemic, the philosopher sees in this a punishment sent by the forsaken gods. “People are actually astonished,” he says, “that a town where neither Æsculapius nor any other god has now access should be stricken by a plague! Ever since Jesus has been worshipped we have been deprived of all the public benefits conferred by the gods.”³

It is exceedingly unfortunate that with one or two notable exceptions we know the names of none of the Eastern cities which had been wholly converted to Christ before the end of the persecutions. But the fact is of importance not only in helping us to understand how independent Christianity was of the help afforded by Constantine, but also for understanding the history of the martyrs. In towns entirely converted to the new faith the persecutors were compelled either to beat a retreat before the passive resistance of the inhabitants, or to declare open war against the refractory citizens.⁴ This is what happened on an occasion mentioned by two

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, ii. 1, 7.

² Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum*, vol. iii. p. 137; François Lenormant, in the *Mélanges d'archéologie* of Fathers Cahier and Martin, vol. iii. p. 199.

³ Quoted by Theodoretus, *Græc. affect. curatio*, 13; Migne, *P. G.*, vol. lxxxiii., col. 1152.

⁴ Τῶν οὐκέτι μὲν κοινῶ νόμῳ, πολέμου δὲ τρόπῳ πεπολιορκημένων. —Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii. 10, 12.

contemporaries, Eusebius and Lactantius. The place in question was a Phrygian town of which they do not give us the name. In the month of February 305 this town, of which all the inhabitants were Christians, was invested by a small army. To all those who desired to leave, a safe-conduct was promised, but none of the besieged consented to avail themselves of this permission, of which the accepting seemed to them tantamount to apostasy. The governor of the province accompanied by his soldiers was permitted to enter the town, but when the citizens were called upon to sacrifice to the gods they refused to a man. They were then shut up in the principal church, a vast building which in spite of the edicts had not been rased, and the edifice was set on fire. Thus the whole population, from the curator and magistrates and members of the municipal council down to the least of the citizens, perished in the flames, calling the while on the name of Christ.¹

We shall have to wait long before finding in the West a wholly Christian city,² but even from the beginning of the third century it is easy to see that Christianity is gaining strength in the towns. Christians are no longer swamped in the heathen population, they form large bodies, and their presence begins to make itself felt in the character, nay, even in the external aspect of the cities in which they dwell. Of course it would be difficult to tell their numbers;

¹ Eusebius, *H. E.*, viii. 11; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, v. 11.

² Prudentius (*Peri Stephanon*, iv. 65) mentions, towards the end of the fourth century, a Spanish town, Saragossa, of which the inhabitants were Christians. The Gallo-Roman Severus (*Carmen bucolicum*, Migne, *P. L.*, vol. xix., col. 800) says: "Solus qui colitur magnis in urbibus—Christus," thus showing that in the larger towns of Gaul at about the same time Christ alone was worshipped.

the ancients were not given to making statistics, or at least very few ancient statistics have survived to our day, Nevertheless, certain hints thrown out by Tertullian and Pope St. Cornelius allow us to form some estimate of the number of Christians in Carthage about the year 200, and in Rome about the year 250.

You are no doubt already acquainted with the well-known words with which Tertullian depicts the state of society in the African cities of his time, penetrated as they were with Christian elements. "We are but of yesterday, and yet we fill every place—your cities, your houses, your fortresses, your *municipia*, councils, camps, tribes, decurias, palace, senate, forum, we only leave you your temples."¹ And the apologist adds: "Were we to detach ourselves from you, you would be scared by your solitude and by the silence, which would be like unto that of a dead world."² The striking figure of the emptiness which the Christian population would have produced by its departure enables us to feel the large place which even then it occupied. No doubt we must allow for a little too much emphasis, for a slight rhetorical exaggeration, in the above words, but Tertullian, who is striving to bring public opinion to the side of the Christians, would hardly be likely to alienate it by parading facts which were manifestly false. Moreover, whether he be haranguing the mob or writing to a magistrate—that is, to a man fully aware of the facts, and who could not be deceived—his language remains identical. In a letter to Scapula, the proconsul of Africa, written to protest against a resumption of the persecution, he speaks in like terms of the "immense multitude" of Christians,

¹ Tertullian, *Apol.*, 37.

² *Ibid.*

and points significantly to the "divine patience" of these men who, though "already constituting nearly the majority in every city," *pars pæne major civitatis cujusque*,¹ consent to live in darkness and silence, and are only known by their virtues.² Nevertheless, in another passage of the same letter he seems to correct an expression which might have appeared somewhat excessive. "What wilt thou do," he says to the proconsul, "with so many thousands, men and women of every age and condition, who will come to you offering their wrists to be manacled"?³ And, to be still more exact, he adds: "What deep feelings would not there be at Carthage were it known that the population was about to be decimated, when each one would recognise among the victims some relation or dweller under the same roof, maybe men and women of thy own rank, relatives and friends of thy friends."⁴ Taken literally, this sentence, which states that the condemnation of the Christians would "decimate" the population, would seem to show that in 212 the Christians at Carthage were to be reckoned as one-tenth of the total number of inhabitants. If we remembered the short time which had elapsed since the importation of Christianity into Africa, this result would already be striking enough. But we may question if the verb "to decimate" should be taken here in its narrow meaning, especially since we have already been told

¹ After having quoted these words, M. Boissier adds, "we must not forget that the writer was speaking to a pagan, to a high official who knew how matters really stood.—*La fin du Paganisme*, vol. i. p. 444.

² Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 2.

³ Quid facies de tantis millibus hominum, tot viris ac feminis, omnis sexus, omnis ætatis, omnis dignitatis offerentibus se tibi?—*Ibid.*, 5.

⁴ Quid ipsa Carthago passura est, decimanda a te?—*Ibid.*

