The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 17

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Eusebius of Caesarea: Church History, the Martyrs and the Life of Constantine

c. AD 303 – 339

SERMONINDEX

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Published by SermonIndex, sermonindex.net
This book is also free to read online at sermonindex.net/books/
First edition, 2026

ISBN to be added

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Introduction to This Volume

How this book is arranged

This is the seventeenth volume of a series that gathers the writings of the early Church in order of date, from the generation after the apostles down to the eighth century. This volume holds Eusebius of Caesarea, Church History, the Martyrs and the Life of Constantine, from the period about AD 303 – 339.

Within each work the text is divided into chapters and numbered sections, so that any passage can be found again and cited. The small bold figures in the text are the section numbers.

The translations

The text is in English only. Wherever a modern English version has been prepared for SermonIndex it is used here; otherwise the book prints an older public-domain translation. In both cases the wording is the translator's own: older translations have not been altered beyond dividing them into sections. The sources for every work are listed at the back of the book, together with the licence under which each text is released. The modern English version prepared for SermonIndex is used for Church History (Eusebius of Caesarea); the other works are printed in older public-domain translations.

Short notes by the translator appear at the foot of the page of the modern English versions. They explain a difficult word, name a person or place, point to a parallel elsewhere, or say where the modern English departs from the earlier translation. They are numbered afresh for each work.

Scripture references

In the works printed in modern English, passages that quote or clearly echo the Bible are marked in brackets at the end of the section. These references are an aid to the reader, not a complete list: some parallels are not marked, and a marked passage may be a loose quotation or an echo rather than an exact match. The older translations are not marked in this way. The Scripture Index at the end of the book lists the marked references and the pages on which they are found.

In this volume

Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea in Palestine from about AD 314 until his death about AD 339. He is called the father of church history, and he was a scholar, an apologist and a biographer of the emperor Constantine.

Eusebius's Life of Constantine is printed here with two orations: his own Oration in Praise of Constantine, delivered for the thirtieth year of the emperor's reign, and the Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the assembly of the saints, which Eusebius attached to his Life.

Dates and authorship

Dates are approximate and are debated by scholars. Each work begins with a short introduction that states what is known about its author and its date, and what is uncertain.

PART ONE

Church History

The first history of the Church, from the apostles to the time of Constantine.

Church History

Eusebius of Caesarea

c. AD 325

The first history of the Christian church, written by the bishop of Caesarea in Palestine soon after the persecutions ended. In ten books Eusebius follows the succession of bishops in the great churches, the spread of the gospel, the rise of heresies, the fate of the Jews, and the martyrs. Much of what we know about the first three centuries of the church, and many quotations from works now lost (Papias, Hegesippus, Dionysius of Alexandria and others), come only from him.

A note for readers. Eusebius is our main source for many early writers whose own works are lost, and he quotes them at length. He wrote as an admirer of Constantine and his own judgments (on Origen, the canon, the chiliasts) are his own. Dates and some details have been corrected by later scholarship. The Greek here is the older Dindorf text, not the modern critical edition of Schwartz, so some readings differ from recent translations.

Book 1

chapter 1

The Plan of the Work.

1 I intend to write about the successions of the holy apostles, and about the period from our Saviour's time down to our own. I will tell how many and how great the events were that are said to have occurred in the history of the Church. I will name those who led and presided over the Church with distinction in the most notable local churches. I will name those in every generation who served as ambassadors of the divine Word, whether by speaking or by writing. I will also tell who they were, how many there were, and when they lived, those who were driven by a lust for novelty into the worst error. They proclaimed themselves introducers of a "knowledge" falsely so named, and like savage wolves they ruthlessly ravaged the flock of Christ.[1] [*Acts 20:29; 1*

Timothy 6:20] 2 Next I will describe what immediately came upon the whole Jewish nation because of their plot against our Saviour. I will describe how often, in what ways, and at what times the divine Word was attacked by the Gentiles. I will tell how many people, in one age after another, went through the contest of blood and torture for his sake. I will include the martyrdoms of our own time, and the gracious and kindly help our Saviour gave to all of them. Since I have resolved to put all this in writing, I will begin at no other point than the first dispensation concerning our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God.[2]

3 At this point my account must ask pardon from understanding readers. I admit that it is beyond my ability to promise a work that is complete and leaves nothing out. I am the first to take up this subject, and I am trying to travel a deserted and untrodden road. I pray to have God as my guide and the power of the Lord as my fellow-worker. Yet I cannot find even bare footprints of any who traveled the same road before me. There are only slight hints, in which one writer in one way and another in another have left us partial accounts of the times they lived through. From far off, like torches, they hold up their voices. From somewhere high above, as from a distant watchtower, they call out and urge us where we must walk, and how to steer the course of the account without going astray or into danger.

5 So I will gather whatever I think useful for my subject from what those writers mention here and there. I will pick the suitable words of the ancient authors, as if from meadows of learning, and try to give them a body in a historical narrative. I will be content if I can rescue the successions of the apostles of our Saviour, if not of all, then at least of the most distinguished, in the notable churches that are still remembered today. I consider this work most necessary, because I have not found that any church writer up to now has given careful attention to this part of the story. I hope it will prove very useful to those who care about the profitable learning that history offers. 8 In the Chronological Canons which I composed earlier, I already made a summary of these matters. Even so, I have now set out to give the fullest account

1. "Local churches" renders paroikiai, here the Christian communities of the leading cities and their surrounding areas, later called "parishes" or dioceses. "Unwritten" (agraphōs) means "without writing," that is, by spoken teaching.
2. The older version adds "misfortunes" and renders martyria as "confessions." The Greek says "martyrdoms" (literally "testimonies"). "Dispensation" (oikonomia) means God's plan carried out in Christ, including his coming in the flesh.

of them. As I said, my account will begin with the dispensation and the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, which is understood to be higher and greater than anything merely human. Anyone who is going to write the history of the Church's teaching must start from above, from the very first dispensation concerning Christ himself. We are honored to take our name from him, and his dispensation is more divine than most people suppose.[3]

CHAPTER 2

Summary View of the Pre-Existence and Divinity of Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ.

1 In Christ there are two ways of being. One is like the head of the body, in that he is understood to be God. The other is compared to the feet, in that for the sake of our salvation he took on a man's nature with passions like ours. Our account will therefore be complete if we begin the whole history of him with the most essential and principal points. In this way the antiquity of the Christians, an antiquity ancient and worthy of God, will be shown to those who suppose it new and foreign, something that appeared only yesterday and no earlier. 2 No account could be adequate to express Christ's origin and dignity, or his very being and nature. So the divine Spirit also says in the prophecies, "Who will declare his generation?" For no one knew the Father except the Son, and no one could ever know the Son worthily except the Father alone who begot him.[4] [*Isaiah 53:8; Matthew 11:27*]

3 Who but the Father could clearly understand the Light that was before the world, the Wisdom, intelligent and substantial, that existed before the ages, and the living God the Word, who was with the Father in the beginning? He is the first and only offspring of God, before every creature and every created thing, visible and invisible. He is the commander-in-chief of the rational and immortal host in heaven, the messenger of the great counsel, and the servant of the Father's unspeakable purpose. With the Father he is maker of all things, the second cause of the universe after the Father, the true and only-begotten Child of God, the Lord and God and King of all things that have come into being. He has received from the Father authority and power, together with divinity itself, and honor. So the mystical teach-

3. The Chronological Canons were Eusebius's earlier work of chronological tables. The Greek word theologia, here "doctrine of his divinity," means the teaching about Christ's divine nature.
4. Only "Who will declare his generation?" is given as the prophet's words (compare Isaiah 53:8). The rest is Eusebius's own statement, echoing Jesus' words in Matthew 11:27.

ings of the Scriptures about his divinity say: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made through him, and without him not one thing was made." [*John 1:1-3; Colossians 1:15*]

4 This is also what the great Moses teaches. As the most ancient of all the prophets, he describes by the divine Spirit how the universe was brought into being and arranged. He teaches that the maker of the world and creator of all things handed over the making of lesser things to Christ himself, and to no other than his own divine and firstborn Word. He also teaches that God spoke with him about the making of man. For he says, "God said, Let us make man in our image and likeness." [*Genesis 1:26*] 6 Another of the prophets vouches for this saying, speaking of God in the hymns like this: "He spoke, and they were begotten; he commanded, and they were created." He presents the Father and Maker as ruler of all, giving orders with a royal nod. Second to him is the divine Word, no other than the one we proclaim, serving the Father's commands. From the first creation of man, all who are said to have been outstanding in righteousness and the virtue of godliness have seen him with the pure eyes of the mind, and have known him and given him the worship due to the Son of God. Among them are the great servant Moses, and before him Abraham first of all, together with Abraham's children, and all the righteous men and prophets who appeared afterward.

7 He, for his part, never neglected the worship of the Father, but was set up as teacher of the knowledge of the Father to all. For example, it is recorded that the Lord God appeared like an ordinary man to Abraham as he sat by the oak of Mambre. Abraham fell down at once, though with his eyes he saw a man. He worshiped him as God and begged him as Lord, and he acknowledged that he knew who he was, saying in these very words: "Lord, judge of all the earth, will you not execute judgment?" [*Genesis 18:1-2; Genesis 18:25*] 8 Reason does not allow us to think that the unbegotten and unchangeable essence of almighty God was changed into the form of a man. Nor does it allow us to think that it deceived the eyes of those who saw by the appearance of some created thing. Nor again may we say that Scripture falsely invents such things. Yet here the God and Lord who judges all the earth and executes judgment is seen in the form of a man. Who else, then, can he be called, if it is not right to say it was the first cause of all things, but only the Word who existed before? Of him it is also said in the Psalms: "He sent his

Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions." [*Genesis 18:25*]

9 Moses very clearly proclaims him as Lord, second after the Father, when he says, "The Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah sulfur and fire from the Lord." The divine Scripture also calls him God when he appeared again to Jacob in the form of a man and said to Jacob, "Your name shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel shall be your name, because you have prevailed with God." Then Jacob called the name of that place "Form of God," saying, "For I have seen God face to face, and my life has been saved." [*Genesis 19:24; Genesis 32:28; Genesis 32:30*] 11 Nor is it right to suppose that these recorded appearances of God were appearances of lesser angels and servants of God. When one of these appears to people, Scripture does not hide it. It says plainly that they were called angels, not God and not Lord, as countless testimonies make easy to prove. Joshua, the successor of Moses, also speaks of this one as the leader of the heavenly angels and archangels and of the powers above the world. He speaks of him as the Father's viceroy, entrusted with second place in the kingdom and rule over all. He names him "commander of the army of the Lord." Yet Joshua saw him only, once again, in the form and appearance of a man. [*Joshua 5:14*]

12 So it is written: "And it happened, when Joshua was at Jericho, that he looked up and saw a man standing opposite him, with his sword drawn in his hand. Joshua went up to him and said, 'Are you on our side or on the side of our enemies?' And he said to him, 'I have come now as commander of the army of the Lord.' Joshua fell on his face to the ground and said to him, 'Master, what do you command your servant?' And the commander of the Lord's army said to Joshua, 'Take your sandal off your foot, for the place where you are standing is holy.'" [*Joshua 5:13-15*] 13 From these very words you will also notice that this was none other than the one who spoke with Moses. For Scripture uses the same words about him there: "When the Lord saw that he was coming near to look, the Lord called to him out of the bush, saying, 'Moses, Moses.' And he said, 'What is it?' And he said, 'Do not come near here. Take your sandal off your feet, for the place on which you are standing is holy ground.' And he said to him, 'I am the God of your fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.'" [*Exodus 3:4-6*]

14 There is a living substance that existed before the world and had its own being. It served the Father and God of the universe in making

everything that has come into being, and it is called the Word of God and Wisdom. In addition to the proofs already given, we can hear this from Wisdom herself, speaking in her own person. Through Solomon she plainly teaches these mysteries about herself: "I, Wisdom, made counsel and knowledge my dwelling, and I called upon understanding. Through me kings reign, and rulers write down what is just. Through me the great are made great, and through me tyrants hold power over the earth." [*Proverbs 8:12-16*]
15 To this she adds: "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works. Before the age he founded me, in the beginning, before he made the earth, before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were set in place. Before all the hills he begets me. When he prepared the heavens, I was present with him. When he set the springs under heaven on a firm footing, I was beside him, fitting things together. I was the one in whom he delighted, and every day I rejoiced before him at all times, when he rejoiced over the inhabited world." [*Proverbs 8:22-25; Proverbs 8:27-31*]

18 That is enough, briefly, to show that the divine Word existed before and appeared to some, though not to all. Why, then, was he not proclaimed in ancient times to all people and all nations, as he is now? The answer will become clear. The life of people long ago could not take in the all-wise and all-virtuous teaching of Christ. Right at the beginning, after his first life among the blessed, the first man cared little for God's command. He fell into this mortal and perishable life, and exchanged his former God-given delight for this earth under a curse. His descendants filled our whole world, and they proved far worse, apart from one or two. They took up a beastlike way of living, a life not worth living. 19 They gave no thought to city or government, to crafts or knowledge. They had no share even in the name of laws and justice, or of virtue and philosophy. They lived as nomads in the wilderness, like savage and cruel creatures. By an excess of deliberate wickedness they ruined the reasoning that belongs to human nature, and the gentle, rational seeds in the human soul. They handed themselves over entirely to every kind of ungodly deed. At one time they were eating human flesh, at another murdering one another, and at another eating human flesh again. They dared to fight against God, in those battles of the giants that everyone talks about. They schemed to build earth up as a wall against heaven. In the madness of their wild pride they prepared to make war on the God of all himself.

21 Because they had brought themselves to this state, God, who watches over all things, pursued them with floods and fires, as though they were a wild forest spread over the whole earth. He cut them down with constant famines and plagues, with wars, and with thunderbolts from above. He was treating a terrible and most severe disease of the soul with harsher punishments. Then the excess of wickedness had been poured out over almost everyone, like a dreadful drunkenness that overshadowed and darkened the souls of nearly all people. At that time the firstborn and first-created Wisdom of God, the pre-existent Word himself, out of his overflowing love for mankind, appeared to them. Sometimes he appeared through visions of angels to those of lower standing. At other times he appeared in his own person, as the saving power of God, to one or two of the men of old who were dear to God. He appeared to them only in human form, because there was no other way for him to do it.

22 By these appearances the seeds of true worship had now been sown among a multitude of men. A whole nation devoted to God arose from the Hebrews, descended from them from of old. But these people, like the crowd they were, still lived by their old ways. So through the prophet Moses he gave them images and symbols of a mystical Sabbath and of circumcision, and introductions to other spiritual teachings. He did not hand down the mysteries themselves in plain view. 23 The law of the Hebrews became famous and spread to all people like a sweet-smelling breath. Through lawgivers and philosophers everywhere, the minds of most of the other nations were now also tamed by it. Their wild and savage brutality was changed to gentleness, so that they enjoyed deep peace, friendship and contact with one another. By then all people, and the nations throughout the world, had been prepared in advance and were ready to receive the knowledge of the Father. At that time that same Teacher of unspeakable things appeared again. He is the Father's servant in all good things, the divine and heavenly Word of God. He came in a man whose body did not differ in substance from our nature, at the beginning of the Roman empire. He did and suffered what the prophecies had foretold. They had foretold that one who was both man and God would come to live in the world, work wonders, and be shown to all nations as the teacher of the Father's true worship. They also proclaimed beforehand the wonder of his birth, his new teaching, and his marvelous works. Besides

these, they foretold the manner of his death, his resurrection from the dead, and finally his divine return to heaven.

24 The prophet Daniel saw by the divine Spirit the final kingdom of Christ. He was inspired to write about it in this way, describing the vision of God in rather human terms. "I kept looking," he says, "until thrones were set in place, and the Ancient of Days sat down. His clothing was white as snow, and the hair of his head was like clean wool. His throne was a flame of fire, and its wheels were burning fire. A river of fire flowed out before him. A thousand thousands served him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him. The court sat, and books were opened." [*Daniel 7:9-10*] 26 Next he says: "I kept watching, and look, one like a son of man was coming with the clouds of heaven. He came up to the Ancient of Days and was brought into his presence. To him were given rule, honor and kingship, and all peoples, tribes and languages serve him. His authority is an everlasting authority that will not pass away, and his kingdom will not be destroyed." These words clearly can refer to no one other than our Savior. He is God the Word, who in the beginning was with God, and he is called Son of Man because of his final becoming man. [*Daniel 7:13-14*]

27 We have gathered the prophetic selections about our Savior Jesus Christ in separate writings of our own. In other works we have also set out the things revealed about him in a more demonstrative way. So for the present we will be content with what has been said.[5]

CHAPTER 3

The Name Jesus and Also the Name Christ Were Known from the Beginning,and Were Honored by the Inspired Prophets.

2 It is now time to show that even the names "Jesus" and "Christ" were already held in honor among the ancient prophets, who were beloved of God. Moses was the first to make known the name of Christ, and he treated it as a name of the highest majesty and glory. He handed down types and symbols of heavenly things, and mysterious images, in keeping with the oracle that said to him, "See that you make everything according to the pattern shown to you on the mountain." Then he appointed a man as high priest of God, as far as that was possible for a man, and called him "Christ." So he attached the name of Christ, for honor and glory, to the dignity of the

5. These are probably Eusebius' works such as the Proof of the Gospel and the Prophetic Extracts; the Greek does not name them.

high priesthood, which in his eyes surpassed every other position of rank among men. In this way he showed that he knew Christ to be something divine.[6] [*Exodus 25:40; Hebrews 8:5*]

4 In the same way Moses, foreseeing the name of Jesus very clearly by the divine Spirit, judged that it too deserved a special privilege. The title "Jesus" had never been spoken among men before Moses knew it. Moses gave it first, and to one man only: the man whom he knew, again as a type and symbol, would take over the rule over all after his own death. Moses' successor had not used the name Jesus before. He was called by another name, Auses (Hoshea), which his parents had given him. Moses named him Jesus, giving him the name as an honor far greater than any royal crown. For Jesus the son of Nun himself bore the likeness of our Saviour. After Moses, and after the end of the symbolic worship that Moses handed down, he alone took over the leadership of the true and utterly pure worship of God.

5 In this way Moses gave the name of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, as the greatest mark of honor to the two men of his own time who stood out above all the people in excellence and glory: the high priest, and the one who would lead after him. 6 The prophets who came later also clearly proclaimed Christ by name beforehand. At the same time they bore witness in advance both to the plot that the Jewish people would devise against him and to the calling of the nations through him. Jeremiah speaks in this way: "The Spirit before our face, Christ the Lord, was caught in their corruptions, of whom we said, 'In his shadow we shall live among the nations.'" At another time David, in amazement, says: "Why did the nations rage, and the peoples plan empty things? The kings of the earth stood by, and the rulers gathered together against the Lord and against his Christ." Then he adds, speaking in the person of Christ himself: "The Lord said to me, You are my Son; today I have begotten you. Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of the earth as your possession."[7] [*Lamentations 4:20*]

8 Among the Hebrews, the name of Christ did not adorn only those honored with the high priesthood, who were anointed with specially prepared oil as a symbol. It also adorned the kings. The prophets, by divine command, anointed them and so made them figures of Christ, because the

6. The Greek "Christ" (Hebrew "Messiah") means "anointed one." Moses' words are quoted from the Greek text of Exodus 25:40 as Eusebius gives it. The high priest was anointed with oil.

7. The Jeremiah quotation is Lamentations 4:20 in the Greek version, a book traditionally ascribed to Jeremiah. The other quotations are Psalm 2:1-2 and 7-8.

kings too carried in themselves the types of the royal and ruling authority of the one true Christ, the divine Word who reigns over all. We have also received the report that some of the prophets themselves became Christs in type through anointing. All of these point to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Word. He alone is High Priest of all, he alone is King of all creation, and he alone, among the prophets, is the Father's chief prophet. 10 The proof of this is that none of those anointed long ago with the symbolic oil, whether priests, kings, or prophets, ever gained such great power of divine virtue as our Savior and Lord Jesus, the only true Christ, has shown. None of them, though they shone with rank and honor among their own people for many generations, ever gave their subjects the name of Christians from the figurative title "Christ" that they bore. None of them received reverent worship from his subjects. After their deaths their followers did not feel such devotion that they were ready to die for the one they honored. And no such upheaval among all the nations of the world was ever stirred up over any one of them. The power of the symbol in them could not do what the truth did when it was shown forth through our Savior.

12 He received no symbols or types of the high priesthood from anyone. He did not trace his bodily descent from priests. He was not raised to kingship by armed bodyguards. Nor was he a prophet in the way the men of old were, and he held no rank or place of honor among the Jews. Yet the Father adorned him with all these things, not with the symbols, but with the truth itself. So although he did not have honors like those we have mentioned, he is proclaimed Christ more than all of them. And as himself the one true Christ of God, he has filled the whole world with the truly venerable and holy name of Christians. To his company of followers he no longer hands down types or images, but the bare virtues themselves and a heavenly life, together with the very teachings of truth. 14 His anointing was not one made from bodily materials. It was the anointing that befits God: by the divine Spirit, through sharing in the unbegotten, fatherly deity. Isaiah teaches this too, crying out as if in the person of Christ himself: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because of which he anointed me. He has sent me to bring good news to the poor, to proclaim release to captives and sight to the blind." And not Isaiah alone, but David also speaks to him: "Your throne, O God, is forever and ever; the rod of uprightness is the rod of your kingdom. You have loved righteousness and hated lawlessness; therefore God, your God, has

anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions." In these words the first line declares him God, and the second honors him with a royal scepter. [*Isaiah 61:1*]

16 Then the psalm goes on. After speaking of his divine and royal power, it presents him in third place as having become Christ, anointed not with oil made from material substances but with the divine oil of gladness. In this it hints at how distinct he is, how far better and different from those of old who were anointed in a more bodily way, as images. Elsewhere the same David explains the matter about him like this: "The Lord said to my Lord, Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies a footstool for your feet," and, "From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you. The Lord has sworn and will not change his mind: you are a priest forever, after the order of Melchizedek." [*Psalm 110:1*] 18 This Melchizedek is introduced in the sacred writings as a priest of the Most High God. He was not shown to be a priest by any specially prepared anointing, and he did not belong to the Hebrew priesthood by family succession. For this reason our Savior was proclaimed Christ and priest, with the confirmation of an oath, according to Melchizedek's order and not according to the order of the others who took up symbols and types. So the record does not say that he was anointed in the body among the Jews, or that he came from a priestly tribe. It says that he took his being from God himself before the morning star, that is, before the world was established, and that he holds an immortal and ageless priesthood for endless ages.[8]

19 There is a great and clear proof of the bodiless, divine anointing that he received. He alone of all who have ever lived is called Christ by people everywhere in the world, even to this day. Under this name he is confessed and testified to by all, and remembered among Greeks and barbarians alike. Even now his followers throughout the world honor him as King, admire him as more than a prophet, and glorify him as the true and only High Priest of God. Beyond all this, as the Word of God who existed before all ages and had his being before them, he has received reverent honor from the Father, and he is worshiped as God. 20 But the most amazing thing of all is this: we who are devoted to him do not honor him only with our voices and

8. "Before the morning star" is from the Greek (Septuagint) text of the psalm; Eusebius explains it as "before the foundation of the world."

the sound of words. We honor him with the whole disposition of our soul, so that we value witnessing to him above our own lives.

CHAPTER 4

The Religion Proclaimed by Him to All Nations Was Neither New Nor Strange.

2 Let me set these things down here, as needed, before the history itself. I do this so that no one will think our Savior and Lord Jesus the Christ is a recent figure because of the date of his life in the flesh. And so that no one will suppose his teaching is new and foreign, set up by a new man no different from other men, let us briefly consider this point too. It is agreed that the coming of our Savior Jesus Christ has only recently shone on all people. It is equally agreed that a new nation then appeared all at once, at times fixed by God's unspeakable purpose. It is not a small nation, and it is not settled in some corner of the earth. It is the most populous and most God-fearing of all nations, and it cannot be destroyed or defeated, because it always receives help from God. This is the nation honored by all with the name of Christ.

4 One of the prophets was astonished at this. With the eye of the divine Spirit he saw beforehand what would be, and cried out: "Who has heard such things, and who has spoken like this? Did the earth go into labor in one day? Was a nation born all at once?" The same prophet also hints at the coming name, saying, "But to those who serve me a new name will be given, which will be blessed on the earth." Now it is plain that we are new, and that the name of Christians is truly new, only recently known among all nations. Yet the manner of life and conduct that goes with these doctrines of godliness was not recently invented by us. From the very beginning of the human race, so to speak, it was lived out by the natural understanding of God-loving men of old. I will show this as follows. [*Isaiah 66:8; Isaiah 65:15-16*]

5 The Hebrew nation is not new. It is honored among all people for its antiquity, and everyone knows it. The writings and records of this people tell of ancient men. They were rare and few in number, but they were outstanding in godliness, righteousness and every other virtue. Some of them lived before the flood. Others lived after it, among the sons and descendants of Noah. Among these was Abraham, whom the Hebrews boast of as their founder and forefather. 7 All these men are attested as righteous. If anyone were to call them Christians in deed, though not in name, going back from Abraham himself to the first man, he would not be straying from the truth. For the name "Christian" means a man who is marked out by the know-

ledge and teaching of Christ. He is known for self-control and righteousness, for endurance in life and courage in virtue, and for confessing in godliness the one and only God over all. Those men pursued all of this no less eagerly than we do.

8 So they did not care about circumcision of the body, because we do not either. They did not care about keeping the Sabbaths, because we do not either. They did not keep rules about certain foods or make the other distinctions that Moses was the first to hand down to later generations to be carried out as symbols. Christians today do not do these things either. And they clearly knew the very Christ of God. It has already been shown that he appeared to Abraham, gave revelations to Isaac, spoke to Jacob, and conversed with Moses and the prophets after him. 11 For this reason you will find those God-beloved men counted worthy even of the name of Christ, according to the voice that says of them, "Do not touch my anointed ones, and do my prophets no harm." So it is plain that we must regard the way of true godliness, which has just now been proclaimed to all nations through the teaching of Christ, as the first and oldest discovery of all. It was made by those God-beloved men around Abraham. Some say that Abraham received the command of circumcision long afterward. But before that he was already declared righteous through faith, as the divine word says: "Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him as righteousness."

13 Abraham was already this kind of man before his circumcision. Then God, who had shown himself to him, gave him a promise in words about those who in later times would be justified in the same way as he. (This God was Christ himself, the Word of God.) He said, "And in you all the tribes of the earth will be blessed." And again, "He will become a great and numerous nation, and in him all the nations of the earth will be blessed." We can see that this has been fulfilled in our own day. Abraham was justified by faith in Christ, the Word of God, who had appeared to him. He gave up the superstition of his fathers and the error of his earlier life. He confessed the one God over all, and he served him by works of virtue, not by the worship prescribed in the law that Moses gave afterward. To a man of this character it was said that all the tribes of the earth and all the nations would be blessed in him. [*Genesis 12: 3; Genesis 18: 18*]

15 That same way of godliness which Abraham followed has now shown itself again. It is practiced, with deeds clearer than words, by Christians alone

throughout the whole world. What then is left to stop us from agreeing that we who are of Christ and the God-beloved men of long ago share one and the same life and way of godliness? So the godliness handed down to us by the teaching of Christ is not new or strange. If we are to speak truthfully, it is the first, the only, and the true practice of godliness. Let that be enough on this subject.

CHAPTER 5

The Time of His Appearance Among Men.

2 Now that we have made the necessary preparation for the church history we set out to write, let us begin, as it were, our journey, starting from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh. We call on God, the Father of the Word, and on Jesus Christ himself, our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, whom we have just spoken of, to help us and work with us in telling the truth of the story. It was the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth year since the conquest of Egypt and the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, with whom the line of the Ptolemies in Egypt came to an end. At that time our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, in keeping with the prophecies about him. This was at the time of the first census, when Quirinius was governor of Syria.[9]

3 The most famous of the Hebrew historians, Flavius Josephus, also mentions this census under Quirinius. He adds another account, of the sect of the Galileans that arose at the same time. Luke, one of our own writers, also mentions it in the Acts, where he says: "After this man Judas the Galilean rose up in the days of the census, and drew people away after him. He also perished, and all who obeyed him were scattered." [*Acts 5:37*] 5 The historian just mentioned agrees with this in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, and he writes the following, which I quote word for word: "Quirinius, a man of the senate who had held the other offices and had passed through them all to become consul, and a man of great dignity in other ways, came to Syria with a few attendants. Caesar had sent him to be judge of the nation and to make an assessment of their property." A little later Josephus says: "But Judas, a Gaulanite from a city named Gamala, took Saddok, a Pharisee, as his partner and pressed for revolt. They said that the assessment brought nothing

9. The Greek has Κυρίνιος (Quirinius); "Cyrenius" is the older English form of the same name, as in the KJV of Luke 2:2.

other than outright slavery, and they called on the nation to take up the cause of freedom."

6 In the second book of his History of the Jewish War, Josephus writes this about the same man: "After this, a certain Galilean named Judas urged the people of the land to revolt. He reproached them for putting up with paying tribute to the Romans and for accepting mortal masters after God." That is Josephus.

CHAPTER 6

About the Time of Christ, in Accordance with Prophecy, the Rulers Who Had Governed the Fewish Nation in Regular Succession from the Days of Antiquity Came to an End, and Herod, the First Foreigner, Became King.

2 About that time Herod, the first ruler of foreign descent, took over the kingdom of the Jewish nation, and the prophecy given through Moses reached its limit. It said that "a ruler from Judah will not fail, nor a leader from his loins, until he comes for whom it is reserved," and it declared that he would be the expectation of the nations. The prophecy remained unfulfilled as long as the Jews were allowed to live under rulers of their own nation. That time began with Moses himself and lasted down to the reign of Augustus. In Augustus' reign Herod, the first foreigner, was entrusted by the Romans with authority over the Jews. Josephus reports that Herod was an Idumean on his father's side and an Arab on his mother's. Africanus, himself no ordinary writer, says that those who knew the facts accurately report that Herod was the son of Antipater, and that Antipater was the son of a certain Herod of Ascalon, one of the so-called temple servants at the temple of Apollo. [*Genesis 49:10*]

4 This Antipater was captured as a boy by Idumean robbers and stayed with them, because his father was poor and could not pay a ransom for him. He grew up in their ways, and later became a friend of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews. His son was the Herod who lived in the time of our Saviour. So the kingdom of the Jews had passed to such a man. By now the expectation of the nations, as the prophecy foretold, was at the door, because from that point on there were no longer any of their own people who ruled and led in succession from Moses himself. 6 Before their captivity and their removal to Babylon, the Jews were governed by kings, beginning with Saul first and then David. Before the kings, rulers governed them who were called judges. These too came after Moses and his successor Jesus. After the return

from Babylon they continued without a break under an aristocratic government with a ruling few, for the high priests directed their affairs. This lasted until the Roman general Pompey came, besieged Jerusalem and took it by force. He defiled the holy places, going as far as the innermost sanctuary of the temple. Aristobulus, who by ancestral succession had been both king and high priest up to that time, he sent in chains to Rome together with his children. He gave the high priesthood to Aristobulus' brother Hyrcanus, and from then on he made the whole Jewish nation pay tribute to the Romans.

8 Soon afterward Hyrcanus, the last in the succession of high priests, was taken captive by the Parthians. Then Herod, the first foreigner, as I said, was given charge of the Jewish nation by the Roman senate and by the emperor Augustus. In his time the coming of Christ was plainly at hand. The salvation and calling of the nations, which had been expected, followed in accordance with the prophecy. From that time the rulers and leaders from Judah, that is, those from the Jewish nation, had come to an end. As we would expect, the high priesthood was thrown into confusion at once. Until then it had passed steadily by descent to the nearest successors in each generation. 10 For this too you have Josephus as a reliable witness. He shows that when Herod had been entrusted with the kingdom by the Romans, he no longer appointed high priests from the ancient family but gave the honor to certain obscure persons. Herod's son Archelaus did the same in appointing high priests, and after him so did the Romans, who took over the government of the Jews. The same writer shows that Herod was the first to lock up the high priest's sacred robe and seal it with his own seal. He would no longer allow the high priests to keep it in their own hands. Archelaus after him did the same, and after Archelaus the Romans.

11 Let me say these things as one more proof that a prophecy was brought to its end at the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. The word in Daniel plainly includes a number of weeks, expressly named, reaching to Christ the ruler. We have dealt with these in other writings. After the completion of those weeks, it prophesies, the anointing among the Jews would be destroyed. And this was clearly fulfilled at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We have had to set this out first to establish the truth about the dates. [*Daniel 9:24-26*]

CHAPTER 7

The Alleged Discrepancy in the Gospels in Regard to the Genealogy of Christ.

2 Matthew and Luke, in proclaiming the gospel, have handed down the genealogy of Christ in different forms, and most people think they disagree. Each believer, not knowing the truth, has worked hard to find explanations for these passages. So let us set down the account that has come down to us on this matter. Africanus, whom I mentioned a little earlier, gave it in a letter to Aristides about the agreement of the genealogies in the gospels. He refuted the views of others as forced and false, and then set out the account he himself had received, in these very words: "The names of the family lines in Israel were counted either by nature or by law. By nature, when a true-born child succeeded his father. By law, when one man fathered a child in the name of a brother who had died childless. (No clear hope of resurrection had yet been given, so they imitated the coming promise by a kind of mortal resurrection, so that the name of the one who had died would never fail.)[10]

4 "Now some of those listed in this genealogy succeeded their fathers as true sons. Others were born to one man but were assigned by name to another. So mention was made of both: those who actually fathered the child and those who were counted as fathering. In this way neither gospel is false, whether it counts by nature or by law. For the two lines, the one from Solomon and the one from Nathan, were woven together by the raising up of children for the childless, by second marriages, and by the raising up of offspring. As a result the same persons may rightly be counted now as belonging to one father, now to another, either to their reputed fathers or to their real ones. So both accounts are strictly true, and they come down to Joseph in a complicated but exact way. 6 "To make clear what I am saying, I will explain how the lines were interchanged. If we count the generations from David through Solomon, the third from the end is Matthan, who fathered Jacob, the father of Joseph. But if we count from David's son Nathan, following Luke, the third from the end is likewise Melchi, whose son was Eli, the father of Joseph. For Joseph was the son of Eli, the son of Melchi. "Joseph, then, is our goal. We have to show how each man is recorded as his father: both Jacob, who traced his descent from Solomon, and Eli, who traced his from

10. Africanus is Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of the early third century. The "law" here is the Mosaic rule that a man should raise up a child for his dead childless brother (Deuteronomy 25:5-6).

Nathan. First we must show how Jacob and Eli were brothers. Then we must show how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, who belonged to different families, both turn out to be grandfathers of Joseph.

8 "Matthan and Melchi each married the same woman in turn and had sons who were brothers by the same mother. The law did not forbid a widow, whether divorced or widowed by her husband's death, to marry another man. By Estha (for tradition says this was the woman's name), Matthan, who traced his descent from Solomon, first fathered Jacob. When Matthan died, Melchi, who traced his line back to Nathan, married the widow. He was of the same tribe but of a different family, as I said before. By her he had a son, Eli. 10 "So we find that Jacob and Eli, though from two different families, were brothers by the same mother. Eli died without children, and the other brother, Jacob, took his wife and fathered by her Joseph, as the third. Joseph was Jacob's own son by nature and by reckoning, and so it is written, 'Jacob fathered Joseph.' But by law he was the son of Eli, because Jacob, as Eli's brother, raised up offspring for him. "So the genealogy that goes through him is not invalidated. Matthew the evangelist, in his count, says: 'Jacob fathered Joseph.' Luke, on the other hand, reverses the order and says: 'who was the son, as was supposed' (he adds this too) 'of Joseph, of Eli, of Melchi.' He could not have stated descent by law more distinctly. He leaves out the word 'fathered' all the way to the end of his list, since he traces the line back by working upward, as far as Adam, the son of God." [*Matthew 1:16; Luke 3:23; Luke 3:38*]

11 This account is not unproven, nor is it a hasty invention. The Savior's relatives according to the flesh handed down the following story as well. Whether they wished to boast or simply to instruct, they were in either case telling the truth. Idumean raiders attacked Ascalon, a city of Palestine, and from a temple of Apollo built near its walls they carried off, along with other plunder, Antipater, the son of a temple servant named Herod. The priest could not pay a ransom for his son, so Antipater was raised in the customs of the Idumeans. Later he won the friendship of Hyrcanus, the high priest of the Jews.[11] 13 Antipater was sent as an envoy to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus. He recovered for Hyrcanus the kingdom that his brother Aristobulus had been stripping from him, and he himself was fortunate enough to

11. The preceding sections are Eusebius' quotation of Julius Africanus, who is the source of the story that follows. "Idumeans" are Edomites, from the region south of Judea.

be appointed administrator of Palestine. Antipater was then murdered out of envy for his great success, and his son Herod succeeded him. Herod was later judged fit to be king of the Jews by a decree of the senate, under Antony and Augustus. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. All this is also found in the Greek histories. Until then the genealogies of the Hebrews had been kept in the public archives. These included the lines of the early proselytes, traced back to Achior the Ammonite and Ruth the Moabitess, and of the mixed multitude who left Egypt together with Israel. Herod's descent gave him no connection with the people of Israel, and he was stung by the knowledge of his low birth. So he burned the records of their genealogies. He thought he would appear to be of noble birth if no one else could trace his ancestry to the patriarchs or proselytes from any public record, or to the mixed people called "geiras."[12]

14 A few careful people kept private records of their own, either by remembering the names or by copying from other sources. They take pride in preserving the memory of their noble descent. Among them were the men mentioned above, called "Desposyni" because of their kinship with the Savior's family. They came from the Jewish villages of Nazara and Cochaba and spread through the rest of the land. They set out the genealogy given above from memory and from the Book of Days, as far as it reached.[13]
16 Whether this is how it was or not, no one could find a clearer explanation, I think, and neither could any fair-minded person. Let this be enough for us. Even if it has no witness to support it, we have nothing better or truer to offer. In any case the Gospel is wholly true. At the end of the same letter Africanus adds these words: "Matthan, descended from Solomon, begat Jacob. After Matthan died, Melchi, descended from Nathan, begat Eli by the same woman. So Eli and Jacob were brothers by the same mother. When Eli died childless, Jacob raised up offspring for him by begetting Joseph, who was Jacob's son by nature but Eli's by law. So Joseph was the son of both." That is what Africanus says.

17 Now that Joseph's genealogy has been traced in this way, Mary is also shown, in effect, to belong to the same tribe as he does, since under the law

12. The older translation has "Georae." Greek "geiōras" (from Hebrew ger) means resident foreigners or proselytes. Achior appears in the book of Judith.

13. "Desposyni" means "belonging to the Master" (the Lord's family). "The Book of Days" probably refers to the Chronicles or the genealogical records, and is rendered "daily records" in the older translation.

of Moses it was not allowed to marry into other tribes. The law commands a person to marry someone from the same people and family, so that the inheritance does not pass from tribe to tribe. Let that be enough on these matters.

CHAPTER 8

The Cruelty of Herod Toward the Infants, and the Manner of His Death.

1 Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea, as the prophecies foretold, at the times already indicated. Magi from the east came asking where the newborn King of the Jews could be found. They said they had seen his star, and that this was the reason for their long journey, for they were eager to worship the child who was born as God. Herod was greatly disturbed at this, because he thought his rule was in danger. He asked the teachers of the law among the people where they expected the Christ to be born. When he learned that the prophecy of Micah announced Bethlehem, he gave a single order. All boys in Bethlehem and throughout its territory, from two years old and under, were to be killed, according to the time he had carefully learned from the magi. He supposed that Jesus, as was likely, would share the fate of others his age. [*Matthew 2:1-2; Matthew 2:3-6; Matthew 2:16*]

3 But the child escaped the plot. His parents had been warned beforehand by an angel who appeared to them, and they carried him off to Egypt. The holy Scripture of the Gospel teaches these things. It is worth noting, in addition, what Herod got in return for his daring act against Christ and the children of his age. Immediately, with not even a short delay, divine justice overtook him while he was still alive. It showed him a foretaste of what awaited him after he left this life. [*Matthew 2:13-15*] 5 It is not possible to list here how Herod darkened what he thought were the successes of his reign with a series of disasters in his own household. These were the murders of his wife, his children and the other relatives who were nearest and dearest to him. The story of these things outdoes every tragic drama, and Josephus has told it at length in his histories. But how a scourge sent by God struck him at the very time of his plot against our Saviour and the other infants, and drove him to his death, is better learned from the historian's own words. In the seventeenth book of his Jewish Antiquities he describes the end of Herod's life in these words: "The disease of Herod grew more bitter, since God was exacting punishment for the crimes he had committed.

7 "The fever was mild. It did not show as much heat to those who touched him as the torment it added inside. He had a terrible craving to eat, and it was impossible not to give in to it. His intestines were ulcerated, and he had terrible pains especially in the colon. A moist, clear swelling had formed about his feet. There was a similar affliction in his lower abdomen. His private parts were also rotting and breeding worms. He could breathe only sitting upright, and his breathing was very unpleasant because of the stench of his breath and its rapid panting. He had spasms in every limb, which added a strength that could not be endured. 9 It was said, in fact, by those who were inspired and who had the wisdom to foretell such things, that God was exacting this penalty from the king for his great ungodliness. The writer I mentioned reports these things in the work cited. In the second book of his Histories he gives a similar account of the same man, writing something like this: "From there the disease spread over his whole body and divided it among various torments. For he had a fever that was not violent, an unbearable itching over the whole surface of his skin, and pains in the colon. His feet were swollen as if with dropsy, his abdomen was inflamed, and his private parts were rotting and breeding worms. Besides this he could breathe only upright and with difficulty, and he had spasms in all his limbs. So those who spoke by divine inspiration said that the diseases were a punishment."

11 Yet though he wrestled with so many sufferings, he still clung to life. He hoped for recovery and thought up remedies. He crossed the Jordan and used the warm springs at Callirhoe. These flow into the Asphalt Lake (the Dead Sea), but are sweet enough to drink. The physicians decided there to warm his whole body again with heated oil. He was lowered into a tub full of oil, but he went limp, his eyes rolled back, and he fell back as if dead. The attendants raised an uproar, and at the noise he revived. After this he gave up hope of recovery. He ordered fifty drachmas to be given to each soldier, and large sums to his officers and friends. 13 "Then he came back to Jericho, already in a black depression, and as if he were threatening death itself, he went on to plan a lawless deed. He gathered the prominent men from every village throughout Judea and ordered them shut up in the so-called hippodrome. Then he summoned his sister Salome and her husband Alexander and said, 'I know that the Jews will celebrate my death. But I can be mourned by others as well and have a splendid funeral, if you are willing to carry out

my orders. When I have breathed my last, surround the men under guard with soldiers and kill them at once, so that all Judea and every household will weep for me, even against their will.'"

15 And after a little he says: "Again he was racked by lack of food and by a convulsive cough. Overcome by his pains, he undertook to forestall his fate. He took an apple and asked for a knife, for he was in the habit of cutting up apples to eat them. Then he looked around to see that no one was there to stop him, and he raised his right hand as if to strike himself." Besides this, the same writer records that Herod, shortly before the end of his life, had yet another of his own legitimate sons put to death by his command. This was the third son killed, after two already put to death earlier. Immediately afterward he breathed his last, in no small pain. 16 Such was the end of Herod. He paid a just penalty for the children he killed around Bethlehem, because of his plot against our Saviour. After this, an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph, who was staying in Egypt, and told him to go back to Judea with the child and his mother. He made clear that those who had been seeking the child's life were dead. The evangelist then adds: "But when he heard that Archelaus was reigning over Judea in place of his father Herod, he was afraid to go there. And being warned in a dream, he withdrew to the region of Galilee." [*Matthew 2:19-22*]

CHAPTER 9

The Times of Pilate.

2 The historian mentioned above also agrees about Archelaus taking over the rule after Herod. He records how Archelaus received the kingdom over the Jews by the will of his father Herod and the decision of Caesar Augustus. He also records how, after Archelaus lost his rule following a period of ten years, his brothers Philip and Herod the younger, together with Lysanias, governed their own tetrarchies. The same writer, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, makes clear that in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius, Pontius Pilate was entrusted with Judea. (Tiberius took over the rule of the whole empire after Augustus had held power for fifty-seven years.) He says Pilate stayed there for a full ten years, almost until the death of Tiberius. 4 So the invention of those who recently put out "records" against our Saviour is clearly disproved. First of all, the very date they attach to them exposes the lie of those who made them up. What they dared to write about the Saviour's saving passion they place in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which fell in

the seventh year of his reign. But at that time Pilate had not yet come to Judea, if we are to trust Josephus as a witness. In the work already mentioned, Josephus plainly says that Pilate was made procurator of Judea by Tiberius in the twelfth year of his reign.

CHAPTER 10

The High Priests of the Jews Under Whom Christ Taught.

2 It was in these times, then, according to the evangelist, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar and the fourth year of the governorship of Pontius Pilate, while Herod, Lysanias and Philip were tetrarchs over the rest of Judea, that our Saviour and Lord Jesus, the Christ of God, was about thirty years old when he came to John's baptism. It was then that he began the preaching of the gospel. The divine Scripture says that he spent the whole time of his teaching under the high priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas. It shows that the entire period of his teaching was completed within the years of service of these two. His teaching began during the high priesthood of Annas and lasted until the beginning of Caiaphas's term. So the time between does not even amount to a full four years. *[Luke 3:1-2; Luke 3:23]* 4 By then the ordinances of the law had, in a way, already been abolished. The old arrangement, by which the duties of God's service belonged to one man for life and passed down from his ancestors, had been set aside. Instead the Roman governors appointed one man after another to the high priesthood, and none stayed in it longer than a year. Josephus records that after Annas there were four high priests in succession down to Caiaphas. In the same work, the Antiquities, he says: "Valerius Gratus put an end to Ananus's priesthood and appointed Ishmael, the son of Phabi, as high priest. Not long after, he removed him and appointed Eleazar, the son of Ananus the high priest, as high priest."[14]

6 After a year had passed, Gratus removed him too and handed the high priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus. Simon likewise held the office for no more than a year, and then Josephus, who is also called Caiaphas, succeeded him." So the whole time of our Saviour's teaching turns out to be not even four full years, since four high priests, one after another, each served a year, from Annas down to the appointment of Caiaphas. The Gospel writing therefore rightly names Caiaphas as high priest in the year in which the Sa-

14. "Annas" in the Gospels is the same man Josephus calls "Ananus." Counting Caiaphas, the four high priests after Annas are Ishmael, Eleazar, Simon and Caiaphas.

viour's saving passion was accomplished. From this too, the length of Christ's teaching is shown to agree with the reckoning set out above.[15] 7 Not long after the start of his preaching, our Saviour and Lord called the twelve apostles. Of all his disciples he named only these "apostles," as a special honor. Then he appointed seventy others, and he sent them out two by two ahead of him, into every place and city he was himself about to visit. [*Luke 10:1; Luke 6:13*]

CHAPTER 11

Testimonies in Regard to John the Baptist and Christ.

1 Not long afterward John the Baptist was beheaded by the younger Herod. The divine writing of the Gospels records this, and Josephus also bears witness to it. He mentions Herodias by name and tells how Herod took her in marriage, though she was his brother's wife. To do so Herod rejected his first, lawfully married wife, who was the daughter of Aretas, king of the Petraeans, and he separated Herodias from her husband while the man was still alive. Because of her Herod killed John, and he went to war with Aretas, since Aretas's daughter had been dishonored. 3 Josephus says that in this war a battle was fought and Herod's whole army was destroyed, and that Herod suffered this because of the plot against John. The same Josephus openly acknowledges that John, the Baptist, was an especially righteous man, and so he confirms what is written about John in the Gospels. He also records that Herod lost his kingdom because of this same Herodias. She went with him into exile beyond the borders, and he was condemned to live in Vienne in Gaul.

5 Josephus makes these statements in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes about John in these very words: "Some of the Jews thought that Herod's army was destroyed by God, who was most justly punishing Herod for what he did to John, called the Baptist. For Herod killed him, though he was a good man who urged the Jews to practice virtue, to be just toward one another and devout toward God, and so to come together for baptism. In this way, he said, baptism would be acceptable to God: when they used it not to beg pardon for particular sins, but for the purity of the body, since the soul had already been cleansed beforehand by righteousness.[16]

15. The quotation from Josephus (Antiquities 18.34-35) begins in the previous section and ends here at "succeeded him." Eusebius draws his own inference from it: he treats the four one-year terms as fixing the length of Jesus' ministry at under four years.

6 "When others gathered around him (for they were delighted beyond measure at hearing his words), Herod became afraid. He feared that John's great power to persuade people might lead to some revolt, since they seemed ready to do whatever he advised. So Herod judged it much better to strike first and kill him before any disturbance arose from him, than to wait until a change had come and then regret it when he was caught up in the trouble. Because of Herod's suspicion, John was sent in chains to Machaerus, the fortress mentioned above, and was put to death there.

8 After going through these things about John, Josephus in the same work also mentions our Saviour, in these words: "At this time there appeared Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one ought to call him a man. For he was a doer of astonishing deeds, a teacher of people who received the truth with pleasure. He won over many Jews, and many of the Greeks as well. This man was the Christ. When Pilate, on the accusation of the leading men among us, condemned him to the cross, those who had loved him at first did not stop. For he appeared to them on the third day, alive again, as the divine prophets had spoken of this and countless other wonders about him. And even now the tribe of Christians, named after him, has not died out."[17] 9 This Hebrew historian, one of their own people, has set down in his own work these things about John the Baptist and about our Saviour. What excuse is left, then, to keep those who forged the "Acts" against them from being exposed as shameless? But let that be enough on this subject.[18]

CHAPTER 12

The Disciples of Our Saviour.

2 The names of the apostles of our Saviour are clear to everyone from the Gospels. But there is no list of the seventy disciples anywhere. Barnabas is said to have been one of them. The Acts of the Apostles mentions him in several places, and Paul does too, especially when writing to the Galatians. They say that Sosthenes, who wrote to the Corinthians together with Paul, was also

16. Josephus's Greek has the Baptist's baptism as being "for purity of the body," not "for the forgiveness of sins." Eusebius quotes it as written; the Gospels describe John's baptism as one of repentance for the forgiveness of sins.

17. This is the well-known passage in Josephus about Jesus (the "Testimonium Flavianum"). Eusebius is the earliest writer to quote it in this form. Scholars still debate whether some of its wording was added later by Christians.

18. The "Acts" are forged documents (the Acts of Pilate) that were circulated against the Christians. Eusebius has discussed them earlier in this book. The "Hebrew historian" is Josephus.

one of them. This account is found in Clement, in the fifth book of his Hypotyposes. There he also says that Cephas was one of the seventy disciples, a man with the same name as the apostle Peter. He is the one about whom Paul says, "When Cephas came to Antioch, I opposed him to his face."[19] [*Galatians 2:11*] 4 The tradition also holds that Matthias, who was added to the apostles in the place of Judas, and the man who was honored with him by the same vote, were counted worthy of the same calling among the seventy. They say that Thaddeus was another of them, and I will shortly set out an account about him that has come down to us. If you look carefully, you will also find that the Saviour had more disciples than the seventy. Paul is your witness. He says that after the resurrection from the dead Christ appeared first to Cephas, then to the twelve, and after them to more than five hundred brothers at once. Some of these, he said, had fallen asleep, but most were still alive at the time he wrote this. [*1 Corinthians 15:5-6*]

5 Then Paul says that he appeared to James. This James was one of those called the Saviour's brothers. Next, there were many others who were apostles in imitation of the Twelve, as Paul himself was. So Paul adds, "Then he appeared to all the apostles." That is enough about these men. The account of Thaddeus runs as follows. [*1 Corinthians 15:7*]

CHAPTER 13

Narrative Concerning the Prince of the Edessences.

2 The divine power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was proclaimed among all people because of his wonder-working power. It drew countless people from foreign lands, far from Judea, in the hope of being healed of their diseases and all kinds of suffering. In this way King Abgar, who ruled the nations beyond the Euphrates with great distinction, was wasting away in his body with a terrible illness that no human power could cure. He heard of the name of Jesus and of his mighty works, which everyone agreed in attesting. So he sent a messenger with a letter, humbly asking Jesus to deliver him from his disease. 4 Jesus did not answer his call at that time. Yet he did think him worthy of a personal letter, saying that he would send one of his disciples to heal his disease, and promising salvation both to Abgar and to all his household. The promise was not long in being fulfilled. After the resur-

19. Hypotyposes ("Outlines") is a work by Clement of Alexandria that survives only in fragments. Eusebius quotes Galatians 2:11 here.

rection from the dead and the ascent into heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, was moved by a more than human prompting. He sent Thaddeus, who was himself counted among the seventy disciples of Christ, to Edessa as a preacher and evangelist of the teaching of Christ. Through him everything our Saviour had promised was brought to completion.

5 You have written evidence of this, taken from the record offices of Edessa, which was at that time a city ruled by a king. In the public documents there, which contain the ancient history and the acts of Abgar, these things are found preserved even to this day. The best thing is to hear the letters themselves. We took them from the archives and translated them word for word from the Syriac language, in this way. Here is a copy of a letter written by Abgar the ruler to Jesus, and sent to him at Jerusalem by the courier Ananias.[20] 7 "Abgar, ruler of Edessa, to Jesus, the good Saviour who has appeared in the region of Jerusalem: greetings. I have heard about you and about your cures, how they are done by you without medicines or herbs. The report is that you make the blind see again and the lame walk. You cleanse lepers, cast out spirits and demons, heal those tormented by long illness, and raise the dead. Having heard all this about you, I have settled it in my mind that one of two things is true: either you are God, and came down from heaven to do these things, or you are the Son of God who does them."

10 "For this reason I have written to ask you to trouble yourself to come to me and heal the suffering I have. I have also heard that the Jews are grumbling against you and want to harm you. My city is very small, but it is respectable, and it is big enough for both of us." The reply written by Jesus to the ruler Abgarus, sent by the courier Ananias: "Blessed are you, who have believed in me without having seen me. For it is written about me that those who have seen me will not believe in me, and that those who have not seen me will believe and live. As for what you wrote asking me to come to you, I must complete here everything for which I was sent, and when I have completed it, I must be taken up to the one who sent me. When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples, to heal your suffering and to give life to you and to those with you."

12 Attached to these letters, in the Syriac language, was also the following account. After Jesus was taken up, Judas, who is also called Thomas, sent

20. "Toparch" means a regional ruler or governor. Eusebius's Greek here also describes Edessa as a city "ruled by a king" (βασιλευομένην).

Thaddeus to Abgarus. Thaddeus was an apostle, one of the Seventy. When he came, he stayed with Tobias, the son of Tobias. When word of him spread, it was reported to Abgarus that an apostle of Jesus had come, just as Jesus had written to him. Thaddeus began to heal every disease and sickness by the power of God, so that everyone was amazed. When Abgarus heard of the great and marvelous things he was doing and how he healed, he began to suspect that this was the man about whom Jesus had written: "When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples, who will heal your suffering." 14 So Abgarus sent for Tobias, with whom Thaddeus was staying, and said, "I have heard that a certain man of power has come and is staying in your house. Bring him to me." Tobias went to Thaddeus and said to him, "The ruler Abgarus sent for me and told me to bring you to him, so that you may heal his suffering." Thaddeus said, "I will go up, since I have been sent to him with power." So Tobias got up early the next day, took Thaddeus, and came to Abgarus. When Thaddeus went up, Abgarus's nobles were present and standing around. As soon as he entered, a great vision appeared to Abgarus in the face of the apostle Thaddeus. When Abgarus saw it, he bowed down before Thaddeus. All who stood around were astonished, for they had not seen the vision, which appeared to Abgarus alone.

16 Abgarus asked Thaddeus, "Are you truly a disciple of Jesus, the Son of God, who said to me, 'I will send you one of my disciples, who will heal you and give you life'?" Thaddeus said, "Because you have believed so strongly in the one who sent me, I was sent to you. And again, if you believe in him, the requests of your heart will be granted to you according to your faith." Abgarus said to him, "I have believed in him so much that I wanted to take an army and cut to pieces the Jews who crucified him. I was only held back from this by the power of the Romans." Thaddeus said, "Our Lord has fulfilled the will of his Father, and having fulfilled it, he was taken up to the Father." 18 Abgarus said to him, "I too have believed in him and in his Father." Thaddeus said, "For this reason I lay my hand on you in his name." As soon as he did this, Abgarus was healed of the disease and the suffering he had. Abgarus was amazed that, just as he had heard about Jesus, so he had received it in actual deeds through his disciple Thaddeus, who healed him without medicine or herbs. Not only that, but Abdus, the son of Abdus, who had gout, also came and fell at Thaddeus's feet. He received a blessing by the laying on of hands and was healed. Thaddeus healed many other citizens of

the city as well, doing great and wonderful things and proclaiming the word of God.

19 After this Abgarus said, "Thaddeus, you do these things by the power of God, and we ourselves are amazed at you. But besides this, I beg you to tell me about the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and about his power, and by what power he did the things we have heard about." 20 Thaddeus said, "For now I will keep silent, since I was sent to proclaim the word. But tomorrow gather all your citizens for me, and before them I will preach the word of God. I will sow the word of life among them: about the coming of Jesus, how it came about; about his mission, and why the Father sent him; about the power of his works and the mysteries he spoke in the world, and by what power he did these things; about his new preaching, and his smallness and humbling, and how he humbled himself, and died, and lowered his divinity, and was crucified, and went down into Hades. He tore through the barrier that had never been torn from the beginning of the ages, and brought up the dead. For he went down alone, but raised many with him, and so went up to his Father."

22 So Abgarus ordered his citizens to gather in the morning and hear Thaddeus's preaching. After this he commanded that gold and uncoined silver be given to him. But Thaddeus would not accept it. He said, "If we have left behind what was our own, how shall we take what belongs to others?" These things happened in the year 340. I have set them down here in their proper place, translated word for word from the Syriac, and I hope not without profit.

Book 2

GREETING

In the previous book I set out briefly, as a kind of introduction, the matters that needed to be settled for this church history. These were the divine nature of the saving Word, and the ancient origin of the doctrines we teach. They included also the antiquity of the gospel way of life among Christians, as well as the recent appearing of Christ himself, his suffering, and the choosing of the apostles. In each case I kept the proofs short. Now let us look at what happened after his ascension. Some things I will point out from the divine Scriptures, and others I will add from outside writings, which I will mention as the occasion arises.

CHAPTER 1

The Course Pursued by the Apostles After the Ascension of Christ.

1 First, then, Matthias was chosen by lot for the apostleship in place of the traitor Judas. As has been shown, he too was one of the Lord's disciples. Seven approved men, including Stephen, were appointed by prayer and the laying on of the apostles' hands for the work of service, to attend to the needs of the community. Stephen was the first after the Lord to be stoned to death by the Lord's murderers, at the very time of his appointment, as if he had been brought forward for this very purpose. In this way he was the first to win the crown that shares his name, the crown of Christ's martyrs, who are worthy of the victory prize.[21] [*Acts 1:23-26; Acts 6:3-6; Acts 7:58-60*] 2 Then James, who was called the Lord's brother, is recorded as the first to be entrusted with the bishop's seat of the church in Jerusalem. He was called the Lord's brother because he was named as a son of Joseph. Joseph was the father of Christ, since the Virgin was engaged to him and, before they came together, was found to be with child by the Holy Spirit, as the sacred Scripture of the Gospels teaches. The men of old called this James "the Just" because of his outstanding virtue. [*Matthew 1:18*]

4 Clement, in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes, writes this: "Peter, James and John, after the Savior's ascension, though the Lord had honored them above the others, did not claim the glory for themselves. Instead they chose James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem." In the seventh book of the same work the same writer also says this about him: "The Lord, after his resurrection, gave the knowledge to James the Just, John and Peter. They gave it to the other apostles, and the other apostles to the Seventy, one of whom was Barnabas."[22] 6 There were two men named James. One was James the Just, who was thrown down from the parapet of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller's club. The other was the one who was beheaded. Paul also mentions James the Just, writing, "But I saw none of the other apostles, except James the Lord's brother." At this time also the promise of our Savior to the king of the Osrhoenians was fulfilled. Thomas, moved by a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus to Edessa as a preacher and evangelist of the teaching about

21. "Stephen" in Greek (Stephanos) means "crown," which is the wordplay here.

22. Hypotyposes ("Outlines") is a lost work of Clement of Alexandria, known only from quotations like this one.

Christ, as we showed a little earlier from the document found there.[23] [*Galatians 1:19*]

8 When Thaddeus reached the place, he healed Abgar by the word of Christ. He astonished everyone there with his extraordinary miracles. His works prepared them well and led them to revere the power of Christ, and he made them disciples of the Savior's teaching. From that time to this, the whole city of the Edessenes has been devoted to the name of Christ. This is no small proof of our Savior's kindness to them also. Let this much be said, drawn from ancient records. Now let us turn back to the divine Scripture. The first and greatest persecution of the church in Jerusalem was stirred up by the Jews themselves, on the occasion of Stephen's martyrdom. All the disciples except the Twelve were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria. Some, as the divine Scripture says, went as far as Phoenicia, Cyprus and Antioch. But they did not yet dare to share the word of faith with the Gentiles, and preached it only to Jews. [*Acts 8:1; Acts 11:19*]

10 At that time Paul was still ravaging the church. He went into the homes of believers, dragged away men and women, and handed them over to prison. Philip, one of those appointed with Stephen for the ministry of service, was among those who were scattered. He went down to Samaria. Filled with divine power, he was the first to preach the word to the people there. Divine grace worked with him so strongly that even Simon the magician, along with a great many others, was drawn in by his words. [*Acts 8:3*]

12 Simon was so famous at that time, and held such power over those he had deceived by his sorcery, that they believed he was the great power of God. But now he was amazed at the miracles Philip did by divine power. He slipped in and pretended to have faith in Christ, even to the point of baptism. It is remarkable that the same thing still happens today among those who follow his most defiling heresy. Like their forefather, they creep into the church like a plague or a scabby disease. They do great harm to those in whom they can implant the incurable, terrible poison hidden inside themselves. Many of them have already been thrown out once they were caught in their wickedness. Simon himself was exposed by Peter and paid the penalty he deserved.

13 As the saving message was growing day by day, a providential plan brought an official of the queen of the Ethiopians. To this day that nation is

23. Pterygion literally means "little wing" and is the term for the pinnacle or parapet of the temple. Osrhoene is the region around Edessa, ruled by Abgarus.

ruled by a woman, according to an ancestral custom. He was the first of the Gentiles to share in the mysteries of the divine word through Philip, after a revelation. He became the firstfruits of believers throughout the world. The account holds that he was also the first to go back to his homeland and proclaim the knowledge of the God of the universe and the life-giving coming of our Savior among men. So through him the prophecy was fulfilled in fact, which says, "Ethiopia will stretch out her hand to God." 14 After these events Paul, the "chosen vessel," was shown to be an apostle. He was appointed "not from men, nor through men, but through the revelation of Jesus Christ himself and of God the Father, who raised him from the dead." He was counted worthy of the call by a vision and by the heavenly voice that came in the revelation. [*Galatians 1:1; Acts 9:15*]

CHAPTER 2

How Tiberius Was Affected When Informed by Pilate Concerning Christ.

2 By now the amazing resurrection of our Savior and his ascension into heaven were widely talked about. There was an old custom among the rulers of the provinces to report any new developments to the emperor, so that nothing would escape him. So Pilate informed the emperor Tiberius about the reports spreading all over Palestine concerning the resurrection of our Savior Jesus Christ from the dead. Pilate had learned of his other marvels as well, and that many already believed he was God, having risen from the dead after dying. They say Tiberius referred the matter to the Senate, but the Senate rejected it. The apparent reason was that it had not examined the matter first, since an ancient law held that no one could be made a god among the Romans except by a vote and decree of the Senate. The real reason was that the saving teaching of the divine message did not need approval or endorsement from human judgment.

4 So the Roman Senate rejected the report about our Saviour. Tiberius kept the opinion he had held before, and he devised nothing hostile against the teaching of Christ. Tertullian records this. He was a man who knew Roman law thoroughly, was distinguished in other ways, and was among the most illustrious men in Rome. In his Apology for the Christians, written in Latin and translated into Greek, he reports it word for word as follows: "Let us also discuss the origin of such laws. There was an ancient decree that no emperor should consecrate a god before the Senate had approved him. Marcus Aemilius acted on this in the case of a certain idol of Alburnus. And this

supports our argument, because among you divinity is conferred by human approval. 6 If a god does not please a man, he does not become a god. So, by this custom, man must be gracious to god! Tiberius, then, was emperor when the name of Christians came into the world. When this teaching was reported to him from Palestine, where it first began, he put it before the Senate, making clear to them that he himself was pleased with it. But the Senate rejected it, because it had not approved it for itself. Tiberius stayed with his own judgment and threatened death to those who accused the Christians. Heavenly providence, in its plan, was putting this into his mind so that the word of the gospel, unhindered in its beginnings, might run out over the whole earth.[24]

CHAPTER 3

The Doctrine of Christ Soon Spread Throughout All the World.

2 In this way, by heavenly power and co-operation, the saving word lit up the whole world all at once, like a ray of the sun. Straightway, in keeping with the divine Scriptures, the voice of his inspired evangelists and apostles went out over all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. In every city and village, churches sprang up at once, packed with countless people, like a threshing floor filled with grain. Many people had been bound in their souls by the old disease of idol superstition, handed down from their ancestors and rooted in ancient error. By the power of Christ, through the teaching and the wonders of his disciples, they were set free as if from cruel masters and found release from the harshest chains. They spat on every kind of demonic polytheism and confessed that there is only one God, the maker of all things. They honored him by the laws of true piety, in the God-inspired and sober worship that our Saviour sowed in human life.[25] [*Romans 10:18*]

3 But divine grace was by now being poured out on the other nations too. First, at Caesarea in Palestine, Cornelius and his whole household received faith in Christ, through a striking divine appearance and the service of Peter. Then very many other Greeks at Antioch believed, those to whom the people scattered in the persecution over Stephen had preached. The church at Antioch was now flourishing and growing. At the same time a great many proph-

24. The sarcastic opening lines are Tertullian's (Apology 5). The closing remark about heavenly providence is Eusebius's own comment, not part of the Tertullian quotation.

25. The words "their voice went out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world" echo Psalm 19:4, as Paul uses it in Romans 10:18.

ets from Jerusalem were there, and with them Barnabas and Paul and a further crowd of the brothers. It was there, then, that the name of Christians was first given out, as from a fresh and fruitful spring. 4 Agabus, one of the prophets who were with them, foretold that a famine was coming. Paul and Barnabas were sent to take part in the relief service for the brothers. [*Acts 11:27-30*]

CHAPTER 4

After the Death of Tiberius, Caius Appointed Agrippa King of the Jews, Having Punished Herod with Perpetual Exile.

1 Tiberius died after reigning about twenty-two years. Gaius succeeded him in the rule of the empire and at once placed the crown of the Jewish realm on Agrippa, making him king of the tetrarchies of Philip and of Lysanias. Not long afterward he gave him the tetrarchy of Herod as well. Gaius punished Herod, the one who ruled at the time of the Saviour's passion, together with his wife Herodias, with permanent exile for a great many offenses. Josephus is a witness to these events too.[26] 3 In his reign Philo became well known. He was a man of great distinction, not only among many of our own people but also among many who came from the learning outside the church. By ancient descent he was a Hebrew, and he was inferior to none of the leading men in office at Alexandria. How much labor he put into the divine studies of his ancestors is plain to everyone from his work. As for his skill in philosophy and the liberal studies of outside learning, there is no need to say what sort of man he was. He is reported to have been especially zealous for the discipline of Plato and Pythagoras, and to have surpassed all his contemporaries.

CHAPTER 5

Philo's Embassy to Caius in Behalf of the Jews.

1 Philo wrote an account in five books of what happened to the Jews under Caius. In it he describes the madness of Caius, who proclaimed himself a god and committed countless outrages in his rule. He also tells of the sufferings of the Jews under him. He tells of the embassy he himself undertook to the city of Rome on behalf of his countrymen in Alexandria. He tells how he stood before Caius to defend the laws of his fathers and got nothing but laughter and mockery, and how he came close to losing his life. 3 Josephus

26. Gaius is the emperor commonly known as Caligula. This Herod is Herod Antipas.

also mentions these things in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, writing in these words: "When a riot broke out in Alexandria between the Jews who live there and the Greeks, three envoys were chosen from each side and came before Caius. One of the Alexandrian envoys was Apion, who slandered the Jews. Among other things he said that they neglected the honors due to Caesar. All the peoples under Roman rule, he said, had set up altars and temples to Caius and in every way received him just as they did the gods. These people alone, he said, thought it disgraceful to honor him with statues and to swear by his name.

5 "Apion made many harsh charges, by which he hoped, quite reasonably, to stir up Caius. Philo, the head of the Jewish embassy, was a man of distinction in every respect. He was the brother of Alexander the alabarch and not without knowledge of philosophy, and he was ready to answer the accusations in defense. But Caius cut him off and ordered him to get out of his sight. He was furiously angry and plainly about to do them some serious harm. Philo left, having been grossly insulted, and told the Jews around him to take courage. In words, he said, Caius was angry with them, but in fact he was already setting himself against God." So far Josephus. 7 Philo himself, in the work he wrote about the embassy, describes precisely, point by point, what was done then. I will pass over most of it and set down only what will make clear to readers that the troubles that fell on the Jews came soon after their daring acts against Christ, and because of them. First, he relates that in Rome in the time of Tiberius, Sejanus, who then had the greatest influence with the emperor, worked hard to destroy the whole Jewish nation completely. In Judea, he says, Pilate, under whom the deeds against the Saviour were done, tried something at the temple in Jerusalem, which was still standing then, that went against what the Jews permitted. He stirred them up to the greatest disturbances.

CHAPTER 6

The Misfortunes Which Overwhelmed the Jews After Their Presumption Against Christ.

2 After the death of Tiberius, Caius took over the empire. He committed many outrages against many people, but above all he did great harm to the whole nation of the Jews. We can learn this briefly from Philo's own words, where he writes as follows: "Such was the inconsistency of Caius's character toward everyone, and especially toward the Jewish people. He hated them

bitterly. He took over their houses of prayer in the other cities, beginning with those in Alexandria, and filled them with images and statues of himself. (When he allowed others to set them up, he was in effect setting them up himself.) The temple in the holy city had until then remained untouched, honored with complete inviolability as a place of refuge. He set about changing it and remodeling it into a temple of his own, so that it would be called the temple of Caius, the new Zeus made manifest."[27]

4 The same author records countless other terrible things that happened to the Jews in Alexandria, beyond all telling, in the second work mentioned, which he entitled On the Virtues. Josephus agrees with him. He likewise indicates that the calamities against the whole nation began in the time of Pilate, with the daring deeds against our Saviour. Hear what he says in the second book of the Jewish War, in these very words: "Pilate was sent to Judea as procurator by Tiberius. By night he brought Caesar's images into Jerusalem, covered up. They are called standards. When day came, this caused the greatest uproar among the Jews. Those nearby were shocked at the sight, since their laws had been trampled underfoot. For they do not allow any image to be set up in the city." 6 If you compare these things with what the Gospels record, you will see that the penalty did not wait long to overtake them for the cry they raised before Pilate himself, when they shouted that they had no king but Caesar. The same writer next records another calamity that came upon them. He says: "After this he stirred up another disturbance by spending the sacred treasure, which is called Corban, on an aqueduct that brought water from a distance of three hundred stadia. The crowd was furious at this.[28] [*John 19:15*]

7 When Pilate came to Jerusalem, they stood around his tribunal and shouted at him. He had foreseen their uproar. So he mixed armed soldiers among the crowd, hidden under ordinary clothes. He forbade them to use the sword, but ordered them to beat the shouters with clubs, and he gave the signal from the tribunal. The Jews were struck down. Many died from the blows, and many were trampled to death by their own people as they fled. The crowd was stunned by the fate of those who had been killed, and fell si-

27. "Houses of prayer" translates the Greek proseuchai, the usual word for synagogues in Egypt and the Greek diaspora.

28. The Greek says the water "came down from" three hundred stadia away, so the distance is that of the water's source. A stadion was about 600 feet (roughly 185 metres). Corban is the Hebrew word for a gift dedicated to God.

lent." 8 Besides these, the same writer shows that countless other uprisings broke out in Jerusalem itself. He makes clear that from that time on, the city and all Judea never stopped having riots, wars and one wicked scheme after another, until at last the siege under Vespasian came upon them. In this way, then, divine justice overtook the Jews for what they had dared to do against Christ.

CHAPTER 7

Pilate's Suicide.

It is worth knowing that the Pilate who served in the time of our Saviour is himself reported to have fallen, under Gaius (whose times we are describing), into such great misfortunes that he was driven to become his own murderer and to carry out the punishment with his own hand. Divine justice, it seems, did not wait long to overtake him. This is told by the Greek historians who recorded the Olympiads together with the events of each period.[29]

CHAPTER 8

The Famine Which Took Place in the Reign of Claudius.

Gaius did not hold power for even four full years. The emperor Claudius succeeded him. In his reign a famine pressed upon the whole world. Writers who have no connection with our message also handed this down in their histories. So the prophet Agabus's prediction in the Acts of the Apostles, that a famine would come over the whole world, was fulfilled. Luke, in the Acts, notes the famine under Claudius. He tells how the brothers at Antioch, each according to his means, sent help to the brothers in Judea by Paul and Barnabas. Then he goes on to say: [*Acts 11:27-30*]

CHAPTER 9

The Martyrdom of James the Apostle.

2 "About that time" (clearly he means in the reign of Claudius) "King Herod laid hands on some of those from the church to mistreat them, and he killed James, the brother of John, with a sword." Concerning this James, Clement, in the seventh book of his Hypotyposes, gives an account worth remembering. He says he has it from the tradition of those before him. The man who brought James into court, seeing him give his testimony, was

29. Olympiads were four-year periods used by Greek writers to date events. Eusebius names no particular historian here.

moved and confessed that he too was a Christian.[30] [*Acts 12:1-2*] 4 So, Clement says, they were both led away together. On the way the man begged James to forgive him. James thought for a moment and said, "Peace to you," and kissed him. And so both were beheaded together. Then, as the divine Scripture says, Herod saw that the killing of James pleased the Jews, and he went after Peter also. He handed him over to be bound in prison, and he would very soon have carried out his murder as well, had Peter not been marvellously freed from his chains by an angel who appeared to him at night, by God's intervention. He was thus released for the service of preaching. That was how God's plan worked out for Peter.

CHAPTER 10

Agrippa, Who Was Also Called Herod, Having Persecuted the Apostles, Immediately Experienced the Divine Vengeance.

1 The king's attack on the apostles did not go unpunished for long. The agent of divine justice, the avenger, went after him right away, immediately after his plot against the apostles, as the Acts of the Apostles records. He had gone down to Caesarea. There, on a notable feast day, he put on splendid royal clothing and made a public speech from a high seat in front of the tribunal. All the people applauded the speech as the voice of a god and not of a man. The Scripture records that at once an angel of the Lord struck him, and he was eaten by worms and died.[31] [*Acts 12:21-23*] 3 It is worth marveling that Josephus's account agrees with the divine Scripture even in this astonishing event. In the nineteenth book of his *Antiquities* he plainly bears witness to the truth, and he tells the wonder in these very words: "He had now completed the third year of his reign over all Judea, and he came to the city of Caesarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower. There he put on spectacles in honor of Caesar, since he understood that this was a festival kept for Caesar's well-being. A great crowd had gathered for it, made up of the leading men of the province and those of high rank.[32]

5 "On the second day of the spectacles he put on a robe made entirely of silver, of marvelous workmanship, and came into the theater at the start of

30. The quotation is from Acts 12:1-2. Clement of Alexandria's Hypotyposes ("Outlines") is a lost work, known mainly through quotations like this.

31. See Acts 12:19-23. The Greek says only that he spoke from on high before the tribunal (bēma), a raised platform.

32. The "divine Scripture" here is Acts 12. The Greek word theōrias is general and means "spectacles" or public shows, not necessarily "games."

the day. There the silver was lit by the first strokes of the sun's rays and shone wonderfully. It gleamed so brightly that it was fearful and made those who gazed at it shudder. At once his flatterers cried out from one place and another, in words that did him no good, calling him a god. They added, 'Be gracious to us. Until now we have feared you as a man, but from now on we confess that you are above mortal nature.' 7 "The king did not rebuke them, and he did not turn away their impious flattery. But a little later he looked up and saw an angel sitting above his head. He understood at once that this angel, who had once been a bringer of good things, was now the cause of evil, and a pain pierced him to the heart. Then a sudden pain gripped his belly, beginning with great violence. He looked at his friends and said, 'I, your god, am now ordered to end my life. Fate is immediately proving false the words you have just spoken about me. I, who was called immortal by you, am now being dragged off to die. But we must accept the destiny God has willed. For we have lived no ordinary life, but one of the kind men call blessed splendor.' While he said this he was overcome by the growing pain.

8 "He was quickly carried to the palace, and word spread to everyone that he would certainly die before long. At once the whole crowd, with their wives and children, sat down in sackcloth in the manner of their fathers and begged God for the king. Everything was full of wailing and lamentation. The king lay in an upper room, and when he looked down and saw them throwing themselves face down on the ground, he could not keep from weeping himself. 10 "He suffered constantly from the pain in his belly for five days, and then ended his life. He was fifty-four years old, in the seventh year of his reign. He had reigned four years under Gaius Caesar: three years over the tetrarchy of Philip, and in the fourth year he took over Herod's as well. Then he reigned three more years under the emperor Claudius." I marvel that Josephus, in this as in other matters, agrees with the divine Scriptures. If anyone thinks there is a disagreement over the king's name, the time and the events show that it is the same man. Either the name was changed by a copyist's mistake, or the man had two names, as many people do.[33]

33. The king is Herod Agrippa I. Acts calls him Herod, while Josephus calls him Agrippa.

CHAPTER 11

The Impostor Theudas and His Followers.

2 Luke again, in Acts, has Gamaliel say, in the discussion about the apostles, that at the time in question Theudas rose up, claiming to be somebody. He was destroyed, and all who had obeyed him were scattered. So let us set beside it what Josephus wrote about this man. In the work just mentioned he tells the following story, word for word: "While Fadus was governor of Judea, a certain charlatan named Theudas persuaded the great majority of the crowd to take their belongings and follow him to the river Jordan. He said he was a prophet, and that at his command he would split the river and give them an easy way across. By saying this he deceived many.[34] [*Acts 5:36*] 3 "But Fadus did not let them enjoy their folly. He sent a squadron of cavalry against them. It fell on them unexpectedly, killing many and taking many alive. They captured Theudas himself alive, cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem." Next to this Josephus also mentions the famine that happened under Claudius, in these words:

CHAPTER 12

Helen, the Queen of the Osrhoenians.

2 Besides these things, the great famine also came upon Judea. During it Queen Helen bought grain from Egypt at great cost and distributed it to those in need. You will find this agrees with the Acts of the Apostles. That book says that the disciples at Antioch, each according to his means, decided to send help to those living in Judea. They did so, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Paul. [*Acts 11:28-30*] 3 Of this Helen, whom the historian mentioned, splendid monuments are still shown in the suburbs of what is now Aelia. She is said to have been queen of the people of Adiabene.[35]

CHAPTER 13

Simon Magus.

2 By now faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ had spread to all people. But the enemy of human salvation plotted to seize the imperial city first. He

34. "Fadus" is Cuspius Fadus, procurator of Judea. Luke's wording is from Acts 5:36, which Eusebius paraphrases here.

35. Aelia is Jerusalem. Hadrian refounded it as the Roman colony Aelia Capitolina, planned around AD 130 and completed after the Bar Kokhba revolt (AD 132-135), when Jews were barred from the city.

brought there the Simon mentioned earlier, and by assisting the man's skillful sorceries he won over many of the people living in Rome and led them into error. Not long after the apostles, Justin, who was distinguished among the writers of our own faith, makes this clear. I will say what is fitting about him at the proper time. Take his writing and read it for me, from the first Apology he addressed to Antoninus in defense of our teaching. He writes as follows: 3 "After the Lord's ascension into heaven, the demons put forward certain men who said they were gods. Not only were they not persecuted by you, they were even thought worthy of honors. One was a Samaritan named Simon, from a village called Gitton. In the reign of Claudius Caesar, through the art of the demons at work in him, he performed magical feats in your royal city of Rome and was regarded as a god. He has been honored by you with a statue, as a god, in the river Tiber between the two bridges. It carries this inscription in Latin: SIMONI DEO SANCTO, that is, 'To Simon, holy god.'[36]

5 "Almost all the Samaritans, and a few people in other nations, acknowledge him as the first God and worship him. They also say that a certain Helena, who traveled about with him at that time, and who had previously stood in a brothel in Tyre of Phoenicia, was the first thought that came forth from him." So far Justin. Irenaeus agrees with him in the first book of his work Against Heresies. There he sets out the facts about the man and his impious and defiled teaching. It would be pointless to list that teaching here. Those who wish can learn the origins, the lives and the false doctrines of the later founders of heresies, one by one, together with the practices all of them cultivated. Irenaeus gives these in that book, and not as a passing matter.[37]

6 We have received the tradition that Simon was the first leader of every heresy. From his time until now, those who follow his heresy pretend to hold the sober philosophy of the Christians, which is famous among all people for its purity of life. Yet they go back to the superstition about idols that they seemed to have left. They fall down before pictures and images of Simon himself and of the Helena mentioned with him, and they undertake to worship them with incense, sacrifices and drink offerings.

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36. Many scholars think Justin misread an inscription to the Sabine god Semo Sancus; a stone dedicated to Semo Sancus was found on the Tiber island in 1574. This is a modern suggestion, not something Eusebius says.

37. Justin's quotation ends at "came forth from him." The words that follow are Eusebius's own.

8 Their still more secret teachings are said to astonish anyone who hears them for the first time. According to a saying they have in writing, he will be "amazed." In truth these teachings are full of amazement, loss of mind and madness. They are of such a kind that they cannot be put in writing, and decent men cannot even speak of them aloud, because of their extreme shamefulness and unspeakable character. Whatever the most defiled thing might be, or might be imagined, this most abominable heresy has gone beyond it all. They make sport of wretched women who are loaded down with every kind of evil.

CHAPTER 14

The Preaching of the Apostle Peter in Rome.

2 At that time the wicked power that hates what is good and plots against human salvation set up Simon as the father and author of such evils. He was meant to be a great opponent of the great and inspired apostles of our Saviour. Nevertheless, the divine and heavenly grace worked together with its own servants. By their appearing and their presence it quickly put out the evil flame that was being kindled. Through them it humbled and cast down every height raised up against the knowledge of God.[38] [*2 Corinthians 10:5*] 4 For this reason, neither Simon nor anyone else who arose at that time was able to build up any faction against the apostles themselves in those apostolic days. The light of the truth overcame and overpowered everything. The divine Word himself had only just shone from God upon humanity; he was flourishing on earth and living as a citizen among his own apostles. At once the sorcerer I have mentioned was struck in the eyes of his mind, as if by a divine and astonishing flash of light. He had first been caught in his wickedness in Judea by the apostle Peter. Now he set out on a very long journey across the sea, from the East to the West, and fled, thinking that only in this way could he live as he wished.[39]

6 When he reached the city of Rome, the power that lay in wait there helped him mightily. In a short time his undertaking succeeded so well that the people there honored him as a god by setting up a statue. But this did not last long. Right away, in the reign of Claudius, the all-good and most loving providence over all things led Peter to Rome. He was the strong and great

38. The last words echo 2 Corinthians 10:5.

39. The sorcerer is Simon Magus (see Acts 8). The story of his flight to Rome and Peter's pursuit comes from later tradition, not from Acts.

apostle, the spokesman for all the rest because of his courage, and he was sent against such a destroyer of life. Like a noble general of God, armed with divine weapons, he brought the priceless merchandise of the light of the mind from the East to those in the West. He brought the light itself and the word that saves souls, announcing the good news and preaching the kingdom of heaven.

CHAPTER 15

The Gospel According to Mark.

1 So when the divine Word had come to stay among them, Simon's power was put out, and it was destroyed at once together with the man himself. But the light of true religion shone so brightly on the minds of Peter's hearers that they were not content to have heard it once. Nor were they satisfied with the unwritten teaching of the divine message. They pleaded with Mark, whose Gospel is still with us and who was a follower of Peter, with every kind of appeal, to leave them a written record of the teaching that had been handed on to them by word of mouth. They did not stop until they had won the man over, and so they became the cause of the writing of the Gospel called the Gospel according to Mark. 2 They say that the apostle learned what had been done when the Spirit revealed it to him. He was pleased with the eagerness of these men and authorized the writing to be read in the churches. Clement gives this account in the sixth book of his Hypotyposes, and Papias, the bishop of Hierapolis, also bears witness to it. They say too that Peter mentions Mark in his first letter, which they say he composed in Rome itself. He indicates this by calling the city Babylon in a figurative way, in these words: "The church in Babylon, chosen together with you, greets you, and so does Mark, my son."[40] [*1 Peter 5:13*]

CHAPTER 16

Mark First Proclaimed Christianity to the Inhabitants of Egypt.

They say that this Mark was the first to be sent to Egypt. He preached the Gospel that he had also written down, and he was the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself. From the very first attempt, so great a crowd of men and women there came to believe, living by a most philosophical and

40. The quotation is from 1 Peter 5:13, in Eusebius's wording. Eusebius cites Clement's Hypotyposes here as being in the sixth book.

strict discipline, that Philo thought it worth writing an account of their gatherings and meetings, their common meals, and their whole way of life.

CHAPTER 17

Philo's Account of the Ascetics of Egypt.

2 There is a report that Philo came into conversation with Peter in Rome, in the time of Claudius, when Peter was preaching to the people there. This is not unlikely, since the work of his that I mention was written later, some time afterward, and it plainly contains the rules of the church that are still kept among us to this day. Also, in describing as exactly as possible the life of our ascetics, he shows that he not only knew them but approved of them. He spoke of the apostolic men of his time with reverence and praise. They were, it seems, of Hebrew descent, and so they still kept most of the ancient customs in a rather Jewish manner.[41] 3 First of all, Philo declares that he will add nothing of his own beyond the truth in what he is about to report. In the work he titled "On the Contemplative Life, or On Suppliants," he says that these men are called Therapeutae, and the women with them Therapeutrides. He then gives the reasons for this name. Either it is because, like physicians, they relieve the souls of those who come to them from the diseases of vice, healing and treating them; or it is because of their pure and sincere service and worship of the Divine.[42]

5 Whether Philo himself gave them this name, choosing a word that fitted their way of life, or whether the first of them really called themselves this at the beginning (the name "Christian" not yet being known everywhere), I need not insist here. But he does testify that, first of all, they gave up their property. He says that when they begin to pursue wisdom, they hand over their possessions to their relatives. Then they renounce all the cares of life, go outside the city walls, and spend their time in lonely places and gardens. They know well that mixing with people of unlike character is unprofitable and harmful. At that time, it seems, they did this out of a fervent and burning faith, striving to imitate the life of the prophets.[43] 6 Accordingly, in the

41. The "work" is Philo's "On the Contemplative Life." Eusebius here takes Philo's Therapeutae to be Christians, a view modern readers should treat with caution.

42. The Greek "therapeuein" can mean both "to heal" and "to serve or worship," and Philo plays on both senses here.

43. Eusebius is arguing that Philo's Therapeutae were Christians. Modern scholars generally do not accept this, but the text is translated here as Eusebius wrote it.

Acts of the Apostles, which is generally accepted as genuine, it is recorded that all the apostles' disciples sold their lands and possessions and shared the proceeds with everyone, according to each one's need, so that no one among them was in want. As the account says, all who owned lands or houses sold them, brought the price of what was sold, and laid it at the apostles' feet, so that it could be distributed to each one according to his need.[44] [*Acts 4: 34–35*]

8 Philo gives testimony very like this, and then adds these words about them: "This race is found in many parts of the world, for it was right that both the Greek world and the non-Greek world should share in what is perfectly good. But they are most numerous in Egypt, in each of the districts called nomes, and especially around Alexandria. The best of them from every quarter go out, as to a colony that is the homeland of the Therapeutae, to a most suitable place. It lies above Lake Mareotis (Maria) on a rather low hill, well situated for security and for the mildness of the air."[45] 9 Then, after describing what their dwellings were like, he says this about their places of meeting in that region: "In each house there is a sacred room, called a holy place and monastery, where they live apart and carry out the mysteries of the holy life. They bring nothing into it, neither drink nor food, nor anything else needed for the body's necessities. They bring only the laws, the oracles given through the prophets, hymns, and other writings by which knowledge and piety are increased and brought to perfection."[46]

11 And after other matters he says: "The whole stretch of time from dawn to evening is given to spiritual discipline. They read the holy Scriptures and pursue the wisdom of their fathers by allegorical interpretation. They regard the words of the literal text as symbols of a hidden nature, which is made known through underlying meanings. They also have writings of ancient men who founded their sect and left behind many records of the method of allegory. They use these as patterns and imitate their way of doing it." 13 Philo seems to have said this after hearing them explain the sacred Scriptures. But it is likely that the ancient writings he says they had were the Gospels and the writings of the apostles, and probably some explanations of the

44. Compare Acts 4:34–35. Eusebius gives the sense of the passage in his own words rather than quoting it exactly.

45. The Greek has "Maria" (Philo's Mareia), another name for Lake Mareotis, the lake just south of Alexandria.

46. The word "monastery" (monasterion) comes from the Greek for "alone." Here it simply means a place of solitary retreat.

ancient prophets, like those found in the Epistle to the Hebrews and in many other letters of Paul. Then he goes on to write about their composing new psalms: "So they do not only contemplate, but they also compose songs and hymns to God in all kinds of meters and tunes, which they necessarily set down in rather solemn rhythms."

16 The same work goes through many other matters as well, but I thought it necessary to pick out those passages that show the marks of the church's way of life. If anyone thinks that what has been said does not belong specially to life under the gospel, and could fit others besides those described, let him be persuaded by Philo's following words. If he is fair-minded, he will find in them undisputed testimony on this point. For Philo writes: "They first lay self-control in the soul like a foundation, and build the other virtues on it. None of them would take food or drink before sunset. They judge that pursuing wisdom belongs to the light, while the needs of the body belong to darkness. So they assign the day to the one, and a small part of the night to the other." 18 Some, in whom a greater longing for knowledge has taken root, are reminded of food only after three days. Others so delight and revel in wisdom, which feeds them richly and without stint with her teachings, that they hold out for twice that long. They have grown used to tasting the food they need only after six days. We regard these words of Philo as clearly and undeniably describing our own people. But if anyone still objects and remains hard-hearted after this, let him also be rid of his unbelief and yield to plainer proofs. These are not to be found among any others, but only in the Christian religion according to the gospel.[47]

20 Philo says that women also lived with the people he is speaking of, and that most of them were aged virgins. They had kept their purity not under compulsion, as some of the priestesses among the Greeks did, but of their own free choice, out of zeal and longing for wisdom. They were eager to live with wisdom, and so they disregarded the pleasures of the body. They desired not mortal children but immortal ones, which only the soul that loves God can bear of itself. Then, going on a little further, he states this more plainly: "Their interpretations of the sacred writings are made through hidden meanings, in allegories. For these men think the whole law is like a living creature. Its literal words are the body, and the invisible meaning lying with-

47. Eusebius is still quoting Philo (On the Contemplative Life) and claims that Philo's "Therapeutae" were Christians. Most scholars today do not accept this.

in the words is the soul. This sect began to study that meaning with special care. They saw the extraordinary beauty of the thoughts shining out, as in a mirror of the words."

22 Why should I add to this their gatherings in one place, the men and women spending time there separately, and the disciplines which we still practice by custom even now? We especially practice them at the feast of the Saviour's passion, with fasting, all-night vigils, and attention to the divine words. The man I have mentioned recorded these things in his own writing, and he noted them quite exactly. They are a way of life kept up to this day among us alone. He describes especially the all-night vigils of the great feast and the disciplines practiced in them. He tells of the hymns we are accustomed to recite. One person sings in measured rhythm, with good order, while the rest listen quietly and join in only on the closing lines of the hymns. He also tells how on the days mentioned they sleep on the ground on beds of straw. In his own words, they "taste no wine at all, nor any meat. Water is their only drink, and the relish with their bread is salt and hyssop."[48]

24 Besides this, Philo writes about the way those were organized who were entrusted with the church's services: the deacons' ministries, and the highest seat of all, the bishop's presidency. Anyone who wants an exact account of these matters can learn it from the work of this man. And it is plain to everyone that Philo wrote these things because he had come to know the first preachers of the gospel teaching and the customs handed down from the beginning by the apostles.

CHAPTER 18

The Works of Philo That Have Came Down to Us.

1 Philo was rich in expression and broad in thought. He was lofty and soaring in his contemplation of the divine Scriptures, and he gave a varied and many-sided exposition of the sacred words. In one work he goes through the contents of Genesis in order and in sequence, and he titled it Allegories of the Sacred Laws. In another he divides the topics raised in the Scriptures into sections, raising difficulties and resolving them. He fittingly titled these works Questions and Answers on Genesis and Questions and Answers on Exodus. 2 Besides these he has other studies, worked out on particular problems.

48. "The great feast" is Easter (Pascha). Eusebius reads Philo's description of the Therapeutae' vigils, hymns and fasting as describing Christian practice, but most scholars reject this identification.

These include the two books On Agriculture and the same number On Drunkenness. There are others with their own fitting titles: On What the Sober Mind Prays for and Curses; On the Confusion of Tongues; On Flight and Finding; On the Preliminary Studies (literally, "On the Meeting with the Educational Subjects"); Who Is the Heir of Divine Things?; On the Division into Equal and Opposite Parts; and also On the Three Virtues, which Moses described along with others.

4 Besides these there is his work On Those Whose Names Were Changed, and Why They Were Changed. In it he says he had also written two books On Covenants. There is also his work On Emigration, and one On the Life of the Wise Man Made Perfect in Righteousness, or On Unwritten Laws. Then there is On Giants, or On the Unchangeableness of God. And there are five books On the Proposition That, According to Moses, Dreams Are Sent by God: first, second, third, fourth and fifth. These are the works on Genesis that have come down to us.[49] 5 On Exodus we know of his Questions and Answers, in five books: first, second, third, fourth and fifth. We also know his work On the Tabernacle and his work On the Ten Commandments. There are also the books On the Laws that are set out in particular forms under the main headings of the Ten Commandments, in the second, third and fourth books. There is also his work On Animals for Sacrifice, and what the kinds of sacrifices are. And there is his work On the Rewards laid down in the law for the good, and the penalties and curses for the wicked.

7 Besides all these, some single-volume works of his are also in circulation: On Providence; the book he wrote On the Jews; and The Statesman. There is also Alexander, or On the Proposition That Irrational Animals Have Reason. In addition there is On the Proposition That Every Wicked Man Is a Slave, followed by On the Proposition That Every Good Man Is Free. After these he composed On the Contemplative Life, or On Suppliants. From this work we have drawn what we reported about the way of life of the apostolic men. The interpretations of the Hebrew names in the Law and the Prophets are also said to be the product of his labor. 9 In the time of Gaius, Philo came to Rome. He had written an account of Gaius's hatred of God, and with irony and in a moral tone he gave it the title On Virtues. He is said to have read this work before the whole Roman Senate in the reign of

49. In On Those Whose Names Were Changed (Mut. 53) Philo mentions that he wrote two books On Covenants. That work is lost.

Claudius. His words so impressed them that they judged them worthy of being placed in the libraries. At that time Paul was making his journey from Jerusalem and around as far as Illyricum. Claudius drove the Jews out of Rome, and Aquila and Priscilla, leaving Rome with the other Jews, came to Asia. There they stayed with the apostle Paul, who was strengthening the churches in that region, whose foundations he had only just laid. The sacred book of Acts is our teacher on these matters too.[50]

CHAPTER 19

The Calamity Which Befell the Jews in Jerusalem an the Day of the Passover.

While Claudius was still ruling the empire, a great uprising and disturbance broke out in Jerusalem at the Passover festival. Of those alone who were forced together in the crush at the temple exits, thirty thousand Jews died, trampled by one another. The feast became a time of mourning for the whole nation, and of wailing in every house. This is Josephus's own account, word for word. Claudius appointed Agrippa, son of Agrippa, king of the Jews. He sent Felix as governor over the whole country of Samaria and Galilee, and over the region called Perea. Claudius himself governed for thirteen years and eight months. Then he died and left Nero as his successor in the empire.

CHAPTER 20

The Events Which Took Place in Jerusalem During the Reign of Nero.

2 In the time of Nero, when Felix was governor of Judea, Josephus again, in his own words, describes the strife among the priests. He writes this in the twentieth book of the Antiquities: "A quarrel also broke out between the high priests on one side, and the priests and the leading men of the people of Jerusalem on the other. Each of them gathered a band of the boldest and most revolutionary men and became their leader. When they clashed, they abused one another and threw stones. No one stepped in to rebuke them. These things were done openly, as if in a city with no one in charge. 4 "Such shamelessness and daring came over the high priests that they dared to send their servants to the threshing floors to take the tithes owed to the priests. Poor priests were seen dying of want. In this way the violence of the rioters overpowered all justice." The same writer also reports that at about this time

50. Eusebius's phrase "from Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum" echoes Paul's words in Romans 15:19. He is describing Paul's travels, not quoting the verse exactly.

a kind of robber appeared in Jerusalem, who, as he says, "in broad daylight, in the middle of the city, murdered those they met."

6 "They did this especially at the festivals. They mixed with the crowd, hid small daggers in their clothes, and stabbed their opponents with them. Then, when the victims fell, the murderers themselves joined those who were expressing outrage. Because they were so believable, they could not be found out at all. The first to be killed by them was Jonathan the high priest. After him many were killed every day. The fear was worse than the calamities themselves, since everyone, as in a war, expected death at any hour."

CHAPTER 21

The Egyptian, Who is Mentioned Also in the Acts of the Apostles.

1 Next, after other matters, Josephus goes on: "The Egyptian false prophet brought the Jews a blow even greater than these. A charlatan came into the country, gave himself the standing of a prophet, and gathered about thirty thousand of the deceived. He led them around from the desert to the Mount of Olives, as it is called. From there he was ready to force his way into Jerusalem, overpower the Roman garrison, and rule the people as a tyrant, using as bodyguards those who burst in with him. 3 "But Felix got ahead of his attack by meeting him with the Roman heavy infantry. All the people joined in the defense. When the clash came, the Egyptian fled with a few men, and most of those with him were killed or taken alive." Josephus tells this in the second book of his Histories. It is worth comparing what is said here about the Egyptian with the Acts of the Apostles. There, in Felix's time, the tribune in Jerusalem spoke to Paul when the Jewish crowd was rioting against him: "Are you not the Egyptian who some time ago stirred up a revolt and led the four thousand men of the Sicarii out into the wilderness?" So much for events under Felix.[51] [*Acts 21:38*]

CHAPTER 22

Paul Having Been Sent Bound from Judea to Rome, Made His Defense, and Was Acquitted of Every Charge.

2 Festus was sent by Nero to succeed Felix. Under Festus, Paul made his defense and was taken to Rome as a prisoner. Aristarchus was with him, and Paul reasonably calls him his fellow prisoner somewhere in his letters. Luke,

51. The Greek says "tribune" (χιλίαρχος) and "Sicarii" (σικαρίων), a word from the Latin for dagger-men, meaning assassins. The "Histories" here is Josephus's Jewish War.

who handed down the Acts of the Apostles in writing, ended his history at this point. He noted that Paul spent two whole years in Rome living freely and preaching the word of God without hindrance. After Paul made his defense at that time, the account goes, the apostle set out again on the ministry of preaching. When he came to the same city a second time, he was brought to his end by martyrdom. While in chains then, he wrote his second letter to Timothy, in which he speaks both of his first defense and of his death, which was close at hand.[52] [*Acts 28:30-31; Colossians 4:10*] 4 Now take Paul's own testimony on these matters. "At my first defense," he says, "no one stood by me, but everyone deserted me (may it not be counted against them). But the Lord stood by me and strengthened me, so that through me the proclamation might be fully accomplished and all the nations might hear. And I was rescued from the lion's mouth." By these words he shows plainly that the first time he was rescued from the lion's mouth so that the proclamation through him might be fulfilled. By "lion" he evidently means Nero, because of his savage temper. That is why Paul did not go on to add something similar, such as "He will rescue me from the lion's mouth." For he saw by the Spirit that his death was very near. [*2 Timothy 4:16-17*]

6 So after the words "and I was rescued from the lion's mouth," he adds, "The Lord will rescue me from every evil deed and will save me for his heavenly kingdom." This points to his martyrdom as imminent. He foretells it more clearly in the same letter when he says, "For I am already being poured out as an offering, and the time of my departure has come." In the second letter to Timothy, then, he shows that Luke alone was with him as he wrote, but that at the first defense not even Luke was there. So it is reasonable that Luke ended his Acts of the Apostles at that point in time. His history went down to the period when he was with Paul. [*2 Timothy 4:18; 2 Timothy 4:6*] 8 We have said all this to make the point that Paul's martyrdom was not completed during the stay in Rome that Luke recorded. It is likely that at the beginning Nero was milder in disposition, so Paul's defense of his teaching was accepted more easily. But when Nero went on to unlawful acts of daring, he attacked the apostles along with the others.

52. "The account goes" translates λόγος ἔχει, which means "there is a tradition." Eusebius is relying on tradition for Paul's release and second arrest, not on Acts.

CHAPTER 23

The Martyrdom of James, Who Was Called the Brother of the Lord.

2 After Paul appealed to Caesar and Festus sent him on to the city of Rome, the Jews lost the hope behind the plot they had prepared against him. So they turned on James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the apostles had entrusted the bishop's seat at Jerusalem. This is what they dared to do to him. They brought him out in front of everyone and demanded that he deny his faith in Christ before all the people. But, against everyone's expectation, he spoke out with a free voice and more boldly than they had expected. Before the whole crowd he confessed that our Savior and Lord Jesus is the Son of God. They could no longer bear the testimony of this man, who was believed by all to be the most righteous of men because of the high standard of discipline and godliness he followed in his life. So they killed him, taking the lawless situation as their chance to seize power. Festus had died in Judea at that very time, and the province was left without a ruler or governor.

4 The manner of James's death has already been shown by the words of Clement quoted earlier. He recorded that James was thrown from the parapet and beaten to death with a club. Hegesippus, who belonged to the first generation after the apostles, gives the most exact account of him in the fifth book of his Memoirs. He writes this: "James, the brother of the Lord, took over the leadership of the church together with the apostles. From the Lord's own time until ours he has been called the Just by everyone, since many others were named James. 6 "He was holy from his mother's womb. He drank no wine or strong drink, and he ate no meat. No razor came near his head. He did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not use the bath. He alone was permitted to enter the holy place, for he wore no wool but only linen. He used to go into the temple alone, and he was found kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. His knees grew hard like a camel's, because he was always bending them in worship of God and asking forgiveness for the people.

9 "Because of his extraordinary righteousness he was called the Just, and Oblias, which in Greek means 'protection of the people' and 'righteousness,' as the prophets declare about him. Now some of the seven sects among the people, which I described earlier in my Memoirs, used to ask him, 'What is the door of Jesus?' He said that Jesus was the Savior. Some of them came to believe that Jesus is the Christ. But the sects I mentioned did not believe in a resurrection, or that anyone is coming to repay each person according to his

works. Yet all who did believe, believed because of James. [*Romans 2:6*] 10 "Since many of the rulers also believed, there was an uproar among the Jews, scribes and Pharisees. They said, 'There is a danger that the whole people will look for Jesus as the Christ.' So they gathered and said to James, 'We beg you, hold back the people, for they have been led astray after Jesus, as though he were the Christ. We beg you to persuade everyone who has come for the day of Passover about Jesus. We all listen to you. We and all the people testify that you are righteous and show no partiality.

12 "So you persuade the crowd not to be led astray about Jesus. All the people, and all of us, listen to you. Stand, then, on the parapet of the temple, so that you will be seen from above and your words will be easily heard by all the people. For all the tribes have gathered for the Passover, and the Gentiles with them.' So the scribes and Pharisees I mentioned set James on the parapet of the temple. They shouted to him, 'Righteous one, whom we all ought to obey, the people are going astray after Jesus who was crucified. Tell us, what is the door of Jesus?'" 14 And he answered with a loud voice, "Why do you ask me about Jesus, the Son of Man? He himself sits in heaven at the right hand of the great Power, and he is going to come on the clouds of heaven." Many were fully convinced. They gave glory because of James's testimony and said, "Hosanna to the Son of David!" Then the same scribes and Pharisees said to one another, "We did wrong to provide such a testimony for Jesus. But let us go up and throw him down, so that they will be afraid and not believe him." [*Matthew 26:64; Matthew 21:9*]

16 And they cried out, "Oh, oh! Even the Just One has gone astray!" And they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah: "Let us take away the just man, because he is troublesome to us; therefore they will eat the fruit of their deeds." So they went up and threw the Just One down, and they said to one another, "Let us stone James the Just." And they began to stone him, since he had not died from the fall. But he turned and knelt, saying, "I entreat you, Lord God our Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing." [*Isaiah 3:10; Luke 23:34*] 18 While they were stoning him like this, one of the priests, one of the sons of Rechab son of Rechabim, the people given testimony by the prophet Jeremiah, cried out, "Stop! What are you doing? The Just One is praying for you!" Then one of them, a fuller, took the club he used to press out clothes and brought it down on the head of the Just One. And so he was martyred. They buried him on the spot beside the temple, and

his gravestone still remains beside the temple. He became a true witness, to both Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is the Christ. And immediately Vespasian began to besiege them.

20 Hegesippus also agrees with Clement on these matters, at greater length. James was so remarkable a man, and so famous among everyone for his righteousness, that the more thoughtful Jews believed this was the reason Jerusalem was besieged immediately after his martyrdom. They thought it came on them for no other reason than the outrage committed against him. Josephus, in fact, did not hesitate to testify to this in writing, in these words: "These things happened to the Jews as vengeance for James the Just, who was a brother of Jesus, called the Christ, because the Jews killed him, though he was a most righteous man." 21 The same writer also describes James's death in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, in these words: "Caesar sent Albinus to Judea as governor, when he learned of the death of Festus. But the younger Ananus, who as we said had received the high priesthood, was bold in manner and exceptionally reckless. He followed the party of the Sadducees, who are harsher in judgments than all the other Jews, as we have already explained."

23 "Being such a man, Ananus thought he had a good opportunity, because Festus was dead and Albinus was still on the road. So he convened a council of judges. He brought before it the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, whose name was James, and some others. He made an accusation that they had broken the law and handed them over to be stoned. But those in the city who seemed the most fair-minded and strict about the laws were greatly offended at this. They secretly sent to the king, urging him to write to Ananus to stop doing such things, for he had not acted rightly even the first time." 24 "Some of them also went to meet Albinus as he traveled from Alexandria. They told him it was not lawful for Ananus to convene a council without his consent. Albinus was persuaded by what they said and wrote to Ananus in anger, threatening to punish him. Because of this, King Agrippa removed him from the high priesthood after he had ruled three months, and appointed Jesus son of Damnaeus." These are the events concerning James, whose letter is said to be the first of the so-called catholic epistles.

25 It should be known that this letter is regarded as not genuine. At least, not many of the ancients mention it, just as they do not mention the letter called Jude's, which is also one of the seven so-called catholic epistles. Never-

theless we know that these letters, along with the rest, have been read publicly in most churches.

CHAPTER 24

Annianus the First Bishop of the Church of Alexandria After Mark.

In the eighth year of Nero's reign, Annianus became the first to succeed Mark the evangelist in the ministry of the church at Alexandria.

CHAPTER 25

The Persecution Under Nero in Which Paul and Peter Were Honored at Rome with Martyrdom in Behalf of Religion.

2 By now Nero's power was well established. He plunged into unholy practices and took up arms against the worship of the God of the universe. It does not belong to the present work to describe how wicked he was. Many writers have given very accurate accounts of his life, and anyone who likes can learn from them about the crude folly of this strange man's madness. In that madness he destroyed countless thousands without any reasoning, and he went so far in murder that he did not spare even his closest and dearest. His mother, his brothers and his wife, along with countless others of his family, he put to death in various ways, as though they were enemies and foes. 4 But among all his crimes this one was still lacking: that he should be the first of the emperors to be shown an enemy of the worship of God. The Roman Tertullian mentions this too, saying: "Consult your records. There you will find that Nero was the first to persecute this teaching, when, having subdued the whole East, he was especially cruel at Rome to everyone. We boast of having such a man as the originator of our punishment. For anyone who knows him can understand that Nero would not have condemned it unless it were something very good."[53]

6 So this man, proclaimed first among those who fought against God, was stirred up to slaughter the apostles. It is recorded that Paul was beheaded at Rome itself, and that Peter was likewise crucified under Nero. The record is confirmed by the fact that the names of Peter and Paul are still kept to this day on the burial places there. It is confirmed no less by a churchman named Gaius, who lived in the time of Zephyrinus, bishop of the Romans. In a written dispute with Proclus, who led the Phrygian party, Gaius says this about

53. Tertullian, Apology 5. Eusebius gives a loose Greek rendering of the Latin, not a close translation. Tertullian says Nero raged against the sect when it was just beginning at Rome.

the places where the sacred bodies of these apostles are laid: "But I can show the trophies of the apostles.[54] 8 If you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who founded this church." That both were martyred at the same time, Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, shows in a letter to the Romans, where he says: "By such counsel you have joined together the planting of Peter and Paul at Rome and at Corinth. For both of them planted us in our Corinth and taught us in the same way. In the same way also they taught together in Italy, and were martyred at the same time." I have added these things so that the history may be still more firmly established.[55]

CHAPTER 26

The Jews, Afflicted with Innumerable Evils, Commenced the Last War Against the Romans.

Josephus again, after describing very many things about the disaster that befell the whole Jewish nation, tells among countless other details how a great many of the most honored of the Jews were flogged and then crucified in Jerusalem itself by Florus. Florus was procurator of Judea when the war broke out, in the twelfth year of Nero's rule. Josephus then says that a terrible disturbance seized all of Syria because of the Jewish revolt. Everywhere the Jews were mercilessly plundered by the inhabitants of the cities, as if they were enemies. "So you could see cities full of unburied bodies, the old lying dead together with infants, and women without even a covering for their shame. The whole province was full of indescribable disasters, and the dread of what was threatened was greater than what was done in each place." These are the words of Josephus. Such was the state of the Jews.

BOOK 3

CHAPTER 1

The Parts of the World in Which the Apostles Preached Christ.

2 Such was the state of the Jews. Meanwhile the holy apostles and disciples of our Savior were scattered over the whole world. Thomas, as tradition holds,

54. "Phrygian party" refers to the Montanists. "Trophies" means monuments to the apostles' victory, probably tombs or memorials. "Sacred tabernacles" (hiera skenomata) is Eusebius' Greek for the apostles' resting places.

