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JESUS BEFORE PILATE

A MONOGRAPH OF THE CRUCIFIXION

INCLUDING THE

REPORTS, LETTERS AND ACTS

OF

PONTIUS PILATE

CONCERNING

THE TRIAL AND CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS OF NAZARETH—

TRANSLATED FROM TISCHENDORF'S AND OTHER MANUSCRIPTS.

"Art Thou the King of the Jews?"

EMBRACING SKETCHES OF JESUS, TIBERIUS CÆSAR, PONTIUS
PILATE AND THE HIGH PRIESTS, ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS:

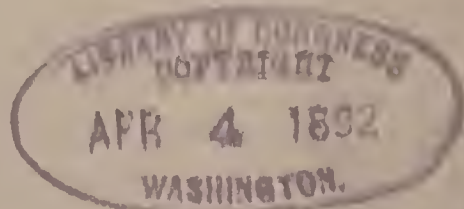
WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

William Weston BY
W. O. CLOUGH, B. A.

ILLUSTRATED

ROBERT DOUGLASS
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

1891



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PREFATORY NOTICE

THE "Reports, Letters and Acts of Pilate" were first published by me in 1880, which was their first publication in this country.

A new edition, embracing a history of these old documents from A. D. 138 down to the time of their discovery on 5th century manuscripts by the eminent Tischendorf, was issued by me in 1883.

The last and third which is the one here offered, combines all the matter of the former editions, greatly enhanced in value by still further additions of new matter explanatory and illustrative, and by notes embodying new facts brought to light by late historical research.

The whole work has been carried forward by its first editor, whose labor in investigating the field of history in which it lies has been unremitting.

The illustrations are taken, with one exception, from the celebrated paintings of M. de Munkacsy, the foremost artist of to-day and whose productions in "Christ before Pilate" and "Christ on Calvary" both in European and American capitals have been hailed with an enthusiasm created

by no similar productions since the times of Michael Angelo.

These great pictures are framed about with a history truly descriptive of their every detail in the Old Records that lie around them written out contemporary with the deeds of the great drama they depict.

Together they are here respectfully and reverently dedicated to the Christian world as a portraiture of the central fact of human history—THE CRUCIFIXION OF JESUS THE CHRIST.

July 10, 1891.

ROBERT DOUGLASS.

INTRODUCTORY

The main object of this volume is the presentation of certain Ancient Documents descriptive of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, and which to a certain extent illustrate and supplement the history of his life as contained in our four Gospels.

These Documents are taken from the most respectable sources of authority ; and in themselves carry a strong argument of being faithful delineations of the events narrated.

In their main expression it cannot be doubted that their details are reliable.

They must have been drawn up very close to the real events which they picture ; and they give us much help in arriving at a more vivid conception than could be arrived at without them.

This being true, no apology is felt to be necessary for offering them as part of the history of that most remarkable life attributed to Jesus the Saviour.

The editor and compiler feels that in offering these Documents therefore, that he is but adding to our knowledge that which shall further advance

the history of a Person so little alluded to by contemporary writers, whose writings lie outside our Sacred Records.

The accepted history of the life of Jesus has been preserved to us in four little books called the Gospels—written respectively by Matthew, Mark, Luke and John—inside of the century in which He lived.

Outside of these it has been generally believed by nearly all, that nothing has been left in the way of biographical record, save a mere mention by the Jewish historian Josephus, born about 37 A. D. and who died 100 A. D. and the Latin historian, Tacitus, born 56 A. D. and who died after A. D. 97. The writings of these two historians are the only records outside the New Testament that mention Jesus during the century in which He lived.

So has run modern thought as to the knowledge left us in history concerning Jesus.

And yet it would seem strange that a man should have come so prominently before the people as a public teacher as to be tried and crucified for heresy and rebellion against the laws of a whole people and be publicly tried and executed under a Roman governor and yet no account be taken of it, and no record be made of it; especially so, under a government so strict as the Roman, and under *an Emperor who kept his subordinate governors in a very wholesome fear of vengeance if they dared oppress those beneath them, or encouraged irregularity of any kind.*

To crucify a public and well known teacher,

and one for whose popular teaching the Jewish Senate arraigned before Pilate under sentence of death for public law-breaking, and as an open and public offender, and *not* make a record of it was simply an impossibility under the Roman system.

Either one fact or the other must be admitted here:—that Jesus was not crucified at all (in which case no record could be made of it) or that Pilate *did make a report of it*. We know from Tacitus that He *was crucified* and it follows that Pilate *did record it—did report it*, or else laid himself liable to the vengeance of Tiberius. This under the circumstances Pilate would not have done.

It was an important and an imperative duty which would cost him nothing to perform—but the omission of which might cost him his political head, and his citizenship by banishment. For Rome in his day had a “Siberia” terrible as that of Russia to-day, and was often made the sad home of political and official delinquency. If Pilate made a record of that trial he did a duty to his emperor and government at Rome; and a favor to all history: if he did not make it, then in the light of history it is impossible to see how he escaped the penalty his omission incurred.

The records of notable events are always valuable. Without them we should be completely at sea in knowing how the present state of things came to exist, and much more at a loss to tell what is like or possible in the future, whether in one department of human interest or another.

If we had *no* records of the life of Jesus, we should be unable to connect Him in any way with the great world we call Christendom.

If we have only myths, then, certainly Christendom is founded on a basis not of real forces at work in humanity, but on shadows that sooner or later will fade—as light shall reveal the foundation of the baseless fabric.

In this real world of ours men as they grow wiser cling to reality. For there is a divinity in that which stays and endures, that humanity loves to tie to.

It loves not the evanescent, the ephemeral.

There is no word that has so deep a root in man's love of good as the double "forever-and-forever."

Facts, real things, unending action, is what man believes to be and feels to be part of, and akin to, the great corner stone of Being and Life.

This is altogether true of man's religious nature.

In that field he longs for fact—for reality—for that which cannot pass away—but abides forever. Hence enlightened men have long since thrown aside the mere myth and fable in Religion.

The imaginary, the mere ideal are beautiful to them. 'tis true:—but the *highest* picture in Poesy or Painting *must be drawn from the real and substantial model of the living*, or 'tis soon forgot as a shadow fading into formlessness.

Reason, the handmaid of true Religion, guides our Faith not to bow to the inconstant chimeras of Fancy; it asks our Faith to twine its arms around

the altar-horns of Reality, and not to hug a phantom or myth, or revel in the flowery shadows of a baseless dream, however fascinating.

Therefore it is that we have the word history, holding the first place in the great temple-home of the Past:—therefore 'twas that when God first wrote the Law, He wrote *in stone* that alphabet of the Moral code suited to the whole constitution of man in his conduct for all ages. *Facts*, then, first: and after them, their record—viz. *history*.

In any case such records are important: and in a case like that before us here, more important than is often appreciated, and that cannot be over-estimated.

The value of History—the Record of the Past—is beyond estimation. Tablets, manuscripts, Iconographs, cut on stone, engraved on metal, impressed in clay, written on papyrus, and on skins of animals are preserved in all the great museums of the world with the greatest care for the simple reason of their great value to history. They form the only doorway and avenue to the great Realm of the mighty Past.

Without them the by-gone of humanity would be forever closed. Babylon, Egypt, Greece, Rome and Palestine in their past without these old musty and curious relics would be a blank.

These footsteps of the march of years are valuable beyond all others for the reason that they come from the very times of the events. They are pictures from life, so to speak, and not fancy sketches or conjectures as to those events.

Modern exploration and research have done much in unearthing these old leaves of history.

In the department of Bible history so far as that history depends upon the oldest manuscript forms of the book, no name stands higher or prouder than Constantine Tischendorf's.

His Sinai Copy of the Bible discovered in a Convent on that mountain some years ago—is kept as a sacred treasure in the imperial Capital of Russia. In whatever belongs to a critical knowledge of the oldest form of our sacred writings no name is more honored than that of Tischendorf.

The main contents of this volume offered here rest on manuscripts discovered by Tischendorf, that were copied from still older ones more than 1,350 years ago. They are true copies of the Acts of Pilate cited before the Roman Senate, in whose archives they were kept, as early as A. D. 138 by the learned Justin Martyr.

They were in the Archives of Rome at that time.

George Rawlinson the great historian, and author of "The Ancient Monarchies" says that it is probable that copies of them were disseminated among the early Christians through the Christians that were members of Caesar's household.* About 170 years after Justin's citation of these Acts of Pilate, they had gotten abroad among the Christians: and their force felt to such a degree by the opponents of Christianity, that we find the Roman Emperor Maximin issuing a decree for their collec-

*See *Colossians*, iv. 22. The historical evidences of the truth of the Scripture Records stated anew, with special reference to the doubts and discoveries of modern times. Lecture vii.

lection and destruction—or worse, their mutilation.*

These few facts concerning them are enough to establish the conclusion of their genuineness and authenticity as originating under the procuratorship and sanction of Pilate himself, and as being records composed in the very face of the events they narrate.

They show “the Acts of Pilate” to have been part of the coinage of history, struck then under his governorship in Judea, and passing as current then as passed in the days of Justin not as counterfeits, but with every mark of the mint of fact enstamped upon them—as did the coins of money bearing the image and superscription of Caesar—when shown to Jesus.

Destructive Criticism has done its best under the Tubingen School to invalidate the historicalness of both Gospel and Apocrypha, and following in its wake, a horde of minor critics as well as a school of higher men have tried to destroy the personality of Abraham, of Moses, of David and of Jesus—nay following later, of the existence of Homer, and of Shakespeare alike. But a more conservative and reasonable and patient school has in the last few decades unearthed indisputable evidence to the contrary. We are standing again amidst the ruins of these former men and things, and do handle the very armor of the real men that have been so cheaply counted myths, but the dis-

*See *Eusebius Eccl. Hist.* book ix. chap. 5.

covered remains of whom are to-day serving still as armor and shield for Truth.

The story of Joseph in Egypt—among her Pharaohs—grows more real as we unwrap the mummy bandages from the very kings under whom he served.

The poet-history of the battles around old windy Troy painted three thousand years ago in the Iliad of Homer, king of all poets, rises like reality as we view the spade of Schlieman lifting the sand and mold buried three-foundations deep—off the skulls and shields of those ancient Captains of the Trojan war—and bearing up to light the buckler, shield and spear of men who perished ere Æneas sailed, or Virgil sang “Ilium’s lofty temples robed in fire.” We have a right to these. They but illuminate what was but an uncertain page. They make real to our sight again the heroes whose mighty example in peaceful glory, or mighty deeds of war, seemed too godlike to be true.

And so in this whole field called Literature, called Poetry, called History. We want those older things—the true realities of what there truly was. Nothing can bring them here to us but the tablet, the iconograph, the old manuscript, the mummy wrap unearthed by the spade of patient investigation.

How new these old things are from the fountain head. They refresh the spirit of Faith like goblets filled at the spring.

The old documents that follow here are presented in this mind and offered in this spirit.

Some of their pictures are new to most of us.

The descriptions here and there, of the Saviour Himself as a person while here on earth, of the robe He wore—that spotless robe of white that Herod put on Him ; of the three Marys weeping where he hung on the tree : of the shriek and wail of her whose mother-heart was sword-pierced by woe, and many other details, are not unworthy of his reading who would draw nearer to the Cross of Jesus.

They are truly worthy of a place in Christian Literature, and as to truth, in the likeness of his life-history, they will not dim one star in the bright diadem He wears. They add no gloss, and lend no trace unworthy of the tale we oft have heard—nor do they steal away a single ray where light shines through to break upon his Cross or Crown.

These pictures from the Crucifixion, whether from history or legend, will serve to broaden the landscape that lies around the Cross that divides the Darkness from the Light ; to heighten the great ideal of a Life glorified by purity, peace and love, and to fix the signet seal of His truth of whom 'twas said, “He is the Light of the world.”

Their argument is one addressed to the Heart, as well as to the Head, and 'twixt the two reasonings let him who reads make choice.

If the soul's *heart* be greatest let it be—if the soul's *head* be greatest let it be. But of the music made by either one—if but one, give us the music of the heart—that rising around the sea and in the dells of Galilee—dove-like fills alike the leafy nest

of spring no less than the leafless forest sear, with the soul of promise and of new life.

Let the poet's quill, the painter's pencil touch each word He spake, each deed He did—no matter where—let Magdalen, or Lazarus, or Pilate with his Roman spear or soldier's reed with hyssop speak—you cannot hide the Story there enacted.

True souls will bleed at every pore the bloody sweat He felt, when bowed to bear the bruises of a broken heart, each man must feel some other where, when other years shall tell how well He bore Gethsemane, the Roman Cross and Soldier's Spear—to come again crowned with blossoms from that other Sphere that has no death, nor change to fear.

W. O. CLOUGH.

Indianapolis, July 10, 1891.



Hasselmann Photo. Eng.

CHRIST.

The original by M. de Munkacsy.

JESUS CRUCIFIED.

Dying—while those who loved Him, helplessly
Gazing far-off, held from His bleeding feet
By Pilate's spears and guards of Caraphas,
And Roman Soldiers, casting lots to share
His sacred vestments.

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

Crucifixion was an ancient Oriental mode of inflicting the death-penalty applied in rare instances by the Greeks and more commonly by the Romans; by both Greeks and Romans considered an infamous form of death, and reserved in general for slaves and highway robbers.

Among the Romans the instrument of death was properly either a cross in form now so familiar, or the cross known as St. Andrew's; sometimes a standing tree was made to serve the purpose.

The person was attached to the cross either by nails driven through the hands and feet or by cords, and was left to die of exhaustion or received the mercy of a quicker death according to circumstances.

The peculiar atrocity of crucifixion was that a man might live three or four days in this horrible condition upon the tree of anguish. The hemorrhage of the hands very soon ceased and was not mortal. The true cause of death was the unnat-

ural position of the body which induced a hideous disturbance of the circulation, fearful pains in the head and heart, and finally rigidity of the limbs. Men of strong constitutions died only of hunger.

The principal idea of this cruel punishment was not to kill the criminal directly by absolute lesions, but to expose the victim nailed up by the hands of which he had not known how to make proper use—and let him slowly die on the tree.

The delicate constitution of Jesus saved Him from this slow agony. Every thing leads to the belief that in His case death was produced by rupture of blood vessels after suffering three hours.

The desolate knoll on which Jesus yielded up his life was the centre around which the fury of human rage, at intervals, had played for more than a thousand years.

Death and bloodshed were not new to Calvary.

For more than a thousand years to come they were still to hover about this “place of a skull”—and in that “field of blood,” purchased with the price of love’s betrayal, how many pilgrims were yet to be given a stranger’s burial!

History has recorded no Heights more historic of Death than the Heights of Zion. Whoever has read the history of Jerusalem from the times of David down to the last Crusade, and of all Palestine from the times of Abraham, will remember that, for much of the time the Heights about Jerusalem, and of all that land, have drunk much more blood than perhaps any other recorded fields of death.

Here on this mount of paradox—sacred to prayer, devoted to blood, scarred by the ravages of ruthless wars—theatre of a thousand desolations, seemed a most fitting place for His cross who had come as the Prince of Peace.

Drenched had it been not only with the sacrificial blood of beasts, but with the gore of contending legions from Egypt and Assyria—from Media and Rome and the uttermost parts of earth.

Surely the “Mount of Conflict” had not been, and would not be a name unfitting to Mount Zion.

Around her rocky dome has played the vortex of the wildest contention of passions.

From the day that David stormed her strong citadel even down till now no capital has been more central of human conflict than the “City of David.”

No city we think has seen such extreme vicissitudes—and kept alive so long such intense interest in the hearts of men. Like that “sacred fire” on her altars—whether burning in the humble tent of skins or in the temple of her proudest kings—humanity’s interest in Mount Zion has never ceased to burn with a devotion and fervor most wonderful—whether in one age or another, and under whatever change of circumstance.

When Jesus came he saw Jerusalem bearing the civil yoke of pagan Rome and writhing under the seditions of a corrupted Jewish priesthood; filled with political hate as well as political despair.

Yet He had doubtless learned in boyhood, and knew in manhood, the glorious history of His people.

He must have read of David and Solomon, of that Golden Age--when God Himself seemed to be king and guide in Israel. He must have compared those palmy days with the times in which He was then living--and the glory of Solomon so faded to the poverty of a broken foreign province.

He must have read those glorious passages from the hand of His forefather David, the poet king, long ago descriptive of Zion :--“Beautiful for situation, the joy of the whole earth, is Mount Zion, on the sides of the north, the city of the great king. God is known in her palaces for refuge. Let Mount Zion rejoice, let the daughters of Judah be glad, because of thy judgments. Walk about Zion, and go around about her, tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces ; that ye may tell it to the generations following.” Ps. xlviii.

“The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob. Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God. Selah. Of Zion it shall be said, this and that man was born in her. The Lord shall count when He writeth up the people that this man was born there.” Ps. lxxxvii. The sparrow hath found a house, and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young, even thine altars O Lord of hosts, my King, and my God. They go from strength to strength ; every one of them in Zion appeareth before God. A day in thy courts is better than a thousand. I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God than to dwell in the tents of wickedness.” Ps. lxxxiv.

With what feelings of sadness he must have read that other psalm of David so descriptive of Jerusalem under the sway of the Caesars:—"O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance; thy holy temple have they defiled; they have laid Jerusalem in heaps. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem; and there was none to bury them. Ps. lxxiv.

How like a fulfilled prophecy this psalm must have read to Jesus; how sadly real of his country, of its capital and of His people in the days of His own time!

Jerusalem did not reach her highest glory, however under David.

Jesus must have read more tearfully of her golden age under Solomon, the son of king David; when the Lord "had given rest on every side," so that there was neither adversary nor evil occurrent, (1 Kings v, 4;) and of that golden house whose "stones made ready before they were brought thither, echoed neither hammer nor ax, nor gave sound of tool of iron" in all its building.

He must have read and remembered the dedication of that house; and that wonderful prayer of Solomon, whose eloquence in speech and conception echoes still a rival of the finest ancient or modern oratorios.

Above all Jesus must have recalled with deepest pathos, after that prayer, that "God appeared unto

Solomon the second time, as He had appeared unto him at Gibeon," and said: "I have heard thy prayer and thy supplication, that thou hast made before me: I have hallowed this house, which thou hast built, to put my name there forever; and mine eyes and mine heart shall be there perpetually.

And if thou wilt walk before me, as David thy father walked, in integrity of heart, and in uprightness, to do all that I have commanded thee, and will keep my statutes and my judgments; then will I establish the throne of thy kingdom forever, as I promised to David thy father, saying, "there shall not fail thee a man upon the throne of Israel." I Kings ix, 2-5.

It must have crucified the heart of Jesus to read of these glories of Israel and her temple under Solomon; and then turn to contemplate her state as He saw it under Rome--even under Pilate--and Caesar holding the pagan sword over Jerusalem.

We must not forget that Jesus was a Jew. We must never forget that love of country so deeply rooted in the heart of the Jew as could pour forth in exile a song like this:--

"By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion.

We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.

For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.

How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.

If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

That Mercy Seat at Jerusalem, shadowed by the wings of the golden cherubim, has never been removed from the Jewish heart.

It was like the altar, our mother's knee in the old homestead, where first we knelt to say, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

It's the last stronghold in human memory that Infidelity shall ever take away from religion.

We must not forget that Jesus was human as well as divine—and that as human He loved His people, loved His country and her time-honored memories.

He had His social friends and comrades too, as other men have: and when He chose His apostles and gave them "power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and *to heal all manner of sickness and all manner of disease,*" He sent them forth "*not into the way of the Gentiles, or into any city of the Samaritans, but rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel*" to proclaim to them "the kingdom of heaven is at hand," *first of all*. Matt. x; 1, 7.

His visits to the home of Martha and Mary and Lazarus with the tender incidents recorded of them touch against our hearts as tenderly as the coming of our loved ones did in the happy days of our childhood, when family reunions were had at feast or funeral, in our own homes.

Yes, His human-heartedness touched the whole picture He has left of His life, from John the "be-loved" apostle even down to His love of little children curiously scanning the wonderful man whose presence in the wilderness emptied all homes to see Him, and to hear His wonderful words.

Christian people of to-day are too much afraid of hearing Jesus called *human*--as much indeed, as if He was not of our species, and had never worn this poor robe of flesh that hides the divine soul.

We have forgotten Him as "*the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief,*" we have lost sight of Him as a neighbor, and friend, and visitor, and helper, and brother as He used to be when "*He came to His own and His own knew Him not,*" while He walked among the hills and in the groves of Galilee.

He does not come about our homes so familiarly as He ought to come, that the little ones of our house might recognize Him in the feeling of a kindred touch that made them once the "*greatest in the kingdom of heaven*" even in the presence of His apostles!

We do not remember as we ought that this man Jesus was a citizen, a son, a brother, a friend, a neighbor, having the native instincts common to humanity, and, that in a thousand ways, His heart was crucified like the heart of all those who truly follow Him.

He was the citizen of a poor and bleeding country.

He saw Herod and Pilate, the minions of a heathen empire, lording it over a downtrodden people.

He saw Annas and Caiaphas—the mere perfunctories of the highest and most solemn trusts—and that sacred temple, “*the house of prayer,*” made “*a den of thieves.*”

He saw all this, felt all this—how keenly!

Humanly speaking, He was known but as a “Jewish peasant.” Yet, He knew better. He was descended of a line of kings, and He knew it.

The genealogies of earth may pass for nothing when war and carnage and captivity grind a nation to powder in any age—and kingly titles may be made but sewage for the Euphrates, the Tiber or the Thames. But there remains “a Seed,” in blood, whose line of life no change of circumstance can break asunder.

Remembering that “Seed” and looking up that proud stair of lineage—even human lineage—Jesus could call king David, father, and Abraham his ancestor.

Whose ancestry was ever higher on a kingly line?

Whoever wore a crown, bore a sword, or swept a harp like David’s? Whoever saw a glory like Solomon’s?

Whoever raised an altar to faith like Abraham’s?

How could Jesus look on Pilate save with contempt or pity?

But such was the situation, such was the “logic of events;” and Jesus like every high-born soul politically crushed must bear it. He must supinely bear it, or conceive some way out of it—if there were a way.

He had read of and, doubtless, had thought many

a time over the ‘‘Restoration of Israel’’—that great reformation so long sung by poet, so vividly visioned by the prophets—of hopeful, faithful, stricken, Israel.

Heard He often haunting Him that echo. up every vale, by every mountain side :—

Sing, O daughter of Zion; shout, O Israel, be glad and rejoice with all thy heart, O daughter of Jerusalem.

The Lord hath taken away thy judgments, he hath cast out thine enemy: the King of Israel, even the Lord, is in the midst of thee: thou shalt not see evil any more.” Zeph. Chap. iii.

Doubtless *He believed* that olden prophecy, too, which said to Israel so long ago that, God would some day raise up a leader like unto Moses, who should give deliverance to her people :—and that prophecy of Jacob that,

The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be. Genesis, xlix.

But in what way, in what sense?

Did Jesus hope for a mere temporal re-establishment of the Jewish State?

His disciples seemed to hold this view at one time.

But as for Jesus—He looked farther, hoped farther and believed father than a mere temporal, civil, political or national reformation or re-establishment of Israel. This for the throne of David was not only impossible—but unworthy of One whose mission aspired to lift to a higher plane *not only Israel* but *all mankind*, and whose ambition, full, was voiced in the words ‘‘Son of Man’’—‘‘Son of God.’’

The mightiness of that one idea made Him to

stand alone, against the prejudices of His own people—and in a large sense, against the teachings of all His cotemporaries, as well as against Moses himself, the great law-giver and deliverer, in many things dear and sacred to the whole Jewish nation from the times of the Mosaic Institution, and, in addition to this, to stand opposed to all men's ideas in the Reformation of Humanity.

Few men have attempted during the world's long history to reform even one nation—when that nation alone was unanimously opposed to the reform.

Few men in politics, morals, or religion have been bold enough to attempt a reformation anywhere in our world's history *singled-handed and alone*.

“The voice of the people,” uttered or felt, must be known to most reformers before they set out on that steep path called reformation.

Even in the broadest and noblest republics now nineteen centuries from Jesus—the maxim is cheered to the echo that “the voice of the people is the voice of God.”

“The people are the Government”—is a trite but dear saying even to the grandest of Republics.

How would one of us, children of liberty, begin a reformation to-day in our own country, if every other man was opposed to such a reform? Who would be bold enough to attempt it?

Yet this man Jesus had just such an attempt to make. just such a reform to inaugurate and to carry out. What an individual power that must have been in Him to begin such a reform as against the whole world!

What a prospect lay along the path of His march—Gethsemane, the saddest of gardens, and farther on Golgotha the skull-shaped mount, pinnacled with a Roman Cross—and Aceldama, perhaps, for His burrying ground!

These stared Jesus in the face for weeks, for months, for years. History has recorded it of Him that He knew this would be the end of His attempt.

It may be doubted whether it has recorded a similar case, of a sane man's so bold attempt.

We want to keep in view for three long years at least, Gethsemane and Golgotha, and we want the Cranium and its pinnacle, the Cross—to haunt this history day and night, as He walked the dells of Galilee or wandered by the sunset mountain sides, or sat by the sea, seeking peace under such a contemplation.

We want Golgotha and the Cross surrounded by and bristling with the rough Roman spears, to break in upon His vision now and then, as He talked of the lilies, spoke the beatitudes on the mount, or lifted the little children up into the light of God—in order that we may know somewhat of the character of the man Jesus whom we have here arraigned before Pilate—and to know the offense of that doctrine that He urged, and for which, side by side with robbers and thieves, He climbs the Hill of Crucifixion as a brother man to all.

It may help us to a better understanding of "the plan of salvation" if we can draw nearer to that one idea upon which Jesus founded the highest individuality yet attained by man in any age, and which

marked Him at once the Son of man and Son of God, as no other son of Adam was ever marked.

His crucifixion had a meaning in it, and there was a cause for it and a need for it.

He assumed it, from beginning to end, He understood and undertook to carry out the whole scheme. He planned it—as one having power to lay down His life, and to take it up.

God's will, He knew, was at the bottom of this whole reform.

He understood it in a better and clearer way than any one of the twelve, and far better than you or I do to-day. He could see its results on humanity-to-come, and understood its blessings even as He understood the sermon on the mount.

Who can hear and do those precepts taught on that mount:

“But I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man sue thee at the law and take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn thou not away. Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, and do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you; that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.” Matt. v, 39-44.

How far ahead of the times in which He lived was such a philosophy as this.

Two thousand years have rolled away, with their progress in art and literature, in music, painting and

poesy, but the "sermon on the Mount" has never been surpassed.

THE POOR—THE ONES THAT MOURN, THE MEEK, THE MERCIFUL, THE PURE IN HEART, THE PEACE-MAKERS IN ONE GREAT PAINTING SET, WHERE THE LILIES, GOD-CLAD, ARE BLOOMING BEYOND THE GLORY OF SOLOMON; AND THE BIRDS, GOD-FED ARE WARBLING THE ECHO OF THAT STRAIN—"LOVE YOUR ENEMIES, BLESS THEM THAT CURSE, DO GOOD TO THEM THAT HATE, AND PRAY FOR THEM THAT PERSECUTE."

I wonder where that mountain is? for I would love to see it; I wonder where those lilies blow, and in their voices sweet and low, those birds of Peace are singing.

You may cull the blooms of all literature, but you'll not find such music-words as did that mountain shake, that broke from lily-mouths, and echoed there on lips of birds.

This is the doctrine then, He taught, the pure in heart alone can fully hear or fully see, and which once heard or felt aright makes for those happy ones sweet vision of our God.

These sayings of His, these precepts form but a part of the New Doctrine that caused His arraignment, His trial, and ended in His crucifixion.

For Jesus died on His doctrine—His teaching.

He died to establish a system of doctrine. A system which He knew best adapted to the salvation of the race called man—when that race should learn the mighty lesson of its practice.

He *lived* it, while He taught it, and *taught* it by *living* it—looking to that terrible day when on a Roman cross He should seal the doctrine with His own heart's blood, and leave that life as a testament, a will, a legacy to him or her that might be able to follow in His bleeding footsteps for all time to come.

The story of the cross has been often told in part. It has often too become a sort of myth, a fairy tale to amuse, a sort of intellectual theatrical, upon which thought and feeling may play—a mere recreation. But the *true* story can only be read and appreciated by souls of power and great depth.

Men and women to appreciate it, must be men and women of that infinite strength of soul which can enter into the great passion which Jesus groaned under for three long years.

It strikes me forcibly to say *little men can never be Christians. There must be some masterfulness* about the man that wants to be like Jesus.

No reform, no reformation, no repentance. no true awakening ever began to be in any soul for good, that had not the masterfulness of patience, infinite capacity to suffer.

Jesus was descended from a people inured to suffering; their history is a most interesting one in that one feature at least. Their connection with old Egypt and their four centuries of patient servitude, their wanderings in the deserts of Arabia, their struggles for conquest over Palestine, their wholesale captivities and exile afterwards, form a chain of circumstances whose unyielding links must have

taught them all and did evolve in not a few the virtue of a patience, the strength of a will, and the depth of a faith, which tempest tossed on the dark waves of calamity upon calamity, held like an anchor about the rock of national hope that has never been moved under the pilgrimage of a thousand exiles.

Zion and Jerusalem have never been forgotten. With what zeal they have always sung in the words of King David :

"Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth, may Israel now say:

Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth: yet they have not prevailed against me." Ps. cxxix.

But that national hope was never realized, perhaps, most probably it never will be, as they looked for its realization.

They misapprehended their prophets' teaching in relation to it. They knew not their greatest Prophet when He came. Their plan for restoration was not His plan.

The faith of Abraham had been narrowed down in the Mosaic system which was only a preparation for the time till the Redeemer should come, and by a new way turn all nations into the one family whose members all should be children of the great Father of the faithful.

That day had now come, when in the beautiful little city in which Jesus had been brought up, He read the Messianic Proclamation from Israel's grand prophet, Isaiah :

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the Lord hath annointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek; He hath sent me to bind up the brokenhearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;

To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.”

“*To-day,*” said He, *is this scripture fulfilled in your ears,* and passing through the midst of them opposing, went on His way never to return to His home again.

We have not time or space to follow Him on His three years mission of teaching, healing, and miracle—much less to follow out what else of that most eventful time. We can merely touch upon that beautiful life shaded every where with a tinge of sadness, from the years of infancy even unto Calvary.

There is a legend old; set in painting—
That, while an infant yet, in Egypt fleeing,
They one eve were resting, He and Mary
His mother, and her good husband Joseph;
He, the husband, lying in the low tent
Was dreaming, fifteen centuries gone by;
When his people suffered neath the same sky,
Under Pharaoh's bondage, till their great cry
Rose, like the ocean's tongue to God on high;
She, the mother, Him was watching, by the vale
Of Egypt's River winding by green isles
And ruined temple-walls her fathers built
Or helped to build, when Joseph was as king—
And after that, when God by Moses sundered
Egypt's bonds, and every home did plunder
Of its first-born, save of all that number
No home of Israel—whose low lintel
Hyssop-crossed and doorway stained by the blood

Of Paschal lamb:—

When lo! like spectre dark, a shadow fell,
 At her babe's feet—as there He stood with arms
 Outstretched in the low-light of setting sun
 THE PASCHAL LAMB UPON THE CROSS, TO COME,
 The shadow of the Cross

The richest woman of earth's proudest kingly realm, and an intimate social friend of Victoria, owns this painting to-day, of this legend of the Infant Jesus standing on the shadow cross, and fulfilling—“*Out of Egypt have I called my Son.*” (Matt. ii, 15.)

The last days of Jesus embrace, as given in the New Testament accounts, these four events:—the last supper, passion, trial and crucifixion; of the last supper set

“Secret and holy in the city's midst
 “Where He did break them bread and pour them wine
 “And wash the feet of all the Twelve;
 “That last dread night
 “Eve of the cross—He passed, as all men pass
 “Into his anguish—to Gethsemane;”
 And “Pilate's wrath,
 “The scourge; the mocking purple cloak; the crown
 “Jewelled with blood, and path to Golgotha;
 “The cruel cross; the cruel cross,
 “The savage rending nails; the scroll; the sponge
 “The cry ‘Eloi, lama Sabacthani!’ and then
 “His death-word, ‘It is finished.’”—SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

The open, overt persecution of Jesus began from the time of His healing the lame man, who for thirty-eight years had labored under an infirmity. (See John v; 5, 9.) The simple command to the man whom He healed to take up his bed and walk aroused the Jews to fury.

He was summoned before a committee of the Sanhedrin, but they did not then dare to punish His violation of their Sabbath, knowing His power with the people. But from that day forward the authorities at Jerusalem seem to have determined on His death; and such was their bitter and unceasing hostility, that Jesus left Jerusalem without waiting for the approaching passover.

The remainder of His life may be said to have been spent in peril, in flight and in concealment; appearing now and then for brief periods in Galilee and Jerusalem.

He departed from Capernaum His accustomed home and went into the heathen regions of Tyre and Sidon, and thence southward again keeping mainly to the eastward and less inhabited country, only now and then healing a sufferer, but by degrees attracting crowds again.

After this period of wandering and absence, He once more sailed to Magdala, but was met immediately by the Herodians and Pharisees with a hostile demand for a sign. Turning away from them. He uttered His last farewell to the cities in which He had labored; and once more journeyed northward and came to Caesarea Philippi.

It was here and at this time that Peter gave that which henceforth was to be the answer of all the Christian world:—“*Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.*”

Christ left Ephraim with the great caravan of Galilean pilgrims that were on the road to the Passover—which was to be His last.

His apostles were now well aware from His own warnings that a crisis of His career had arrived. He had told them plainly that the crowning horror of being crucified was certain.

When they came near to Jericho, accompanied by excited multitudes He healed the blind Bartimaeus, and while there excited the murmurs of the crowd by accepting the hospitality of the publican Zacheus.

He passed from Jericho to Bethany, arriving at Bethany probably on Friday, March 31, A. D. 30, six days before the Passover. It was on this occasion that Martha and Mary gave Him a banquet in the house of Simon, the leper, where Mary in gratitude broke the vessel of precious ointment over His head and feet.

On the morning of Palm Sunday Jesus made His triumphant entry into Jerusalem, and as He came in sight paused to weep over it and prophesy its doom, saying :

If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.

For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side,

And shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation. Luke xix: 42--44.

At the evening He retired for safety with His twelve disciples outside the city walls, in the direc-

tion of Bethany. On Monday morning He went again to Jerusalem, and on going into the temple He was met by the priests, scribes and rabbis demanding by what authority He was acting. At evening He again retired from the city.

The next day, which was Tuesday of Passion week, was marked by several attempts of the rulers to undermine His authority; by involving Him in some difficulty, either with them or the people. In the temple He was first met by the plot of the Herodians and Pharisees, to embroil Him either with the Romans or the populace by the question of paying tribute to Caesar, then on the part of the Sadduces by a question concerning the resurrection, and then by a scribe as to the great commandment of the Law. (See Mark xii, 13-32.)

To all of these by His ready wisdom He showed Himself superior in knowledge and insight, and entirely defeated these stratagems of the Sanhedrists.

Then it was that He delivered the terrible denunciation against their degradation of religion into a mere tyranny and formalism, in those words :

“Woe unto you scribes, and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye devour widows’ houses, and for a pretence make long prayers, therefore ye shall receive the greater damnation. Woe unto you scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte, and when he is made, ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves. Matt. xxiii: 14, 15.

These were terrible words to have been uttered at a time like this, and addressed to such an au-

dience as was His. But the battle was now on, and Jesus must either retreat from the great stand He had taken, or defeat, by the truth, the wickedness, deceit and hypocrisy that reigned among the rulers of His people. He had undertaken a mighty reform, He must carry it out. The Jewish authorities felt that this was a final rupture, and that they must now at all costs bring about His speedy death.

He now left the temple forever, and went and sat on the green slopes of the Mount of Olives, over against the temple. There He pronounced that great discourse to His disciples, Peter, James, John, Andrew and the rest, concerning the great events to come. (See Mark xiii, 1-27.)

In the cool of the evening they walked to Bethany, doubtless about the time that Judas was plotting with the priests the plan for His arrest.

Wednesday seems to have been spent in deep retirement at Bethany, as not a single incident is recorded of that day.

Next morning, Thursday, He woke never to sleep again.

On the evening of that day He went with His disciples to Jerusalem to keep that quasi-Paschal feast, which in better days had been long solemnized in memory of that night when God smiting the first born of the Egyptians, passed over the houses of the Israelites which were marked with the blood of the paschal lamb. (See Exodus xii, 29.)

It was then that He instituted the sacrament of the Eucharist. During this supper He told John and Peter that He knew who the traitor apostle was.

He also announced that this was the last meal He should eat with them, and bade them henceforth to keep it in sacramental memory of Him.

Then suddenly at a distance the torches flashed upon the darkness, as Judas, followed by the priests and their servants, and Levites of the temple-guard and Roman soldiers, crossed the valley of Kidron to the slope of Olivet on which the garden lay. There Judas betrayed Him with a kiss, and with the words, "Hail Master!"

About the little band of Jesus crowded the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders; and His disciples seeing what would follow, they said to Him, "Lord, shall we smite them with the sword?" But Jesus having forbidden them, they all forsook Him and fled.

Then they took Him, and led Him into the high priest's house. He was then taken before the shrewd and aged Annas, who was regarded high priest by right, though not in fact. On His refusal to plead before this disorderly midnight tribunal, He was struck on the mouth, and failing to extort anything from Him, Annas sent Him across the court-yard to Caiaphas, the de facto high priest.

It was still night, and here took place the second informal and illegal trial, before His worst enemies, the priests and the Sadducees. The false witnesses who endeavored to convict Him of having threatened to destroy the temple, failed, and He preserved unbroken silence until Caiaphas adjured Him by the living God to tell whether He was the Messiah, the Son of God. In answer to this appeal,

He said, "I am." Then Caiaphas rent His robes, with the cry of "blasphemy:" and the committee of the Sanhedrin declared Him "guilty of death."

Jesus was now remanded to the guardroom until day should break, before which time the whole Sanhedrin could not meet. It was during his passage to the guardroom that he met Peter's eye, who had just denied Him with oaths.

As he waited he was insulted by the violence and coarse derision of the priest's menials.

When the full Sanhedrin met in the morning they once more failed to fix any charge upon him whatever, save the claim which He repeated, of being the Son of God.

He was then formally condemned to death.

But at this period the Jews had lost all legal right to carry out sentence of death.

Moreover it must be that they desired to avoid responsibility and danger of vengeance from the many followers of Jesus; and hence handed Him over for execution to the Roman procurator, Pilate. They therefore led Jesus bound to him.

They supposed that he would crucify Jesus perhaps on their bare word, without further enquiry of His guilt or innocence. In this they were mistaken.

Pilate's colloquy with them failed to establish any charge definite enough to satisfy himself, and after calling Jesus into the praetorium and examining Him he came out to the Jews with the declaration of complete acquittal and said:

"Ye have brought this man unto me, as one that per-

verteth the people; and, behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man touching those things whereof ye accuse him:

No, nor yet Herod: for I sent you to him; and, lo, nothing worthy of death is done unto him." Luke xxii.

In the wild clamor that ensued he caught the word Galilee, and understanding that Jesus had chiefly taught in Galilee, had sought to rid himself of this dilemma by sending Him to Herod.

Before Herod He maintained the same majestic silence as before Pilate; and being unable to condemn Him, Herod had arrayed Him in a white robe and sent Him back to the procurator Pilate.*

Then began the third and most agonizing phase of the public trial. Pilate, seated on his bema, declared that, as His innocence was now certain, he would scourge Jesus and dismiss Him.

This was a disgraceful proposal, though due to the desire to save the life of one he saw to be innocent but dictated mainly by fear of another riot.

Pilate's whole action was practically controlled by his past guilt and the thought of what the Jews, Samaritans and Galileans could prefer against him by way of complaint to Caesar, his master at Rome, and the Senate. He could not therefore afford to turn a deaf ear to the cry of the mob hounded on as they were by the priests and Sanhedrists—for the passover boon of having a prisoner released to

*The reader is referred to the Acts of Pilate II Greek Form, Chap. x, as to the white robe here mentioned.

them, and he vainly tried to induce them to ask for the liberation of Jesus.

But they demanded the rebel and murderer Bar Abbas and shouted for the crucifixion of Jesus, and having obtained Bar Abbas, they took Jesus and horribly scourged Him at the hands of the Roman soldiery, who followed this up with arraying Him in an old crimson robe putting a crown of thorns on His head, and a reed in His hand for a scepter.

When Jesus came forth after this hour of agony, Pilate made one more appeal to their compassion in the words "*Behold the man!*" and on hearing that He claimed to be the Son of God, he became still more alarmed for Him, and once more questioned Jesus in a private interview.

For some time Jesus would not speak. When He did it was to say that He regarded Pilate as less guilty than the Jews.

As Pilate led Him forth, and saw Him stand before the shameful, yelling multitude in His majesty of solemn woe, he broke forth into the involuntary exclamation, "Behold your king!" But the Jews cried out—"Away with Him! away with Him, crucify Him!"—and the chief priests shouted "we have no king but Caesar"—reminding Pilate that if he "let this man go, he was not a friend to Caesar."

Pilate then publicly washed his hands in token that he was innocent of this death, and pronounced the fatal order for His crucifixion.

The last judicial act over, Jesus laden with the cross, walking between two robbers, began the march to the Hill of Crucifixion.

And when they came to the place, they stripped Him of His garments and girt Him about with a linen cloth, and put a crown of thorns upon His head. Likewise, also, they hanged the two robbers with Him, Dismas on the right and Gestas on the left.*

*“And sitting down they watched him there;
And set up over his head his accusation written, THIS
IS JESUS THE KING OF THE JEWS.*

And they that passed by reviled him wagging their heads,

And saying, Thou that destroyest the temple, and buildest it in three days, save thyself. If thou be the Son of God, come down from the cross.

Likewise also the chief priests mocking him, with the scribes and elders, said,

He saved others; himself he cannot save. If he be King of Israel, let him now come down from the cross, and we will believe him.

He trusted in God; let him deliver him now, if he will have him: for he said, I am the Son of God.

One of the thieves also, which were crucified with him, cast the same in his teeth.

Now from the sixth hour there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour.

And about the ninth hour Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani? that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?

Now when the centurion, and they that were with him, watching Jesus, saw the earth-quake, and those things

*See Acts of Pilate, last line of 1st. Greek Form chap. ix,

that were done, they feared greatly saying, Truly this was the Son of God.

And now when the even was come, because it was the preparation, that is, the day before the Sabbath,

Joseph of Arimathea, an honourable counsellor, which also waited for the kingdom of God, came, and went in boldly unto Pilate, and craved the body of Jesus.

And Pilate marvelled if he were already dead: and calling unto him the centurion, he asked him whether he had been any while dead.

And when he knew it of the centurion, he gave the body to Joseph.

And he brought fine linen, and took him down, and wrapped him in the linen, and laid him in a sepulchre which was hewn out of a rock, and rolled a stone unto the door of the sepulchre."

Thus ends the simple story of the crucifixion.

His disciples, the companions of His ministry, witnesses of His mighty deeds, hearers of His mighty words, believers in His bright promises, were now left in blankest despair.

"How lost they stood, defeated, abject, shamed,

"Those Twelve—excepting one—and all of them

"Who fled Gethsemane—and she—yes she

"Who bore Him."

"Only this left of those high-nourished dreams

"About the times to follow Galilee,

"When He should sit upon His kingdom's throne

"And rule the land, and give to Israel

"The Roman eagles driven screaming off

"Days of King David's majesty again

"Solomon's splendors—more than Solomon's."

SIR EDWIN ARNOLD.

What a poor nucleus for a kingdom there!—those simple fishermen and those poor women crazed with grief, around that sepulcher, which they might not come too near—guarded by the Roman spear.

The history of Christianity large as it is, wide as it is, and wonderful as it is, circles around this little picture.

It looks, to one removed into the 19th century, like a great miracle to go back in thought to the little garden and the new rock-cut tomb of Jesus, and see those humble mourners there who in those glad days of Galilee left all and followed Him: *“certain and sure the angels’ song was true, that Heaven’s joy was come in this sweet, well-beloved Son of Man.”*

From that time forward till now some of the best intellects of the brightest civilizations have attempted to account for the rise, progress, and triumph of Christianity without an appeal to the supernatural.

But this attempt has not yet been able to satisfy the world that Jesus was only an ordinary man—a mere philosopher, whose intuitions into nature’s laws gave Him the mighty power He has so long wielded over the best part of humanity—and set Him far above the past, the present and the to-come of all human teachers.

His ablest critics in destructive criticism, have said enough of Him to defeat the mere idea of His being only human.

No finer words were ever penned than those of the great opponents of His supernatural origin.

Humanity as a whole presents an assemblage of beings low and selfish, scarcely superior to the lower creatures.

But amid this uniform commonness pillars arise toward heaven and attest a more noble destiny.

Jesus is the highest of these pillars, which show to man whence he came and whither he should tend.

Jesus is the individual who has caused his species to make the greatest advance toward the divine.

Whatever may be the surprises of the future, Jesus will never be surpassed.

His worship will grow young without ceasing, his legend will call forth tears without end; his sufferings will melt the noblest hearts, all ages will proclaim that among the sons of men there is none born greater than Jesus." Renan's Life of Jesus.

These are the great words from a great man in history and science, in his masterpiece of skill, to tone the picture he has drawn, down to the common level of the mere human.

But this miracle of life, this strange and wonderful phenomenon carries an element along too subtle for the grasp of poor human analysis.

“Genius,” “madness,” “disease” and all “anomaly” can not help here.

Call it what you will, *there is a miracle* hid within, and circling round the whole life of Jesus, that like to life's own secret force is far outside, beyond the poor analyses of human reach.

Whether in “the poet's haunt,” whether by “the scholar's lamp,” or in “the statesman's scheme,” “the vaunt, the failure, of all fond philosophies”—still “must we steal back to Him who made our

christendom," to rest our hearts, and feel that peace that earth can neither give nor take away.

This is the experience of the best amongst mankind since He left who said, "I AM THE BREAD OF LIFE: HE THAT COMETH TO ME SHALL NEVER HUNGER, AND HE THAT BELIEVETH ON ME SHALL NEVER THIRST."

How like a stream these words have watered the waste places of the heart's desert. The five thousand that He fed in the desert place was but the nucleus of that unnumbered multitude of hungry ones that have since then, and do to-day, eat at His table spread on the lawns of kings, or by the wilderness where famishing pilgrims rest along the stream of life, and quench their thirst.

We need not draw a fancy sketch, or ply the argument of numbers here:

His Cause no more, her "fishermen" alone
 So vagabond, or Lazarus, so poor
 In wealth of gold—but not of mind—can boast.
 It shines with men of noblest sort, in birth,
 With life-of-woman-free—the mother's gift
 Through Him, who was "the Seed to be"—now come—
 Of woman crushing down the serpent-head
 Of evil, promised now so long ago.
 Great Russia, England, Germany,
 The proudest kingdom's girt by sea,
 And ours, "the Land of Liberty"—
 Are parts of His one holy see.
 His crucifix the badge they wear,
 In times of peace or time of war,
 His name enstamped on every prayer
 At marriage feast, at crib, or bier.

Stand by the manger—cradle of Jesus in Beth-

lehem—stand by the wooden cross on Calvary—stand by them now, and you will behold between the Then and Now wrought out the *one great miracle*.

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

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- V.—Nicodemus addresses Pilate in behalf of Jesus. The Jews answer Nicodemus and become greatly enraged at him for taking the part of Jesus, in-somuch that Pilate wonders at their heat.
- VI.—The Jew whom Jesus had healed of a disease of thirty-eight years standing begs to speak to Pilate, and is granted the privilege. He tells the story of his cure. Another Jew, that was deaf and dumb, tells his story by Pilate's permission, and still another, a cripple, and also a leper tells Pilate how Jesus cured them with a word.
- VII.—The woman who had been cured of an issue of blood by touching the hem of Jesus' garment cries out from a distance, proclaiming her testimony, The Jews insist on a woman's testimony not being received.
- VIII.—A whole multitude of men and women declare Jesus to be a mighty prophet, and that the demons are subject to Him. Others tell of His raising Lazarus from the dead.
- IX.—Pilate summons Nicodemus and the twelve persons who said Jesus was not born of fornication, asks what to do, telling them that there was an insurrection among the people. Pilate calls all the multitude together and offers to release Jesus as an innocent man, instead of Bar Abbas, the murderer. The Jews cry out, "release unto us Bar Abbas—let Jesus be crucified."
- X.—Jesus goes out of the pretorium, and the male-factors with Him. They strip Him and gird Him with a towel, put on Him a crown of thorns

- and crucify Him—and the two malefactors with Him. The superscription “King of the Jews.”
- XI.—Darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour. The curtain of the temple is split. The cry to His Father. The saying of the centurion. He reports to Pilate all that had happened. Pilate sends for the Jews after hearing the centurion’s report. Joseph of Arimathea begs the body of Jesus, and lays it in the tomb.
- XII.—The Jews search for Joseph for doing this; and for the twelve friends of Jesus who said He was not born of fornication; and for Nicodemus and many others who had testified in behalf of Jesus. Speeches of Nicodemus and Joseph to the Jews. The Jews seize Joseph and order him to be secured. They call a full council and consult about Joseph’s death. The Sanhedrin sends to prison for Joseph but find him not.
- XIII.—Some of the Roman guards come from the tomb of Jesus and report to the Jewish rulers what had happened, the earthquake, an angel seen coming down from heaven, etc. The Jews question the guards about what they had seen.
- XIV.—Phinees a priest, Addas a teacher, and Haggai a Levite come down to Jerusalem from Galilee and make a report to the rulers of the synagogue. The elders and priests question them as to this report. The priests make them swear not to report abroad what they have declared before the rulers. The rulers much distressed on account of the report.
- XV.—Nicodemus addresses the Sanhedrin in relation to the report brought by Phinees, Addas, Haggai. He proposes that men be sent out to look into the truth of the matter. The proposal accepted by the Sanhedrin, and the men are sent out. The men find not Jesus, but Joseph they find, at Arimathea. The Jews, on this, hold a council, and determine to send for Joseph. They write a letter to him, and give direction to cer-

tain men to deliver it to Joseph. He receives the letter and returns with the men, and makes a report to the Sanhedrin.

XVI.—The rulers greatly astonished at Joseph's narrative. A consultation among the priests. The men who reported that they had seen Jesus alive again are separated and examined singly. Their testimony is found to be concurrent and exact.



THE ACTS OF PILATE.

(FIRST GREEK FORM.)

It should be mentioned here that the Acts of Pilate are made up of Three Forms identical almost in some Chapters, but some additional matter in each not contained in the other Forms.

The arguments of Constantine Tischendorf as to the identity of the Acts of Pilate as here given, with those known to Justin and Tertullian, will be found at the end of the Acts.

Dr. Tischendorf was not only the discoverer of these documents in their fifth century copies, but at the time of his demise in 1874, was regarded as one of the ablest, if not the ablest of paleographers. The reader is therefore referred to his comments on these Acts of Pilate, as being the most critical, accurate and learned statement to be had in reference to these documents.

They are printed here in close connection, for easy reference, and may be found also in one of Dr. Tischendorf's most accurate and critical works, written especially for the learned, "The Origin of our Four Gospels," as translated by W. L. Gage under Tischendorf's sanction and by his own request—p. p. 141 et seq.

We append only a word further as prefatory to the Acts.

The very learned historian Geo. Rawlinson in his "Historical Evidences Stated Anew with Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times," says, It seems certain that Pilate remitted to Tiberius an account of the execution of our Lord, and the grounds of it, and that this document to which Justin Martyr more than once refers, was deposited in the Archives of the Empire.

Rawlinson further adds in the same work that "these Acts of Pilate were probably copied and disseminated by Christians who were members of Caesar's household, and to whom the apostle Paul alludes in his letter to the Philippians." Ibid.

CHAPTER 1.—Having called a council, the high priests and the scribes Annas and Caiaphas and Semes and Dathaes, and Gamaliel, Judas, Levi and Neptholim, Alexander and Jäirus, and the rest of the Jews, came to Pilate accusing Jesus about many things saying: We know this man to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king; moreover, profanes the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the law of our fathers. Pilate says: And what are the things which he does, to show that he wishes to do away with it? The Jews say: We have a law not to cure any one on the Sabbath; but this man has, on the Sabbath, cured the lame and the crooked, the withered and the blind and the paralytic, the dumb and the demoniac, by evil practices? Pilate says to them: What evil practices? They say to him: He is a magician, and by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casts out the demons, and all are subject to him. Pilate says to them: This is not casting out the demons by an unclean spirit, but by the god Esculapius.

The Jews say to Pilate: We entreat your highness that he stand at the tribunal and be heard. And Pilate, having called them, says: Tell me how I, being a procurator, can try a king? They say to him: We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says that he is. And Pilate, having called the runner says to him:* Let Jesus be brought in with

*The bringing of Jesus before Pilate is mentioned in all the Gospels under the simple statements—"They led him away and delivered

respect. And the runner, going out and recognizing him, adored him, and took his cloak into his hand and spread it on the ground, and says to him : My Lord, walk on this and come in, for the procurator calls thee. And the Jews, seeing what the runner had done, cried out against Pilate, saying : Why hast thou ordered him to come in by a runner, and not by a crier ? for assuredly the runner, when he saw him, adored him, and spread his doublet on the ground and made him walk like a king.

And Pilate, having called the runner, says to him : Why hast thou done this, and spread out thy cloak upon the earth and made Jesus walk upon it ? The runner says to him : My Lord procurator, when thou didst send me to Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the sons of the Hebrews held branches in their hands and shouted ; and others spread their clothes under him saying :

him to Pontius Pilate the governor ;” “And they carried him away, and delivered him unto Pilate ;” “And they led him unto Pilate ;” “Then led they Jesus from Caiaphas unto the hall of Judgment.” It may be doubted whether any of the Evangelists quoted above were eye witnesses to the scenes described here in the account given of the bringing of Jesus before the tribunal of the Roman governor. Peter seems to have been present, and “that other disciple” mentioned by John ; but whether this “other disciple” was John himself must be left to conjecture ; though it is generally believed that John was present, and he is here referred to.

The account given in the Acts of Pilate is minute, simple, straightforward ; and as we know nothing contradictory of it in other writings on the same topic, we are prepared to accept it as a true narrative in detail of the arraignment of the Saviour before the judgment seat of Pilate.

Save now, thou who art in the highest ; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.

The Jews cry out and say to the runner : The sons of the Hebrews shouted in Hebrew ; whence then, hast thou the Greek ? The runner says to them : I asked one of the Jews, and said : What is it they are shouting in Hebrew ? And he interpreted it for me. Pilate says to them : And what did they shout in Hebrew ? The Jews say to him : *Hosanna mcmbrone baruchamma adonai*. Pilate says to them : And this hosanna, etc., how is it interpreted ? The Jews say to him : Save now in the highest ; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Pilate says to them : If you bear witness to the words spoken by the children, in what has the runner done wrong ? And they were silent. And the procurator says to the runner : Go out and bring him in what way thou wilt. And the runner, going out, did in the same manner as before, and says to Jesus : My Lord, come in ; the procutator calleth thee.

And Jesus, going in, and the standard-bearers holding their standards, the tops of the standards bent down,* and adored Jesus. And the Jews. see-

*The Roman standards were surmounted by an eagle of gold or silver in relievo, of the size of a pigeon, which was borne on the tops of spears, with its wings displayed and with a thunderbolt in its talons. On the body of the ensign were the capitals S. P. Q. R. the initial letters of the words *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*—the Senate and the Roman people. When the army marched, the eagle was always visible to the legions; and when it encamped, the eagle was placed before the prætorium or tent of the general.

ing the bearing of the standards how they were bent down and adored Jesus, cried out vehemently against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews: Do you not wonder how the tops of the standards were bent down and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate: We saw how the standard-bearers bent them down and adored him. And the procurator, having called the standard-bearers, says to them: Why have you done this? They say to Pilate: We are Greeks and temple-slaves. and how could we adore him? and assuredly, as we were holding them up, the tops bent down of their own accord and adored him.

Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue and the elders of the people: Do you choose for yourselves men strong and powerful, and let them hold up the standards, and let us see whether they will bend down with them. And the elders of the Jews picked out twelve men powerful and strong, and made them hold up the standards six by six: and they were placed in front of the procurator's tribunal. And Pilate says to the runner: Take him outside of the Pretorium, and bring him in again in whatever way may please thee. And Jesus and the runner went out of the Pretorium. And Pilate, summoning those who had formerly held up the

The eagle on the summit of an ivory staff was also the symbol of the consular dignity. The bowing of the standards, therefore, in the presence of Jesus was a fit prophecy that ere long the power of Rome, which they represented, should bow to the rule of him who was now being arraigned under them as a humiliated subject.

standards, says to them : I have sworn by the health of Cæsar, that if the standards do not bend down when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the procurator ordered Jesus to come in the second time. And the runner did in the same manner as before, and made many entreaties to Jesus to walk on his cloak. And he walked on it and went in. And as he went in the standards were again bent down and adored Jesus.

CHAP. 2.—And Pilate, seeing this, was afraid, and sought to go away from the tribunal ; but when he was still thinking of going away, his wife sent to him saying : Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on his account this night. And Pilate, summoning the Jews, says to them : You know that my wife is a worshiper of God, and prefers to adhere to the Jewish religion along with you. They say to him : Yes, we know. Pilate says to them : Behold, my wife has sent to me, saying, Have nothing to do with this just man, for many things have I suffered on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, say unto Pilate : Did we not tell thee that he was a sorcerer ? behold, he has sent a dream to thy wife.

And Pilate, having summoned Jesus, says to him : What do these witness against thee ? Sayest thou nothing ? And Jesus said ; Unless they had the power, they would say nothing ; for every one has the power of his own mouth to speak both good and evil. They shall see to it.

And the elders of the Jews answered, and said to Jesus : what shall we see ? first, that thou wast

born of fornication :* secondly, that thy birth in

*This charge is not alluded to in any one of the Gospel narratives. There is a passage in Matthew which renders it more than probable that the Jews were acquainted with the facts which at one time caused Joseph, the husband of Mary, so much anxiety as, that "being a righteous man, and not willing to make her a public example, was minded to put her away privily." It is highly probable that some intimation of the facts here alluded to was made to the Jews, or else this open and public charge would not at the time of the arraignment before Pilate have been so much insisted upon. We make mention of this point not for any purpose of discussing the sonship of Jesus. We accept the account as given in the New Testament—and as delivered by the angel to Joseph, "that which is begotten in her is of the Holy Ghost." But, that the Jews, many of them at least, held to the opinion and expressed the same which is here narrated, that the birth of Jesus and his conception had nothing supernatural about it, it is certain. Whether this was based on honest conviction, or on prejudice or spite, must be left to the reader. It will be interesting at least to every reader to look into the law of betrothal as declared to have taken place between Joseph and Mary by other witnesses at the trial, and see how far it had to do with contradicting the charge here made by the priests and other opponents.

