

96 *Gaius Pliny to the emperor Trajan*

late III (?110)

1 It is my regular custom, my lord, to refer to you all questions which
 cause me doubt, for who can better guide my hesitant steps or
 instruct my ignorance? I have never attended hearings concerning
 Christians,* so I am unaware what is usually punished or investigated,
 2 and to what extent. I am more than a little in doubt whether there is
 to be a distinction between ages, and to what extent the young
 should be treated no differently from the more hardened; whether
 pardon should be granted to repentance; whether the person who
 has been a Christian in some sense should not benefit by having
 renounced it; whether it is the name Christian, itself untainted with
 crimes, or the crimes which cling to the name* which should be
 punished.

In the meantime, this is the procedure I have followed, in the cases
 3 of those brought before me as Christians. I asked them whether they
 were Christians. If they admitted it, I asked them a second and a
 third time, threatening them with execution. Those who remained
 obdurate I ordered to be executed, for I was in no doubt, whatever it
 was which they were confessing, that their obstinacy and their inflex-
 4 ible stubbornness should at any rate be punished.* Others similarly
 lunatic were Roman citizens, so I registered them as due to be sent
 back to Rome.

Later in the course of the hearings, as usually happens, the charge
 5 rippled outwards, and more examples appeared. An anonymous
 document was published containing the names of many. Those who
 denied that they were or had been Christians and called upon the
 gods after me, and with incense and wine made obeisance to your
 statue, which I had ordered to be brought in together with images of
 the gods for this very purpose, and who moreover cursed Christ
 (those who are truly Christian cannot, it is said, be forced to do any
 of these things), I ordered to be acquitted.

6 Others who were named by an informer stated that they were
 Christians and then denied it. They said that in fact they had been,
 but had abandoned their allegiance, some three years previously, some
 more years earlier, and one or two as many as twenty years before. All
 these as well worshipped your statue and images of the gods, and
 7 blasphemed Christ. They maintained, however, that all that their
 guilt or error involved was that they were accustomed to assemble at

dawn* on a fixed day, to sing a hymn antiphonally to Christ as God, and to bind themselves by an oath, not for the commission of some crime, but to avoid acts of theft, brigandage, and adultery, not to break their word, and not to withhold money deposited with them when asked for it. When these rites were completed, it was their custom to depart, and then to assemble again to take food, which was however common and harmless. They had ceased, they said, to do this following my edict, by which in accordance with your instructions I had outlawed the existence of secret brotherhoods. So I thought it all the more necessary to ascertain the truth from two maidservants, who were called deaconesses,* even by employing torture. I found nothing other than a debased and boundless superstition.

I therefore postponed the inquiry, and hastened to consult you, since this issue seemed to me to merit consultation, especially because of the number indicted, for there are many of all ages, every rank, and both sexes who are summoned and will be summoned to confront danger. The infection of this superstition has extended not merely through the cities, but also through the villages and country areas, but it seems likely that it can be halted and corrected. It is at any rate certain that temples which were almost abandoned have begun to be crowded, and the solemn rites which for long had been suspended are being restored. The flesh of the victims, for which up to now only a very occasional buyer was found, is now on sale* in many places. This leads me readily to believe that if opportunity for repentance is offered, a large crowd of people can be set right.

97 *Trajan to Pliny*

late III (?110)

You have followed the appropriate procedure, my Secundus, in examining the cases of those brought before you as Christians, for no general rule can be laid down which would establish a definite routine. Christians are not to be sought out. If brought before you and found guilty, they must be punished,* but in such a way that a person who denies that he is a Christian and demonstrates this by his action, that is, by worshipping our gods, may obtain pardon for repentance, even if his previous record is suspect. Documents published anonymously must play no role in any accusation, for they give the worst example, and are foreign to our age.