55. In the last sentence Eusebius speaks in his own voice, not as part of Dionysius' letter.

was allotted Parthia, Andrew Scythia, and John Asia; John stayed among the people there and died at Ephesus. Peter seems to have preached to the Jews of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia. At the end he came to Rome and was crucified head downward, since he himself had asked to suffer in that way.[56] [*1 Peter 1:1*] 3 Why do I need to say anything about Paul? He fully preached the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem all the way to Illyricum, and later he was martyred in Rome under Nero. Origen says this in so many words in the third volume of his commentary on Genesis.[57] [*Romans 15:19*]

CHAPTER 2

The First Ruler of the Church of Rome.

After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first to be appointed to the office of bishop in the church of the Romans. Paul mentions him in the greetings at the end of his letter to Timothy, which he wrote from Rome.[58] [*2 Timothy 4:21*]

CHAPTER 3

The Epistles of the Apostles.

2 One letter of Peter, the one called his first, is acknowledged as genuine. The early elders freely used it in their own writings as beyond dispute. The second letter that goes under his name we have been taught is not part of the canon. Even so, many found it useful, and it has been studied along with the other Scriptures. But the writings called the Acts of Peter, the Gospel named after him, the so-called Preaching of Peter, and the so-called Apocalypse, we know were never handed down among the universally received writings. No church writer, ancient or of our own day, has used quotations from them.[59] 5 As my history goes on, I will take care to point out, along with the lists of bishops, which church writers in each period used which of the disputed books. I will also say what they reported about the canonical and acknow-

56. "Dispersion" means Jews living outside Palestine; compare 1 Peter 1:1, which lists most of the same regions.

57. Paul speaks of preaching "from Jerusalem and as far round as Illyricum" in Romans 15:19.

58. The greeting is in 2 Timothy 4:21. The Greek word for the office, episkopē, literally means "oversight."

59. The Greek word ἐνδιάθηκος ("belonging to the covenant/testament") is Eusebius's term for books regarded as canonical. It is not simply the Greek word for "canon." In the same sentence, ἐν καθολικαῖς means "among the universally received (general) writings."

ledged writings, and what about those that are not of that kind. So much for the writings that bear Peter's name. I know of only one letter of his that is genuine and acknowledged by the early elders. Paul's fourteen letters are well known and clear. Yet it is not right to ignore that some have rejected the letter to the Hebrews. They say that the church of Rome disputes it, on the ground that it is not by Paul. I will set out at the proper time what those before us have said about it. I have also not received the so-called Acts of Paul among the undisputed writings.[60]

6 The same apostle, in the greetings at the end of the letter to the Romans, mentions Hermas among others. The book called The Shepherd is said to be his. You should know that this book too has been disputed by some, and for that reason it could not be placed among the acknowledged books. Others, however, have judged it most necessary, especially for those who need basic instruction. So we know that it has been read publicly in churches, and I have found that some of the earliest writers used it.[61] [*Romans 16:14*] 7 Let this be enough to distinguish the divine writings that are undisputed from those that are not acknowledged by everyone.

CHAPTER 4

The First Successors of the Apostles.

2 Paul preached to the Gentiles and laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum. This is clear from his own words and from what Luke recorded in the Acts. Peter also preached Christ to those of the circumcision and handed on the word of the new covenant. How many provinces he did this in is clear from his own words, in the letter I have mentioned as acknowledged. In it he writes to those of Hebrew origin who are scattered abroad in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia.[62] [*Romans 15:19; 1 Peter 1:1*] 4 It is not easy to say how many of these men became genuine, zealous followers of the apostles, or who they were, and were judged fit to shepherd the churches the apostles founded. The exception is those whom one can gather from Paul's own words. He had countless fel-

60. Eusebius counts Hebrews among Paul's "fourteen letters," while noting that some dispute that it is his. "Lists of bishops" translates διαδοχαῖς, "successions."

61. The greeting is in Romans 16:14. Eusebius says the book is "said to be" by this Hermas. He does not state it as fact.

62. The phrase "from Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum" echoes Romans 15:19. Eusebius gives it as a paraphrase, not as a quotation.

low workers, and as he himself called them, fellow soldiers. Most of them he honored with a memorial that will never be forgotten, for he left lasting testimony about them in his own letters. Luke too, in the Acts, lists Paul's companions and mentions them by name. [*Philemon 1:2*]

6 Timothy is recorded as the first to receive the office of bishop of the community at Ephesus, as Titus did for the churches on Crete. Luke was by birth from Antioch and a physician by profession. He spent most of his time with Paul and was in close contact with the other apostles as well. From them he gained the art of healing souls, and he has left us examples of it in two divinely inspired books. One is the Gospel, which tradition says he wrote down. He says that those who were eyewitnesses and servants of the word from the beginning handed their accounts down to him, and that he followed all of them closely from the start. The other is the Acts of the Apostles, which he composed from what he had learned no longer by hearsay but with his own eyes.[63] [*Luke 1:2-3*] 9 They say that Paul used to have Luke's Gospel in mind whenever he wrote of "my gospel," as though speaking of a gospel of his own, in the words "according to my gospel." Of Paul's other followers, Crescens is said by Paul himself to have been sent to Gaul. Linus, whom Paul mentions as being with him in Rome in the Second Letter to Timothy, was the first after Peter to be appointed bishop of the church of the Romans, as I have already stated. Clement too, who became the third bishop of the church of the Romans, is attested by Paul as his fellow worker and fellow contender.[64] [*Romans 2:16; 2 Timothy 4:10; 2 Timothy 4:21; Philippians 4:3*]

11 In addition, there was that famous member of the Areopagus named Dionysius, whom Luke records in Acts as the first to believe after Paul's speech to the Athenians on the Areopagus. Another Dionysius, an early writer who was pastor of the church in Corinth, reports that he became the first bishop of the church in Athens. But at the proper point in the course of my work I will speak of the succession of the apostles' successors in order of time. For now, let us go on with the rest of the history. [*Acts 17:34*]

63. The Greek says it "is attested" (μαρτυρεῖται) that Luke wrote the Gospel. This is tradition's testimony, not Luke's own claim.

64. In 2 Timothy 4:10 Crescens is said to have gone to "Galatia"; most manuscripts read this, but some early ones (such as Sinaiticus and C) read "Gaul," which is the reading Eusebius follows. Linus appears in 2 Timothy 4:21. Eusebius identifies the Clement of Philippians 4:3 with the bishop of Rome, an identification also found in Origen.

CHAPTER 5

The Last Siege of the Jews After Christ.

2 After Nero had held power for thirteen years, Galba and Otho spent a year and six months in power. Then Vespasian, who had won fame in the campaigns against the Jews, was declared emperor in Judea itself, proclaimed commander-in-chief by the armies there. He set out at once for Rome and handed the war against the Jews over to his son Titus. After our Saviour's ascension, the Jews, besides their daring act against him, had already devised very many plots against his apostles. First Stephen was killed by them with stones. After him James, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, was beheaded. Then James, who was the first to be appointed to the bishop's throne there after our Saviour's ascension, departed this life in the way I described earlier. The rest of the apostles were plotted against in countless ways, to the point of death, and were driven out of the land of Judea. They set out for all the nations to teach the message, in the power of Christ, who had told them, "Go and make disciples of all the nations in my name."[65] [*Matthew 28:19*]

3 The people of the church in Jerusalem, however, had been commanded by a revelation given before the war to the approved men among them, to leave the city and live in a town of Perea called Pella. Those who believed in Christ moved there from Jerusalem. Once holy men had completely left the royal capital of the Jews and the whole land of Judea, the justice of God finally came upon them for all their lawless acts against Christ and his apostles, and wiped that ungodly generation entirely from among men. 4 Anyone who wishes may read in the history written by Josephus the full and accurate account of all that happened at that time. He tells of the evils that came upon the whole nation everywhere. He tells how the people of Judea in particular were driven to the extreme of disaster, and how many tens of thousands of young men, along with women and children, fell to the sword, to famine, and to countless other kinds of death. He describes the many sieges of Jewish cities, and what sieges they were. He tells what terrible things, and worse than terrible, were seen by those who fled to Jerusalem itself as to a most secure capital. He gives the course of the whole war and each of its events in turn. And he tells how, in the end, the "abomination of des-

65. The Greek sentence is very long and its main clause does not finish cleanly. "James, the first to be appointed bishop" is James the Lord's brother, first bishop of Jerusalem, whose death Eusebius described earlier (2.23).

olation" announced by the prophets stood in the very temple of God, once so renowned, which then suffered total ruin and final destruction by fire.[66] [*Matthew 24:15*]

7 But I must point out that this same writer records that a crowd of about three million people, gathered from all Judea for the days of the Passover feast, were shut up in Jerusalem "as in a prison," to use his own words. It was fitting that destruction from divine justice should overtake them, shut up as in a prison, in the very days when they had brought suffering on the Savior and Benefactor of all, the Christ of God. I will pass over the particular things that happened to them by the sword and in other ways. I think it necessary to set down only the calamities of the famine, so that those who read this work may know, at least in part, that the punishment from God came upon them for their lawless treatment of the Christ of God, and that it was not long delayed.[67]

CHAPTER 6

The Famine Which Oppressed Them.

2 Heading: The Famine Which Oppressed Them. Take up the fifth book of the Histories of Josephus again, and go through the tragedy of what happened then. He says: "For the well-off, staying in the city meant destruction just the same. On the pretext of desertion, a man was killed for the sake of his property. The madness of the rebels grew along with the famine, and every day both evils blazed higher. Grain was nowhere to be seen. But the rebels burst in and searched the houses. If they found any, they abused the owners for having denied it. If they found none, they tortured them for having hidden it too carefully. The bodies of the poor wretches were their evidence of whether they had food or not. Those who were still in good shape were thought to be well supplied with food. Those who were already wasting away were passed over, since it seemed pointless to kill people who would soon die of want anyway.

4 "Many secretly traded all their possessions for a single measure of grain, wheat if they were rather wealthy, barley if they were poorer. Then they shut

66. "Abomination of desolation" comes from Daniel (9:27; 11:31; 12:11) and is quoted in the Gospels (Matthew 24:15). The Greek builds up to Josephus at the end of the sentence, and this version moves him to the front to keep it readable.

themselves up in the innermost rooms of their houses. Some ate the grain raw because of extreme hunger. Others baked it, as need and fear directed. No table was set anywhere. They snatched the food still raw from the fire and tore it apart. The fare was pitiful and the sight was worth weeping over: the stronger took more than their share while the weak wailed. 6 "Hunger overpowers every other feeling, but nothing does it destroy so much as shame. For what would normally deserve respect is despised in such a situation. Wives snatched food from their husbands, children from their fathers, and, most pitiful of all, mothers from their infants, taking it right out of their mouths. And while their dearest ones were wasting away in their arms, they felt no restraint about taking from them the drops that kept them alive. Yet even when they ate like this, they did not escape notice. Everywhere the rebels stood ready to rob them of even this. Whenever they saw a house shut up, it was a sign that the people inside were taking food. At once they smashed in the doors and rushed in, and they all but squeezed the morsels out of their throats.

8 "Old men who held on to their food were beaten. Women who hid what was in their hands had their hair torn out. There was no pity for gray hair or for infants. They lifted up babies who were clinging to their scraps of bread and shook them down onto the floor. They were even crueler toward those who had been quicker than they were and swallowed down what they were about to seize, as though they had been wronged by them. They devised terrible methods of torture to search out food. They stopped up the private passages of the poor wretches with bitter vetches and drove sharp rods up their rear passages. People suffered things horrible even to hear of, to make them confess to one loaf of bread, or to make them reveal a single handful of barley meal that they had hidden.[68] 10 "The torturers were not themselves hungry. (Their cruelty would have been less savage if it had come from need.) They were exercising their madness and stocking up supplies for the coming days. When people crept out at night to the Roman guard posts to gather wild plants and herbs, the rebels would meet them. Just when these people thought they had escaped the enemy, the rebels snatched away what they had brought. Often the victims begged, and even called on the most awesome

67. Josephus (Jewish War 6.420-428) describes the crowds shut up in Jerusalem at Passover "as in a prison." His own figure is 2,700,000 dead in the city, and Eusebius rounds the total to about three million.

68. ὀρόβοις is the dative of ὄροβος, "bitter vetch" (a legume, Ervum ervilia).

name of God, asking for some share of what they had risked their lives to bring. The rebels gave them nothing at all. A man was glad enough not to be killed as well as robbed."

12 After some other matters, Eusebius adds to this account, quoting Josephus: "For the Jews, once the way out of the city was cut off, every hope of safety was gone. The famine sank deeper and devoured the people house by house and family by family. The upper rooms were full of women and babies wasted away in death, and the alleys were full of dead old men. Boys and young men, swollen up like ghosts, staggered about the marketplaces and fell down wherever the suffering overtook them. The sick had no strength to bury their own relatives. Those who still had strength held back, both because of the great number of the dead and because they were uncertain about their own fate. Many died while burying others, and many went to the graves before their appointed hour had come.[69] 14 "In these disasters there was no weeping and no wailing. Hunger had overcome those feelings. Those who were dying slowly looked with dry eyes at those who had gone to their rest before them. A deep silence held the city, and a night full of death. Yet the robbers were worse than all this. They broke into the houses as if digging up tombs, robbed the dead, pulled the coverings off their bodies, and went out laughing. They tested the edges of their swords on the corpses, and some who were lying there still alive they ran through, to try the iron. Those who begged them for the loan of a right hand and a sword, they arrogantly left to the famine. Each of the dying stared fixedly at the temple as he died, leaving the rebels still alive.

16 "At first these men ordered the dead to be buried at public expense, because they could not bear the smell. Then, when that proved too much, they threw the bodies from the walls into the ravines. Titus went around and saw the ravines full of corpses and the thick liquid of decay flowing from the rotting bodies. He groaned, stretched out his hands, and called God as witness that this was not his doing." After a few remarks in between, Josephus continues: "I will not hold back from saying what my feelings force me to say. I think that if the Romans had delayed longer against these wicked men, the city would either have been swallowed up by a chasm, or flooded, or struck by the thunderbolts that fell on Sodom. For it produced a generation far

69. Eusebius quotes Josephus, Jewish War 5, on the siege of Jerusalem (AD 70). The participle λελυμένων means "loosened" or "worn out," so "wasted away" or "enfeebled" is the sense.

more godless than those who suffered such things. Through the madness of these men the whole people perished with them."

18 In the sixth book he writes as follows: "Of those who were destroyed by the famine in the city, the number who fell was beyond counting, and the sufferings that happened cannot be told. In every house, if even a shadow of food showed up anywhere, there was a fight. The dearest friends came to blows with one another, snatching away the wretched supports of life. Even the dying were not believed when they said they had nothing. The robbers searched even those still breathing, in case someone had food hidden in his bosom and was pretending to be dying. Others, gaping with hunger like mad dogs, lurched and staggered about. They flung themselves against doors like drunken men, and in their helplessness they burst into the same houses two or three times in a single hour. 20 "Necessity drove them to put everything between their teeth. They collected things not even fit for the filthiest of the brute animals, and forced themselves to eat them. In the end they did not keep their hands off belts and shoes, and they tore the hides off their shields and chewed them. For some, scraps of old hay were food. Some gathered the fibers and sold the smallest weight of them for four Attic drachmas. But why should I speak of hunger's shamelessness toward things without life? For I am about to describe a deed of the kind never recorded among Greeks or barbarians, horrible to tell and unbelievable to hear. I would gladly have passed over this disaster, so as not to seem to later generations to be inventing wonders, if I did not have countless witnesses among my own contemporaries. Besides, I would be paying my country a cold favor if I played down the account of what she suffered.[70]

22 "There was a woman from the region beyond the Jordan named Mary, the daughter of Eleazar, from the village of Bathezor (which means 'house of hyssop'). She was well known for her family and wealth. She had fled to Jerusalem with the rest of the crowd and was shut up there in the siege. The tyrants had plundered the rest of her property, everything she had moved into the city from Perea. The remains of her treasures, and any bit of food that could be found, the armed guards rushed in and snatched away every day. The woman was filled with terrible anger. By often reviling and cursing them she stirred the plunderers up against herself. 24 But no one would kill her, whether out of anger or out of pity. She was also tired of searching for

70. The Greek ἶνας means "fibers," that is, strands gathered from old hay (χόρτος).

food for others to eat. By now finding any food was hard everywhere, and the famine was eating through her bowels and marrow. Her rage burned hotter even than the famine. So she took anger and necessity as her advisers and turned against nature itself. She seized her child, a nursing baby, and said, "Poor little one! In war, in famine, in civil strife, for whom am I keeping you? Under the Romans there is slavery, even if we live to see it, and famine gets to us before slavery does. And the rebels are harsher than both. Come, be food for me, a avenging fury to the rebels, and a tale for the world, the one thing still missing from the sufferings of the Jews."[71]

26 As she said this she killed her son. Then she roasted him, ate half, and covered up the rest and kept it. The rebels were there at once. They caught the smell of the unspeakable cooking and threatened to cut her throat immediately unless she showed them what she had prepared. She said she had kept a fine portion for them, and she uncovered the remains of her child. Horror and bewilderment seized them at once, and they stood frozen at the sight. But she said, "This is my own child, and the deed is mine. Eat, for I have eaten too. Do not be softer than a woman or more tender-hearted than a mother. But if you are too devout and turn away from my sacrifice, then I have eaten my share for you, and let the rest stay for me." 28 After that, the men went out trembling. In this one thing they were cowards, and they hardly left that food to the mother. At once the whole city was filled with the horror of it. Each person pictured the scene before his eyes and shuddered as though he himself had dared the deed. Those who were starving hurried toward death, and they called those blessed who had died before hearing and seeing such great evils." Such was the payment the Jews received for their lawlessness and ungodliness against the Christ of God.

CHAPTER 7

The Predictions of Christ.

2 It is worth setting beside these things the unfailing prediction of our Saviour, in which he foretold these very events, speaking prophetically like this: "Woe to those who are pregnant and to those who are nursing in those days. Pray that your flight does not happen in winter or on a Sabbath. For then there will be great tribulation, such as has not happened from the be-

71. "Στασιασταί" means the factions fighting one another inside Jerusalem, and "rebels" is used for them here. The "fury" (ἐρινύς, Erinys) is an avenging spirit of Greek myth.

ginning of the world until now, and never will again." The historian adds up the whole number of those killed and says that 1,100,000 died by famine and sword. The rest, the rebels and bandits, informed on one another after the capture of the city and were put to death. The tallest of the young men and those outstanding in bodily beauty were kept for the triumph. Of the remaining crowd, those over seventeen years old were sent in chains to labor in Egypt, and many more were distributed among the provinces to be destroyed in the theaters by the sword and by wild beasts. Those under seventeen were taken captive and sold, and the number of these alone came to ninety thousand men.[72] [*Matthew 24:19-21*]

4 These things happened in this way in the second year of Vespasian's reign. They agreed with the prophetic words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by divine power saw them beforehand as though they were already present. He wept and lamented, as the holy evangelists record. They also set down his very words. At one time he said, as though speaking to Jerusalem herself: "If you had known, even you, on this day, the things that make for peace! But now they are hidden from your eyes. For days will come upon you when your enemies will build a palisade around you, and surround you, and hem you in on every side, and they will level you to the ground, you and your children." [*Luke 19:42-44*] 6 At another time he spoke as though about the people: "For there will be great distress on the earth, and wrath on this people. They will fall by the mouth of the sword and be taken captive among all the nations. And Jerusalem will be trampled by the nations, until the times of the nations are fulfilled." And again: "When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that her desolation has come near." If anyone compares our Saviour's words with the rest of the historian's account of the whole war, how can he fail to marvel? He must admit that our Saviour's foreknowledge and prediction were truly divine and wonderfully beyond expectation. [*Luke 21:23-24; Luke 21:20*]

8 Now as for the calamities that came on the whole nation after the Saviour's passion, and after the cries in which the Jewish crowd begged that the robber and murderer be spared death but asked that the Author of life be taken away from them, there is no need to add anything to the historian's

72. The "historian" is Josephus (War 6.420), who gives 1,100,000 dead (Eusebius's "110 myriads") and about 97,000 captives. Eusebius's Greek reads "nine myriads" (90,000) for the captives. Christ's words follow Matthew 24:19-21 (compare Mark 13:17-19; Luke 21:23).

account. But it is right to add the following, which shows the kindness of an all-good Providence. For a full forty years after their daring act against Christ, Providence held back their destruction. During that time many of the apostles and disciples were still alive, and James himself, the first bishop of that place, who was called the Lord's brother. They lived in the city of Jerusalem itself, and they remained there like a very strong fence around the place.[73] 9 In this time the divine oversight was still patient, in case they might at some point repent of what they had done and obtain forgiveness and salvation. Besides such great patience, it also gave them astonishing signs from God of what would happen to them if they did not repent. The historian already mentioned thought these signs worth recording, and I cannot do better than to set them before those who come to read this work.[74]

CHAPTER 8

The Signs Which Preceded the War.

2 The Signs Which Preceded the War. Take, then, and read what he records in the sixth book of his History. His words are these: "At that time the wretched people were being persuaded by cheats and by those who lied about God. But they paid no attention and gave no belief to the clear wonders that announced the coming desolation. As if thunderstruck, with neither eyes nor mind, they ignored the proclamations of God. There was a time when a star like a sword stood over the city, and a comet continued for a whole year. And there was another time, before the revolt and the movement toward war, when the people were gathering for the feast of unleavened bread. On the eighth of the month Xanthicus, at the ninth hour of the night, such a light shone around the altar and the temple that it seemed to be bright day. This lasted for half an hour. To the inexperienced it seemed a good sign, but the sacred scribes immediately judged it in light of what followed.[75]

5 "At the same feast a cow, brought by the high priest to be sacrificed, gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple. The eastern gate of the inner temple was made of bronze and was very heavy. It was closed in the even-

73. "Ἀρχηγός" can be rendered "Author" or "Prince" of life. The Greek says Providence "put off" (ὑπερθεμένης) their destruction. James is called the Lord's brother here, as in Galatians 1:19.

74. "Divine oversight" translates θεία ἐπισκοπή, which can also be rendered "visitation" or "providence." The word is cognate with ἐπίσκοπος ("bishop," literally "overseer").

75. The "historian" is Josephus, and the passage is from his Jewish War, book 6. Xanthicus was a spring month of the Macedonian calendar that Josephus equates with Nisan.

ing only with difficulty by twenty men. It rested on bars bound with iron and had bolts sunk very deep. Yet at the sixth hour of the night it was seen standing open by itself. Then, not many days after the feast, on the twenty-first of the month Artemisius, a supernatural apparition appeared that is beyond belief. What I am about to describe might seem a fable if it were not recorded by those who saw it, and if the sufferings that followed were not worthy of such signs. For before sunset, chariots and armed battalions were seen in the air over the whole country, darting out of the clouds and encircling the cities.

7 "At the feast called Pentecost, the priests went into the temple at night, as was their custom, to perform the services. They said that they first noticed a movement and a noise, and after that a sound of many voices saying, 'We are leaving this place.' What follows is even more fearful. A certain Jesus, son of Ananias, an untrained countryman, came to the feast four years before the war, when the city was especially at peace and prospering. At this feast it was the custom for everyone to build booths to honor God. Suddenly, in the temple, he began to cry out: 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against the whole people.' Day and night he went about through all the narrow streets, shouting this. [*Jeremiah 7:34*]

9 "Some of the leading citizens were angry at this ill-omened cry. They seized the man and beat him with many blows. He said nothing in his own defense and said nothing in particular to those present. He kept on crying out the same words as before. The rulers concluded, correctly, that the man's behavior was moved by something supernatural. So they brought him to the Roman governor. There he was torn to the bone with whips, yet he neither begged nor wept. He bent his voice to the most mournful tone he could and answered each stroke with, 'Woe to Jerusalem!'" 11 The same writer reports something even more remarkable than this. He says that an oracle was found in their sacred writings, saying that at that time someone from their own country would rule the world. He himself took this to be fulfilled in Vespasian. But Vespasian did not rule the whole world, only the part under Roman rule. It could more rightly be applied to Christ. The Father said to him, "Ask of me, and I will give you the nations as your inheritance, and the ends of

the earth as your possession." At that very time the voice of the holy apostles went out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.[76]

CHAPTER 9

Josephus and the Works Which He Has Left.

2 On top of all this, since Josephus has contributed so much to the history we have in hand, we should not be ignorant of where he came from and of what family. He tells us this himself: "Josephus, son of Mattathias, a priest from Jerusalem, who himself fought against the Romans at the first and was present at the later events under compulsion." He was the most distinguished of the Jews of that time, not only among his own countrymen but also among the Romans. As a result he was honored with a statue set up in Rome, and the works he labored over were judged worthy of a place in the library. 4 He set down the whole of the Jewish Antiquities in twenty books, and the history of the Jewish war of his own time in seven. He himself testifies that he gave the latter not only in Greek but also in his native language. He deserves to be believed, given his reliability in other matters. Two other works of his are also in circulation and are worth studying, On the Antiquity of the Jews. In them he answers Apion the grammarian, who had written an attack on the Jews at that time, and others who likewise tried to slander the ancestral customs of the Jewish nation.[77]

5 In the first of these books he gives the number of the writings of the so-called Old Testament, setting out which ones were undisputed among the Hebrews, as handed down from ancient tradition. He teaches this in his own words, as follows:

CHAPTER 10

The Manner in Which Josephus Mentions the Divine Books.

3 "We do not have countless books that disagree and contradict one another. We have only twenty-two books, containing the record of all time, which are rightly believed to be divine. Of these, five are the books of Moses. They contain the laws and the tradition of the origin of mankind, down to his death. This period falls a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses to Artaxerxes, who followed Xerxes as king of the Persians, the

76. Eusebius is drawing on Josephus (Jewish War 6.312–313) for the oracle. The quotation is from Psalm 2:8, and the last clause echoes Psalm 19:4 (quoted in Romans 10:18).
77. The two books "On the Antiquity of the Jews" are what we now call Against Apion.

prophets after Moses wrote the history of their own times in thirteen books. The remaining four contain hymns to God and counsels for human life."[78]
5 "From Artaxerxes to our own time every event has been written down, but these accounts have not been thought worthy of the same trust as the earlier ones, because there was no exact succession of prophets. How we treat our own writings shows plainly how we regard them. Although so many ages have now gone by, no one has dared to add to them, take away from them, or change them. It is instinctive in all Jews from their very birth to regard them as God's decrees, to hold to them, and, if need be, to die for them gladly."

7 Let these words of the historian be set down here for their usefulness. The same man also produced another work of real merit, On the Sovereignty of Reason, which some have titled "Maccabaean." It contains the struggles of the Hebrews who fought bravely for their devotion to God, as told in the writings called the Maccabean books. At the end of the twentieth book of the Antiquities, the same author also indicates that he planned to write four books on God and his being, according to the ancestral beliefs of the Jews, and on the laws: why, according to them, some things may be done and others are forbidden. In his own writings he also mentions other works he had labored over.[79] 9 In addition, it is reasonable to quote the words Josephus placed at the close of his Antiquities, in support of the testimony we have taken from his works. There he attacks Justus of Tiberias, who, like himself, had tried to write a history of the events of the same period, and he charges that Justus did not write the truth. After bringing many other accusations against the man, he goes on in these very words: "I, however, was not afraid, as you were, about my own writing. I gave my books to the emperors themselves, when the events were almost still before men's eyes. For I knew in my own conscience that I had kept faithfully to the truth of the record, and I was not disappointed in expecting to receive their testimony.

11 I also gave my history to many others, some of whom had actually taken part in the war, such as King Agrippa and some of his relatives. The Emperor Titus so wished men to learn of these events from my books alone

78. Eusebius is quoting Josephus (Against Apion 1.38–41). "Down to his death" refers to the death of Moses. Josephus gives only the count of twenty-two books, divided 5, 13 and 4, and does not name the individual books here.

79. The work On the Sovereignty of Reason is now usually called 4 Maccabees. Eusebius ascribes it to Josephus, which is generally doubted today.

that he signed the volumes with his own hand and ordered them to be published. King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters, testifying to the truth of my account." Josephus adds two of these letters. But let this be enough about him; let us go on to what follows.

CHAPTER 11

Symeon Rules the Church of Jerusalem After James.

After the martyrdom of James and the capture of Jerusalem that followed immediately, the story is that those of the apostles and disciples of the Lord who were still alive gathered from every direction. They met together with the Lord's relatives according to the flesh, for many of these were still living then. They all took counsel together about whom to judge worthy to succeed James. With one mind they all approved Symeon, the son of Clopas, whom the Gospel writing also mentions, as worthy of the throne of the church there. He was, they say, a cousin of the Savior, for Hegesippus records that Clopas was the brother of Joseph.[80]

CHAPTER 12

Vespasian Commands the Descendants of David to Be Sought.

Further, he relates that after the capture of Jerusalem Vespasian ordered a search for all who were of the family of David, so that none of the royal tribe would be left among the Jews. Because of this, a very great persecution again fell upon the Jews.

CHAPTER 13

Anencletus, the Second Bishop of Rome.

After Vespasian had reigned ten years, his son, the emperor Titus, succeeded him. In the second year of Titus's reign, Linus, who had held the ministry of the church of the Romans for twelve years as bishop, handed it over to Anencletus. Titus was succeeded by his brother Domitian, who reigned two years and the same number of months.[81]

80. The Greek word is paroikia, here "church" (a local Christian community); "throne" means the bishop's seat. "The Gospel writing" probably refers to John 19:25, where "Mary of Clopas" is named.

81. The Greek text is not damaged here. "Two years and as many months" is an accusative participle, so it refers to Titus (about two years and two months), not Domitian. The English wrongly applies it to Domitian, who reigned about fifteen years.

CHAPTER 14

Abilius, the Second Bishop of Alexandria.

In the fourth year of Domitian, Annianus, the first head of the community at Alexandria, died after completing twenty-two years. Abilius succeeded him as the second.

CHAPTER 15

Clement, the Third Bishop of Rome.

In the twelfth year of the same reign, Clement succeeded Anencletus, who had been bishop of the church of the Romans for twelve years. The apostle teaches in his letter to the Philippians that this Clement was his fellow worker. He says: "with Clement also, and the rest of my fellow workers, whose names are in the book of life." [*Philippians 4:3*]

CHAPTER 16

The Epistle of Clement.

One letter of this Clement is acknowledged as genuine, long and remarkable. He wrote it in the name of the church of the Romans to the church of the Corinthians, when a dispute had broken out at Corinth. We know that this letter has been read publicly in very many churches, both long ago and in our own day. And that the Corinthian dispute took place at the time I have mentioned, Hegesippus is a reliable witness.

CHAPTER 17

The Persecution Under Domitian.

Domitian showed great cruelty to many people. He put to death, without any reasonable trial, a considerable number of well-born and distinguished men in Rome. He punished countless other prominent men, without any charge, with exile beyond the borders and loss of their property. In the end he made himself the successor of Nero's hatred of God and fighting against God. He was the second to stir up persecution against us, although his father Vespasian had planned nothing wrong against us.

CHAPTER 18

The Apostle John and the Apocalypse.

3 At this time, the story goes, the apostle and evangelist John, who was still living, was condemned to live on the island of Patmos because of his testi-

mony to the divine Word. Irenaeus, in the fifth book of his work Against the Heresies, writes about the number that is given for the name of the Antichrist in the so-called Revelation of John, and says this about John: "If it had been necessary for his name to be proclaimed openly at the present time, it would have been said by the one who also saw the Revelation. For it was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, toward the end of Domitian's reign." 4 In the time I have described, the teaching of our faith shone so brightly that even writers outside our religion did not hesitate to record the persecution and the martyrdoms in it in their histories. They also marked the time exactly. They report that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, along with very many others, was punished by being handed over to exile on the island of Pontia because of her testimony to Christ. She was the niece (her mother was a sister) of Flavius Clement, who was at that time one of the consuls at Rome.

CHAPTER 19

Domitian Commands the Descendants of David to Be Slain.

When this same Domitian ordered that those of the family of David be put to death, an old tradition says that some of the heretics accused the descendants of Jude, who is said to have been the Saviour's brother according to the flesh. They said these men were of David's line and were relatives of Christ himself. Hegesippus shows this, saying in his own words something like the following:

CHAPTER 20

The Relatives of Our Saviour.

2 "There were still living some of the Lord's family, grandsons of Jude, who is called his brother according to the flesh. They were informed against as being of David's family. The Evocatus brought them to the Emperor Domitian, for he feared the coming of Christ, as Herod had also feared it. He asked them whether they were of David's line, and they admitted that they were. Then he asked them how much property they had, or how much money they controlled. They both said that they had only nine thousand denarii between them, half of it belonging to each. They said they did not have this in silver, but in the assessed value of a piece of land of only thirty-nine plethra. From this land they paid their taxes, and they supported themselves by working it with their own hands."[82] 4 "Then they also showed their hands. The hardness of their bodies and the calluses stamped on their own hands by constant work were their evidence that they worked the land themselves. When they were asked about Christ and his kingdom, what kind it was, and where and when it would appear, they explained that it was not of this world or of the earth, but heavenly and angelic. It would come at the end of the age, when he would come in glory to judge the living and the dead and to repay each one according to his deeds." [*Romans 2:6*]

7 "At this Domitian passed no sentence against them. He despised them as of no account, set them free, and by a decree stopped the persecution against the church. When they were released, they became leaders of the churches, both as martyrs and as members of the Lord's family. Peace came, and they remained alive until the time of Trajan." That is what Hegesippus says. Tertullian also mentions Domitian in these words: "Domitian too once tried to do the same thing as Nero, since he shared a part of Nero's cruelty. But since he had some sense, I suppose, he quickly stopped, and even called back those he had banished." 9 Domitian ruled for fifteen years, and Nerva then took over the empire. Those who have written down the history of those times report that the Roman Senate voted to cancel Domitian's honors, and that those who had been unjustly banished should return to their homes and have their property restored. It was then, according to the ac-

82. The Evocatus was a Roman soldier who, after completing his service, had been recalled or had re-enlisted, often in a privileged post. A plethron was a Greek unit of land of about 100 by 100 Greek feet, roughly a fifth of an acre, so thirty-nine plethra is about 8–9 acres.

count handed down among the ancient writers of our own church, that the apostle John came back from his exile on the island and took up residence at Ephesus.

CHAPTER 21

Cerdon Becomes the Third Ruler of the Church of Alexandria.

Nerva reigned a little over a year and was succeeded by Trajan. In Trajan's first year, Abilius, who had led the church community at Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdon. Cerdon was the third to lead it there after Annianus, who was the first. At that time Clement was still leading the church at Rome. He was the third to hold the office of bishop there after Paul and Peter. Linus was the first, and after him came Anencletus.[83]

CHAPTER 22

Ignatius, the Second Bishop of Antioch.

At Antioch, too, Ignatius was well known at this time as the second bishop there, Evodius having been appointed the first. In the same period Symeon was the second to hold office in the church at Jerusalem, the Saviour's brother having been the first.

CHAPTER 23

Narrative Concerning John the Apostle.

3 After this, the apostle and evangelist John, the very one whom Jesus loved, was still living in Asia. He had come back from his exile on the island after Domitian's death, and he directed the churches there. That he was still alive until those times can be established by two witnesses. They are trustworthy because they were champions of the church's sound teaching, and such were Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. The first of them writes as follows in the second book of his work Against Heresies: "And all the elders who met John, the Lord's disciple, in Asia bear witness that John handed it down. For he stayed with them until the time of Trajan." 5 In the third book of the same work he says the same thing in these words: "Moreover, the church in Ephesus was founded by Paul, and John remained with them until the time of Trajan. It is a true witness of the apostles' tradition." Clement, for his

83. "Church community" translates the Greek paroikia, the source of "parish." It literally means a sojourning or dwelling as resident aliens, and in early Christian usage it came to mean a local church community.

part, both notes the time and adds a most necessary account for those who love to hear what is good and useful. He gives it in the writing he titled "Who Is the Rich Man Who Is Saved?" Take it and read what he writes:

7 "Listen to a story that is not just a story but a true account, handed down about John the apostle and kept safe in memory. When the tyrant died and John moved from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, he would go when invited to the neighboring Gentile regions as well. In some places he appointed bishops, in others he organized whole churches, and in others he chose by lot one of those marked out by the Spirit. Once he came to a city not far away (some people even give its name). He comforted the brothers in other matters, and then, looking at the bishop who had been appointed over them all, he saw a young man of strong build, pleasing appearance and fervent spirit. He said, 'I entrust this young man to you with all earnestness, with the church and Christ as witnesses.' The bishop accepted him and promised everything. John spoke to him again in the same terms and solemnly charged him once more.[84]

9 "Then John departed for Ephesus. The presbyter took the young man he had been given into his own home. He fed him, kept him close, cared for him warmly, and finally baptized him. After that he relaxed his great care and watchfulness, thinking that in the seal of the Lord he had set over him a perfect safeguard. But the young man took his freedom too early, and some of his own age, idle and dissolute and used to evil, corrupted him. First they led him on with expensive banquets. Then they took him along when they went out at night to rob people. Then they expected him to join them in something even greater.[85] 12 "Little by little he became used to it. He had a strong nature, and like a powerful, hard-mouthed horse he left the straight road, took the bit between his teeth, and ran all the more wildly toward the precipices. He gave up completely on salvation in God. He no longer planned anything small. Having done some great deed, since he was lost once for all, he thought it right to suffer the same as the others. So he took these same men, formed a robber band, and became its ready chief, the most violent, bloodthirsty and cruel of them all. Time passed, and when some need arose,

84. "The tyrant" is Domitian. Eusebius names him earlier, in his account of the persecution and of Nerva's recall of exiles (3.17–20), not in the sentence just before this one.

85. "Seal of the Lord" means baptism. The Greek word translated "baptized" is literally "enlightened," a common early Christian term for baptism. The "presbyter" is the bishop of the previous section.

they called John back. When he had settled the other matters for which he had come, he said, 'Come now, bishop, give back to us the deposit that Christ and I entrusted to you, with the church over which you preside as witness.'

13 "At first the bishop was thunderstruck. He thought he was being falsely accused over money he had never received, and he could neither believe the charge about what he did not have nor disbelieve John. But John said, 'I am asking for the young man and for the soul of our brother.' The old man groaned deeply and shed some tears. 'That one is dead,' he said. 'How? What kind of death?' 'He is dead to God,' the old man said. 'He turned out wicked and ruined, and in short, a robber. And now, instead of the church, he has taken over the mountain with a band of armed men like himself.' 16 When the apostle heard this, he tore his clothes and struck his head, groaning loudly. "A fine guard I left for my brother's soul!" he said. "But let a horse be brought to me at once, and let someone be my guide on the road." He rode off just as he was, straight from the church. When he reached the place, the robbers' outpost seized him. He did not try to flee or beg for mercy. He shouted, "This is why I have come! Take me to your leader." The leader was waiting, armed as he was. But when he recognized John coming toward him, he was ashamed and turned to flee. John chased him with all his strength, forgetting his own age, and cried out:

18 "Why do you run from me, my child, from your own father, unarmed and old? Have pity on me, my child. Do not be afraid. You still have hope of life. I will answer to Christ for you. If need be, I will gladly undergo your death, as the Lord did for us. I will give my own life in place of yours. Stop! Believe me; Christ has sent me." When the young man heard this, he first stood still, looking at the ground. Then he threw down his weapons. Then he trembled and wept bitterly. As the old man came up, he embraced him, pleading his case with groans as well as he could, and being baptized a second time with his tears. Only his right hand he kept hidden. 19 John pledged himself for him and swore that he had found forgiveness for him from the Saviour. He begged him, fell on his knees, and kissed that very right hand as though it had been cleansed by repentance. Then he brought him back to the church. He pleaded for him with abundant prayers, struggled alongside him in constant fasting, and worked on his mind with all sorts of charming words. He did not leave, so they say, until he had restored him to the church.

In this way he gave a great example of true repentance and a great proof of new birth, a trophy of resurrection for all to see.[86]

CHAPTER 24

The Order of the Gospels.

3 Let this account from Clement stand here, both for the history and for the benefit of those who read it. Now let us also point out the undisputed writings of this apostle. First, his Gospel is recognized by the churches everywhere under heaven, and let it be acknowledged as genuine. The ancients had good reason to place it fourth, after the other three, and this will become clear as follows. The apostles of Christ were inspired men, truly worthy of God. Their lives were thoroughly purified, and their souls were adorned with every virtue. But they were untrained in speech. They put their confidence in the divine, miracle-working power that the Saviour had given them. They neither knew how nor tried to present their teacher's lessons with elaborate craft and rhetoric. Instead they relied only on the demonstration of the divine Spirit working with them, and on the miraculous power of Christ accomplished through them. In this way they proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven throughout the whole world, and they gave little thought to writing books.[87]

5 They did this because they were serving in a ministry greater than any human one. Paul, for example, was the most powerful of all in preparing his words and was fully capable in his thoughts, yet he left in writing no more than very short letters. He could have said countless things that cannot be told, for he had touched the visions up to the third heaven, had been caught up into God's own paradise, and had been counted worthy to hear unspeakable words there. The other followers of our Saviour were not without such experiences either: the twelve apostles, the seventy disciples, and countless others besides. Nevertheless, of all the Lord's companions, only Matthew and John have left us written records of his teachings and life, and tradition says that necessity drove them to write.[88] [*2 Corinthians 12:2-4*] 7 Matthew had first

86. "New birth" translates the Greek word palingenesia (literally "birth again"), also used in Titus 3:5.

87. "This apostle" is John. Eusebius has just finished the story of John and the young man, which he took from Clement of Alexandria.

88. The "third heaven" and "paradise" allude to Paul's account in 2 Corinthians 12:2-4. The Greek calls the written works hypomnemata, "memoirs" or "records."

preached to the Hebrews. When he was about to go to others as well, he handed down his Gospel in writing in his native language. In this way his writing made up for his absence to those he was leaving. Then, after Mark and Luke had already published their Gospels, they say that John, who had used unwritten preaching all the time, finally came to writing for this reason. The three Gospels written before his had by now been passed on to everyone, including himself. They say he welcomed them and bore witness that they were true. But he said that only one thing was missing from the written account: the story of what Christ did at first, at the very beginning of his preaching.

9 And this account is true. For anyone can see that the other three evangelists wrote down only what the Savior did in the one year after John the Baptist was shut up in prison, and that they point this out at the start of their histories. Matthew, for example, after the forty days' fast and the temptation that followed it, marks the time of his narrative when he says: "Now when he heard that John had been delivered up, he withdrew from Judea into Galilee." [*Matthew 4:12*] 11 Mark likewise says, "Now after John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before he begins the deeds of Jesus, marks the time in a similar way, saying that Herod, adding to all the evil things he had done, shut John up in prison. For these reasons, they say, the apostle John was urged to hand down in his own Gospel the period that the earlier evangelists had passed over in silence, and the Savior's deeds in that period, that is, the things that happened before the Baptist was put in prison. They say he himself points this out, sometimes saying, "This beginning of signs Jesus made," and sometimes mentioning the Baptist in the middle of the deeds of Jesus, as still baptizing at Aenon near Salim. He makes it plain when he says, "For John had not yet been thrown into prison."[89] [*Mark 1:14; Luke 3:19-20; John 2:11; John 3:23-24*]

13 So in writing his Gospel, John hands down what Christ did before the Baptist was thrown into prison, while the other three evangelists record what happened after the Baptist was shut up in prison. Anyone who takes note of this will no longer think the Gospels disagree with one another, since John's Gospel contains the first of Christ's deeds, while the others contain the his-

89. Eusebius's Greek here has "paradoxa" (strange or marvelous things, wonders), not John's own word "sēmeia" (signs, John 2:11). The English "signs" follows John 2:11, where Eusebius is paraphrasing John.

tory of the last part of his time. It was reasonable, then, that John passed over in silence the genealogy of our Savior according to the flesh, since Matthew and Luke had already written it, and that he began with the teaching about his divinity, which the divine Spirit had kept in reserve for him as the greater one. 15 Let this be enough from us about the writing of the Gospel according to John. The reason for the Gospel according to Mark has already been explained earlier. As for Luke, at the very beginning of his writing he himself states why he composed it. Many others, he says, had rashly taken it upon themselves to give an account of matters of which he himself had full assurance. So, to free us from the uncertain opinions held about those others, he handed down in his own Gospel the reliable account of what he himself had fully grasped as the truth. He had gained this from his time with Paul and his companionship with him, and from his conversation with the other apostles. [*Luke 1:1-4*]

18 That is what we have to say about these matters. At a more suitable time we shall try to set out what others have said about them, by quoting the ancient writers. Of the writings of John, besides the Gospel, his first epistle has been accepted without dispute, both by people today and by those of old. The other two are disputed. As for the Apocalypse, the opinion of most people is still pulled in both directions. Nevertheless, at the proper time this book too will be judged from the testimony of the ancients.

CHAPTER 25

The Divine Scriptures that are Accept and Those that are Not.

3 Heading: The Divine Scriptures That Are Accepted and Those That Are Not. Since we have come to this point, it is reasonable to sum up the writings of the New Testament already mentioned. First we must place the holy fourfold set of the Gospels. The writing of the Acts of the Apostles follows them. After that we must list the epistles of Paul. Next we should affirm the epistle of John called his first, and likewise the epistle of Peter. After these we should place, if it seems right, the Apocalypse of John; we will set out the opinions about it at the proper time. These belong among the accepted books. Among the disputed books, which are nevertheless well known to many, are the one called the epistle of James, the epistle of Jude, the second epistle of Peter, and the ones called the second and third of John, whether they belong to the evangelist or to another person with the same name.[90]

5 Among the spurious books let us also place the Acts of Paul, the so-called Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, and besides these the letter circulating under the name of Barnabas and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles. In addition there is, as I said, the Apocalypse of John, if that seems right. Some, as I said, reject it, while others count it among the accepted books. Some have also listed among these the Gospel according to the Hebrews, in which those Hebrews who have accepted Christ take special delight. All of these would belong among the disputed books.[91] 6 Still, I have felt it necessary to make a list of these books as well. I have distinguished the writings that are true, genuine and accepted according to the tradition of the church from the others. These others are not part of the covenant books but are disputed, though most church writers know them. I did this so that we could know these writings, and also the writings that heretics put forward under the apostles' names. Such writings include gospels said to be by Peter, Thomas, Matthias or others besides them, and acts said to be by Andrew, John and the other apostles. No writer in the line of church writers has ever thought any of these worth mentioning in his writings.[92]

7 The style of writing also differs widely from the apostolic manner. The thinking and purpose of what is in them are far out of tune with true orthodoxy, and show plainly that they are forgeries made by heretics. So they should not even be classed among the spurious books. They should be rejected as altogether absurd and impious. Let us now go on to the history that follows.

CHAPTER 26

Menander the Sorcerer.

2 After Simon the magician, Menander succeeded him. He proved to be a second weapon of the devil's working, no less effective than the first. He too was a Samaritan. He went as far in sorcery as his teacher, and he indulged in even greater tall tales. He said that he himself was the Saviour, sent from

90. "Fourfold set" translates a Greek word (tetraktys) meaning a group of four; the older translation has "quaternion." "Accepted" (homologoumena) means books agreed on by everyone; "disputed" (antilegomena) means books some people spoke against.

91. Eusebius uses "spurious" (nothoi) for books known to church writers but not accepted as genuine. He also says they could be counted among the disputed books, and in 3.25.6-7 he treats heretical forgeries as worse than either.

92. "Covenant books" translates the Greek "endiathēkous", meaning "belonging to the (new) covenant", that is, canonical. The older translation reads "canonical".

somewhere above, out of the invisible ages, for the salvation of men. He taught that no one could overcome even the angels who made the world unless he had first been led through the magical skill that Menander handed on, and through the baptism that he gave. Those counted worthy of this baptism would share in everlasting immortality in this very life. They would no longer die, but would stay here and become ageless and immortal forever. One can easily learn all this from the writings of Irenaeus. 4 Justin also mentions Simon in the same way, and goes on to give an account of Menander. He says: "We know that a certain Menander, also a Samaritan, from the village of Capparattea, became a disciple of Simon. He too was goaded on by the demons. He came to Antioch and deceived many by the art of magic. He even persuaded his followers that they would not die. And even now there are some who profess this because of him." It was indeed the devil's doing to use such sorcerers, who took on the name of Christian, to slander the great mystery of godliness as though it were magic. Through them he also sought to ridicule the church's teachings about the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead. But those who have taken these men as their saviours have fallen away from the true hope.[93] [*1 Timothy 3:16*]

CHAPTER 27

The Heresy of the Ebionites.

2 The wicked demon could not shake some others from their love for the Christ of God, but he found them open to attack from another side and made them his own. The first Christians rightly called them Ebionites, because they held poor and lowly opinions about Christ. They thought he was a plain, ordinary man, who was made righteous only through his progress in character, and who was born from the union of a man with Mary. They held that keeping the law was absolutely necessary, and that they could not be saved by faith in Christ alone and the life that goes with it.[94] 4 There were others with the same name who avoided the strange error of the first group. They did not deny that the Lord was born of a virgin and of the Holy Spirit. But they did not admit, any more than the others, that he existed before, as God, Word and Wisdom. So they fell into the same impiety as the first

93. In the Greek, Justin's quotation ends after "because of him." The sentence beginning "It was indeed the devil's doing..." is Eusebius's own comment.

94. "Ebionites" comes from a Hebrew word meaning "poor," which Eusebius plays on when he says they held "poor" opinions of Christ.

group, especially since they too were eager to keep the bodily worship of the law like them. These men thought they must reject all the letters of the apostle Paul, and called him a rebel against the law. They used only the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews and took little account of the others.

6 They kept the Sabbath and the rest of the Jewish way of life just as the others did. But on the Lord's days they did what we do, in memory of the Lord's resurrection. Because of this practice they received their name. The name Ebionites points to the poverty of their understanding, for among the Hebrews a poor man is called by that name.[95]

CHAPTER 28

Cerinthus the Heresiarch.

2 We have learned that in the times just mentioned Cerinthus became the founder of another heresy. Gaius, whose words I have already quoted, writes this about him in the Dialogue that circulates under his name: "But Cerinthus also, through revelations that he claims were written by a great apostle, brings in marvelous tales to deceive us, as though angels had shown them to him. He says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be on earth, and that the flesh will again live as citizens in Jerusalem, enslaved to desires and pleasures. And he is an enemy of the Scriptures of God. Wanting to lead people astray, he says there will be a thousand years given to wedding festivities." 5 Dionysius, who in our own time held the office of bishop over the church in Alexandria, also mentions this man. In the second book of his work On Promises, after saying some things about John's Revelation as handed down from earlier times, he speaks of Cerinthus in these words: "Cerinthus founded the heresy that was named after him, the Cerinthian. He wanted a trustworthy name to attach to his own invention. For this was the teaching of his doctrine: that the kingdom of Christ would be on earth. And he dreamed that it would consist of the things he himself craved, since he loved the body and was thoroughly carnal. These were the filling of the belly and of what lies below the belly, that is, food and drink and marriage. And to make these things sound more respectable, he thought they would be supplied through feasts, sacrifices and the slaughter of animals."

95. "Lord's days" translates a Greek phrase (kyriakai hemerai) that means Sundays. Eusebius says "Ebionites" comes from the Hebrew word for "poor."

6 That is what Dionysius says. Irenaeus, in the first book of his work Against Heresies, sets out some more secret false teachings of the same man. In the third book he also gives an account in his writing that deserves not to be forgotten. He says, on the tradition of Polycarp, that the apostle John once went into a bathhouse to wash. When he learned that Cerinthus was inside, he jumped up and fled out the door, unable to stay under the same roof with him. He urged those with him to do the same, saying, "Let us flee, in case even the bathhouse falls down, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is inside."

CHAPTER 29

Nicolaus and the Sect Named After Him.

2 After this, the so-called heresy of the Nicolaitans arose and lasted only a very short time. The Revelation of John mentions it. They boasted that their founder was Nicolaus, one of the deacons who, with Stephen, were chosen by the apostles to serve the needy. Clement of Alexandria, in the third book of his Stromata, tells this about him in these words: "They say that he had a beautiful wife. After the Savior's ascension, the apostles reproached him for jealousy. So he brought his wife into the middle of them and allowed anyone who wished to marry her. For they say this act agreed with the saying that one must 'abuse the flesh.' And those who follow his heresy, imitating both what was done and what was said simply and without examination, shamelessly practice fornication." [*Revelation 2:6; Revelation 2:15; Acts 6:5*] 4 "But I am told that Nicolaus had relations with no other woman than the one he married. And of his children, the daughters grew old as virgins, and the son remained unspoiled. If this is so, then bringing the wife he was jealous over into the midst of the apostles was a way of getting rid of his passion. And the saying 'abuse the flesh' taught self-control against the pleasures people pursue so eagerly. For I think he did not want to serve two masters, pleasure and the Lord, as the Savior commanded. They say that Matthias also taught in this way: that one must fight against the flesh and abuse it, giving it nothing for the sake of pleasure, and make the soul grow through faith and knowledge." So much for those who in the times just mentioned tried to corrupt the truth, though they died out completely, quicker than a word.[96] [*Matthew 6:24*]

96. The "two masters" saying echoes Matthew 6:24 and Luke 16:13. The final sentence ("So much for those who...") is Eusebius's own comment, not part of the quotation from Clement of Alexandria.

CHAPTER 30

The Apostles that Were Married.

Clement, whose words we have just read, goes on after the passages above to list the apostles who were married, because of those who reject marriage. He says: "Or will they reject even the apostles? For Peter and Philip had children, and Philip also gave his daughters in marriage. And Paul does not hesitate, in one of his letters, to address his own wife. He did not take her about with him, so as to keep his service unburdened." Since we have mentioned this, it is no trouble to add another story from the same author that is worth telling. He relates it in the seventh book of his Stromata: "They say, then, that when the blessed Peter saw his own wife being led away to death, he was glad at her calling and at her going home. He called out to her very encouragingly and comfortingly, addressing her by name: 'Remember the Lord, my dear.' Such was the marriage of the blessed, and such their perfect disposition toward those dearest to them." Since this too fits the subject in hand, let it stand here in its proper place.[97]

CHAPTER 31

The Death of John and Philip.

2 The time and manner of the deaths of Paul and Peter, and the place where their bodies were laid after they left this life, have already been shown. The time of John's death has also been mentioned in a general way. The place where he was buried is shown by a letter of Polycrates, who was bishop of the church at Ephesus. Writing to Victor, bishop of Rome, he mentions John together with the apostle Philip and Philip's daughters, in these words: "For great lights have fallen asleep in Asia too, and they will rise again on the last day of the Lord's appearing, when he comes from heaven with glory and will seek out all his saints. Among them are Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who grew old as virgins; and his other daughter, who lived in the Holy Spirit, rests at Ephesus.[98]

4 "And then there is John, who leaned back on the breast of the Lord, who became a priest wearing the priestly plate, and a witness and a teacher.

97. Clement's claim that Paul had a wife rests on his reading of "syzygos" (yoke-fellow) in Philippians 4:3 (he cites it in Stromata 3). Most interpreters take the word to mean a colleague, so the reading is disputed. The Greek "ὦ αὐτη" means roughly "O you" or "O this woman," rendered here as "my dear."

He has fallen asleep at Ephesus." So much for their deaths. In the Dialogue of Gaius, which we mentioned a little earlier, Proclus, the man Gaius was arguing against, agrees with this account of the death of Philip and his daughters. He says: "After him there were four prophetesses, the daughters of Philip, at Hierapolis in Asia. Their tomb is there, and the tomb of their father."[99] [*John 13:25; Exodus 28:36*] 6 So Proclus says. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions Philip's daughters, who were then living at Caesarea in Judea with their father and had been given the gift of prophecy. His words are these: "We came to Caesarea, and entering the house of Philip the evangelist, who was one of the seven, we stayed with him. He had four unmarried daughters who prophesied." So in these pages we have set out what has come to our knowledge about the apostles themselves and the apostolic age. We have also covered the sacred writings they left us, those that are disputed but nevertheless have been used by many in most of the churches, and those that are entirely spurious and foreign to apostolic orthodoxy. Having done this, let us go on to the history that follows.[100] [*Acts 21:8-9*]

CHAPTER 32

Symeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, Suffers Martyrdom.

2 After Nero and Domitian, in the time of the emperor whose years we are now examining, the report is that a persecution against us was stirred up here and there, city by city, through popular uprisings. In it, as we have learned, Symeon son of Clopas, whom we showed to have been appointed the second bishop of the church in Jerusalem, ended his life in martyrdom. Hegesippus, whom we have quoted several times already, is a witness to this. In telling about certain heretics, he adds that Symeon was accused by them at this time. He was tortured in many ways for many days as a Christian, and he astonished the judge himself and those with him in the highest degree. In the end he met a death much like the Lord's suffering.[101] 4 But there is nothing

98. "Lights" translates "stoicheia," a word that usually means "elements" but can also mean heavenly bodies or stars. Here it seems to be used figuratively for great leaders of the church.

99. The "plate" (petalon) is the gold plate worn on the high priest's turban (see Exodus 28:36). Polycrates speaks of John in priestly terms. The older translation's "Caius" is the same man as Gaius.

100. The Greek says "virgin daughters"; "unmarried" gives the sense. Eusebius quotes Acts 21:8-9 in his own wording.

101. The emperor in question is Trajan. The Greek says Symeon was tortured "as a Christian" (hōs Christianos).

like hearing the historian himself. He writes it down word for word like this: "Some of these heretics accuse Symeon, the son of Clopas, of being a descendant of David and a Christian. And so he bears witness by martyrdom, at the age of one hundred and twenty, under the emperor Trajan and the consular governor Atticus." The same writer says that his accusers also were arrested, since a search was then being made for those of the royal tribe of the Jews, and they were found to belong to it. One might reasonably conclude that Symeon was among those who had seen and heard the Lord. The evidence is the length of his life, and the fact that the Gospel Scripture mentions Mary, the wife of Clopas, of whom, as our account showed earlier, he was the son.

6 The same writer says that others, from the family of one of the Saviour's so-called brothers, whose name was Judas, lived on into the same reign. This was after their testimony for faith in Christ under Domitian, already told earlier. He writes: "So they come and take the lead of every church as martyrs and as members of the Lord's family. When deep peace came to every church, they remained until the emperor Trajan, until the time when Symeon, the son of Clopas, an uncle of the Lord, was falsely accused by the sects. In the same way he too was accused on the same charge before the consular governor Atticus. He was tortured for many days and bore witness by martyrdom. Everyone, even the governor, was greatly amazed that at the age of one hundred and twenty he could endure it. And he was ordered to be crucified."[102] 8 After this, the same man, telling of those events, adds that up to those times the church had remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin. Those who tried to corrupt the sound rule of the saving message, if there were any, were still lurking somewhere in obscure darkness. But when the sacred company of the apostles had ended their lives in various ways, and that generation of those who had been counted worthy to hear the God-inspired wisdom with their own ears had passed away, then the framework of godless error began to take shape through the deceit of teachers of different doctrines. Since none of the apostles was left, they now attempted with bare head to preach their falsely named knowledge against the message of the truth.[103] [*1 Timothy 6:20*]

102. "From an uncle of the Lord" translates ὁ ἐκ θείου τοῦ κυρίου, meaning Symeon came of that relationship. Elsewhere (3.11; 4.22) Hegesippus makes Clopas the brother of Joseph.

103. "Falsely named knowledge" echoes 1 Timothy 6:20, where ψευδώνυμος γνῶσις is the phrase. "With bare head" (γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ) is an idiom meaning openly and boldly.

CHAPTER 33

Trajan Forbids the Christians to Be Sought After.

1 Yet the persecution against us then grew so severe in many places that Pliny Secundus, one of the most distinguished of governors, was moved by the number of martyrs. He reported to the emperor about the multitude of those being put to death for their faith. In the same letter he stated that he had found them doing nothing unholy or against the laws, except that they rose at dawn and sang hymns to Christ as to a god. They themselves, he said, forbade adultery, murder and related unlawful offenses, and did everything in keeping with the laws. 2 In answer to this, Trajan issued a decree that the Christian people were not to be sought out, but that if they were caught they were to be punished. As a result the threat of the persecution, which had been pressing very hard, was to some extent put out. Still, those who wished to do us harm were not left with worse excuses. Sometimes the crowds, and sometimes the local rulers, were devising plots against us. So even without open persecutions, local ones flared up in one province after another, and many of the faithful contended in various martyrdoms.

3 Our account is taken from Tertullian's Roman Apology, mentioned above, which in translation reads as follows: "And yet we have found that even the search for us has been forbidden. For Pliny Secundus, governor of a province, had condemned some Christians and removed them from their rank. Troubled by their number, he did not know what he should do next. So he consulted the emperor Trajan, saying that, apart from their refusal to worship idols, he had found nothing unholy in them. He also reported this: that the Christians rose at dawn and sang hymns to Christ as to a god, and that, to keep their way of life, they were forbidden to murder, commit adultery, be greedy, defraud, and the like. In reply Trajan wrote that the Christian people were not to be sought out, but if caught they were to be punished." Such were the events of that time.[104]

CHAPTER 34

Evarestus, the Fourth Bishop of the Church of Rome.

Among the bishops of Rome, in the third year of the reign of the emperor just mentioned, Clement handed his ministry to Evarestus and departed this

life. He had presided over the teaching of the divine word for nine years in all.

CHAPTER 35

Justus, the Third Bishop of Jerusalem.

After Symeon had died in the way already described, a Jew named Justus took his seat as bishop of Jerusalem. He was himself one of the countless thousands of the circumcision who had come to believe in Christ at that time.

CHAPTER 36

Ignatius and His Epistles.

3 In those days Polycarp, a companion of the apostles, was eminent in Asia. He had been entrusted with the bishopric of the church at Smyrna by those who had seen and served the Lord. At the same time Papias, himself bishop of the community at Hierapolis, was well known. So was Ignatius, who is still famous among very many people. He had received the bishopric of Antioch as the second in succession from Peter. The report is that he was sent from Syria to the city of Rome and became food for wild beasts because of his witness to Christ. 5 Ignatius made his journey through Asia under the closest guard of soldiers. In each city where he stayed, he strengthened the local communities with spoken sermons and encouragements. Above all he urged them to be on guard against the heresies that were then just beginning to spring up and spread. He also urged them to hold on tightly to the tradition of the apostles. For safety's sake, now that he was bearing witness to it, he thought it necessary to set it down in writing as well. So when he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote one letter to the church at Ephesus, mentioning its pastor Onesimus. He wrote another to the church at Magnesia on the Maeander, where he again mentions a bishop, Damas. He wrote another to the church at Tralles, whose head at that time, he records, was Polybius.

7 Besides these he also wrote to the church of the Romans, appealing to them not to refuse his martyrdom and so rob him of the hope he longed for. It is worth quoting a very short passage from this letter to support what I have said. He writes in these words: "From Syria all the way to Rome I am

104. Eusebius quotes Tertullian (Apology 2.6) through a Greek translation of the Latin. The word ἐπιστήμη normally means "knowledge," and "way of life" is a free rendering. ἀποστερεῖν means to defraud or withhold what is owed.

fighting with wild beasts, by land and sea, night and day, tied to ten leopards, that is, a squad of soldiers, who become worse even when they are treated kindly. Yet through their wrongs I am learning more fully to be a disciple, but I am not justified by this.[105] [*1 Corinthians 4:4*] 9 "May I have joy of the beasts that are ready for me. I pray that I will find them quick, and I will coax them to eat me quickly, not as they have done with some, which they were too afraid to touch. And if they are unwilling, I will force them. Forgive me; I know what is good for me. Now I am beginning to be a disciple. May nothing, visible or invisible, envy me, so that I may reach Jesus Christ. Let fire and cross, assaults of wild beasts, scattering of bones, cutting apart of limbs, grinding of my whole body, and the torments of the devil come upon me, only let me reach Jesus Christ."

11 These things he laid down in writing from the city named above to the churches listed. After he had gone beyond Smyrna, he wrote again from Troas to the church at Philadelphia, and to the church of Smyrna, and personally to Polycarp, its leader. Since he knew Polycarp well as an apostolic man, he entrusted to him the flock at Antioch, as a true and good shepherd would, and asked him to take diligent care of it. The same Ignatius, writing to the Smyrnaeans, uses some words that I do not know the source of, saying about Christ something like this: "But I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when he came to Peter and those with him, he said to them, 'Take hold of me, touch me and see that I am not a bodiless demon.' And immediately they touched him and believed."[106] [*Luke 24:39*]

13 Irenaeus also knew of his martyrdom and mentions his letters. He says: "As one of our people said, when he was condemned to the beasts for his witness to God: 'I am God's wheat, and I am being ground by the teeth of wild beasts, so that I may be found pure bread.'" Polycarp also refers to these same matters in his letter to the Philippians, which is still in circulation. He says: "I urge all of you to obey and to practice every kind of endurance. You saw it with your own eyes not only in the blessed Ignatius, Rufus and Zosimus, but also in others from among yourselves, and in Paul himself and the rest of the

105. The "ten leopards" are the ten soldiers guarding Ignatius. The last phrase echoes 1 Corinthians 4:4, though Eusebius does not say so.

106. Eusebius admits he does not know where Ignatius took this saying of Jesus; it is not found in the Gospels in these words. Compare Luke 24:39. The Greek word for "demon" here means a bodiless spirit or ghost.

apostles. You can be sure that all these did not run in vain, but ran in faith and righteousness, and that they are now in the place due to them beside the Lord, with whom they also suffered. For they did not love the present age, but him who died for us and was raised by God for our sake." [*Philippians 2:16; 2 Timothy 4:10; 2 Corinthians 5:15*]

15 Polycarp then goes on: "You wrote to me, you and Ignatius both, that if anyone is going to Syria, he should also carry your letters. I will do this if I have a suitable opportunity, either myself or someone I send to act as envoy for you as well. We are sending you the letters of Ignatius that he sent to us, and the others we had with us, as you instructed. They are attached to this letter, and you will be able to gain great benefit from them. For they deal with faith and endurance and every kind of building up that belongs to our Lord." That is what we have on Ignatius. After him Heros took over the bishopric of Antioch.

CHAPTER 37

The Evangelists that Were Still Eminent at that Time.

1 Among those who shone brightly at that time was Quadratus. Report has it that he and the daughters of Philip were outstanding for the gift of prophecy. Many others besides were known in those days, holding the first rank in the succession from the apostles. They were distinguished disciples of such great men, and they built on the foundations of the churches that the apostles had laid in every place. They spread the preaching further and sowed the saving seeds of the kingdom of heaven far and wide across the whole world. 3 Indeed, very many of the disciples of that time had their souls struck by the divine word with an intense love of wisdom. First they fulfilled the Saviour's command by giving their possessions to the needy. Then they set out on journeys and did the work of evangelists. They were eager to preach Christ to those who had never yet heard the word of faith, and to hand on to them the written text of the divine Gospels. In foreign places they only laid the foundation of the faith. They appointed others as shepherds and entrusted to them the care of the newly converted. Then they themselves moved on to other lands and nations, with the grace and help of God. For at that time many extraordinary works of the divine Spirit were still being done through them. As a result, whole crowds, down to the last man, eagerly took into their souls reverence for the Creator of the universe at the very first hearing.[107] [*2 Timothy 4:5*]

4 We cannot list by name everyone who became a shepherd or evangelist in the churches throughout the world in the first generation after the apostles. So we have naturally recorded by name only those whose handing down of the apostolic teaching has reached us even now in their written works. [*Ephesians 4:11*]

CHAPTER 38

The Epistle of Clement and the Writings Falsely Ascribed to Him.

2 Such, for example, is Ignatius in the letters we have listed. Such too is Clement in the letter acknowledged by everyone, which he wrote in the name of the church of Rome to the church of Corinth. In it he sets out many thoughts from the letter to the Hebrews, and even quotes some of its

107. "Love of wisdom" is literally "philosophy." Eusebius often uses the word for the Christian way of life.

words exactly. This shows very clearly that the writing is not a recent one. For that reason it seemed reasonable to count it among the other writings of the apostle. Paul had spoken to the Hebrews in writing in their native language. Some say that the evangelist Luke translated the writing, and others say that it was Clement himself. 5 This second view is more likely true, because the epistle of Clement and the Epistle to the Hebrews keep the same character of style, and the thoughts in the two writings are not far apart. You should also know that a second epistle of Clement is said to exist. But we do not know that it is recognized like the first, since we do not find that the ancient writers used it. Some people have also recently brought forward other long and wordy writings under his name, containing dialogues of Peter and Apion. The ancients make no mention at all of these, for they do not preserve the pure stamp of apostolic orthodoxy. So the acknowledged writing of Clement is plain. We have also already spoken of the works of Ignatius and Polycarp.[108]

CHAPTER 39

The Writings of Papias.

2 Five books of Papias are in circulation, and they are titled Expositions of the Sayings of the Lord. Irenaeus mentions these as the only books he wrote, saying: "Papias also bears witness to these things in writing, in the fourth of his books. He was a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp, a man of the early days. For he composed five books." That is what Irenaeus says. But Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, makes it clear that he was never a hearer or eyewitness of the holy apostles. He teaches that he received the matters of the faith from those who had known them, and he does so in these words: 4 "I will not hesitate to set down for you, along with my interpretations, everything I once learned well from the elders and remembered well, guaranteeing its truth. For unlike most people, I did not take pleasure in those who say a great deal, but in those who teach the truth. Nor did I take pleasure in those who recall commandments from other people, but in those who recall the commandments given by the Lord to the faith and coming from the truth itself. And if ever someone came who had been a follower of the elders, I would ask about the words of the elders: what Andrew

108. The "second view" is that Clement translated Hebrews. The Greek says "yesterday and the day before" for "recently". The "second epistle" is the work we now call 2 Clement.

or Peter said, or Philip, or Thomas, or James, or John, or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples; and what Aristion and the elder John, the Lord's disciples, are saying. For I did not think that what comes from books would profit me as much as what comes from a living and abiding voice."

6 It is worth noting here that Papias lists the name John twice. The first John he places with Peter, James, Matthew and the other apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist. The other John he sets apart in his wording and puts among others outside the number of the apostles. He puts Aristion ahead of him and plainly calls him an elder. So this shows that the report is true of those who say there were two men in Asia with the same name, and that there are two tombs in Ephesus, each of which is still called John's even now. This deserves attention. For it is likely that the second John, if one is not willing to say the first, saw the Revelation that circulates under the name of John. 8 Papias, whom we are now discussing, acknowledges that he received the words of the apostles from those who had followed them. But he says that he himself was a direct hearer of Aristion and the elder John. At any rate, he often mentions them by name in his writings and sets down their traditions. Let us hope that these remarks have not been made to no purpose. It is also worth adding to the words of Papias already quoted some other statements of his, in which he reports certain marvelous things and other matters that, as it were, came down to him by tradition.

10 We have already shown that the apostle Philip lived at Hierapolis with his daughters. But we should now note that Papias, who lived at the same time, says he received a marvelous account from Philip's daughters. For he reports that a dead man was raised in his time. And he tells of another marvel concerning Justus, who was called Barsabbas: he drank a deadly poison and, by the Lord's grace, suffered no harm. After the Savior's ascension, the holy apostles put forward this Justus along with Matthias, and prayed over the casting of lots to fill up their number in place of the traitor Judas. The book of Acts records it something like this: "And they put forward two, Joseph called Barsabbas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said," [*Acts 1:23-24*] 13 The same Papias also sets down other things that he says came to him from unwritten tradition. These include some strange parables and teachings of the Savior, and some other, rather legendary material. Among them he says that there will be a period of a thousand years after the resurrection from the dead, and that Christ's kingdom

will be established in bodily form on this earth. I think he got these ideas by misunderstanding the apostles' accounts. He did not see that what they said was spoken mystically, in figures. For he seems to have been a man of very small understanding, as one can judge from his own words. Even so, he was the reason that very many churchmen after him held the same opinion. They pointed to the antiquity of the man, as Irenaeus did, for example, and anyone else who has shown the same views.

15 Papias also hands down in his own book other accounts of the Lord's words, taken from Aristion (mentioned above), and traditions from the presbyter John. I refer those who love learning to that book. But I must now add to the words of his already quoted a tradition about Mark, who wrote the Gospel. Papias sets it out in these words: "This also the presbyter used to say: Mark became Peter's interpreter, and he wrote down accurately everything he remembered, though not in order, of what was said or done by Christ. For he neither heard the Lord nor followed him. Later, as I said, he followed Peter. Peter used to give his teachings as the needs of the moment required, but he did not make an orderly arrangement of the Lord's sayings. So Mark did nothing wrong in writing down some things just as he remembered them. For he took care about one thing: to leave out nothing he had heard and to state nothing falsely in them." This is what Papias reports about Mark.[109]

17 About Matthew he says this: "Matthew compiled the sayings in the Hebrew language, and each person interpreted them as well as he could." Papias also uses quotations from John's first letter, and likewise from Peter's. He also sets out another story, about a woman accused before the Lord of many sins, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. I have thought it necessary to note these things as well, in addition to what has been set out above.[110]

109. "Interpreter" (hermēneutēs) could mean someone who translated for Peter or someone who explained his teaching; the Greek does not settle which.

110. "Sayings" translates logia, which the older English renders "oracles"; it may mean sayings of the Lord or something broader. Scholars disagree about what work Papias meant.

Book 4

chapter 1

The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria During the Reign of Trajan.

About the twelfth year of Trajan's reign, the bishop of the Alexandrian community mentioned a little earlier ended his life. Primus, the fourth from the apostles, received the ministry there. At this time also Alexander received the bishop's office at Rome, after the eighth year had been completed. He traced the fifth succession from Peter and Paul.

chapter 2

The Calamities of the Jews During Trajan's Reign.

2 The teaching and the church of our Savior were flourishing day by day and advancing further. But the disaster of the Jews grew worse through one evil after another. In the eighteenth year of the emperor's reign, another uprising of the Jews broke out and destroyed a very great number of them. In Alexandria, in the rest of Egypt, and also in Cyrene, they were stirred up as if by some terrible spirit of rebellion, and they rushed to revolt against their Greek neighbors. They made the rebellion much worse, and in the following year they started a considerable war. Lupus was governing all of Egypt at that time. 4 In the first clash it happened that the Jews defeated the Greeks. The Greeks fled to Alexandria, where they captured the Jews of the city and killed them. The Jews of Cyrene, having lost the help of these, kept plundering the land of Egypt and ruining its districts, under the leadership of Lucuas. The emperor sent Marcius Turbo against them with infantry, naval forces, and cavalry as well. Turbo fought the war against them in many battles and over a long time. He killed many tens of thousands of Jews, not only from Cyrene but also from Egypt, who had joined Lucuas their king.[111]

5 The emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also attack the people living there. So he ordered Lusius Quietus to clear them out of the province. Quietus drew up his army, fought them, and killed a very great number of them. For this success the emperor appointed him governor of Judea. The Greek writers who recorded the events of those times tell these things in the same words.[112]

111. "Many tens of thousands" translates the Greek "many myriads"; a myriad is ten thousand.

CHAPTER 3

The Apologists that Wrote in Defense of the Faith During the Reign of Adrian.

2 Trajan ruled for nineteen years and six months. Aelius Hadrian then succeeded him as emperor. Quadratus addressed a discourse to Hadrian and presented it to him. It was a defense of our religion, written because certain wicked men were trying to harass our people. The writing is still in circulation among very many of the brothers, and we have a copy ourselves. It gives clear evidence of the man's intelligence and of his sound apostolic teaching. He shows how early he lived in these words of his own: "The works of our Saviour were always present, for they were real. Those who were healed and those who were raised from the dead were not only seen when they were healed and raised. They were also always there. They remained, not only while the Saviour was living among us, but for a considerable time after he had departed, so that some of them lived even into our own times."[113]

3 That was Quadratus. Aristides, too, was a faithful man who devoted himself to our religion. Like Quadratus, he left behind a defense of the faith addressed to Hadrian. His writing also survives to this day in the hands of very many people.

CHAPTER 4

The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria Uncle; The Same Emperor.

In the third year of the same reign, Alexander, bishop of Rome, died after completing the tenth year of his ministry. Xystus succeeded him. At about the same time, Primus, head of the church community at Alexandria, died in the twelfth year of his leadership, and Justus succeeded him.

CHAPTER 5

The Bishops of Jerusalem from the Age of Our Saviour Lo the Period Under Consideration.

2 I have not found the dates of the bishops of Jerusalem preserved in writing anywhere, for the report is that they all lived very short lives. But I have learned this much from written sources: down to the siege of the Jews under

112. Lusius Quietus was a Moorish-born Roman general. He put down the Jewish revolt in Mesopotamia and was then made governor of Judea.

113. The Greek says Trajan ruled "twenty years, six months short," that is, nineteen and a half years. "Departed" (ἀπαλλαγέντος) is Quadratus's word for the Saviour's leaving this world, and the people he healed or raised are said to have remained for a considerable time after that.

Hadrian, there were fifteen successions of bishops there. All of them, it is said, were Hebrews from the start, and they received the knowledge of Christ in a genuine way. So they were approved by those able to judge such matters and thought worthy of the bishop's office. For at that time their whole church was made up of believing Hebrews, who had continued from the apostles' time down to the siege of that day, in which the Jews rebelled against the Romans again and were conquered after severe wars. 4 Since the bishops of Jewish birth came to an end at that time, it is now necessary to list them from the first. The first was James, who is called the Lord's brother. After him the second was Symeon, the third Justus, the fourth Zacchaeus, the fifth Tobias, the sixth Benjamin, the seventh John, the eighth Matthias, the ninth Philip, the tenth Seneca, the eleventh Justus, the twelfth Levi, the thirteenth Ephres, the fourteenth Joseph, and last of all, the fifteenth, Judas. These are the bishops of the city of Jerusalem from the apostles down to the time mentioned, and all of them were of the circumcision.

5 In the twelfth year of Hadrian's reign, Xystus completed ten years as bishop of Rome, and Telesphorus, seventh from the apostles, succeeded him. After a year and some months, Eumenes, sixth in the line, took over the leadership of the church at Alexandria. The man before him had served eleven years.

CHAPTER 6

The Last Siege of the Jews Under Adrian.

2 The Jewish revolt again grew large and serious. Rufus, governor of Judea, was sent military reinforcements by the emperor. He used their reckless folly as his opening and attacked them without mercy. He destroyed tens of thousands of men, women and children together, and under the law of war he enslaved their lands. The Jewish leader at that time was named Bar Kokhba, which means "star." In other respects he was a bandit and a murderer, but he relied on his name, as one might with slaves. He claimed to be a light come down to them from heaven, working wonders to shine on them in their misery. 3 The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of Hadrian's reign, at the city of Bethther, a very strong fortress not far from Jerusalem. The siege from outside went on a long time. The rebels were driven by hunger and thirst to the brink of destruction, and the man who had caused their madness paid the penalty he deserved. From then on the whole nation was forbidden to set foot even in the land around Jerusalem, by a legal decree

and orders of Hadrian. He commanded that they not even look on their fathers' soil from a distance. So Aristo of Pella reports.[114]

4 In this way the city was left empty of the Jewish nation, and its old inhabitants were completely destroyed. It was resettled by people of foreign stock, and the Roman city that arose afterward changed its name. In honor of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian, it was called Aelia. The church there was now gathered from the Gentiles, and the first to take charge of its ministry after the bishops of the circumcision was Marcus.

CHAPTER 7

The Persons that Became at that Time Leaders of Knowledge Falsely So-Called.

2 By this time the churches throughout the world were shining like the brightest stars, and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was flourishing among the whole human race. But the demon who hates what is good, who is the enemy of the truth and always the bitterest foe of human salvation, turned every scheme against the Church. In earlier times he had armed himself against her with persecutions from outside. Now that this means was closed to him, he used wicked men as instruments for destroying souls and as servants of ruin, and fought her by other methods, devising every kind of mischief. Sorcerers and deceivers slipped in and took over the very name of our teaching. Some of the believers who came to them they led down into the pit of destruction. At the same time, by what these men did, they turned away from the way to the saving Word those who did not yet know the faith.

4 From that Menander, whom we have already named as the successor of Simon, there came forth a kind of serpent-like power, double-mouthed and two-headed, like a snake. It set up the leaders of two different heresies: Saturninus, an Antiochene by birth, and Basilides, an Alexandrian. The one founded schools of God-hating heresy in Syria, the other in Egypt. Irenaeus makes clear that Saturninus told mostly the same lies as Menander. Basilides, however, under the pretext of more secret teachings, stretched his inventions without limit, and fashioned for himself monstrous fables for his ungodly heresy. 7 At that time many men of the Church were contending hard for the truth and defending the apostolic and churchly teaching with strong reasoning. Some of them also left writings that armed later generations

114. "Bethther" represents the Greek Bithther (Βίθθηρα), generally identified with Betar, the last stronghold of the Bar Kokhba revolt.

against the heresies just mentioned. One of these has come down to us: a very able refutation of Basilides by Agrippa Castor, one of the best-known writers of that time. It exposes the dreadful power of the man's sorcery. In revealing his secret teachings, Agrippa says that Basilides composed twenty-four books on the Gospel. He says he named prophets for himself, Barcabbas and Barcoph, and set up certain others who never existed, giving them barbarous names to overawe those who are amazed by such things. He says Basilides taught that it makes no difference whether one eats food offered to idols, and that denying the faith recklessly in times of persecution is also a matter of indifference. And like Pythagoras, he commanded those who came to him to keep silence for five years.

9 Agrippa also lists other things of this kind about Basilides, and thereby nobly brought the error of that heresy into the open. Irenaeus also writes that Carpocrates lived at the same time as these men. He was the father of another heresy, called the Gnostics. They saw fit to hand on the magic of Simon not secretly, as Simon had, but now openly. They were almost proud, as of something great, of their elaborately prepared love potions, their dream-sending spells, their attendant spirits, and other practices of the same sort. In keeping with this, they taught that anyone who was to reach the fullness of their initiation (or rather their defilement) must do every shameful deed. Otherwise, they said, he could not escape the "world-rulers," as they called them, unless he paid every one of them his debt by unspeakable acts. 11 By using these men as his servants, the demon who rejoices in evil brought it about that those they deceived were miserably enslaved to destruction. He also gave the unbelieving nations ample occasion to slander the divine Word, since the reputation of these men spilled over into a slander against the whole body of Christians. In this way the unbelievers of that time very widely spread the wicked and utterly absurd suspicion about us that we had unlawful intercourse with mothers and sisters and ate unholy food.

13 Yet this did not succeed for him for long, because the truth established itself and, as time went on, shone with a great light. The schemes of the enemies were at once exposed by the truth's own power and went out like a flame. One new heresy after another was invented, and the earlier ones kept slipping away and dissolving, now in one way and now in another, into many kinds and shapes. But the brightness of the universal and only true Church went on growing and increasing, always the same and in the same

manner. Its dignity, sincerity and freedom, and the self-control and purity of its God-inspired way of life and philosophy, shone out to every race, Greek and barbarian alike.[115] 15 In time the slander against the whole teaching died away too. Our teaching alone remained, prevailing and widely acknowledged to stand out above all others for its dignity and self-control, and for its divine and philosophical doctrines. As a result, no one to this day dares to bring any shameful charge against our faith, or any such slander as those who plotted against us once liked to use. Even so, in those times the truth again brought forward more defenders of itself. They fought against the godless heresies, not only by spoken refutations but also by written proofs.

CHAPTER 8

Ecclesiastical Writers.

2 In those days Hegesippus was well known. We have already quoted him many times, setting down some events of the apostles' age on the strength of his account. In five books he put down in writing the unerring tradition of the apostolic preaching, in a very plain style. He shows the time in which he was well known when he writes as follows about those who from the beginning set up idols: "They built tombs and temples for them, as is done to this day. Among these is Antinous, a slave of the Emperor Hadrian. The Antinoan games, held in our own time, are celebrated in his honor. For Hadrian also founded a city named after Antinous, and appointed prophets."[116] 4 In his time Justin also lived, a true lover of the true philosophy, and he was still occupied with the writings of the Greeks. He too indicates this time in his Apology addressed to Antoninus, where he writes: "We think it not out of place to mention in this connection Antinous as well, who lived recently, and whom everyone was quick to worship as a god out of fear, though they knew who he was and where he came from." The same writer, recalling the Jewish war of that time, adds: "For in the recent Jewish war Bar Kochba, the leader of the Jewish revolt, ordered that Christians alone be led off to terrible punishments unless they denied Jesus the Christ and blasphemed him."[117]

115. "Philosophy" here means a way of life or manner of living, as often in Eusebius, not a system of speculation.

116. Antinous was Hadrian's favorite, who drowned in the Nile in AD 130; Hadrian had him honored as a god and founded the city of Antinoopolis in his name.

5 In the same work Justin also explains that his change from Greek philosophy to the worship of God did not come without reason but after careful judgment. He writes: "I myself, when I was delighted with the teachings of Plato, heard the Christians slandered. But I saw that they were fearless in the face of death and everything else regarded as terrible, and I concluded that it was impossible for them to be living in vice and love of pleasure. For what pleasure-loving or self-indulgent person, who thinks that feasting on human flesh is good, could welcome death, so as to be deprived of his own desires? Would he not rather try by every means to live this present life forever and to escape the notice of the rulers, instead of denouncing himself to be put to death?" 7 The same writer also reports that Hadrian received a letter on behalf of the Christians from Serennius Granianus, a most distinguished governor. It said that it was not right to kill them without trial, on no charge, merely to satisfy the shouts of the mob. Hadrian wrote back to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering him to put no one to death without a charge and a reasonable accusation. Justin gives a copy of the letter, keeping the Latin as it was. He introduces it with these words: "Though we could demand that you order trials to be held as we have asked, on the basis of a letter from the greatest and most illustrious Caesar Hadrian, your father, we have made our request not because Hadrian ordered it but because we know that our petition is just. We have also appended a copy of Hadrian's letter, so that you may know that we are telling the truth in this matter too. It is as follows."

8 After these words, the writer I have mentioned gives the rescript in its original Latin. We have translated it into Greek as best we could. It reads as follows:

CHAPTER 9

The Epistle of Adrian, Decreeing that We Should Not Be Punished Without a Trial.

2 To Minucius Fundanus. I have received a letter written to me by Serennius Granianus, a most distinguished man, whom you have succeeded. It does not seem right to me to leave the matter without investigation, so that people are not stirred up and the informers are not given a chance to practice their malice. So if the people of the province can clearly support their charge

117. Greek "Barchochebas" is Bar Kochba (Bar Kokhba), leader of the Jewish revolt against Rome of about AD 132–135.

against the Christians, so as to answer before a court, let them take this course only, and not rely on petitions or mere shouting. For it is much more proper, if anyone wishes to bring an accusation, that you should examine it. 3 If anyone, then, brings a charge and shows that these people are doing something contrary to the laws, you are to decide according to the seriousness of the offense. But by Hercules, if anyone brings this charge only to slander them, look into how serious that wrongdoing is, and see that you punish him. Such was the content of Hadrian's reply.[118]

CHAPTER 10

The Bishops of Rome and of Alexandria During the Reign of Antoninus.

After Hadrian had completed his life, in the twenty-first year of his reign, Antoninus, called the Pious, succeeded to the rule of the Romans. In the first year of his reign Telesphorus ended his life in the eleventh year of his service, and Hyginus received the lot of the bishopric of Rome. Irenaeus records that Telesphorus's death was made glorious by martyrdom. In the same place he shows that, in the time of this Hyginus, bishop of Rome, both Valentinus, the founder of his own sect, and Cerdon, the originator of the error of Marcion, were known in Rome. He writes as follows:

CHAPTER 11

The Heresiarchs of that Age.

1 "Valentinus came to Rome under Hyginus, was at his height under Pius, and stayed until Anicetus. Cerdon, who came before Marcion, also came in the time of Hyginus, who was the ninth bishop. He came into the church and made his confession, and he went on in this way, at one time teaching in secret, at another confessing again, and at another being exposed for the wrong things he taught and separating himself from the company of the brothers." He says this in the third book of his work Against the Heresies. 2 But in the first book he again says this about Cerdon: "A certain Cerdon took his starting points from the followers of Simon and came to live in Rome under Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the succession of bishops from the apostles. He taught that the God proclaimed by the law and the prophets is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For the one, he said, is known, but the other is unknown; the one is just, but the other is good.

118. The Greek "μὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα" ("by Hercules") renders the Latin oath "mehercule" in Hadrian's rescript.

Marcion of Pontus succeeded him and enlarged the school, blaspheming shamelessly."

5 The same Irenaeus vigorously sails through the boundless depth of Valentinus's wandering, many-sided material, and strips bare his wickedness, which like a snake lurking in its hole was hidden and unnoticed. Besides these he says that there was another in their time, named Marcus, who was highly skilled in magical trickery. He also describes their unholy initiations and foul rites, exposing them in these very words: "Some of them prepare a bridal chamber and perform a secret rite, with certain spoken formulas, over those being initiated. They claim that what is done by them is a spiritual marriage, after the likeness of the pairings above. Others lead them to water, and as they baptize them they say: 'Into the name of the unknown Father of the whole, into Truth, the mother of all things, into the one who came down upon Jesus.' Others use Hebrew names, to astonish those being initiated even more."[119]

7 But when Hyginus died, after the fourth year of his office as bishop, Pius was entrusted with the service at Rome. In Alexandria, Marcus was appointed shepherd after Eumenes had completed thirteen years in all. When Marcus had ended ten years of service, Celadion received the service of the church of Alexandria. In the city of Rome, Pius died in the fifteenth year of his office as bishop, and Anicetus took charge of the church there. In his time Hegesippus records that he himself came to Rome and stayed there until the time of Eleutherus as bishop. 9 Justin was especially prominent in these times. In the dress of a philosopher he proclaimed the divine Word, and he fought for the faith in his writings. He also wrote a work against Marcion, in which he mentions Marcion as still living at the time he was writing. He says: "A certain Marcion of Pontus, who is even now still teaching those who believe him to think that there is some other god greater than the Creator, has persuaded many in every nation of mankind, with the help of demons, to speak blasphemy and to deny that the maker of this universe is the Father of Christ, and to confess that some other, who is greater than he, has made things. All who take their start from these men, as we said, are called Christians, just as, although philosophers do not share the same teachings, the name of philosophy which they all claim is shared."

119. "The pairings above" refers to the Valentinian teaching of paired spiritual powers (called "syzygies") in the heavenly realm.

11 Justin goes on to say: "We have also written a treatise against all the heresies that have arisen. We will give it to you if you wish to read it." This same Justin also labored with great effect against the Greeks. He addressed discourses containing a defense of our faith to the emperor Antoninus, called Pius, and to the Roman senate, for he was living in Rome. In this Apology he shows who he was and where he came from, in these words:

CHAPTER 12

The Apology of Justin Addressed to Antoninus.

"To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius Caesar Augustus; to Verissimus his son, a philosopher; to Lucius, a philosopher, the natural son of Caesar and adopted son of Pius, and a lover of learning; to the sacred senate and to the whole Roman people: on behalf of people of every nation who are unjustly hated and abused, I, Justin, son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, from Flavia Neapolis in Syria Palestine, being one of them, make this address and petition." The same emperor was also petitioned by other brothers in Asia, who were suffering every kind of abuse from the local populations. He thought it right to send the Common Assembly of Asia the following decree:

CHAPTER 13

The Epistle of Antoninus to the Common Assembly of Asia in Behalf of the Christians.

3 "The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armeniacus, Pontifex Maximus, in his fifteenth year of tribunician power, consul for the third time, to the Common Assembly of Asia, greeting. I know that the gods too take care that such people do not go unnoticed. For they would punish those who refuse to worship them far more than you would. But you throw these people into turmoil, and by accusing them of atheism you only strengthen them in the opinion they hold. When they are accused, they would prefer to be seen dying for their own God rather than to go on living. So they come out the winners, giving up their lives rather than obeying what you demand of them." 6 "As for the earthquakes that have happened and are still happening, it is not out of place to remind you of something. You lose heart whenever they occur, and then you compare your conduct with theirs. They grow more confident toward God. You, however, throughout the whole time in which you seem to be ignorant, neglect both the other gods

and the worship of the Immortal One. Yet when Christians worship him, you harass them and persecute them to death. Many of the provincial governors also wrote about such people to our most divine father. He wrote back that they should not trouble such people unless they were plainly attempting something against the Roman government. Many have also sent word to me about them, and I answered them in the same way, following my father's judgment."

8 "But if anyone persists in bringing charges against one of these people simply as being such, let the accused be acquitted of the charge, even if it is shown that he is such, and let the accuser be liable to punishment. Posted in Ephesus, in the Common Assembly of Asia." Melito, bishop of the church in Sardis, who was well known at that time, bears witness to these events. This is clear from what he said in the defense of our teaching that he addressed to the emperor Verus.

CHAPTER 14

Circumstances Related of Polycarp, a Disciple of the Apostles.

3 In the time of those mentioned, when Anicetus was leading the church of Rome, Irenaeus records that Polycarp, who was still living, came to Rome and met with Anicetus because of a question about the day of the Passover. The same writer gives another account of Polycarp, which I must add to what I have already said about him. It reads as follows: "Polycarp was not only taught by apostles and in the company of many who had seen Christ. He was also appointed by apostles as bishop of the church in Smyrna, in Asia. We ourselves saw him in our early youth." 5 For he lived a long time. When he was very old he left this life after a glorious and most illustrious martyrdom. He had always taught the things he had learned from the apostles, which the Church also hands down, and which alone are true. All the churches throughout Asia bear witness to this, and so do those who have succeeded Polycarp down to the present day. He was a far more trustworthy and reliable witness to the truth than Valentinus, Marcion and the rest of the men with warped minds. When he visited Rome in the time of Anicetus, he turned many of these heretics back to the church of God. He proclaimed that he had received from the apostles this one and only truth, the one handed down by the Church.

7 And there are people who heard from Polycarp that John, the Lord's disciple, went to bathe at Ephesus. When he saw Cerinthus inside, he rushed

out of the bathhouse without bathing. He said, "Let us flee, in case even the bathhouse falls in, because Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is inside." Polycarp himself once met Marcion, who said to him, "Do you recognize us?" He answered, "I recognize you as the firstborn of Satan." The apostles and their disciples took such care that they would not even exchange words with any of those who falsify the truth. Paul also said, "Have nothing to do with a heretical man after one and a second warning, knowing that such a person has been turned aside and is sinning, condemned by himself."[120] [*Titus 3:10-11*] 10 There is also a very substantial letter of Polycarp, written to the Philippians. From it, those who wish to and who care about their own salvation can learn the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth. That is what Irenaeus says. In this letter to the Philippians, which survives to this day, Polycarp uses some testimonies from the first letter of Peter. When Antoninus, called Pius, had completed the twenty-second year of his rule, Marcus Aurelius Verus, who was also called Antoninus, his son, succeeded him together with his brother Lucius.

CHAPTER 15

The Martyrdom of Polycarp.

3 At this time, when very great persecutions were throwing Asia into an uproar, Polycarp was brought to completion by martyrdom. I think it most necessary to put his death on record in this history, since the written account of it still survives. The document is written in the name of the church he led, to the communities in Pontus, and it reports what happened to him in these words: "The church of God living as a stranger in Smyrna, to the church of God living as a stranger in Philomelium, and to all the communities of the holy catholic church in every place: may mercy, peace and love from God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied. We have written to you, brothers, about the martyrs and the blessed Polycarp. By his martyrdom he put an end to the persecution, as though he had set a seal on it."[121]

4 After this, before the account of Polycarp, they tell the story of the other martyrs and describe how firmly they stood against the pains. They say that the people standing around in a circle and watching were stunned. At

120. "Heretical" (hairetikos) in Paul's phrase (Titus 3:10) means a person who stirs up factions or division. Eusebius is quoting Irenaeus (Against Heresies 3.3.4) here.

121. The word translated "living as a stranger" (paroikousa) comes from paroikos, a resident foreigner or sojourner. It was used of Christian communities living as a pilgrim people in a place.

one time the martyrs were torn with whips down to the innermost veins and arteries, so that even the hidden inner parts of the body, their entrails and limbs, could be seen. At another time they were laid on sea-shells and sharp spits. They went through every kind of punishment and torture, and in the end were handed over to wild beasts to be eaten.[122] 6 They say that the most noble Germanicus especially stood out. By God's grace he overcame the fear of bodily death that is born in us. The proconsul wanted to persuade him. He pointed to his youth and begged him, since he was very young and in his prime, to take pity on himself. But Germanicus did not hesitate. He eagerly pulled the beast toward himself, all but forcing and provoking it, so that he might be freed the sooner from their unjust and lawless life. At his glorious death the whole crowd marveled at the courage of this God-loved martyr and at the virtue of the whole race of Christians. Then they suddenly began to shout, "Away with the atheists! Let Polycarp be sought!"[123]

8 Then, in the great uproar caused by the shouting, a Phrygian named Quintus, who had only recently come from Phrygia, saw the wild beasts and the threats that went with them. His courage failed, he lost heart, and in the end he gave up on his salvation. The account in the letter mentioned above made clear that this man had rushed to the tribunal along with others, rashly and without proper caution. Yet when he was seized, he gave everyone a plain example that people ought not to take on such trials recklessly and without care. That was how things ended for these martyrs. 9 As for the truly admirable Polycarp, when he first heard these things he stayed calm and kept a steady, unshaken character. He wanted to remain in the city. But his companions begged him and urged him to slip away, and he gave in to them. He went out to a farm not far from the city and stayed there with a few others. Night and day he did nothing but continue steadfastly in prayer to the Lord. In these prayers he pleaded and made supplication, asking peace for the churches throughout the whole world, for this had always been his habit.

11 While he was praying, three days before his arrest, he saw a vision at night. The bedding under his head suddenly caught fire and was burned up. When he woke, he at once explained the vision to those with him, all but prophesying what was to come. He told them plainly that he must give up his

122. The "sea-shells" are literally "heralds" (kērykes), a word that also meant trumpet-shells, sea snails with hard shells.

123. Christians were called "atheists" because they refused to honor the gods of the city and the emperor.

life by fire for Christ. The men searching for him pressed on with all zeal. Then, they say, the devotion and affection of the brothers forced him to move to another farm. Not long afterward his pursuers arrived there. They seized two of the slave boys on the place and beat one of them, and through him they found out where Polycarp was staying. 13 They came late in the day and found him lying in an upstairs room. He could have gone from there to another house, but he refused, saying, "Let the will of God be done." When he learned that they were there, as the account says, he went down and spoke with them. His face was so cheerful and gentle that those who had never seen him before thought they were looking at a wonder. They saw his great age and the dignity and calm of his face, and they wondered why such great effort had been made to arrest so old a man. [*Acts 21:14*]

15 Without delay he ordered a table to be set for them. Then he invited them to eat as much as they wished, and he asked them for one hour so that he could pray without being disturbed. They allowed it, and he stood and prayed. He was so full of the grace of the Lord that those present were astonished as they listened to him pray. Many of them already regretted that such a dignified and godly old man was about to be put to death. The account written about him then continues in these words: "When at last he ended his prayer, he had remembered everyone who had ever met him, small and great, well known and unknown, and the whole catholic church throughout the world. The hour for departure came. They put him on a donkey and brought him into the city. It was a great Sabbath. Herod, the chief of police, and his father Nicetes met him. They took him up into their carriage and sat beside him, trying to persuade him. They said, 'What harm is there in saying "Lord Caesar," and offering sacrifice, and being saved?'"[124]

17 At first he did not answer. When they kept pressing him, he said, "I am not going to do what you advise me." When they failed to persuade him, they spoke harsh words and hurriedly pushed him down, so that as he came down from the carriage he scraped his shin. But he did not even turn around, as though nothing had happened to him. He went on eagerly and quickly, as he was led to the stadium. The uproar in the stadium was so great that hardly anyone could hear anything. But as Polycarp entered the stadium, a voice came from heaven: "Be strong, Polycarp, and be a man." No one saw who

124. "Catholic" here means "universal," the whole church. "Chief of police" translates eirenarch, a local official responsible for keeping order. "Great Sabbath" is as written in the Greek.

spoke, but many of our people heard the voice. 19 When he was brought in, there was a great uproar, because people had heard that Polycarp had been arrested. As he came forward, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp. When he admitted it, the proconsul tried to persuade him to deny Christ. He said, "Have respect for your age," and added other things of the kind they are used to saying: "Swear by the Fortune of Caesar. Repent. Say, 'Away with the atheists.'" But Polycarp looked with a stern face at the whole crowd in the stadium. He shook his hand at them, groaned, looked up to heaven, and said, "Away with the atheists."[125]

21 The governor kept pressing him: "Swear, and I will let you go. Curse Christ." Polycarp said, "For eighty-six years I have been his servant, and he has never wronged me. How can I blaspheme my King, who saved me?" The governor insisted again: "Swear by the Fortune of Caesar." Polycarp answered, "If you vainly imagine that I will swear by the Fortune of Caesar, as you say, and pretend not to know who I am, then listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you want to learn the teaching of Christianity, set a day and hear it."[126] 23 The proconsul said, "Persuade the people." Polycarp said, "I considered you worthy of an explanation, for we have been taught to give due honor to rulers and authorities appointed by God, as long as it does not harm us. But I do not think those people are worthy of a defense from me." The proconsul said, "I have wild beasts. I will throw you to them unless you repent." Polycarp said, "Call them. For us there is no turning from the better to the worse. But it is good to turn from what is harsh to what is just." [*Romans 13:1; Romans 13:7*]

25 The proconsul said to him again, "If you despise the wild beasts, I will have you tamed by fire, unless you repent." Polycarp said, "You threaten me with a fire that burns for an hour and is soon put out. You do not know about the fire of the coming judgment and eternal punishment, kept for the ungodly. But why are you waiting? Bring what you like." As he said these things and more, he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was full of grace. He was not thrown into confusion by what was said to him. On the

125. Christians were called "atheists" because they refused to honor the gods of the city and the emperor. Polycarp turns the proconsul's words against the pagan crowd. "Fortune" (Greek tyche) is the emperor's fortune, by which people swore oaths. Do not call it a guardian spirit, which would be the Latin genius.

126. The "eighty-six years" may refer to his age or to the time since he became a Christian. The Greek does not say which.

contrary, the proconsul was astonished. He sent his herald to proclaim three times in the middle of the stadium, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian." 27 When the herald had said this, the whole crowd of Gentiles and Jews living in Smyrna shouted with uncontrollable rage and a loud voice, "This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods, the one who teaches many not to sacrifice or worship." As they said this they kept shouting, and they asked the Asiarch Philip to set a lion on Polycarp. He said he was not allowed to, because the wild-beast hunts were finished. Then they decided to shout together that Polycarp should be burned alive.[127]

30 For the vision that had appeared to him about his pillow had to be fulfilled. While he was praying, he had seen it burning. He turned and said, as a prophecy, to the believers with him, "I must be burned alive." Now these things happened with such speed, faster than it takes to tell, as the crowds immediately gathered wood and brushwood from the workshops and the baths. The Jews, as is their custom, were especially eager in helping with this. When the pyre was ready, he took off all his outer clothes and loosened his belt. He also tried to take off his sandals, though he had not done this before, because each of the believers was always eager to be the first to touch his skin. Even before his hair turned gray, he had been honored in every way because of his good way of life. 33 Right away the materials prepared for the pyre were placed around him. When they were about to nail him as well, he said, "Leave me as I am. The one who gives me strength to endure the fire will also give me strength to stay on the pyre without flinching, even without the security of your nails." So they did not nail him, but they tied him. He put his hands behind him and was tied, like a distinguished ram chosen from a great flock for an offering, a whole burnt offering acceptable to God Almighty. Then he said, "Father of your beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received knowledge of you, God of angels and powers and all creation, and of the whole race of the righteous who live before you, I bless you that you have counted me worthy of this day and hour, to receive a share in the number of the martyrs, in the cup of Christ, for the resurrection to eternal life of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Spirit. [*John 5:29; Matthew 20:22*]

127. The Asiarch was a wealthy leading official of the province of Asia, linked to the imperial cult and the sponsoring of public games. His exact duties are debated.

36 May I be received among them before you today as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, just as you, the faithful and true God, have prepared and revealed it beforehand and now fulfilled it. For this reason, and for everything, I praise you, I bless you, I glorify you, through the eternal high priest Jesus Christ, your beloved Son. Through him, with him, in the Holy Spirit, be glory to you, now and for the ages to come. Amen." When he had sent up his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it. A great flame blazed out, and we saw a marvel, those of us to whom it was given to see. We were kept alive to report to the others what happened. 38 For the fire took the shape of an arch, like the sail of a ship filled by the wind, and formed a wall around the martyr's body. He was in the middle of it, not like burning flesh, but like gold and silver refined in a furnace. We also caught such a fragrant scent, as if frankincense or some other costly spice were breathing out. At last the lawless men saw that his body could not be consumed by the fire. They ordered an executioner to go up to him and drive in a sword.

40 When he did this, so much blood came out that it put out the fire, and the whole crowd marveled that there should be such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. This man was one of the elect, a most wonderful teacher in our own times, apostolic and prophetic, who became bishop of the catholic church in Smyrna. For every word that came out of his mouth was fulfilled and will be fulfilled. But the Evil One, jealous and envious, the enemy of the race of the righteous, saw the greatness of his witness and his blameless conduct from the beginning. He saw that Polycarp was crowned with the crown of incorruption and had carried off a prize no one could dispute. So he worked to keep us from taking even his poor body, though many of us longed to do it and to share in his holy flesh. [*1 Corinthians 9:25*]

41 So some people put Nicetes up to it, the father of Herod and brother of Alce, to approach the governor and ask him not to hand over the body. "Otherwise," he said, "they will abandon the crucified one and begin to worship this man." They said this at the prompting and urging of the Jews, who also kept watch when we were about to take him from the fire. They did not know that we can never abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those who are being saved, nor worship any other. 43 For him, because he is the Son of God, we worship. But the martyrs, as disciples and imitators of the Lord, we love as they deserve, because of their unsur-

passed devotion to their own King and Teacher. May we also be made their partners and fellow disciples. So when the centurion saw the quarrelsomeness of the Jews, he put the body in the middle and burned it, as is their custom. And so afterward we gathered up his bones, which are more precious than costly stones and more valuable than gold, and laid them where it was fitting.

46 There the Lord will allow us to gather, as far as we can, in gladness and joy, to celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom. We will do this in memory of those who have already contended, and to train and prepare those who are yet to do so. Such was the story of the blessed Polycarp, who was the twelfth martyr at Smyrna, counting those from Philadelphia. He alone is remembered above all the others, so that even the nations speak of him everywhere. Such was the end that the admirable and apostolic Polycarp was counted worthy of. The brothers of the church of Smyrna set down the account in the letter I have mentioned. In the same writing about him, other martyrdoms were attached that took place in that same city of Smyrna, about the same time as the martyrdom of Polycarp. Among them was Metrodorus, who seemed to be a presbyter of the error of Marcion, and who was handed over to the fire and put to death.

47 Among the martyrs of that time, one named Pionius became especially famous. A writing about him gives a very full account: his separate confessions, his boldness of speech, his defenses of the faith before the crowd and the magistrates, his teaching addresses to the people, and his welcome of those who had fallen under the trial of the persecution. It tells of the comfort he gave in prison to the brothers who came to him, the tortures he endured and the pains that followed them, his being nailed down, his steadfastness on the pyre, and his death, which came after all these amazing trials. I will refer those who are interested to that writing, which is included in the collection of ancient martyrdoms I have gathered. 48 Next, records are also in circulation of others who were martyred in the city of Pergamum in Asia: Carpus, Papylus, and a woman, Agathonice. They died gloriously after many outstanding confessions.

CHAPTER 16

Justin the Philosopher Preaches the Word of Christ in Rome and Suffers Martyrdom.

2 Around this time Justin, whom I mentioned a little earlier, presented a second book in defense of our teachings to the rulers I named. He was then

honored with a divine martyrdom. A philosopher named Crescens, who followed the Cynic way of life and manners that his name suggests, set a trap for him. Justin had several times questioned him in debates before an audience and shown him to be in the wrong. At last Justin won the prize of victory by his martyrdom, dying for the truth he served as an envoy. This very man, a true philosopher in the fullest sense, foresaw it and stated it plainly in the Apology I mentioned, as something that was about to happen to him. He said, in these very words: 4 "So I too expect to be plotted against by one of those I have named, and to be fastened in the stocks, or perhaps by Crescens, that unphilosophical lover of show. A man who testifies publicly against things he does not know, saying that Christians are godless and impious, does not deserve to be called a philosopher. He does this in error, to please and gratify the crowd. For if he attacks us without having read the teachings of Christ, he is thoroughly wicked, and much worse than ordinary uneducated people, who often take care not to speak or give false testimony about things they do not understand. And if he has read them but did not grasp their greatness, or grasped it and acts this way so as not to be suspected of being a Christian, he is far more ignoble and thoroughly wicked, since he is ruled by common opinion and irrational fear.

6 "For I want you to know that I put to him certain questions of this kind and questioned him, and I learned and proved that he truly knows nothing. To show that I am telling the truth, if the records of our discussions were not reported to you, I am ready to take up the questions again in your presence. That would be a worthy task for an emperor. But if my questions and his answers have become known to you, it is plain to you that he knows nothing of our teachings. Or if he does know, but does not dare to speak because of those listening, then, as I said before, he shows himself to be no philosopher but a lover of glory. He does not even honor the saying of Socrates, so worthy of love." So Justin wrote. 8 Tatian reports that Justin was killed through Crescens' scheming, just as Justin had predicted. Tatian spent his early life as a teacher of Greek learning and won no small reputation in it, and he left behind many written works. In his work *Against the Greeks* he says something like this: "And the most admirable Justin rightly declared that the men mentioned above are like robbers." After adding some remarks about the philosophers, he goes on: "Crescens, who made his nest in the great city, surpassed everyone in the love of boys, and he was very devoted to money.

9 "Though he advised others to despise death, he himself feared it so much that he schemed to bring death on Justin, as if death were a great evil. This was because Justin, in proclaiming the truth, exposed the philosophers as greedy and deceitful men." Such was the cause of Justin's martyrdom.

CHAPTER 17

The Martyrs Whom Justin Mentions in His Own Work.

2 The Martyrs Whom Justin Mentions in His Own Work. Before his own contest, Justin mentions in his first Apology others who had been martyred before him, and he records these events in a way that is useful for our subject. He writes: "A certain woman lived with a husband who was dissolute, and she herself had formerly been dissolute too. But when she came to know the teachings of Christ, she became self-controlled. She tried to persuade her husband to be self-controlled as well, setting out the teachings to him and announcing the punishment in eternal fire that will come on those who do not live self-controlled lives in accordance with right reason. 5 But he kept on in the same debauchery, and by his actions made his wife a stranger to him. She now thought it ungodly to share a bed with a husband who, against the law of nature and what is right, tried every means of finding pleasure. So she wanted to be separated from the marriage. Her family urged her to stay on, in the hope that her husband might someday change, and their pleading overcame her. She forced herself and remained. But then her husband went to Alexandria and was reported to be behaving even worse. So that she would not share in his wrongs and ungodly acts by staying in the marriage and sharing his table and his bed, she gave him what we call a *repudium* (a notice of divorce) and left him.