"For some time after our Saviour's ascension," says Lardner, "the Jews aspersed the character of Mary, our Lord's mother, and reproached him with a spurious nativity." And Lardner further remarks, "when these aspersions were first given out, we cannot say exactly; but they are in Celsus, who wrote against the christians about the year 150 A. D., and doubtless he had them from the Jews." The Talmud or Jews' Bible contains this aspersion in a form so shocking that it can not be printed here in its exact terms. We give Lardner's translation of it, which is substantially the Talmud's account with the vulgarity of expression left off. It is the following:

"Upon a certain day when several masters were sitting at the gate of the city, two boys passed by before them; one of whom covered his head, the other had his head uncovered. Concerning him, who, contrary to the rules of modesty, had boldly passed by with his head uncovered, Elieser said he believed he was spurious; Rabbi Joshua

said he believed he was the son of a woman set apart; but Rabbi Akiba said he was both. The others said to Akiba, why do you differ from the rest of your brethern? He answered that he would prove the truth of what he had said. Accordingly he went to the mother of the boy, whom he found sitting in the market place and selling herbs. He then says to her, 'My daughter, answer me a question which I shall put to you, and I assure you of a portion of happiness in the world to come.' She answered, "Confirm what you say with an oath."

Akiba then swore with his lips, but at the same time absolved himself in his mind. Then he said to her: "Tell me the origin of your son!" which she did, and confessed that it was as he said. When he returned to his colleagues and told them the discovery he had made, they said: "Great is Akiba, who has corrected the rest of the masters!"

The exact language of the Talmud makes the mother of the boy [Mary] say: "Quando ego nuptias celebrarem, laborabam a menstruis. Ideoque secessit a me maritus, paranymphus autem meus [occasione arrepta] congressus mecum est. Atque ex eo concubitu extitit mihi filius hic."

This note has been made to show the importance attached by the Jews to the "true facts" in the case of Jesus as held among them; and that at the trial they were so much exercised on this point that they bring it up among the first of their accusations against him, which probably was the first public announcement made of this charge of spurious birth, and which they afterwards incorporated into their Bible, the Talmud. It was at the trial under Pilate, that perhaps first public mention was made of this charge of the Jews as is given in the Acts drawn up under Pilate.

The apostles and disciples of Jesus, so far as their names are known to us by New Testament mention, do not appear to have been present during the discussion. Twelve other Jews, whom Caiaphas calls "men of the Greeks," defended Jesus from this charge—having been "present at the espousal" of Joseph and Mary, and Pilate declares to the Priests that this story of theirs can not be true "because they were betrothed."

Such readers as are interested in the merits of this, which seems to have so much engaged the thought of Pilate as well as the accusers of Jesus, will do well to examine the laws of the Jews in regard to betrothal.

Bethlehem was the cause of the murder of the infants ; thirdly, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, pious men of the Jews, say : We deny that he was born of fornication : for we know that Joseph espoused Mary, and he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews

It may be observed here that Celsus who wrote against the Christians about A. D. 150 has this charge. Whence he got it must have been from the mouth of the Jews, or else from some writing, and if the latter, most probably from the Acts of Pilate. And as they make mention of this charge as a false charge, Celsus would not mention the Acts as the source of his knowledge.

The subjoined law may be of interest here.

If any one has been espoused to a woman as to a virgin, and does not afterward find her so to be, let him bring his action, and accuse her, and let him make use of such indications to prove his accusation as he is furnished withal; and let the father or the brother of the damsel, or some one that is after them nearest of kin to her, defend her. If the damsel obtain a sentence in her favour, that she had not been guilty, let her live with her husband that accused her; and let him not have any farther power at all to put her away, unless she gives him very great occasions of suspicion, and such as can be no way contradicted; but for him that brings an accusation and calumny against his wife in an impudent and rash manner, let him be punished by receiving forty stripes save one, and let him pay fifty shekels to her father; but if the damsel be convicted, as having been corrupted, and is one of the common people, let her be stoned, because she did not preserve her virginity till she were lawfully married; but if she were the daughter of a priest, let her be burnt alive.

He that hath corrupted a damsel espoused to another man, in case he had her consent, let both him and her be put to death, for they are both equally guilty: the man, because he persuaded the woman willingly to submit to a most impure action, and to prefer it to lawful wedlock. Polity of Moses: Josph. Antiq Book iv, chap. 8.

who said he was of fornication : This story of yours is not true, because they were betrothed, as also these fellow-countrymen of yours say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate : All the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and are not believed ; these are proselytes and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them : What are proselytes?* They say to him : They are by birth children of the Greeks, and have now become Jews. And those that said that he was not born of fornication, viz : Lazarus, Asterius, Antonius, James, Amnes, Zeras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Agrippas and Judas, say : We are not proselytes, but are children of the Jews,

*What are Proselytes? The term *proselyte* is not classic Greek. It was used exclusively by the Jews. It is found in the Septuagint and in the New Testament.

Pilate, therefore, not being a Jew or acquainted with terms used almost exclusively by the Jews, naturally asks of the priests its meaning, as they seemed to be inclined to make a point on it. While the question seems to come in *incidentally*—it goes far toward proving its authenticity, from the fact of its coming up as a mere incident.

There were among the Jews two kinds of proselytes—the proselytes of the gate, and the proselytes of justice or righteousness.

The former feared and worshipped the true God without adopting circumcision or any of the ceremonies of the law. They were allowed to dwell in the land of Israel, and through holiness might have hope of eternal life.

The latter received circumcision and observed the whole law of Moses, and were admitted to the prerogatives of the people of God. In making a report of the trial to Tiberius, it would be necessary for Pilate to explain words like proselyte to Tiberius—as it is not likely that he being only a classic Greek scholar that he would understand a Greek term used exclusively by Jews.

and speak the truth : for we were present at the betrothal of Joseph and Mary.

And Pilate, calling these twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, says to them : I adjure you, by the health of Cæsar,* to tell me whether it be true that you say, that he was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate : We have a law against taking oaths, because it is a sin ; but they will swear by the health of Cæsar that it is not as we have said, and we are liable to death.† Pilate says to Annas and Caiaphas : Have you nothing to answer to this ? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate : these twelve are believed when they say that he was not born of fornication ; all the multitude of us cry out that he was born of fornication, and that he is a sorcerer ; and he says that he is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

* *This oath, by the fortune of Cæsar, was put to Polycarp, a bishop of Smyrna, by the Roman governor, to try whether he was a Christian, as they were then esteemed who refused to swear that oath. Martyr, Polycarp, sect. 9.*

† Pilate adjures these friends of Jesus under penalty of death it would seem if they committed perjury—to say whether Jesus was born of fornication. In chapter 2, of Second Form of the Acts, it is stated that these did swear under penalty of being beheaded if perjured to the fact of his not being born of fornication. When the priests, Annas and Caiaphas, were asked to answer this oath by a negative to it, it does not appear that they swore, but evaded so to do.

There seems to have been enacted by the senate under Augustus a law of perjury such as spoken of here ; and that a man was liable to its penalty if he swore by Cæsar. (See Huidekoper—Judaism and Rome, p. 8, note 10.)

And Pilate orders all the multitude to go out, except the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, and he ordered Jesus to be separated from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: They are angry because he cures on the Sabbath. Pilate says: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes.

CHAP. 3.—And Pilate, filled with rage, went outside of the Pretorium and said to them: I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered and said to the procurator: Unless this man were an evil-doer, we should not have delivered him to thee. And Pilate said: Do you take him and judge him according to your law.* The Jews said to Pilate: It is not lawful for us to put any one to death. Pilate said: Has God said that you are not to put to death, but that I am?

And Pilate went again into the Pretorium and spoke to Jesus privately, and said to him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate:

*The liberty which Pilate placed in the hands of the Jewish officials here to take Jesus and *stone* him to death—not being accepted by them plainly shows that they wished not to assume the responsibility of actually putting Him to death.

It may be seen in the lines following that many of the Jews, and among them some of the rulers, as Nicodemus, did not wish the death of Jesus. The rulers were doubtless apprehensive of the vengeance of the many friends of Jesus among the Jews themselves as well perhaps of that of Cæsar, should it afterward be shown that the high priests had actually murdered Him innocent of any offence.

Dost thou say this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered Jesus: Am I also a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have given thee up to me. What hast thou done? Jesus answered: My kingdom is not of this world: for if my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight in order that I should not be given up to the Jews: but now my kingdom is not from thence. Pilate said to him: Art thou, then, a king? Jesus answered him: Thou sayest that I am king. Because for this have I been born, and I have come in order that every one who is of the truth might hear my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says to him: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is truth not upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Thou seest how those who speak the truth are judged by those that have the power upon earth.

CHAP. 4.—And leaving Jesus within the Pretorium, Pilate went out to the Jews and said to them: I find no fault in him. The Jews say to him: He said, I can destroy this temple, and in three days build it. Pilate says: What temple? The Jews say: The one that Solomon built in forty-six years, and this man speaks of pulling it down and building it up in three days. Pilate says to them: I am innocent of the blood of this just man. See you to it. The Jews say: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

And Pilate, having summoned the elders and priests and Levites, said to them privately: Do not

act thus, because no charge that you bring against him is worthy of death; for your charge is about curing and Sabbath profanation. The elders and the priests and the Levites say: If any one speak evil against Cæsar, is he worthy of death or not? Pilate says: He is worthy of death. The Jews say to Pilate: If any one speak evil against Cæsar, he is worthy of death; but this man has spoken evil against God.

And the procurator ordered the Jews to go outside of the Pretorium; and, summoning Jesus, he says to him: What shall I do to thee? Jesus says to Pilate: As it has been given to thee. Pilate says: How given? Jesus says: Moses and the prophets have proclaimed beforehand of my death and resurrection. And the Jews, noticing this and hearing it, say to Pilate; What more wilt thou hear of this blasphemy? Pilate says to the Jews: If these words be blasphemous, do you take him for the blasphemy, and lead him away to your synagogue and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate: Our law bears that a man who wrongs his fellow-men is worthy to receive forty save one: but he that blasphemeth God is to be stoned with stones.

Pilate says to them: Do you take him and punish him in whatever way you please. The Jews say to Pilate: We wish that he be crucified. Pilate says: He is not deserving of crucifixion.

And the procurator, looking round upon the crowds of the Jews standing by, sees many of the Jews weeping, and says: All the multitude do not

wish him to die. The elders of the Jews say: For this reason all the multitude of us have come, that he should die. Pilate says to the Jews: Why should he die? The Jews say: Because he called himself the Son of God and King.

CHAP. 5.—And one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the procurator and said: I beseech your honor let me say a few words. Pilate says: Say on. Nicodemus says: I said to the elders and the priests and Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue. What do you seek to do with this man? This man does many miracles and strange things, which no one has done or will do. Let him go and, do not wish any evil against him. If the miracles which he does are of God, they will stand; but if of man, they will come to nothing. For assuredly Moses, being sent by God into Egypt, did many miracles, which the Lord commanded him to do before Pharoah, king of Egypt. And there were Jannes and Jambres, servants of Pharaoh, and they also did not a few of the miracles which Moses did; and the Egyptians took them to be gods—this Jannes and Jambres. But, since the miracles which they did were not of God, both they and those who believed in them were destroyed. And now release this man, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus: Thou hast become his disciple, and therefore thou defendest him. Nicodemus says to them: Perhaps, too, the procurator has become his disciple, because he defends him.

Has the emporer not appointed him to this place of dignity? And the Jews were vehemently enraged, and gnashed their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them: Why do you gnash your teeth against him when you hear the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus: Mayst thou receive his truth and his portion. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen: may I recieve it, as you have said.

CHAP. 6.—One of the Jews, stepping up, asked leave of the procurator to say a word. The procurator says: If thou wishest to say anything, say on. And the Jew said: Thirty-eight years I lay in my bed in great agony. And when Jesus came, many demoniacs and many lying ill of various diseases were cured by him. And when Jesus saw me he had compassion on me, and said to me: Take up thy couch and walk. And I took up my couch and walked. The Jews say to Pilate: Ask him on what day it was when he was cured. He that had been cured says: On a Sabbath. The Jews say: Is not this the very thing we said, that on a Sabbath he cures and casts out demons?

And another Jew stepped up and said: I was born blind; I heard sounds, but saw not a face. And as Jesus passed by I cried out with a loud voice, Pity me, O son of David. And he pitied me and put his hands upon my eyes, and I instantly received my sight. And another Jew stepped up and said: I was crooked and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was a leper, and he cured me with a word.

CHAP. 7.—And a woman cried out from a distance and said: I had an issue of blood, and I touched the hem of his garment, and the issue of blood, which I had had for twelve years, was stopped. The Jews say: We have a law that a *woman's evidence is not received.

CHAP. 8.—And others, a multitude both of men and women, cried out, saying: This man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to them who said that the demons were subject to him: Why, then, were not your teachers also subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said: He† raised Lazarus

*But let not a single witness be credited; but three or two at the least, and those such whose testimony is confirmed by their good lives. But let not the testimony of women be admitted, on the account of the levity and boldness of their sex; nor let servants be admitted to give testimony, on account of the ignobility of their soul; since it is probable that they may not speak truth, either out of hope of gain, or fear of punishment. But if any one be believed to have borne false witness, let him, when he is convicted, suffer all the very same punishments which he against whom he bore witness was to have suffered. Josephus, Book IV., chap. 8. Polity of Moses.

☾ *I have never observed elsewhere, that in the Jewish government, women were not admitted as legal witnesses in courts of justice. None of our copies of the Pentateuch say a word of it. It is very probable, however, that this was the exposition of the Scribes and Pharisees, and the practice of the Jews in the days of Jesus.*

†The Acts of Pilate record only the more remarkable miracles of the Saviour; and these as attested by eye-witnesses under most remarkable circumstances. It has already been remarked that twelve persons among the Jews—called by Caiaphas “Greek proselytes”—had the courage to appear in defending Jesus from the charge of be-

from the tomb after he had been dead four days. And the procurator trembled, and said to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to pour out innocent blood?

CHAP. 9.—And, having summoned Nicodemus and the twelve men that said he was not born of fornication, he says to them: What shall I do, because there is an insurrection among the people? They say to him: We know not; let them see to it. Again Pilate, having summoned all the multitude of the Jews, says: You know that it is customary, at the feast of unleavened bread, to release one prisoner to you. I have one condemned prisoner in the prison, a murderer named Bar Abbas, and this man standing in your presence, Jesus in whom I find no fault. Which of them do you wish me to release to you? And they cry out:

ing born of fornication. The witnesses who now appear were not summoned by Pilate or the priesthood. Called together by the common feeling of deepest gratitude—the lame and the leper, the blind and the dumb see and hear the infamous treatment of their benefactor. It must have startled Caiaphas himself when these broke forth from all sides of the crowd, as witnesses to the mighty deeds of mercy done by him who now is arraigned as a malefactor. How keenly flashed every syllable with the lightning of truth from the lips of such witnesses. We can not but remark here, that the scene as pictured on page 52 of the Acts of Pilate, to him who has imagination and conception of the truly natural in expression, nothing can excel the description there given. It is not wonderful that such testimony should shake the judgment and judgment seat of Pilate. It was mightier than any other that ever fell in the presence of any tribunal—the speech of nature, voiced from the hearts whose only motives were from love and deepest gratitude.

Bar Abbas. Pilate says : What, then, shall we do to Jesus, who is called Christ? The Jews say : Let him be crucified. And others said : Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, because he called himself the Son of God and King. You wish this man, then, to be a king, and not Cæsar?

And Pilate, in a rage, says to the Jews : Always has your nation been rebellious,* and you always

*In this connection we have an item preserved to us by the Jewish Historian that forms matter for thought, and cannot fail to be interesting to some. We give it here to show the ground of a great sedition in the early history of the Priesthood—and as a very suggestive scrap of history—in showing how rebellious a spirit dwelt in the Jew—from the times of Moses down to the day of Jesus.

The Sedition of Corah and of the Multitude against Moses, and against his Brother, concerning the Priesthood.

HIS SPEECH.

Corah, an Hebrew of principal account, both by his family and by his wealth, one that was able to speak well, and one that could easily persuade the people by his speeches, saw that Moses was in an exceeding great dignity, and was uneasy at it, and envied him on that account (he was of the same tribe with Moses, and of kin to him), was particularly grieved, because he thought he better deserved that honourable post on account of his great riches, and not inferior to him in birth. So he raised a clamour against him among the Levites, who were of the same tribe, and especially among his kindred, saying, "that it was a very sad thing that they should overlook Moses, while he hunted after, and paved the way to glory for himself, and by ill arts should obtain it, under the pretence of God's command, while, contrary to the laws, he had given the priesthood to Aaron, not by the common suffrage of the multitude, but by his own vote, as bestowing dignities in a tyrannical way on whom he pleased." He added "that this concealed way of imposing on them was harder to be borne than if it had been done by an open force upon them be-

speak against your benefactors. The Jews say : What benefactors? He says to them : Your God led you out of the land of Egypt from bitter slavery, and brought you safe through the sea as through dry land, and in the desert fed you with manna and gave you quails, and quenched your thirst with water from a rock, and gave you a law ; and in all these things have you provoked your God to anger,

cause he did now not only take away their power without consent, but even while they are unapprized of his contrivances against them; for whosoever is conscious to himself that he deserves any dignity, aims to get it by persuasion, and not by an arrogant method of violence ; but those that believe it impossible to obtain those honours justly, they make a show of goodness, and do not introduce force, but by cunning tricks grow wickedly powerful : that it was proper for the multitude to punish such men, even while they think themselves concealed in their designs, and not suffer them to gain strength till they have them for their open enemies.”

“For what account,” added he, “is Moses able to give, why he has bestowed the priesthood on Aaron and his sons? for if God had determined to bestow that honour on one of the tribe of Levi, I am more worthy of it than he is ; I myself being equal to Moses by my family, and superior to him both in riches and in age : but if God had determined to bestow it on the eldest tribe, that of Reubel might have it most justly ; and thou Dathan, and Abiram, and [On, the son of] Peleth, would have it, for these are the oldest men of that tribe, and potent on account of their great wealth also.” (See Numbers, xvi., Josephus, Antiq. B. IV., chap. ii.

We are also told by the same authorities that the whole multitude of the Jews at one time rebelled—when Moses sent out some persons to search out the land of the Canaanites—and further, that when those who were sent were returned, after Forty Days, and reported that they should not be a match for them, and extolled the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude were disturbed, and fell into despair ; and were resolved to stone Moses, and to return back again into Egypt, and serve the Egyptians.

and sought a molten calf. And you exasperated your God, and he sought to slay you. And Moses prayed for you, and you were not put to death. And now you charge me with hating the emperor.

And, rising up from the tribunal, he sought to go out. And the Jews cry out and say: We know that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For assuredly the magi brought gifts to him as to a king. And when Herod heard from the magi that a king had been born, he sought to slay him; and his father, Joseph, knowing this, took him and his mother, and they fled into Egypt. And Herod, hearing of it, destroyed the children of the Hebrews that had been born in Bethlehem.

And when Pilate heard these words he was afraid; and, ordering the crowd to keep silence, because they were crying out, he says to them: So this is he whom Herod sought? The Jews say: Yes, it is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying: I am innocent of the blood of this just man: see you to it. Again the Jews cry out: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

Then Pilate ordered the curtain of the tribunal where he was sitting to be drawn, and says to Jesus: Thy nation has charged thee with being a king. On this account, I sentence thee first to be scourged, according to the enactment of venerable kings, and then to be fastened on the cross in the garden where thou was seized. And let Dysmas and Gestas, the two malefactors, be crucified with thee.

CHAP. 10.—And Jesus went forth out of the Pretorium, and the malefactors with him. And when they came to the place they stripped* him of his clothes and girded him with a towel, and put a crown of thorns on him round his head. And they crucified him; and at the same time, also, they hung up the two malefactors along with him. And Jesus said; Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted his clothes among them; and the people stood looking at him. And the chief priests and the rulers with them mocked him, saying: He saved others; let him save himself. If he be the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers made sport of him, coming near and offering him vinegar mixed with gall, and said: Thou art the king of the Jews: save thyself.

And Pilate, after the sentence, ordered the charge against him to be inscribed as a superscription in Greek and Latin and Hebrew, according to what the Jews had said: He is king of the Jews.

And one of the malefactors hanging up spoke to him, saying: If thou be the Christ, save thyself and

*None of the Gospels give this account of the stripping of Jesus, and girding him with a towel. Most, if not all, of the paintings representative of the Crucifixion present Jesus as crucified thus naked, and girt with a towel. So that, after all, we may have a most truthful representation of this last scene in the life of the Saviour, so common in almost every household and Christian temple. History, in this case, bears up the pencil of the limner into the light of truth.

us. And Dysmas answering reproved him, saying : Dost thou not fear God, because thou art in the same condemnation? And we, indeed, justly, for we receive the fit punishment of our deeds ; but this man has done no evil. And he said to Jesus : Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him : Amen, amen ; I say to thee, To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise.*

CHAP. 11.—And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the earth until the ninth hour, the sun being darkened ; and the curtain of the temple was split in the middle. And, crying out with a loud voice, Jesus said : Father, *baddach ephkid rucl*, which is interpreted, Into thy hands I commit my spirit. And, having said this, he gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what had happened, glorified God and said : This was a just man. And all the crowds that were present at this spectacle, when they saw what had happened, beat their breasts and went away.

And the centurion reported what had happened

*There is a legend of this man Dysmas which tells us that while Jesus, the infant, sojourned in Egypt three years amongst strangers, this man Dysmas, the robber at one time made a temporary home in his retreat for Joseph and Mary, and the infant child. There are many strange meetings in life : and this at the cross of Jesus and Dysmas is one of the strangest. He was crucified on the right hand of Jesus. The legend hints at the great truth that, an act of humanity and kindness though done in a robber's cave will sometime be rewarded, and its legend wander around the world as a lesson to teach that a good deed is never lost and may form a step to Paradise. (See Dr. Walsh's "Life of Mary." p. 319.)

to the procurator. And when the procurator and his wife heard it they were exceedingly grieved, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate sent for the Jews and said to them: Have you seen what has happened? And they say: There has been an eclipse of the sun in the usual way.

And his acquaintances were standing at a distance, and the women who came with him from Galilee, seeing these things. And a man named Joseph, a councillor from the city of Arimathea, who also waited for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And he took it down and wrapped it in a clean linen, and placed it in a tomb hewn out of the rock, in which no one had ever lain.

CHAP. 12.—And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought him and the twelve who said that Jesus was not born of fornication, and Nicodemus and many others who had stepped up before Pilate and declared his good works. And of all these that were hid Nicodemus alone was seen by them, because he was a ruler of the Jews. And Nicodemus says to them: How have you come into the synagogue? The Jews say to him: How hast thou come into the synagogue? for thou art a confederate of his, and his portion is with thee in the world to come. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen. And likewise Joseph also stepped out and said to them: Why are you angry against me because I begged the body of Jesus? Behold, I have put him in my new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen: and I have rolled a stone to the door

of the tomb. And you have acted not well against the just man, because you have not repented of crucifying him, but also have pierced him with a spear. And the Jews seized Joseph and ordered him to be secured until the first day of the week, and said to him: Know that the time does not allow us to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning; and know that thou shalt not be deemed worthy of burial, but we shall give thy flesh to the birds of the air. Joseph says to them: These are the words of the arrogant Goliath, who reproached the living God and holy David. For God has said by the prophet, Vengeance is mine, and I will repay, saith the Lord. And now that he is uncircumcised in flesh, but circumcised in heart, has taken water and washed his hands in the face of the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate: His blood be upon us and upon our children. And now I am afraid, lest the wrath of God come upon you and upon your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing these words were embittered in their souls, and seized Joseph and locked him into a room where there was no window; and guards were stationed at the door, and they sealed the door where Joseph was locked in.

And on the Sabbath the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites made a decree that all should be found in the synagogue on the first day of the week. And, rising up early, all the multitude in the synagogue consulted by what death

they should slay him. And when the Sanhedrin was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity. And, having opened the door, they found him not. And all the people were surprised and struck with dismay, because they found the seals unbroken, and because Caiaphas had the key. And they no longer dared to lay hands upon those who had spoken before Pilate in Jesus' behalf.

CHAP. 13.—And while they were still sitting in the synagogue and wondering about Joseph, there came some of the guard whom the Jews had begged of Pilate to guard the tomb of Jesus, that his disciples might not come and steal him. And they reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and Levites what had happened: how there had been an earthquake; and we saw an angel coming down from heaven, and he rolled away the stone from the mouth of the tomb and sat upon it; and he shone like snow and like lightning. And we were very much afraid, and lay like dead men; and we heard the voice of the angel, saying to the women who remained beside the tomb. Be not afraid, for I know that you seek Jesus, who was crucified. He is not here. He has risen, as he said. Come, see the place where the Lord lay; and go quickly and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and is in Galilee.

The Jews say: To what women did he speak; The men of the guard say: We know not who they were. The Jews say: At what time was this? The men of the guard say: At midnight. The

Jews say : And wherefore did you not lay hold of them? The men of the guard say : We were like dead men from fear, not expecting to see the light of day, and how could we lay hold of them? The Jews say : As the Lord liveth, we do not believe you. The men of the guard say to the Jews : You have seen so great miracles in the case of this man, and have not believed ; and how can you believe us? And assuredly you have done well to swear that the Lord liveth, for indeed he does live. Again the men of the guard say : We have heard that you have locked up the man that begged the body of Jesus, and put a seal on the door ; and that you have opened it and not found him. Do you, then, give us the man whom you were guarding, and we shall give you Jesus. The Jews say : Joseph has gone away to his own city. The men of the guard say to the Jews : And Jesus has risen, as we heard from the angel, and is in Galilee.

And when the Jews heard these words they were very much afraid, and said : We must take care lest this story be heard, and all incline to Jesus. And the Jews called a council, and paid down a considerable money and gave it to the soldiers, saying : Say, while he slept, his disciples came by night and stole him ; and if this come to the ears of the procurator we shall persuade him and keep you out of trouble. And they took it, and said as they had been instructed.

CHAP. 14.—And Phinees, a priest, and Adas, a teacher, and Haggai, a Levite, came down from

Galilee to Jerusalem, and said to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites: We saw Jesus and his disciples sitting on the mountain called Mamilch; and he said to his disciples, Go into all the world and preach to every creature: he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall attend those who have believed: in my name they shall cast out demons, speak new tongues, take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall by no means hurt them: they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall be well. And while Jesus was speaking to his disciples we saw him taken up into heaven.

The elders and priests and Levites say: Give glory to the God of Israel, and confess to him whether you have heard and seen those things, of which you have given us an account. And those who had given the account said: As the Lord liveth, the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, we heard these things, and saw him taken up into heaven. The elders and the priests and the Levites say to them: Have you come to give us this announcement, or to offer prayer to God? And they say: To offer prayer to God. The elders and the chief priests and the Levites say to them: If you have come to offer prayer to God why, then, have you told these idle tales in the presence of all the people? Says Phinees, the priest, and Adas, the teacher, and Haggai, the Levite, to the rulers of the synagogues, and the priests and the Levites: If what we have said and seen be sinful, behold,

we are before you ; do to us as seems good in your eyes. And they took the law and made them swear upon it not to give any more an account of these matters to any one. And they gave them to eat and drink and sent them out of the city, having given them also money, and three men with them ; and they sent them away to Galilee.

And these men, having gone into Galilee, the chief priests and the rulers of the synagogue, and the elders came together in the synagogue and locked the door, and lamented with great lamentation, saying : Is this a miracle that has happened in Israel ? And Annas and Caiaphas said : Why are you so much moved ? Why do you weep ? Do you not know that his disciples have given a sum of gold to the guards of the tomb, and have instructed them to say that an angel came down and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb ? And the priests and elders said : Be it that his disciples have stolen his body ; how is it that the life has come into his body ; and that he is going about in Galilee ? And they, being unable to give an answer to these things, said, after great hesitation : It is not lawful for us to believe the uncircumcised.

CHAP. 15.—And Nicodemus stood up, and stood before the Sanhedrin saying : You say well ; you are not ignorant, you people of the Lord, of these men that come down from Galilee, that they fear God, and are men of substance, haters of covetousness, men of peace ; and they have declared with an oath, we saw Jesus upon the mountain

Mamilch with his disciples, and he taught what we heard from him, and we saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them in what form he went up. For assuredly, as the book of the Holy Scriptures taught us, Helias also was taken up into heaven, and Elissæus cried out with a loud voice, and Helias threw his sheepskin upon Elissæus, and Elissæus threw his sheepskin upon the Jordan, and crossed and came into Jericho. And the children of the prophets met him and said, O Elissæus, where is thy master Helias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elissæus, Has not a spirit seized him, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But let us take our servants with us and seek him. And they persuaded Elissæus, and he went away with them. And they sought him three days, and did not find him; and they knew that he had been taken up. And now listen to me, and let us send into every district of Israel and see, lest perchance, Christ has been taken up by a spirit and thrown upon one of the mountains. And this proposal pleased all. And they sent into every district of Israel and sought Jesus, and did not find him; but they found Joseph in Arimathea, and no one dared to lay hands on him.

And they reported to the elders and the priests and the Levites: We have gone round to every district of Israel, and have not found Jesus; but Joseph we have found in Arimathea. And hearing about Joseph they were glad and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue,

and the priests and the Levites, having held a council as to the manner in which they should meet with Joseph, took a piece of paper and wrote to Joseph as follows :

Peace to thee! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and we have prayed to the God of Israel that thou shouldst deign to come to thy fathers and to thy children, because we all have been grieved. For, having opened the door, we did not find thee. And we know that we have counseled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord has defended thee, and the Lord himself has scattered to the winds our counsel against thee, O honorable father Joseph.

And they chose from all Israel seven men, friends of Joseph, whom, also, Joseph himself was acquainted with; and the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites say to them: Take notice; if, after receiving our letter he read it, know that he will come with you to us. But if he do not read it, know that he is ill-disposed towards us. And, having saluted him in peace, return to us. And having blest the men, they dismissed them. And the men came to Joseph and did reverence to him, and said to him: Peace to thee! And he said: Peace to you and to all the people of Israel! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph, having received it, read the letter and rolled it up, and blessed God and said: Blessed be the Lord God, who has delivered Israel, that they should not shed innocent blood; and blessed be the Lord, who sent out his angel and covered me under his wings.

And he set a table for them : and they ate and drank and slept there.

And they rose up early and prayed. And Joseph saddled his ass and set out with the men : and they came to the holy city Jerusalem. And all the people met Joseph and cried out : Peace to thee in thy coming in ! And he said to all the people : Peace to you ! and he kissed them. And the people prayed with Joseph, and they were astonished at the sight of him. And Nicodemus received him into his house and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas and the elders and the priests and the Levites to his house. And they rejoiced, eating and drinking with Joseph : and, after singing hymns, each proceeded to his own house. But Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the following day, which was the preparation, the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites went early to the house of Nicodemus : and Nicodemus met them and said : Peace to you ! And they said : Peace to thee and to Joseph, and to all thy house and to all the house of Joseph ! And he brought them into his house. And all the Sanhedrin sat down, and Joseph sat down between Annas and Caiaphas : and no one dared to say a word to him. And Joseph said : Why have you called me ? And they signaled to Nicodemus to speak to Joseph. And Nicodemus, opening his mouth, said to Joseph : Father, thou knowest that the honorable teachers and the priests and the Levites seek to learn a word from thee. And Joseph said : Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas,

having taken the law, made Joseph swear, saying : Give glory to the God of Israel, and give him confession ; for Achar, being made to swear by the prophet Jesus, did not forswear himself, but declared unto him all, and did not hide a word from him. Do thou also, accordingly, not hide from us to the extent of a word. And Joseph said : I shall not hide from you one word. And they said to him : With grief were we grieved because thou didst beg the body of Jesus and wrap it in clean linen and lay it in a tomb. And on account of this we secured thee in a room where there was no window ; and we put locks and seals upon the doors, and guards kept watching where thou wast locked in. And on the first day of the week we opened and found thee not, and were grieved exceedingly ; and astonishment fell upon all the people of the Lord until yesterday. And now relate to us what happened to thee.

And Joseph said : On the preparation, about the tenth hour, you locked me up, and I remained all the Sabbath. And at midnight, as I was standing and praying, the room where you locked me in was hung up by the four corners, and I saw a light like lightning into my eyes. And I was afraid and fell to the ground. And some one took me by the hand and removed me from the place where I had fallen ; and moisture of water was poured from my head even to my feet, and a smell of perfumes came about my nostrils. And he wiped my face and kissed me, and said to me, Fear not, Joseph : open thine eyes and see who it is that speaks to thee.

And, looking up, I saw Jesus. And I trembled and thought it was a phantom ; and I said the commandments, and he said them with me. Even so you are not ignorant that a phantom, if it meet anybody and hear the commandments, takes to flight. And seeing that he said them with me, I said to him, Rabbi Helias. And he said to me, I am not Helias. And I said to him, Who art thou, my lord? And he said to me, I am Jesus whose body thou didst beg from Pilate ; and thou didst clothe me with clean linen, and didst put a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in thy new tomb, and didst roll a great stone to the door of the tomb. And I said to him that was speaking to me, show me the place where I laid thee. And he carried me away and showed me the place where I laid him ; and the linen cloth was lying in it, and the napkin for his face. And I knew that it was Jesus. And he took me by the hand and placed me, though the doors were locked, in the middle of my house, and led me away to my bed and said to me, Peace to thee ! And he kissed me and said to me, For forty days go not forth out of thy house ; for, behold, I go to my brethern in Galilee.

CHAP. 16.—And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites when they heard these words from Joseph, became as dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Nicodemus, along with Joseph, exhorted Anas and Caiaphas, the priests and the Levites, saying : Rise up and stand upon your feet, and taste

bread and strengthen your souls, because to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they rose up and prayed to God, and ate and drank, and departed every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath our teachers and the priests and Levites sat questioning each other and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? for we know his father and mother. Levi, a teacher, says: I know that his parents fear God, and do not withdraw themselves from the prayers, and give the tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born his parents brought him to this place and gave sacrifices and burnt offerings to God. And when the great teacher, Symeon, took him into his arms, he said, Now thou sendest away thy servant, Lord, according to thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all the peoples; a light for the revelation of the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel. And Symeon blessed them, and said to Mary his mother, I give thee good news about this child. And Mary said, It is well, my lord. And Symeon said to her, It is well; behold, he lies for the fall and the rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against; and of thee thyself a sword shall go through the soul, in order that the reasoning of many hearts may be revealed.

They say to the teacher Levi: How knowest thou these things? Levi says to them: Do you not know that from him I learned the law? The Sanhedrin say to him: We wish to see thy father. And they sent for his father. And they asked him,

and he said to them: Why have you not believed my son? The blessed and just Symeon himself taught him the law. The Sanhedrin says to Rabbi Levi: Is the word that you have said true? And he said: It is true. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites said to themselves: Come, let us send into Gallilee to the three men that came and told about his teaching and his taking up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up. And this saying pleased all. And they sent away the three men who had already gone away into Galilee with them: and they say to them: Say to Rabbi Adas and Rabbi Phinees and Rabbi Haggai, Peace to you and all who are with you! A great inquiry having taken place in the Sanhedrin, we have been sent to you to call you to this holy place, Jerusalem.

And the men set out into Galilee and found them sitting and considering the law: and they saluted them in peace. And the men who were in Galilee said to those who had come to them: Peace unto all Israel! And they said: Peace to you! And they again said to them: Why have you come? And those who had been sent said: The Sanhedrin call you to the holy city Jerusalem. And when the men heard that they were sought by the Sanhedrin they prayed to God, and reclined with the men and ate and drank, and rose up and set out in peace to Jerusalem.

And on the following day the Sanhedrin sat in the synagogue, and asked them, saying: Did you really see Jesus sitting on the mountain Mamilch

teaching his eleven disciples, and did you see him taken up? And the men answered them and said: As we saw him taken up, so also we said.

Annas says: Take them away from one another and let us see whether their account agrees. And they took them away from one another. And first they call Adas and say to him: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? Adas says: While he was yet sitting on the mountain Mamilch and teaching his disciples, we saw a cloud overshadowing both him and his disciples. And the cloud took him up into heaven, and his disciples lay upon their faces upon the earth. And they call Phinees, the priest, and ask him also, saying: How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he spoke in like manner. And they again asked Haggai, and he spoke in like manner. And the Sanhedrin said: The law of Moses holds: At the mouth of two or three every word shall be established. Buthem, a teacher, says: It is written in the law, And Enoch walked with God, and is not, because God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said: And the death of holy Moses we have heard of, and have not seen it; for it is written in the law of the Lord, and Moses died from the mouth of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day. And Rabbi Levi said: Why did Rabbi Symeon say, when he saw Jesus, "Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign spoken against?" And Rabbi Isaac said: It is written in the law, Behold, I send my messenger before thy face, who shall go

before thee to keep thee in every good way, because my name has been called upon him.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said: Rightly have you said what is written in the law of Moses, that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no one has named the death of Moses; but Jesus was tried before Pilate, and we saw him receiving blows and spittings on his face, and the soldiers put about him a crown of thorns, and he was scourged and received sentence from Pilate, and was crucified upon the Cranium, and two robbers with him; and they gave him to drink vinegar with gall, and Longinus, the soldier pierced his side with a spear: and Joseph, our honorable father, begged his body, and he says he is risen; and as the three teachers say, We saw him taken up into heaven; and Rabbi Levi has given evidence of what was said by Rabbi Symeon, and that he said, Behold, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Irsael, and for a sign spoken against. And all the teachers said to all the people of the Lord: If this was from the Lord, and is wonderful in your eyes, knowing you shall know, O house of Jacob, that it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree. And another scripture teaches: The gods which have not made the heaven and the earth shall be destroyed. And the priests and the Levites said to each other: If this memorial be until the year that is called Jobel, know that it shall endure forever, and he hath raised for himself a new people. Then the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, announced to all Israel, saying: Cursed is

that man who shall worship the work of man's hand, and cursed is the man who shall worship the creatures more than the Creator. And all the people said, Amen, amen.

And all the people praised the Lord, and said : Blessed is the Lord, who hath given rest to his people Israel, according to all that he hath spoken ; there hath not fallen one word of every good word of his that he spoke to Moses, his servant. May the Lord our God be with us, as he was with our fathers ; let him not destroy us. And let him not destroy us, that we may incline our hearts to him, that we may walk in all his ways, that we may keep his commandments and his judgments which he commanded to our fathers. And the Lord shall be for a king over all the earth in that day ; and there shall be one Lord, and his name one. The Lord is our king ; he shall save us. There is none like thee, O Lord. Great art thou, O Lord, and great is thy name. By thy power heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed ; save us, O Lord, and we shall be saved, because we are thy lot and heritage. And the Lord will not leave his people, for his great name's sake ; for the Lord has begun to make us into his people.

And all, having sung praises, went away each man to his own house glorifying God ; for his is the glory forever and ever. Amen.

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

(*SECOND GREEK FORM.*)

CHAP. 1.—Our Lord Jesus Christ having wrought in Judea many and great and extraordinary miracles, and on account of this, being hated by the Hebrews, while Pilate was procurator in Jerusalem, and Annas and Caiaphas high priests, there came of the Jews to the chief priests, Judas, Levi, Nephthalim, Alexander, Syrus, and many others, speaking against Christ. And these chief priests sent them away to say these things to Pilate also. And they went away, and said to him: A man walks about in this city whose father is called Joseph, and his mother Mary; and he calls himself king and Son of God; and being a Jew, he overturns the Scriptures, and does away with the Sabbath. Pilate then asked, in order to learn from them in what manner he did away with the Sabbath. And they answered, saying: He cures the sick on the Sabbath. Pilate says: If he makes the sick whole, he does no evil. They say to him: If he effected the cures properly, small would be the evil; but by using magic he does these things, and by having the demons on his side. Pilate says: To cure a

person that is ill is not a diabolic work, but a grace from God.

The Hebrews said: We beseech your highness to summon him, in order that thou mayst make accurate inquiry into what we say. Pilate therefore, throwing off his cloak, gave it to one of his officers, saying: Go away, and show this to Jesus, and say to him, Pilate the procurator calls thee to come before him. The officer accordingly went away, and finding Jesus, summoned him, having unfolded on the ground also Pilate's mantle, and urged him to walk upon it. And the Hebrews, seeing this, and being greatly enraged, came to Pilate murmuring against him, how he had deemed Jesus worthy of so great an honor.

And he, having inquired of the officer who had been sent, how he had done so, the officer answered: When thou didst send me to the Jew Alexander, I came upon Jesus entering the gate of the city, sitting upon an ass. And I saw that the Hebrews spread their garments in the way, and the ass walked upon the garments; and others cut branches, and they went forth to meet him, and cried out, Hosanna in the highest! Thus, therefore, it was necessary for me also to do.

The Jews, hearing these words, said to him: How didst thou, being a Roman, know what was said by the Hebrews? The officer answered: I asked one of the Hebrews, and he told me these things. Pilate said: What means Hosanna? The Jews said: Save us, O Lord. Pilate answered: Since you confess that your children said so, how

now do you bring charges, and say against Jesus what you do say? The Jews were silent, and had nothing to answer.

Now, as Jesus was coming to Pilate, the soldiers of Pilate adored him. And others also were standing before Pilate holding standards. And as Jesus was coming, the standards also bowed down, and adored him. As Pilate, therefore, was wondering at what had happened, the Jews said to him: My lord, it was not the standards that adored Jesus, but the soldiers who were holding them carelessly.

Pilate says to the rulers of the synagogue: Choose twelve powerful men, and give them the standards, so that they may hold them firmly. And this having taken place, Pilate ordered the officer to take Jesus outside, and bring him in again. And as he was coming in, the standards again bowed down, and adored him. Pilate therefore wondered greatly. But the Jews said; He is a magician, and through that he does these things.

CHAP. 2.—Pilate says to Jesus: Hearest thou what these testify against thee, and answerest thou not? And Jesus answered and said: Every man has power to speak either good or bad, as he wishes; these also, therefore, having power, say what they wish.

The Jews said to him: What have we to say about thee? First, that thou wast begotten from sin; second, that on account of thee, when thou wast born, the infants were murdered; third, that

thy father and thy mother fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people.

To these the Jews who were there present, God-fearing men, answered and said: We say that his birth is not from sin; for we know that Joseph received into keeping his mother Mary, according to the practice of betrothal. Pilate said: Consequently you lie who say his birth is from sin. They say again to Pilate: All the people testify that he is a magician. The God-fearing Jews answered and said: We also were at the betrothal of his mother, and we are Jews, and know all of his daily life; but that he is a magician, that we not know. And the Jews that thus said were these: Lazarus, Astharius, James, Zaras, Samuel, Isaac, Phinees, Crispus, Dagrippus, Amese and Judas.

Pilate therefore says to them: By the life of Cæsar, I wish you to swear whether the birth of this man is without sin.* They answered: Our law

*In note 3, chap. 2, of First Greek Form we have already adverted to this charge of the priests as to the birth of Jesus; and mentioned the fact that a penalty of forty stripes and a fine of fifty shekels of silver (31 dollars) was imposed upon those bringing a false charge of fornication against a man's wife or daughter.

It may be added here that it is possible that Pilate insisted upon proof of this charge, and took an uncommon interest in it from the fact that just such a report had been made as to his own birth:—and the legend still exists that he was the natural son of the king of Mayence and an illegitimate. It is singular that he seems to have pressed this unimportant point so far, unless he had some feeling in the matter, and that feeling appears here to have been based on personal grounds.

Moreover he knew how irresponsible a man must be of any wrong

lays down that we are to swear not at all, because an oath is great sin. Notwithstanding, by the life of Cæsar we swear that his birth is without sin, and if we lie, order us all to be beheaded. And when they had thus spoken, the Jews that were bringing the charge answered Pilate, and said: And dost thou believe these twelve single Jews more than all the multitude and us, who know for certain that he is a magician and blasphemer, and that he names himself Son of God?

Then Pilate ordered them all to go forth out of the Pretorium except the said twelve alone. And when this had been done, Pilate says to them privately; As to this man, it appears that from envy and madness the Jews wish to murder him: for of one thing—that he does away with the Sabbath—they accuse him; but he then does a good work, because he cures the sick. For this, sentence of death is not upon the man. The twelve also say to him: Assuredly, my lord, it is so.

CHAP. 3.—Pilate therefore went outside in rage and anger, and says to Annas and Caiaphas, and to the crowd who brought Jesus: I take the sun to witness that I find no fault in this man. The crowd answered: If he were not a sorcerer, and a magician, and a blasphemer, we should not have brought him to your highness. Pilate said: Try him your—

of this character attaching to ones birth; and under this feeling determined to push the point to its extremity and impose the penalty in case of finding a false accusation against the mother of Jesus.

selves. The Jews said : Our law permits to put no man to death. Pilate says : If you are unwilling to put him to death, how much more am I.

Then Pilate returned to the palace, and says to Jesus : Tell me, art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered : Dost thou say this, or have the other Jews said this to thee, that thou mightst question me? Pilate said : Thou dost not think I am a Hebrew? I am not a Hebrew. Thy people and the chief priests have delivered thee into my hands ; and tell me if thou art king of the Jews? Jesus answered : My kingdom is not of this world ; for if my kingdom were in this world, my soldiers would not be unconcerned at my being seized : wherefore my kingdom is not in this world. Pilate said : But art thou king? Jesus said : Thou hast said : for this was I born, to bear witness of the truth ; and if any one be a man of the truth, he believes my word, and does it. Pilate says : What is the truth? Jesus answered : The truth is from the heavens. Pilate says : On earth, then, is there no truth? Christ says : I am the truth ; and how is the truth judged on earth by those that have earthly power !

CHAP. 4.—Pilate therefore, leaving Christ alone, went outside, and says to the Jews : I find no fault in this man. The Jews answered : Let us tell your highness what he said. He said, I am able to destroy the temple of God, and in three days to build it. Pilate says : And what temple did he say that he was to destroy? The Hebrews say : The temple of Solomon, which Solomon built in forty-six years.

Pilate says privately to the chief priests and the scribes and the Pharisees : I entreat you, do nothing evil against this man ; for if you do evil against him, you will do unjustly : for it is not just that such a man should die, who has done great good to many men. They said to Pilate : If, my lord, he who has dishonored Cæsar is worthy of death, how much more this man who dishonors God !

Then Pilate dismissed them, and they all went outside. Thereupon he says to Jesus : What dost thou wish that I shall do to thee ? Jesus says to Pilate : Do to me as is determined. Pilate says : How is it determined ? Jesus answered : Moses and the prophets wrote about me being crucified, and rising again. The Hebrews hearing this, said to Pilate : Why do you seek to hear a greater insult out of him against God ? Pilate says : These words are not an insult against God, since they are written in the books of the prophets. The Hebrews said : Our Scripture says, If a man offend against a man, that is to say, if he insult him, he is worthy to receive forty strokes with a rod ; but if any one insult God, to be stoned.

Then came a messenger from Procle, the wife of Pilate, to him ; and the message said : Take care that thou do not agree that any evil should happen to Jesus the good man ; because during this night I have seen fearful dreams on account of him. And Pilate spoke to the Hebrews, saying : If you hold as insult against God the words which you declare Jesus to have spoken, take and judge him yourselves according to your law. The Jews said to

Pilate : We wish that you should crucify him. Pilate says : This is not good.

And Pilate, turning towards the people, saw many weeping, and said : To me it seems that it is not the wish of all the people that this man should die. The priests and the scribes say : We on this account have brought all the people, that thou mightst have full conviction that all wish his death. Pilate says : For what evil hath he done. The Hebrews said : He says that he is a king, and the Son of God.

CHAP. 5.—A God-fearing Jew, therefore, Nicodemus by name, stood up in the midst, and said to Pilate : I entreat your highness to permit me to say a few words. Say on, said Pilate. Nicodemus says : I, being present in the synagogue, said to the priests, and the Levites, and the scribes, and the people, What have you to say against this man? This man does many miracles, such as man has never yet done nor will do. Let him go, therefore ; and if indeed what he does be from God, it will stand, but if from man, it will be destroyed. Just as happened also when God sent Moses into Egypt, and Pharaoh king of Egypt told him to do a miracle, and he did it. Then Pharaoh had also two magicians, Jannes and Jambres ; and they also did miracles by the use of magic art, but not such as Moses did. And the Egyptians held these magicians to be gods ; but because they were not from God, what they did was destroyed. This Jesus, then, raised up Lazarus, and he is alive. On this

account I entreat thee, my lord, by no means to allow this man to be put to death.

The Hebrews were enraged against Nicodemus, and said: Mayst thou receive the truth of Jesus and have a portion with him. Nicodemus says: Amen, amen; be it to me as you say.

CHAP. 6.—And when Nicodemus had thus spoken another Hebrew rose up, and said to Pilate: I beg of thee, my lord Pilate, hear me also. Pilate answered: Say what thou wishest. The Hebrew says: I lay sick in bed thirty-eight years; and when he saw me he was grieved, and said to me, Rise, take up thy couch, and go into thine house. And while he was saying the word to me, I rose and walked about. The Hebrews say: Ask him on what day of the week this happened. He says: On Sabbath. The Jews said: And consequently we say truly, that he does not keep the Sabbath.

Another, again, standing in the midst, said: I was born blind; and as Jesus was going along the road, I cried to him, saying, Have mercy upon me. Lord, thou son of David. And he took clay, and anointed mine eyes; and straightway I received my sight. Another said: I was crooked; and seeing him. I cried, Have mercy upon me, O Lord. And he took me by the hand, and I was immediately raised. Another said: I was a leper, and he healed me merely by a word.

CHAP. 7.—There was found there also a woman named Veronica, and she said: Twelve years I was

in an issue of blood, and I only touched the edge of his garment, and directly I was cured. The Jews say : Our law does not admit the testimony of a woman.

CHAP. 8.—Other men cried: This man is a prophet, and the demons are afraid of him. Pilate says : And how were the demons not at all thus afraid of your parents also? They say : We do not know. Others, again, said : Lazarus, after having been four days in the tomb, he raised by a single word. Pilate therefore, hearing of the raising of Lazarus, was afraid, and said to the people ; Why do you wish to shed the blood of a just man.

CHAP. 9.—Then he summoned Nicodemus and the twelve God-fearing Jews, and said to them : What do you say that I should do? because the people are in commotion. They say : We do not know : do as thou wilt ; but what the people do, they do unjustly, in order to kill him. Pilate again went outside, and said to the people : You know that in the feasts of unleavened bread it is customary that I free on your account one of the criminals kept in custody. I have, then, one malefactor in the prison, a robber named Bar Abbas. I have also Jesus, who has never done any evil. Which of the two, then, do you wish that I release to you? The people answered : Release to us Bar Abbas. Pilate says : What, then, shall I do with Jesus? They say : Let him be crucified. Again, others of them cried out : If thou release Jesus thou art no

friend of Cæsar, because he calls himself Son of God, and king. And if thou free him, he becomes a king, and will take Cæsar's kingdom.

Pilate, therefore, was enraged, and said: Always has your nation been devilish and unbelieving; and ever have you been adversaries to your benefactors. The Hebrews say: And who were our benefactors? Pilate says: God, who freed you out of the land of Pharaoh and brought you through the Red Sea as upon dry land, and fed you with quails, and gave you water out of the dry rocks, and who gave you a law, which, denying God, you broke; and if Moses had not stood and entreated God, you would have perished by a bitter death. All these, then, you have forgotten.—Thus, also, even now, you say that I do not at all love Cæsar, but hate him, and wish to plot against his kingdom.

And having thus spoken, Pilate rose up from the throne with anger, wishing to flee from them. The Jews therefore cried out, saying: We wish Cæsar to be king over us, not Jesus, because Jesus received gifts from the magi. And Herod also heard this—that there was going to be a king—and wished to put him to death, and for this purpose sent and put to death all the infants that were in Bethlehem. And on this account also his father, Joseph, and his mother fled from fear of him into Egypt.

So then, Pilate hearing this, silenced all the people, and said: This, then, is the Jesus whom Herod then sought, that he might put him to death? They say to him: Yes. Pilate, therefore, having ascertained that he was of the jurisdiction of Herod,

as being derived of the race of the Jews, sent Jesus to him. And Herod, seeing him, rejoiced greatly, because he had been long desiring to see him, hearing of the miracles which he did. He put on him, therefore, white garments.* Then he began to question him. But Jesus did not give him an answer. And Herod, wishing to see also some miracle or other done by Jesus, and not seeing it, and also because he did not answer him a single word, sent him back again to Pilate. Pilate, seeing this, ordered his officers to bring water. Washing, then, his hands with the water he said to the people: I am innocent of the blood of this good man. See you to it, that he is unjustly put to death, since neither I have found fault in him, nor Herod: for because of this he has sent him back again to me. The Jews say: His blood be upon us and upon our children.

Then Pilate sat down upon his throne to pass

*We learn from Matthew's Gospel that the soldiers stripped Jesus and put on him *a scarlet robe*. And after they had mocked him they took the robe off him and put his own raiment on him, and led him away to crucify him. Matt. xxvii: 2, 8, 31.

From Mark we learn that the soldiers clothed him with *purple*. Mark xv:17.

Luke states that, Herod, with his men of war, set him at naught and mocked him and arrayed him in a gorgeous robe and sent him again to Pilate. Luke xxiii: 11.

From John's Gospel we learn that the soldiers platted a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and they put on him a *purple* robe. John xix: 2.

The Acts of Pilate state that, *white* garments were put on Jesus by Herod. And Canon Farrar in the 19th edition of the Encyclopædia uses the phrase "white robe." M. de Munkacsy has followed this in his painting, arraying Jesus in a white robe.

sentence. He gave order, therefore, and Jesus came before him. And they brought a crown of thorns and put it on his head, and a reed into his right hand. Then he passed sentence, and said to him: Thy nation says and testifies against thee that thou wishest to be a king. Therefore, I decree that they shall beat thee first with a rod forty strokes, as the laws of the kings decree, and that they shall mock thee; and finally that they shall crucify thee.

CHAP. 10.—The sentence to this effect, then, having been passed by Pilate, the Jews began to strike Jesus, some with rods, others with their hands, others with their feet; some also spat in his face. Immediately, therefore, they got ready the cross and gave it to him, and flew to take the road. And thus going along, bearing also the cross he came as far as the gate of the city of Jerusalem* But as he, from the many blows and the weight of the cross, was unable to walk, the Jews, out of the eager desire they had to crucify him as quickly as possible, took the cross from him and gave it to a man that met them, Simon by name, who had also two sons, Alexander and Rufus. And he was from the city of Cyrene. They gave the cross, then, to him, not because they pitied Jesus and wished to lighten him

*None of the Evangelists state definitely at what point on the way to Golgotha the crowd with Jesus met Simon the Cyrenian—upon whom for the balance of the journey the cross was laid. The Acts of Pilate state that Jesus “had come to the gate of the City of Jerusalem.”

of the weight, but because they eagerly desired, as has been said, to put him to death more speedily.

Of his disciples, therefore, John followed him there. Then he came fleeing to the mother of God, and said to her: Where hast thou been that thou hast not come to see what has happened? She answered: What is it that has happened? John says: Know that the Jews have laid hold of my Master, and are taking him away to crucify him. Hearing this, his mother cried out with a loud voice, saying: My son, my son, what hast thou done that they are taking thee away to crucify thee? And she rose up as if blinded, and goes along the road weeping. And women followed her—Martha and Mary Magdalene and other virgins. And John also was with her. When, therefore, they came to the multitude of the crowd, the mother of God says to John: Where is my son? John says: Seest thou him bearing the crown of thorns, and having his hands bound? And the mother of God, hearing this and seeing him, fainted and fell backwards to the ground, and lay a considerable time. And the women, as many as followed her, stood round her and wept. And as soon as she revived and rose up, she cried out with a loud voice: My Lord, my son, where has the beauty of thy form sunk? how shall I endure to see thee suffering such things? And thus saying, she tore her face with her nails, and beat her breast. Where are they gone, said she, the good deeds which thou didst in Judea? What evil hast thou done to the Jews? The Jews, then seeing her thus lamenting and crying, came and

drove her from the road : but she would not flee, but remained, saying : Kill me first, ye lawless Jews.

Then they got safe to the place called Cranium, which was paved with stone : and there the Jews set up the cross. Then they stripped Jesus, and the soldiers took his garments and divided them among themselves ; and they put on him a tattered robe of scarlet, and raised him and drew him up on the cross at the sixth hour of the day. After this they brought, also, two robbers, the one on his right the other on his left.

Then the mother of God standing and looking, cried out with a loud voice, saying : My son ! my son ! And Jesus, turning to her, and seeing John near her, and weeping with the rest of the women, said : Behold thy son ! Then he says also to John : Behold thy mother ! And she wept much, saying : For this I weep, my son, because thou sufferest unjustly, because the lawless Jews have delivered thee to a bitter death. Without thee, my son, what will become of me ? How shall I live without thee ? What sort of life shall I spend ? Where are thy disciples, who boasted that they would die with thee ? Where those healed by thee ? How has no one been found to help thee ? And looking to the cross, she said : Bend down, O cross, that I may embrace and kiss my son, whom I suckled at these breasts after a strange manner, as not having known man. Bend down, O cross ; I wish to throw my arms round my son like a mother. The Jews hearing these words, came forward and drove to a

distance both her and the women and John*

Then Jesus cried out with a loud voice, saying : Father, let not this sin stand against them, for they know not what they do. Then he says : I thirst. And immediately there ran one of the soldiers and took a sponge and filled it with gall and vinegar mixed, and put it on a reed and gave to Jesus to drink. And having tasted it, he would not drink it. And the Jews, standing and looking on, laughed at him, and said : If thou truly sayest that thou art the Son of God, come down from the cross immediately, that we may believe in thee. Others said, mocking : Others he saved, others he cured, and he healed the sick, the paralytic, the lepers, the demoniacs, the blind, the lame, the dead ; and himself he cannot cure.