7 But her fine and upright husband should have been glad that she had given up what she once did freely with servants and hired men, when she delighted in drunken parties and every kind of vice, and that she wanted him to give up the same things. Instead, since she had left him against his will, he brought an accusation against her, saying that she was a Christian. She submitted a petition to you, the emperor, asking first to be allowed to put her own affairs in order, and then, once her affairs were settled, to make her defense against the charge. And you granted this. 9 Her former husband could no longer proceed against her, so he turned against a certain Ptolemaeus, whom Urbicius punished. Ptolemaeus had been her teacher in the Christian teachings. The husband did it this way. A centurion, who was his friend, had

put Ptolemaeus in chains. The husband persuaded him to take hold of Ptolemaeus and ask him just this one question: whether he was a Christian. Ptolemaeus was a lover of truth, and not deceitful or false in his thinking. He confessed that he was a Christian, so the centurion kept him in chains and punished him in prison for a long time.

12 Finally, when the man was brought before Urbicius, he was again asked only this: whether he was a Christian. Again, aware of the good he had gained from the teaching of Christ, he confessed the school of divine virtue. For whoever denies anything either denies it because he condemns the thing itself, or he avoids confessing because he knows he is unworthy of it and a stranger to it. Neither is true of the real Christian. When Urbicius ordered him to be led away, a certain Lucius, who was also a Christian, saw how senseless the judgment was. He said to Urbicius: "What is the reason for punishing this man? He has not been convicted as an adulterer, fornicator, murderer, thief or robber, or of any wrongdoing at all. He only confesses that he bears the name of Christian. Urbicius, you do not judge in a way that suits the pious emperor, or the philosopher son of Caesar, or the sacred senate."[128]

13 Urbicius said nothing else in reply, but told Lucius, "You seem to me to be such a one too." When Lucius said, "Certainly," he ordered that Lucius also be led away. Lucius declared that he was grateful. He said he was being freed from such wicked masters, and was going to God, the good Father and King. Then a third man came forward and was likewise sentenced to be punished. Justin fittingly and consistently adds to this the words we quoted earlier: "I too, then, expect to be plotted against by one of those I have named," and so on.

CHAPTER 18

The Works of Justin Which Have Come Down to Us.

2 Justin left us a great many writings. They show an educated mind that was earnest about divine things, and they are full of every kind of benefit. I will refer lovers of learning to them, and as I go I will note those that have come to my knowledge. One is a discourse addressed to Antoninus, called the Pious, and to his sons and the Roman senate, in defense of our teachings. Another contains a second defense of our faith. He made it to Antoninus Verus, the successor and namesake of the emperor just mentioned, whose times we

128. "Pious emperor" translates Greek Eusebes, a pun on the title of Antoninus Pius.

are now describing. 5 Another work is addressed to the Greeks. In it he writes at length on very many of the questions debated between us and the Greek philosophers, and he explains the nature of demons. There is no need to set those matters out here. Another writing of his against the Greeks has also come down to us, which he titled Refutation. Besides these there is another, On the Sovereignty of God, which he proves not only from our Scriptures but also from Greek books. Next there is a work titled Psaltes, and another school-style work On the Soul. In it he puts forward various questions on the problem under discussion and sets out the opinions of the Greek philosophers. He promises to argue against them and to state his own view in another work.[129]

7 He also composed a dialogue against the Jews. He held it in the city of Ephesus with Trypho, the most distinguished Hebrew of that time. In it he shows how divine grace urged him toward the word of faith. He also tells how eagerly he had first applied himself to the study of philosophy and how passionately he had searched for the truth. In the same work he reports that the Jews plotted against the teaching of Christ. He says this to Trypho: "Not only did you not repent of the evil you did, but you chose men at that time and sent them out from Jerusalem to the whole earth, saying that a godless sect of Christians had appeared. You repeated the very things that all who do not know us say against us. So you are the cause of wrongdoing not only for yourselves but for all other people as well."

9 He also says that prophetic gifts still shone in the Church up to his own time. He mentions the Revelation of John, saying plainly that it was the apostle's. He also cites certain prophetic sayings, and he charges Trypho with the claim that the Jews had cut them out of the Scripture. Many other works of his are still in circulation among many of the brothers. The ancients too thought the man's writings so worthy of attention that Irenaeus quoted his words. In the fourth book of Against Heresies he writes: "Justin rightly says in his work against Marcion that he would not have believed the Lord himself if he had proclaimed another God besides the Creator." And in the fifth book of the same work he says: "Justin rightly said that before the Lord's coming Satan never dared to blaspheme God, since he did not yet know his own condemnation."

129. "Psaltes" means "the Psalmist" or "the Singer." The work has not survived.

10 I have felt bound to say these things to encourage lovers of learning to study his writings diligently. So much for Justin.

CHAPTER 19

The Rulers of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria During the Reign of Verus.

In the eighth year of this reign, Soter succeeded Anicetus as bishop of the church of Rome. Anicetus had served eleven years in all. In the church of Alexandria, Celadion had led for fourteen years, and Agrippinus succeeded him.[130]

CHAPTER 20

The Rulers of the Church of Antioch.

At that time in the church of Antioch, Theophilus was well known as the sixth bishop after the apostles. Cornelius, who followed Hero, had been the fourth there. After him Eros took over the office as the fifth in order.

CHAPTER 21

The Ecclesiastical Writers that Flourished in Those Days.

In those days Hegesippus, whom we know from earlier, was at the height of his work in the Church. So were Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, and Pinytus, another bishop, of Crete. After them came Philip, Apolinarius, Melito, Musanus and Modestus, and above them all Irenaeus. Through their writings the sound and orthodox faith of the apostolic tradition has come down to us.

CHAPTER 22

Hegesippus and the Events Which He Mentions.

2 In the five Memoirs that have come down to us, Hegesippus left a very full record of his own convictions. In them he shows that he met a great many bishops on a journey as far as Rome, and that he received the same teaching from all of them. After some remarks about Clement's letter to the Corinthians, he adds the following, which is worth hearing: "And the church of the Corinthians remained in the right doctrine until Primus was bishop in Corinth. I mixed with them on my voyage to Rome, and I spent a good many days with the Corinthians, during which we were refreshed together in the right doctrine. 4 "When I came to Rome, I drew up a succession list

130. "This reign" is that of Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus Verus), named earlier in Book 4. His eighth year is about 167/168.

down to Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. Anicetus was succeeded by Soter, and after him came Eleutherus. In every succession, and in every city, things stand just as the Law, the Prophets and the Lord proclaim." The same writer also describes the beginnings of the heresies of his time, in these words: "After James the Just had borne witness by martyrdom, as the Lord also had for the same message, Symeon, son of Clopas, the uncle of the Lord, was appointed bishop. All put him forward as the second, since he was a cousin of the Lord. For this reason they called the Church a virgin, for it had not yet been corrupted by empty teachings.

6 "But Thebuthis, because he had not been made bishop, began to corrupt it. He came from the seven sects (he himself belonged to the people). From these sects came Simon, from whom the Simonians; Cleobius, from whom the Cleobians; Dositheus, from whom the Dositheans; Gorthaeus, from whom the Goratheni; and Masbotheus, from whom the Masbotheans. From these came the Menandrianists, Marcionists, Carpocratians, Valentinians and Basilidians. Each of them in his own way and apart from the others brought in his own opinion. From these came false Christs, false prophets and false apostles, who split the unity of the Church with corrupting words against God and against his Christ." 8 The same writer also records the heresies that arose long before among the Jews. He says: "Now there were different opinions among the circumcision, among the sons of Israel, held by those who were against the tribe of Judah and the Christ. These were: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbotheans, Samaritans, Sadducees, Pharisees." He writes many other things as well, some of which we have already mentioned, having set the accounts in their proper times. He quotes some things from the Gospel according to the Hebrews and from the Syriac Gospel, and in particular some from the Hebrew language. This shows that he himself had come to believe from among the Hebrews. He also mentions other things as drawn from unwritten Jewish tradition.[131]

9 Not only Hegesippus but also Irenaeus and the whole company of the ancients called the Proverbs of Solomon "all-virtuous Wisdom." Hegesippus also discusses the so-called apocryphal books. He records that in his own time some of them had been fabricated by certain heretics. But now we must move on to another subject.

131. "Hemerobaptists" means "daily baptizers." The Greek names "the Gospel according to the Hebrews" and "the Syriac" as separate items.

CHAPTER 23

Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, and the Epistles Which He Wrote.

2 First we must say of Dionysius that he had been entrusted with the bishop's seat of the church at Corinth. He shared his God-inspired labor generously, not only with those under his care but also with people abroad. He made himself most useful to everyone in the general letters he drafted to the churches. One of these is to the Lacedaemonians, giving instruction in orthodox belief and urging peace and unity. Another is to the Athenians, stirring them up to faith and to the life required by the gospel. He rebukes them for neglecting that life, as though they had almost fallen away from the word since the time when their leader Publius was martyred in the persecutions of those days.[132] 4 He also mentions Quadratus, who was appointed their bishop after the martyr Publius. He testifies that through Quadratus's zeal they were gathered together again and their faith was rekindled. Dionysius further shows that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was won over to the faith by the apostle Paul as recorded in the Acts, was the first to be entrusted with the bishop's office in the church at Athens. Another letter of his, to the Nicomedians, is also in circulation. In it he opposes the heresy of Marcion and takes his stand on the rule of truth. [*Acts 17:34*]

6 He also wrote to the church at Gortyna and the other churches in Crete. He commends their bishop Philip, because the church under him is attested for its many acts of courage, and he warns them to guard against the perversions of the heretics. He also wrote to the church at Amastris and the churches in Pontus. He mentions that Bacchylides and Elpistus urged him to write, and he adds explanations of divine Scriptures, hinting at the name of their bishop, Palmas. He gives them much counsel about marriage and chastity. He also orders them to welcome those who turn back from any kind of fall, whether moral failure or heretical error.[133] 8 Another letter is included with these, addressed to the church at Cnossus. In it he urges Pinytus, the bishop of that church, not to lay on the brothers the heavy burden of compulsory chastity, but to take account of the weakness of the many. Pinytus wrote back. He admires and welcomes Dionysius, but in turn urges

132. "General letters" translates the Greek word often rendered "catholic." Here it means letters addressed to churches generally, not the New Testament "Catholic Epistles."

133. The Greek verb hyposēmainōn means "indicating" or "hinting at," so Dionysius points to Palmas as bishop rather than simply naming him.

him at some point to give stronger food. He asks that Dionysius feed his people from then on with more mature writings, so that they would not stay forever on milky teachings and grow old without noticing, still living under a childish training. In this letter Pinytus' sound faith and his concern for the benefit of those under his care are shown as in an exact portrait, as are his skill with words and his understanding of divine things.[134] [*Hebrews 5:12-14*]

10 There is also a letter of Dionysius to the Romans, addressed to Soter, who was bishop at that time. The best thing is to quote from it the words in which he approves the custom of the Romans, kept up until the persecution of our own day. He writes as follows: "From the beginning it has been your custom to do good to all the brothers in various ways, and to send help to many churches in every city. In some places you relieve the poverty of the needy, and to brothers in the mines you give support. By the supplies you have sent from the beginning, you Romans keep up the ancestral custom of the Romans. Your blessed bishop Soter has not only kept this custom but has increased it. He adds to the generous supply sent to the saints, and he encourages the brothers who come to Rome with blessed words, as a loving father does his children."

12 In the same letter he also mentions the letter of Clement to the Corinthians. He shows that it had been read in church from ancient custom, from the beginning. He says: "Today we have kept the holy Lord's day, and on it we read your letter. We will always have it to read, and so be admonished by it, just as by the earlier letter written to us through Clement." The same Dionysius also says this about his own letters, which had been tampered with: "When brothers asked me to write letters, I wrote them. And the apostles of the devil have stuffed these letters with weeds, taking some things out and putting other things in. A woe is laid on them. So it is no wonder that some have also set about tampering with the Lord's Scriptures, since they have plotted against writings that are not of that kind."[135]

13 Another letter of Dionysius is also in circulation besides these. It was written to Chrysophora, a most faithful sister. He wrote what was fitting for

134. "Milky" teaching and "stronger food" echo the contrast between milk and solid food in 1 Corinthians 3:2 and Hebrews 5:12-14.

135. "Lord's day" is Greek kyriake (hemera), the usual early Christian term for Sunday. "Weeds" (zizania) is the word used in the parable of the weeds in Matthew 13. The Greek says the devil's apostles plotted against writings "not of such a kind."

her and gave her too the spiritual nourishment suited to her. That is all about Dionysius.[136]

CHAPTER 24

Theophilus Bishop of Antioch.

Of Theophilus, whom we have already named as bishop of the church of Antioch, three elementary books addressed to Autolycus survive. There is also another work, titled Against the Heresy of Hermogenes, in which he uses testimonies from the Revelation of John. Some other instructional books of his survive as well. In those days the heretics were doing just as much harm as ever, like weeds ruining the pure seed of apostolic teaching. The shepherds of the churches everywhere drove them off like wild beasts from Christ's sheep and kept them out. Sometimes they did this by warnings and exhortations to the brothers. At other times they stripped for the fight and met the heretics more openly, with unwritten inquiries and refutations face to face. They also corrected their opinions in written treatises with very precise arguments. Theophilus fought against them along with the others. This is clear from a work he labored over, and not weakly, against Marcion, which has survived to the present along with the other works we have mentioned. Maximinus, the seventh bishop after the apostles, succeeded him in the church of Antioch.[137]

CHAPTER 25

Philip and Modestus.

Philip, whom we know from the words of Dionysius to have been bishop of the church at Gortyna, also wrote a very careful work against Marcion. So did Irenaeus, and so did Modestus. Modestus, more clearly than the others, exposed the man's error for everyone to see. There were many others too, whose writings are still kept by a great number of the brethren.[138]

136. "Spiritual" translates Greek logikos, "rational" or "spiritual." The same adjective appears in 1 Peter 2:2, "spiritual milk."

137. "Unwritten inquiries" (agraphois zetesesin) means spoken, face-to-face debate, as opposed to the written treatises mentioned next.

138. The older translation has "parish" for paroikia; it means a local church community (the root of "parish"), not a parish in the modern sense.

CHAPTER 26

Melito and the Circumstances Which He Records.

2 In the same period Melito, bishop of the church in Sardis, and Apolinarius of Hierapolis were both famous and in their prime. Each of them separately addressed a defense of the faith to the Roman emperor who was reigning at that time. The following works of theirs have come to my knowledge. Of Melito: two books On the Passover; On the Conduct of Life and the Prophets; On the Church; On the Lord's Day; On the Nature of Man; On Creation; On the Obedience of Faith to the Senses; and besides these, On Soul and Body or Mind; On Baptism; On Truth; On the Creation and Birth of Christ; his discourse On Prophecy; On Hospitality; The Key; the works On the Devil and On the Apocalypse of John; On God Incarnate (or "God in a body"); and last of all, the little book addressed to Antoninus. 5 In the books On the Passover he indicates the time when he wrote, beginning like this: "When Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, at the time when Sagaris was martyred, there was a great dispute in Laodicea about the Passover, which fell at that time in those days; and these things were written." Clement of Alexandria mentions this work in his own discourse On the Passover, which he says he composed because of Melito's writing. In his book to the emperor, Melito reports that the following was happening to us in his reign: "The race of the godly is now being persecuted, something that never happened before, and is being hounded throughout Asia by new decrees. For shameless informers, greedy for other people's property, take advantage of the edicts and openly rob, plundering innocent people night and day."

6 And after some other remarks he says: "If this is done at your command, let it be counted well done. For a just king would never plan anything unjust, and we gladly accept the honor of such a death. But we make you this one request: that you yourself first examine the men who stir up this quarrel, and judge fairly whether they deserve death and punishment, or safety and peace. But if this plan and this strange new decree, which would not be right even against barbarian enemies, does not come from you, then we beg you all the more not to leave us exposed to this kind of mob plundering." 7 Then he continues: "Our philosophy first flourished among the barbarians. But when it blossomed among your own nations during the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, it became above all a good and favorable gift to your empire. For from that time the power of Rome grew great and splendid. You

have become its longed-for successor, and will remain so together with your son, if you protect the philosophy that grew up with the empire and began with Augustus, which your ancestors also honored alongside the other religions."

10 "And here is the greatest proof that our teaching flourished together with an empire that began well, for the good of it: nothing bad has happened since the reign of Augustus began. On the contrary, everything has been splendid and glorious, according to everyone's prayers. Only Nero and Domitian, persuaded by certain malicious men, wanted to bring our teaching into disrepute. From them the false slander against such people has flowed down through an unreasoning habit. But your pious fathers corrected their ignorance, often rebuking in writing many who dared to make new moves against us. Among them your grandfather Hadrian is shown to have written to many others, and also to Fundanus, the proconsul, who governed Asia. And your father, when you were administering everything together with him, wrote to the cities not to make any new moves against us. Among these he wrote to the Larissaeans, to the Thessalonians, to the Athenians, and to all the Greeks."[139]

13 "As for you, we are convinced that you hold the same view about these matters as they did, and a far kinder and more philosophical one. So we are persuaded that you will do everything we ask of you." These words are found in the work mentioned. But in the Extracts that Melito composed, he begins right at the preface with a list of the Old Testament writings that are agreed upon, and it is necessary to set it down here. He writes as follows: "Melito to his brother Onesimus, greetings. You have often asked me, out of your zeal for the word, to make extracts for you from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Savior and our whole faith. You also wanted to learn the exact facts about the ancient books: how many they are and in what order they stand. I have worked hard to do this, since I know your earnestness about the faith and your love of learning in the word. Above all else, out of longing for God, you rank these things first, as you strive for eternal salvation.[140]

14 "So I went up to the East, and came to the place where these things were proclaimed and done. There I learned the books of the Old Testament

139. Hadrian was Marcus Aurelius's adoptive grandfather: he adopted Antoninus Pius, who then adopted Marcus. "Your father" means Antoninus Pius, and the Greek says Marcus was "managing all things for him."

accurately, and I have listed them and sent them to you. Their names are these: five books of Moses (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy); Jesus Nave (Joshua); Judges; Ruth; four books of Kingdoms; two of Chronicles; the Psalms of David; the Proverbs of Solomon, also called Wisdom; Ecclesiastes; Song of Songs; Job. Of the prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah; the Twelve in a single book; Daniel; Ezekiel; Ezra. From these I made the extracts, dividing them into six books." This is what Melito says.[141]

CHAPTER 27

Apolinarius, Bishop of the Church of Hierapolis.

Many works of Apolinarius have been preserved by many people. The ones that have reached us are these: the discourse addressed to the emperor mentioned above; five books Against the Greeks; two books On Truth; two books Against the Jews; and the works he wrote afterward against the Phrygian heresy. That heresy had been introduced as a novelty not long before, and was then just beginning to sprout, since Montanus and his false prophetesses were still making the first moves in their departure from the truth.

CHAPTER 28

Musanus and His Writings.

There is also a very persuasive discourse by Musanus, whom we listed among the earlier writers. He wrote it to some brothers who had turned aside to the heresy of the so-called Encratites. That heresy was just then beginning to sprout, and it brought into life a strange and destructive false teaching. The story is that Tatian became the founder of this departure from the faith.

CHAPTER 29

The Heresy of Tatian.

2 Tatian is the man whose words about the admirable Justin we quoted a little earlier, when we noted that he was the martyr's pupil. Irenaeus makes this clear in the first book of his work Against Heresies, where he writes about Tatian and his heresy together: "From Saturninus and Marcion came those called Encratites, who preached against marriage. They set aside God's

140. The "work mentioned" is Melito's apology to the emperor, which Eusebius has been quoting. The emperor is most likely Marcus Aurelius, since "your father" is Antoninus Pius.

141. "Jesus Nave" is the Greek form of Joshua son of Nun. "Four books of Kingdoms" are 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings. Esther is not in the list, and "Ezra" probably includes Nehemiah.

original creation, and quietly find fault with the one who made male and female for the generation of human beings. They also introduced abstinence from what they call 'animate' creatures, showing ingratitude to God who made all things. And they argue against the salvation of the first-formed man. 3 "This last point has only recently been invented among them. A certain Tatian was the first to bring in this blasphemy. He had been a hearer of Justin, and as long as he was with him he showed nothing of the kind. But after Justin's martyrdom he left the church. Lifted up with the conceit of being a teacher, and puffed up as though he were better than everyone else, he set up his own distinctive kind of school. Like the followers of Valentinus, he made up myths about certain invisible aeons. Like Marcion and Saturninus, he declared marriage to be corruption and fornication. And as for the salvation of Adam, he came up with his own argument against it."

6 That is what Irenaeus wrote at that time. A little later a man named Severus strengthened the heresy mentioned above, and so those who came out of it received the name Severians, taken from him. They use the Law, the Prophets and the Gospels, but they interpret the meaning of the sacred Scriptures in their own way. They blaspheme Paul the apostle and reject his letters, and they do not even accept the Acts of the Apostles. Their earlier leader Tatian, however, put together a kind of joining and gathering of the Gospels, I do not know how, and called it "The Gospel through Four" (Diatessaron). This is still in circulation among some people today. They say he also dared to rework some of the apostle's wording, as if correcting the style of his phrasing. 7 Tatian left a very large number of writings. The one best known and most often mentioned is his famous Address to the Greeks. In it he recalls the earliest times and shows that Moses and the Hebrew prophets were older than all the famous men of the Greeks. This appears to be the finest and most useful of all his works. So much, then, for these men.

CHAPTER 30

Bardesanes the Syrian and His Extant Works.

1 In the same reign, as heresies were multiplying, Bardesanes appeared in Mesopotamia. He was a very capable man and a most skillful debater in the Syriac language. He composed dialogues against the followers of Marcion and against certain others who led various schools of thought, and he put them into writing in his own language, along with a great many other

works. His disciples, of whom he had very many since he was a forceful speaker, translated these writings from Syriac into Greek. 3 Among these is his very able dialogue On Fate, addressed to Antoninus, and other works which, they say, he wrote because of the persecution at that time. He had earlier belonged to the school of Valentinus. But he condemned it and refuted most of its mythical inventions. He thought he had changed over to a sounder understanding, yet he did not entirely wash off the filth of the old heresy. In this period Soter, bishop of the church of Rome, also died.

Book 5

GREETING

HE 5. Gr. Soter, bishop of the church of Rome, died after leading it for eight years. Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles, succeeded him. This was the seventeenth year of the emperor Antoninus Verus. In some parts of the world the persecution against us flared up more fiercely then, through attacks by the city mobs. From what happened in just one nation we can judge that tens of thousands of martyrs distinguished themselves throughout the world. These events have been handed down in writing to later generations, and they are truly worthy of undying remembrance. 3 The fullest and most complete account of these events is in my Collection of Martyrdoms, which contains a narrative that teaches as well as records history. Here I will select and set down only what belongs to the present work. Other writers of history would certainly record victories in war, trophies won over enemies, the exploits of generals and the courage of soldiers. These men were stained with blood and countless killings, fought for the sake of children, country and other possessions.

4 But our account of the way of life of our community will inscribe on everlasting monuments something different. It will record the most peaceful wars, fought for the sake of peace of soul itself. It will record those who in these wars showed courage more for truth than for country, and more for godliness than for their dearest ones. It will proclaim for eternal remembrance the endurance of the athletes of godliness and their long-suffering courage, the trophies won over demons, the victories over invisible opponents, and the crowns given for all these things.

CHAPTER 1

The Number of Those Who Fought for Religion in Gaul Under Verus and the Nature of Their Conflicts.

3 The country where the contest took place was Gaul. Its most notable and outstanding cities are Lugdunum (Lyons) and Vienna (Vienne). The Rhone River flows through both of them, running in a broad stream around the whole region. The most distinguished churches there sent a written account about the martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, telling what had happened among them in the following way. I will give their own words: "The servants of Christ living as foreigners in Vienne and Lyons in Gaul, to the brothers in Asia and Phrygia who have the same faith and hope of redemption as we do: peace, grace and glory from God the Father and from Christ Jesus our Lord." 5 After this and some other introductory remarks, they begin their account like this: "We are not able to describe accurately the greatness of the affliction here, the great rage of the pagans against the saints, or all that the blessed martyrs endured. Nor could it be fully put in writing. The adversary attacked with all his strength. He was already giving a preview of his coming, which will be unrestrained. He went through every means to accustom his own people and train them in advance against the servants of God. As a result we were not only shut out of houses, baths and the marketplace, but it was forbidden for any of us to be seen at all in any place whatever."

7 But the grace of God took command against him. It rescued the weak, and it set against him firm pillars, able by their endurance to draw the whole force of the Evil One onto themselves. These went straight into battle against him, putting up with every kind of abuse and punishment. They counted great sufferings as small and hurried on toward Christ. They showed in truth that "the sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that is to be revealed to us." First they bravely endured what the whole crowd heaped on them together: shouting, blows, dragging through the streets, plundering, stoning, confinement, and everything that a savage mob likes to do to those it treats as enemies and foes. [*Romans 8:18*]

9 Then they were led into the marketplace by the tribune and the city authorities. They were questioned before the whole crowd, confessed their faith, and were shut up in prison until the governor arrived. Afterward they were brought before the governor, and he treated us with complete cruelty.

Then Vettius Epagathus, one of the brothers, stepped forward. He was filled to the full with love toward God and his neighbor. His manner of life was so exact that, though young, he was counted equal to the testimony given of the elder Zacharias. For he had walked blamelessly in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord. He never grew tired of serving his neighbor in any way, he had great zeal for God, and he was fervent in spirit. Being such a man, he could not bear the senseless judgment being passed on us. He was extremely indignant and demanded that he too be heard in defense of the brothers, to show that there is nothing godless or impious among us. [*Luke 1:6; Romans 12:11*]

10 Those around the judgment seat shouted him down, for he was a man of note. The governor would not accept his entirely just request. He asked only whether Vettius himself was a Christian. Vettius confessed in a ringing voice, and he too was taken up into the company of the martyrs. He was called "the advocate of the Christians," but he had the Advocate within himself, the Spirit, more fully than Zacharias. He showed this by the fullness of his love, being glad to lay down even his own life to defend the brothers. For he was, and is, a genuine disciple of Christ, following the Lamb wherever he goes.[142] [*Revelation 14:4*] 11 From this point the rest were sorted out. The first martyrs were plainly ready, and they completed their confession of witness with complete eagerness. But others also appeared who were unprepared and untrained, still weak, and unable to bear the strain of so great a contest. About ten of these miscarried, as it were. They caused us great grief and immeasurable sorrow, and they dampened the eagerness of the others who had not yet been arrested. Yet these others, though they suffered every kind of hardship, still stayed with the martyrs and did not abandon them.[143]

14 Then we were all greatly shaken, because it was uncertain who would confess. We were not afraid of the punishments being inflicted. We were looking to the outcome and fearing that someone might fall away. Yet every day those who were worthy were arrested, filling up the number of the fallen. So all the earnest believers were gathered from the two churches, the very ones through whom the life of the church here was chiefly sustained. Some of our servants who were pagans were also arrested, since the governor had

142. "Advocate" translates the Greek "paraklētos," the same word used of the Holy Spirit in John 14–16. "Following the Lamb wherever he goes" echoes Revelation 14:4.

143. "Miscarried" translates the Greek verb "exetrōsan" (from "ektitrōskō," to miscarry), a figure for those whose faith failed before it was fully formed.

ordered that all of us be openly hunted down. By Satan's snare, in fear of the tortures they saw the saints suffering, and urged on by the soldiers, they falsely accused us of "Thyestean feasts" and "Oedipean unions," and of things that it is not right for us even to speak or think of, and that we cannot even believe ever happened among human beings.[144]

17 Once these stories were spread about, everyone turned on us like wild beasts. Even those who had earlier held back out of friendship now became very angry and ground their teeth against us. What our Lord had said was fulfilled: "The time will come when everyone who kills you will think he is offering service to God." From then on, holy martyrs, you endured sufferings beyond all description. Satan was eager to have some blasphemy spoken through you as well. The rage of the crowd, the governor and the soldiers fell with extreme force on Sanctus, the deacon from Vienne; on Maturus, a new convert but a noble fighter; on Attalus, a native of Pergamum, who had always been a pillar and support of the church here; and on Blandina. Through her Christ showed that what people think cheap, ugly and contemptible is counted worthy of great glory with God, because of love for him, a love shown in power and not boasting in outward appearance. [*John 16:2*]

18 All of us were afraid. Her earthly mistress, who was herself one of the martyrs in the contest, was in agony that Blandina, because of her bodily weakness, would not be able even to make a bold confession. But Blandina was filled with such power that the men who tortured her in turn, in every way, from morning until evening, grew exhausted and gave up. They themselves admitted they were beaten, for they had nothing more to do to her. They were amazed that she was still breathing, since her whole body was torn and gaping. They testified that any one kind of torture was enough to take her life, let alone so many and such severe ones. 20 But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, grew young again in her confession. Saying, "I am a Christian, and nothing wicked is done among us," brought her renewal, rest and freedom from feeling what was happening to her. Sanctus too bore bravely, beyond measure and beyond any other man, all the cruelties that men could inflict. The lawless men hoped that the length and severity of the tortures would make him say something improper. But he stood against

144. "Thyestean feasts" refers to the myth of Thyestes, who was tricked into eating his own children. "Oedipean unions" refers to Oedipus, who married his mother. These were slanders of cannibalism and incest commonly brought against Christians.

them with such firmness that he would not even tell his own name, or his nation, or the city he came from, or whether he was slave or free. To every question he answered in Latin, "I am a Christian." This he confessed in place of a name, a city, a race, and everything else, one thing after another. The pagans heard no other word from him.

23 So the governor and the torturers became fiercely determined to break him. When they had nothing left to do to him, they finally fastened red-hot bronze plates to the most tender parts of his body. These parts were burned, but he stayed unbending and unyielding, firm in his confession. He was refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly spring of the water of life that flows from the body of Christ. His poor body was a witness to what had happened: it was all one wound and bruise, shrunken and twisted, and it had lost any outward human shape. In that body Christ, suffering, accomplished great things for his glory. He brought the adversary to nothing, and as a pattern for the others he showed that nothing is frightening where the Father's love is, and nothing painful where Christ's glory is. [*John 7:38*] 24 Some days later the lawless men tortured the martyr again. They supposed that his body was swollen and inflamed, so that he could not even bear to be touched by a hand. They thought that if they applied the same instruments, they would overcome him, or that if he died under the tortures he would frighten the others. Not only did nothing of the kind happen, but, against all human expectation, his poor body rose up and was straightened in the later torments. It regained its former appearance and the use of its limbs. So by the grace of Christ the second round of torture became for him not punishment but healing.

26 There was also a woman named Biblis, one of those who had denied the faith. The devil thought he had already swallowed her. He wanted to condemn her further through blasphemy, so he had her brought to punishment, forcing her, as one already easily broken and unmanly, to say godless things about us. But under the torture she came to her senses and woke as if from a deep sleep. The temporary punishment reminded her of the eternal punishment in Gehenna. She answered the blasphemers directly: "How could such people eat children, when they are not even allowed to eat the blood of irrational animals?" From then on she confessed herself a Christian and was added to the lot of the martyrs.[145] 27 But when Christ had made the tyrants' tortures useless through the endurance of these blessed ones, the devil devised

other schemes. He shut them up in the dark and most miserable part of the prison. He stretched their feet in the stocks, spreading them to the fifth hole. He added all the other cruelties that angry attendants, filled with the devil, are accustomed to inflict on prisoners. As a result most of them were suffocated in prison, all those, that is, whom the Lord willed to depart in this way, to show his glory.[146]

29 Some had been tortured so bitterly that they seemed unable to live even with every kind of care. Yet they remained in prison, left without any human attention, but strengthened by the Lord and made strong in body and soul, and they urged on and comforted the rest. But the young ones, who had only just been arrested and whose bodies had not been worn down beforehand, could not bear the weight of the confinement, and died inside. The blessed Pothinus had been entrusted with the service of the bishop's office in Lyons. He was over ninety years old and very weak in body. He could scarcely breathe because of his bodily weakness, but he was revived by eagerness of spirit, because of his pressing desire for martyrdom. He too was dragged to the judgment seat. His body was broken down by both age and sickness, but his life was kept in him so that Christ might triumph through it. [*2 Corinthians 2:14*]

31 He was brought to the judgment seat by the soldiers, with the city authorities and the whole crowd escorting him. They shouted at him in every way, as if he himself were Christ, and he gave the good witness. The governor asked him who the God of the Christians was, and he said, "If you are worthy, you will know." After that he was dragged along without mercy and suffered blows of every kind. Those close by abused him in every way with hands and feet, with no respect for his age. Those farther off hurled at him whatever each one had in hand. All of them thought it a great fault and impiety if anyone fell short in outrage against him, for they believed that this was how they would avenge their own gods. He was thrown into prison scarcely breathing, and two days later he died. 33 Then a great providence of God took place, and the immeasurable mercy of Jesus was shown. Such a thing happens only rarely among the brotherhood, yet it did not fall short of the skill of Christ. Those who had denied him at the first arrest were shut

145. "Gehenna" is the word the Greek uses ("geenna") for the place of eternal punishment, often rendered "hell."

146. The "fifth hole" refers to the stocks (Greek "xylon"), which had a row of holes. The prisoner's feet were stretched apart to the fifth hole.

up too and shared the sufferings. Their denial did them no good at this time. Those who confessed what they were were imprisoned as Christians, with no other charge brought against them. But the deniers were held from then on as murderers and defiled persons, and were punished twice as heavily as the rest.

35 The first group were lightened by the joy of martyrdom, the hope of what was promised, love for Christ, and the Spirit of the Father. But the deniers were sorely punished by their conscience, so that as they passed by, their faces stood out from all the others. The confessors walked forward cheerful, with glory and much grace mingled in their faces. Even their chains hung on them as a fine adornment, like a bride dressed in golden, richly worked clothing. They gave off the sweet fragrance of Christ at the same time, so that some thought they had been anointed with worldly perfume. The deniers were downcast, humble, ugly to look at and full of every kind of shame. On top of that the pagans reproached them as cowardly and unmanly. They bore the charges of murderers, and they had lost the all-honored, glorious and life-giving name. When the others saw this, they were strengthened. Those who were arrested confessed without wavering, and gave no thought to the devil's reasoning.[147] [*2 Corinthians 2:15*]

37 After adding some remarks in between, the writers continue: After this, the martyrdoms of their departure were divided into every kind. They wove one crown out of different colors and all sorts of flowers and offered it to the Father. It was right that the noble athletes, who had endured a many-sided contest and won a great victory, should receive the great crown of immortality. So Maturus, Sanctus, Blandina and Attalus were led out to the wild beasts in the public arena, to be a spectacle for the common entertainment of the pagans. The day for fights with wild beasts was given over expressly because of our people. [*1 Corinthians 9:25*] 38 Maturus and Sanctus again went through every kind of torment in the amphitheater. It was as if they had suffered nothing before. Or rather, they had already beaten their opponent in many rounds and were now fighting for the crown itself. Again they endured the whippings that were customary there, as they ran between the lines of guards. They endured the dragging and mauling by the beasts. They en-

147. "The all-honored, glorious and life-giving name" is the name "Christian." The "murderers" are not the false charge of cannibalism. Those who denied were held as common criminals, "murderers and defiled" (see 5.1.33), instead of being treated as Christians.

dured everything the maddened crowd shouted for and urged on, each from a different part of the stands. Last of all came the iron chair, on which their bodies were roasted and the smell of it filled them.

41 Even then their persecutors did not stop. They raged still more, wanting to defeat their endurance. Yet from Sanctus they heard nothing except the words of confession he had been used to saying from the beginning. After a long and great struggle, in which their spirit held out for a long time, these two were finally sacrificed. All through that day they had been a spectacle to the world, in place of the whole variety of the gladiator contests. Blandina was hung on a stake and set out as food for the beasts that were let in. Because she could be seen hanging in the shape of a cross, and because of her earnest prayer, she put great eagerness into those who were fighting. In their struggle they looked on their sister with their outward eyes and saw in her the one who was crucified for them. So he persuaded those who believe in him that everyone who suffers for the glory of Christ has fellowship forever with the living God.

43 None of the beasts touched her at that time. She was taken down from the stake and brought back to the prison, kept for another contest. She would win through more trials and make the sentence on the crooked serpent final. And she, small, weak and easily despised, but clothed with Christ, the great athlete, would encourage her brothers. She would force back the adversary through many rounds, and through the struggle win the crown of incorruptibility. Attalus also was loudly demanded by the crowd, for he was well known. He came in ready for the fight because of his good conscience. He had been truly trained in the Christian way of life, and had always been a witness of the truth among us. 45 He was led around the amphitheater, with a placard carried before him on which was written in Latin, "This is Attalus the Christian." The crowd was greatly worked up against him. But the governor learned that he was a Roman citizen. He ordered Attalus to be taken back with the others who were in prison. He had written to Caesar about them and was waiting for his decision. That time in between was neither idle nor fruitless for them. Through their endurance the measureless mercy of Christ was made plain. The dead were made alive through the living. The martyrs showed favor to those who were not martyrs. And the virgin mother had great joy in receiving back alive those whom she had miscarried as dead.

47 Through the martyrs most of those who had denied the faith were conceived again in the womb, brought back to life, and rekindled. They learned to confess. Now alive and strengthened, they came to the judgment seat, so that the governor could question them again. God, who does not want the death of the sinner but is kind toward repentance, made it sweet for them. Caesar had written that those who confessed should be executed, but that any who denied should be released. The festival held there was just beginning, and it draws a great crowd from all the nations. So the governor brought the blessed ones up to the judgment seat, making a theater of them and parading them before the crowds. For this reason he questioned them again. Those who seemed to have Roman citizenship he beheaded, and the rest he sent to the beasts. [*Ezekiel 33:11*] 49 Christ was greatly glorified in those who had denied him before but now confessed, against the expectation of the heathen. They were questioned separately, as people who were supposedly about to be released. But when they confessed, they were added to the company of the martyrs. Those who remained outside were people who had never had a trace of faith, no sense of the wedding garment, and no thought of the fear of God. By their way of life they blasphemed the Way. These were the sons of destruction. All the rest were added to the church. While these were being questioned, a man named Alexander stood near the judgment seat. He was a Phrygian by birth and a physician by profession, and he had spent many years in Gaul. Almost everyone knew him for his love toward God and his boldness in speaking, for he was not without a share of the apostolic gift. By signs he urged them on to confession. To those standing around the judgment seat he looked like a woman in labor.[148] [*Matthew 22:11; John 17:12; Acts 19:9*]

51 The crowds were angry that those who had earlier denied the faith were now confessing it again, and they shouted against Alexander as though he were the cause. The governor had him stand forward and asked who he was. When Alexander said he was a Christian, the governor became furious and condemned him to the wild beasts. The next day he came into the arena together with Attalus, for the governor, to please the crowd, had handed Attalus over to the beasts again. In the amphitheater they went through every instrument of torture devised for punishment. They endured a very great

148. "The Way" is an early name for the Christian faith, as in Acts 9:2 and 19:9. "Wedding garment" recalls Jesus' parable in Matthew 22. The Greek says they blasphemed the Way "through their manner of life."

struggle, and in the end they too were sacrificed. Alexander neither groaned nor made any sound at all, but spoke with God in his heart. 53 When Attalus was set on the iron chair and was being burned, and the smell of his roasting body rose up, he said to the crowd in Latin, "Look, this is eating human beings, and it is what you are doing. We do not eat human beings, nor do we do anything else evil." When he was asked what name God has, he answered, "God does not have a name as a man has." After all this, on the last day of the gladiatorial contests, Blandina was brought in again, together with a boy named Ponticus, about fifteen years old. Every day these two had been brought in to watch the punishment of the others, and they had been forced to swear by the crowd's idols. Because they stood firm and treated the idols with contempt, the crowd turned savage against them, so that they had no pity for the boy's youth and no respect for the woman.

55 They exposed them to every terror and took them around the whole circle of tortures, again and again forcing them to swear, but they could not make them do it. Ponticus was urged on by his sister, so that even the pagans could see that she was encouraging and strengthening him. He bravely endured every torture and gave up his spirit. The blessed Blandina came last of all. Like a noble mother who has encouraged her children and sent them ahead victorious to the King, she went back over all their struggles herself and hurried after them. She was glad and rejoicing at her departure, as though she had been invited to a wedding banquet rather than thrown to the beasts. 57 After the whips, after the beasts, after the hot griddle, she was finally put in a net and thrown to a bull. The animal tossed her about many times, but she no longer felt what was happening to her, because of her hope, her firm hold on what she had believed, and her fellowship with Christ. She too was sacrificed. The pagans themselves admitted that never among them had a woman suffered so many and such terrible things. But even this did not satisfy their madness and their cruelty toward the saints. Savage and barbarous tribes, stirred up by a savage beast, were hard to calm, and their insolence found a new and different start in dealing with the bodies.

59 That they had been defeated did not shame them, for they had no human reasoning. It rather fed their anger like that of a wild beast. The governor and the people alike showed the same unjust hatred toward us, so that the Scripture might be fulfilled: "Let the lawless man still act lawlessly, and let the righteous man still be made righteous." Those who had suffocated in

the prison they threw to the dogs, and they guarded them carefully night and day so that none of us could bury anyone. Then they put out the remains left by the beasts and by the fire, torn in places and charred in others, along with the heads of the rest and their severed trunks. These too they kept unburied under careful military guard for many days. [*Revelation 22:11*] 61 Some raged at the bodies and ground their teeth, looking to take some further revenge on them. Others laughed and jeered, praising their own idols and crediting them with the punishment of the Christians. Those who were more reasonable, and seemed to feel some sympathy, reproached the Christians sharply, saying, "Where is their God? What good has their religion done them, which they chose in preference to their own lives?" So the reactions on their side were mixed. On our side there was deep grief, because we could not bury the bodies in the earth. Night gave us no help for this, money did not persuade them, and pleading did not move them. They kept watch in every way, as if they would gain something great if the bodies did not receive burial.

63 After other things they go on to say: "The bodies of the martyrs had been put on public display and exposed to the smoke and the weather for six days. Afterward the lawless men burned them, reduced them to ashes, and swept them into the Rhone, which flows close by, so that no trace of them might still be seen on the earth. They did this as though they could defeat God and take away the new birth from these people. They did it, as they said, 'so that they may have no hope of resurrection. Trusting in that hope, they bring in a strange new religion among us, despise terrors, and go to their death ready and even joyful. Now let us see whether they will rise again, and whether their God can help them and rescue them from our hands.'"

CHAPTER 2

The Martyrs, Beloved of God, Kindly Ministered Unto Those Who Fell in the Persecution.

2 Such things also happened to the churches of Christ under the emperor already mentioned. From these we can reasonably guess what was done in the other provinces. It is worth adding other words from the same letter, in which the gentleness and kindness of these martyrs are recorded in these very terms. They became such zealous imitators of Christ, "who, being in the form of God, did not consider equality with God something to be grasped." They were in such glory, and had borne witness not once or twice

but many times. They had been taken back from the wild beasts and bore burns, bruises and wounds all over them. Yet they did not proclaim themselves martyrs, nor did they allow us to call them by that name. If any of us ever addressed them as martyrs, whether in a letter or in conversation, they sharply rebuked him. [*Philippians 2:6*] 3 For they gladly gave up the title of martyr to Christ, the faithful and true witness, the firstborn of the dead, and the author of the life of God. They reminded us of the martyrs who had already departed, and said, "Those are martyrs already, whom Christ thought worthy to be taken up in their confession, having sealed their testimony by their departure. But we are only modest and lowly confessors." With tears they begged the brothers to pray earnestly that they might be brought to completion. [*Revelation 1:5; Revelation 3:14; Acts 3:15*]

5 They showed the power of martyrdom in their actions. They spoke with great boldness before all the nations, and they made their noble character plain through endurance, fearlessness and courage. But they declined to be called martyrs by their brothers, because they were filled with the fear of God. After a short interval the letter says again: They humbled themselves under the mighty hand, by which they are now greatly exalted. At that time they defended everyone but accused no one. They set everyone free but bound no one. They prayed for those who treated them cruelly, as Stephen did, the perfect martyr: "Lord, do not hold this sin against them." If he prayed for those who were stoning him, how much more for the brothers! [*1 Peter 5:6; Acts 7:60*] 7 And again, after other matters, they say: This was their greatest battle against the Beast, because of the genuineness of their love: that the Beast, choked, might vomit up alive those whom he had thought he had swallowed. For they took no pride in themselves over the fallen. Instead, what they had in abundance they gave to those who lacked it, having a mother's tenderness and pouring out many tears for them before the Father. They asked for life, and he gave it to them, and they shared it with their neighbors. Having won the victory over all, they went to God. They had always loved peace and always urged peace on others, and they went to God in peace. They left no grief for their mother and no strife or war for their brothers, but joy, peace, harmony and love.

8 Let this be added, for its usefulness, about the affection of those blessed ones toward the brothers who had fallen. It stands against the inhuman and

merciless attitude of those who afterward dealt ruthlessly with the members of Christ.

CHAPTER 3

The Vision Which Appeared in a Dream to the Witness Attalus.

2 The same letter of the martyrs I have mentioned contains another account worth remembering. No one could object to my passing it on to those who will read it. It goes like this. One of them, a man named Alcibiades, lived a very strict life. He had formerly taken nothing at all except bread and water, and he tried to go on living that way in prison. But it was revealed to Attalus, after his first contest in the amphitheater, that Alcibiades was not acting rightly in refusing the creatures of God and leaving an example that might cause others to stumble. 4 Alcibiades was convinced, and from then on he ate everything freely and gave thanks to God. For these martyrs were not without God's gracious oversight, and the Holy Spirit was their counselor. So much for that matter. At that time Montanus, Alcibiades and Theodotus, with their followers in Phrygia, were just beginning to spread among many people the belief that they were prophets. Many other miraculous works of God's gift were still being done in various churches, and this led many to believe that these men also were prophesying. When a disagreement arose about them, the brethren in Gaul again set out their own judgment on these matters, a careful and thoroughly orthodox one. They also published several letters from the martyrs who had been put to death among them. The martyrs had written these letters while still in chains, to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and also to Eleutherus, who was then bishop of Rome. They were acting as envoys for the peace of the churches.

CHAPTER 4

Irenaeus Commended by the Witnesses in a Letter.

2 The same martyrs also recommended Irenaeus, who was then a presbyter of the church at Lyons, to the bishop of Rome mentioned above. They gave the man a very strong testimony, as the following words show: "Father Eleutherus, we pray that you may rejoice in God in all things, and always. We have urged our brother and partner Irenaeus to carry this letter to you, and we ask you to hold him in high regard, since he is zealous for the covenant of Christ. For if we thought that a position could win righteousness for anyone, we would have recommended him first of all as a presbyter of the church,

which is what he is." 3 Why should I list the roll of martyrs given in that letter: those who died by beheading, those thrown to the wild beasts as food, those who fell asleep in prison, and the number of confessors still living at that time? Anyone who wishes can easily learn all this in full by taking up the writing itself. As I said, I have included it in my Collection of Martyrdoms. That is what happened under Antoninus.[149]

CHAPTER 5

God Sent Rain from Heaven for Marcus Aurelius Caesar in Answer to the Prayers of Our People.

2 The story goes that Marcus Aurelius Caesar, his brother, was drawn up for battle against the Germans and Sarmatians when his army, suffering from thirst, fell into helpless distress. The soldiers of the legion called Melitene, a legion that has stood firm in the faith from that time to this, were standing in line facing the enemy. They knelt on the ground, as is our custom in prayer, and turned to pleading with God. This sight seemed strange to the enemy. But the story says that something even stranger followed at once. A thunderbolt drove the enemy into flight and destruction, while rain poured down on the army of those who had called on God and revived it, though the whole army had been on the point of dying of thirst. 4 This story is told both by writers far removed from our teaching, who took an interest in writing about those times, and by our own writers. The outside historians, since they are strangers to the faith, record the marvel, but they do not admit that it came about through the prayers of our people. Our own writers, as friends of the truth, hand down what happened in a simple and honest way. One of them is Apolinarius. He says that from that time the legion whose prayer had worked the marvel received from the emperor a name suited to the event. In the Roman language it was called the "Thunderbolt" legion.[150]

6 Tertullian is a reliable witness to these things. He addressed his Apology for the Faith to the Roman Senate, a work we have mentioned before, and there he confirms the story with greater and clearer proof. He writes that letters of the wise emperor Marcus are still in circulation. In them Marcus himself testifies that in Germany his army was about to perish for lack of water, and was saved by the prayers of the Christians. Tertullian says that this em-

149. Eusebius's "Collection of Martyrdoms" is a work of his own that has not survived.

150. The Greek word is "keraunobolon," meaning "thunderbolt-hurling." The legion is traditionally known as the "Thundering Legion" (Latin "fulminata").

peror also threatened death to those who tried to bring charges against us. 8 The same writer adds these words: "What kind of laws are these, which only the ungodly, the unjust and the cruel follow against us? Vespasian did not keep them, though he had conquered the Jews. Trajan partly set them aside by forbidding that Christians be hunted out. Neither Hadrian, though he poked into every curiosity, nor the one called Pius gave them his approval." Let each person take these things as he wishes. We will move on to what follows. Pothinus died at the full age of ninety years, together with those who were martyred in Gaul. Irenaeus then took over the oversight of the church at Lyons, which Pothinus had led. We have learned that in his youth Irenaeus was a hearer of Polycarp.[151]

9 In the third book of his work against the heresies, Irenaeus set out the succession of the bishops of Rome. He brought the list down to Eleutherus, whose times we are now examining, as though he were writing in Eleutherus's own day. He writes as follows:

CHAPTER 6

Catalogue of the Bishops of Rome.

2 "When the blessed apostles had founded and built up the church, they handed over the work of the bishop's office to Linus. Paul mentions this Linus in his letters to Timothy. Anencletus followed him. After him, in the third place from the apostles, Clement received the bishop's office. He had seen the blessed apostles and had met with them, and he still had the apostles' preaching ringing in his ears and their tradition before his eyes. He was not alone in this, for many were still left who had been taught by the apostles. [*2 Timothy 4:21*] 4 "In the time of this Clement, no small dissension arose among the brothers in Corinth. The church in Rome then wrote a most effective letter to the Corinthians, urging them to make peace, renewing their faith, and renewing the tradition which it had recently received from the apostles." A little later he says: "Evarestus succeeded this Clement, and Alexander succeeded Evarestus. Then Xystus was appointed, the sixth from the apostles. After him came Telesphorus, who also was gloriously martyred; then Hyginus, then Pius, and after him Anicetus. Soter succeeded

151. "The one called Pius" is the emperor Antoninus Pius; in Greek his title is Eusebes, "devout." The quotation is from Tertullian, as the preceding section shows.

Anicetus, and now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherus holds the inheritance of the bishop's office.

5 "By this same order and this same teaching, the tradition from the apostles in the church and the preaching of the truth have come down to us."

CHAPTER 7

Even Down to Those Times Miracles Were Performed by the Faithful.

2 Irenaeus wrote these things in agreement with the accounts we have already gone through. They come from the work in five books that he titled *Refutation and Overthrow of the Falsely Named Knowledge*. In the second book of the same work he points out that, down to his own time, examples of divine and miraculous power remained in some churches. He says: "But they fall so far short of raising a dead person, as the Lord raised the dead and the apostles did through prayer, that this has often happened in the brotherhood. When there was need, the whole church in that place asked with fasting and much pleading, and the spirit of the dead person returned, and the man was granted to the prayers of the saints." 3 Again, after some other remarks, he says: "But if they claim that the Lord also did such things only in appearance, we will take them back to the writings of the prophets. From these we will show that everything was foretold about him in this way and happened firmly as foretold, and that he alone is the Son of God. For this reason his true disciples, having received grace from him, carry out these works in his name for the benefit of other people, each as he has received the gift from him.

5 "Some drive out demons surely and truly, so that those who have been cleansed from the evil spirits often believe and are in the church. Others have foreknowledge of things to come, visions, and prophetic words. Others heal the sick by laying on their hands and make them well. Already, as we said, even the dead have been raised, and they stayed with us for many years. And what more can I say? It is impossible to give the number of the gifts which the church throughout the whole world has received from God in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and which she uses every day for the benefit of the nations. She does not deceive anyone, and she makes no money from it. For as she has received freely from God, she also serves freely." [*Matthew 10:8*] 6 In another place the same author writes: "We also hear that many brothers in the church have certain gifts. They speak in

all kinds of languages through the Spirit, bring the hidden things of people into the open for their good, and explain the mysteries of God." This shows that various gifts remained among the worthy up to the times I have mentioned.

CHAPTER 8

The Statements of Irenaeus in Regard to the Divine Scriptures.

2 At the beginning of this work I promised to set out, at the proper time, the words of the ancient church elders and writers. In them they wrote down the traditions that had come to them about the Scriptures of the covenant. Irenaeus was one of these, so let me now give his words. First, here is what he says about the holy Gospels: "Matthew also produced a written Gospel among the Hebrews, in their own language, while Peter and Paul were preaching the gospel in Rome and laying the foundation of the church." 5 "After their departure, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also handed down to us in writing what Peter had preached. Luke, the follower of Paul, set down in a book the gospel that Paul preached. Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned back on his chest, himself published the gospel while he was living in Ephesus in Asia." Irenaeus says this in the third book of the work I mentioned. In the fifth book he writes as follows about the Revelation of John and the reckoning of the name of the Antichrist: "Since these things are so, and this number is found in all the good and ancient copies, and those who saw John face to face bear witness to it, and reason itself teaches us that the number of the name of the beast is shown by the letters in it, according to the Greek way of reckoning..." [*John 21:20*]

7 A little further on he says about the same matter: "We do not take the risk of declaring the name of the Antichrist with confidence. If his name had to be proclaimed openly at the present time, it would have been stated by the one who saw the Revelation. For it was seen not long ago, but almost in our own generation, toward the end of Domitian's reign." That is what Irenaeus records about the Revelation. He also mentions the first letter of John and quotes very many testimonies from it, and likewise the first letter of Peter. He not only knows the writing called The Shepherd but accepts it, saying: "The Scripture said well, 'First of all, believe that God is one, who created all things,'" and so on.[152] 9 He also uses some statements from the Wisdom of Solomon, saying very nearly this: "The vision of God brings

about incorruption, and incorruption makes us near to God." He also mentions the memoirs of a certain apostolic elder, whose name he passes over in silence, and sets out that elder's explanations of the divine Scriptures. He also mentions Justin the martyr and Ignatius, again using testimonies from what they wrote. He himself promised to answer Marcion, from Marcion's own writings, in a separate work.

10 Now hear what Irenaeus writes, word for word, about the translation of the divinely inspired Scriptures by the Seventy: "God therefore became man, and the Lord himself saved us, giving the sign of the virgin. It is not as some say, who now dare to translate the Scripture: 'Behold, the young woman will be with child and will bear a son.' That is how Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus translated it, both of them Jewish converts. The Ebionites follow them and say that he was born of Joseph."[153] [*Isaiah 7:14*] 12 A little later he adds to this: "Before the Romans had established their rule, while the Macedonians still held Asia, Ptolemy son of Lagus wanted to adorn the library he had built in Alexandria with all the worthwhile writings of all peoples. So he asked the people of Jerusalem to let him have their Scriptures translated into the Greek language. They were still subject to the Macedonians at that time, so they sent Ptolemy seventy elders, the men among them most experienced in the Scriptures and in both languages, to do what he wanted."

14 Ptolemy wanted to test them one by one. He was afraid they might agree among themselves to hide the truth of the Scriptures in their translation. So he separated them from each other and ordered all of them to write out the same translation. He did this for every one of the books. When they came together before Ptolemy and compared their translations, God was glorified and the Scriptures were recognized as truly inspired. All of them had given the same things in the same words and the same terms from beginning to end. So even the Gentiles who were present knew that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God.[154] 15 It is nothing sur-

152. The Shepherd is the Shepherd of Hermas, an early Christian writing. The quotation is from Mandate 1.1, which continues "who created and completed all things." Eusebius breaks off after "created all things" with "and so on."

153. The passage is Isaiah 7:14. The Greek of the Seventy uses a word meaning "virgin," while Theodotion and Aquila used a word meaning "young woman." The Ebionites were a Jewish-Christian group who denied the virgin birth.

154. The account that the translators worked separately and produced identical texts is Irenaeus's report, which Eusebius is quoting. Eusebius does not vouch for it here.

prising that God did this. In the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar the Scriptures were destroyed. After seventy years the Jews went back to their own land. Then, in the time of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, God inspired Ezra the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to set in order again all the words of the earlier prophets and to restore to the people the law given through Moses. So much for Irenaeus.

CHAPTER 9

The Bishops Under Commodus.

Antoninus reigned for nineteen years, and then Commodus took over the government. In Commodus's first year Julian was entrusted with the oversight of the churches at Alexandria. Agrippinus had completed twelve years of service there.

CHAPTER 10

Pantaenus the Philosopher.

2 At that time the community of believers in Alexandria was led by a man of great reputation for learning, whose name was Pantaenus. A school for the sacred writings had been set up among them from ancient custom. It continues down to our own day, and we have learned that it was run by men who were strong in learning and in zeal for divine things. The report is that Pantaenus was among the most brilliant of these teachers in his time. He had come to the faith from a philosophical training in the school called Stoic. They say he showed such intense eagerness for the divine Word that he was appointed a herald of the gospel of Christ to the nations of the East, and set out as far as the land of the Indians. For there were still, yes, still at that time, many evangelists of the Word. They took care to bring a God-inspired zeal, in imitation of the apostles, to promote the growth and building up of the divine Word.[155]

4 Pantaenus was one of these men, and he is said to have gone to the Indians. The story goes that he found there, before his arrival, the Gospel according to Matthew among some who already knew Christ. Bartholomew, one of the apostles, was said to have preached to them and left Matthew's writing with them in Hebrew letters, and it was preserved until the time of

155. "India" here may not mean what we call India today. Ancient writers used the name loosely for lands in the far East, or sometimes for regions near southern Arabia or Ethiopia. The Greek participle (στειλάμενος) means he "set out" or "journeyed" to the land of the Indians.

Pantaenus. After many fine accomplishments, Pantaenus ended his life as head of the school at Alexandria. He explained the treasures of the divine teachings both by the spoken word and in writing.

CHAPTER 11

Clement of Alexandria.

3 In his time Clement became well known at Alexandria, where he trained in the divine Scriptures alongside Pantaenus. He had the same name as the Clement who long ago led the church of the Romans and was a student of the apostles. In the *Hypotyposes* that he wrote, Clement names Pantaenus as his teacher. I think he also hints at him in the first book of his *Stromata*. There he points out the more distinguished of the men he had met in the line of apostolic succession, and says: "This treatise is not a piece of writing crafted for show. It is notes stored up for my old age, a remedy against forgetfulness. It is simply an image and a rough sketch of those vivid and living words which I was counted worthy to hear, and of those blessed and truly remarkable men. 5 "One of these was in Greece, an Ionian. Another was in Magna Graecia, and one of them was from Coele-Syria. Another was from Egypt, and others were in the East. Of these, one was an Assyrian, and another was a Hebrew by origin in Palestine. I met the last one, who in ability was truly the first, and I found rest. I had tracked him down hidden away in Egypt. These men kept the true tradition of the blessed teaching, which came straight from the holy apostles Peter, James, John and Paul, a son receiving it from his father. (Few sons were like their fathers.) By God's will they have come down even to us, to plant those ancestral and apostolic seeds."

CHAPTER 12

The Bishops in Jerusalem.

In their time Narcissus was bishop of the church at Jerusalem. Many people still speak of him today. He was the fifteenth in succession since the siege of the Jews under Hadrian. We have already shown that from that time the church there was first made up of Gentiles, after those of the circumcision, and that Marcus was the first Gentile bishop to lead them. After him the lists of the succession there record Cassianus as bishop, then Publius, then Maximus, then Julian, then Gaius, then Symmachus, another Gaius, and again

another Julian, then Capito, Valens and Dolichianus, and after all of them Narcissus, the thirtieth from the apostles in the order of succession.

CHAPTER 13

Rhodo and His Account of the Dissension of Marcion.

2 In the same period Rhodo, a native of Asia, wrote various books. As he himself tells us, he had been taught at Rome by Tatian, whom we have already come to know. Among his other writings, he drew up one against the heresy of Marcion. He relates that in his time this heresy split into differing opinions. He names those who caused the split and carefully refutes the falsehoods each of them devised. Hear what he himself writes: "This is why they have also become inconsistent among themselves, clinging to an unstable opinion. For Apelles, one of their herd, who prides himself on his way of life and his old age, says there is one first principle, but that the prophecies come from an opposing spirit. He was persuaded of this by the utterances of a possessed girl named Philumene. 4 "Others, like the seaman Marcion himself, introduce two first principles. Among these are Potitus and Basilicus. These men followed the wolf of Pontus. Like him, they could not work out how things are divided, so they took the easy way and simply declared two principles, with no proof. Others again among them ran aground into something worse and suppose not only two but three natures. The founder and leader of these is Syneros, as those who put forward his school say."

5 The same writer says that he also held a discussion with Apelles. He puts it this way: "The old man Apelles, when he met with us, was shown to be wrong in many of the things he said badly. So he claimed that one should not examine doctrine at all, but that each person should stay with what he has believed. For he declared that those who have set their hope on the Crucified would be saved, provided they were found in good works. But the most obscure of all his teachings was, as we said before, the one about God. For he spoke of one first principle, just as our doctrine does." 7 Then Rhodo sets out Apelles' whole view and goes on: "I said to him, 'Where does your proof come from? Or how can you say there is one first principle? Tell us.' He said that the prophecies refute themselves, because they have said nothing true at all. They are inconsistent, false and self-contradictory. But how there is one first principle, he said he did not know. He was simply moved to believe it. Then I solemnly urged him to tell the truth, and he swore that he was speaking truly when he said he did not understand how there is one unbegotten

God, but that he believed it. I laughed and condemned him, because he called himself a teacher and yet did not know how to establish what he taught."

9 In the same work, which is addressed to Callistion, Rhodo again admits that he was taught at Rome by Tatian. He says that Tatian had worked on a book of Problems, in which he promised to bring out the obscure and hidden things in the divine Scriptures. Rhodo himself announces that he will set out, in a work of his own, the solutions to Tatian's problems. A commentary of his on the Hexaemeron (the six days of creation) is also in circulation. This Apelles, for his part, wrote countless impieties against the law of Moses. In several works he blasphemed the divine words, and, as he thought, put no small effort into refuting and overthrowing them. So much for these men.

CHAPTER 14

The False Prophets of the Phrygians.

The enemy of God's church hates what is good and loves what is evil. He leaves no way of plotting against people untried. So he once again set strange heresies growing up against the church. Some of these crawled like venomous reptiles over Asia and Phrygia. They boasted that Montanus was the Paraclete, and that the women who followed him, Priscilla and Maximilla, had become Montanus's prophetesses.[156]

CHAPTER 15

The Schism of Blastus at Rome.

Others flourished at Rome. Their leader was Florinus, who had been removed from the presbyterate of the church. Blastus was caught in a similar fall along with him. They drew many members of the church away and brought them over to their purpose. Each of the two, in his own way, tried to bring innovations concerning the truth.

CHAPTER 16

The Circumstances Related of Montanus and His False Prophets.

2 Against the so-called heresy of the Phrygians, the power that fights for the truth raised up Apolinarius of Hierapolis, whom my account has already mentioned, as a strong and unbeatable weapon. It raised up many other

156. "Paraclete" is the title Jesus gives the Holy Spirit in John's Gospel (usually rendered Comforter, Helper or Advocate).

learned men of that time with him, and from them a great store of material for history has been left to us. One of them, at the start of his writing against these people, first points out that he had also gone after them with refutations that were not written down. He begins this way: 3 "For a very long time, more than long enough, dear Avircius Marcellus, you have been urging me to write a treatise against the heresy of those called after Miltiades. Until now I have held back somewhat. It was not that I lacked the ability to refute the lie and bear witness to the truth. I was afraid and cautious that I might seem to some to be adding to the word of the gospel of the new covenant, or laying further commands on it. No one who has chosen to live by the gospel itself can add anything to that word or take anything away. [*Revelation 22:18-19*]

4 "Recently I was in Ancyra in Galatia, and I found the church in Pontus buzzing with talk about this new thing. It is not prophecy, as they claim, but rather, as will be shown, false prophecy. So, as far as I could, with the Lord's help, we spoke in the church over several days about these people and about each of the points they put forward. As a result the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, those on the other side were driven back for the time being, and our opponents were distressed. 6 "The local presbyters then asked us to leave some written record of what had been said against those who oppose the word of truth. Our fellow presbyter Zoticus of Otrous was present. We did not do that then, but we promised that, if the Lord allowed, we would write it here and send it to them quickly." After saying this and other things like it at the beginning of his work, Apolinarius goes on to tell the cause of the heresy in this way: "Their opposition, and their recent heresy that split them off from the church, arose from the following cause.

8 "There is said to be a village called Ardabau in Mysia, on the Phrygian side. There, they say, a recent convert named Montanus first did this. Gratus was then proconsul of Asia. Montanus had a boundless desire of soul for preeminence, and he gave the adversary an entrance into himself. He was carried away by a spirit, and suddenly, in a kind of possession and ecstasy, he fell into a frenzy. He began to babble and to utter strange sounds. He was supposedly prophesying, but in a way contrary to the custom of the church handed down by tradition and succession from the beginning. Some of those who heard his false utterances at that time were annoyed. They rebuked him as a man worked on by a demon, possessed, held by a spirit of error, and disturbing the crowds, and they tried to stop him speaking. They remembered the

Lord's distinction and warning to watch vigilantly for the coming of false prophets. But others thought they were hearing a holy spirit and a prophetic gift, and they were lifted up and not a little puffed up. They forgot the Lord's distinction and called on the mind-damaging, flattering, people-deceiving spirit. They were charmed and led astray by it, so that it could no longer be held back into silence.[157]

9 "By some craft, or rather by such a method of wicked craft, the devil plotted the ruin of those who disobeyed. They honored him more than he deserved. He secretly stirred up and inflamed their minds, which had already fallen asleep to the true faith. He went on to rouse two other women and filled them with the false spirit, so that they too spoke in a frenzy, at the wrong times and in strange ways, like the man mentioned before. The spirit called blessed those who rejoiced in him and were puffed up over him, and he swelled them with the greatness of his promises. Yet at times he condemned them outright, plausibly and in a way that seemed trustworthy, so as to look like a reprover. (Those of the Phrygians who were deceived were few.) But the arrogant spirit taught them to slander the whole church under heaven, because the spirit of false prophecy received neither honor nor entrance into it.

12 "The believers throughout Asia met often, in many places across Asia, to look into this matter. They examined the recent utterances, declared them profane, and rejected the heresy. In this way these people were driven out of the Church and shut out from fellowship." Having recorded these things at the beginning, and having carried his refutation of their error through the whole work, the writer says this in his second book about the end of those just mentioned: "They called us killers of the prophets because we would not accept their wild-talking prophets. (These, they say, are the ones the Lord promised to send to his people.) So let them answer us before God: my good friends, is there a single one of these, from Montanus and the women onward, who began to speak and was persecuted by the Jews or put to death by lawless men? Not one. Was any of them arrested for the Name and crucified? Certainly not. Was any of the women ever flogged in the Jewish synagogues, or stoned? Never, nowhere. [*Matthew 23:34*]

14 Montanus and Maximilla are said to have died by a different kind of death. The story is that the spirit of mischief stirred up each of them to hang

himself or herself. They did not die together, but each at the time that common report gives for each death. In this way they died and ended their lives, like Judas the traitor. In the same way, a widespread story says that Theodotus, that remarkable man who was the first, so to speak, to be steward of their so-called prophecy, was at one time lifted up and taken into heaven. He fell into a trance and entrusted himself to the spirit of deceit, and was thrown down like a quoit (a discus), and died miserably. 17 "So they say these things happened this way. But we do not think we know anything of the kind without having seen it, my friend. Perhaps they died this way, and perhaps not: Montanus, Theodotus, and the woman mentioned above." Again in the same work he says that the holy bishops of that time tried to expose the spirit in Maximilla, but were stopped by others who were clearly working along with that spirit. He writes: "Let not the spirit that spoke through Maximilla, in the same work against Asterius Urbanus, say, 'I am being driven like a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf. I am word and spirit and power.' Instead let him show the power in the spirit plainly and prove it. Let him use the spirit to force a confession from those who were present then to test the speaking spirit and talk with it: Zoticus from the village of Comana and Julian from Apamea, men of proven character and bishops. The followers of Themiso shut their mouths, and would not let them expose the false spirit that led the people astray."[158]

19 In the same work, after saying other things in refutation of Maximilla's false prophecies, he also indicates the time when he was writing. He mentions her predictions of wars and disorders, and exposes their falsehood like this: "And hasn't this lie also become obvious by now? It is more than thirteen years to this very day since the woman died, and there has been no war, either local or worldwide. On the contrary, even for Christians there has been lasting peace, by God's mercy." These things are from the second book. 21 I will also add a few short passages from the third book. There he answers those who boasted that even more of their people had been martyred. He says: "So when they are refuted on everything that has been said and have no answer, they try to take refuge in their martyrs. They say they

157. "The Lord's distinction and warning" probably refers to his warnings about false prophets, as in Matthew 7:15 and 24:11. "Strange sounds" translates a Greek verb meaning to utter foreign or unfamiliar speech.

158. The phrase "the work against Asterius Urbanus" is obscure in the Greek. Asterius Urbanus is otherwise unknown, and the text may be corrupt.

have many martyrs, and that this is reliable proof of the power of what they call the prophetic spirit among them. But this, it seems, is anything but true. For some other heresies also have a great many martyrs, and surely we will not agree with them for that reason, or admit that they have the truth. First of all, the Marcionites, as they are called, from the heresy of Marcion, say they have a great number of martyrs for Christ. Yet they do not truly confess Christ himself." And after a few lines he continues:

22 For this reason, whenever people from the Church are called to martyrdom for the faith of the truth and happen to meet some of the so-called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they quarrel with them. They die without having fellowship with them, because they do not want to agree with the spirit that works through Montanus and the women. That this is true, and that it happened in our own time at Apamea on the Maeander, is plain from the case of those who were martyred with Gaius and Alexander of Eumeneia.[159]

CHAPTER 17

Miltiades and His Works.

2 In this work he also mentions a writer, Miltiades, who wrote a discourse of his own against the heresy mentioned above. After quoting some of their words, he adds: "I found these things in a writing of theirs which attacks the writing of Miltiades, our brother. In that writing Miltiades shows that a prophet ought not to speak in ecstasy. I have made an abridgment of it." A little further on, the writer lists those who prophesied under the new covenant, and among them he counts a certain Ammia and Quadratus. He says: "But the false prophet speaks in a frenzy, which is followed by lack of restraint and lack of fear. It begins with voluntary ignorance and ends in involuntary madness of soul, as was said before."[160] 4 "In this way they will not be able to show that any prophet, whether of the old covenant or the new, was inspired by the Spirit. They cannot point to Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammia in Philadelphia, or Quadratus. Nor will they boast of any others who have nothing to do with them." And again, a little later, he says: "If the women around Montanus received the prophetic gift after Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia, as they claim, let them

159. "They are perfected" (τελειοῦνται) is an early Christian way of saying they died as martyrs.
160. The Greek spells the name Kodratos, which is the Greek form of the name Quadratus.

show which of their people succeeded the followers of Montanus and the women. For the apostle holds that the prophetic gift must be in the whole Church until the final coming. But they cannot show it, though this is now about the fourteenth year since the death of Maximilla." [*Acts 21:9; Acts 11:28; Acts 15:32*]

5 So much for him. But the Miltiades he refers to has left other memorials of his own zeal for the divine oracles. He wrote discourses against the Greeks and against the Jews, answering each group separately in two books. He also composed a defense, addressed to the worldly rulers, on behalf of the philosophy he followed.[161]

CHAPTER 18

The Manner in Which Apollonius Refuted the Phrygians, and the Persons Whom He Mentions.

2 Apollonius, another writer of the Church, also took up the refutation of the so-called Phrygian heresy. It was still flourishing in Phrygia at that time. He wrote a separate work against it, correcting their circulating prophecies word by word and showing them to be false. He also exposed what kind of life the founders of the heresy had lived. Hear his own words about Montanus: "But who this new teacher is, his works and his teaching show. This is the man who taught the dissolving of marriages. He made laws about fasting. He named Pepuza and Tymion, which are small towns of Phrygia, 'Jerusalem,' wanting to gather people there from everywhere. He appointed collectors of money. He cleverly arranged for the taking of gifts under the name of offerings. He supplied salaries to those who preach his message, so that the teaching of his message might grow strong through gluttony."

5 So much about Montanus. A little further on he writes this about his prophetesses: "We show, then, that these very first prophetesses left their husbands from the moment they were filled with the Spirit. How then do they lie when they call Prisca a virgin?" Then he adds: "Does Scripture seem to you to forbid a prophet to take gifts and money? So when I see the prophetess has taken gold and silver and costly clothing, how can I not reject her?" Again, a little further on, he says this about one of their confessors: "Then there is Themison, who was dressed in a trustworthy-looking greed. He did not bear the mark of his confession. Instead he laid aside his chains for a large sum of

161. "Philosophy" here means the Christian faith, which early Christian writers often called "our philosophy."

money. He should have been humbled by this, but he dared to boast as a martyr. In imitation of the apostle he composed a letter addressed to the whole Church. In it he instructed people whose faith was better than his own, joined the fight for words of empty sound, and blasphemed against the Lord, the apostles and the holy Church."[162]

7 Eusebius goes on, writing of others whom they honor as martyrs: "I will not speak of many. Let the prophetess herself tell us about Alexander, who calls himself a martyr. She feasts with him, and many people bow down to him. We need not tell of his robberies and the other crimes for which he was punished, because the archive holds the record of them. So who forgives whose sins? Does the prophet forgive the martyr's robberies, or the martyr forgive the prophet's greed? The Lord said, 'Do not acquire gold or silver or two tunics.' These people have done the complete opposite and have sinned by owning the very things that were forbidden. For we will show that those they call prophets and martyrs take in money, coin by coin, not only from the rich but also from the poor, from orphans, and from widows.[163] [*Matthew 10:9-10*] 9 "If they are confident, let them stand their ground and settle this with us. Then, if they are proved wrong, they may at least stop sinning from now on. For the fruits of a prophet must be tested, because a tree is known by its fruit. But so that anyone who wishes may know about Alexander: he was tried by Aemilius Frontinus, the proconsul at Ephesus. It was not because of the Name but because of the robberies he had dared to commit, and he was already a transgressor. Later he lied by claiming the name of the Lord, and he was released, having deceived the believers there. His own church community, where he came from, would not take him in, because he was a robber. Those who want to learn about him can consult the public archive of Asia. [*Matthew 7:16-20; Matthew 12:33*]

11 "Yet the prophet lived with this man for many years and does not know him! By exposing him, we also expose the true nature of the prophet. We could show the same thing in many other cases, and if they are bold enough, let them submit to the test." Again, in another part of his work, Apollonius says this about the prophets they boast of: "If they deny that their prophets

162. In the Greek the verb after "to instruct" is damaged, and the sense "to join the fight for" is supplied from the context. The older translation reads it as "contending for." Apollonius speaks ironically of Themison's "trustworthy" greed.

163. "The archive" translates the Greek opisthodomos, the rear chamber of a temple, used to store treasure and records. The Lord's saying is close to Matthew 10:9-10.

have received gifts, let them agree to this: if it is proved that they did receive them, they are not prophets. We will bring ten thousand proofs of it. But all the fruits of a prophet must be tested. Tell me, does a prophet dye himself? Does a prophet paint his eyelids? Does a prophet love finery? Does a prophet play board games and dice? Does a prophet lend at interest? Let them say whether these things are permitted or not. I will show that they have happened among them."[164]

13 In the same work, Apollonius also records that it was the fortieth year since Montanus had begun his pretended prophecy, counting to the time he was writing. He says again that Zoticus, whom the earlier writer also mentioned, came forward at Pepuza while Maximilla was pretending to prophesy. Zoticus tried to test and refute the spirit working in her, but those who sided with her stopped him. Apollonius also mentions a certain Thraseas, one of the martyrs of that time.[165] 14 He also says, as something handed down by tradition, that the Savior commanded his apostles not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years. He uses testimonies from John's Revelation, too, and he reports that John himself raised a dead man at Ephesus by divine power. He adds other things by which he fully and thoroughly set right the error of the heresy I have described. That is what Apollonius says.

CHAPTER 19

Serapion on the Heresy of the Phrygians.

2 Serapion mentions the writings of Apolinarius against this heresy. Report has it that Serapion became bishop of the church of Antioch after Maximinus, in the period I am describing. He refers to Apolinarius in a private letter to Caricus and Pontius, in which he himself also refutes this same heresy. He adds these words: "So that you may also see that the working of this false order, which calls itself the New Prophecy, is detested by the whole brotherhood throughout the world, I have sent you the writings of Claudius Apolinarius, the most blessed man who was bishop of Hierapolis in Asia." 4 In this letter of Serapion there are also signed notes from various bishops. One signs this way: "I, Aurelius Cyrenius, martyr, pray that you are well." Another signs like this: "I, Aelius Publius Julius, bishop from Debeltum, a

164. Greek βάπτεται means "dyes himself" and names no object, though hair is implied. δανείζει means simply "lends", and interest is probably implied. ὑπόστασις means "substance" or "real nature", here the real character of the prophet.

165. "The earlier writer" is the anonymous author Eusebius quoted earlier in this book.

colony of Thrace. As God lives in the heavens, the blessed Sotas at Anchialus wished to drive out the demon of Priscilla, and the hypocrites would not let him." In the same letter there are also signatures, in their own handwriting, of many other bishops who agreed with these. That is how matters stood with these people.[166]

CHAPTER 20

The Writings of Irenaeus Against the Schismatics at Rome.

1 Irenaeus also wrote several letters against those at Rome who were corrupting the sound order of the Church. One he addressed to Blastus, On Schism. Another he addressed to Florinus, On Monarchy, or That God Is Not the Maker of Evils, since Florinus seemed to be defending that opinion. Florinus was later drawn away into the error of Valentinus, and because of him Irenaeus also wrote his work On the Ogdoad. In it he points out that he himself had reached the first generation after the apostles.[167] 2 Near the end of that work we found a most charming note by Irenaeus, and we must include it here. It reads: "I adjure you who will copy this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious coming, when he comes to judge the living and the dead: compare what you have copied, and correct it carefully against the manuscript you copied from. Copy this oath as well, and put it in your copy." [*2 Timothy 4:1; 1 Peter 4:5*]

4 Let these words of his be useful to us, and let us record them, so that we may have those ancient and truly holy men as an excellent example of the most earnest care. In the letter to Florinus that we mentioned, Irenaeus again recalls his time with Polycarp, saying: "These teachings, Florinus, to put it with restraint, are not of sound judgment. These teachings are out of harmony with the Church, and throw those who believe them into the greatest ungodliness. Not even the heretics outside the Church have ever dared to put forward these teachings. These teachings were not handed down to you by the presbyters before us, who had also studied together with the apostles.[168] 6 "For I saw you when I was still a boy, in lower Asia, with

166. "Martyr" (Greek "martys") can also mean "witness." Here it probably describes someone who had suffered for the faith, but this is uncertain. Priscilla is the same prophetess called Prisca in 5.18.3.

167. The Greek verb paracharattō literally means to alter the stamp on a coin, and so to counterfeit or debase. It is a strong word for corrupting the Church's order.

168. "Studied together with" (sumphoitēsantes) literally means "attended school with," a stronger word than "were companions of."

Polycarp. You were doing splendidly in the royal court and trying to win his good opinion. I remember the events of those days better than those of recent years. What we learn as children grows with the soul and becomes one with it. So I can tell you the very place where blessed Polycarp sat when he talked, and his comings and goings, his manner of life, his physical appearance, and the talks he gave to the crowds. I can tell how he described his dealings with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, how he recalled their words, and what he had heard from them about the Lord, about his miracles and his teaching. Polycarp had received it all from eyewitnesses of the life of the Word, and he reported everything in agreement with the Scriptures. [*1 John 1:1; Luke 1:2*]

7 "By God's mercy to me, I listened eagerly to these things even then. I wrote them down not on paper but in my heart, and by God's grace I continually go over them again, faithfully. I can testify before God that if that blessed apostolic presbyter had heard anything of this kind, he would have cried out, stopped his ears, and said as he usually did, 'O good God, to what times have you kept me, that I should put up with this!' And he would have fled from the very place where he had been sitting or standing when he heard such words. 8 "This can also be shown from the letters he sent, either to the neighboring churches to strengthen them, or to some of the brothers to warn and encourage them." So says Irenaeus.

CHAPTER 21

How Appolonius Suffered Martyrdom at Rome.

1 About the same time, in the reign of Commodus, our circumstances changed for the gentler. By God's grace, peace came over the churches throughout the whole world. The saving Word was then bringing souls from every race of people to the devout worship of the God of the universe. So now many at Rome who were very prominent in wealth and family were turning, with their whole households and relatives, toward their own salvation. 3 But the demon who hates what is good, and is envious by nature, could not bear this. He stripped for the contest again and devised various schemes against us. In the city of Rome he had Apollonius brought to court. Apollonius was a believer of that time, famous for his education and philosophy. The demon did this by stirring up one of his servants who was suited to such work to accuse him. But the wretched man had come to the trial at the wrong time. An imperial decree said that informers against such people were not allowed to

live, so his legs were broken at once, the judge Perennius having given that sentence against him.

5 The martyr, who was deeply loved by God, was earnestly urged by the judge and asked to give an account of himself before the Senate. Before them all he gave a most eloquent defense of the faith for which he was bearing witness. Then, as though by decree of the Senate, he was put to death by beheading. An ancient law among them held that those who had once appeared before the court and in no way changed their purpose were never to be released. Anyone who wants to know his words before the judge, his answers to the questions of Perennius, and his whole defense before the Senate will find them in the account of the ancient martyrdoms that we have collected.

CHAPTER 22

The Bishops that Were Well Known at This Time.

In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Victor succeeded Eleutherus, who had served as bishop for thirteen years. In the same year Julian completed his tenth year over the churches of Alexandria, and Demetrius was entrusted with them. At this time Serapion, whom I have already mentioned, the eighth bishop of the church of Antioch from the apostles, was still well known. Theophilus led the church at Caesarea in Palestine. Narcissus, whom my account has also mentioned before, still held his office in the church at Jerusalem. About the same time Bacchylus was bishop of Corinth in Greece, and Polycrates of the church at Ephesus. As one would expect, countless others were also prominent in those days. But I have listed by name only those whose written statement of the orthodox faith has come down to us.

CHAPTER 23

The Question Then Agitated Concerning the Passover.

1 No small controversy arose at this time. All the churches of Asia, following what they took to be an older tradition, thought they should keep the fourteenth day of the moon for the feast of the Saviour's Passover. This was the day on which the Jews had been told to sacrifice the lamb. They held that, whatever day of the week it fell on, they must end their fast on that day. But the churches in the rest of the world did not have this custom. They kept the practice that has prevailed to this day by apostolic tradition, that the fast should end on no day other than the day of our Saviour's resurrection. 3 Syn-

ods and gatherings of bishops were held on this matter. With one mind they all set out, in letters, a decision for the church everywhere: that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead should be celebrated on no day other than the Lord's day, and that on that day alone we should end the Passover fasts. A writing is still in circulation from those who then met in Palestine, over whom Theophilus, bishop of the church at Caesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem, presided. There is likewise another from those at Rome on the same question, which names Victor as bishop. There is one from the bishops in Pontus, over whom Palmas presided as the eldest, and one from the churches in Gaul, over which Irenaeus was bishop.

4 There is also one from the bishops of Osrhoene and its cities, and a personal letter from Bacchylus, bishop of the church of Corinth, along with very many others. They all expressed one and the same opinion and judgment, and cast the same vote. Their decision was a single one, as I have stated.

CHAPTER 24

The Disagreement in Asia.

2 The bishops of Asia insisted that they must keep the custom handed down to them long before. Polycrates led them. In the letter he wrote to Victor and the church of Rome, he set out the tradition that had come down to him in these words: "We, then, keep the day without tampering, neither adding nor taking away. For great lights have fallen asleep in Asia too, and they will rise on the day of the Lord's coming, when he comes with glory from heaven and will raise all the saints. They include Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who has fallen asleep in Hierapolis, and his two daughters, who grew old as virgins. His other daughter lived her life in the Holy Spirit and rests at Ephesus. 5 "And there is also John, who leaned back on the Lord's chest, who became a priest wearing the priestly plate, and was a witness and a teacher. He has fallen asleep at Ephesus. There is also Polycarp at Smyrna, both bishop and martyr, and Thraseas, bishop and martyr from Eumeneia, who has fallen asleep in Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who has fallen asleep in Laodicea? Or the blessed Papirius, or Melito the eunuch, who lived his whole life in the Holy Spirit? He lies in Sardis, waiting for the visitation from heaven, when he will rise from the dead."[169] [*John 13:25; John 21:20; Exodus 28:36*]

7 "All these men kept the fourteenth day of the Passover according to the Gospel. They did not depart from it in any way, but followed the rule of faith. I too, Polycrates, the least of you all, follow the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have closely followed. Seven of my relatives were bishops, and I am the eighth. My relatives always kept the day when the people put away the leaven. So, brothers, I have been sixty-five years in the Lord. I have conferred with the brothers from all over the world, and I have read through all of Holy Scripture. I am not frightened by those who try to intimidate us. For those greater than I have said, 'We must obey God rather than men.'"[170] [*Acts 5:29*] 9 Then, writing about all the bishops who were with him and shared his view, he adds: "I could mention the bishops who were present, whom you asked me to summon, and I did summon them. If I wrote down their names, they would be a great crowd. They saw how insignificant I am, yet they agreed with this letter. They knew that I have not worn gray hair for nothing, but have always lived my life in the Lord Jesus." At this, Victor, who led the church of Rome, tried to cut off at one stroke the churches of all Asia, together with the neighboring churches, from the common unity, on the ground that they held wrong teaching. He denounced them in letters and proclaimed that all the brothers there were completely excommunicated.

11 But not all the bishops agreed with this. They urged him in return to think of peace, and of unity and love toward their neighbors. Their words are still preserved, and they rebuke Victor rather sharply. Among them was Irenaeus. He wrote in the name of the brothers in Gaul whom he led. He held that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection should be celebrated only on the Lord's day. But he also gave Victor much fitting advice: he should not cut off whole churches of God that kept a tradition of ancient custom. Among other things he wrote the following, in these very words: 13 "For the dispute is not only about the day, but also about the manner of the fast itself. Some think they should fast one day, some two, some more. Others count their

169. "The priestly plate" was the gold plate (petalon) worn on the forehead of the Jewish high priest (see Exodus 28:36). Polycrates uses it as a figure for John's standing. "Visitation" translates the Greek episkopē, which can also mean "oversight" or "the office of bishop." The Greek text at "Thraseas... from" is damaged, and "Eumeneia" is the usual reading.

170. The last words echo Acts 5:29. The Greek text of this passage is damaged in places. The verb in "my relatives always [kept] the day" is missing in the manuscripts and is supplied from the sense.

'day' as forty hours, day and night together. This variety among those who keep the fast did not begin in our time. It goes back long before us, to our forefathers. They probably did not hold strictly to accuracy, and in their simplicity and plain way they formed a custom and passed it on to later generations. Yet all of these lived in peace, and we also live in peace with one another. The difference over the fast only confirms our agreement in the faith."

15 Irenaeus adds to this an account, which I will quote here because it fits. It goes as follows: "The presbyters before Soter, who led the church which you now lead, kept it up in the same way. I mean Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus and Xystus. They did not keep the custom themselves, and they did not allow those with them to keep it. Even so, they were at peace with people from the parishes where it was kept, when these came to them. Yet keeping it was more offensive to those who did not keep it. Nobody was ever rejected for this reason. On the contrary, the presbyters before you, though they did not keep it, sent the Eucharist to those from the parishes that did keep it."[171] 16 "When the blessed Polycarp was staying in Rome in the time of Anicetus, they had some small disagreements about other matters. They made peace at once, and did not quarrel over this point. Anicetus could not persuade Polycarp not to keep it, since Polycarp had always kept it with John the disciple of our Lord and with the other apostles with whom he had lived. Nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to keep it. Anicetus said he had to hold to the custom of the presbyters before him."

18 "This was how matters stood, and still they stayed in communion with each other. In the church Anicetus gave place to Polycarp to celebrate the Eucharist, plainly out of respect. They parted from each other in peace. The whole church was at peace, both those who kept the custom and those who did not." So Irenaeus, who lived up to his name ("peaceful") and was a peacemaker in character, made such appeals and acted as an envoy for the peace of the churches. He wrote letters about the controversy that had arisen, not only to Victor but also to many other leaders of churches, saying what suited each case.[172]

171. "Eucharist" here refers to the consecrated bread of the Lord's Supper, which the Roman presbyters sent to other churches. Sending it was understood as a sign of fellowship between the churches.

172. Irenaeus's name comes from the Greek word for "peace" (eirēnē).

CHAPTER 25

How All Came to an Agreement Respecting the Passover.

The bishops in Palestine whom we have just discussed were Narcissus and Theophilus, and with them Cassius, bishop of the church at Tyre, and Clarus, bishop of the church at Ptolemais, together with those who met with them. They set out at great length the tradition about the passover that had come down to them in succession from the apostles. Near the end of their writing they add these words: "Try to send copies of our letter to every church, so that we may not be guilty before those who so easily mislead their own souls. We also let you know that in Alexandria they keep the passover on the same day that we do. Letters are carried from us to them and from them to us, so that we keep the holy day in agreement and together."

CHAPTER 26

The Elegant Works of Irenaeus Which Have Come Down to Us.

Besides the writings and letters of Irenaeus already mentioned, there is also a very short and extremely necessary work of his, entitled *On Knowledge*. There is another that he dedicated to a brother named Marcianus, *Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*. There is also a book of various discourses, in which he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews and the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, quoting some passages from them. That is all of Irenaeus's works that have come to our knowledge. Commodus ended his reign after thirteen years. Severus then became emperor, less than six months after Commodus's death, with Pertinax having ruled in the meantime.

CHAPTER 27

The Works of Others that Flourished at that Time.

Many memoirs of the ancient churchmen of that time, written with virtuous zeal, are still preserved by many people. Of those we have examined ourselves, there are the works of Heraclitus on the Apostle, and of Maximus on the question much talked about among the heretics, where evil comes from, and on whether matter was created. There are also the works of Candidus on the Six Days of creation, and of Apion on the same subject; likewise of Sextus on the resurrection, another treatise by Arabianus, and the writings of countless others. Because we have nothing to go on for them, we cannot record when they lived or say anything of their history. Writings of very many others

have also come down to us, whose names we cannot even list. They are orthodox and churchly, as each one's interpretation of the divine Scripture shows, but they are unknown to us, because the writings do not carry the names of their authors.

CHAPTER 28

Those Who First Advanced the Heresy of Artemon; Their Manner of Life, and How They Dared to Corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.

3 In one of these works, a serious labor written against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata in our own day has tried to revive, there is an account that bears on the history we are examining. The writer was correcting this heresy, which says that the Saviour was a mere man and which had been introduced as a novelty not long before, since its promoters wanted to dignify it as ancient. Besides many other arguments refuting their blasphemous lie, he reports the following, in these words: "They say that all the earlier teachers, and the apostles themselves, received and taught what they now say, and that the truth of the preaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome from Peter, but that from his successor Zephyrinus the truth was falsified. 5 "What they say might perhaps be convincing, if first of all the divine Scriptures did not stand against them. There are also writings of certain brothers older than the time of Victor, which they wrote to the nations in defense of the truth and against the heresies of their day. I mean Justin, Miltiades, Tatian, Clement, and many others, in all of whom Christ is spoken of as God. For who does not know the books of Irenaeus and Melito and the rest, which proclaim Christ as God and man? And all the psalms and hymns written by believing brothers from the beginning sing of Christ as the Word of God, speaking of him as God.

6 "Since the church's teaching has been proclaimed for so many years, how could those before Victor have preached as these men claim? And how are they not ashamed to tell such lies about Victor? They know perfectly well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the cobbler, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, who was the first to say that Christ was a mere man. For if Victor held the views that their blasphemous teaching holds, as they claim, how could he have thrown out Theodotus, the inventor of this heresy?" So much for what was said about Victor. 8 Victor served in this office for ten years. Zephyrinus was then appointed his successor, about the ninth year of the reign of Severus. The author of the book mentioned above, writ-

ten about the originator of this heresy, adds another event that happened in Zephyrinus's time. He writes, in these words: "I will remind many of the brethren of something that happened in our own day. I think that if it had happened in Sodom, it might perhaps have warned even the Sodomites. There was a certain confessor, Natalius, who lived not long ago but in our own times.[173] [*Matthew 11: 23*]

11 "Once he was deceived by Asclepiodotus and another Theodotus, a banker. Both were disciples of Theodotus the cobbler, who, as I said, was the first to be cut off from communion by Victor, the bishop at that time, because of this way of thinking, or rather this senselessness. Natalius was persuaded by them to be chosen bishop of this heresy, for a salary: he was to receive from them one hundred and fifty denarii a month. While he was with them, he was often warned by the Lord in visions. For our compassionate God and Lord Jesus Christ did not want a witness of his own sufferings to perish by living outside the church. 12 "But Natalius paid too little attention to the visions. He was lured by the place of honor among them, the first seat, and by the shameful love of gain that destroys so many. In the end he was whipped by holy angels, and was badly beaten through the whole night. So at daybreak he got up, put on sackcloth, scattered ashes over himself, and with great haste and tears threw himself down before Zephyrinus the bishop. He rolled at the feet not only of the clergy but of the laity too, and moved the compassionate church of the merciful Christ to tears. He pleaded long, and showed the welts from the blows he had received, and only with difficulty was he restored to communion."

14 Let us add to these some other words of the same writer about these people, which run as follows: "They have fearlessly tampered with the divine Scriptures. They have rejected the rule of the ancient faith, and they have not known Christ. They do not ask what the divine Scriptures say. Instead they labor eagerly to find some form of reasoning that will support their godlessness. And if someone sets before them a passage of divine Scripture, they examine whether it can be made into a conditional or a disjunctive form of syllogism. They abandon the holy Scriptures of God and take up geometry, as men who are from the earth and speak from the earth, and who do not

173. A "confessor" was a believer who had openly confessed Christ under persecution and suffered for it, but had not been put to death. Severus became emperor in 193, so his ninth year is about AD 201–202.

know the one who comes from above. Indeed, among some of them Euclid is studied with great zeal, Aristotle and Theophrastus are admired, and Galen, perhaps, is even worshiped by some. [*John 3:31*]

16 "But as for those who make use of the arts of unbelievers to support their heretical opinion, and who peddle the plain faith of the divine Scriptures by the cunning of the godless, what need is there to say that they are not even near the faith? For this reason they have fearlessly laid hands on the divine Scriptures, claiming that they have corrected them. I am not slandering them in saying this, and anyone who wishes can find out. If someone collects the copies of each of them and compares them with one another, he will find them differing greatly. The copies of Asclepiades, for example, will not agree with those of Theodotus.[174] 18 "There are plenty of these to be had, because their disciples have eagerly copied out what each of them has "corrected," as they call it, which is really what he has destroyed. Again, the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these. As for those of Apollonides, they are not even consistent with themselves. You can compare the copies they first prepared with those they later twisted again, and you will find them very different. They cannot fail to know how bold a sin this is. Either they believe that the divine Scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, and then they are unbelievers; or they consider themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and then what else are they but demon-possessed? They cannot deny that the daring deed is their own, since the copies are written in their own hand. They did not receive such Scriptures from those who taught them the faith, and they cannot show any copies from which they transcribed them.

19 "Some of them have not even thought it worth the trouble to falsify the Scriptures. They simply reject the law and the prophets. Under the pretext of grace, they teach a lawless and godless doctrine, and have slid down to the lowest depth of destruction." Let this account suffice.

Book 6

chapter 1

The Persecution Under Severus.

When Severus began to persecute the churches, brilliant martyrdoms for the sake of true religion took place everywhere. They were most numerous in Al-

exandria. The finest of God's champions from Egypt and the whole Thebaid were sent there, as to a vast arena, and by their steadfast endurance of every kind of torture and death they won the crowns laid up with God. Among them was Leonides, who is called the father of Origen. He was beheaded and left his son still very young. It is not out of place to describe briefly how devoted this son was to the divine Word from that time on, since his fame is so widely spoken of.[175]

CHAPTER 2

The Training of Origen from Childhood.

2 Someone trying to give a full account of this man's life could say a great deal, and a work about him would need a book of its own. For now, though, I will leave out most of it and relate a few facts as briefly as I can. I take them from certain letters and from the reports of his acquaintances who are still alive in our own time. Even Origen's earliest years, from his swaddling clothes, seem to me worth recording. It was the tenth year of Severus's reign. Laetus governed Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and Demetrius had recently taken over the oversight of the churches there, after Julian.[176] 4 The fire of persecution was now blazing fiercely, and countless people were winning the crown of martyrdom. Origen was still only a boy, yet such a longing for martyrdom took hold of his soul that he wanted to meet the dangers head on. He was eager to leap forward and rush into the contest. In fact, the end of his life would have been very near, had not the divine and heavenly providence, for the benefit of many, stood in the way of his eagerness through his mother.

6 At first she pleaded with him in words and begged him to have pity on a mother's feelings. But he learned that his father had been arrested and was being held in prison, and he gave himself wholly to his drive toward martyrdom. When she saw how much more intense he had become, she hid all his clothes and forced him to stay at home. Since there was nothing else he could do, and his zeal was too great for his years to let him stay quiet, he sent

174. Eusebius is quoting an anonymous earlier writer. "Peddle" translates a word for retail trading, often with the sense of adulterating goods for sale.

175. "Athletes" and "arena" are the author's sporting images for martyrs and the place of their contest. The Thebaid is the region of Upper Egypt.

176. The Greek word paroikiai here means the Christian communities (churches) of Alexandria and its area. Eusebius dates this to Severus's tenth year, about AD 202.

his father an urgently encouraging letter about martyrdom. In it he urged him, in these exact words: "Hold firm, and do not change your mind on our account." Let this be written down as the first proof of Origen's boyhood sharpness of mind and of his thoroughly genuine devotion to God. 9 Already he had laid no small foundations in the teachings of the faith, since he had been trained in the divine Scriptures from childhood. In fact he had worked hard at them, for besides the usual general education, his father had taken no casual interest in this study. Before any training in Greek subjects, he urged him above all to practice in the sacred studies, and each day he required him to memorize passages and recite them. The boy did this willingly, and he worked at it with great eagerness. The plain and obvious reading of the sacred words was not enough for him. Even then he wanted something more and was already probing for deeper insight. He even gave his father trouble by asking what the meaning of the God-inspired Scripture really was. [*2 Timothy 3:16; 2 Timothy 3:15*]

11 His father, to all appearances, scolded him. He told him not to look for anything beyond his age or beyond the obvious meaning. But privately he was filled with joy, and he gave great thanks to God, the cause of all good things, for counting him worthy to be the father of such a child. They say that he often stood over the boy as he slept, uncovered his chest as though a divine Spirit were dedicated within it, kissed it reverently, and counted himself blessed in his fine child. These and other similar things are recorded of Origen as a boy. 13 When his father was made perfect by martyrdom, Origen was left alone with his mother and six younger brothers. He was not yet seventeen years old. The father's property was seized for the imperial treasury, and Origen and his family were left without the necessities of life. But he was counted worthy of God's care. He found a welcome and a place of rest with a very wealthy woman, who was distinguished in other ways too. She was looking after a man who was notorious among the heretics then in Alexandria. He was an Antiochene by birth. The woman kept him with her as an adopted son and treated him with the very greatest honor.

15 Origen, though obliged to be in the same house with this man, gave clear proof of his orthodoxy in the faith. A huge crowd gathered at Paul's house (this was the man's name), because he seemed to have great ability in speech. They were not only heretics but also our own people. Yet Origen could never be induced to join him in prayer. From boyhood he kept the rule

of the Church, and he loathed the teachings of the heresies, as he himself says somewhere in those very words. His father had advanced him in Greek studies. After his father's death he threw himself more eagerly into the study of letters, so that he had no small preparation in literature. Not long after his father's death he gave himself to this work, and for a young man of his age he was amply supplied with what he needed.[177]

CHAPTER 3

While Still Very Young, He Taught Diligently the Word of Christ.

2 While he was busy with his teaching (as he himself tells us somewhere in writing), no one in Alexandria was giving instruction to new believers, because all had been driven away by the threat of persecution. Some of the Gentiles came to him to hear the word of God. He notes that the first of these was Plutarch, who lived well and was then adorned with a divine martyrdom. The second was Heraclas, Plutarch's brother. He also gave abundant proof, under Origen's teaching, of a philosophic and disciplined life. After Demetrius he was counted worthy of the bishopric of Alexandria. 4 Origen was in his eighteenth year when he took charge of the school for catechumens. During this time he also made progress, in the persecutions under Aquila, the governor of Alexandria. Then he won a very famous name among all who were of the faith, because of the welcome and eagerness he showed to all the holy martyrs, whether he knew them or not. He was with them not only when they were in chains, or while they were being examined up to the final sentence. Even after that, when the holy martyrs were led away to death, he spoke with great boldness and went right up to the danger. So he would boldly approach and greet the martyrs with a kiss, and often the Gentile mob around them, enraged, all but stoned him. Only because the hand of God was his helper did he escape, once and for all, in a marvelous way.

6 This same divine and heavenly grace guarded him again and again (it is impossible to say how many times) when plots were made against him in those days, because of his great zeal and boldness for the word of Christ. The unbelievers waged such a war against him that they gathered in bands and posted soldiers around the house where he was staying, because of the num-

177. "Rule of the Church" (kanōn tēs ekklēsias) means the settled body of belief the Church held and taught. The Greek word for the studies he took up is grammatika, which covers literature and language study in general.

ber of people being taught the sacred faith by him. Day by day the persecution against him blazed so fiercely that the whole city could no longer hold him. He moved from house to house and was driven out from every side, because of the crowds who came to the divine teaching through him. For his practical conduct also showed the right actions of true philosophy, and they were truly admirable. 8 They say that his conduct matched his teaching, and his teaching matched his conduct. For this reason especially, with divine power working along with him, he stirred up countless people to share his zeal. Then he saw more and more students coming. Demetrius, who presided over the church, had entrusted the work of instructing new believers to him alone. Origen judged that teaching literature did not fit with training in divine learning. So without delay he broke off his literature school, as useless and opposed to sacred studies.

9 After sound reflection, so that he would not depend on help from others, he sold all the copies of ancient literature he had once collected with such care and love. The buyer paid him four obols a day, and he lived on that. For many years he kept up this philosophic way of life and removed from himself every occasion for youthful desires. All day he took on no small labors of self-discipline. For most of the night he gave himself to the study of the divine Scriptures. He held as firmly as he could to a most philosophic manner of life. Sometimes he trained himself by fasting, and sometimes he strictly limited his hours of sleep. He was careful never to sleep on a bed, but on the ground.[178] 11 Above all, he thought he must keep the Saviour's words in the Gospel. These urge us not to have two tunics or use sandals, and not to wear ourselves out with worry about the future. He showed zeal beyond his years. He endured cold and nakedness and pushed his poverty to the extreme, and this astonished those around him. He also grieved a great many people who longed to share their possessions with him, because they saw how hard he labored in teaching the divine message. But he did not give way in his endurance.[179] [*Matthew 10:10; Matthew 6:34; Luke 9:3*]

13 It is said that for many years he walked on the bare ground and never wore any shoes. For a great many years he also went without wine and

178. An obol was a small Greek coin, one-sixth of a drachma; four obols a day was a very meager income.

179. Compare Matthew 10:9-10 (instructions to the Twelve: no two tunics, no sandals), Luke 10:4 (to the Seventy-two: no sandals), and Matthew 6:25-34 // Luke 12:22-31 on not worrying about tomorrow.

without any food beyond what was necessary. As a result he fell into danger of upsetting and ruining his chest. By giving those who watched him such examples of a philosophic life, he naturally stirred more of his students to the same zeal. Even among the unbelieving Gentiles, a good number of people of education and philosophy, and not just ordinary ones, were won over to his teaching. These people received faith in the divine Word through him, genuinely and deep in the soul. They became so distinguished in the persecution of that time that some of them were arrested and brought to completion in martyrdom.[180]

CHAPTER 4

The pupils of Origen that became Martyrs.

The first of these was Plutarch, whom I mentioned a little earlier. As he was being led away to death, Origen, the man we are speaking of, stayed with him right to the end of his life. Because he seemed to be to blame for Plutarch's death, he was almost killed once more by his fellow citizens. But again God's purpose kept him safe. After Plutarch, the second of Origen's students to be revealed as a martyr was Serenus. Through fire he gave proof of the faith he had received. The third martyr from the same school was Heraclides, and the fourth was Hero. The first of these was still a catechumen and the other had only recently been baptized. Both were beheaded. Then a fifth champion of godliness from the same school was proclaimed, another Serenus, different from the first. The account says he endured great torture and then was punished by beheading. Among the women, Herais, who was still a catechumen, received "the baptism through fire," as Origen himself says somewhere, and so departed from life.[181] [*Luke 12:50; Mark 10:38*]

CHAPTER 5

Potamiaena.

1 Basilides should be counted the seventh among these. He was the man who led away the famous Potamiaena. Much is still said and sung about her among the people of that region. She fought off countless attempts by would-be lovers to defend the purity and virginity of her body, for which she

180. The Greek word thōrax means "chest" or "upper body," so the danger described is to his chest or torso.

181. A catechumen was a person still being instructed before baptism. "Baptism through fire" means martyrdom, which was regarded as a baptism for those not yet baptized with water.

was famous. The bloom of her body was in full flower along with that of her soul. She also endured countless sufferings for faith in Christ. Finally, after tortures terrible and dreadful to tell, she was put to death by fire together with her mother, Marcella. 3 They say that the judge, whose name was Aquila, inflicted harsh torments on her whole body. At last he threatened to hand her over to the gladiators to have her body abused. She thought it over for a moment. Then, when he asked her what she had decided, she gave an answer that seemed to them to be impious. As soon as she had spoken, she received the sentence. Basilides, one of the soldiers, took charge of her and led her away to death. The crowd tried to harass her and insult her with filthy words. But he held them back and drove off the abusers, showing her great pity and kindness. She welcomed his sympathy and told him to take courage. When she had departed, she said, she would ask her Lord on his behalf, and before long she would repay him for what he had done for her.

5 They say that after she had said this, she bravely went through with her death. Burning pitch was poured slowly, little by little, over different parts of her body, from the tips of her feet to the top of her head. Such was the contest endured by this much-praised young woman. Not long afterward Basilides was asked by his fellow soldiers to swear an oath for some reason. He insisted that he was not allowed to swear at all, for he was a Christian, and he said so openly. At first they thought he was joking. But when he stubbornly kept affirming it, he was taken to the judge. There he confessed his resolve and was handed over to be put in chains. 6 When the brethren in God came to him and asked the reason for this sudden and astonishing decision, he is said to have told them this: three days after her martyrdom, Potamiaena appeared to him at night and put a crown on his head. She said she had pleaded with the Lord on his behalf, that her request had been granted, and that before long she would take him to herself. After this the brethren gave him the seal of the Lord. The next day he bore a splendid witness to the Lord and was beheaded.[182]

7 Many others in Alexandria are also recorded to have come over to the word of Christ in great numbers at this time, because Potamiaena had appeared to them in their sleep and called them. But let that be enough on this subject.

182. "The seal of the Lord" here most likely means baptism, which the early church often called a "seal."

CHAPTER 6

Clement of Alexandria.

Clement succeeded Pantaenus and led the instruction of new believers in Alexandria up to that time, so that Origen was among his students. In the first book of his work the Stromata, Clement set out a table of dates and ended his reckoning with the death of Commodus. So it is clear that he worked on these writings in the time of Severus, whose reign this present account is recording.[183]

CHAPTER 7

The Writer, Judas.

At this time another writer, Judas, wrote about the weeks in Daniel and carried his chronology down to the tenth year of the reign of Severus. He also believed that the much-talked-about coming of the Antichrist was already near. So violently had the persecution then raging against us unsettled the minds of many.[184]

CHAPTER 8

Origen's Daring Deed.

2 At this time, while Origen was carrying on the work of instruction in Alexandria, he did something that showed an immature and youthful mind, yet also gave the greatest proof of faith and self-control. He took the words "there are eunuchs who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven" in a very simple and youthful way. He thought he was fulfilling the Savior's word. He also reasoned that, being young, he taught divine things not only to men but also to women, and he wanted to shut out every suspicion of shameful slander among unbelievers. So he set out to carry out the Savior's saying in action, and he took care that most of his acquaintances would not find out.[185] [*Matthew 19:12*] 4 But, even though he wished it, he could not keep so great a deed hidden. Demetrius, who presided over the community there, learned of it later. He greatly admired Origen's boldness, and since he approved of his eagerness and the sincerity of his faith, he immediately told him to take courage and urged him to give himself even more to

183. "Stromata" means "Miscellanies" or "Patchwork," the title of Clement's major work.
184. "The weeks in Daniel" refers to the "seventy weeks" of Daniel 9.
185. The saying is from Matthew 19:12. Eusebius presents the act as a youthful misreading of it.

the work of instruction. That is how Demetrius was at that time. But not long afterward he saw Origen doing well, great, brilliant and famous among all, and he was moved by human feeling. He tried to write to the bishops throughout the world that what Origen had done was utterly improper. This was after the most respected and distinguished bishops in Palestine, those of Caesarea and Jerusalem, had judged Origen worthy of the highest honor and had laid hands on him for the presbyterate.

6 By then Origen had risen to great fame. His name was known to people everywhere, and he had won no small reputation for virtue and wisdom. Demetrius had no other charge to bring, so he made a terrible slander out of the deed Origen had done long before as a boy. He even dared to include in his accusations those who had advanced Origen to the presbyterate. But this happened a little later. At that time Origen, in Alexandria, carried on the work of teaching divine things without reserve to all who came to him, by night and by day. He gave all his time tirelessly to the study of divine lessons and to the students who came to him. 7 Severus ruled for eighteen years and was succeeded by his son Antoninus. During his reign Alexander, whom I mentioned a little earlier as bishop of the church in Jerusalem, was counted worthy of that office. He was one of those who had shown courage in the persecution and had been kept safe by God's providence after the struggles of confession. He had stood out for his confessions for Christ, and he received the bishopric while Narcissus, his predecessor, was still alive.

CHAPTER 9

The Miracles of Narcissus.