*Matthew, Mark and Luke, state that Mary and the women and John, and all his acquaintance stood "beholding afar off." John states that they stood "by the cross."

The Acts of Pilate harmonize these accounts by stating that "the Jews, hearing the lamentations of Mary, came forward and drove to a distance both her and the women, and John."

So that the truth of the Gospel account is made out, and Jesus, "the man of sorrows," who in the dark garden alone had been with none among men to hear or to help, amid this second gloom, the garden of death—is left. Acquaintance, friend and mother must stand far off, and in the silence of the individual soul let him be circled who must pass through death.

Though all this scene were but the myth of history, yet we might call it the echo of nature's voice, declaring day by day "I am the way, the resurrection and the life" to every man who in that awful hour must hang alone upon the tree of Death; who in the silence of his soul's individuality stands all alone, with only the One—to keep him awful company.

In the same manner, also, the robber crucified on his left hand said to him : If thou art the Son of God, come down and save both thyself and us. His name was Gistas. And he that was crucified on the right, Dysmas by name, reprovéd that robber, saying : O wretched and miserable man, dost thou not fear God? We suffer the due punishment of what we have done ; but this man has done no evil at all. And, turning to Jesus, he says to him : Lord, when thou shalt reign, do not forget me. And he said to him : To-day, I tell thee truth, I shall have thee in paradise with me.

CHAP. 11.—Then Jesus, crying out with a loud voice, Father, into thy hands I shall commit my spirit, breathed his last. And immediately one could see the rocks rent ; for there was an earthquake over all the earth ; and from the earthquake being violent and great, the rocks also were rent. And the tombs of the dead were opened, and the curtain of the temple was rent, and there was darkness from the sixth hour till the ninth. And from all these things that had happened the Jews were afraid, and said : Certainly this was a just man. And Longinus, the centurion, having perceived all these so great miracles, went away and reported them to Pilate. And when he heard he wondered and was astonished, and, from his fear and grief, would neither eat nor drink that day. And he sent notice, and all the Sanhedrin came to him as soon as the darkness was past ; and he said to the people : You know how the sun has been darkened ;

you know how the curtain has been rent. Certainly I did well in being by no means willing to put to death the good man. And the malefactors said to Pilate: 'This darkness is an eclipse of the sun, such as has happened also at other times. Then they say to him: We hold the feast of unleavened bread to-morrow: and we entreat thee, since the crucified are still breathing, that they be brought down.* Pilate said: It shall be so. He therefore sent soldiers, and they found the two robbers yet breathing, and they broke their legs; but finding Jesus dead they did not touch him at all, except that a soldier speared him in the right† side, and

*This was in accordance with the law of Moses:—If any man have committed a sin worthy of death, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day (for he that is hanged on a tree is accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the Lord giveth thee for an inheritance. Deut. xxi: 22, 23.

†This most singular statement of Jesus' body being "*speared in the right side*" deserves more than a passing notice.

It must be true that if any modern medieval or second or third century Christian had been asked the question—On which side the body of Jesus was speared? he or she would have answered at once—"on the *left* side."

Some how or other this was and is the universal impression.

No writer it would seem would have been bold enough to run counter to this universal impression—in writing up a view or conception of it as drawn from his imagination.

There would be too much in his own mind against the statement, in the whole and universal conception of the history in the case, and the world wide impression left of it now for more than sixteen or seventeen centuries.

Why then should the writer of this phrase have had the hardi-

immediately there came forth blood and water.

And as the day of the preparation was drawing towards evening, Joseph, a man well-born and rich, a God-fearing Jew, finding Nicodemus, whose sentiments his foregoing speech had shown, says to him: I know that thou didst love Jesus when living, and didst gladly hear his words, and I saw thee fighting with the Jews on his account. If then it seem good to thee, let us go to Pilate and beg the body of Jesus for burial, because it is a great sin for him to lie unburied. I am afraid, said Nicodemus, lest Pilate should be enraged, and some evil should befall me. But if thou wilt go alone and beg the dead and take him, then will I also go with thee and help thee do everything necessary for the burial. Nicodemus having thus spoken, Joseph directed his eyes to heaven and prayed that he might not fail in his request; and he went away to Pilate, and having saluted him, sat down. Then he says to him: I entreat thee, my lord, not to be angry with me, if I shall ask anything contrary to what seems good to your highness. And he said: And what is it that thou askest? Joseph says: Jesus, the good man whom through hatred the Jews have taken away to crucify, him I entreat that thou give me for burial.

hood to write contrary to all received opinion in framing up a narrative to be read as testimony and truth, unless it *were true* at the time—and the now prevailing contrary opinion not in existence at the time of his writing—but which after it has become so strong and universal? It is reasonably certain and beyond a reasonable doubt that this account is much older than the universal belief or impression that Jesus was speared on the left side.

Pilate says : And what has happened that we should deliver to be honored again the dead body of him against whom evidence of sorcery was brought by his nation, and who was in suspicion of taking the kingdom of Cæsar, and so was given up by us to death? And Joseph weeping and in great grief, fell at the feet of Pilate, saying : My lord let no hatred fall upon a dead man ; for all the evil that a man has done should perish with him in his death. And I know, your highness, how eager thou wast that Jesus should not be crucified, and how much thou saidst to the Jews on his behalf, now in entreaty and again in anger, and at last how thou didst wash thy hands and declare that thou wouldst by no means take part with those who wished him to be put to death ; for all which reasons I entreat thee not to refuse my request. Pilate, therefore, seeing Joseph thus lying and supplicating and weeping, raised him up, and said : Go ; I grant thee this dead man ; take him and do whatever thou wilt.

And then Joseph, having thanked Pilate and kissed his hands and his garments, went forth rejoicing indeed in heart as having obtained his desire, but carrying tears in his eyes. Thus also, though grieved, he was glad. Accordingly, he goes away to Nicodemus and discloses to him all that had happened. Then, having bought myrrh and aloes a hundred pounds, and a new tomb, they, along with the mother of God* and Mary Magdalene and

*The expression "mother of God" may be a change from the original "mother of the god," as used by Pilate—made by the translator. We have an instance in point where a like change was made by

Salome, along with John, and the rest of the women, did what was customary for the body with white linen, and placed it in the tomb.

And the mother of God said, weeping: How am I not to lament thee, my son? How should I not tear my face with my nails? This is that, my son, which Symeon the elder foretold to me when I brought thee, an infant of forty days old, into the Temple. This is the sword which now goes through my soul. Who shall put a stop to my tears, my sweetest son? No one at all except thyself alone, if, as thou saidst, thou shalt rise again in three days.

Mary Magdalene* said, weeping: Hear oh peo-

Clement in substituting *των θεων*, of the gods, for *του θεου*, of the divine nature, as given in Huidekoper's *Judiasm at Rome*, p. 43, note 8, in a quotation from Clement.

Pilate uses such words as Lord's day, and he may have taken from both the Roman and Christian uses of the terms, as other Latin writers are known to have done in several compositions.

We find in Julius Cæsar's decrees concerning the Jew's "Almighty God," "Sabbath," "Sabbatical Year," etc.—as quoted by Josephus. (*Antiq.* Book xiv, chap. x.)

And under Augustus we find the same expressions used by him, either in this express form or in language expressive of this sense whose *form* was put by Josephus. The term "mother of God" is older than the birth of Jesus. To think that it was unknown to the ancients and unused by them till the days of the Christian church is to think ignorantly. Historical criticism must not be violated by such a course as places the origin of a phrase in the second or third century that had been in use long before the Christian era.

*This outburst of feeling is the speech of a very singular woman.

Infamous in life, whose gilded person was the dwelling of seven evil spirits, she became the follower of Jesus only to attain and become an immortal name in history, and the alabaster box of Christian memory.



Hasselmann Photo. Eng.

THE THREE MARYS.
From "Christ on Calvary."

The original by M. de Munkacsy.

ples, tribes and tongues, and learn to what death the lawless Jews have delivered him who did them ten thousand good deeds. Hear and be astonished. Who will let these things be heard by all the world? I shall go alone to Rome to the Cæsar. I shall show him what evil Pilate hath done in obeying the lawless Jews. Likewise, also, Joseph lamented, saying: Ah, me! sweetest Jesus, most excellent of men, if, indeed, it be proper to call thee man, who hast wrought such miracles as no man has ever done. How shall I enshroud thee? How shall I entomb thee? There should now have been here those whom thou fedst with a few loaves; for thus should I not have seemed to fail in what is due.

Then Joseph, along with Nicodemus, went home; and, likewise, also the mother of God, with the women. John also being present with them.

Her eyes were the first to be christened before all others with the vision of the first fruits from the dead—in the sight of the Resurrected One.

Famous had she been in that court that often ruled the world; and Cleopatra-like had made slaves of many an Antony and Cæsar's legate.

But laying aside all the pomp of her gilded sin, cleansed in heart and lifted up into the sweet life of peace and purity, she became one of the foremost friends of Him whom she followed even to his death.

When Pilate left Palestine the third spring after the crucifixion, en route for Rome with Claudia his wife and his Roman guards, we are told that he spent a night by the sea of Galilee, being entertained by this woman whose princely home made fittest place for his encampment; and that there he talked with her of Him whose death and name was deeply left upon his soul.

The reader will see a fine picture of this meeting of Pilate, his wife Claudia and lady Magdalene, in Sir Edwin Arnold's "Light of the World"—Book I.

CHAP. 12.—When the Jews were made acquainted with these things done by Joseph and Nicodemus, they were greatly stirred up against them. And the chief priests, Annas and Caiaphas, sent for Joseph, and said: Why hast thou done this service to Jesus? Joseph says: I know that Jesus was a man just and true and good in all respects; and I know, also, that you, through hatred, managed to murder him; and therefore I buried him. Then the high priests were enraged, and laid hold of Joseph and threw him into prison, and said to him: If we had not to-morrow the feast of unleavened bread, to-morrow, also, should we have put thee, like him, to death; but being kept in the meantime, early in the morning of the Lord's day thou shalt be given up to death. Thus they spoke, and affixed their seal to the prison, having secured it by fastenings of all sorts.

Thus, therefore, when the preparation was ended, early on the Sabbath the Jews went away to Pilate, and said to him: My lord, that deceiver said that after three days he should rise again. Lest, therefore, his disciples should steal him by night and lead the people astray by such deceit, order his tomb to be guarded. Pilate therefore, upon this, gave them five hundred soldiers,* who all, sat round the sepulchre so as to guard it, after having put seals upon the stone of the tomb.

*In the "Report of Pilate"—Vatican manuscript—near the end Pilate states that 2,000 chosen troops arrived at Jerusalem on the morning following the crucifixion. This would explain the possibility of giving to the high priests 500 men to guard the sepulchre.

The Lord's day, then, having dawned, the chief priests, along with the Jews, called a council and sent to take Joseph out of the prison, in order to put him to death. But, having opened it, they found him not. And they were astonished at this—how, with doors shut and the bolts safe, and the seals unbroken, Joseph had disappeared.

CHAP. 13.—And upon this there came up one of the soldiers guarding the tomb, and he said in the synagogue: Learn that Jesus has risen. The Jews say: How? And he said: First there was an earthquake; then an angel of the Lord, clothed with lightning, came from heaven and rolled the stone from the tomb and sat upon it. And from fear of him all of us soldiers became as dead, and were able neither to flee nor speak. And we heard the angel saying to the women who came there to see the tomb: Be not afraid for I know that you seek Jesus. He is not here, but is risen, as he told you before. Bend down and see the tomb where his body lay; but go and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and let them go into Galilee, for there shall they find him. For this reason I tell you this first.

The Jews say to the soldiers: What sort of women were they who came to the tomb? and why did you not lay hold of them? The soldiers say: From the fear and the mere sight of the angel, we were neither able to speak nor move. The Jews said: As the God of Israel liveth, we do not believe a word you say. The soldiers say: Jesus did

so great wonders, and you believed not, and are you going to believe us? You say truly that God liveth; and certainly he whom you crucified truly liveth. But we have heard that you had Joseph shut up in the prison, and that you afterwards opened the doors and did not find him. Do you, then, present Joseph, and so we also shall present Jesus. The Jews say: Joseph, that fled from the prison, you will find in Arimathea, his own country. And the soldiers say: Go you into Galilee, and you will find Jesus, as the angel said to the woman.

At these words the Jews were afraid, and said to the soldiers: See that you tell this story to nobody, or all will believe in Jesus. And for this reason they gave them also much money. And the soldiers said: We are afraid lest by any chance Pilate hear that we have taken money, and he will kill us. And the Jews said: Take it; and we pledge ourselves that we shall speak to Pilate in your defense. Only say that you were asleep, and in your slumber the disciples of Jesus came and stole him from the tomb. The soldiers therefore took the money, and said as they were bid. And up to this day this same lying tale is told among the Jews.

CHAP. 14.—And a few days after there came from Galilee to Jerusalem three men. One of them was a priest, by name Phinees; the second a Levite, by name Aggai; and the third a soldier, by name Adas. These came to the chief priests, and said to them and to the people: Jesus, whom you crucified,

we have seen in Galilee with his eleven disciples upon the Mount of Olives, teaching them, and saying : Go into all the world, and proclaim the good news ; and whosoever will believe and be baptized shall be saved ; but whosoever will not believe shall be condemned. And having thus spoken, he went up into heaven. And both we and many others of the five hundred besides were looking on.*

And when the chief priests and the Jews heard these things, they said to these three : Give glory to the God of Israel, and repent of these lies that you have told. They answered : As the God of our fathers Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob liveth, we do not lie, but tell you the truth. Then the high priest spoke, and they brought the old covenant of the Hebrews out of the Temple, and he made them swear, and giving them also money, he sent them into another place, in order that they might not proclaim in Jerusalem the resurrection of Christ.

And when these stories had been heard by all

*The "many others of the five hundred" spoken of here may be of the soldiers or guards given by Pilate to the priests to watch the sepulchre.

The excitement and commotion in and about the Temple at this time seems most natural under the circumstances. It has been a source of wonder to many Christians even, that the resurrection of Jesus took place so quietly, so unobserved by the multitudes that were then at Jerusalem—if the New Testament accounts contain all the events.

The account given in this 14th chapter of the Acts of Pilate, would seem to comport well with all the known circumstances—and indeed it does seem strange that such events as here recorded should have failed to occur.

the people, the crowd came together into the Temple, and there was a great commotion. For many said: Jesus has risen from the dead, as we hear, and why did you crucify him? And Annas and Caiaphas said: Do not believe, ye Jews, what the soldiers say; and do not believe that they saw an angel coming down from heaven. For we have given money to the soldiers, in order that they should not tell such tales to any one; and thus also have the disciples of Jesus given them money, in order that they should say that Jesus has risen from the dead.

CHAP. 15.—Nicodemus says: O children of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the prophet Helias went up into the height of heaven with a fiery chariot, and it is nothing incredible if Jesus too has risen; for the prophet Helias was a prototype of Jesus, in order that you, hearing that Jesus has risen might not disbelieve. I therefore say and advise, that it is befitting that we send soldiers into Galilee, to that place where these men testify that they saw him with his disciples, in order that they may go round about and find him, and that thus we may ask pardon of him for the evil which we have done to him. This proposal pleased them; and they chose soldiers, and sent them away into Galilee. And Jesus indeed they did not find; but they found Joseph in Arimathea.

When, therefore, the soldiers had returned, the chief priests, having ascertained that Joseph was found, brought the people together, and said: What

shall we do to get Joseph to come to us? After deliberating, therefore, they wrote to him a letter to the following effect: O father Joseph, peace be to thee and all thy house, and thy friends! We know that we have offended against God, and against thee his servant. On account of this, we entreat thee to come here to us thy children. For we have wondered much how thou didst escape from the prison, and we say in truth that we had an evil design against thee. But God, seeing that our designs against thee were unjust, has delivered thee out of our hands. But come to us, for thou art the honor of our people.

This letter the Jews sent to Arimathea, with seven soldiers, friends to Joseph. And they went away and found him; and having respectfully saluted him, as they had been ordered, they gave him the letter. And after receiving it and reading it, he glorified God, and embraced the soldiers; and having set a table, ate and drank with them during all the day and the night.

And on the following day he set out with them to Jerusalem; and the people came forth to meet him, and embraced him. And Nicodemus received him into his own house. And the day after, Annas and Caiaphas, the chief priests, having summoned him to the Temple, said to him: Give glory to the God of Israel, and tell us the truth. For we know that thou didst bury Jesus; and on this account we laid hold of thee, and locked thee up in the prison. Thereafter, when we sought to bring thee out to be put to death, we did not find thee, and we were

greatly astonished and afraid. Moreover, we prayed to God that we might find thee, and ask thee. Tell us therefore the truth.

Joseph said to them : In the evening of the preparation, when you secured me in prison, I fell a-praying throughout the whole night, and throughout the whole day of the Sabbath. And at midnight I see the prison-house that four angels lifted it up, holding it by the four corners. And Jesus came in like lightning, and I fell to the ground from fear. Taking hold of me, therefore, by the hand, he raised me, saying, Fear not, Joseph. Thereafter, embracing me, he kissed me, and said, Turn thyself, and see who I am. Turning myself, therefore, and looking I said, My lord, I know not who thou art. He says, I am Jesus, whom thou didst bury the day before yesterday. I say to him, Show me the tomb and then I shall believe. He took me, therefore, by the hand, and led me away to the tomb, which had been opened. And seeing the linen and the napkin, and recognizing him, I said, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord ; and I adored him. Then taking me by the hand, and accompanied by the angels, he brought me to my house in Arimathea, and said to me, Sit here for forty days ; for I go to my disciples, in order that I may enable them fully to proclaim my resurrection.

CHAP. 16.—When Joseph had thus spoken, the chief priests cried out to the people : We know that Jesus had a father and mother ; how can we

believe that he is the Christ? One of the Levites answered and said: I know the family of Jesus, noble-minded men, great servants of God, and receiving titles from the people of the Jews. And I know also Symeon the elder, that he received him when he was an infant, and said to him: Now thou sendest away thy servant, O Lord.

The Jews said: Let us now find the three men that saw him on the Mount of Olives, that we may question them, and learn the truth more accurately. They found them, and brought them before all, and made them swear to tell the truth. And they said: As the God of Israel liveth, we saw Jesus alive on the Mount of Olives and going up into heaven.

Then Annas and Caiaphas took the three apart, one by one, and questioned them singly in private. They agreed with one another, therefore, and gave, even the three, one account. The chief priests answered, saying: Our scripture says that every word shall be established by two or three witnesses. Joseph, then, confessed that he, along with Nicodemus, attended to his body and buried him, and how it is the truth that he has risen.

THE ACTS OF PILATE.

(*LATIN FORM.*)

CHAPTER 1.—Annas and Caiaphas, Summas and Datam, Gamaliel, Judas, Levi, Neptalim, Alexander and Jairus, and the rest of the Jews. came to Pilate, accusing the Lord Jesus Christ of many things, and saying: We know him to be the son of Joseph the carpenter, born of Mary; and he says that he is the Son of God, and a king. Not only so but he also breaks the Sabbath, and wishes to do away with the laws of our fathers. Pilate says: What is it that he does, and wishes to destroy the law? The Jews say: We have a law, not to heal any one on the Sabbath: but he, by evil arts, heals on the Sabbath the lame and the hunchbacked, the blind, the palsied, the lepers, and the demoniacs. Pilate says to them: By what evil arts? They say to him: He is a sorcerer: and by Beelzebub, prince of the demons, he casts out demons, and they are all subject to him. Pilate says to them: It is not in an unclean spirit to cast out demons but in the god of Scolapius.

The Jews say: We pray thy majesty to set him

before thy tribunal to be heard. Pilate calling the Jews to him, says to them : How can I seeing that I am a govenor, hear a king? They say to him : We do not say that he is a king, but he himself says he is. And Pilate, calling a runner, says to him : Let Jesus be brought in with kindness. And the runner, going out and recognizing him, adored him and spread on the ground the cloak which he carried in his hand, saying : My Lord, walk upon this, and come in, because the governor calls thee. But the Jews, seeing what the runner did, cried out against Pilate, saying : Why didst not thou make him come in by the voice of a crier, but by a runner? for the runner, too, seeing him, has adored him, and has spread out before him on the ground the cloak which he held in his hand, and has said to him : My Lord, the governor calls thee.

And Pilate, calling the runner, says to him : Wherefore hast thou done this, and honored Jesus, who is called Christ? The runner says to him : When thou didst send me into Jerusalem to Alexander, I saw him sitting upon an ass, and the children of the Hebrews breaking branches from the trees, strewing them in the way ; and others spread their garments in the way, shouting and saying, Save therefore, thou who art in the highest ; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord !

The Jews cried out, saying against the runner : The children of the Hebrews indeed cried out in Hebrew. How canst thou a Gentile, know this? The runner says to them : I asked one of the Jews, and said, What is it that they cry out in Hebrew?

and he explained to me. Pilate says to them : And how did they cry out in Hebrew? The Jews said : Osanna in the highest ! Pilate says to them : What is the meaning of Osanna in the highest? They say to him : Save us, thou who art in the highest. Pilate says to them : If you yourselves bear witness to these terms and words in which the children cried out, in what has the runner sinned? And they were silent. The governor says to the runner : Go out, and lead him in, in whatever way thou wilt. And the runner, going forth, did after the same form as before, and says to Jesus : My Lord, go in because the governor calls thee.

As Jesus, then, was going in, and the standard-bearers bearing the standards, the heads of the standards, were bowed of themselves and adored Jesus. And the Jews, seeing the standards, how they bowed themselves and adored Jesus, cried out the more against the standard-bearers. And Pilate says to the Jews : Do you not wonder at the way in which the standards have bowed themselves and adored Jesus? The Jews say to Pilate : We saw how the men carrying the standards bowed themselves and adored Jesus. And the governor, calling the standard-bearers, says to them : Why have you so done? They say to Pilate : We are Gentile men, and slaves of the temple : how had we to adore Him : for when we were holding the figures they themselves bowed and adored Him.

Pilate says to the chiefs of the synagogue and the elders of the people : Choose ye men powerful and strong, and let them hold the standards, and let us

see whether they will bow of themselves. And the elders of the Jews, taking twelve men very strong and powerful, made them hold the standards, six and six; and they stood before the governor's tribunal. Pilate says to the runner: Take out Jesus outside of the Pretorium, and bring him in again in whatever way thou wilt. And Jesus and the runner went outside of the Pretorium. And Pilate, calling those who had formerly held the standards, said to them: By the health of Cæsar. if the standards do not bow themselves when Jesus comes in, I will cut off your heads. And the governor ordered Jesus to come in a second time. And the runner did after the same form as before, and besought Jesus much that he would go up and walk upon his cloak. And he walked upon it, and went in. And as Jesus was going in, immediately the standards bowed themselves, and adored Jesus.

CHAP. 2.—And Pilate seeing, fear seized him, and immediately he wished to rise from the tribunal. And while he was thinking of this, viz., to rise and go away, his wife sent to him, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And Pilate, calling the Jews, said to them: Ye know that my wife is a worshiper of God, and in Judaism thinks rather with you. The Jews say to him: So it is, and we know. Pilate says to them: Lo, my wife has sent to me, saying: Have nothing to do with that just man, for I have suffered much on account of him this night. And the Jews answering, said to Pilate:

Did we not say to thee that he is a magician? Lo, he has sent a vision of dreams to thy wife.

Pilate called Jesus, and said to him: What is it that these witness against thee, and sayst thou nothing to them? And Jesus answered: If they had not the power, they would not speak. Every one has power over his own mouth to say good and evil; let them see to it.

And the elders of the Jews answering, say to Jesus: What shall we see? First, that thou wast born of fornication; second, that at thy birth in Bethlehem there took place a massacre of infants; third, that thy father Joseph and thy mother Mary fled into Egypt, because they had no confidence in the people.

Some of the bystanders, kind men of the Jews, say: We say that he was not born of fornication; but we know that Mary was espoused to Joseph, and that he was not born of fornication. Pilate says to the Jews who said that he was of fornication: This speech of yours is not true, seeing that the betrothal took place, as these of your nation say. Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: We, with all the multitude, say that he was born of fornication, and that he is a magician; but these are proselytes, and his disciples. And Pilate, calling Annas and Caiaphas, says to them: What are proselytes? They say to him: They have been born sons of the Gentiles, and then have become Jews. Then answered those who testified that Jesus was not born of fornication, Lazarus and Asterius, Antonius and James, Annes and Azaras, Samuel and Isaac. Fi-

nees and Crispus, Agrippa and Judas: We were not born proselytes, but are sons of the Jews, and we speak the truth: for we were present at the betrothal of Mary.

And Pilate, calling to him those twelve men who proved that Jesus had not been born of fornication, said to them: I adjure you by the health of Cæsar, tell me if it be true that Jesus was not born of fornication. They say to Pilate: We have a law not to swear because it is a sin; but let them swear by the health of Cæsar that it is not as we say, and we are worthy of death. Then said Pilate to Annas and Caiaphas: Answer you nothing to those things which these testify? Annas and Caiaphas say to Pilate: Those twelve are believed that he was not born of fornication; we—all the people—cry out that he was born of fornication, and is a magician, and says that he himself is the Son of God and a king, and we are not believed.

And Pilate ordered all the multitude to go outside, except the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, and ordered to separate Jesus from them. And Pilate says to them: For what reason do the Jews wish to put Jesus to death? And they say to him: They are angry because he heals on the Sabbath. Pilate said: For a good work do they wish to put him to death? They say to him: Yes, my Lord.

CHAP. 3.—Pilate, filled with fury, went forth outside of the Pretorium, and says to them: I take the

sun to witness that I find in this man not even one fault. The Jews answered and said to the governor: If he were not an evil-doer we should never have delivered him to thee. Pilate says to them: Take him and judge him according to your law. The Jews answered: It is not permitted to us to put any one to death. Pilate says to them: Has God said to you not to put any one to death? has he, therefore, said to me that I am to kill?

Pilate, having again gone into the Pretorium, called Jesus to him privately, and said to him: Art thou the king of the Jews? Jesus answered Pilate: Speakest thou this of thyself, or have others said it to thee of me? Pilate answered: Am I a Jew? Thy nation and the chief priests have delivered thee to me. What hast thou done? Jesus, answering, said: My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would assuredly strive that I should not be delivered to the Jews: but my kingdom is not from hence. Pilate said to him: Art thou then a king? Jesus said to him: Thou sayest that I am a king. For I for this was born, and for this have I come, that I should bear witness to the truth; and every one who is of the truth hears my voice. Pilate says to him: What is truth? Jesus says: Truth is from heaven. Pilate says: Is not there truth upon earth? Jesus says to Pilate: Notice how the truth-speaking are judged by those who have power upon earth.

CHAP. 4.—Pilate, therefore, leaving Jesus within the Pretorium, went out to the Jews, and says to

them : I find not even one fault in him. The Jews say to him : He said, I can destroy that Temple, and in three days raise it again. Pilate said to them : What Temple? The Jews say to him : The Temple which Solomon built in forty and six years ; and he says that he can destroy and build it in three days. Pilate says to them ; I am innocent of the blood of this man ; see ye to it. The Jews say to him : His blood be upon us and upon our children.

And Pilate, calling the elders and priests and Levites, says to them privately : Do not do so ; for in nothing, though you accuse him, do I find him deserving of death, not even about the healing, and the breaking of the Sabbath. The priests and Levites and elders say : Tell us, if any one blasphemeth Cæsar, is he deserving of death or not? Pilate says to them : He deserves to die. The Jews answered him : How much more is he who has blasphemed God deserving to die !

And the governor ordered the Jews to go outside of the Pretorium ; and, calling Jesus, said to him : What am I to do with thee? Jesus says to Pilate : As it has been given thee. Pilate says : How has it been given? Jesus says : Moses and the prophets made proclamation of my death and resurrection. And the Jews, hearing this, say to Pilate : Why do you desire any more to hear blasphemy? And Pilate said : If this speech is blasphemous, do you take him and lead him to your synagogue and judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate : Our law holds, If a man have sinned against a man, he is worthy to receive forty less

one ; but he who has blasphemed against God, to be stoned.

Pilate says to them : Then judge him according to your law. The Jews say to Pilate : We wish that he be crucified. Pilate says to them : He does not deserve to be crucified.

And the governor, looking upon the people of the Jews standing round, saw very many of the Jews weeping, and said : All the multitude does not wish him to die. The elders say to Pilate : And for this reason have we come—the whole multitude—that he should die. Pilate said to the Jews : What has he done that he should die? They say : Because he said that he was the Son of God, and a king.

CHAP. 5.—But one Nicodemus, a Jew, stood before the governor, and said : I entreat mercifully, allow me to say a few words. Pilate says to him : Say on. Nicodemus says : I said to the elders and the priests and the Levites, and to all the multitude of the Jews in the synagogue, What have you to do with this man? This man does many wonders and signs, which no one of men has done or can do. Let him go, and do not devise any evil against him : if the signs which he does are of God, they will stand ; but if of men, they will come to nothing. For Moses, also, being sent by God into Egypt, did many signs, which God told him to do before Pharaoh, king of Egypt. And the sorcerers, Jamnes and Mambres, were there healing, and they did, they also, the signs which Moses did, but not all,

and the Egyptians deemed them as gods, Jamnes and Mambres. And since the signs which they did were not of God, they perished, both they and those who believed in them. And now let this man go, for he is not deserving of death.

The Jews say to Nicodemus : Thou hast become his disciple, and takest his part. Nicodemus says to them : Has the governor also become his disciple, and does he take his part? Has not Cæsar set him over that dignity? And the Jews were raging and gnashing with their teeth against Nicodemus. Pilate says to them : Why do you gnash your teeth against him, when you are hearing the truth? The Jews say to Nicodemus : Mayst thou receive his truth, and a portion with him ! Nicodemus says : Amen, amen, amen ; may I receive it, as you have said !

CHAP. 6.—And of the Jews a certain other one, starting up, asks the governor that he might say a word. The governor says : What thou wishest to say, say. And he said : For thirty-eight years I lay in infirmity in my bed in very grievous pain And at the coming of Jesus many demoniacs, and persons held down by divers infirmities, were healed by him. And some young men had pity on me, and, carrying me in bed, laid me before him. And Jesus, seeing, had pity on me and said the word to me, Take up thy bed and walk. And immediately I was made whole ; I took up my bed and walked. The Jews say to Pilate : Ask him what was the day on which he was healed. He said : The Sabbath.

The Jews say: Have we not so informed thee, that on the Sabbath he heals and drives out demons?

And a certain other Jew, starting up, said: I was born blind: I heard a voice and saw no man. And as Jesus was passing by I cried out with a loud voice, Have pity upon me, thou son of David. And he had pity upon me, and laid his hands upon my eyes, and I saw immediately. And another Jew, starting up, said: I was hunchbacked, and he straightened me with a word. And another said: I was leprous, and he healed me with a word.

CHAP. 7.—And also a certain woman, Veronica by name, from afar off cried out to the governor: I was flowing with blood for twelve years: and I touched the fringe of his garment, and immediately the flowing of my blood stopped. The Jews say: We have a law that a woman does not come to bear witness.

CHAP. 8.—And certain others, a multitude of men and women, cried out, saying: That man is a prophet, and the demons are subject to him. Pilate says to those who said that the demons are subject to him: And your masters, why are they not subject to him? They say to Pilate: We do not know. And others said to Pilate: He raised up dead Lazarus from the tomb after four days. The governor, hearing this, said trembling to all the multitude of the Jews: Why do you wish to shed innocent blood?

CHAP. 9.—And Pilate, calling Nicodemus and the twelve men who said that he was not born of fornication, says to them: What am I to do, seeing that there is a sedition among the people? They say to him: We do not know; let them see to it. Again Pilate, calling all the multitude of the Jews, said: You know that you have a custom during the day of unleavened bread, that I should release to you one that is bound. I have a notable one bound in the prison, a murderer who is called Bar Abbas, and Jesus who is called Christ, in whom I find no cause of death. Whom do you wish that I should release unto you? And they all cried out saying: Release unto us Bar Abbas. Pilate says to them: What, then, am I to do with Jesus who is called Christ? They all say: Let him be crucified. Again the Jews said: Thou art no friend of Cæsar's if thou release this man, for he called himself the Son of God, and a king: unless perhaps thou wishest this man to be king, and not Cæsar.

Then, filled with fury, Pilate said to them: Always has your nation been seditious, and always have you been opposed to those who were for you. The Jews answered: Who are for us? Pilate says to them: Your God, who rescued you from the hard slavery of the Egyptians, and led you forth out of Egypt through the sea as if through dry land, and fed you in the desert with manna and quail, and brought water to you out of the rock and gave you to drink, and gave you a law; and in all these things you provoked your God, and sought for yourselves a god—a molten calf. And you exasperated

your God, and he wished to slay you ; and Moses made supplication for you, that ye should not die. And now you say that I hate the king.

And, rising up from the tribunal, he wished to go outside. And the Jews cried out and said to him : We know that Cæsar is king, and not Jesus. For the magi also presented gifts to him as a king ; and Herod, hearing from the magi that a king was born, wished to slay him. But when this was known, his father, Joseph, took him and his mother and fled into Egypt ; and Herod, hearing, destroyed the infants of the Jews which were born in Bethlehem.

Pilate, hearing these words, was afraid. And, silence being made among the people who were crying out, Pilate said : This, then, is he whom Herod sought ? They say to him : It is he. And, taking water, Pilate washed his hands in presence of the people, saying : I am innocent of the blood of this just man ; see ye to it. Again the Jews cried out, saying : His blood be upon us and upon our children.

Then Pilate ordered the veil to be loosened, and said to Jesus : Thine own nation have brought charges against thee as a king ; and, therefore, I have sentenced thee first to be scourged on account of the statutes of the emperors, and then to be crucified on the cross.

CHAP. 10.—And when Jesus was scourged, he delivered him to the Jews to be crucified, and two robbers with him ; one by name Dismas, and the other by name Gistas. And when they came to

the place, they stripped him of his garments and girt him about with a linen cloth and put a crown of thorns upon his head. Likewise, also, they hanged the two robbers with him. Dismas on the right and Gistas on the left. And Jesus said: Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. And the soldiers parted his garments among them. And the people stood waiting; and their chief priest and judges mocked him, saying among themselves: He saved others, now let him save himself; if he is the Son of God, let him come down from the cross. And the soldiers mocked him, falling prostrate before him, and offering him vinegar with gall, and saying: If thou art the king of the Jews. set thyself free.

And Pilate, after sentence, ordered a title to be written in Hebrew, Greek and Latin letters, according to what the Jews said: This is the King of the Jews.

And one of the robbers who were hanged, by name Gistas, said to him: If thou art the Christ, free thyself and us. And Dismas, answering, rebuked him, saying: Dost not even thou fear God, who art in condemnation? for we justly and deservedly have received those things which we endure, but he has done no evil. And he kept saying to Jesus: Remember me, Lord, in thy kingdom. And Jesus said to him: Verily I say unto thee, that today shalt thou be with me in paradise.

CHAP. 11. And it was about the sixth hour, and there was darkness over the whole earth; and the

sun was obscured, and the veil of the Temple was rent in the midst. And, crying out with a loud voice, he said: Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit. And thus saying, he gave up the ghost. And the centurion, seeing what was done glorified God, saying: This was a just man. And all the people who were present at that spectacle, seeing what was done, beating their breasts, returned.

And the centurion reported to the governor what was done. And the governor and his wife hearing, were very sorrowful, and neither ate nor drank that day. And Pilate, calling together the Jews, said to them: Have you seen what has been done? And they said to the governor: There has been an eclipse of the sun, as is usual.

And his acquaintances stood afar off, and the women who had followed him from Galilee, seeing these things. And lo, a certain man, by name Joseph, holding office—a man good and just, who did not consent to their counsels nor their deeds, from Arimathea, a city of the Jews, waiting—he, also for the kingdom of God, went to Pilate and begged the body of Jesus. And, taking him down from the cross, he wrapped him in clean linen and laid him in his own new tomb, in which no one had been laid.

CHAP. 12.—And the Jews, hearing that Joseph had begged the body of Jesus, sought for him; and those twelve men who had said that He was not born of fornication, and many others who had stood before Pilate and declared his good works. And

all of them being hid, Nicodemus alone appeared to them, because he was a chief man of the Jews ; and he says to them : How have ye come into the synagogue ? The Jews say to him : And thou, how hast thou come into the synagogue, seeing that thou consentest with him ? May his portion be with thee in the world to come ! Nicodemus said : Amen, amen, amen. Likewise also Joseph, coming forth, said to them : Why are you enraged against me because I begged the body of Jesus ? Lo, I have laid him in my own new tomb, wrapping him in clean linen ; and I have rolled a stone to the door of the cave. And ye have not acted well against a just man, since you have not borne in mind how you crucified him and pierced him with a lance. The Jews, therefore, laying hold of Joseph, ordered him to be imprisoned because of the Sabbath day ; and they say to him : Know that the hour compels us not to do anything against thee, because the Sabbath is dawning. But understand that thou art worthy not even of burial, but we will give thy flesh to the birds of the air and the beasts of the earth. Joseph says to them : That is the speech of the proud Goliath, who reviled the living God against holy David. And God hath said, Vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord. And Pilate, intercepted in his heart, took water, and washed his hands before the sun, saying, I am innocent of the blood of this just man ; see ye to it. And you answered and said to Pilate, His blood be upon us, and upon our children. And now I fear that sometime or other the wrath of God will come upon you

and your children, as you have said. And the Jews, hearing this, were embittered in heart; and taking Joseph, shut him up in a house where there was no window, and set guards at the gates, and sealed the gate where Joseph had been shut up.

And on the Sabbath morning they took counsel with the priests and the Levites, that they should all be assembled after the Sabbath day. And awaking at dawn, all the multitude in the synagogue took counsel by what death they should slay him. And when the assembly was sitting, they ordered him to be brought with much indignity; and opening the gate, they found him not. All the people therefore were in terror, and wondered with exceeding astonishment, because they found the seals sealed, and because Caiaphas had the keys. And no longer did they dare to lay hand upon those who spoke before Pilate in Jesus' defense.

CHAP. 13.—And while they were sitting in the synagogue, and recriminating about Joseph, there came certain of the guards whom they had asked from Pilate to guard the sepulchre of Jesus, lest his disciples coming should steal him. And they reported, saying to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priest and the Levites, what had happened: how there had happened a great earthquake, and we saw how an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb, and sat upon it; and his countenance was like lightning, and his raiment like snow. And for fear, we became as dead. And we heard the voice

of the angel speaking to the women who had come to the sepulchre, and saying, Be not ye afraid ; for I know that ye seek Jesus who was crucified : He is not here ; he has risen, as he said : come and see the place where the Lord was laid. And go immediately and tell his disciples that he is risen from the dead, and will go before you into Galilee, as he said to you.

The Jews say : To what women was he speaking ? The soldiers say : We do not know who the women were. The Jews say : At what hour was it ? The guards say : At midnight. The Jews say : And why did you not detain them ? The guards say : We became as dead from fear of the angel, not hoping now to see the light of day, and how could we detain them ? The Jews say : As the Lord God liveth, we do not believe you. And the guards said to the Jews : You have seen so great signs in that man, and have not believed ; and how can you believe us that the Lord lives ? For well have ye sworn that the Lord Jesus Christ lives. Again the guards say to the Jews : We have heard that you have shut up Joseph, who begged the body of Jesus, in the prison, and have sealed it with your rings ; and on opening, that you have not found him. Give us Joseph, then, and we shall give you Jesus Christ. The Jews said : Joseph has gone to Arimathea, his own city. The guards say to the Jews : And Jesus, as we have heard from the angel is in Galilee.

And the Jews, hearing these sayings, feared exceedingly, saying : Lest at some time or other this

saying be heard, and all believe in Jesus. And the Jews, taking counsel among themselves, brought forth a sufficient number of silver pieces, and gave to the soldiers, saying; Say that, while we slept, his disciples came and stole him. And if this be heard by the governor, we shall persuade him, and make you secure. And the soldiers, taking the money, said as they were advised by the Jews, and their saying was spread abroad among all.

CHAP. 14.—And Finees a certain priest, and Addas a teacher, and Egias a Levite, coming down from Galilee to Jerusalem, reported to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, how they had seen Jesus sitting, and his disciples with him, on the Mount of Olivet, which is called Mambre, or Malech. And he said to his disciples: Go into all the world, and declare to every creature the gospel of the kingdom of God. He who believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he who believeth not shall be condemned. And these signs shall follow them who believe: In my name shall they cast out demons; they shall speak in new tongues; they shall take up serpents; and if they have drunk any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them; they shall lay hands upon the sick, and they shall be well. And as Jesus was thus speaking to his disciples, we saw him taken up into heaven.

The priests and the Levites and the elders say to them: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to him, whether you have both heard and seen those things which you have related.

Those who had made the report say : As the Lord God of our fathers liveth, the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, we have heard and seen. The Jews say to them : Have you come for this—to tell us? or have you come to give prayer to God? They said : We have come to give prayer to God. The elders and chief priests and Levites say to them : And if you have come to give prayer to God, why have you murmured before all the people about that foolish tale? Finees the priest, and Addas the teacher, and Egias the Levite, say to the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites : If those words which we have spoken, which we have seen and heard, be sin, behold we are in your presence ; do unto us according to that which is good in your eyes. And they taking the law, adjured them to report the words to no one thereafter. And they gave them to eat and drink, and put them outside of the city, giving them silver pieces, and three men with them, who should conduct them as far as Galilee.

Then the Jews took counsel among themselves when those men had gone up into Galilee ; and the rulers of the synagogue shut themselves in, and were cut up with great fury, saying : What sign is this which hath come to pass in Israel? And An-nas and Caiphas say : Why are your souls sorrowful? Are we to believe the soldiers, that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb? No ; but that his disciples have given much gold to those who were guarding the sepulchre, and have taken Jesus

away, and have taught them thus to say : Say ye, that an angel of the Lord came down from heaven, and rolled away the stone from the door of the tomb. Do you not know that it is unlawful for Jews to believe foreigners in a single word, knowing that these same who received sufficient gold from us have said as we taught them?

CHAP. 15. -And Nicodemus rising up, stood in the midst of the council, and said : You have said rightly. And are not the men who have come down from Galilee God-fearing, men of peace, hating a lie? And they recounted with an oath, how "we saw Jesus sitting on Mount Mambre with his disciples, and he taught them in our hearing, and that they saw him taken up into heaven. And no one asked them this : How he was taken up into heaven. And, as the writing of the holy book teaches us, holy Elias too was taken up into heaven, and Elisæus cried out with a loud voice, and Elias threw his sheepskin over Elisæus ; and again Elisæus threw that sheepskin over the Jordan, and went over and came to Jericho. And the sons of the prophets met him, and said to Elisæus, Where is thy master Elias? And he said, He has been taken up into heaven. And they said to Elisæus, Has a spirit snatched him away, and thrown him upon one of the mountains? But rather let us take our boys with us and seek him. And they persuaded Elisæus, and he went with them. And they sought him for three days and three nights, and found him not, because he was taken up. And now, men,

hear me, and let us send into all Israel, and see lest Jesus can have been taken up somewhere or other, and thrown upon one of the mountains. And that saying pleased all. And they sent to all the mountains of Israel to seek Jesus, and they found him not; but they found Joseph of Arimathea, and no one dared to lay hold of him.

And they reported to the elders and priests and Levites: We have gone round all the mountains of Israel, and not found Jesus; but we found Joseph in Arimathea. And hearing of Joseph, they rejoiced, and gave glory to the God of Israel. And the rulers of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites, taking counsel in what manner they should send to Joseph, took paper, and wrote to Joseph.

Peace to thee and all that is thine! We know that we have sinned against God, and against thee; and thou hast prayed to the God of Israel, and he has delivered thee out of our hands. And now deign to come to thy fathers and thy children, because we have been vehemently grieved. We have all sought for thee—we who opened the door, and found thee not. We know that we counseled evil counsel against thee; but the Lord hath supplanted our counsel against thee. Thou art worthy to be honored, father Joseph, by all the people.

And they chose out of all Israel seven men friendly to Joseph, whom also Joseph knew to be friendly: and the rulers of the synagogue and the priests and the Levites say to them: See, if he take the letter and read it, for certain he will come with

you to us ; but if he do not read, you may know that he is ill-disposed towards us, and, saluting him in peace, return to us. And blessing them, they sent them away. And they came to Arimathea to Joseph, and adored him on their face upon the ground, and said : Peace to thee and all thine ! And Joseph said : Peace to you, and to all the people of Israel ! And they gave him the roll of the letter. And Joseph took and read it, and rolled up the letter, and blessed God, and said : Blessed be the Lord God, who hath delivered Israel from shedding innocent blood ; and blessed be God, who sent his angel, and covered me under his wings. And he kissed them, and set a table for them ; and they ate and drank, and slept there.

And they rose in the morning ; and Joseph saddled his ass, and travelled with them, and they came into the holy city Jerusalem. And there met them all the people, crying out, and saying : Peace be in thy coming in, father Joseph ! To whom he answered and said : The peace of the Lord be upon all the people ! And they all kissed him. And they prayed with Joseph, and were terrified at the sight of him. And Nicodemus took him into his house, and made a great feast, and called Annas and Caiaphas, and the elders and chief priests and Levites, to his house. And making merry, and eating and drinking with Joseph, they blessed God, and went every one to his own house. And Joseph remained in the house of Nicodemus.

And on the next day, which is the preparation, the priests and the rulers of the synagogue and the

Levites rose early, and came to the house of Nicodemus. And Nicodemus met them, and said to them: Peace to you! And they said to him: Peace to thee and Joseph, and to thy house and Joseph's house! And Nicodemus brought them into his house. And the council sat: and Joseph sat between Annas and Caiaphas, and no one dared to say a word. And Joseph said to them: Why have you called me? And they made signs with their eyes to Nicodemus, that he should speak with Joseph. And Nicodemus opening his mouth, said: Father Joseph, thou knowest that the reverend teachers, priests, and Levites seek to hear a word from thee. And Joseph said: Ask. And Annas and Caiaphas, taking up the law, adjured Joseph, saying: Give glory to the God of Israel, and give confession to him, that thou wilt not hide any word from us. And they said to him: With grief were we grieved that thou didst beg the body of Jesus, and wrap it in clean linen, and lay it in a tomb. Therefore we shut thee up in a house where there was no window, and put a lock and a seal on the gate; and on the first day of the week we opened the gates, and found thee not. We were therefore exceedingly grieved, and astonishment came over all the people of God. And therefore hast thou been sent for: and now tell us what has happened.

Then said Joseph: On the day of the preparation, about the tenth hour, you shut me in, and I remained there the whole Sabbath in full. And when midnight came, as I was standing and praying, the house where you shut me in was hung up

by the four corners, and there was a flashing of light in mine eyes. And I fell to the ground trembling. Then some one lifted me up from the place where I had fallen, and poured over me an abundance of water from the head even to the feet, and put round my nostrils the odor of a wonderful ointment, and rubbed my face with the water itself, as if washing me, and kissed me, and said to me, Joseph, fear not; but open thine eyes, and see who it is that speaks to thee. And looking, I saw Jesus; and being terrified, I thought it was a phantom. And with prayer and the commandments I spoke to him, and he spoke with me. And I said to him: Art thou Rabbi Elias? And he said to me: I am not Elias. And I said: Who art thou, my lord? And he said to me: I am Jesus, whose body thou didst beg from Pilate, and wrap in clean linen; and thou didst lay a napkin on my face, and didst lay me in a new tomb, and roll a stone to the door of the tomb. Then I said to him that was speaking to me: Show me, Lord, where I laid thee. And he led me, and showed me the place where I laid him, and the linen which I had put on him, and the napkin which I had wrapped upon his face; and I knew that it was Jesus. And he took hold of me with his hands, and put me in the midst of my house though the gates were shut, and put me in my bed, and said to me: Peace to thee! And he kissed me, and said to me: For forty days go not out of thy house; for, lo, I go to my brethren into Galilee.

CHAP. 16.—And the rulers of the synagogue, and

the priests and the Levites, hearing these words from Joseph, became as it were, dead, and fell to the ground, and fasted until the ninth hour. And Joseph and Nicodemus entreated them, saying: Arise and stand upon your feet, and taste bread, and comfort your souls, seeing that to-morrow is the Sabbath of the Lord. And they arose, and entreated the Lord, and ate and drank, and went every man to his own house.

And on the Sabbath the teachers and doctors sat questioning each other, and saying: What is this wrath that has come upon us? because we know his father and mother. Levi the teacher said: I know that his parents fear God, and never depart from prayer, and give tithes thrice a year. And when Jesus was born, his parents brought him up to this place, and gave to God sacrifices and burnt offerings. And assuredly the great teacher Simeon took him into his arms, saying: Now thou sendest away thy servant, O Lord, according to thy word, in peace; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation, which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples, a light for the revealing of the nations, and the glory of thy people Israel. And he blessed Mary his mother, and said, I make an announcement to thee concerning this child. And Mary said, Well, my lord. And Simeon said, Well. And he said again, Lo, he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against; and a sword shall pierce thine own soul, that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

And the Jews said to Levi: And how knowest thou these things? Levi says: Do you not know that from him I learned the law? They of the council say: We wish to see thy father. And they searched out his father, and got information; for he said: Why did you not believe my son? The blessed and just Simeon taught him the law. The council says to Rabbi Levi: The saying which thou hast spoken is true. The chief priests and rulers of the synagogue, and Levites, said to each other: Come, let us send into Galilee to the three men who came hither and gave an account of his teaching and his being taken up, and let them tell us how they saw him taken up into heaven. And that saying pleased all. Then they sent three men into Galilee; and go, said they, say to Rabbi Addas and Rabbi Finees and Rabbi Egias, Peace to you and yours! Many investigations have been made in the council concerning Jesus; therefore have we been instructed to call you to the holy place, to Jerusalem.

The men went to Galilee, and found them sitting and meditating on the law. And they saluted them in peace. And they said: Why have you come? The messengers said: The council summon you to the holy city Jerusalem. And the men, hearing that they were sought for by the council, prayed to God, and reclined with the men, and ate and drank with them. And rising in the morning, they went to Jerusalem in peace.

And on the morrow the council sat; and they questioned them, saying: Did you plainly see Jesus-

sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples ; and taken up into heaven?

First Addas the teacher says : I really saw him sitting on Mount Mambre teaching his disciples ; and a shining cloud overshadowed him and his disciples, and he went up into heaven ; and his disciples prayed upon their faces on the ground. And calling Finees the priest, they questioned him also, saying : How didst thou see Jesus taken up? And he said the same as the other. And again they called the third, Rabbi Engias, and questioned him, and he said the same as the first and second. And those who were in the council said : The law of Moses holds that by the mouth of two or three every word should stand. Abudem, a teacher, one of the doctors, says : It is written in the law, Enoch walked with God, and was translated ; for God took him. Jairus, a teacher, said : And we have heard of the death of holy Moses and have not seen it ; for it is written in the law of the Lord : And Moses died according to the word of the Lord, and no man knoweth of his burying even to the present day. Rabbi Levi said : What is it that Rabbi Simeon said? Lo, he lies for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against? Rabbi Isaac said : It is written in the law, Lo, I send mine angel, who shall go before thy face to keep thee in every good way, because I have brought his new name.

Then Annas and Caiaphas said : Rightly have ye said that these things are written in the law of Moses that no one saw the death of Enoch, and no

one has named the burying of holy Moses. And Jesus gave account to Pilate, and we saw him scourged and receiving spitting on his face : and the soldiers put a crown of thorns on him, and he received sentence from Pilate ; and then he was crucified, and they gave him gall and vinegar to drink ; and two robbers were crucified with him, and the soldier Longinus pierced his side with a lance ; and our honorable father Joseph begged his body, and he has risen again, and, as they say, the three teachers have seen Him taken up into heaven. And Rabbi Levi has borne witness to what was said by Simeon the elder—that he has been set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel, and for a sign which shall be spoken against.

Then Didas, a teacher, said to all the assembly : If all the things which these have borne witness to have come to pass in Jesus,* they are from God, and let it not be wonderful in our eyes. The chiefs of the synagogue, and the priests and the Levites said to each other how our law holds. saying : His name shall be blessed forever : His place endureth before the sun, and his seat before the moon ; and all the tribes of earth shall be blessed in him, and all nations shall serve him ; and kings shall come from far, adoring and magnifying him.

*And there are also many other things which Jesus did, the which if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written, Amen. John xxi, 25.

TISCHENDORF'S COMMENTS ON THE ACTS OF PILATE.

In one of his most critical and learned works,* Tischendorf says :

“Justin, in like manner as before, is the most ancient voucher for this work, which is said to have been written under Pilate’s jurisdiction, and by reason of its specification of wonderful occurrences before, during and after the crucifixion, to have borne strong evidence to the divinity of Christ. Justin saw as little reason as Tertullian and others, for believing that it was a work of pious deception from a Christian hand.” [As has been alleged by opponents.] “On the contrary. Justin appeals to it twice in his first apology in order to confirm the accounts of the occurrences which took place at the crucifixion in accordance with prophecy, and of the miraculous healings effected by Christ, also the subject of prophetic announcement. He cites specifically (chap. 35) from Isaiah LXV. 2, and LVIII. 2: ‘I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people which walketh in a way that was not good. They ask of me the ordinances of justice,

*Origin of the Four Gospels, pp. 141 et. Seq.

they take delight in approaching to God.' Further, from the 22d Psalm: 'They pierced my hands and my feet; they parted my garments upon them and cast lots upon my vesture.' With reference to this he remarks that Christ fulfilled this; that he did stretch forth his hands when the Jews crucified him—the men who contended against Him and denied that he was Christ. 'Then,' he says further, 'as the prophet foretold, they dragged him to the judgment seat, set him upon it and said, 'judge us.' The expression, however, 'they pierced,' etc,' refers to the nails with which they fastened his feet and hands to the cross. And after they had crucified him they threw lots for his clothing, and they who had taken part in the act of crucifixion divided it among themselves. To this he adds: And you can learn from the Acts, composed during the governorship of Pontius Pilate that these things really happened.'

“Still more explicit is the testimony of Tertullian. It may be found in Apologeticus (chap. 2) where he says that out of envy Jesus was surrendered to Pilate by the Jewish ceremonial lawyers, and by him, after he had yielded to the cries of the people, given over for crucifixion; that while hanging on the cross he gave up the ghost with a loud cry, and so anticipated the executioner's duty; that at that same hour the day was interrupted by a sudden darkness; that a guard of soldiers was set at the grave for the purpose of preventing his disciples stealing his body, since he had predicted his resurrection, but that on the third day the ground was suddenly shaken and the stone rolled away from be-

fore the sepulchre ; that in the grave nothing was found but the articles used in his burial ; that the report was spread abroad by those who stood outside that the disciples had taken the body away : that Jesus spent forty days with them in Galilee, teaching them what their mission should be. and that after giving them their instructions as to what they should preach, he was raised in a cloud to heaven. Tertullian closes this account with the words, 'All this was reported to the Emperor at that time, Tiberius, by Pilate, his conscience having compelled even him to become a Christian.'

“The document now in our possession corresponds with this evidence of Justin and Tertullian. Even in the title it agrees with the account of Justin, although instead of the word *acta*, which he used, and which is manifestly much more Latin than Greek a Greek expression is employed which can be shown to have been used to indicate genuine Acts. The details recounted by Justin and Tertullian are all found in our text of the Acts of Pilate, with this variation, that nothing corresponds to what is joined to the declaration of the prophet, 'They dragged him to the seat of judgment and set him upon it and said.' etc. Besides this, the casting lots for the vesture is expressed simply by the allusion to the division of the clothes. We must give even closer scrutiny to one point. Justin alludes to the miracles which were performed in fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, on the lame, the dumb, the blind, the dead and on lepers. In fact. in our Acts of Pilate there are made to appear before the Roman gov-

ernor a palsied man who had suffered for thirty-eight years, and was brought in a bed by young men, and healed on the Sabbath day; a blind man cured by the laying on of hands; a cripple who had been restored; a leper who had been cleansed; the woman whose issue of blood had been stanchèd, and a witness of the raising of Lazarus from the dead. Of that which Tertullian cites we will adduce merely the passage found in no one of our gospels, that Jesus passed forty days after his resurrection in company with his disciples in Galilee.

“This is indicated in our Acts of Pilate at the end of the fifteenth chapter, where the risen man is represented as saying to Joseph: ‘For forty days go not out of thy house, for behold I go to my brethren in Galilee,’

“Every one will perceive how strongly the argument that our Acts of Pilate are the same which Justin and Tertullian read is buttressed by these unexpected coincidences. The assertion recently made requires, consequently, no labored contradiction that the allusions to both men have grown out of their mere suspicion that there was such a record as the Acts of Pilate, or out of the circulation of a mere story about such a record, while the real work was written as the consequence of these allusions at the close of the third century. What an uncommon fancy it requires in the two men to coincide so perfectly in a single production, as is the case in the Acts to which I am now referring. And are we to imagine that they referred with such em-

phasis as they employed to the mere creations of their fancy?

“The question has been raised with more justice, whether the production in our possession may not have been a copy or a free revision of the old and primitive one. The modern change in the title has given support to this conjecture, for it has occasioned the work to be commonly spoken of as the Gospel of Nicodemus. But this title is borne neither by any Greek manuscript, the Coptic-Sahidian papyrus, nor the Latin manuscripts with the exception of a few of the most recent. It may be traced only subsequently to the twelfth century, although at a very early period, in one of the two prefaces attached to the work, Nicodemus is mentioned in one place as a Hebrew author and in another as a Greek translator. But aside from the title, the hand-writing displays great variation, and the two prefaces alluded to above show clearly the work of two hands. Notwithstanding this, however, there are decisive grounds for holding that our Acts of Pilate contains in its main substance the document drawn from Justin and Tertullian. The first of these to be noticed is, that the Greek text, as given in the version most widely circulated in the manuscripts, is surprisingly corroborated by two documents of the rarest character, and first used by myself—a Coptic-Sahidian papyrus manuscript and a Latin palimpsest—both probably dating from the fifth century. Such a documentary confirmation of their text is possessed by scarcely ten works of the collective Greek classic literature. Both of these

ancient writings make it in the highest degree probable that the Egyptian and Latin translations which they contain were executed still earlier.

“But could a work which was held in great consideration in Justin’s and Tertullian’s time and down to the commencement of the fourth century, and which strenuously insists that the Emperor Maximin caused other blasphemous Acts of Pilate to be published and zealously circulated, manifestly for the purpose of displacing and discrediting the older Christian Acts—could such a work suddenly change its whole form, and from the fifth century, to which in so extraordinary a manner translators, wholly different in character, point back with such wonderful concurrence, continue in the new form? Contrary as this is to all historical criticism, there is in the contents of the work, in the singular manner in which isolated and independent details are shown to be related to the canonical books, no less than in the accordance with the earliest quotations found in Justin and Tertullian, a guaranty of the greatest antiquity.

“There are in the contents, also, matters of such a nature that we must confess that they are to be traced back to the primitive edition, as, for example, the narrative in the first chapter of the bringing forward of the accused.

“It is incorrect, moreover, to draw a conclusion from Justin’s designation of the Acta which is not warranted by the whole character of the work. The Acta, the *ὑπομνήματα*, are specified in Justin’s account not less than in the manuscripts which we

possess, as being written *under* Pontius Pilate, and that can signify nothing else than that they were an official production composed under the direct sanction of the Roman Governor."

Such are the remarks of Tischendorf in regard to the remarkable papers which have just been presented. Whatever else he may have said of them in relation to their connection with our Scriptures, one thing he has most clearly affirmed, viz., *that we are to-day in possession* of the records transmitted by Pilate to the Roman Emperor, as seen by Justin, referred to by Tertullian, and as alluded to by Eusebius. The simple question remaining to be settled by the reader is this: Are we to accept them as Justin, Tertullian and Eusebius did, as the official statements of Pilate, originating in his procuratorship in Judea, and written under his knowledge and with his sanction, or are we to assume as some have done, that these three eminent men spoke and wrote of matters of the highest importance to all coming generations without a correct appreciation of what they were doing? It requires great hardihood to cast aside the plain and emphatic statements of Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Eusebius; made by Justin at least to the Roman Senate, an educated Emperor, and to philosophers, and kept alive from A. D. 138 down to A. D. 315.

Now the first question to be settled is: Have we those Acts of Pilate?

To prove that we have, is the object before us in the quoting of the foregoing. We ask the reader to examine carefully again what Dr. Tis-

chendorf has said in relation to "Our Acts of Pilate." Now it is simply impossible to go behind this record. The examination of the oldest existing manuscripts of these records was carefully made by this eminent scholar, who is their discoverer—the body of the text, the prologue, in their handwriting and other particulars being carefully made. A searching comparison of their contents with the description given by the apologists of the original is carefully made; in short, all the skill exercised in the severest historical and linguistic criticism is brought to bear in the examination: and the result reached is the fixed conclusion that "*we have the documents known to and used by Justin and Tertullian.*" This is Dr. Tischendorf's deliberate conclusion: substantiated by a confirmation of their text, "which," he says, "*is possessed by scarcely ten works of the collective Greek classic literature.*" This is the conclusion of the great Dr. Tischendorf, whose ability in such investigations the reader may gather from the sketch of him given in this volume. Who will say that he is mistaken? Who will set up a higher claim to ability as a literary archæologist? Few, indeed will say "I." And this is as far as we need go in this department of the enquiry. The arguments and investigations made by this eminent scholar were written in 1867—since which date we are not aware that any abler critic has handled the manuscripts of Tischendorf, or contradicted the statements he then made. So that, at this writing, we rest in the conclusion that we have the

records of Pilate as known to Justin, Tertullian and Eusebius.

The second question to be settled is: Did *Justin* and *Tertullian* use, or were they acquainted with Acts of Pilate really and truly drawn up under Pilate?

The answer to this question by a negative would involve Christianity in serious difficulty. It would require the most absurd conjectures, or else prove that both advocates and opponents conspired to impose upon posterity a most wretched religious fraud. More than one Christian historian has regarded this whole matter as a "pious fraud." A pious fraud, indeed!

How could Justin impose a fraud of this character on Crescens the philosopher, and the emperor and his philosopher sons, and on the "Sacred Senate" he addresses in relation to the proofs of Christ's divinity as reported in Pilate's official statement to Tiberius? To any one acquainted with the parties and their intelligence and surroundings, such a supposition is simply absurd? A philosopher addressing a Roman senate, bringing in the testimony of a procurator and his reported testimony with a bare fiction! Why did not Crescens convict Justin of this? Certainly he was eager to do so. Why could he hear Justin repeat the statement twice in one address, "That the emperor and all might easily know the divinity of Jesus from the Acts drawn up under Pontius Pilate" if it were false? Why not have Justin beheaded then and there, as was afterward done at the instigation of this same Crescens,

for religious heresy against the gods of Rome? Does this look like fiction in Justin? Does it look like a "worthless story," as some would have it? The value of the "story" was this, as given by Justin in Section 48 of his Apology: "And that it was foretold by the prophet that our Christ should heal all diseases and raise the dead." * * * "That he (Christ) performed these things you may easily be satisfied from the Acts of Pontius Pilate."

This is the "worthless story" twice told in one address "to the emperor, to the senate, and the whole people at Rome."

But this is not all of the "story." Justin had such remarkable skill and success in telling it, that Tertullian, who has been fitly called the Christian Hannibal—Tertullian, the lawyer, the first among the writers of the Latin fathers—takes up the same "story" and still more explicitly sets it forth to another emperor. He for the second time places the Roman procurator on the stand to prove by his official records the divinity of Jesus. Was this the mere statement of a fiction, a practice of the same old "fraud" long ago, in Justin's time, told to the senate and the philosophers who were in deadly opposition to any such statement?

What hardihood it must have required in Justin to inaugurate such a fraud, if it were fraud; What audacity in Tertullian to repeat it afterward!

The story of the Acts of Pilate does not end here, however. Long afterwards Eusebius, "the father of church history," takes the pains to set it firmly upon the page of history; to tell of its then existence

even in documents used by the Christians, and to give an account of the attempt at the destruction of the Acts of Pilate, and of a substitution in their place of other blasphemous Acts plainly for the purpose of counteracting or destroying the authority and force of the original Acts. So that, from the year A. D. 138 down to 315, this "story" was kept alive by these three mighty men of the Church. And if this proceeding was a fraud, a mere fiction based upon the bold invention or deception of Justin it may be said that its parallel is not excelled in history. It may be truly affirmed, that if the resurrection and miracles of Jesus were by these men fraudulently put up as "the Acts drawn up under the procurator Pilate," and were so claimed in public apologies to philosophers, senates and emperors, as being quoted from state records of Rome, then there is no escape from fraud and fiction in such an age.

No dependence can be placed in the honesty of men who would knowingly practise such a deception, and but little more in men who could ignorantly press such a myth or falsehood as truth. It is an index of character which unerringly points them out as the basest falsifiers and boldest deceivers, or as the weakest and most credulous of men. Such were not Justin, Tertullian and Eusebius. Any one of them may at times have been deceived in regard to minor affairs in the life of their Master, but it is almost impossible that all three, on the most vital point in their system of religion, should so long and so persistently have kept up this story of the Acts of Pilate, as containing official in-

formation going to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ. And were this not a most vital point, we should feel like apologizing to the reader for having so lengthily laid before him so much as has been said of this matter.

The learned Lardner, whom we have quoted at great length, together with many of the ablest writers of the Church, would not so elaborately have written had it not been their conviction that such testimony as Pilate bore to the divinity of our Lord was of the very highest import to every man who has any concern in the matter of religion.

They felt that this Roman procurator's official statements must be of a character so disinterested and so undeniable that they have labored in a very lengthy, learned, and fair manner to impress the truth merely that Pilate did make a report to Tiberius favorable to the Saviour's claims.

And because of the importance of this point, we insist upon it, and would again ask the candid-minded reader to review the life and character of each of these witnesses:—Justin Martyr, “who by the splendour of his name overshadowed all the great men who illuminated the second century;” Tertulian, “one of the most highly esteemed Romans, of great natural endowments, supplemented by a comprehensive course of studies whose fruit appears in the wealth of historical, legal, philosophical, physical and antiquarian elements contained in his writings, and whose legal ability sheds light on many disputed points of Roman civil law;” Eusebius, who is admitted to have “excelled in erudition

all the church fathers, not excepting scarcely Origen and Jerome:—these are the men who inaugurated and kept alive before philosophers, senates and emperors in set defences, apologies and history, the affirmation “that Pilate officially reported to Tiberius Cæsar facts concerning the life and crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth manifesting his divinity.” They kept this affirmation alive by repeating it before these philosophers, “the senate of Rome, and the whole Roman people,” from A. D. 138 till the beginning of the fourth century. This can not be denied in the light of their writings and in the face of their solemn declarations. We must accept it, or else lay under suspicion the veracity or the intelligence of these three great men—on a point of history than which there can be none of greater import; and which suspicion must cleave to much else they have placed on record.

DEATH WARRANT

SENTENCE RENDERED BY PONTIUS PILATE, THAT
JESUS OF NAZARETH SHALL SUFFER DEATH
ON THE CROSS.

SENTENCE.*

*The Sentence here is a translation from a Hebrew inscription on a copper-plate tablet, first discovered A. D. 1200, while excavating for antiquities at Aquila, the site of the ancient Amiternum, whose ruins are still to be seen near St. Vittorino, 53 miles N. E. of Rome. It was subsequently brought into prominence by Dominique Vivant Denon, the great French archæologist—born at Chalon-sur-Saone, 1747, died at Paris. 1825. On the reverse side of the tablet is inscribed: "A like plate is sent to each of the tribes." For life, labours, etc., of Denon, see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. vii., Art. Denon.

The attention bestowed upon the tablet containing the "Death Warrant of Christ" was the cause of its insertion at the conclusion of these remarkable papers. This tablet bears genuine marks of antiquity, having been handled by those well skilled in such matters; and it is in the style of legal proceedings at the time. The allusion made to Cornelius is a singularly interesting one, inasmuch as it renders it possible, if not probable, that he is the same Cornelius alluded to in the New Testament narrative, as the first convert among the Gentiles under the preaching of Peter. That account also makes Cornelius a captain of the Italian band dwelling at Cæsarea, Pilate's old head-quarters. (See Acts of Apos. x. i.)

And as it is likely that Pilate took Cornelius, mentioned here, along with him from Cæsarea up to the feast at Jerusalem, and it is scarcely probable that there were two men of this name, both cen-

“In the year seventeen of the empire of Tiberius Cæsar, and the 24th of March, the city of the Holy Jerusalem: Annas and Caiaphas being priests, sacrificators of the people of God, I. Pontius Pilate, governor of the prætory, condemn Jesus of Nazareth to die on the cross between two theives—the great and notorious evidence of the people saying—

“1. He is a seducer.

“2. He is seditious.

“3. He is the enemy of the law.

“4. He calls himself, falsely, the Son of God.

“5. He calls himself the King of Israel.

“6. He entered into the Temple, followed by a multitude bearing palm branches in their hands.

“Order the centurion, Quintius Cornelius, to lead him to the place of execution.

“Forbid any person whomsoever, poor or rich, to oppose the death of Jesus.

“The witnesses that signed the death of Jesus are :

“1. Daniel, Rabbi, Pharisee. “2. Joannes, Rabbi.
“3. Raphael Rorobable. “4. Capet, a citizen.

“Jesus shall go out of the city by the gate ‘Stru-
enus.’ ”

turions, and both dwelling at Cæsarea, we feel it almost certain that Cornelius is the same mentioned here and in the New Testament.

The Cornelius of the New Testament was undoubtedly a foreigner, a heathen Gentile, and most likely a Roman—and one who, it would seem probable from this reference to him here—well acquainted with the wonderful phenomena exhibited at the crucifixion. He, however, is not the soldier who pierced the side of Jesus with a spear his name being given as Longinus, in the Acts of Pilate.

REPORT OF PILATE

(VATICAN MANUSCRIPT.)

The following Report is a translation from a very old Latin manuscript in the Vatican Library, Rome.

*Pontius Pilate to Tiberius Cæsar, Emperor,
Sends Greeting:*

The events of those last few days were of such a character in my province that I have thought I should write concerning them in detail, since I should not wonder if in coming years, they may change the fortune of our nation; for it seems of late that the gods have ceased to be friends. It is not far from me to say, "Cursed be the day on which I succeeded Valerius Gratus in the government of Judea."* When I came up to Jerusalem

*It was customary for the Roman procurators to go up to Jerusalem at such a time for the trial of such matters as might come before the Jewish council. And it is most probable that Pilate went up at this time filled with the gravest apprehensions of the results of this very trial of Jesus. For it will be remembered by all who have paid any attention to this department of history that Jesus was by no means an insignificant person at this time.

He had, by his life and teachings, made himself not only obnoxious

and occupied the Pretorium, I ordered a banquet to be splendidly prepared, to which I invited the tetrarch of Galilee with his high priests and his prefects,* . At the appointed time no guests were present, which thing was an insult to my dignity. After a few days it pleased the high priest to call on me. He bore himself gravely and deceitfully. He feigned that his religion forbade him and his companions to sit down and offer up libations with

to orthodox Jewry as an opposer and a destroyer of some time-honored laws and religious ceremonies, but, in the language of to-day, was looked upon as a political reformer and disturber, whose influence was felt and acknowledged by the masses of the people. And though his acts and his teaching may have been looked upon by the Jews with much uneasy suspicion and even dreadful apprehension, yet they had been done with such prudence, judgment and wisdom that it was difficult to arrest the tide of his influence except by a resort to very arbitrary and very questionable acts on the part of either the Roman or Jewish authorities.

*Pilate was at this time not the most popular governor among the Jews. He had committed several acts of a character very offensive to them in the former years of his administration.

The most natural and politic thing for him to do, therefore, as a shrewd politician, was to court the friendship of the Jewish leaders and officials. And as nothing is better calculated to soften and conciliate men of this type than social feasting, this banquet seems to have been a happy and very natural thought in the mind of Pilate.

The Jews, however, seem to have been quite as skillful in political tact as the governor himself, on this occasion at least, and refused to be brought into any such relation as seems to have been in the mind of the governor Pilate to induce. This appears very fully from the language used immediately after by Pilate: He "*feigned* that his religion forbade him," etc. This, at least seems to have been Pilate's view concerning the Jew's refusal to accept his invitation, although the "excuse" offered by the high priest may have been sincere and most proper.

the Romans. It seemed to me politic to accept his excuse,* but from that time I was convinced that the conquered were the professed enemies of their conquerors† Of all the cities which had been over-

*Pilate seems determined, by every statement made in this immediate connection, to carry his point with the emperor as against the Jewish priests. His charge against the high priest of grave and well-studied deceit in manner on his visit, of his feigning or lying about not attending the feast, and of his (Pilate's) being compelled from good policy to accept the "excuse" or lie of the high priest, are all laid down as premises to the conclusion which Pilate would impress on the mind of Tiberus, viz: "*that the conquered were the enemies of the conquerors,*" and that this was especially the case in Jerusalem, the stage upon which had been played this terrible drama now big with omens of more seditions in the Roman government of Judea.

It will be remembered by the reader that this was a leading feature in this great trial of Jesus. as related to Pilate and the Jewish priesthood, viz: the settlement of the question as to "who was Cæsar's friend in this matter;" and Pilate is still at work in the settlement of this question by laying before the emperor the exact position of himself, as also of the priesthood as related to the entire matter.

†The difficulty with which Jerusalem's turbulence was restrained, is well attested by appeals to the history of many events occurring from the very time of her subjugation till her complete destruction by the Romans.

The madness of her people culminated when it could not listen to such an appeal for peace as was made by their own king Agrippa just before the final and general conflict which resulted in the overthrow and demolition of the city and temple by Titus.

To one who would see the climax of madness in this people, the reader is referred to the masterly speech of Agrippa as quoted in the Summary Appendix of this work, page 348.

See also speech of the high priest Ananus as given in the Article on Annas and Caiaphas, page 273.

come, it appeared to me that Jerusalem was the most difficult to be held in subjection. So turbulent were the people that I was in perpetual fear of a sedition,* for repressing which there was one centurion only, and a small band of soldiers. I had requested aid from the prefect of Syria, who announced to me that he had scarcely sufficient troops for defense of his own province. I fear that the insatiate thirst of conquering beyond what we are able to defend shall lose to us our noble government. Among the many rumors which were borne to my ears, one especially occupied my mind. A young man had come into Galilee, it was said, teaching with a noble zeal a new law in the name of the gods

*To what degree, and to what a degraded state the government of the city fell after this, will be seen in a sentence of Josephus, their own historian, descriptive of the times of Agrippa and under the high priest Ismael the Son of Fabi.

“About this time king Agrippa gave the high priesthood to Ismael, who was the son of Fabi. And now arose a sedition between the high priests and the principal men of the multitude of Jerusalem; each of whom got them a company of the boldest sort of men, and of those that loved innovations, about them, and became leaders to them; and when they struggled together, they did it by casting reproachful words against one another, and by throwing stones also. And there was nobody to reprove them; but these disorders were done after a licentious manner in the city, as if it had no government over it. And such was the impudence and boldness that had seized on the high priest, that they had the hardness to send their servants into the threshing-floors, to take away those tithes that were due to the priests: insomuch that it so fell out that the poorer sort of the priests died for want. To this degree did the violence of the seditious prevail over all right and justice. Antiquities, Book xx, chap. viii, 8.

who had sent him. At first I feared his design might be to stir up the people against the Romans ; but soon my fears were borne away. Jesus, the Nazarene, spoke more as a friend of the Romans than of the Jews. One day going by the place of Siloam, at which there was a great concourse of people, I saw a young man in the midst of the assembly, who, leaning against a tree, calmly addressed the multitude. I was told that it was Jesus. This I could have easily suspected, such was the difference between him and his hearers. His hair and beard of golden yellow, gave a celestial aspect. He appeared to be about thirty years old. Never have I seen a gentler or more serene countenance.* What a difference between

*There is a description of the personal appearance of Jesus given by Epiphanius, discovered by Tischendorf in the original Greek form, and is as follows.

Christ was exceedingly beautiful in countenance. His stature was fully developed, his height being six feet. He had auburn hair, quite abundant and flowing down mostly over his whole person. His eyebrows were black and not highly arched, his eyes brown, and bright.

He had a family likeness, in his fine eyes, prominent nose and good color, to his ancestor David, who is said to have had beautiful eyes and a ruddy complexion.

He wore his hair long, for a razor never touched it, nor was it cut by any person except by his mother in childhood. His neck inclined forward a little so that the posture of his body was not too upright or stiff.

His face was full, but not quite so round as his mother's; tinged with sufficient color to make it handsome and natural; mild in expression, of the blandness of his mother whose features his own resembled. (Cod. Ven. ci. i. Tischendorf.)

him and those listening, with their black beards and tawny complexion. Since I was unwilling to interrupt him by my presence, I pursued my walking, but gave a sign to my secretary that he should draw near to the crowd and listen.* The name of my

Epiphanius who spent many years at Bethlehem and gathered many facts concerning Jesus and his mother Mary, thus writes of her : She was of middle stature, her face oval, her eyes brilliant and of an olive tint; her eyebrows arched and black, her hair a pale brown, her complexion fair as wheat.

She spoke little, but she spoke freely and affably. She was grave, courteous, tranquil. In her deportment was nothing lax or feeble.

St. Denis, the Areopagite, who is said to have seen Mary in her lifetime declared that, "she was of dazzling beauty, that he would have adored her as a goddess had he not known that there was but one God!"

According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* viii, 18) the woman who was cured of hemorrhage (*Matt.* ix, 20.) out of thankfulness erected a brazen statue of Jesus at Cæsarea Philippi.

Sozomen states that this statue was destroyed by command of the emperor Julian, who renounced Christianity and became a heathen in religion because of bitterness towards his relatives.

See also Sir Edwin Arnold in "The Light of the World" pp. 140.

*Pilate, like Herod and other Roman officials in Palestine, kept a close watch of course on all persons like John the Baptist and Jesus.

Herod it will be remembered, before whom Jesus appeared during this trial, had put John the Baptist to death, after confining him in prison "lest the great influence John had over the people might put into his power an inclination to raise a rebellion, for the people seemed to do anything that John might advise." *Josephus Antiq.* Book 18, 5.

And Pilate leaves his secretary, Manlius, to listen to the words of Jesus no doubt for the reason that he feared that Jesus might be dealing in matters of politics. He does not wait, himself, but leaves his secretary to listen and report as to what aim Jesus was pressing on the people, and finding out from Manlius that Jesus was not en-

secretary was Manlius. He was the grandson of the leader of the conspirators, who were encamped in Etruria awaiting Cataline. Manlius was an old inhabitant of Judea, and knew the Hebrew language well. He was devoted to me, and worthy of my confidence. On entering the Pretorium, I found Manlius, who related to me the words spoken at Si-loam. Never have I heard from the Portico, nor in the works of the philosophers, anything that can be compared with the maxims of Jesus. When a certain one of the rebellious Jews, who are so numerous in Jerusalem, asked him whether it were lawful to give tribute to Cæsar, Jesus answered: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are his, and unto God the things which are God's."

It was on account of the wisdom* of this saying

gaged in any revolutionary mission he gives himself no further concern in relation to the matter, but rather favors the sentiments entertained and expressed by Jesus by granting him the largest permission to teach and preach, and make disciples.

*Pilate was doubtless a political friend to Jesus.

His appointment by Tiberius to the office of Procurator makes it certain that he was of the same political sentiment with the emperor, and we know that Tiberius was a liberal, a man of the people and in favor of popular rights. He was no man for patrician privileges.

We also know that the rulers among the Jews sympathized with the Roman aristocracy. Huidekoper, the highest authority on this subject, informs us that: The aristocracy at Jerusalem, as depicted by Josephus and the New Testament writers, were, with slight exceptions more devoted to class privileges than the common welfare.

Herod, the Great, and Herod Agrippa Senior, who were closely in league with the patricians, found support in the aristocracy of Judea, rather than among the lower and middle classes. Huidekoper's Judaism at Rome pp. 96.

that I granted so much liberty to the Nazarene, for it was in my power to have him arrested and exiled to Pontus ; but this would have been contrary to the justice which has always characterized the Romans. This man was neither seditious nor rebellious. I extended to him my protection, unknown, perhaps,

It cannot be otherwise than that politically Jesus, Pilate and Tiberius were one, as against aristocracy in Judea and patricianism at Rome. And it is for this reason that Pilate speaks as he does in the language referred to by this note.

We quote here in point a paragraph and a note from Huidekoper's *Judiasm at Rome* pp. 188.

As a first step towards crippling Tiberius, the Senate expelled the Jews and their converts from Rome or Italy, after having impressed four thousand of their younger men and shut them up in Sardinia, an island under Senatorial control, where they would be unavailable for the popular party. The Senate also instituted an inquisition which, as we may infer from the fears of Seneca's father, must have been unsparing, touching any who held Jewish views, and we can safely infer that it would have shown little or no justice to political opponents. Tiberius at once exerted himself to protect the Jews, in such provinces as he controlled.

"Action was also held touching expulsion of the Egyptian and Jewish religions, and a decree was enacted by the Senate, 'that four thousand freedmen of suitable age, who were infected with that [the Jewish] superstition, should be deported to the island of Sardinia to restrain the robbers there, and, if they perish by the severity of the climate, the loss would be a cheap one; that the others should quit Italy, unless before a fixed day they had renounced their profane rites.'"—Tacitus, *An.* 2, 85. If the former "perished" it was probably by murder.

Some of these freedmen, instead of being born Jews, may originally have been Gentiles. Dio Cassius says: "I do not know whence this appellation (Jews) originated, but IT APPLIES TO SUCH OTHER MEN AS ARE DEVOTED TO THEIR INSTITUTIONS, EVEN IF FROM OTHER NATIONS."—Dio Cass. 37, 17.

to himself. He was at liberty to act, to speak, to assemble and address the people, to choose disciples unrestrained by any pretorian mandate. Should it ever happen—may the gods avert the omen—I say should it ever happen that the religion of our ancestors* be supplanted by the religion of Jesus, it will

*The decline in “the religion of our ancestors” mentioned here by Pilate had already begun at Rome as early as A. D. 47 and the effect of “foreign superstitions” viz, Jewish and Christian influences was felt to an alarming extent. We give here a picture of the Roman religion as practiced by the ancient Romans with so much devotion, and also a mention by Tacitus of the declining state of religious affairs ten years after Pilate’s government of Judea.

Here is the picture of the life of a well-born Roman, from “The Ancient City,” by M. Fustel de Coulanges: “Each one of his daily actions is a rite; his whole day belongs to his religion. Morning and evening he invokes his fire, his penates, and his ancestors; in leaving and entering his house he addresses a prayer to them. Every meal is a religious act, which he shares with his domestic divinities.

“He leaves his house, and can hardly take a step without meeting some sacred object—either a chapel, or a place formerly struck by lightning, or a tomb; sometimes he must step back and pronounce a prayer; sometimes he must turn his eyes and cover his face, to avoid the sight of some ill-boding object.

“Every day he sacrifices in his house, every month in his *curia* several months a year, with his *gens* or his tribe. Above all these gods, he must offer worship to those of the city. There are in Rome more gods than citizens.

“He offers sacrifices to thank the gods; he offers them, and by far the greater number, to appease their wrath. * * * There is a festival for seed-time, one for harvest, and one for the pruning of the vines. Before corn has reached the ear, the Roman has offered more than ten sacrifices, and invoked some ten divinities, for the success of his harvest. He has, above all, a number of festivals for the dead, because he is afraid of them. He never leaves his own house without looking to see if any bird of bad augury appears. There are words which he dares not pronounce for his life. If he exper-

be to this noble toleration that Rome shall owe her premature obsequies; while I, miserable wretch, shall have been the instrument of what the Hebrews call providence, and we, destiny.

iences some desire, he inscribes his wish upon a tablet, which he places at the feet of the statue of a divinity.

“He steps out of his house always with his right foot first. He has his hair cut only during the full moon. He carries amulets upon his person. He covers the walls of his house with magic inscriptions against fire. He knows of formulas for avoiding sickness, and of others for curing it, but he must repeat them twenty-seven times, and spit in certain fashion at each repetition.

“He does not deliberate in the senate if the victims have not given favorable signs. He leaves the assembly of the people if he hears the cry of a mouse. He renounces the best-laid plans if he perceives a bad presage, or if an ill-omened word has struck his ear; he is brave in battle, but on condition that the auspices assure him the victory.

“This Roman, whom we present here, is not the man of the people, the feeble-minded man whom misery and ignorance have made superstitious. We are speaking of the patrician, the noble, powerful, and rich man. This patrician is, by turns, warrior, magistrate, consul, farmer, merchant; but everywhere and always he is a priest, and his thoughts are fixed upon the gods.”

In the days of Pilate's procuratorship this state of affairs had greatly declined—and as stated above, his fear of “the religion of his ancestors being supplanted by the religion of Jesus” was being now realized only ten years after his departure from Judea.

Tacitus tells us, under A. D. 47, Claudius “called the attention of the senate to the college of soothsayers, that the oldest [religious] science of Italy might not die out through neglect. [He said that] ‘often during adverse circumstances of the republic [persons] had been sent for, by whose direction ceremonies had been re-established and thereafter more correctly conducted; [that] the nobility, *primores*, of Etruria had of their own accord, or under PROMPTING FROM THE ROMAN FATHERS retained the knowledge and taught it to their slaves, *in familias propagasse*, which was now more negligently

But this unlimited freedom granted to Jesus provoked the Jews ; not the poor, but the rich and powerful. It is true that Jesus was severe on the latter ; and this was a political reason, in my opinion, why I should not control the liberty of the Nazarene. “Scribes and Pharisees,” he would say to them, “you are a race of the vilest sort. You are like painted sepulchres.” At other times he would deride the proud alms of the publican, saying to him that the mite of the widow was greater in the eye of God. New complaints were made daily at the Pretorium concerning the insolence of Jesus. I was even informed that some misfortune would befall him ; that it would not be the first time that Jerusalem had stoned those who called themselves prophets, and that if the Pretorium should refuse justice, appeal would be made to Cæsar. Nevertheless, my conduct was pleasing to the Senate, and I was promised aid after the Parthian war was ended. Since I was too weak to suppress a sedition, I resolved upon a plan to give quiet to the city, yet not to lay aside the authority of the Pretorium. I

done because of public APATHY TOWARDS GOOD ARTS, and because FOREIGN SUPERSTITIONS ARE GAINING STRENGTH. All things indeed, are at present [he said] prosperous, but thanks should be given to the benignity of the gods.’

“That the sacred rites should not, through uncertainty touching [the manner of] their observance, be obliterated by [existing] prosperity, it was thereupon enacted by the senate that the chief priests should examine what observances of the soothsayers ought to be retained and put upon a better footing.”—Tacitus, *An.* 11, 15; Huidkoper’s, *Judaism at Rome*, p. 225.

sent a message to Jesus, desiring that he should come to me at the Pretorium. You know that the Spanish,* mixed with the Roman blood is in my veins, equally incapable of fear and childish emotion. When the Nazarene made his appearance I was walking in my basilic, and my feet seemed fastened with an iron hand to the marble pavement, and I trembled in every limb as a culprit, while he was calm—the Nazarene—calm as innocence. When he came up to me he stopped, and by a sign seemed to say, “I am here.” For awhile I contemplated with admiration and awe this extraordinary type of man, unknown to the many painters who have given form and figure to all the gods and heroes.

“Jesus,” said I to Him at length, and my tongue faltered, “Jesus of Nazareth, I have granted you for the last three years ample freedom of speech. nor do I regret it. Your words are those of a sage. I

*This mention of “Spanish blood” by Pilate, is a singular one, and it is not known whether he was by descent a Spaniard or not.

Many of the chief Romans were natives of Spain. Trajan, the Emperor, was born near Seville.

The House of Pilate, at Seville, is an edifice of interest in this connection, inasmuch as it was erected on the plans of the dwelling of Pilate at Jerusalem. It was built on a foundation of earth brought from Pilate’s old House at Jerusalem, by the first Marquis, of Tarifa,—sufficient earth being brought from the site of the old edifice to form the foundations of the building at Seville, which was erected, as before stated, on the plans of the very house that was occupied by Pilate at Jerusalem, and, therefore, gives us a good idea of *the very* palace in which he lived, while he made headquarters in the latter city.

know not whether you have read Socrates and Plato,* but this I do know, that there is in your discourses a majestic simplicity that elevates you far above these philosophers. The emperor is informed of it, and I his humble representative in this country, am glad of having allowed the liberty of which you are so worthy. However, I must not conceal from you that your discourses have raised up against you

*Socrates, though one of the wisest Greeks, did not teach any system of philosophy, but aimed rather to put his disciples in the way of finding the truth for themselves. He was unattractive in person, humble and simple in life; he received no payment for his teachings, but taught in the street or the market-place, wherever any chose to listen. The greatest of his disciples was Plato, the founder of the *Academic* School, so called because his lectures were given in the grove of Academus, near a gate at Athens.

We are indebted to Plato for most of what we know of Socrates; for a great portion of his writings is made up of dialogues, in which Socrates had part. His own Philosophy is the highest and purest of which the ancient world could boast.

Socrates was condemned on a false charge of having introduced a new worship and corrupted the Athenian youth. Socrates was, in fact, too wise to believe in all the superstitions of the Greeks; but he was also too prudent to destroy the childish faith of his pupils until they were able to receive something better in the place of it. He refused to accept his life on the condition of forbearing to teach; for the great aim and passion of his life was to promote virtue and wisdom in the young.

He spent thirty days of his imprisonment in cheerful converse with his friends, expressing to the last his firm conviction of the soul's immortality. When the appointed moment arrived, he drank the poison hemlock and calmly expired. (See Thalheimers Gen. His.)

Pilate mentions to Jesus here, moreover, that his character had been made known to the Emperor Tiberius; which is not unlikely, as Tiberius was a lover of any information concerning great characters—like Jesus—Socrates and Plato.

powerful and inveterate enemies. Nor is this surprising. Socrates had his enemies, and he fell a victim to their hatred. Yours are doubly incensed against you, on account of your sayings and on account of the liberty extended toward you. They even accuse me of being indirectly leagued with you for the purpose of depriving the Hebrews of the little civil power which Rome has left them. My *request*—I do not say my order—is, that you be more circumspect in the future, and more tender in arousing the pride of your enemies, lest they raise against you the stupid populace, and compel me to employ the instruments of justice.”

The Nazarene calmly replied: “Prince of the earth, your words proceed not from true wisdom. Say to the torrent, stop in the midst of the mountain home, because it will uproot the trees of the valley. The torrent will answer you, that it must obey the laws of the Creator. God alone knows whither flows the torrent. Verily, I say unto you, before the rose of Sharon blossoms the blood of the just shall be spilt.”

“Your blood shall not be spilt,” replied I, with emotion. “You are more precious in my estimation, on account of your wisdom, than all the turbulent and proud Pharisees, who abuse the freedom granted them by the Romans, conspire against Cæsar and construe our bounty into fear. Insolent wretches, they are not aware that the wolf of the Tiber* sometimes clothes himself with the skin of

*The “Wolf of the Tiber” is doubtless an allusion to Romulus and

the sheep. I will protect you against them. My Pretorium is open to you as an asylum.”

Jesus carelessly shook his head, and with a grace and divine smile said: “When the day shall have come, there will be no asylum for the Son of Man, neither in the earth nor under the earth. The asylum of the just is there” (pointing to the heavens.) “That which is written in the books of the prophets must be accomplished.”

“Young man,” answered I mildly, “you oblige me to convert my request into an order. The safety of the province which is confided to my care requires it. You *must* observe more moderation in your discourses. Do not infringe. My orders, you know. May happiness attend you. Farewell.”

“Prince of earth,” replied Jesus, “I come not to bring war into the world, but peace, love and char-

his twin brother, Remus.

Romulus was the mythical founder of Rome and the first king. The children, according to legend, were born of the vestal virgin Rhea Sylvia by the god Mars.

Rhea Sylvia was the daughter of Numitor, rightful heir of the king of Alba, but deprived by his brother.

Exposed with his brother Remus, Romulus was suckled by a she-wolf and afterward brought up by a shepherd.

The “Wolf of the Tiber” seems to be another name for the “Emperor of Rome,” or is spoken in allusion to him, and “clothes himself with the skin of a sheep” an allusion to the mild policy of Tiberius—toward the Jews—at Jerusalem.

The Romans, though rich and luxurious, were hardly less brutal than the wolves whom tradition made their foster-brothers. Their favorite sport was to see the bravest of their captives fight with wild beasts, or butcher each other in the arena, “to make a Roman holiday.”

ity. Persecution proceeds not from me. I expect it from others, and will meet it in obedience to the will of my Father, who has shown me the way. Restrain, therefore, your worldly prudence. It is not in your power to arrest the victim at the foot of the tabernacle of expiation.' So saying he disappeared like a bright shadow behind the curtains of the basilic.

To Herod, who then reigned in Galilee, the enemies of Jesus addressed themselves, to wreak their vengeance on the Nazarene. Had Herod consulted his own inclination, he would have ordered Jesus immediately to be put to death ; but though proud of his royal dignity, yet he was afraid of committing an act that might diminish his influence with the Senate. Herod called on me one day at the Pretorium, and on rising to take his leave, after some insignificant conversation, he asked me what was my opinion concerning the Nazarene. I replied that Jesus appeared to be one of those great philosophers that great nations sometimes produce, that his doctrines are by no means sacrilegious. and that the intention of Rome was to leave him to that freedom of speech which was justified by his actions. Herod smiled maliciously, and saluting me with an ironical respect, he departed. The great feast of the Jews was approaching, and their intention was to avail themselves of the popular exultation which always manifests itself at the solemnities of the Passover. The city was overflowing with a tumultuous populace clamoring for the death of the Nazarene. My emissaries informed me that the treasure of the

Temple had been employed in bribing the people. The danger was pressing. A Roman centurion had been insulted. I had written to the prefect of Syria for a hundred foot-soldiers and as many cavalry. He had declined. I saw myself alone with a handful of veterans in the midst of a rebellious city, too weak to suppress a disorder, and having no other choice left but to tolerate it. They had seized upon Jesus, and the seditious rabble, although they had nothing to fear from the Pretorium, believing, with their leaders, that I winked at their sedition, continued vociferating, "Crucify him! crucify him!" Three powerful parties had combined together at that time against Jesus. First the Herodians and the Sadducees, whose seditious conduct seemed to have proceeded from double motives. They hated the Nazarene, and were impatient of the Roman yoke. They could never forgive me for having entered their holy city with banners that bore the image of the Roman emperor,* and although in this

*Josephus, the Jewish historian, who was by no means friendly to Pilate, yet furnished these facts: The Roman soldiers came from Cæsarea to Jerusalem by night—possibly to diminish chances of offence. The Jews objected to the images on their standards.

Pilate after finding the matter might cause trouble, sent, though not without delay, the images back to Caesarea.

He found that the city needed water, and that a large sum of money was lying in the temple useless, or probably worse than useless, since unprincipled men must have found means to misuse it. He took the money, made an aqueduct (*Antiq.* 18: 3, 2.), and repressed the mob which followed. See Huidekoper's *Judaism at Rome* p. 516, Note 45.

instance I had committed a fatal error, yet the sacrilege did not appear less heinous in their eyes. Another grievance, also rankled in their bosoms. I had proposed to employ a part of the treasure of the Temple in erecting edifices of public utility. My proposal was scowled at. The Pharisees were

Josephus gives us this account of the affair:—But now Pilate, the Procurator of Judea, removed the army from Cesarea to Jerusalem, to take their winter-quarters there, in order to abolish the Jewish laws. So he introduced Cæsar's effigies, which were upon the ensigns, and brought them into the city; whereas our law forbids us the very making of images; on which account the former procurators were wont to make their entry into the city, with such ensigns as had not those ornaments. Pilate was the first who brought those images to Jerusalem, and set them up there; which was done without the knowledge of the people, because it was done in the night-time; but as soon as they knew it, they came in multitudes to Cesarea, and interceded with Pilate many days, that he would remove the images; and when he would not grant their requests, because it would tend to the injury of Cæsar, while yet they persevered in their requests, on the sixth day he ordered his soldiers to have their weapons privately, while he came and sat upon his judgment-seat; which seat was so prepared in the open place of the city, that it concealed the army that lay ready to oppress them; and when the Jews petitioned him again, he gave a signal to the soldiers to encompass them round, and threatened that their punishment should be no less than immediate death, unless they would leave off disturbing him, and go their ways home; but they threw themselves upon the ground, and laid their necks bare, and said they would take their death very willingly, rather than the wisdom of their laws should be transgressed; upon which Pilate was deeply affected with their firm resolution to keep their laws inviolable, and presently commanded the images to be carried back from Jerusalem to Cesarea.

But Pilate undertook to bring a current of water to Jerusalem, and did it with the sacred money, and derived the origin of the stream from the distance of two hundred furlongs. However the Jews were not pleased with what had been done about this water;

the avowed enemies of Jesus. They cared not for the government. They bore with bitterness the severe reprimands which the Nazarene for three years had been throwing out against them wherever he had gone. Too weak and pusillanimous to act by themselves, they had embraced the quarrels of the Herodians and the Sadducees. Besides these three parties I had to contend against the reckless and profligate populace, always ready to join a sedition, and to profit by the disorder and confusion that followed from it. Jesus was dragged before the high priest and condemned. It was there that the high priest Caiaphas performed a derisory act of submission. He sent his prisoner to me to pronounce his condemnation to death and secure his execution. I answered him that as Jesus was a Galilean, the affair came in Herod's jurisdiction, and ordered him to be sent thither. The wily tetrarch professed humility, and protesting his preference to the Lieuten-

and many ten thousands of the people got together, and made a clamour against him, and insisted that he should leave off that design. Some of them also used reproaches, and abused this man, as crowds of such people usually do. So he habited a great number of his soldiers in their habit, who carried daggers under their garments, and sent them to a place where they might surround them. So he bade the Jews himself go away; but they boldly casting reproaches upon him, he gave the soldiers that signal which had been beforehand agreed on; who laid upon them with much greater blows than Pilate had commanded them, and equally punished those that were tumultuous; and those that were not; nor did they spare them in the least; and since the people were unarmed, and were caught by men prepared for what they were about, there was a great number of them slain by this means, and others of them ran away wounded; and thus an end was put to this sedition. *Antiq. chap. ii, Book xviii.*

ant of Cæsar, he committed the man to my hands. Soon my palace assumed the aspect of a besieged citadel. Every moment increased the number of the seditionists. Jerusalem was inundated with crowds from the mountains of Nazareth. All Judea appeared to be pouring into the devoted city. I had taken a wife*—a girl from among the Gauls, who pretended to see into futurity, weeping and throwing herself at my feet—“Beware said she to me, ‘beware and touch not that man, for he is holy. Last night I saw him in a vision. He was walking on the waters. He was flying on the wings of the winds. He spoke to the tempest and to the fishes of the lake; all were obedient to him. Behold! the torrent in Mount Kedron flows with blood, the statues of Cæsar are filled with the filth of Gemoniæ, the columns of the Interium have given away and the sun is veiled in mourning like a vestal in the tomb. O, Pilate, evil awaits thee if thou wilt not listen to the prayer of thy wife. Dread the curse of the Roman Senate, dread the powers of Cæsar.”

By this time the marble stairs† groaned under the

*The wife of Pilate mentioned here is also alluded to in the "Acts of Pilate" as Procle or Procula, is said by Sir Edwin Arnold in his "Light of the World" to have been of patrician blood, and descended from the great Claudian family of which Tiberius Cæsar was also a member.

It is possible there may have been some blood-relationship between this woman and the emperor, and that through it Pilate received his appointment as procurator of Judea.

†There is a celebrated staircase consisting of twenty-eight marble steps in the chapel of the church of St. John Lateran at Rome,

weight of the multitude. The Nazarene was brought back to me. I proceeded to the hall of justice, followed by my guard, and asked the people in a severe tone what they demanded. "The death of the Nazarene," was their reply. "For what crime?" "He has blasphemed. He has prophesied the ruin of the Temple. He calls himself the Son of God, the Messiah, the King of the Jews." "Roman justice," said I, "punishes not such offenses with death." "Crucify him, crucify him!" belched forth the relentless rabble. The vociferations of the infuriated mob shook the palace to its foundations. There was but one who appeared to be calm in the midst of the vast multitude. It was the Nazarene. After many fruitless attempts to protect him from the fury of his merciless persecutors, I adopted a measure which at the moment appeared to me to be the only one that could save his life. I ordered him to be scourged; then calling for an ewer, I washed my hands in the presence of the multitude, thereby signifying to them my disapproval of the deed. But in vain. It was his life that these wretches thirsted for.

brought thither by the empress Helena A. D. 325, said to be the stairway which Jesus several times ascended and descended when he appeared before Pilate, and doubtless the same spoken of here as, "still stained with the blood of the Nazarene."

Multitudes of pilgrims, bearing roses in their hands, and kissing each step as they ascended to the top on their knees, have passed since then up this flight of marble steps made sacred by the feet of Jesus.

Martin Luther once ascended these stairs and thought he heard a voice saying, "the just shall live by faith."

Often in our civil commotions have I witnessed the furious animosity of the multitude, but nothing could be compared to what I witnessed in the present instance. It might have been truly said that on this occasion all the phantoms of the infernal regions had assembled at Jerusalem. The multitude appeared not to walk. It was borne off and whirled as a vortex, rolling like living waves from the portals of the Pretorium even unto Mount Zion, with howlings such as were never heard in the seditions of Panonia,* or in the tumults of the forum. By degrees the day darkened like a winter's twilight, such as had been at the death of the great Julius Cæsar† It was likewise towards the ides of March

*This allusion to the seditions of Panonia was doubtless made by Pilate in compliment to Tiberius. It was during the four serious campaigns which this rebellion cost Rome, that Tiberius showed himself at his best as a general. In alluding to these palmy days of his military career by a mere word let drop, Pilate directs a deserved compliment that could not fail to stir the heart of Cæsar with the memory of a proud recollection, as well as impress him with the difficulties under which Pilate must have often labored in the seditious and turbulent riots ever breaking out among the Jews.

†The darkening of the sun, a very unusual and long one, occurring at the time of the great Julius Cæsar's assassination, is mentioned by Mark Antony in a letter of his to Hyrcanus the Jewish high-priest about 42 B. C., and preserved to us by Josephus and is as follows: "I am therefore satisfied, both by your actions and your words, that you [Hyrcanus] are well disposed toward us [Antony's party]; and I understand that your conduct of life is constant and religious, so that I reckon you as our own; but when those that were adversaries to you and to the Roman people [the enemies and slayers of Cæsar] abstained neither from cities nor temples, and did not observe the agreement they had made and confirmed by oath, it was

I, the continued governor of a rebellious province, was leaning against a column of my basilic contemplating through the dreary gloom these fiends of torture dragging to execution the innocent Nazarene. All around me was deserted. Jerusalem had vomited forth her indwellers through the funeral gate that leads to the Gemonica. An air of desolation and sadness enveloped me. My guards had joined the cavalry, and the centurion to display a shadow of power, was endeavoring to keep order. I was left alone, and my breaking heart admonished me that what was passing at that moment appertained rather to the history of the gods than to that of man. A loud clamor was heard proceeding from Golgotha, which, borne on the winds, seemed to announce an agony such as had never been heard by mortal ears. Dark clouds lowered over the pinnacle of the Temple, and settling over the city, covered it as with a veil. So dreadful were the signs that were seen, both in the heavens and on the earth, that Dionysius,* the Areopagite, is reported to have

not only on account of our control with them, but on account of all mankind in common, that we have taken vengeance on these authors of great injustice towards men, and of great wickedness towards the gods, for the sake of which we suppose that it was that *the sun turned away his light from us, as unwilling to view the horrid crime they were guilty of in the case of Cæsar.* (See Josephus Antiq. Book xiv, chap. xiii, 3.)

*Dionysius, the Areopagite was a native of Athens, and a member of the Areopagus, where he sat when St. Paul was brought before it, and delivered his famous speech respecting "the unknown God," which is said to have been the means of converting Dionysius.

exclaimed, "Either the author of nature is suffering, or the universe is falling apart." Toward the first hour of the night I threw my mantle around me and went down into the city toward the gates of Golgotha. The sacrifice was consummated. The multitude was returning home; still agitated, it is true, but gloomy, taciturn and desperate. What it had witnessed had caused terror and remorse. I also saw my little Roman cohort pass by mournfully, the standard-bearer having veiled his eagle in token of grief, and I overheard some of the soldiers murmuring strange words, which I did not understand. Others were recounting prodigies almost similar to those which had so often smitten the Romans by the will of the gods. Sometimes groups of men and women would halt, then looking back towards Golgotha would remain motionless in expectation of witnessing some new prodigy. I returned to the Pretorium, sad and pensive. On ascending the stairs, the steps of which were still stained with the blood of the Nazarene, I perceived an old man in a suppliant posture, and behind him several women in tears. He threw himself at my feet and wept bitterly. It is painful to see an old man weep.

"Father," said I to him mildly, "who are you, and what is your request?"

"I am Joseph of Arimathea," replied he. "and

According to some accounts he was made bishop of Athens and is said to have suffered martyrdom about A. D. 95.

am come to beg of you upon my knees the permission to bury Jesus of Nazareth.’

“Your prayer is granted,” said I to him, and at the same time ordered Manlius to take some soldiers with him to superintend the interment, lest it should be profaned.

A few days after, the sepulchre was found empty. His disciples published all over the country that Jesus had risen from the dead, as he had foretold. A last duty remained for me to perform, and that was to communicate to Cæsar these deplorable events. I did it on the same night that followed the fatal catastrophe, and had just finished the communication when day began to dawn. At that moment the sound of clarions playing the air of Diana struck my ear. Casting my eye toward the Cæsarean gate I beheld a troop of soldiers, and heard at a distance other trumpets sounding Cæsar’s march. It was the reinforcement that had been promised me*—two thousand chosen troops—who to hasten their arrival had marched all night, “It has been decreed by the fates,” cried I, wringing my hands, “that the great iniquity should be accomplished; that for averting the deeds of yesterday, troops should arrive today. Cruel destiny, how thou sportest with the affairs of mortals.” It was but too true what the Nazarene had exclaimed while writhing on the cross, “All is consummated.”

*See page 98 of the Acts of Pilate where 500 of these soldiers were given the priests to guard the sepulchre.

REPORT OF PILATE THE PROCURATOR,

CONCERNING OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, SENT TO
THE AUGUST CÆSAR IN ROME.

(From Tischendorf's Manuscript.)

(FIRST FORM.)

In those days, our Lord Jesus Christ having been crucified under Pontius Pilate, Procurator of Palestine and Phœnicia, these records were made in Jerusalem as to what was done by the Jews against the Lord. Pilate, therefore, along with his private report, sent them to Cæsar in Rome, writing thus : To the most mighty, venerable, most divine and most terrible, the august Cæsar, Pilate, the governor of the East, sends greeting. I have, O most mighty, a narrative to give thee, on account of which I am seized with fear and trembling, for in this government of mine, of which one of the cities is called Jerusalem, all the people of the Jews have delivered to me a man named Jesus, bringing many charges against him which they were not able to convict him of by the consistency of their evidence. And one of the heresies they had against him was

that Jesus said that their Sabbath should not be a day of leisure, and should not be observed. For he performed many cures on that day; he made the blind receive their sight, the lame walk; he raised up the dead, he cleansed the lepers; he healed paralytics that were not at all able to make any movement of their body or keep their nerves steady, but who had only speech and the modulation of their voice, and he gave them the power of walking and running, removing their illness by a single word. Another thing again, more powerful still, which is strange even with our gods: he raised up one that had been dead four days, summoning him by a single word, when the dead man had his blood corrupted, and when his body was destroyed by the worms produced in it, and when it had the stink of a dog. And seeing him lying in the tomb he ordered him to run. Nor had he anything of a dead body about him at all; but as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth from the tomb filled with very great fragrance. And strangers that were manifestly demoniac, and that had their dwellings in deserts, and ate their own flesh, living like beasts and creeping things, even these he made to be dwellers in cities, and by his word restored them to soundness of mind and rendered them wise and able and reputable, eating with all the enemies of the unclean spirits that dwelt in them for their destruction, which he cast down into the depths of the sea. And again, there was another having a withered hand; and not the hand only, but rather the half of the body of the man was petrified so that

he had not the form of a man or the power of moving his body. And him, by a word he healed and made sound. And a woman that had an issue of blood for many years, and whose joints and arteries were drained by the flowing of the blood so that she did not present the appearance of a human being, but was like a corpse, and was speechless every day, so that all the physicians of the district could not cure her. For there was not any hope of life left in her. And when Jesus passed by she mysteriously received strength through his overshadowing her; and she took hold of his fringe behind, and immediately, in the same hour, power filled up in her what was empty, so that, no longer suffering any pain, she began to run swiftly to her own city, Kepharnaum, so as to accomplish the journey in six days. And these are the things which I lately had in my mind to report, which Jesus accomplished on the Sabbath. And other signs greater than these he did, so that I have perceived that the wonderful works done by him are greater than can be done by the gods whom we worship. And him Herod and Archelaus and Philip, Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me, making a great uproar against me that I should try him. I therefore ordered him to be crucified, having first scourged him and having found against him no cause of evil accusations or deeds. And at the time he was crucified there was darkness over all the world, the sun being darkened at mid-day and the stars appearing, but in them there appeared no lustre; and the moon as if turned to blood failed in her light. And the world

was swallowed up by the lower regions, so that the very sanctuary of the Temple, as they call it, could not be seen by the Jews in their fall ; and they saw below them a chasm of the earth, with the roar of the thunders that fell upon it. And in that terror dead men were seen that had risen, as the Jews themselves testified ; and they said that it was Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and Moses and Job, that had died, as they say, three thousand five hundred years before. And there were very many whom I also saw appearing in the body ; and they were making a lamentation about the Jews, on account of the wickedness that had come to pass through them, and the destruction of the Jews and their law.

And the fear of the earthquake remained from the sixth hour of the preparation until the ninth hour. And on the evening of the first day of the week there was a sound out of the heavens, so that the heavens became enlightened seven-fold more than all the days. And at the third hour of the night the sun was seen brighter than it had ever shone before, lighting up the heavens. And as the lightnings came suddenly in the winter so majestic, men appeared in glorious robes, an innumerable multitude whose voice was heard as that of a very great thunder, crying out : “Jesus that was crucified is risen ; come up out of the hades, ye that have been enslaved in the underground of hades. And the chasm of the earth was as if it had no bottom : but it was as if the very foundations of the earth appeared along with those that cried out in the heavens and

walked about in the body in the midst of the dead that had risen. And he that raised up all the dead and bound hades said, "Say to my disciples he goes before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him." And all that night the light did not cease shining. And many of the Jews died, swallowed up in the chasm of the earth, so that on the following day most of those who had been against Jesus could not be found. Others saw the appearing of those who had risen whom no one of us had ever seen. And only one synagogue of the Jews was left in this Jerusalem, since all disappeared in that fall.

With that terror, being in perplexity and seized with a most frightful trembling, I have written what I saw at that time, and have reported to thy majesty. Having set in order, also, what was done by the Jews against Jesus, I have sent it, my lord, to thy divinity.

THE REPORT OF PONTIUS PILATE PROCURATOR OF JUDEA.—SENT TO TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

(From Tischendorf's Manuscript.)

(*SECOND FORM.*)

To the most mighty, venerable, awful, most divine, the august, Pilatus Pontius, the governor of the East: I have to report to thy reverence through this writing of mine, being seized with great trembling and fear, O most mighty emperor, the conjunction of the present times as the end of these things has shown. For while I, my lord, according to the commandment of thy clemency, was discharging the duties of my government, which is one of the cities of the East, Jerusalem by name, in which is built the Temple of the Jewish nation, all the multitude of the Jews came together and delivered to me a certain man named Jesus, bringing against him many groundless charges; and they were not able to convict him in anything. And one heresy against him of theirs was that he said that the Sabbath was not their right rest. And that man wrought many cures in addition to good works. He made

the blind see ; he cleansed the lepers ; he raised the dead ; he healed paralytics who could not move at all, except that they only had their voice, and the joining of their bones ; and he gave them the power of walking about and running, commanding them by a single word. And another mightier work he did, which was strange even with our gods : he raised up a dead man, Lazarus, who had been dead four days, by a single word, ordering the dead man to be raised, although his body was already corrupted by worms that grow in wounds ; and that ill-smelling body lying in the tomb he ordered to run ; and as a bridegroom from the bridal chamber, so he came forth out of the tomb filled with exceeding fragrance. And some that were cruelly vexed by demons and had their dwellings in deserts, and ate the flesh of their own limbs, and lived along with reptiles and wild beasts, he made to be dwellers in cities in their own houses, and by a word he rendered them sound-minded, and he made those that were troubled by unclean spirits to be intelligent and reputable ; and, sending away the demons in them into a herd of swine, he suffocated them in the sea. Another man, again, who had a withered hand and lived in sorrow, and had not even the half of his body sound, he rendered sound by a single word. And a woman that had a flow of blood for many years so that, in consequence of the flowing of her blood, all the joinings of her bones appeared and were transparent like glass, and assuredly all the physicians had left her without hope and had not cleansed her, for there was not in her

a single hope of health ; once, then as Jesus was passing by, she took hold of the fringe of his clothes behind, and that same hour her body was completely restored to power, and she became whole as if nothing were the matter with her, and she began to run swiftly to her own city, Paneas. And these things indeed were so. And the Jews gave information that Jesus did these things on the Sabbath. And I also ascertained that the miracles done by him were greater than any which the gods whom we worship could do.

Him, then, Herod and Archelaus, and Annas and Caiaphas, with all the people, delivered to me to try him. And, as many were exciting an insurrection against me, I ordered him crucified. And when he had been crucified there was darkness over the whole earth, the sun having been completely hidden, and the heaven appearing dark, though it was day. so that the stars appeared, but had at the same time their brightness darkened, as I suppose your reverence is not ignorant of, because in all the world they lighted lamps from the sixth hour until evening. And the moon being like blood did not shine the whole night, and yet she happened to be at the full. And the stars, also, and Orion, made a lament about the Jews. on account of the wickedness that had been done by them. And on the first of the week, about the third hour of the night, the sun was seen such as it had never at any time shone, and all the heaven was lighted up. And as lightnings come on in winter, so men of indescribable splendor of dress and of glory appeared

in the air, and an innumerable multitude of angels crying out and saying: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, among men good will; come up out of hades, ye who have been kept in slavery in the underground regions of hades." And at their voice all the mountains and hills were shaken, and the rocks were burst asunder, and great chasms were made in the earth, so that what was also in the abyss appeared.

And there were seen in that terror, dead men raised up, as the Jews that saw them said: "We have seen Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs that died two thousand five hundred years ago; and we have seen Noah manifestly in the body." And all the multitude walked about and sang praises to God with a loud voice, saying: "The Lord our God that has risen from the dead; has brought to life all the dead; and has plundered Hades and put him to death." All that night, therefore, my lord, O king, the light ceased not. And many of the Jews died and were engulfed and swallowed up in the chasms in that night. so that not even their bodies appeared. Those of the Jews I say suffered who had spoken against Jesus. And one synagogue was left in Jerusalem, since all the synagogues that had been against Jesus were engulfed. From that fear, then, being in perplexity and seized with much trembling, at that same hour I ordered what had been done by them to be written, and I have reported it to thy mightiness.

LETTER OF PONTIUS PILATE TO THE ROMAN EMPEROR.

Pontius Pilate to the Emperor, Tiberius Cæsar :
Upon Jesus Christ, whose case I had clearly set forth to thee in my last, at length, by the will of the people, a bitter punishment has been inflicted, myself being in a sort unwilling and rather afraid. A man, by Hercules, so pious and strict no age has ever had or will have. But wonderful were the efforts of the people themselves and the unanimity to crucify this ambassador of truth, notwithstanding that their own prophets, and after our manner the sybils, warned them against it ; and supernatural signs appeared while he was hanging, and, in the opinion of the philosophers, threatened destruction to the whole world. His disciples are flourishing in their work, and the regulation of their lives not belying their master : yea, in his name, most beneficent. Had I not been afraid of the rising of a sedition among the people, who were just on the point of breaking out, perhaps this man would still be alive to us ; although urged more by fidelity to thy dignity than induced by my own wishes. I did not,

according to my strength, resist that innocent blood free from the whole charge (brought against it,) but unjustly through the malignity of men, should be sold and suffer, yet, as the Scriptures signify, to their own destruction. Farewell. 28th March.

LETTER OF PONTIUS PILATE TO CLAUDIUS CÆSAR.