3 The people of that diocese recall many other marvels about Narcissus, handed down from the brothers who followed one another in succession. Among them they tell of this miracle done through him. They say that once, during the great all-night vigil of the Passover, the oil ran out for the deacons. The whole congregation was gripped by deep discouragement. Narcissus told those who were preparing the lamps to draw water and bring it to him. When this was done at once, he prayed over the water and, with genuine faith in the Lord, ordered them to pour it into the lamps. They did so, and beyond all expectation, by a marvelous and divine power, the nature of the water was changed into the quality of oil. A small sample of that miracle has been kept by very many of the brothers there from that day to ours. 5 They also relate many other things about this man's life that are worth re-

membering, among them the following. Some worthless little men could not bear the strictness and firmness of his life. They were conscious of countless wrongs of their own and feared being caught and punished, so they got in ahead of him. They put together a plot against him and poured out a terrible slander. Then, to win over their hearers, they confirmed the charges with oaths. One swore that he would perish by fire if it were not true; another, that his body would be consumed by a foul disease; the third, that he would lose his sight. Yet even with their oaths none of the believers paid them any attention, because everyone could see Narcissus's self-control and wholly virtuous conduct, which shone out in all he did.

7 Narcissus himself, however, could not bear the wickedness of these men. He had in any case long loved the philosophic life, so he slipped away from the whole body of the church and lived in hiding for many years in deserted places and remote country. But the great eye of justice did not stay quiet over what had been done. It quickly came after the ungodly men for the curses they had called down on themselves by their false oaths. The first man's house was set on fire at night by a small spark that fell for no apparent reason, and he was burned up with his whole family. The second was suddenly covered with the disease he had named for himself, from the tips of his feet to his head. 8 The third man saw what had happened to the others. He feared the inescapable justice of God, who watches over all, and he confessed to everyone the wicked scheme they had jointly devised. In his repentance he wore himself down with so much lamenting, and wept so ceaselessly, that both his eyes were destroyed. Such were the punishments these men received for their lying.

CHAPTER 10

The Bishops of Jerusalem.

Narcissus had withdrawn, and no one knew where he was. So the leaders of the neighboring churches decided to appoint another bishop. His name was Dius. He did not preside long, and Germanion succeeded him, and after him Gordius. In Gordius's time Narcissus appeared from somewhere, as if come back to life, and the brothers again urged him to take the leadership. Everyone admired him even more than before, for his withdrawal and his philosophic life, and above all for the vengeance God had thought fit to bring on his behalf.

CHAPTER 11

Alexander.

2 Narcissus could no longer carry out his duties because of his very great age. So by God's arrangement Alexander, who was bishop of another diocese, was called to share the ministry with Narcissus, through a revelation that appeared to him at night in a vision. He set out from the land of the Cappadocians, where he had first been made bishop, and traveled to Jerusalem to pray and to see the holy places, as if following a divine oracle. The people there welcomed him warmly and would not allow him to return home. They too had received another revelation at night, and one very clear voice had spoken to the most earnest among them. It told them to go outside the gates and receive the bishop God had appointed for them. They did this, and with the common agreement of the bishops who oversaw the surrounding churches they forced him to stay.

4 Alexander himself, in his own letters to the Antinoites, which we still have, mentions that Narcissus shared the leadership with him. At the end of the letter he writes these words: "Narcissus greets you. He held the office of bishop here before me, and now he is joined with me in prayer. He is a hundred and sixteen years old, and he urges you, as I do, to be of one mind." So these things stood. In the church at Antioch, when Serapion died, Asclepiades succeeded to the bishopric. He too had been outstanding among the confessors during the persecution. 6 Alexander also mentions Asclepiades' appointment, writing to the Antiochenes as follows: "Alexander, a servant and prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed church of the Antiochenes, greetings in the Lord. The Lord made my chains light and easy to bear during my time in prison, when I learned that by divine providence Asclepiades, whose faith makes him most fitting for it, and who is worthy of it, has been entrusted with the bishopric of your holy church of the Antiochenes." Eusebius notes that Alexander sent this letter by Clement, for near the end he writes: "I have sent you this letter, my brothers and lords, by Clement, the blessed presbyter, a man of virtue and proven character. You know him, and you will know him better. By the providence and oversight of the Master he came here, and he has strengthened and increased the church of the Lord."

CHAPTER 12

Serapion and His Extant Works.

2 Serapion no doubt left other writings, kept by others, as evidence of his skill with words. But the only ones that have come down to us are these: the writings to Domninus, who in the time of persecution fell away from faith in Christ to the Jewish religion; those to Pontius and Caricus, men of the church; and other letters to various people. There is also another work he composed on the so-called Gospel of Peter. He wrote it to refute the false statements in that book, because some people in the church at Rhossus had used that writing as a pretext for turning aside to teachings that differed from the church's. It is reasonable to quote a few short sentences from it, in which he sets out his view of the book. He writes as follows: 4 "We, brothers, accept Peter and the other apostles as we would Christ. But as people with experience, we reject the writings falsely put out in their names, knowing that we did not receive such things. When I was with you, I assumed that all of you held to the right faith. So I had not gone through the gospel they put forward under Peter's name, and I said: 'If this is the only thing that seems to give you petty-mindedness, let it be read.' But now I have learned from what I was told that their minds were harboring some heresy. So I will hurry to come to you again. Brothers, expect me soon.

6 "You, brothers, will learn from what has been written to you what kind of heresy Marcianus held, and how he contradicted himself because he did not understand what he was saying. For we were able to borrow this very gospel from others who had made a study of it, that is, from the successors of those who began it, whom we call Docetists (for most of their ideas belong to that teaching). We went through it and found that most of it agreed with the true teaching of the Saviour, but that some things had been added. We have set these out for you below." So much for Serapion.[186]

CHAPTER 13

The Writings of Clement.

3 All eight of Clement's Stromata survive among us. He gave them this title: "Titus Flavius Clement's Stromata of Notes on Knowledge, according to the True Philosophy." There are also the same number of books called Hypoty-

186. "Docetists" (Greek Dokētai) comes from dokein, "to seem"; they held that Christ only seemed to have a real human body and to suffer.

poses, in which he names Pantaenus as his teacher and sets out Pantaenus's interpretations and traditions. He also wrote the Exhortation to the Greeks, the three books of the work called the Instructor, and another work titled "Who Is the Rich Man Who Is Being Saved?" There is also his treatise On the Passover, discussions On Fasting and On Slander, the Exhortation to Endurance, or To the Newly Baptized, and the work called the Church Canon, or Against the Judaizers, which he dedicated to Alexander, the bishop already mentioned.[187] 5 In the Stromata Clement did not only make a patchwork collection from the divine Scripture. He also quotes the Greeks, wherever he thought they had said something useful. He sets out the teachings held by many people, Greek and non-Greek alike. He corrects the false opinions of the founders of heresies. He lays out a great deal of history, and so gives us a base for wide learning. He mixes in the doctrines of the philosophers with all of this. It is therefore natural that he gave the work a title that fits its subject, Stromata.[188]

7 In these books he also uses testimony from the disputed writings: the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, the Wisdom of Jesus son of Sirach, the letter to the Hebrews, and the letters of Barnabas, Clement and Jude. He mentions Tatian's Discourse to the Greeks, and Cassian, who also wrote a work on chronology. He also mentions the Jewish writers Philo, Aristobulus, Josephus, Demetrius and Eupolemus. All of them show in their writings that Moses and the Jewish people were older than the earliest beginnings of the Greeks.[189] 9 These books of his are full of much other useful learning as well. In the first of them he says of himself that he came very close to the succession of the apostles. In them he also promises to write notes on Genesis. In his work on the Passover he admits that his friends pressed him to write down for later generations the traditions he happened to have heard from the early presbyters. In that work he mentions Melito, Irenaeus and some others, and quotes their accounts.

187. "Stromata" means "patchwork" or "miscellanies," and "Hypotyposes" means "outlines" or "sketches." The Greek gnōstikōn here means "relating to knowledge," not the heresy called Gnosticism.

188. "Stromata" means "patchwork" or "miscellanies," a collection of varied material. Eusebius explains the title by using katastrōsis ("spreading out"), which comes from the same root as stroma.

189. "Disputed writings" (antilegomena) are books that some in the church accepted and others questioned. The "Clement" named here is probably the letter known as 1 Clement.

CHAPTER 14

The Scriptures Mentioned by Him.

2 In the Hypotyposes, to put it briefly, Clement gave condensed explanations of all the Scripture of the covenant, and he did not pass over the disputed books. I mean Jude and the other general letters, the letter of Barnabas, and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter. He says that the letter to the Hebrews is Paul's, and that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew language. Luke, he says, translated it with great care and published it for the Greeks. That is why the same style of expression is found in this letter and in the Acts.[190] 4 He says that the words "Paul, an apostle" were not put at the head of the letter, and with good reason. The letter was going to Hebrews, who were already prejudiced against Paul and suspicious of him. So he wisely did not turn them away at the start by putting his name first. Then a little further on Clement adds: "As the blessed presbyter used to say, the Lord was the apostle of the Almighty and was sent to the Hebrews. Out of modesty, therefore, Paul, who was sent to the Gentiles, does not describe himself as an apostle of the Hebrews. He does this out of respect for the Lord, and because he was writing to the Hebrews as something extra, being a preacher and apostle to the Gentiles."[191]

6 In the same books Clement again sets down a tradition of the earliest presbyters about the order of the Gospels. It goes like this. The Gospels that contain the genealogies were written first. The Gospel of Mark came about in this way. Peter had publicly preached the word in Rome and, by the Spirit, proclaimed the gospel. Those present, who were many, urged Mark to write down what had been said, since he had followed Peter for a long time and remembered his words. Mark did this and gave the Gospel to those who asked for it. 8 When Peter learned of it, he neither forbade it nor urged it on. Last of all, John saw that the physical facts had been made clear in the Gospels. Urged on by his friends and carried along by the Spirit of God, he composed a spiritual Gospel. That is Clement's account. Alexander, mentioned earlier, also speaks of Clement and Pantaenus in a letter to Origen, as men

190. "Hypotyposes" means "Outlines." The older translation says "canonical Scripture"; the Greek says "all the Scripture of the covenant" (endiathēkos graphē), which Eusebius then says includes disputed books. "General letters" are also called the Catholic Epistles.

191. The "blessed presbyter" is probably Pantaenus, Clement's teacher, though Clement does not name him here.

he had known personally. He writes: "This, as you know, was also God's will, that the friendship we inherited from our forefathers should remain unbroken, and even become warmer and firmer.

10 "For we know as fathers those blessed men who went on before us, and to whom we shall soon go: Pantaenus, truly blessed and my lord, and the holy Clement, who became my lord and helped me, and anyone else like them. Through them I came to know you, who are excellent in every way, my lord and brother." So much for that. Now Adamantius (this was also a name of Origen) says himself somewhere that he visited Rome at this time, when Zephyrinus was leading the church of the Romans. He says he had prayed to see the very ancient church of the Romans. He did not stay long there and then returned to Alexandria.[192] 11 So Origen carried out the usual work of catechetical instruction there with great zeal. Demetrius, who was still bishop there at that time, kept urging him on and all but pleaded with him to work tirelessly for the good of the brothers.[193]

CHAPTER 15

Heraclas.

But Origen saw that he could not keep up with the deeper study of divine things, the examination and interpretation of the sacred writings, and at the same time the instruction of those who came to him. They gave him no chance even to catch his breath, for one group after another came to his school from dawn until evening. So he divided the crowds. From among his pupils he chose Heraclas, a man zealous in the study of divine things and also very learned, and not without knowledge of philosophy. He made him a partner in the work of instruction. He entrusted to him the first introduction of beginners, and kept for himself the teaching of those who were more advanced.

CHAPTER 16

Origen's Earnest Study of the Divine Scriptures.

1 Origen brought such exact scholarship to the study of the divine writings that he even learned the Hebrew language. He made his own the original

192. Alexander here is the bishop of Jerusalem mentioned earlier in Book 6. "Lord" is a respectful title for a teacher, not a claim of divinity.

193. "Catechetical instruction" means teaching those preparing to join the church, and Eusebius uses the word loosely for Origen's school at Alexandria.

Scriptures in Hebrew letters that circulated among the Jews. He also tracked down the editions of others who had translated the sacred writings besides the Seventy. He found some other translations, differing from the familiar ones, besides those of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. I do not know from what hiding places he searched them out and brought them to light, for they had long been lost to view. 4 Because their origin was uncertain, and he did not know whose they were, he simply noted that he had found one at Nicopolis near Actium, and another in some other such place. In the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four well-known editions, he set beside them not only a fifth translation but also a sixth and a seventh. Of one of these he again noted that it had been found in a jar at Jericho, in the time of Antoninus, the son of Severus. He gathered all these together, divided them line by line, and set them side by side, along with the Hebrew text itself. In this way he left us the copies of what we call the Hexapla. In the Tetrapla he also arranged separately the editions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion together with that of the Seventy.[194]

CHAPTER 17

The Translator Symmachus.

Of these translators, you should know that Symmachus was an Ebionite. The Ebionite heresy, as it is called, is the teaching of those who say that Christ was born of Joseph and Mary. They considered him a mere man, and insisted that the law should be kept in a more strictly Jewish way, as we learned earlier in this history. Commentaries by Symmachus are still in circulation, in which he seems to argue against the Gospel of Matthew in order to support this heresy. Origen indicates that he received these, along with other interpretations of the Scriptures by Symmachus, from a certain Juliana, who he says received the books from Symmachus himself.

CHAPTER 18

Ambrose.

2 About this time Ambrose, who held the views of the Valentinian heresy, was refuted by the truth that Origen taught. His mind was lit up as if by a light, and he joined the Church's orthodox teaching. Many other educated people also came to Origen, since his fame was ringing out everywhere, to

194. "Hexapla" means "sixfold" and "Tetrapla" "fourfold," referring to the number of parallel columns or versions. "Seventy" is the Septuagint, the Greek Old Testament.

test his ability in the sacred writings. Countless heretics, and quite a few of the most distinguished philosophers, gave him their eager attention. They were taught by him not only the divine teachings but, one might almost say, the secular philosophy as well. 4 For whenever he saw people with a natural gift for it, he led them on to philosophical studies too. He taught them geometry, arithmetic and the other preliminary subjects. He then took them on to the schools of thought among the philosophers and explained their writings, commenting on and examining each point, so that the man was proclaimed a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. He also urged many of the less educated to take up the ordinary school studies. He said these would give them no small help toward studying and understanding the divine Scriptures. For this reason he thought it especially necessary for himself to practice the secular and philosophical studies.

CHAPTER 19

Circumstances Related of Origen.

2 The Greek philosophers who flourished in his own time bear witness to his success in these studies. In their writings we find frequent mention of him. Sometimes they addressed their own works to him. Sometimes they submitted their labors to him, as to a teacher, for his judgment. But why mention this, when Porphyry, who settled in Sicily in our own day, wrote books against us? In them he tried to discredit the divine Scriptures and mentioned those who had interpreted them. He could not bring any real charge against our doctrines, so for lack of arguments he turned to abuse and tried to slander the interpreters, above all Origen. 4 Porphyry says he had known Origen in his youth, and he tries to slander him. Without realizing it, however, he ends up commending him. Where he could not say otherwise he tells the truth, and where he thought he would go undetected he lies. At one moment he accuses Origen as a Christian, and at another he describes his progress in the study of philosophy. Hear what he says, in his own words: "Some people were eager to find not a way of abandoning the wretchedness of the Jewish Scriptures but a way of resolving it. They turned to interpretations that do not hang together and do not fit what is written. These bring not so much a defense of the foreign writings as acceptance and praise for their own people. For they boast that what Moses plainly says are riddles. They treat his words as inspired oracles full of hidden mysteries. By their

conceit they bewitch the critical faculty of the soul, and then they bring in their interpretations."

6 Then, after some other remarks, he says: "Let the way of this absurdity be taken from a man I met myself when I was still very young. He was highly esteemed, and still is, through the writings he has left. I mean Origen, whose fame has spread widely among the teachers of these doctrines. He was a hearer of Ammonius, who in our time made the greatest progress in philosophy. From his teacher he gained great benefit in skill with words and learning. But in the right choice of how to live, he took the opposite road from his teacher." 7 "For Ammonius was a Christian, brought up by Christian parents. When he took up thinking and philosophy, he at once changed to a way of life in keeping with the laws. But Origen was a Greek educated in Greek learning, and he ran aground on barbarian recklessness. He took himself and his skill in argument over to it and peddled them. In his way of life he lived as a Christian, and contrary to the laws. But in his opinions about the world and about the divine he played the Greek, and worked Greek ideas into foreign myths."

9 "For he was always in the company of Plato. He spent his time with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, Apollophanes, Longinus, Moderatus, Nicomachus, and the distinguished men among the Pythagoreans. He also used the books of Chaeremon the Stoic and of Cornutus. From these he learned the method of adapting the Greek mysteries, and he applied it to the Jewish Scriptures." Porphyry said this in the third book of his work against the Christians. He told the truth about Origen's discipline and wide learning. But he plainly lied (what would a writer against Christians not say?) when he said that Origen had changed over from the Greeks, and that Ammonius had fallen from a godly way of life into the pagan way. 10 In Origen's case, the teaching of Christ had been kept in his family from his forefathers, as the earlier account showed. In the case of Ammonius, divinely inspired philosophy remained pure and unfallen to the very end of his life. His works still bear witness to this, through the writings he left, which are well thought of by most people. One of them is titled On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus, and there are others that lovers of what is excellent have found.

12 Let this serve as proof of the slander of this liar, and of Origen's wide experience in Greek learning. Some people criticized Origen for his zeal for such learning. Defending himself against them, he writes in a letter: "I had

devoted myself to the word, and the report of my ability was spreading. Sometimes heretics came to me, and sometimes people trained in Greek learning, especially in philosophy. So it seemed right to me to examine the doctrines of the heretics, and what the philosophers claim to say about the truth." 14 I did this in imitation of Pantaenus, who helped many people before our time and was well prepared in these subjects. I also followed Heraclas, who now sits in the presbytery of Alexandria. I found him with the teacher of philosophy, and he had already stayed with him five years before I began to attend those lectures. Before this he wore ordinary clothes. He took them off and put on the philosopher's dress, and he still wears it today. "As far as he is able, he does not stop studying the books of the Greeks." That is what Origen said in defense of his study of Greek learning.

16 About this time Origen was living in Alexandria. A soldier came and delivered letters to Demetrius, the bishop of the church there, and to the prefect of Egypt at that time. They were from the governor of Arabia and asked that Origen be sent to him with all speed to talk with him. So they sent him on his way, and he came to Arabia. He soon finished the purpose of his visit and returned to Alexandria. Some time later a serious war broke out in the city. Origen slipped away from Alexandria, and since he did not think it safe to stay anywhere in Egypt, he went to Palestine and settled in Caesarea. There the bishops of that region asked him to teach and to explain the divine Scriptures in the public assembly of the church, even though he had not yet been ordained a presbyter. 18 This also becomes clear from what Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus of Caesarea wrote to Demetrius, defending themselves on this point. They said: "Demetrius added to his letter that it was never heard of before, and has never happened now, for laymen to address the people when bishops are present. Somehow he is plainly not telling the truth. Wherever men are found who are able to help the brothers, the holy bishops invite them to speak to the people. In Laranda, Euelpis was invited by Neon; in Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus; in Synnada, Theodorus by Atticus, our blessed brothers. This probably happens in other places too, though we do not know of them." So even while he was still a young man, Origen was honored in this way, not only by his acquaintances but by bishops in foreign lands.

19 But Demetrius recalled him by letter and urged him, through men who were deacons of the church, to come back to Alexandria. So Origen returned and resumed his usual labors.

CHAPTER 20

The Extant Works of the Writers of that Age.

2 At this time a number of learned churchmen were flourishing. It is easy to find the letters they wrote to one another, which still survive. These have been preserved down to our own day in the library at Aelia, which Alexander, then head of the church there, had built up. From that library I have also been able to gather the material for the present work. Among these men, Beryllus left behind letters and writings of various kinds, marked by fine literary taste. He was bishop of the Arabs at Bostra. Hippolytus likewise was head of some other church.[195] 3 There has also come down to us a dialogue by Gaius, a very learned man. It took place at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus, with Proclus, who was defending the Phrygian heresy. In it Gaius silences the rashness and boldness of his opponents in producing new writings, and he mentions only thirteen letters of the holy apostle. He does not count the letter to the Hebrews with the others, since even to this day some at Rome do not regard it as the apostle's.[196]

CHAPTER 21

The Bishops that Were Well Known at that Time.

2 After Antoninus had reigned seven years and six months, Macrinus succeeded him. Macrinus lasted about a year, and then another Antoninus took over the Roman government. In this man's first year Zephyrinus, bishop of Rome, died, having served for a full eighteen years. After him Callistus was entrusted with the episcopate. He lived five more years and left the office to Urbanus. After this the emperor Alexander succeeded to the Roman rule, when Antoninus had lasted only four years. In this same period Philetus succeeded Asclepiades in the church of Antioch.[197] 4 The emperor's mother, whose name was Mammaea, was a deeply devout woman, if ever there was

195. Aelia was the Roman name for Jerusalem.

196. The "Phrygian heresy" is the movement named after Montanus, which began in Phrygia. The "apostle" is Paul.

197. The first Antoninus is the emperor usually called Caracalla; the second is usually called Elagabalus. The Greek text here reads "Thilētos," an evident corruption of Philetus, bishop of Antioch.

one, and reverent in her manner of life. Origen's fame had spread everywhere and had even reached her ears. She thought it very important to be given the chance to see him and to test for herself his understanding of divine things, which everyone admired. She was staying at Antioch with a military guard, and she summoned him there. He spent some time with her and showed her a great many things that served the glory of the Lord and the excellence of the divine teaching. Then he hurried back to his usual occupations.

CHAPTER 22

The Works of Hippolytus Which Have Reached Us.

At that time Hippolytus also wrote many other treatises, including a work on the Passover. In it he set out a chronological record and laid down a sixteen-year cycle for calculating the Passover, and he brought his reckoning of the years down to the first year of the Emperor Alexander. Of his other writings, these have reached us: On the Hexaemeron, On the Things After the Hexaemeron, Against Marcion, On the Song of Songs, On Parts of Ezekiel, On the Passover, and Against All the Heresies. You could find many others preserved among many people.[198]

CHAPTER 23

Origen's Zeal and His Elevation to the Presbyterate.

2 From that time Origen also began his commentaries on the divine Scriptures. Ambrose pressed him hard with countless encouragements. He did not only urge him with words and appeals, but also supplied him very generously with everything he needed. More than seven shorthand writers were on hand while Origen dictated, taking turns at set times. There were at least as many copyists, together with girls trained in fine handwriting. Ambrose provided all of them with plenty of whatever they required. He also contributed an indescribable eagerness of his own to the study of the divine oracles and to diligence in it, and this above all drove Origen on to compose his commentaries. 4 While this was going on, Urban, who had been bishop of the church of Rome for eight years, was succeeded by Pontianus. In Antioch, Zebinus succeeded Philetus. At this time Origen set out for Greece because of urgent business concerning church affairs. He traveled through Palestine and re-

198. The Hexaemeron is the six days of creation in Genesis. Hippolytus' work on it is known only by title, and the Greek name is plain Ἱππόλυτος.

ceived the laying on of hands for the presbyterate at Caesarea from the bishops there. The controversy this stirred up about him, the decisions that the leaders of the churches made on the matters raised, and the other works on the divine word that he produced in his prime would need a separate treatise. I have given a modest account of them in the second book of the Defense that I wrote on his behalf.[199]

CHAPTER 24

The Commentaries Which He Prepared at Alexandria.

2 To this I should add the following. In the sixth volume of his exposition of the Gospel of John, Origen says that he wrote the first five while still in Alexandria. Of his work on the whole Gospel, only twenty-two volumes have come down to us. In the ninth volume on Genesis (there are twelve in all) he shows that not only the volumes before the ninth were written at Alexandria, but also his commentaries on the first twenty-five Psalms and on Lamentations. Of the work on Lamentations, five volumes have reached us. In them he also mentions his books On the Resurrection, which are two in number. 3 He also wrote On First Principles before he moved away from Alexandria. The ten books titled Stromata he composed in the same city, during the reign of Alexander, as the notes in his own hand at the front of the volumes make clear.[200]

CHAPTER 25

His Review of the Canonical Scriptures.

1 In expounding the first Psalm, Origen gives a list of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing word for word as follows: "We must not be ignorant that the books of the Testament, as the Hebrews hand them down, are twenty-two, which is the number of the letters in their alphabet." 2 Then, after a few remarks, he continues: "The twenty-two books, according to the Hebrews, are these. The book we call Genesis the Hebrews call Bresith, from the opening of the book; it means 'In the beginning.' Exodus is Ouelesmoth, that is, 'These are the names.' Leviticus is Ouikra, 'And he called.' Numbers is Ammesphekodeim. Deuteronomy is Eleaddebareim,

199. "Defense" refers to the Defense of Origen that Eusebius wrote together with Pamphilus; it is not preserved in the original Greek.
200. "On First Principles" is the Greek Peri Archon, known in Latin as De Principiis. "Stromata" means "Miscellanies" or "Patchwork."

'These are the words.' Jesus son of Nave is Iosoue ben Noun. Judges and Ruth are in one book among them, Saphateim. The first and second of Kings are one book among them, Samouel, 'the one called by God.' The third and fourth of Kings are one, Ouamelch David, that is, 'the kingdom of David.' The first and second of Chronicles are one, Dabreiamein, that is, 'Words of the days.' The first and second of Esdras are one, Ezra, that is, 'a helper.' The book of Psalms is Thelleim. The Proverbs of Solomon are Meloth. Ecclesiastes is Koelth. The Song of Songs is Sir Assirim. Isaiah is Iessia. Jeremiah, with Lamentations and the Letter, in one book, is Ieremia. Daniel is Daniel. Ezekiel is Iezekiel. Job is Job. Esther is Esther. Apart from these there are the Maccabean books, which are entitled Sarbeth Sabanaiel."[201]

4 He sets these out in the work just mentioned. In the first book of his commentary on Matthew, keeping to the rule of the church, he testifies that he knows only four Gospels. He writes: "I have learned by tradition about the four Gospels, which alone are undisputed in the church of God under heaven. The first was written by Matthew, once a tax collector but afterward an apostle of Jesus Christ. He published it for those who came to faith from Judaism, and it was composed in Hebrew letters." 7 "The second is by Mark, who wrote it as Peter directed him. Peter acknowledged him as a son in his letter, saying, 'She who is in Babylon, chosen together with you, greets you, and so does Mark, my son.' The third is by Luke, the Gospel praised by Paul, which he made for those who came from the Gentiles. Last of all is the Gospel by John." In the fifth book of his expositions on John's Gospel, the same man says this about the letters of the apostles: "Paul, who was made fit to be a minister of a covenant not of letter but of Spirit, and who fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem and round about as far as Illyricum, did not write to all the churches he taught. And even to those he wrote to, he sent only a few lines." [*1 Peter 5:13; 2 Corinthians 3:6; Romans 15:19*]

10 "Peter, on whom the church of Christ is built, and against which the gates of Hades will not prevail, left one letter that is acknowledged as his. Let us allow a second as well, though that is doubted. What need is there to speak of John, who leaned on Jesus' breast? He left one Gospel, though he confessed that he could have written so many that even the world could not con-

201. The Hebrew titles are given in Greek spelling, and the forms are uncertain and partly corrupt. The list as transmitted omits the Twelve Prophets; adding them would give the stated total of twenty-two books.

tain them. He also wrote the Revelation, though he was commanded to keep silent and not to write down the voices of the seven thunders. He also left a letter of very few lines. Let us allow a second and a third as well, since not everyone says these are genuine. In any case, the two together do not run to a hundred lines." [*Matthew 16:18; John 13:25; John 21:25; Revelation 10:4*] 12 Besides this, in his homilies on the Letter to the Hebrews he gives the following account: "The character of the style of the letter entitled 'To the Hebrews' does not have the plainness of speech of the apostle, who admitted that he was unskilled in speech, that is, in expression. Rather, the letter is better Greek in the construction of its wording, as anyone who knows how to judge differences of style would agree. Again, the thoughts of the letter are wonderful and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle. Anyone who pays close attention to reading the apostle would agree that this is true." [*2 Corinthians 11:6*]

14 After other remarks he adds this: "If I were to give my own opinion, I would say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the wording and composition belong to someone who recalled the apostle's teachings, and who, as it were, wrote notes on what his teacher had said. So if any church holds this letter to be Paul's, let it be commended for that too, for it was not without reason that the men of old handed it down as Paul's. But who actually wrote the letter, God knows. The account that has reached us is from some who say that Clement, who became bishop of the Romans, wrote the letter, and from others that it was Luke, who wrote the Gospel and the Acts." But let that be enough on these matters.

CHAPTER 26

Heraclas Becomes Bishop of Alexandria.

This was the tenth year of the reign just mentioned. In that year Origen moved from Alexandria to Caesarea, leaving the catechetical school there in the care of Heraclas. Not long afterward Demetrius, bishop of the church of Alexandria, died after serving in that ministry a full forty-three years, and Heraclas succeeded him. At this time Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, was prominent.

CHAPTER 27

How the Bishops Regarded Origen.

Firmilian showed such great zeal for Origen that sometimes he summoned him to his own region for the benefit of the churches, and sometimes he went to Judea himself and spent some time with Origen there, to grow in the knowledge of divine things. Moreover, Alexander, who led the church at Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, the bishop at Caesarea, throughout almost the whole time stayed close to Origen as their only teacher. They allowed him to interpret the divine Scriptures and to carry out the rest of the church's work of teaching.

CHAPTER 28

The Persecution Under Maximinus.

After Alexander, the Roman emperor, had completed a reign of thirteen years, Maximinus Caesar succeeded him. Because of his hatred for the household of Alexander, which included many believers, he stirred up a persecution. He ordered that only the leaders of the churches be put to death, as the ones responsible for the teaching of the gospel. At that time Origen wrote his work On Martyrdom, and dedicated it to Ambrose and to Protoctetus, a presbyter of the community at Caesarea. Both of them had been caught up in no ordinary danger in the persecution, and the report is that they were outstanding in their confession of the faith. Maximinus' reign lasted no more than three years. Origen noted the time of this persecution in the twenty-second book of his Commentaries on John, and in various letters.

CHAPTER 29

Fabianus, Who Was Wonderfully Designated Bishop of Rome by God.

3 After Maximinus, Gordian took over the Roman government. In the church at Rome, Pontian had been bishop for six years, and Anteros succeeded him. Anteros served in the office for a month, and then Fabian succeeded him. They say that after the death of Anteros, Fabian came in from the country with others and was staying in Rome. There, in a most astonishing way, divine and heavenly grace brought him to the office. All the brothers had gathered at the church to ordain the man who would succeed to the bishopric. Many distinguished and famous men were in the minds of most people. Fabian was present, but no one was thinking of him at all. Yet they

recall that suddenly a dove flew down from above and settled on his head, a likeness of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Saviour in the form of a dove. [*Matthew 3:16*] 4 At this the whole people, as though moved by one divine Spirit, cried out with all eagerness and with one soul that he was worthy. Without delay they took him and placed him on the bishop's throne. At that time Zebinus, the bishop of Antioch, departed this life, and Babylas took over the office. In Alexandria, after Demetrius, Heraclas had received the ministry, and Dionysius took over his work in the catechetical school there. Dionysius too was one of Origen's students. [*Acts 4:32*]

CHAPTER 30

The Pupils of Origen.

While Origen was carrying on his usual work in Caesarea, countless students came to him, not only from the surrounding area but from other lands, having left their own homelands. The best known of these that we are aware of were Theodore, who is the same man as Gregory, the famous bishop of our own day, and his brother Athenodore. They were intensely devoted to Greek and Roman studies. Origen put a love of philosophy into them and urged them to trade their former pursuit for the discipline of divine things. They stayed with him a full five years and made such progress in the knowledge of God that, while both were still young, they were thought worthy of the office of bishop in the churches of Pontus.

CHAPTER 31

Africanus.

2 During this time Africanus, the author of the work called the Cesti, also became well known. A letter of his to Origen survives, in which he raises doubts about the story of Susanna in Daniel, as being spurious and invented. Origen wrote back to him at great length. Other works of this same Africanus have also come down to us: five books of Chronology, carefully and diligently prepared. In them he says that he made a journey to Alexandria because of the great reputation of Heraclas. As we have shown, Heraclas was outstanding in philosophical discourse and in the other studies of the Greeks, and was entrusted with the bishopric of the church there. 3 There is also another letter of the same Africanus, written to Aristides, about the supposed disagreement between the genealogies of Christ in Matthew and in Luke. In it he shows very clearly that the evangelists agree, on the basis of an

account that had come down to him. I set that account out earlier, in its proper place, in the first book of this work.

CHAPTER 32

The Commentaries Which Origen Composed in Caesarea in Palestine.

2 About this time Origen was putting together his commentaries on Isaiah and, along with them, on Ezekiel. Of the commentary on Isaiah, thirty volumes have come down to us, covering the third part of the book, as far as the vision of the four-footed beasts in the desert. On Ezekiel we have twenty-five volumes, which are all he wrote on that whole prophet. He was in Athens at that time and finished his work on Ezekiel there. He also began his commentary on the Song of Songs and carried it as far as the fifth volume. When he returned to Caesarea, he brought this work to completion as well, in ten volumes in all. 3 Why should I now draw up an exact list of the man's writings? It would need a treatise of its own. I did record such a list in my account of the life of Pamphilus, the holy martyr of our own time. There I wanted to show how great Pamphilus' zeal for divine things was, so I set out the catalogue of the library he had gathered of the works of Origen and of other church writers. Anyone who wishes can learn from it, in the fullest way, which of Origen's labors have come down to us. For now, we must go on with the course of the history.

CHAPTER 33

The Error of Beryllus.

2 Beryllus, whom I mentioned a little earlier as bishop of Bostra in Arabia, was turning aside from the rule of the church and trying to introduce certain things foreign to the faith. He dared to say that our Saviour and Lord had not existed beforehand in a being of his own before his coming to live among men, and that he had no divinity of his own, but only the Father's divinity living in him. Many bishops held inquiries and discussions with the man over this. Origen was invited along with others. He first went down to talk with him, to test what he really thought. When he understood what Beryllus was saying, he saw that his teaching was not sound. He persuaded him by reasoning and won him over by proof, set him on the truth of the doctrine, and restored him to his former sound belief. 4 Written records of Beryllus and of the synod held because of him are still in circulation today. They contain Origen's questions to him, the discussions held in Beryllus'

own diocese, and everything that was done at that time. The elders of our own day pass down countless other recollections of Origen, which I think I will leave aside, since they do not belong to the present work. As for what was necessary to know about him, it can be gathered from the defense of Origen that Pamphilus, the holy martyr of our day, and I wrote together. We worked on it jointly and with great care because of those who love to find fault.

CHAPTER 34

Philip Caesar.

Gordian had held the Roman rule for six full years when Philip, together with his son Philip, succeeded to the throne. The story is told that Philip was a Christian. On the day of the last paschal vigil he wanted to share with the crowd in the prayers of the church. But the man who then presided would not let him enter until he had confessed and placed himself among those who were counted as sinners and held a place of repentance. Otherwise, because of the many charges against his conduct, the bishop would never have received him. It is said that Philip obeyed willingly, showing by his actions the sincere and reverent state of his heart toward the fear of God.

CHAPTER 35

Dionysius Succeeds Heraclas in the Episcopate.

In the third year of Philip's reign, Heraclas died after leading the churches of Alexandria for sixteen years, and Dionysius took over the office of bishop.

CHAPTER 36

Other Works of Origen.

2 At that time, as one would expect, the faith was growing and our teaching was being spoken openly before everyone. They say that Origen, now past sixty, had built up great skill through his long preparation. So he allowed stenographers to take down the talks he gave before the public, something he had never permitted before. In this period he also wrote eight books against the work titled "True Discourse," which Celsus the Epicurean had written against us. He also wrote twenty-five volumes on the Gospel of Matthew, and commentaries on the Twelve Prophets, of which we have found only twenty-five volumes. 4 A letter of his is also still in circulation, written to the emperor Philip himself, and another to Philip's wife Severa. There are

various other letters of his to various people. I was able to collect those that survived scattered among different owners, and I have listed them in volumes of their own so that they would not be scattered any longer. They number more than a hundred. He also wrote to Fabian, bishop of Rome, and to a great many other leaders of churches, about the soundness of his own teaching. You have the evidence for this in the sixth book of the defense I wrote about the man.

CHAPTER 37

The Dissension of the Arabians.

At about this same time, others again appeared in Arabia, introducing a doctrine foreign to the truth. They said that for the present time the human soul dies at the moment of death and perishes along with the body, but that at the time of the resurrection it will come to life again together with the body. A fairly large synod was then assembled, and Origen was invited there once more. He opened a discussion before the assembly on the question at issue, and argued so effectively that the thinking of those who had previously gone astray was changed.

CHAPTER 38

The Heresy of the Elkesites.

At that time another distortion of the faith began, the so-called heresy of the Elkesaites, which was put out as soon as it began. Origen mentions it in a public homily on the eighty-second Psalm, speaking something like this: "Someone has come recently, very proud of his ability to champion a godless and most impious opinion, called that of the Elkesaites, which has newly appeared against the churches. I will set before you the evil things that this opinion says, so that you will not be carried off by it. It rejects some things from the whole of Scripture. Again, it uses texts from the whole of the Old Testament and the Gospels, yet it rejects the apostle completely. It says that denying the faith is a matter of indifference, and that the person who understands will, when forced, deny with his mouth but not with his heart. They also produce a certain book which they say has fallen down from heaven. They say that whoever hears it and believes will receive forgiveness of sins, a different forgiveness from the one Christ Jesus gave." So much for these people.[202]

CHAPTER 39

The Persecution Under Decius, and the Sufferings of Origen.

3 Philip reigned seven years and was succeeded by Decius. Because of his hatred for Philip, Decius started a persecution against the churches. In it Fabian was martyred at Rome, and Cornelius succeeded him as bishop. In Palestine, Alexander, bishop of the church of Jerusalem, once again stood before the governor's courts at Caesarea for Christ's sake. He distinguished himself by a second confession and was thrown into prison, crowned with the honor of a full old age and venerable gray hair. After his bright and conspicuous witness before the governor's courts, he fell asleep in prison, and Mazabanes was appointed to succeed him as bishop of Jerusalem. 5 In the same way, Babylas of Antioch also died in prison after his confession, and Fabius took over leadership of the church there. As for Origen, the demon of evil drew up all his forces against him as though against an equal, and waged war on him with every device and every power. He attacked Origen more fiercely than any of those who were being fought at that time. How many things the man endured for the word of Christ, and what kind: chains and tortures of his body, punishments under the iron collar and in the depths of the prison. For many days his feet were stretched four notches apart in the stocks, and he bore it. He bore the threats of fire and everything else his enemies inflicted. And what kind of end he met, since the judge stubbornly insisted with all his might that on no account should he be put to death. And what words he left behind after this, full of help for those who need to be lifted up again. A great many of the man's letters give a true and accurate account of all this.

CHAPTER 40

The Events Which Happened to Dionysius.

2 I will set out what happened to Dionysius from his letter to Germanus, where he tells the story about himself in this way: "I speak even in the sight of God, and he knows that I am not lying. It was not by any decision of my own, and not without God, that I took flight. Even earlier, before the persecution under Decius was announced, Sabinus immediately sent a frumentarius to search for me. I stayed at home four days, waiting for the frumentarius

202. "Elkesaites" is also spelled "Elchasaites." The Greek says only "will deny" and names no object; denial under pressure of persecution is evidently meant. "The apostle" most likely means Paul.

to arrive. He went everywhere looking: the rivers, the roads, the fields, wherever he guessed I might be hiding or walking. But he was struck with blindness and did not find the house, because he could not believe that a man being hunted would stay at home."[203] [*2 Corinthians 11:31*] 4 Only after the fourth day did God command me to leave, and he opened a way for me in a wonderful, unexpected manner. So I, my servants, and many of the brothers set out together. That this was the work of God's providence was shown by what followed, in which perhaps we were of some use to others. Then, after a few remarks in between, Dionysius tells what happened to him after his flight, and goes on: "About sunset I was seized, together with those who were with me, and the soldiers took me to Taposiris. Timothy, by God's providence, happened not to be there, and was not caught. When he came later, he found the house deserted, with guards posted in it, and us carried off as captives."[204]

6 After some other remarks he says: "And what was the manner of his marvelous arrangement of things? I will tell the truth. One of the country people met Timothy as he was running away in confusion, and asked him why he was in such a hurry. Timothy told him the plain truth. The man heard it. He was on his way to a wedding feast, for it is their custom to spend the whole night in such gatherings. He went in and told those who were reclining at the table. All of them, as if at a signal, jumped up together, ran as fast as they could, and burst in on us with a shout. The soldiers who were guarding us fled at once. The men then stood over us, as we were, lying on bare bedframes without bedding.[205] 8 "As for me, God knows, I thought at first that they were robbers who had come to strip and plunder us. So I stayed on the bed where I lay, wearing only a linen garment, and held out to them the rest of my clothing that lay beside me. But they told me to get up and leave quickly. Then I understood why they had come, and I cried out, begging and pleading with them to go away and leave us alone. If they wanted to do me a kindness, I asked them to get ahead of those who were taking me

203. A frumentarius was originally a grain-supply soldier who came to serve as a courier and agent for the Roman authorities. The Greek says this happened before the Decian persecution was announced. Sabinus is probably the Roman prefect of Egypt, though the text does not say so.

204. Taposiris was a town in Egypt, near Alexandria. The Greek verb translated "carried off as captives" literally means "enslaved."

205. "His marvelous arrangement" refers to God's providential ordering of events (Greek oikonomia).

away and cut off my head themselves. As I was shouting such things, as my companions, who shared everything with me, know well, they lifted me up by force. I let myself drop on my back on the ground, but they took hold of my hands and feet, dragged me out, and led me away.

9 "Those who witnessed all these things followed me: Gaius, Faustus, Peter and Paul. They picked me up, carried me out of the little town, set me on a bare-backed donkey, and led me away." This is what Dionysius says about himself.[206]

CHAPTER 41

The Martyrs in Alexandria.

2 In his letter to Fabian, bishop of Antioch, the same Dionysius describes the contests of those who died as martyrs in Alexandria under Decius. He writes: "The persecution among us did not begin with the emperor's decree. It began a whole year earlier. A prophet and contriver of evils for this city, whoever he was, got in ahead of the decree. He stirred up the crowds of pagans against us and fanned their native superstition into flame. Provoked by him and given free rein to commit wickedness, they decided that the only true devotion in their religion was to murder us. 4 "First they seized an old man named Metras. They ordered him to speak blasphemous words, and when he refused, they beat his body with clubs and stabbed his face and eyes with sharp reeds. Then they took him out to the suburb and stoned him. Next they led a believing woman named Quinta to their idol temple and tried to force her to worship. When she turned away in disgust, they tied her feet and dragged her through the whole city over the rough paving stones, bashing her against the millstones and whipping her at the same time. Then they took her to the same place and stoned her to death.

6 "Then all of them together rushed to the homes of the godly. Each group hurried to drag out any whom they knew, and they robbed and plundered them. They stole the more valuable goods, but the cheaper things and anything made of wood they threw about and burned in the streets, so that the city looked as if an enemy had captured it. The brothers gave way and withdrew, and, like those Paul spoke of, they accepted the seizure of their property with joy. I do not know of anyone, except perhaps one who fell

206. "Witnesses" translates the Greek martyres. By Dionysius's time the word was already coming to mean "martyrs", but here it most likely means those who were eyewitnesses of these events.

into their hands, who up to this point denied the Lord.[207] [*Hebrews 10:34*]
8 They also caught that most admirable aged virgin, Apollonia. They struck her on the jaws and knocked out all her teeth. Then they built a pyre in front of the city and threatened to burn her alive unless she would join them in shouting their blasphemous slogans. She asked for a brief delay, and when they let her go, she leaped eagerly into the fire and was burned to death. They also found Serapion at home. They tortured him cruelly, broke every joint in his body, and threw him headlong from the upper floor. There was no road, no highway, no alley open to us, either by night or by day. Always and everywhere everyone was shouting that anyone who would not chant their blasphemous words must be dragged away and burned.

10 This raged on in this way for a long time. Then strife and civil war overtook those wretched people and turned their cruelty against one another instead of us. We got a little relief, since their anger toward us was occupied elsewhere. But very soon word came that the reign that had been kinder to us was changing, and great fear of the threat against us grew. And then the decree arrived, almost exactly like that most terrible thing the Lord foretold, one that would, if possible, cause even the elect to stumble.[208] [*Matthew 24:24*]
11 All of them cowered in fear. Many of the more prominent people came forward at once. Others, who held public positions, were led by their official duties. Others were dragged along by those around them. They were called by name and went up to the unclean and unholy sacrifices. Some were pale and trembling, as if they were not going to sacrifice but to be sacrificed themselves as victims and offerings to the idols. The crowd standing around mocked them, and it was plain that they were cowards in every way, afraid both to die and to sacrifice.

13 Others ran to the altars more eagerly, boldly insisting that they had never been Christians even before. Of these the Lord's prediction is most true, that they will be saved with difficulty. Of the rest, some followed one or the other of these groups, some fled, and some were arrested. Of the arrested, some went as far as chains and prison, and some, after being shut up for several days, denied the faith even before they came to trial. Others endured torture for a while and then gave way in the end. 15 But the firm and blessed

207. The allusion is to Hebrews 10:34 (joyfully accepting the plundering of one's property). The Alexandrian tradition, which Dionysius follows, attributed Hebrews to Paul.

208. The Lord's saying alluded to is probably Matthew 24:24 (the elect being led astray, "if possible"). The change of reign refers to the emperor Philip being replaced by Decius.

pillars of the Lord were strengthened by him. They received power and endurance equal and fitting to the strong faith in them, and became admirable witnesses of his kingdom. The first of these was Julian, a man with gout who could neither stand nor walk. He was brought in with two others who carried him. One of them denied the Lord immediately. The other, named Cronion and nicknamed Eunus, and the old man Julian himself, confessed the Lord. They were set on camels and carried high up through the whole city, which is very large, as you know, and were whipped as they went. In the end, with the whole crowd pressing around them, they were burned in a fire of quicklime.[209]

17 As they were being led away, a soldier stood by them and opposed those who were jeering. When the crowd shouted against him, he was brought forward. This was Besas, a most courageous fighter for God, who had distinguished himself in the great war for godliness, and he was beheaded. Another man, a Libyan by birth, truly named Macar ("Blessed") and blessed in fact, was strongly urged by the judge to deny the faith. He would not be moved, and he was burned alive. After them Epimachus and Alexander, who had stayed in chains for a long time and endured countless pains, scrapers and whips, were also consumed in a fire of quicklime. 18 With them were four women. One was Ammonarion, a holy virgin. The judge tortured her very stubbornly and for a long time, because she had declared beforehand that she would say nothing that he demanded. She proved her declaration true and was led away. The others were Mercuria, a most venerable old woman, and Dionysia, a mother of many children, who did not love her children more than the Lord. The governor was ashamed to go on torturing to no purpose and to be defeated by women, so they were put to death by the sword without going through any torture. For their champion Ammonarion had taken the tortures on behalf of them all. [*Matthew 10:37*]

20 Three Egyptians, Heron, Ater and Isidorus, were handed over, and with them a boy of about fifteen named Dioscorus. The judge first tried to deceive the boy with words, thinking he was easy to lead astray. Then he tried to force him, thinking he would give way easily. But Dioscorus neither yielded nor was persuaded. The judge tore the others savagely with scourges,

209. ἀσβέστω πυρί literally means "unquenched fire", but ἄσβεστος can also mean quicklime, so "fire of quicklime" is an interpretation. μετέωροι means the men were lifted up on the camels as they were whipped.

and when they held out, he gave them over to the fire. But Dioscorus had spoken so brilliantly in public and answered the judge's own questions so wisely that the judge marveled at him and let him go. He said he was granting him time to repent because of his youth. And now this man, so worthy of God, is with us. He has been kept for a longer struggle and a more lasting contest. 22 A certain Nemesion, also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of being a companion of robbers. He cleared himself of this charge, which was utterly foreign to him, before the centurion. But then he was reported as a Christian and was brought in chains before the governor. That most unjust man inflicted on him twice the tortures and scourgings he gave the robbers, and then burned him between the robbers. So the blessed man was honored by being made like Christ. A whole squad of soldiers, Ammon, Zeno, Ptolemy and Ingenes, and with them an old man, Theophilus, were standing before the tribunal. Someone was being tried as a Christian and was already leaning toward denying the faith. These men, standing by, ground their teeth, signaled with their faces, stretched out their hands, and made gestures with their bodies.

23 Everyone turned to look at them. But before anyone could lay hands on them, they ran ahead up to the platform, saying that they were Christians. The governor and his assessors were seized with fear. Those on trial appeared full of courage about what they would suffer, while the judges shrank back in fear. These men then marched out from the court in triumph and exulted in their witness, as God led them in glorious triumph. [*2 Corinthians 2:14*]

CHAPTER 42

Others of Whom Dionysius Gives an Account.

2 "Very many others in cities and villages were torn to pieces by the pagans. I will mention one as an example. Ischyrion was employed for wages as the steward of one of the rulers. His employer ordered him to sacrifice. When he refused, the man abused him. When he stayed firm, the man heaped insults on him. When he still held out, the man took a very large staff, thrust it through his bowels and entrails, and killed him. Why should I speak of the multitude who wandered in deserts and mountains and perished from hunger, thirst, cold, disease, robbers and wild beasts? The survivors among them are witnesses to their choice and their victory. But I will set down one deed from among these to make the point clear. [*Hebrews 11:38*] 4 Chaeremon was a

very old man, bishop of the city called Nilus. He fled to the Arabian mountain with his wife and never came back. The brothers searched thoroughly but could never find them again, neither them nor their bodies. Many others in that same Arabian mountain were enslaved by Saracens. Some were ransomed, though only barely and at great cost. Others have not been ransomed even to this day. I have not told these things for nothing, brother. I want you to know how many and how terrible were the things that happened among us. Those who have experienced more of them would know still more."

5 Then, a little later, he continues: "Now the divine martyrs among us, who are now seated beside Christ, sharers in his kingdom, partners in his judgment and judging with him, took up some of the fallen brothers who had become liable to the charge of sacrificing. They saw their turning back and their repentance, and judged that it could be acceptable to him who does not at all desire the death of the sinner but rather his repentance. So after testing that repentance, they welcomed them, gathered them in, and stood by them. They shared prayers and meals with them.[210] [*Ezekiel 33:11*] 6 "What counsel do you give us then, brothers, about these people? What must we do? Shall we agree with the martyrs and share their mind, keep their judgment and their act of grace, and be kind to those they pitied? Or shall we treat their judgment as unjust, set ourselves up as examiners of their opinion, grieve their kindness, and overturn the arrangement?" Dionysius fittingly put these questions, raising the matter of those who had grown weak in the time of the persecution.

CHAPTER 43

Novatus, His Manner of Life and His Heresy.

2 Novatus, a presbyter of the church at Rome, was puffed up with arrogance against these fallen brethren. He claimed there was no longer any hope of salvation for them, not even if they did everything that belongs to genuine conversion and pure confession. So he became the founder of a sect of his own, whose members, swollen with their own reasoning, call themselves the "Pure" (Cathari). A very large synod was therefore held at Rome. There were sixty bishops, and even more presbyters and deacons. In the other provinces

210. "Seated beside" (paredroi) means sitting as assessors or associates, as at a court. The wording echoes Ezekiel 18:23, 32, but Dionysius gives it in his own words.

the local pastors also deliberated separately about what should be done. All agreed on this decision: Novatus and those who had been puffed up with him, along with any who chose to approve this man's brother-hating and utterly inhuman opinion, were to be counted as outsiders to the church. But those brethren who had fallen into the misfortune were to be healed and treated with the medicines of repentance.[211]

3 Letters of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, have come down to us, addressed to Fabius of the church at Antioch. They report on the Roman synod and on what all those in Italy, Africa and the regions there decided. Other letters have also reached us, written in the Roman (Latin) language, from Cyprian and those with him in Africa. These show that they too agreed that those who had been put to the test should receive help. They also agreed that the leader of the heresy, and all who were led away with him, should rightly be excluded by public notice from the catholic church. 5 Another letter of Cornelius was attached to these, about what the synod had resolved. There was yet another about the actions of Novatus. Nothing prevents me from quoting parts of it, so that readers of this work may know about him. To inform Fabius what sort of man Novatus had been in his conduct, Cornelius writes these very words: "But I want you to know that this admirable man had long desired the office of bishop. He kept this reckless ambition hidden within himself, and used the confessors who had been with him from the beginning as a cover for his own folly.

6 "Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urbanus, who twice won the highest glory through confession, and Sidonius, and Celerinus (a man who endured every torture with the greatest steadfastness through God's mercy, strengthened the weakness of his flesh by the power of his faith, and so utterly defeated the adversary): these men observed him closely and caught him out in his cunning and his shifting about, his perjuries and lies, his refusal of fellowship and his wolfish friendship. They came back to the holy church. In the presence of many bishops, presbyters and a great number of lay people, they declared all his tricks and wicked deeds, which he had long kept concealed within himself. They did this with weeping and repentance, because they had trusted this deceitful and malicious beast and for a short time had been cut off from the church." 8 A little later he says: "Beloved brother, it is

211. The Greek opens with the causal Ἐπειδήπερ ("Since..."), tying the passage back to the preceding account of the lapsed. "Cathari" (Καθαροί) means "the pure ones."

beyond description how great a change we saw come over him in a short time. This most distinguished man, who guaranteed with fearful oaths that he did not seek the office of bishop at all, suddenly appears as a bishop, as if flung into our midst by some stage machine. This teacher of doctrine, this champion of church knowledge, tried to tear away and snatch for himself a bishopric that had not been given him from above. He chose two companions who had despaired of their own salvation, and sent them to a small and very remote part of Italy. There they were to deceive three bishops, simple country men, by a made-up story. He insisted and strongly maintained that these bishops must come to Rome quickly, supposedly so that any division that had arisen could be settled with their mediation, together with other bishops.[212]

10 "When they arrived, being, as I said, quite simple men where the schemes and tricks of wicked men are concerned, they were shut in by some men of his own sort who had been posted for the purpose. At the tenth hour, when they were drunk and sick from drinking, he forced them to give him the episcopate by a sham and worthless laying on of hands. He claims this office, which did not belong to him, by plot and cunning. Not long after, one of these bishops came back to the church, weeping and confessing his sin. We received him into communion as a layman, with all the people present pleading for him. As for the other bishops, we ordained successors and sent them to the places where those men had been." 12 So this "champion of the Gospel" did not know that there must be only one bishop in a catholic church. Yet he was well aware (how could he not be?) that in that church there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty-two exorcists, readers and doorkeepers together, and more than fifteen hundred widows and needy people. The grace and kindness of the Master feeds them all. Yet not even this great and necessary body in the church, nor the large and growing number, by God's providence rich in members, nor the huge, countless people, could turn him back from such a course. Neither did it call him back to the church, nor did it shame him out of his rash and desperate attempt.

14 Then, after other matters, he adds this: "Come, let us go on to say what deeds or what manner of life gave him the confidence to lay claim to the

bishopric. Was it that he had lived in the church from the beginning, had fought many battles for her, and had been in many great dangers for the sake of true religion? Not at all. The occasion of his coming to faith was Satan, who entered him and lived in him for a long time. Helped by the exorcists, he fell into a severe illness. Since he was thought to be all but dead, he was baptized by pouring, there on the bed where he lay, if one can say that such a man received baptism at all. 16 "Nor, when he recovered from his illness, did he receive the other things that one ought to receive according to the rule of the church, namely being sealed by the bishop. And since he did not receive these, how could he have received the Holy Spirit?" Again, a little later, he says: "In the time of persecution, out of cowardice and love of life, he denied that he was a presbyter. The deacons urged and begged him to come out of the little room where he had shut himself in, and to help the brothers as far as it is right and possible for a presbyter to help brothers in danger and in need of aid. But he was so far from obeying the deacons' appeals that he went off in anger. He said he no longer wished to be a presbyter, for he was a lover of another philosophy."

18 Passing over a few things, he again continues: "For this brilliant man abandoned the church of God. In that church, after he came to faith, he was counted worthy of the presbyterate by the favor of the bishop, who laid hands on him for the office of presbyter. The whole clergy opposed this, and many of the laity as well, since it was not permitted for anyone who had been baptized by pouring on a sickbed, as he was, to enter any clerical rank. But the bishop asked that he be allowed to ordain this one man alone." Then he adds another thing, the worst of this man's outrages, saying: "When he has made the offerings and is distributing to each person his share and handing it over, he forces the poor wretches to swear instead of giving a blessing. He holds the receiver's hands in both of his own and will not let go until they swear, saying these words (for I will use his own): 'Swear to me by the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ that you will never leave me and turn back to Cornelius.'[213]

20 "And the miserable man does not taste it unless he first calls a curse down on himself. Instead of saying 'Amen' as he takes that bread, he says, 'I

212. Manganon means a contrivance or machine, used for pulleys and siege engines. The phrase suggests a device that suddenly hurls or hoists someone into view, possibly a theatrical machine, but the exact device is uncertain.

will never return to Cornelius.'" After other things he says again: "Know now that he has been stripped and left desolate, as the brothers leave him every day and return to the church. Blessed Moses too, the martyr who recently gave among us a fine and wonderful witness, saw his boldness and folly while he was still in the world. He cut him off from communion, along with the five presbyters who had separated themselves from the church with him." 22 At the end of the letter, Cornelius gives a list of the bishops who came to Rome and condemned the foolishness of Novatus. He notes their names together with the community each one led. He also mentions those who did not come to Rome but agreed by letter with the verdict of those just named, giving their names and the cities from which each sent his letter. This is what Cornelius wrote to Fabius, bishop of Antioch.[214]

CHAPTER 44

Dionysius' Account of Serapion.

2 Dionysius of Alexandria also wrote to this same Fabius, who was leaning somewhat toward the schism. In his letter he discussed many other matters concerning repentance, and he described the struggles of those in Alexandria who had recently been martyrs. Along with the rest of his account he tells of a remarkable event, which I must also record here. It runs as follows: "I will set before you one example that happened among us. There was a certain Serapion among us, an aged believer. He had lived blamelessly for a long time, but he fell in the time of testing. He begged often, and no one paid attention to him, for he had sacrificed. Then he fell ill, and for three days in a row he lay speechless and unconscious. 4 "On the fourth day he recovered a little and called for his grandson, his daughter's son. 'How long, my child, are you going to keep me here?' he said. 'I beg you, hurry, and release me quickly. Call one of the presbyters for me.' After saying this he became speechless again. The boy ran to the presbyter. But it was night, and the presbyter was ill, so he could not come. Now I had given an instruction that those departing this life should be released from their sin if they asked, and especially if they had begged for it earlier, so that they might depart with good hope. So the pres-

213. The "offerings" (prosphoras) are the eucharistic elements. The portion handed to each communicant is the consecrated bread, as the oath "by the body and blood" shows.

214. Eusebius calls the man Novatus, while Latin writers such as Cyprian call him Novatian. They are the same person.

byter gave the boy a small piece of the Eucharist, telling him to moisten it and let it drip into the old man's mouth.[215]

6 "The boy came back carrying it. As he drew near, before he went in, Serapion revived again and said, 'Have you come, child? The presbyter could not come, but you must quickly do what he commanded, and let me go.' The boy moistened the bread and at the same time poured it into his mouth. The old man swallowed a little, and immediately gave up his spirit. Was he not plainly kept alive and made to wait until he was set free? His sin was wiped away, and he could be acknowledged for the many good things he had done." This is what Dionysius says.

CHAPTER 45

An Epistle of Dionysius to Novatus.

Now let us see what the same Dionysius wrote to Novatus, who was then troubling the brotherhood at Rome. Novatus used some of the brothers as an excuse for his break and schism, claiming that they had forced him into it. See how Dionysius writes to him: "Dionysius to his brother Novatus, greetings. If, as you say, you were led on against your will, you will prove it by withdrawing willingly. One ought to suffer anything at all rather than split the church of God. Martyrdom to avoid causing a schism is no less glorious than martyrdom to avoid idolatry, and in my opinion it is greater. In the one case a man bears witness for his own single soul; in the other, for the whole church. Even now, if you could persuade or compel the brothers to come to agreement, your achievement will outweigh your fault. The fault will not be counted against you, and the achievement will be praised. But if you cannot prevail over those who refuse, then at any rate save your own soul. I pray that you may be well, holding fast to peace in the Lord." This is what he wrote to Novatus.[216]

CHAPTER 46

Other Epistles of Dionysius.

2 Dionysius also wrote a letter to the believers in Egypt on repentance. In it he set out his judgment about those who had fallen away, and he described

215. "Eucharist" (literally "thanksgiving") is the Greek word for the Lord's Supper, here meaning the consecrated bread. "Released" translates a form of aphiesthai, a verb that can also mean "forgiven" or "absolved."

216. Greek "Novatus" is the form Eusebius uses here; the schismatic is usually known as Novatian.

the different degrees of offenses. There is also a private letter of his on repentance addressed to Conon, who was bishop of the diocese of Hermopolis, and another letter of encouragement to his own flock at Alexandria. Among these is also the one written to Origen on martyrdom. He wrote to the brothers at Laodicea, whose bishop was Thelymidres, and likewise a letter on repentance to the brothers in Armenia, whose bishop was Merozanes.[217] 4 In addition to all these, he wrote to Cornelius of Rome after receiving his letter against Novatus. In it he says that Helenus, bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and the others with him, Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, had urged him to come to the synod at Antioch, where some people were trying to strengthen the schism of Novatus. He also writes that he had been told that Fabius had fallen asleep, and that Demetrianus had been appointed his successor in the bishopric of Antioch. He also writes about the bishop of Jerusalem, saying in these very words: "For the blessed Alexander was put in prison, and he went to his rest in blessedness."[218]

5 Next to this letter there is another letter of Dionysius to the church in Rome, a "diaconal" one, sent by the hand of Hippolytus. He also composed another to the same people on peace, and likewise one on repentance. Again he wrote another to the confessors there who still agreed with the opinion of Novatus. To these same people he wrote two more after they had turned back to the Church. He also wrote to many others by letter, and he has left these writings with many kinds of benefit for those who still study his words diligently.

Book 7

greeting

In this seventh book of the Church History, the great bishop of Alexandria, Dionysius, will again work alongside us in his own words. In the letters he left, he sets out one by one the events of his own time. My account will begin from here.

chapter 1

The Wickedness of Decius and Gallus.

Decius ruled for less than two full years. He was killed at once, together with his sons, and Gallus succeeded him. At this time Origen died, having lived

217. "Diocese" translates the Greek paroikia, the area under a bishop's care.

seventy years less one. Dionysius, writing to Hermammon about Gallus, says this: "But Gallus did not recognize the evil of Decius, nor did he look ahead to see what had brought Decius down. He stumbled on the same stone, though it lay right before his eyes. His reign was going well and affairs were turning out as he wished, yet he drove out the holy men who were praying to God for his peace and health. So along with them he persecuted the prayers they were making for him." That is what is said about Gallus.

CHAPTER 2

The Bishops of Rome in Those Times.

In the city of Rome, Cornelius held the episcopate for about three years, and Lucius was appointed to succeed him. Lucius lived less than eight full months and at his death passed the office on to Stephen. To Stephen Dionysius wrote the first of his letters about baptism. A serious question had been raised at that time: whether people returning from any heresy at all should be cleansed by washing. The long-established custom in such cases had been to use only prayer with the laying on of hands.

CHAPTER 3

Cyprian, and the Bishops with Him, First Taught that It Was Necessary to Purify by Baptism Those Converted from Heresy.

Cyprian, the shepherd of the church at Carthage, was the first of the leaders of that time to hold that such people should not be received in any other way than by first being cleansed from their error through washing. But Stephen thought that no innovation should be introduced contrary to the tradition that had prevailed from the beginning, and he was very angry about this.

CHAPTER 4

The Epistles Which Dionysius Wrote an This Subject.

Dionysius wrote to Stephen at great length about this matter. Toward the end he reports that the persecution had eased, that the churches everywhere had turned away from the innovation of Novatus, and that they had regained peace among themselves. He writes as follows:

218. "Fallen asleep" is the common Christian expression for dying.

CHAPTER 5

The Peace Following the Persecution.

1 "But know now, brother, that the churches which were formerly divided have been united throughout the East and even farther. All who preside over churches everywhere are of one mind. They rejoice exceedingly at the peace that has come beyond all expectation. Demetrianus is in Antioch, Theoctistus in Caesarea, Mazabanes in Aelia, Marinus in Tyre (Alexander having fallen asleep), and Heliodorus in Laodicea (Thelymidres having passed to his rest). Helenus is in Tarsus with all the churches of Cilicia, and Firmilianus is over all Cappadocia. I have named only the more prominent bishops, so that I do not make my letter long or my words heavy. 3 "As for the whole of Syria and Arabia, which you help whenever there is need and to which you have now written, and Mesopotamia, Pontus and Bithynia, in short everyone everywhere is rejoicing in harmony and brotherly love, and they are glorifying God." So far Dionysius. Stephen completed his service after two years, and Xystus succeeded him. To Xystus Dionysius wrote a second letter about baptism. In it he sets out the opinion and judgment of Stephen and of the other bishops, and he says this about Stephen:

5 "Stephen had written earlier about Helenus and Firmilianus and all those from Cilicia and Galatia and all the neighboring nations beyond. He said that he would not be in fellowship with them either, for this same reason: because, he says, they baptize heretics again. But consider how serious the matter is. For decisions have in fact been made on this subject in the very largest councils of bishops, as I learn. They decided that those who come over from heresy should first be taught, and then be washed and cleansed from the filth of the old and unclean leaven. I wrote to Stephen, begging him about all these things. [*1 Corinthians 5:7*] 6 And after other matters he says: "I also wrote to our beloved fellow presbyters Dionysius and Philemon. They had earlier voted with Stephen, and they are now writing to me about these same matters. I wrote to them briefly at first, and now at greater length." So much for the controversy mentioned above.

CHAPTER 6

The Heresy of Sabellius.

In the same letter he also points out the heretics who follow Sabellius, who were becoming widespread in his day. He says: "Concerning the teaching

now stirred up in Ptolemais of the Pentapolis, which is impious and full of blasphemy against the almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and full of unbelief toward his only-begotten Son, the firstborn of all creation, the Word who became man, and shows no perception of the Holy Spirit: brothers came to me from both sides, bringing written statements and ready to discuss the matter. I wrote some letters, as well as I could with God's help, setting out the teaching in a more instructive way. I have sent you copies of them." [*Colossians 1:15*]

CHAPTER 7

The Abominable Error of the Heretics; The Divine Vision of Dianysius; And the Ecclesiastical Canon Which He Received.

2 In the third letter on baptism, which the same Dionysius wrote to Philemon, the presbyter at Rome, he sets down these words: "I have read the writings and the traditions of the heretics. For a short time I defiled my soul with their utterly foul thoughts, but I gained this benefit from them: I refuted them in my own mind, and I loathed them far more. One of the brothers among the presbyters tried to hold me back. He was afraid that I would be mixed up in the mire of their wickedness and that my own soul would be ruined. I saw that he was speaking the truth. But a vision sent from God came to me and strengthened me. 4 A word came to me and commanded me plainly: 'Read everything that comes into your hands. You are able to set each thing right and to test it, and this was the cause of your faith from the beginning.' I accepted the vision, because it agrees with the apostolic saying to the stronger: 'Be approved money-changers.'" Then, after saying some things about all the heresies, he adds: "I received this rule and pattern from our blessed father Heraclas. Some people came over from the heresies. They had left the church, or rather had not really left it, but seemed to attend the assemblies, and then were reported as going to hear one of the teachers of a different doctrine. He drove them out of the church, and though they pleaded with him, he would not receive them until they had openly declared everything they had heard from their opponents. Then he admitted them, and did not require another baptism of them, for they had received the holy baptism from him earlier."

5 Again, after discussing the question at length, he adds: "I have also learned that this practice was not introduced just now by the people in Africa. Long ago, under the bishops before us, in the most populous churches

and in the councils of the brothers, at Iconium and Synnada and among many others, this was the decision. I cannot bear to overturn their decisions and throw them into strife and quarrelling. For it says, 'You shall not move your neighbor's boundaries, which your fathers set.'" [*Deuteronomy 19:14*] 6 His fourth letter on baptism was written to Dionysius of Rome. Dionysius was then a presbyter, but not long afterward he received the office of bishop there. From this letter we can see how the Alexandrian Dionysius bore witness that this man was learned and admirable. After other matters, he mentions the followers of Novatus and writes to him as follows:

CHAPTER 8

The Heterodoxy of Navatus.

"We are right to hate Novatian. He has torn the church apart, and has drawn some of the brothers into impiety and blasphemy. He has brought in a most unholy teaching about God, and he slanders our most kind Lord Jesus Christ as merciless. On top of all this, he rejects the holy washing, overturns the faith and confession that come before it, and drives the Holy Spirit completely away from them, if there was any hope that the Spirit would remain with them or return to them."[219]

CHAPTER 9

The Ungodly Baptism of the Heretics.

2 His fifth letter was written to Xystus, bishop of the Romans. After saying much against the heretics, he tells of an incident that happened in his time: "Brother, I truly need advice, and I ask for your judgment. Something has come to me, and I am afraid I may be making a mistake. One of the brothers who meet with us was considered a believer. He had been a member of the congregation for a long time, since before my ordination, and I think even before the appointment of the blessed Heraclas. He was present with some who had just been baptized, and he heard the questions and answers. He came to me weeping and lamenting over himself, and fell at my feet. He confessed, and swore, that the baptism he had received among the heretics was not like this one and had nothing in common with it, because that baptism was full of impiety and blasphemy."[220]

4 He said that his soul was now deeply pierced, and that he no longer dared to lift his eyes to God, because he had begun from those unholy words

and deeds. For this reason he begged to receive this wholly pure cleansing, and acceptance, and grace. I did not dare to do this. I told him that his long fellowship with us was enough. He had heard the thanksgiving and joined in saying the Amen. He had stood at the table and held out his hands to receive the holy food. He had received it, and for a good while had shared in the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. I would not dare to undo all that and start him over from the beginning. Instead I urged him to take courage, and to come to the sharing of the holy things with firm faith and a good conscience.[221]

6 "But he does not stop mourning. He shudders at the thought of coming to the table, and even when urged, he can hardly bring himself to stand with us at the prayers." Besides what has been quoted, there is another letter of the same man on baptism. It was sent in his own name and that of the church he led, to Xystus and the church at Rome. In it he extends the discussion of the question at hand with a long argument. After this there is also another letter of his, to Dionysius of Rome, concerning Lucian. So much for these.

CHAPTER 10

Valerian and the Persecution Under Him.

3 Gallus and his associates held power for not even two full years before they were removed. Valerian then took over the rule together with his son. What Dionysius says about this, we can learn from his letter to Hermammon, where he tells it this way: "It is likewise revealed to John: 'And there was given to him,' he says, 'a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and authority was given to him, and forty-two months.' Both can be marveled at in the case of Valerian. Above all, one should consider how things stood with him before this: how gentle and friendly he was toward the people of God. None of the emperors before him was so kindly and favorably disposed toward them, not even those said to have become openly Christians. At the beginning of his reign he showed plainly that he welcomed them as his own, with the warmest affection. His whole household was full of God-fearing people, and it was a church of God."[222] [*Revelation 13: 5*]

220. Dionysius refers to his own ordination (χειροτονία) as bishop and to the appointment (κατάστασις) of the blessed Heraclas as bishop of Alexandria.

219. Eusebius spells the name both "Novatus" and "Novatian." The Greek here is "Novatian," and he is the same man.

221. The Greek says "a good conscience" (ἀγαθῆς συνειδήσεως), not "good hope."

4 "But the teacher and synagogue-leader of the Egyptian magicians persuaded him to get rid of them. He ordered that the pure and holy men be killed and hunted down, since they were rivals and obstacles to those utterly defiled and detestable enchanters. (For these holy men are able, and always were, merely by being present and seen, merely by breathing and speaking, to scatter the plots of the accursed demons.) He urged the emperor to carry out unclean initiations, abominable sorceries, and sacrifices that gave no favorable omens. He told him to slaughter wretched boys, to offer up the children of unhappy fathers, to cut open the bodies of newborn babies, and to hack and carve up God's creatures, as though by these things they would gain good fortune."[223] 6 To this he adds: "Macrianus, then, has paid them a fine thank-offering for the kingdom he hoped for. He was said to be in charge of the emperor's general accounts, yet he had no sensible or general thought in his mind. Instead he fell under the prophetic curse that says, 'Woe to those who prophesy from their own heart and do not see the whole.' For he did not grasp God's providence over all, and he did not look ahead to the judgment of the One who is before all, through all, and over all. So he became an enemy of God's universal church. He cut himself off from God's mercy and made himself a stranger to it. He drove himself as far as he could from his own salvation, and in this he proved his own name true."[224] [*Ephesians 4:6*]

8 And again, after other things, he says: "Valerian was led on to these acts by this man, and was handed over to insults and shame, in keeping with what was said to Isaiah: 'These have chosen their own ways and their abominations, which their soul desired. And I will choose their mockeries, and I will pay them back for their sins.' But this man was madly set on the kingdom, though he was unworthy of it. Because of his crippled body he could not put on the royal robes himself. So he put forward his two sons, who took on their father's sins. In their case the saying God spoke is plainly fulfilled: 'repaying the sins of fathers on the children, to the third and fourth generation of those who hate me.'" [*Isaiah 66:3-4; Exodus 20:5*] 9 "For he threw his own

222. The Greek says only "a son" (παιδί). Historically this was Gallienus. The quotation is Revelation 13:5, but in a form that differs somewhat from the standard text.

223. The Greek verb ἀποσκευάσασθαι means "to get rid of" (the Christians), and the children are called ἀθλίους, "wretched."

224. The Greek word for "general" and "whole" (katholou) is the same word that gives us "catholic," so Dionysius is playing on it. "Macrianus" resembles the Greek makros, "far," which is probably the point of the remark about his name.

wicked desires, in which he had succeeded, onto the heads of his sons. He wiped off onto them his own wickedness and his hatred toward God." That is what Dionysius says about Valerian.

CHAPTER 11

The Events Which Happened at This Time to Dionysius and Those in Egypt.

2 Now the persecution that raged so fiercely in Valerian's time, and what Dionysius endured along with others because of his devotion to the God of the universe, his own words will show. He wrote them to Germanus, a bishop of his day who was trying to slander him. He states it this way: "I run the risk of falling into great folly and real senselessness, since I am forced to tell of God's wonderful dealing with us. But it is said that 'it is good to keep a king's secret, but glorious to reveal the works of God.' So I will meet the attack of Germanus head on.[225] 4 "I went to Aemilianus, and I did not go alone. My fellow presbyter Maximus went with me, and the deacons Faustus, Eusebius and Chaeremon. One of the brothers who was visiting from Rome also went in with us. Aemilianus did not begin by telling me, 'Do not hold assemblies.' That would have been pointless for him, since he was going straight to the last point by way of the first. His concern was not that others should stop meeting, but that we ourselves should not be Christians. He ordered me to give that up, thinking that if I changed, the others would follow me.

6 "My answer was fitting, and not long: 'One must obey God rather than men.' I declared plainly that I worship the God who alone is, and no other, and that I would never change or stop being a Christian. At that he ordered us to go away to a village near the desert called Cephro. But hear the very words spoken on both sides, as they were recorded. When Dionysius, Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus and Chaeremon were brought in, Aemilianus, who was governing, said: 'I have already spoken to you, without any written record, about the kindness our lords have shown you.[226] [*Acts 5:29*] 8 'They have given you the chance to save yourselves, if you are willing to turn to what is natural, to worship the gods who preserve their empire, and to forget those who are contrary to nature. What do you say to this? I do not expect you to be ungrateful for their kindness, since they are urging you toward something better.' Dionysius answered: 'Not everyone worships all the gods. Each group

225. The quotation about keeping a king's secret echoes Tobit 12:7 (in the Apocrypha); Dionysius introduces it with "he says" and does not name his source.

226. Dionysius quotes Acts 5:29, "One must obey God rather than men."

worships those whom they believe in. We worship and revere the one God, the Maker of all things, who put the empire into the hands of the most God-beloved emperors Valerian and Gallienus. We pray to him constantly for their empire, that it may stand unshaken.'

10 Aemilianus, who was governing, said to them: 'But who prevents you from worshiping him as well, if he is a god, along with the gods who are gods by nature? You were ordered to worship gods, and gods whom everyone knows.' Dionysius answered: 'We worship no other.' Aemilianus said to them: 'I see that you are both ungrateful and insensible to the gentleness of our emperors. For that reason you will not stay in this city. You will be sent to the region of Libya, to a place called Cephro. I have chosen this place by order of our emperors. It will not be allowed, either to you or to anyone else, to hold meetings or to enter the so-called cemeteries. 12 If anyone is found not to have gone to the place I have ordered, or is caught in any meeting, he will bring danger on himself. The proper punishment will not be lacking. Go, then, where you have been ordered.' He pressed me to leave even though I was sick, and did not give me even one day's delay. What time, then, did I still have to hold a meeting or not hold one?" Then, after some other things, he says: "But we did not give up the visible assembly with the Lord either. I gathered the believers in the city with greater zeal, as though I were with them, 'absent in body, but present in spirit,' so to speak. And in Cephro a large church came to live with us in exile, some of the brothers following from the city, and others joining us from Egypt.[227] [*Colossians 2:5; 1 Corinthians 5:3*]

14 And there God opened a door for the word to us. At first we were persecuted and stoned, but later not a few of the Gentiles abandoned their idols and turned to God. They had never received the word before, and it was then, through us, that it was first sown among them. It was as if God had brought us to them for this purpose, and then, when we had finished this service, he took us away again. Aemilianus wanted to move us to rougher places, more "Libyan" as he thought. He ordered the believers from everywhere to flow together to the Mareotic district, and he assigned villages to each group throughout the countryside. But he ordered us to be placed more by the road, so that we would be seized first. Clearly he was arranging and

227. "Absent in body, but present in spirit" echoes 1 Corinthians 5:3.

preparing things so that whenever he wished to make arrests, he would have everyone easy to catch.[228] [*1 Corinthians 16:9; Colossians 4:3*]

16 When I was ordered to go to Cephro, I did not know where the place was. I had hardly even heard its name before. Even so, I set out cheerfully and without anxiety. But when I was told that I was to move my camp to the district of Colluthion, those who were present know how I took it. Here I will accuse myself. At first I was vexed and very angry. These places were better known and more familiar to us, but people said the area was empty of brothers and serious men, and that it was exposed to the disturbances of travelers and the raids of robbers. 18 But I was comforted when the brothers reminded me that it was nearer the city. Cephro had brought us a great deal of contact with the brothers from Egypt, so that we could hold wider gatherings there. In the new place, the city being closer, we would more often enjoy the sight of those who are truly beloved, closest and dearest to us. They would come and rest, and as in suburbs farther out, there would be meetings by groups. And so it turned out. Then, after other matters, Eusebius says that Dionysius writes again about what happened to him: "Germanus prides himself on his many confessions. He has many things to say that happened to himself. But how many sentences, confiscations, proscriptions, seizures of property, surrenders of rank, disregard for worldly glory, contempt for the praises of governors and councillors, and patient endurance of the threats of opponents, of outcries, dangers, persecutions, wandering, distress and every kind of tribulation can he count in our case? I suffered such things under Decius and Sabinus, and I am suffering them even now under Aemilianus.

20 "But where does Germanus appear in all this? What account is there of him? I am giving up this great foolishness into which I fall because of Germanus. For that reason I also leave the telling of each event to the brothers who know about it." The same writer, in his letter to Domitius and Didymus, again mentions the events of the persecution, in these words: "Our own people are many and unknown to you, so it is needless to list them by name. But know that men and women, young and old, girls and elderly women, soldiers and private citizens, every race and every age, have won the contest and received their crowns. Some won through scourging and fire, others through the sword.[229] 22 "For some of them, even a very long time did

228. "Door for the word" echoes Colossians 4:3. "More Libyan" means wilder and more remote.

not prove enough to show them acceptable to the Lord. It seems the same is true of me, for the time up to now has not been enough. So he who says, 'In an acceptable time I heard you, and in a day of salvation I helped you,' has put me off until the time he knows is right. You have asked about our situation and want to be told how we are getting on. You have surely heard how we were led away as prisoners by a centurion and officers, with their soldiers and attendants. That was myself, Gaius, Faustus, Peter and Paul. Then some of the people of Mareotis came upon us, as we were unwilling and were not even following, and they dragged us off by force.[230] [*2 Corinthians 6:2*]

24 "But now I, Gaius and Peter, left alone and cut off from the other brothers, are shut up in a desert, parched place in Libya, three days' journey from Paraetonium." A little further on he says: "In the city the presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius and Lucius have gone into hiding and visit the brothers unseen. (The more conspicuous ones in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, are wandering about in Egypt.) The deacons who were left after those who died in the sickness are Faustus, Eusebius and Chaeremon. God prepared Eusebius from the beginning to carry out earnestly the services for the confessors who were in the prisons. He also does the work, not without danger, of preparing the bodies of the perfected and blessed martyrs for burial." 26 For to this day the governor does not let up. Some of those brought before him he puts to death, as I said, with cruelty. Others he tears apart with tortures, and others he wastes away in prisons and chains. He orders that no one go near them, and he searches to see whether anyone appears. Even so, God gives rest to those under pressure through the eagerness and persistence of the brothers." So much for Dionysius. It should be known that Eusebius, whom he called a deacon, was a little later made bishop of the church of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus, whom he then called a presbyter, took over the ministry of the brothers in Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus, who distinguished himself with them in that confession, was kept safe until our own persecution. Then, extremely old and full of days, he was beheaded in martyrdom in our own time and so finished his course. Such were the things that happened to Dionysius at that time.

229. The Greek of the first question about Germanus ("ποῦ δὲ Γερμανὸς νῦ;") appears to be corrupt, so its exact wording is uncertain.

230. The quotation is the Greek form of Isaiah 49:8, which Paul also uses in 2 Corinthians 6:2.

CHAPTER 12

The Martyrs in Caesarea in Palestine.

During the persecution under Valerian just described, three men at Caesarea in Palestine shone in their confession of Christ and were adorned with divine martyrdom, becoming food for wild beasts. One was called Priscus, another Malchus, and the third was named Alexander. They say these men lived in the countryside. At first they reproached themselves as careless and indifferent. The time was handing out prizes to those eager for the heavenly longing, and they were neglecting to snatch the crown of martyrdom for themselves. So they resolved to go to Caesarea, went together before the judge, and met the end described above. They also report that in the same persecution and the same city a woman went through the same contest. The account has it that she belonged to the heresy of Marcion.

CHAPTER 13

The Peace Under Gallienus.

But Valerian did not remain long in slavery among the barbarians. His son became sole ruler and governed more sensibly. At once he ended the persecution against us by public proclamations. By a written reply he ordered the leaders of the word to carry out their customary duties in freedom. It reads as follows: "The Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinnas, Demetrius, and the other bishops. I have ordered the benefit of my gift to be carried out through the whole world, so that people may withdraw from the places of worship. For this reason you also may use the copy of my reply, so that no one may trouble you. What you can lawfully do has already been granted by me for a long time. Therefore Aurelius Quirinius, who is in charge of this most important matter, will keep to this ordinance given by me." I have set this out translated from the Latin language, to make it clearer. Another ordinance of the same emperor is also preserved, which he made to other bishops, allowing them to recover the sites of the so-called cemeteries.[231]

231. The Greek says "Aurelius Kyrenios" (the older English has "Cyrenius"). The wording of the decree is obscure in Greek, and the clause about people withdrawing from the places of worship is hard to interpret.

CHAPTER 14

The Bishops that Flourished at that Time.

At this time Xystus still led the church of Rome. Demetrianus led the church of Antioch after Fabius. Firmilian led Caesarea in Cappadocia. Besides these, Gregory and his brother Athenodorus, pupils of Origen, led the churches of Pontus. At Caesarea in Palestine, Theoctistus died and Domnus took over the bishopric. He lived only a short time, and Theotecnus, our contemporary, was appointed his successor. He too belonged to Origen's school. At Jerusalem, when Mazabanes died, Hymenaeus took the throne. He too was distinguished through very many years in our own time.

CHAPTER 15

The Martyrdom of Marinus at Caesarea.

2 In these times, when the churches had peace everywhere, Marinus at Caesarea in Palestine was beheaded for his witness to Christ. He was one of those honored with rank in the army, a man of distinction in birth and wealth. The reason was this. Among the Romans the vine-staff is a mark of honor, and those who receive it are said to become centurions. A post was vacant, and Marinus's place in the order of rank called him to it. He was already about to take the honor when another man came forward before the tribunal. He accused Marinus, saying that under the ancient laws Marinus could not share in Roman rank, since he was a Christian and did not sacrifice to the emperors. The office, he said, fell to himself.[232] 4 The judge, whose name was Achaeus, was stirred by this and first asked Marinus what his convictions were. When he saw that Marinus kept confessing that he was a Christian, he gave him three hours to think it over. After Marinus left the court, Theoctecnus, the bishop there, approached him, drew him aside in conversation, took him by the hand, and led him into the church. Standing with him inside, right at the sanctuary, he pulled back Marinus's cloak a little and showed him the sword hanging at his side. At the same time he brought the Scripture of the divine Gospels and set it before him, telling him to choose whichever of the two he wished. Without hesitating, Marinus stretched out his right hand and took the divine Scripture. "Hold on, then,"

232. The Greek word klēma means a vine-branch or vine-staff, the badge of a Roman centurion's office.

Theotecnus said to him, "hold on to God. May you obtain what you have chosen, strengthened by him, and go in peace."[233]

5 As soon as Marinus returned from there, a herald was shouting and calling him to the court, for the set time had now run out. He stood before the tribunal and showed an even greater eagerness in his faith. Then he was led away immediately, just as he was, and was brought to his end by execution.

CHAPTER 16

Story in Regard to Astyrius.

Astyrius is also remembered there for his boldness, which was pleasing to God. He was a Roman senator, a favorite of the emperors, and known to everyone for his noble birth and wealth. He was present when the martyr was put to death. He put his shoulder under the body and lifted it onto a bright and costly robe. He carried it away, wrapped it very richly, and gave it a fitting burial. The friends of this man who have lived on to our own time tell many other stories about him,

CHAPTER 17

The Signs at Paneas of the Great Might of Our Saviour.

including this remarkable one. They say that at Caesarea Philippi, which the Phoenicians call Paneas, there are springs shown at the foot of the mountain called Panion, and that the Jordan pours out from them. On a certain feast day, they say, a sacrificial victim was thrown into these springs, and by the power of a demon it vanished in a marvelous way. What happened was a famous wonder to those who were present. Astyrius was once there at these proceedings. When he saw the crowds amazed at the sight, he pitied them for their delusion. Then he looked up to heaven and begged the God over all, through Christ, to expose the demon who was deceiving the people and to put an end to their being led astray. They say that when he prayed this, the sacrificed animal suddenly floated up on the surface of the springs. In this way the wonder left them, and no marvel ever happened at that place again.

CHAPTER 18

The Statue Which the Woman with an Issue of Blood Erected.

2 Since I have come to mention this city, I think I should not pass over an account that deserves to be remembered by those who come after us. They

said that the woman with the flow of blood, whom we know from the holy Gospels to have been delivered from her sickness by our Savior, came from this place. They said her house is shown in the city, and that marvelous memorials of the Savior's kindness to her still remain. For at the gates of her house, on a high stone, stands a bronze figure of a woman kneeling with her hands stretched out in front of her, like someone pleading. Facing it is another figure of the same material, a man standing upright, decently wrapped in a double cloak and stretching out his hand to the woman. At his feet, on the base itself, a strange kind of plant grows. It climbs up to the hem of the bronze cloak and is a remedy for every kind of disease.

4 They said this statue bore the likeness of Jesus. It has survived even to our own day, so that we saw it ourselves when we stayed in the city. It is not at all surprising that Gentiles who were long ago helped by our Savior did these things. We have also learned that likenesses of his apostles Paul and Peter, and of Christ himself, are preserved in painted pictures. This is natural, since the ancients were accustomed, in the Gentile manner and without much caution, to honor in this way those whom they regarded as saviors.[234]

CHAPTER 19

The Episcopal Chair of James.

The throne of James is also there. He was the first to receive the bishopric of the church of Jerusalem from the Savior himself and the apostles, and the divine writings record that he was called the brother of Christ. The brothers there who have cared for it in succession have kept it safe to this day. They show everyone plainly how much reverence, because of their love for God, both the people of old and the people of our own day have kept and still keep for holy men. So much for this.

CHAPTER 20

The Festal Epistles of Dionysius, in Which He Also Gives a Paschal Canon.

Besides the letters already mentioned, Dionysius at this time also composed the Festal Letters that are still in circulation. In these he gives somewhat festive and celebratory discourses on the feast of the Passover. He addressed

233. The Greek names the bishop Theoteknos (Latinized Theotecnus), bishop of Caesarea, the same man as in 7.14.1. The Greek says he stood Marinus inside "at the sanctuary itself" (hagiasma).

234. "Saviors" here is the ordinary Greek word for a deliverer or benefactor, not a claim about Christ. Eusebius is explaining that the Gentile custom was to honor benefactors with images.

one to Flavius, and another to Domitius and Didymus. In this second one he also sets out a rule based on an eight-year cycle, arguing that the Passover feast should not be kept at any time other than after the spring equinox. Besides these he wrote another letter to his fellow presbyters in Alexandria, and also various letters to others. He wrote all these while the persecution was still going on.[235]

CHAPTER 21

The Occurrences at Alexandria.

2 Peace was just about to come when he returned to Alexandria. But sedition and war broke out there again, and he could not oversee all the brothers in the city, who were divided between the two sides of the conflict. So at the feast of the Passover he again spoke to them by letter, like a man living abroad, though he was in Alexandria itself. Later he wrote another festal letter to Hierax, a bishop of the Egyptian churches, and in it he mentions the civil strife of the Alexandrians in his time. He says: "Why should I wonder that it is hard for me to speak even by letter with those who live farther away, when even to talk with myself and take counsel with my own soul has become impossible? 4 "I need to send letters to my own heart, to the brothers who share my dwelling and my soul, citizens of the same church. Yet how to send them seems impossible. It would be easier for someone to cross not only beyond the border but even from east to west than to travel from Alexandria to Alexandria itself. The road through the very middle of the city is more untrodden and impassable than that vast trackless desert which Israel crossed in two generations. And our calm, waveless harbors have become an image of the sea which was split and walled up for them and which they crossed on horseback, and in whose roadway the Egyptians were drowned. For often, from the killings carried out in them, the harbors have looked like a Red Sea. [*Exodus 14:22*]

6 "The river that flows past the city has sometimes appeared drier than the waterless desert, more parched than the one Israel was crossing when they became so thirsty that they cried out against Moses. Then drink flowed for them out of the sheer rock from him who alone does wonders. At other times it has overflowed so much that it flooded the whole surrounding coun-

235. "Canon of eight years" means a table for calculating the date of Easter over an eight-year cycle. The older translation's "epistle" is rendered "letter" throughout.

try, the roads and the fields, and threatened to bring back the rush of water that came in the time of Noah. And it always runs down defiled with blood, murders and drownings, as it was for Pharaoh under Moses, when it turned into blood and began to stink. [*Exodus 17:6; Exodus 7:20-21*] 8 "What other water could there be to cleanse the water that cleanses everything? How could the vast ocean, which men cannot cross, if it were poured in, wash away this bitter sea? Or how could the great river that flows out of Eden, if it channeled the four heads into which it divides into the single one of the Geon, wash away this filth? Or when will the air, clouded by evil vapors from every side, ever become clear? For such are the vapors from the land, the winds from the sea, the breezes from the rivers and the mists rising from the harbors, that the dews are the foul fluids of corpses rotting in all the elements beneath us. [*Genesis 2:10-14*]

9 "And then people are amazed and puzzled where the constant plagues come from, where the terrible diseases come from, where all kinds of deaths come from, why such varied and great destruction of men. They ask why this very great city no longer holds as many inhabitants as it once did, from small children up to those of the greatest age, including those it used to call hardy old men. In those days, men from forty to seventy years old were so much more numerous that their number cannot now be made up, even though those from fourteen to eighty have been added to the list for the public grain allowance. And those who look youngest have become, as it were, the same age as the oldest of former times. 10 "Yet they see the human race on earth always shrinking and being used up, and they do not tremble, though its complete disappearance is growing and advancing."

CHAPTER 22

The Pestilence Which Came Upon Them.

2 After this a plague broke out in the middle of the war, and as the feast drew near, Dionysius again addressed the brothers by letter, pointing out the sufferings of the calamity in these words: "To other people the present might not seem a time for a festival. Indeed, neither this time nor any other is a festival time for them. That is true not only of sorrowful times, but even of times they might think most joyful. Now everything is mourning, everyone is grieving, and wailing echoes through the city every day because of the multitude of the dead and the dying.[236] 4 "As it is written of the firstborn of

the Egyptians, so now there has been a great cry. For there is no house in which someone is not dead. And I wish that were all! For many terrible things happened even before this. First they drove us out. Though we were persecuted and put to death by everyone, even then we kept the feast. Every place of our affliction became a festival ground for us: field, desert, ship, inn, prison. But the perfected martyrs kept the most radiant feast of all, feasting in heaven. [*Exodus 12:30*]

6 "After this came war and famine. We went through these together with the pagans. But we alone endured the injuries they did to us, and we also shared in the effects of what they did to one another and suffered. And again we rejoiced in the peace of Christ, which he gave to us alone. Then both we and they had a very brief breathing space, and this disease fell upon us. To them it was more fearful than any fear and more grievous than any calamity. As one of their own writers said, it was the one thing that proved stronger than everyone's hope. For us it was not like that. It was a training and a test, no less than the other troubles. For it did not hold back even from us, but it struck the pagans in great numbers.[237] 7 Further on he adds: "Most of our brothers, through their overflowing love and brotherly affection, did not spare themselves. They held on to one another and visited the sick without taking precautions. They served them constantly and cared for them in Christ, and they departed this life with them most gladly. They were filled with the suffering of others, drew the sickness upon themselves from their neighbors, and took on their pains willingly. Many who nursed others and restored them to health died themselves, having transferred the others' death to themselves. In this way they made real, in deed, the common saying that always seems to be mere politeness: they departed as the 'offscouring' of the others.[238] [*1 Corinthians 4:13*]

9 "In this way the best of our brothers departed from life. Some were presbyters and deacons, and some were people from the congregation who were highly praised. This kind of death, which came through great devotion and

236. The Greek participle (dialabousēs) means the plague "broke out in the midst of" or "intervened in" the war, not merely that it came after it.

237. "Pagans" translates ethnē, "nations" or "Gentiles", here meaning non-Christians. The verb rendered "shared in the effects" (paraupolausantes) normally means "to enjoy besides" or "to profit from", used here with irony.

238. "Offscouring" translates the Greek *peripsēma*, the same word Paul uses in 1 Corinthians 4:13. Dionysius calls it a common saying, and it was used as a humble, self-deprecating expression.

strong faith, seemed to fall nothing short of martyrdom. They would take the bodies of the saints in open hands and into their laps. They closed their eyes and mouths, carried them on their shoulders and laid them out, clung to them and embraced them, and made them ready with washings and wrappings. Soon afterward they received the same treatment themselves, since the survivors were always following those who had gone before. 11 "The pagans did exactly the opposite. They pushed away those who began to fall sick and ran from their dearest friends. They threw them into the roads half dead and tossed out the dead unburied like refuse. They were trying to avoid the spread of death and any sharing in it, but with all their schemes they could not easily escape it." After this letter, when peace had come to those in the city, he again wrote a festal letter to the brothers in Egypt, and after it he composed various others. One of his letters is also in circulation On the Sabbath, and another On Exercise.

12 In a letter to Hermammon and the brothers in Egypt, he went through many other things about the wickedness of Decius and those after him, and he mentions the peace under Gallienus.

CHAPTER 23

The Reign of Gallienus.

2 But nothing is like hearing his own words on these matters, which run something like this: "That man betrayed one of the emperors before him and attacked the other. He was quickly wiped out, root and branch, with his whole family. But Gallienus was proclaimed and acknowledged by all as an old emperor and a new one at once, since he was first and was still there after those others. For it is as was said to the prophet Isaiah: 'Behold, the things from the beginning have come, and new things will now arise.' A cloud may slip under the rays of the sun and for a little while cover it with shadow, appearing in its place. Then the cloud passes by or dissolves, and the sun that had risen before shines out again. In the same way Macrianus put himself forward and drew close to the reigning power of Gallienus. Now he is no more, since he never really was, while the other is just as he was before.[239] [*Isaiah 42:9*]

4 It is as though the empire has shed its old age and been cleansed of its former wickedness. Now it blooms with fuller strength, is seen and heard of

farther away, and reaches everywhere." Next he marks the time at which he was writing this, in these words: "Again it occurs to me to look at the days of the imperial years. I see that the most ungodly men, though once famous, have soon become nameless. But the holier and more God-loving emperor has passed the seventh year and is now completing the ninth, in which we shall keep the feast."

CHAPTER 24

Nepos and His Schism.

3 Besides all this, he also took pains to write two books On the Promises. The occasion was Nepos, a bishop of the Egyptian churches. Nepos taught that the promises made to the saints in the divine Scriptures should be fulfilled in a more Jewish way. He supposed that there would be a thousand years of bodily luxury on this earth. Thinking he could support his own opinion from the Revelation of John, he wrote a work on the subject and titled it Refutation of the Allegorists. Dionysius argues against him in his books On the Promises. In the first he sets out his own view of the doctrine. In the second he deals with the Revelation of John. There, mentioning Nepos near the beginning, he writes about him as follows: 4 "Now they bring forward a certain work of Nepos, on which they rely heavily, as though it proved beyond dispute that Christ's kingdom will be on earth. In many other respects I accept and love Nepos: for his faith, his hard work, his devotion to the study of the Scriptures, and his abundant psalmody, in which many of the brethren are cheered even to this day. I hold the man in great respect, all the more because he has already fallen asleep. But the truth is dear to us and must be honored above all. We should praise and agree freely when something is said rightly, but we should examine and correct anything that does not appear to be soundly written."

5 "If he were present and arguing his view by word of mouth alone, unwritten discussion would be enough. By question and answer we could persuade and reconcile those who disagree. But a written work has been published which some think very convincing. Some teachers regard the Law and the Prophets as nothing, neglect to follow the Gospels, and make light of the apostles' letters. Meanwhile they promise that the teaching of this book

239. "That man" is Macrianus, who is named later in the passage. The Isaiah quotation resembles Isaiah 42:9 in the Greek Old Testament, though the wording differs slightly.

is some great hidden mystery. They will not let our simpler brothers hold any lofty or grand thoughts about the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, or about our resurrection from the dead, or our being gathered to him and made like him. Instead they persuade them to hope for small and mortal things in the kingdom of God, things like those we have now. Since this is so, we must also speak with our brother Nepos as if he were present."

7 After other remarks he continues: "I went to the district of Arsinoë, where, as you know, this teaching had long been widespread. It had caused schisms and the falling away of whole churches. I called together the presbyters and teachers of the brothers in the villages, with any brothers who wished to attend, and urged them to examine the matter publicly. They brought me this book as though it were an unbeatable weapon and fortress. I sat with them for three days in a row, from dawn to evening, and tried to correct what was written in it." 8 "There I greatly admired the steadiness, the love of truth, the quickness to follow an argument, and the good sense of the brothers. We made our questions, our objections, and our agreements in an orderly way and with fairness. We refused to cling stubbornly, at any cost, to opinions we had once held, even if they did not seem right. We did not shy away from objections, but as far as we could, we tried to stand on the matters before us and make them firm. Nor were we ashamed, if reason demanded it, to change our minds and agree. Rather, with a clear conscience, without pretense, and with hearts open before God, we accepted what was established by the proofs and teachings of the holy Scriptures."

9 "In the end, the originator and leader of this teaching, a man called Coracion, in the hearing of all the brothers present, admitted to us and solemnly declared that he would no longer hold to it. He would not argue it, mention it, or teach it, since he had been thoroughly refuted by those who opposed him. And the other brothers who were present rejoiced at the conference, and at the gentleness and harmony shown toward everyone."

CHAPTER 25

The Apocalypse of John.

2 Then, going on to the Apocalypse of John, Dionysius says this: "Some of those before us rejected the book and tried to overthrow it completely. They went through it chapter by chapter, declared it unintelligible and illogical, and said its title is false. They claim it is not John's. They say it is not even a revelation, because it is wrapped in a thick, heavy veil of ignorance. They say

that none of the apostles, and indeed none of the saints or anyone in the church, wrote it. Instead, they say, Cerinthus, who founded the heresy named after him, the Cerinthian, wanted a name people would trust for his own invention, so he attached it to the book. 4 "For this, they say, was the teaching of Cerinthus: that Christ's kingdom would be on earth. He was a lover of the body and thoroughly fleshly, so he dreamed that the kingdom would consist of what he himself craved: the filling of the belly and of what lies below the belly, that is, food, drink and marriage. And to make these things sound more respectable, he added feasts, sacrifices and the slaughter of animals. But I would never dare to reject the book, since many of the brothers value it highly. I take it to be beyond my own understanding, and I suppose there is a hidden and more wonderful meaning in each part. For even if I do not understand it, I suspect that a deeper meaning lies in the words.

6 I do not measure and judge these things by my own reasoning. I give more place to faith, and I consider them too high for me to grasp. I do not reject what I have not understood; I am rather amazed that I did not see it." After this, Dionysius examined the whole text of the Apocalypse and showed that it cannot be understood in its obvious sense. Then he goes on: "When the prophet has finished, one might say, the whole prophecy, he pronounces blessed those who keep it, and himself as well. For he says, 'Blessed is the one who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, am the one who sees and hears these things.' [*Revelation 22:7*; *Revelation 22:8*] 8 "So I will not argue against his being called John, or against this writing being John's. I agree that it is the work of some holy man, inspired by God. But I could not easily agree that he is the apostle, the son of Zebedee and brother of James, to whom belong the Gospel titled According to John and the catholic epistle. I judge from the character of each, from the style of the language, and from the way the book is carried out, that he is not the same man. For the evangelist nowhere writes his own name into the text or proclaims himself, either in the Gospel or in the epistle.

10 Going on, Dionysius says again: "John never speaks of himself, nor of another, in this way. But the writer of the Apocalypse puts himself forward right at the start: 'The revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave to show his servants quickly. And he made it known by sending it through his angel to his servant John, who bore witness to the word of God and to his testimony, to all that he saw.' Then he also writes a letter: 'John, to the seven churches

in Asia: grace and peace to you.' The evangelist, by contrast, did not put his name even at the head of the catholic epistle. He began plainly with the very mystery of the divine revelation: 'What was from the beginning, what we have heard, what we have seen with our own eyes.' It was for such a revelation that the Lord blessed Peter, saying, 'Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah, because flesh and blood did not reveal it to you, but my Father in heaven.'[240] [*Revelation 1:1-2; Revelation 1:4; 1 John 1:1; Matthew 16:17*]

11 "Not even in the second and third letters that are attributed to John, though they are very short, is the name John put at the head. There the writer is called 'the elder,' without a name. But the author of the Apocalypse did not think it enough to name himself once and then tell the rest. He takes it up again: 'I, John, your brother and partner in the suffering and kingdom and endurance of Jesus, was on the island called Patmos because of the word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' And near the end he says: 'Blessed is the one who keeps the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, am the one who sees and hears these things.'" [*Revelation 1:9; Revelation 22:7; Revelation 22:8; 2 John 1:1; 3 John 1:1*] 13 So we must believe John when he says that he is the one who wrote these things. But which John he is, is unclear. He did not say that he was the disciple loved by the Lord, as the Gospel says in many places. He did not say he was the one who leaned back on the Lord's breast, or the brother of James, or the one who saw and heard the Lord for himself. If he had wanted to identify himself clearly, he would have used one of these descriptions. He uses none of them. He calls himself our brother and fellow-sharer, a witness of Jesus, and blessed because he saw and heard the revelations.

15 I think there were many people with the same name as John the apostle. Out of love for him, and because they admired and wanted to imitate him, and wished to be loved by the Lord as he was, they took the same name. In the same way, the name Paul, and Peter too, is often given to the children of believers. In the Acts of the Apostles there is another John, called Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul took along with them. Of him the text says again, "And they also had John as their assistant." I would not say that he is the one who wrote this book. It is not recorded that he went with them into Asia. What it says is that Paul and his company set sail from Paphos and came to Perga in Pamphylia, and that John left them and returned to Jerus-

240. The words of the Lord to Peter are quoted from the Gospel; compare Matthew 16:17.

alem. [*Acts 13:5; Acts 13:13*] 18 I think the author was some other John among those who lived in Asia, since they say there are two tombs in Ephesus, and each is said to be John's. From the thoughts, the words, and the way they are put together, it is reasonable to suppose that this man is different from the apostle. The Gospel and the Epistle agree with each other, and they begin in a similar way. The one says, "In the beginning was the Word"; the other, "That which was from the beginning." The one says, "And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, and we saw his glory, glory as of an only-begotten from a father." The other says the same thing with slight changes: "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we looked at, and our hands touched, concerning the Word of life, and the life was made visible." [*John 1:1; John 1:14; 1 John 1:1*]

20 He sounds these notes at the start because he is arguing, as he makes clear in what follows, against those who claim that the Lord did not come in the flesh. That is why he carefully adds: "And we have seen and we bear witness, and we report to you the eternal life, which was with the Father and was made visible to us. What we have seen and heard we report to you also." He holds to this and does not depart from his aims. He works through everything under the same main points and terms, and we have briefly recalled some of them. [*1 John 1:2-3*] 21 Anyone who reads attentively will find in both writings much about life and light, and about turning away from darkness. He will find truth, grace and joy again and again, along with the flesh and blood of the Lord, the judgment, the forgiveness of sins, God's love toward us, and the commandment that we love one another. He will find that we must keep all the commandments, and he will find the exposure of the world, the devil and the antichrist. There is the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption by God, and the faith demanded of us throughout, and the Father and the Son appear everywhere. In short, by marking these features all the way through, one can see that the Gospel and the Epistle have one and the same character.

24 The Apocalypse is quite different from these and foreign to them. It does not touch them or come near them, and it has hardly a single syllable in common with them. The Epistle (I leave the Gospel aside) contains no mention or thought of the Apocalypse, and the Apocalypse contains none of the Epistle. Paul, by contrast, in his letters hinted at his own revelations, though he did not write them down separately. Further, we can also judge

from the wording how the style of the Gospel and the Epistle differs from that of the Apocalypse.[241] *[2 Corinthians 12:1-4]* 26 The Gospel and the Epistle are written not only without mistakes in Greek, but with real eloquence in their wording, their reasoning, and the arrangement of their style. They are very far from containing any foreign-sounding word, any grammatical blunder, or any common, uneducated expression. The author, it seems, had both kinds of speech, since the Lord had given him both the gift of knowledge and the gift of expression. I will not deny that the author of the other book saw a revelation and received knowledge and prophecy. But I see that his dialect and language are not accurate Greek. He uses foreign-sounding idioms, and in places even makes grammatical blunders.

27 There is no need to list these here. I did not say this to mock him, so let no one think so. I said it only to set right the difference between the writings.

CHAPTER 26

The Epistles of Dionysius.

2 Besides these, many other letters of Dionysius survive. They include those against Sabellius, addressed to Ammon, bishop of the church at Berenice, and one to Telesphorus, one to Euphranor, and another to Ammon and Euporus. On the same subject he also composed four other writings, which he addressed to Dionysius of Rome. We also have more letters of his than these, and some lengthy discourses written in the form of letters. Among them are the books On Nature, addressed to his child Timothy, and one On Temptations, which he also dedicated to Euphranor.[242] 3 In addition, writing to Basilides, bishop of the churches in the Pentapolis, he says that he had written an explanation of the beginning of Ecclesiastes. He also left us various other letters to this same man. That is all about Dionysius. Now that I have finished this account of these men, let me go on and set down for later readers what our own generation was like.

CHAPTER 27

Paul of Samosata, and the Heresy Introduced by Hint at Antioch.

After Xystus had led the church of Rome for eleven years, Dionysius, who had the same name as the Dionysius of Alexandria, succeeded him. About

241. Compare 2 Corinthians 12:1-4, where Paul speaks of "visions and revelations of the Lord" that he does not set out in full.

this time Demetrianus of Antioch died, and Paul of Samosata took over the bishopric. Paul held low and groveling views about Christ, contrary to the teaching of the Church, claiming that Christ was by nature an ordinary man. Dionysius of Alexandria was urged to come to the council, but he pleaded old age and bodily weakness and put off coming. He explained in a letter what he thought about the question under discussion. The other pastors of the churches gathered from one place and another, all hurrying to Antioch, as against a destroyer of Christ's flock.

CHAPTER 28

The Illustrious Bishops of that Time.

1 The most distinguished of these were Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; the brothers Gregory and Athenodorus, pastors of the churches in Pontus; Helenus of the church in Tarsus; and Nicomas of Iconium. There were also Hymenaeus of the church of Jerusalem, Theotecnus of the neighboring church of Caesarea, and Maximus, who led the brothers in Bostra with distinction. One could name countless others, together with presbyters and deacons, who were gathered in that city at the time for the same reason. But these were the most outstanding. 3 So they met together often and at various times, and at every session there were discussions and debates. Paul of Samosata's party kept trying to cover up and hide his false teaching, while the others eagerly worked to expose it and bring his heresy and his blasphemy against Christ into the open. During this time Dionysius died, in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having held the bishopric of Alexandria for seventeen years. Maximus succeeded him.

4 Gallienus ruled for a full fifteen years and was followed by Claudius. After two years Claudius handed the rule over to Aurelian.

CHAPTER 29

Paul, Having Been Refuted by Malchion, a Presbyter from the Sophists, Was Excommunicated.

In Aurelian's reign a final council was held, made up of a very large number of bishops. The leader of the heresy at Antioch was exposed, and all clearly condemned him for false teaching. He was cast out of the catholic church under heaven. It was Malchion above all who exposed him as he tried to hide his errors. Malchion was a learned and wise man, head of the Greek school of

242. Berenice (Greek Bernikē) is the city in Cyrenaica (Libya), now Benghazi.

rhetoric at Antioch. Because of the genuine strength of his faith in Christ, he had also been made a presbyter of the church there. He held a debate with Paul while stenographers recorded it, and we know that this record is still in circulation. Malchion alone among them was able to expose this deceitful man, who concealed his real thoughts.[243]

CHAPTER 30

The Epistle of the Bishops Against Paul.

1 The pastors who had gathered together drafted one letter by common agreement. It was addressed to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Maximus of Alexandria, and they sent it out to all the provinces. In it they made their own zeal plain to everyone. They also described Paul's twisted false teaching, the refutations and questions they had put to him, and the whole life and conduct of the man. For the record, it is good to go through some of their words here. 2 "To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellow ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons, and to the whole catholic church under heaven: Helenus, Hymenaeus, Theophilus, Theotecnus, Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas, Aelianus, Paul, Bolanus, Protogenes, Hierax, Eutychius, Theodorus, Malchion and Lucius, and all the rest of us who live in the neighboring cities and nations, bishops, presbyters and deacons, and the churches of God, to our beloved brothers in the Lord, greetings."