Pontius Pilate to Claudius, greeting : There has lately happened an event which I myself was concerned in. For the Jews, through envy, have inflicted upon themselves and on those coming after them dreadful judgments. Their fathers had promised that their God would send them his holy one from heaven, who, according to reason, should be called their king, and he had promised to send him to the earth by means of a virgin. He, then, when I was procurator, came into Judea. And they saw him enlightening the blind, cleansing lepers, healing paralytics, expelling demons from men, raising the dead, subduing the winds, walking upon the waves of the sea, and doing many other wonders, and all the people of the Jews calling him Son of God. Then the chief priests, moved with envy against him, seized him and delivered him to me ; and, telling one lie after another, they said he was a wizzard and did contrary to their law. And I, having believed these things were so, gave him up, after scourging him, to their will, and they crucified him ;

and after he was buried set guards over him. But he, while my soldiers were guarding him, rose on the third day. And to such a degree was the wickedness of the Jews inflamed against him that they gave money to the soldiers, saying, "Say his disciples have stolen his body." But they having taken the money, were not able to keep silence as to what had happened ; for they have testified that they have seen him risen, and that they have received money from the Jews. 'These things have I reported, that no one should falsely speak otherwise, and that thou shouldst not suppose that the falsehoods of the Jews are to be believed.

SKETCH OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

It may be well here to state to the reader that, in this work which is entitled "A Monograph of the Crucifixion," it has been thought best to give some account of the Emperor, in whose reign it occurred, as also the prominent officials connected with it, both on the Jewish and Roman side.

In the history of it, also, certain others of later times call for mention—and hence the insertion of the various SKETCHES that here follow.

It has been argued by some that it is not likely that Pilate would have made such a writing to Tiberius Cæsar as is contained in the foregoing Acts, Reports, etc., for the simple reason that the character of Tiberius is opposed to such an idea.

The true character of Tiberius therefore is necessary here in arriving at a conclusion on this question; and inasmuch as later criticism and a more thorough investigation has shown that, Tiberius' character, both as a man and a ruler, has been grossly misrepresented, by Suetonius especially, one of his earliest biographers, it is felt necessary that it be set forth in its true light, as having a bearing on the objections to the Reports' being made by such of his subordinate lieutenants as Pilate.



TIBERIUS CÆSAR.

From Statue now in the Vatican, Rome.

And what shall be said of the character of Tiberius here. will be drawn from the latest historical investigation, and the most thorough and critical examination of original authorities by a master hand.

Suetonius, born A. D. 70 and who died 123 A. D. was a political enemy and hater of Tiberius ; and in his ‘Life of the Twelve Cæsars’ has taken particular delight in aspersing the character of the great emperor. and in so doing has misled the minds of much of posterity into the belief that Tiberius was a corrupt, dissolute beast, as a man, and a weak and imperious tyrant as emperor, whose sole delight was to be cruel and devilish.

That he was not such, might be denied generally from the very fact of his parentage, his early childhood and very boyhood ; and especially from the facts of his great culture in learning, his love of the arts and literature, and from his great ability as a general, when he attained to manhood.

His very selection by the great Augustus as one fit to succeed him in his reign as emperor, is enough to show somewhat of the man, to say nothing else in his favor.

His wise, honest and liberal policy as a man and ruler devoted to the interests of the people, and his anti-patrician sentiment, lie chiefly at the foundation of what has been alleged against him by men like Suetonius, Tacitus and others.

Tiberius Cæsar was the second emperor of Rome. He was born Nov. 15, 42 B. C., on the Palatine Hill, Rome : and succeeded the great Augustus A. D. 14. He was a descendant of the great Claudian family,

whose signal services to the Roman State were many.

He was also related to the family of the Livii which, although of the common people, made itself distinguished, having enjoyed the honor of eight consulships, two censorships, three triumphs, and one dictatorship.

The father of Tiberius was a quæstor, a general and a senator. After the assassination of Julius Cæsar he proposed a resolution in the Senate to reward those who had slain him.

The childhood of Tiberus is said to have been spent in troubles, and amid many dangers, accompanying his parents in their flight from political enemies, from one province to another. He was a precocious child, delivering, when only nine years old, an oration on the rostra in praise of his father.

While yet a boy he attended the chariot of the great Augustus in his triumph for the victory at Actium ; and presided over the games celebrating that victory, he commanding the larger boys.

From the age of 20 till 36 by far the greater part of his time was spent in camp.

In 9 B. C., that is when 33 years old he became the first soldier of the empire, occupying the position left vacant by Drusus' death in the autumn of that year. In the year following he traversed all that part of Germany lying between the Rhine and the Elbe. He was rewarded with the full triumph and the military title of "imperator."

In 6 B. C. Augustus bestowed upon him the tribunician authority for five years. He was thus in

the most formal manner associated with the emperor in the conduct of the government on the civil side.

At the age of 56, that is A. D. 14, Tiberius ascended the throne as emperor.

Throughout his reign, of 22 years, he strove earnestly to do his duty to the empire at large.

His guiding principle was to maintain the constitutional forms which had been constructed by Augustus.

When he died A. D. 37 he left the subject people of the empire in a condition of prosperity such as they had never known before, and never knew again.

Public security both in Italy and abroad was maintained with a strong hand, and commerce was stimulated by the great improvement of communication.

Soldiers, governors and officials of all kinds were kept in dread of vengeance if they oppressed those beneath them, or encouraged irregularity of any kind. He died at the age of 78.

The accompanying likeness of him, procured through the kindness of Hon. A. G. Porter, present United States minister to Italy, and regarded as authentic, is from a statue of Tiberius in the gallery of the Vatican at Rome. It was discovered in modern times at Piperno, the ancient Privernum, near Terracina.

We append here, by the author's special permission, the very valuable and exhaustive note of Prof. F. Huidekoper, as taken from his "Judaism at Rome B. C. 76—A. D. 140" and found on pages 504—541

note G, as to the character of Tiberius, as follows.

Character of Tiberius

The personal character and political tendencies of the Emperor Tiberius have an indirect connection with the general subject of this work; yet a chief motive for the following note is the desire of contributing towards an appreciation of one who, after laboring faithfully by precept and example in behalf of temperance and frugality, rectitude and kindness has been misrepresented as a brutal and despotic debauchee.

If we ask why Tiberius should have been so traduced, there are two answers, one applicable to the charge of despotism, the other to that of debauchery. The former can be best comprehended by such as appreciate the degree in which the privileged classes had come to regard peculation, bribery, and extortion as their well-settled right.* When Tiberius, with no exercise of arbitrary power, threw the

*“The equites abused their power, as the Senate had done before them. As farmers of the public revenues, they committed peculation and extortion with an habitual impunity, which assumed in their own view the complexion of a right. When accused they were tried by accomplices and partisans. . . . On the other hand, in prosecutions against senators of the opposite faction, the equites had more regard to political animosity than to justice. Even in ordinary cases, where party feeling was not concerned, they allowed their judicial votes to be purchased by bribery and corrupt influence.”
—Smith, Diet. of Biog., 1, p. 1079, col. 2, art. Drusus, No. 6. These remarks hold equally true of the Senate, which was generally regarded (Pliny, Jun., Epist. 9, 13, § 21, quoted in Ch. X. note 104)† as severe towards all faults but its own. †All references of this sort are to Huidekoper’s “Judiasm at Rome.”

whole weight of his personal and official influence against such procedures, they resented it,* and as they were the writers of history, their feelings have overlaid their facts. The charge of debauchery can be better weighed and understood after an examination of his life.

Before proceeding, it deserves note that Tiberius encouraged freedom of speech and neglected any disparagement of himself;† yet Tacitus, a lifetime

*It has already been mentioned (Note C, foot-note 18) that the presence of Tiberius in a subordinate seat at trials, prevented bribery and corruption. On this Tacitus remarks (An. I, 75): "Though justice was thereby furthered, liberty was impaired." This liberty can scarcely have been aught save that of wrong-doing. No hint is given that Tiberius interfered with any pretor's honest exercise of judgment. His course in the Senate precludes such supposition.

†"He remained unmoved at all the aspersions, scandalous reports, and lampoons which were spread against him or his relations; declaring, 'In a free state, both the tongue and the mind ought to be free.' Upon the Senate's desiring that some notice might be taken of these offences, and the persons charged with them, he replied, 'We have not so much time upon our hands that we ought to involve ourselves in more business. If you once make an opening for such proceedings, you will soon have nothing else to do. All private quarrels will be brought before you under that pretence.' There is extant also an utterance by him in the Senate *percivilis*, which is that of a model citizen. [After putting a good explanation on a perverted report of some one's language?] 'If indeed he have spoken otherwise I will make it a point to explain [to him] my actions and remarks. If he should persist, I shall reciprocate his dislike.'"—Sueton. Tib. 28, Bohn's trans. altered.

In the following we must remember that the Senate had, as a stroke of policy, deified Augustus, and that Tiberius could only by defying its authority and enactments exempt any one from legally brought charges of vilifying him. "An informer [prosecutor on

later, could find no writer in his reign who spoke evil of him.* That writer was certainly no friend of Tiberius, and what he says, therefore (under A. D. 23,) concerning the first ten years of his administration, need not be suspected of any coloring in the emperor's favor.†

shares] charged Apuleia Varilia * * * with vilifying the deified Augustus, Tiberius; and his mother* * * * Tiberius desired that a distinction should be made: 'If she had spoken irreverently of Augustus she [if the words of Tiberius have not been altered] must be condemned, but for invectives against himself he would not have her called to account.' The consul asked him what were his sentiments respecting the aspersions of his mother, which the accused was charged with uttering. To this he made no answer, but at the next sitting of the Senate he prayed too in her name, 'that no words in whatsoever manner spoken against her might be imputed to any one as a crime.'"—Tacitus, *An.* 2, 50, Bohn's trans. "This * * * series of sad events was interrupted by a degree of joy from the pardon extended by Tiberius to Cominius, who had been convicted of writing defamatory verses upon him."—Tacitus, *An.* 4, 31, Bohn's trans. "Of disrespect towards any one, or unbelief in [the divinity of] any one, * * * he made very slight account, nor did he ever attend to such allegation [of offence] touching himself."—Dio Cass. 57, 9.

*"As to Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, whilst they yet reigned the histories of their times were falsified through fear; and after they had fallen, they were written under the influence of recent detestation."—Tacitus, *An.* 1, 1, Bohn's trans.

†The following is such a recantation of statements and insinuations scattered by Tacitus through his first three books, as to suggest that those had been first published, and that, when Book 4 appeared, public opinion compelled a retraction: "All the public, and every private business of moment was managed by the Senate: to the leading members he allowed liberty of debate: those who deviated into flattery, he himself checked: in conferring preferments, he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, (?) renown in war, (?) and dis-

Prominent among the characteristics of Tiberius was moral earnestness. When a governor's rapacity had become manifest he broke off social intercourse with him; and when the man committed suicide, either to avoid the shame of condemnation or the confiscation of his ill-acquired property, Tiberius wrote to the Senate urging the impropriety of giving social standing to such a man, and condemning the idea that the disgrace of his conduct was removed, or shifted to others, by his suicide.*

tinguished civil accomplishments; insomuch that it was agreed that none had greater pretensions. The consuls and the pretors retained the usual distinctions of their offices; inferior magistrates, the exercise of their authority; and the laws, except the inquisition for bad citizenship, were beneficially administered. The tithes, taxes, and all public receipts were directed by companies of Roman knights: the management of his own estates he committed only to men of eminent probity; and to some from their reputation, though unknown to him: and when once engaged, they were continued, without any restriction of term; since most of them grew old in the same employments. * * * He took care that the provinces should not be oppressed with new impositions; and that the existing burdens should not be rendered intolerable by rapacity or severity in the magistrates: CORPORAL PUNISHMENTS AND CONFISCATIONS OF GOODS WERE UNKNOWN.

"The emperor's lands in Italy were small, and thinly scattered; the behavior [or else the number] of his slaves modest; the freedmen in his house few; his disputes with private individuals were determined by the courts and the law."—Tacitus, *An.* 4, 6, 7, Bohn's trans. altered. This is the person of whom Tacitus had previously alleged (*An.* 1, 74) that "all things disgraceful were, because of their truth, believed to have been uttered [by others]."

*"Pomponius Labeo, who, as I have mentioned, was governor of Mœsia, opening his veins poured out his life-blood; his wife Paxæa, in emulation of his example, did the same. The dread of falling by

Moral earnestness imparts early development, and elicits recognition thereof from others. There is hardly a better criterion of its existence than to find maturity attributed to youth, and to see age deferential towards early years. We have this testimony to Tiberius from outsiders* and also from a step-father who longed for his counsel in difficulty, and for his personal influence in moments of irritation.† The fact deserves to be pondered, that the—not

the executioner made deaths of this sort a welcome resource; in addition to which, those who were condemned forfeited their estates, and were debarred the rights of burial; of such as made away with themselves, the bodies were interred, and the wills were valid, the reward of their despatch! Tiberius, however, in a letter to the Senate, argued 'that it was the usage of their ancestors (?), when they would renounce the friendship of anyone, to forbid him their house, and thus put an end to all gracious intercourse: a usage he had repeated in the case of Labeo; but he who was pressed with a charge of maladministration, and other crimes, had sought to veil his guilt by an act reflecting odium upon others; while his wife had alarmed herself unnecessarily, for though guilty, she was nevertheless in no danger.'—Tacitus, *An.* 6, 29. A comparison with the foregoing of Note C, foot-note 17, implies, apparently, that the Senate, in opposition to the remonstrance of Tiberius, must, at some date since the incident there mentioned, have granted pecuniary indemnity to suicides. The appeal of Tiberius to "usage of their ancestors" (if not fabricated by Tacitus), was made to the highest code of rectitude acknowledged by the body which he was addressing.

*"He (Tiberius), while yet young, was called the old man because of reverence for his thoughtfulness."—Philo, *Embassy*, 21; *Opp.* p. 696 (Bohn's trans. 4, pp. 130, 131).

†"If anything (Augustus wrote) has occurred requiring more careful thought than usual, or at which I am angry, * * * I long for my Tiberius.'—Sueton. *Tib.* 21.

always seemly—jests of Augustus would die upon his lips when Tiberius approached.*

Moral earnestness is independent of party, and not blunted by prevalent indifference to venality. When a corrupt judge of the privileged classes needed punishment,† Tiberius spoke no uncertain language, and when one of his own fiscal agents tried imposition he was equally plain.‡

Moral earnestness—by which must not be understood personal excitability on moral questions—is

*“I do not ignore what some have handed down, that Augustus, not secretly, but openly, so disapproved (?) his austerity, *morum diritatem*, that he sometimes, on his entrance, broke off his most careless and jovial remarks.”—Sueton. Tib. 21.

†“But in the case of Publius Suius, formerly quæstor to Germanicus, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as judge, and for which he was about to be excluded from Italy, the emperor voted for his banishment into an island, with such earnestness of feeling, that with the solemnity of an oath he declared it ‘for the interest of the commonwealth’; a proceeding which, though at the time regarded as harsh, turned afterwards to his praise, when Suius returned to Rome; a following age saw that exile possessed of extravagant power; abandoned to venality, and employing his friendship with Claudius, which he long enjoyed, in all cases for his own advancement, but never in the cause of virtue.”—Tacitus, An. 4, 31, Bohn’s trans. altered.

‡“For by the Senate even yet all affairs were transacted; inso-much that Lucilius Capito, the emperor’s comptroller in Asia, was, at the accusation of that province, put upon his defence before them, the emperor protesting with great earnestness, ‘that from him Lucilius had no authority but over his slaves, and in collecting his domestic rents; that if he had usurped the jurisdiction of pretor, and employed military force, he had so far violated his orders; they should therefore hear the allegations of the province.’—Tacitus, An. 4, 15, Bohn’s trans.

apt to recognize and respect the individual responsibility of others. Tiberius recognized the individual responsibility of senators, avoided interfering with it, and did what he could to make them feel it. An instance has already been given* of a question in which he took much interest. Other illustrations of this trait are given below.†

*See in note 6 of Ch. v. a citation from Suetonius, Tib. 31. It may profitably be compared with action on a similar question in the time of Trajan (see Ch. x. foot-note 59), who did not even submit it to the Senate, but decided it with his council.

†“In the respect he paid to individuals, or the whole body of the Senate, he went beyond all bounds. Upon his differing with Quintus Haterius in the Senate-house, ‘Pardon me, sir,’ he said, ‘I beseech you, if I shall as a senator, speak my mind very freely in opposition to you. * * * All affairs, whether of great or small importance, public or private, were laid before the Senate. Taxes and monopolies, the erecting and repairing edifices, levying and disbanding soldiers, the disposal of the legions and auxiliary forces in the provinces, the appointment of generals for the management of extraordinary wars, and the answers to letters from foreign princes, were all submitted to the Senate. He compelled the commander of a troop of horse, who was accused of robbery attended with violence, to plead his cause before the Senate. HE NEVER ATTENDED THE SENATE-HOUSE BUT UNATTENDED; and being once brought thither in a litter, because he was indisposed, he dismissed his attendants at the door.

“When some decrees were made contrary to his opinion, he did not even make any complaint. And though he thought that no magistrates after their nomination should be allowed to absent themselves from the city, but reside in it constantly, to fulfil their duties in person, a pretor elect obtained liberty to depart under the honorary title of a legate-at-large. * * * All other things of a public nature were likewise transacted by the magistrates, and in the usual forms; * * * he used to rise up as the consuls approached, and give them the way.

Moral earnestness is not fond of flattery from, nor of unmanly behavior in, others. Tiberius was no exception to this rule.* It is not apt to aim

“He reprimanded some persons of consular rank in command of armies for not writing to the Senate an account of their proceedings, and for consulting him about the distribution of military rewards; as if they themselves had not a right to bestow them as they judged proper.”—Sueton. Tib 29–32, Bohn’s trans. alt’d.

Tiberius “never undertook anything of moment without communicating it to the others (the Senate). Proposing his own view, he not only conceded to every one freedom to oppose it, but bore at times votes (or perhaps ‘decrees’) contrary to his view, for he often voted. His son Drusus habitually did it in common with the other senators, sometimes first, sometimes after others; but as regards himself, sometimes he was silent; sometimes after several others had spoken he expressed himself fully; sometimes last of all. For the most part, that he might not seem to interfere with their freedom of utterance, his phraseology was, ‘IF I WERE TO GIVE MY OPINION, I would say so and so.’ This was equivalent to the usual form, yet the others were not constrained by it from speaking their minds. Often when he had given an opinion subsequent speakers took opposite ground, and sometimes carried it. Yet he never manifested anger thereat.”—Dio Cass. 57, 7.

*“He had such an aversion to flattery, that he would never suffer any senator to attend his litter, either as a civility or upon business. And when a man in consular rank, in begging his pardon for some offence he had given him, attempted to fall at his feet, he started from him in such haste that he stumbled and fell. If any compliment were paid him, either in conversation or a set speech, he would not scruple to interrupt or reprimand the party, and alter what he said. Being once called ‘lord’ by some person, he desired that he might no more be affronted in that manner. When another, to excite veneration, called his occupations ‘sacred,’ and a third had expressed himself thus, ‘By your authority I have waited upon the Senate,’ he obliged them to change their phrases; in one of them adopting *persuasion*, instead of ‘authority,’ and in the other *laborious* instead of ‘sacred.’”—Sueton. Tib. 27, Bohn’s trans. altered.

either at expense or display. Tiberius tried, not by force, but by precept and example, to inculcate frugality and temperance.* One of his efforts in this direction has, like too many others of even his best deeds, been shamefully misrepresented.†

Compare Tacitus, An. 4, 6.

The first of the above statements is corroborated by another writer. "When carried anywhere in his litter he did not permit any senator or any of the principal knights to follow as attendants."—Dio Cass. 57, 11.

*Although Tiberius enforced existing laws against dissipation, "yet when the senators wished to enact a penalty against profligate livers, he took no action on it, adding that it was better to reform them in some way privately, than to impose a public punishment upon them."—Dio Cass. 57, 13.

Additional evidence that Tiberius was a temperate liver may be found in his playful criticism (Tacitus, An. 6. 46) of persons "who after their thirtieth year needed advice from another (that is, from a physician) as to what was physically beneficial or injurious to them;" and in the remark of Suetonius (Tib. 68), "He enjoyed excellent health, which was UNIMPAIRED DURING HIS WHOLE TERM OF OFFICE, although after his thirtieth year he managed it according to his own judgment, without aid or counsel of physician." Plutarch (*De Sanitate Tuenda*, *Opp.* 6, p. 517, ed. Reiske; 7, p. 407, ed. Hutten) may refer to some variation by Tiberius of his habitual remark as recorded by Tacitus, though the spirit of it is the same.

†Tiberius accepted from an old man, Sestius Gallus, with whom he had found some fault in the Senate, an invitation to supper (Sueton. Tib. 42) on condition "that he should change nothing from his ordinary custom," meaning, doubtless, that he should add nothing to the expense or trouble of his entertainment. Report, fabricated perhaps in a later age, charged Gallus, correctly or falsely, with being waited on by girls in a state of nudity. We can safely assume, either that the charge was fabricated by dissolute idlers as a jest at the expense of Tiberius, or, that if Gallus had ever permitted himself so gross an indecency, Tiberius was ignorant of the

Frugality is sometimes connected with avarice : but all writers agree that Tiberius had no taint of the latter.* His benevolence seems to have been thoughtful,† and in more than one instance copious :‡

fact, and Gallus sure not to repeat it in his presence. Fearful as such indecency appears, the plates of Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (Vol. 1, pp. 142, 143, Harper's edit.) show that it was not unknown, at least to some heathen assemblages.

*Tacitus calls him (An. 3, 18) "sufficiently firm, as I have often related, against (the temptations of) money." The solitary exception which he mentions (An. 4, 20) is imaginary. A public plunderer was prosecuted, and Tiberius had an accurate calculation made of what was due from him. Tacitus, copying the feelings of the aristocracy, deemed this illiberal. Elsewhere he says: "The estate of the wealthy Emilia Musa, who died intestate, and which was claimed for the prince's purse, he surrendered to Emilius Lepidus to whose family she seemed to belong; as also to Marcus Servilius the inheritance of Patuleius, a rich Roman knight, though part of it had been bequeathed to himself; but he found Servilius named sole heir in a former and well-authenticated will, alleging that the *nobilitatem* senatorial rank of each needed pecuniary aid (to prevent forfeiture). Nor did he ever accept any man's inheritance, but where friendship gave him a title; the wills of such as were strangers to him, and of such as, from pique to others, had appointed the prince their heir, he utterly rejected."—Tacitus, An. 2, 48, Bolin's trans. altered.

"These (his bounties to others) he expended from his lawful revenues, for he never killed any one for the sake of riches nor yet confiscated his goods nor did he in any instance acquire money through threats. To Æmilius Rectus, who on one occasion sent him from Egypt, of which he was governor, more than the appointed tribute, he wrote back, 'I wish you to shear and not shave, my sheep.'—Dio Cass 57, 10. "In addition to other virtues, he practised rigid abstinence from what belonged to others, never accepting legacies left him by such as had relatives."—Dio Cass. 57, 17.

†"About this time, Pius Aurelius the senator, whose house, yielding to the pressure of the public roads and aqueducts, had fallen,

nor was it confined to pecuniary manifestations alone

complained to the senate and prayed relief. Opposed by the pretors of the treasury, he was aided by Tiberius, who paid him the price of his house, for he was fond of being liberal upon fair occasions. * * Upon Propertius Celer, once pretor, but now desiring leave to resign the dignity of senator on the score of poverty, he bestowed a thousand great sesterces, upon satisfactory information that his necessities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the same thing, he ordered to prove their allegations to the Senate.”—Tacitus An. 1, 75, Bohn’s trans. altered.

“As he relieved the honest poverty of the virtuous, so he degraded from the Senate (or suffered to quit it of their own accord) Vibidius Varro, Marius Nepos, Appius Appinaus, Cornelius Sylla, and Quintus Vitellius, who were spendthrifts, and brought themselves to poverty by misconduct.”—Tacitus, An. 2, 48, Bohn’s trans.

“He spent VERY LITTLE ON HIMSELF, VERY MUCH ON THE COMMUNITY, * * * giving much aid to cities and private individuals. To many poor senators, who because of poverty would [could?] not attend the Senate, he gave (the requisite) wealth, yet not indiscriminately [compare Tacitus An. 1, 75], * * * and whatever he gave was counted to them before his eyes. Because under Augustus the paymasters appropriated to themselves large portions of such sums, (Tiberius) was rigidly on his guard that nothing of that kind should happen under him.”—Dio Cass. 57, 10.

To Atilius Buta “confessing his poverty after an immense patrimony had been consumed, Tiberius remarked, ‘You have been late in waking up.’”—Seneca, Epist. 122, 11. The phraseology of the remark indicates anything but moral indifference to waste.

‡Tiberius “gave largely to cities and individuals, NOR WAS HE WILLING TO ACCEPT (public) honor or praise because of his gifts.”—Dio Cass. 57, 11. “The Sardians * * * received the greatest share of compassion, for Tiberius promised them a hundred thousand great sesterces, and remitted all their contributions to the public treasury and the prince’s privy purse, for five years.”—Tacitus, An. 2, 47, Bohn’s trans. altered.

“The city was visited with a fire which raged with unusual violence, and entirely consumed Mount Cælius; * * * the emperor dissipated their murmurs by bestowing on each sufferer money to

but showed itself in ways which indicated an active personal interest in the welfare of others.*

Moral earnestness is sometimes, though not always, associated with attention to life's courtesies. Tiberius practised these and the kindly offices of life equally in his retirement at Rhodes† and in his term of imperial power.‡ The fearful experiences,

the extent of his damage : hence he had the thanks of men of rank in the Senate ; and was rewarded with applause by the populace, for that without any views of ambition, or the importunities of friends, he had of his own free will SOUGHT OUT THE SUFFERERS, THOUGH UNKNOWN TO HIM, and relieved them by his bounty."—Tacitus, An. 4, 64, Bohn's trans.

"The same year the city suffered grievously from a fire ; * * * he paid the value of the houses and clusters of tenements destroyed. A hundred thousand great sesterces he expended in this bounty, which proved the more grateful to the people, as he was ever SPARING IN HIS OWN PRIVATE BUILDING."—Tacitus, An. 6, 45, Bohn's trans.

*At Rhodes "one morning, in settling the course of his daily excursion, he happened to say that he should visit all the sick people in the town. This being not rightly understood by those about him, the sick were brought into a small portico, and ranged in order, according to their several distempers. Being extremely embarrassed by this unexpected occurrence, he was for some time irresolute how he should act ; but at last he determined to go round them all, and MAKE AN APOLOGY for the mistake even to the meanest among them, and such as were entirely unknown to him."—Sueton. Tib. 11, Bohn's trans.

†"He led entirely a private life, taking his walks sometimes about the Gymnasia, without any lictor, or other attendant, and returning the civilities of the Greeks with almost as much complaisance as if he had been upon a level with them."—Sueton. Tib. 11, Bohn's trans.

‡"He was very easy of access and ready to be spoken to. * * *

both public and private, through which he passed, would, in most men, have chilled them, yet he retained his social kindness to the close of life.* His abhorrence for brutalizing games did not prevent interest in such as were innocent, ‡ or else in the enjoyment of those who frequented them, and among his minor habits one indicates perhaps a limited degree of playfulness. §

When he invited them (any of the magistrates) to his table, he received them at the door and accompanied them thereto on bidding them good-by. * * * He mingled with his associates as a private person. In their lawsuits he acted as an advocate; AFTER their sacrifice [did he abstain from these?] he attended their feasts; WHEN THEY WERE SICK HE WATCHED WITH (literally, 'over') THEM, unattended by any guard; and for one of them when dead he delivered the funeral address."—Dio Cass. 57, II. The gratuitous labor of advocate, according to Roman views, seems to have been in certain cases a duty not to be neglected.

*When the last illness of Tiberius was coming on, and some friends were supping with him, Charicles, the physician, rose to leave, kissed the hand of Tiberius and felt his pulse. He probably wished to break up the company so as not to over-fatigue him. Tiberius asked him to take his place again and continued the entertainment. Nor, when it was over, "did he abstain from HIS CUSTOM, but supporting himself on the couch, with the aid of a lictor, he addressed each as they said good-by."—Sueton. Tib. 72.

‡"At 'fairs,' or whatever afforded a holiday to the multitude, he would, coming on the preceding evening to the house of some one of his tenants in the neighborhood of the gathering, spend the night there, so as to be most promptly and conveniently accessible; and he frequently watched the horse-races from the window of some one of his freedmen."—Dio Cass. 57, II.

§In South Germany the author found, that, if some one in the stage-coach sneezed, immediately one or more hats would be lifted

Then as now the use of a foreign language was, in many instances, a result of affectation.* Tiberius, though well acquainted with Greek, showed his simplicity of character, aside from other ways, by conversing in his mother tongue.†

Moral earnestness seeks approval from the conscience of others rather than favor from their feelings; it is not ambitious of titles nor prone to take offence. The remark of Tiberius touching dislike which he had incurred, "Let them hate if only they approve,"‡ could hardly come from any one save a conscientious man trying to do right. His dislike of titles is one among the evidences of an unambitious man§ trying to do right, whilst several incidents show his absence of jealousy.*

with the greeting, "Your health." He has been told by travellers in Italy, that the same custom prevails there. It is two thousand years old, for the elder Pliny remarks [Nat. Hist. 28, 5, 2]; "Why *salutamus* do we salute, or say, 'health to' a sneeze, which custom they say that Tiberius, the least mirthful certainly of men, exacted when in his carriage."

*"No woman thinks herself beautiful until from a Tuscan she has been metamorphosed into a miniature Greek. * * * In this language they manifest fright: in it they express joy, anger, weariness."—Juvenile, Sat. 6, 186–189.

†See Suetonius, Tib. 71, and Dio Cassius, 57, 15. Tiberius must, in the Senate at least, have carried this to a noticeable extent; for when he had occasion to use the word *monopoly*, he apologized for using one borrowed from a foreign language.

‡Sueton. Tib. 59.

§"He did not permit himself to be called *dominum*, master, by freedmen, nor emperor, literally 'commander', *imperatorem*, except by the soldiers; he wholly refused the appellation, 'father of his

Tiberius had in early life proved himself an able and humane general.† During his reign he maintained peace.‡ This peacefulness was the result

country.' He did not add, to his signature, the title Augustus, or august, which he never permitted to be voted him, but tolerated it when spoken or written to himself, and as often as he corresponded with certain kings he himself added it. He was commonly called Cæsar, occasionally Germanicus, from his deeds in Germany, and, even by himself, according to old custom, Primate (or presiding officer) of the Senate. He said that, 'I am master of my slaves, commander of the soldiers, but primate of the others.' And prayed, when the question came up, that he might live and rule only so long as beneficial to the public. Thus in all things he behaved so much as a private man, that he would not permit anything unusual on his birthday."—Dio Cass. 57, 8. Cp. note 14.

*"Rufus Helvius, a common soldier, acquired the glory of saving a citizen, and was, by Apronius, presented with the spear and collar. Tiberius added the civic crown, complaining rather than offended that Apronius had not in his own right as proconsul granted that also. * * * Tiberius * * * granted to Blæsus that he should be by the legions saluted *Imperator*, commander, emperor. * * * Junia, * * * sister of M. Brutus and wife of C. Cassius, * * * having honorably distinguished with legacies almost all the great men of Rome, she omitted Tiberius,—an omission which drew from him no indications of offended dignity, nor did he hinder her panegyric from being pronounced from the rostra, nor her funeral from being celebrated with all the other customary solemnities."—Tacitus An. 3, 21, 74, 76, Bohn's trans.

†See Suetonius, Tib. 9, 16-19.

‡"Tiberius, * * * who never allowed any seed of war to smoulder or to raise its head either in Greece or in the territory of the barbarians, and who bestowed peace and the blessings of peace up to the end of his life, with a rich and most bounteous hand and mind, upon the whole empire and the whole world."—Philo, Em-

neither of thoughtless sentiment nor of indolence, as is evident from his early life and from the energy of his dealings with the freebooter Tacfarinas, and with robbers and rogues generally.* The same love of peace showed itself in his private relations and in his dislike of trifling accusations. At Rhodes he interposed as peacemaker between sophists who had quarrelled: and his only exercise, during eight years' stay there, of his authority as a magistrate was to imprison a man whose fault-finding must have tended to start the quarrel afresh.† A wish to conciliate furnishes the most probable explanation of the apple offered to Agrippina, his ambitious daughter-in-law.‡ His dislike of trifling charges

bassy, 21, Bohn's trans. "The matter upon which I am occupied is * * * a state of UNDISTURBED PEACE, or only interrupted in a limited degree * * * and A PRINCE INDIFFERENT ABOUT EXTENDING THE BOUNDS OF THE EMPIRE."—Tacitus, An. 4, 32, Bohn's trans.

*Tacitus, An. 3, 73, 74.

†"One instance only is mentioned in which he appeared to exercise his tribunitian authority. Being a constant attendant upon the schools and lecture-rooms of the professors of the liberal arts, on occasion of a quarrel among the wrangling sophists in which he interposed to reconcile them, some person took the liberty to abuse him as an intruder and partial in the affair. Upon this withdrawing privately home, he suddenly returned attended by his officers, and summoning his accuser before his tribunal by a public crier, ordered him to be taken to prison."—Sueton. Tib. 11, Bohn's trans.

‡He had, in answer to some of her importunities, taken her hand and remarked, "You think, my child, if you do not rule, that an injury is done you."—Sueton. Tib. 53. Compare Tacitus, An. 4, 52. At table, after this conversation, Agrippina seems to have been too

may have been due partly to his sense of justice and partly to his love of peace.*

Moral earnestness looks upon power as a trust. Tiberius among all the emperors laid before the Senate, when entering upon office, a detailed statement of his trust.† At the close of life his anxiety

ill-humored to eat. Tiberius commended some apples, picked one out and handed it to her. She threw it to one of the servants. Tiberius remarked to his mother that she treated it as if poisoned. [Tacitus, An. 4, 54.] The leading facts as mentioned by Tacitus are here narrated, but without his interpretation of them.

*On one occasion, when two individuals consecutively had been charged with disrespect for the divinity of Augustus, Tiberius wrote to the consul "that the object in deifying his father was not to facilitate the destruction of citizens."—Tacitus, An. 1, 73. On another occasion [Tac. An. 1, 74] a persistent attempt was made in the Senate to fasten on a man some charge of conversation disrespectful to Tiberius. It was skilfully concluded with an allegation that the accused had cut the head from a statue of Augustus and substituted a head of Tiberius. This, it was probably supposed, would prevent the emperor from advocating the man's cause, lest he should thereby seem to count himself above Augustus. Tiberius for once lost patience, and said that he also in this case would give his opinion and under oath, so as to compel a like course on the part of the Senate. Piso, a senator of independent character, restored the emperor's equanimity by calling out to him, "In what place, Cæsar, will you vote? If first, I shall have something to guide me; if after all others, I fear that I might incautiously dissent from you." This sarcasm on the lack of manliness in the Senate recalled Tiberius apparently to a consciousness that the accuser was appealing, not to any supposed sensitiveness in himself, but to senatorial servility. He quietly "gave his opinion *tulit [sententiam]* that the defendant should be acquitted of these charges of bad citizenship." Some pecuniary charges were referred to the civil tribunal.

†Tacitus, An. 1, 11.

was conscientious as to its transmission.* He seems to have preferred certain, rather than severe, punishments,† and to have avoided such as degrade men or diminish self-respect.‡

Justice loves openness in questions of public administration. Tiberius exerted himself to secure open and fair hearing as well as intelligent decision.§ His selection of men who could, during a lifetime, retain office satisfactorily to those whom they ruled,||

*Tacitus represents in his *Annals* 6, 46, that Tiberius, in his last days, weighed carefully the qualifications, as a successor, of his grandson, of his brother's grandson Caligula, of his nephew Claudius, and THOUGHT EVEN OF PERSONS NOT BELONGING TO HIS OWN FAMILY. No one fully satisfied him and he did not make a choice. Tacitus adds (*Ibid*): "FAVOR WITH CONTEMPORARIES WAS TO HIM, OF LESS MOMENT THAN THE EFFORT FOR HONOR AMONG POSTERITY." Tacitus, on this point, gives his testimony without, apparently, appreciating its value.

†No reliable record exists of any one having been put to death by Tiberius. "He gave special attention to preserving the peace, i. e. the public security, against bandits, robbers, and mob violence. * * He rigidly repressed popular tumults and guarded against their occurrence. When slaughter had been caused by quarrel in a theatre, he banished the leaders of the faction and the players who were its cause, nor could he by any prayers of the people be forced into recalling them."—Sueton. Tib. 37.

‡Corporal punishments were unknown in his time. See no, 5.

§"He never transacted business alone with the envoys from cities or nations, but always appointed a number as participants in the investigation, and especially those who had once been their governors."—Dio Cass. 57, 17.

||"This, too, was part of the policy of Tiberius, to continue persons in offices, and for the most part to maintain them in the same military authority or civil employments to the end of their lives."—

attests not only his good sense and scrupulous consideration of character, but also his moral sense since a deficiency in this direction would have precluded any such result. Two governors of his appointment have been sketched or mentioned by monotheists. One of them, Flaccus, is portrayed by Philo, his unscrupulous enemy.* Of another, Pilate, we have some view in Josephus and the Gospels.†

Tacitus, An. 1, 80, Bohn's trans. No governor appointed by Tiberius was ever, while alive, charged with, or prosecuted for, malversation in office.

*See Ch. V. note 66.

†Josephus pictured Pilate with no friendly pen, yet he furnishes, with his usual embellishments the following facts. The Roman soldiers came from Cæsarea to Jerusalem by night,—possibly to diminish chances of offence. The Jews objected to the images on their standards [*Antiq.* 18, 3, 1.] Pilate, after finding that the matter might cause trouble, sent, though not without a little delay, the images back to Cæsarea. He found that the city needed water, and that a large sum of money was lying in the temple useless, or probably worse than useless, since unprincipled men must have found means to misuse it (compare Ch. 11. notes 33, 34). He took the money, made an aqueduct (*Antiq.* 18, 3, 2), and repressed the mob which followed. Josephus shows him to have been energetic, utilitarian, and gifted with administrative power.

If we turn to the Gospels we find that before this Pilate, a man was brought whom the leading Jews were determined to have put to death. Pilate tried hard to save him, but in order to accomplish it must have incurred risk of an accusation from the conservative Jews, who, in the existing state of parties at Rome, after the death of Senjanus, could have effected his ruin. This he had not, apparently, nerve to meet. But the governor who could not, to save himself, permit the execution of an innocent peasant—for such Jesus must have seemed to him—without repeated effort in his behalf (Matt. 27, 17-26; Mark, 15, 10-15; Luke, 23, 4, 14-25; John, 18, 38; 19, 4-16)

Although the surroundings of Tiberius, and many circumstances in his life, must have tended to repress affectionateness in his manner, yet two or three recorded instances show that it not only dwelt within, but that it occasionally showed itself. The final parting from his first wife, and the efforts to prevent his ever seeing her again, admit no explanation unless he were affectionate* His joy when he became a grandfather implies fairly the same quality in his old age,† and his behavior at the death of Augustus is most naturally explained by the same

was not indifferent to justice. He had a keen conscience, though his moral strength did not equal the demand upon it.

*“Our children * * * are (judicially) in our own power, which right is a peculiarity of Roman citizens, for there are almost no other men who have such power over their children as we (Romans).”—Gaius, *Instit.*

Tiberius deferred, for two years, marrying Julia. This was [Smith, *Dict. of Antiq* p. 741, col. 2] the longest legal limit for a betrothal. When she was banished at a later date by her father, her husband was thoughtful and considerate. He asked [Suetonius, *Tib.* 11] in repeated letters, that any presents he had given her might not be taken away. The previously divorced wife of Tiberius was subject to legal penalties (see Ch. viii. note 77) if she did not remarry in six months. She married Asinius Gallus [mentioned in Ch. viii. note 102,] between whom and her first husband friendship seems to have remained unbroken. He is mentioned by Dio Cassius, 58, 3, as dining with Tiberius in A. D. 30, and as receiving from him a guard against his enemies.

†“Livia, sister of Germanicus, wife of Drusus, gave birth to twin boys, which * * * caused the prince so much joy, that he could not refrain from boasting (?) to the Fathers, that to no Roman, previously, of the same rank, had twins been born.”—Tacitus, *An.* 2, 84.

characteristic. None but an affectionate person would, under the circumstances mentioned in note 36, have taken the hand of the person whom he addressed.

The repugnance of Tiberius for any manifestation of divine honor towards mortals may have been due to his moral sense, but it is so strong as almost to indicate monotheistic leanings. It was certainly not due to any regard for the heathen religion.*

§II. *His Retirement to Caprææ*

Augustus had acquired the island of Caprææ as a pleasant country residence.† Tiberius built twelve

*Tiberius "was *negligentior*, rather negligent in regard to the gods and religious observance because (?) addicted to astrology."—Sueton. Tib. 69. Drusus his son was blamed, by the patrician party, doubtless, for neglecting the GODS OF ROME and the initiatory auspices (see Tac. An. 3, 59). It deserves note, also, that the daughter of this Drusus, when expelled from Rome, was mourned most publicly by a friend who was subsequently charged with foreign superstition, that is, with monotheism.

†"Augustus, having taken a fancy to Caprææ, * * * took possession of it as part of the imperial domain, giving the Neapolitans in exchange the far more wealthy island of Ænaria. * * * He appears to have visited it repeatedly. * * * Tiberius * * * erected not less than twelve villas in different parts of the island. * * * Excavations in modern times have brought to light mosaic pavements, bas-reliefs, cameos, gems, and other relics of antiquity."—Smith, Dict. of Geog. 1, p. 509, col. 2.

According to the New Am. Cyclopædia (art. Capri), the island "is still celebrated for the beauty of its climate, * * * is about nine miles in circumference," and is frequented by quails, "vast numbers of which are caught every spring and autumn on their passage from and to Africa."

or more tasteful villas upon it. and retired thither A. D. 26, with a select number of friends, men of culture and of business capacity. Several reasons may have prompted him to this. He was almost seventy, and may have needed respite from the fatigues of city life. He may also have felt that if he lived separately from his mother, it would be more difficult for her to compromise him, and he would avoid any need of controlling her.* Yet fur-

The relics in these villas, as well as a passage of the elder Pliny, convey the impression that Tiberius had a liking for the fine arts. Pliny specifies two paintings (a Gallic high-priest, *Net. Hist.* 35, 36, 10; and a bather using the *strigil*, or scraper, *Nat. Hist.* 34, 19, 13) as having especially commended themselves to the emperor.

*“She was greatly puffed up beyond all women who preceded her. * * * Except that she did not venture upon entering the Senate, the camps, or the assemblies, she endeavored to administer all things as if sole ruler; eventually Tiberius excluded her entirely from public affairs, while allowing her control of matters at home. Then as she proved, even in these matters, a burden, he often left home and in every way avoided her, so that she was by no means the least of his reasons for removing to Capreæ.”—*Dio Cass.* 57; 12.

This mother must have severely tried her son's sense of justice and propriety. At one time a lady, unwilling to pay her debts, took refuge with the mother, who insisted (*Tac. An.* 2, 34) that Tiberius should have the proceedings against her stopped. At another she had determined (*Dio Cass.* 57, 12) to DEDICATE a statue to Augustus (as a god), and to make a great feast for the senators, knights, and their wives. Tiberius obviated the impropriety by feasting the men and letting her take the women. He required as a preliminary to the statue, that the Senate should vote assent. She must, then or subsequently, have carried her point, for, much to his disgust, she not only dedicated a statue (*Tac. An.* 3, 64), but added his name to her own as concerned in the performance, a total misrepresentation (see note 48) of his position on such matters. In much of this she was doubtless the unconscious tool of patricians.

ther, he may have noticed steps of the aristocratic, towards a rebellion such as subsequently broke out, and he may have felt that, by living at some distance from the city, he could escape the need of measures for self-protection. The published statements of treasury disbursements ceased from the date when he left Rome (Dio Cass. 56, 9.) a pretty sure evidence that his enemies were misapplying these disbursements. Among the companions of this retirement was the eminent jurist Nerva, against whom not even his political enemies have a word to allege;* Flaccus, the statesman and man of culture, gifted with uncommon administrative ability, and whose abode at Alexandria was the seat of refinement;† Macro, combining the qualities of military commander with those of moralist and teacher;‡ and Curtius Atticus, a Roman

*Nerva was a law-pupil of the Labeo mentioned on pp. 171, 172, and is lauded by Tacitus (An. 6, 26) as "acquainted with all law, human and divine."

†See Ch. V. notes 66, 82. Flaccus must have remained among the intimate companions of Tiberius until sent in A. D. 32 as governor to Egypt, and, if Philo can be trusted (Against Flaccus, 3, Bohn's trans. Vol. 4, p. 63; Paris edit. p. 663, II. 29-31), he, when Tiberius died, grieved as for a personal friend.

‡Macro's military qualities are attested not merely by the office to which the disciplined judgment of Tiberius appointed him, but by his prompt suppression of the pre-arranged patrician rebellion of A. D. 31. His moral qualities are prostrayed by Philo, who at least had means of knowing, for Herod Agrippa, the father-in-law of Philo's niece, lived for a time at Capreæ, associating much with the young Caligula, for whose moral training Marco seems to have exerted himself. According to Philo (Embassy, 7, 8), Marco tried

knight. He was also accompanied by Greek and Latin scholars.* His respected and cherished sister-in-law Antonia (with not improbably the wives of some among the officers) contributed, occasionally at least, feminine influences to this select society.†

faithfully, in his intercourse with Caligula, to give him good aims, so that the latter on meeting him would say, 'Here is * * * the pedagogue.'—Philo, Paris edit. p. 687; Bohn's trans. 4, p. III.

*"His departure was with a small number of companions: one CONSULAR senator, Cocceius Nerva, skilled in the laws; a Roman knight, Curtius Atticus, who, as well as Sejanus, was among the distinguished ones; others gifted in liberal studies, chiefly Greeks, by whose conversation he might be refreshed."—Tacitus, An. 4, 58.

†Antonia was a daughter of Marc Antony and of Octavia, sister to Augustus. Smith's Dictionary (art. Antonia, 6) mentions her as "celebrated for her beauty, virtue, and chastity." Josephus says (Antiq. 18, 6, 6) that "she was in all respects honored by Tiberius," and mentions her (Antiq. 18, 6, 4; cp. 6) among the society of his retirement. She was probably a monotheist, for not only was her intimate friend in early days a Jewess, but her business agent and superintendent of her estates in Alexandria was the Jewish ethnarch in that city, brother of Philo. Further: though her husband had been senatorial in politics, yet the Senate for some reason ignored herself until a grandson, whom they hoped to please, sat upon the throne. Then in a single decree (Sueton. Calig. 15) they, for the sake, doubtless, of currying favor, voted her all the honors which had ever been conferred on Livia. This was overshooting the mark, since it made her, among other things, Priestess of Augustus. The relations of Antonia to her dependents are illustrated by the remark of Cænis, her freedwoman, subsequently the cherished wife of Vespasian, who, when told to forget something, replied, "It is useless, mistress, to give me such a direction, for these and all other things which YOU tell me are so fixed in my mind, that it is impossible to forget them."—Dio Cass. 66, 14.

Tiberius at Capreæ must have continued his previously industrious habits. He left *Memoirs*, part, at least, of which were written here, for they included matters occurring after he left Rome. His attention to the political and financial interests of the community suffered no diminution.* In his benevolence, which continued to be frequent and copious,† it is noteworthy that the younger members of his family were called upon for responsible and arduous duty.‡ His superintendence of his own fiscal matters must have been good, for, in spite of benevolence and absence of avarice, he left a large fortune.§ The rules of social morality which he had laid down

*“He paid exceeding attention that they, the Senate, should convene as often as duty required, and that they should neither meet later than appointed, nor be dismissed earlier. On this head he repeatedly gave injunctions to the consuls, and sometimes directed things to be read by them to the Senate which he was accustomed to do in reference to other kinds of business, as if he could not write directly to the Senate.”—Dio Cass. 58, 21, under A. D. 33; see also in the next note the attention of Tiberius to financial matters.

†Tiberius in A. D. 27 relieved the sufferers by a fire [Tacitus, An. 4, 64,] and in A. D. 33 relieved a financial crisis [Dio Cass. 58, 21] by lending without interest. Multitudes, of course, needed this relief, and it could be safely given only after examination of their assets. In A. D. 36 he relieved [Dio Cass. 58, 26] sufferers by inundation. In the same year [Tacitus, An. 6, 45, quoted in note 19] he relieved the sufferers by an extensive fire.

‡“For estimating each one’s loss, the four husbands of Cæsar’s grand-daughters, Cneius Domitius, Cassius Longinus, Marcus Vinicius, Rubellius Blandus, were selected; Publius Petronius being added by nomination of the consuls,”—Tacitus, An. 6, 45.

§Sueton. Calig. 37.

in public were, if we may believe Josephus, carried out with equal strictness in his retirement.† His offices of kindness were not forgotten, and when Nerva was on his death-bed the friend who watched by his side was Tiberius.‡ His thoughtfulness in the administration of business was unabated; and when, in A. D. 32, the governor of Egypt died, he temporarily sent one of his freedmen thither,§ thus giving himself leisure to select a successor, Flaccus, who approved himself in the office.||

†According to Josephus, *Antiq.* 18, 6, 4, Herod Agrippa, subsequently king, came to visit Tiberius and met with a kindly reception. Trustworthy advice, promptly following, said that his object was to avoid creditors and honest debts. Tiberius "was greatly pained on perusing this epistle," and declined further intercourse while the debts were unpaid, which was therefore soon effected. Perhaps Tiberius had yet other advice (see p. 99) concerning Herod, and merely tolerated him in kindness to Antonia.

‡The nature of Nerva's death renders probable that he suffered from weakness of stomach, as did his grandson; the Emperor Nerva, and perhaps, also, that, like his grandson he may have been more distinguished by gentle goodness than by rugged strength. An attempted enforcement of usury laws had produced, in A. D. 33, financial disorder and distress. Nerva, in the midst of it, was, according to Dio Cassius 58, 21, depressed by anticipations of fraud and disturbance. If he could be depressed, his nervous system must already have been shocked by partisan murders at Rome. Tiberius sought to encourage him, as also to elicit his views on the course to be pursued. Tenderness of friendship, one might think, should escape defamation, but the traducers of Tiberius represent the death of Nerva as due to voluntary starvation caused by his weariness of the emperor.

§Dio Cass. 58, 19.

||See Ch. v. note 66.

The residence at Capreæ was diversified by occasional visits elsewhere.* During it most of the emperor's grandchildren, adoptive or otherwise, were married. One of them, Caligula, chose a wife whose father belonged to the bitter opponents of Tiberius, yet the latter does not seem to have made any objections, nor to have altered his relations towards Caligula because of it.

Tacitus and Suetonius, unsupported by Dio Cassius, tell us that Tiberius, retiring to Capreæ when he was almost three score years and ten, commenced a round of debauchery so vile that a modern brothel would be decent in comparison. The story, originated in a queer joke.† was propagated by party malignity, and countenanced by prevalent dissoluteness. It would deserve no notice, save for the wide credence which it has received.

*Suetonius mentions [Tib. 40] a visit to the continent, which must have been in A. D. 27; Tacitus, An. 4, 74, relates a visit in the year 28 to Campania; Dio Cassius mentions, 58, 3, a hospitality towards Gallus in A. D. 30, which seems to imply proximity to the city; and [58, 21] a residence in A. D. 33 in the suburbs of Rome, and repeated visits thither [58, 24] about the close of the same year; and a stay [58, 25] at Antium in A. D. 35; Tacitus speaks, An. 6, 39, of Tiberius as near Rome in the last mentioned year; Josephus speaks, Antiq. 18, 6, 6, of events in A. D. 36, during a stay in the neighborhood of Tusculum, a locality twelve or fifteen miles from Rome, where wealthy citizens had their country residences, and at the date of his last illness, in A. D. 37, Tiberius was at Misenum.

†The name of the island, Capreæ, or Capri, led some one to call him *Caprineus*, which might mean, either a resident in Capri, or, by a play on words, a grossly dissolute man.

§ III. *Patrician Revolt of A. D. 31.*

At the death of Augustus the patricians had arranged measures, which proved abortive, to prevent the accession of Tiberius. In A. D. 19, 20, they were planning rebellion, with Germanicus as a leader. His death aided in breaking up their projects. In A. D. 31 a patrician outbreak took place; the widow of Germanicus being either its nominal head or among its active managers. Some prelude to it occurred in the previous year, as we may infer from the appointment of a military guard to protect a popular leader.* The outbreak was prearranged, for one or more vessels put to sea in Greece; and by those interested, a son of Germanicus was alleged to accompany, or head, the expedition,† which had for its object the invasion of Syria or Egypt.

*“On the same day that Gallus dined with Tiberius, drinking with him in friendship, he was condemned by a decree of the Senate; so that a pretor was sent to bind him and lead him to punishment. And yet Tiberius acting thus (?) * * * exhorted him to be of good courage, directing that he be guarded without bonds until he [Tiberius] himself should come to the city; * * * and he was guarded by the consuls save in the consularship of Tiberius, for then he was guarded by the pretors.”—Dio Cass. 58, 3.

†“About the same time Greece and Asia were dismayed by a rumor more rife than lasting, ‘that Drusus, a son of Germanicus, had been seen in the Cyclades, and soon afterwards upon the continent.’ And there was indeed a youth nearly of the same age, to whom some of the emperor’s freedmen, as if he were recognized by them, attached themselves, with the purpose (?) of betraying him. The unwary were allured by the splendor of the name, the Greeks being prone to catch at anything new and marvellous; so much so

The consuls, at the date of the rebellion, were Trio and Regulus. The former was an unscrupulous politician with whom Tiberius had at one time declined intercourse, and who had afterwards wished to make himself prominent, in the year 20, as a prosecutor of the emperor's friend Piso.* Regulus does not seem to have intended rebellion, but to have been entrapped by fraud into giving it unintentional aid.† The time selected for it was coin-

that they imagined, 'that, escaped from custody and proceeding to the armies of his father, he *would invade Syria or Egypt*. He was now attended by a crowd of young men, and thronged with eager partisans, elated with his present success, and airy hopes, when the story reached Poppæus Sabinus. He was at that juncture engaged in Macedonia, and likewise had charge of Greece; to obviate the mischief, whether the account were true or false, he hastily passed the bay of Torone and that of Therme; and presently reached Eubœa, an island of the Ægean Sea, and Piræus, on the coast of Attica; he then passed along the coast of Corinth, and the straits of the Isthmus; and, by another sea, entered Nicopolis, a Roman colony. There at length he learned, that, being shrewdly questioned, he had declared himself the son of Marcus Silanus; and that many of his followers having fallen off, he had embarked, as if he meant to sail to Italy. Sabinus sent this account to Tiberius, and further than this we have found nothing (?) of the origin or issue of that affair."—Tacitus, An. 6, 10, Bohn's trans. The young man, according to Dio Cassius 58, 25, was sent to Tiberius. Silanus, father of the boy here mentioned, was one of the high aristocracy, consul during the reactionary proceedings of A. D. 19. His lack of moral sensibility was shown in A. D. 20, by his public, instead of private, thanks for the permitted return of a brother who had disgraced himself. Tacitus when writing the above must have known that the expedition was part of a pre-arranged senatorial rebellion.

*See p. 192.

†After the rebellion was crushed "Trio * * * had indirectly

cident with a change in the command of a pretorian cohort. Sejanus had been their commander, much to the chagrin of the ultra aristocracy,—who felt galled at seeing one of the inferior order acting as the emperor's right-hand man,*—and of Agrippina who deemed him an opponent of her aims. Tiberius, with no unfriendliness towards him,† found

blamed Regulus as backward in crushing the agents of Sejanus. He * * * not only repelled his colleague, but brought him to an investigation as guilty of conspiracy.”—Tacitus, An. 5, 11.

*This statement scarcely needs proof, but abundant evidence in its support may be found in Velleius Paterculus, 2, 128. That author, writing whilst his friend Sejanus was in power, quotes a long list of distinguished individuals, not of patrician ancestry, who, because of their merits, had been elevated to high position at Rome. He argues that Tiberius, the Senate, and the people had but followed ancient precedent in elevating an unusually competent man. The argument implies a class who decried Sejanus because of his origin. It is but fair to give this friend's opinion of Sejanus: “A man most genial even in gravity; of pristine cheerfulness; laborious without showing it; totally unassuming, and for that reason heaped with honors; always measuring himself below the estimate of others; tranquil in countenance and disposition; of sleepless mental activity.”—Vel. Pater. 2, 127.

†Suetonius, Tib. 61, RESTATES, or quotes from a restatement by some one else, a passage from the Memoirs of Tiberius, “that he had punished (?) Sejanus because he had found him filled with animosity against the children of his son Germanicus.” *Sejanum se punisse quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui*. This passage is not quoted verbally, for it is written in the third person. Had the Memoir by Tiberius assumed responsibility for the proceedings against Sejanus, Tacitus would have been but too thankful to quote what would have saved him much inconclusive reasoning. The passage, in its most obvious sense, is so plainly contradicted by other evidence, as to show that the meaning of Tiberius has been per-

reasons for substituting Macro, a man on kindly terms with Sejanus.

Macro reached Rome at night, communicated his authorization to one of the consuls, Regulus, and to Laco, commander of the night watch. The Senate met on the next morning in Apollo's Temple. Macro saw and held a conversation with Sejanus, who, "in excellent spirits over it, hurried into the Senate house." He then replaced the day watch by the night one, perhaps because of trust in Laco; entered the temple and gave a letter of Tiberius to the consuls; charged Laco to watchfulness, and went himself to the camp.

The letter of Tiberius was opened. "It was long and NOT DIRECTED AGAINST SEJANUS"† It certainly did not contemplate his death, and there can hardly be a question that it contained no suggestion, repetition or desire to any one.‡ It ordered a guard for Sejanus, as a protection, doubtless, against his enemies. During its perusal, if Dio's narrative be correct, some of the senators—perhaps by prearrangement—left the side of Sejanus. A fictitious tumult was created, and his more timorous friends

verted. The term "punished" has been substituted for *removed from office*, or for some equivalent expression.

*Dio Cass. 58, 10.