4 A little later they add these words: "We wrote, and at the same time urged, many of the bishops from far away to come and heal this deadly teaching. Among them were Dionysius of Alexandria and Firmilian of Cappadocia, those blessed men. Dionysius did write to Antioch, but he did not think the leader of the error worthy even of a greeting. He did not write to him personally but to the whole community, and we have attached a copy. Firmilian came twice and condemned Paul's innovations. We who were present know this and bear witness to it, and many others are aware of it too. But Paul promised to change, and Firmilian believed him. He hoped the matter would be set right without any reproach falling on the Word, so he put off further action. He was deceived by a man who denies his own God and has not kept the faith he himself once held."

243. "Catholic" here means "universal," the whole church throughout the world. The Greek phrase for Malchion's school, "Hellēnikōn paideutēriōn," means "Greek schools of learning."

6 "Now Firmilian was about to cross over to Antioch again, and he had come as far as Tarsus, since he had learned by experience the God-denying wickedness of Paul. But while we were gathered together, sending for him and waiting until he came, he ended his life." After other matters, they again describe the man's life and the way he conducted himself, in these words: "He has departed from the rule of faith and gone over to counterfeit and spurious teachings. Since he is now outside, there is no need for us to judge his actions. 8 "There is no need to judge, for example, how he was once poor and destitute. He received no wealth from his fathers and gained none from any trade or occupation. Yet now he has reached extraordinary riches through lawless acts and temple-robbing, and through what he demands and shakes out of the brothers. He cheats those who have been wronged and promises to help them for a fee, but lies even to these. He profits in vain from the readiness of people in trouble to pay to be rid of those who torment them. He regards godliness as a means of making money. "Nor is there need to judge how proud he is and how puffed up, putting on worldly honors. He prefers to be called a 'ducenarius' rather than a bishop. He struts through the marketplaces, reading and dictating letters as he walks in public, with a bodyguard around him. Many go in front of him and many follow, so that the faith is envied and hated because of his pomposity and the arrogance of his heart. [*1 Timothy 6:5*]

9 "Nor is there need to judge the showmanship he stages in the church assemblies. He schemes to win glory and make an impression, and so to stun the souls of simpler people. He has built himself a platform and a high throne, which is not what a disciple of Christ would do. He also has a 'secretum,' as the rulers of the world do, and he calls it by that name. He slaps his thigh with his hand and stamps on the platform with his feet. Some do not praise him, wave their linen cloths as in the theaters, shout, and jump up as his partisans do, the men and women around him who listen in such a disorderly way. But others listen quietly and in good order, as in the house of God. He rebukes and insults these. He also rudely and drunkenly abuses in public the expositors of the Word who have departed this life, and he boasts grandly about himself, not like a bishop but like a sophist and a charlatan.

11 He stopped the psalms addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ, saying they were recent, the writings of recent men. And on the great day of the Passover he has women sing psalms to himself in the middle of the church, which

anyone would shudder to hear. He also lets the bishops and presbyters of the neighboring country districts and cities, who flatter him, say similar things in their sermons to the people. For he refuses to confess that the Son of God came down from heaven. (To anticipate something that will be written later: this is not a bare assertion. It is shown in many places in the records we sent you, and not least where he says that Jesus Christ is "from below.") Meanwhile those who sing to him and praise him among the people say that their impious teacher has come down from heaven as an angel. He does not stop them. The arrogant man is even present while they say it.

13 Then there are the women he keeps in his household, whom the people of Antioch call "women brought in with him." He has them, and so do the presbyters and deacons around him. Paul knows about the sins of these men and has exposed them, yet he hides this and their other incurable sins. He does it to keep them in his debt, so that out of fear for themselves they will not dare to accuse him for the wrongs he does in word and deed. He has even made them rich, and for that he is loved and admired by those who covet such things. But why should we write about this? We know, beloved, that the bishop and all the clergy must be an example of every good work to the people. We also know how many have fallen, and how many have come under suspicion, through bringing women into their houses. So even if someone granted that he does nothing indecent, he still ought to guard against the suspicion that arises from such a practice. Otherwise he may cause someone to stumble, or even encourage others to imitate him.

16 For how could he rebuke or warn another man not to go too far in keeping company with a woman, but to be on guard lest he slip, as it is written? He has already sent one woman away, but he has two with him, in their prime and good-looking, and he takes them along wherever he goes. And he does this while living in luxury and overindulgence. Because of this, everyone groans and laments in private. Yet they are so afraid of his tyranny and power that they dare not accuse him. As we said before, one could call the man to account for these things if he held the catholic faith and were numbered with us. But he has mocked the mystery of the faith, and he parades about in the abominable heresy of Artemas. (Why should we not name his father, however reluctantly?) So we think there is no need to demand an explanation of these matters from him.[244]

17 Then, at the end of the letter, they add this: "We were therefore compelled to excommunicate him, since he set himself against God and would not yield. In his place we appointed another bishop for the catholic church, by God's providence, as we are persuaded. He is Domnus, son of the blessed Demetrianus, who formerly presided over the same community with distinction. Domnus is adorned with all the good qualities that befit a bishop. We have informed you so that you may write to him and receive letters of communion from him. Let Paul write to Artemas, and let those who think as Artemas does be in communion with him." 19 So Paul was removed from the office of bishop, and from the orthodox faith along with it, and Domnus, as has been said, took over the ministry of the church at Antioch. But Paul absolutely refused to give up the church's house. The Emperor Aurelian was petitioned, and he gave a most fitting decision about what should be done. He ordered the house to be given to those with whom the bishops of this teaching in Italy and the city of Rome should correspond. In this way the man we have been speaking of was driven out of the church by the worldly power, in utter disgrace.[245]

21 That was how Aurelian treated us at that time. But as his reign went on, he changed his mind about us. Certain advisers moved him to stir up a persecution against us, and everyone was talking about it. He was just about to sign the decrees against us when divine justice overtook him. It almost loosed him by the elbows from his undertaking. It showed everyone plainly that the rulers of this world can never find it easy to act against the churches of Christ. This can happen only if the defending hand allows it, by a divine and heavenly judgment, for discipline and turning back to God, at the times that hand approves. 23 Aurelian ruled for six years and was succeeded by Probus. Probus held power for about the same length of time. Carus followed him, together with his sons Carinus and Numerianus. These in turn lasted less than three full years, and then the government passed to Diocletian and those adopted as colleagues after him. Under them the persecution of our own time took place, and the tearing down of the churches. A little before

244. The Greek verb ἐξορχησάμενος literally means "danced away" or "danced off," that is, treated with mocking contempt. The clause about naming his father is textually difficult, so the sense given is only a probable one.

245. The Greek says the house was to go to those "to whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and the city of Rome should write." In practice this means those who were in communion with those bishops.

this, Dionysius, bishop of Rome, completed nine years of service and was succeeded by Felix.[246]

CHAPTER 31

The Perversive Heresy of the Manicheans Which Began at This Time.

1 At this time Mani, mad in his mind, appeared. His name was given to the demon-possessed heresy. He was arming himself with a twisted way of reasoning, because the demon, none other than Satan, the enemy of God, had put the man forward to ruin many people. He was a barbarian in his way of life, in speech and in manner, and by nature demonic and frenzied. His actions matched this, and he tried to pose as Christ. At one time he proclaimed himself the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit himself, puffed up with his madness. At another time, like Christ, he chose twelve disciples to share his new teaching.[247] 2 He stitched together false and godless doctrines, gathered from countless godless teachers long since extinct. Like a deadly poison, he wiped them off from Persia onto our part of the world. From him the impious name of the Manichaeans is still common among many people. Such was the origin of this falsely named "knowledge," which sprang up at the times I have described.[248] [*1 Timothy 6:20*]

CHAPTER 32

The Distinguished Ecclesiastics Of Our Day, and Which of Them Survived Until the Destruction of the Churches.

2 In their time Eutychianus succeeded the man who had presided over the church of the Romans. Eutychianus lasted less than ten full months and then left the office to Gaius, who lived in our own day. Gaius presided for about fifteen years, and Marcellinus became his successor. The persecution overtook Marcellinus as well. In the same period Timaeus led the church at Antioch after Domnus, and Cyril, who lived in our day, succeeded Timaeus. In Cyril's time we came to know Dorotheus, who was honored with the office of presbyter at Antioch and was a learned man among those of that time. He loved what is beautiful in divine things, and he also took pains with the

246. The Greek says the rule passed to Diocletian and "those adopted after him," meaning his co-rulers. It says only that Dionysius completed nine years of ministry before Felix succeeded him.
247. The Greek has a wordplay: Μανεὶς τὰς φρένας ("mad in mind," from μαίνομαι) sounds like the name Mani. The pun is reinforced by μανιώδης and μανία later in the passage. The Greek also says "at one time... at another" (τοτὲ μὲν... τοτὲ δέ).
248. "Falsely named knowledge" echoes the phrase in 1 Timothy 6:20.

Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with understanding.[249] 5 He was one of the most well-bred of men and had some share in the usual Greek schooling. He was also a eunuch by nature, born that way from birth. Because of this the emperor took him into his household as a kind of marvel and honored him with the management of the purple dye works at Tyre. We heard him explain the Scriptures in church, and he did so competently. After Cyril, Tyrannus received the oversight of the church at Antioch. In his time the assault on the churches was at its height. At Laodicea, after Socrates, Eusebius led the church. He came from the city of Alexandria. The reason for his move was the affair of Paul. He had come into Syria because of it, and those there who were zealous for the things of God kept him from returning home. Among our contemporaries he was a lovely example of godliness, as is easy to see from the words of Dionysius quoted above.

7 Anatolius was appointed to succeed him. They say it was one good man following another. He too was Alexandrian by birth. In learning, in Greek education and in philosophy he carried off the prize among the most highly regarded men of our time. He had reached the highest level in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and the rest of dialectic, as well as natural science and the study of rhetoric. For these reasons, the report goes, the citizens there thought him worthy to set up a school in the succession of Aristotle. They record countless other fine deeds of his during the siege of the Bruchion at Alexandria. Those in authority granted him special privileges, and everyone held him in honor. I will mention only one event, as an example.[250] 8 They say that the wheat had run out for the people under siege, so that famine had become more unbearable to them than the enemy outside. Anatolius, who was present, arranged something like the following. One part of the city was allied with the Roman army and so was not under siege. Eusebius was still there at that time, before his move to Syria, and was in the part that was not besieged. He had great fame and a well-known name, which had reached even the Roman general. Anatolius sent word to him and informed him about those who were dying of hunger during the siege.

9 When Eusebius learned this, he asked the Roman commander, as the greatest of favors, to grant safety to those who came over to the Romans

249. The Greek text as given names no predecessor of Eutychianus and no number of years. The older English supplies "Felix, having presided five years." That is the likely sense, but the supplied words are not in this Greek.

from the besieged side. He obtained his request and made it known to Anatolius. Anatolius received the promise at once and called together the council of the Alexandrians. At first he urged them all to offer the Romans a hand of friendship. But when he saw that this proposal enraged them, he said, "I do not think you will object to this: I advise that we let out through the gates the people who are surplus and of no use to us at all, the old women, the little children, and the old men, to go wherever they wish. Why should we keep them here for nothing, when they are almost certain to die? Why should we waste away with hunger those who are disabled and crippled in body, when we ought to feed only the men and the young men, and ration the grain we must have for those fit to guard the city?"[251]

11 With reasoning like this he persuaded the council. He was the first to stand and put forward the motion: everyone not fit for military service, whether men or women, was to be released from the city. If they stayed and lingered uselessly in the city, he said, they had no hope of being saved, since hunger would destroy them. When all the rest agreed to this plan, he saved nearly all the besieged. He took care that those of the church should get away first, and then people of every age from the rest of the city. He did this not only for those named in the decree. Under cover of it, countless others slipped out secretly dressed in women's clothing, and by his care they left through the gates at night and made for the Roman army. There Eusebius received them all. They had been badly worn down by the long siege, and he restored them, like a father and a physician, with every kind of forethought and care.

13 The church at Laodicea was thought worthy of two such pastors, one after the other. By God's providence they moved there from the city of Alexandria after the war I have described. Anatolius took pains over a great many writings, but only so many have reached us as to let us see both his eloquence and his wide learning. In these he sets out especially his views on the Passover, and so it is necessary for me to quote from them here. 15 "Now the first year has the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of the whole nineteen-year cycle, on the twenty-sixth of Phamenoth by the Egyptian reckoning. By the Macedonian months it falls on the twenty-second of

250. The Bruchion (Greek Prouchion, also spelled Pyrucheion) was the palace quarter of Alexandria.

251. The Greek word boulē means a council. Here it is the council of the Alexandrians, and the Roman commander (strategos) is not named.

Dystrus, and as the Romans would say, on the eleventh day before the Kalends of April. On this twenty-sixth of Phamenoth the sun is found not only to have entered the first segment but already to be passing through its fourth day in it. People are accustomed to call this segment the first twelfth-part, the equinoctial sign, the beginning of months, the head of the cycle, and the starting point of the planets' course. The segment before it they call the last of the months, the twelfth segment, the final twelfth-part, and the end of the planets' circuit. For this reason we say that those who place the first month in that earlier segment, and take the fourteenth day of the Passover by it, make no small or ordinary mistake."

16 "This teaching is not our own. It was known to the Jews long ago, before Christ, and they kept it with special care. One can learn this from what Philo, Josephus, and Musaeus say. It is not only these, but also men still more ancient: both Agathobuli, who were called 'the Teachers,' and the famous Aristobulus. He was counted among the seventy who translated the holy and divine Scriptures of the Hebrews for Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father, and he addressed to the same kings his books explaining the law of Moses."

18 These writers deal with the questions raised in Exodus. They say that everyone alike must sacrifice the passover offerings after the spring equinox, in the middle of the first month. This happens, they say, while the sun is passing through the first segment of the solar circle, which some of them have called the zodiac. Aristobulus adds that for the feast of the passover it is necessary that not only the sun but also the moon pass through an equinoctial segment. There are two equinoctial segments, the spring one and the autumn one, and they lie directly opposite each other. The day of the passover is set for the fourteenth of the month, after evening falls. At that time the moon stands in the opposite position, directly across from the sun, as can be seen at the full moon. So the sun will be in the spring equinoctial segment, and the moon will of necessity be in the autumn one.

19 I know that these writers say many other things. Some of them are persuasive, and others proceed by what they call the Lord's proofs. By these they try to show that the feast of the passover and of unleavened bread must always be kept after the equinox. But I will not press for this sort of proof from people for whom the veil over the law of Moses has been taken away. With unveiled face we now always see, as in a mirror, Christ and the teachings and sufferings of Christ. As for the first month of the Hebrews falling around the

equinox, the teachings in the book of Enoch also support this. [*2 Corinthians 3:13-18*] 21 The same Anatolius also left behind an introduction to arithmetic in ten whole books, and other proofs of his learning and wide experience in divine matters. Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, was the first to lay hands on him for the office of bishop, since he intended to provide a successor for his own church after his death. For a short time the two of them presided over the same church. But the council about Paul summoned Anatolius to Antioch. As he passed through the city of Laodicea, Eusebius had died, and the brothers there held him back.

23 After Anatolius died, Stephen became the last bishop of that church before the persecution. Many admired him for his philosophical learning and his other Greek education. But he was not equally committed to the divine faith, as the coming of the persecution showed. It proved him to be a dissembler, cowardly and unmanly, rather than a true philosopher. Yet the church was not going to be ruined by this. God himself, the Saviour of all, set its affairs right by promptly making Theodotus bishop of that church. In his actual deeds Theodotus proved true both to his proper name and to the office of overseer. He took first place in the medical knowledge that heals bodies. As a healer of souls there was no one like him, for his kindness, sincerity, sympathy and eagerness to help those who came to him. He was also well practiced in the study of divine things. Such a man was he.

25 In Caesarea in Palestine, Agapius succeeded Theotecnus, who had served as bishop with great zeal. We know that Agapius also labored much, showed the most genuine care in leading the people, and looked after the poor, above all, with a generous hand. In his time we came to know Pamphilus, a man of great distinction and a true philosopher in the way he lived. He had been honored with the rank of presbyter in that church. To explain what sort of man he was, and where he came from, would take a work of no small scope. But we have set out in a separate work about him all the details of his life, the school he founded, his struggles in the various confessions during the persecution, and the crown of martyrdom with which he was finally crowned. 27 Pamphilus was the most admirable man of that region. Among the very rare men of our own time we have known Pierius, one of the presbyters of Alexandria, and Meletius, bishop of the churches in Pontus. Pierius was tested by a life of complete poverty and by his learning in philosophy. He was remarkably skilled in studying and explaining divine

things, and in speaking before the assembled church. Meletius was called "the honey of Attica" by men of learning. He was the sort of man one might describe as the most complete in every kind of learning. His excellence in rhetoric could hardly be admired enough, though one might say that this came to him naturally. As for his wide experience and learning in other matters, who could surpass him?

29 Anyone who tested him, even once, in any branch of learning would have called him the most skilled and the most learned of men. The virtues of his life matched his learning. During the time of the persecution we knew that he was in hiding in the regions of Palestine, moving from place to place for seven whole years. In the church of Jerusalem, after Hymenaeus, the bishop mentioned a little earlier, Zambdas took over the ministry. He fell asleep not long afterward, and Hermon, the last bishop before the persecution of our own day, succeeded to the apostolic throne, which is still preserved there to this day. 31 In Alexandria, Maximus was bishop for eighteen years after the death of Dionysius, and Theonas succeeded him. In Theonas's time Achillas became well known in Alexandria. He had been made a presbyter at the same time as Pierius, and he was entrusted with the school of the sacred faith. He showed a work of philosophy as rare as any, and a truly genuine way of life according to the gospel. After Theonas had served nineteen years, Peter succeeded to the bishopric of Alexandria. He too was outstanding throughout twelve whole years. For less than three of those years, before the persecution, he led the church. For the rest of his life he held himself to a stricter discipline and cared, quite openly, for the common good of the churches. For this reason, in the ninth year of the persecution, he was beheaded and was adorned with the crown of martyrdom.

32 Here I have set out the subject of the successions, covering three hundred and five years from the birth of our Saviour to the destruction of the places of prayer. Next, let me leave a written record, so that those who come after us may know the contests of our own time, in which men fought bravely for true godliness, how many they were and how great.

Book 8

GREETING

Preface. I have set out the succession of the apostles in seven whole books. In this eighth book I think it necessary to hand down, for the knowledge of

those who come after us, an account of our own times, which are worthy of no ordinary record. From here my account begins.

CHAPTER 1

The Events Which Preceded the Persecution in Our Times.

2 The Events Which Preceded the Persecution in Our Times. Before the persecution of our own day, the message of reverence for the God of all, announced to the world through Christ, was honored among all people, Greeks and barbarians alike, with such glory and such freedom of speech that it is too great for us to describe as it deserves. As evidence we might take the favor the rulers showed to our people. They even entrusted the governing of provinces to them, and because of the great friendship they felt toward their teaching, they spared them the distress of having to sacrifice. 4 Why speak of those in the imperial households and of the highest rulers of all? They allowed their own people, their wives, children and servants, to speak openly in front of them in word and in life about the divine message. They almost let them boast of the boldness of their faith. They held such believers in special esteem, more than their fellow servants. One such man was the well-known Dorotheus, the most loyal and trusted of all to them, and for that reason honored above those who held the most prized offices and governorships. With him was the famous Gorgonius, and all who in the same way were counted worthy of the same honor because of the word of God.

6 One could also see the leaders of each church welcomed with approval by all procurators and governors. How could anyone describe those gatherings of tens of thousands, the crowds that assembled in every city, and the notable throngs in the houses of prayer? Because of these, the believers were no longer content with the old buildings, and in every city they raised wide churches from the foundations. As the years went by, these things grew larger every day. No envy held them back, and no evil demon could cast a spell on them or hinder them by human plots, as long as the divine and heavenly hand covered and guarded its own people as worthy of it. 7 But as our affairs changed, through too much freedom, into slackness and sloth, people grew jealous of one another and abused one another. We almost waged war on each other with whatever weapons came to hand, with spears made of words. Leaders broke out against leaders, and congregations rose in factions against congregations. Unspeakable hypocrisy and pretense advanced to the furthest point of wickedness. Then the divine judgment, as it loves to do, spared us.

While the assemblies were still meeting, it gently and moderately began its visitation, and the persecution began with the brothers in the armies.

8 But we had lost all feeling. We were not eager to make God kind and favorable toward us. Like some godless people, we thought our affairs were neglected and unwatched, and we piled one wickedness on another. Those who were thought to be our shepherds set aside the rule of true religion and burned with rivalries against one another. They only increased their quarrels, threats, jealousy, enmity and hatred, and eagerly claimed their ambition for power as if it were a tyranny. Then indeed, just as the word of Jeremiah says: "The Lord in his anger covered the daughter of Zion with darkness, and cast down the glory of Israel from heaven to earth, and did not remember his footstool in the day of his anger. The Lord also drowned all the beautiful things of Israel, and tore down all his fences," [*Lamentations 2:1-2*]
9 and as was foretold in the Psalms: "He overturned the covenant of his servant, and profaned his sanctuary to the ground," through the tearing down of the churches. "He tore down all his fences and made his strongholds cowardice. All who passed by plundered the multitudes of the people, and he became a reproach to his neighbors. For he raised up the right hand of his enemies, and turned back the help of his sword, and did not support him in the war. He put an end to his cleansing and threw his throne down to the ground. He shortened the days of his time, and poured shame over him besides."[252]

CHAPTER 2

The Destruction of the Churches.

2 All this was fulfilled in our own time. We saw with our own eyes the houses of prayer torn down from top to bottom, to their very foundations. We saw the inspired and sacred Scriptures handed over to the fire in the middle of the public squares. We saw the shepherds of the churches hiding shamefully here and there, some of them captured in disgrace and mocked by their enemies. It was then that, according to the prophetic word, "contempt was poured out on rulers, and he made them wander in a trackless waste where there was no road." But it is not for us to describe the grim misfortunes that

252. The words "through the tearing down of the churches" are Eusebius's own comment worked into the quotation, which is from Psalm 88 (89 in English Bibles), verses 39-45. His wording differs slightly from the usual Septuagint text, for example in the verb forms. It is translated here as he gives it.

came upon them in the end. Nor is it fitting for us to record their quarrels with one another and their improper conduct before the persecution. So we have decided to report nothing more about them than what serves to justify the divine judgment.[253]

4 So we have not been led to mention those who were tested by the persecution and failed. Nor will we mention those who were wrecked completely as far as their salvation was concerned, and who by their own choice were thrown into the depths of the flood. We will add to this general history only the things that may be of benefit first to ourselves, and then to those who come after us. Let us go on, then, to describe briefly the sacred contests of the martyrs of the Word of God. This was the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month Dystrus, which the Romans call March. As the feast of the Saviour's passion drew near, imperial edicts were posted everywhere. They ordered that the churches be leveled to the ground and the Scriptures destroyed by fire. They declared that those who held positions of honor would lose their rank, and that those in slavery, if they persisted in their Christian purpose, would be deprived of freedom.[254]

5 That was the first writing against us. Not long afterward other letters arrived. They ordered that the heads of the churches in every place should first be thrown into chains, and afterward be forced by every means to sacrifice.

CHAPTER 3

The Nature of the Conflicts Endured in the Persecution.

2 Then indeed, many leaders of the churches eagerly struggled through terrible tortures and gave a record of great contests. But countless others, their souls numbed beforehand by cowardice, were readily weakened at the first attack. Each of the rest went through various kinds of torture. One had his body beaten with whips. Another was punished with racking and with scrapings that could not be endured, and some of these came to an unhappy end of life. Others went through the contest in other ways. One man was pushed forward by force by others, who brought him to the utterly defiling and unholy sacrifices, and he was let go as though he had sacrificed, even though he had not. Another had not come near at all and had touched nothing un-

253. The quotation is from Psalm 106:40 (107:40 in English Bibles).

254. Dystrus was a month of the Macedonian calendar used in the East; Eusebius gives its Roman equivalent himself.

clean, but others said he had sacrificed, and he went away in silence, bearing the false accusation. Another was picked up half dead and thrown aside as if he were already a corpse.

4 Another was lying on the ground and was dragged a long way by his feet, and was counted among those who had sacrificed. One man cried out and declared in a loud voice that he refused the sacrifice. Another shouted that he was a Christian, glorying in the confession of the saving name. Another insisted that he had not sacrificed and never would. Even so, these men were struck on the mouth and silenced by a large body of soldiers drawn up for that purpose. They were beaten on the face and cheeks and forced away. So important did the enemies of true religion think it, by any means at all, to seem to have gained their end. But this did not work against the holy martyrs. What account of ours could be enough to describe them accurately?

CHAPTER 4

The Famous Martyrs of God, Who Filled Every Place with Their Memory and Won Various Crowns in Behalf of Religion.

2 One could tell of countless people who showed wonderful zeal for devotion to the God of all. This was true not only from the time the persecution against everyone broke out, but long before, while peace was still being arranged. For the one who held the power was only now stirring, as if from a deep sleep. After the time of Decius and Valerian he had been moving against the churches secretly and out of sight. He did not launch war on us all at once, but at first tested only those serving in the armies, since he thought the rest would be easily caught if he first overcame these. So one could see very many soldiers gladly welcoming civilian life, so that they would not deny their devotion to the Creator of all. 4 When the commanding officer, whoever he was, first began the persecution of the armies, he sorted the men in the camps by tribe and purged the lists. He gave them a choice: obey and keep the rank they held, or lose it if they resisted the order. Very many soldiers of Christ's kingdom did not hesitate. They preferred confessing him to the glory and prosperity they undeniably had. Rarely, here and there, one or two of them exchanged not only the loss of their rank but even death for their devout stand. At that stage the man carrying out the plan was still acting with some restraint, and ventured to go as far as bloodshed in only a few cases. It seems the great number of believers frightened him and made him shrink from launching war on everyone at once.

5 But when he went on to attack more openly, no words can tell how many martyrs of God, and of what kind, could be seen by those living in all the cities and countries.

CHAPTER 5

Those in Nicomedia.

For example, a man of no little note, indeed among the most distinguished by the world's standards of rank, was moved by zeal for God and rushed forward with burning faith as soon as the written decree against the churches was posted in Nicomedia. He took it down where it was displayed publicly, and tore it to pieces as unholy and utterly impious. Two emperors were then in that same city: the senior of all, and the one who held the fourth rank of power after him. This man was the first of those there to distinguish himself in this way. He suffered what one would expect for such a bold act, and kept his calm and freedom from distress right to his last breath.

CHAPTER 6

Those in the Palace.

1 Of all those ever praised as wonderful and famed for courage, whether among Greeks or among foreigners, this time produced martyrs who were truly godly and outstanding: Dorotheus and the imperial servants with him. They had been given the highest honor by their masters, and were treated no less than true children. Yet they counted the reproaches and hardships suffered for devotion to God, and the many new kinds of death devised for them, as true riches, greater than the glory and luxury of this life. We will recall how one of them ended his life, and leave readers to judge from that what happened to the others. 3 In the city mentioned above, one of them was brought into the open before the rulers we have named. He was ordered to sacrifice, and when he refused, he was commanded to be stripped, hoisted into the air, and scourged over his whole body until he gave in and did what was commanded, even against his will. But he was not shaken by these sufferings. His bones were already showing, so they mixed vinegar with salt and poured it over the torn parts of his body. When he overcame these pains too, a grill and fire were dragged out into the middle. What was left of his body was consumed by the fire like meat prepared for eating. They did not put him on all at once, so that he would not be released quickly, but a little at a

time. Those who laid him on the fire were not allowed to stop until, after all this, he agreed to what was commanded.

5 But he held firmly to his purpose and gave up his life victorious in the midst of the tortures. Such was the martyrdom of one of the imperial servants, and it was truly worthy of his name, for he was called Peter. The sufferings of the rest were no less severe, but to keep within proper length I will pass them over. I will record only that Dorotheus and Gorgonius, with many others of the imperial household, after many kinds of struggles ended their lives by the noose and carried off the prizes of a God-given victory. 6 At this time Anthimus, who was then the head of the church in Nicomedia, was beheaded for his witness to Christ. A great crowd of martyrs was added to him. A fire had broken out in the palace at Nicomedia in those very days, I do not know how. A report spread, on a false suspicion, that our people had started it. At the emperor's command, the God-fearing people of that place were put to death in whole households and in heaps. Some were killed with the sword, and others were made perfect through fire. The story goes that men and women leaped onto the fire with an indescribable eagerness. The executioners also tied up another large group, put them on boats, and threw them into the depths of the sea.

8 As for the imperial servants, after their death they had been given proper burial in the earth. But their supposed masters thought they must dig them up again and throw them into the sea. They feared that if the bodies were left in tombs, some people would worship them, regarding them as gods, as the rulers imagined. Such were the events at Nicomedia at the beginning of the persecution. Not long afterward, some people in the region called Melitene, and others in Syria, tried to seize the throne. An imperial order then went out that the heads of the churches everywhere were to be thrown into prisons and chains.[255] 10 What followed was a sight beyond all description. Countless numbers were shut up in every place. The prisons everywhere, long before built for murderers and grave robbers, were then filled with bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers and exorcists, so that no room was left there for those condemned for crimes. Then other letters followed the first. They ordered that those shut up should be allowed to go free if they sacrificed, but that those who held out should be torn apart with countless tor-

255. The older English says the rebels tried to "usurp the government." The Greek says they "attempted to rise up against the empire (basileia)."

tures. Who could count the multitude of martyrs in each province, especially in Africa, among the people of Mauretania, in the Thebaid, and in Egypt? From Egypt, some went on to other cities and provinces and became famous through their martyrdoms.[256]

CHAPTER 7

The Egyptians in Phoenicia.

1 We know of those among them who shone in Palestine, and we know of those at Tyre in Phoenicia. Who saw them and was not amazed? There were the countless scourgings and the resistance of these truly extraordinary athletes of godliness under them. Right after the scourging came the contest with blood-thirsty wild beasts. There were attacks by leopards, various kinds of bears, wild boars, and bulls scorched with fire and hot iron. And there was the wonderful endurance of these noble men against each of the beasts.[257]
2 We ourselves were present when these things happened. We saw the divine power of our Savior Jesus Christ himself, to whom they bore witness, present with the martyrs and plainly shown to them. For a long time the man-eating beasts did not dare to touch or come near the bodies of those loved by God. They rushed instead at the others, who were stirring them up from outside. The holy athletes alone stood naked and waved their hands to draw the beasts toward themselves, since they were ordered to do this. Yet the beasts did not touch them at all. At times they charged at them, but they were driven back as though by some more divine power, and went back again.[258]

4 This went on for a long time and caused the onlookers no small wonder. Because the first beast accomplished nothing, a second and a third were let loose on one and the same martyr. One could only be astounded at the fearless endurance of those holy men, and at the steady, unshaken resistance found in such young bodies. You could see a youth not yet twenty years old, standing without any bonds, with his hands stretched out in the form of a cross. His mind was fearless and calm, and he prayed at great length and without hurry to God. He did not move at all, nor step aside from the place

256. "Readers" and "exorcists" were minor church offices at that time.
257. The Greek "those of them" (tous ex autōn) points back to the Egyptians at the end of 8.6.10, so it means those Egyptians who shone in Palestine and at Tyre. The older English "those who were conspicuous" loses this link.
258. The Greek verb historēsamen ("we learned by inquiry, observed, recorded") is ambiguous, but with "we ourselves were present" (parēmen) just before it, Eusebius claims to have been an eyewitness.

where he stood, though bears and leopards, breathing out rage and death, almost touched his very flesh. Yet somehow, by a divine and inexpressible power, their mouths were all but shut, and they ran back again. This was the kind of man he was.

5 Again you could see others, five in all, thrown before a maddened bull. The bull tossed the other men who approached from outside into the air with his horns and tore them apart, leaving them to be carried off half dead. But when he charged in anger and menace at the holy martyrs alone, he could not even come near them. He pawed the ground with his feet and butted this way and that with his horns, and he breathed out rage and menace because of the goading of the red-hot irons. Yet he was dragged back by sacred providence. Since he did no harm to them at all, other beasts were then let loose on them. 6 In the end, after these terrible and varied attacks, they were all killed with the sword. Instead of earth and tombs, they were handed over to the waves of the sea.

CHAPTER 8

These in Egypt.

Such was the contest of those Egyptians at Tyre who displayed their struggles for true religion. But one should also admire those who bore witness in their own land. There countless men, together with women and children, despised this short life for the sake of our Saviour's teaching and endured various kinds of death. Some, after being scraped and racked and cruelly flogged, and put through countless other varied tortures too dreadful to hear of, were handed over to fire. Some were swallowed up in the sea. Others boldly offered their heads to those who cut them off. Some died under torture, and others were destroyed by starvation. Others again were crucified, some in the usual way for criminals, and others even more cruelly, nailed upside down with the head downward. These were kept alive until they died of hunger on the very cross.

CHAPTER 9

Those in Thebais.

2 Beyond all description were the outrages and pains that the martyrs in the Thebaid endured. They were scraped over the whole body with potsherds instead of claws until they died. Women were tied by one foot and hauled up head downward by some machines, hanging high in the air. Their bodies

were completely naked and uncovered, and they presented to all who watched a most shameful, savage and inhuman sight. Others died tied to trees and stumps. Using machines, the persecutors pulled the strongest branches together, fastened one of the martyrs' legs to each, and then let the branches spring back to their natural position. In this way they devised the sudden tearing apart of the limbs of those on whom they tried it.[259] 4 All this went on not for a few days or a short time, but over a long span of whole years. Sometimes more than ten were killed, sometimes over twenty. At other times not fewer than thirty, then nearly sixty, and again at other times a hundred men were put to death in a single day, together with small children and women, condemned to various and changing punishments. We ourselves were on the spot and saw large numbers killed together in a single day. Some suffered beheading, others punishment by fire, until the murderous sword grew blunt and, losing its edge, broke, and the executioners themselves grew weary and had to take turns with one another.

5 At that time we also saw the most wonderful eagerness, and the truly divine power and zeal, of those who believed in the Christ of God. As soon as sentence was passed on the first group, others leaped forward from every side to the judge's tribunal, declaring themselves Christians. They took no thought of the terrors or of the many kinds of torture. They spoke boldly and without fear of their devotion to the God of the universe. They received the final sentence of death with joy, laughter and gladness, so that they sang psalms, hymns and thanksgivings to the God of the universe until their very last breath. 7 These were wonderful, but those were even more wonderful who stood out for wealth, noble birth and reputation, and for eloquence and philosophy, and yet put everything second to true godliness and to faith in our Savior and Lord Jesus Christ. One such man was Philoromus. He had been entrusted with no ordinary office in the imperial administration at Alexandria. With the dignity of his Roman rank he used to sit in judgment every day, with a bodyguard of soldiers around him. Another was Phileas, bishop of the church of Thmuis, a man who stood out for his public service and civic offices in his homeland, and for his learning in philosophy.[260]

8 A great many relatives and other friends begged these two men, and so did officials of high rank, and even the judge himself urged them to take pity

259. Greek "ostraka" can mean either potsherds (broken pottery) or shells (such as oyster shells); both renderings are possible, and the context does not decide between them.

on themselves and spare their wives and children. But none of this led them to choose love of life, or to disregard our Savior's ordinances about confessing and denying him. With a brave and philosophical resolve, or rather with godly and God-loving souls, they stood firm against all the judge's threats and insults. Both of them were beheaded.

CHAPTER 10

The Writings of Phileas the Martyr Describing the Occurrences at Alexandria.

2 Since we said that Phileas was highly regarded for his learning outside the faith, let him be his own witness. In the following words he shows who he was, and he also reports the martyrdoms that took place at Alexandria more accurately than we could. He writes: "The blessed martyrs who were with us had before them all the examples, patterns and noble marks set down in the divine and holy Scriptures. They did not hesitate. They fixed the eye of the soul purely on the God who is over all, and, with death for the sake of godliness in mind, they held fast to their calling. For they had found that our Lord Jesus Christ became man for our sake, to cut off all sin and to lay up for us provisions for our entry into eternal life. For he did not consider it something to be grasped to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a slave. Found in human form, he humbled himself even to death, death on a cross.[261] [*Philippians 2:6–8*]

4 "So, eager for the greater gifts, these Christ-bearing martyrs endured every hardship and every kind of ingenious torture. Some endured them not just once but a second time. Their guards eagerly threatened them, not only in words but in deeds, yet they did not give way in their resolve, because perfect love casts out fear. What words could be enough to list their courage and bravery under each torture? Anyone who wanted to abuse them was given free license. Some beat them with clubs, others with rods, others with whips, others with leather straps, and others with ropes.[262] [*1 John 4:18*] 5 "The spectacle of these tortures was varied, and there was great cruelty in it. Some had their hands tied behind them and were hung from a wooden beam, and every limb was stretched by machines. Then, at the command of the judge, the torturers tore at their whole bodies with iron claws. They did not scrape

260. Thmuis was a city in the Nile Delta of Egypt.

261. Phileas here quotes Philippians 2:6–8.

262. "Christ-bearing" (Christophoroi) is Phileas's own word for the martyrs. "Greater gifts" echoes 1 Corinthians 12:31, and "perfect love casts out fear" echoes 1 John 4:18.

only the sides, as they did with murderers, but also the belly, the legs and the cheeks. Others were hung up from the portico by one hand, and the strain on their joints and limbs was more terrible than any pain. Others were bound facing the pillars, not standing on their feet, but with the weight of their bodies drawing the bonds tight."

7 And they endured this not only while the governor was questioning them or had time for them, but for almost the whole day. When he moved on to others, he left his own officers behind to keep watch over the first group, in case any of them, overcome by the tortures, seemed to give way. He ordered these men to press on without mercy, going at their bonds as well, and afterward, when the prisoners were at their last gasp, to throw them on the ground and drag them away. For, he said, they were to have no concern at all for us, but to think and act as if we no longer existed. This was a second torment our enemies devised in addition to the blows. 8 Some, even after the tortures, lay on the stocks with both feet stretched through the fourth hole. They were forced to lie on their backs on the wood, because the wounds from the blows were fresh over their whole bodies and they could not hold themselves up. Others were thrown on the ground and lay there, worn down by the combined assault of the tortures. To those who watched, the sight was more terrible than the act of torture itself. They bore on their bodies the marks of the many different devices of torment.

10 While this went on, some died under the tortures and put their adversary to shame by their endurance. Others were shut up in prison half dead, and a few days later they were brought to completion, overcome by their pains. The rest recovered with treatment, and with time and the long stay in prison they grew bolder. So when the order came and they were given a choice, they did not hesitate. They could touch the accursed sacrifice and be left alone, receiving from the persecutors that cursed freedom. Or they could refuse to sacrifice and take the penalty of death. They went gladly to their deaths. For they knew what the sacred Scriptures had laid down for us. It says, "The one who sacrifices to other gods shall be utterly destroyed," and, "You shall have no other gods besides me." [*Exodus 22:20; Exodus 20:3*] 12 Such were the words of this martyr, truly a philosopher and a lover of God together. Before the final sentence, while he was still a prisoner, he sent them to the brothers in his own diocese. He was explaining his situation to them, and at the same time urging them to hold on tightly to godliness in Christ even after him,

since he was about to be brought to completion. But why should I say more, or keep setting out fresh contests of God-honoring martyrs all over the world, one after another? This is especially so for those who were no longer dealt with under ordinary law but were besieged as in war.

CHAPTER 11

Those in Phrygia.

Heading: Those in Phrygia. Already, in fact, in Phrygia, soldiers surrounded a whole little town of Christians, every one of them. They set it on fire and burned them up, with their infants and women, as they called on the God who is over all. This happened because all the people living in the city, the curator himself and the chief magistrate along with all the officials and the whole populace, confessed themselves Christians and would not obey in the least those who ordered them to worship idols. Another man, Adauctus, held Roman rank. He came from a distinguished Italian family and had passed through every honor given by the emperors. He had blamelessly carried out the general administration of the offices they call "magistrate" and "catholicus." Besides all this he was outstanding in deeds of godliness and in confessing the Christ of God. He was adorned with the crown of martyrdom and endured the contest for godliness while still carrying out the duties of the catholicus.[263]

CHAPTER 12

Many Others, Both Men and Women, Who Suffered in Various Ways.

1 Heading: Many Others, Both Men and Women, Who Suffered in Various Ways. Why should I now mention the rest by name, or count the multitude of men, or paint a picture of the many kinds of torture suffered by Christ's wonderful martyrs? Sometimes they were killed with axes, as happened to those in Arabia. Sometimes their legs were broken, as happened to those in Cappadocia. Sometimes they were hung up by the feet, head downward, with a slow fire burning beneath them, and were choked by the smoke from the burning wood. That was inflicted on those in Mesopotamia. Sometimes noses, ears and hands were cut off, and the other limbs and parts of the body were cut up like butchered meat, as happened in Alexandria. 2 Why should I

263. The "catholicus" was the imperial finance officer. The Greek names the town's top officials as the "curator" (logistes) and the "strategos," here a chief magistrate. The Greek says the townspeople called on "the God over all."

revive the memory of those in Antioch? They were roasted on grids of fire, not to kill them but to prolong the punishment. Others quicker put their right hand into the fire than touch the accursed sacrifice. Some of them, shrinking from the ordeal, threw themselves down from high rooftops before they could be caught and fall into the hands of their plotters. They counted death a prize snatched away from the wickedness of the ungodly.

3 There was a certain holy woman, admirable in the virtue of her soul, though a woman in body. She was the most celebrated woman in Antioch for wealth, family and reputation. She had brought up her two unmarried daughters in the teachings of the faith. They were in the full bloom of youth and outstanding in beauty. Great envy was stirred up against them, and their pursuers searched everywhere for them while they were in hiding. Then the pursuers learned that the girls were living abroad, and they carefully arranged to summon them to Antioch. So they were caught in the soldiers' nets. When the mother saw that she and her daughters were helpless, she set before them in words the terrible things that men would do to them. Worst and most unbearable of all was the threat of sexual violation. She urged herself and the girls not to endure even the faintest hearing of it. To surrender their souls to the slavery of demons, she said, was worse than every kind of death and any ruin. She proposed one release from all of these things: flight to the Lord.[264]

5 The mother and daughters agreed together. They arranged their clothing neatly around their bodies. When they were in the middle of the road, they asked the guards to step aside for a moment. Then they threw themselves into a river that flowed beside them. So these women destroyed themselves. In the same city of Antioch there was another pair of unmarried girls, true sisters in every way and devoted to God. They were of distinguished family and splendid in their way of life. They were young, beautiful in body, dignified in soul, pious in conduct and admirable in their earnestness. The servants of the demons ordered them to be thrown into the sea, as though the earth could not bear to carry such people. So it was with these. 7 In Pontus others suffered things dreadful to hear. Sharp reeds were driven under the fingernails and into the fingertips of both hands. Others had molten lead,

264. "Unmarried" translates parthenoi, "virgins." The Greek says the daughters were living "in a foreign land" (ep' allodapes). "Flight to the Lord" means taking refuge in the Lord through death.

boiling and red-hot, poured over their backs. Others were roasted in the most vital parts of the body. Still others endured shameful, pitiless torments in their private parts and inner organs, too foul even to describe. These "noble" and "law-abiding" judges devised such things eagerly, to show off their cleverness as if it were some excellence of wisdom. They kept competing with one another, each trying to outdo the others with newly invented tortures, as if they were contending for prizes in a contest.[265]

9 The end of these calamities came when the persecutors were at last worn out by the sheer excess of their evil. They were tired of killing and had had their fill, even a surfeit, of shedding blood. So they turned to what they thought of as kindness and humanity, so that they now seemed to be devising nothing more terrible against us. They said it was not right to pollute the cities with the blood of their own people. Nor, they said, should the supreme government of the rulers, which was gracious and mild toward all, be slandered for extreme cruelty. Rather, the kindness of the humane imperial authority should be extended to everyone, and we should no longer be punished with death. For the rulers' humanity, they said, had set aside this penalty against us. 10 At that point it was ordered that our eyes be gouged out and one of our legs be crippled. For this was "humane" in their eyes, and the lightest of the punishments against us. Because of this "kindness" of the impious, it was no longer possible to give the number of those who suffered beyond all description. The right eyes of some were first cut out with a sword, and after the cutting they were seared with fire. The left feet of others were disabled by burning the tendons at the joint with hot irons. After this they were condemned to the government copper mines in the province, not so much to work as to be ill-treated and worn down. Besides all this, others fell into other struggles that cannot even be listed, for their courageous deeds surpass all description.[266]

11 In these struggles Christ's magnificent martyrs shone out over the whole world. They rightly amazed those everywhere who watched their courage. Through themselves they gave clear proofs of the truly divine and inexpressible power of our Saviour. To mention each one by name would take long, and indeed would be impossible.

265. "Noble and law-abiding" is sarcasm on Eusebius' part.

266. The Greek says the left feet were disabled "at the joints" (kata ton ankylon), probably the ankle or the bend of the leg. "Tendons" is an interpretive addition.

CHAPTER 13

The Bishops of the Church that Evinced by Their Blood the Genuineness of the Religion Which They Preached.

3 Among the church leaders who bore witness by death in the well-known cities, let the first to be proclaimed on the monuments of the godly, as a martyr of Christ's kingdom, be Anthimus, bishop of the city of Nicomedia, who was beheaded. Among the martyrs of Antioch was Lucian, a presbyter of the church there, excellent in his whole life. At Nicomedia, with the emperor present, he first proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ in words, by way of a defense, and then in deeds as well. Among the martyrs of Phoenicia, the most distinguished would be the shepherds of Christ's rational flock, who were in every way beloved of God: Tyrannion, bishop of the church at Tyre; Zenobius, a presbyter of the church at Sidon; and Silvanus, bishop of the churches around Emesa. 5 Silvanus, with others, was made food for wild beasts at Emesa itself, and was taken up into the choirs of the martyrs. Two of the Antioch martyrs glorified the word of God by enduring death. One, the bishop, was handed over to the depths of the sea. The other was Zenobius, an excellent physician, who bravely died under the tortures applied to his sides. Among the martyrs of Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches around Gaza, was beheaded with others, thirty-nine in all, at the copper mines of Phaeno. There too the Egyptian bishops Peleus and Nilus, with others, endured death by fire.

7 Among these we should also remember Pamphilus, a presbyter, the great glory of the church at Caesarea and the most admirable man of our time. I recorded his brave deeds at the proper place. Among those who finished their course with distinction at Alexandria and throughout Egypt and the Thebaid, Peter should be written down first. He was bishop of Alexandria itself, and a truly divine gift to teachers of godliness in Christ. With him were the presbyters Faustus, Dius and Ammonius, perfect martyrs of Christ, and Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius and Theodorus, bishops of churches in Egypt. There were also countless other distinguished people, remembered by the churches in their own countries and places. It is not for me to put on record the contests of those who struggled for the true worship of God throughout the whole world, or to relate in exact detail everything that happened to them. That would belong to those who saw the events with

their own eyes. But the ones I witnessed myself I will make known, in another writing, to those who come after us.

9 In the present account, however, I will add to what has been said the recantation of what our persecutors had done to us, along with the events that happened from the beginning of the persecution, which will be very useful to those who read them. Before the war against us, the government of the Romans enjoyed a great abundance of good things and good seasons, in the times when the rulers were friendly and peaceable toward us. What words could be enough to describe it? In those days the chief rulers of the whole empire completed ten and twenty years of their reign. They spent their time in festivals and public gatherings, in the most brilliant feasting and merrymaking, in perfect and settled peace. 11 Their power grew without hindrance and increased greatly day by day. Then all at once they abandoned their peaceful attitude toward us and stirred up a war with no truce. This movement was not yet two years old when a new development in the whole government overturned everything. A serious illness fell upon the senior ruler, and it affected his mind so that he lost his senses. Together with the one honored with second place after him, he withdrew to the life of an ordinary private citizen. This was hardly done when the whole empire was split in two, something never before recorded as having happened.

13 Not long after this, the emperor Constantius died. He had conducted his whole life with great gentleness and goodwill toward his subjects, and with warm friendliness toward the divine Word. He died by the common law of nature and left his legitimate son Constantine as emperor and Augustus in his place. Constantius was the first of these rulers to be proclaimed among the gods by them, and after his death he received every honor owed to an emperor. He was the kindest and gentlest of emperors. Alone among the rulers of our time he spent his entire reign in a way worthy of his office, and in every other respect he showed himself most gracious and generous to all. He took no part at all in the war against us. He kept the God-fearing people under his rule unharmed and unmolested. He did not tear down the church buildings, and he devised nothing else new against us. He reached an honorable and thrice-blessed end to his life. He alone died during his own reign in peace and honor, with a legitimate son to succeed him, one who was in every respect most prudent and devout.

15 His son Constantine began his rule at once. He was proclaimed full emperor and Augustus by the armies, and long before that by God himself, the King of all. He set himself to follow his father's devotion toward our teaching. That was Constantine. After this, Licinius was declared emperor and Augustus by the common vote of the ruling emperors. This troubled Maximinus badly. Until then he was the only one still holding the title Caesar. Being thoroughly tyrannical, he snatched the rank for himself and became Augustus, made so by himself alone. Meanwhile the man I mentioned as having taken up power again after he had laid it down was caught plotting Constantine's death, and he died a most shameful death. He was the first to have his honorary inscriptions, his statues, and everything of the sort set up in his honor torn down, as belonging to an unholy and utterly godless man.

CHAPTER 14

The Character of the Enemies of Religion.

2 His son Maxentius set up the tyranny at Rome. At the beginning he pretended to share our faith, to please and flatter the Roman people. So he ordered his subjects to ease off the persecution of Christians. He put on a show of piety so that he might seem more gracious and much milder than those before him. But he did not turn out in his deeds to be the man people hoped for. He plunged into every kind of wickedness and left no act of filth or lust undone. He committed adultery and every sort of defilement. He took lawful wives away from their husbands, abused them, and then sent them back to the husbands in disgrace. He did not do this to obscure or unknown people. He did it most of all to those who held the first rank in the Roman senate, and he behaved outrageously toward the most distinguished of them.

4 All the peoples and officials cowered before him, famous and unknown alike, and they were worn down by his terrible tyranny. Even when they kept quiet and bore the bitter slavery, there was still no escape from the tyrant's murderous cruelty. On one occasion, over some small pretext, he handed the people over to be slaughtered by the bodyguards around him. Countless crowds of the Roman people were killed in the middle of the city. They were killed by the spears and armor, not of Scythians or foreigners, but of their own countrymen. As for the senators, it is not even possible to count how many he murdered to get at their property. Tens of thousands were put to death, each time on some newly invented charge. 6 The crowning point of the tyrant's evils drove him to sorcery. In his magical schemes he sometimes

ripped open pregnant women, and sometimes searched the entrails of newborn babies. He slaughtered lions as well, and he performed certain unspeakable rites to call up demons and to ward off the war. All his hope was that victory would be secured for him by these means. It is impossible to say what he did while tyrant at Rome to enslave his subjects. Things reached such a point that even the necessary food ran extremely short. People of our time remember no such scarcity at Rome at any other time.

8 But Maximinus, the tyrant in the East, had secretly made a friendship with the tyrant at Rome, as with a brother in wickedness. He took care to keep this hidden for a very long time. Later he was found out and paid the penalty he deserved. It was astonishing how he, too, was akin to him in wickedness, or rather how he carried off first prize and the victor's crown for the evil character of the tyrant at Rome. The leading sorcerers and magicians were honored by him with the very highest rank. He was extremely timid and very superstitious, and he thought a great deal of the error of idols and demons. Without omens and oracles he could not dare to move, so to speak, even as far as a fingernail. 9 Because of this superstition he took up the persecution against us more fiercely and more constantly than those before him. He ordered temples to be built in every city, and the sacred precincts that had fallen down over the years to be rebuilt in haste. He appointed priests of the idols in every place and city. Over these, in each province, he set a high priest. This was a man from public life who had most conspicuously distinguished himself in every kind of public service, and he was given a troop of soldiers and a bodyguard. He also freely gave governorships and the greatest privileges to all sorcerers, as though they were devout men and friends of the gods.

11 Starting from these measures, he harassed and crushed not just one city or region but all the provinces under his rule. He did it by collecting gold, silver and untold sums of money, by very heavy charges, and by one fine after another. He took from the wealthy the property they had inherited from their ancestors, and gave great riches and heaps of money to the flatterers around him. He went so far in drunken violence and drinking that he went mad and lost his senses in his drinking bouts. When drunk, he gave orders that he regretted the next day when sober. He left no one able to outdo him in carousing and debauchery, and made himself a teacher of wickedness to those around him, both rulers and ruled. He pushed the army to go soft

through every kind of luxury and indulgence. He also urged governors and commanders to move against their subjects with plunder and greed, almost ruling as tyrants alongside him.

13 Why should I recall the man's lustful and shameful acts, or count up the crowd of women he committed adultery with? He could not pass through a city without corrupting women and carrying off virgins. In this he succeeded against everyone except the Christians alone. They despised death and counted his great tyranny as nothing. The men endured fire and sword, nailings, wild beasts and the depths of the sea. They endured the cutting off of limbs, brandings, the stabbing and gouging out of eyes, and the mutilation of the whole body. Besides these they endured hunger, mines and chains. In all of this they showed endurance for the sake of their godliness, rather than exchange the reverence due to God for idols.[267] 15 The women, no less than the men, were made manly by the teaching of the divine Word. Some endured the same contests as the men and won equal prizes of virtue. Others were dragged off to be violated, and they gave up their souls to death sooner than their bodies to defilement. One Christian woman of Alexandria was among those the tyrant tried to violate. She was the most distinguished and brilliant of them, and she alone overcame the lustful and unrestrained soul of Maximinus by her very courageous resolve. She was renowned for wealth, family and education, but she put all of these second to chastity. He pressed her with many entreaties, and yet could not bring himself to kill her, though she was ready to die, because his desire overpowered his anger. Instead he punished her with exile and took away all her property.

17 Countless other women could not even bear to hear a threat of sexual immorality from the governors of their provinces, and they endured every kind of torture, racking and deadly punishment. These women too are to be admired. But the most remarkable of all was the woman in Rome, truly the noblest and most chaste of all the women whom the tyrant Maxentius there tried to abuse as Maximinus did. She learned that the men who served the tyrant in such matters had arrived at her house. She too was a Christian. Her husband, who was prefect of Rome, had allowed them out of fear to take her and lead her away. She asked for a short delay to adorn her body, went into her room, and when she was alone she drove a sword into herself. She died at

267. Greek προσηλώσεις literally means "nailings" (fastenings with nails), which may include crucifixion but does not name it.

once and left her body to those who had come to procure her. By these deeds, louder than any voice, she showed to all people, now and in the future, that among Christians virtue is the only possession that cannot be defeated or destroyed.

18 So great a flood of wickedness came upon us at one and the same time. It was worked by the two tyrants who divided East and West between them. Who, looking into the cause of so many evils, would hesitate to declare it to be the persecution against us? This is especially so because this great confusion did not stop until the Christians regained their freedom.

CHAPTER 15

The Events Which Happened to the Heathen.

All through the ten years of the persecution, they never stopped plotting and making war against one another. The sea could not be sailed. No one could come ashore from anywhere without being put through every kind of abuse. They were stretched on the rack, their sides torn open, and questioned under every sort of torture, in case they had come from the enemy on the other side. In the end they were put to death by crucifixion or by fire. On top of this, shields and breastplates were being prepared, with arrows, spears and other battle equipment, and warships and naval weapons were being gathered everywhere. Everyone expected nothing else than an enemy attack on any day. After this, famine and plague also fell upon them. We will report the necessary facts about these in their proper place.

CHAPTER 16

The Change of Affairs for the Better.

1 Such were the conditions that lasted all through the persecution. By God's grace it came to a complete end in the tenth year, though it had begun to ease after the eighth. For when the divine and heavenly grace showed its kindly and merciful watch over us, then our rulers also changed their minds in the most surprising way. These were the very men through whom the wars against us had long been carried on. Now they sang a recantation, and with kind proclamations and very gentle decrees they put out the great fire of persecution they had lit.[268] 2 No human cause brought this about. It was not pity or kindness on the part of the rulers, as someone might suppose. Far from it!

268. "Recantation" translates a Greek word for a song that takes back what an earlier song said. Eusebius means a public reversal of policy.

From the beginning up to that time they had been thinking up more and harsher measures against us every day, and kept inventing new torments with ever more varied devices. It was the plain visitation of divine providence itself. Providence was being reconciled to its own people, and it went after the author of these evils, angry with him as the leader in all the wickedness of the persecution.

4 Even if these things had to happen by God's judgment, yet, as the Word says, "Woe to the one through whom the offense comes." So a punishment sent by God pursued him. It began with his flesh and went on to reach his soul. A sudden abscess formed in the middle of his private parts. Then came a deep, festering ulcer, and an incurable eating away of his innermost bowels. From these swarmed an indescribable number of worms, and a deadly stench rose from him. His whole body had already, before the illness, turned through overeating into an enormous mass of fat. This now rotted, and it presented an unbearable and horrifying sight to those who came near. [*Matthew 18:7*] 5 Some of the physicians could not endure the overpowering foulness of the stench at all, and they were slaughtered. Others were put to death without pity because the whole mass had swollen and recovery was beyond hope, and they could not help him.

CHAPTER 17

The Revocation of the Rulers.

2 Struggling with so many evils, he became aware of what he had dared to do against the godly. He collected his thoughts and first confessed openly to the God of the universe. Then he called those around him and ordered them to stop the persecution without delay. By law and royal decree he ordered that the Christians should build their churches, hurry to do so, and carry on their usual practices, offering prayers for the emperor. At once the deed followed the word. Royal edicts were posted in the cities, containing the recantation of what had been done against us, in this form: 5 "The Emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximinus, Unconquered, Augustus, Supreme Pontiff, Greatest Conqueror of the Germans, of the Egyptians, of the Thebans, of the Sarmatians five times, of the Persians twice, of the Carpi six times, of the Armenians, of the Medes, of the Adiabeni; holding tribunician power for the twentieth time, emperor for the nineteenth time, consul for the eighth time, Father of the Fatherland, Proconsul. And the Emperor Caesar Flavius Constantinus, Devout, Fortunate, Unconquered, Augustus, Supreme Pontiff,

holding tribunician power for the fifth time, emperor for the fifth time, Consul, Father of the Fatherland, Proconsul. And the Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius, Devout, Fortunate, Unconquered, Augustus, Supreme Pontiff, holding tribunician power for the fourth time, emperor for the third time, Consul, Father of the Fatherland, Proconsul. To the people of their own provinces, greetings."

7 Among the other measures we are laying down for the public good and benefit, we had wished earlier to set everything right according to the ancient laws and public order of the Romans. We also wanted to see to it that the Christians, who had abandoned the way of their own ancestors, should return to a good purpose. For somehow such self-seeking had gripped them, and such folly had seized them, that they no longer followed what the ancients had established, which perhaps their own forefathers had first set up. Instead they made laws for themselves according to their own inclination, as each one wished, and kept those laws, and gathered various crowds in various places. 9 Therefore, when an order of ours followed, requiring them to turn back to what the ancients had established, very many were put in danger, and very many were harassed and suffered every kind of death. Most of them remained in the same madness. We saw that they were neither offering the worship due to the heavenly gods nor paying attention to the God of the Christians. So, looking to our kindness toward humanity and to our constant custom of granting pardon to all people, we thought we should gladly extend our indulgence in this matter also. Let them be Christians again, and let them rebuild the houses where they used to meet, provided they do nothing contrary to public order. In another letter we will tell the judges what they will need to observe.

11 Accordingly, in return for this indulgence of ours, they ought to pray to their own God for our safety, for the welfare of the state, and for their own. Then public affairs will be kept sound in every way, and they will be able to live free from anxiety in their own homes. This is the text, translated as well as possible from the Roman language into Greek. Now it is time to look at what happened after these things.

Book 9

chapter 1

The Pretended Relaxation.

1 The recantation of the imperial decree quoted above was posted everywhere throughout Asia and the surrounding provinces. When this had been done, Maximinus, the tyrant of the East, was displeased with what was written. He was as impious as any man has ever been, and a bitter enemy of reverence for the God of the universe. Instead of publishing the document, he gave his governors a spoken order to relax the war against us. He could not otherwise oppose the decision of his superiors, so he shut the law away out of sight. He took care that it should not become public in the regions under him, and by an unwritten command he ordered the governors under him to relax the persecution against us. They passed on the order to one another in writing. 3 Sabinus, who was honored among them with the rank of most eminent prefect, made the emperor's mind known to the governors of the provinces in a Latin letter. The translation of it runs as follows. "With most ardent and devoted zeal, the divinity of our masters, the most divine emperors, long ago determined to turn the minds of all people to the holy and right way of life. They wished that even those who seemed to follow a custom foreign to the Romans should perform the worship owed to the immortal gods.

5 "But the stubbornness of some, and their extremely harsh resolve, went so far that they could neither be drawn from their purpose by the just reasoning of the command nor be frightened by the punishment hanging over them. Since many were bringing themselves into danger in this way, the divinity of our masters, the most powerful emperors, judged in keeping with their native nobility of piety that it was foreign to their most divine purpose to throw people into such danger for such a cause. So they ordered me, in my devotion, to write to your Sagacity as follows. If any Christian is found practicing the religion of his own people, you are to keep him free from harassment and danger. You are not to think that anyone should be punished on this pretext, since the experience of so long a time has established that they cannot in any way be persuaded to withdraw from such stubbornness.

7 "So your diligence should write to the curators, the magistrates, and the district prefects of every city, so that they will know it is not fitting for them

to concern themselves any further with this letter." On this, the governors of the provinces took it that the letter expressed the true intention of those who wrote it. They made the emperor's will known in writing to the curators, magistrates, and officials in the country districts. But they did not stop at writing. Long before that, they carried out in deeds what they took to be the emperor's decision. Those they had shut up in prison for confessing God they brought out into the open and set free, and they released those who had been handed over to the mines as punishment. They were deceived into thinking this was truly what the emperor wanted.[269] 9 When this had been done, all at once, like a light shining out of a dark night, one could see in every city churches being gathered, huge assemblies, and the meetings held there as they had been by custom. Every one of the unbelieving nations was greatly astonished at this. They marveled at so strange and complete a change, and they cried out that the God of the Christians was great and the only true God. Some of our people had fought the struggle of the persecutions faithfully and bravely, and they received their boldness again before everyone. But those whose souls had fallen sick in the faith and been battered by the storm eagerly hurried to be healed. They begged the strong and asked them for a hand to save them, and they pleaded with God to have mercy on them.

11 Then the noble athletes of true religion were freed from their sufferings in the mines and were sent back to their own homes. They went through every city proud and radiant, full of indescribable joy and a boldness that words cannot explain. Great crowds made their journey along the main roads and through the marketplaces, praising God with songs and psalms. And you could have seen those who a little earlier had been driven from their homelands in chains under the harshest punishment, now receiving back their own hearths with cheerful and happy faces. Even those who had earlier raged murderously against us saw this wonder, beyond all hope, and rejoiced with us over what had happened.

CHAPTER 2

The Subsequent Reverse.

The tyrant could not bear this any longer. He was a hater of all that is good and a plotter against every good thing, and, as we said, he ruled the eastern

269. "Curators" translates "logistai," city financial officials (Latin curator rei publicae). "District prefects" renders "praipositoi tou pagou," from Latin praepositus, an official over the rural district (pagus) of each city.

parts. He did not allow things to go on this way even for six full months. He devised every means of overturning the peace. First, he tried to keep us from meeting in the cemeteries, using some pretext. Then, through some wicked men, he arranged for an embassy to be sent to himself against us. He stirred up the citizens of Antioch to ask, as the greatest favor from him, that no Christian be allowed to live in their city. He had others prompted to ask for the same thing. The ringleader of all this in Antioch itself was Theoteknos, a terrible man, a charlatan and a villain, whose character did not match his name. He appeared to be the city's curator.[270]

CHAPTER 3

The Newly Erected Statue at Antioch.

This man waged many campaigns against us. He eagerly hunted our people out of their hiding places as though they were unholy thieves. He contrived every kind of slander and accusation against us, and he caused the death of countless people. At last, with tricks and sorcery, he set up an image of Zeus Philios (Zeus the Friendly). He devised unclean rites, ill-omened initiations, and abominable purifications for it. He even displayed his wonder-working to the emperor through the oracles he claimed to deliver. To please the ruler by flattery, he stirred up the demon against the Christians. He said the god had commanded that the Christians be driven beyond the borders of the city and its surrounding countryside, as enemies of the god.[271]

CHAPTER 4

The Memorials Against Us.

2 Because this man had taken the lead and gained his purpose, all the other officials in the cities under the same government rushed to pass the same decree. The provincial governors saw that this pleased the emperor, and they suggested to their subjects that they do the same. The tyrant welcomed these decrees with great pleasure and approved them by a written reply. So the persecution against us was set ablaze again from the beginning. Priests of the idols were appointed in each city. Over them Maximinus himself appointed high priests, chosen from those who had been most distinguished in public life and were famous in every office they had held. These men were full of

270. Theoteknos means "child of God" in Greek, hence "did not match his name." The older version's "Theotecnus" is the same name.

271. The older version has "Jupiter Philius," the Roman name for the same god.

zeal for the religion of the gods they served. 3 In short, the emperor's extreme superstition drove everyone under him, rulers and ruled alike, to do everything against us to win his favor. They thought the greatest thanks they could give him for the benefits they expected from him was to thirst for our blood and to invent some new form of cruelty against us.

CHAPTER 5

The Forged Acts.

They forged "Memoranda" of Pilate and of our Savior, full of blasphemy against Christ. With the approval of the higher authority, they sent these throughout the whole territory under his rule, with written orders that they be posted openly for all to see in every place, in country and in city. The schoolteachers were also to give them to the children, in place of their regular lessons, to study and memorize. While this was going on, another military commander, called a "dux" by the Romans, rounded up some women of ill repute from the marketplace in Damascus in Phoenicia. He threatened them with torture and forced them to state in writing that they had once been Christians, that they knew of criminal acts among them, and that in the Lord's own gatherings they practiced immorality, along with whatever else he wanted them to say to slander our teaching. He had their statements entered in the record and reported them to the emperor. At the emperor's command, these documents too were published in every place and city.[272]

CHAPTER 6

Those Who Suffered Martyrdom at This Time.

1 Not long afterward, that commander took his own life and so paid the penalty for his wickedness. But for us, flight and harsh persecution began again. Governors in every province rose against us once more with terrible force. Some who were prominent in the divine Word were arrested and received an unrelenting sentence of death. Three of them, in the city of Emesa in Phoenicia, confessed that they were Christians and were handed over to be eaten by wild beasts. Among them was a bishop named Silvanus, extremely old, who had completed forty full years in his ministry. 3 At the same time Peter, who had presided with great distinction over the churches

272. The "Acts" or "Memoranda" (hypomnēmata) of Pilate were forged documents, presented as official records of Jesus' trial. Eusebius says the women were forced to give false testimony. The older translation's "Acts of Pilate and our Saviour" is accurate; the Greek simply says "records."

in Alexandria, was a truly divine example of a bishop, both for the virtue of his life and for his devotion to the study of the sacred writings. He was suddenly seized for no reason at all, with no warning, and was beheaded abruptly and without explanation, as if by Maximinus' order. Many other Egyptian bishops suffered the same fate along with him. Lucian also was an excellent man in every respect, disciplined in his way of life and well trained in the sacred studies, a presbyter of the church at Antioch. He was taken to the city of Nicomedia, where the emperor was staying at that time. There he made his defense before the ruler for the teaching he led, was handed over to prison, and was put to death.

4 In a short time Maximinus, the hater of what is good, prepared so many such things against us that this persecution seemed far harsher than the earlier one.

CHAPTER 7

The Decree Against Us Which Was Engraved on Pillars.

1 In the middle of the cities, something never done before, resolutions of the cities against us, and the emperor's written replies to them, were engraved on bronze pillars and set up. Children in the schools had the names of Jesus and Pilate, and the records forged to insult him, on their lips every day. Here I think it necessary to include the very document of Maximinus that was set up on these pillars. It will show together the boastful, arrogant insolence of this man who hated God, and also the sleepless hatred of evil that belongs to divine justice against the ungodly. That justice overtook him closely, and under its pressure, not long afterward, he took the opposite course concerning us and laid it down in written laws. The document reads as follows: "Copy of a translation of Maximinus' reply to the resolutions against us, taken from the pillar at Tyre."

4 "At last the weak boldness of the human mind has been able to shake off and scatter every dark cloud and mist of error. Before this, that error had besieged the minds of people, who were not so much impious as wretched, and wrapped them in the deadly darkness of ignorance. At last they have recognized that the world is governed and kept stable by the kindly providence of the immortal gods. It is hard to say how welcome, how pleasant and how dear it has been to us that you have given such a great proof of your god-loving purpose. Even before this, no one was unaware of the care and reverence you showed to the immortal gods. Your faith is known not by bare and

empty words, but by continual and remarkable deeds of distinction." 6 "For this reason your city may rightly be called a foundation and dwelling-place of the immortal gods. Indeed, by many proofs it is plain that it flourishes because the heavenly gods are present in it. Look, then, at your city. It neglected all its own private interests and overlooked its earlier petitions on its own behalf. When it saw that the followers of that accursed folly were beginning to creep forward again, like a neglected, slumbering funeral pyre that bursts into huge flames when the brands are stirred up, it fled at once and without delay to our piety, as to the mother-city of all religions, asking for some healing and help.

7 "It is clear that the gods put this saving purpose into your minds because of the faithfulness of your piety. That highest and greatest Zeus himself, who presides over your most illustrious city, who rescues your ancestral gods, your wives and children, your hearth and your homes from every deadly ruin, has breathed this saving resolve into your souls. He shows and makes plain how excellent, splendid and saving it is to approach the worship and sacred rites of the immortal gods with the reverence that is due. 8 "For who could be found so foolish, or so empty of all understanding, as not to see that it is through the kindly zeal of the gods that the earth does not refuse the seed entrusted to it and cheat the farmers' hope with empty expectation? It is through the gods that the sight of impious war is not fixed unhindered upon the earth, and that bodies are not dragged parched to death when the mild climate of the sky is spoiled. It is through them that the sea is not swollen and heaved up high by blasts of immoderate winds, and that sudden squalls do not burst out and bring destructive storm. And it is through them, further, that the earth, our nourishing mother, is not made to sink from her lowest depths in fearful trembling, and the mountains on her are not swallowed up as chasms open. Everyone knows that all these things, and evils still worse than these, have often happened before.

11 "All this happened because of the deadly error and empty folly of those lawless men, when it held sway over their souls and, one might almost say, pressed down on everything everywhere with shame." After other words he adds: "Let them look at the crops now flourishing in the broad plains and rippling with ears of grain. Let them look at the meadows made bright with plants and flowers by good rains, and at the air restored to a mild and gentle condition. Let everyone rejoice, then, that through our piety, our sacrifices

and our honor the power of the most mighty and most terrible Ares has been appeased. For this reason let them enjoy a firm, calm peace in quiet. And let those who have turned completely away from that blind error and delusion and returned to a right and excellent mind rejoice all the more, like people rescued from an unexpected storm or a severe sickness, who will enjoy the pleasures of life for the future.

13 "But if they continue in their accursed folly, let them be separated and driven far away from your city and its surrounding territory, as you asked. In this way, in keeping with your praiseworthy zeal in the matter, your city may be free of every pollution and impiety, and, according to its inborn purpose, may attend with due reverence to the sacred rites of the immortal gods. And so that you may know how welcome your request on this matter has been to us, our soul is most eager to do kindness. Even without decrees and without a petition, of our own free will, we permit you to ask whatever great gift you wish in return for this god-loving purpose of yours. 15 "Ask now to do this and to receive it, for you will obtain it without any delay. Once granted to your city, it will bear witness for all time to your god-loving piety toward the immortal gods. It will also show, to your sons and descendants, that you received from our kindness the rewards you deserved for this choice of life." This was posted up against us in every province. It shut out every good hope for us, at least as far as men were concerned, so that, in keeping with that divine saying, even the elect were, if possible, made to stumble by it. [*Matthew 24: 24*]

16 Then, when the hope of most had almost died away, those who were carrying out the decree against us were suddenly still on the road in some regions. At that moment God, the champion of his own church, as if stopping the tyrant's boasting against us, showed his heavenly help on our behalf.

CHAPTER 8

The Misfortunes Which Happened in Connection with These Things, in Famine, Pestilence, and War.

1 The usual winter rains and showers did not fall on the earth as they customarily did, and an unexpected famine struck. A plague followed it, and then another disease besides. This was an ulcer, which because of its fiery character was aptly called a carbuncle. It spread over the whole body and put those who suffered from it in grave danger. It attacked the eyes most of all, and so it left countless men, together with women and children, blind. 3 On

top of these troubles, the tyrant found himself facing war with the Armenians. They had been friends and allies of the Romans from ancient times. They were Christians too, and earnest in their devotion to God. This God-hating man tried to force them to sacrifice to idols and demons, and so he turned friends into enemies and allies into foes. All these things came together suddenly at one and the same time, and they exposed the tyrant's boasting against God. He had been bold enough to boast that, because of his zeal for idols and his siege against us, no famine, no plague and no war had happened in his reign. Now all these fell on him together, at the same moment, and they were the first signs of his coming downfall.

5 He himself, along with his armies, was worn down by the war with the Armenians. Meanwhile famine and plague together wore down terribly the rest of the people living in the cities under his rule, so that a single measure of wheat sold for two thousand five hundred Attic drachmas. Countless people died in the cities, and still more in the fields and villages. The old registers, which had listed large numbers of country people, were almost entirely wiped out, since nearly everyone perished together from lack of food and from the plague. 7 Some people were willing to sell their dearest possessions to the better-off for the smallest scrap of food. Others sold their property bit by bit and were driven to the last extreme of need. Some chewed small wisps of grass and ate harmful plants without restraint, and they ruined their bodies and died. Some of the well-born women in the cities, driven by want to the shameless necessity of begging, went out into the marketplaces. By the modesty of their faces and the decency of their clothing they showed that they had once been free-born women of standing.

9 Some were shriveled up like dead images and were at their last gasp. They staggered and slipped about here and there, too weak to stand, and fell down in the middle of the streets. Lying face down, they begged someone to hand them a small scrap of bread. With their lives at the last breath, they cried out that they were hungry. They had strength for that one most painful cry only. Others, who seemed to be better off, were overwhelmed by the crowd of beggars. After giving away vast amounts, they finally became harsh and unyielding, expecting that before long they would suffer the same as those who begged. As a result, dead and naked bodies lay thrown about unburied for several days in the middle of the marketplaces and narrow streets, a most pitiful sight to those who saw them. 11 Some bodies even became food

for dogs. For this reason especially, the living turned to killing dogs, for fear that the dogs would go mad and begin to eat human beings. The plague also devoured whole households and families, and especially those whom the famine could not destroy because they had plenty of food. So the wealthy, the rulers, the governors and countless officials, as though the famine had left them behind on purpose for the plague, suffered a sharp and very swift death. Everything was full of wailing. In every narrow street, marketplace and broad road there was nothing else to see but mourning, with the flutes and drums that usually go with it.

14 In this way death went to war with the two weapons already described, plague and famine together, and in a short time devoured whole families. One could see the bodies of two or three dead people being carried out in a single funeral. Such was the reward for Maximinus' boasting and for the decrees against us passed in the cities. It was then that the zeal and godliness of the Christians in everything became plain to all the nations. For they alone, in such a crisis of troubles, showed their sympathy and love for their fellow men by their actions. All day long some of them devoted themselves to caring for the dying and burying them (there were countless thousands who had no one to look after them). Others gathered together in one place the great crowd of those wasting away from hunger all over the city, and distributed bread to them all. The thing became famous among all people, and they glorified the God of the Christians. Convinced by the facts themselves, they confessed that these alone were truly godly and worshipers of God.

15 When these things had happened in this way, the great and heavenly God, the champion of the Christians, had shown through the events described his threat and anger against all people for what they had done to us in such excess. He then gave back to us the kindly, bright light of his care for us. As in deep darkness, he made a light of peace shine on us from himself, most unexpectedly. He made it plain to everyone that God himself has always watched over our affairs. From time to time he scourges his people and turns them back through hard circumstances. But again, after sufficient discipline, he appears gracious and kind to those who put their hopes in him.

CHAPTER 9

The Victory of the God-Beloved Emperors.

1 Thus it was, as we said before, that Constantine, an emperor and the son of an emperor, a godly man born of a most godly and altogether self-con-

trolled father, and Licinius, who came next after him, both honored for their understanding and godliness, were raised up by God, the all-sovereign King and Savior of the universe. These two God-beloved men were raised up against the two most ungodly tyrants. They drew up their forces in formal war, with God fighting on their side. At Rome, Maxentius fell in a most astonishing way at the hands of Constantine. The ruler in the East did not outlive him for long, and he too died a most shameful death at the hands of Licinius, who had not yet gone mad.[273] 3 Constantine was first. He was first in honor and in rank of rule, and he took pity on those tyrannized at Rome. He called on the God of heaven in prayer, and on his Word, Jesus Christ himself, the Savior of all, to be his ally. Then he marched out with his whole army, seeking to win back for the Romans the freedom of their ancestors. Maxentius trusted more in magic tricks than in the goodwill of his subjects. He did not dare to go even as far as the city gates. Instead he fortified every place, district and city under his control around Rome and throughout Italy with countless heavy-armed troops and innumerable companies of soldiers. But the emperor, strengthened by the alliance of God, attacked the tyrant's first, second and third armies. He defeated them all with ease, advanced a very long way into Italy, and was already very close to Rome.

5 Then, so that Constantine would not be forced to fight the Romans on the tyrant's account, God himself drew the tyrant far away from the gates, as if with chains. What was written long ago in the sacred books against the ungodly, which most people disbelieved as if it were a fable but which believers trusted, God now confirmed. To put it simply, by plain evidence he confirmed it to everyone, believers and unbelievers alike, who had received the wonder with their own eyes. As in the time of Moses himself and the ancient God-fearing nation of the Hebrews, "He threw Pharaoh's chariots and his army into the sea; he drowned his chosen riders and officers in the Red Sea; the deep covered them." In the same way Maxentius, with the soldiers and bodyguards around him, "sank into the depths like a stone." This happened when he turned his back before the power of God that was with Constantine and crossed the river in front of his line of march. He himself had joined boats together and built a solid bridge over it, and so had made a machine of destruction against himself.[274] [*Exodus 15:4–5*]

273. "Who had not yet gone mad" refers to Licinius' later break with Constantine and his persecution of Christians. The Greek says only "the one in the East," meaning Maximinus Daia.

7 Of him one could say: "He dug a pit and opened it up, and he will fall into the hole he made. His trouble will return on his own head, and his injustice will come down on his own crown." So the bridge of boats over the river broke apart, and the crossing gave way. All at once the boats, with everyone aboard, went down into the deep. First went that most ungodly man himself, and then the guards around him, just as the divine oracles proclaim: "They sank like lead in mighty water."[275] [*Exodus 15:10*] 8 So it was fitting that those who won the victory from God did what Moses, the great servant of God, and his companions had done. If they did not do it in words, they did so in deeds. They sang, in effect, the very words once spoken against the ancient ungodly tyrant: "Let us sing to the Lord, for he has been gloriously glorified. Horse and rider he threw into the sea. The Lord became my helper and protector for salvation." And: "Who is like you among the gods, Lord? Who is like you? Among the holy ones, wonderful in glories, doing wonders."[276] [*Exodus 15:1-2; Exodus 15:11*]

10 Constantine sang these praises, and others like them, to God, the ruler of all and the cause of his victory. He sang them in deeds, and then rode into Rome in triumph. Everyone together welcomed him: even the smallest children and the women, the members of the senate and the other most distinguished men, and the whole Roman people. They received him with shining eyes and with their whole souls, as a deliverer, savior and benefactor, with shouts of praise and insatiable joy. But Constantine, who had a natural piety toward God, was not shaken at all by the shouting or lifted up by the praise. He was fully aware that his help came from God. So he immediately ordered that a trophy of the Savior's suffering be set up beneath the hand of his own image. They set him up in the most public place in Rome, holding the saving sign of the cross in his right hand, and he commanded that these words be inscribed beneath it in the Roman language:

12 "By this saving sign, the true proof of courage, I saved your city from the yoke of the tyrant and set it free. I also set free the senate and the people of Rome, and restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor." After this, Constantine himself and with him the emperor Licinius, who had not yet turned aside in mind to the madness into which he later fell,

274. The quotations are from the Song of Moses, Exodus 15:4-5, in the Septuagint wording.

275. The two quotations are from Psalm 7:16-17 (LXX) and Exodus 15:10 (LXX).

276. These words come from the Song of Moses, Exodus 15:1-2 and 15:11, in the Septuagint wording. "Among the holy ones" is the literal Greek (ἐν ἁγίοις).

sought the favor of God, the source of their blessings. With one purpose and one mind they drew up a full and most complete law on behalf of the Christians. They sent to Maximinus, who still ruled the peoples of the East and was pretending friendship toward those two, an account of the wonders God had done for them, of the victory over the tyrant, and the law itself. 14 But Maximinus, like the tyrant he was, was deeply pained at what he learned. He did not want to seem to give way to others, and yet for fear of those who had given the order he did not want to suppress it. So, as though on his own authority, he wrote this first letter, under compulsion, to the governors under him on behalf of the Christians. In it he falsely made up claims about himself, about things he had never done. Copy of a translation of the letter of the tyrant Maximinus: "Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus. I am confident that it is clear both to your Firmness and to all people that our lords Diocletian and Maximian, our fathers, saw that almost all people had abandoned the worship of the gods and mixed themselves in with the nation of the Christians. They therefore ordered that all who had departed from the worship of those same immortal gods should be called back to the worship of the gods by open chastisement and punishment.

16 "But when I first came to the East, with good fortune, I learned that in some places very many people who could benefit the public were being banished by the judges for the reason stated above. So I gave orders to each of the judges that from then on none of them should treat the provincials harshly, but should call them back to the worship of the gods with flattery and encouragement. Then, when the judges kept to what was commanded, in line with my order, it happened that no one in the regions of the East was banished or abused. Rather, because no harshness was used against them, they were called back to the worship of the gods." 18 Afterward, last year, when I came to Nicomedia under favorable auspices and was staying there, citizens of that city came to me together with the images of their gods. They urgently begged that such a people should by no means be allowed to live in their homeland. But I learned that very many men of that same religion lived in those districts. So I answered them that I was glad to thank them for their request, but that I saw it was not made by everyone. If, then, some were persisting in the same superstition, each one was free to follow his own choice, even if he wished to acknowledge the worship of the gods.

19 Nevertheless, I was obliged to answer the people of that city and the other cities as well, which have made the same request to me with such great eagerness, namely that not a single Christian should live in their cities. I told them that all the ancient emperors had kept to this very policy, and that it pleased the gods, through whom all men and the very administration of public affairs stand firm, that I should confirm this great request which they bring forward on behalf of the worship of their deity. 20 So, although letters were sent to you before this, and orders were likewise given, that the provincials should take no harsh measures against such a people but should deal with them patiently and moderately, nevertheless I thought it fitting to remind your firmness by this letter as well. They are not to suffer insults or extortions at the hands of the beneficiarii or of anyone else who happens along. You are to lead our provincials, by flattery and exhortation, rather to acknowledge the gods.

22 Therefore, if anyone of his own choice takes up the acknowledgment of the gods, it is right to welcome such people. But if some wish to follow their own religion, you are to leave that in their power. So your devotion must keep to what has been entrusted to you. No one is to be given the authority to abuse our provincials with insults and extortions, since, as written above, it is right to call our people back to the worship of the gods by exhortations and flattery. And so that this command of ours may come to the knowledge of all our provincials, you must make known what has been ordered by an edict published by you. 24 Maximinus gave these orders because necessity forced him, not because he agreed with them himself. So no one trusted him any longer or thought him honest, because after a similar concession earlier he had already shown himself changeable and false. So none of our people dared to hold a meeting or even to show himself in public. His letter did not allow even this. It merely ordered that we be protected from harassment. It did not command that we hold meetings, or build houses for churches, or carry out any of our usual practices.

25 Yet Constantine and Licinius, the heralds of peace and piety, had written to him to allow these things, and had granted them to all their own subjects by public notices and laws. But this most impious man had not chosen to yield on this point, until at last, driven by divine justice, he was brought to it against his will.

CHAPTER 10

The Overthrow of the Tyrants and the Words, Which They Uttered Before Their Death.

1 Heading: The Overthrow of the Tyrants and the Words They Spoke Before Their Death. What brought him around to this end was something like the following. He could no longer bear the greatness of the power that had been entrusted to him without deserving it. Lacking any sober, kingly judgment, he handled affairs crudely. His soul was lifted up senselessly in boastful pride over everything. He even began to dare to act insolently against his fellow rulers. In every respect they were far above him: in birth, upbringing and education, in rank and understanding, and, most important of all, in self-control and in reverence toward the true God. He began first to claim for himself the highest honors. 3 He pushed his madness to the point of frenzy. He broke the agreements he had made with Licinius and launched a war with no truce. In a short time he had thrown everything into confusion and stirred up every city. He gathered his whole army, countless thousands strong, and marched out to meet Licinius in battle. His soul was puffed up with hopes in demons, whom he took to be gods, and with his tens of thousands of heavily armed soldiers. But when the two armies came to blows, he was left without the watchful care of God. The victory was granted to Licinius by the one and only God of all.

4 First, he lost the army he had trusted in. His bodyguards stripped him bare and left him completely alone, and they fled to the man who was then winning. The wretch quickly took off the imperial dress, which did not suit him, and in a cowardly, ignoble and unmanly way slipped into the crowd. Then he ran away. He hid in fields and villages to protect his life, and he barely escaped the hands of his enemies. By these very events he proved that the divine oracles are faithful and true, where it is said: 6 "A king is not saved by power, and a giant will not be saved by his great strength. A horse is a false hope for safety, and he will not be saved by the greatness of his power. Look, the eyes of the Lord are on those who fear him, on those who hope in his mercy, to rescue their souls from death." So the tyrant, filled with shame, came back to his own territories. First, in a frenzy of rage, he put to death many priests and prophets of the gods he had once admired. Their oracles had fired him up to take on the war, and he killed them as sorcerers and frauds and, above all, as betrayers of his safety. Then he gave glory to the

God of the Christians, and he issued a law securing their freedom in the fullest and most complete terms. Immediately afterward he died a terrible death, with no time given him. The law he sent out was as follows: a copy of the tyrant's edict on behalf of the Christians, translated from the Latin language into Greek.

7 Emperor Caesar Gaius Valerius Maximinus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, devout, fortunate, unconquered, Augustus. We believe it is clear that everyone knows, and each person is aware in himself, that we always take thought in every way for the good of our provincials. We wish to provide them with the things by which their advantage is best secured: whatever serves their common benefit and usefulness, whatever suits the public good, and whatever is dear to the minds of each. 8 Earlier it became clear to us that the command of our parents, the most divine Diocletian and Maximian, ordering the Christians' assemblies to be abolished, was made a pretext. Many extortions and seizures were committed by officials, and this kept growing worse against our provincials, whom we are especially eager to look after properly, and their own property was being worn away. So last year we sent letters to the governors of each province and decreed that, if anyone wished to follow such a custom or keep the same religious observance, he should be allowed to hold to his purpose without hindrance, should be blocked and prevented by no one, and should be free to do what pleases him without any fear or suspicion.

10 Even now, however, it has not escaped us that some of the judges have disregarded our orders. They made our people doubt our instructions, and made them more hesitant about approaching the forms of worship that they liked. So that from now on every suspicion and doubtful fear may be removed, we have ordered that this decree be posted publicly. It is to be clear to all that those who wish to follow this sect and religion are permitted to do so by this gift of ours. Each person may take up this worship as he wishes and as pleases him, the religion he has chosen to practice by custom. It is also permitted to them to build their own Lord's houses. 11 So that our gift may be even greater, we have also thought it right to decree this. If any houses or lands formerly belonged to the Christians by right, and through the order of our parents passed to the right of the imperial treasury, or were seized by some city, whether they were sold or given to someone as a gift, we have

ordered all of these to be restored to the former right of the Christians. In this too, let all perceive our piety and our care.

12 These were the tyrant's own words, spoken less than a year after he had set up his decrees against the Christians on pillars. A little earlier, in his eyes, we were impious and godless, the ruin of all human life. We were not allowed to live in a city, or even in the countryside or the wilderness. Now this same man was drawing up orders and laws on behalf of the Christians. Those who shortly before had been destroyed by fire and sword, and given to wild beasts and birds to devour, before the tyrant's own eyes, had endured every kind of torture and punishment, and had died most pitifully as godless and impious people. These same people were now acknowledged by him as practicing a religion, were permitted to repair their Lord's houses, and the tyrant himself testified and admitted that they had certain rights. 14 Having made such confessions, as though he had received a favor, he suffered less than he should have suffered for these very deeds. Struck by a sudden scourge of God, he met his end in the second engagement of the war. His end was not like that of generals and commanders, who often fight bravely in battle for honor and for their friends, and bravely face a glorious death. Instead, like an impious man who made war against God, while his army was still drawn up before the field, he stayed at home in hiding and paid the penalty he deserved. God struck his whole body with a sudden scourge. He was driven by terrible pains and agonies and fell on his face, wasting away from hunger. His flesh was entirely melted by an invisible fire sent from God, so that it ran away. The whole look of his old form disappeared, and all that was left was a kind of ghost of dry bones, like a skeleton dried out over a long time. Those who were present could think of nothing else than that his body had become a tomb for his soul, which was buried in a body already dead and completely wasted away.

16 The heat burned him still more fiercely from deep in his marrow. His eyes burst out and fell from their sockets, and left him blind. Even then, while still breathing, he confessed to the Lord in reply, and called on death. At the very last he admitted that he was justly suffering these things for his drunken violence against Christ, and gave up his soul.

CHAPTER 11

The Final Destruction of the Enemies of Religion.

2 So Maximinus was removed. He was the only enemy of true godliness still left, and he had shown himself the worst of them all. By the grace of God the Almighty, the rebuilding of the churches from their foundations began. The word of Christ shone out to the glory of the God of the universe and gained greater freedom than before. Meanwhile the impiety of the enemies of godliness was filled with the utmost shame and dishonor. First of all, Maximinus himself was declared by the ruling emperors to be the enemy of all. In public edicts he was posted up as a most impious, most infamous and most God-hating tyrant. All the paintings set up in every city in honor of him and his children were thrown down from their height and smashed on the ground. Others had their faces ruined by being blackened with dark paint. In the same way, all the statues that had been erected in his honor were thrown down and broken, and were left as a laughingstock and plaything for those who wanted to insult and abuse them.

4 Then the honors of the other enemies of godliness were also taken away. All who sided with Maximinus were put to death, especially those who had been honored with high office by him and who, out of flattery toward him, had arrogantly and drunkenly abused our teaching. One of these was Peucetius, the one he honored and respected above all, the most trusted of his companions, who had been consul twice and three times, and whom Maximinus had appointed chief finance minister. Another was Culcianus, who had likewise risen through every office of authority, and who was notorious for the countless Christians he had spilled the blood of in Egypt. There were also not a few others besides these, through whom above all the tyranny of Maximinus had been strengthened and increased. 6 Justice also called for Theoteknos, and did not forget what he had done against the Christians. He had set up a wooden idol at Antioch, and through it seemed to prosper, and Maximinus had already honored him with a governorship. But Licinius came to the city of Antioch and hunted down the sorcerers. He tortured the prophets and priests of the newly built idol and asked them how they carried on the fraud. Driven by the torments, they could not hide it any longer, and revealed that the whole mystery was a deception devised by the skill of Theoteknos. Licinius gave all of them the punishment they deserved.

First he handed over Theoteknos himself, and then his partners in the sorcery, to death, after very many cruelties.

8 Maximinus' sons were added to the list. He had already made them sharers in the imperial honor by having their names and portraits displayed on tablets and paintings. The tyrant's relatives had once been boastful and had risen high in their power to oppress everyone. They now suffered the same fate as those already mentioned, along with the utmost disgrace. They had not accepted instruction. They neither knew nor understood the exhortation in the sacred writings: "Do not put your trust in rulers, in the sons of men, in whom there is no salvation. His spirit will go out and return to his earth. On that day all their plans will perish." 9 So when the ungodly had been cleared away, the rightful rule was kept secure and unchallenged for Constantine and Licinius alone. They had first cleansed human life of hatred toward God. They were aware of the good things God had granted them, and they showed their love of virtue and of God, and their reverence and gratitude toward the divine, through their legislation on behalf of the Christians.

Book 10

chapter 1

The Peace Granted Us by God.

2 Thanks be to God, the Almighty and King of all, for everything. The greatest thanks go to Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of our souls. Through him we pray that peace may always be kept for us firm and unshaken, both from troubles outside and from troubles of the mind. Together with your prayers, I now add this tenth book to the earlier parts of the church history, and I dedicate it to you, my most holy Paulinus. I call on you aloud as the seal of the whole work.[277] 4 It is fitting that in this perfect number we place the perfect festal address on the renewal of the churches. In doing so we obey the divine Spirit, who commands us somewhat like this: "Sing a new song to the Lord, for he has done wonderful things. His right hand and his holy arm have saved him. The Lord has made known his salvation. In the sight of the nations he has revealed his righteousness." So, following

277. Paulinus was bishop of Tyre, and Eusebius addresses him again in the festal oration in this book (10.4).

the saying that commands the new song, let us now cry out in the same spirit. After those terrible and dark sights and stories, we have now been counted worthy to see and celebrate such things as many truly righteous men and martyrs of God before us longed to see on earth and did not see, and to hear and did not hear.[278]

6 But those men hurried on and quickly received far better things. They were taken up into the heavens themselves and into the paradise of divine delight. We, however, admit that even what we have now is greater than we deserve. We are astonished at the grace of the generosity of the one who gave it. We rightly marvel and revere him with all the strength of our souls. We also bear witness to the truth of the written predictions, in which it says: "Come and see the works of the Lord, the wonders he has set on the earth. He puts an end to wars to the ends of the world. He will break the bow and crush the weapon, and burn the shields with fire." We rejoice that these words have been plainly fulfilled for us, and so let us continue with the account that follows.[279] 8 The whole race of God-haters had been wiped out in the way already described. They had been so completely blotted out from the sight of men that another divine saying was fulfilled: "I saw the ungodly man highly exalted and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon. Then I passed by, and look, he was gone. I searched for his place, and it was not found." From then on a bright, clear day, with no cloud to cast a shadow, shone on the churches of Christ throughout the whole world with rays of heavenly light. There was no ill will, even toward those outside our company, over sharing in these things. If they could not share equally, they could still share in the overflow of the good things God had granted us.[280]

CHAPTER 2

The Restoration of the Churches.

1 So all people were free from the oppression of the tyrants. Delivered from their former evils, each in his own way acknowledged as the only true God the champion of the godly. But for us especially, who had fastened our hopes

278. "Perfect number" refers to ten, the number of the books of the History. The psalm quoted is Psalm 98 (97 in the Greek numbering). The last clause echoes Jesus' words in Matthew 13:17.

279. The quotation is from Psalm 46:8-9 (45 in the Greek numbering). The Greek word here is hoplon, "weapon."

280. The quotation is from Psalm 37:35-36 (36 in the Greek numbering). The Greek speaks of the absence of envy or grudging toward those outside.

on the Christ of God, there was unspeakable gladness. A God-given joy bloomed in everyone. We saw every place that a little before had been ruined by the ungodliness of the tyrants coming back to life, as if recovering from a long and deadly plague. We saw church buildings rising again from their foundations to an immense height, and taking on a splendor far greater than that of the old ones that had been ravaged long ago.[281] 2 The supreme emperors also kept confirming, by a steady stream of laws in favor of Christians, the great gifts we had received from God, and they strengthened them still further. Letters from the emperor also came to the bishops personally, along with honors and gifts of money. It would not be out of place, at the right point in the narrative, to engrave their words in this book, as on a sacred pillar. I have translated them from the Roman language into Greek, so that they may be remembered by all who come after us.[282]

CHAPTER 3

The Dedications in Every Place.

2 After this, the sight that we all had prayed and longed for took shape. There were festivals of dedication in the cities, and consecrations of the newly built houses of prayer. Bishops gathered in one place, people hurried in from distant foreign lands, and one people showed kindness to another. The members of Christ's body came together into one harmony. This was in keeping with a prophecy that foretold the future in a hidden way: bone was joined to bone and joint to joint. So too was everything else that the inspired word had truthfully foretold in riddles.[283] [*Ezekiel 37:7*] 4 One power of the divine Spirit passed through all the members. There was one soul in all, the same eagerness of faith, and one hymn of praise to God from everyone. The leaders carried out the full round of worship, and the priests performed the sacred rites, along with the ordinances of the church that are fitting for God. In one place this was done with psalm-singing and the hearing of the other words handed down to us from God. In another it was done with divine and mystical services, and the unspeakable symbols of the Savior's suffering were observed. At the same time people of every age, male and female, honored

281. Eusebius uses the ordinary Greek word for "temple" (naos) for the church buildings.
282. The emperors in view are Constantine and Licinius, whose letters and laws Eusebius goes on to quote. The "Roman language" is Latin.
283. The "bone to bone" prophecy echoes Ezekiel 37, the vision of the dry bones. Eusebius takes it as foretelling the reunited church.

God, the source of all good things. They did so with prayers and thanksgiving, with all the strength of their minds, and with glad hearts and souls. Each of the leaders present also delivered festive speeches, as far as his ability allowed, and so gave the celebration a divine character.

CHAPTER 4

Panegyric on the Splendor of Affairs.

2 Then one of the men of modest ability stepped into the middle. He had composed a speech, and he gave it as if in a church assembly, with a great many pastors present, listening in quiet and good order. He addressed it to one man, a bishop who was in every way excellent and beloved of God. It was through this bishop's zeal that the temple at Tyre, the most splendid in the whole Phoenician region, had been lavishly built. The speech was as follows. "A Festal Address on the Building of the Churches, addressed to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre. Friends of God and priests, you who are clothed in the holy long robe, the heavenly crown of glory, the divine anointing and the priestly garment of the Holy Spirit; and you, the solemn pride of this new holy temple of God. God has honored you with the wisdom of age, yet you have shown costly works and deeds of young and vigorous virtue. To you God himself, who holds the whole world in his hand, has given the special honor of building and renewing his house on earth for Christ, his only-begotten and first-born Word, and for Christ's holy bride, who is fitting for God..."

5 "...whether someone would call you a new Bezalel, the architect of a divine tabernacle, or Solomon, king of a new and far better Jerusalem, or a new Zerubbabel, who put a far greater glory than the former one on the temple of God. And you also, nurslings of Christ's sacred flock, home of good words, school of self-control, and reverent, God-loving hearers of true religion: in earlier times we received through the divine readings, by hearing alone, God's marvelous signs and the Lord's wonderful acts of kindness to men. Then we could send up hymns and songs to God, and we were taught to say, 'O God, we have heard with our ears; our fathers have told us the work you did in their days, in days of old.'"[284] [*Psalm 44:1*] 7 "But now we no longer receive the high arm and the heavenly right hand of our all-good God and King of all merely by hearing or by the report of words. We see with our own

284. Bezalel built the tabernacle (Exodus 31), and Zerubbabel led the rebuilding of the temple after the exile (Ezra, Haggai). The quotation is Psalm 44:1 in the English and Hebrew numbering, which is Psalm 43 in the Greek (LXX) numbering.

eyes, so to speak, in actual deeds, that what was long ago handed down in memory is faithful and true. So we can sing a second hymn of victory, and say plainly, 'As we heard, so we have seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God.' What city is that? Is it not this newly built city, built by God? It is the church of the living God, 'pillar and foundation of the truth.' Of it another divine oracle also proclaims the good news in these words: 'Glorious things were spoken of you, O city of God.' The all-good God has brought us together to this city through the grace of his only-begotten Son. So let each of those who have been called here sing out, almost shouting, 'I was glad when they said to me, We shall go to the house of the Lord,' and 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house and the place where your glory dwells.'"[285] [*Psalm 48:8; 1 Timothy 3:15; Psalm 122:1*]

8 Let us not praise him only one by one. Let us all together, with one spirit and one soul, cry out in honor of him, saying, "Great is the Lord and greatly to be praised, in the city of our God, on his holy mountain." For he is truly great, and great is his house, lofty and long, and more beautiful than the sons of men. Great is the Lord, who alone works wonders. Great is he who does great and unsearchable things, glorious and extraordinary, past counting. Great is he who changes times and seasons, who removes kings and sets them up, who raises the poor from the earth and lifts the needy from the dung heap. He has brought down rulers from their thrones, lifted up the lowly from the earth, filled the hungry with good things, and broken the arms of the proud.[286] [*Psalm 48:1; Daniel 2:21; Luke 1:52-53*] 9 He has confirmed the memory of the ancient accounts not only to believers but also to unbelievers. He is the worker of wonders and great deeds, the Master of all, the Creator of the whole world, the Almighty, the all-good, the one and only God. To him let us sing the new song. In our minds we add, "To him who alone does wonders, for his mercy endures forever; to him who struck down great kings and killed mighty kings, for his mercy endures forever; for in our humiliation the Lord remembered us and ransomed us from our enemies."[287]

11 As we praise the Father of all in these words, may we never stop. And let us honor with our lips the one who is the second source of our blessings: Je-

285. "Pillar and foundation of the truth" is quoted from 1 Timothy 3:15. The other quotations are from the Psalms: Psalm 48:8 (LXX 47:9), Psalm 87:3 (LXX 86:3), Psalm 122:1 (LXX 121:1) and Psalm 26:8 (LXX 25:8).

sus, the guide into the knowledge of God, the teacher of true godliness, the destroyer of the ungodly, the slayer of tyrants, the reformer of life, the Savior of us who had been given up as lost. For he alone is the all-good Son of an all-good Father, and he alone was willing to share the nature of us who lay in corruption below. He did this by the purpose of the Father's love for mankind. He is like an excellent physician who, for the sake of the sick, looks on terrible things, touches what is repulsive, and reaps grief of his own from the misfortunes of others. We were not only sick, or weighed down with terrible sores and wounds already festering. We were lying among the dead. Yet he saved us for himself out of the very depths of death. For none of those in heaven had strength enough to serve the salvation of so many without being harmed.

12 He alone, then, has touched our grievous corruption. He alone has endured our labors. He alone has taken on himself the penalties for our ungodly deeds. He took us up, not as half-dead, but as men lying altogether in graves and tombs, already foul and stinking. Both long ago and now, by his zeal for mankind, beyond the hope of anyone, even ourselves, he saves us and shares with us the Father's goods in full abundance. He is the giver of life, the bringer of light, our great physician, king and lord, the Christ of God. 13 Once, when the whole human race lay buried in dark night and deep gloom through the deceits of destroying demons and the working of God-hating spirits, he simply appeared. As wax is melted, so by the rays of his light he undid the many-knotted chains of our ungodliness. 14 But now, at such grace and kindness, the demon who hates what is good and loves evil is almost bursting with envy. He has marshaled all his deadly forces against us. First, like a mad dog, he gnashed his teeth at the stones thrown at him and vented his rage on the lifeless missiles instead of those defending themselves. He set his beastly fury against the stones of our houses of prayer and the lifeless timber of our buildings, and, as he supposed, he made the churches desolate. Then he let out terrible hissing and snake-like cries, now in the threats of ungodly tyrants, now in the blasphemous decrees of wicked rulers. He also belched out his own death, drugging the souls he had captured with

287. The praise here echoes Psalm 136 (LXX 135): "who alone does great wonders," "who struck down great kings," and "who remembered us in our low estate and rescued us from our foes."

286. Eusebius weaves in biblical language: Psalm 48:1 (LXX 47:2), Daniel 2:21, Psalm 113:7 and 1 Samuel 2:8, and Mary's song in Luke 1:51-53.

his venomous, soul-destroying poisons and almost killing them with the death-dealing sacrifices to dead idols. And he stirred up against us every beast in human form and every kind of savage—

15 Once again, and as if from the beginning, the Angel of the great counsel appeared. He is God's great commander-in-chief. His greatest soldiers had already shown, by their endurance and steadfastness in everything, that they had trained enough. Then he suddenly appeared and reduced his hostile enemies to nothing, out of sight, so that they seem never to have been named. But those who are his own and dear to him he raised above all glory. He did this not only among all people but also among the powers of heaven, the sun and moon and stars, and the whole heaven and world.[288] 16 So now, as never before, the highest kings of all are aware of the honor they have received from him. They spit on the faces of dead idols and trample the lawless rules of demons. They laugh at the old deceit handed down from their fathers. They recognize him alone as God, the common benefactor of all and of themselves. They confess Christ as the Son of God and King of the whole universe. They proclaim him Savior on monuments, writing his achievements and his victories over the ungodly in royal lettering, to be remembered forever, in the middle of the ruling city of the earth. So of all who have lived since the beginning of time, Jesus Christ our Savior alone is acknowledged, even by the highest rulers on earth, not as an ordinary king from among men. He is worshiped as the true Son of the God of all, and as God himself. And this is only right.[289]

18 For what king who ever lived has had so much excellence that he filled the ears and tongues of all people on earth with his name? What king has given laws so godly and wise, and made them strong enough to be read continually in the hearing of all people, from the ends of the earth to the farthest edges of the whole inhabited world? Who has done away with the barbarous and savage customs of wild nations by his own gentle and kindly laws? Who has been attacked by everyone for whole ages and yet shown a virtue beyond human, so that he flourishes every day and stays young throughout his whole life? 20 Who has founded a nation never heard of from the beginning of the ages, a nation not hidden in some corner of the earth but

288. "Angel of the great counsel" (μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος) is the Septuagint title for the child in Isaiah 9:6 (LXX 9:5). Eusebius applies it here to Christ.

289. The "ruling city" is Rome. Eusebius probably has in mind the statue of Constantine holding a cross, with its inscription, that he describes in 9.9.10–11, but he does not name it here.

spread over everything under the sun? Who has so fenced in his soldiers with the weapons of godliness that their souls shine out, harder than adamant, in the contests against their opponents? What king has such power, and even leads his army after death? He sets up trophies over his enemies. He fills every place, country and city, Greek and barbarian, with his royal houses and with the dedicated gifts of his divine temples. Such are the beautiful ornaments and offerings of this very temple. They are truly solemn and great, worthy of astonishment and wonder, and clear proofs of the kingdom of our Savior. For now too "he himself spoke, and they came to be; he himself commanded, and they were created." What was there that could stand against the nod of the King of all, the Ruler of all, God the Word himself? All this needs a discourse of its own, with time for careful examination and explanation.[290]

21 It would also need a discourse to tell how great and of what kind was the eagerness of those who labored, as it has been judged by him who is called God. He looks upon the living temple that all of us make up. He watches over the house built of living and firm stones, well and securely set on the foundation of the apostles and prophets. Jesus Christ himself is the cornerstone. He was rejected not only by the builders of that old building, which no longer exists, but also by the builders of the structure of the many, which still stands today. These were evil architects of evil work. But the Father approved him, both then and now, and set him as the head of the corner of this church that we share.[291] [*Ephesians 2:20-22; 1 Peter 2:4-7; Matthew 21:42*] 23 So who, having seen this living temple of the living God, built up from yourselves, would dare to describe it? I mean the greatest sanctuary, truly worthy of God. Its innermost shrines, which most people never see, are truly holy, the holy of holies. Who is able even to look inside its sacred courts, except the great High Priest of all? He alone has the right to search out the hidden things of every rational soul. Perhaps one other can rank second after him, and only one among equals. That is the leader who presides over this company. The first and great High Priest himself honored him with the second place among the priests here. He made him shepherd of your God-in-

290. The quotation is Psalm 33:9 (32:9 LXX). It matches the Septuagint wording almost exactly: "αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκτίσθησαν."

291. The Greek βεβηκότων means "firm, standing fast", so the stones are firmly set. The thought echoes Ephesians 2:20 and Psalm 118:22 (117:22 LXX). The "old building" is the former Jewish temple and order.

spired flock, since your people fell to him by the Father's lot and judgment. He set him in place as his own servant and spokesman, the new Aaron or Melchizedek, made like the Son of God. May he remain, and may he be kept by him always, through the shared prayers of all of you.[292] [*Hebrews 7:3*]

24 To him alone, then, after the first and greatest High Priest, let it be granted, if not the first place, at least the second: to look upon and oversee the innermost life of your souls. He has tested each one carefully by experience and length of time. By his zeal and care he has set you all in good order, in conduct and teaching that accord with godliness. And he is better able than anyone to give an account, in words that match the works, of what he himself has accomplished with divine power. 25 Our first and great High Priest, he says, does whatever he sees the Father doing, and the Son does these things in the same way. This man too looks to him as his first teacher, with the pure eyes of the mind. Whatever he sees him doing, he takes as an original pattern and works out images of it, making them as close to the likeness as he possibly can. He falls nothing short of Bezalel, whom God himself filled with the Spirit of wisdom and understanding and every other skill and knowledge, and appointed to build the tent of worship in the likeness of heavenly patterns, given through symbols.[293] [*John 5:19; Exodus 31:2-5*]

26 In this way, then, he too carries the whole Christ, the Word, the Wisdom, the Light, as an image within his own soul. And so he has built this magnificent temple of God Most High, like the greater temple in its nature, as something seen is like something unseen. I cannot say with what greatness of mind and with what rich and tireless generosity of thought he did it. I cannot say with what ambition on the part of all of you, in the large-hearted giving of your contributions, each of you proudly competing not to fall behind him in the same purpose. As for this site, which deserves mention before everything else, it had been left full of all kinds of filth through the schemes of our enemies. He did not overlook it, and he did not give way to the wickedness of those who caused this. He could have gone elsewhere, since the city had countless other sites, and found an easier task and freedom from trouble.[294]

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292. "Spokesman" renders hypophētēs, which can also mean interpreter or minister.

293. The quotation echoes John 5:19. Bezalel is the craftsman of the tabernacle in Exodus 31:1-5.

294. The Greek of the sentence about the site seems damaged in the manuscripts; I have given the sense that fits the context.

28 First he roused himself to the work. Then he strengthened the whole people with eagerness and gathered them all into one great body. This was the first contest he fought. It was for this very church, the one the enemies had besieged, which had labored first and endured the same persecutions as we did, and before us. Like a mother robbed of her children, he thought she should share in the great gift of the all-good God. For the great Shepherd drove away the beasts and wolves and every cruel and savage kind. He crushed the jaws of the lions, as the divine oracles say. Then he saw fit to bring the children together again in the same place. Most rightly, then, he set up again the fold of the flock, to put the enemy and avenger to shame, and to bring a refutation against the God-fighting daring of the ungodly.[295] [*Psalm 58:6*]

30 And now the God-haters are no more, because in truth they never were. For a short time they troubled others and were themselves troubled. Then they paid a penalty that no one could fault as unjust, and they brought utter ruin on themselves, their friends and their households. So the predictions written long ago on sacred tablets are acknowledged as true by the facts. The divine word proves true in other matters, and it also declares this about them: "The sinners have drawn the sword and bent their bow, to bring down the poor and needy, to slaughter the upright in heart. May their sword enter their own heart, and may their bows be broken." And again: "Their memorial has perished with a noise, and you have blotted out their name forever and ever. For even when they fell into evils they cried out to the Lord, and there was no one to save them, and he did not listen to them. They were bound together and fell, but we have risen and been set upright." And the saying that foretells it, "Lord, in your city you will despise their image," has been shown true before the eyes of all.

32 Those men started a war against God, as the giants did, and they have met such an end to their lives. But look at the desolate one, whom even people had given up as hopeless. Such are the outcomes of her endurance for God's sake, which we now see, that the prophecy of Isaiah can cry out to her these words: "Rejoice, thirsty desert; let the desert exult and bloom like a lily. The desert places will bloom and exult. Be strong, you slackened hands and paralyzed knees. Take courage, you faint of mind; be strong, do not fear. Behold, our God gives judgment in return and will repay. He himself will come

295. "Crushed the jaws of the lions" echoes language found in the Psalms and Job; "to put the enemy and avenger to shame" echoes Psalm 8:2.

and save us." For, he says, "water has burst forth in the wilderness, and a ravine in thirsty land. The waterless land will become marshes, and in the thirsty land there will be a spring of water." [*Isaiah 35:1-2; Isaiah 35:3-4; Isaiah 35:6-7*]

33 These things were foretold in words long ago and laid down in sacred books. But the events themselves have come to us no longer by hearing but by fact. This desert, this waterless land, this widow left unprotected, "whose gates they cut down with axes as in a thicket of wood, all together, breaking her with hatchet and chisel"; whose books they destroyed, "burning the sanctuary of God with fire, and profaning to the ground the dwelling of his name"; "whom all who passed by on the road plucked," after first tearing down her hedges; "whom the boar out of the forest ravaged, and the wild beast grazed upon." Now by the marvelous power of Christ, when he himself wills it, she has become like a lily. For even then she was being disciplined at his nod, like a child of a caring father. "For the Lord disciplines the one he loves, and scourges every son whom he receives." [*Hebrews 12:6*]

34 So, having been brought round in due measure, she is commanded to rejoice again from the beginning. She blooms like a lily and breathes out a divine fragrance to all people. "For water," he says, "has burst forth in the wilderness": this is the stream of the divine, saving washing of new birth. Now she who a little while ago was desert has become marshland, and a spring of living water has gushed up in the thirsty land. The hands that were once slack have truly been strengthened, and these great and plain proofs are the works of that strength. The knees too, once worn out and loose, have regained their footing. They walk straight along the road of the knowledge of God, hurrying to their own flock, that of the all-good Shepherd. [*Isaiah 35:6-7*]

36 And if some have been numbed in their souls by the threats of the tyrants, the saving Word does not overlook even these and leave them untreated. He heals them thoroughly and urges them on to the comfort that comes from God, saying, "Take courage, you faint of mind; be strong, do not fear." This new and noble Zerubbabel of ours heard with the sharp ear of his mind what the Word foretold, that she who had been made desolate for God's sake should enjoy these things. After that bitter captivity and "the abomination of desolation," he did not disregard the fallen body lying dead. First of all, with entreaties and prayers, and with the united agreement of all of you, he won the Father's favor. He took as ally and fellow-worker the only one who

gives life to the dead, and he raised her who had fallen, having first cleansed her and treated her of her ills. And he did not put on her the old robe from ancient times. He put on her the kind he had again been taught by the divine oracles, which say clearly: "And the last glory of this house will be greater than the former."[296] [*Isaiah 35:4; Haggai 2:9*]

38 In this way he enclosed a much larger area. He strengthened the outer boundary with a wall running around the whole site, to be the safest protection for all of it. On the east, facing the rays of the rising sun, he opened a great gateway raised to a high point. It gave even those standing far outside the sacred grounds a generous view of what lay within. It almost turned the eyes of outsiders to the faith toward the first entrances, so that no one could pass by without first being pierced to the heart. He would be reminded of the former desolation and of the present astonishing wonder. By this he hoped that such a person would be drawn in, and that the sight itself would urge him to enter. 39 When someone had passed inside the gates, the builder did not let him step at once, with unclean and unwashed feet, onto the holy places within. He left a very large space between the temple and the first entrances. He surrounded this space with four colonnades running across on each side, enclosing the place in a square shape, with columns rising all around. He closed the spaces between the columns with wooden lattice screens of moderate height. In the middle he left an open court under the sky, with bright air flooded by the rays of light.

41 Here he set up symbols of sacred cleansing. He placed fountains directly in front of the temple, and their abundant flow of water gave a place to wash for those who go inward from the sacred grounds. This is the first resting place for those entering. It adds beauty and splendor to the whole, and it gives a fitting place to stay to those who still need the first lessons. But he passed beyond this sight too, and opened the ways into the temple through still more gateways further in. Again, facing the sun's rays, he set three doors side by side. He gave the two side doors a good deal less height and width than the middle one. The middle door he made especially splendid, with bronze plating bound with iron and with ornamental relief work. He made the side doors its attendants, as if yoked to it like bodyguards to a queen.

296. The "new Zerubbabel" is Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, to whom the speech is addressed. Zerubbabel led the rebuilding of the temple after the exile. "The last glory of this house will be greater than the former" is Haggai 2:9; "Take courage, you faint of mind; be strong, do not fear" echoes Isaiah 35:4.

43 In the same way he arranged a number of gateways for the colonnades on each side of the whole temple. Above these he devised other openings into the house, to admit more light, and decorated them with fine wood carving. The royal house, the main hall, he built with richer and more lavish materials, spending without stinting. Here it seems to me unnecessary to write out the lengths and widths of the building, its dazzling beauty, its grandeur beyond words, the shining appearance of the work, its heights reaching to heaven, and above them the costly cedars of Lebanon. The divine oracle does not pass over these in silence, saying: "The trees of the Lord will rejoice, and the cedars of Lebanon, which he planted."[297] 44 Why should I now go into exact detail about the all-wise design of the architect and the surpassing beauty of each part, when the evidence of the eyes makes learning through the ears unnecessary? So, having finished the temple in this way, he fitted it out suitably. He provided high thrones in honor of those who preside, and benches set in order throughout the building. In the middle of everything he placed the holy of holies, the altar. Again, so that it would be closed off to the many, he fenced it in with wooden lattice work, finished with the greatest artistry, so that it offered a marvelous sight to those who looked at it.

45 Nor did he neglect the floor. He made this too shine with marble and every kind of decoration. Then he turned at last to the parts outside the temple. He skillfully built very large side chambers and halls on both sides. These were joined side by side to the royal house and linked to the entrances into the central building. Our most peaceful Solomon, the builder of the temple of God, made these also for those who still need cleansing and sprinkling with water and the Holy Spirit. So the prophecy quoted above is no longer only a word but has become a deed. 46 For it has now truly happened that "the latter glory of this house is greater than the former." It was fitting and right that her shepherd and master once accepted death on her behalf. After the suffering he changed the soiled body that he had put on for her sake into one bright and glorious. He also brought the very flesh that had been broken down from corruption to incorruption. So she too was to enjoy the Savior's saving works in the same way. From him she has received a far better promise than these things. She longs to receive the much greater

297. "Royal house" translates the Greek for the great central hall of the church (a basilica, from the Greek word for "royal"). The quotation is from the Psalms, here given as Eusebius's Greek has it.

glory of the new birth, in the resurrection of an incorruptible body, with the light of the angels' choirs, in the royal halls of God beyond the heavens, together with Christ Jesus himself, the benefactor of all and Savior, continuing on through the ages to come.[298] [*Haggai 2:9*]

48 For the present, though, by these things the church that was once a widow and desolate has been clothed by God's grace with flowers. As the prophecy says, she has truly become "like a lily." She has put on the bridal robe and set the crown of beauty on her head, and so she is taught through Isaiah to dance, honoring God the King with thanksgiving and words of praise. Let us listen to her as she says: "Let my soul rejoice in the Lord, for he has clothed me with a garment of salvation and a tunic of gladness. He has set a headband on me as on a bridegroom, and adorned me with ornament as a bride. As the earth makes its flower grow, and as a garden makes its seeds spring up, so the Lord, the Lord, has made righteousness and exultation spring up before all the nations." [*Isaiah 61:10-11; Isaiah 35:1*]

49 With such words she dances. Now hear how the heavenly Bridegroom, the Word, Jesus Christ himself, answers her. Hear the Lord saying: "Do not be afraid that you were put to shame, and do not be humiliated that you were reproached. You will forget everlasting shame, and you will no longer remember the reproach of your widowhood. The Lord has not called you as a woman forsaken and fainthearted, nor as a woman hated from her youth," says your God. "For a short time I forsook you, and with great mercy I will have mercy on you. In a little anger I turned my face away from you, and with everlasting mercy I will have mercy on you," says the Lord who rescued you. [*Isaiah 54:4-8*] 50 "Awake, awake, you who drank from the hand of the Lord the cup of his anger. For you drank to the bottom the cup of falling, the bowl of my anger, and you drained it. There was no one to comfort you among all the children you bore, and no one to take hold of your hand. See, I have taken from your hand the cup of falling, the bowl of my anger, and you will never drink it again. I will put it into the hands of those who wronged you and humbled you." [*Isaiah 51:17-18; Isaiah 51:22-23*]

51 "Awake, awake, put on your strength, put on your glory. Shake off the dust and rise up. Sit down, and loose the bond from your neck. Lift up your eyes all around and see your children gathered together. See, they have

298. "The latter glory of this house is greater than the former" echoes Haggai 2:9 (LXX). Eusebius applies it to the newly built church at Tyre and to the Church itself.

gathered and have come to you. As I live," says the Lord, "you will put them all on like an ornament, and wrap them around you like a bride's ornament. For your desolate places, your ruined places and your fallen places will now be too crowded with those who live in you, and those who swallowed you up will be far away." [*Isaiah 52:1-2; Isaiah 49:18-21*] 53 "For the sons you lost will say in your ears, 'The place is too narrow for me. Make room for me to live.' And you will say in your heart, 'Who bore me these? I was childless and a widow, and who raised these for me? I was left alone, and where were these?'" Isaiah prophesied these things. They were laid down long ago in the sacred books about us. It was necessary that sooner or later we should take hold of their truth in actual events. [*Isaiah 49:20-21*]

55 So the Bridegroom, the Word, cried out such things to his own bride, the sacred and holy Church. And it was fitting that this bridal attendant should raise her up. She was desolate, lying fallen, without hope in human eyes. By the common prayers of you all, stretching out your own hands, he roused her and raised her up, at the nod of God the King of all and by the manifestation of the power of Jesus Christ. Having raised her, he set her up just as she had been described in the writing of the sacred oracles. This is a very great wonder, beyond all amazement, especially to those who fix their minds only on outward appearance. But more wonderful than these wonders are the archetypes, and behind them the original patterns, spiritual and worthy of God. I mean the renewals of the God-inspired and rational building in our souls.[299]

56 The Son of God himself made this soul in his own image. He gave it the likeness of God in every way and in every respect: an imperishable nature, without a body, rational, a stranger to all earthly matter, a being with its own power of thought. Once, at the very beginning, he brought it out of non-existence into being. He made it a holy bride and an all-holy temple for himself and for the Father. He plainly confesses this himself when he says, "I will dwell in them and walk among them, and I will be their God, and they shall be my people." Such is the perfect and cleansed soul: made this way from the beginning, fit to carry the image of the heavenly Word.[300] [*2 Corinthians 6:16; Leviticus 26:12*] 57 But through the envy and jealousy of the demon

299. "Bridal attendant" (nymphostolos) is the one who dresses and presents the bride. Here it refers to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, who is credited with raising up the fallen Church.

300. The Greek verb at the end (agalmatophorein) means to carry or bear an image, as one carries a statue.

who loves evil, the soul became, by her own free choice, a lover of passion and of wickedness. The divine presence withdrew from her. She was left like someone without a protector, easy prey and open to the plots of those who had long envied her. She was struck down by the siege engines and devices of her invisible enemies and spiritual foes, and she suffered a terrible fall. Not one stone of virtue was left standing on another in her. She lay entirely on the ground, dead, completely stripped of her natural thoughts about God. [*Matthew 24:2*]

58 So she fell, she who had been made in the image of God. She was ravaged, not by that boar out of the forest that we can see, but by a destroying demon and by wild beasts of the spirit. They set her on fire with the passions, as with flaming arrows of their own wickedness. They burned with fire the truly divine sanctuary of God, and they defiled to the ground the dwelling place of his name. Then they buried the wretched one under a great heap of earth and left her without hope of any salvation.[301] 60 But her guardian, the Word, who shines with the light of God and brings salvation, took her up again from the beginning, after she had paid the penalty her sins deserved. He did this because he was moved by the kindness of the all-good Father. First he chose the souls of those who reign in the highest places. Through these most God-loved men he cleansed the whole world of all the impious and destructive people, and of the terrible, God-hating tyrants themselves. Then he brought into the open the men who were known to him, who had long ago been consecrated to him for life. They had been hidden under his shelter, as in a storm of evils. He honored them as they deserved with the great gifts of the Spirit. Through them he cleaned out and scoured the souls which a little before had been fouled and heaped over with every kind of rubbish and with the earth of impious decrees. He did this with the picks and mattocks of searching teaching.

61 When he had made the ground of the mind of every one of you bright and clear, he handed it over to this all-wise and God-loved leader. This leader is discerning and thoughtful in every way, and he knows well how to recognize and sort out the minds of the souls allotted to him. From the first day, one might say, he has been building, and he has not stopped even now. He fits together in all of you now bright gold, now tested and pure silver,

301. The "boar out of the forest" echoes Psalm 80:13 (79:14 in the Greek numbering). The burning of the sanctuary echoes Psalm 74:7 (73:7 in the Greek numbering).

and now precious and costly stones. In this way he fulfills in deeds, again among you, the sacred and mystical prophecy in which it is said: 63 "Behold, I am preparing your stone as a carbuncle, and your foundations as sapphire, and your battlements as jasper, and your gates as stones of crystal, and your surrounding wall as chosen stones. All your sons will be taught by God, and your children will have great peace. And you will be built in righteousness." So, building in righteousness, he divided the strengths of all the people according to what each deserved. Some he fenced in only with the outer enclosure, walling them round with steady faith. This is a large crowd, not able to bear any better structure. To others he entrusted the entrances to the house. He appointed them to stand at the door and guide those who enter, and it is not unfitting to regard them as the forecourts of the temple. Others he set on the first pillars outside, around the square court, introducing them through the first approaches to the text of the four Gospels. Others he places side by side on either hand around the royal house. These are still catechumens, growing and advancing, yet not far removed from the vision of God enjoyed by the faithful in the innermost place.[302] [*Isaiah 54:11–14*]

65 From these he takes the souls that are unspoiled, cleansed like gold by the divine washing. Here too he supports some with pillars, far better than the outermost ones, made from the innermost mystical teachings of Scripture. Others he lights up with openings toward the light. He adorns the whole temple with one very great gateway, the glorifying of the one and only God, the King of all. On either side of the Father's authority he sets the second lights, Christ and the Holy Spirit. Throughout the whole house he shows, abundantly and in great variety, the clearness and brightness of the truth in each of the other things. From every side he approves the living, steady, well-fitted stones of souls, and out of them all he builds the great royal house. It is bright and full of light both inside and out, because not only their soul and mind but also their body was made radiant with the flowering ornament of purity and self-control.

67 In this temple there are also thrones, countless benches and seats. These are the souls in which the gifts of the divine Spirit settle, like those seen long ago among the holy apostles, to whom tongues appeared, divided like fire, and sat on each one of them. In the ruler of all, perhaps, Christ himself sits in his fullness. In those who rank second after him, he sits in proportion, ac-

302. The quotation is from Isaiah 54:11–13 (LXX).

cording to how much of the distributions of Christ's power and of the Holy Spirit each can receive. There could also be seats for angels, and for the souls of certain people, those who have been handed over to each one for instruction and protection. [*Acts 2:3*] 68 What could the solemn, great and unique altar be but the pure innermost holy of holies of the soul of the priest common to all? Beside it, on the right, stands the great High Priest of the universe, Jesus himself, the only-begotten of God. With a bright look and open, upturned hands he receives from all the sweet-smelling incense and the bloodless, immaterial sacrifices offered in prayer, and he passes them on to the Father in heaven, the God of all. He is the first to worship, and he alone gives the Father the reverence that is due him. Then he also pleads that the Father may stay kind and favorable to us always.

70 Such is the great temple that the Word, the great Creator of the universe, has built throughout the whole world under the sun. On earth he has made it a spiritual image of the heavenly vaults beyond, so that through the whole creation, and through the reasoning living beings on earth, his Father may be honored and worshiped. But the place above the heavens, and the patterns there of the things here, no mortal can praise as they deserve. This is the so-called Jerusalem above, the heavenly Mount Zion, the city of the living God beyond the world. In it countless angels, a festal gathering and the church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven, honor their Maker and the Ruler of all with praises of God that we cannot utter or reckon. No mortal can do this, because "eye has not seen and ear has not heard, and it has not entered the heart of man," these very things "which God has prepared for those who love him."[303] [*1 Corinthians 2:9*]

71 We men, together with children and women, small and great, have already been counted worthy of some share in these things. So let us all together, in one spirit and one soul, never stop giving thanks and praising the one who is the source of so many good things for us. He is gracious to all our lawless deeds. He heals all our diseases. He redeems our life from corruption. He crowns us with mercy and compassion. He fills our desire with good things. For he has not dealt with us according to our sins, nor repaid us according to our lawless deeds. As far as the east is from the west, he has re-

303. The wording echoes Hebrews 12:22–23 (Mount Zion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, myriads of angels, the festal gathering and church of the firstborn enrolled in heaven). The closing quotation is from 1 Corinthians 2:9.

moved our lawless deeds from us. As a father has compassion on his sons, the Lord has had compassion on those who fear him.[304] 72 We keep these things alive in our memory, now and for all the time to come. We also keep in mind, night and day, at every hour and with every breath, so to speak, the one who is the cause of this present festival and of this bright and splendid day, and who is the president of the festival. Let us love and revere him with all the strength of the soul. And now let us rise and call on him with a loud voice from the heart. Let us pray that he will cover us under his fold and keep us safe to the end, and that he will grant us his own unbroken, unshakable, eternal peace, in Christ Jesus our Saviour. Through him be glory to him for all ages of ages. Amen. [*1 Peter 4:11*]

CHAPTER 5

Copies of Imperial Laws.

3 Heading: Copies of Imperial Laws. Let us now set out the imperial decrees of Constantine and Licinius, translated from the Roman (Latin) language into Greek. Copy of imperial decrees translated from the Latin language. "We had long seen that freedom of religion must not be denied. Each person should be given authority, according to his own mind and will, to attend to divine matters as he chooses. So we had ordered that everyone, Christians included, should keep the faith of his own sect and religion. But in that earlier rescript, which granted this authority to them, many different conditions seemed to have been clearly added. Perhaps as a result, some of them soon drew back from keeping to this arrangement."[305] 4 "When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, met happily at Milan, we looked into everything that concerned the advantage and benefit of the public. Among the other matters that seemed useful to many people, we decided to settle first of all those in which reverence and worship toward the divine were involved. That is, we decided to give both the Christians and everyone else free choice to follow whatever religion they wish. In this way, whatever divine and heavenly power exists may be favorable to us and to all who live under our authority."

6 "So, with sound and entirely right reasoning, we have decreed this as our will. No one at all is to be refused the freedom to follow and choose the

304. The passage is built from phrases of Psalm 103 (102 in the Greek Bible).

Christian observance or religion. Each person is to be given authority to devote his mind to whatever religion he thinks suits him, so that the divine power may show us in all things its usual zeal and goodwill. It was fitting for us to write that this is our pleasure. The conditions contained in our earlier letters to your Devotion about the Christians seemed quite perverse and foreign to our gentleness. Let them be removed entirely. Now everyone who has chosen to keep the Christian religion may do so freely and plainly, without any trouble."[306] 8 "We have decided to make all this fully known to your care, so that you may know that we have given these same Christians free and unrestricted authority to practice their own religion. Your Devotion sees that we have given this to them without restriction. It is clear that the same authority has been given to others who wish to follow their own observance and religion. This is in keeping with the peace of our times, so that each person may have authority to choose and honor whatever deity he wishes. We have done this so that no honor and no religion may seem to be diminished by us."

9 "In addition to the rest, we decree this concerning the Christians. Their places, where they used to gather in earlier times, were the subject of a different rule in the letters previously sent to your Devotion. If it turns out that anyone has bought these places, whether from our treasury or from anyone else, they are to give them back to these same Christians. They must do so without payment and without demanding any price, with no neglect and no dispute. And if any have received the same places as a gift, they are to return them to these Christians as quickly as possible." 11 In this way, if those who bought these places, or those who received them as a gift, ask anything from our goodness, they may go to the local judge, the governor, so that provision may be made for them also through our kindness. All these things are to be handed over to the body of the Christians at once, through your diligence, without any delay. And since these same Christians are known to have held not only the places where they used to assemble but other places as well, which belong not to individuals among them but to the legal right of their whole body, that is, of the Christians, you are to order all these, under the

305. The Greek "haireseis" usually means "choices" or "sects." Here it seems to render the Latin "condiciones" (conditions), so "conditions" gives the sense. The same word comes again in 10.5.5-6.

306. "Your Devotion" translates a formal title of address (Greek "kathosiosis") for the official receiving the letter.

law I stated above, to be restored without any dispute at all to these same Christians, that is, to their body and their assembly. The earlier provision is of course to be kept: those who restore these places without payment, as we said, may expect compensation from our goodness.[307]

14 In all these matters you must give the aforesaid body of the Christians your most vigorous help, so that our order may be carried out as quickly as possible, and so that in this too, through our kindness, provision may be made for the common and public peace. For in this way, as was said before, the divine favor toward us, which we have already experienced in many matters, will remain secure for all time. And so that the terms of this our law and kindness may be brought to everyone's knowledge, it is fitting that you publish what we have written everywhere and make it known to all, so that this law of our kindness may escape no one's notice. 16 Copy of another imperial decree which they issued again, adding that the gift was given to the Catholic Church alone. "Greetings, Anulinus, most honored by us. It is the way of our goodness that things which rightly belong to someone else should not only be left undisturbed but that we should also want them restored, most honored Anulinus. So it is our will that when you receive this letter, if any of the properties that belonged to the Catholic Church of the Christians in any city or other place are now held by citizens or by anyone else, you are to have them restored at once to their churches. For we have decided that what these same churches formerly possessed is to be restored to them as their right.[308]

18 Since, then, your devotion sees that this order of ours is perfectly clear, make haste to have everything restored to them as quickly as possible, whether gardens or houses or whatever else belonged to the right of these churches. In this way we shall learn that you have obeyed this command of ours most carefully. Farewell, Anulinus, most honored and most dear to us." Copy of an imperial letter in which he commands a synod of bishops to be held at Rome for the unity and harmony of the churches. Constantine Augustus to Miltiades, bishop of the Romans, and to Marcus. Many such documents have been sent to me by the most illustrious Anulinus, proconsul of Africa. They say that Caecilian, bishop of the city of Carthage, is being accused in many matters by some of his colleagues in Africa. This seems to me

307. "The body" (sōma) of the Christians means the church as a corporate whole, which could hold property.

308. The heading is Eusebius's own and is not part of the emperor's letter. The Greek says the decree was issued "again" (authis).

very serious: in these provinces, which divine providence has of its own accord entrusted to my devotion (and there is a great population there), the crowd is found persisting in the worse course, divided, as it were, and the bishops are at odds among themselves.[309]

20 It has seemed good to me that Caecilian himself, with ten of the bishops who appear to accuse him, and ten others whom he himself considers necessary for his defense, should not put off sailing to Rome. There, in the presence of you, and also of Reticius, Maternus and Marinus, your colleagues, whom I have ordered to hurry to Rome for this purpose, he may be heard, as you may judge to be fitting under the most revered law. But so that you may have the fullest knowledge of all these matters, I attached to my letter copies of the documents sent to me by Anulinus and sent them to your colleagues mentioned above. When your steadfastness has read them, you will consider how the case just mentioned should be investigated most carefully and settled justly. For it does not escape your diligence that I have such respect for the lawful Catholic Church that I do not want you to leave any schism or division anywhere. May the divinity of the great God keep you safe for many years, most honored sirs.

21 Copy of an imperial letter in which he orders a second synod to be held, to remove every division among the bishops. "Constantine Augustus to Chrestus, bishop of Syracuse. Some time ago, certain people began wickedly and perversely to break away from the religion of the holy and heavenly power and from the catholic sect. I wanted to cut short their quarrels, so I gave orders that some bishops be sent from Gaul. I also had the opposing party in Africa summoned, since they were contending with one another so stubbornly and persistently. With the bishop of Rome present as well, the matter that seemed to have been stirred up could then be settled by their presence, with every careful judgment. 22 But, as happens, some people have forgotten both their own salvation and the reverence owed to this most holy sect, and even now they do not stop prolonging their private hostilities. They refuse to agree to the judgment already given. They insist that only a few people gave their opinions and verdicts, or that those few hurried to give judgment too quickly and sharply, before everything that needed careful ex-

309. Constantine's sentence continues into the next section in the Greek, so it is left unfinished here. "Divine providence" (theia pronoia) is the emperor's phrase, and "the Romans" means the city of Rome.

amination had been examined. The result is that these very men, who ought to have brotherly unity and a common mind, are shamefully, or rather abominably, divided from one another. They give people whose souls are strangers to this most holy religion a pretext for mockery. So I had to take care that this quarrel, which ought to have ended by voluntary agreement after the judgment already given, might now at last be settled with many people present.

23 Therefore we have ordered a great many bishops from different and countless places to assemble in the city of Arles by the Kalends of August, and we have thought it right to write to you as well. Obtain a public vehicle from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily. Join with yourself two others of the second rank, whomever you yourself choose to select, and take three servants who can attend you on the road. Then meet at the place named by that same day, 24 so that through your steadfastness, and through the united and like-minded understanding of the rest who come together, this dispute may be settled. Up to now it has gone on badly because of certain shameful quarrels. Everything will be heard that is to be said by those who are now at odds with one another, whom we have likewise ordered to be present. Then, even if slowly, they may be called back to the religion and faith that are due, and to brotherly harmony. May God Almighty keep you in health for many years." Copy of an imperial letter in which he gives money to the churches.

CHAPTER 6

Copy of an Imperial Epistle in Which Money is Granted to the Churches.

2 "Constantine Augustus to Caecilian, bishop of Carthage. It has pleased us that in all the provinces, in Africa, Numidia and Mauritania, something be granted to cover the expenses of certain named ministers of the lawful and most holy catholic religion. I have therefore written to Ursus, the most distinguished finance officer of Africa, and told him to see that three thousand folles are paid to your steadfastness. So when you have had that sum of money received, order it to be distributed to all those mentioned, according to the list sent to you by Hosius. 4 But if you find that something more is needed to carry out my intention toward all of them, you must ask without hesitation for whatever you find necessary from Heracleides, the manager of our estates. For I ordered him, when he was present, that if your steadfastness asks him for any money, he should see that it is paid without any hesitation.

And I have learned that some men of unsettled mind want to turn the people of the most holy catholic church aside by a wicked piece of deception. Know that I have given orders to Anulinus the proconsul, and also to Patricius, vicar of the prefects, when they were present. They are to give proper attention to everything else, and above all to this, and they are not to tolerate overlooking such a thing when it happens.

5 So if you see any such people persisting in this madness, go without any doubt to the judges I mentioned and report this very thing to them. Then they can set these people right, as I ordered them when they were present. May the divinity of the great God keep you for many years."

CHAPTER 7

The Exemption of the Clergy. Copy of an Epistle in Which the Emperor Commands that the Rulers of the Churches Be Exempted from All Political Duties.

1 Copy of an imperial letter in which the emperor orders that the leaders of the churches be released from all public civic service. "Greetings, Anulinus, most esteemed by us. It is clear from many events that when religion is treated with contempt, the religion in which the highest reverence for the most holy heavenly Power is kept, great dangers come upon public affairs. It is also clear that when this religion is lawfully taken up and guarded, it brings the greatest good fortune to the Roman name and a special happiness to all the affairs of mankind, since the divine blessings grant this. Therefore, most esteemed Anulinus, it has seemed right that those men who offer their own service to the worship of the divine religion, with due holiness and steady devotion to this law, should receive the rewards of their labors. 2 Therefore it is my wish that those within the province entrusted to you, in the catholic Church over which Caecilianus presides, who give their own service to this holy religion, and whom people usually call clergy, be kept entirely free from all public duties. In this way they will not be drawn away from the worship owed to the Deity by any error or sacrilegious slip, but will serve their own law without any trouble. For when they offer the greatest worship to the Divine, it seems that they bring very great benefit to the common good. Farewell, Anulinus, most esteemed and most dearly missed by us."

CHAPTER 8

The Subsequent Wickedness of Licinius, and His Death.

2 Such were the gifts that the divine and heavenly grace of our Saviour's appearing gave us, and such was the abundance of good things that our peace brought to all people. So our own affairs were passing in joy and festival. But envy, which hates what is good, and the demon who loves evil, could not bear the sight of it. Nor were the fates of the tyrants already described enough to bring Licinius to his senses. His rule was prospering. He had been honored with the second place after the great emperor Constantine, and had been given the highest standing through marriage and family ties. Yet he abandoned the imitation of what is good, and set himself to copy the evil ways and wickedness of the godless tyrants. He had seen with his own eyes how their lives ended, but he chose to follow their way of thinking rather than to remain in friendship and goodwill with the better man.

4 Filled with envy against his benefactor, he launched a godless and terrible war against him. He spared nothing: not the laws of nature, not oaths, not blood relationship, and he gave no thought to treaties. For Constantine, as a thoroughly good emperor, had given him signs of real goodwill. He had not begrudged him kinship, and he had not refused him a splendid marriage with his sister. He had thought him worthy to share in his ancestral noble birth and his long-standing royal blood. He had granted him authority over the whole empire as a brother-in-law and fellow emperor, giving him the freedom to govern and manage a share of the Roman peoples no smaller than his own. 6 Licinius did the opposite. Every day he devised all sorts of schemes against his superior and thought up every kind of plot, to repay his benefactor with evil. At first he tried to hide his preparations and pretended to be a friend. He attacked with trickery and deceit many times, hoping to gain his goal very easily. But God was Constantine's friend, his protector and guardian. God brought into the light the plots that were being hatched in secret and in darkness, and exposed them. So great is the power of godliness, that great weapon of virtue, both to ward off enemies and to guard one's own safety. Protected by it, our emperor, so dear to God, escaped the many tangled plots of that man of ill repute.

8 When Licinius saw that his secret scheming was not going as he intended, because God was exposing every trick and piece of villainy to the emperor who loved him, he could no longer stay hidden and took up open war.

Having decided to fight Constantine face to face, he now rushed to set himself in battle line even against the God of the universe, whom he knew Constantine worshiped. Then he began, gradually and quietly at first, to besiege the God-fearing people under his own rule, who had never done his government any harm at all. He did this because his inborn wickedness had forced him into terrible blindness. 10 Licinius kept before his eyes neither the memory of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor the fate of those whose destroyer and avenger he himself had become because of the impieties they had committed. He turned aside from sound reasoning and, plainly, went out of his mind. He resolved to make war on God himself, as Constantine's helper, rather than on the man who was being helped. First he drove every Christian out of his household. In doing so the wretched man deprived himself of the prayer these people offer to God on his behalf, which they are taught by their fathers' tradition to make for everyone. Then he ordered that the soldiers in each city be sorted out and stripped of their rank and honor unless they chose to sacrifice to the demons. Yet even these measures were small compared with the greater ones that followed.

11 Why should I go through all the details of what this hater of God did, or tell how this most lawless man devised lawless laws? He made a law that no one should show kindness to those suffering in the prisons by giving them food. No one was to pity those wasting away from hunger in chains. No one was to be good at all, or do any good deed, even though nature itself draws people to feel sympathy for their neighbors. This was an openly shameless and utterly harsh law, one that went beyond all gentle human nature. A penalty was attached to it: those who showed pity were to suffer the same as those who received it. Those who performed acts of kindness were to be shut up in chains and prisons and endure the same punishment as the people they were helping. 12 Such were the ordinances of Licinius. Why should I list his innovations about marriages, or his changes in the laws about those who die? In these he dared to set aside the ancient laws of the Romans, which had been well and wisely made, and brought in certain barbarous and savage laws in their place, laws that were truly lawless and criminal. He also dreamed up countless accusations against the subject peoples, all sorts of levies of gold and silver, and new surveys of land. He also demanded a ruinous profit from country people who were no longer living, who had died long before.

14 Why should I describe the kinds of banishments this hater of mankind devised besides these, against people who had done no wrong? Or the removal of men of noble family and high reputation, whose lawful wives he tore away and handed over to certain vile servants to be shamefully abused? Or how many married women and young virgins he assaulted to satisfy the unrestrained desire of his soul, though he himself was extremely old? Why should I drag these matters out, when the extreme character of his last acts shows his earlier ones to be small and as nothing? For in the end his madness turned against the bishops. He supposed that they, as servants of the God over all, were opposed to what he was doing. Out of fear of the One who was stronger, he did not yet act openly, but again secretly and treacherously. Through the plotting of the governors he put to death the most respected of them. And the manner of their murder was strange, such as had never been heard of before.

16 What was done around Amaseia and the other cities of Pontus surpassed every extreme of cruelty. There some of the churches of God were again torn down from the top to the ground, and others were shut up, so that none of the usual worshipers could gather and render to God the worship owed him. For Licinius did not suppose that prayers were being made for himself; he judged this by his own bad conscience. He was convinced that we did everything for the emperor beloved of God and that we were pleading with God for him. This was why he rushed to pour out his anger on us. 18 Then the flattering governors, convinced that they were doing what pleased the impious man, subjected some of the bishops to the usual punishments of criminals. Men who had done no wrong were led off and punished without any excuse, just like murderers. Some now suffered a newer kind of death: their bodies were hacked with the sword into many pieces, and after this savage and most dreadful sight they were thrown into the depths of the sea as food for the fish. So the godly men fled again, and again the fields, the deserts, the woods and the mountains received the servants of Christ. When these measures succeeded in this way for the impious man, he finally resolved to stir up a persecution against everyone.

19 He was master of his purpose, and nothing stood in the way of carrying it out, except that God, the champion of the souls that are his own, saw what was coming and acted at once. As in deep darkness and the gloomiest night,

he suddenly made a great light shine out, a savior for all. He led his servant Constantine by the hand with a lofty arm to these regions.

CHAPTER 9

The Victory of Constantine, and the Blessings Which Under Him Accrued to the Subjects of the Roman Empire.

2 So God gave Constantine, from heaven above, a reward worthy of his piety: the trophies of victory over the godless. The guilty Licinius, together with all his counselors and friends, God threw down flat on his face at Constantine's feet. For when Licinius drove his madness to the extreme, the emperor, the friend of God, concluded that it could no longer be borne. He gathered his sound judgment, tempered the firm character of justice with kindness, and gladly decided to come to the aid of those suffering under the tyrant. He set out to rescue the greater part of the human race by removing a few destroyers. 4 Earlier Constantine had dealt with Licinius only with kindness, showing mercy to a man who did not deserve sympathy. It did no good. Licinius did not turn from his wickedness but only increased his rage against the nations under his control, and those who were mistreated had no hope of rescue, ground down as they were by a terrible beast. So the helper of the good, who combined a hatred of evil with a love of what is good, came forward with his son Crispus, a most kindly emperor, and held out a saving right hand to all who were perishing. They had God, the King of all, as their guide, and God's Son, the Savior of all, as their leader and ally. Father and son together spread their forces in a circle around the ranks of those God hated, and they won an easy victory. God made everything in the battle go as they wished.

5 Suddenly, and faster than words can tell, those who only yesterday and the day before were breathing out death and threats were no more. They were not remembered even by name. Their inscriptions and honors received the shame they deserved. Licinius suffered the same things he had seen with his own eyes happen to the earlier godless tyrants. He had not accepted instruction, nor was he taught sense by the beatings his neighbors received. He followed the same road of ungodliness as they had, and he was justly sent tumbling over the same cliff. [*Acts 9:1*] 7 So Licinius lay fallen in this way. But Constantine, the greatest of victors, outstanding in every virtue of godliness, together with his son Crispus, an emperor most beloved of God and in every way like his father, took back their own East. They made the Roman empire

one again, as in the old days, and brought everything under their peace: the whole circle of the world from the rising sun, north and south alike, to the farthest edge of the declining day. All fear of those who had once oppressed them was removed from people, and they held splendid festival days. Everything was full of light. Those who had been downcast looked at one another with smiling faces and bright eyes. They had dances and hymns in cities and in the countryside. First of all they honored God, the King of all, because this is what they had been taught, and then the godly emperor together with his God-beloved sons.

9 The old evils were forgotten, and so was every kind of ungodliness. People enjoyed the good things of the present and looked forward to those still to come. The victorious emperor's decrees, full of kindness, spread to every place, and his laws showed generosity and marks of true godliness. So, with every tyranny swept away, the kingdom that rightly belonged to them was kept secure and free from envy for Constantine and his sons alone. They cleansed life of the hatred of God that had marked their predecessors. They were aware of the good things God had arranged for them, and they showed their love of virtue and love of God, their reverence and thankfulness toward the divine, by the deeds they set before the eyes of all people.

Ecclesiastical History (Syriac), book 4 (extract)

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY (SYRIAC), BOOK 4 (EXTRACT)

1 FROM THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH: CHAPTER THE TWENTY-FOURTH, CONCERNING THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH, AND PHILIP, AND MODESTUS, AND MELITON, AND THOSE WHOM HE HAS MENTIONED, AND CONCERNING APOLLINARIS AND MUSANUS. BUT as to Theophilus, concerning whom we have said that he was Bishop of Antioch, there are three treatises by him against Antolycus, and another which is inscribed "Against the heresy of Hermogenes," in which he uses testimonies from the Revelation of John; and there are other books by him which are suitable for teaching. But those, who pertained to heretical doctrine, even at that time like tares were corrupting the pure seed of the doctrine of the Apostles; but the Pastors which were in the churches in every country, were driving them like beasts of the wilderness away from the flock of Christ; at one time by teaching and exhortation to the Brethren, but at another time openly before their faces they contended with them in discussion, and put them to shame; and again, also, by writing treatises they diligently refuted and exposed their opinions. But Theophilus, together with others, contended against them; and he is celebrated for one treatise, which was ably composed by him against Marcion, which, together with the others that I have |57 already mentioned, is still preserved. And after him Maximinus received the Bishoprick of the Church of Antioch, who was the seventh after the Apostles.

2 But Philip, respecting whom we have learned from the words of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, that he was Bishop of the church of the city of

Gortyna, he also composed with accuracy a treatise against Marcion; Irenaeus too, and Modestus, who, more than the others, openly exposed the error of this man; and many others whose treatises are preserved in the possession of many Brethren up to this day. 3 At this time, also, Meliton, Bishop of the church of Sardis, and Apollinaris, Bishop of the church of Hierapolis, flourished with praise; who made, each one of them for himself, a separate apology for the Faith, and presented it to the Emperor of the Romans, who lived at that time. But the treatises by these, with which we have become acquainted, are the following:----by Meliton, On Easter two, and On Polity, and On the Prophets; and another On the Church, and another On the First Day of the Week; and again another On the Faith of Man, and another On his Formation; and again another On the Hearing of the Ear of Faith: and besides these, On the Soul and Body; and again On Baptism, and On the Truth, and On the Faith; and On the Birth of Christ, and On the word of his Prophecy; and again On the Soul and on the Body; and another On the Love of Strangers, and On Satan, and On the Revelation of John; and again another On God who put on the body; and again another which he wrote to the Emperor Antoninus. But when he wrote respecting the time of Easter, at the commencement he gave this information, "In the time of Servilius. Paulus, proconsul of Asia, Agaris (Sagaris) suffered martyrdom; and there was much questioning in Laodicea touching Easter, which varied as to the time in those days, and these things were written.

4 But this same tract Clement of Alexandria mentions in a treatise of his own which he wrote on Easter, and says that it was on the occasion of this treatise of Meliton that he himself also wrote. But in that apology, which he presented to the Emperor, he relates that such things were done by him to our people: "That |58 which never before took place;----the race of those who fear God is now persecuted by new decrees in Asia; for calumniators and such as covet the possessions of others, who have no shame, under the pretence of their having a decree, openly plunder and rob by night and by day men who have done no wrong. And after other things he proceeds to say, "If thou hast ordered this to be done, well; it is also done; for a righteous sovereign never purposeth any thing unrighteously. We even gladly endure the honour of this death; but we present to thee this supplication only, that thou wouldest first inquire respecting those who are the actors in this contest, and judge righteously, whether they be deserving of death and punishment, or of life

and quietness. But if this will, and this new decree, be not from thee, which is not meet to be executed in this manner, not even towards barbarians and enemies,----the more especially do we entreat of thee not to be unmindful of us in this persecution by the world. But after this he proceeds----"Because our philosophy first flourished among the Barbarians;

5 but it also sprung up among thine own people in the days of Augustus, and it became for the empire of the Romans a great power, and for thine own empire especially a good education; for from that time the dominion of the Romans increased and enlarged itself, which thou hast received and augmented, and thou wilt still strengthen it together with thy son, so long as thou protectest this philosophy which groweth up together with thy empire, that commenced with Augustus; which thy fathers also honoured together with the other religions: and this is a great proof, that for the good of the empire our preaching also sprang up together with its auspicious commencement, because since the days of Augustus no evil has befallen your empire, but rather in every thing it has acquired glory and power through the prayers of us all. And of all who have been Emperors, Nero and Domitian only gave heed to envious men, and received the accusation against our doctrine; and from these same, as by some unreasonable custom, it was brought to pass that the violence of falsehood should be directed against us.But thine own ancestors corrected the error of these; for oftentimes |59 they rebuked by letters many who were desirous of attempting to cause troubles on this account; and thy grandfather Hadrian wrote to many touching this; and to Fundius (Fundanus) the proconsul of Asia.

6 But thy father wrote respecting us to different cities, that no man should injure us, during the time that thou also together with him wast governing every thing; even to the Pharisaeans (Larissaeans) and to the Thessalonians, and to Athens, and to all nations. But respecting thyself, we are persuaded that thou, still more than they, hast a good will concerning these things; and we are persuaded that thou wilt the rather order with wisdom whatsoever we entreat of thee. But so far were these things set down. 7 But in the Extracts which were written by Meliton, at the beginning of them, he has noted down the number of the books of the Old Testament and shewn which are received: and it is right we should enumerate them here. But he wrote after this manner: "Meliton to Onesimus my brother, greeting: Because oftentimes with that earnestness which thou hast touching the Word,

thou hast exhorted me to make for thee Extracts from the Law and from the Prophets relating to our Saviour and to the whole of our faith, and moreover hast been desirous to learn accurately respecting the Antient Books, how many they are in number and what they are consecutively, I have given diligence to do this, because I am persuaded through, thy earnestness touching the faith and touching the doctrine of the Word, that thou esteemest the love of God above every thing, and art striving for eternal life. When, therefore, I went up to the East, and proceeded even to that country in which they were preached and practised, and had learned accurately respecting the books of the Old Testament, I wrote them down and have sent them to thee. Their names are these-----Of Moses five books, Genesis,and Exodus,and Numbers,and Of the Priests (Leviticus), and Deuteronomy; and again of Jesus, the Son of Nun; and the Book of Judges, and Ruth, and four Books of Kings, and two Books of Chronicles, and the Psalms of David ; and of Solomon, the Proverbs, which is Wisdom, and Koheleth, and the Song of Songs; and Job;

8 and of the Prophets, Isaiah and |60 Jeremiah, and the twelve Prophets together; and Daniel, and Ezekiel, and Ezra: from which same I have made Extracts, and arranged them in six discourses. All these of Meliton. And again there are also many treatises by Apollinaris which are still preserved in the possession of many; but those which have been seen by us are the following----One, which is the Apology, that was made to the same Emperor of whom we have spoken above; and Against the Heathen five books; and Against the Jews two books; and those which he composed afterwards against the heresy of the Phrygians, which had recently sprung up a little time before, because then Montanus, together with the false prophetesses which were attached to him, had begun to turn aside from the truth. 9 [Selected endnotes moved here and numbered] 1. History of the Church. This chapter of the fourth book of Eusebius is taken from the antient Syriac version, of which I have inserted an account in the Corpus Ignatianum, p. 350, which see. I have given the entire chapter as it stands. It comprises the 24,25,26, and 27th of the Greek editions. It may be considered a fair specimen of the Syriac version, which future editors of Eusebius should not neglect to consult. 2. P. 57, L. 5. Bishop of Corinth, omitted in the Greek. Ruffinus omits here also all mention of Dionysius. 3. L. 18. On the faith of Man. So Ruffinus, De fide hominis; and also several Greek manuscripts. The editions have ... 4. L. 20. On the hearing of the ear of faith. Gr. .... Ruffinus,

De obedientia fide. De sensibus. 5. L. 22. On the faith; with several manuscripts. Ruffirius, De fide. Some editions have ,,,. See Dr. Routh's note on this place, vol. i. p. 139.

10 6. L. 23. And again on the Soul and on the Body. With several Greek manuscripts, and Ruffinus, Item de anima et corpore. 7. L. 24. The Greek editions add ...; and Ruffinus, Item liber qui dicitur Clavis. 8. L. 25. On God who put on the body. Gr. ... Ruffinus, De Deo corpore induto. See Dr. Routh's note, p. 143. 9. P. 59, L. 3. Fundius, and below, Pharisaeans: doubtless errors of the scribe.

PART TWO

The Martyrs

The persecutions in Palestine, and a speech in praise of the martyrs.

The History of the Martyrs in Palestine

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

THE HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS IN PALESTINE

1 Eusebius of Caesarea: The History of the Martyrs in Palestine (1861). Translated by William Cureton. HISTORY OF THE MARTYRS IN PALESTINE, BY EUSEBIUS, BISHOP OF CAESAREA, DISCOVERED IN A VERY ANTIENT SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT. EDITED AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH BY WILLIAM CURETON, D.D., MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE. WILLIAMS AND NORGATE: 14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON AND 20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH. PARIS: C. BORRANI. MDCCCLXI. W. M. WATTS, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR. THIS ACCOUNT OF MARTYRS FOR THE TRUTH OF THE HOLY RELIGION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST IS Dedicated to the Memory OF FRANCIS EGERTON EARL OF ELLESMERE K.G. IN PIOUS RECOGNITION OF MUCH AND LONG-CONTINUED KINDNESS AND IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF THE PRIVILEGE OF ENJOYING THE FRIENDSHIP OF ONE WHO SO EMINENTLY ADORNED THE HIGH STATION TO WHICH HE WAS BORN BY HIS OWN PERSONAL VIRTUES AND ADDED REAL DIGNITY TO THE RANK WHICH HE INHERITED BY THE ACQUIREMENTS OF A SCHOLAR THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF A GENTLEMAN AND THE GRACES OF A CHRISTIAN.

2 PREFACE. THE manuscript from which this work of Eusebius has been at length recovered, after the lapse of several centuries, is that wonderful volume of the Nitrian Collection 1 now in the British Museum, whose most curious and remarkable history I have already made known in the Preface to my edition of the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius.2 It is not necessary, there-

fore, for me in this place to give any further account of it than to state that it was transcribed fourteen hundred and fifty years ago,--as early as the year of our Lord four hundred and eleven. The several works contained in it are now all printed, and thereby rescued from the chance of being lost for all future time. The first--a Syriac translation of the Recognitions of St. Clement, which I once intended to publish, and had transcribed the greater part of it for that purpose--has been edited by Dr. P. de Lagarde, 3 to whom I |ii gave my copy. The transcript was completed by him, and compared with another manuscript of the same work, and afterward printed with that great care and accuracy which gives so much value to all the Syriac texts which he has edited. The second treatise in this manuscript is the book of Titus, Bishop of Bostra, or Bozra, in Arabia, against the Manicheans. We are also indebted for the publication of this important work to Dr. de Lagarde.4 The third is the book of Eusebius on the Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord. The text of this was edited by the late Dr. Lee,5 who also published an English translation of it,6 with valuable notes and a preliminary dissertation. The last is this history of the Martyrs of Palestine, also written by the same Author.

3 In the eighth book of the Ecclesiastical History, upon the occasion of his giving a short account of certain Bishops and others, who sealed their testimony for their faith with their blood, Eusebius stated his intention of writing, in a distinct treatise, a narrative of the confession |iii of those Martyrs with whom he had himself been acquainted. 7 Up to the time of the discovery of this Syriac copy, no such work was known to exist in a separate form, either in Latin or Greek. There is indeed a brief history of those contemporaries of Eusebius who suffered in the persecution of the Christians in Palestine, found in several antient Greek manuscripts, inserted as a part of it, and combined with the Ecclesiastical History : but it does not occupy the same place in all the copies of that work. In one it is placed after the middle of the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book;8 in two9 at the end of the tenth book; and in several,10 at the end of the eighth; while from two |iv others,11 as well as from the Latin version made by Ruffinus, it is omitted altogether. There is no distinct title prefixed to it in any copy but one, the Codex Castellani,12 where it bears the inscription:--Ευσεβιου συγγραμμα περι των κατ' αυτον μαρτυρησαντων εν τωι οκταετει Διοκλητιανου και εφεξης Γαλεριου του Μαξιμινου διωγμου; but two copies, the Mazarine and Medicean,

have at the end--Ευσεβιου του Παμφιλου περι των εν Παλαιστινηι μαρτυρησαντων τελος.13

4 That this was the history of the martyrs who were known to Eusebius which he had promised, has never been doubted by any one; while, on the other hand, almost every one who has undertaken to write on the subject has judged it to be but an abridgment of the original work which formerly existed in a more extended form.14 The |v antient Latin copy of the Acts of Procopius,15 the Acts of Pamphilus and his companions, as exhibited by Simeon Metaphrastes,16 in much fuller detail than they are now found in the Greek text of Eusebius, and the additional facts respecting other martyrs who suffered in Palestine, supplied by the Greek Menaea and Menologia, were adduced as evidence of the existence at one time of a more copious work, and as a proof that the narrative inserted in the Ecclesiastical History was only an abridgment. The correctness of this critical induction has been completely established by the discovery of this copy of the work of Eusebius of Caesarea on the Martyrs of Palestine, in the vernacular language of the country where the events took place, and actually transcribed within about seventy years after the death of the author.17

5 S. E. Assemani goes so far as to express his conviction that this history of the sufferings of the martyrs in Palestine was originally composed in Syriac, a language with which Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, was necessarily well acquainted, |vi as being the vernacular speech of his own country and diocese.18 It is not at all improbable that Eusebius might made have use of the Syriac for ordinary purposes, or, indeed, as a safer deposit for any memoranda which he might wish to commit to writing than the Greek, during the time that the persecution continued. Could this inference of S. E. Assemani be established, it would give still additional interest and value to the work which I now publish. I must, however, own that I cannot admit the supposition that this work was originally written in the Syriac language. Indeed, it seems to me to be sufficiently disproved by the fact, that the Syriac copy of such of the Acts of Martyrs in Palestine as have been published by S. E. Assemani, while it agrees completely in substance with this, is evidently a translation by another hand; and that the variation and errors which occur in some of the proper names are of such a kind as could only have arisen from confounding two similar Greek letters of the writing at that period;19 and further, there are some obscure passages in this Syriac, which obviously seem to be the res-

ult of a translator not fully apprehending the meaning of the Greek passage before him.20

6 How long the entire Greek text of the original work continued to be read, we have now no means of learning with any degree of certainty. It must have been in existence in the time of Simeon Metaphrastes, in the tenth century, for he has supplied many facts20 from it |vii which the abridged form of the Greek does not contain, and has also given entire the long passage relating to Pamphilus and his companions.21 Neither can there be any doubt of its having been in use at the period when the Greek Menaea and Menologia were compiled.22 The fact that many of the circumstances and events which it described had been inserted in the abovementioned books, and that an abridgment, which, I cannot doubt, was made by Eusebius himself, had also been incorporated into the Ecclesiastical. History, seems to have led to the discontinuance of the transcription of the larger work, and to have been mainly the cause of its being no longer found in the Greek in a separate form. The preservation of this work in its complete state up to the present time, in the Syriac, is chiefly due to the circumstance of its having been transported, at a very early period, to the Syrian Monastery in the solitude of the Nitrian Desert, where the dryness of the climate kept the vellum from decay, and the idleness and ignorance of the monks saved the volume from being worn out and destroyed by frequent use.

7 Independently of the great interest of the subject of which it treats, this work of Eusebius has especial claims to consideration, on the ground of the author having been himself an eyewitness of most of the events which he | viii describes. There are some, indeed, at which he could not have have been present; for instance, the Confession of Romanus, who suffered at Antioch on the same day as Alphaeus and Zacchaeus did at Caesarea, where he was then residing. He has, given a narrative of the sufferings of Romanus, in his history of the Martyrs of Palestine, because he was a native of Palestine, and had also been a deacon and exorcist in one of the villages of Caesarea; and Eusebius was anxious to claim for his own country and diocese the honour of this man's confession. This may perhaps be the reason why there are found two distinct accounts of the Acts of Romanus in Syriac, as well as in Greek and Latin.

8 It is not my intention to enter into any discussion respecting the time of the composition of this treatise, or that of the great Church History by

Eusebius: nor will I consider at any length the question of the abridgment of the account of the Martyrs of Palestine inserted in most of the copies of the Ecclesiastical History, or that of the different recensions of this latter work by the author himself. 23 These are certainly very interesting subjects of literary and historical inquiry; and doubtless this book will supply the critic with new data, to enable him to elucidate and determine them in a more complete and satisfactory manner than it has been hitherto possible for any one to do. These matters I would rather leave to other scholars. All now have the same materials as I have, and some may be possessed of other greater facilities and appliances, as well as better capacities for the task. I |ix believe it to be my duty to employ my own time and exertions in another way.

9 I will therefore content myself with briefly observing that this work of Eusebius on the Martyrs of Palestine bears evidently upon it the stamp of being a record of facts which were noted down at the time as they severally occurred, and were afterwards revised and arranged in due order at a subsequent period, when some events, which, in the earlier years of the Persecution, the author thought it probable might happen, had actually taken place; and when other occurrences of earlier date were no longer so fresh and vivid in the minds of men as they had been when all were still living who had witnessed them. I would observe, also, that it seems to be evident that this work, in which Eusebius recounts the martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, was composed before he wrote the fuller history of that noble Martyr, to which he refers in the Abridgment; for no reference whatever is made to the existence of any such history in this original and more copious narrative of the Martyrs of Palestine. It must, therefore, have been composed before he wrote the Ecclesiastical History, in which he several times adverts to the life of Pamphilus as having been already completed.

10 The first edition of the Ecclesiastical History does not appear to have contained the history of the Martyrs of Palestine. This seems to be the copy used by Ruffinus, who neither gives any such history, nor has the passage in the thirteenth chapter of the eighth book which refers to it. Indeed, it is evident from his own words that the abridgment must have been made by Eusebius himself.24 When, |x therefore, he condensed the narrative for the purpose of incorporating it into the subsequent editions of the Ecclesiastical History, he also took that opportunity of supplying several facts which, either from considerations of prudence, or from not having had knowledge

of them at the time when the work was originally composed, he had previously omitted; and also ventured to speak more plainly of persons, because the altered condition of circumstances after the accession of Constantine enabled him to do this without any apprehension of danger. This, I think, will be obvious to those who will be at the pains to compare the general narrative of the events as they are recorded year by year, with the notes which I have added, even without having recourse to fuller and more minute researches.

11 The translation I have endeavoured to make as faithful as I could without following the Syriac idiom so closely as to render the English obscure. There are a very few passages in which I cannot feel quite sure that I have obtained the precise meaning of the Syriac; but the obscurity of these passages is certainly due to the Translator, who does not seem to have fully understood the Greek text which he had before him. My English translation of the long account of Pamphilus and his companions was printed before I read either the Greek text printed by Papebrochius, or the Latin translation made by Lipomannus from the same Greek, as it was preserved by Simeon Metaphrastes. The comparison of all of these together will be a good means of testing both the integrity of the transmission of the original Greek to the present day, and the fidelity of the Syriac translation.

12 In the notes, my chief object has been to collect such observations as may tend especially to throw light upon |xi the time of the composition of this work and of the Ecclesiastical History by Eusebius, and serve to elucidate the text; but in order to keep them from extending to too great a length, I have omitted all those matters which it appeared to me an ordinarily well-informed scholar might be presumed to be acquainted with. [[Footnotes given numbers and moved to end]] 1. () British Museum, Additional MS. No. 12,150. 2. () P. xv. The Festal Letters of Athanasius, discovered in an antient Syriac version. 8vo. London, 1848. 3. () Clementis Romani Recognitiones Syriace. Paulus Antonius de Lagarde edidit. 8vo, Lipsise, 1861. 4. () Titi Bostreni contra Manchaeos libri quatuor Syriace. Paulus Antonius de Lagarde edidit. 8vo. Berolini, 1859. 5. () Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. A Syriac Version, edited from an ancient Manuscript recently discovered. By Samuel Lee, D.D. 8vo. London, 1842.

13 6. () Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Theophania, or Divine Manifestation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Translated into English with

Notes, from an ancient Syriac Version of the Greek Original now lost. To which is prefixed a Vindication of the Orthodoxy and Prophetical Views of that distinguished writer By Samuel Lee, D.D. 8vo. Cambridge, 1843. 7. () Οις γε μην αυτος παρεγενομεν, τουτους και τοις μεθ ημας γνωριμους δι ετερας ποιησομαι γραφης. "Moreover, there were many other eminent martyrs who have an honourable mention among the Churches, which are in those places and countries. But our design is not to commit to writing the conflicts of all those who suffered for the worship of God over the whole world, nor yet to give an accurate relation of every accident that befel them; but this rather belongs to those who, with their own eyes, beheld what was done. Moreover, those ourselves were present at, we will commit to the knowledge of posterity in another work." See Ecc. Hist., B. viii. ch. 13, Eng. Trans. p. 148.

14 8. () Codex olim Regiae Societatis, nunc vero Musei Britannici. This is G. of Dr. Burton's edition : Oxford, 1838. See the same, pp. 572 and 591. 9. () Duo Codices Florentini Bibliothecae Mediceo-Laurentianae. Plut. lxx. n. 7 et 20. I. and K. of Burton. See Ibid. p. 591. 10. () 1. Codex Regius Bibliothecae Parisiensis n. 1436; 2. Codex Mediceus, ibid. n. 1434; 3. Codex Mazarinasus, ibid. n. 1430; 4. Codex Fuketianus, ibid. n. 1435; 5. Codex Savilianus, in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, n. 2278; being A. B. C. D. and F. respectively of Burton. Ibid. 11. () Codex Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis n. 1431, and Codex Venetus n. 838; being E. and H. of Burton. Ibid. 12. () See N. of Burton. Ibid. 13. () See Valesius, note (), p. 154, Eng. Trans. 14. () See Valesius and Ruinart, cited in the notes to this, pp. 50, 51, 55, 59, 60, 64, 69, 84. Also S. E. Assemani remarks :-- "Graecam S. Procopii, Martyrum Palaestinorum in Diocletiani persecutione antesignani, historiam, quae in laudato de martyribus Palaestinae libro habetur; ab alia fusiori, atque explicatiori fuisse contractam atque truncatam, certum et exploratum est, nam quae ad patriam atque institum pertinent omittere nunquam consuevit Eusebius."--Acta SS. Mart.

15 "Horum sanctorum martyrum historiam concisam pariter jejunamque exhibet nobis Graecus Eusebii Caesariensis textus in libro de martyribus Palaestinae; eandemque prorsus fortunam experta est, quam prior Procopii, ex latiori scilicet narratione in brevem summam. Atque priorem illam Latina, quae superfuit, versio supplerit, haec autem suppleri aliter non potuissent, nisi, favente Deo, Chaldaicus Codex noster e tenebris Aegypti vindicatus emersisset in lucem."-- Ibid. p. 173. Baillet:--" Eusébe de Cesarée avait recueilli à part les Martyrs de Palestine: et quoique les Actes qu'il en avoit

ramassez avec beaucoup de soin et de travail ne paroissent plus, il nous en reste un bon abbregé dans le livre qui se trouve joint à son histoire genérale de l'Eglise." See Les Vies des Saints, vol. i. p. 55. 15. () See these printed p. 50 below and Valesius' note thereon. 16. () The Latin, by Surius, of this, will be found in the Notes, at p. 69.

16 17. () Eusebius died A.D. 339 or 340 (Fabricius, Bibliotheca Graec. lib. v. c. 4. p. 31), and this copy was transcribed A.D. 411. 18. () See Note, p. 51, below. 19. () See Notes, pp. 57, 60 below. 20. () See p. 66, below. 21. () A Latin version of this, as it is found in Simeon Metaphrastes, translated by Lipomannus, I have printed in the Notes, p. 69, below, for the sake of comparison with this text. It also still exists in Greek, and was first published by D. Papebrochius from a Medicean MS. in the Acta Sanctorum, June, vol. i. p. 64; and afterwards reprinted by J. Alb. Fabricius in S. Hippoliti Opera, 2 vols, fol. Hamb. 1716--19, vol. ii. p. 217. 22. () See notes pp. 53, 56, 59, 60, 64, 68. 23. () See Heinichen, Notitia Codicum, Editionum et Translationum Historiae Ecclesiasticae Eusebianae, § vi.

17 24. () See Note below, p. 79.

ON THE MARTYRS IN PALESTINE,

18 BY EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. ---------- THOSE Holy Martyrs of God, who loved our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, and God supreme and sovereign of all, more than themselves and their own lives, who were dragged forward to the conflict for the sake of religion, and rendered glorious by the martyrdom of confession, who preferred a horrible death to a temporary life, and were crowned with all the victories of virtue, and offered to the Most High and supreme God the glory of their wonderful victory, because they had their conversation in heaven, and walked with him who gave victory to their testimony, also offered up glory, and honour, and majesty to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost. Moreover, the souls of the martyrs being worthy of the kingdom of heaven are in honour together with the company of the prophets and apostles. Let us therefore, likewise, who stand in need of the aid of their prayers, and have been also charged in the book of the Apostles, that we should be partakers in the remembrance of the Saints,-- let us also be partakers with them, and begin to describe those conflicts of theirs against sin, which are at all times published abroad by the mouth of those believers who were acquainted with them Nor, indeed, have their praises been noted by monu- ! ments of stone, nor by statues variegated

with painting and colours and resemblances of earthly things without life, but by the word of truth spoken before God: the deed also which is seen by our eyes bearing witness. |2

19 [P. 2.] Let us therefore, relate the manifest signs and glorious proofs of the divine doctrine, and commit to writing a commemoration not to be forgotten, setting also their marvellous virtues as a constant vision before our eyes. For I am struck with wonder at their all-enduring courage, at their confession under .many forms, and at the wholesome alacrity of their souls, the elevation of their minds, the open profession of their faith, the clearness of their reason, the patience of their condition, and the truth of their religion: how they were not cast down in their minds, but their eyes looked upwards, and they neither trembled nor feared. The love of God also, and of His Christ, supplied them with an all-effective power, by which they overcame their enemies. For they loved God, the supreme sovereign of all, and they loved Him with all their might. He, too, requited their love to Him by the aid which He afforded them: and they also were loved by Him, and strengthened against their enemies, applying the words of that confessor who had already borne his testimony before them and exclaiming "Who shall separate us from Christ? shall tribulation, or affliction, or persecution, or hunger, or death, or the sword? as it is written, For thy sake we die daily: we are reckoned as lambs for the slaughter." And again, when this same martyr magnifies that patience which cannot be overcome by evil, he says--"that in all these things we conquer for Him who loved us." And he foretold that all evils are overcome by the love of God, and that all terrors and afflictions are trodden down, while he exclaimed and said : "Because I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in our Lord Jesus Christ."

20 At that time then, Paul, who exulted in the power of his Lord, was himself crowned with the victory of martyrdom in the midst of Rome, the Imperial City [p. 3.], because he had entered the contest there, as in a superior conflict. In that victory also which Christ granted to his triumphant martyrs, Simon, the chief and first of the disciples, likewise received the crown; and he |3 suffered in a manner similar to our Lord's sufferings. Others of the Apostles too, in other places, closed their lives in martyrdom. Nor was this grace given only to those of former times, but it has also been bestowed

abundantly upon this our own generation. As for those conflicts, which were gloriously achieved in various other countries, it is meet that they who were then living should describe what took place in their own country; but for myself I pray that I may be enabled to write an account of those with whom I had the honour of being cotemporary, and that they may rank me also among them--I mean those of whom the whole people of Palestine is proud, for in the midst of this our land also the Saviour of all mankind himself arose like a thirst-refreshing fountain. The conflicts, therefore, of these victorious combatants I will proceed to relate, for the common instruction and benefit of all.

21 THE CONFESSION OF PROCOPIUS, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 22 THE first of all the martyrs who appeared in Palestine was named Procopius. In truth he was a godly man, for even before his confession he had given up his life to great endurance: and from the time that he was a little boy had been of pure habits, and of strict morals: and by the vigour of his mind he had so brought his body into subjection, that, even before his death, his soul seemed to dwell in a body completely mortified, and he had so strengthened his soul by the word of God that his body also was sustained by the power of God. His food was bread only, and his drink water; and he took nothing else besides these two. [P. 4. Occasionally he took food every second day only, and sometimes every third day; oftentimes too he passed a whole week without food. But he never ceased day nor night from the study of the word of God: and at the same time he was careful as to his manners and modesty of conduct, so that he edified by his; meekness and piety all those of his own standing. And while |4 his chief application was devoted to divine subjects, he was acquainted also in no slight degree with natural science. His family was from Baishan; and he ministered in the orders of the Church in three things :--First, he had been a Reader; and in the second order he translated from Greek into Aramaic;

23 and in the last, which is even more excellent than the preceding, he opposed the powers of the evil one, and the devils trembled before him. Now it happened that he was sent from Baishan to our city Caesarea, together with his brother confessors. And at the very moment that he passed the gates of the city they brought him before the Governor: and immediately upon his first entrance the judge, whose name was Flavianus, said to him: It is necessary that thou shouldest sacrifice to the gods: but he replied with a loud

voice, There is no God but one only, the Maker and Creator of all things. And when the judge felt himself smitten by the blow of the martyr's words, he furnished himself with arms of another kind against the doctrine of truth, and, abandoning his former order, commanded him to sacrifice to the emperors, who were four in number; but the holy martyr of God laughed still more at this saying, and repeated the words of the greatest of poets of the Greeks, which he said that "the rule of many is not good: let there be one ruler and one sovereign. And on account of his answer, which was insulting to the emperors, he, though alive in his conduct, was delivered over to death, and forthwith the head of this blessed man was struck off, and an easy transit afforded him along the way to heaven. [P. 5.

24 And this took place on the seventh day of the month Heziran, in the first year of the persecution in our days. This confessor was the first who was consummated in our city Caesarea. 25 THE CONFESSION OF ALPHAEUS, AND ZACCHAEUS, AND ROMANUS, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. IT happened, at the same time, that the festival, which is celebrated on the twentieth year of the emperor's reign, was at hand, and a |5 pardon was announced at that festival for the offences of those who were in prison. The governor, therefore, of the country came before the festival, and instituted an inquiry respecting the prisoners which were in confinement, and some of them were set at liberty through the clemency of the emperors; but the martyrs of God he insulted with tortures, as though they were worse malefactors than thieves and murderers. Zacchaeus, therefore, who had been a deacon of the Church in the city of Gadara, was led like an innocent lamb from the flock--for such indeed he was by nature, and those of his acquaintance had given him the appellation of Zacchaeus as a mark of honour, calling him by the name of that first Zacchaeus--for one reason, because of the smallness of his stature, and for another, on account of the strict life which he led; and he was even more desirous of seeing our Lord than the first Zacchaeus. And when he was brought in before the judge, he rejoiced in his confession for the sake of Christ: and when he had spoken the words of God before the judge, he was delivered over to all the tortures of punishment, and after having been first scourged, he was made to endure dreadful lacerations, and then after this he was thrown into prison again, and there for a whole day and a whole night his feet were strained to four holes of the rack.

26 Alphaeus, also, a most amiable man, endured afflictions and sufferings similar to these. His family was of the most illustrious of the city Eleutheropolis, and in the church of Caesarea he had been honoured with the dignity of Reader and Exorcist. But before he became a confessor he had been a preacher and teacher of [p. 6. the word of God; and had great confidence towards all men, and this of itself was a good reason for his being brought to his confession of the truth. And because he saw that there was fallen upon all men at that time laxity and great fear, and many were swept along as it were before the force of many waters, and carried away to the foul worship of idols, he deliberated how he might withstand the violence of the evil by his own valour, and by his own courageous words repress the terrible storm. Of his own accord, therefore, he threw himself into the midst of |6 the crowd of the oppressors, and with words of denunciation reproached those, who through their timidity had been dragged into error; and held them back from the worship of idols, by reminding them of the words which had been spoken by our Saviour, respecting confession. And when Alphaeus, full of courage and bravery, had done these things openly with boldness, the officers seized him, and took him at once before the judge.

27 But this is not the time for us to relate what words he uttered with all freedom of speech, nor what answers he gave in words of godly religion, like a man filled with the Spirit of God. In consequence of these things he was sent to prison. And after some days he was brought again before the judge, and his body was torn all over by severe scourgings without mercy, but the fortitude of his mind still continued erect before the judge, and by his words he withstood all error. Then he was tortured on his sides with the cruel combs, and, at last, having wearied out the judge himself, and those who were ministering to the judge's will, he was again committed to prison, together with another fellow-combatant, and stretched out a whole day and night upon the wooden rack. After three days they were both of them brought together before the judge, and he commanded them to offer sacrifice to the emperors: but they confessed, and said, We acknowledge one God only, the supreme sovereign of all; and when they had uttered these words in the presence of all the people (p. 7. they were numbered among the company of Holy Martyrs, and were crowned as glorious and illustrious combatants in the conflict of God, for whose sake also their heads were cut off. And better

than all the course of their lives did they love their departure, to be with Him in whom they made their confession.

28 But the day that they suffered martyrdom was the seventh of Teshri the latter, on which day the confession of those of whom we have been speaking was consummated. 29 And on this selfsame day also Romanus suffered martyrdom in the city of Antioch. But this Romanus belonged to Palestine, and he was a Deacon, and an Exorcist likewise, in one of the villages of Caesarea. And he, too, was stretched out upon the rack, |7 and like as the martyr Alphaeus had done in Caesarea, so did the blessed Romanus by his words of denunciation restrain from sacrificing those who, from their timidity, were relapsed into the sin of the error of devils, recalling to the minds of them all the terrors of God. He had also the courage to go in together with the; multitude who were dragged by force into error and to present himself there in Antioch before the judge: and when he heard the judge commanding them to sacrifice, and they, in trepidation from their fears, were driven with trembling to offer sacrifice, this zealous man was no longer able to endure this sad spectacle, but was : moved with pity towards them as towards those who were feeling about in thick darkness, and on the point of falling over a precipice, and so he made the doctrine of the religion of God to rise up before them like the sun, crying aloud and saying: Whither are ye being carried, oh men? Are ye all stooping down to cast yourselves into the abyss? Lift up the eyes of your understanding on high, and above all the worlds ye shall recognise God and the Saviour of all the ends of the world;

30 and do not abandon for error the commandment which has been committed to you: then shall the godless error of the worship of devils be apparent to you. Remember also the righteous judgment of God supreme, [p. 8. And when he had spoken these things to them with a loud voice, and stood there without fear and without dread, at the command of him who was constituted judge there, the officers seized him, and he condemned him to be destroyed by fire, for the crafty judge perceived that many were confirmed by the words which the martyr spake, and that he turned many back from error. And because the servant of Jesus had done these things in the place where the emperors were, they at once brought out this blessed man into the midst of the city of Antioch. And he was arrived at the spot where he was to undergo his punishment, and the things which were required for the fire were got ready, and they were busying themselves to fulfil the command

with haste, when the emperor Diocletian, having heard of what was done, gave orders that they should withdraw the martyr from the death by fire, because, said he, his insolence and folly were not suitable |8 for punishment by fire; and so, like a merciful emperor, he gave order for a new kind of punishment for the martyr, that his tongue should be cut out. Nevertheless, when that member by which he spoke was taken away, still was his true love not severed from his God;

31 neither was his intellectual tongue restrained from preaching, and immediately he received from God, the sovereign of all, a recompense for his struggle in the conflict, and was filled with power much greater than he had before. Then did great wonder seize upon all men; for he, whose tongue had been cut out, forthwith, by the gift of God spake out valiantly, and heartily exulted in the faith, as though he were standing by the side of Him in whom he made his confession; and with a countenance bright and cheerful he saluted his acquaintance, and scattered the seed of the word of God into the ears of all men, exhorting them all to worship God alone, and lifting up his prayers and thanksgiving to God, who worketh marvels [p. 9.] : and when he had done these things he mightily gave testimony to the word of Christ before all men, and in deed shewed forth the power of Him in whom he made his confession. And when he had done so for a long time he was again stretched upon the rack; and by the command of the governor and the judge they threw upon him the strangling instrument, and he was strangled. And on the same day as those blessed martyrs who appertained to Zacchaeus he was consummated in his confession. And although this man actually passed through the conflict, and suffered martyrdom in Antioch, nevertheless, because his family was of Palestine, he is properly described among the company of martyrs in this our country.

32 THE CONFESSION OF TIMOTHEUS, IN THE CITY OF GAZA, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 33 IT was the second year of the persecution, and the hostility against us was more violent than the first; and Urbanus, who at that same time had superseded the governor Flavianus in his |9 office, was governor over the people of Palestine. There came then again the second time edicts from the emperor, in addition to the former, threatening persecution to all persons. For, in the former, he had given orders respecting the rulers of the Church of God only, to compel them to sacrifice; but, in the second edicts there was a strict ordinance,

which compelled all persons equally, that the entire population in every city, both men and women, should sacrifice to dead idols, and a law was imposed upon them to offer libations to devils; for such were the commands of the tyrants who, in their folly, desired to wage war against God, the king supreme. And when these commands of the emperor were put into effect, the blessed Timotheus, in the city of Gaza, was delivered up to Urbanus while he was there, and was unjustly bound in fetters, like a murderer [p. 10.], for indeed he was not bound in fetters on account of any thing deserving of blame, because he had been blameless in all his conduct, and during the whole of his life.

34 When, therefore, he did not comply with the law as to the worship of idols, nor bow down to dead images without life, for he was a man perfect in every thing, and was in his soul acquainted with his God, and because of his piety and his conduct and his virtues, even before he was delivered up to the governor, he had already endured severe sufferings from the inhabitants of his own city, having lived there under insults and frequent blows and contumely, for the people of the city of Gaza were accursed in the heathenism; and when they were present in the judgment hall of the governor, this champion of righteousness came off victorious in all the excellence of his patience. And the judge cruelly employed against him severe tortures, and showered upon his body terrible scourgings without number, inflicting on his sides horrible lacerations, such as it is impossible to describe; but, under all these things this brave martyr of God sustained the conflict like a hero, and at last obtained the victory in the struggle, by enduring death by means of a slow fire :

35 for it was a weak and slow fire by which he was burned, so that his soul could not easily make her escape from the body, and be at rest. |10 And there was he tried like pure gold in the furnace of a slow fire, manifesting the perfection and the sincerity of his religion towards his God, and obtaining the crown of victory which belongs to the glorious conquerors of righteousness. And because he loved God, he received, as the meet recompense of his will, that perfect life which he longed for in the presence of God the sovereign of all. And together with this brave confessor, at the same time of the trial of his confession, and in the same city, the martyr Agapius, and the admirable Theckla (she of our days) were condemned by the governor to suffer punishment and to be devoured by wild beasts, [p. 11.]

36 THE CONFESSION OF AGAPIUS, AND OF THE TWO ALEXANDERS, AND OF THE TWO DIONYSIUSES, AND OF TIMOTHEUS, AND OF ROMULUS, AND OF PAESIS, IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS, IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA. 37 IT was the festival at which all the people assembled themselves together in their cities. The same festival also was held in Caesarea. And in the circus there was an exhibition of horse races, and a representation was performed in the theatre, and it was customary for impious and barbarous spectacles to take place in the Stadium: and there was a rumour and a report generally current, that Agapius, whose name we have mentioned above, and Theckla with him, together with the rest of the Phrygians, were to be sent into the theatre in the form of martyrs, in order that they might be devoured by the wild beasts; for the governor Urbanus would present this gift to the spectators. When the fame of these things was heard abroad, it happened further that other young men, perfect in stature, and brave in person (they were in number six) arrived. And as the governor was proceeding to the theatre, and passing through the city, these six men stood up courageously before him: and having bound their hands behind them, they drew near before the judge Urbanus, and, in fact, |11 by binding themselves, shewed what was about to be done to them by others, and exhibited their excellent patience, and the readiness of their mind for martyrdom, for they confessed, crying aloud and saying, We are Christians; and beseeching the governor Urbanus that they also might be thrown to the wild beasts in the theatre in company with their brethren who appertained to Agapius.

38 For all this confidence of Jesus our Saviour, in his own champions did He manifest to all men; extinguishing the menaces of the tyrants by his champion's valour, and manifestly and clearly shewing, that neither fire, nor steel, nor even fierce wild beasts, were able to subdue his victorious servants [p. 12.], for He had girded them with the armour of righteousness, and strengthening them with victorious and invincible armour, he made them despise death. And they struck at once the governor and the whole band with him with astonishment at this their courage: and the governor gave command that they should be delivered up to prison; and there they were detained many days. And while they were in prison, Agapius, a meek and good man, the brother of one of the prisoners, arrived from the city of Gaza, and went frequently to the prison to visit his brother, and having already striven

in many contests of confession before, he went with confidence to the place of imprisonment: and so he was denounced to the governor as a man prepared for martyrdom, and consequently was delivered over to bonds, in order that he might endure the trial of a second conflict. And things similar to these did Dionysius also suffer. And this good recompense was given to him from the martyrs of God as the reward of his service to them. And when the governor was made aware of this recompense of the compassion of Dionysius towards the martyrs, he gave the sentence of death against him.

39 And thus he became associated with those who preceded him. And all together they were eight in number; namely, Timotheus, whose origin was from Pontus; and Dionysius, who came from the city of Tripolis; and Romulus, a sub-deacon of the church of the city of Diospolis; and two were Aegyptians, Paesis and Alexander; and again another Alexander, |12 and those two respecting whom we have said that they were at last cast into prison. 40 All these were delivered up together at one time, to be beheaded. And this matter took place on the twenty-fourth of Adar. But there was, at the same time, a sudden change of the emperors, both of him who was the chief and emperor, and of him who was honoured in the next place after him: and those [p. 13.] who had divested themselves of the power of empire and put on the ordinary dress, having given up the empire to their associates, were rent asunder from their love towards each other, and they raised against one another an implacable war; nor was any remedy given to this malady of their hostility, until the peace in our time, which was spread throughout the whole empire of the Romans; for it arose like light out of clouds of darkness, and forthwith the Church of the supreme God and the divine doctrine was extended throughout the whole world.

41 THE CONFESSION OF EPIPHANIUS (Gr. Apphianus), IN THE THIRD YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE IN OUR DAYS IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA. THAT bitter viper, and wicked and cruel tyrant, which in our time held the dominion of the Romans, went forth, even from his very commencement, to fight as it were against God, and was filled with persecution and rage against us in a far greater degree than any of those who had preceded him--I mean Maximinus : and no little consternation fell upon all the inhabitants of the cities, and many were scattered abroad into every country, and dispersed themselves, in order that they might escape the danger which surrounded them. 42 What words then

are adequate to describe, as it deserves, the divine love of the martyr Epiphanius, who had not yet attained the age of twenty years? He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Lycia, famous also for their extensive worldly wealth, and, by the care of his parents, he had been sent to be educated in the city of Beyrout, where he had also acquired a |13 great stock of learning. But this incident is not in any way connected with the narrative which we are writing: if, however, it be befitting that we make any mention of the virtuous conduct of this all-holy soul, it is very right to admire, how in a city such as this he used to withdraw himself from the society and company [p. 14. of young men, and practised the virtues and the habits of old men, adorning himself with pure conduct and becoming manners, nor suffered himself to be overcome by the vigour of his body, nor to be led away by the society of youth. But he laid the foundation of all virtues for himself in patience, cherishing perfect holiness and temperance, and applying himself with purity, as it is right, to the worship of God. And when he had finished his education and quitted Beyrout, and was returned to the house of his parents, he was no longer able to live with those who were of his own family, because their manners were dissimilar to his own.

43 He therefore left them, without taking care to carry with him the means of providing sustenance even for a single day. He conducted himself, however, in his travels, with purity, and by the power of God which accompanied him, he came to this our city, in which the crown of martyrdom was prepared for him, and resided in the same house with us, confirming himself in godly doctrine, and being instructed in the Holy Scriptures by that perfect martyr, Pamphilus, and acquiring from him the excellence of virtuous habits and conduct. 44 And for this reason I have applied myself to the narrative of the martyrdom of Epiphanius, in order that I may declare, if I be able, what a consummation he also had. All the multitudes that beheld him were struck with admiration of him. And who is there, even now-a-days, that can hear of his fame without being filled with astonishment at his courage, and at his boldness of speech, and at his daring, and at his patience, at his words addressed to the governor, and his answers to the judge? And more than all to be wondered at is the resolution with which he dedicated as it were with incense the offering of his zeal for God. For when the persecution had been raised against us the second time, in the third year of this same persecution, the former |14 edicts of Maximinus arrived--those by which he

gave command that the governors of the cities should use great pains and diligence in order to compel all men to offer sacrifices [p. 15. and libations to devils. The heralds, therefore, through all the cities made a diligent proclamation, that the men, together with their wives and children, should assemble in the temples of the idols, and before the Chiliarchs and Centurions, as they went round about to the houses and the streets making a list of the inhabitants of the city. Then they summoned them by name, and compelled them to offer sacrifice as they had been commanded.

45 And while this boundless tempest was threatening all men from all sides, Epiphanius, a perfectly holy man, and a witness of the truth, performed an act which surpasses all words. While no one was aware of his purpose; he even concealed it from us who were in the same house with him, he went and drew near to the governor of the place, and stood boldly before him; having also escaped the observation of the whole band that was standing near the governor, for they had not given heed when he approached the governor: and while Urbanus was offering libations, he came up to him and laid hold of his right hand, and held him back from offering the foul libation to idols, endeavouring with an excellent and gentle address and godlike suavity to persuade him to turn from his error, saying to him: That it was not right for us to turn away from the one only God of truth, and offer sacrifice to lifeless idols and wicked devils. Thus did He, who is more mighty than all, reprove the wicked through the youth Epiphanius, whom, for the sake of his reproof, the power of Jesus had taken from the house of his fathers, in order that he might be a reprover of the works of pollution.

46 He therefore despised threatenings and all deaths, and turned not aside from good to evil, but spake gladly with pure knowledge and a glorifying tongue, because he was desirous to carry speedily, if it were possible, persuasion even to his persecutors, and to teach them to turn away from their error, and become acquainted with our common deliverer, the Saviour and God of all. When then this holy martyr of God had done these things, the servants [p. 16. of devils, together with the officers of the governor, |15 were smitten in their hearts as if by a hot iron; and they struck him on the face, and when he had been thrown down on the ground they kicked him with their feet, and tore his mouth and lips with a bridle. And when he had endured all these things bravely, he was afterwards delivered up to be taken to a dark prison, where his legs were then stretched for a day and a night in the stocks. And

after the next day they brought Epiphanius, who, although a youth in age, was a mighty man in valour, into the judgment hall, and there the governor Urbanus displayed a proof of his own wickedness and hatred against this lovely youth by punishment and every kind of torture inflicted upon this martyr of God. And he ordered them to lacerate his sides until his bones and entrails became visible:

47 he was also smitten upon his face and his neck to such a degree, that his countenance was so disfigured by the severe blows which he had received, that not even his friends could recognise him. This martyr of Christ, however, was strengthened both in body and soul like adamant, and stood up even more firmly in his confidence upon his God. And when the governor asked him many questions, he gave him no further answer than this--that he was a Christian: and he questioned him again as to whose son he was, and whence he came and where he dwelt; but he made no other reply than that he was the servant of Christ. For this cause therefore the fury of the governor became more fierce, and he thundered forth the more in his rage, on account of the indomitable speech of the martyr, giving command that his feet should be wrapped up in cotton that had been dipped in oil, and then be set on fire. So the officers of the judge did what he commanded them. And the martyr was hung up at a great height, in order that, by this dreadful spectacle, he might strike terror into all those who were looking on, while at the same time they tore his sides and ribs with combs, till he became one mass of swelling all over, and the appearance of his countenance was completely changed, [p. 17.

48 And for a long time his feet were burning in a sharp fire, so that the flesh of his feet, as it was consumed, dropped like melted wax, and the fire burnt into his very bones like dry reeds. But at the same time, although he | 16 was in great suffering from what befel him, he became, by his patience, like one who had no pain, for he had within, for a helper, that God who dwelt within him; and he appeared evidently to all like the sun : and in consequence of the great courage of this martyr of Christ many Christians also were assembled together to behold him, and stood up with much open confidence; and he, with a loud voice and distinct words, made his confession for the testimony of God, publishing by this his valour the hidden power of Jesus, that He is ever near to those who themselves draw near to Him.

49 And all this wonderful spectacle did the glorious Epiphanius exhibit, as it were in a theatre: for they who were the martyr's oppressors became like corrupt demons, and suffered within themselves great pain; being also themselves tortured in their own persons, as he was, on account of his endurance in the doctrine of his Lord. And while they stood in bitter pains, they gnashed upon him with their teeth, burning in their minds against him, and trying to force him to tell them whence he came, and who he was, and questioning him as to whose son he was, and where he lived, and commanding him to offer sacrifice and comply with the edict. But he looked upon them all as evil demons, and regarded them as corrupt devils : not returning an answer to any of them, but using only this word in confessing Christ, that He is God and the Son of God: [p. 18.] testifying also that he knew God his Father only. When therefore those who were contending against him were grown weary and overcome, and failed, they took him back to the prison, and on the next day they brought him forth again before that bitter and merciless judge, but he still continued in the same confession as before. And when the governor and his officers, and the whole band that ministered to his will, were foiled, he gave orders at last that he should be cast into the depths of the sea.

50 But that wonderful thing which happened after this act I know will not be believed by those who did not witness the wonder with their own eyes, as I myself did: for men are not wont to give the same credence to the hearing of the ear as to the seeing of |17 eye. It is not, however, right for us also, like those who are in error and deficient in faith, to conceal that prodigy which took place at the death of this martyr of God; and we also call as witnesses to you of these things, which we have written, the whole of the inhabitants of the city of Caasarea, for there was not even one of the inhabitants of this city absent from this terrific sight. For after this man of God had been cast into the depths of the terrible sea, with stones tied to his feet, forthwith a great storm and frequent commotions and mighty waves troubled the vast sea, and a severe earthquake made even the city itself tremble, and every one's hands were raised towards heaven in fear and trembling, for they supposed that the whole place, together with its inhabitants, was about to be destroyed on that day. And at the same time, the sea, even as if it were unable to endure it, vomited back the holy body of the martyr of God, and carried it with the waves and laid it before the gate of the city.

51 And there was at that time vast affliction and commotion, for it seemed like a messenger sent from God to threaten all men with great anger [p. 19]. And this which took place was proclaimed to all the inhabitants of the city, and they all ran at once and pushed against each other in order that they might obtain a sight, both boys and men and old men together, and all grades of women, so that even the modest virgins, who kept to their own apartments, went out to see this sight. And the whole city together, even the very children as well, gave glory to the God of the Christians alone, confessing with a loud voice the name of Christ, who had given strength to the martyr in his lifetime to endure such afflictions, and at his death had shewed prodigies to all who beheld. 52 Such was the termination of the history of Epiphanius, on the second of the month Nisan, and his memory is observed on this day. THE CONFESSION OF ALOSIS (Gr. Aedesius).

53 LIKE what had befallen the martyr Epiphanius, so after a short time the brother of Epiphanius, both on the father's and the |18 mother's side, became a confessor, whose name was Alosis. He too, as he contended against them with the words of God, made use of his faith in the truth as armour; they also fought against him with smiting and scourging, and they stood up against each other as it were in battle array, and strove which side should get the victory. But even before his brother had given himself up to God, this admirable Alosis had applied his mind to philosophy, and meditated upon all the learned investigations of the greatest minds. Nor was he a proficient in the learning of the Greeks only, but he was also well acquainted with the philosophy of the Romans, and he had passed a long time in the society of the martyr Pamphilus, and by him had been embued with the godly doctrine as with purple suited for royalty. This same Alosis, after his admirable confession, which was accomplished before our eyes, and his sufferings of the evils (p. 20) of imprisonment for a long period, was first of all delivered over to the copper mines which are in our country, Palestine; and after that he had passed through many afflictions there, and then been released, he went thence to the city Alexandria, and fell in with Hierocles, who held the government of the province in all the land of Egypt.

54 Him also he beheld judging the Christians severely, and contrary to just laws, making mock of the confessors of God, and delivering up the holy virgins of God to fornication, and to lust, and to bodily shame. When therefore these things were perpetrated before the eyes of this brave combatant, he

devoted himself to an act akin to that of his brother; and the zeal of God was kindled within him like fire, and its heat burned within his members as in dry stubble, and he drew near to Hierocles, the wicked governor, with indignation, and put him to shame by his words of wisdom and his deeds of righteousness, and, having struck him on the face with both his hands, he threw him on his back upon the ground; and as his attendants laid hold upon him to help him, he gave him some severe blows, saying to him, Beware how thou darest to commit acts of pollution contrary to nature against the servants of God. And, being well instructed, he convicted |19 him from the laws themselves of acting contrary to the laws.

55 And after Alosis had so courageously done all these things, he endured with great patience the torments which were inflicted upon his body; and as he resembled his brother in his appearance, and conduct, and in his zeal and confession, so also did they resemble each other in their punishment, and at the last, after their death the terrible sea received them from the hand of the judge. Now this servant of Jesus exhibited his contest for the truth in [p. 21] the city of Alexandria, and was there adorned with the crown of victory; but the next confessor after Epiphanius who was called to the conflict of martyrdom in Palestine was Agapius. THE CONFESSION OF AGAPIUS, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. IT was in the fourth year of the persecution in our days, and on Friday the twentieth of the latter Teshri: it was on this same day that the chief of tyrants, Maximinus, came to the city of Caesarea. And he made a boast that he would exhibit some novel sight to all the spectators that were assembled together on his account; for that was the same day on which he celebrated the anniversary of his birthday. And it was requisite upon the arrival of the tyrant that he should exhibit something more than what had ordinarily been done. What then was this new spectacle, but that a martyr of God should be cast to wild beasts to be devoured by them? while of old it had been the practice upon the arrival of the emperor that he should set before the spectators competitive exhibitions of various forms and different kinds, such as recitation of speeches, and listening to new and strange songs and music, and also spectacles of all sorts of wild beasts, and likewise that the spectators might have much delight and amusement in a show of gladiators.

56 It was therefore requisite that the emperor at this festival of his birthday should also do something great and extraordinary, |20 for at all the pre-

vious exhibitions which he had furnished for them he had not done any thing new. So that--what was at once a thing desired by himself, and acceptable to the wicked tyrant--a martyr of God was brought forth into the midst, adorned with all righteousness, and remarkable for the meekness of his life; and he was cast into the theatre in order that he might be devoured by the wild beasts. His name was Agapius, respecting whom, together with Theckla, an order had been given that they should be devoured by wild beasts. The fair name of Theckla has been already mentioned in another chapter [p. 22]. They therefore dragged the blessed Agapius forward, and took him round about in mockery in the midst of the Stadium. And a tablet, with an inscription upon it, was carried about before him, on which no other accusation was exhibited against him, but this only--That he was a Christian. And the same time also a slave, a murderer, that had killed his master, was brought forward, together with the martyr of God, and they both received equally one and the same sentence. And very closely did this passion resemble that of our Saviour; for while the one was to suffer martyrdom for the sake of the God of all, the other also was to be put to death for the murder of his master;

57 and one and the same sentence of evil went forth against both of them without any distinction. And the judge in this case was the governor Urbanus, for he was still governor in Palestine: but when Maximinus came to be present at this spectacle which has been described above, as if on account of the promptitude of Urbanus, he increased his power of evil, and liberated from death that murderer which had slain his master, and put him beyond all torture; but as for the martyr of God, he took delight in looking on with his own eyes while he was being devoured by the savage beasts. When therefore they had led the martyr Agapius round about in the Stadium, they asked him in the first place if he would deny his God, but he cried out with a loud voice and said to all those who were assembled together--Oh ye that are looking on at this trial in which I am now placed, know that it is not for any evil crime which I have committed that I am |21 brought to this trial, for I am a witness of the true doctrine of God, and I bear testimony to you all, in order that ye may have knowledge of the one only God, and of that Light which he has caused to arise, that ye may know and adore Him who is the creator of the heavens and of the earth.

58 And all this which is come upon me for his name's sake, I receive with joy in my mind; for they have not brought me to this place against my will, but I desire this of my own free choice, by which I stand even unto death. Moreover, I am contending for the sake of my faith, that I may afford encouragment to those who are younger than myself, that they too may despise death while [p. 23] they follow after their true life, and may disregard the grave in order to obtain a kingdom; that they should make light of that which is mortal, and keep in their recollection the life of the Giver of life, nor have any dread of punishment which is momentary, but be in fear of those flames of fire which are never quenched. 59 When therefore this martyr of God had cried with a loud voice and said these things, and stood erect in the midst of the Stadium, like one who felt confident that there was no danger, the wicked tyrant was filled with rage and fury, and gave orders for the wild beasts to be let loose upon him: but he, being full of courage and despising death, turned not aside to the right hand or to the left, but with lightness of feet and courage of heart advanced to meet the savage beasts. And a fierce bear rushed upon him and tore him with her teeth: he was then remanded to prison, while life was still left in him, and there he lived one day. After this, stones were tied about him, and his body was thrown into the sea; but the soul of the blessed Agapius winged her flight through the air to the kingdom of heaven, whither she was previously hastening, and was received together with the angels and the holy company of martyrs. So far then was the contest and the valour of Agapius victorious. |22

60 THE CONFESSION OF THEODOSIA, A VIRGIN OF GOD, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION WHICH TOOK PLACE IN OUR DAYS. 61 THE persecution in our days had been prolonged to the fifth year. And it was the month Nisan, and the second day of the same month, when a godly virgin, and holy in all things, one of the virgins of the Son of God in the city of Tyre, who was not yet eighteen years old, out of pure love for those, who on account of their confession of God were set before the tribunal of the governor, [p. 24] drew near and saluted them, and entreated them to remember her in their prayers: and because of these words which she had spoken to them, the wicked men were filled with anger, as if she had been doing something unjust and improper; and the officers seized her forthwith, and took her before the governor Urbanus, for he still held the power in Palestine. And I know not what happened to him, but immedi-

ately, like one much excited by this young woman, he was filled with rage and fury against her, and commanded the girl to offer sacrifice: and because he found, that although she was but a girl, she withstood the imperial orders like a heroine, then did this savage governor the more inflict tortures on her sides and on her breast with the cruel combs; and she was torn on the ribs until her bowels were seen. And because this girl had endured this severe punishment and the combs without a word, and still survived, he again commanded her to offer sacrifice.

62 She then raised her lips and opened her eyes, and looking around with a joyful countenance in that time of her suffering, (for she was charming in beauty and in the appearance of her figure), with a loud voice she addressed the governor: Why, oh man, dost thou deceive thyself, and not perceive that I have found the thing which I prayed to obtain at thy hands? for I rejoice greatly in having been deemed worthy to be admitted to the participation of the sufferings of God's martyrs: for indeed, for this very cause, I stood up and |23 spake with them, in order that by some means or other they might make me a sharer in their sufferings, so that I also might obtain a portion in the kingdom of heaven together with them, because so long as I had no share in their sufferings, I could not be a partaker with them in their salvation. Behold therefore now, how, on account of the future recompense, I stand at present before thee with great exultation, because I have obtained the means of drawing near to my God, even before those just men, whom but a little while ago I entreated to intercede for me.

63 Then that wicked judge [p. 25], seeing that he became a laughingstock, and that his haughty threats were manifestly humbled before all those who were standing in his presence, did not venture to assail the girl again with great tortures like the former, but condemned her by the sentence which he passed to be thrown into the depths of the sea. 64 And when he passed on from the condemnation of this pure girl, he proceeded to the rest of those confessors, on whose account this blessed maiden had been called to this grace, and they were all delivered over to the copper mines in Palestine, without his saying a word to them, or inflicting upon them any sufferings or torture; for this holy girl prevented all those confessors by her courageous conduct against error, and received in her own body, as it were on a shield, all the inflictions and tortures which were intended for them, having rebuked in her own person the enemy that opposed them; and subdued by her

valour and patience the furious and cruel judge, and rendered that fierce governor like a coward with respect to the other confessors. It was on the first day of the week that these confessors were condemned in Caesarea; and in the month above written and in the year noted by us was this act accomplished. |24

65 THE CONFESSION OF DOMNINUS, IN THE FIFTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS, IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA. URBANUS was governor in Palestine; and it was the first day. of the latter Teshri; and so, from day to day, he renewed himself in his wickedness, and every year prepared some devices against us. I will therefore relate how many evils he inflicted on this one day which I have mentioned. On the day then which we have spoken of, a certain man, admirable in all his conduct, and excellently skilled in the science of medicine, [p. 26] and he was a young man of tall stature and handsome, and celebrated for the holiness of his life, and the purity of his soul, and his modesty, and his name was Domninus; he was also well known to all those in our time who had been confessors. Moreover, this same man, previously to his receiving consummation by martyrdom, had endured torture in the copper mines; and on account of his patience under his confession he was condemned to the punishment by fire.

66 When that same judge, cunning in his wickedness (for it is not meet that those should be called wise who boast themselves in the bitterness of their wickedness), had passed on from this martyr, he lighted upon three young men of fine stature, and handsome in their person, and praiseworthy as to their souls, on account of their courage in worshipping God; and in order that he might afford amusement thereby, he sent them to the Ludus. Then he passed on from these, and delivered up an excellent and godly old man to be devoured by the wild beasts. Then the mad man passed on from this old man, and came to others, and commanded them to be castrated and turned into eunuchs. Then he left them also, and proceeded to those who appertained to Sylvanus, whose own lot also it was some time afterwards to become a martyr of God, and these he condemned to the mines of Phaeno. Afterwards he passed on from these and came to others whom he insulted with tortures. Nor was the |25 fury of his malice content with males, but he also threatened to torment the females, and delivered over these virgins to fornicators for the violation of their persons. Others again he sent to prison.

Now all these things which we have described did this arrogant judge perpetrate in one hour.

67 And after all these things which I have described had been accomplished, that heavenly martyr of God, Pamphilus, a name very dear to me (p. 27), who was holy in all things, and adorned with every virtue, was tried in the conflict of martyrdom. He was indeed the most famous of all the martyrs in our time, on account of his accomplishments in philosophy, and his acquirements both in sacred and profane literature. Of this same man, admirable in all things, Urbanus first made a trial of his wisdom by questions and answers; and at last endeavoured to compel him by threats to offer sacrifice to dead idols; and when he had ascertained by trial that he was not to be persuaded by words, and also perceived that his threats were not heeded by him, he applied cruel torture, and lacerated him grievously on his sides. But he was not able to subdue him by this means, as he had expected. The wicked judge then considered that if he bound him in prison together with those confessors of whom mention has been already made, he might by this means subdue this holy martyr.

68 Now as to this cruel judge, who employed all these wicked devices against the confessors of God, what recompense and punishment must await him? For this is easy for us to know from what we are writing. For forthwith, and immediately, and without any long delay, the righteous judgment of God overtook him on account of those things which he had dared to do, and took severe and bitter vengeance upon him; and he that sat on the judgment-seat on high in his pride, and boasted himself in his soldiers that stood before him, and considered himself above all the people in Palestine, was in one night stripped of all his splendour and all his honours, and reduced to the condition of a private individual. And here, in our city of Caesarea, where he had perpetrated all those crimes which have been written above, he was by the sentence of Maximinus, a wicked tyrant like himself, delivered up to a |26 miserable death; and insult and humiliation, which is worse than all deaths, was heaped upon him, so that reproachful words from women, with dreadful imprecations from the mouths of all, were poured into his ears before he died [p. 28]. Wherefore, by these things we may perceive that this was a foretaste of that vengeance of God which is reserved for him at the last, on account of all his maliciousness and unmercifulness towards the servants of God.

69 These things we have related in a cursory manner for those believers, of whom some still remain unto this present time, omitting to relate many afflictions which passed over him, in order that we may arrange these things briefly, and in a few words, as a record for those who are to come after us; but there may come a time when we may recount in our narrative the end and fall of those wicked men who exerted themselves against our people. THE CONFESSION OF PAULUS, AND VALENTINA, AND HATHA, IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN CAESAREA. UP to the sixth year of the persecution which was in our days, the storm which had been raised against us was still raging; and great multitudes of confessors were in the mines which are called Porphyrites, in the country of Thebais, which is on one side of Egypt; and on account of the purple marble which is in that land, the name of Porphyrites has also been given to those who were employed in cutting it. This name, therefore, was also extended to those great multitudes of confessors who were under sentence of condemnation in the whole of the land of Egypt: for there were a hundred martyrs there all but three. And these confessors were sent, the men together with the women and children, to the governor in Palestine, whose name was Firmillianus. For he had superseded the governor Urbanus in his office, and he was a man by no means of a peaceful turn; indeed he even surpassed |27 his predecessor in ferocity, having been a soldier that had been engaged in war, and had had much experience in blood and fighting, [p 29.]

70 There is a large city in the land of Palestine, teeming with population, of which all the inhabitants were Jews. It is called in the Aramaic tongue Lud, and in the Greek it is called Diocaesarea. To this city the governor Firmillianus went, and took thither the whole assembly of those hundred confessors. And this was a great sight which well deserves to be recorded in writing. And the Jews were spectators of this marvellous contest, having surrounded the place of judgment on all sides; and as if it were for a rebuke to themselves, they looked on with their own eyes at what took place, while the whole company of the confessors, with much confidence and immense courage, made their confession of belief in God's Christ. And they being Jews, to whom the coming of that Christ had been foretold by their prophets, whose coming their fathers looked for, had not received him when he was come; but these Egyptians, who had been of old the enemies of God, confessed, even in the midst of persecutions, their faith in God, the Lord of all, and in

the Manifestation from him. And these Egyptians, who had been taught by their fathers to worship idols only, were at that time, from the conviction of their reason, undergoing this conflict, in order that they might avoid the worship of idols;

71 while those Jews, who had always been accused by their prophets on account of their worship of idols, were surrounding them, standing and looking on, and listening as the Egyptians repudiated the gods of their own fathers, and confessed their faith in the same God as they also did; and bare witness for Him whom they had many times denied. And they were still more cut to the heart and rent, when they heard the criers of the governor shouting and calling Egyptians by Hebrew names, and addressing them with the names of the prophets. For the crier, shouting aloud, called to them and said: Elias, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and other appellations similar to these, which their fathers had chosen from among the Hebrews, [p. 30. in order that they might call their sons after |28 the names of the prophets. Moreover, it also came to pass that their deeds corresponded with their names; and the Jews greatly wondered both at them and at their names, as well as at their words and their deeds, being rendered despicable themselves both by their own vice and infidelity. And I myself am convinced that these things were not done without the will of God. However, after this trial they were deprived of the use of their left leg, by having the muscles of the knee cauterized with fire, and then again they had their right eyes blinded with the sword, and then destroyed by fire. And not only were they men who endured these things, but really children and many women.

72 And after this they were delivered over to the copper mines to see afflictions there. 73 And after a short time, the three men from Palestine, whom I mentioned a little while ago as having been for the moment handed over to the Ludus, were called to undergo similar sufferings, because they would not take the food from the royal provision, nor would give themselves up to that exercise and instruction which were requisite for pugilism; and they suffered many evils which we are not competent to describe: and at the end of all their afflictions they underwent this severe sentence. And others in the city of Gaza, being in the habit of assembling themselves for prayer, and being constant in reading the Holy Scriptures, were seized, and had to endure the same sufferings as their companions, being tortured on their legs and eyes. Others also had to contend in conflicts even greater than these, and

after having been tortured both in their legs and eyes, were severely torn on their sides with combs. And others again more than these attained to this great excellence, and at the end of all contended with death itself.

74 And when he had turned himself away from these, he came to judge one who, although a woman in body, was a hero in the bravery of mind, which she possessed [p. 31] : she was also a virgin in her mode of life, and could not bear the threat of pollution which she heard, but at once gave utterance to harsh words against the tyrannical emperor, for having given authority to a |29 vile and wicked judge. On this account, therefore, he in the first place bruised her body all over with stripes; then she was hung up and her sides were lacerated; and this not once only, but two and three times in one hour, and for a great while and also repeatedly, until those who inflicted the punishment became wearied and tired; then others succeeded them against her, and, at the commands of the furious governor, tortured her most severely. For these judges were barbarous in their manners, and enemies in their hearts. Moreover, it happened that while this furious judge was insulting this girl with his tortures, another young woman, small indeed in person, but courageous in soul--for she was possessed of a large mind, which supplied strength to the smallness of her person--being no longer able to tolerate the wickedness and cruelty of those things which were inflicted upon her sister, called out from the midst of the crowd of persons who were standing before the governor, and cried out complaining, and said:

75 How long dost thou intend to tear my sister to pieces in so cruel and merciless a manner? And when the wicked Firmillianus heard this saying, he was bitterly incensed, and gave orders for the young woman who had complained to be brought before him. Her name was Valentina. Having therefore caught her up they brought her into the midst of the place of judgment. But she placed her trust in the holy name of Jesus. Then the murderous governor in his fury commanded her to offer sacrifice. But the maiden Valentina despised the word even of the threatener. Then he gave orders for those who were ministering to his will to lay hold upon the girl by force, and to take her up to the side of the altar, so that she might be polluted by the sacrifices. Then at that time of terror [p. 32. the noble maiden shewed the courage of her mind, and gave the altar a kick with her foot, and it was overturned, and; the fire that had been kindled upon it was scattered about; and because she did all these things without shewing any fear, the rage of the governor

was roused like a wild beast, and he gave command for her to be tortured with the combs, without any mercy, so that no one man was ever torn to such a degree; and I think that, had it been possible, he would even have devoured the girl's |30 flesh.

76 And when at length his fury was satisfied with the sight of her blood, and he had learned, both by deeds and words, how divine is that invincible power which arms and strengthens even little girls with courage and valour, he caused both the young women, Hatha and Valentina, to be bound together, and gave sentence against them of death by fire. The name of the first was Hatha, and her father's house was in the land of Gaza; and the other was from Caesarea, our own city, and she was well known to many, and her name was Valentina. 77 And after these things, Paul the confessor was called to the conflict. And he also endured it bravely, and in the same hour was condemned to be put to death, and his sentence was to be beheaded by the sword. When, then, this blessed man came to the place of execution where he was to be put to death, he besought the officer who was to behead him to have patience with him for a little while; and when the officer had granted him this desire, in the first place, with a mild and cheerful voice, he offered up thanksgiving, and worship, and glory, and supplication to God for having accounted him worthy of this victory. Then he prayed for tranquillity and peace for our people, and entreated God speedily to grant them deliverance. After this he offered up prayer for our enemies, the Jews, many of whom at that time were standing around him: then he went on in his supplication, and prayed for the Samaritans, and for those among the Gentiles [p. 33] who were without knowledge; he prayed that they might be converted to the knowledge of the truth. Nor was he unmindful of those who were standing around him, but prayed also for them. And oh, the perfection--which cannot be described--that he prayed even for that judge who had condemned him to death, and for all rulers in every place; and not only for them, but also for that officer who was then going to cut off his head.

78 And as he was offering his supplications to God, the officers heard him with their own ears praying for them, and beseeching God not to lay to their charge that which they did to him. And as he prayed for all with a suppliant voice, he turned the whole multitude that was standing by and looking |31 on to sorrow and tears; and then, of his own accord, he bent down his body, and put out his neck to be cut off by the sword. The conflict of this victorious

martyr was consummated on the twenty-fifth of the month Thamuz. 79 THE CONFESSION OF ANTONINUS, AND ZEBINAS, AND GERMANUS, AND MANNATHUS (Gr. Ennathas) IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN CAESAREA. 80 AND when some time had elapsed after these things which I have related, another company of God's martyrs, amounting in number to one hundred and thirty, was sent from the land of Egypt into our country. And all of these had also undergone the same tortures in their eyes and legs as the former martyrs; and some of them were sent to the mines of Palestine, and some of them were delivered over to the judges in Cilicia to be chastised with injurious and insulting tortures. But from us the flame of the persecution ceased a little, the sword having been satiated with the blood of the holy martyrs; and a little rest and cessation threw some check upon the persecution which took place in our days. And continuously the scourge of God was sent upon Maximinus, the wicked tyrant, of all these evils, of which the governors of the countries were the instructors and cunning ministers, [p. 34], and that duke who was the general of the army of the Romans. And because of those things which took place, they urged the Logistae of the cities, and the military commander, and the Tabularii to rebuild with diligence what was fallen of the temples of idols, and to compel all the men, together with their wives and children and slaves, and even the infants at the breast, to sacrifice and offer libations to devils, and also to force them to eat of the sacrifices. And a command was given that every thing that was sold in the market should be polluted with the libations and the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifices. When these things, therefore, were done |32 in this manner, these actions which were performed were abominated, even by the heathen who were without faith.

81 Great tumult, therefore, and consternation, such as there had never been the like before, overwhelmed all those who belonged to us in every place; and the souls of every one were set in affliction and trouble. But the Divine Power, on account of those things which had taken place, gave encouragement to such as belonged to Him, so that they were able to tread under foot the threats of the judges, and to depise their tortures. But some servants of Christ's people, who in the stature of their bodies were only youths, but their soul was armed with the worship of God, both came of themselves, and when the governor was offering libations to idols in the midst of the city, suddenly rushed upon him, and called upon him to abandon his error,

For there is no other God but one, the Maker and Creator of all things; and when they were asked who they were, they confessed they were Christians. No sooner, then, were these words uttered than they received sentence of death, and so passed on easily and without delay to Him in whom they made their confession. The name of the first of them was Antoninus, and the second was called Zebinas, and the third's name was Germanus; and these things were done on the thirteenth of Teshri the latter.