†The conspirators, and writers influenced by them, have done their best to pervert this letter into an apology for their crimes. According to Dio Cassius 58, 10, it treated various matters, found briefly some fault with Sejanus in two passages; spoke near its close of two senators, friends of Sejanus, as deserving punishment (?), and directed A GUARD TO BE PLACED OVER SEJANUS.

were cowed. No distinct motion seems to have been before the Senate. The proceedings of the conspirators can be judged from the following: The consul “Regulus [?] did not ask the votes of all, nor even OF A SINGLE ONE CONCERNING PUTTING HIM (Sejanus) TO DEATH, but being afraid lest some one should oppose, and a disturbance be made,—since Sejanus had many relatives and friends,—having asked some ONE and received assent, that he should be bound, he led him out of the Senate and into prison.”* Sejanus would, perhaps, have been safe on his own side of the house, but had been lured by a fraud among his enemies.† Laco, seeing his danger, came into the Senate room, took place by his side and accompanied him to prison, but may not, at that stage of the proceedings, have felt warranted in entering upon a conflict with the consul.

Shortly afterwards, on the same day, another meeting of the Senate—to which were summoned probably only the conspirators and those whom they could control—took place at the temple of Concord near the prison. A mob had been excited against Sejanus, and because the Senate saw this,

*Dio Cass. 58, 10. The impression conveyed by the above, that Regulus headed the action against Sejanus, is a misrepresentation which Dio has innocently copied.

†Regulus, according to Dio Cass. 58, 10, called two or three times to Sejanus and motioned him with his hand to come to him. Sejanus, inattentive at first, asked if he were calling to him, and crossed over, on the supposition, apparently, that he wished to hold some conversation with him. If this be true, Regulus was used by the conspirators without knowing their object.

and "SAW NOT ONE OF THE (PRETORIAN) GUARDS,"* they condemned him to death. The quoted passage is evidence, if other were wanting, that no aid was expected from Macro. Sejanus, his children,† and many adherents of the popular party were brutally murdered.‡

The mangled body of Sejanus was knocked about during three days before being thrown into the Tiber.§ How long the conspirators held sway

*Dio Cass. 58, 11.

†Dio Cass. 58, 11. The little daughter of Sejanus, a mere child, had, according to Tacitus, An. 5, 9, been violated before execution, —a fate shared by others, if we may trust Suetonius. The senatorial faction, in whose service this was done, must, when on their defence, have tried to coat over the atrocity with religious varnish. "Because according to traditional custom, it was impious to strangle immature girls."—Sueton. Tib. 61. "As if it were impious, that a virgin should be executed in prison."—Dio Cass. 58, 11. "Because it was deemed unheard of, that a virgin should be subjected to triumphal punishment."—Tacitus, An. 5, 9. The triumphal court was one for "summary," even capital, "punishment upon slaves and persons of lower rank."—Smith, Dict. of Antiq. 1167, 1168. Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio, quote this wretched attempt at an apology, as if they believed that the brute of an executioner was prompted by a reverence for religion. Tacitus assumes to be a moralist. His indignation elsewhere (An. 1, 76, quoted on p. 180) contrasts unfavorably with its absence here.

‡These murders expressly violated a humane enactment which Tiberius had ten years previously introduced, that "no one condemned by them (the Senate) should be executed in less than ten days, nor within that time should the decree be deposited in the treasury."—Dio Cass. 57, 20. A passage of Suetonius, Tib. 55, renders probable that some of the victims were from a council of twenty, who aided Tiberius in governing the city. Compare with it Caligula's statement to the Senate in the next section.

§Dio Cass. 58, 11.

is uncertain. They were unquestionably subdued before the year closed, and perhaps within a week or two. Not a soldier from elsewhere seems to have been needed, and the fleet which Tiberius held ready* was not called into requisition. The conspirators had to provide for their own safety. They made offers to Macro and Laco, who refused to listen.† They voted honors to Tiberius. He forbade their consideration.‡ An embassy of their leading men went to see him. They found no admission. The consul Regulus tried it.§ He fared no better.

The conspirators, while holding control, had, as a political measure, enacted that no one should put on mourning for Sejanus.|| Tiberius interfered.

*Tiberius kept his fleet ready to depart at a moment's notice (Dio Cass. 58, 13; Suetonius, Tib. 65), and had signals and watchers arranged, probably against the contingency of a naval effort by the conspirators, or against any outside disturbance.

†“Not long afterwards they began to flatter Macro and Laco. They offered them great wealth and honors, to Laco those of questor, to Macro those of pretor, besides allowing the latter to sit among them, clothed in senatorial purple during the votive public games. They (Laco and Macro) declined the offers.”—Dio Cass. 58, 12.

‡Concerning Tiberius they voted that “thenceforth he should be called Father of his Country; that his birthday should be honored with ten horse-races and with a senatorial feast. He again as on more than one previous occasion, Dio Cass. 58, 8, forbade any one to introduce such a motion.”—Dio Cass. 58, 12. What must he have thought of them?

§Dio Cass. 58, 13. In this connection Dio mentions that Regulus had “always been studious of pleasing Tiberius.”

||“They voted * * * that no one should put on mourning for him (Sejanus), and that a STATUE OF LIBERTY should be erected in the Forum.”Dio Cass. 58, 12.

“He permitted all who wished it to mourn him, forbidding that ANY ONE should be prevented from doing this for ANY ONE ELSE, which [he said] had been repeatedly enacted [meaning, that it was well-settled law] Afterwards on account of Sejanus, and of those [lawlessly]* accused, he punished a great many and [also] those charged with having violated and murdered their nearest female relatives.”†

The property of Sejanus had been confiscated and put into the senatorial treasury, which had been opened by Vitellius, its prefect (Tac. *An.* 5 8.) in support of the rebellion. Justice required its restoration to his relatives. “The effects of Sejanus were taken out of the senatorial treasury, that they might be squeezed into that of Tiberius, on pretext that IT should make restitution.”‡

Not a few of the popular party had committed suicide; perhaps, that they might escape death at the hands of malevolent opponents; perhaps that they might under the Roman law, save their property for their children.§ Their confidence in Tiberius

*The reading “lawless” is found in two manuscripts.

†Dio Cass. 58, 16.

‡“*Bona Sejani ablata arario ut in fiscum cogarentur, tanquam referret.*”—Tacitus, *An.* 6, 2. At this act of simple justice Tacitus shows his chagrin. “The Scipios (!) and Silani (!) and Cassii (!) with great asseveration advocated these things in nearly, or quite, identical language.”—Tacitus, *An.* 6, 2.

§“Very little property was confiscated of such as anticipated execution by a voluntary death. * * * Nearly all the effects of

was shown by devising their property to him. He, contrary to his custom, assumed the legacies,* and effected doubtless, so far as he could, their return to the proper heirs.† The same confidence in Tiberius which these sufferers showed by their wills, was manifested by others in their remarks.‡

If any doubt could remain that Sejanus and his friends were murdered by conspirators against Tiberius, we shall find in the next section an explicit

those who did not die in this manner were confiscated, little or nothing being given to their accusers.”—Dio Cass. 58, 15, 16. The probability is, that, in murders committed by a conspiracy, no regular prosecution took place, and, therefore, no one could possibly claim a “prosecutor’s share.” “Not only knights but senators, not only men but women, were crowded into the prison. Some were executed there. Others were thrown from the Capitol by the tribunes and even by the consuls. The bodies of all were tossed into the Forum, and subsequently cast into the river.”—Dio Cass. 58, 15.

*“He accepted everything left to him, and nearly all these compulsory suicides left their property to him.”—Dio Cass. 58, 16.

†In the year 33 also, when Sextus Marius, on a fictitious charge probably, had been murdered, Tiberius took possession of his property. The narration of this by Tacitus An. 5, 19, illustrates his dealings with history. He affirms two things: (1,) That the large property of Marius was taken by Tiberius, which showed that Tiberius had COMPASSED HIS DEATH for the sake of his property; (2.) That Tiberius was so INCENSED AT THE MURDER of Marius and others, that he disburdened his feelings by slaughtering indiscriminately those in prison accused of COMPLICITY WITH SEJANUS. The second statement contradicts the first.

‡“They attributed nothing or but few things to him, Tiberius, for they said that, as regarded most of these transactions, some he could not have known, and others he had been compelled to do against his will.”—Dio Cass. 58, 12.

statement of Caligula to the Senate, that they, after spoiling Sejanus by their flattery, had put him to death ; and Seneca also affirms that the Senate were his murderers.*

The ambitious Agrippina, who had hoped to put one of her sons in the place of Tiberius,—and perhaps to be practically ruler,—wavered between plans of continuing the struggle and of saving herself.† Her senatorial co-conspirators endeavored to ease their own shoulders by unanimous testimony against her‡ She was legally amenable to Tiberius

*“On the day on which the Senate led him out to execution the populace pulled him to pieces. * * * Nothing remained of him which the executioner could drag with his hook.”—Seneca, *De Tranquillitate*, II, 9.

†“Last of all, Tiberius having calumniated (?) her with desiring at one moment to betake herself to the statue of Augustus, at another to the armies, banished her to the island of Pandateria.”—Sueton. Tib. 53. Tacitus, as usual, copies or adds to patrician misstatements. He says: “Persons were provided by Tiberius, who should warn Agrippina and her son Nero to escape to the armies of Germany, at one time commanded by her husband, or in the most public manner to embrace the statue of the divine Augustus in the Forum and call on the people and Senate for aid! And these projects, spurned, were charged as if planned by them.” Tacitus, An. 4, 67. Tacitus CONNECTS this with events of A. D. 27. It has no appositeness thereto, and was probably displaced by himself or some earlier writer, for the sake of obscuring history.

‡Caligula—in response probably to incessant senatorial invective against Sejanus—“inveighed often against all senators, equally, as CLIENTS OF SEJANUS, and *delatores*, prosecutors of his mother and brothers, * * * defending the severe measures of Tiberius as necessary, since credence had to be given to such a multitude of accusers.”—Sueton. Calig. 30. Caligula knew how to use sarcasm.

as the adoptive father of her husband, and was by him banished to an island, where two years subsequently, she died, on the anniversary of her victim's death.*

Among the severe trials of Tiberius, in connection with this revolt, was the fate of Livilla, or Livia *Junior*, his daughter-in-law. Her husband Drusus, and subsequently to his death, her son, had been hoped for by the popular party as their future prince.† This made her an object of animosity to the patrician faction. During the rebellion her statues were thrown down and violent decrees enacted against her.‡ She was among the women

*"Cæsar added, that 'she died on the same day of the year on which Sejanus had been punished (?) two years previously, and that the fact deserved recollection.' * * * It was decreed [by the Senate] that forever on the 18th of October, (the day when both had died) an offering should be made to Jupiter."—Tacitus, An. 6, 25. The parenthetical remark in its present shape was no part of the decree. The additional remark of Tiberius that Agrippina had not perished by a public execution, is misrepresented by Tacitus as a boast.

†When Drusus, her husband, died, the popular party must have endeavored (Tacitus, An. 4, 9) to make his funeral outvie the one previously gotten up by the patricians for Germanicus.

‡"At Rome, in the beginning of the year, A. D. 34, as of the disgraceful doings (?) of Livia were but lately become known, and had not already [how?] been sufficiently punished, savage decrees were also enacted against her statues and memory."—Tacitus. An. 6, 2. The circumstances here mentioned occurred probably in the latter part of 31, while the rebellion held sway. Its location in A. D. 32, may be one of those misplacements by which the patrician party endeavored to obscure history. If the decrees were early in the year 32, there must have been an effort of the conspirators, in their fright,

violated. Circumstantial evidence renders it not improbable that she was also murdered by a reprobate nephew or nephews.* When her violators were brought to justice, the senatorial faction called it punishment for adultery.†

A conspiracy and state emergency such as we

to divert indignation from themselves. The enactment of decrees against Livilla's MEMORY implies apparently that she was already dead, which corroborates the supposition that she had been murdered.

*Agrippina had, when her husband died, three surviving sons, Nero, Drusus, and Caius or Caligula. The last mentioned resided at first with his great-grandmother, Livia, then with his grandmother, Antonia, and then with his grand-uncle, Tiberius. The other two are represented by their aged relative, the emperor (Tacitus, An. 5, 3; 6, 24), as addicted to vice. If the action of Tiberius already mentioned (see p. 527), against such as had violated and murdered their nearest female relatives, were without intervention of courts, it must have been against some member, or members, of his family, subject, as such, to his personal jurisdiction. If so, there can be little doubt that the reference is to Nero or Drusus, or to both. Nero was banished (Sueton, Tib. 54; compare Calig. 15) to the island of Pontia. Drusus (*Ibid.*) was kept prisoner in the Capitol until his death.

†In A. D. 34, Mamercus Scaurus, with whom Seneca (*De Benefic.* 4, 31, 2, 3) disgusts his readers, and whom Tacitus calls "distinguished by noble birth, and in pleading causes, but of shameful life," was tried (Tac. An. 6, 29) for "adultery with Livia, and magical rites." According to Dio Cassius, 58, 24, the sole charge was "having committed adultery with Livia; and many others were punished on her account." The nature of his offence may be judged from the following comment of Tiberius on an insulting and defiant drama by the culprit: "*I will make him an Ajax.*" Dio Cass. 58, 24. Ajax is said to have violated Cassandra, the priestess of Minerva, Smith. Dict. of Biog. 1, p. 88, col. 1, and to have perished in consequence. Defiant language, *Ibid.* p. 87, col. 2, did not save him.

have mentioned would, to many a ruler, have suggested arbitrary measures. No such charge against Tiberius comes to us even from his enemies. Not a military execution is mentioned: no arbitrary expurgation of the Senate, such as Augustus executed in favor of the reactionary aristocracy. Tiberius seems to have proceeded patiently and persistently in collecting evidence and in laying it before the established tribunal, so that perpetrators of outrage and murder should receive their due reward.

The senatorial faction fought stoutly, and more than three years were needed before Trio could be brought to justice, though he had committed some of the murders with his own hand. Even Scaurus escaped conviction for nearly the same length of time.

§ IV. *Social Results of the Rebellion.*

The civil policy of Rome recognized no public prosecutor whose duty it was to proceed against criminals. The popular party had no legislative body in behalf of justice. The law-making power was largely in the hands of the present criminals, that is, of the Senate, which moreover exercised, to some extent, judicial functions. Had Tiberius under these circumstances treated revolution as calling for extraordinary, even non-legalized action on his part, had he banished, even if he did not execute, the more active criminals, public opinion would have sustained him, and the community

would have been spared many evils. He was scrupulous, however, not to overstep his established authority, and the laws were allowed ordinary course.* That he did not seize the opportunity for reforming the government may have been due to his advanced age, or to promises enacted by his step-father, or to absence of the originality requisite for political reconstruction, though he was otherwise highly gifted with administrative ability.

Every individual whose relatives had been murdered could bring action against the murderers. These murderers were politically and financially powerful. They brought or instigated counter-prosecutions to intimidate their opponents.† They

*Tiberius "sent in to it [the Senate] not only the book [articles of accusation] placed in his hands by 'prosecutors,' but also the evidence under torture superintended by Macro, so that nothing was left to them [the senators] save acquittal or condemnation.—Dio Cass. 58, 21, compare 24. Tacitus alludes to but one instance of this, which he places in the year 37. Three senators of rank were on trial. "Commentaries [by whom?] sent to the Senate said that Macro had presided at the examination of witnesses, and the torture of the slaves. Absence of any letters from the emperor against them created suspicion."—Tacitus, An, 6, 47. In the extract from Dio the bracketed word "acquittal" must not be attributed to him, though necessary to a fair understanding of the matter. In both of these extracts the accusers must have been others than Tiberius. He appears merely as the presiding officer of the Senate, through whom charges and evidence were handed in. Slave evidence in such cases was only valid if taken under torture. Macro's presence at the examination may have been needed to prevent fraud or to mitigate inhumanity.

†One man gave as a reason for bringing a prosecution, Tacitus, An. 6, 18, that he wished to parry his brother's danger. "Under

could, no doubt, hire *Delatores*, prosecutors on shares, who for a price paid, and in hope of half the defendant's property, would undertake the invention of crime and evidence. Seneca depicts the state of matters,* and elsewhere places in strong contrast the earlier years of Tiberius.†

The proceedings against Gallio illustrate the condition of things. He had moved in the Senate a reward for the pretorian soldiers because of their fi-

Tiberius the accusers of others acquired much wealth from their property and from THE SENATORIAL TREASURY, and obtained certain honors."—Dio Cass. 58, 14.

*"Under Tiberius Cæsar there was *frequens et pæne publica*, a common and almost epidemic insanity for accusation, which, worse than any civil war, brought destruction to Roman citizens. The utterance of the drunken, the *simplicitas*, light-heartedness of the jesting, were seized upon. Nothing was safe."—Seneca, *De Benefic.* 3, 26, 1.

†Seneca tells Nero on his accession, "No man was ever so dear to another as you to the whole Roman people. * * * No one now mentions the divine Augustus or the earlier years of Tiberius Cæsar."—*De Clementia* 1, 1, 5, 6.

This testimony comes from one who had no disposition to overpraise Tiberius. The guarded benevolence of the latter did not suit Seneca's views of conferring favors. (*Seneca, De Benefic.* 2, 7, 8.) That writer elsewhere, *De Benefic.* 5, 25, 2, attributes to Tiberius a lack of sociability caused by pride, which was more probably due to practical reasons. Seneca moved in aristocratic society, and could not wholly escape its influence. He tells us, *Epist.* 83, 13, 14, that Cossus, whom Tiberius on quitting Rome had left in charge of the city, was a thoughtful, discreet man, *virum gravem, moderatum*, especially trusted above other ministers by Tiberius with private matters, and that he never divulged a public or private secret. Yet in connection with this, Seneca tells us that he was an habitual drunkard; a fiction, probably, of the aristocracy.

delity against the rebellion. Tiberius, who saw that the motion was a well-intentioned, even if foolish mistake, wrote that the soldiers were under orders of their commander (*Imperatoris*, emperor) and must look to him, not to the Senate, for reward. The Senate, eager to indulge its feeling against Gallio, banished him. Tiberius—against whom the alleged fault had been committed—recalled him and gave him a guard for his protection.*

The charges against Cotta Messalinus are another illustration of the prevailing tendency.† Their tenor implies that they came from the dominant senatorial faction. Tiberius replied, that neither language maliciously perverted, nor the freedom of convivial conversation, ought to be made a ground of accusation. He prefixed to this a statement that it was a torment to know, “what I ought to write you, how I shall phrase it, and what I had better omit,” and added that his torments were daily ones.‡

*Tacitus. An. 6. 3 ; Dio Cass. 58, 18.

†Only three charges are adduced by Tacitus: (1) that Cotta had spoken of Caligula’s manhood as yet untried (the Latin admits an indecent perversion); (2) that a birthday feast for Augusta, mother of Tiberius, had by him been called a funeral entertainment; and (3) that in a pecuniary suit with Lepidus and Arruntius, he had said, “The Senate will protect them, my little Tiberius me.”—Tacitus, An. 6, 5. For these charges, with which Tacitus seems to sympathize, the senatorial faction had, according to that writer, been on the watch.

‡Tiberius, as “primate” of the Senate, had to give assent before a prosecution could be LEGALLY commenced. To refuse this for all prosecutions which he disapproved, would practically have made him the exclusive judge of such cases,—an arbitrary power the assump-

He felt at times that the earth needed a renovation as with fire.* Conscientious anxiety and inability to provide a safeguard against such evils after his death, made him in some moment of perplexity treat Priam as relatively happy in his freedom from kindred anxiety.† Financial chaos was by an act of the patricians superadded to other troubles which he needed to remedy.‡ yet he labored on, and the last moments of his earthly existence were apparently devoted to thoughtful provision for the future.§

tion of which (see Note C, foot-note 10) he probably deemed inappropriate. On the other hand, assent yielded might mean pecuniary ruin, or death, to an innocent man. Even an unguarded word, addressed to the Senate, might be perverted to some one's ruin. The anxiety and suffering of Tiberius in such a position is by Tacitus: An. 6, 6, attributed to his guilty conscience,—a palpable and gross misrepresentation, though frequently accepted as truthful, even at the present day.

*„He is said to have often repeated this old line of Greek poetry: ‘*When I am dead, let the earth blaze.*’”—Dio Cass. 58, 23. Compare Seneca's views in note 50, on p. 57. The line was probably well known, for Cicero, *De Finibus*, 3, 19, treats it as familiar, Seneca, *De Clementia*, 2, 2, 2, quotes it, and Suetonius, *Nero*, 38, mentions its citation in Nero's presence.

†Dio Cassius, 58, 23.

‡The Senate had enacted, Tacitus, An. 6, 17, that by every man, two thirds of his moneys at interest should be placed on lands in Italy. Patricians were the chief land-owners, and the object therefore must have been to favor themselves. The enactment necessitated a simultaneous calling in of all loans. This threatened widespread financial ruin, which Tiberius parried (see note 58) by lending a large amount without interest.

§“Seneca writes: ‘That finding himself dying, he took his signet

After the death of Tiberius many of the patrician faction who had prosecuted others endeavored to lay their own doings on his shoulders. Caligula became indignant at the attempted falsification, and gave it a public rebuke.*

In the foregoing sketch Tiberius has been sometimes called by the accustomed title of emperor, as a means of avoiding the too frequent repetition of his name. This title was, however, repugnant to him. The term "primate" would, in some respects, be

ring off his finger, and held it awhile, as if he would deliver it to somebody; but put it again upon his finger, and lay for some time, with his left hand clinched, and without stirring; when suddenly summoning his attendants, and no one answering the call, he rose; but his strength failing him, he fell down at a short distance from his bed.'"—Sueton, Tib. 73, Bohn's trans.

*Caligula on his accession burned (possibly by advice of Tiberius) the records of testimony against his mother, Dio Cass. 59, 6; Sueton. Calig. 30. The patrician faction may have deemed it a permission to falsify. They complained bitterly on finding that other records were not included. Two years after the death of Tiberius, Caligula "entering the Senate chamber, bestowed much praise on him and blame upon the Senate and people (?) for unjust detraction of him (compare his words quoted on p. 208). * * * Thereupon, enumerating each one of those who had been destroyed, he rendered manifest, as it seemed, that to most of them THE SENATORS were the cause of destruction. Of some they were the accusers; against others they were the witnesses, and on all of them they had passed sentence. These records he caused to be read by freedmen from the very documents which he formerly said had been burnt. He added, that * * * you, having puffed up and spoiled Sejanus, put him to death. * * * Saying these things and recapitulating the senatorial charges of unbelief against sundry persons, he ordered them to be engraved on a brazen tablet, and hurried from the Senate chamber."—Dio Cass. 59, 16.

better. There is, however, no title at the present day which corresponds exactly to his official position. The appended extract on his personal appearance will not be without interest for some readers.*

§ v. *Tacitus falsifies History.*

The *Memoirs* written by Tiberius have unfortunately perished, unless they lie unnoticed in some library. Our chief resources for a knowledge of his reign are three writers, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius.

The last mentioned wrote nearly two centuries after the death of Tiberius. He exercised no critical judgement,† yet he has in many instances furnished valuable information. Though a senator, he quotes anti-patrician facts and sometimes what seems anti-patrician argument;‡ but his patrician

*“If we may trust the testimony of a noble sitting statue, discovered in modern times at Piperno, the ancient Privernum, near Terracina, and now lodged in the gallery of the Vatican, which has been pronounced to be a genuine representation of Tiberius, we must believe that both in face and figure he was eminently handsome, his body and limbs developed in the most admirable proportions, and his countenance regular, animated, and expressive.”—Merivale, *Hist. of the Romans*, 4, pp. 170, 171.

†“My purpose is * * * to write connectedly whatever I find stated * * * without being inquisitive, and without suggesting to others whether an act were just or unjust, nor whether the narrative concerning it be false or true.”—Dio Cass. 54, 15.

‡“Then another laughable incident took place. The Senate voted that he (Tiberius) should select as many of themselves as he wished, and should have twenty of this number, chosen by lot, as guards, armed with swords, whenever he should enter the Senate chamber.

and anti-patrician accounts are too often mixed in utter confusion.

Suetonius wrote without chronological arrangement, and recorded personal anecdotes rather than a connected history. He was often misled by patrician accounts,* yet not intentionally, for he narrates at times what must have been very unacceptable to the aristocracy. His easy credence of indecent stories is objectionable.

Tacitus is our most copious source for the history of Tiberius. His arrangement is expressed by the title *Annals*, each year being treated by itself. This aids the reader in studying the sequence of events. He has, however, two main faults. He copies the grossest patrician misrepresentations, not merely in ignorance, but with a knowledge of their untruth. Secondly, he superadds his own discoloration and falsification. A long article, or a work perhaps, would be requisite to treat the subject fully. A few items may suffice to point out his dishonesty.

The unwillingness of Tiberius to call Augustus

For—inasmuch as the outside was guarded by soldiers, and none but senators were permitted to enter—they thereby recognized that the guard was given him solely AGAINST THEMSELVES AS HIS ENEMIES.” —Dio Cass. 58, 17. This was in A. D. 32, shortly after the rebellion. The connection implies that, instead of coming from a writer on the popular side, it was an expression of chagrin by some patrician.

*A striking instance of this is that he attributes, Sueton. Tib. 61, not merely the murder of Sejanus and others, but the enactment against mourning.

god was a matter of notoriety. Tacitus, a member in early life, of the popular party, while friends and acquaintances of Tiberius were yet living, cannot have been ignorant of the fact. Yet, writing in the days of Trajan, when it was less commonly known, he treats his reader to the precious fiction below, †and on various occasions puts into the mouth of Tiberius the expression *Divine Augustus*.‡

Again: Tacitus convicts himself of knowing, that Tiberius, so far from being at enmity with Sejanus, or having murdered him, would not even after his death believe the charges against him.

†Claudia Pulchra, a cousin and partisan of Agrippina, and therefore patrician in politics, was prosecuted by Domitius Afer, the greatest pleader whom Quintilian, *Instit.* 12, 11, 3, had ever heard. For the real charges against her Tacitus probably substitutes as in some other cases fictions, and then indulges in the following: "Agrippina, ever vehement, and then in a flame on account of the perilous situation of her kinswoman, flew to Tiberius, and by chance found him sacrificing to the emperor his father. When, availing herself of the circumstance to upbraid him, she told him 'that it was inconsistent in him to offer victims to the deified Augustus and persecute his children: his divine spirit was not transfused into dumb statues: the genuine images of Augustus were the living descendants from his celestial blood: she herself was one; one sensible of impending danger, and now in the mournful state of a suppliant. In vain was Pulchra set up as the object of attack; when the only cause of her overthrow was her affection for Agrippina foolishly carried even to adoration.'" — Tacitus, *An.* 4, 52, Bohn's trans.

‡Tacitus, *An.* 1. 11; 2, 38; 3, 54, 56. The same expression is, in the *Annals*, 3, 34, put into the mouth of Drusus, son of Tiberius. The statement of Tacitus (*An.* 4, 57) that Tiberius visited Campania for the professed purpose "of dedicating the temple to Jupiter at Capua and one to Augustus at Nola," is probably a mere falsehood.

Yet, in the face of this, he fabricates speeches, and puts them into the mouth of Tiberius and others—implying that Sejanus was by Tiberius deemed, and had been treated as his enemy.* By comparing, in

*Under the year 35, Tacitus says, that “although three years had elapsed since the death of Sejanus, yet time, prayers, and satiety, which are wont to mollify others, did not so mollify Tiberius, but that he punished uncertain or obsolete actions as if weighty and recent. Under fear of this Fulcinius Trio [consul when Sejanus was murdered, and one of the chief plotters against him and Tiberius], not enduring the accusers who were pressing him hard, put together, in his ‘last tablets,’ many savage accusations against Macro and the chief freedmen of Cæsar; objecting to Cæsar himself a mind weakened by age, and treating his absence as exile. Which tablets, concealed by the heirs, Tiberius ordered to be recited, because ostentatious of his enduring liberty of speech in others and indifferent to his own infamy, or because HAVING BEEN LONG IGNORANT AS TO THE CRIMES OF SEJANUS, he preferred eventually, that in any manner whatever, the statements [which brought them to light?] should be made commonly known.”—Tacitus, An. 6, 38.

The concluding reason shows Tacitus to have been aware, that, for three or four years after the death of Sejanus, any crimes attributed to that individual had remained discredited by Tiberius. The remarks therefore, which Tacitus at an earlier date puts into the mouth of Tiberius and others, as also his own insinuations, An. 5, 6, 7; 6, 3, 8, 14, 19, 23, 25, 30, IMPLYING hostility of the emperor to Sejanus, were by Tacitus himself KNOWN to be fictions for the furtherance of falsehood. The beginning of the foregoing extract admits no plausible interpretation save on the supposition that Tacitus knew Trio to have been PROSECUTED WITH THE APPROVAL OF TIBERIUS, FOR COMPLICITY IN THE MURDER OF SEJANUS AND HIS FRIENDS. The unscrupulous patricianism of Tacitus is evinced by his treating an atrocious, wholesale murder as having become obsolete in three years. The light which the foregoing throws on the untruthfulness of Tacitus is not affected by the obvious absurdity of supposing that “tablets” which, according to both himself and Dio Cassius, were silent about Sejanus, should have been recited in order to throw odium on him.

a single instance, the account of Tacitus with that of Dio Cassius, a more definite opinion can be attained as to the manner in which the former adds to his authorities.*

The foregoing are but individual instances of misrepresentation. Its frequency and extent may be inferred from the fact that a reader might peruse Tacitus, and that readers generally, if not universally, HAVE perused him, without consciousness of attempted patrician rebellions in A. D. 14 and 19, and without knowledge that such a rebellion had broken ferociously out in A. D. 31. What would be thought concerning a modern historian of Germany

*Dio Cassius copies a patrician authority in which the term *Republic* has been obviously substituted for *Senate*,—the two ideas being identical in some patrician minds,—and in which the exile of Gallio is incorrectly attributed to Tiberius.

Tiberius banished Junius Gallio, “who had proposed, that a seat in the theatre among the knights should be given to soldiers after serving their time,—charging that he was apparently inciting them to favor the Republic (the Senate) rather than himself.”—Dio Cass. 58, 18.

“Junius Gallio, who had proposed ‘that the pretorian soldiers, having fulfilled their term of service, should thence acquire the privilege of sitting in the fourteen rows of the theatre allotted to the Roman knights,’ he rebuked vehemently, and, as if present, demanded ‘what business he had with the soldiers, whose duty bound them to observe only the orders of the emperor (*Imperatoris*, commander), and from the emperor alone to receive their rewards. Had he forsooth discovered what had escaped the sagacity of the divine Augustus? Or was it not rather a method INVENTED BY A SATELLITE OF SEJANUS, to raise sedition and discord? an artifice by which, under pretence of conferring honor, he might stimulate the simple minds of the soldiers to break through the established regulations of the service.”—Tacitus, An. 6, 3, Bohn’s trans. altered.

in 1848, or of the United States in 1860—1865, who should persistently ignore, in the former country, a popular uprising, or, in the latter, an effort of the slaveholders to dismember the government. His effort would, because of present facilities for preserving information, be abortive, but not, certainly, more untruthful in object, than that of Tacitus. The portion of his *Annals* which mentions the execution of Sejanus is, indeed, lost, but his extant treatment of the attendant circumstances leaves no doubt of elaborated imposition.

The dealing of Tacitus with Livilla and Agrippina may illustrate his treatment of the conspiracy. Livilla was connected with the popular party and was in friendship with Tiberius. Agrippina was prominent in patrician movements and at enmity with him. The rebellious patricians who murdered the former, endeavored, in her case as in that of Sejanus, to mitigate their own crimes by blackening the character of their victim.* Tacitus, to throw his readers off their guard, states under the year 23, when no motive for falsification appears, that she was seduced by Sejanus whom she aided to poison her husband, but that nothing was known of it until eight years later.† Eight years later, lest the reader

*The earliest charge by the conspirators against Livilla was probably one preserved by Pliny, Nat. Hist. 29, 8, 5, of improper intimacy, not with Sejanus, but with Eudemus, her physician.

†We are told by Tacitus, An. 4, 3, Sejanus “enticed her by adultery and * * * impelled her to the murder of her husband;” and again (4, 8), “Sejanus * * * chose a poison which, creeping only by degrees into the system, should resemble an accidental dis-

might notice that the charge originated with politi-

ease. It was given to Drusus (her husband) by Lygdus the eunuch, as became known eight years afterwards ;” and again (3, 11), “The method of effecting this crime, that is, the sole evidence of its existence, divulged eight years afterwards by Apicata, wife of Sejanus, was *patefactus* substantiated by putting Eudemus (the physician of Livilla) and Lygdus to the torture.” The extant works of Tacitus do not contain this alleged revelation by Apicata, but it has been transmitted us by Dio Cassius, 58, 11 : “Apicata * * * having learned that the children were dead, and having seen their bodies on the malefactors’ stairs, went away and having written in a book concerning the death of Drusus many things against his wife Livilla,—on whose account she had quarrelled with her husband—so as no longer to live with him,—she sent it to Tiberius, and then committed suicide.”

According to this story, Apicata—at variance with her husband and conscious of his crime—refrained during eight years from mentioning it. Then, when he had been murdered, she looked at the lifeless forms of her children, and—after viewing the innocent little daughter who had been outraged and strangled—wrote to Tiberius, not to complain of the murderers, but to palliate their crimes by narrating events eight years old. If the hard-pushed conspirators professed during the lifetime of Tiberius any information from Apicata, we may be sure that it did not, until after his death, assume the form of a letter to himself. If they had tortured to death Eudemus and Lygdus, they would deem it safe to fabricate evidence in their name.

Tacitus diverts scrutiny from his narrative by mixing with it extraneous matters, and endeavors to inspire credence by putting it forward as a defence of Tiberius against the charge of poisoning his son, even while stating that no writer had ever made such a charge. It winds up as follows : “Nor has any writer appeared so hostile as to charge it upon Tiberius ; though in other instances they heve sedulously collected and aggravated every action of his. My purpose in relating and refuting this rumor was, under so glaring an example, to destroy the credit of groundless hearsays, and to request of those into whose hands my present undertaking shall come, that they would not prefer vague and improbable rumors, unscrupulously credited, to

cal enemies who had murdered her, he treats it as, since a long time, well known.*

In the case of Agrippina, Tacitus quotes some charges which, as narrated in his pages, do not bring to light, and scarcely even suggest, any political criminality.† To these he adds an aspersion of her private character, fabricated probably by himself, with the object of refuting it and of thus placing her in the light of a vindicated woman.‡ The charge of prompting conspiracy and instigating murder is wholly overlooked.

Whenever Tacitus becomes pious, or undertakes to philosophize or moralize, to expatiate on jurisprudence or antiquities, or to address our sympathies, the reader should be doubly watchful against effort to conceal some patrician roguery or else some patrician defeat. Pious indignation against Tiberius for not consulting the Sibylline Oracles, is but a

the narrations of truth unadulterated with romance.”—Tacitus, An. 4, 11, Bohn’s trans. altered. Should any one wish model impudence in a party renegade, let him read Tacitus.

*Tacitus, An. 6, 2,

†Tacitus, An. 4, 67,

‡Tacitus, An. 6, 25, quotes Tiberius, as accusing Agrippina of adultery with Asinius Gallus. Had he attributed to him, a charge against her of adultery with the man in the moon, the certainty could hardly be greater of his knowing that no such utterance had proceeded from Tiberius or from any contemporary source. Gallus, a friend of Tiberius, was a leader of the popular party. As such his life (see note 68) was in danger from the animosity of Agrippina’s adherents. The absurd quotation cannot have been invented before the time of Tacitus, and not improbably originated with himself.

means to divert attention from the position of reactionaries afraid of their former hobby.* Egyptian antiquities are a screen to plottings of rebellion by Germanicus in Egypt.† An account of usury legislation throws somewhat into the shade a senatorial enactment whose purpose was to make the borrowing of money easy for senators and difficult for others.‡ Meditations on Astrology and Fate suggest—what Tacitus shrunk probably from asserting—that Drusus, the worthless son of Germanicus, suffered, not for his crimes, but owing to blind fate, or because the gods take no interest in man.§ With the same object, in the sections immediately consequent on the foregoing, Tacitus appeals to sympathy in behalf of Drusus, because those in charge of him “took note of his countenance, groans, and secret repinings,” which means—if we may judge from information in the same paragraph—that they had to bear with the violence and imprecations of their prisoner. Tacitus evidently wishes his readers to infer, what he has been guarded enough to avoid affirming, that Drusus died of starvation.||

*See Ch. vii. note 103.

†Cp. pp. 186, 187, with Tac. An. 2, 60, 61.

‡See note 112.

§Tac. An. 6, 21, 22.

||Tacitus, An. 6, 23, 24. The charge against Drusus,—attributed in this last section to Tiberius, of “a disposition *exitiabilem in suos* destructive towards his own relatives,” claims careful consideration as to whether it means, that he had murdered his aunt, Livilla. Compare note 100. A reader unfamiliar with Roman history should

The disposition of Tacitus to veil or suppress mention of crime committed, or ridicule incurred, by the patrician party is, naturally enough, conjoined to misrepresentation of such popular leaders as were most hated by patricians. No peculiarity of his work is more obvious or offensive than this. If Tiberius rejects honor, the historian, instead of appreciating the fact, subjoins a remark to pervert the reader's understanding of it.* If Gallus and Gallio are each furnished with a military guard, this is represented, not in its true light as a friendly effort to protect them, but as a device of Tiberius for their annoyance.† A glaring instance of the same ten-

guard against confusing this Drusus with Livilla's husband, the son of Tiberius.

*"Neither however would he, on account of these acts accept the name of 'Father of his Country,' a title offered him before; nay, he sharply rebuked such as said, 'His divine occupations,' and called him 'Lord.' Hence it was DIFFICULT AND DANGEROUS to speak under a prince who dreaded liberty and abhorred flattery."—Tacitus *An.* 2, 87, Bohn's trans. The dread of liberty is flatly contradicted by statements (forced out of Tacitus?) in the *Annals*, 4, 6, quoted in note 5.

†The seizure of Gallus has been mentioned in note 68. The guard and encouragement given him by Tiberius were subsequently misrepresented by the patrician party, *Dio Cass.* 58, 3, as contrivances for his annoyance, that his life and uneasiness might be prolonged instead of ended by suicide. The year 30 is lost from the *Annals* of Tacitus, and with it is lost any account of Gallus being seized. But the spirit of the lost narrative can be safely judged from the present portion which narrates the death of Gallus. "The death of Asinius Gallus became generally known. That he perished through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord or by constraint, was held uncertain. The emperor was consulted,

dency occurs in his dealing with Domitian, The latter, perhaps to end needless war in Britain, had recalled Agricola. When, at a later date, Agricola was ill, Domitian made kindly inquiries concerning him, and, on the last day, sent repeatedly to inform himself. The contemptible comments of Tacitus are given below.* He had himself received kindness from Domitian and was nevertheless willing to please his new associates, the aristocracy, by attributing to crime in Domitian what was evidently a courtesy, if not an office of friendship. Yet this is the man who tells his readers their need of aid to understand history, and who puts himself forward as its interpreter.†

‘whether he would suffer (?) him to be buried,’ when he blushed not to grant it as a favor.”—Tacitus, An. 6, 23, Bohn’s trans.

The guard for Gallio (compare note 68) is thus noticed: “As it was alleged that he would experience no hardship from an exile at Lesbos, a celebrated and charming island, which he had selected, he was hauled back to Rome, and kept under guard in the house of a magistrate.”—Tacitus, An. 6, 3, Bohn’s trans.

*“Commiseration was aggravated by a prevailing report that he (Agricola) was taken off by poison, I cannot venture to affirm anything certain of this matter; yet, during the whole course of his illness, the principal of the imperial freedmen and the most confidential of the physicians was sent much more frequently than was customary with a court whose visits were chiefly paid by messages; whether that was done out of real solicitude, or for the purposes of state inquisition, on the day of his disease it is certain that accounts of his approaching dissolution were every instant transmitted to the emperor by couriers stationed for the purpose; and no one believed that the information, which so much pains was taken to accelerate, could be received with regret.”—Tacitus, Agric. 43, Bohn’s trans.

†“It was pertinent to search out and narrate these things, since

In the revival of learning an overestimate of long-neglected heathen authors was natural. That Tacitus should, however, until the present day, have retained reputation as a reliable historian, is no credit to modern research.

few by their own wisdom can discern honorable things from the more degrading, useful things from injurious. The majority are taught by the fortunes of others.”—Tacitus, An. 4, 33.



PONTIUS PILATE.

The original by M. de Munkacsy.

From "Christ before Pilate."

SKETCH OF PONTIUS PILATE.

The first name of Pontius Pilate is unknown. It indicates that he was connected by descent or adoption with the gens Pontii—prominent first in Roman history in the person of C. Pontius Telesinus, the great Samnite General.* The family name Pilatus

*Pontius Pilate, if indeed, a descendant of this great man, had whereof to boast in speaking of his "Roman and Spanish" blood.

The three Samnite wars lasted, with brief intervals more than half a century (B. C. 343–290). The Latin allies, becoming unruly, were reduced to obedience by a war which broke up the League and subjected all Latium to Roman law. Two incidents of the Latin war illustrate the Spartan-like sternness of the Romans of this period B. C. 339. All soldiers were forbidden to leave the camp on pain of death; but Titus Manlius the consul's son, vexed by the challenge of a Latin warrior, went out and killed him, and returning in triumph, laid the spoils at his father's feet. The consul ordered his guards to behead the young man before his tent in the presence of all the army.

The second Samnite war lasted B. C. 326–304, 22 years. The Romans suffered a disgraceful defeat at the Caudine Forks, where the remnant of their army which survived had to "pass under the yoke," in token of submission. A treaty of peace was made; but the Roman Senate refused to be bound by it, and sent the two consuls and two tribunes who had signed it, bound in chains to suffer the vengeance of the Samnites. Pontius the Samnite general gener-

has received two explanations : one meaning *armed with a javelin* and the other, as contracted from *pileatus*.

The *pileatus* or cap was the badge of manumitted slaves ; and this renders it probable that, Pilate was a *libertus*, or the descendent of one.

Nothing is known of his early history, however, positively ; but a German legend relates that he was the natural son of Tyrus, King of Mayence. It relates also that Pilate was sent by Tyrus as a hostage to Rome, where he was afterward guilty of murder, and being banished to Pontus rose into notice by subduing the barbarous tribes there, receiving in consequence the name of Pontius, and was sent to Judea. It has been thought that the twenty-second

ously released them. After many reverses and a few victories, the Romans were at length acknowledged as masters of Italy.

The Samnites, however, made use of the six years' interval of peace, to enlist all the Italian nations in a new league against Rome, and in 298 B. C. the third Samnite war broke out. Etruscans, Umbrians and Gauls, on the north were allied with Lucanians, Apulians, Greeks and Samnites on the south.

In a great battle at Sentinum, the Gauls and Samnites were defeated B. C. 295 and 25,000 men were slain.

Pontius, the Samnite general, still defended his country by his brilliant genius ; but at length the Romans gained a victory, in which he was made a prisoner and compelled to walk the streets of Rome loaded with chains to adorn the triumph of the consul. When the procession reached the foot of the Capitoline Hill, he was led aside and beheaded in the Mamertine Prison. That the noble Pontius suffered this fate, is one of the greatest blots upon the honor of Rome.

Samnium was completely subjected, and a Roman colony of 20,000 guarded its territory.

legion, which was in Palestine at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem and was afterwards stationed at Mayence may have been in this case the bearer of this tradition.*

Pontius Pilate was the sixth Roman procurator of Judea, and under him our Lord worked, suffered and died, as we learn, not only from the obvious Scripture allusions, but from Tacitus. A procurator was generally a Roman knight, appointed to act under a governor of a province as collector of the revenue and judge in cases connected with it.

Strictly speaking, procurators of Cæsar were only required in the imperial provinces; that is, in those which, according to the constitution of Augustus, were reserved for the especial administration of the emperor, without the intervention of the Senate and people, and governed by his legate. In the senato-

*There is an interesting fact connected with this German legend curiously enough brought out in the trial of Jesus before Pilate.

When the Jews brought forward the charge of bastardy against Jesus Pilate seems to have become very much interested and manifests that interest in the charge emphatically by insisting on probing it to the bottom. The reader will be struck forcibly by reading carefully the pains expended by Pilate on this seemingly unimportant charge and the manner in which he insisted upon proof of what he there treats as false, but in which he could have felt no interest unless based on what was hidden to all but himself.

That a sympathetic chord was touched in his memory cannot fail of being suspected by any one who will study in this connection his treatment of the charge against Jesus on this point.

Even if this legend be true it in no way effects the life or character of Pilate as he well knew, yet being true would prompt to just such a feeling as seems to have wrought on him in the examination so closely made of this charge (see note on same in Acts, p. 79.

rial provinces, governed by proconsuls, the corresponding duties were discharged by quæstors. Yet, it appears, that sometimes procurators were appointed in these provinces also to collect certain dues of the *fiscus* (the emperor's special revenue) as distinguished from those of the *ærarium* (the revenue administered by the Senate.) Sometimes in a small territory, especially in one contiguous to a larger province, and dependent upon it, the procurator was head of the administration and had military and judicial authority, though he was responsible to the governor of the neighboring province. Thus, Judea was attached to Syria upon the deposition of Archelaus, A. D. 6. and a procurator appointed to govern it, with Cæsarea for its capital. ; Already, during a temporary absence of Archelaus, it had been in charge of the procurator Sabinus; then, after that ethnarch's banishment came Coponius; the third procurator was M. Ambivus; the fourth Annius Rufus; the fifth, Valerius Gratus; and the sixth, Pontius Pilatus, who was appointed A. D. 25—26, in the twelfth year of Tiberius. One of his first acts was to remove the headquarters of the army from Cæsarea to Jerusalem. The soldiers, of course, took with them their standards bearing the image of the emperor, into the holy city. No previous governor had ventured on such an outrage. Pilate had been obliged to send them in the night, and there were no bounds to the rage of the people, in discovering what had been thus done. They poured down in crowds upon Cæsarea, where the procurator was residing, and besought him to remove the images.

After five days of discussion he gave the signal to some concealed soldiers to surround the petitioners and put them to death, unless they ceased to trouble him ; but this only strengthened their determination, and they declared themselves ready rather to die than forego their resistance to an idolatrous innovation.

Pilate then yielded, and the standards were then, by his orders, brought down to Cæsarea. On two other occasions he nearly drove the Jews to insurrection ; the first, when in spite of this warning about the images, he hung up in his palace at Jerusalem some gilt shields inscribed with the names of deities, which were only removed by an order from Tiberius ; the second, when he appropriated the revenue arising from the redemption of vows to the construction of an aqueduct. This order led to a riot, which he suppressed by sending among the crowd soldiers, with concealed daggers, who massacred a great number, not only rioters, but of casual spectators. To these specimens of his administration, which rest on the testimony of profane authors, we must add the slaughter of certain Galileans, which was told to our Lord as a piece of news and on which he founded some remarks on the connection between sin and calamity. It must have occurred at some feast at Jerusalem in the outer court of the Temple, since the blood of the worshippers was mingled with their sacrifices : but the silence of Josephus about it seems to show that riots and massacres, on such occasions, were so frequent that it was needless to recount them at all.

It was the custom of the procurators to reside at Jerusalem during the great feasts, to preserve order and, accordingly, at the time of our Lord's last passover, Pilate was occupying his official residence in Herod's palace; and to the gates of this palace, therefore, Jesus, condemned on the charge of blasphemy, was brought early in the morning by the chief priests and officers of the Sanhedrin, who were unable to enter the residence of a Gentile, lest they should be defiled and unfit to eat the passover. Pilate, therefore, came out to learn their purpose and demanded the nature of the charge. At first they seem to have expected that he would carry out their wishes without further inquiry; and, therefore, merely described our Lord as a disturber of the peace; but as a Roman procurator had too much respect for justice, or at least understood his business too well to consent to such a condemnation, and as they knew he would not enter into theological questions any more than Gallio did on a somewhat similar occasion, they were obliged to devise a new charge, and, therefore, interpreted our Lord's claims in a political sense, accusing him of assuming the royal title, perverting the nation, and forbidding the paying of tribute to Rome.

It is plain, that from this moment Pilate was distracted between the two conflicting feelings: a fear of offending the Jews, who had already grounds of accusation against him, which would be strengthened by any show of lukewarmness in punishing an offense against the imperial government, and a conscious conviction that Jesus was innocent. since it

was absurd to suppose that a desire to free the nation from Roman authority was criminal in the eyes of the Sanhedrin. Moreover, this latter feeling was strengthened by his own hatred of the Jews, whose religious scruples had caused him frequent trouble, and by a growing respect for the calm dignity and meekness of the sufferer. First, he examined our Lord privately, and asked him whether he was a king? The question which he, in turn, put to his judge, "Sayest thou this of thyself, or did others tell it thee of me?" seems to signify that there was, in Pilate's own mind, a suspicion that the prisoner really was not what he was charged with being; a suspicion which shows itself in a later question, "Whence art thou?" in the increasing desire to release him, and in the refusal to alter the inscription on the cross. In any case Pilate accepted, as satisfactory, Christ's assurance that his *kingdom* was not of this world, that is, not worldly in its nature or objects, and therefore, not to be founded by this world's weapons, though he could not understand the assertion that it was to be established by bearing witness to the truth. His famous reply, "What is truth?" was the question of a worldly-minded politician; skeptical, because he was indifferent; one who thought truth an empty name, or at least could not see "any connection between truth and policy." With this question he brought the interview to a close, and came out to the Jews and declared the prisoner innocent. To this they replied that his teaching had stirred up all the people from Galilee to Jerusalem. The mention of Galilee suggested to

Pilate a new way of escaping from his dilemma, by sending on the case to Herod Antipas, tetrarch of that country, who had come up to Jerusalem to the feast, while at the same time it gave him an opportunity of making overtures of reconciliation to Herod, with whose jurisdiction he had probably in some recent instance interfered. But Herod, though propitiated by this act of courtesy, declined to enter into the matter, and merely sent Jesus back to Pilate dressed in shining, kingly robes, to express his ridicule of such pretensions, and contempt for the whole business. So Pilate was compelled to come to a decision, and, first having assembled the chief priests and also the people, whom he probably summoned in the expectation that they would be favorable to Jesus, he announced to them all, that the accused had done nothing worthy of death, but at the same time in hopes of pacifying the Sanhedrin, he proposed to scourge him before he released him. But as the accusers were resolved to have his blood they rejected his concession, and, therefore, Pilate had recourse to a fresh expedient. It was the custom for the Roman governor to grant every year, in honor of the Passover, pardon to one condemned criminal. The origin of the practice is unknown, though we may mention it with the fact mentioned by Livy that at a Lectisternium "*vinctis quoque dempta vinculu.*"

Pilate, therefore, offered the people their choice between two, the murderer Barabbas and the prophet whom a few days before was hailed as the Messiah. To receive their decision, he ascended the bema, a

portable tribunal which was carried about with a Roman magistrate, to be placed wherever he might direct, and which in the present instance was erected on a tessellated pavement in front of the palace, and called in Hebrew Gabbatha, probably from being laid down on a slight elevation. As soon as Pilate had taken his seat, he received a mysterious message from his wife—according to tradition, a proselyte of the gate, named Procla, or Procula, “who had suffered many things in a dream,” which impelled her to entreat her husband not to condemn the Just One. But he had no longer any choice in the matter, for the rabble, instigated of course by the priests, chose Barabbas for pardon, and clamored for the death of Jesus ; insurrection seemed imminent and Pilate reluctantly yielded. But before issuing the fatal order, Pilate washed his hands before the multitude as a sign that he was innocent of the crime, in imitation, probably, of the ceremony enjoined in Deut. xxi., where it is ordered that when the perpetrator of a murder is not discovered, the elders of the city in which it occurs shall wash their hands, with the declaration, “Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it.”

Such a practice might be adopted even by a Roman, as intelligible to the Jewish multitude around him. As in the present case it produced no effect, Pilate ordered his soldiers to inflict the scourging preparatory to execution, but the sight of unjust suffering so patiently borne, seems again to have troubled his conscience and prompted a new effort in favor of the victim. He brought him out bleeding

from the savage punishment, and decked in the scarlet robe and crown of thorns, which the soldiers had put on him in derision, and said to the people, "Behold the man!" hoping that such a spectacle would rouse them to shame and compassion. But the priests only renewed their clamors for his death and fearing that the political charge of treason might be insufficient, returned to their first accusation of blasphemy, and, quoting the law of Moses, which punished blasphemy with stoning, declared that he must die, "because he made himself the Son of God." But this title, Son of God, augmented Pilate's superstitious fears, already aroused by his wifes's dream; he feared that Jesus might be one of the heroes or demigods of his own mythology; he took him again to the palace, and inquired anxiously into his descent and his claims, and as the question was prompted by fear or curiosity, Jesus made no reply. When Pilate reminded him of his own absolute power over him, he closed this last conversation with their resolute governor by the mournful remark "Thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given from above; therefore, he that delivered me unto these hath the greater sin." God had given to Pilate power over him, and power only; but to those who delivered him up God had given the means of judging of his claims; and, therefore, Pilate's sin in merely exercising his power was less than theirs, who, being God's own priest, with the Scriptures before them, and the word of prophecy still alive among them, had deliberately conspired for his death. The result of this inter-

view was one last effort to save Jesus by a fresh appeal to the multitude; but now arose the formidable cry, "If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar's friend," and Pilate, to whom political success was as the breath of life, again ascended the tribunal, and finally procured the desired condemnation. So ended Pilate's share in the greatest crime which has been committed since the world began. That he did not immediately lose his feelings of anger against the Jews, who had thus compelled his acquiescence, and of compassion and awe for the sufferer, whom he had unrighteously sentenced, is plain from his curt and angry refusal to alter the inscription which he had prepared for the cross, his ready acquiescence in the request made by Joseph of Arimathæa that the Lord's body might be given up to him rather than consigned to the common sepulchre reserved for those who had suffered capital punishment, and his sullen answer to the demand of the Sanhedrin that the sepulchre should be guarded. So far as Scripture is concerned, our knowledge of Pilate ends here. But we learn from Josephus that his anxiety to avoid giving offense to Cæsar did not save him from political disaster. The Samaritans were unquiet and rebellious. A leader of their own race had promised to disclose to them the sacred treasures which Moses was reported to have concealed in Mount Gerizim. Pilate led his troops against them, and defeated them easily enough.

The Samaritans complained to Vitellius, now president of Syria, and he sent Pilate to Rome to answer their accusations before the emperor. When

he reached Rome he found Tiberius dead, and Caius (Caligula) on the throne, A. D. 36. Eusebius adds that soon afterwards, "wearied with misfortunes, he killed himself." As to the scene of his death there are various traditions. One is that he was banished to Vienna Allobrogum, where a singular monument, a pyramid on a quadrangular base 52 feet high, is called Pontius Pilate's tomb. Another is that he sought to hide his sorrow on the mountain by the lake of Lucerne, now called Mount Pilatus; and there, after spending years in its recesses, in remorse and despair rather than penitence, plunged into the dismal lake which occupies its summit.

The character of Pilate may be sufficiently inferred from the foregoing sketch of his conduct at our Lord's trial. He was a type of the rich and corrupt Romans of his age; a worldly-minded statesman, conscious of no higher wants than those of this life, yet by no means unmoved by feelings of justice and mercy. His conduct to the Jews in the instances given by Josephus, though severe, was not thoughtlessly cruel or tyrannical, considering the general practice of Roman governors, and the difficulties of dealing with a nation so arrogant and perverse. Certainly there is nothing in the facts recorded by profane authors inconsistent with his desire to save our Lord. The unhappy notoriety given to his name by its place in the two universal creeds of Christendom is due, not to any desire to singling him out for shame, but to the need of fixing the date of our Lord's death, and so bearing witness

to the claims of Christianity to rest on a historical basis. That the conduct of Pilate was highly criminal can not be denied. But his guilt was light in comparison with the atrocious depravity of the Jews especially the priests. His was the guilt of weakness and fear ; theirs was the guilt of settled and deliberate malice. His state of mind prompted him to attempt the release of an accused person in opposition to the clamors of a misguided mob ; theirs urged them to compass the ruin of an innocent person by instigating the populace, calumniating the prisoner and terrifying the judge. Viewing the entire conduct of Pilate, his previous iniquities as well as his bearing on the condemnation of Jesus, viewing his own actual position and the malignity of the Jews, we can not give our vote with those who have passed the severest condemnation on him as a weak and guilty governor.

For further remark on the character of Pilate see note in "Character of Tiberius," page 210.

ANNAS AND CAIAPHAS:

WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF THE HIGH PRIESTHOOD
AND JEWISH SANHEDRIN AND THEIR POWERS,
AS RELATED TO THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF
ROME.

Prominently connected with the trial and crucifixion of Jesus legally considered, were four persons only—as representatives of the Rôman and Jewish governments. These four persons were Tiberius Cæsar, emperor of the Roman Empire, Pontius Pilate his lieutenant in Judea, and Annas and Caiaphas, the high priests.

A sketch of the two former has already been given. It now remains to give some account of the two latter executives, Annas and Caiaphas—in order that an intelligible view of the trial may be had, and the relationship of the Roman and Jewish authorities in the case be shown.

We are told by Luke that while preaching, Jesus was informed by certain of the pharisees to this effect:



Hasselman Photo. Eng.

The original by M. de Munkacsy.

CAIAPHAS.

From "Christ before Pilate."

“Get thee out, and depart hence; for Herod will kill thee.

And he said unto them, Go ye, and tell that fox, Behold I cast out devils, and I do cures to-day and tomorrow, and the third day I shall be perfected.

*Nevertheless I must walk today, and tomorrow, and the day following: for it cannot be that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem.”**

The actual execution of a criminal had, it is true, passed out of Jewish hands; and none were allowed to put the death order into execution but the Roman power: still the consent of the Jewish Council was necessary, and in this sense our Saviour's words are to be understood.

The presiding officer of this grand Council or Sanhedrin was the high priest—occupied at the time of the trial and crucifixion of Jesus by Annas and his son-in-law, Caiaphas.

We shall here, before coming to speak particularly of Annas and Caiaphas summarize a history of the High priesthood, dating from the Exodus out of Egypt down to the trial of Jesus, and afterward until the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, A. D. 70.—

*It is here worth our while to remark, that none could be put to death in Judea but by the approbation of the Jewish sanhedrin, there being an excellent provision in the law of Moses, that, even in criminal causes, and particularly where life was concerned, an appeal should lie from the lesser councils of seven in the other cities, to the supreme council of seventy-one at Jerusalem; and this is exactly according to our Saviour's words, when he says: “It could not be that a prophet should perish out of Jerusalem.”

The Scripture Records inform us that Aaron, the brother of Moses, officiated first as high priest to God; and that after his demise his sons succeeded to the office immediately; and we are also informed that no one else could succeed to that dignity except those descended of Aaron, while every one that might be of another stock, though he were a king, could not obtain the office of the high priesthood.

It could come only by birthright, when truly and legally exercised; though, as we shall hereafter see, the office was not thus always obtained, after the Jewish State began to lose its civil authority.

The whole number of high-priest from Aaron until Phanias, who was the last to fill that office, was eighty three. [Josephus Book xx. viii.]

Thirteen of these officiated during their sojourn in the wilderness, under Moses.

Under the first constitution, high priests held office during life, but later on they had successors while still alive.

Under the Aristocratic form of government as we have said, the high priesthood proceeded by direct succession, one after another.

For six hundred and twelve years, that is during the rule of the first thirteen, covering the period from the Exodus of Egypt till the building of the Temple of Solomon, this was the case.

From the days of Solomon till Nebuchadnezzar's expedition against Jerusalem eighteen highpriests, in like succession filled the office.

The time covered by their rule was four hundred and sixty years.

At this time Nebuchadnezzar took the city and burnt the Temple and the king's house, and every great man's house with fire, and broke down the walls of the city, taking away nearly all the inhabitants except the poor, among those carried away being the chief priest Seraiah and Zephaniah the second priest, and the keepers of the door. [See II. Kings Chap. xxv. 9—18.]

When after seventy years at Babylon, the Jews were liberated by the Persian King Cyrus, they returned to their own land, Jesus the son of Josedek son of Seraiah mentioned above was their high priest.

The names of the high priests who officiated in the great Temple of Solomon deserve to be mentioned here, as the only priests that were ever associated with the splendours of that great house.

These are the names :

Zadoc.
Achimas.
Azarias.
Joram.
Issus.
Axioramus.
Phideas.
Sudeas.
Juelus.
Jotham.
Urias.
Nerias.
Odeas.
Sallumus.

Elcias.
 Azarias.
 Seraiah.
 Josadoc.

The high priest Jesus who came back with the captives from Babylon B. C. 535 is mentioned as having a posterity of fifteen. These ruled till Antiochus, and were under a democratic government during 14 years.

From this time on until Herod the Great's appointment of Ananelus we have the names :

Jesus.
 Onias.
 Jacimus.
 Jonathan.
 Simon.
 Hyrcanus.
 Judas.
 Alexander.
 Aristobulus.

From the appointment of Ananelus by Herod till the destruction of the Holy City, A. D. 70, we have the following high priests some of whose names as being so frequently mentioned in our New Testament Scriptures will be familiar to the reader, and at the end of which list will be found the last of that Sacred Order which had officiated now in this holy office for over fifteen hundred years.

A list of those from Herod to the destruction of the city by Titus is given below :

1. Ananelus.
2. Aristobulus.

3. Jesus. the son of Fabus.
4. Simon, the son of Boethus.
5. Matthias, the son of Theophilus
6. Joazer, the son of Boethus.
7. Eleazar, the son of Boethus.
8. Jesus, the son of Sie.
9. [Annas, or] Ananus, the son of Seth.
10. Ismael, the son of Fabus.
11. Eleazar, the son of Ananus.
12. Simon, the son of Camithus.
13. Josephus Caiaphas, the son-in-law to Ananus. ✓
14. Jonathan, the son of Ananus.
15. Theophilus, his brother, and son of Ananus.
16. Simon, the son of Boethus.
17. Matthias, the brother of Jonathan, and son of
Ananus.
18. Aljoneus.
19. Josephus, the son of Camydu.
20. Ananias, the son of Nebedeus.
21. Jonathan.
22. Ismael, the son of Fabi.
23. Joseph Cabi, the son of Simon.
24. Ananus, the son of Annanus.
25. Jesus, the son of Damneus.
26. Jesus, the son of Gamaliel.
27. Matthias, the son of Theophilus.
28. Phannias, the son of Samuel.

The time covered by these high priests was from the days of Herod until Titus took the city and Temple and burnt them, a period of one hundred and seven years.

Of the first on this list it has been well said, that

he was the third that was ever turned out of the priesthood unjustly and wickedly by the civil power ; no king or governor having ever ventured to do so but that heathen tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes ; that barbarous parricide Aristobulus, the first that took authority among the Maccabees ; and this tyrant king, Herod the Great. Yet after this the practice became frequent till the destruction of Jerusalem when the office of highpriesthood ended forever.

No. 13 on the list are the Annas and Caiaphas, so often mentioned in the Four Gospels as presiding at the trial before Pilate.

No. 20 was the high priest before whom St. Paul pleaded his own cause. (See Acts of Apostles, Chap. xxiv.)

It should be remarked here also that in the list given before this will be found the name Hyrcanus who began to reign as priest about B. C. 136, and died B. C. 106. His death really ended the high priesthood, and the holy theocracy or divine government of the Jewish nation, and its Oracle by Urim.

After his reign came the Asamoneans or Maccabees monarchy that has been well called the profane and tyrannical Jewish monarchy, and then that of Herod the Great, the Idumean, till the birth of Christ.

Strabo the Greek historian, of the first century who gives us a description of every part of the world known in his time, tells us in his Book xvi. pp. 761—762: “Those that succeeded Moses, continued for some time in earnest, both in piety and righteous actions ; but after a while there were others that took upon them the priesthood ; first, su-

perstitious, and afterwards tyrannical persons.

Such a prophet was Moses and those who succeeded him, beginning in a way not to be blamed, but changing for the worse.

And when it openly appeared that the government was becoming tyrannical, Alexander was the first that set himself for a king instead of a priest, and his sons were Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.’

It might be truly said that history does scarcely present us with another so long a list of officers, acting so consecutively and under so many vicissitudes, with such uniform devotion to one great idea, as had belonged to this dignified Order of the Jewish highpriests, at least down till the time of Hyrcanus.

God in the wilderness was he, when camping round old Sinai; the tribes of Israel were an army in exile without home, without house, except the tabernacle, without shelter, except the tent, and with no hope of country but the “promised land.”

Aaron was as God then, wearing the holy vestments “made for glory and for beauty,” and bearing upon his shoulders and on his breast the royal insignia of Heaven.

The great shepherd-leader of the flock of God, we seem to hear the musical tinkles of the shining golden bells at his feet, as he and his sons guided that flock by mountain and stream, through the long campaign of forty years in the wilderness, under that banner clothed with cloud by day, pillared with fire by night. Prime minister of God, whose court was within the Holy of holies, meeting place with God,

whither no living man but him might stand, and from whose decrees there might be no appeal.

This was the high priesthood at its fountain head. It never was to be less; it never was less in the Jewish idea of it. It was an office under God's direct appointment succeeded to by birth alone, and never to become the gift of a mere civil magistrate. And this idea of it was carried out into the time of Herod the Great's reign with but three exceptions, already mentioned.

But after that the high priest was occasionally appointed at the mere whim of the civil ruler, a good example of which occurs under Valerius Gratus the Roman Procurator officiating just before Pilate.

Gratus dismissed Annas from the priesthood, and appointed Ismael to the place; a little while after Ismael was deprived and Eleazar son of Ananus, then Simon, all in a few years; and then Joseph Caiaphas was made high priest by Gratus.

Caiaphas the son-in-law of Annas was appointed to the office of high priest by the Roman procurator, Valerius Gratus, who came to Judea under Tiberius Cæsar before Pilate's administration. Caiaphas was therefore installed in office about the year A. D. 25, and by the same procurator who had deprived Annas of it a few years before. He continued in office till after the crucifixion, and was at the trial of Peter and John. with Annas: though Annas seems to have been acting high priest in that trial.

We have but slight mention of the name of Caiaphas in any history.

We have an opinion of his recorded in John's Gospel, Chap. xi : 49, 50, which seems to argue that in his view of the case, it was a political necessity that Jesus should be put to death, rather than that through his influence alive, the whole Jewish polity should be destroyed.

This opinion was expressed before the council of chief priests and Pharisees, met to discuss this question just after the raising of Lazarus from the dead.

Caiaphas although acting high priest was in reality but the deputy of old Annas ; and though standing in the holy office with great dignity, pride and arrogance, did but carry out the judgment and behests of Annas. We may therefore well dismiss him here, with so small remark, and take up *Annas* *æ ho was* really high priest.

Annas was first appointed to office by Cyrenius when the taxings were completed in the 37th year of Cæsar's victory over Antony at the battle of Actium, that is about A. D. 7 of our era.

We are told by Josephus that so long was his reign added to that of his son-in-law's, and his five sons' that he "was a sort of perpetual high priest." For, as intimated above, and shown in many of his acts. he was the moving spirit, "the power behind the throne" during all of this long period of his and his family's control in the high office.

He was a shrewd and far-seeing man in a political view, and seems to have been a consistent devotee of the law. His long continued tenure of office in the troublesome times through which he passed, and the high esteem in which he was held

proves him to have been a man of ability, of devotion to the principles of the old constitution of his fathers, and zealous for the law.

It was before him, first of all, that Jesus was taken, and from other mention of him, such as that in the iv chap. of Acts of Apostles, where he alone is mentioned as "high priest," and Caiaphas' name is mentioned incidentally, with others who were at trial of Peter and John for preaching and healing in the name of Christ, it is probable that Annas was really to the Jews and in their estimation at least the real and rightful high priest.

Much has been said of the "mob trial" of Jesus, of its illegality and informality and irregularity. Much also of prejudicial remark has been made against Annas and Caiaphas which cannot be held to be just.

Annas at least must have understood the duties of the priestly office well. His long continuance in office speaks well for him; and had he been unwise or unjust in its administration, it is difficult to see how five of his sons and his son-in-law could have succeeded to it.

His name is mentioned long after the crucifixion, in connection with the stirring and troublous times near the destruction of Jerusalem as "the most ancient of the high priests" then alive, and as engaged in persuading the people to the defense of justice when the Holy City beset by a mob elected to the high priesthood an ignoble, ignorant and brutish rustic who did not know what the priesthood was.

The name of this man appears on the list as No. 28 (see Joseph. Wars. B. iv C. iii).

Annas must have been quite an aged man at this time, for he had received the priesthood in A. D. 7. But though old he does not relax his hold on the rights of his people, he does not stand by silent, while the highest dignity of the nation is being trodden under the heel of robbers. He, in the spirit of his son with a flood of tears in his eyes, could help with his presence the last appeal to his countrymen for the dignity of the priesthood.

We quote below his son's speech. It will convey to the mind of the reader the animus of the high priest toward the Roman rule as well as exhibit the feeling of the priests towards all native Jews who would favor the spirit of insurrection at such a time.

SPEECH OF ANANUS.

And now, when the multitude were gotten together to an assembly, and every one was in indignation at these men's seizing upon the sanctuary, at their rapine and murders, but had not yet begun their attacks upon them (the reason of which was this—that they imagined it to be a difficult thing to suppress these zealots, as indeed the case was) Ananus stood in the midst of them, and casting his eyes frequently at the temple, and having a flood of tears in his eyes, he said,—“Certainly, it had been good for me to die before I had seen the house of God full of so many abominations, or these sacred places that ought not to be trodden upon at random, filled with the feet of these blood-shedding villians; yet do I, who am clothed with the vestments of the high priesthood, and am called by the most venerable name of high priest, still live, and am but too fond of living, and cannot endure to undergo a death which would be the glory of my old age; and if I were the only person concerned, and, as it were, in a desert, I would give up my life, and that alone for God's sake; for to what purpose is it to live among a people insensi-

ble of their calamities, and where there is no notion remaining of any remedy for the miseries that are upon them? for when you are seized upon, you bear it! and, when you are beaten, you are silent! and when the people are murdered, nobody dare so much as send out a groan openly! O bitter tyranny that we are under! But why do I complain of the tyrants? Was it not you, and your sufferance of them, that have nourished them? Was it not you that overlooked those that first of all got together, for they were then but a few, and by your silence made them grow to be many; and by conniving at them when they took arms, in effect armed them against yourselves? You ought to have then prevented their first attempts, when they fell a reproaching your relations; but by neglecting that care in time, you have encouraged these wretches to plunder men. When houses were pillaged nobody said a word, which was the occasion why they carried off the owners of those houses; and when they were drawn through the midst of the city, nobody came to their assistance. They then proceeded to put those whom you have betrayed into their hands, into bonds. I do not say how many, and of what characters those men were whom they thus served, but certainly they were such as were accused by none, and condemned by none; and since nobody succoured them when they were in bonds, the consequence was, that you saw the same persons slain. We have seen this also; so that still the best of the herd of brute animals, as it were, have been still led to be sacrificed, when yet nobody said one word, or moved his right hand for their preservation. Will you bear, therefore, will you bear to see your sanctuary trampled on? and will you lay steps for these profane wretches, upon which they may mount to higher degrees of insolence? Will you not pluck them down from their exaltation? for even by this time, they had proceeded to higher enormities, if they had been able to overthrow any thing greater than the sanctuary. They have seized upon the strongest place of the whole city; you may call it the temple, if you please, though it be like a citadel or fortress. Now, while you have tyranny in so great a degree walled in, and see your enemies over your heads, to what purpose is it to take counsel? and what have you to support your minds withal? Perhaps you may wait for the Romans, that they may protect our holy places: are our matters then brought to that pass? and are we come to that degree of misery, that our enemies themselves are expected to pity us? O wretched creatures! will not you rise up, and turn upon those that strike you; which you may

observe in wild beasts themselves, that they will avenge themselves on those that strike them. Will you not call to mind, every one of you, the calamities you yourselves have suffered? nor lay before your eyes what afflictions you yourselves have undergone? and will not such things sharpen your souls to revenge? Is therefore that most honourable and most natural of our passions utterly lost, I mean the desire of liberty? Truly, we are in love with slavery, and in love with those that lord it over us, as if we had received that principle of subjection from our ancestors! yet did they undergo many and great wars for the sake of liberty, nor were they so far overcome by the power of the Egyptians, or the Medes, but that they still did what they thought fit, notwithstanding their commands to the contrary. And what occasion is there now for a war with the Romans? (I meddle not with determining whether it be an advantageous and profitable war or not.) What pretence is there for it? Is it not that we may enjoy our liberty? Besides, shall we not bear the lords of the habitable earth to be lords over us, and yet bear tyrants of our own country? Although I must say that submission to foreigners may be borne, because fortune has already doomed us to it, while submission to wicked people of our own nation is too unmanly, and brought upon us by our own consent. However, since I have had occasion to mention the Romans, I will not conceal a thing that, as I am speaking, comes into my mind, and affects me considerably;—it is this, that though we should be taken by them (God forbid the event should be so!) yet we can undergo nothing that will be harder to be borne than what these men have already brought upon us. How then can we avoid shedding of tears, when we see the Roman donations in our temples, while we withal see those of our own nation taking our spoils, and plundering our glorious metropolis, and slaughtering our men, from which enormities those Romans themselves would have abstained; to see those Romans never going beyond the bonds allotted to profane persons, nor venturing to break in upon any of our sacred customs; nay, having a horror on their minds when they view at a distance those sacred walls, while some that have been born in this very country, and brought up in our customs, and called Jews, do walk about in the midst of the holy places, at the very time when their hands are still warm with the slaughter of their own countrymen. Besides, can any one be afraid of a war abroad, and that, with such as will have comparatively much greater moderation than our own people have? For truly, if we may suit our words to

things they represent, it is probable one may hereafter find the Romans to be the supporters of our laws, and those within ourselves the subverters of them. And now I am persuaded that every one of you here comes satisfied before I speak, that these overthrowers of our liberties deserve to be destroyed, and that nobody can so much as devise a punishment that they have not deserved by what they have done, and that you are all provoked against them by those their wicked actions, whence you have suffered so greatly. But perhaps many of you are affrighted at the multitude of those zealots, and at their audaciousness, as well as at the advantage they have over us in their being higher in place than we are ; for these circumstances, as they have been occasioned by your negligence, so will they become still greater by being still longer neglected ; for their multitude is every day augmented, by every ill man's running away to those that are like to themselves, and their audaciousness is therefore inflamed, because they meet with no obstruction to their designs. And for their higher place, they will make use of it for engines also, if we give them time to do so ; but be assured of this, that if we got up to fight them, they will be made tamer by their own consciences, and what advantages they have in the height of their situation, they will lose by the opposition of their reason ; perhaps also God himself, who hath been affronted by them, will make what they throw at us return against themselves, and these impious wretches will be killed by their own darts : let us but make our appearance before them, and they will come to nothing. However, it is a right thing, if there should be any danger in the attempt, to die before these holy gates, and to spend our very lives, if not for the sake of our children and wives, yet for God's sake and for the sake of his sanctuary. I will assist you, both with my counsel and with my hand ; nor shall any sagacity of ours be wanting for your support ; nor shall you see that I will be sparing of my body neither."—Josephus' Wars., B. IV., C. III.

Annas seems to have favored harmony and unity among the Jews. The spirit of debate and complaint against the priestly government was sure to encourage sedition, and when sedition should bring anarchy then Rome would step in and take the gov-

ernment away entirely from the Jews. This is intimated in **this** speech as well as elsewhere, and we must think that herein lies one reason of that bitterness which the priests felt toward Jesus, and which is well expressed by the Jewish Council in the words spoken of Jesus, “if we let him thus alone, all men will believe on him, and the Romans shall come and take away both our place and nation.” that is take away the priestly office and abolish their power and authority in all things [John xi. 48.]

It would be well to pause here long enough to ask ourselves the meaning of the above saying of the council, and to ask. how could the letting alone of Jesus aid the Romans in taking away the power of the priests and rulers of the Jews?

It will readily be seen from the speech of Ananus just quoted, in how confused a condition the domestic affairs of Jerusalem were. The home government had already become as bad as well could be. It had grown from bad to worse ever since the crucifixion of Jesus.

But even at that time society and governmental affairs were very turbulent. as Pilate has so vividly pictured in one of his Reports.

Now, there were but two sources of power by which any correction of this state of affairs could be made ; viz. by the power of the Sanhedrin under the priesthood, or else, by the Civil power of Rome.

If the priesthood should become entirely incompetent to guide the affairs of the State, there was but one alternative, viz., that it should yield it entirely to Roman hands.

Evidently, there was no middle ground here, and the shrewd priests could see this state of affairs staring them in the face, and threatening their office more and more as each month rolled round. The home government was in no position during the preaching of Jesus to be attacked every day as being corrupt and venal to the last degree of hypocriticalness.

The charge of unbounded hypocrisy and venality as urged against the very fountainhead of a government, and as continuing until deserving the "damnation of hell," was not well calculated to keep down rebellion or quell sedition among a people already smarting under misrule from abroad as well as by its own native citizenship.

For this reason there stands a charge in the death warrant of Jesus, as dictated or suggested by the Jews that, "He is seditious!"

"He is the enemy of the Law!"

We find in St. Luke a reply by Jesus which seems to be a partial denial of such a charge, in these words:

Then Jesus said unto the chief priests, and captains of the temple, and the elders, which were come to him, Be ye come out, as against a thief, with swords and staves?

When I was daily with you in the temple, ye stretched forth no hands against me; but this is your hour, and the power of darkness. (See Luke xxii 52. 53)

Yet we see in them also a remnant of that invective which He had often thrown out against the rulers, and, while for the moment He would make excuse, He immediately iterates what would again

arouse them to fury by calling to mind the denunciations of their conduct so frequently made by Him before the people at large.

And here it may be noted with emphasis was the core of the offence committed by Jesus. His attack on the interpretation of the Law as well as on the administration of it by the Jewish rulers then in power.

For, it must be known, that Jesus assumed a construction of the Moral Law even, in a wider sense, a broader and more liberal scheme than the narrow, contracted and conservative interpretation of it as held by the Jewish doctors, scribes and priests.

There was between his doctrine of it and theirs—to use a phrase of our own time “an irrepressible conflict”—a conflict between an aggressive, radical and progressive move toward a republic of mankind and for mankind, and the narrow, sectional one-manism of monarchy, or, what is little better, the condensation of all power into a mere aristocratic Oligarchy.

It was a conflict between the Abrahamic and the Mosaic ideas of government—Jesus for the Abrahamic—Annas for the Mosaic.

It was the battle ground of the two greatest ideas that have ever moved on human society, in any, and in all ages. On that field Jesus yielded up His life as the foremost captain of, and for, human rights, bearing aloft that blesseddest of all banners, inscribed with the name “*Son of Man.*” *Man* was his motto—not “the Sabbath” nor a “peculiar people,” but *Man*, the whole *human family*.

In so doing he abolished the narrow birthright that was stolen long ago by Jacob, and that drove his brother Esau from the field of blessing, and did confer it on us all, *the birthright of being a man*. And every such an one, He hath given the right to become "*king and priest to God*"

But the high priests of His day could not see it so. They had been born and reared under the "Old Constitution"—a sort of "states-right" idea held them, segregated to themselves—separate, distinct, peculiar—and fenced round by a conservatism that was circumscribed from all others. Ten tribes first, and after that, peace-meal, it went down to this very hour, when "the oldest and the smallest sect in the world" makes up the last remnant of "the old Constitution."

Dean Stanley in his "Sinai and Palestine" gives us this little picture, as he sketched it from Mount Gerizim.

"There is, probably, no other locality in which the same worship has been sustained with so little change or interruption for so great a series of years, as that of this mountain, from Abraham to the present day. In their humble synagogue, at the foot of the mountain, the Samaritans still worship—the oldest and the smallest sect in the world. And up the side of the mountain, and on its long ridge, is to be traced the pathway by which they ascend to the sacred spots where they yearly celebrate, alone of all the Jewish race, the Paschal Sacrifice."—Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 236.

Look now at Aaron, look on his shining garments, his breast plate, his golden bells tinkling at his feet,

look on the proud list that in the Holy of Holies kept, when the Golden Temple stood, look on Annas and on Caiaphas, look further on, to Phannias, the rustic brute that filled it last, when Roman Eagles tore the golden Cherubs wing above the Ark, and bore it off to Rome, and left the levelled City, like a plowman's field, and you will see the priesthood's reign—and the priesthood's fall.

Fifteen centuries rolled by while these things were accomplishing.

That humble synagogue, whose picture we have just shown you from Stanley's pen, is what remains of the Old Order of things under the Jewish priesthood, whose final act was the rolling of the great stone against the mouth of Jesus' tomb.

To them that stone has never been rolled away. For us it has.

The faith of Abraham, head of the family of the Faithful, rose o'er that tomb and has become "the light of the World!"

Jesus has become high priest of Humanity.

Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate and Tiberius, have become famous only as connected with the tragedy of his crucifixion.

No priestly name among the fourscore and three, will be so long remembered as the names Annas and Caiaphas—no Roman emperor and lieutenant's live like those of Pilate and Tiberius, no simple peasant's called so oft as Peter, James and John. and the three Marys', yea, Lazarus', of Bethany—shall enjoy that high immortality of history, translated into every tongue, and in all anthems sung. Ringing round the

world for nigh two thousand years, these names have swung, echoing the times that His great work was done, who should forever be the one High Priest.



PHARISEE.

From "Christ before Pilate."

TESTIMONY OF EARLY CHRISTIAN

FATHERS RELATIVE TO THE ACTS OF PILATE.

JUSTIN MARTYR,

(*FIRST APOLOGY.*)

SEC. 1—“To the emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, to his son Verissimus the philosopher, and Lucius the philosopher. the natural son of Cæsar but the adopted son of Pius, and the lover of learning, and to the Sacred Senate and to the whole people of Rome, in favor of those men of all nations who are unjustly hated and oppressed, I, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, native of Flavia Neapolis, a city of Palestine, being one of them, have composed this address and petition.”

SEC. 35. — “And that Christ, after his birth, should be unknown to other men until he was grown to man’s estate, which also came to pass, hear what was foretold of this. The words are as follows: ‘A child is born to us, and a young man is given to us, whose government is upon his shoulders,’ which is significant of the power of the cross ;

to which, when crucified, he applied his shoulders, as shall be more clearly shown in the course of my explanation. And, again, the same prophet Isaiah, who was inspired by the prophetic Spirit, says: 'I have stretched out my hands to a disobedient and gainsaying people, to those who walk in a way that is not good. They ask me now for judgment, and presume to draw nigh to God'. "And again in other words by another prophet, who says: 'They pierced my hands and my feet and cast lots upon my garments.' Yet David the king and prophet, who uttered these words, underwent none of these things; but Jesus Christ stretched out his hands, and was crucified by the Jews, who contradicted him and denied him to be the Christ.' For, indeed, as the prophet said, they mocked him, and set him on the judgment seat and said, 'Judge us.' But the words 'They pierced my hands and feet,' are a description of the nails that were fixed in his hands and his feet on the cross. And after he was crucified, those who crucified him cast lots for his garments and divided them among themselves.

And that these things were so, you may learn from the Acts which were recorded under Pontius Pilate.'

SEC. 48.—"And that it was foretold that our Christ should heal all diseases, and raise the dead, hear what was said. It is as follows: 'Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as a hart, and the tongue of the dumb shall sing.'

“That he performed these things, you may easily be satisfied, from the Acts of Pontius Pilate.” (See Justin’s Apology, in “Early Christian Literature Primers”—by George P. Fisher, of Yale College: D. Appleton & Co., 1879.

TESTIMONY OF TERTULLIAN.

The learned Tertullian in his Apology for Christianity, about the year A. D. 200, says: Chap. 2. "Out of envy Jesus was surrendered by the Jewish ceremonial lawyers to Pilate, and by him, after he had yielded to the cries of the people, given over for crucifixion; while hanging on the cross he gave up the ghost with a loud cry, and thus anticipated the executioner's duty; at that same hour the day was interrupted by a sudden darkness; a guard of soldiers was set at the grave for the purpose of preventing his disciples stealing his body, since he had predicted his resurrection, but on the third day the ground was suddenly shaken, and the stone was rolled away from before the sepulchre; in the grave nothing was found but the articles used in his burial; and the report was spread abroad by those who stood outside that the disciples had taken the body away; Jesus spent forty days with them in Galilee, teaching them what their mission should be; and after giving them their instructions as to what they should preach, he was raised in a cloud to heaven. *All this was reported to the emperor at that time, Tiberius, by Pilate, his conscience having compelled even him to become a Christian.*" (See Tischendorf's account in "Origin of the Four Gospels.") Tertullian in the same Apology, thus

relates the proceedings of the Roman emperor, Tiberius, on receiving Pilate's account :

“There was an ancient decree that no one should be received for a diety unless he was first approved by the Senate.

“Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had its rise, having received from Palestine, in Syria, an account of such things as manifested the truth of Christ's divinity, proposed to the senate that he should be enrolled among the Roman gods ; and gave his own prerogative vote in favor of the motion.

“But the senate rejected it, because the emperor himself had declined the same honor (of being deified). Nevertheless, the emperor persisted in his opinion, and threatened punishment to the accusers of the Christians.”

EUSEBIUS' TESTIMONY.

“The fame of our Lord’s remarkable resurrection being now spread abroad, according to an ancient custom prevalent among the rulers of the nations to communicate important occurrences to the emperor, that nothing might escape him, Pontius Pilate transmits to Tiberius an account of the circumstances concerning the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, the report of which had already spread throughout all Palestine. In this account he intimated also that he ascertained other miracles respecting him, and now having risen from the dead, he was believed to be a god by the great mass of the people.

“Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, but it is said they rejected the proposition, apparently because they had not examined into this subject first, according to an ancient law among the Romans, that no one should be ranked among the gods unless by a vote and decree of the Senate; in reality, however, because the salutary doctrine of the Gospel needs no confirmation and co-operation of men.

“Tiberius, therefore, under whom the name of Christ was spread throughout the world, when this doctrine was announced to him from Palestine, where it first began, communicated with the Senate,

being obviously pleased with the doctrine ; but the Senate, as they had not proposed the measure, rejected it.

“But the emperor continued in his opinion, threatening death to the accusers of the Christians ; a divine providence infusing this into his mind, that the Gospel, having freer scope in the commencement, might spread everywhere over the world.” (See Eusebius’ Ecclesiastical Hist., Book II., Chap. 2.)

EUSEBIUS’ ACCOUNT OF THE FORGERY OF THE ACTS
OF PILATE.

The authority and force of the appeals made by early Christians to these documents of Pilate’s were felt by the opponents of Christianity to such an extent, that during the reign of the Emperor Maximin, A. D. 311, false Acts of Pilate were forged manifestly for the purpose of discrediting and displacing the older Christian Acts.

Concerning the extent and bitterness to which this forgery was carried Eusebius, who lived at the time, says : “Having forged certain Acts of Pilate, respecting our Saviour, full of every kind of blasphemy against Christ, these with the consent of the Emperor, they sent through the whole of the empire subject to him, commanding at the same time by ordinances in every place and city, and the adjacent districts, to publish these to all persons, and to give them to the school-masters to hand to their pupils to study and to commit to memory, as exercises for declamation.* Whilst these things were being

*According to Eusebius, “the boys had nothing but Jesus and Pilate in their mouths the whole day long.”—Hist. Ecc. ix. 5, 7.

done, another commander whom the Romans call Dux, in Damascus, a city of Phoenicia, caused certain infamous females to be seized in the forum: threatening to inflict torture upon them, he forced them to make a formal declaration, taken down on record that they had once been Christians and that they had been privy to the criminal acts among them; that in their very churches they committed licentious deeds, and innumerable other slanders, which he wished them to utter against our religion, which declarations he inserted in the Acts and communicated to the emperor, who immediately commanded these documents to be published in every city and place." [See Eusebius' Ecclesiastical Hist., Book IX, Chap. 5.]

Such is the testimony of these early and able Christian Fathers. It needs no argument, in the face of such a body of evidence, to show that Pilate made a very complete report to the Roman emperor concerning Jesus; and that this report was entirely favorable to the claims made by the Christians of the divinity of their Master.

We must feel that if Justin, Tertullian and Eusebius have deceived us in the testimony on the most vital point of the system of faith we know as Christianity—then we have a right to doubt any other statements they have made in regard to the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ. We ask the reader's careful attention to the lives and characters of these witnesses given in the following pages. We add further only the testimony of Chrysostom and Orosius.

TESTIMONY OF CHRYSOSTOM.

Chrysostom, golden-mouthed, so named from the splendor of his eloquence, was born at Antioch A. D. 347. He was originally a lawyer, but abandoned a successful practice to become a teacher of Christianity. In 381 he was ordained a deacon. In 386 he was ordained a presbyter, by Flavian bishop of Antioch. In 397 Chrysostom was consecrated bishop of Constantinople. The most valuable of his works are the homilies on the New Testament and on the Psalms, most of which have been translated and published in the Oxford Library of the Fathers.

“The Roman Senate,” says he, “had the power of nominating and decreeing who should be gods. When, therefore, all things concerning Christ had been published, he who was the governor of the Jewish nation sent to them to know if they would be pleased to appoint him also to be a god. But they refused, being offended and provoked, that before their decree and judgment had been obtained, the power of the crucified man had shined out and had attracted all the world to the worship of him. But by the overruling providence of God this was brought to pass against their will, that the divinity of Christ might not be established by human appointment, and that he might not be recognized one of the many deified by them.”

TESTIMONY OF OROSIUS.

At postquam passus est Dominus Christus atque a mortuis resurrexit, et discipulos suos praedican- dum dimisit. Pilatus, praeses Palaestinae, ad Tibe- rium imperatorem et resurrectione Christi, conse- quentibusque virtutibus, quae per ipsum palam factae fuerant, vel per discipulos ipsius in nomine ejus fie- bant, et de eo quod crescenti plurimorum fide Deus crederetur. Tiberius cum suffragiis magni favoris retulit ad senatum. ut Christus deus haberetur. Senatus, indignatione motus, quod non sibi prius secundum morem delatum esset ut de suscipiendo cultu prius ipse decernerent consecrationem Christi recusavit, edicto que constituit exterminandos esse Urbe christianos ; precipue cum et Sejanus, praefec- tus Tiberii suscipiendae religione obstinatissime con- tradiceret. Tiberius tamen edicto accusatoribus chris- tianorum mortem comminatus est. Orosii Liber, 7 c. 4.

Translation.—But after the Lord Christ had suf- fered, and risen from the dead, and sent his disciples for preaching, Pilate, the president of the province of Palestine, to Tiberius the emperor and the sen- ate related concerning the passion and resurrection of Christ, what things openly through him had been done, or through his disciples in his name, and that in the growing faith of many he was believed to be God—etc., etc. Orosius, Book 7, chapter 4.

LARDNER'S REMARKS ON THE ACTS OF PILATE.

Of the knowledge which the emperor Tiberius Cæsar had concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, the following remarks are made by Dr. Nathaniel Lardner, which may be found in his work, "The Credibility of The Gospel History," in the chapter on "Testimonies of Ancient Heathens,"—Vol. VI, p. 605, et seq.

The Acts of Pontius Pilate, and his letter to Tiberius.

"Justin Martyr, in his first Apology, which was presented to the emperor Antoninus Pious, and the Senate of Rome, about the year 140, having mentioned our Saviour's crucifixion and some of the circumstances of it, adds: 'And that these things were so done you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

"Afterwards in the same Apology, having mentioned some of our Lord's miracles, such as healing diseases and raising the dead, he adds; 'And that these things were done by him you may know from the Acts made in the time of Pontius Pilate.'

"Tertullian, in his Apology, about the year 200, having spoken of our Saviour's crucifixion and re-

urrection, and his appearance to his disciples, who were ordained by him to preach the gospel over the world, goes on: 'Of all these things, relating to Christ, Pilate, in his conscience a Christian, sent an account to Tiberius. then emperor.'

"In another chapter or section of his Apology, nearer the beginning, he speaks to this purpose: 'There was an ancient decree that no one should be received for a deity unless he was first approved by the senate. Tiberius, in whose time the Christian religion had its rise, having received from Palestine in Syria an account of such things as manifested our Saviour's divinity, proposed to the senate, and giving his own vote as first in his favor, that he should be placed among the gods. The senate refused, because he himself had declined that honor.'

"Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his own opinion, and ordered that if any accused the Christians they should be punished.' And then adds: 'Search,' says he, your own writings, and you will there find that Nero was the first emperor who exercised any acts of severity toward the Christians, because they were then very numerous at Rome.'

"It is fit that we should now observe what notice Eusebius takes of these things in his Ecclesiastical History. It is to this effect: 'When the wonderful resurrection of our Saviour, and his ascension to heaven, were in the mouths of all men, it being an ancient custom for the governors of provinces to write the emperor, and give him an account of new and remarkable occurrences. that he might not be ignorant of anything; our Saviour's resurrection

being much talked of throughout all of Palestine, Pilate informed the emperor of it, as likewise of his miracles, which he had heard of, and that being raised up after he had been put to death, he was already believed by many to be a god. And it is said that Tiberius referred the matter to the senate, but that they refused their consent, under a pretence that it had not been first approved of by them; there being an ancient law that no one should be deified among the Romans without an order of the senate; but, indeed, because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be confirmed by human judgment and authority. However, Tiberius persisted in his former sentiment, and allowed not anything to be done that was prejudicial to the doctrine of Christ. These things are related by Tertullian, a man famous on other accounts, and particularly for his skill in the Roman laws. I say he speaks thus in his *Apology for the Christians*, written by him in the Roman tongue, but since (in the days of Eusebius) translated into the Greek.' His words are these: 'There was an ancient decree that no one should be consecrated as a deity by the emperor, unless he was first approved of by the senate. Marcus Aemilius knows this by his god Alburnus. This is to our purpose, forasmuch as among you divinity is bestowed by human judgment.'

“‘And if God does not please man, he shall not be God. And, according to this way of thinking, man must be propitious to God. Tiberius, therefore, in whose time the Christian name was first

known in the world, having received an account of this doctrine out of Palistine, where it began, communicated that account to the senate; giving his own suffrage at the same time in favor of it. But the senate rejected it, because it had not been approved by themselves. 'Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his judgment, and threatened death to such as should accuse the Christians.' 'Which,' adds Eusebius, 'could not be other than the disposal of Divine Providence, that the doctrine of the gospel, which was then in its beginning, might be preached all over the world without molestation.' So Eusebius.

'Divers exceptions have been made by learned moderns to the original testimonies of Justin Martyr and Tertullian.' 'Is there any likelihood,' say they 'that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius concerning a man whom he had condemned to death? And if he had written them, is it probable that Tiberius should propose to the senate to have a man put among the gods upon the bare relation of a governor of a province? And if he had proposed it, who can make a doubt that the senate would not have immediately complied? So that though we dare not say that this narration is absolutely false, yet it must be reckoned as doubtful.' So says Du Pin.

'These and other difficulties shall now be considered.

'Now, therefore, I shall mention some observations :

'In the first place, I shall observe that Justin

Martyr and Tertullian are early writers of good repute. That is an observation of bishop Pierson. These testimonies are taken from the most public writings, Apologies for the Christian religion, presented, or at least proposed and recommended to the emperor and senate of Rome, or to magistrates of high authority and great distinction in the Roman empire. Secondly: It certainly was the custom of governors of provinces to compose Acts or memoirs or commentaries of the remarkable occurrences in the places where they presided.

In the time of the first Roman emperors there were Acts of the Senate, Acts of the City, or People of Rome, Acts of other cities, and Acts of governors of provinces. Of all these we can discern clear proofs and frequent mention in ancient writers of the best credit. Julius Cæsar ordered that Acts of the Senate, as well as daily Acts of the People should be published' See Sueton. Jul. Cæs. c. 20.

“Augustus forbade publishing Acts of the Senate.

“There was an officer, himself a senator, whose province it was to compose those Acts.

“The Acts of the Senate must have been large and voluminous, containing not only the question proposed, or referred to the senate by the consul, or the emperor, but also the debates and speeches of the senators.

“The Acts of the People, or City, were journals or registers of remarkable births, marriages, divorces, deaths, proceedings in courts of judicature, and other interesting affairs, and some other things below the dignity of history.

“To these Acts of each kind Roman authors frequently had recourse for information.

“There were such Acts or registers at other places besides Rome, particularly at Antium. From them Suetonius learned the day and place of the birth of Caligula, about which were other uncertain reports. And he speaks of those Acts as public authorities, and therefore more decisive and satisfactory than some other accounts.

“There were also Acts of the governors of provinces, registering all remarkable transactions and occurrences.

“Justin Martyr and Tertullian could not be mistaken about this; and the learned bishop of Cæsarea admits the truth of what they say. And in the time of the persecuting emperor Maximin, about the year of Christ 307, the heathen people forged Acts of Pilate, derogatory to the honor of our Savior, which were dilligently spread abroad, to unsettle Christians, or discourage them in the profession of their faith. Of this we are informed by Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History.

Thirdly: It was customary for the governors of provinces to send to the emperor an account of remarkable transactions in places where they presided.

“So thought the learned Eusebuns as we have seen.

“And Pliny's letters to Trajan still extant, are a proof of it. Philo speaks of the Acts or Memoirs of Alexandria sent to Caligula, which that emperor read with more eagerness and satisfaction than anything else.

“Fourthly: It has been said to be very unlikely that Pilate should write such things to Tiberius, concerning a man whom he [Pilate] had condemned to death.

“To which it is easy to reply, that if he wrote to Tiberius at all, it is very likely that he should speak favorably and honorably of the Savior.

“That Pilate passed sentence of condemnation upon our Lord very unwillingly, and not without a sort of compulsion, appears from the history of the evangelist: Matt xxvii.; Mark xv.; Luke xxiii.; John xviii. Pilate was hard pressed. The rulers of the Jews vehemently accused our Lord to him. They said they had found him perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that himself is Christ, a king, and the like; and all without effect for awhile.

“Pilate still sought for expedients to set Jesus at liberty.

“As his reluctance had been very manifest and public in a court of judicature, in the chief city of the nation at the time of one of their great festivals, it is highly probable that when he sent to Rome he should make some apology for his conduct. Nor could anything be more proper than to allege some of our Saviour's miracles which he had heard of, and to give an account to the zeal of those who professed faith in him after his ignominious crucifixion, and openly asserted that he had risen from the dead and ascended to heaven.

“Pilate would not dare in such a report to write falsehood, nor to conceal the most material circum-

stances of the case about which he was writing. At the trial he publicly declared his innocence: and told the Jews several times 'that he found no fault in him at all.'

“And when he was going to pronounce the sentence of condemnation, ‘he took water and washed his hands before the multitude, saying: ‘I am innocent of the blood of this just person: ‘See ye to it.’ Matt. xxvii, 24.

“When he wrote to Tiberius he would very naturally say something of our Lord's wonderful resurrection and ascension, which were much talked of and believed by many, with which he could not be possibly unacquainted. The mention of these things would be the best vindication of his inward persuasion, and his repeated declarations of our Lord's innocence upon trial notwithstanding the loud clamors and united accusations of the Jewish people and their rulers.

“Pilate, as has been said several times, passed condemnation upon Jesus very unwillingly, and not until after long trial.

“When he passed sentence upon him he gave orders that this title or inscription should be put upon the cross: ‘Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews.’

“When he had expired, application was made to Pilate, by Joseph of Arithmathea, an honorable counsellor, that the body might be taken down and buried. To which he consented; but not till assurance from the centurian that he had been sometime dead. The next day some of the priests and phari-

sees came to him saying ; 'Sir, we remember that that deceiver said while he was yet alive, After three days I will rise again. 'Command, therefore, that the sepulchre be made sure, until the third day, lest his disciples come by night and steal him away, and say unto the people, He is risen from the dead. 'So the last error shall be worse than the first.'

“Pilate said unto them : ‘Ye have a watch ; go your way, make it sure as you can.’ So they went and made the sepulchre sure, sealing the stone and setting a watch.

“Whilst they were at the sepulchre there was a ‘great earthquake,’ the stone was rolled away by an Angel, ‘whose countenance was like lightning, and for fear of whom the guards did shake and become as dead men.’ Some of the guards went down into the City, and showed unto the chief priests all the things that were done.

“Nor can there be any doubt that these things came also to the governor’s ears. Pilate, therefore was furnished with materials of great importance relating to this case, very proper to be sent to the emperor. And very probably he did send them, for he could do no otherwise.

“Fifthly : it is said, ‘ That if Pilate had sent such things to Tiberius, it is nevertheless very unlikely that Tiberius should propose to the senate that our Saviour might be put among the gods, because that emperor had little or no regard for things of religion.’

“But it is easy to answer that such observations are of little or no importance, Few princes are able

to preserve uniformity in the whole of their conduct, and it is certain that Tiberius varied from himself upon many occasions and in different parts of his life.

“Sixthly : it is further urged, that if Tiberius had proposed the thing to the senate, there can be no doubt that the senate would have immediately complied.

“But neither is this difficulty insuperable ; for we are assured by Suetonius that Tiberius let several things be decided by the senate contrary to his own opinion, without showing much uneasiness

(It must be observed here that Dr. Lardner is very copious in quotations from the best authorities in proof of all his statements. The reader is referred to Vol. VI of his great works, pages 605-620, where will be found these quotations in foot-notes too lengthy to be transcribed here.)

“Seventhly : The right interpretation of the words of Tertullian will be of use to remove difficulties and to confirm the truth of the account.

“I have translated them in this manner : ‘When Tiberius referred the matter to the senate, that our Lord should be placed in the number of gods, the senate refused, because he had himself declined that honor.’

“The words are understood to the like purpose by Pearson.

“There is another sense, which is that of the Greek translation of Tertullian’s Apology, made use of by Eusebius : ‘The senate refused because it had not itself approved of it.’ But that sense, if it be any sense at all, is absurd, and therefore un-

likely. If none beside the senate had a right to consecrate any for the deity, yet certainly the consul or the emperor might *refer* such a thing to that venerable body. According to Tertullian's account the whole is in a fair way of legal proceeding." [And it may be remarked here that Tertullian, being well versed in Roman law, would hardly have passed by a blunder here or committed one in anything wherein he may have had to do with the statement.]

“By virtue of an ancient law, no one might be reckoned a god, (at least by the Romans,) without the approbation of the senate. Tiberius having been informed of some extraordinary things concerning Jesus, referred it to the senate, that he also might be placed in the number of deities. Was it possible after this that the Senate should refuse it, under a pretense that Tiberius had bestowed divinity upon Jesus without their consent, when he had done no such thing, and at the very time was referring it to their judgment in the old legal way?

“Le Clerc objects that the true reading in Tertullian is not—Non quia in se non probaverat, but quia non ipse probaverat.

“Be it so. The meaning is the same. *Ipsæ* must intend the emperor, not the senate. The other sense is absurd, and next to a contradiction, and therefore not likely to be right, and at the same time it is a rude and needless affront. The other interpretation represents a handsome compliment, not without foundation. For it is very true that Tiberius had himself declined receiving divine honors.

“Eighthly: It has been objected that Tiberius was unfriendly to the Jewish people, and therefore it must be reckoned very improbable that he should be willing to put a man who was a Jew among the gods.

“But there is little or no ground for this objection. It was obviated long ago in the first part of this work, where beside other things it is said: In the reign of Tiberius the Jewish people were well used. They were indeed banished out of Italy by an edict; but it was for a misdemeanor committed by some villians of that nation. The great hardship was that many innocent persons suffered beside the guilty.

“Upon other occasions Tiberius showed the Jews all the favor that could be desired, especially after the death of Sejanus; and is much applauded for it by Philo.

“Ninthly: Still it is urged, ‘Nothing can be more absurd than to suppose that Tiberius would receive for a deity a man who taught the worship of one God only, and whose religion decried all other deities as mere fiction.’*

*The absurdity of this objection, “that Tiberius was opposed to the idea of one God only” will appear very fully to the reader of our day when he turns to the evidences that have come forward to the contrary through late research. The religious ideas of the Jews had gained quite a hold at Rome at the time Tiberius lived; and it is well known that soon after, even members of the imperial family did become Christians.

In the chapters on Annas and Caiaphas and in the sketch of Tiberius given in this volume enough may be gathered by the reader to

“Upon which I must say, nothing can be more absurd than this objection. Tertullian does not suppose Tiberius to be well acquainted with the Christian religion, our Saviour's doctrine.

“All he says is, that, having heard of some extraordinary things concerning him, he had a desire to put him among the Roman deities.

“Tenthly ; Tertullian proceeds : ‘Nevertheless the emperor persisted in his opinion, and ordered that if any accused the Christians they should be punished.’ This was very natural. Though the senate would not put Jesus in the number of deities, the emperor was still of opinion that it might have been done.

“And he determined to provide by an edict for the safety of those who professed a high regard for Jesus Christ. Which edict, as Eusebius reasonably supposes, was of use for securing the free preaching of the gospel in many places.

“But the authority of that edict would cease at the emperor's demise, if not sooner. Unfortunately it could not be in force, or have any great effect, for a long season.

“Nor need we consider the ordering such an edict as in favor of the Christians as an incredible thing, if we observe what Philo says, who assures

show how far Jewish religious thought had supplanted old pagan notions at Rome.

No reader who desires a full knowledge of this field of history should fail to see Prof. F. Huidekoper's “Judiasm at Rome B. C. 76 to A. D. 140.”

us that 'Tiberius gave orders to all the governors of provinces, to protect the Jews in the cities where they lived in the observation of their own rights and customs; and that they should bear hard on none of them, but such as were unpeaceable and transgressed the laws of the State.'

“Nor is it impossible that the Christians should partake of the like civilities, they being considered as a sect of the Jews. And it is allowed that the Roman empire did not openly persecute the Christians, till they became so numerous that the heathen people were apprehensive of the total overthrow of their religion.

“In the eleventh place, says a learned and judicious writer, ‘It is probable that Pilate, who had no enmity toward Christ, and accounted him a man unjustly accused and an extraordinary person, might be moved by the wonderful circumstances attending and following his death, to hold him in veneration, and perhaps to think him a hero and the son of some deity. It is possible that he might send a narrative, such as he thought most convenient, of these transactions to Tiberius: but it is not at all likely that Tiberius proposed to the Senate that Christ should be deified, and that the senate rejected it, and that Tiberius continued favorably disposed toward Christ, and that he threatened to punish those who should molest and accuse the Christians.’ ‘Observe also,’ says the same learned writer, ‘that the Jews persecuted the apostles, and slew Stephen, and that Saul made havoc of the church, entering into every house, and hailing men and women, committing

them to prison, and that Pilate connived at all this violence, and was not afraid of the resentment of Tiberius on that account.

“Admitting the truth of all these particulars just mentioned, it does not follow that no orders were given by Tiberius for the protection of the followers of Jesus.

“For no commands of princes are obeyed by all men everywhere. They are oftentimes transgressed.

“Nor was any place more likely than Judea, where the enmity of many against the disciples of Jesus was so great. Nor need it be supposed that Tiberius was very intent to have this order strictly regarded. For he was upon many occasions very indolent and dilatory; and he was well known to be so. Moreover the death of Stephen was tumultuous, and not an act of the Jewish council. And further, the influence of Pilate in that country was not now at its full height. We perceive from the history of our Lord's trial before him, as recorded in the gospels, that he stood in fear of the Jews.

“He was apprehensive that, if he did not gratify them in that point, they might draw up a long list of mal-administrations for the emperor's view. His condemnation of Jesus at the importunity of the Jews, contrary to his own judgment and inclination, declared to them more than once, was a point gained; and his government must have been ever after much weakened by so mean a condescension. And that Pilate's influence in the province continued to decline is manifest, in that the people of it prevailed at last to have him removed in a very igno-

minious manner by Vitellius, president of Syria.

“Pilate was removed from his government before the Passover in the year of Christ 36. After which there was no procurator or other person with the power of life and death, in Judea, before the ascension of Herod Agrippa, in the year 41.

“In that space of time the Jews would take an unusual license, and gratify their own malicious dispositions, beyond what they could otherwise have done. without control.

“Twelfth : Some have objected, that Tertullian is so absurd as to speak of Christians in the time of Tiberius ; though it be certain that the followers of Jesus were not known by that denomination till some time afterwards.

“But this is a trifling objection. Tertullian intends no more by Christians than followers of Jesus, by whatever name they were known or distinguished ; whether that of Nazarenes, or Galileans, or disciples.

“And it is undoubted, that the Christian religion had its rise in the reign of Tiberius : though they, who professed to believe in Jesus, as risen from the dead and ascended to heaven, were not called Christians till some time afterwards.

“So at the beginning of the paragraph he says, ‘There was an ancient law that no god should be consecrated by the emperor, unless it was first approved by the senate.’ Nevertheless Tertullian was not so ignorant as not to know that there were not any emperors when the ancient decree was passed.

“His meaning is, that no one should be deified by

any man, no not by a consul or emperor, without the approbation of the senate.

“Finally, We do not suppose that Tiberius understood the doctrine of the Saviour, or that he was at all inclined to be a Christian.

“Nor did Tertullian intend to say any such thing, for immediately after the passage first cited from him, he adds: ‘But the Cæsars themselves would have believed in Jesus Christ, if they had not been necessary for the world, or if Christians could have been Cæsars.’

“Grotius appears to have rightly understood the importance of these passages of Tertullian; whose note upon Matthew xxiv. 2, I have transcribed below.” [The reader is referred to Vol. VI. of Lardner’s Works, where he will find the notes of this learned writer, as quoted from various ancients and moderns, in proof of all he has brought forward in these lengthy arguments, and which can not be transcribed here.—ED.]

“Admit, then, the right interpretation of Tertullian, and it may be allowed that what he says is not incredible or improbable. The Romans had almost innumerable deities, and yet they frequently added to that number and adopted new. As deifications were very frequent, Tiberius might have indulged a thought of placing Jesus among the established deities without intending to derogate from the worship or honor of those who were already received.

“But the senate was not in a humor to gratify him.

“And the reason assigned is, because the emperor

himself had declined that honor, which is so plausible a pretense, and so fine a compliment, that we can not easily suppose it to be Tertullian's own invention: which, therefore, gives credibility to his account.

“Eusebius, though he acknowledged the overruling providence of God in the favorable disposition of Tiberius toward the first followers of Jesus, by which means the Christian religion in its infancy was propagated over the world with less molestation, does also say, at the beginning of the chapter quoted, ‘The senate refused their consent to the emperor’s proposal, under a pretence that they had not been first asked, there being an ancient law, that no one should be deified without the approbation of the senate; but, indeed,’ adds he, ‘because the saving and divine doctrine of the gospel needed not to be ratified by human judgment and authority.’

Chrysostom’s observation is to like purpose, but with some inaccuracies. It is likely that he was not at all acquainted with Tertullian; and he was no admirer of Eusebius. Perhaps he builds upon general tradition only. ‘The Roman senate,’ says he, ‘had the power of nominating and decreeing who should be gods. When, therefore, all things concerning Christ had been published, he who was the governor of the Jewish nation sent to them to know if they would be pleased to appoint him also to be a god. But they refused, being offended and provoked, that before their decree and judgment had been obtained, the power of the crucified one

had shined out and had attracted all the world to the worship of him. But, by the overruling providence of God, this was brought to pass against their will, that the divinity of Christ might not be established by human appointment and that he might not be reckoned one of the many who were deified by them.'

"Some of which, as he proceeds to show, had been of infamous characters.

"I shall now transcribe below in his own words what Orosius, in the fifth century, says of this matter, that all my readers may have it at once before them without looking farther for it." [This quotation from Orosius will be found in the "Testimony of the Fathers," under the title, "Testimony of Orosius," see page 292.—ED.]

"And I refer to Zonaras and Nicephoras. The former only quotes Eusebius, and transcribes into his Annals the chapter of his Ecclesiastical History quoted by me. Nor has Nicephoras done much more."

Thus we have at much length quoted from this very learned author the arguments on this topic, and we only add that these arguments are sustained by quotations from Latin, Greek, French and English authorities who have always stood very high in this department of research.—ED.

SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF JUSTIN, TERTULLIAN, EUSEBIUS AND TISCHENDORF.

Some account of the lives of Justin Martyr, Tertullian and Eusebius, whose writings in relation to the "Acts of Pilate" are given in the foregoing pages, as also a sketch of the late eminent biblical archæologist Constantine Tischendorf, may be of much interest to the reader of this volume, in laying before him the character of the men upon whose authority rests the value of the singularly interesting documents that form the basis of the work.

LIFE OF JUSTIN.

Justin, surnamed the philosopher, or more generally the Martyr, of whom Eusebius says that he overshadowed all the great men who illuminated the second century, by the splendour of his name, was born about the year A. D. 100.

He was the son of a wealthy Greek, Priscus, who had in all probability come to reside at Flavia Neapolis (erected on the site of the ancient Sichem,) in Samaria with the Roman colony sent by Vespasian to the city which bore his name. He tells us in one of his works that he travelled much in his

youth, and studied ardently the various systems of philosophy prevalent in his day, searching after some knowledge that should satisfy the cravings of his soul.

The myths and absurd worship of the heathen had failed to satisfy the youthful and longing soul, to know God and the relations of God to man ; and in turn Stoic and Peripatetic, Pythagorean and Platonist were examined, to set his mind at rest upon the vital question.

By the Stoic he was told that in philosophical speculation the subject which he seemed to consider the most important was only of subordinate rank. By the Pythagorean he was rejected outright, because he confessed himself ignorant of music, astronomy, and geometry, which that school considered a necessary introduction to the study of philosophy ; and so he turned in despair to the Platonists, at this time in high repute in the place of his residence.

At last he seemed to have gained the haven of peace : the Platonic doctrine of ideas could not fail to inspire Justin with the hope that he “should soon have the intuition of God,” for this is the aim of Platonic philosophy. “Under the influence of this notion,” says Justin himself, “it occurred to me that I would withdraw to some solitary place, far from the turmoil of the world, and there in perfect self-collection give myself to my own contemplations in a chosen spot by the sea-side.” Whether Justin still resided at this time at Flavia Neapolis by the Dead Sea, or whether by the Valley of the

Jordan north of this sea, or some unfrequented spot of Lake Genesareth, or whether at Ephesus he resided, is a matter of dispute. But whether one or the other, it was in this resort by the shore of the resounding sea—attracted to it by the grandeur of the object he was seeking to solve, and the loveliness of the spot—that we find him one day while wrapt in thought, pacing up and down by the side of the sea, accosted by a man of venerable aspect, sage and grave; and soon the two are engaged in earnest converse on the subject ever uppermost in young Justin's mind. Somewhat enamored of the Platonic philosophy, he argues in its favor with the appositely present senior, and contends that at some future day it will conduct him into that nearer acquaintance with God, or, in the Platonists' term, afford him the "vision of divinity."

But the meek old man, who is a Christian, contends that the goal which he is seeking to gain can not be reached by any philosophical school or unaided mind, even of the highest order; the fallacy of Plato is proved by some two or three points of doctrine belonging to that system; and finally the doubting and indocile disciple is visited with the curt and not gentle apostrophe, "You are a mere dealer in words, but no lover of action and truth; your aim is to be not a practicer of good, but a clever disputant, a cunning sophist." Once more the inquiring youth is baffled in his attempt to lay hold of the truth: he is again convinced that even from the foremost of heathen philosophers he cannot obtain the pearl for which he is seeking so earnestly.

But with this intelligence there comes also the direction, "Search the Scriptures; study the Hebrew prophets; men who, guided by the Spirit of God, saw and revealed the truth, and even foretold events future to their day; read the last heroic words of the disciples of him who came to raise a fallen world, and restore it to eternal and imperishable felicity." "Pray," ended the venerable Christian, "that the gates of light may be opened to thee, for none can perceive and comprehend these things except God and his Christ grant them understanding."

Justin was impressed; he had often heard the Platonists calumniate the Christians, but he had always discredited the statements.

He had frequently observed the tranquility and fortitude with which these followers of Jesus encountered death and all other evils which appear terrible to man; and he could never condemn as profligates those who could so patiently endure. He had long believed them innocent of the crimes imputed to these consistent martyrs. He was now prepared to think that they held the truth.

He reflected on the words of the venerable stranger, and was convinced that they inculcated the only "safe and true philosophy."

From this time his personal history becomes obscure, as he has but little to relate of himself hereafter, and as from other sources we can gather but little on which we can depend.

Certain it is that he at once enlisted in active service in the newly espoused cause.

Retaining the philosopher's garb he ardently de-

voted himself to the propagation of Christianity. By writing, by travel, and by all means in his power, like Paul the great Gentile apostle, feeling himself a debtor to all men, of every race and rank in life, he felt his obligation to teach them of his new Master, and the way of salvation.

Whether at Ephesus amid a little group of Jews, or before the emperors of Rome, we see him using all his knowledge of scripture, and all his acquirements in philosophy, to convince the world that Jesus is divine.