82 And they had at the same time a companion, a sister, one of the Lord's virgins, [p. 35] a chaste and courageous maiden, who came from the city of Baishan. She, however, had not acted in the same manner as those had done with whom she became confessor; for she had been brought by force from Baishan, and suffered insults and cruel tortures from the judge before she was condemned. But one of those who was set over the streets of the city was the originator of these evils. His name was Maxys, and he proved to all men that he was worse even than his name. This same blessed woman he stripped naked, and she was only left covered from the groin downwards, in order that he might indulge his lustful eyes in looking at the rest of her limbs; and he carried her about through the whole city, being tortured with straps; and afterwards took her before the tribunal of the |33 governor, where with great boldness of speech she made the confession of her faith--that she was a Christian; and there also displayed her courage and patience under every kind of torture; and was afterwards delivered over by the governor to be burnt with fire. Moreover, the same judge became day by day more ferocious, displaying both his merciless disposition and cruelty, and he was carried away even beyond the laws of nature, so that he wreaked his vengeance and hatred even upon the lifeless corpses of the Christians, and forbade their burial.

83 And of this same maiden of whom it has been just spoken, and of those who on the same day were consummated by confession, orders were issued that their bodies should be devoured by animals, and be carefully guarded night and day till they should be consumed by birds. Persons were therefore appointed to watch over this barbarous order from a distance, and to keep guard to prevent the bodies of the confessors from being carried away by us by stealth. So the beasts of the field, and the dogs, and the fowls of the heaven, were here and there tearing to pieces the flesh of men, so that men's bones and entrails were found even in the middle of the city; and all men were clad in sorrow on account of these things, because never before had

such atrocities been done. [p. 35. And great sorrow and grief came even upon those who were aliens from us in the faith, because of these things which their own eyes beheld; for even before the gates of the city was exhibited the dreadful spectacle of men's bodies devoured by wild beasts. When, therefore, things had continued in this manner for many days, there happened in the midst of the city a prodigy which will scarcely be believed.

84 The atmosphere was perfectly calm and clear, when, all on a sudden, many of the columns of the porticos in the city emitted spots as it were of blood, while the market-places and the streets became sprinked and wet as with water, although not a single drop had fallen from the heavens. And it was declared by the mouth of every one, that the stones shed tears and the ground wept; for even the senseless stones and the ground without feeling could not endure this foul and barbarous deed; and that the blood which flowed from the stones, and |34 the earth which without any rain emitted as it were tears from its body, rebuked all these godless folk. And perhaps it may seem to such as did not see with their own eyes the things which I have described, that what I have related must be attributed to a fable devoid of truth. Far from it, for these things which we have described were actually seen by those who were living at that time, some of whom are alive unto this very day.

85 Such then was the consummation of those holy martyrs of God; whose struggles and conflicts against error were exhibited before our eyes. THE CONFESSION OF ARES, AND PRIMUS (Gr. Promus), AND ELIAS, IN THE SIXTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS AT ASHKELON. IN the month Canun the former, on the fourteenth of the same--on this day some Egyptian martyrs of God were seized before the gates of Ashkelon; and because, when they were questioned as to who they were, they acknowledged that they were Christians, [p. 38] and confessed that they had undertaken the journey, and were come from their own country for the purpose of taking sustenance to the confessors who were in Cilicia, they also were brought as malefactors before the judge. For the keepers of the gates of the city were cruel men, and laid hold upon these martyrs, and took them before Firmillianus the governor, because he was also, up to that time, still over the people of Palestine; and he decreed a cruel sentence against them: and some of them he ordered to have their eyes and their feet injured by fire and steel, and some of them to be delivered over to death by

the sword; but one of them, whose name was Ares, was consummated in his confession by a fierce fire, and Primus and Elias were beheaded by the sword. |35

86 THE CONFESSION OF PETER, WHO WAS SURNAMED ABSALOM, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS IN THE CITY OF CAESAREA. 87 ON the tenth day of the month Canun the latter, Peter, who was called Absalom, appeared, a famous confessor of the kingdom of God; and so manfully did he behave in his struggle for the worship of God, and so victorious was he in the conflict of his martyrdom, that he even excited admiration in the judge himself, and made those who were standing by him wonder greatly. Much, therefore, did they strive to induce him to have pity upon himself, to spare his own person, and save himself from the evils which were hanging over him; but he disregarded in his mind all that they said. And those who surrounded him--not those only who knew him, but those also who were not acquainted with him--urged him, and intreated him one after another, and besought the blessed man as if it were for their own lives. But some of them confirmed his good resolution; others, again, by what they said, suggested irresolution [p. 39], bidding him to regard with pity his own youth and person. Those of the same mind as himself called to his remembrance that hell fire which is to come, while others tried to make him afraid of the fire which was visible before him. Some endeavoured to terrify him by the mortal judge, while others reminded him of the Judge of all judges. Some called upon him to regard this transitory life, while others persuaded him to look to the kingdom of heaven.

88 Those who belonged to the right hand invited him to turn towards them, while they who belonged to the left hand tried to persuade him to mind earthly things. But he was a young man, handsome in person, brave in mind, and active and able in body; and being such he proved his purity like gold in the furnace and the fire, and loved his confession in our Saviour better than the life of this time, which so soon passes away. And there was burned together |36 with him in the same fire one who belonged to the heresy of Marcion, and called himself a bishop; and he gave himself up to this as in the zeal for righteousness, although he was not in true knowledge, and endured martyrdom by fire in company with this God's martyr. And this holy martyr of whom we have spoken came from Aia (Gr. Anea), a village

which is on the confines of Beth Gobrin; and he contended in the consummation which we have described, and obtained in the conflict the crown of the glorious victory of the martyrs of Christ.

89 THE CONFESSION OF PAMPHILUS, AND VALES, AND SELEUCUS, AND PAULUS, AND PORPHYRIUS, AND THEOPHILUS (Theodulus), AND JULIANUS, AND ONE EGYPTIAN, BEING IN NUMBER EIGHT, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 90 THE time now calls upon us to describe that grand spectacle which was displayed of the all-holy martyr Pamphilus, and of those [p. 39] who together with him were consummated by martyrdom; men admirable and brave, who exhibited, under many forms, contests for the sake of the worship of God. For indeed there are many whom we know to have been victorious in this persecution; but in none altogether like these whom we have just mentioned did we behold so completely all kinds of bodily stature, and of moral qualities of soul and education, and of deaths by different tortures, receiving the glory of the consummation of martyrdom by various triumphs. For all of the Egyptians who were with them appeared to be youths and boys; others Were young men in the prime of life, among whom was Porphyrius; others again were in the full vigour both of mind and body, namely, those who were of the house of Pamphilus, that name dearly beloved by me; and Paulus, who came from Iamna; and Seleucus and Julianus, both of whom came from the country of Cappadocia. There were also among them some venerable seniors who were bent down with deep old age, as Vales, a deacon of the church of Jerusalem, and that other, whose conduct was conformable to his name, |37 Theodulus. There was, likewise, a variety of bodily stature : and they differed too in their mental acquirements, for some of them were very simple-minded and ordinary like children, while others were possessed of profound understandings and courageous habits.

91 There were also some among them who were also instructed in theology, and in all of them was their praiseworthy courage remarkable. But like the sun which giveth light to the day among the stars, so in the midst of them all shone forth the excellency of My Lord Pamphilus--for it is not meet that I should mention the name of that holy and blessed Pamphilus without styling him My Lord, for he indeed had no slight acquaintance with that learning which those among the Greeks admire; while there was no one in our time who was [p. 40] so well instructed in those scriptures which pro-

ceed from the Spirit of God, and also in the whole range of theology. And what is even greater than these acquirements, he was possessed of natural wisdom and discernment, that is, he received them by the gift of God. Moreover, Pamphilus was by birth of an illustrious family, and his mode of living in his own country was as that of the noble. Seleucus also had held a place of authority in the army. Some of them again were of the middle rank of life, and one also, who was called to this honour together with the rest, was a slave of the governor. Porphyrius too was reckoned the slave of Pamphilus, but in his love towards God and in his admirable confession he was his brother; and by Pamphilus himself he was considered rather as a beloved son; and, indeed, in every thing he closely resembled him who had brought him up.

92 And were any one to say of this company of them all that they were a perfect representation of a congregation of the church, I should say that he did not go beyond the truth. For among them Pamphilus had been honoured with the presbytery, and Vales was in the orders of the diaconate, and others among them had the rank of readers; and Seleucus, even before the consummation of his confession, had been honoured as a confessor by the suffering of cruel scourgings, and had endured with patience his dismissal from his command in the army. And |38 the remainder of the others who came after these were hearers and receivers (catechumens). And thus, under a small form, they completed the representation of a perfect church of many persons. And so this admirable selection of all these martyrs and such as these, while we looked upon them, although they were not many in number, lo ! they still bore the semblance of a many-stringed harp, which consists of chords that do not resemble each other--the tenor and base, and flat, and sharp, and medial, all of which are well arranged together by the art of music. Like this resemblance, also, there were among them young men and old men together, and slaves and free, [p. 41] and clever and simple, and noble and common, and believers together with hearers (catechumens), and deacons with presbyters: all of which were variously harmonized together by one all-skilful--the Word--the only (begotten) of God.

93 And they displayed each individually the excellency of the power within them by the endurance of tortures, and at the place of judgment produced the melody of a glorious confession. 94 It is also worthy of our admiration, when we look to their number, how they were twelve like the prophets and

the apostles. Nor is it fit that we should omit the all-patient readiness of every one of them, each in his own part; the combs on their sides, and their incurable scourgings, and their tortures of every kind, and how they forced by violence these martyrs to do that which was abominated by them. And what necessity is there for our telling of the divine sayings which they uttered, as though stripes were reckoned by them as nothing, while with a cheerful and joyous countenance they answered the interrogatories of the judge, and jested with readiness under the very tortures themselves. And when he asked them over again whence they came, they avoided speaking of the city to which they belonged on earth, and spake of the city which in truth is theirs, and said that they were from Jerusalem which is above in heaven, confessing that they were hastening to go thither. And because of these things the judge became the more enraged at them, and prepared himself against them with cruel scourgings, in order that he might |39 accomplish his will upon them; but when he failed in his expectations, he gave command that one of them should receive the crown of victory.

95 Moreover, the modes of their deaths also were of all kinds; for two of them were hearers (catechumens), and they were baptized at their deaths with the baptism of fire only, while others of them were delivered up to be crucified like our Saviour. But Pamphilus, that name so especially dear to me--one who was a lover of God in truth, and a peacemaker among all men-- [p. 42] received a triumph different from these. He was the ornament of the church of Caesarea, because he also sat in the chair of the presbytery, both adorning it and being himself adorned thereby during his ministry in that place. In all his conduct too he was truly godly, being at all times in communion with the Spirit of God; for he was eminently virtuous in his mode of life, shunning wealth and honours, despising and rejecting them, and devoting himself entirely to the word of God. For every thing that he possessed from his parents he sold and distributed to the naked, and the sick, and the poor, and continued in private life without any possessions, and passed his time in the patient study of divine philosophy. He therefore quitted Beyrout, the city in which he had grown up in stature and learning together; and for the sake of his knowledge and understanding he attached himself to men seeking perfection. Human wisdom he abandoned, and loved the word of God. He also adopted the heavenly habit of the prophets, and was crowned with martyrdom.

96 The next after him that was brought to the conflict was Vales, a man venerable for his comely grey hairs, being in appearance a pure and respectable old man. Nor was he worthy of honour on this account only, but also for his great knowledge of the holy scriptures; for his memory was completely stored with the scriptures, so that he could repeat God's scriptures by rote like one in whose memory the whole scriptures were deposited. Moreover, he was a deacon of God's church. And he that was reckoned third among them was named Paul,; a man who was fervent in the Spirit of God; and he came from |40 the city Iamna. And he also had previously to this his confession contended with the suffering [p. 43] of the cautery of confession. 97 And when they had endured affliction in prison for about two years, the immediate cause of their martyrdom was the arrival of those Egyptians who were also consummated in martyrdom at the same time together with them. For having accompanied those men who had been sent to suffer affliction in the mines of Cilicia, and being then on their way back to return to their own country, as they entered in at the gate of Caesarea, they were questioned as to who they were and whence they came; and when they made no concealment of the truth, but said, We are Christians, they were at once seized, just as if they had been malefactors. And they were in number five. So when they were carried before the judge, and spake in his presence with openness of speech, they were forthwith committed to prison; and on the next day--the sixteenth of the month Shebat--they, together with those who appertained to Pamphilus, were brought before Firmillianus. First of all, then, the governor tried the Egyptians, and proved them by every kind of torture; and he brought forward the first of them into the midst, and asked him what was his name; but instead of his real name he heard from them the name of a prophet. Also the rest of the Egyptians who were with him, instead of those names which their fathers had given them after the name of some idol, had taken for themselves the names of the prophets, such as these-- Elias, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel, Daniel.

98 And when the judge heard from the same martyrs some such name as these, he did not perceive the force of what they said, and asked them again what was the city to which they belonged. He then gave a reply similar to the former, and said, Jerusalem is my city; for he was acquainted with that city of which St. Paul spake, Jerusalem which is above is free, and our mother in whom we confess is the holy church. And the governor inquired diligently

about this. Then he brought against them the combs and cauteries of fire. But he, when his hands had been bound |41 behind him, and his feet were twisted in the stocks, sealed what he had said before, [p. 44. and spake the truth. And again, when he questioned him many times as to what city and in what country was that Jerusalem which was said to belong to the Christians only, he replied, It is in the east, and on the side of the light of the sun, again making use of this artifice as it were in his own mind, while those who surrounded him continued to torture him with combs. Nor was he at all changed, but seemed as one who had no body. Then the judge grew furious in his mind, and imagined that perchance the Christians had built in some place a city for themselves; and so he became much more instant with tortures against them, making inquiries respecting this city, and the country in the east.

99 When, therefore, he had punished this young man with scourging, and perceived that he varied not at all from what he had said to him at the first, he gave sentence of death against him that he should be beheaded. The rest then of the Egyptians he tried with tortures similar to his, and they likewise agreed in their confession with him who had preceded them. 100 And then, after these things he turned to those of the house of Pamphilus; and when he learned that they had been previously tried by many tortures, he thought that it would be folly in him to apply to them the same tortures again, and so labour in vain. He therefore only put to them the question whether they would now comply; and when he heard from them one after another the words of confession, he condemned them in the same manner as those who had preceded them, and gave sentence against them that they should be beheaded. And before the whole of the sentence was uttered, a youth from among the men, who was a slave of Pamphilus, cried out from the midst of the crowd which was standing round about the place of judgment; and then came forward into the midst, and cried out again with a loud voice to persuade the governor to grant permission for the bodies of the confessors to be buried. And he was no other than the blessed Porphyrius, the beloved disciple of Pamphilus, the mighty man of valour, [p. 45. But Porphyrius himself was not yet eighteen years old; and he had been |42 instructed in literature and writing, and for his modesty and manners was deserving of all praise. This youth then, who had been brought up by such a man, when he was in-

formed of the sentence which had been issued against his master, cried out from the middle of the crowd, and begged the bodies of the confessors.

101 Then that wretch, who is not worthy to be called a man, but rather a savage brute, not only refused to grant this becoming request, but also neither spared nor had pity upon one who in years was but a youth; and having learnt this one thing only, that he was a Christian, gave orders to those who applied the tortures to tear him with all their might: and after this, having commanded the blessed youth to sacrifice, and experiencing a refusal, he now applied the torture upon him, not as if it were upon a human body, but rather as if it were upon lifeless wood or stone, and commanded him to be torn even till they came to his bones and entrails. And when he had done this for a long while, he perceived that he was labouring to no purpose; and thus having exhibited his own cruelty and brutality upon this youth, he condemned him to be given up to a slow and lingering fire. Now, he was brought to the conflict before Pamphilus was consummated, and so departed from the body before his master who had brought him up. And thus Porphyrius exhibited himself as a warrior who was crowned with victory in all his conflicts; and although he was weak in body, he was of a cheerful countenance and courageous mind, and trod along the path of death without fear, and in truth he was full of the Holy Ghost.

102 And when he arrived at the place where he was put to death, having put on his cloak like a philosopher, with his shoulder uncovered, he looked with his eyes up towards heaven, and in his mind looked down upon all the life of man, and approached the fire with a soul unmoved, like one who had no harm near him, and with a watchful mind, and undisturbed, he gave charge to his friends respecting his human affairs, and then was anxious to go speedily [p. 46] to the presence of God. When, therefore, the fire had been kindled at a distance around him, he caught at the flames here and there with his mouth, and his soul hastened to |43 the journey which lay before him. Such was the conflict of Porphyrius. 103 Then Seleucus carried to Pamphilus a report of all these things which had been done to Porphyrius, and as the reward for this intelligence it was granted of God to Seleucus that he should become a martyr with Pamphilus. For immediately after he had given information to Pamphilus respecting the struggle and conflict of Porphyrius, as he saluted one of the martyrs with a kiss, the soldiers laid hold upon him and took him before the governor; and as Seleucus himself was

anxious to go in company with the confessors, commandment was given for him to be beheaded. And this Seleucus came from the country of Cappadocia, and had acquired a glorious reputation by his military service, having held an important command in the ranks of the army. And not only this, but he also surpassed most men in stature by the size of his person and his prowess. His appearance, too, was very handsome. Moreover, at the commencement of the persecution he had been famous for his endurance of scourgings in confession; and after he had been dismissed from his military service on account of his religion, his zeal suffered not him to abstain from doing good, and so he was anxious to serve in the beloved ranks of Christ. As a visitor, therefore, of lonely orphans, and of destitute widows, and of those who were afflicted with poverty and sickness, he became a visitor and supporter of these, and, like a tender father, endeavoured to heal their afflictions.

104 And after all these things, in which God delighteth more than sacrifices, and burnt-offerings, and incense, he was counted worthy of being consummated by confession. And this was the tenth combatant of those who have been mentioned above as having received all together on the same day their consummation and crown. And it seemed as if a great door of the kingdom of heaven had been opened by the confession of Pamphilus [p. 47], and an abundant entrance been effected for others as well as himself into the paradise of God. 105 The next that was brought forward after Seleucus was the pure and pious Theodulus; and he was one of the slaves of the governor, and the oldest of them all, and was much respected by |44 them all, both on account of his manners and his years; and although he was the father of three generations, and had served his master with fidelity, still he had no mercy on him when he heard that he had saluted the martyrs in the same way as Seleucus. For after this had been told to his master, he was excited with fury against him much more than against the rest; and gave command that he should be put to death by the same mode of suffering as our Saviour, and suffer martyrdom on the cross.

106 But there was still one wanted after these to complete the number twelve; and so Julianus arrived from a journey, and, as if it were on purpose to make up the number of martyrs twelve, the moment he arrived, before he was yet entered into the city, immediately on the way he was told by some one respecting the matter of the confessors, and ran to have a sight of the

confessors; and when he beheld the bodies of the saints lying upon the ground, he was filled with joy, and embraced them one after another with heavenly love, and saluted them all with a kiss. And while he was still visiting them, and lamenting that he himself had not suffered martyrdom with them, the officers seized him, and took him before the judge; and that judge commanded what his evil heart conceived, and delivered him also to a slow fire. So this Julianus, also, with joy and gladness praised God with a loud voice for having counted him worthy of this; and his soul ascended to his Lord with the company of the confessors. And this man was by family of Cappadocia, and in his soul he was filled with the fear of God, being a quiet and religious man, and diligent in the practice of every virtue. There was also in him a glorious savour of the Holy Spirit; and he was counted worthy to be associated with the company of these who received the consummation of confession together with the blessed Pamphilus. [p. 48.]

107 Four days and nights then were the bodies of the all-holy martyrs of God exposed to be devoured by wild beasts, by the command of the governor Firmillianus. When, therefore, nothing had touched them, not even the wild beasts, they were taken up whole without the permission of the governor, and with due |45 reverence committed to an honourable burial; and were laid in the interior of the churches, and so consigned to a never-to-be-forgotten memorial in the temples of the house of prayer, that they might be honoured of their brethren who are with God. THE CONFESSION OF HADRIANUS AND EUBULUS, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 108 WHEN the consummation of Pamphilus and of those martyrs who were with him was published abroad by the mouths of all men, both Hadrianus and Eubulus, from a place which is called part of Batanea, had hastened to the rest of the martyrs at Caesarea: and when they drew near to the gate of the city, they were interrogated as to the cause for which they were come, and having stated the truth, they were taken before Firmillianus; and he at once, without any delay, ordered them, in the first place, to have their sides torn with combs, and punished them in a peculiar manner, as if they had been enemies and were hated by him; and not being satisfied with this, he condemned them to be devoured by wild beasts. And after an interval of two days, the confessor Hadrianus was cast before a lion on the fifth of Adar, and bravely accomplished his conflict, and after having been torn by the beast, he was at last put to death by the sword. Eubulus, also,

on the second day following, the seventh of Adar, when the judge had made many attempts with him, and said to him, If thou wilt sacrifice to devils thou shalt be set at liberty in peace, both despised the whole existence of this passing time, and chose for himself everlasting life rather than this fleeting and transitory life. He was then cast to a lion, and after [p. 49] he had been torn by the teeth of the lion, he suffered in the same manner as those who were gone before him. He was the last of all that suffered martyrdom and finished his conflict in Caesarea. |46

109 THE CONFESSION OF PAULUS (Gr.Peleus) AND NILUS, AND PATRIMYTHEAS (Gr. Patermutheus) AND ELIAS, IN THE SEVENTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 110 IT was the nineteenth day of Ilul, and during the same wonderful conflict of the martyrs of God, that a great spectacle was assembled in Phaeno, in this same Palestine; and all the combatants were perfect, and in number they were about a hundred and fifty. Many of them, also, were Egyptians, amounting to more than a hundred. And the same in the first place had their right eyes and their left legs in their sinews destroyed by cautery of fire and by the sword. And then after these things they were delivered over to dig copper in the mines. Those, also, who belonged to Palestine had to endure afflictions in the same manner as the Egyptians; and they were all assembled together in a place called Zauara, as a congregation consisting of many persons. There was also much people with them, who came from other places to see them, and many others who ministered to them in their necessities, and visited them in love, and filled up their lack. And all the day they were occupied in the ministry of prayer, and in the service of God, and in teaching and reading; and all the afflictions which passed over them were esteemed by them as pleasures, and they spent all that time as if it had been in a festive assembly. But the enemy of God and wicked envier was not able to bear these things, so there was immediately sent out against them one of those generals of the Romans that is styled Dux;

111 and first of all he separated them one by one from each other, and some of them were sent to that wretched place Zauara, and some not; and some of them to Phaeno, the place where the copper is dug; [p. 50. and the others went to different places. Afterwards he selected from among those in Phaeno four of them who were of great excellence, in order that by them he might terrify the rest. Having, therefore, brought them to the trial, and not

one of them having shewn any signs of dismay, this |47 merciless judge, thinking that no punishment was so severe as that by fire, delivered up God's holy martyrs to this kind of death. When, therefore, they were brought to the fire, they cast themselves into the flames without fear, and dedicated themselves as an offering more acceptable than all incense and oblations; and presented their own bodies to God as a holocaust more excellent than all sacrifices. And two of these were Bishops Paulus and Nilus; and the other two were selected of the laity, Patermytheus and Elias; and by race they were all of them Egyptians. They were pure lovers of that exalted philosophy which is of God, and offered themselves like gold to the fire to be purified. But He who giveth strength to the weak, and multiplieth comfort to the afflicted, deemed them worthy of that life which is in heaven, and associated them with the company of angels.

112 THE CONFESSION OF SILVANUS, AND OF THOSE WITH HIM, IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE PERSECUTION IN OUR DAYS. 113 THIS blessed Silvanus came from Gaza, and he was one of the veteran soldiers; and when his freedom from service proved to be contrary to his habits, he enlisted himself as a good soldier of Christ. For he was a perfectly meek man, and of bright turn of mind, and used his faith with simplicity and purity. And he was a presbyter of the church in the city of Gaza, and conducted himself there with great propriety. And because the conflict for life was proclaimed against the soldiers of Christ [p. 51], he, an old man, of a noble person, went down to the Stadium, and there, in his first confession before the people of Caesarea, he acquitted himself valiantly, being tried with scourgings. And when he had endured these bravely, he fought in a second conflict, in which the old man endured the combs on his sides like a young man. And at the third conflict he was sent to the copper mines; and during a life of much length he exhibited great probation. He was also deemed worthy of the office of the episcopate, |48 and also rendered himself illustrious in this office of his ministry. But on the fourth day of Iyar the great gate of heaven was fully opened to him, and this blessed man went up with a company of martyrs, not being left alone, for a great assembly of brave men followed him. And suddenly a mandate of wickedness was issued, and command was given that all those in the mines who were become enfeebled through old age or sickness, and those who were not able to work, should be put to death by the sword; and God's martyrs, being all together forty in number, were be-

headed all in one day. And many of them were Egyptians, but their leader and guide was this same martyr and bishop of martyrs, Silvanus, a man truly blessed and beloved of God.

114 Being now arrived at this place in our narrative, we will inform you how God in a short time took vengeance upon those wicked rulers, and they speedily experienced the punishment of their crimes. For he that was excited against these martyrs of God in a barbarous manner, like some fierce wild beast, suffered a wretched punishment; and by the command of him who possessed the power of the time, perished after the manner of a cruel wild beast. And all the rest perished by various kinds of deaths, and received that punishment which they deserved for their crimes. So, then, we have described and made known the things which were done during the whole time of the persecution among the people in Palestine. And all these were blessed martyrs [p. 52] of God, who triumphed in our time; who made light of this temporary life, and prized the worship of God far above every other thing, and have received the hidden hope of those good things which are invisible to the bodily eyes.

115 Oh ! the blessed confessors of the kingdom of Christ, who were tried like gold in the excellence of their righteousness, and obtained through the conflict in which they were set the heavenly life of angels, and laid hold upon the promises of the hidden good things of the victory of the high calling--For eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what God has prepared for them that love him. Here end the chapters of the narrative of the victories of the holy confessors in Palestine. [[These notes have been scanned, but only proofed a little, and all the Syriac and most of the Greek omitted, as they seem unlikely to be of interest to anyone online. I was going to omit them, rather than spend hours proofing them, but what follows is a compromise]]

NOTES.

116 P. ii. l. 18.--"Who shall separate us ..... slaughter." Rom. viii. v. 35. l. 23.--" For him who loved us," v. 37... l. 27.--v. 38. ... l. 31.--Eusebius gives the account of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul at Rome in his Eccl. Hist. book ii. ch. 25. P. iii. l. 6.--"As for those conflicts." Eusebius makes a similar statement, book viii. ch. 13, on which passage Valesius has the following note:--() " He means doubtless his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. For no other book but that can be found, wherein Eusebius relates the conflicts of

the Martyrs which he himself had seen. The opinion of Christophorson is from this passage further disproved, who supposed the book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine was a part of this eighth book." In speaking here of Christophorson, Valesius alludes to a note immediately preceding, which runs thus--" () To wit, in the book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, which is placed after this eighth book. For in that Eusebius at large declares the martyrdom of Pamphilus, as may there be seen. Moreover, from this place it appears that that book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine was written by Eusebius after his Ecclesiastical History, and after his books concerning the life of Pamphilus the Martyr. Christophorson, who had inserted the whole Appendix before this chapter, was forced to omit these words of Eusebius here, lest Eusebius should seem to have forgot himself." See English Translation of Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History in "The History of the Church: fol., London, 1709, p. 148. I shall cite this in the following notes as Eng. Trans.

117 l. 18.--"Procopius." There is an antient Latin copy of these Acts, as they stand here, published by Valesius in his notes upon the first chapter of the Martyrs of Palestine as they exist in the Greek at the end of the eighth book of the Eccl. Hist, of Eusebius. Respecting these, he writes thus:--"The same relation is in the Acts of the Passion of Procopius the Martyr, which begins thus : 'The first of the Martyrs that appeared in Palestine was Procopius,' &c. From whence it is evident that those acts were translated out of the Greek copy of Eusebius into Latin. To make this more apparent, it will in no wise be unuseful to insert here the entire acts. For many things worth our knowledge are contained in these which neither Baronius nor Molanus happened to have a sight of." Passio Sancti Procopii Martyris, qui passus est sub Fabiana judice 4 Nonas Augusti.

118 Primus martyrum qui sunt in Palasstina, apparuit Procopius, vir coelestis gratise, qui et ante martyrium sic suam vitam dis-posuit, ut etiam a parva aetate castitati semper et morum virtuti-bus studeret. Corpus quidem suum sic confecit, ut paene mortuum putaretur, animam vero ejus sic verbis confortabat divinis, ut etiam corpori virtutem ex hujus refectione ministraret. Cibus et potus ei panis et aqua fuit. Solis his utebatur, cum post biduum triduumque, diem interdum etiam post septimam ad cibum rediret. Sacrorum quoque meditatio sermonum ita mentem ejus obstrinxerat, ut nocte ac die in hoc infatigabilis permaneret. dementias autem et mansuetudinis

tanquam ceteris inferior documentum sui prsebebat copiam. In verbis divinis ei tantum studium erat. Ilia vero quas extrinsecus sunt, mediocriter attigerat. Igitur genere quidem Aeliensis, conversatione autem vel habitatione Scythopolitarius erat. Ibi ecclesise tria ministeria prsebebat, unum in legendi officio, alterum in Syri interpretatione sermonis, et tertium adversus daemones manus impositione consummans. Cumque ab Scythopoli una cum sociis in Caesaream. transmissus fuisset, ab ipsis portis ad prsesidem ducitur, et priusquam carceris vel vinculorum experiretur angustias, in ipso ingressu suo a judice Flaviano ut diis sacrificaret impellitur. At ille magna voce non esse deos multos sed unum factorem omnium opificemque testatus est. Judex autem plaga sermonis ictus et conscientia saucius, consensit ejus sermoni. Atque ad alia se rursum argumenta constituit, ut vel regibus sacrificaret. Sanctus autem Dei martyr sermonem ejus despiciens, Homeri, inquit, versum dicens: non est bonum multos dominos esse. Unus dominus est, unus rex. Itaque hoc verbo ejus audito, quasi qui infausta in regibus deprompsisset, jussu judicis ducitur ad mortem, et capite amputate ingressum vitas ccelestis, vel compendium beatus invenit: Desii septima Julii mensis, qua? Nonas Julias "dicitur apud Latinos, primo anno quo adversus nos fuit persecutio. Hoc primum in Caesarea martyrium consummatum est, regnante Domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui honor et gloria in ssecula saeculorum. Amen.

119 And in a note following this Latin copy he writes ()--" Many things are omitted in the Greek text of Eusebius, which must be made perfect by these Acts in Latin. For when Eusebius had here said expressly, that Procopius upon his first arrival was brought before the judge, he adds nothing concerning the place from whence he came, where he was apprehended, or to what place he was brought: nothing of which ought to have been omitted. Besides, Eusebius does accurately relate the descent and country of other Martyrs mentioned in this book; and if any of these had attained to any Ecclesiastical honour, he does usually take notice of that also. But of this person, who was the chief and leader of all the Palestine Martyrs, we see no such relation made. This, it is probable, was not the fault of Eusebius, but of his exscribers; for in the Latin Acts, which, as we before evinced, were translated out of Eusebius, all these circumstances are manifestly declared." See Ecc. Hist. Eng. Trans., p. 154. This Latin version is also printed by Th. Ruinart, p. 353, Acta primorum Martyrum Sincera et Selecta, fol. Amstel. 1713. There is also another Syriac version of these Acts taken from Cod. Nit. Vat. 1. (See As-

semani, Bibl. Orient, vol. 1. p. 56); and published with a Latin translation and notes, by S. E. Assemani, in Acta SS. Martt. Orient, et Occident., 2 vol. fol. Romae, 1748, part ii. p. 169. I have collated it with this version. It is not of importance to note the variants, which seem to be chiefly due to separate translations.

120 l. 20.--" The first year of the persecution in our days." The preface to the account of the Martyrs of Palestine, in the eighth book of Ecc. Hist., says this was the 19th year of Diocletian, or A. D. 303. See Ruinart Acta primorum Martt. p. 316. P. iv. l. 2.--" His family was from Baishan." The Latin has--" Igitur genere quidem Aeliensis, conversatione autem vel habitatione Scythopolitanus erat," with which the other Syriac agrees in reading, [Syriac snipped]. But his family was from Jerusalem, and he dwelt in the city Baishan." Scythopolis was the Greek name of Baishan, and Aelia occupied the site of Jerusalem. See, respecting Baishan, S. E. Assemani, Ibid, not. p. 171. l. 4.--" In the second order he translated from Greek into Aramaic." He was an interpreter; on which passage S. E. Assemani observes--"Ad munus interpretis recte adnotat Valesius, apud Syros olim Divinas Scripturas Graece fuisse lectitatas, quas deinde Interpres Syriacus redderet," Ibid. p. ii. p. 171. I should feel much disposed to question this assertion without greater proof. Doubtless before this time the Scriptures were translated into Syriac. The meaning of the passage may also imply that Procopius was engaged in translating other ecclesiastical works into Syriac from the Greek. This very copy of Eusebius was transcribed only 108 years after the Martyrdom of Procopius. Ibid. p. 166. S. E. Assemani gives his opinion in these words:--" Imo vero quum S. Procopius Sanctorum librorum a Graeco in Syriacum sermonem in ecclesia Scythopolitana Interpres dicatur, plane inde colligitur, Syriacum seu Chaldaicum idioma Palsestinis tune vernaculum fuisse, atque adeo ejusdem Procopii, quemadmodum et aliorum martyrum in Palaestina coronatorum, Acta Syriace seu Chaldaice ab Eusebio fuisse primum exarata, eademque ipsa esse, quse prge manibus habemus, omnino tenendum est. Neque enim verisimile est, Eusebium, quam in usum popularium suorum, et in ovium sibi concreditarum solatium scribebat, martyrum historian! iis literis consignasse, quas omnes non callerent." Ibid. p. 166.

121 l. 12.--" Flavianus." The other Syriac has [Syriac], Paulinus, evidently a mistake of the scribe. l. 21.--" Greatest of the poets of the Greeks." The Latin has " Homeri inquit versum, dicens;" and the other Syriac, [Syriac], "Homer,

the celebrated of the poets of the Greeks."' Those words of Homer, Iliad ii. 24, were often cited by the early Christians, and do not therefore prove that Procopius was acquainted with his poems. See Heinichen's note. l. 19.--"The Emperors, who were four in number." These were Diocletianus, Maximianus, Constantius, and Galerius. See Eusebius Ecc. Hist. b. viii. c. 13; and supplement to same book; and Valesius's notes, Eng. Trans. pp. 148. 153. l. 27.--" On the seventh day of the month Heziran." See Valesius's note on this passage in the Greek; Eng. Trans. p. 157. l. 31.--" The confession of Alphaeus, Zacchaeus, and Romanus." Their festival is celebrated on the 18th of November. See Baillet, Vies des Saints. There is also a Syriac version of these Acts published by S. E. Assemani in Acta SS. Martt. part ii. p. 177.

122 l. 35.--"Festival--on the twentieth year." That is, Diocletian's Vicennalia. See Valesius's note on this place, Eng. Trans. p. 158; and also on Life of Constantine, ibid. p. 529. P. v. l. 9.--" Of Gadara." So in the other Syriac. This is not in the Greek, but Valesius has supplied the fact in the following note ():--"He was of Gadara, concerning whom we have this passage in the Menology at 18th of November--The commemoration of the holy Martyrs, Michaeus, Zacchaeus, deacon of Gadara, and Alphaeus, ibid. p. 158. See also Ruinart, n. 4. p. 317, Acta prim. Martt. l. 22.--"Four holes of the rack." Valesius has the following note on Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. b. v. c. i.--" The fashion of this engine for punishment, and the manner how persons were punished in it, seems to have been this. It was a piece of timber wherein five pairs of holes were made at a certain distance one from the other. Into these holes, as it were into boots, they put the feet of the offenders, and fastened them therein with cords and fetters. The meaning of their feet being strained to the fifth hole is, they forced them to straddle so wide as to put their feet into the last pair of holes, which posture (those holes being at the greatest distance one from the other) was the sharpest degree of torture in this engine."--Eng. Trans. p. 71. See also Gallonius De SS. Martt. cruciatibus, Parisiis, 1659.

123 l. 25.--"Exorcist." Valesius has this note on Exorcists ():-- " There was in former times a twofold use of the Exorcists in the Church; for their business was to cleanse both those possessed with devils, and also the catechumens, who were exorcised more than once; for after every examination in their catechism they were brought to the Exorcist ungirt and with their shoes off, that they might be purged by him. See Cyril Hierosol. in Procatechesi ad

llluminandos, and Chrysostom in his first Homily ad Illuminandos." Eng. Trans. p. 158. See also Bingham, Antiquities of the Christian Church, book iii. ch. 4. Respecting Readers or Lectors, see ibid. ch. v. P. vi. l. 16.--"Combs." See Gallonius de SS. Martt. Cruciat. ch. v. l. 33.--" Romanus." There are other Acts of Romanus, in Syriac, giving a much longer and fuller account than this. British Museum Cod. Add. 12,174, fol. 300 b. In these the day of his martyrdom is given the 19th of Teshri the latter. See L. Surius, de Probatis Sanctorum vitis, at the 18th of November, and Baillet, Vies des Saints, at the same day. See a further account of him from Eusebius de Resurrectione; Prudentius peri sephanon, &c., collected and published by Ruinart. Acta prim. Martt. p. 357 seq.

124 P. vii. l. 7. -- " The judge." His name was Asclepiades. See Prudentius Hymn peri stephanon, l. 687, in Ruinart, Acta prim. Martt. p. 361. S. E. Assemanni also observes: -- "Hunc Asclepiadem vocant Acta apud Mombritium et Prudentius in Hymno." See Acta SS. Martt. ii. p. 182, and the other Syriac Acts, Mus. Brit. Cod. Add. 12,174. l. 24.-- " The officers," [Syriac], " Quaetionarii." They were the persons who inflicted the punishment, as appears from the following passage of the acts of Trypho : -- " Praefectus autem admirans tantam eorum perseverantiam, jussit eos manibus post tergum ligatis nudos caedi : et cum acerrime caederentur, quaestionarii deficiebant, Praefectus ira repletus jussit ungulas et lampades eorum lateribus applicari. Quaestionarii accedentes jussa complebant." See Ruinart, Act. prim. Martt. p. 163. He also has this note, ibid. p. 172. -- " Quaestionis nomine designat tormenta, quae ad confessionem eliciendam adhibentur : vox etiam nunc ad eandem rem significandam usurpata est. Ab ea Confessor es quaestionati et torti dicuntur apud Cyprian, Epist. ad Florentium, 66.

125 l. 34. -- "The emperor Diocletian." The name is not given in the Greek. It appears from this that Valesius was mistaken when he wrote, -- " I suppose he means Galerius Caesar, for Diocletian made his abode then at Nicomedia." See Eng. Trans. p. 158. The other Syriac Acts, however, give the name [Syriac], "Maximinus, the son-in-law of Diocletianus." Mus. Brit. Cod, Add. fol. 304. P. viii. l. 8. -- " Then did great wonder." The miraculous part of this narrative, which savors so strongly of the superstitious, is omitted from the Greek; and that passage added which, in the Syriac, commences the account of Zacchaeus, but is not found at that place in the Greek. The story of Romanus having spoken after his tongue was cut out is, however, repeated in

the other Syriac Acts, and is also told in the Greek Menaum. See Valesius, note () Eng. Trans. p. 158. Ruinart has the following note:--" Omittit miraculum Romani, etiam abscissa lingua loquentis, quod alias adeo exaggerat. Hinc patet non omnia isto libello contineri." p. 318. Eusebius himself also, in his book de Resurrectione, affirms the miracle. See Ruinart, Acta prim. Martt. p. 359; and Chrysostom, Oral. 43 et 48. Ibid. See also S. E. Assemani's note, Act. SS. Martt. p. ii. p. 182.

126 l. 20.--" Upon the rack." The other Syriac version adds here, " to five holes," [Syriac] . Ibid. p. 181. l. 22.---" Strangling instrument." [Syriac]. Greek, τω ξυλω βροχω. The other Acts have, " He was strangled in Prison," fol. 304. l. 30.--"Confession of Timotheus." These Acts are also given in the other Syriac Translation by S. E. Assemani, Act. SS. Martt. p. ii. p. 184. See Surius, at the 19th of August, and Baillet, at the same day. P.ix. l. 2.--"Edicts from the Emperors." Respecting these Edicts Valesius has the following note on the Ecc. Hist. b. viii. c. vi. ()-- " By the first Edict of the Emperors against the Christians it was ordered that the churches should be ruined and the scriptures burnt, and that those who were honoured with any preferment (if they refused to sacrifice) should be deprived of their dignity. The meaner sort were to lose their liberty. See chap. 2. Another Edict soon followed this, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons should be imprisoned, and by all ways compelled to sacrifice. The third Edict comprehended all sorts of Christians, as well those of the laity as the clergy; which Edict was proposed (says Eusebius in the chap. 3 of his book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine) in the second year of the Persecution. But this seems rather to have been the fourth Edict: for the second and third concerned the Presbyters only. By the second it was ordered they should be imprisoned, and by the third it was enjoined that they should by tortures be compelled to sacrifice." Eng. Trans. p. 143.

127 l. 25.--" The people of the city of Gaza were accursed in their heathenism." See the account given by Theodoretus, book iii. c. 6 and 7; and S. E. Assemani, Acta SS. Martt. p. ii. p. 186, note (). P. x. l. 9.--"Theckla (she of our days)." There were several martyrs of this name. S. E. Assemani has published the Acts of two others. See Acta SS. Martt. vol. i. pp. 101, 123; but Eusebius seems especially to draw the distinction with reference to Theckla, the companion of St. Paul, so celebrated in the early ages of Christianity. See Grabe, Spicilegium, vol. i. p. 95 Jer. Jones, New and Full Method, vol. ii. p. 353; Tischendorf, Acta Apost. Apocr. Lips. 1851, p. 40. There are also antient cop-

ies in Syriac of the Acts of Theckla, brought from the Nitrian Convent, now in the British Museum. The account of Theckla is in one or two instances found in a volume containing also the Books of Ruth, Esther, and Judith, and called in Syriac " The Book of Women." See Cod. Add. 12,174; 14,641; 14,652.

128 l.15.--"Timotheus." The Greek has Τιμολαος. See Surius, at March 24th, and Baillet, at the same day. 1. 16.--"Paesis." The Syriac is [Syriac], "Plasis," which I have corrected here from the reading below, where it is [Syriac], Paesis, or Pausis, for some Greek MSS. read Παησις and others Παυσις. Valesius notes ()--" In the Maz. and Med. MSS. his name is Paesis. In the Greek Menology (which Canisius published) at the 5th of March, instead of Paesis he is called Publius." Eng. Trans. p. 159. The variation in the Syriac doubtless arose from confounding Α with Λ in the word ΠΑΗΣΙΣ or ΠΛΗΣΙΣ. l. 27.--" The Phrygians." There is no mention of Phrygians in the Greek; but in Ecc. Hist, book viii. ch. 11, Eusebius speaks of the destruction of a whole city of Christians in Phrygia. These, perhaps, were some of them who had been reserved for a spectacle in the theatre.

129 P. xi. l. 35.--"A subdeacon." Syriac [], evidently a blunder for []. Greek υποδιακονος. P. xii. l. 5.--"A sudden change." See respecting this, Eusebius, Life of Constantine, book i. ch. 18, Eng. Trans. p. 537, where Valesius has the following note():--"This place is highly remarkable, for from it this conclusion may be made, that the persecution began in Dioclesian's eighth, and Maximian's seventh consulate, and not on the foregoing year, as Baronius will have it. Concerning which matter I have spent many words in my notes on Eusebius, Ecc. Hist, book viii. c. 2, note (). For whereas Eusebius affirms that the Emperors Dioclesian and Maximian divested themselves of their purple in the year after the persecution was begun; and whereas it is manifest that they did that on the year of Christ 304; what I have said does necessarily follow,, that Dioclesian's persecution was begun in the year of Christ 303." Ruinart has this note :--" Diocletianus scilicet prope Nicomediam, Herculius Mediolani, cogente Galerio Maximinano, non autem sponte, uti hactenus putabatur. Totam hunc historiani egregie describit Lactantius in lib. de Mortibus Persecut. cap. 18 seq. Acta Prim. Mar it. p. 319.

130 l. 16.--The Greek adds a passage, "But we will give an exact account of these matters at a more opportune place and time," referring perhaps to the Life of Constantine. l. 18.--" Epiphanius." Syriac, []; but the Greek reads [];

the other Syriac version published by S. E. Assemani, Acta SS. Mart. P. ii. p. 189, □; and an Arabic account cited by him, □ Amphianus." In Latin he is called Apianus, Apphianus, and Amphianus. Ibid. See Surius and Baillet, at the 2d of April. l. 33.--" He was sprung from one of the most illustrious families in Syria." For which the Greek is, □. On this Valesius has the following note (*):--"In the Med. MS. this city is called Arpagas; in the Maz. MS. Arapagas, in the Fuk MS. Harpagas; but in the margin a notice is given that it should be □ with an aspirate. I never met with any thing concerning Aragas, a city of Lycia.--In the Menoeum of the Greeks, Amphianus is said to have been born in Lydia."--Eng. Trans. p. 160. There seems, therefore, to have been some mistake in the copies in this place at an early period.

131 l. 36.--"Educated at Beyrout." () "At Berytus there was a school of civil law, as many have taken notice from Gregory Thaumaturgus, Eunapius, Nonnus, and others. Gregorius Nazianzenus calls Berytus □, a famous city of Phoenicia, the seat of Ausonian laws"See Valesius, ibid. P. xiii. l. 20.--" This our city." The Greek has □. l. 23.--" Pamphilus." His name is not mentioned in the Greek, and Valesius has this note on the passage ():--" Simeon Metaphrastes, who professes that he transcribed the Martyrdom of Apphianus (or, as he calls him, Amphianus), out of Eusebius, has altered this passage thus:--And having been conversant with us in divine studies, and instructed in the sacred scriptures by the great Martyr Pamphilus, he obtained no mean habit of virtue; by which he opened a passage for himself, whereby, he procured the crown of Martyrdom" See Eng. Trans. p. 160. And in note (), on the same page, Yalesius writes:--" In the Menologies of the Greeks at the 2d of April, Amphianus, with his brother Aedesius, is mentioned to have been instructed in the Christian religion by Pamphilus the Martyr, at Berytus;" but not having the knowledge of the fact that Pamphilus himself had been educated at the same place--supplied in the Syriac, but omitted in the Greek--Yalesius supposed the Menologies to be mistaken, See note (), Ibid. It is evident from this that Simeon Metaphrastes, and the compilers of the Menologies, read these Acts as in the Syriac.

132 P. xv. l. 12.--"His bones and entrails became visible." The same thing is said of the Martyr Alexander, whose Acts were published by Ruinart:--" Ita enim laniatum fuerat corpus crudelitate verberantium, ut carne soluta costarum, patefactisque visceribus, secreta animae panderentur." Acta Prim. Martt. p. 77. l. 28.--"Was hung up at a great height." See, respecting the vari-

ous modes of suspension in torture, Gallonius de SS. Martt. cruciatibus, p. 6. P. xvii. l. 30.--After the Martyrdom of Apphianus the Greek adds the following account of Ulpianus:--" At the same time, and almost on the same day, a young man in the city of Tyre, by name Ulpianus, after he had been cruelly scourged, and endured most grievous stripes, was sewn up in the raw hide of an ox, together with a dog and a venomous serpent, and cast into the sea. Wherefore we thought it agreeable to make mention of this person at [this place wherein we have related] the Martyrdom of Apphianus."--Eng. Trans. p. 161. On this Valesius has the following note ():--"□ : that is, Although Ulpianus suffered not in Palestine, but in Phoenicia., yet because he suffered martyrdom at the same time, and died by the same sort of punishment that Apphianus had inflicted on him, we judged it not unfit to make mention of him here. It is therefore apparent from these words that Eusebius in this book designed to give an account of the Martyrs of the Province of Palestine only."--Ibid.

133 l. 33.--"Alosis." In the Greek Aedesius, □, the variation has doubtless arisen from the similarity of the names □ and □ in a MS. partly effaced. The other Syriac published by S. E. Assemani has □. See Acta SS. Martt. P. ii. p. 195. The account of this martyrdom is given by Baillet, at the 2d of April. l. 36.--"Both on the father's and the mother's side." And so also in the other Syriac.--Ibid. p. 195. The Greek has here □ only. Valesius has this note (''):--" In the Greek Menoeum, at the second day of April, Aedesius is styled Apphianus's brother by the mother's side."--Eng. Tram. p. 161. Hence it appears they both followed a text like this, each omitting one part of it. P. xviii. l. 12.--" In the society of the martyr Pamphilus." There is no mention of this or of Pamphilus in the Greek; but in the Mencea and in the Menology Apphianus, with his brother Aedesius, is said to have been instructed by Pamphilus. See Valesius, note (), Eng. Trans. p. 160.

134 l. 20.--" Hierocles." His name is also omitted in the Greek, but it is given in the Menaeum of the Greeks, which Valesius quotes in explanation of the passage, otherwise obscure, as it is found in the Greek, but plain enough from the facts supplied in the Syriac. " The explanation of this place is to be had from the Menaeum of the Greeks, where Aedesius is said to have struck Hierocles, Prefect of Egypt, with his fist. The words there are these:--But Aedesius, who was condemned to work in the mines of brass, having seen (at Alexandria in Egypt) Hierocles, the president, punishing the Chris-

tians, he accounted him a despicable person, and struck the president with his own hand.---Epiphanius and Lactantius mention this Hierocles, Prefect of Egypt, .who was famous for the great slaughter he made amongst the Christians. This was the Hierocles against which our Eusebius wrote a book." See Note () p. 161, Eng. Trans. See also Acta SS. Martt. S. E. Assemani, p. 1, p. 197. The last and best edition of Eusebius Against Hierocles was published by the late most excellent and learned Dr. Gaisford, Dean of Christ Church : Eusebii Pamphili contra Hieroclem et Marcellum libri, 8vo., Oxonii, 1852.

135 P. xix. l. 15.--" Agapius." The Syriac is □, which would be more correctly transcribed "Agapus;" but the other Syriac, published by S. E. Assemani, Acta SS. Martt. P. ii. p. 198, has □. The omission of the vowels causes frequently great discrepancy in the transcription of Greek proper names in the Syriac character. The Acts of Agapius are given by Baillet, at the 19th of August. P. xx. l. 10.--" In another chapter." See above, p. 10. Valesius was mistaken in supposing that this was a different Agapius from the one there mentioned. For it is distinctly stated here, that although he had been condemned by the Judge Urbanus to be devoured by wild beasts two years before, the sentence had not yet been put into execution, but was kept back till now, when Maximinus was present. See note () p. 162. Eng. Trans. He is called in the Greek the second Agapius--□--because, although he had been condemned before, he was not put to death till after the other Agapius mentioned above, p. 11, who was beheaded.

136 l. 12.--Concerning the leading about in the Stadium Valesius has this note on the Ecc. Hist. b. v. c. 1 ():--" The Gladiators and the Bestiarii, before they began the encounter, were wont to be led about in the presence of the spectators. See Lucian, in Toxari. This was usually done, not only with those who let themselves out to play prizes, but also with those offenders, which were condemned to the sword and to the wild beasts. So Martial, " Traducta est gyris, nec cepit arena nocentes." Eng. Trans. p. 72. l. 25.--"Maximinus." The Emperor's name is not mentioned in the Greek; but the following passage, not found in the Syriac, is added:--"The Emperor himself being then present, being reserved as it were on set purpose for that opportunity, that that saying of our Saviour's which, by his divine knowledge, he foretold his disciples might be accomplished in him, that they should be brought before kings for their testimony of him. See Eng. Trans. p. 162.

137 P. xxi. l. 3.--" That Light which he had caused to arise." Syriac, □; and again below, P. xxvii. l. 20.-- " The manifestation from him." Eusebius's work, Περι Θεοφανιας, which having been long lost, was discovered in this same MS., and has been published both in Syriac and English by the late lamented Dr. Lee, bears the Syriac title, □, On the " Divine Manifestation," or, more literally, on " The Divine Sunrise," the □; which is the Septuagint version of □ of Zech. vi. 12. □. In our English translation, " Behold the man whose name is the BRANCH." So in Luke i. 78,□; and Matt. iv. 16, □; Epist. to Heb. vii. 14, □: all referring to the coming of Christ. P. xxii. l. 1.--"Theodosia." There is another Syriac version of these Acts, published by Assemani in Acta SS. Martt. P. ii. p. 203. Ruinart notes:--"Celebris est ejus memoria apud Latinos et Graecos die 2 Aprilis. Alii tamen aliis diebus ejus festum peragunt. Ejusdem Martyris Acta prolixiora vidimus in multis codd. MSS. sed aliquatenus amplificata. Ipsius vero sacrum corpus in Monasterium Dervense allatum ab ipso S. Berchario fuisse dicitur. Vide Mabillon, saec. 2; Bened. p. 848; et Bolland, ad diem 2 April." See Acta Prim. Marti, p. 323. Her martyrdom is given by Baillet, at the 2d of April.

138 l. 10.--" One of the virgins of the Son of God." The other Syriac has " Christian virgins," □; the Greek, □. l. 18.--"Urbanus." The name of the Governor is omitted in the Greek. P. xxiii. l. 19.--"Copper mines in Palestine." The Greek adds the name of the place Phaeno, which occurs also in the Syriac below. See P. xxiv. l. 35; P. xlvi. l. 9, and note thereon. l. 28.--" The first day of the week." The Greek has □, upon which Valesius has a note ():--" In the MS. Acts of the passion of Theodosia, she is said to have suffered, not on Easter-day, but only on a Sunday.--Eng. Trans. p. 162. P. xxiv. l. 1.--"Confession of Domninus." In the Greek mention is made of Sylvanus before him, and the account of both much abridged. See Surius and Baillet, at the 4th of October. l. 28.--"Ludus." " Munera seu ludi, pugnas cum bestiis appellabantur, quod in populorum vel militum delectationem darentur. Dicebantur autem ludi castrenses, si in castris fierent. Sermonem in die Munerum habuit Augustinus in Basilica Restituta, qui est in nova edit. 19, tomi v. vide notas ibi appositas." See Ruinart, Acta Prim. Martt. p. 96, in not; also p. 111. The Greek, however, has in this place, □, on which Valesius has this note ():--" See the following chapter; from whence we are informed that those who were condemned to such combats were delivered to the procurators of Caesar,

who caused them to practise exercise daily, so that at last they might be fit to engage in combat." Eng. Trans. p. 163.

139 l. 29.--" An excellent and godly old man." The Greek gives his name "Auxentius." See Baillet, at the 13th of December. l. 33.--" Silvanus." A further account is given of him below, p. 47. The Greek adds here--" who was then a Presbyter and a Confessor, but some time after was honoured with a Bishopric."--Eng. Trans. p. 162. P. xxv. l. 26.--" Without any long delay." For this the Greek has, □. l. 31.--" Considered himself above all the people of Palestine." The Greek adds here--" Who also was companion of the tyrant himself, for he was his chief favourite, and did usually eat at the same table with him." Ibid. p. 163. P. xxvi. l. 8.--"The servants of God." The Greek more boldly, " against us," □; and so at line 15 below. Instead of " There may come a time ..... against our people," the Greek has, " There may happen a seasonable opportunity, wherein we shall be more at leisure to relate the exits and calamitous deaths, by which those impious wretches (especially Maximinus and those about him who were his advisers) that were the greatest sticklers in the persecution against us, finished their lives." See Eng. Trans. p. 163. This account is given in the Appendix to the Eighth Book of the Ecc. Hist. Ibid. p. 153. See also Ecc. Hist. b. viii. c. 16; and Valesius, note () Eng. Trans. p. 151, and b. ix. c. 9, Ibid. p. 177.

140 l. 19.--" Hatha." The Greek gives no name, but only □ " The Sister." The word Hatha means "Sister." Hathai was not an uncommon woman's name.--See S. E. Assemani, Acta SS. Martt. P. i. p. 101, &c. In the Greek Menology she is called Thea. Yalesius gives this note (''):--"This virgin's name is wanting here, but we will supply this defect from the Grecian Menology; where this passage occurs at the 15th of July. On the same day the holy Martyrs Valentina and Thea, which were Egyptians, being brought to the city Dio Caesarea, before Firmillianus the judge, made confession of Christ's name, who is our God; after which, their left feet being burnt and their right eyes pulled out, they were killed with a sword, and their bodies burnt. But this account disagrees with Eusebius's relation here. For he says the one was born at Gaza and the other at Caesarea; and he makes no mention of the burning of their feet or the pulling out of their eyes." See Eng. Trans. p. 164. The mistake in the Menologium perhaps arose from the compiler having read that the Egyptians, who are spoken of in the beginning of this same chapter, had their eyes put out and their feet burnt, and therefore conclud-

ing that these two virgins, mentioned immediately afterwards, were Egyptians, and had suffered like the rest. See Surius and Baillet, at the 25th of July.

141 P. xxvii. l. 6.--" Lud:" and in the Greek it is called Dio Caesarea" Lydda is the same as Diospolis. It seems, therefore, that Dio Caesarea, which is the same as Sepphoris, is a mistake for Diospolis. See Van de Yelde, Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land, p. 331 and 347. If, however, it be a mistake, it has been copied into the Greek Menology. See the preceding note. l. 31.--" Calling Egyptians by Hebrew names." Eusebius refers to this in his Commentary on Isaiah as a fulfilment of the prophecy contained in ch. 44, v. 5 :--" One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob, and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel." Eusebius's words are-- . Hoc est: Mirari plane subit prophetiae vim et efficaciam, et quam vere rei eventum oculis perceperimus. Nam in persecutionibus nostro tempore concitatis, multos ex alienigenis gentibus vidimus, qui sanctorum virorum nomina usurpabant; alius quippe sese Jacobum appellabat, alius Israelem, alius Jeremiam, hie Hesaiam, iste Danielem. Etenim his sibi adscriptis nominibus, ad martyrium pro Deo subeundum cum fiducia et constantia accedebant. Quae prophetia indicat dum ait, Hie dicet, Dei Sum, &c. See Eusebius's Comm. in Hesaiam, in Collectio Nova Patt., edited by Montfaucon, vol. ii. pp. 353 et 527.

142 P. xxviii. l. 17.--" Food from the Royal provision ------ pugilism." The Greek is and also adds, which is not in the Syriac, : on which Yalesius observes ():--"He means, as I judge, the Procurators of the company of gladiators and of the morning exercises; of whom there is frequent mention in the inscriptions. For the gladiators that were maintained by stipends paid out of the imperial exchequer, were committed to their care, and they gave them their allowances out of the treasury." Eng. Trans. p. 163, note. P. xxx. l. 8.--"Our own city." Omitted in the Greek; and so probably for the same purpose below, instead of " for our people." l. 20. P. xxxi. l. 8.--"Mannathus." The Greek has below, on which Valesius remarks ()--" In the Greek Menology she is called Manatho." Eng. Trans. p. 165. Ruinart observes-- " Hoc ipso die memorantur (i. e. Antoninus, Zebinas, et Germanus) cum Ennatha virgine in Martyrol. Romano, ac Menologio Basilii Imp., sed in magnis Menaeis et Menologio Canisii die precedenti. Porro haec omnia Menologia Nice-

phorum tribus his martyribus adjiciunt, et pro Ennatha habent Manatho." Acta Prim. Martt. p. 327. See Baillet, Vies des Saints, at the 13th of November.

143 l. 23.--" And continuously ---- Romans." This passage is evidently corrupt, and it is difficult to understand it. I subjoin the corresponding Greek:-- . l. 28.--" They urged the Logistae of the cities, and the military commander, and the Tabularii." On this Valesius notes ()-- " I judge he means the Prefect of the Praetorium. For at that time they took care of the military matters. Indeed, Eusebius's following words are a sufficient evidence that the Prefect of the Praetorium is meant here. For he speaks of the injunctions and public orders given to the Curators, Magistrates, and Tabularii of every city: which orders were issued out by the Prefect of the Praetorium only; as might be made to appear from several places. See Book 9, ch. 1 & 9, where Eusebius speaks of Sabinus, Prefect of the Praetorium to Maximin." Eng. Trans. p. 165. Concerning the Logistae or Curators he writes ()--" The Curator of the city was he, who looked after the Treasure and whatever else belonged to the revenue of the city: this is manifest from the Pandects of the Law. He is also called Logista (from the Greek word , which is the term here in the original) in Lege 3, Cod. de modo mulctandi. Hence was used to signify the performance of the Curator's office." See Ecc. Hist. b. viii. c. 9; Eng. Trans. p. 146. Respecting the Tabularii he writes ()-- " These officers had in their custody the public tables or rolls of the cities, and looked after the accounts of the tribute. They were first called Numerarii. Afterwards Valens made a law that they should be called Tabularii." He then refers for further information to his observations on Ammianus Marcellinus, ibid. p. 165, which Heinichen has incorporated into his notes at this place.

144 P. xxxii. l. 18.--"They received sentence of death." The Greek says this was passed upon them by Firmillianus. It also adds that Zebinas was from Eleutheropolis. l. 20.-- "Antoninus." Valesius ():--" In the Greeks' Menology this man is called Antonius, where, besides Zebinas and Germanus, there is a fourth companion of their's named, to wit, Nicephorus. For the 12th day of November this passage occurs:--The birthday of the holy Martyrs Antonius and his fellows, who were in the times of Maximinus. Antonius was an old man) Nicephorus, Zebinas, and Germanus were in the flower of their age. They were taken at Casarea, and after they had boldly confessed Christ, were slain. Here you see the author of the Menology has rendered presbuteros an old man, and not a Presbyter." Ibid. p. 165. l. 23.--" A sister, one of the Lord's

virgins, a chaste and courageous maiden." For this the Greek has □; and also adds the name Ενναθας, omitted here in the Syriac.

145 l. 30.--" Maxys." Greek Μαχυς. Ruinart, Acta Marti, p. 327, has this note:--" Haec vox Graeca non est. An a Syris repetenda, apud quos mochos est pulicanus a casas increpare?" That is □ from □; but the form here is □, which seems rather to follow the Greek. P. xxxiii. l. 33.--" The stones shed tears," &c. This, which doubtless was produced by natural causes, seemed miraculous to Eusebius, more especially if he looked upon it as fulfilling a prophecy of our Lord--Luke xix. 40: "I tell you, that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out." See also Habak. ii. 11. Compare note p. 55 above. P. xxxiv. l. 12.--"Primus." The Greek is □, on which Valesius observes ()--"In the Greek this man's name is Promus; but I suppose it should be Probus, for I have never met with such a proper name as Promus. This mistake rose from hence : in antient MSS. Beta is usually written like My. In the Fuk. and Sav. MSS. it is Probus.'" Eng. Trans. p. 166.

146 P. xxxv. l. 1.--"Peter, who was surnamed Absalom." In the Greek he is called □. Valesius has this note : (*)--" Mention is made of this person in the Greek Mencea at the 14th of October, although Eusebius says he suffered on the 3d of the Ides of January. In the Menaeum he is called Auselamus, but in the Menology Anselamus is, by a mistake, put for Auselamus or Abselamus. The import of the passage there is this :--'On the same day is the commemoration of the holy Martyr Petrus Anselamus of Eleutheropolis, who, being in the flower of his age and of a vigorous mind, behaved himself most admirably in the conflicts he underwent for religion; and having despised earthly things, was by fire offered up as a victim well pleasing to God in the sixth year of Dioclesian's and Maximian's empire. In which passage this is observable, that the sixth year of Dioclesian's empire is put for the sixth year of the Persecution." See Eng. Trans. p. 166. Ruinart has published Passio Sancti Petri Balsami, who, although some have doubted the fact, can hardly be a different person from the one here described as "Peter, who was surnamed Absalom." See Acta Prim. Martt. p. 501. The account is given by Baillet in the Vies des Saints at the 3d of January.

147 P. xxxvi. l. 1.--" One who belonged to the heresy of Marcion." The Greek gives the name Asclepius, omitted here. l. 6.--" Aia, a village which is on the confines of Beth Gobrin."-- The Greek has □. The other Syriac version published by S. E. Assemani has □, which he renders--"Ex agro

Eleutheropolitano in vico Anea." Acta SS. Martt. P. ii. p. 207. See Yan de Yelde--Eleutheropolis: Betogabra (Ptolemy xvi. 4), Betogabri, Bethgebrim; also Geberin of the Crusaders, identified with great care by Robinson and Smith (Bib. Res. 404--420, 642, seq.), with the Modern Beit-Jibrin. Memoir to accompany the Map of the Holy Land, p. 309. 148 1l. 11.--" The Confession of Pamphilus," &c. This account is considerably abridged in the Greek. Valesius has the following, note () :--" Symeon Metaphrastes has transcribed this whole relation of the Martyrdom of Pamphilus and his companions, out of our Eusebius, adding some things and altering others, as he usually does. But he seems to have been furnished with more perfect copies of Eusebius, than those we now have; which will manifestly appear to the reader, who may meet with Metaphrastes' account hereof in the Latin version of him, which Lipomaimus and Surius put forth, Tome the third, at the 1st of June, p. 139, Edit. Ven. at 1581." Eng. Trans. p. 166. This account of Pamphilus and his companions still exists entire in Greek. It was first printed from a Medicean MS. by D. Papebrochius in the Acta Sanctorum, June, vol. i. p. 64. J. A. Fabricius reprinted it in his edition of Hippolytus' works, vol. ii. p. 217. Both of these learned men supposed it to have been an extract of Eusebius' Life of Pamphilus, to which he frequently refers in his Ecclesiastical History, and of which Jerome speaks. See note, p. 78 below. It is quite evident that Metaphrastes had before him the same copy of the Martyrs of Palestine as this Syriac, with some very slight variations. I have thought that it would be useful, for the sake of comparison, to copy here the whole of Lipomannus' Latin version after Metaphrastes in Surius, De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis, at the 1st of June :--

149 Certamen SS. Martyrum Pamphili et Sociorum ex Symeone Metaphraste. I."Tempus invitat ad omnibus enarrandum magnum et gloriosum spectaculum Pamphili et sociorum, virorum admirabilium, cum eo consummatorum, et qui ostenderunt multiplicia certamina pietatis. Atque cum plurimi in nobis cognita persecutione se fortiter gesserint, eorum de quibus agimus rarissimun certamen quod nos cognovimus, conscripsimus, quod in se simul omne genus aetatis et corporis et animi vitaeque diversorum studiorum est complexum, variis tormentorum generibus, et diversis in perfecto martyrio coronis exornatum. Licebat enim videre quosdam adolescentes et pueros, atque adeo plane infantes, ex illis qui erant ex ipsis, alios autem pubescentes, cum quibus erat Porphyrius, corpore simul vigentes et prudentia,

nempe mihi carissirnum Jamnitem Paulum, Seleucumque et Julianum, qui ambo orti erant ex terra Cappadocum. Erant autem inter eos sacris quoque canis et profunda ornati senectute, Valens quidam diaconus ecclesias Hierosolymitanas, et cui verum nomen obtigerat, Theodulus. II. Atque hasc quidem fuit in eis astatum varietas. Animis autem inter se differebant. Nam alii quidem erant rudiores, utpote pueri, et quibus erat ingenium adhuc tenerius et simplicius, alii vero severi et morum gravitate praediti. Erant autem inter eos quoque nonnulli disciplinarum sacrarum non ignari. Aderat vero omnibus congeriita, insignis et admirabilis animi fortitude. Veluti autem quoddam in die resplendens luminare in astris fulgentibus, in medio eorum eminebat meus Dominus, non est enim fas mihi aliter appellare divinum et plane beatissimum Pamphilum. Is enim et eruditionem, qua? habetur apud Grgecos in admiratione, non modice attigerat, et in divinorum dogmatum et divinitus inspiratarum scripturarum eruditione, si quid audacius, sed verum dicendum est, ita erat exercitatus, ut nullus aeque ex iis qui erant suo tempore. Quod autem erat his longe majus et praestantius, habebat donum, nempe domi natam, vel potius ei a Deo datam, intelligentiam et sapientiam.

150 III. Et quod ad animum quidem attinet, omnes ita se babebant. Vitae autem conditionis et conversations erat inter eos plurimadifferentia, cum Pamphilus quidem duceret genus secundum carnem ex iis qui erant honesto loco nati, fuisset autem insignis in republica gerenda in patria sua; Seleucus vero fuisset insign'iter ornatus militige dignitatibus; alii autem nati essent ex mediocri et communi loco. Non erat eorum chorus nee extra servilem conditionem. Nam et ex prassidis domo in eorum numerum relatus erat Theodulus, et Porphyrius, qui specie quidem erat Pamphili famulus; is autem ipsum affectione habebat loco fratris, vel germani potius filii, ut qui mini omitteret, quo minus imitaretur dominum. Quid aliud? Si quis dixerit in summa, eos ecclesiastici coetus typum esse complexes, is non procul abfuerit a veritate, cum inter eos presbyterio quidem dignatus esset Pamphilus; Valens vero diaconatu, et alii sortiti essent locum eorum, qui e multitudine consueverunt legere, et confessionibus per fortissimam flagrorum tolerantiam diu ante in martyrio praeclarissime se gessisset Seleucus, et militaris dignitatis amissionem fortiter excepisset, et reliqui deinde per catechumenos et fideles reliquam implerent similitudinem innumerabilis ecclesiae, ut in parva imagine.

151 IV. Sic adspexi admirabilem tarn multorum et talium martyrum electionem, qui etsi non essent multi numero, nullus tamen aberat ex iis ordinibus, qui inveniuntur inter homines. Quomodo autem lyra, quae multas habet chordas, et ex chordis constat dissimilibus, acutis et gravibus, remissisque et intensis, et mediis, arte musica concinne adaptatis omnibus, eodem modo in his adolescentes simul et senes, servi simul et liberi, eruditi et rudes, obscuri generis homines, ut multis videbatur, et gloria insignes, fideles simul cum catechumenis, et diaconi simul cum presbyteris. Qui omnes tanquam a sapientissimo musico, nempe Dei verbo unigenito, varie pulsati, et quge erat in ipsis potentiae unusquisque per tormentorum tolerantiam, hoc est confessionem, ostendentes virtutem, et clarissimos numerososque, et concinnos sonos edentes in judiiciis, uno et eodem fine in primis piam et longe sapientissimam, per Martyrii consummationem, Deo universorum impleverunt melodiam. V. Opera pretium autem est admirari virorum quoque numerum, qui significat propheticam quamdam et apostolicam gratiam. Contigit enim omnes esse duodecim, quo numero patriarchas et prophetas et apostolos fuisse accepimus. Non est autem prastermittenda uniuscujusque singulatim laboriosa fortitude, laterum lacerationes, et cum pilis caprinis laceratarum corporis partium attritiones, et flagella immedicabilia, multipliciaque et varia tormenta, gravesque et toleratu difiSciles cruciatus, quos, jubente judice, manibus et pedibus infligentes satellites, vi cogebant martyres aliquid facere eorum quae prohibita.

152 VI. Quid opus est dicere memorias perpetuo mandandas voces virorum divinorum, quibus labores m'hil curantes, laeto et alacri vultu respondebant judicis interrogationibus, in ipsis tornientis ridentes viriliter, et bonis moribus ludificantes ejus percontationes? Cum enim rogasset undenam essent, mittentes dicere, quam in terris habebant civitatem, ostendebant earn, quae vere est eorum patria, dicentes se esse ex Hierusalem. Indicabant vero eadem sententia Dei quoque caelestern, ad quam tendebant, civitatem, et alia quas sunt ejusmodi, ignota quidem et quEe non possunt perspici ab iis, qui sacras literas non gustarunt, eis autem solis qui a fide divina sunt incitati, aperta adducebant. Propter quaa judex indignatus, et valde animo cruciatus, et plane quid ageret dubius, varia, ne vinceretur, in eos operabatur. Deinde cum a spe cecidisset, concessit unicuique auferre prasmia victoriae. Erat autem varius modus eorum mortis, cum duo quidem inter eos catechumeni,

consummati sint baptismo ignis, alius vero fuerit traditus figurae salutaris passionis, qui autem erat mihi carus, fuerit diversis braviis redimitus.

153 VII. Atque haec quidem dixerit quispiam, horum magis faciens universam mentionem, singulatim autem unumquemque persequens, merito beatum pronuntiarit eum,qui in choro primum locum obtinet. Is autem erat Pamphilus, vir revera pius, et omnium, ut semel dicam, amicus et familiaris, re ipsa nomen sibi impositum verura esse ostendens, Cassariensium ecclesiaa ornamentum. Nam presbyterorurn quoque cathedram, cum esset presbyter, honestabat, ut qui simul ornaret ministerium et ex eo ornaretur. Quinetiam aliis quoque erat diviiius et divine particeps inspirationis, quoniam tota sua vita fuit raaxime insignis virtute, multum quidem jubens valere delicias et copiara divitiarum, cum se totum dedicasset Dei verbo, renuntians quidem iis qua? ad ipsum redibant a majoribus, nudis, mancis, et pauperibus omnia distribuit. Ipse autem degit in vita, quae nihil possidebat, per valentissimam exercitationem, divinam persequens philosophiam. Atque ortus quidem erat ex Berytensium civitate, ubi in prima aetate educatus f'uerat in illis, quas illic erant, studiis litterariis. Postquam autem ejus providentia ad virilem pervenisset aetatem, transiit ab iis ad sacrarum litterarum scientiam. Assumpsit vero mores divinee et propheticae vitae, et ipse se verum Dei martyrem exliibuit etiam ante ultimurn vitas finem. Sed talis quidem erat Pampbilus.

154 VIII. Secundus autem post ipsum accessit Valens ad certamen, qui senili, et qua? decet sacerdotem, erat ornatus canitie, ipsoque aspectu venerandus et sacrosanctus senex; qui etiam divinarum scripturarum sciens, ut si quis alius, eas quidem certe ita erat complexus memoria, ut a lectione nihil discreparent, quas memoriae mandatae ab eo conservabantur, sacrosanctorum discipulorum promissiones. Erat autem diaconus, etsi esset hujusmodi, ecclesiae Eliensium. Tertius in eorum numerum relatus erat Paulus, qui, vir acerrimus et spiritu fervens, agnoscebatur ex civitate lamnitarum: qui etiam in martyrio per cauterii tolerantiam susceperat certamen confessionis. IX. His in careers duobus annis contritis, martyrii occasio fuit Aegyptiorum adventus, qui etiam cum eis fuere consummati. Ii autem cum vel sic valde afflicti, in metallis usque ad loca pervenissent, domum revertebantur. Qui, cum in ingressu portae Caesariensium interrogati essent a custodibus, quinam essent et unde venirent, et nihil veri celassent, dixissent antem se esse Christianos; perinde ac malefici in ipso furto deprehensi, vincti sunt et comprehensi: erant vero quinque numero. Ad Praesidem autem adducti, et coram

eo libere locuti, in vincula quidem statim conjiciuntur: die autem sequente, qui erat sextus decimus mensis Peritii, more vero Romano quartus decimus Calend. Martii, hos ipsos cum Pamphilo et sociis adducunt ad Firmillianun. Ille autem Aegyptiorum solum periculum fecit ante tormenta, ornni ratione eos exercens. Atque eorum quidem principem, quum adduxisset in medium, rogavit quisnam esset, et unde? Qui cum pro proprio nomine quoddam propheticum audisset (hoc autem fiebat ante alia, ut qui pro patriis eis impositis idolicis nominibus sibi prophetica nomina impossuissent, ut qui Eliam, et Hieremiam, Esaiam, Samuelem et Danielem ipsi seipsos nomlnarent, et qui est in occulto, Judaeum et germanum Israelitem, non solum factis, sed etiam vocibus proprie enunciatis judicarent).

155 X. Cum tale ergo Judex audivisset a martyre, rim autem nominis non attendisset, secundo rogavit, qugenam esset ejus patria? Ille vero caelestem Hierusalem dixit esse suam patriam, illam intelligens de qua dictum est Paulo. 'Quae sursum est Jerusalem est libera, quae est mater nostra.' Et 'accessistis ad montem Sion et civitatem Dei viventis, Hierusalem caelestem.' Et hic quidem hanc cogitabat: ille autem humi suam abjiciens cogitationem, quaenam hasc esset, et ubi terrarum sita esset, accurate perscrutabatur, atque adeo ei etiam inferabat tormenta, ut verum fateretur. Hie vero dum torqueretur, se verum dixisse affirmabat. Deinde eo hgec rursus et saspe sciscitante quasnam esset, et ubi sita esset dicta civitas Hierusalem? solum dicebat earn esse patriam Christianorum; nullos enim alios praeter eos esse ejus participes, sitam autem esse ad orientem et ad ipsam lucem et solem. Atque hie quidem rursus per haec mente sua philosophabatur, nihil sentiens eos, qui circumcirca ipsum tormentis afficiebant. Tanquam autem carnis expers et incorporeus, nihil videbatur pati molestum. Judex vero animi dubius, odio cruciabatur, et existimans Christianos hanc sibi civitatem, quae esset infesta Romanis, constituisse, valde urgebat tormentis, et curiose scrutabatur earn, quge dicta fuerat, civitatem, et quae est in Oriente, inquirebat regionem. Cum autem adolescentem, diu caesum flagellis, videret non posse dimoveri ab iis, quae prius dixerat, statuit in eum ferre sententiam capitis.

156 XI. Et in eum quidem res hoc modo processit: reliquos autem Aegyptios cum simili palaestra exercicuisset, similem quoque in eos fert sententiam. Deinde cum ab his transisset ad Pamphilum, accepit quod ii jam prius essent plurima experti tormenta. Absurdum autem esse arbitratus, eosdem iisdem rursus afficere tormentis, et frustra laborare, hoc solum est percon-

tatus, an nunc saltern obedirent? Cum vero ab unoquoque eorum andiisset ultimam vocem martyrii, in eos similiter fert sententiam capitis. XII. Nondum autem dictum universum absolverat, et alicunde exclamat quidam adolescens ex familia Pamphili, et ex media turba accedens in medium eorum, qui circumsidebant judicium, alta voce corpora eorum petiit sepulturae. Is autem erat beatus Porphyrius, Pamphili germanum pecus, nondum totos octodecim annos natus, recte scribendi scientiae peritus, modestia vero morum has laudes celans, ut qui a tali viro fuisset institutus. Is, postquam adversus dominum latam cognovit sententiam, exclamavit ex media multitudine, Corpora rogo, ut humi mandentur. Ille autem non homo, sed fera, et quavis fera agrestior, neque honestam et rationi consentaneam admittens petitionem, neque juvenili astati dans veniam, cum hoc solum intellexisset, eum fateri se esse Christianum, jubet tortoribus ut totis viribus in eum uterentur. Cum vero, eo jubente, sacrificare recusasset vir admirandus, non utique tanquam carnem hominis, sed tanquam lapides et lignum, aut aliquid aliud inanimum usque ad ipsa ossa et ima viscera jubet eum torquere et corpus ejus caedere. Cum autem hoc diu fieret, agnovit se hoc frustra aggredi, cum propemodum mutum et inanimum effectum esset corpus generoso Martyri. Perseverans vero Judex in sasvitia et inhumanitate, iubet latera tormentis exagitata, pilorum textis amplius atteri. Deinde cum sic eum cepisset satietas et furore esset exsatiatus, pronunciat sententiam ut tradatur lento et molli igni. Atque hic quidem, cum ante Pamphili consummationem postremus accessisset, prior e corpore excessit ad Dominum.

157 XIII. Licebat autem videre Porphyrium, non secus affectum quam victorem in sacris certaminibus, qui in omnibus pugnis evaserat superior, corpore pulverulentum, vultu Igetum, audenter et exultando ad mortem progredientem, re vera plenum divino spiritu. Philosophico autem habitu suo indumento amictus instar superhumeralis, rursum aspiciens et omnia humana despiciens, sicut vitam mortalem, quieto animo accedit ad rogum. Cum jam flamma ei appropinquaret, et tanquam nihil ei adesset molestum, sana mente et nulla afFecta perturbatione de rebus suis manctavit suis necessariis, adhuc vultum et universum corpus lastum conservans et immutatum. Postquam autem notos suos satis allocutus, eos valere jussit, jam de caetero contendebat ad Dominum. Cum vero rogus, satis longo spatio disjunctus, circa eum esset accensus, hinc et illinc ore flammam arripiebat, se ipsum incitans ad iter propositum. Hoc autem faciebat nihil aliud quam Jesum in-

vocans. Tale est certamen Porphyrii. 158 XIV. Cum ejus autem consummations Pamphilo nuncius fuisset Seleucus, dignus. habetur, cui sors eadem cum eis obtingeret. Cum primum itaque renuntiasset Pamphilo exitum Porphjrii, et uno osculo salutasset Martjres, comprehendunt eum milites et ducunt ad Praesidem. Ille autem perinde ac urgens, ut ipse abiret simul cum prioribus, jubet eum affici supplicio capitis. Is erat ex regione Cappadocum, cum autem militia se praeclare gessisset, ad non parvos gradus dignitatum pervenerat in Romano exercitu. Quin etiam statura, viribusque et magnitudine corporis, reliquos omnes longe superabat: ipso quoque aspectu erat omnibus suspiciendus, et tota forma corporis plane admirabilis, tarn propter magnitudinem quam propter pulchritudinem. Atque in principio «quidem persecutionis, per flagellorum perpessionem clarus extitit in certaminibus confessionis. Postquam autem fuerat liberatus a militia, seipsum constituens semulatorem eorum, qui se exercent in pietate, efficitur Christi germanus miles, orphanorum desertorum et viduarum, quee carebant praesidio, eorumque qui paupertate opprimebantur et imbecillitate, tanquam episcopus quispiam et procurator, curam gerens et instar diligentis et solicit! patris, omnium, qui abjecti erant, labores recreans et affectiones. Quamobrem merito Deo his magis laetante quam quae per fumum et sanguinem fiunt, sacrificiis, dignus fait habitus consummatione, quge fit per martyrium. Hie decimus athleta cum iis, qui dicti sunt, consummatus fait uno eodemque die: in quo, ut est coiisentaneum, maxima Pamphili martyrio porta coelorum aperta, facilis et expeditus ei fuit aditus regni coelorum.

159 XV. Seleuci institit vestigiis Theodulus quidam, venerandus et pius senex, qui primum honoris locum obtinuerat inter servos praesidis, et morum et ffitatis gratia, et quod trium filiorum esset pater, et maxime propter benevolentiam quam conservabat in suos. Is autem, cum similiter fecisset atque Seleucus, et quendam ex martyribus salutasset osculo, adducitur ad dominum. Quem cum magis ad iram irritasset quam alii, salutaris passionis cruci traditus, subiit martyrium. XVI. Cum post hos unus adhuc restaret, qui inter eos, qui dicti sunt, numerum impleret duodecimum, eum impleturus aderat Julianus. Is, cum ea ipsa hora rediisset ex peregrinatione, ne ingressus quidem civitatern, ita ut erat ex itinere, hoc audito profectus ad videndos martyres, postquam adspexit sanctorum corpora humi jacentia, gaudio repletus, unumquemque amplectitur, omnes salutans osculo. Eo autem adhuc agente, eum comprehendunt lictores et adducunt ad prassidem. Impius vero

suo institute faciens consentanea, eum quoque tradit lento igni. Sic itaque Julianus laetans et exultans, et magna voce Deo, qui tantis bonis eum erat dignatus, agens gratias, assumptus fuit in chores martyrum. Erat autem is quoque genere quidem Cappadox, moribus plenus quidem pietate, plenus et fide, vir mitis et mansuetus, et alioqui vir bonus, et spirans boiium odorem Sancti Spiritus. Tanta turba comitatus, dignatus fuit consummatione martyrii cum beatissimo Pamphilo.

160 Et quatuor quidem dies et totidem noctes jussu Firmilliani sanctissirna martyrum corpora exposita fuerunt bestiis carnivoris. Cum autem Dei providentia nihil ad eos accessisset, non fera, non avis, non aliquid aliud, sed sana permansissent et integra, justum et convenientem honorem consecuta, consuetae mandata sunt sepulturae, reposita in pulchris templorum sedibus, et sacris traditas oratoriis ad perpetuam memoriam, ut honorarentur a populo, ad gloriam Christi, veri Dei nostri." P. xxxvi. l. 13.--" Theophilus." An error of the scribe for Theodulus. It is given correctly in the narrative below. l. 15.--"Being in number eight." And so the names enumerated above are eight; but there were really twelve. See pp. 38 and 44. The Greek, which is here a good deal abridged, has at the beginning, □. l. 28.--" Youths and boys." Papebrochius corrects here the error of Lipomannus--"Adolescentes et pueros atque adeo plane infantes" See Hippolyti Opera, curante J. A. Fabricio, vol. ii. p. 217. I have not the Ada Martyrum at hand, and therefore cite the reprint of the Acts of Pamphilus and his companions by Fabricius. When I use the term the other Greek, I mean these Acts, in contradistinction to the Greek, which I have used in these notes to signify the abridgement found in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.

161 l. 29.--" Porphyrius." The Syriac has by mistake here □, "Porphon."' l. 32.--"Iamna." " Jamnia sive Jamna urbs maritima Palaestinae, haud procul a Joppe, sed totis 20 leueis horariis dissita a Caesarea, cujus Archiepiscopo subest: etiam urbs maritima in confiniis Phoeniciae." Papebrochius. Ibid. p. 218. l. 36.--" Conformable to his name, Theodulus." That is, Servant of God.

162 P. xxxvii. l. 7.--"But like the sun ..... My Lord Pamphilus. Eusebius speaks of him several times in his Ecc. Hist. Book vi. chap. 32, he says:--"But what necessity is there at present to write an exact catalogue of this man's works, which requires a work itself, which we have also written in our History of Pamphilus's life, the blessed martyr of our times. In which, endeavouring to prove how great Pamphilus's care and love towards sacred learning was, we

have published the catalogue of Origen's works, and of several other ecclesiastical writers which he collected. Eng. Trans. p. 107. And in the next chapter:--" But what things concerning him are necessary to be known, may be read at large in that Apology for him which was written by me and Pamphilus, the holy martyr of our times, which we conjointly composed. Ibid. In book vii. ch. 33. " In this man's(Agapius) times we knew Pamphilus, a most eloquent man and a true philosopher in the practices of his life, honoured with a presbytership of that church (Caesarea). To declare what a person this man was, and whence descended, would be a copious subject. But all things relating to his life, the school he founded, the conflicts which, during the time of persecution, he underwent in several confessions, and lastly, the crown of martyrdom with which he was encircled, we have fully declared in a peculiar work. Indeed, this Pamphilus was the most admirable person of all that lived here. Valesius's note ().

163 Christophorson takes these words to signify one book only. But Eusebius wrote three books of the life of Pamphilus, which Hieromymus attesteth in his book, De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, and in his Apology against Ruffinus. Ibid. p. 138. Book viii. c. 13--" Amongst which number we must in no wise omit the mention of Pamphilus the Presbyter, the most admirable person in our age, and the greatest ornament of the Church of Caesarea, whose fortitude and courageous exploits we will declare at a fit and convenient opportunity. Valesius remarks ()--" I must indeed confess that in the Maz., Med., Fuk., and Savil MSS, the reading is (□, we have declared); but if that reading be true, Eusebius must mean his Books concerning the life of Pamphilus the Martyr, which, as we before observed, he wrote before his Ecclesiastical History, Ibid. p. 148. See the former part of this note which I have quoted above, p. 49. See also what Eusebius says in the Confession of Domninus, p. 25, above. The Greek, in the account of Pamphilus, here adds:--" This person's other virtues and egregious performances, which require a larger relation, we have already comprised in three Books, being a particular work which we wrote concerning his life. On this Valesius remarks (): -- " Moreover, hence we make this manifest conclusion, that the Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine was Eusebius's own work, written by him after his Books concerning Pamphilus's life, and after his Ecclesiastical History. Eng. Tram. p. 166.

164 We must bear in mind that this observation of Valesius applies to the abridged form of the Martyrs of Palestine, and not to the original copy; for the passage upon which he founds his conclusions does not exist, either in the Syriac or the other Greek. It therefore affirms that the abridgment was made by Eusebius himself. The Confession of Pamphilus is given by Baillet, Vie des Saints, at the 1st of June. 165 l. 10.--" Without styling him My Lord." Upon referring to the Syriac here it is seen that Simeon Metaphrastes, whom Lipomannus followed in translating "non est mihi fas aliter appellare" had □ correctly; and that the reading □ of the other Greek is wrong. See Papebrochius' note in Hipp. Oper. vol. ii. p. 218. l. 23.--" Porphyrius." His martyrdom and that of those who suffered with him is given by Baillet, Vie des Saints, Feb. 17. l. 36.--" His dismissal from his command in the army." Lactantius speaks of the order of Diocletian respecting the dismissal of soldiers who professed Christianity thus:--" Tunc ira furens, sacrificare non eos tantum qui sacris ministrabant, sed universos qui erant in palatio, jussit, et in eos, si detractassent, verberibus animadverti; datisque ad Prsepositos litteris, etiam milites cogi ad nefanda sacrificia praecepit, ut qui non paruissent, militia solverentur." See De Mortibus Persecutorum, ch. x. P. xxxviii. l. 6.--"They bore the semblance of a many-stringed harp." Eusebius uses the same comparison in hisTheophania, bk. i. ch. 28:--□ which. Dr. Lee translates as follows : -- " This sensible world is therefore, not unlike the lyre of many strings, consisting of many dissimilar portions: of acute and grave, lax and intense; and of others between these, all well combined together by the art of the musician. Such, then, is also this (universe), collected (as it is) into one compound, consisting of many parts, and many compositions; of cold at once, and warm its opposite; and of matter, wet and dry. It is, moreover, a mighty vessel, and is the work of the God of all." See Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Theophania, translated by S. Lee. 8vo. Cambridge, 1843, p. 18.

166 l. 19. -- "Like the prophets." He means the Twelve Minor Prophets. l. 20. -- " Nor is it fit that we should omit." So also the Latin version of Lipomannus. The other Greek is corrupt here, reading □. P. xxxix. l. 6. -- " The baptism of fire." Martyrdom for the sake of Christ was held in antient times to supply the place of baptism to those who had not yet received that sacrament. It was generally called the "Baptism of Blood." Thus Cyprian, letter 57, to Cornelius : -- " Qui martyrium tollit, sanguine suo batizatur." Edit. Dod-

well, Amst. 1691, p. 118. And 73, to Jubaianus: -- " Sanguine autem suo baptizatos et passione sanctificatos consummari, et divinse pollicitationis gratiam consequi; declarat in Evangelic idem Dominus." Ibid. p. 208. Exhort, ad Mart. :-- " Nos tantum, qui, Domino permittente, primum baptisma credentibus dedimus, ad aliud quoque singulos praeparemus, insinuantes et docentes hoc esse baptisma in gratia majus, in postestate sublimius, in honore pretiosius: baptisma in quo angeli baptizant, baptisma in quo Deus et Christus ejus exultant, baptisma post quod nemo jam peccat, baptisma quod fidei nostrse incrementa consummat, baptisma quod nos de mundo recedentes statim Deo copulat. In aquas baptismo accipitur peccatorum remissa, in sanguinis corona virtutum. Ibid. p. 168. See also Bingham Antiquit. Book 10, ch. 2, s. 20, and other passages cited by him. St. Cyril of Jerusalem, Cat. 3, ch. 10:--[] Eusebius speaks also of Herais, a catechumen, receiving baptism by fire, Book 6, ch. 4: --[].

167 l. 8.--"But Pamphilus, that name ..... different from these." The other Greek varies here from the Syriac. See Lipomannus's Translation above, vii. l. 14.--"In communion with the Spirit of God." The other Greek, []. l. 24.--"Men seeking perfection." Other Greek, []. l. 26.--" Martyrdom." The other Greek adds here, []. l. 27.--" Vales." There is added here in the Greek, " a deacon of Aelia." This had been stated of him before in the part omitted from the Greek, " a deacon of the Church of Jerusalem." See p. 37, l. 35, above. P. xl. l. 4.--"ln prison." The other Greek has [], which Papebrochius has corrected after Metaphrastes from Lipomannus's translation in carcere, to []. l. 33.--" Our Mother in whom we confess is the Holy Church." The Greek here, as in Gal. iv. 26, [] and adds, Heb. xii. 12, [], and so the other Greek and Lipomannus' version. See p. 74 above.

168 P. xli. l. 3.--" In what country was that Jerusalem." At the time when these events took place, there was no city known to the Romans by the name of Jerusalem; otherwise, as Valesius observes, Firmillianus, president of Palestine, would never have been so earnest in his inquiries of the martyrs where Jerusalem was situated. Eusebius writes, Book 4, ch; 6 :--" From that time the whole nation was altogether interdicted to enter into the country about Jerusalem, the law, edict, and sanctions of Adrian having commanded them that they should not so much as from afar off behold their paternal soil. Ariston of Pella relates this. Thus the city being destitute of the Jewish nation, and wholly cleared of its old inhabitants, was possessed by foreigners,

who dwelt there, and afterwards made a Roman city; and changing its name, was, in honour of the Emperor Aelius Adrianus, called Aelia." Valesius, in his note on this place, says () :--" Eusebius is here doubly mistaken; both in that he says Jerusalem was wholly destroyed in Adrian's time; and also because he thought Aelia Capitolina was built by the same Adrian after the siege of Betthera.--Aelia Capitolina was built long before; to wit, in the second year of Adrian: from whose times to those of Constantine the Great it was always called Aelia. But from the time of Constantine the Great it recovered again the name of Jerusalem, both upon account of the honour of that name, and also because of its prerogative, being the first episcopal seat." See Eng. Trans. p. 52.

169 P. xlii. l. 7.--"Wretch ---- savage brute." Such epithets as this, and others--"that bitter viper," p. 12, "fierce wild beast,' p. 49, when applied to the persecutors of the Christians, are not peculiar to Eusebius. Cyprian calls Nero, execrabilis ac nocens tyrannus, bestia mala; and Decius, execrabile animal: also he calls Diocletianus, Maximinianus Herculius, and Galerius Maximinianus, tres acerbissimae bestiae. See De mortt. Pers. ch. 4, 9, 16, &c. l. 24.--"Weak in body." Syriac, . The other Greek, , and Lipomannus, corpore pulverulentum. Perhaps originally the translation was a, afterwards altered by a transcriber. l. 28.--" Having put on his cloak like a philosopher, with his shoulder uncovered." Valesius has this Note on Book 6, ch. 19 of Ecc. Hist. ():--" The philosophic habit was the pallium or cloak, which was the usual badge of the Greek philosophers, different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks, which those Christians still kept to, who, before their conversion, were philosophers."--See Eng. Trans. p. 101. And on this place ():--"This garment is in the Greek termed εξωμις: see its description, A. Gellius, Book 7, ch. 12." ibid. p. 168.

170 P. xliv. l. 2.--" The father of three generations." The Greek, , and the other Greek, . On which Papebrochius observes:--" Trium filiorum patribus praemia apud Romanos fuisse proposita notius est quam ut hie moneri debeat, atque id hie dici credo . Valesius, tamen aliter vertit quod tertiae jam stirpis nepotes haberet" See Hippol. Opera, vol. ii. p. 224. l. 19.--" Officers," here " Quaestionarii," as above, p. 55. The Greek is, in this place, . l. 27.--" There was also in him a glorious savour of the Holy Spirit." Greek, ; and the other Greek, . l. 36.--" Without the permission of the Governor." Omitted in the Greek. P. xlv. l. 1.--"And were laid in the interior of the Churches .....

with God." This passage is not found in the abridged Greek, but it is in the other Greek. Upon which Papebrochius has the following note: " Deest haec clausula in historia: quam tamem Eusebio abjudicare nihil nos cogit, qui vitam Pamphili seque ac Historiam Ecclesiasticam scripsit, cum jam Constantinus lege lata permisisset Christianis sacras aedes condere et Martyrum corpora eis inferre." See Hippol. Opera, vol. ii. p. 224.

171 l. 13.--"Of Batanea." □ Greek, □. l. 32.--" He was the last ..... in Caesarea." The Greek here adds the account of Firmillianus having been put to death by the sword; and then a chapter concerning what happened to the prelates of the Church. P. xlvi. l. 1.--" The confession of Paulus," &c. The name in the Greek is □, both in this place and in Ecc. Hist, Book 8, ch. 13. l. 9---"Phaeno." Eusebius has described this place thus in his book, De locis Hebraicis :--□. And Athanasius:--□. See Reading's Note on Eusebius at this place. 1. 18.--" Zauara." This is Zoura, mentioned by Eusebius in the preceding note, now Zara, Zora, or Zoara. See Van de Velde, Memoir to Map of the Holy Land, p. 354. P. xlvii. l. 8.--" Patermytheus." Above, Patrimytheas, with the usual inconsistency in writing proper names in Syriac. l. 10.--" Lovers of that exalted philosophy which is of God." That is, the Christian religion. See Ecc. Hist, passim.

172 l. 25.--" Presbyter of the Church in the city of Gaza." The Greek has, □. And in the Ecc. Hist. Book 8, ch. 13:--. And in the Greek of the Mart. Palest., ch. 7, he gives the same account of him as in this place, that he was at that time presbyter of Gaza, and afterwards was promoted to the episcopate :--□. P. xlviii. l. 5.--"And suddenly a mandate of wickedness was issued." The Greek states that this order was given by Maximinus. l. 9.--"Forty in number." The Greek says "thirty-nine." l. 10.--" Many of them were Egyptians." The Greek adds in this place the account of one John, who had learned the Scriptures so thoroughly by heart, that Eusebius states, that when he saw him standing up and repeating portions of the Scripture to the congregation, he supposed that he had been reading, till he drew near, and discovered that he was quite blind.

173 l. 16.--"For he that was excited against us ..... perished after the manner of a cruel wild beast." It does not appear to whom this applies. Probably he means Firmillianus, of whose savage disposition and extreme cruelty he had spoken above in such strong terms, see p. 27, 29; some account of whose death he gives in the Greek, although omitted here. See note above, on P.

xlv. 1. 32, p. 84. Or he may mean the Maximinus whose death he describes in the Ecclesiastical History, b. xi. ch. 10. [[Syriac text omitted]]

Encomium on the Martyrs

Eusebius of Caesarea

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

ENCOMIUM ON THE MARTYRS

1 W. WRIGHT, The Encomium of the Martyrs: Journal of Sacred Literature, 4th series vol. 5 (1864), pp.403-408 (Syriac text with introduction by B.H.COWPER); 4th series vol. 6 (1864-5), pp.129-133 (English translation and introduction by B.H.COWPER). Journal of Sacred Literature 4th series 5 (1864) pp. 403-408

THE ENCOMIUM OF THE MARTYRS. AN INEDITED ORATION or EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA.--Syriac text.

2 [THE following short oration is found near the end (fol. 250 rect.) of the venerable volume from which, at different times, there have been printed: 1. The Recognitions of Clement. 2. Titus of Bostra against the Manicheans. 3. The Theophany of Eusebius. 4. The Martyrs of Palestine, also by Eusebius. This last was published by Dr. Cureton in 1861 ; but it is singular that the learned editor, whose premature decease all Orientalists deplore,a made no allusion to the Encomium, which has been detected by Dr. W. Wright during his labours as curator of the Syriac MSS. in the British Museum. The same gentleman has also called our attention to an unfortunately imperfect list of early martyrs following this oration, and forming the actual conclusion of the volume (Add. MS. 12,150). We cannot say whether Eusebius is the writer of this venerable martyrology, but it must be older than the MS. in which we find it,--the oldest dated Syriac MS. in our Museum (written A.D. 411). Those who possess Dr. Cureton's Martyrs of Palestine, will welcome the Encomium as its natural complement. As for the authorship, it is undoubted. Among the works of Eusebius, mentioned by Ebed-Jesu in his catalogue, the Martyrs of Palestine is followed by an oration with exactly the same title as ours. This

may be seen in Assemani's Bibliotheca Orientalis, i., 184 ; iii., 19. Through the courtesy of Mr. Watts, the oriental printer, we are enabled to present our readers with the Syriac text of this curious little document. We intend to give an English version of the Encomium in our October number.]

3 [404] ܐܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܗܘܝ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܗ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܚܕ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܪܘܚܐ ܒܬܠܬ ܐܢܝܢ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܘܒܬܠܬ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝ

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ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺤﺪ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳﺤﻔﻆ ﺍﻟﻜﻞ ﻣﻌﺎً ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻮﺣﺪﺓ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﻨﻮﻋﺔ.

5 ﻭﻗﺪ ﻣﺎﺕ ﻓﻲ ﺑﻴﺘﻪ ﺍﻟﺮﻳﻔﻲ ﺫﺍﻙ ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻳُﺪﻋﻰ ﻭﺳﺖ ﺑﺮﻱ ﺑﺸﺮﻭﺷﻴﺮ ﻓﻲ ١٨ ﻣﻦ ﻳﻮﻧﻴﻮ ﺑﻌﺪ ﻣﺮﺽ ﺩﺍﻡ ﻋﺪﺓ ﺃﺷﻬﺮ، ﻧﺎﺷﺊ ﻋﻦ ﺻﺪﻣﺔ ﺃﺻﻴﺒﺖ ﺟﻬﺎﺯﻩ ﺍﻟﻌﺼﺒﻲ ﺍﻟﺴﻨﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺎﺿﻴﺔ ﺑﺴﺒﺐ ﺣﺎﺩﺙ ﺳﻜﺔ ﺣﺪﻳﺪ. ﻭﻗﺪ ﺗﻠﻘّﻰ ﺗﻌﻠﻴﻤﻪ ﻓﻲ ﻛﻨﻴﺴﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺴﻴﺢ، ﺃﻛﺴﻔﻮﺭﺩ، ﺣﻴﺚ ﺣﺼﻞ ﻋﻠﻰ ﺷﻬﺎﺩﺓ ﺍﻟﺒﻜﺎﻟﻮﺭﻳﺎ ﺳﻨﺔ ١٨٣٠؛ ﻭﺑﻌﺪ ﺃﻥ ﺭُﺳِﻢ ﺷﻤﺎﺳﺎً ﺳﻨﺔ ١٨٣١ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻳﺪ ﺃﺳﻘﻒ ﺭﻭﺷﺴﺘﺮ، ﻗُﺒِﻞ ﻛﺎﻫﻨﺎً ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺴﻨﺔ ﺍﻟﺘﺎﻟﻴﺔ ﻋﻠﻰ ﻳﺪ ﺃﺳﻘﻒ ﺃﻛﺴﻔﻮﺭﺩ. ﻭﻗﺪ ﻛﺎﻥ ﻟﻔﺘﺮﺓ ﻣﺴﺎﻋﺪ ﺃﻣﻴﻦ ﻣﻜﺘﺒﺔ ﺍﻟﻤﺨﻄﻮﻃﺎﺕ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻤﻜﺘﺒﺔ ﺍﻟﺒﻮﺩﻟﻴﺔ، ﺛﻢ ﻟﺴﻨﻮﺍﺕ ﻋﺪﺓ ﻣﺴﺎﻋﺪ ﺣﺎﻓﻆ ﻓﻲ ﻗﺴﻢ ﺍﻟﻤﺨﻄﻮﻃﺎﺕ ﺍﻟﺸﺮﻗﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻴﻮﻧﺎﻧﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻼﺗﻴﻨﻴﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻤﺘﺤﻒ ﺍﻟﺒﺮﻳﻄﺎﻧﻲ، ﺍﻟﺬﻱ ﻛﺎﻥ ﻣﻦ ﺃﻣﻨﺎﺋﻪ ﻓﻴﻤﺎ ﺑﻌﺪ. ﻭﻓﻲ ﺳﻨﺔ ١٨٤٧ ﻋُﻴِّﻦ ﻛﺎﻫﻦ ﺍﻟﻤﻠﻜﺔ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﻌﺎﺩﻱ، ﻭﺑﻌﺪ ﺳﻨﺘﻴﻦ ﺃُﻋﻄﻲ ﻣﻨﺼﺐ ﻋﻀﻮ ﻓﻲ ﻛﻨﻴﺴﺔ ﻭﺳﺘﻤﻨﺴﺘﺮ ﺍﻟﻤﻠﺤﻖ ﺑﻬﺎ ﺭﻋﻴﺔ ﻛﻨﻴﺴﺔ ﺳﺎﻧﺖ ﻣﺎﺭﺟﺮﻳﺖ، ﻭﻛﺎﻧﺖ ﺍﻟﺘﻌﻴﻴﻨﺘﺎﻥ ﺗﺴﺎﻭﻳﺎﻥ ﻧﺤﻮ ١٨٠٠ ﺟﻨﻴﻪ ﺳﻨﻮﻳﺎً. ﻭﻛﺎﻥ ﺍﻟﺪﻛﺘﻮﺭ ﻛﻴﺮﻳﺘﻮﻥ ﻋﺎﻟﻤﺎً ﺭﻓﻴﻊ ﺍﻟﺸﺨﺼﻴﺔ ﻭﺍﻟﻤﻜﺎﻧﺔ ﺍﻷﺩﺑﻴﺔ، ﻧﺎﻝ ﻟﻪ ﺑﻔﻀﻞ ﺷﺨﺼﻴﺘﻪ ﻭﻣﻨﺠﺰﺍﺗﻪ ﺍﻷﺩﺑﻴﺔ ﺍﺣﺘﺮﺍﻡ ﻭﺇﻋﺠﺎﺏ ﺍﻟﻌﻠﻤﺎﺀ ﻓﻲ ﺍﻟﺪﺍﺧﻞ ﻭﺍﻟﺨﺎﺭﺝ.

6 a Dr. Cureton died at his country residence, Westbury, in Shropshire, on the 18th of June, after an illness of several months, arising from a shock to the nervous system received last year on the occasion of a railway accident. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he graduated in 1830 ; and after having been ordained deacon in 1831 by the Bishop of Rochester, was admitted to priest's orders in the following year by the Bishop of Oxford. He was for some time sub-librarian in the Bodleian Library, and afterwards for several years assistant-keeper in the department of MSS. in the British Museum, of which institution he was latterly a royal trustee. In 1847 he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, and two years after was nominated to a canonry in Westminster Abbey, to which is annexed the rectory of St. Margaret's ; the two appointments being worth about £1,800 a year. Dr. Cureton was a scholar whose personal character and great literary attainments won for him the respect and admiration of the learned at home and

abroad. He was an honorary D.D. of Halle, member of the French Institute and of the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, corresponding member of the German Oriental Society, etc., etc. His publications in the departments of Arabic and Syriac literature are numerous. Among the former we may mention editions of Rabbi Janchum's Commentary on the Book of Lamentations, of An-Nasafi's Pillar of the Creed of the Sunnites, and of Ash-Shahrastani's Book of Religious Sects and Philosophical Schools.

7 The list of the latter is still longer, comprising the Epistles of St. Ignatius, 1845; the Vindiciae Ignatianae, 1846; the Corpus Ignatianum, 1849; the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius, 1848 ; fragments of the Iliad from a Syriac palimpsest, 1851; the third part of the Ecclesiastical History of John of Ephesus, 1853 ; the Spicilegium Syriacum, 1855 ; the celebrated Curetonian Gospels, 1858; and the History of the Martyrs in Palestine by Eusebius, 1861. He has, we understand, left behind him an almost finished work on the establishment and early history of Christianity in Edessa -- texts, translation, and notes, to the publication of which we look forward with the deepest interest.

8 Journal of Sacred Literature 4th series 6 (1865) 129-133 Above all, consider the design and tendency of the New Testament. See to what it will lead you, and all those who cordially obey it; and then say, whether it be not good. And consider how naturally its truth is connected with its goodness. Trace the character and sentiments of its authors, whose living image (if I may be allowed the expression) is still preserved in their writings. And then ask your own heart, Can you think this was a forgery, an impious cruel forgery? For such it must have been, if it were a forgery at all; a scheme to mock God and to ruin men, even the best of men, such as reverenced conscience, and would abide all extremities for what they apprehended to be truth. Put the question to your own heart, Can I in my conscience believe it to be such an imposture? Can I look up to an omniscient God, and say, "O Lord, thou knowest that it is in reverence to thee, and in love to truth and virtue, that I reject this book, and the method to happiness here laid down."

9 But there are difficulties in the way. And what then? Have those difficulties never been cleared? Go to the living advocates for Christianity, to those of whose abilities, candour, and piety, you have the best opinion ; if your prejudices will give you leave to have a good opinion of any such, tell them your difficulties; hear their solutions; weigh them seriously, as those who know they must answer it to God: and while doubts continue, follow

the truth as far as it will lead you, and take heed that you do not " imprison it in unrighteousness " (Rom. i. 18). Nothing appears more inconsistent and absurd, than for a man solemnly to pretend dissatisfaction with the evidences of the gospel, as a reason why he cannot in conscience be a thorough Christian ; when yet at the same time he violates the most apparent dictates of reason and conscience, and lives in vices condemned even by the heathens.--Dr. Doddridge.

SELECTIONS FROM THE SYRIAC.--No. II. : THE ENCOMIUM OF THE MARTYRS. BY EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA. ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

10 Encomium of their Excellences. 1. O YE retainers of Godly freedom and truth in tribulation and in labour; dead in body and free in soul; through the death of the body ye overcame death, armed with faith, and clothed for ever in the robe of faith. For, verily, invincible armour was given to you in faith and in victory ; for in your hands abode the shield which is by the law; and the helmets which were on your heads were not weakened nor cast down, and the precepts which are sustaining were not relaxed in you; and sharp, and not blunt, was the spiritual sword; and by earnest prayers through Christ unto the Lord of all, your will ye directed. For unto you was adjudged a heavenly war, and by victory ye became worthy of the heavenly assemblies; for the world which passeth away did not flatter you, nor did it entice you, neither did the wrath of kings make you afraid; and the promise of a gift of the wealth of the world wrested not from your souls the treasure of truth which is for ever; and the pomp of the fashion of the world perverted not your sobriety. For ye hated dishonour and loved distinction, and through the desire of the love of the cross of Christ ye put away from yourselves the curse of crucifixion, which is in malice and in evil. For by affliction for a little time ye acquired immeasurable glory; for in the truth of faith ye served with the prophets, and stood in agreement with the apostles; and with the glorified blessed, Christ the divine chief, the crown of glory ye received.

11 2. O ye who are dead in appearance, and alive in reality, for your inferiority to the angels is filled up by the suffering which has happened on behalf of Christ, and through grace victory is vouchsafed to you without much solicitude, and your memory every hour is very full of glory; for ye received in your body the signs of the reproach of Christ, the setting free of your souls; for your death on behalf of Christ assured the hope of your faith; and by the constancy which ye received from above, ye changed the constitution of your

former nature, and became the sons and children of desirable wisdom; and by the understanding of knowledge, ye caused your souls to fly to the righteous, and ye ran the race without weariness to the King of truth, and the Lord of the assemblies, which are for ever. Therefore, let labour be ashamed, and the stripped eagerness of the conflicts of men whose labour is not vouchsafed on behalf of Christ; and let them restrain their unprofitable sweat, which is not distilled for the conflict of heaven ; and let the race of the eager horses be accounted vain, and their victory be derided, because they cannot be compared to souls upon the horses of Elijah, on which he has in truth arisen. In these the Lord is; for the righteousness of the soul is the chariot of the Lofty One, and a confession wherein is the keeping of his restraints.