He made all his knowledge of philosophy subservient to this one purpose. He visited many places in order to diffuse the knowledge of Christ. On his second visit to Rome he was apprehended and brought before the tribunal of Rusticus who was prefect of the city. And as he refused to sacrifice to the gods he was sentenced to be scourged and beheaded—which sentence was carried into immediate effect. Thus perished the ablest of the apologists of the second century.

We can not better close this brief sketch than by quoting from Fisher's "Apostolic Fathers:"

"Justin's praises are sounded by the whole early church.

"Writers like Irenaeus and Tertullian borrowed very largely from his works; later fathers appeal to him as to one speaking with authority; no other name so great as his intervenes between John and Origen. He appears in the midst of that cultured and curious, but hollow and heartless second century, like an old Hebrew prophet waking after a

sleep of centuries, assuming the philosopher's cloak as the nearest approach to his old sheepskin mantle. He denounces woes upon Cæsar if he does not repent, as boldly as Elijah rebuked the sins of Ahab.

“He feels through every fiber of his being that he is called to utter the truth of God, and so speaking he knows no fear. And yet, with all his prophetic boldness, Justin was a philosopher, and in spite of occasional narrow reasonings, he was a broad thinker.

Of his works of undoubted genuineness are his two “Apologies” addressed to the emperors, and his “Dialogue with Trypho.” It is in the first of his apologies that he alludes twice to the “Acts of Pilate”—which allusions in their context are given in the foregoing “Testimonies of the Fathers.”

LIFE OF TERTULLIAN.

Tertullian is the most ancient of the Latin fathers whose works are extant, and one of the most noteworthy personages belonging to the early church. Our knowledge of his personal history is extremely limited. He was born at Carthage in A. D. 160, or near that date. His father was a Roman centurion in the service of the proconsul of Africa. His natural endowments were great, and they were supplemented by a comprehensive course of studies whose fruit appears in the wealth of historical, legal, philosophical, physical and antiquarian elements contained in his writings.

He was destined for the civil service of the empire, and was accordingly trained in Roman jurisprudence, and the art of forensic eloquence. He is described by Eusebius as one of the most highly esteemed Romans. His mode of argumentation and terminology everywhere reveal the legal turn of his mind, and his writings in many places throw light on disputed points of the Roman civil law. Tertullian was converted to Christianity when he was between thirty and forty years of age, and he immediately became its fearless champion against pagans, Jews, and heretics—especially Gnostics. With a sternness of nature becoming the son of a Roman centurion, he combined a fierceness of temper befitting

his Punic birth. He has been fitly termed the Christian Hannibal; and as the son of Hamilcar vowed eternal hatred to the Roman name, so this Carthaginian seemed upon becoming a Christian, to vow eternal hatred to whatever was anti-Christian.

He was the first religious teacher after the apostles who attained to a clear recognition of the mighty contrast between sin and grace, and who presented it in all its force to the mind of the church. He was married but nevertheless entered the ranks of the clergy. Jerome says that he was first a presbyter of the Catholic Church, but his own writings do not determine whether he was a member of the spiritual order prior to his lapse into Montanism or not. It is certain, however, that he sojourned for a time in Rome.

The transition to Montanism occurred a few years after Tertullian's conversion, and about A. D. 202. The act doubtless had its origin in his eccentric disposition and vigorous moral views, which predisposed him to regard that heresy with favor and to dislike the Roman Church. Jerome attributes it to personal motives excited by envy of the Roman clergy, and modern writers have ascribed it to disappointed ambition. We know, however, that the penitential discipline of the church was administered at Rome with exceeding laxity, and that such indifference was an abomination in the eyes of Tertullian. Assuredly he did not regard Montanus as the Paraclete. He recognized in him only an inspired organ of the Spirit. He, rather than Mon-

tanus, became the head of the Montanistic party in Africa, giving to their undefined views a theological character and a conceded influence over the life of the church, and establishing it on foundations sufficiently firm to enable it to protract its being down to the fifth century. The assertion that he returned to the Catholic church before he died is sometimes made but can not be substantiated ; and the continued existence of the Tertullianists would seem to contradict the assumption.

As a writer Tertullian was exceedingly fresh and vigorous, but also angular, abrupt and impetuous. He was a speculative thinker, though the bitter opponent of philosophy. His aspiring mind sought in vain for adequate language in which to express itself, and struggled constantly to force the ideas of Christianity within the forms of the Latin tongue.

His style thus became exceedingly forcible, nervous, vivid, concise and pregnant. His adversaries were assailed without mercy, and with all the weapons of truth and of art ; and they generally appear in his writings in ridiculous plight. He was the pioneer of orthodox anthropology and soteriology the teacher of Cyprian and forerunner of Augustine, in the latter of whom his spirit was reproduced in twofold measure, though without its eccentricities and angularities. It is possible to trace resemblances also, between him and Luther with respect to native vigor of mind, profound earnestness, polemical relentlessness. etc. ; but the father lacked the child-like amiability of the Reformer, who was both lion and a lamb.

Tertullian's writings are usually of brief extent, but they traverse nearly all fields of the religious life, and they constitute the most prolific source for the history of the church and of doctrines in his time. No satisfactory classification of them can be executed, because but few of them afford the necessary data on which to base a scheme:—

1. His Catholic writings, or such as defend orthodox Christianity against unbelievers and heretics. Most of these works date from the Montanist era of the author's life.

2. *Apologies against Pagans and Jews.*—First of all the Apologeticus addressed to the Roman magistracy A. D. 198, and forming one of the best rebuttals of the charges raised by the heathen of the time against Christianity. Similar in character are the Ad Nationes Libri II. In De Testimonio Animæ the author develops an argument for the unity of God and the reality of a future state from the innate perceptions and feelings of the soul. In the work Ad Scapulam he remonstrates with the African governor of that name who was bitterly persecuting the Christians. The Adversus Judæo Liber draws from the old Testament prophets the proof that the Messiah has appeared in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

3. *De Praescriptione Hereticorum, or rules to be observed by Christians in dealing with heretics.*—In this work the argument involves as its fundamental principle the idea that the heretics, as innovators, are under the necessity of proving their positions, while the church is assured in its sole right

to the allegiance of Christendom by the uninterrupted current of Apostolic tradition and an unimpaired succession, so that it need not enter into controversy with heretics. His most extensive and learned polemico-dogmatical work is his *Adversus Marcionem* Lib. V.

For a mention of a full list of his works and the earliest and best collections of them, see McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopedia Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical*, Vol. X.. Harper & Bros., 1881, from which this extract is taken.

Such is a very brief sketch of the life of this remarkable man whose testimony in relation to the Acts of Pilate has been given in foregoing pages of this work.

LIFE OF EUSEBIUS.

Eusebius, who is well known as the father of ecclesiastical history, was born in Palestine probably about the year A. D. 265, the exact date of his birth being uncertain.

He was surnamed Pamphili, because he was the friend of Pamphilus.

Little is known of his youth except that he was a diligent and laborious student of sacred literature. It was as a student that he became connected with Pamphilus, who was president of a theological school at Cæsarea, and there devoted himself to the collection of a church library mainly in defence of the writings of his great master Origen.

During his imprisonment in the Diocletian persecution—and in which Pamphilus suffered martyrdom—Eusebius distinguished himself by great devotion to this friend of his, spending days with him in affectionate intercourse, and it is supposed, actively assisted him in the preparation of an apology for Origen's teaching. After the death of Pamphilus Eusebius withdrew to the city of Tyre where the Bishop Paulinus kindly received him, and afterwards went to Egypt where he was imprisoned but soon released.

His release at the time suggested an accusation made twenty years afterwards by Potamon, Bishop

of Heraclea, that he had apostatised. Potamon then charged that Eusebius was in prison with him, and that while he had an eye plucked out for his confession of the truth, Eusebius escaped unhurt. Whether this accusation had any foundation in fact is doubtful. Eusebius was soon afterwards elevated to the see of Cæsarea, and this fact of itself defeats the charge of his heresy. This occurred in A. D. 313. Here Eusebius labored conspicuously till his death in the year 340. The character of Eusebius is intimately bound up with the part he took at the council of Nicea, and afterwards in the great controversy connected with the work of that council. Very much discussion has been had as to the orthodoxy of this great man, his conduct and views being differently judged by his critics. He has been charged by Dr. Newman, in his history of the Arians in the fourth century, as openly siding with the Arians and sanctioning and sharing their deeds of violence. The Anglican scholars from Bell and Cave, down to Lee of Cambridge, have warmly defended his orthodoxy. Eusebius was certainly not an Arian, although he defended Arius personally, any more than he was an Athanasian.

His true position can only be said to have been made clear in and by the scientific theology of Germany, and especially in Dorner's great work on the "Person of Christ."

When the Arian controversy broke forth, about A. D. 319, Arius sought the intervention of Eusebius to pacify the misunderstanding between him and his bishop, Alexander, and Eusebius responded by

writing two letters to Alexander explaining that Arius was misrepresented.

At the council of Nicea Eusebius attended the emperor Constantine as his special friend, and was appointed to receive the august emperor with a panegyric oration, at whose right hand in the council he had the honor of sitting. He prepared the first draft of the creed which was afterward, with some additions, adopted by the council. It was these additions that formed the whole difference between Eusebius and the Athanasians. He resisted the expression "of the same substance" as expressive of the true relation of the Father and the Son, and persisted in the resistance to the last, and would only subscribe to the creed at the dictation of the emperor.

After the council Eusebius continued to identify himself with the fortunes of the Arian rather than of the Athanasian party and his great favor at court and his influence with the imperial authorities enabled him to protect the one party at the expense of the other.

It is this personal attitude which has mainly identified him with Arianism. In so far as he was a partisan, and lent himself to the persecution of the Athanasians his conduct deserves censure; yet it must be observed that from his own theological standpoint he was disposed to regard the treatment of Arius by his opponents as indefensible, and to consider his opinions as tenable within the church. He regarded the Athanasians the innovators in doctrine rather than Arius, who only maintained a

standpoint that many had held in the church before him, whereas the Athanasian development evidently appeared to Eusebius as going beyond the older and less determined doctrine in which he had been trained. Eusebius has been charged with being deficient in that spiritual and speculative insight which sees the true drift of opinions, and detects below the surface of language, a true from a false line of development of Christian thought.

But as has been remarked by the acute Dorner, it was clear, in regard to the theological position at that time, that the church had arrived at a point at which it could not stand still, but must choose one or the other of two courses—either to take a step in advance, and define the indefinite, or go backwards either into heathenism or into Judaism. We can not here further allude to the theological views entertained by the subject of our sketch. We will only say that Eusebius is admitted to have excelled in erudition all the church fathers, not excepting Origen and Jerome.

Among his writings his Ecclesiastical History is a valuable repertory of the opinions of the Christian writers of the second and third centuries whose works have perished. He has been charged with personality and inaccuracy by Gibbon, but without adequate evidence. The most important of his works are his Ecclesiastical History, in ten books, covering a period of the church's history from the ascension of Christ to A. D. 324; The Chronicon, in two books, comprising an historical sketch, with chronological tables, of the most important events in

the history of the world from the days of Abraham till the twelfth year of the reign of Constantine : The *Præperatio Evangelica*, in fifteen books, being a collection of facts and quotations from the works of nearly all the philosophers of antiquity ; The *Demonstratio Evangelica*, in twenty books, of which only ten are extant, a learned and valuable treatise on the evidences themselves ; and various minor works such as the *Theophania*, in four books, *De Vita Constantini*, etc., etc.

A full list of the works of Eusebius may be found in McClintock & Strong's *Cyclopedia of Biblical and Ecclesiastical Literature*, Vol. X., from which this sketch is principally taken.

SKETCH OF TISCHENDORF, WITH SOME ACCOUNT
OF HIS MOST REMARKABLE DISCOVERIES.

Constantine Tischendorf, the most prominent scholar in the department of New-Testament palæography, was born January 18, 1815, at Lengenfeld, Saxony. Having been prepared at the gymnasium at Plauen for the university, he entered at Easter, 1834, the halls of Leipsic.

Here Gottfried Hermann and George Benedict Winer were among his teachers. At the close of 1836 he received a prize medal for an essay on *Doctrina Pauli Apostoli de Vi Mortis Christi Satisfactoria*, which he published at Leipsic in 1837. A second prize was awarded him in 1838, on *Disputatio de Christo*, published in 1839. At the same time he took his degree of doctor of physiology. In 1840 he published *Dissertatio Critica et Exegetica de Ev. Matt.*, and was promoted as licentiate of theology; in the same year he qualified as privatdocent of theology by publishing *De recensionebus quas dicunt Novi Testamenti Ratione Potissimum habita Scholzii*, reprinted in the *Prolegomena* to the Greek Testament in 1841. In this essay, as Kahnis rightly remarked, he gave to the world the programme of his theological future. In 1839, October, he began to prepare a critical hand-edition of

the Greek New Testament which was published under the title *Novum Testamentum Graece*: etc., etc. In 1840 Tischendorf went to Paris. The library there contained a celebrated palimpsest. A manuscript of the Bible from early in the fifth century had been cleaned off in the twelfth century, and used for writings of Ephraem Syrus. What no mortal had been able to do before, Tischendorf did, and with the aid of chemical reagents he completely restored the original text.

The University of Breslau acknowledged his merit by bestowing on him the title of doctor of theology. Meanwhile he also collated the Paris manuscript of Philo, for Prof. Grossman at Leipsic, and the only remaining MS. of the sixtieth book of the *Basilicas*, for Dr. Heimbach at Jena. F. Didot, the publisher, bargained with Tischendorf for a re-issue of his Leipsic edition, which appeared at Paris in 1842, and then abbe Jager, a professor in the Sarbonne, begged him to edit a Greek text that should be as nearly as possible conformable to the Vulgate, which was also published in the same year. In 1841 and 1842 he visited the libraries in Holland, London, Cambridge, and Oxford. Early in 1843 he left Paris for Rome, working four weeks on the Codex E of the Gospels of Basle. In Italy he stayed more than a year, and used his time in the best possible manner. After his Italian researches were finished, he prepared to start for his first Eastern journey in 1844, which he repeated again in 1853 and 1859. On his third journey, in 1859, he discovered the famous Codex Sinaiticus, the oldest

and most perfect manuscript copy of the Bible extant. The incidents of this journey and the discovery of this sacred treasure to the Christian world are here summarized as especially interesting.

There is an old convent in Mount Sinai, founded according to traditionary account by the emperor Justinian, A. D. 527. The flight of St. Catherine's body, according to tradition, which was transported from Alexandria to the top of the mountain in A. D. 307, and whose relics are said now to repose in the chancel behind the altar, doubtless gave the name to this convent, which is called St. Catherine's: and it was in this convent that Tischendorf discovered the Sinai Bible.

Having previously visited the libraries of England, France, the Netherlands and Italy, he went to the Levant under the patronage of the king of Saxony; and it was during that tour he visited for awhile the Convent of St. Catherine.

It was while sojourning here that one day in looking over the contents of an old paper basket used for holding waste paper that he happened to discover, to his great delight, several fragments of a very old manuscript of the Septuagint—a manuscript which by examination he determined to be not less ancient than the fourth century of the Christian era. These fragments were taken by Tischendorf to Leipsic and published two years afterward in fac-simile.

In 1858, after much negotiation and preliminary arrangement, having received permission from Alexander II., the then emperor of Russia, to visit the

East with the view of searching for and purchasing ancient manuscripts that might be of service in promoting Biblical learning, he set out on his eastern tour of exploration. In the early part of the year 1859 he again arrived at the old convent on Mount Sinai, where, with his old friends, the monks, whose acquaintance he had made on a former tour, he remained some days. He, however, had despaired of success in making any further discovery of the much desired treasure which the discovery of a few years before had led him to believe might be accomplished by his further research.

He had therefore ordered his dragoman to fetch his Bedouins with their camels to take him back to Cairo. But, luckily, the steward of the convent proposed a walk prior to his setting out, and thus by another providential accident it happened that the great scholar was rewarded for all his worry and watching. For during this stroll with his friend the steward, he intimated to Tischendorf, that he, too, had "seen and read a manuscript copy of the Septuagint," and, moreover, that he had a copy in his possession. When they returned from their walk they proceeded together to the steward's dormitory, where, from a hidden recess, he brought out a package wrapped up in a red cloth.

On unfolding this package it proved to be the long sought manuscript—a manuscript the most perfect, perhaps, in existence, of the Bible. One which the Codex Vaticanus alone could rival in point of age—and in comparison with which the best of the literary treasures of Rome must give place.

Dr. Tischendorf obtained permission of the steward to take the ancient treasure with him to his bedroom, and there, upon examination, he became convinced of the value of his discovery. and, to use his own language, he “gave God thanks for bestowing so great a favor on the church. upon literature. and upon himself.” All that night he spent in copying a portion of the manuscript. He felt it “a crime to sleep under the circumstances of the situation” in which he was placed.

Modern or medieval sacred literature presents us with no more romantic picture than that of this Christian scholar of the nineteenth century, sitting at midnight upon the “Mount of the Burning Bush,” reading a volume fourteen centuries old, containing a copy of the stone tables delivered to Moses on that spot during the exodus from Egypt—the “Old Law.” written on stone many long centuries ago by the “Finger of God.” preserved in the history of a people whose vicissitudes of fortune can not be paralleled in the annals of the world—copied into every living tongue of the civilized world—is being read on that night by a man removed forward by thousands of years into the light, which, first blazing in Sinai’s Bush. enlightens the foremost nationalities of the nineteenth century.

How must he have felt standing where the Angel of the Bush stood, reading there the oldest copy of the oldest law delivered under the lightnings and thunderings of God’s personal presence. Sinai still kept the oldest copy, and we feel that it was a fitting treasure for such a place. And though St.

Petersburgh holds the treasure to-day, we can but feel that it should still remain in the old convent, on the sacred mount on whose top was first drafted the platform of a Moral Constitution whose like has never been framed for the government of Man. On the day following the discovery Tischendorf obtained the consent of the brethren to take the manuscript with him to Cairo, in order that he might there transcribe it fully, at his leisure.

Still, this could not be done without the consent of their Supervisors. He therefore procured an official letter from the librarian of the monastery and on the 7th of February, 1859, left Mount Sinai and proceeded to Cairo, bearing his letter to the chief of the Ecclesiastical Order, Agathangelus. He, at once, despatched upon a dromedary a courier shiek to Mount Sinai, who, after a safe journey of only nine days, laid the precious manuscript into Tischendorf's hands.

Tischendorf at once set about the work of transcribing it; and with two assistants he completed the task in two months.

The transcribed copy was compared letter by letter with the original.

After this labor had been completed, Tischendorf conceived the idea of negotiating with the monks at St. Catherine's for the transfer of the original to the permanent possession of the learned of Europe.

He was, after many difficulties and much delay, successful; and on the 28th of September, 1859, the Codex Sinaiticus was placed in his possession at Cairo, under the stipulation that he should bear

it to St. Petersburg for publication, and to remain in the keeping of the Czar, until the archbishop should make it the property of the Czar forever.

On the October of the same year Tischendorf had the honor of placing the old copy before Alexander at St. Petersburg. It was placed in the Imperial Library where for a fortnight the public of the Russian capital had the privilege of viewing it. There, among more than half a million printed volumes, and twenty thousand manuscripts, it formed an object of interest and attraction as king among books.

It was a triumphal spectacle for Tischendorf, and a day of triumph for the Book-of-books.

Among the writings of men few books have graced so high a place of honor as did Moses and the Prophets, Christ and the Apostles, on that proud day.

An imperial order was made, that three hundred fac-simile copies should be made and distributed throughout the Christian world, by the Czar.

In pursuance of this, Tischendorf took the original to Leipsic for the purpose of founding the types and arranging for its printing. In November, 1861, Tischendorf formally presented to the Czar and Czarina the fruit of his labors. Three hundred copies of the fac-simile were ordered, one hundred of which the Czar presented to Tischendorf.

Of the fac-similes of this great work so successfully reproduced by the liberality of Alexander of Russia and the untiring zeal of its discoverer, we believe three are to be found in this country—one

in the library at Washington, D. C.: one in the Astor library of New York and one in the Lane Seminary library of Cincinnati. For the gratification of the curious reader, we here append a description of the original: It is a large quarto volume, the width of the pages being somewhat greater than the length. It is made of dressed skins of animals, chiefly of the antelope of the Arabian and African deserts, one skin forming two leaves throughout, and which must have required in its preparation very great skill, in order to receive the impressions from the stylus.

The entire manuscript consists of $345\frac{1}{2}$ skins—199 make up the Old Testament and the remainder forms the New.

Each page contains four narrow columns of writing $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and $4\frac{1}{4}$ broad, each column having 48 lines.

The color of the skins is a light yellow.

The ink has many hues—blackish, copper-tinted and yellowish. Throughout it is in capital letters.

Originally there appears to have been no punctuation. The vastness of the age of this unique manuscript is clearly proved by Tischendorf in his Prolegomena and the arguments are given at such length there that no opportunity is left for doubt by the candid-minded reader. Thus there was given to the world perhaps the oldest and most valued copy of the Bible through the indefatigable energy and persevering labors of Tischendorf. Leaving his home with but a few dollars in his possession, and wearing a suit of clothing purchased on credit, he

returns at last the most honorable and distinguished discoverer of modern times. He was created a Russian noble, a Saxon privy-councillor, knight of many orders, doctor of all academic degrees. He was made ordinary professor of Leipsic University, and a special chair of palæography was made for him. From this period onward he devoted the remainder of his life to the publishing of the results of his amassed materials collected on his different journeys. In November, 1874, he had a recurrence of apoplexy that had attacked him a year before and of which he died Dec. 7th 1874.

In his last will he left this testimony of his life: "In my labors I have sought no other aim than truth; to her I have always unconditionally bowed the knee." And so passed away this great scholar in the school of Christ.

Among his discoveries must not be omitted the mention of certain papers contained in this volume. We refer to the two remarkably rare manuscripts mentioned on page 139 of this work—the Coptic-Sahidian and Latin palimpsest manuscripts, corroborative of the Acts of Pilate. His comments on the antiquity and genuineness of the Acts of Pilate have been already quoted, at length, on pp. 135-141 of this volume.

SUMMARY.

APPENDIX.

In attempting to sum up and connect together the leading parts or chapters of what has been set down in this volume, the compiler and editor would beg leave to add thereto some matter not so properly belonging to any one special chapter, as having a bearing on much that lies within the foregoing writings.

His only excuse for so doing is, that the whole argument may stand out more fully than it could otherwise be made to do.

It has appeared very strange to many thoughtful men that, Jesus the Savior, should have lived and wrought so prominently under the light of so splendid a period as the Augustan age of Rome, and yet so little mention of his name even be found in the recorded history of his times, that is during the first one hundred years of our era, and especially so, when his biographers, the evangelists, and apostles, have recorded boldly, that, "*this thing was not done in a corner.*"*

*See Paul's defence before Agrippa, Acts of Apostles xxvi, 26.

Now this very omission of almost the mention of the name of Jesus by Greek, Roman and Jewish writers has been laid hold of by some minds, illogical as it may be, to prove that, truly, no such person as Jesus, as described by the Evangelists, ever existed. They argue that such a person as described by the Gospel historians could not have existed unless he should have been noticed by other writers than the Evangelists.

And while this is most illogical reasoning, yet, upon the surface, it would seem that some of the great events in the life of Jesus, that could hardly have escaped general and public observation, have been entirely left out of all books, all records, save the New Testament accounts.

This does not prove however, at all, that such events did not occur.

The record of an event has nothing to do with its occurrence, either logically or philosophically considered.

An event may occur without being recorded, and its occurrence may be recorded without any such events having taken place, and, in a word this is the whole logical and philosophical connection between the two.

The omission of Josephus, at least, of any mention of Jesus would appear inexplicable except as purely intentional on his part. A man who has left us a fairly full account of John the Baptist, and Pontius Pilate, and others closely associated in public events and transactions with Jesus, could not have failed to become somewhat acquainted with those

events—nor could he have left out Jesus, one of the chief actors on the stage where they were acted, except by design, and well kept intention.

The character of Josephus as shown in his own writings and as supplied by himself was, as a historian, equal to this, and much worse than this, when moved by prejudice of any sort.

The reader is referred to Huidekoper's "Judaism at Rome B. C. 76 to A. D 140 pp. 551—555" for a picture of Josephus as taken from his own writings, in proof of this statement.

In the great event of the crucifixion with the remarkable occurrences attending it, we have been taught to believe however, that, if these things happened they would have been firmly set down, especially by historians who were "careful to note all important events."

This is another piece of illogical teaching that has all the time been accepted, by a certain school of critics.

But because Josephus does not credit Jesus with having been born of Mary, at Bethlehem, does not prove at all, that Josephus was unacquainted with such an occurrence. Because he does not credit him with the miracle of having healed the lame, or blind man, by no means proves that He did not do these acts, or that they were unknown to each writer that has failed to record them.

And because the Roman Historian, Tacitus, calls his religion a vile superstition, does by no means prove that Christ and his disciples were the founders of a superstition, except to the mind of Tacitus and

those to and for whom he was writing, who were disposed to such an opinion.

More than this, because the friends of Jesus alone wrote out his biography does in no way prove that this biography was *untruthfully* written, any more than that the philosophy taught by Socrates was untruthfully stated by Plato because of Plato's being a friend and pupil of Socrates.

But this has been the line of argument, followed, at many times, by many otherwise clever minded people, and on which line we find some 'scholars and historians' determined to fight out the conclusion, as if they were fighting according to proper laws of war.

But, while all this is so, while all this is a false method of procedure, it must be allowed that, it would be more gratifying to all, had there been preserved to us from historians outside the New Testament, more and fuller mention of Jesus than to-day we possess.

This desire for fuller testimony we are aware has gone to extremes, at times, and in the minds of honest men of good intent, has disgraced history with fable and forgery and thereby reflected on much of the good coin of history left to us, a shadow of spuriousness.

It has given rise moreover to would-be censors of all history, and book-burners, that have despoiled many a library of golden wealth of knowledge, in history, biography and art, that might have furthered the interests of humanity in every department of human effort and knowledge.

The remarkable papers attributed to Pilate in this book, most of which are ‘substantiated by a documentary confirmation of their text of the highest order’ have not therefore been collected under a glaring title, and displayed as documents of great import to the Christian history, without mature reflection. They are in keeping not only with the New Testament accounts, but with other history of the times, that makes their contents most interesting, and as filling up some of those gaps necessary to a complete portraiture of the crucifixion, and a better acquaintance with the life of the Crucified One, Jesus, the Savior.

They fall in, naturally, as a part of the story of the times, when strange events were springing forth, upon whose occurrence was to be built up a mighty change in the religious systems of Rome as well as those of other peoples and cults not numbered among her provinces.

They fall in, too, as a part of the testimony to the truth of our sacred books, and in many incidental details, to confirm and explain allusions made in our New Testament records.

To understand the probable truthfulness of their statements we must enquire somewhat into the connection of the Jewish and Roman polities of government, and the relations subsisting between the two governments at the period of the times they cover, and know the modes and frequency of communication and the mutual interests of the people of Rome and Judea, before, during and after the days of Jesus.

Now there can be no doubt left that, from the time of Julius Cæsar's dictatorship, down to the time when Titus took Jerusalem, Rome was very fully acquainted with affairs in Judea and at Jerusalem.

This is made manifest by many records still to be had, such as the decrees of this first of the Cæsars to several of the provinces, in behalf of the Jews; and which may be read in full in Josephus. (See *Antiq.* Book XIV chap. X, and from other like Roman records.)

We give below an extract or two from these decrees as showing the feeling subsisting at the time, between the Romans and the Jews, and as bearing on the relations between them, at that time; of their mutual interests in governmental affairs and pertaining to their civil, religious and social rights and priveleges.

Below are given some decrees of Julius Cæsar concerning the Jews.

Josephus informs us that these records "are laid up in the public places of the cities, and are extant still in the capital, and engraven upon pillars of brass; nay, besides this, Julius Cæsar made a pillar of brass for the Jews of Alexandria, and declared publicly that they were citizens of Alexandria. Out of these evidences will I demonstrate what I say; and will now set down the decrees made both by the senate and by Julius Cæsar, which relate to Hyrcanus and to The Jews."

"Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and high priest, and dictator the second time, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Sidon, sendeth greeting. If you be in health, it is well. I also and the army are well. I have sent you a copy of that decree, registered on the tables, which concerns Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and cthnarch of the Jews, that it may be laid up among the public records; and I will that it be openly proposed in a table of brass both in Greek and in Latin. It is as follows: I, Julius Cæsar,

imperator the second time, and high priest, have made this decree, with the approbation of the senate: Whereas Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the Jew, hath demonstrated his fidelity and diligence about our affairs, and this both now and in former times, both in peace and in war, as many of our generals have borne witness, and came to our assistance in the last Alexandrian war, with fifteen hundred soldiers; and when he was sent by me to Mithridates, showed himself superior in valour to all the rest of that army:—for these reasons I will that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his children, be ethnarchs of the Jews, and have the high priesthood of the Jews for ever, according to the customs of their forefathers, and that he and his son be our confederates; and that besides this, everyone of them be reckoned among our particular friends. I also ordain, that he and his children retain whatsoever privileges belong to the office of high priest, or whatsoever favours have been hitherto granted them; and if at any time hereafter there arise any questions about the Jewish customs, I will that he determine the same: and I think it not proper that they should be obliged to find us in winter quarters, or that any money should be required of them.”

“THE DECREES of Caius Cæsar, consul, containing what hath been granted and determined, are as follows:—That Hyrcanus and his children bear rule over the nation of the Jews, and have the profits of the places to them bequeathed: and that he, as himself the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, defend those that are injured; and that ambassadors be sent to Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander the high priest of the Jews, that may discourse with him about a league of friendship and mutual assistance; and that a table of brass, containing the premises, be openly proposed in the capitol, and at Sidon, and Tyre, and Askelon, and in the temple, engraven in Roman and Greek letters: and that this decree may also be communicated to the questors and pretors of the several cities, and to the friends of the Jews: and that the ambassadors may have presents made them, and that these decrees be sent everywhere.”

“CAIUS CÆSAR, imperator, dictator, consul, hath granted, that out of regard to the honour, and virtue, and kindness of the man, and for the advantage of the senate, and of the people of Rome, Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, both he and his children, be high priests and priests of Jerusalem, and of the Jewish nation, by the same right, and according to the same laws, by which their progenitors have held the priesthood.”

“CAIUS CÆSAR, consul the fifth time, hath decreed, That the Jews shall possess Jerusalem, and may encompass that city with walls, and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, retain it in the manner he himself pleases : and the Jews be allowed to deduct out of their tribute, every second year the land is let [in the Sabbatic period], a corus of that tribute: and that the tribute they pay be not let to farm, nor that they pay always the same tribute.”

“CAIUS CÆSAR, emperor the second time, hath ordained, That all the country of the Jews, excepting Joppa, do pay a tribute yearly for the city Jerusalem, excepting the seventh, which they call the Sabbatical Year, because thereon they neither receive the fruits of their trees, nor do they sow their land; and that they pay their tribute in Sidon on the seventh year [of that Sabbatic period,] the fourth part of what was sown ; and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, which they paid to their forefathers. And that no one, neither president, nor lieutenant, nor ambassador, raise auxiliaries within the bounds of Judea, nor may soldiers exact money of them for winter quarters, or under any other pretence, but that they may be free from all sorts of injuries ; and that whatsoever they shall hereafter have, and are in possession of, or have bought, they shall retain them all. It is also our pleasure that the city Joppa, which the Jews had originally when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did.

Below we subjoin extracts of the decrees of Mark Antony, and, after him, of Augustus Cæsar.

“MARCUS ANTONIUS, emperor, to the magistrates, senate, and people of Tyre, sendeth greeting. I have sent you my decree, of which I will that ye take care that it be engraven on the public tables, in Roman and Greek letters, and that it stand engraven in the most illustrious places, that it may be read by all. Marcus Antonius, emperor, one of the triumvirate over the public affairs, made the declaration :—Since Caius Cassius, in this revolt he hath made, hath pillaged that province which belonged not to him, and was held by garrisons there encamped, while they were our confederates, and hath spoiled that nation of the Jews which was in friendship with the Roman people, as in war ; and since we have overcome his madness by arms, we now correct by our decrees and judicial determinations, what he hath laid waste, that those things may be restored to

our confederates ; and as for what hath been sold of the Jewish possessions, whether they be bodies or possessions, let them be released; the bodies into that state of freedom they were originally in, and the possessions to their former owners. I also will, That he who shall not comply with this decree of mine, shall be punished for his disobedience ; and if such a one be caught, I will take care that the offenders suffer condign punishment."

THE SAME thing did Antony write to the Sidonians, and the Antiochians, and the Ardians.

"CÆSAR AUGUSTUS, high priest and tribune of the people, ordains thus:—Since the nation of the Jews hath been found grateful to the Roman people, not only at this time, but in time past also, and chiefly Hyrcanus the high priest, under my father Cæsar the emperor, it seemed good to me and my counsellors, according to the sentence and oath of the people of Rome, that the Jews have liberty to make use of their own customs, according to the law of their forefathers, as they made use of them under Hyrcanus the high priest of Almighty God ; and that their sacred money be not touched but be sent to Jerusalem, and that it be committed to the care of the receivers at Jerusalem ; and that they be not obliged to go before any judge on the Sabbath-day, nor on the day of the preparation to it, after the ninth hour : but if any one be caught stealing their holy books, or their sacred money, whether it be out of the synagogue or public school, he shall be deemed a sacrilegious person, and his goods shall be brought into the public treasury of the Romans. And I give order, that the testimonial which they have given me, on account of my regard to that piety which I exercise toward all mankind, and out of regard to Caius Marcus Censorinus, together with the present decree, be proposed in that most eminent place which hath been consecrated to me by the community of Asia at Ancyra. And if any one transgress any part of what is above decreed, he shall be severely punished." This was inscribed upon a pillar in the temple of Cæsar.

Below will be found an edict of the emperor Claudius, concerning the Jews, and also a letter.

EDICT.

"Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, high priest, tribune of the people, chosen consul the second time, ordains thus:—

Upon the petition of king Agrippa and king Herod, who are persons very dear to me, that I would grant the same rights and privileges should be preserved to the Jews which are in all the Roman empire, which I have granted to those of Alexandria, I very willingly comply therewith ; and this grant I make not only for the sake of the petitioners, but as judging those Jews for whom I have been petitioned worthy of such a favour, on account of their fidelity and friendship to the Romans. I think it also very just that no Grecian city should be deprived of such rights and privileges, since they were preserved to them under the great Augustus. It will therefore be fit to permit the Jews, who are in all the world under us, to keep their ancient customs without being hindered so to do. And I do charge them also to use this my kindness to them with moderation, and not to show a contempt of the superstitious observances of other nations, but to keep their own laws only. And I will, that this decree of mine be engraven on tables by the magistrates of the cities and colonies, and municipal places, both those within Italy and those without it, both kings and governors, by the means of the ambassadors, and to have them exposed to the public for full thirty days, in such a place, whence it may be plainly read from the ground.”

This form was so known and frequent among the Romans, that it used to be thus represented at the bottom of their edicts by the initial letters only, U. D. P. R. L. P. Unde De plano Recte Legi Possit ; “Whence it may be plainly read from the ground.”

LETTER.

“Claudius Cæsar, Germanicus, tribune of the people the fifth time, and designed consul the fourth time, and imperator the tenth time, the father of his country, to the magistrates, senate, and people, and the whole nation of the Jews, sendeth greeting. Upon the presentation of your ambassadors to me by Agrippa my friend, whom I have brought up, and have now with me, and who is a person of very great piety, who are come to give me thanks for the care I have taken of your nation, and to entreat me, in an earnest and obliging manner, that they may have the holy vestments, with the crown belonging to them, under their power,—I grant their request, as that excellent person Vitellius, who is very dear to me, had done before me. And I have complied with your desire, in the first place, out of regard to that piety which I profess, and because I would have every one worship God according to the laws of their own country :

and this I do also, because I shall hereby highly gratify king Herod and Agrippa junior, whose sacred regards to me, and earnest goodwill to you, I am well acquainted with, and with whom I have the greatest friendship, and whom I highly esteem, and look on as a person of the best character. Now I have written about these affairs to Cuspius Fadus, my procurator. The names of those that brought me your letter are Cornelius, the son of Cero, Trypho, the son of Thendio, Dorotheus, the son of Nathaniel, and John, the son of John. This is dated before the fourth of the calends of July, when Rufus and Pompeius Sylvanus are consuls."

The foregoing decrees are sufficient to illustrate the disposition of their writers toward the government of the Jewish people, so far as the matters related in them are concerned.

Moreover they serve to show us the manner and style of such public writings as made between the Romans and the Jews, and the care taken to preserve them, on pillars, monuments and tablets.

Besides these public edicts, many letters concerning minor matters of personal concern are preserved to us, which passed between the officials of both governments.

The truth is, at some periods of their history, after the days of Julius Cæsar on to the times of Tiberius and Claudius, a sort of family connection subsisted between the great Houses of the Jews and their Roman rulers.

In the case of Agrippa the great-grand-son of Herod the Great, we have an instance, as well as in his father, Agrippa the Great, of most intimate and friendly intercourse between the emperors and senate of Rome and the Jewish kings or governors.

It was the custom of the Roman Government to live with and treat the heads of foreign Houses in

the provinces, so as to gain them over to the Romans entirely, and to more easily and completely assimilate these provincial territories.

We shall set down here a proof of how far this had been done in his case, by Agrippa's great speech, to the Jews, to dissuade them from war with the Romans; and because, in this speech we have an authentic account of the extent and strength of the Roman Empire when the Jewish war began, and much other history illustrative of the Roman attitude toward the Jews before and at this time; and because it especially illustrates the stubborn tenacity with which the Jews clung to the idea of resistance to their Roman masters.—

This Agrippa is the "King Agrippa" mentioned in the Acts of Apostles chap. xxvi, and before whom Paul made his defence, and who said to Paul, "almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." He was a most admirable man, and as Paul puts it "expert in all questions and customs which are among the Jews." Wherefore Paul besought him "to hear (him) most patiently."——

"Had I perceived that you were all zealously disposed to go to war with the Romans, and that the purer and more sincere part of the people did not propose to live in peace, I had not come out to you, nor been so bold as to give you counsel; for all discourses that tend to persuade men to do what they ought to do is superfluous, when the hearers are agreed to do the contrary. But because some are earnest to go to war because they are young, and without experience of the miseries it brings; and because some are for it, out of an unreasonable expectation of regaining their liberty, and because others hope to get by it, and are therefore earnestly bent upon it; that in the confusion of your affairs they may gain what belongs to those that are too weak to resist them, I have thought proper to get you all

together, and to say to you what I think to be for your advantage ; that so the former may grow wiser, and change their minds, and that the best men may come to no harm by the ill conduct of some others. And let not any one be tumultuous against me, in case what they hear me say do not please them; for as to those that admit of no cure, but are resolved upon a revolt, it will still be in their power to retain the same sentiments after my exhortation is over ; but still my discourse will fall to the ground, even with relation to those that have a mind to hear me, unless you will all keep silence. I am well aware that they make a tragical exclamation concerning the injuries that have been offered you by your procurators, and concerning the glorious advantages of liberty ; but before I begin the inquiry, who you are that must go to war, and who they are against whom you must fight,—I shall first separate those pretences that are by some connected together ; for if you aim at avenging yourselves on those that have done you injury, why do you pretend this to be a war for recovering your liberty? but if you think all servitude intolerable, to what purpose serve your complaints against your particular governors? for if they treated you with moderation, it would still be equally an unworthy thing to be in servitude. Consider now the several cases that may be supposed, how little occasion there is for your going to war. Your first occasion is, the accusations you have to make against your procurators: now here you ought to be submissive to those in authority, and not give them any provocation: but when you reproach men greatly for small offences, you excite those whom you reproach to be your adversaries ; for this will only make them leave off hurting you privately, and with some degree of modesty, and to lay what you have waste openly. Now nothing so much damps the force of strokes as bearing them with patience ; and the quietness of those who are injured diverts the injurious persons from afflicting. But let us take it for granted that the Roman ministers are injurious to you, and are incurably severe ; yet are they not all the Romans who thus injure you ; nor hath Cæsar, against whom you are going to make war, injured you: it is not by their command that any wicked governor is sent to you ; for they who are in the west cannot see those that are in the east ; nor indeed is it easy for them there, even to hear what is done in those parts. Now it is absurd to make war with a great many for the sake of one ; to do so with such mighty people, for a small cause ; and this when these people are not able to know of what you complain: nay, such crimes

as we complain of may soon be corrected, for the same procurator will not continue forever ; and probable it is that the successors will come with more moderate inclinations. But as for war, if it be once begun, it is not easily laid down again, nor borne without calamities coming therewith. However, as to the desire of recovering your liberty, it is unreasonable to indulge it so late ; whereas you ought to have laboured earnestly in old time that you might never have lost it ; for the first experience of slavery was hard to be endured, and the struggle that you might never have been subject to it would have been just ; but that slave who hath been once brought into subjection, and then runs away, is rather a refractory slave than a lover of liberty ; for it was then the proper time for doing all that was possible, that you might never have admitted the Romans into your city when Pompey came first into the country. But so it was, that our ancestors and their kings, who were in much better circumstances than we are, both as to money and strong bodies, and valiant souls, did not bear the onset of a small body of the Roman army. And yet you who have not accustomed yourselves to obedience from one generation to another, and who are so much inferior to those who first submitted in your circumstances, will venture to oppose the entire empire of the Romans ; while those Athenians, who, in order to preserve the liberty of Greece, did once set fire to their own city who pursued Xerxes. that proud prince, when he sailed upon the land, and walked upon the sea ; and could not be contained by the seas ; but conducted such an army as was too broad for Europe ; and made him run away like a fugitive in a single ship, and brake so great a part of Asia at the Lesser Salamis, are yet at this time servants to the Romans ; and those injunctions which are sent from Italy, become laws to the principal governing city of Greece. Those Lacedemonians also, who got the great victories at Thermopylæ and Platea, and had Agesilaus for their king, and searched every corner of Asia, are contented to admit the same lords. These Macedonians also, who still fancy what great men their Philip and Alexander were, and see that the latter had promised them empire over the world, these bear so great a change, and pay their obedience to those whom fortune hath advanced in their stead. Moreover, ten thousand other nations there are, who had greater reason than we to claim their entire liberty, and yet do submit. You are the only people who think it a disgrace to be servants to those to whom all the world hath submitted. What sort of an army do you rely on? What are

the arms you depend on? Where is your fleet, that may seize upon the Roman seas? and where are those treasures which may be sufficient for your undertakings? Do you suppose, I pray you, that you are to make war with the Egyptians, and with the Arabians? Will you not carefully reflect upon the Roman empire? Will you not estimate your own weakness? Hath not your army been often beaten even by your neighbouring nations, while the power of the Romans is invincible in all parts of the habitable earth? nay, rather, they seek for somewhat still beyond that; for all Euphrates is not sufficient boundary for them on the east side, nor the Danube on the north; and for their southern limit, Libya hath been searched over by them, as far as countries uninhabited, as is Cadiz their limit on the west; nay, indeed, they have sought for another habitable earth beyond the ocean, and have carried their arms as far as such British islands as were never known before. What, therefore, do you pretend to? Are you richer than the Gauls, stronger than the Germans, wiser than the Greeks, more numerous than all men upon the habitable earth?—What confidence is it that elevates you to oppose the Romans? Perhaps it will be said, it is hard to endure slavery. Yes; but how much harder is this to the Greeks, who were esteemed the noblest of all people under the sun? These, though they inhabit in a large country, are in subjection to six bundles of Roman rods. It is the same case with the Macedonians, who have juster reason to claim their liberty than you have. What is the case of five hundred cities of Asia? do they not submit to a single governor, and to the consular bundle of rods? What need I speak of the Heniochi, and Colchi, and the nation of Tauri, those that inhabit the Bosphorus, and the nations about Pontus, and Meotis, who formerly knew not so much as a lord of their own, but are now subject to three thousand armed men, and where forty long ships keep the sea in peace, which before was not navigable, and very tempestuous? How strong a plea may Bithynia, and Cappadocia, and the people of Pamphylia, the Lycians, and Cilicians, put in for liberty! but they are made tributary without an army. What are the circumstances of the Thracians, whose country extends in breadth five days' journey, and in length seven, and is of a much more harsh constitution, and much more defensible than yours, and, by the rigour of its cold, sufficient to keep off armies from attacking them? do not they submit to two thousand men of the Roman garrisons? Are not the Illyrians, who inhabit the country adjoining, as far as Dalmatia and the Danube,

governed by barely two legions? by which also they put a stop to the incursions of the Dacians; and for the Dalmatians, who have made such frequent insurrections, in order to regain their liberty, and who could never before be so thoroughly subdued, but that they always gathered their forces together again, and revolted, yet are they now very quiet under one Roman legion. Moreover, if great advantages might provoke any people to revolt, the Gauls might do it best of all, as being so thoroughly walled round by nature; on the east side by the Alps, on the north by the river Rhine, on the south by Pyrenean mountains, and on the west by the ocean.—Now, although these Gauls have such obstacles before them to prevent any attack upon them, and have no fewer than three hundred and five nations among them, nay have, as one may say, the fountains of domestic happiness within themselves, and send out plentiful streams of happiness over almost the whole world, these bear to be tributary to the Romans, and derive their prosperous condition from them; and they undergo this, not because they are of effeminate minds, or because they are of an ignoble stock, as having borne a war of eighty years, in order to preserve their liberty,—but by reason of the great regard they have to the power of the Romans, and their good fortune which is of greater efficacy than their arms. These Gauls, therefore, are kept in servitude by twelve hundred soldiers, who are hardly so many as are their cities; nor hath the gold dug out of the mines of Spain been sufficient for the support of a war to preserve their liberty, nor could their vast distance from the Romans by land and by sea do it; nor could the martial tribes of the Lusitanians and Spaniards escape; no more could the ocean, with its tide, which yet was terrible to the ancient inhabitants. Nay, the Romans have extended their arms beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and have walked among the clouds, upon the Pyrenean mountains, and have subdued these nations; and one legion is a sufficient guard for these people, although they were so hard to be conquered, and at a distance so remote from Rome. Who is there among you who hath not heard of the great number of the Germans? * You have, to be sure, yourselves seen them to be strong and tall, and that frequently, since the Romans have them among their captives everywhere; yet these Germans, who dwell in an immense country, who have minds greater than their bodies, and a soul that despises death, and who are in rage more fierce than wild beasts, have the Rhine for the boundary of their enterprises, and are tamed by eight Roman legions. Such of them as were taken captive

became their servants ; and the rest of the entire nation were obliged to save themselves by flight. Do you also, who depend on the walls of Jerusalem, consider what a wall the Britons had ; for the Romans sailed away to them, and subdued them while they were encompassed by the ocean, and inhabited an island that is not less than the continent of this habitable earth, and four legions are a sufficient guard to so large an island ;—and why should I speak much more about this matter,—while the Parthians, that most warlike body of men, and lords of so many nations, and encompassed with such mighty forces, send hostages to the Romans ; whereby you may see if you please, even in Italy, the noblest nation of the east, under the notion of peace, submitting to serve them. Now, when almost all people under the sun submit to the Roman arms, will you be the only people that make war against them? and this without regarding the fate of the Carthaginians, who, in the midst of their brags of the great Hannibal, and the nobility of the Phenician original, fell by the hand of Scipio. Nor indeed have the Cyrenians, derived from Lacedemonians, nor the Marmaridæ, a nation extended as far as the regions uninhabitable for the want of water, nor have the Syrtes, a place terrible to such as barely hear it described, the Nasamons and Moors, and the immense multitude of the Numidians, been able to put a stop to the Roman valour ; and as for the third part of the habital earth (Africa), whose nations are so many that it is not easy to number them, and which is bounded by the Atlantic Sea and the Pillars of Hercules, and feeds an innumerable multitude of Ethiopians. as far as the Red Sea, these have the Romans subdued entirely. And besides the annual fruits of the earth, which maintain the multitude of the Romans for eight months in a year, this, over and above, pays all sorts of tribute, and affords revenues suitable to the necessities of the government. Nor do they, like you, esteem such injunctious a disgrace to them, although they have but one Roman legion that abides among them ; and indeed what occasion is there for showing you the power of the Romans over remote countries, when it is so easy to learn it from Egypt in your own neighbourhood? This country is extended as far as the Ethiopians and Arabia the Happy, and borders upon India ; it hath seven millions five hundred thousand men, besides the inhabitants of Alexandria, as may be learned from the revenue of the poll-tax ; yet it is not ashamed to submit to the Roman government, although it hath Alexandria as a grand temptation to a revolt, by reason it is so full of people and of riches, and is

besides exceeding large, its length being thirty furlongs, and its breadth no less than ten ; and it pays more tribute to the Romans in one month than you do in a year ; nay, besides what it pays in money, it sends corn to Rome that supports it four months in a year : it is also walled round on all sides, either by almost impassable deserts, or seas that have no havens, or by rivers, or by lakes ; yet have none of these things been found too strong for the Roman good fortune ; however, two legions that lie in that city are a bridle both for the remoter parts of Egypt, and for the parts inhabited by the more noble Macedonians. Where then are those people whom you are to have for your auxiliaries? Must they come from the parts of the world that are uninhabited? for all that are in the habitable earth are under the Romans.—Unless any of you extend his hopes as far as beyond the Euphrates, and suppose that those of your own nation that dwell in Adiabene will come to your assistance, but certainly these will not embarrass themselves with an unjustifiable war, nor, if they should follow such ill advice, will the Parthians permit them so to do : for it is their concern to maintain the truce that is between them and the Romans, and they will be supposed to break the covenant between them, if any under their government march against the Romans. What remains, therefore, is this, that you have recourse to divine assistance ; but this is already on the side of the Romans ; for it is impossible that so vast an empire should be settled without God's providence. Reflect upon it, how impossible it is for your zealous observations of your religious customs to be here preserved, which are hard to be observed, even when you fight with those whom you are able to conquer ; and how can you then most of all hope for God's assistance, when, by being forced to transgress his law, you will make him turn his face from you? and if you do observe the custom of the Sabbath-days, and will not be prevailed on to do any thing thereon, you will easily be taken, as were your forefathers by Pompey, who was the busiest in his siege on those days on which the besieged rested : but if in time of war you transgress the law of your country, I cannot tell on whose account you will afterward go to war ; for your concern is but one, that you do nothing against any of your forefathers ; and how will you call on God to assist you, when you are voluntarily transgressing against his religion? Now, all men that go to war, do it either as depending on divine or human assistance ; but since your going to war will cut off both those assistances, those that are for going to war choose evident

destruction. What hinders you from slaying your children and wives with your own hands, and burning this most excellent native city of yours? for by this mad prank you will, however, escape the reproach of being beaten; but it were best, O my friends, it were best, while the vessel is still in the haven, to foresee the impending storm, and not to set sail out of the port into the middle of the hurricanes; for we justly pity those who fall into great misfortunes without foreseeing them; but for him who rushes into manifest ruin, he gains reproaches instead of commiseration. But certainly no one can imagine that you can enter into a war as by agreement, or that when the Romans have got you under their power, they will use you with moderation, or will not rather, for an example to other nations, burn your holy city, and utterly destroy your whole nation; for those of you who will survive the war, will not be able to find a place whither to flee, since all men have the Romans for their lords already, or are afraid they shall have hereafter. Nay, indeed, the danger concerns not those Jews that dwell here only, but those of them that dwell in other cities also; for there is no people upon the habitable earth which has not some portion of you among them, whom your enemies will slay, in case you go to war, and on that account also; and so every city which hath Jews in it will be filled with slaughter for the sake only of a few men, and they who slay them will be pardoned; but if that slaughter be not made by them, consider how wicked a thing it is to take arms against those that are so kind to you. Have pity, therefore, if not on your children and wives, yet upon this your metropolis, and its sacred walls; spare the temple, and preserve the holy house, with its holy furniture, for yourselves; for if the Romans get you under their power, they will no longer abstain from them, when their former abstinence shall have been so ungratefully requited. I call to witness your sanctuary, and the holy angels of God, and this country common to us all, that I have not kept back any thing for your preservation; and if you will follow that advice which you ought to do, you will have that peace which will be common to you and to me; but if you indulge your passions, you will run those hazards which I shall be free from."

This speech of Agrippa's in behalf of the Jews as well as in the interests of Rome, did not effect its purpose however.

Florus, the procurator, had so enraged them that,

while they acknowledged Cæsar's right to rule, they could not bear the insolence and oppression of this man any more than they did that of Pilate or any other procurator.

The *procurator* was generally the man against whom they set themselves, so far as uprisings against Cæsar were concerned. His acts were seized upon on every opportunity of this sort, until at last a general conflict was inaugurated to end only with the end of the Jewish state.

We have indicated very forcibly too, just here, the truth of what is so often alluded to by Pilate, both in his Reports and in the Acts of Pilate viz., that, "of all the cities under Roman rule none was so difficult to be kept at peace as was Jerusalem," and that the Jews were and had been "*always rebellious*" not only against their present rulers, but of old, "against God himself." —

It has been our purpose in giving these long extracts to show how intimate was the knowledge of Rome with all Jewish affairs and what almost daily communication passed between Jerusalem and Rome during these times, and of what great consideration especially the Jewish province was held in by her Roman masters.

It has been too generally believed and much too frequently taught, that at this time, during the lifetime of Jesus, and for long before and long after that, the little province of Judea and indeed that all Palestine amounted to nothing in the eyes of Rome, was not deserving of notice, and amounted to but little more than a far off and thinly populated desert.

That criticism which has done its utmost to belittle every thing Jewish, and to reduce to the lowest ebb all the historical surroundings of Jesus of Nazareth. has left a very false impress on the mind of many as to every thing with which his life was connected.

It is for this reason mainly that we have thought best to introduce herein the persons so prominently and intimately connected with the actual trial of Jesus and to give somewhat of their character, as also those other persons of a later time, that have given prominence to certain Records left concerning that trial; and this is our only excuse for what might seem to the reader the bringing in of superfluous matter.

Every one of them named in this volume from Tiberius the emperor, to Tischendorf the literary discoverer, bears a necessary part to the history that circles around the cross on which Jesus hung as a Jewish peasant teacher, but who was taken down dead to arise the Universal Impulse of Good, and who has made immortal in history and in memory every thing against which he touched.

No more interesting study has ever been undertaken than that of the life of Jesus, and the rise and early progress of that system of religion founded upon his death and alleged resurrection.

No subject has employed so much of the ablest intellect of the world, none that has so steadily grown under the opposition of skilled and powerful opponents, and, none which to-day makes so plausible a prophecy of dominating finally the souls

of humanity, in individual, social and religious life.

It is fast becoming the "State religion" of humanity the world over.

That it sits at the helm of the highest empires, the greatest kingdoms and the proudest Republics of to-day cannot be denied. It was not altogether reared in obscurity, in weakness, and among the poor and ignorant as some have taught.

Its founder, Jesus, walked not altogether among the lazzaroni of Palestine. His companions and associates, some of His confidential ones and His entertainers had houses and homes, and orchards and vineyards, and palaces and parks.

Genius and goodness, intelligence and purity may have often in this world "no where to lay its head" in individual or personal ownership; but greatness anywhere, especially in the head and in the heart, makes the man who owns it a welcome guest not only with Martha and Lazarus, but with Zacheus and the immaculate and uplifted pharisee.

Moral greatness, like the Sun, gilds alike hovel and palace. it draws toward itself the dew drop and the flower it bends, it makes the whole world gladder for its coming. Jesus was welcome at the Pretorium of Pilate, in the home of rich Zacheus, or in the fisherman's tent.

He taught even in the Temple, or by the wayside, and the sea shore alike.

We all wonder why the priests killed him, and how the poor wept him.

And we wonder most, how He got so soon a start in the world—never to stop.

He must have had some great friends like the rich Joseph of Arimathea, and the ruler Nicodemus and the haughty Magdalene. that could bring enough spices about his grave, 2000 years ago, to make the perfume there so sweet and lasting, *even until this hour.*

There, the secret lies. Strong souls were those that He had conquered.

Hearts of oak and more than oak, fortress like, and manned by legions of bad angels, had they been, to become the strong captives and devoted servants of Christ.

Seven archangels of Death sang the enchantments of passion in the garlanded gateways leading to the throne of insatiate love in that heart of the woman of Magdala. Voluptuous in that silken Alhambra of Astarte, she sat in that golden prison of enticement whose gate was but "the way to hell, going down to the chambers of death."

Kings and legates were visitors there, revelling in shame's glory, till the Sun of Righteousness shone upon that heart of Magdalen, and cleared the temple of her soul by vanquishing those seven sirens of death.

We need not blush should any words paint the battle scene on Mary's heart when the wand of Jesus' word cut away the gilded folds of passion's sin, and, naked in the sunlight of conscience, bade the evil spirits depart, never to return.

Because she had the strength to see these go away and shed no tear at their departing, therefore 'twas she received sight first to see the two angels of

the Resurrection sitting on the throne of Death where He had lain, who conquered death and hell and the grave.

Such was the heroine who became the first herald of the resurrection.

Such souls were Peter, James and John and Paul, the immortal captains on the field of a moral conflict that requires the best strength of men.

The world has had its Xerxes and its Xenophons, its Alexanders and its Napoleons, but these were men of muscle only, of physical powers, and intellectual might. The great moral world needed yet greater captains still. Jesus heads that list.

He came when the Roman eagles perched upon the pinnacles of power the wide world over, in every capital; when hate and war and butchery had done their best to conquer the hearts of men, and to press humanity into one great empire.

He came to assail and subdue the central citadel of humanity, which, left untaken, leaves no hope of peace. That citadel was the heart of man, the human will, next highest power to God.

The statesmanship of this world will yet, if it have not already done, do Him the honor of that mighty conception which He began in practice, and that will yet be fulfilled in universal peace among all nations, by subduing this central citadel of the powers of this world.

The inventions of peace shall become outwardly so terrible yet, that the butchery of battles shall be unknown.

The Peace Congress international shall arbitrate all disputes.

Love shall reign—peace shall shine unclouded on land and sea, and the angels' word, "good will among men," the key note of universal song—then shall be realized that poem of Isaiah, singing of Messiah :

"The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.*

And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

And the suckling child shall play on the hole of the asp and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice's den.

They shall not hurt nor destroy in all His holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the Sea."—Isaiah X.--6, 7, 8, 9.

**And Jesus called a little child unto him; and set him in the midst of them,*

And said, Verily I say unto you, Except you be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones; for I say unto you, That in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven.—Matt. XVIII. 2. 3. 4. 10.

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