12 And let the assemblies of worldly festivals slumber, --those to which a place in heaven is not vouchsafed; for all of them are earnest in body, and an increase of the trade of worldly contests. Let them be ashamed in their labour, which maketh void of the grace of Christ. For those who on behalf of our Lord and our God received in exchange the judgment of their body, are in heaven, in glory, and in victory, and in joy. Hananiah is exalted, and Azariah is lauded, and Mishael the strong one is called glorious. The fire of Babel was kindled, and did not ascend on high, and by the abundance of much wood that was in it, it was deprived of its power, and its destroying nature was shorn of its might, because of the love wherewith it would honour the sons of the law. But it was fierce and it was strong, and it burned and destroyed the slanderers who were spectators of the zealous and the blessed. These were confessors, and when the veil of their suffering was before their eyes for reproach and for praise, they drew near to the confessors' fire. The den of hungry mountain-lions also was nullified through fear of the servant of God, of Christ; and the lions were appeased in their hunger, so that they were not defiled by the suffering of the righteous. For Noah fed the beasts with flesh according to the former commandment;

13 but Daniel made them abstinent, that they should fast, as he was able to command in the conflict of righteousness. But let another pit shew the reproach and ignominy of Jewish oppressors,--the one which is a testimony to the earnestness and manliness of Jeremiah. The altar and temple bore witness, and the holy place which was between them, where Zechariah received the crown of victory. And let Abel speak after his death, by denouncing the cruel and hateful in the manners of Cain. But the crown of victory in the

great contest both for men and for women, who are in confession (or become confessors), the mother of seven sons put on : she who reared her sons by prayer and by the milk of the law and by heavenly food, stood with every one of them in confession of the utterances of the law, in order that not one of her pains might be deprived of grace, and very much rejoiced because of the fruit which there was upon each one of her branches. For she was not crowned on account of one of her sons, while honour was taken away because of another; nor was it over one that she rejoiced in victory, and was in anguish over another because of his fall; but over all of them, and through all of them, she had great rejoicing, because she saw them all that they stood in the commandment of the law; and she was glad and gave praise, because of the righteousness of her branches in the law;

14 and she offered pure praise and righteous prayer to the Most High the Strengthener of his servants. How fair was she in duty, and righteous in the law, and blessed in her offspring! A wise mother, thou didst remove indifference far away from thy lovely children, and without blows they took their stand in the arena: and this is an evidence of true mothers. For it behoves that more than worldly wealth, and than love to our fellow-men, we should love the love of God, and that we should cleave to Christ and love the prophets according to the divine rule, and in everything be like Abraham. O blessed woman, who didst bring forth with hard pains, and without griefs didst restore, by prayer, the fruit thou didst rear ; thou, without laments, didst send a messenger for thyself before God. For what time is there, or what day, or what godly congregation of the passion of Christ, and glorious day of the memorial of his resurrection, when the members of the resurrection of the confessor Christ may not be remembered and honoured by every mouth and by every tongue?

15 So, then, let the new soldiers of his faith, equipped with the glory of his truth, pass in remembrance and in word before our eyes, and before the Lord of victory, and the giver of crowns, the Lord Christ, Peter being second in command after our Lord Jesus, in the heavenly host of the glorious ranks, powerful in heaven and also upon earth, closing and opening without envy, in righteousness, the way of the gate of heaven, and not like the Pharisees, the partakers of his blood and of his race. Let us cleave to them, and to every one of the apostles, since it is proclaimed in heaven and by observation that their minister shall receive a crown of righteousness. 16 3. Let Stephen be

crowned ; and also Paul, no longer persecuting the churches, declaring his conversion in the Gospel of truth which is from the Deity, which he received and confessed by his suffering for Christ, and he filled up in his body what was behind of the afflictions of Christ for his body, that is, the Church.

17 4. But also let others be remembered, who, after them, accepted the conflict, and were counted worthy to stand in the true conflict for Christ. Now as worthy of our commemoration, let the men be remembered who, after these, were the elect, and who, without reproach and violence, with their souls affirmed the faith,--those who were counted worthy to receive the hope of the apostles. Let there be honoured in our commemoration then, both Asclepiades and Serapion, and Philetus, and Zebinas, and Demetrius, and Flavianus, and Cyrillus (?), and Sosipater, and Andrew, and Babylas, and Caerealis (?), and Izabenus(?), and Zenobius, and Paulus, a kinsman, who was counted worthy to stand in the divine portion, and to be of it. Let Marinus also hasten, and to heaven let Fronto come, and the abstinent old man Hippolytus. Now I know and confess that many others were victorious in this conflict. But although their names escape me, their record, which is in heaven, I remember in my soul, and I lay to heart the sufferings of the Church which is in Christ. For, truly, I hope with all of you, through the divine message, by the truth of the confession which, is in Christ, that I shall receive fruit at the resurrection of the dead. I further say to you, O blessed confessors, I desire to depart from the world unto you, and from the body from which you are freed. Now faults fail (those) that (are) with Christ, as ye are this day, and are accounted. May there, at some time, be given the power to say after you, Pains flee, anguish is worn away, and groaning is departed : O ye who exist in the likeness of the suffering of Christ, and die not for ever.

18 End of the Discourse upon the Confessors. [I have moved the footnotes to the end from the bottom of the pages, and used numbers instead of the letters of the original]

PART THREE

Constantine

Eusebius's life of the first Christian emperor and two orations.

The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

CHAPTER I. PREFACE.-OF THE DEATH OF CONSTANTINE.

Already have all mankind united in celebrating with joyous festivities the completion of the second and third decennial period of this great emperor's reign; already have we ourselves received him as a triumphant conqueror in the assembly of God's ministers, and greeted him with the due meed of praise on the twentieth anniversary of his reign: and still more recently we have woven, as it were, garlands of words, wherewith we encircled his sacred head in his own palace on his thirtieth anniversary. But now, while I desire to give utterance to some of the customary sentiments, I stand perplexed and doubtful which way to turn, being wholly lost in wonder at the extraordinary spectacle before me. For to whatever quarter I direct my view, whether to the east, or to the west, or over the whole world, or toward heaven itself, everywhere and always I see the blessed one yet administering the self-same empire. On earth I behold his sons, like some new reflectors of his brightness, diffusing everywhere the luster of their father's character, and himself still living and powerful, and governing all the affairs of men more completely than ever before, being multiplied in the succession of his children. They had indeed had previously the dignity of Caesars; but now, being invested with his very self, and graced by his accomplishments, for the excellence of their piety they are proclaimed by the titles of Sovereign, Augustus, Worshipful, and Emperor.

CHAPTER II. THE PREFACE CONTINUED.

And I am indeed amazed, when I consider that he who was but lately visible and present with us in his mortal body, is still, even after death, when the

natural thought disclaims everything superfluous as unsuitable, most marvelously endowed with the same imperial dwellings, and honors, and praises as heretofore. But farther, when I raise my thoughts even to the arch of heaven, and there contemplate his thrice-blessed soul in communion with God himself, freed from every mortal and earthly vesture, and shining in a refulgent robe of light, and when I perceive that it is no more connected with the fleeting periods and occupations of mortal life, but honored with an ever-blooming crown, and an immortality of endless and blessed existence, I stand as it were without power of speech or thought and unable to utter a single phrase, but condemning my own weakness, and imposing silence on myself, I resign the task of speaking his praises worthily to one who is better able, even to him who, being the immortal God and veritable Word, alone has power to confirm his own saying.

CHAPTER III. HOW GOD HONORS PIOUS PRINCES, BUT DESTROYS TYRANTS.

1 Having given assurance that those who glorify and honor him will meet with an abundant recompense at his hands, while those who set themselves against him as enemies and adversaries will compass the ruin of their own souls, he has already established the truth of these his own declarations, having shown on the one hand the fearful end of those tyrants who denied and opposed him, and at the same time having made it manifest that even the death of his servant, as well as his life, is worthy of admiration and praise, and justly claims the memorial, not merely of perishable, but of immortal monuments. 2 Mankind, devising some consolation for the frail and precarious duration of human life, have thought by the erection of monuments to glorify the memories of their ancestors with immortal honors. Some have employed the vivid delineations and colors of painting ; some have carved statues from lifeless blocks of wood; while others, by engraving their inscriptions deep on tablets and monuments, have thought to transmit the virtues of those whom they honored to perpetual remembrance. All these indeed are perishable, and consumed by the lapse of time, being representations of the corruptible body, and not expressing the image of the immortal soul. And yet these seemed sufficient to those who had no well-grounded hope of happiness after the termination of this mortal life. But God, that God, I say, who is the common Saviour of all, having treasured up with himself, for those who love godliness, greater blessings than human thought has con-

ceived, gives the earnest and first-fruits of future rewards even here, assuring in some sort immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient oracles of the prophets, delivered to us in the Scripture, declare this; the lives of pious men, who shone in old time with every virtue, bear witness to posterity of the same; and our own days prove it to be true, wherein Constantine, who alone of all that ever wielded the Roman power was the friend of God the Sovereign of all, has appeared to all mankind so clear an example of a godly life.

CHAPTER IV. THAT GOD HONORED CONSTANTINE.

And God himself, whom Constantine worshiped, has confirmed this truth by the clearest manifestations of his will, being present to aid him at the commencement, during the course, and at the end of his reign, and holding him up to the human race as an instructive example of godliness. Accordingly, by the manifold blessings he has conferred on him, he has distinguished him alone of all the sovereigns of whom we have ever heard as at once a mighty luminary and most clear-voiced herald of genuine piety.

CHAPTER V. THAT HE REIGNED ABOVE THIRTY YEARS, AND LIVED ABOVE SIXTY.

With respect to the duration of his reign, God honored him with three complete periods of ten years, and something more, extending the whole term of his mortal life to twice this number of years. And being pleased to make him a representative of his own sovereign power, he displayed him as the conqueror of the whole race of tyrants, and the destroyer of those God-defying giants of the earth who madly raised their impious arms against him, the supreme King of all. They appeared, so to speak, for an instant, and then disappeared: while the one and only true God, when he had enabled his servant, clad in heavenly panoply, to stand singly against many foes, and by his means had relieved mankind from the multitude of the ungodly, constituted him a teacher of his worship to all nations, to testify with a loud voice in the hearing of all that he acknowledged the true God, and turned with abhorrence from the error of them that are no gods.

CHAPTER VI. THAT HE WAS THE SERVANT OF GOD, AND THE CONQUEROR OF NATIONS.

Thus, like a faithful and good servant, did he act and testify, openly declaring and confessing himself the obedient minister of the supreme King. And God forthwith rewarded him, by making him ruler and sovereign, and vic-

torious to such a degree that he alone of all rulers pursued a continual course of conquest, unsubdued and invincible, and through his trophies a greater ruler than tradition records ever to have been before. So dear was he to God, and so blessed; so pious and so fortunate in all that he undertook, that with the greatest facility he obtained the authority over more nations than any who had preceded him, and yet retained his power, undisturbed, to the very close of his life.

CHAPTER VII. COMPARISON WITH CYRUS, KING OF THE PERSIANS, AND WITH ALEXANDER OF MACEDON.

Ancient history describes Cyrus, king of the Persians, as by far the most illustrious of all kings up to his time. And yet if we regard the end of his days, we find it but little corresponded with his past prosperity, since he met with an inglorious and dishonorable death at the hands of a woman. Again, the sons of Greece celebrate Alexander the Macedonian as the conqueror of many and diverse nations; yet we find that he was removed by an early death, before he had reached maturity, being carried off by the effects of revelry and drunkenness. His whole life embraced but the space of thirty-two years, and his reign extended to no more than a third part of that period. Unsparing as the thunderbolt, he advanced through streams of blood and reduced entire nations and cities, young and old, to utter slavery. But when he had scarcely arrived at the maturity of life, and was lamenting the loss of youthful pleasures, death fell upon him with terrible stroke, and, that he might not longer outrage the human race, cut him off in a foreign and hostile land, childless, without successor, and homeless. His kingdom too was instantly dismembered, each of his officers taking away and appropriating a portion for himself. And yet this man is extolled for such deeds as these.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT HE CONQUERED NEARLY THE WHOLE WORLD.

But our emperor began his reign at the time of life at which the Macedonian died, yet doubled the length of his life, and trebled the length of his reign. And instructing his army in the mild and sober precepts of godliness, he carried his arms as far as the Britons, and the nations that dwell in the very bosom of the Western ocean. He subdued likewise all Scythia, though situated in the remotest North, and divided into numberless diverse and barbarous tribes. He even pushed his conquests to the Blemmyans and Ethiopians, on the very confines of the South; nor did he think the acquisition of the Eastern nations unworthy his care. In short, diffusing the effulgence of his holy

light to the ends of the whole world, even to the most distant Indians, the nations dwelling on the extreme circumference of the inhabited earth, he received the submission of all the rulers, governors, and satraps of barbarous nations, who cheerfully welcomed and saluted him, sending embassies and presents, and setting the highest value on his acquaintance and friendship; insomuch that they honored him with pictures and statues in their respective countries, and Constantine alone of all emperors was acknowledged and celebrated by all. Notwithstanding, even among these distant nations, he proclaimed the name of his God in his royal edicts with all boldness.

CHAPTER IX. THAT HE WAS THE SON OF A PIOUS EMPEROR, AND BEQUEATHED THE POWER TO ROYAL SONS.

Nor did he give this testimony in words merely, while exhibiting failure in his own practice, but pursued every path of virtue, and was rich in the varied fruits of godliness. He ensured the affection of his friends by magnificent proofs of liberality; and inasmuch as he governed on principles of humanity, he caused his rule to be but lightly felt and acceptable to all classes of his subjects; until at last, after a long course of years, and when he was wearied by his divine labors, the God whom he honored crowned him with an immortal reward, and translated him from a transitory kingdom to that endless life which he has laid up in store for the souls of his saints, after he had raised him up three sons to succeed him in his power. As then the imperial throne had descended to him from his father, so, by the law of nature, was it reserved for his children and their descendants, and perpetuated, like some paternal inheritance, to endless generations. And indeed God himself, who distinguished this blessed prince with divine honors while yet present with us, and who has adorned his death with choice blessings from his own hand, should be the writer of his actions; since he has recorded his labors and successes on heavenly monuments.

CHAPTER X. OF THE NEED FOR THIS HISTORY, AND ITS VALUE FOR EDIFICATION.

1 However, hard as it is to speak worthily of this blessed character, and though silence were the safer and less perilous course, nevertheless it is incumbent on me, if I would escape the charge of negligence and sloth, to trace as it were a verbal portraiture, by way of memorial of the pious prince, in imitation of the delineations of human art. For I should be ashamed of myself were I not to employ my best efforts, feeble though they be and of

little value, in praise of one who honored God with such surpassing devotion. I think too that my work will be on other grounds both instructive and necessary, since it will contain a description of those royal and noble actions which are pleasing to God, the Sovereign of all. For would it not be disgraceful that the memory of Nero, and other impious and godless tyrants far worse than he, should meet with diligent writers to embellish the relation of their worthless deeds with elegant language, and record them in voluminous histories, and that I should be silent, to whom God himself has vouchsafed such an emperor as all history records not, and has permitted me to come into his presence, and enjoy his acquaintance and society?

2 Wherefore, if it is the duty of any one, it certainly is mine, to make an ample proclamation of his virtues to all in whom the example of noble actions is capable of inspiring the love of God. For some who have written the lives of worthless characters, and the history of actions but little tending to the improvement of morals, from private motives, either love or enmity, and possibly in some cases with no better object than the display of their own learning, have exaggerated unduly their description of actions intrinsically base, by a refinement and elegance of diction. And thus they have become to those who by the Divine favor had been kept apart from evil, teachers not of good, but of what should be silenced in oblivion and darkness. But my narrative, however unequal to the greatness of the deeds it has to describe, will yet derive luster even from the bare relation of noble actions. And surely the record of conduct that has been pleasing to God will afford a far from unprofitable, indeed a most instructive study, to persons of well-disposed minds.

CHAPTER XI. THAT HIS PRESENT OBJECT IS TO RECORD ONLY THE PIOUS ACTIONS OF CONSTANTINE.

It is my intention, therefore, to pass over the greater part of the royal deeds of this thrice-blessed prince; as, for example, his conflicts and engagements in the field, his personal valor, his victories and successes against the enemy, and the many triumphs he obtained: likewise his provisions for the interests of individuals, his legislative enactments for the social advantage of his subjects, and a multitude of other imperial labors which are fresh in the memory of all; the design of my present undertaking being to speak and write of those circumstances only which have reference to his religious character. And since these are themselves of almost infinite variety, I shall select

from the facts which have come to my knowledge such as are most suitable, and worthy of lasting record, and endeavor to narrate them as briefly as possible. Henceforward, indeed, there is a full and free opportunity for celebrating in every way the praises of this truly blessed prince, which hitherto we have been unable to do, on the ground that we are forbidden to judge any one blessed before his death, because of the uncertain vicissitudes of life. Let me implore then the help of God, and may the inspiring aid of the heavenly Word be with me, while I commence my history from the very earliest period of his life.

CHAPTER XII. THAT LIKE MOSES, HE WAS REARED IN THE PALACES OF KINGS.

1 Ancient history relates that a cruel race of tyrants oppressed the Hebrew nation; and that God, who graciously regarded them in their affliction, provided that the prophet Moses, who was then an infant, should be brought up in the very palaces and bosoms of the oppressors, and instructed in all the wisdom they possessed. And when in the course of time he had arrived at manhood, and the time was come for Divine justice to avenge the wrongs of the afflicted people, then the prophet of God, in obedience to the will of a more powerful Lord, forsook the royal household, and, estranging himself in word and deed from the tyrants by whom he had been brought up, openly acknowledging his true brethren and kinsfolk. Then God, exalting him to be the leader of the whole nation, delivered the Hebrews from the bondage of their enemies, and inflicted Divine vengeance through his means on the tyrant race. This ancient story, though rejected by most as fabulous, has reached the ears of all. But now the same God has given to us to be eye-witnesses of miracles more wonderful than fables, and, from their recent appearance, more authentic than any report. For the tyrants of our day have ventured to war against the Supreme God, and have sorely afflicted His Church.

2 And in the midst of these, Constantine, who was shortly to become their destroyer, but at that time of tender age, and blooming with the down of early youth, dwelt, as that other servant of God had done, in the very home of the tyrants, but young as he was did not share the manner of life of the ungodly: for from that early period his noble nature, under the leading of the Divine Spirit, inclined him to piety and a life acceptable to God. A desire, moreover, to emulate the example of his father had its influence in

stimulating the son to a virtuous course of conduct His father was Constantius (and we ought to revive his memory at this time), the most illustrious emperor of our age; of whose life it is necessary briefly to relate a few particulars, which tell to the honor of his son.

CHAPTER XIII. OF CONSTANTIUS HIS FATHER, WHO REFUSED TO IMITATE DIOCLETIAN, MAXIMIAN, AND MAXENTIUS, IN THEIR PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS.

At a time when four emperors shared the administration of the Roman empire, Constantius alone, following a course of conduct different from that pursued by his colleagues, entered into the friendship of the Supreme God. For while they besieged and wasted the churches of God, leveling them to the ground, and obliterating the very foundations of the houses of prayer, he kept his hands pure from their abominable impiety, and never in any respect resembled them. They polluted their provinces by the indiscriminate slaughter of godly men and women; but he kept his soul free from the stain of this crime. They, involved in the mazes of impious idolatry, enthralled first themselves, and then all under their authority, in bondage to the errors of evil demons, while he at the same time originated the profoundest peace throughout his dominions, and secured to his subjects the privilege of celebrating without hindrance the worship of God. In short, while his colleagues oppressed all men by the most grievous exactions, and rendered their lives intolerable, and even worse than death, Constantius alone governed his people with a mild and tranquil sway, and exhibited towards them a truly parental and fostering care. Numberless, indeed, are the other virtues of this man, which are the theme of praise to all; of these I will record one or two instances, as specimens of the quality of those which I must pass by in silence, and then I will proceed to the appointed order of my narrative.

CHAPTER XIV. HOW CONSTANTIUS HIS FATHER, BEING REPROACHED WITH POVERTY BY DIOCLETIAN, FILLED HIS TREASURY, AND AFTERWARDS RESTORED THE MONEY TO THOSE BY WHOM IT HAD BEEN CONTRIBUTED.

1 In consequence of the many reports in circulation respecting this prince, describing his kindness and gentleness of character, and the extraordinary elevation of his piety, alleging too, that by reason of his extreme indulgence to his subjects, he had not even a supply of money laid up in his treasury; the emperor who at that time occupied the place of supreme power sent to repre-

hend his neglect of the public weal, at the same time reproaching him with poverty, and alleging in proof of the charge the empty state of his treasury. On this he desired the messengers of the emperor to remain with him awhile, and, calling together the wealthiest of his subjects of all nations under his dominion, he informed them that he was in want of money, and that this was the time for them all to give a voluntary proof of their affection for their prince.

2 As soon as they heard this (as though they had long been desirous of an opportunity for showing the sincerity of their good will), with zealous alacrity they filled the treasury with gold and silver and other wealth; each eager to surpass the rest in the amount of his contribution: and this they did with cheerful and joyous countenances. And now Constantius desired the messengers of the great emperor personally to inspect his treasures, and directed them to give a faithful report of what they had seen; adding, that on the present occasion he had taken this money into his own hands, but that it had long been kept for his use in the custody of the owners, as securely as if under the charge of faithful treasurers. The ambassadors were overwhelmed with astonishment at what they had witnessed: and on their departure it is said that the truly generous prince sent for the owners of the property, and, after commending them severally for their obedience and true loyalty, restored it all, and bade them return to their homes.

3 This one circumstance, then, conveys a proof of the generosity of him whose character we are attempting to illustrate: another will contain the clearest testimony to his piety.

CHAPTER XV. OF THE PERSECUTION RAISED BY HIS COLLEAGUES.

By command of the supreme authorities of the empire, the governors of the several provinces had set on foot a general persecution of the godly. Indeed, it was from the imperial courts themselves that the very first of the pious martyrs proceeded, who passed through those conflicts for the faith, and most readily endured both fire and sword, and the depths of the sea; every form of death, in short, so that in a brief time all the royal palaces were bereft of pious men. The result was, that the authors of this wickedness were entirely deprived of the protecting care of God, since by their persecution of his worshipers they at the same time silenced the prayers that were wont to be made on their own behalf.

CHAPTER XVI. HOW CONSTANTIUS, FEIGNING IDOLATRY, EXPELLED THOSE WHO CONSENTED TO OFFER SACRIFICE, BUT RETAINED IN HIS PALACE ALL WHO WERE WILLING TO CONFESS CHRIST.

On the other hand, Constantius conceived an expedient full of sagacity, and did a thing which sounds paradoxical, but in fact was most admirable. He made a proposal to all the officers of his court, including even those in the highest stations of authority, offering them the following alternative: either that they should offer sacrifice to demons, and thus be permitted to remain with him, and enjoy their usual honors; or, in case of refusal, that they should be shut out from all access to his person, and entirely disqualified from acquaintance and association with him. Accordingly, when they had individually made their choice, some one way and some the other; and the choice of each had been ascertained, then this admirable prince disclosed the secret meaning of his expedient, and condemned the cowardice and selfishness of the one party, while he highly commended the other for their conscientious devotion to God. He declared, too, that those who had been false to their God must be unworthy of the confidence of their prince; for how was it possible that they should preserve their fidelity to him, who had proved themselves faithless to a higher power? He determined, therefore, that such persons should be removed altogether from the imperial court, while, on the other hand, declaring that those men who, in bearing witness for the truth, had proved themselves to be worthy servants of God, would manifest the same fidelity to their king, he entrusted them with the guardianship of his person and empire, saying that he was bound to treat such persons with special regard as his nearest and most valued friends, and to esteem them far more highly than the richest treasures.

CHAPTER XVII. OF HIS CHRISTIAN MANNER OF LIFE.

The father of Constantine, then, is said to have possessed such a character as we have briefly described. And what kind of death was vouchsafed to him in consequence of such devotion to God, and how far he whom he honored made his lot to differ from that of his colleagues in the empire, may be known to any one who will give his attention to the circumstances of the case. For after he had for a long time given many proofs of royal virtue, in acknowledging the Supreme God alone, and condemning the polytheism of the ungodly, and had fortified his household by the prayers of holy men, he passed the remainder of his life in remarkable repose and tranquillity, in the

enjoyment of what is counted blessedness,-neither molesting others nor being molested ourselves. Accordingly, during the whole course of his quiet and peaceful reign, he dedicated his entire household, his children, his wife, and domestic attendants, to the One Supreme God: so that the company assembled within the walls of his palace differed in no respect from a church of God; wherein were also to be found his ministers, who offered continual supplications on behalf of their prince, and this at a time when, with most, it was not allowable to have any dealings with the worshipers of God, even so far as to exchange a word with them.

CHAPTER XVIII. THAT AFTER THE ABDICATION OF DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN, CONSTANTIUS BECAME CHIEF AUGUSTUS, AND WAS BLESSED WITH A NUMEROUS OFFSPRING.

The immediate consequence of this conduct was a recompense from the hand of God, insomuch that he came into the supreme authority of the empire. For the older emperors, for some unknown reason, resigned their power; and this sudden change took place in the first year after their persecution of the churches. From that time Constantius alone received the honors of chief Augustus, having been previously, indeed, distinguished by the diadem of the imperial Caesars, among whom he held the first rank; but after his worth had been proved in this capacity, he was invested with the highest dignity of the Roman empire, being named chief Augustus of the four who were afterwards elected to that honor. Moreover, he surpassed most of the emperors in regard to the number of his family, having gathered around him a very large circle of children both male and female. And, lastly, when he had attained to a happy old age, and was about to pay the common debt of nature, and exchange this life for another, God once more manifested His power in a special manner on his behalf, by providing that his eldest son Constantine should be present during his last moments, and ready to receive the imperial power from his hands.

CHAPTER XIX. OF HIS SON CONSTANTINE, WHO IN HIS YOUTH ACCOMPANIED DIOCLETIAN INTO PALESTINE.

The latter had been with his father's imperial colleagues, and had passed his life among them, as we have said, like God's ancient prophet. And even in the very earliest period of his youth he was judged by them to be worthy of the highest honor. An instance of this we have ourselves seen, when he passed through Palestine with the senior emperor, at whose right hand he

stood, and commanded the admiration of all who beheld him by the indications he gave even then of royal greatness. For no one was comparable to him for grace and beauty of person, or height of stature; and he so far surpassed his compeers in personal strength as to be a terror to them. He was, however, even more conspicuous for the excellence of his mental qualities than for his superior physical endowments; being gifted in the first place with a sound judgment, and having also reaped the advantages of a liberal education. He was also distinguished in no ordinary degree both by natural intelligence and divinely imparted wisdom.

CHAPTER XX. FLIGHT OF CONSTANTINE TO HIS FATHER BECAUSE OF THE PLOTS OF DIOCLETIAN.

The emperors then in power, observing his manly and vigorous figure and superior mind, were moved with feelings of jealousy and fear, and thenceforward carefully watched for an opportunity of inflicting some brand of disgrace on his character. But the young man, being aware of their designs, the details of which, through the providence of God, more than once came to him, sought safety in flight; in this respect again keeping up his resemblance to the great prophet Moses. Indeed, in every sense God was his helper; and he had before ordained that he should be present in readiness to succeed his father.

CHAPTER XXI. DEATH OF CONSTANTIUS, WHO LEAVES HIS SON CONSTANTINE EMPEROR.

Immediately, therefore, on his escape from the plots which had been thus insidiously laid for him, he made his way with all haste to his father, and arrived at length at the very time that he was lying at the point of death. As soon as Constantius saw his son thus unexpectedly in his presence, he leaped from his couch, embraced him tenderly, and, declaring that the only anxiety which had troubled him in the prospect of death, namely, that caused by the absence of his son, was now removed, he rendered thanks to God, saying that he now thought death better than the longest life, and at once completed the arrangement of his private affairs. Then, taking a final leave of the circle of sons and daughters by whom he was surrounded, in his own palace, and on the imperial couch, he bequeathed the empire, according to the law of nature, to his eldest son, and breathed his last.

CHAPTER XXII. HOW, AFTER THE BURIAL OF CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANTINE WAS PROCLAIMED AUGUSTUS BY THE ARMY.

1 Nor did the imperial throne remain long unoccupied: for Constantine invested himself with his father's purple, and proceeded from his father's palace, presenting to all a renewal, as it were, in his own person, of his father's life and reign. He then conducted the funeral procession in company with his father's friends, some preceding, others following the train, and performed the last offices for the pious deceased with an extraordinary degree of magnificence, and all united in honoring this thrice blessed prince with acclamations and praises, and while with one mind and voice, they glorified the rule of the son as a living again of him who was dead, they hastened at once to hail their new sovereign by the titles of Imperial and Worshipful Augustus, with joyful shouts. Thus the memory of the deceased emperor received honor from the praises bestowed upon his son, while the latter was pronounced blessed in being the successor of such a father. All the nations also under his dominion were filled with joy and inexpressible gladness at not being even for a moment deprived of the benefits of a well ordered government.

2 In the instance of the Emperor Constantius, God has made manifest to our generation what the end of those is who in their lives have honored and loved him.

CHAPTER XXIII. A BRIEF NOTICE OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TYRANTS.

With respect to the other princes, who made war against the churches of God, I have not thought it fit in the present work to give any account of their downfall, nor to stain the memory of the good by mentioning them in connection with those of an opposite character. The knowledge of the facts themselves will of itself suffice for the wholesome admonition of those who have witnessed or heard of the evils which severally befell them.

CHAPTER XXIV. IT WAS BY THE WILL OF GOD THAT CONSTANTINE BECAME POSSESSED OF THE EMPIRE.

Thus then the God of all, the Supreme Governor of the whole universe, by his own will appointed Constantine, the descendant of so renowned a parent, to be prince and sovereign: so that, while others have been raised to this distinction by the election of their fellow-men, he is the only one to whose elevation no mortal may boast of having contributed.

CHAPTER XXV. VICTORIES OF CONSTANTINE OVER THE BARBARIANS AND THE BRITONS.

As soon then as he was established on the throne, he began to care for the interests of his paternal inheritance, and visited with much considerate kindness all those provinces which had previously been under his father's government. Some tribes of the barbarians who dwelt on the banks of the Rhine, and the shores of the Western ocean, having ventured to revolt, he reduced them all to obedience, and brought them from their savage state to one of gentleness. He contented himself with checking the inroads of others, and drove from his dominions, like untamed and savage beasts, those whom he perceived to be altogether incapable of the settled order of civilized life. Having disposed of these affairs to his satisfaction, he directed his attention to other quarters of the world, and first passed over to the British nations, which lie in the very bosom of the ocean. These he reduced to submission, and then proceeded to consider the state of the remaining portions of the empire, that he might be ready to tender his aid wherever circumstances might require it.

CHAPTER XXVI. HOW HE RESOLVED TO DELIVER ROME FROM MAXENTIUS.

While, therefore, he regarded the entire world as one immense body, and perceived that the head of it all, the royal city of the Roman empire, was bowed down by the weight of a tyrannous oppression; at first he had left the task of liberation to those who governed the other divisions of the empire, as being his superiors in point of age. But when none of these proved able to afford relief, and those who had attempted it had experienced a disastrous termination of their enterprise, he said that life was without enjoyment to him as long as he saw the imperial city thus afflicted, and prepared himself for the overthrowal of the tyranny.

CHAPTER XXVII. THAT AFTER REFLECTING ON THE DAWNFALL OF THOSE WHO HAD WORSHIPED IDOLS, HE MADE CHOICE OF CHRISTIANITY.

1 Being convinced, however, that he needed some more powerful aid than his military forces could afford him, on account of the wicked and magical enchantments which were so diligently practiced by the tyrant, he sought Divine assistance, deeming the possession of arms and a numerous soldiery of secondary importance, but believing the co-operating power of Deity invin-

cible and not to be shaken. He considered, therefore, on what God he might rely for protection and assistance. While engaged in this enquiry, the thought occurred to him, that, of the many emperors who had preceded him, those who had rested their hopes in a multitude of gods, and served them with sacrifices and offerings, had in the first place been deceived by flattering predictions, and oracles which promised them all prosperity, and at last had met with an unhappy end, while not one of their gods had stood by to warn them of the impending wrath of heaven; while one alone who had pursued an entirely opposite course, who had condemned their error, and honored the one Supreme God during his whole life, had found I him to be the Saviour and Protector of his empire, and the Giver of every good thing. Reflecting on this, and well weighing the fact that they who had trusted in many gods had also fallen by manifold forms of death, without leaving behind them either family or offspring, stock, name, or memorial among men:

2 while the God of his father had given to him, on the other hand, manifestations of his power and very many tokens: and considering farther that those who had already taken arms against the tyrant, and had marched to the battle-field under the protection of a multitude of gods, had met with a dishonorable end (for one of them had shamefully retreated from the contest without a blow, and the other, being slain in the midst of his own troops, became, as it were, the mere sport of death); reviewing, I say, all these considerations, he judged it to be folly indeed to join in the idle worship of those who were no gods, and, after such convincing evidence, to err from the truth; and therefore felt it incumbent on him to honor his father's God alone.

CHAPTER XXVIII. HOW, WHILE HE WAS PRAYING, GOD SENT HIM A VISION OF A CROSS OF LIGHT IN THE HEAVENS AT MID-DAY, WITH AN INSCRIPTION ADMONISHING HIM TO CONQUER BY THAT.

Accordingly he called on him with earnest prayer and supplications that he would reveal to him who he was, and stretch forth his right hand to help him in his present difficulties. And while he was thus praying with fervent entreaty, a most marvelous sign appeared to him from heaven, the account of which it might have been hard to believe had it been related by any other person. But since the victorious emperor himself long afterwards declared it to the writer of this history, when he was honored with his acquaintance and

society, and confirmed his statement by an oath, who could hesitate to accredit the relation, especially since the testimony of after-time has established its truth? He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, Conquer by this. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle.

CHAPTER XXIX. HOW THE CHRIST OF GOD APPEARED TO HIM IN HIS SLEEP, AND COMMANDED HIM TO USE IN HIS WARS A STANDARD MADE IN THE FORM OF THE CROSS.

He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies.

CHAPTER XXX. THE MAKING OF THE STANDARD OF THE CROSS.

At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing.

CHAPTER XXXI. A DESCRIPTION OF THE STANDARD OF THE CROSS, WHICH THE ROMANS NOW CALL THE LABARUM.

1 Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his chil-

dren on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner.

2 The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies.

CHAPTER XXXII. HOW CONSTANTINE RECEIVED INSTRUCTION, AND READ THE SACRED SCRIPTURES.

1 These things were done shortly afterwards. But at the time above specified, being struck with amazement at the extraordinary vision, and resolving to worship no other God save Him who had appeared to him, he sent for those who were acquainted with the mysteries of His doctrines, and enquired who that God was, and what was intended by the sign of the vision he had seen. They affirmed that He was God, the only begotten Son of the one and only God: that the sign which had appeared was the symbol of immortality, and the trophy of that victory over death which He had gained in time past when sojourning on earth. They taught him also the causes of His advent, and explained to him the true account of His incarnation. Thus he was instructed in these matters, and was impressed with wonder at the divine manifestation which had been presented to his sight. Comparing, therefore, the heavenly vision with the interpretation given, he found his judgment confirmed; and, in the persuasion that the knowledge of these things had been imparted to him by Divine teaching, he determined thenceforth to devote himself to the reading of the Inspired writings.

2 Moreover, he made the priests of God his counselors, and deemed it incumbent on him to honor the God who had appeared to him with all devotion. And after this, being fortified by well-grounded hopes in Him, he hastened to quench the threatening fire of tyranny.

CHAPTER XXXIII. OF THE ADULTEROUS CONDUCT OF MAXENTIUS AT ROME.

For the who had tyrannically possessed himself of the imperial city, had proceeded to great lengths in impiety and wickedness, so as to venture without hesitation on every vile and impure action. For example: he would separate women from their husbands, and after a time send them back to them again, and these insults he offered not to men of mean or obscure condition, but to those who held the first places in the Roman senate. Moreover, though he shamefully dishonored almost numberless free women, he was

unable to satisfy his ungoverned and intemperate desires. But when he assayed to corrupt Christian women also, he could no longer secure success to his designs, since they chose rather to submit their lives to death than yield their persons to be defiled by him.

CHAPTER XXXIV. HOW THE WIFE OF A PREFECT SLEW HERSELF FOR CHASTITY'S SAKE.

Now a certain woman, wife of one of the senators who held the authority of prefect, when she understood that those who ministered to the tyrant in such matters were standing before her house (she was a Christian), and knew that her husband through fear had bidden them take her and lead her away, begged a short space of time for arraying herself in her usual dress, and entered her chamber. There, being left alone, she sheathed a sword in her own breast, and immediately expired, leaving indeed her dead body to the procurers, but declaring to all mankind, both to present and future generations, by an act which spoke louder than any words, that the chastity for which Christians are famed is the only thing which is invincible and indestructible. Such was the conduct displayed by this Woman.

CHAPTER XXXV. MASSACRE OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE BY MAXENTIUS.

All men, therefore, both people and magistrates, whether of high or low degree, trembled through fear of him whose daring wickedness was such as I have described, and were oppressed by his grievous tyranny. Nay, though they submitted quietly, and endured this bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's sanguinary cruelty. For at one time, on some trifling pretense, he exposed the populace to be slaughtered by his own body-guard; and countless multitudes of the Roman people were slain in the very midst of the city by the lances and weapons, not of Scythians or barbarians, but of their own fellow-citizens. And besides this, it is impossible to calculate the number of senators whose blood was shed with a view to the seizure of their respective estates, for at different times and on various fictitious charges, multitudes of them suffered death.

CHAPTER XXXVI. MAGIC ARTS OF MAXENTIUS AGAINST CONSTANTINE; AND FAMINE AT ROME.

But the crowning point of the tyrant's wickedness was his having recourse to sorcery: sometimes for magic purposes ripping up women with child, at other times searching into the bowels of new-born infants. He slew lions also, and

practiced certain horrid arts for evoking demons, and averting the approaching war, hoping by these means to get the victory. In short, it is impossible to describe the manifold acts of oppression by which this tyrant of Rome enslaved his subjects: so that by this time they were reduced to the most extreme penury and want of necessary food, a scarcity such as our contemporaries do not remember ever before to have existed at Rome.

CHAPTER XXXVII. DEFEAT OF MAXENTIUS'S ARMIES IN ITALY.

Constantine, however, filled with compassion on account of all these miseries, began to arm himself with all warlike preparation against the tyranny. Assuming therefore the Supreme God as his patron, and invoking His Christ to be his preserver and aid, and setting the victorious trophy, the salutary symbol, in front of his soldiers and body-guard, he marched with his whole forces, trying to obtain again for the Romans the freedom they had inherited from their ancestors. And whereas, Maxentius, trusting more in his magic arts than in the affection of his subjects, dared not even advance outside the city gates, but had guarded every place and district and city subject to his tyranny, with large bodies of soldiers, the emperor, confiding in the help of God, advanced against the first and second and third divisions of the tyrant's forces, defeated them all with ease at the first assault, and made his way into the very interior of Italy.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. DEATH OF MAXENTIUS ON THE BRIDGE OF THE TIBER.

1 And already he was approaching very near Rome itself, when, to save him from the necessity of fighting with all the Romans for the tyrant's sake, God himself drew the tyrant, as it were by secret cords, a long way outside the gates. And now those miracles recorded in Holy Writ, which God of old wrought against the ungodly (discredited by most as fables, yet believed by the faithful), did he in every deed confirm to all alike, believers and unbelievers, who were eye-witnesses of the wonders. For as once in the days of Moses and the Hebrew nation, who were worshipers of God, "Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea and his chosen chariot-captains are drowned in the Red Sea," -so at this time Maxentius, and the soldiers and guards with him, "went down into the depths like stone," when, in his flight before the divinely-aided forces of Constantine, he essayed to cross the river which lay in his way, over which, making a strong bridge of boats, he had framed an engine of destruction, really against himself, but in the

hope of ensnaring thereby him who was beloved by God. For his God stood by the one to protect him, while the other, godless, proved to be the miserable contriver of these secret devices to his own ruin. So that one might well say, "He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the ditch which he made.

2 His mischief shall return upon his own head, and his violence shall come down upon his own pate. Thus, in the present instance, under divine direction, the machine erected on the bridge, with the ambuscade concealed therein, giving way unexpectedly before the appointed time, the bridge began to sink, and the boats with the men in them went bodily to the bottom. And first the wretch himself, then his armed attendants and guards, even as the sacred oracles had before described, "sank as lead in the mighty waters. So that they who thus obtained victory from God might well, if not in the same words, yet in fact in the same spirit as the people of his great servant Moses, sing and speak as they did concerning the impious tyrant of old: "Let us sing unto the Lord, for he hath been glorified exceedingly: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. He is become my helper and my shield unto salvation. And again, "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorious in holiness, marvelous in praises, doing wonders?"

CHAPTER XXXIX. CONSTANTINE'S ENTRY INTO ROME.

Having then at this time sung these and suchlike praises to God, the Ruler of all and the Author of victory, after the example of his great servant Moses, Constantine entered the imperial city in triumph. And here the whole body of the senate, and others of rank and distinction in the city, freed as it were from the restraint of a prison, along with the whole Roman populace, their countenances expressive of the gladness of their hearts, received him with acclamations and abounding joy; men, women, and children, with countless multitudes of servants, greeting him as deliverer, preserver, and benefactor, with incessant shouts. But he, being possessed of inward piety toward God, was neither rendered arrogant by these plaudits, nor uplifted by the praises he heard: but, being sensible that he had received help from God, he immediately rendered a thanksgiving to him as the Author of his victory.

CHAPTER XL. OF THE STATUE OF CONSTANTINE HOLDING A CROSS, AND ITS INSCRIPTION.

Moreover, by loud proclamation and monumental inscriptions he made known to all men the salutary symbol, setting up this great trophy of victory over his enemies in the midst of the imperial city, and expressly causing it to be engraven in indelible characters, that the salutary symbol was the safeguard of the Roman government and of the entire empire. Accordingly, he immediately ordered a lofty spear in the figure of a cross to be placed beneath the hand of a statue representing himself, in the most frequented part of Rome, and the following inscription to be engraved on it in the Latin language: by virtue of this salutary sign, which is the true test of valor, I have preserved and liberated your city from the yoke of tyranny. I have also set at liberty the roman senate and people, and restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.

CHAPTER XLI. REJOICINGS THROUGHOUT THE PROVINCES; AND CONSTANTINE'S ACTS OF GRACE.

Thus the pious emperor, glorying in the confession of the victorious cross, proclaimed the Son of God to the Romans with great boldness of testimony. And the inhabitants of the city, one and all, senate and people, reviving, as it were, from the pressure of a bitter and tyrannical domination, seemed to enjoy purer rays of light, and to be born again into a fresh and new life. All the nations, too, as far as the limit of the western ocean, being set free from the calamities which had heretofore beset them, and gladdened by joyous festivals, ceased not to praise him as the victorious, the pious, the common benefactor: all, indeed, with one voice and one mouth, declared that Constantine had appeared by the grace of God as a general blessing to mankind. The imperial edict also was everywhere published, whereby those who had been wrongfully deprived of their estates were permitted again to enjoy their own, while those who had unjustly suffered exile were recalled to their homes. Moreover, he freed from imprisonment, and from every kind of danger and fear, those who, by reason of the tyrant's cruelty, had been subject to these sufferings.

CHAPTER XLII. THE HONORS CONFERRED UPON BISHOPS, AND THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES.

The emperor also personally inviting the society of God's ministers, distinguished them with the highest possible respect and honor, showing them fa-

vor in deed and word as persons consecrated to the service of his God. Accordingly, they were admitted to his table, though mean in their attire and outward appearance; yet not so in his estimation, since he thought he saw not the man as seen by the vulgar eye, but the God in him. He made them also his companions in travel, believing that He whose servants they were would thus help him. Besides this, he gave from his own private resources costly benefactions to the churches of God, both enlarging and heightening the sacred edifices, and embellishing the august sanctuaries of the church with abundant offerings.

CHAPTER XLIII. CONSTANTINE'S LIBERALITY TO THE POOR.

He likewise distributed money largely to those who were in need, and besides these showing himself philanthropist and benefactor even to the heathen, who had no claim on him; and even for the beggars in the forum, miserable and shiftless, he provided, not with money only, or necessary food, but also decent clothing. But in the case of those who had once been prosperous, and had experienced a reverse of circumstances, his aid was still more lavishly bestowed. On such persons, in a truly royal spirit, he conferred magnificent benefactions; giving grants of land to some, and honoring others with various dignities. Orphans of the unfortunate he cared for as a father, while he relieved the destitution of widows, and cared for them with special solicitude. Nay, he even gave virgins, left unprotected by their parents' death, in marriage to wealthy men with whom he was personally acquainted. But this he did after first bestowing on the brides such portions as it was fitting they should bring to the communion of marriage. In short, as the sun, when he rises upon the earth, liberally imparts his rays of light to all, so did Constantine, proceeding at early dawn from the imperial palace, and rising as it were with the heavenly luminary, impart the rays of his own beneficence to all who came into his presence. It was scarcely possible to be near him without receiving some benefit, nor did it ever happen that any who had expected to obtain his assistance were disappointed in their hope.

CHAPTER XLIV. HOW HE WAS PRESENT AT THE SYNODS OF BISHOPS.

Such, then, was his general character towards all. But he exercised a peculiar care over the church of God: and whereas, in the several provinces there were some who differed from each other in judgment, he, like some general bishop constituted by God, convened synods of his ministers. Nor did he disdain

to be present and sit with them in their assembly, but bore a share in their deliberations, ministering to all that pertained to the peace of God. He took his seat, too, in the midst of them, as an individual amongst many, dismissing his guards and soldiers, and all whose duty it was to defend his person; but protected by the fear of God, and surrounded by the guardianship of his faithful friends. Those whom he saw inclined to a sound judgment, and exhibiting a calm and conciliatory temper, received his high approbation, for he evidently delighted in a general harmony of sentiment; while he regarded the unyielding wills aversion.

CHAPTER XLV. HIS FORBEARANCE WITH UNREASONABLE MEN.

Moreover he endured with patience some who were exasperated against himself, directing them in mild and gentle terms to control themselves, and not be turbulent. And some of these respected his admonitions, and desisted; but as to those who proved incapable of sound judgment, he left them entirely at the disposal of God, and never himself desired harsh measures against any one. Hence it naturally happened that the disaffected in Africa reached such a pitch of violence as even to venture on overt acts of audacity; some evil spirit, as it seems probable, being jealous of the present great prosperity, and impelling these men to atrocious deeds, that he might excite the emperor's anger against them. He gained nothing, however, by this malicious conduct; for the emperor laughed at these proceedings, and declared their origin to be from the evil one; inasmuch as these were not the actions of sober persons, but of lunatics or demoniacs; who should be pitied rather than punished; since to punish madmen is as great folly as to sympathize with their condition is supreme philanthropy.

CHAPTER XLVI. VICTORIES AVER THE BARBARIANS.

Thus the emperor in all his actions honored God, the Controller of all things, and exercised an unwearied oversight over His churches. And God requited him, by subduing all barbarous nations under his feet, so that he was able everywhere to raise trophies over his enemies: and He proclaimed him as conqueror to all mankind, and made him a terror to his adversaries: not indeed that this was his natural character, since he was rather the meekest, and gentlest, and most benevolent of men.

CHAPTER XLVII. DEATH OF MAXIMIN, WHO HAD ATTEMPTED A CONSPIRACY, AND OF OTHERS WHOM CONSTANTINE DETECTED BY DIVINE REVELATION.

While he was thus engaged, the second of those who had resigned the throne, being detected in a treasonable conspiracy, suffered a most ignominious death. He was the first whose pictures, statues, and all similar marks of honor and distinction were everywhere destroyed, on the ground of his crimes and impiety. After him others also of the same family were discovered in the act of forming secret plots against the emperor; all their intentions being miraculously revealed by God through visions to His servant. For he frequently vouchsafed to him manifestations of himself, the Divine presence appearing to him in a most marvelous manner, and according to him manifold intimations of future events. Indeed, it is impossible to express in words the indescribable wonders of Divine grace which God was pleased to vouchsafe to His servant. Surrounded by these, he passed the rest of his life in security, rejoicing in the affection of his subjects, rejoicing too because he saw all beneath his government leading contented lives; but above all delighted at the flourishing condition of the churches of God.

CHAPTER XLVIII. CELEBRATION OF CONSTANTINE'S DECENNALIA.

While he was thus circumstanced, he completed the tenth year of his reign. On this occasion he ordered the celebration of general festivals, and offered prayers of thanksgiving to God, the King of all, as sacrifices without flame or smoke. And from this employment he derived much pleasure: not so from the tidings he received of the ravages committed in the Eastern provinces.

CHAPTER XLIX. HOW LICINIUS OPPRESSED THE EAST.

For he was informed that in that quarter a certain savage beast was besetting both the church of God and the other inhabitants of the provinces, owing, as it were, to the efforts of the evil spirit to produce effects quite contrary to the deeds of the pious emperor: so that the Roman empire, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to resemble night and day; since darkness overspread the provinces of the East, while the brightest day illumined the inhabitants of the other portion. And whereas the latter were receiving manifold blessings at the hand of God, the sight of these blessings proved intolerable to that envy which hates all good, as well as to the tyrant who afflicted the other division of the empire; and who, notwithstanding that his govern-

ment was prospering, and he had been honored by a marriage connection with so great an emperor as Constantine, yet cared not to follow the steps of that pious prince, but strove rather to imitate the evil purposes and practice of the impious; and chose to adopt the course of those whose ignominious end he had seen with his own eyes, rather than to maintain amicable relations with him who was his superior.

CHAPTER L. HOW LICINIUS ATTEMPTED A CONSPIRACY AGAINST CONSTANTINE.

Accordingly he engaged in an implacable war against his benefactor, altogether regardless of the laws of friendship, the obligation of oaths, the ties of kindred, and already existing treaties. For the most benignant emperor had given him a proof of sincere affection in bestowing on him the hand of his sister, thus granting him the privilege of a place in family relationship and his own ancient imperial descent, and investing him also with the rank and dignity of his colleague in the empire. But the other took the very opposite course, employing himself in machinations against his superior, and devising various means to repay his benefactor with injuries. At first, pretending friendship, he did all things by guile and treachery, expecting thus to succeed in concealing his designs; but God enabled his servant to detect the schemes thus devised in darkness. Being discovered, however, in his first attempts, he had recourse to fresh frauds; at one time pretending friendship, at another claiming the protection of solemn treaties. Then suddenly violating every engagement, and again beseeching pardon by embassies, yet after all shamefully violating his word, he at last declared open war, and with desperate infatuation resolved thenceforward to carry arms against God himself, whose worshiper he knew the emperor to be.

CHAPTER LI. INTRIGUES OF LICINIUS AGAINST THE BISHOPS, AND HIS PROHIBITION OF SYNODS.

And at first he made secret enquiry respecting the ministers of God subject to his dominion, who had never, indeed, in any respect offended against his government, in order to bring false accusations against them. And when he found no ground of accusation, and had no real ground of objection against them, he next enacted a law, to the effect that the bishops should never on any account hold communication with each other, nor should any one of them absent himself on a visit to a neighboring church; nor, lastly, should the holding of synods, or councils for the consideration of affairs of com-

mon interest, be permitted. Now this was clearly a pretext for displaying his malice against us. For we were compelled either to violate the law, and thus be amenable to punishment, or else, by compliance with its injunctions, to nullify the statutes of the Church; inasmuch as it is impossible to bring important questions to a satisfactory adjustment, except by means of synods. In other cases also this God-hater, being determined to act contrary to the God-loving prince, enacted such things. For whereas the one assembled the priests of God in order to honor them, and to promote peace and unity of judgment; the other, whose object it was to destroy everything that was good, used all his endeavors to destroy the general harmony.

CHAPTER LII. BANISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIANS, AND CONFISCATION OF THEIR PROPERTY.

And whereas Constantine, the friend of God, had granted to His worshipers freedom of access to the imperial palaces; this enemy of God, in a spirit the very reverse of this, expelled thence all Christians subject to his authority. He banished those who had proved themselves his most faithful and devoted servants, and compelled others, on whom he had himself conferred honor and distinction as a reward for their former eminent services, to the performance of menial offices as slaves to others; and at length, being bent on seizing the property of all as a windfall for himself, he even threatened with death those who professed the Saviour's name. Moreover, being himself of a nature hopelessly debased by sensuality, and degraded by the continual practice of adultery and other shameless vices, he assumed his own worthless character as a specimen of human nature generally, and denied that the virtue of chastity and continence existed among men.

CHAPTER LIII. EDICT THAT WOMEN SHOULD NOT MEET WITH THE MEN IN THE CHURCHES.

Accordingly he passed a second law, which enjoined that men should not appear in company with women in the houses of prayer, and forbade women to attend the sacred schools of virtue, or to receive instruction from the bishops, directing the appointment of women to be teachers of their own sex. These regulations being received with general ridicule, he devised other, means for effecting the ruin of the churches. He ordered that the usual congregations of the people should be held in the open country outside the gates, alleging that the open air without the city was far more suitable for a multitude than the houses of prayer within the walls.

CHAPTER LIV. THAT THOSE WHO REFUSE TO SACRIFICE ARE TO BE DISMISSED FROM MILITARY SERVICE, AND THOSE IN PRISON NOT TO BE FED.

Failing, however, to obtain obedience in this respect also, at length he threw off the mask, and gave orders that those who held military commissions in the several cities of the empire should be deprived of their respective commands, in case of their refusal to offer sacrifices to the demons. Accordingly the forces of the authorities in every province suffered the loss of those who worshiped God; and he too who had decreed this order suffered loss, in that he thus deprived himself of the prayers of pious men. And why should I still further mention how he directed that no one should obey the dictates of common humanity by distributing food to those who were pining in prisons, or should even pity the captives who perished with hunger; in short, that no one should perform a virtuous action, and that those whose natural feelings impelled them to sympathize with their fellow-creatures should be prohibited from doing them a single kindness? Truly this was the most utterly shameless and scandalous of all laws, and one which surpassed the worst depravity of human nature: a law which inflicted on those who showed mercy the same penalties as on those who were the objects of their compassion, and visited the exercise of mere humanity with the severest punishments.

CHAPTER LV. THE LAWLESS CONDUCT AND COVETOUSNESS OF LICINIUS.

Such were the ordinances of Licinius. But why should I enumerate his innovations respecting marriage, or those concerning the dying, whereby he presumed to abrogate the ancient and wisely established laws of the Romans, and to introduce certain barbarous and cruel institutions in their stead, inventing a thousand pretenses for oppressing his subjects? Hence it was that he devised a new method of measuring land, by which he reckoned the smallest portion at more than its actual dimensions, from an insatiable desire of acquisition. Hence too he registered the names of country residents who were now no more, and had long been numbered with the dead, procuring to himself by this expedient a shameful gain. His meanness was unlimited and his rapacity insatiable. So that when he had filled all his treasuries with gold, and silver, and boundless wealth, he bitterly bewailed his poverty, and suffered as it were the torments of Tantalus. But why should I mention how many innocent persons he punished with exile; how much property he con-

fiscated; how many men of noble birth and estimable character he imprisoned, whose wives he handed over to be basely insulted by his profligate slaves, and to how many married women and virgins he himself offered violence, though already feeling the infirmities of age? I need not enlarge on these subjects, since the enormity of his last actions causes the former to appear trifling and of little moment.

CHAPTER LVI. AT LENGTH HE UNDERTAKES TO RAISE A PERSECUTION.

For the final efforts of his fury appeared in his open hostility to the churches, and he directed his attacks against the bishops themselves, whom he regarded as his worst adversaries, bearing special enmity to those men whom the great and pious emperor treated as his friends. Accordingly he spent on us the utmost of his fury, and, being transported beyond the bounds of reason, he paused not to reflect on the example of those who had persecuted the Christians before him, nor of those whom he himself had been raised up to punish and destroy for their impious deeds: nor did he heed the facts of which he had been himself a witness, though he had seen with his own eyes the chief originator of these our calamities (whoever he was), smitten by the stroke of the Divine scourge.

CHAPTER LVII. THAT MAXIMIAN, BROUGHT LOW BY A FISTULOUS ULCER WITH WORMS, ISSUED AN EDICT IN FAVOR OF THE CHRISTIANS.

For whereas this man had commenced the attack on the churches, and had been the first to pollute his soul with the blood of just and godly men, a judgment from God overtook him, which at first affected his body, but eventually extended itself to his soul. For suddenly an abscess appeared in the secret parts of his person, followed by a deeply seated fistulous ulcer; and these diseases fastened with incurable virulence on the intestines, which swarmed with a vast multitude of worms, and emitted a pestilential odor. Besides, his entire person had become loaded, through gluttonous excess, with an enormous quantity of fat, and this, being now in a putrescent state, is said to have presented to all who approached him an intolerable and dreadful spectacle. Having, therefore, to struggle against such sufferings, at length, though late, he came to a realization of his past crimes against the Church; and, confessing his sins before God, he put a stop to the persecution of the Christians, and hastened to issue imperial edicts and rescripts for the rebuilding of their churches, at the same time enjoining them to perform their customary worship, and to offer up prayers on his behalf.

CHAPTER LVIII. THAT MAXIMIN, WHO HAD PERSECUTED THE CHRISTIANS, WAS COMPELLED TO FLY, AND CONCEAL HIMSELF IN THE DISGUISE OF A SLAVE.

1 Such was the punishment which he underwent who had commenced the persecution. He, however, of whom we are now speaking, who had been a witness of these things, and known them by his own actual experience, all at once banished the remembrance of them from his mind, and reflected neither on the punishment of the first, nor the divine judgment which had been executed on the second persecutor. The latter had indeed endeavored to outstrip his predecessor in the career of crime, and prided himself on the invention of new tortures for us. Fire nor sword, nor piercing with nails, nor yet wild beasts or the depths of the sea sufficed him. In addition to all these, he discovered a new mode of punishment, and issued an edict directing that their eyesight should be destroyed. So that numbers, not of men only, but of women and children, after being deprived of the sight of their eyes, and the use of the joints of their feet, by mutilation or cauterization, were consigned in this condition to the painful labor of the mines. Hence it was that this tyrant also was overtaken not long after by the righteous judgment of God, at a time when, confiding in the aid of the demons whom he worshiped as gods, and relying on the countless multitudes of his troops, he had ventured to engage in battle. For, feeling himself on that occasion destitute of all hope in God, he threw from him the imperial dress which so ill became him, hid himself with unmanly timidity in the crowd around him, and sought safety in flight.

2 He afterwards lurked about the fields and villages in the habit of a slave, hoping he should thus be effectually concealed. He had not, however, eluded the mighty and all-searching eye of God: for even while he was expecting to pass the residue of his days in security, he fell prostrate, smitten by God's fiery dart, and his whole body consumed by the stroke of Divine vengeance; so that all trace of the original lineaments of his person was lost, and nothing remained to him but dry bones and a skeleton-like appearance.

CHAPTER LIX. THAT MAXIMIN, BLINDED BY DISEASE, ISSUED AN EDICT IN FAVOR OF THE CHRISTIANS.

And still the stroke of God continued heavy upon him, so that his eyes protruded and fell from their sockets, leaving him quite blind: and thus he suffered, by a most righteous retribution, the very same punishment which

he had been the first to devise for the martyrs of God. At length, however, surviving even these sufferings, he too implored pardon of the God of the Christians, and confessed his impious fighting against God: he too recanted, as the former persecutor had done; and by laws and ordinances explicitly acknowledged his error in worshiping those whom he had accounted gods, declaring that he now knew, by positive experience, that the God of the Christians was the only true God. These were facts which Licinius had not merely received on the testimony of others, but of which he had himself had personal knowledge: and yet, as though his understanding had been obscured by some dark cloud of error, persisted in the same evil course.

CHAPTER I. SECRET PERSECUTION BY LICINIUS, WHO CAUSES SOME BISHOPS TO BE PUT TO DEATH AT AMASIA OF PONTUS.

In this manner, he of whom we have spoken continued to rush headlong towards that destruction which awaits the enemies of God; and once more, with a fatal emulation of their example whose ruin he had himself witnessed as the consequence of their impious conduct, he re-kindled the persecution of the Christians, like a long-extinguished fire, and fanned the unhallowed flame to a fiercer height than any who had gone before him. At first, indeed, though breathing fury and threatenings against God, like some savage beast of prey, or some crooked and wriggling serpent, he dared not, from fear of Constantine, openly level his attacks against the churches of God subject to his dominion; but dissembled the virulence of his malice, and endeavored by secret and limited measures to compass the death of the bishops, the most eminent of whom he found means to remove, through charges laid against them by the governors of the several provinces. And the manner in which they suffered had in it something strange, and hitherto unheard of. At all events, the barbarities perpetrated at Amasia of Pontus surpassed every known excess of cruelty.

CHAPTER II. DEMOLITION OF CHURCHES, AND BUTCHERY OF THE BISHOPS.

For in that city some of the churches, for the second time since the commencement of the persecutions, were leveled with the ground, and others were closed by the governors of the several districts, in order to prevent any who frequented them from assembling together, or rendering due worship to God. For he by whose orders these outrages were committed was too conscious of his own crimes to expect that these services were performed with

any view to his benefit, and was convinced that all we did, and all our endeavors to obtain the favor of God, were on Constantine's behalf. These servile governors then, feeling assured that such a course would be pleasing to the impious tyrant, subjected the most distinguished prelates of the churches to capital punishment. Accordingly, men who had been guilty of no crime were led away, without cause punished like murderers: and some suffered a new kind of death, having their bodies cut piecemeal; and, after this cruel punishment, more horrible than any named in tragedy, being cast, as a food to fishes, into the depths of the sea. The result of these horrors was again, as before, the flight of pious men, and once more the fields and deserts received the worshipers of God. The tyrant, having thus far succeeded in his object, he farther determined to raise a general persecution of the Christians: and he would have accomplished his purpose, nor could anything have hindered him from carrying his resolution into effect, had not he who defends his own anticipated the coming evil, and by his special guidance conducted his servant Constantine to this part of the empire, causing him to shine forth as a brilliant light in the midst of the darkness and gloomy night.

CHAPTER III. HOW CONSTANTINE WAS STIRRED IN BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS THUS IN DANGER OF PERSECUTION.

1 He, perceiving the evils of which he had heard to be no longer tolerable, took wise counsel, and tempering the natural clemency of his character with a certain measure of severity, hastened to succor those who were thus grievously oppressed. For he judged that it would rightly be deemed a pious and holy task to secure, by the removal of an individual, the safety of the greater part of the human race. He judged too, that if he listened to the dictates of clemency only, and bestowed his pity on one utterly unworthy of it, this would, on the one hand, confer no real benefit on a man whom nothing would induce to abandon his evil practices, and whose fury against his subjects would only be likely to increase; while, on the other hand, those who suffered from his oppression would thus be forever deprived of all hope of deliverance.

2 Influenced by these reflections, the emperor resolved without farther delay to extend a protecting hand to those who had fallen into such an extremity of distress. He accordingly made the usual warlike preparations, and assembled his whole forces, both of horse and foot. But before them all was

carried the standard which I have before described, as the symbol of his full confidence in God.

CHAPTER IV. THAT CONSTANTINE PREPARED HIMSELF FOR THE WAR BY PRAYER: LICINIUS BY THE PRACTICE OF DIVINATION.

He took with him also the priests of God, feeling well assured that now, if ever, he stood in need of the efficacy of prayer, and thinking it right that they should constantly be near and about his person, as most trusty guardians of the soul. Now, as soon as the tyrant understood that Constantine's victories over his enemies were secured to him by no other means than the cooperation of God, and that the persons above alluded to were continually with him and about his person; and besides this, that the symbol of the salutary passion preceded both the emperor himself and his whole army; he regarded these precautions with ridicule (as might be expected), at the same time mocking and reviling the emperor with blasphemous words. On the other hand, he gathered round himself Egyptian diviners and soothsayers, with sorcerers and enchanters, and the priests and prophets of those whom he imagined to be gods. He then, after offering the sacrifices which he thought the occasion demanded, enquired how far he might reckon on a successful termination of the war. They replied with one voice, that he would unquestionably be victorious over his enemies, and triumphant in the war: and the oracles everywhere held out to him the same prospect in copious and elegant verses. The soothsayers certified him of favorable omens from the flight of birds; the priests declared the same to be indicated by the motion of the entrails of their victims. Elevated, therefore, by these fallacious assurances, he boldly advanced at the head of his army, and prepared for battle.

CHAPTER V. WHAT LICINIUS, WHILE SACRIFICING IN A GROVE, SAID CONCERNING IDOLS, AND CONCERNING CHRIST.

1 And when he was now ready to engage, he desired the most approved of his body-guard and his most valued friends to meet him in one of the places which they consider sacred. It was a well-watered and shady grove, and in it were several marble statues of those whom he accounted to be gods. After lighting tapers and performing the usual sacrifices in honor of these, he is said to have delivered the following speech: 2 "Friends and fellow-soldiers! These are our country's gods, and these we honor with a worship derived from our remotest ancestors. But he who leads the army now opposed to us has proved false to the religion of his forefathers, and adopted atheistic sen-

timents, honoring in his infatuation some strange and unheard-of Deity, with whose despicable standard he now disgraces his army, and confiding in whose aid he has taken up arms, and is now advancing, not so much against us as against those very gods whom he has forsaken. However, the present occasion shall prove which of us is mistaken in his judgment, and shall decide between our gods and those whom our adversaries profess to honor. For either it will declare the victory to be ours, and so most justly evince that our gods are the true saviours and helpers; or else, if this God of Constantine's, who comes we know not whence, shall prove superior to our deities (who are many, and in point of numbers, at least, have the advantage), let no one henceforth doubt which god he ought to worship, but attach himself at once to the superior power, and ascribe to him the honors of the victory. Suppose, then, this strange God, whom we now regard with ridicule, should really prove victorious; then indeed we must acknowledge and give him honor, and so bid a long farewell to those for whom we light our tapers in vain. But if our own gods triumph (as they undoubtedly will), then, as soon as we have secured the present victory, let us prosecute the war without delay against these despisers of the gods."

3 Such were the words he addressed to those then present, as reported not long after to the writer of this history by some who heard them spoken. And as soon as he had concluded his speech, he gave orders to his forces to commence the attack.

CHAPTER VI. AN APPARITION SEEN IN THE CITIES SUBJECT TO LICINIUS, AS OF CONSTANTINE'S TROOPS PASSING THROUGH THEM.

While these things were taking place a supernatural appearance is said to have been observed in the cities subject to the tyrant's rule. Different detachments of Constantine's army seemed to present themselves to the view, marching at noonday through these cities, as though they had obtained the victory. In reality, not a single soldier was anywhere present at the time, and yet this appearance was seen through the agency of a divine and superior power, and foreshadowed what was shortly coming to pass. For as soon as the armies were ready to engage, he who had broken through the ties of friendly alliance was the first to commence the battle; on which Constantine, calling on the name of "God the Supreme Saviour," and giving this as the watchword to his soldiers, overcame him in this first conflict: and not long after in a

second battle he gained a still more important and decisive victory, the salutary trophy preceding the ranks of his army.

CHAPTER VII. THAT VICTORY EVERYWHERE FOLLOWED THE PRESENCE OF THE STANDARD OF THE CROSS IN BATTLE.

Indeed, wherever this appeared, the enemy soon fled before his victorious troops. And the emperor perceiving this, whenever he saw any part of his forces hard pressed, gave orders that the salutary trophy should be moved in that direction, like some triumphant charm against disasters: at which the combatants were divinely inspired, as it were, with fresh strength and courage, and immediate victory was the result.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT FIFTY MEN WERE SELECTED TO CARRY THE CROSS.

Accordingly, he selected those of his bodyguard who were most distinguished for personal strength, valor, and piety, and entrusted them with the sole care and defense of the standard. There were thus no less than fifty men whose only duty was to surround and vigilantly defend the standard, which they carried each in turn on their shoulders. These circumstances were related to the writer of this narrative by the emperor himself in his leisure moments, long after the occurrence of the events: and he added another incident well worthy of being recorded.

CHAPTER IX. THAT ONE OF THE CROSS-BEARERS, WHO FLED FROM HIS POST, WAS SLAIN: WHILE ANOTHER, WHO FAITHFULLY STOOD HIS GROUND, WAS PRESERVED.

1 For he said that once, during the very heat of an engagement, a sudden tumult and panic attacked his army, which threw the soldier who then bore the standard into an agony of fear, so that he handed it over to another, in order to secure his own escape from the battle. As soon, however, as his comrade had received it, and he had withdrawn, and resigned all charge of the standard, he was struck in the belly by a dart, which took his life. Thus he paid the penalty of his cowardice and unfaithfulness, and lay dead on the spot: but the other, who had taken his place as the bearer of the salutary standard, found it to be the safeguard of his life. For though he was assailed by a continual shower of darts, the bearer remained unhurt, the staff of the standard receiving every weapon. It was indeed a truly marvelous circumstance, that the enemies' darts all fell within and remained in the slender

circumference of this spear, and thus saved the standard-bearer from death; so that none of those engaged in this service ever received a wound.

2 This story is none of mine, but for this, too, I am indebted to the emperor's own authority, who related it in my hearing along with other matters. And now, having thus through the power of God secured these first victories, he put his forces in motion and continued his onward march.

CHAPTER X. VARIOUS BATTLES, AND CONSTANTINE'S VICTORIES.

The van, however, of the enemy, unable to resist the emperor's first assault, threw down their arms, and prostrated themselves at his feet. All these he spared, rejoicing to save human life. But there were others who still continued in arms, and engaged in battle. These the emperor endeavored to conciliate by friendly overtures, but when these were not accepted he ordered his army to commence the attack. On this they immediately turned and betook themselves to flight; and some were overtaken and slain according to the laws of war, while others fell on each other in the confusion of their flight, and perished by the swords of their comrades.

CHAPTER XI. FLIGHT, AND MAGIC ARTS OF LICINIUS.

In these circumstances their commander, finding himself bereft of the aid of his followers, having lost his lately numerous array, both of regular and allied forces, having proved, too, by experience, how vain his confidence had been in those whom he thought to be gods, ignominiously took to flight, by which indeed he effected his escape, and secured his personal safety, for the pious emperor had forbidden his soldiers to follow him too closely, and thus allowed him an opportunity for escape. And this he did in the hope that he might hereafter, on conviction of the desperate state of his affairs, be induced to abandon his insane and presumptuous ambition, and return to sounder reason. So Constantine, in his excessive humanity, thought and was willing patiently to bear past injuries, and extend his forgiveness to one who so ill deserved it; but Licinius, far from renouncing his evil practices, still added crime to crime, and ventured on more daring atrocities than ever. Nay, once more tampering with the detestable arts of magic, he again was presumptuous: so that it might well be said of him, as it was of the Egyptian tyrant of old, that God had hardened his heart.

CHAPTER XII. HOW CONSTANTINE, AFTER PRAYING IN HIS TABERNACLE, OBTAINED THE VICTORY.

But while Licinius, giving himself up to these impieties, rushed blindly towards the gulf of destruction, the emperor on the other hand, when he saw that he must meet his enemies in a second battle, devoted the intervening time to his Saviour. He pitched the tabernacle of the cross outside and at a distance from his camp, and there passed his time in a pure and holy manner, offering up prayers to God; following thus the example of his ancient prophet, of whom the sacred oracles testify, that he pitched the tabernacle without the camp. He was attended only by a few, whose faith and pious devotion he highly esteemed. And this custom he continued to observe whenever he meditated an engagement with the enemy. For he was deliberate in his measures, the better to insure safety, and desired in everything to be directed by divine counsel. And making earnest supplications to God, he was always honored after a little with a manifestation of his presence. And then, as if moved by a divine impulse, he would rush from the tabernacle, and suddenly give orders to his army to move at once without delay, and on the instant to draw their swords. On this they would immediately commence the attack, fight vigorously, so as with incredible celerity to secure the victory, and raise trophies of victory over their enemies.

CHAPTER XIII. HIS HUMANE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

Thus the emperor and his army had long been accustomed to act, whenever there was a prospect of an engagement; for his God was ever present to his thoughts, and he desired to do everything according to his will, and conscientiously to avoid any wanton sacrifice of human life. He was anxious thus for the preservation not only of his own subjects, but even of his enemies. Accordingly he directed his victorious troops to spare the lives of their prisoners, admonishing them, as human beings, not to forget the claims of their common nature. And whenever he saw the passions of his soldiery excited beyond control, he repressed their fury by a largess of money, rewarding every man who saved the life of an enemy with a certain weight of gold. And the emperor's own sagacity led him to discover this inducement to spare human life, so that great numbers even of the barbarians were thus saved, and owed their lives to the emperor's gold.

CHAPTER XIV. A FARTHER MENTION OF HIS PRAYERS IN THE TABERNACLE.

Now these, and a thousand such acts as these, were familiarly and habitually done by the emperor. And on the present occasion he retired, as his custom was before battle, to the privacy of his tabernacle, and there employed his time in prayer to God. Meanwhile he strictly abstained from anything like ease, or luxurious living, and disciplined himself by fasting and bodily mortification, imploring the favor of God by supplication and prayer, that he might obtain his concurrence and aid, and be ready to execute whatever he might be pleased to suggest to his thoughts. In short, he exercised a vigilant care over all alike, and interceded with God as much for the safety of his enemies as for that of his own subjects.

CHAPTER XV. TREACHEROUS FRIENDSHIP, AND IDOLATROUS PRACTICES OF LICINIUS.

And inasmuch as he who had lately fled before him now dissembled his real sentiments, and again petitioned for a renewal of friendship and alliance, the emperor thought fit, on certain conditions, to grant his request, in the hope that such a measure might be expedient, and generally advantageous to the community. Licinius, however, while he pretended a ready submission to the terms prescribed, and attested his sincerity by oaths, at this very time was secretly engaged in collecting a military force, and again meditated war and strife, inviting even the barbarians to join his standard, and he began also to look about him for other gods, having been deceived by those in whom he had hitherto trusted. And, without bestowing a thought on what he had himself publicly spoken on the subject of false deities, or choosing to acknowledge that God who had fought on the side of Constantine, he made himself ridiculous by seeking for a multitude of new gods.

CHAPTER XVI. HOW LICINIUS COUNSELED HIS SOLDIERS NOT TO ATTACK THE STANDARD OF THE CROSS.

Having now learned by experience the Divine and mysterious power which resided in the salutary trophy, by means of which Constantine's army had become habituated to victory, he admonished his soldiers never to direct their attack against this standard, nor even incautiously to allow their eyes to rest upon it; assuring them that it possessed a terrible power, and was especially hostile to him; so that they would do well carefully to avoid any collision with it. And now, having given these directions, he prepared for a decis-

ive conflict with him whose humanity prompted him still to hesitate, and to postpone the fate which he foresaw awaited his adversary. The enemy, however, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other side, the emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the enemy the salutary and life-giving sign, as at once a terror to the foe, and a protection from every harm. And for a while he paused, and preserved at first the attitude of forbearance, from respect to the treaty of peace to which he had given his sanction, that he might not be the first to commence the contest.

CHAPTER XVII. CONSTANTINE'S VICTORY.

But as soon as he perceived that his adversaries persisted in their resolution, and were already drawing their swords, he gave free scope to his indignation, and by a single charge overthrew in a moment the entire body of the enemy, thus triumphing at once over them and their gods.

CHAPTER XVIII. DEATH OF LICINIUS, AND CELEBRATION OF THE EVENT.

He then proceeded to deal with this adversary of God and his followers according to the laws of war, and consign them to fitting punishment. Accordingly the tyrant himself, and they whose counsels had supported him in his impiety, were together subjected to the just punishment of death. After this, those who had so lately been deceived by their vain confidence in false deities, acknowledged with unfeigned sincerity the God of Constantine, and openly professed their belief in him as the true and only God.

CHAPTER XIX. REJOICINGS AND FESTIVITIES.

1 And now, the impious being thus removed, the sun once more shone brightly after the gloomy cloud of tyrannic power. Each separate portion of the Roman dominion became blended with the rest; the Eastern nations united with those of the West, and the whole body of the Roman empire was graced as it were by its head in the person of a single and supreme ruler, whose sole authority pervaded the whole. Now too the bright rays of the light of godliness gladdened the days of those who had heretofore been sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. Past sorrows were no more remembered, for all united in celebrating the praises of the victorious prince, and avowed their recognition of his preserver as the only true God. Thus he

whose character shone with all the virtues of piety, the emperor Victor, for he had himself adopted this name as a most fitting appellation to express the victory which God had granted him over all who hated or opposed him, assumed the dominion of the East, and thus singly governed the Roman empire, re-united, as in former times, under one head. Thus, as he was the first to proclaim to all the sole sovereignty of God, so he himself, as sole sovereign of the Roman world, extended his authority over the whole human race. Every apprehension of those evils under the pressure of which all had suffered was now removed;

2 men whose heads had drooped in sorrow now regarded each other with smiling countenances, and looks expressive of their inward joy. With processions and hymns of praise they first of all, as they were told, ascribed the supreme sovereignty to God, as in truth the King of kings; and then with continued acclamations rendered honor to the victorious emperor, and the Caesars, his most discreet and pious sons. The former afflictions were forgotten, and all past impieties forgiven: while with the enjoyment of present happiness was mingled the expectation of continued blessings in the future.

CHAPTER XX. CONSTANTINE'S ENACTMENTS IN FAVOR OF THE CONFESSORS.

Moreover, the emperor's edicts, permeated with his humane spirit, were published among us also, as they had been among the inhabitants of the other division of the empire; and his laws, which breathed a spirit of piety toward God, gave promise of manifold blessings, since they secured many advantages to his provincial subjects in every nation, and at the same time prescribed measures suited to the exigencies of the churches of God. For first of all they recalled those who, in consequence of their refusal to join in idol worship, had been driven to exile, or ejected from their homes by the governors of their respective provinces. In the next place, they relieved from their burdens those who for the same reason had been adjudged to serve in the civil courts, and ordained restitution to be made to any who had been deprived of property. They too, who in the time of trial had signalized themselves by fortitude of soul in the cause of God, and had therefore been condemned to the painful labor of the mines, or consigned to the solitude of islands, or compelled to toil in the public works, all received an immediate release from these burdens; while others, whose religious constancy had cost them the forfeiture of their military rank, were vindicated by the emperor's

generosity from this dishonor: for he granted them the alternative either of resuming their rank, and enjoying their former privileges, or, in the event of their preferring a more settled life, of perpetual exemption from all service. Lastly, all who had been compelled by way of disgrace and insult to serve in the employments of women, he likewise freed with the rest.

CHAPTER XXI. HIS LAWS CONCERNING MARTYRS, AND CONCERNING ECCLESIASTICAL PROPERTY.

Such were the benefits secured by the emperor's written mandates to the persons of those who had thus suffered for the faith, and his laws made ample provision for their property also. With regard to those holy martyrs of God who had laid down their lives in the confession of His name, he directed that their estates should be enjoyed by their nearest kindred; and, in default of any of these, that the right of inheritance should be vested in the churches. Farther, whatever property had been consigned to other parties from the treasury, whether in the way of sale or gift, together with that retained in the treasury itself, the generous mandate of the emperor directed should be restored to the original owners. Such benefits did his bounty, thus widely diffused, confer on the Church of God.

CHAPTER XXII. HOW HE WON THE FAVOR OF THE PEOPLE.

But his munificence bestowed still further and more numerous favors on the heathen peoples and the other nations of his empire. So that the inhabitants of our [Eastern] regions, who had heard of the privileges experienced in the opposite portion of the empire, and had blessed the fortunate recipients of them, and longed for the enjoyment of a similar lot for themselves, now with one consent proclaimed their own happiness, when they saw themselves in possession of all these blessings; and confessed that the appearance of such a monarch to the human race was indeed a marvelous event, and such as the world's history had never yet recorded. Such were their sentiments.

CHAPTER XXIII. THAT HE DECLARED GOD TO BE THE AUTHOR OF HIS PROSPERITY: AND CONCERNING HIS RESCRIPTS.

And now that, through the powerful aid of God his Saviour, all nations owned their subjection to the emperor's authority, he openly proclaimed to all the name of Him to whose bounty he owed all his blessings, and declared that He, and not himself, was the author of his past victories. This declaration, written both in the Latin and Greek languages, he caused to be trans-

mitted through every province of the empire. Now the excellence of his style of expression may be known from a perusal of his letters themselves which were two in number; one addressed to the churches of God; the other to the heathen population in the several cities of the empire. The latter of these I think it well to insert here as connected with my present subject, in order on the one hand that a copy of this document may be recorded as matter of history, and thus preserved to posterity, and on the other that it may serve to confirm the truth of my present narrative. It is taken from an authentic copy of the imperial statute in my own possession and the signature in the emperor's own handwriting attaches as it were the impress of truth to the statement I have made.

CHAPTER XXIV. LAW OF CONSTANTINE RESPECTING PIETY TOWARDS GOD, AND THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

"Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the inhabitants of the province of Palestine. "To all who entertain just and sound sentiments respecting the character of the Supreme Being, it has long been most clearly evident, and beyond the possibility of doubt, how vast a difference there has ever been between those who maintain a careful observance of the hallowed duties of the Christian religion, and those who treat this religion with hostility or contempt. But at this present time, we may see by stilt more manifest proofs, and still more decisive instances, both how unreasonable it were to question this truth, and how mighty is the power of the Supreme God: since it appears that they who faithfully observe His holy laws, and shrink from the transgression of His commandments, are rewarded with abundant blessings, and are endued with well-grounded hope as well as ample power for the accomplishment of their undertakings. On the other hand, they who have cherished impious sentiments have experienced results corresponding to their evil choice. For how is it to be expected that any blessing would be obtained by one who neither desired to acknowledge nor duly to worship that God who is the source of all blessing? Indeed, facts themselves are a confirmation of what I say.

CHAPTER XXV. AN ILLUSTRATION FROM ANCIENT TIMES.

"For certainly any one who will mentally retrace the course of events from the earliest period down to the present time, and will reflect on what has occurred in past ages, will find that all who have made justice and probity the basis of their conduct, have not only carried their undertakings to a success-

ful issue, but have gathered, as it were, a store of sweet fruit as the produce of this pleasant root. Again, whoever observes the career of those who have been bold in the practice of oppression or injustice; who have either directed their senseless fury against God himself, or have conceived no kindly feelings towards their fellow-men, but have dared to afflict them with exile, disgrace, confiscation, massacre, or other miseries of the like kind, and all this without any sense of compunction, or wish to direct thoughts to a better course, will find that such men have received a recompense proportioned to their crimes. And these are results which might naturally and reasonably be expected to ensue?

CHAPTER XXVI. OF PERSECUTED AND PERSECUTORS.

"For whoever have addressed themselves with integrity of purpose to any course of action, keeping the fear of God continually before their thoughts, and preserving an unwavering faith in him, without allowing present fears or dangers to outweigh their hope of future blessings-such persons, though for a season they may have experienced painful trials, have borne their afflictions lightly, being supported by the belief of greater rewards in store for them; and their character has acquired a brighter luster inproportion to the severity of their past sufferings. With regard, on the other hand, to those who have either dishonorably slighted the principles of justice, or refused to acknowledge the Supreme God themselves, and yet have dared to subject others who have faithfully maintained his worship to the most cruel insults and punishments; who have failed equally to recognize their own wretchedness in oppressing others on such grounds, and the happiness and blessing of those who preserved their devotion to God even in the midst of such sufferings: with regard, I say, to such men, many a time have their armies been slaughtered, many a time have they been put to flight; and their warlike preparations have ended in total ruin and defeat.

CHAPTER XXVII. HOW THE PERSECUTION BECAME THE OCCASION OF CALAMITIES TO THE AGGRESSORS.

"From the causes I have described, grievous wars arose, and destructive devastations. Hence followed a scarcity of the common necessaries of life, and a crowd of consequent miseries: hence, too, the authors of these impieties have either met a disastrous death of extreme suffering, or have dragged out an ignominious existence, and confessed it to be worse than death itself, thus receiving as it were a measure of punishment proportioned to the heinousness

of their crimes. For each experienced a degree of calamity according to the blind fury with which he had been led to combat, and as he thought, defeat the Divine will: so that they not only felt the pressure of the ills of this present life, but were tormented also by a most lively apprehension of punishment in the future world.

CHAPTER XXVIII. THAT GOD CHOSE CONSTANTINE TO BE THE MINISTER OF BLESSING.

"And now, with such a mass of impiety oppressing the human race, and the commonwealth in danger of being utterly destroyed, as if by the agency of some pestilential disease, and therefore needing powerful and effectual aid; what was the relief, and what the remedy which the Divinity devised for these evils? (And by Divinity is meant the one who is alone and truly God, the possessor of almighty and eternal power: and surely it cannot be deemed arrogance in one who has received benefits from God, to acknowledge them in the loftiest terms of praise.) I myself, then, was the instrument whose services He chose, and esteemed suited for the accomplishment of his will. Accordingly, beginning at the remote Britannic ocean, and the regions where, according to the law of nature, the sun sinks beneath the horizon, through the aid of divine power I banished and utterly removed every form of evil which prevailed, in the hope that the human race, enlightened through my instrumentality, might be recalled to a due observance of the holy laws of God, and at the same time our most blessed faith might prosper under the guidance of his almighty hand.

CHAPTER XXIX. CONSTANTINE'S EXPRESSIONS OF PIETY TOWARDS GOD; AND PRAISE OF THE CONFESSORS.

"I Said, under the guidance of his hand; for I would desire never to be forgetful of the gratitude due to his grace. Believing, therefore, that this most excellent service had been confided to me as a special gift, I proceeded as far as the regions of the East, which, being under the pressure of severer calamities, seemed to demand still more effectual remedies at my hands. At the same time I am most certainly persuaded that I myself owe my life, my every breath, in short, my very inmost and secret thoughts, entirely to the favor of the Supreme God. Now I am well aware that they who are sincere in the pursuit of the heavenly hope, and have fixed this hope in heaven itself as the peculiar and predominant principle of their lives, have no need to depend on human favor, but rather have enjoyed higher honors in proportion as they

have separated themselves from the inferior and evil things of this earthly existence. Nevertheless I deem it incumbent on me to remove at once and most completely from all such persons the hard necessities laid upon them for a season, and the unjust inflictions under which they have suffered, though free from any guilt or just liability. For it would be strange indeed, that the fortitude and constancy of soul displayed by such men should be fully apparent during the reign of those whose first object it was to persecute them on account of their devotion to God, and yet that the glory of their character should not be more bright and blessed, under the administration of a prince who is His servant.

CHAPTER XXX. A LAW GRANTING RELEASE FROM EXILE, FROM SERVICE IN THE COURTS, AND FROM THE CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY.

"Let all therefore who have exchanged their country for a foreign land, because they would not abandon that reverence and faith toward God to which they had devoted themselves with their whole hearts, and have in consequence at different times been subject to the cruel sentence of the courts; together with any who have been enrolled in the registers of the public courts though in time past exempt from such office let these, I say, now render thanks to God the Liberator of all, in that they are restored to their hereditary property, and their wonted tranquility. Let those also who have been despoiled of their goods, and have hitherto passed a wretched existence, mourning under the loss of all that they possessed, once more be restored to their former homes, their families, and estates, and receive with joy the bountiful kindness of God.

CHAPTER XXXI. RELEASE LIKEWISE GRANTED TO EXILES IN THE ISLANDS.

"Furthermore, it is our command that all those who have been detained in the islands against their will should receive the benefit of this present provision; in order that they who rill now have been surrounded by rugged mountains and the encircling barrier of the ocean, being now set free from that gloomy and desolate solitude, may fulfill their fondest wish by revisiting their dearest friends. Those, too, who have prolonged a miserable life in the midst of abject and wretched squalor, welcoming their restoration as an unlooked-for gain, and discarding henceforth all anxious thoughts, may pass their lives with us in freedom from all fear. For that any one could live in a state of fear under our government, when we boast and believe ourselves to

be the servants of God, would surely be a thing most extraordinary even to hear of, and quite incredible; and our mission is to rectify the errors of the others.

CHAPTER XXXII. AND TO THOSE IGNOMINIOUSLY EMPLOYED IN THE MINES AND PUBLIC WORKS.

"Again, with regard to those who have been condemned either to the grievous labor of the mines, or to service in the public works, let them enjoy the sweets of leisure in place of these long-continued toils, and henceforth lead a far easier life, and more accordant with the wishes of their hearts, exchanging the incessant hardships of their tasks for quiet relaxation. And if any have forfeited the common privilege of liberty, or have unhappily suffered dishonor, let them hasten back every one to the country of his nativity, and resume with becoming joy their former positions in society, from which they have been as it were separated by long residence abroad.

CHAPTER XXXIII. CONCERNING THOSE CONFESSORS ENGAGED IN MILITARY SERVICE.

"Once more, with respect to those who had previously been preferred to any military distinction, of which they were afterwards deprived, for the cruel and unjust reason that they chose rather to acknowledge their allegiance to God than to retain the rank they held; we leave them perfect liberty of choice, either to occupy their former stations, should they be content again to engage in military service, or after an honorable discharge, to live in undisturbed tranquillity. For it is fair and consistent that men who have displayed such magnanimity and fortitude in meeting the perils to which they have been exposed, should be allowed the choice either of enjoying peaceful leisure, or resuming their former rank.

CHAPTER XXXIV. THE LIBERATION OF FREE PERSONS CONDEMNED TO LABOR IN THE WOMEN'S APARTMENTS, OR TO SERVITUDE.

"Lastly, if any have wrongfully been deprived of the privileges of noble lineage, and subjected to a judicial sentence which has consigned them to the women's apartments and to the linen making, there to undergo a cruel and miserable labor, or reduced them to servitude for the benefit of the public treasury, without any exemption on the ground of superior birth; let such persons, resuming the honors they had previously enjoyed, and their proper dignities, henceforward exult in the blessings of liberty, and lead a glad life. Let the free man, too, by some injustice and inhumanity, or even madness,

made a slave, who has felt the sudden transition from liberty to bondage, and ofttimes bewailed his unwonted labors, return to his family once more a free man in virtue of this our ordinance, and seek those employments which befit a state of freedom; and let him dismiss from his remembrance those services which he found so oppressive, and which so ill became his condition.

CHAPTER XXXV. OF THE INHERITANCE OF THE PROPERTY OF MARTYRS AND CONFESSORS, ALSO OF THOSE WHO HAD SUFFERED BANISHMENT OR CONFISCATION OF PROPERTY.

"Nor must we omit to notice those estates of which individuals have been deprived on various pretenses. For if any of those who have engaged with dauntless and resolute determination in the noble and divine conflict of martyrdom have also been stripped of their fortunes; or if the same has been the lot of the confessors, who have won for themselves the hope of eternal treasures; or if the loss of property has befallen those who were driven from their native land because they would not yield to the persecutors, and betray their faith; lastly, if any who have escaped the sentence of death have yet been despoiled of their worldly goods; we ordain that the inheritances of all such persons be transferred to their nearest kindred. And whereas the laws expressly assign this right to those most nearly related, it will be easy to ascertain to whom these inheritances severally belong. And it is evidently reasonable that the succession in these cases should belong to those who would have stood in the place of nearest affinity, had the deceased experienced a natural death.

CHAPTER XXXVI. THE CHURCH IS DECLARED HEIR OF THOSE WHO LEAVE NO KINDRED; AND THE FREE GIFTS OF SUCH PERSONS CONFIRMED.

"But should there be no surviving relation to succeed in due course to the property of those above-mentioned, I mean the martyrs, or confessors, or those who for some such cause have been banished from their native land; in such cases we ordain that the church locally nearest in each instance shall succeed to the inheritance. And surely it will be no wrong to the departed that that church should be their heir, for whose sake they have endured every extremity of suffering. We think it necessary to add this also, that in case any of the above-mentioned persons have donated any part of their property in the way of free gift, possession of such property shall be assured, as is reasonable, to those who have thus received it.

CHAPTER XXXVII. LANDS, GARDENS, OR HOUSES, BUT NOT ACTUAL PRODUCE FROM THEM, ARE TO BE GIVEN BACK.

"And that there may be no obscurity in this our ordinance, but every one may readily apprehend its requirements, let all men hereby know that if they are now maintaining themselves in possession of a piece of land, or a house, or garden, or anything else which had appertained to the before-mentioned persons, it will be good and advantageous for them to acknowledge the fact, and make restitution with the least possible delay. On the other hand, although it should appear that some individuals have reaped abundant profits from this unjust possession, we do not consider that justice demands the restitution of such profits. They must, however, declare explicitly what amount of benefit they have thus derived, and from what sources, and entreat our pardon for this offense; in order that their past covetousness may in some measure be atoned for, and that the Supreme God may accept this compensation as a token of contrition, and be pleased graciously to pardon the sin.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. IN WHAT MANNER REQUESTS SHOULD BE MADE FOR THESE.

"But it is possible that those who have become masters of such property (if it be right or possible to allow them such a title) will assure us by way of apology for their conduct, that it was not in their power to abstain from this appropriation at a time when a spectacle of misery in all its forms everywhere met the view; when men were cruelly driven from their homes, slaughtered without mercy, thrust forth without remorse: when the confiscation of the property of innocent persons was a common thing, and when persecutions and property seizures were unceasing. If any defend their conduct by such reasons as these, and still persist in their avaricious temper, they shall be made sensible that such a course will bring punishment on themselves, and all the more because this correction of evil is the very characteristic of our service to the Supreme God. So that it will henceforth be dangerous to retain what dire necessity may in time past have compelled men to take; especially because it is in any case incumbent on us to discourage covetous desires, both by persuasion, and by warning examples.

CHAPTER XXXIX. THE TREASURY MUST RESTORE LANDS, GARDENS, AND HOUSES TO THE CHURCHES.

"Nor shall the treasury itself, should it have any of the things we have spoken of, be permitted to keep them; but, without venturing as it were to raise its voice against the holy churches, it shall justly relinquish in their favor what it has for a time unjustly retained. We ordain, therefore, that all things whatsoever which shall appear righteously to belong to the churches, whether the property consist of houses or fields and gardens, or whatever the nature of it may be, shall be restored in their full value and integrity, and with undiminished right of possession.

CHAPTER XL. THE TOMBS OF MARTYRS AND THE CEMETERIES TO BE TRANSFERRED TO THE POSSESSION OF THE CHURCHES.

"Again, with respect to those places which are honored in being the depositories of the remains of martyrs, and continue to be memorials of their glorious departure; how can we doubt that they rightly belong to the churches, or refrain from issuing our injunction to that effect? For surely there can be no better liberality, no labor more pleasing or profitable, than to be thus employed under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, in order that those things which have been appropriated on false pretenses by unjust and wicked men, may be restored, as justice demands, and once more secured to the holy churches.

CHAPTER XLI. THOSE WHO HAVE PURCHASED PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE CHURCH, OR RECEIVED IT AS A GIFT, ARE TO RESTORE IT.

"And since it would be wrong in a provision intended to include all cases, to pass over those who have either procured any such property by right of purchase from the treasury, or have retained it when conveyed to them in the form of a gift; let all who have thus rashly indulged their insatiable thirst of gain be assured that, although by daring to make such purchases they have done all in their power to alienate our clemency from themselves, they shall nevertheless not fail of obtaining it, so far as is possible and consistent with propriety in each case. So much then is determined.

CHAPTER XLII. AN EARNEST EXHORTATION TO WORSHIP GOD.

1 "And now, since it appears by the clearest and most convincing evidence, that the miseries which erewhile oppressed the entire human race are now banished from every part of the world, through the power of Almighty God,

and at the same time the counsel and aid which he is pleased on many occasions to administer through our agency; it remains for all, both individually and unitedly, to observe and seriously consider how great this power and how efficacious this grace are, which have annihilated and utterly destroyed this generation, as I may call them, of most wicked and evil men; have restored joy to the good, and diffused it over all countries; and now guarantee the fullest authority both to honor the Divine law as it should be honored, with all reverence, and pay due observance to those who have dedicated themselves to the service of that law. These rising as from some dark abyss and, with an enlightened knowledge of the present course of events, will henceforward render to its precepts that becoming reverence and honor which are consistent with their pious character.

2 Let this ordinance be published in our Eastern provinces."

CHAPTER XLIII. HOW THE ENACTMENTS OF CONSTANTINE WERE CARRIED INTO EFFECT.

Such were the injunctions contained in the first letter which the emperor addressed to us. And the provisions of this enactment were speedily carried into effect, everything being conducted in a manner quite different from the atrocities which had but lately been daringly perpetrated during the cruel ascendancy of the tyrants. Those persons also who were legally entitled to it, received the benefit of the emperor's liberality.

CHAPTER XLIV. THAT HE PROMOTED CHRISTIANS TO OFFICES OF GOVERNMENT, AND FORBADE GENTILES IN SUCH STATIONS TO OFFER SACRIFICE.

After this the emperor continued to address himself to matters of high importance, and first he sent governors to the several provinces, mostly such as were devoted to the saving faith; and if any appeared inclined to adhere to Gentile worship, he forbade them to offer sacrifice. This law applied also to those who surpassed the provincial governors in rank and dignity, and even to those who occupied the highest station, and held the authority of the Praetorian Praefecture. If they were Christians, they were free to act consistently with their profession; if otherwise, the law required them to abstain from idolatrous sacrifices.

CHAPTER XLV. STATUTES WHICH FORBADE SACRIFICE, AND ENJOINED THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES.

Soon after this, two laws were promulgated about the same time; one of which was intended to restrain the idolatrous abominations which in time past had been practiced in every city and country; and it provided that no one should erect images, or practice divination and other false and foolish arts, or offer sacrifice in any way. The other statute commanded the heightening of the oratories, and the enlargement in length and breadth of the churches of God; as though it were expected that, now the madness of polytheism was wholly removed, pretty nearly all mankind would henceforth attach themselves to the service of God. His own personal piety induced the emperor to devise and write these instructions to the governors of the several provinces: and the law farther admonished them not to spare the expenditure of money, but to draw supplies from the imperial treasury itself. Similar instructions were written also to the bishops of the several churches; and the emperor was pleased to transmit the same to myself, being the first letter which he personally addressed to me.

CHAPTER XLVI. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO EUSEBIUS AND OTHER BISHOPS, RESPECTING THE BUILDING OF CHURCHES, WITH INSTRUCTIONS TO REPAIR THE OLD, AND ERECT NEW ONES ON A LARGER SCALE, WITH THE AID OF THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius. "Forasmuch as the unholy and willful rule of tyranny has persecuted the servants of our Saviour until this present time, I believe and have fully satisfied myself, best beloved brother, that the buildings belonging to all the churches have either become ruinous through actual neglect, or have received inadequate attention from the dread of the violent spirit of the times. "But now, that liberty is restored, and that serpent driven from the administration of public affairs by the providence of the Supreme God, and our instrumentality, we trust that all can see the efficacy of the Divine power, and that they who through fear of persecution or through unbelief have fallen into any errors, will now acknowledge the true God, and adopt in future that course of life which is according to truth and rectitude. With respect, therefore, to the churches over which you yourself preside, as well as the bishops, presbyters, and deacons of other churches with whom you are acquainted, do you admonish all to be zealous in their attention to the buildings of the churches, and either to re-

pair or enlarge those which at present exist, or, in cases of necessity, to erect new ones.

2 "We also empower you, and the others through you, to demand what is needful for the work, both from the provincial governors and from the Praetorian Praefect. For they have received instructions to be most diligent in obedience to your Holiness's orders. God preserve you, beloved brother." A copy of this charge was transmitted throughout all the provinces to the bishops of the several churches: the provincial governors received directions accordingly, and the imperial statute was speedily carried into effect.

CHAPTER XLVII. THAT HE WROTE A LETTER IN CONDEMNATION OF IDOLATRY.

Moreover, the emperor, who continually made progress in piety towards God, dispatched an admonitory letter to the inhabitants of every province, respecting the error of idolatry into which his predecessors in power had fallen, in which he eloquently exhorts his subjects to acknowledge the Supreme God, and openly to profess their allegiance to his Christ as their Saviour. This letter also, which is in his own handwriting, I have judged it necessary to translate from the Latin for the present work, in order that we may hear, as it were, the voice the emperor himself uttering these sentiments in the audience of all mankind.

CHAPTER XLVIII. CONSTANTINE'S EDICT TO THE PEOPLE OF THE PROVINCES CONCERNING THE ERROR OF POLYTHEISM, COMMENCING WITH SOME GENERAL REMARKS ON VIRTUE AND VICE.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of the Eastern provinces. "Whatever is comprehended under the sovereign laws of nature, seems to convey to all men an adequate idea of the forethought and intelligence of the divine order. Nor can any, whose minds are directed in the true path of knowledge to the attainment of that end, entertain a doubt that the just perceptions of sound reason, as well as those of the natural vision itself, through the sole influence of genuine virtue, lead to the knowledge of God. Accordingly no wise man will ever be surprised when he sees the mass of mankind influenced by opposite sentiments. For the beauty of virtue would be useless and unperceived, did not vice display in contrast with it the course of perversity and folly. Hence it is that the one is crowned with reward, while the most high God is himself the administrator of judgment to the other.

2 "And now I will endeavor to lay before you all as explicitly as possible, the nature of my own hopes of future happiness.

CHAPTER XLIX. CONCERNING CONSTANTINE'S PIOUS FATHER, AND THE PERSECUTORS DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN.

"The former emperors I have been accustomed to regard as those with whom I could have no sympathy, on account of the savage cruelty of their character. Indeed, my father was the only one who uniformly practiced the duties of humanity, and with admirable piety called for the blessing of God the Father on all his actions, but the rest, unsound in mind, were more zealous of cruel than gentle measures; and this disposition they indulged without restraint, and thus persecuted the true doctrine during the whole period of their reign. Nay, so violent did their malicious fury become, that in the midst of a profound peace, as regards both the religious and ordinary interests of men, they kindled, as it were, the flames of a civil war.

CHAPTER L. THAT THE PERSECUTION ORIGINATED ON ACCOUNT OF THE ORACLE OF APOLLO, WHO, IT WAS SAID, COULD NOT GIVE ORACLES BECAUSE OF "THE RIGHTEOUS MEN."

"About that time it is said that Apollo spoke from a deep and gloomy cavern, and through the medium of no human voice, and declared that the righteous men on earth were a bar to his speaking the truth, and accordingly that the oracles from the tripod were fallacious. Hence it was that he suffered his tresses to droop in token of grief, and mourned the evils which the loss of the oracular spirit would entail on mankind. But let us mark the consequences of this.

CHAPTER LI. THAT CONSTANTINE, WHEN A YOUTH, HEARD FROM HIM WHO WROTE THE PERSECUTION EDICT THAT "THE RIGHTEOUS MEN" WERE THE CHRISTIANS.

"I call now on thee, most high God, to witness that, when young, I heard him who at that time was chief among the Roman emperors, unhappy, truly unhappy as he was, and laboring under mental delusion, make earnest enquiry of his attendants as to who these righteous ones on earth were, and that one of the Pagan priests then present replied that they were doubtless the Christians. This answer he eagerly received, like some honeyed draught, and unsheathed the sword which was ordained for the punishment of crime, against those whose holiness was beyond reproach. Immediately, therefore, he issued those sanguinary edicts, traced, if I may so express myself, with a

sword's point dipped in blood; at the same time commanding his judges to tax their ingenuity for the invention of new and more terrible punishments.

CHAPTER LII. THE MANIFOLD FORMS OF TORTURE AND PUNISHMENT PRACTICED AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS.

"Then, indeed, one might see with what arrogance those venerable worshipers of God were daily exposed, with continued and relentless cruelty, to outrages of the most grievous kind, and how that modesty of character which no enemy had ever treated with disrespect, became the mere sport of their infuriated fellow-citizens. Is there any punishment by fire, are there any tortures or forms of torment, which were not applied to all, without distinction of age or sex? Then, it may be truly said, the earth shed tears, the all-encircling compass of heaven mourned because of the pollution of blood; and the very light of day itself was darkened in grief at the spectacle.

CHAPTER LIII. THAT THE BARBARIANS KINDLY RECEIVED THE CHRISTIANS.

"But what is the consequence of this? Why, the barbarians themselves may boast now of the contrast their conduct presents to these creel deeds; for they received and kept in gentlest captivity those who then fled from amongst us, and secured to them not merely safety from danger, but also the free exercise of their holy religion. And now the Roman people bear that lasting stain which the Christians, at that time driven from the Roman world, and taking refuge with the barbarians, have branded on them.

CHAPTER LIV. WHAT VENGEANCE OVERTOOK THOSE WHO ON ACCOUNT OF THE ORACLE RAISED THE PERSECUTION.

"But why need I longer dwell on these lamentable events, and the general sorrow which in consequence pervaded the world? The perpetrators of this dreadful guilt are now no more: they have experienced a miserable end, and are consigned to unceasing punishment in the depths of the lower world. They encountered each other in civil strife, and have left neither name nor race behind. And surely this calamity would never have befallen them, had not that impious deliverance of the Pythian oracle exercised a delusive power over them.

CHAPTER LV. CONSTANTINE GIVES GLORY TO GOD, MAKES GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE SIGN OF THE CROSS, AND PRAYS FOR THE CHURCHES AND PEOPLE.

And now I beseech thee, most mighty God, to be merciful and gracious to thine Eastern nations, to thy people in these provinces, worn as they are by protracted miseries; and grant them healing through thy servant. Not without cause, O holy God, do I prefer this prayer to thee, the Lord of all. Under thy guidance have I devised and accomplished measures fraught with blessings: preceded by thy sacred sign I have led thy armies to victory: and still, on each occasion of public danger, I follow the same symbol of thy perfections while advancing to meet the foe. Therefore have I dedicated to thy service a soul duly attempered by love and fear. For thy name I truly love, while I regard with reverence that power of which thou hast given abundant proofs, to the confirmation and increase of my faith. I hasten, then, to devote all my powers to the restoration of thy most holy dwelling-place, which those profane and impious men have defiled by the contamination of violence.

CHAPTER LVI. HE PRAYS THAT ALL MAY BE CHRISTIANS, BUT COMPELS NONE.

"My own desire is, for the common good of the world and the advantage of all mankind, that thy people should enjoy a life of peace and undisturbed concord. Let those, therefore, who still delight in error, be made welcome to the same degree of peace and tranquillity which they have who believe. For it may be that this restoration of equal privileges to all will prevail to lead them into the straight path. Let no one molest another, but let every one do as his soul desires. Only let men of sound judgment be assured of this, that those only can live a life of holiness and purity, whom thou callest to a reliance on thy holy laws. With regard to those who will hold themselves aloof from us, let them have, if they please, their temples of lies: we have the glorious edifice of thy truth, which thou hast given us as our native home. We pray, however, that they too may receive the same blessing, and thus experience that heartfelt joy which unity of sentiment inspires.

CHAPTER LVII. HE GIVES GLORY TO GOD, WHO HAS GIVEN LIGHT BY HIS SON TO THOSE WHO WERE IN ERROR.

"And truly our worship is no new or recent thing, but one which thou hast ordained for thine own due honor, from the time when, as we believe, this

system of the universe was first established. And, although mankind have deeply fallen, and have been seduced by manifold errors, yet hast thou revealed a pure light in the person of thy Son, that the power of evil should not utterly prevail, and hast thus given testimony to all men concerning thyself.

CHAPTER LVIII. HE GLORIFIES HIM AGAIN FOR HIS GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSE.

The truth of this is assured to us by thy works. It is thy power which removes our guilt, and makes us faithful. The sun and the moon have their settled course. The stars move in no uncertain orbits round this terrestrial globe. The revolution of the seasons recurs according to unerring laws. The solid fabric of the earth was established by thy word: the winds receive their impulse at appointed times; and the course of the waters continues with ceaseless flow, the ocean is circumscribed by an immovable barrier, and whatever is comprehended within the compass of earth and sea, is all contrived for wondrous and important ends. "Were it not so, were not all regulated by the determination of thy will, so great a diversity, so manifold a division of power, would unquestionably have brought ruin on the whole race and its affairs. For those agencies which have maintained a mutual strife would thus have carried to a more deadly length that hostility against the human race which they even now exercise, though unseen by mortal eyes.

CHAPTER LIX. HE GIVES GLORY TO GOD, AS THE CONSTANT TEACHER OF GOOD.

"Abundant thanks, most mighty God, and Lord of all, be rendered to thee, that, by so much as our nature becomes known from the diversified pursuits of man, by so much the more are the precepts of thy divine doctrine confirmed to those whose thoughts are directed aright, and who are sincerely devoted to true virtue. As for those who will not allow themselves to be cured of their error, let them not attribute this to any but themselves. For that remedy which is of sovereign and healing virtue is openly placed within the reach of all. Only let not any one inflict an injury on that religion which experience itself testifies to be pure and undefiled. Henceforward, therefore, let us all enjoy in common the privilege placed within our reach, I mean the blessing of peace, endeavoring to keep our conscience pure from all that is contrary.

CHAPTER LX. AN ADMONITION AT THE CLOSE OF THE EDICT, THAT NO ONE SHOULD TROUBLE HIS NEIGHBOR.

"Once more, let none use that to the detriment of another which he may himself have received on conviction of its truth; but let every, one, if it be possible, apply what he has understood and known to the benefit of his neighbor; if otherwise, let him relinquish the attempt. For it is one thing voluntarily to undertake the conflict for immortality, another to compel others to do so from the fear of punishment. "These are our words; and we have enlarged on these topics more than our ordinary clemency would have dictated, because we were unwilling to dissemble or be false to the true faith; and the more so, since we understand there are some who say that the rites of the heathen temples, and the power of darkness, have been entirely removed. We should indeed have earnestly recommended such removal to all men, were it not that the rebellious spirit of those wicked errors still continues obstinately fixed in the minds of some, so as to discourage the hope of any general restoration of mankind to the ways of truth."

CHAPTER LXI. HOW CONTROVERSIES ORIGINATED AT ALEXANDRIA THROUGH MATTERS RELATING TO ARIUS.

In this manner the emperor, like a powerful herald of God, addressed himself by his own letter to all the provinces, at the same time warning his subjects against superstitious error, and encouraging them in the pursuit of true godliness. But in the midst of his joyful anticipations of the success of this measure, he received tidings of a most serious disturbance which had invaded the peace of the Church. This intelligence he heard with deep concern, and at once endeavored to devise a remedy for the evil. The origin of this disturbance may be thus described. The people of God were in a truly flourishing state, and abounding in the practice of good works. No terror from without assailed them, but a bright and most profound peace, through the favor of God, encompassed his Church on every side. Meantime, however, the spirit of envy was watching to destroy our blessings, which at first crept in unperceived, but soon revelled in the midst of the assemblies of the saints. At length it reached the bishops themselves, and arrayed them in angry hostility against each other, on pretense of a jealous regard for the doctrines of Divine truth. Hence it was that a mighty fire was kindled as it were from a little spark, and which, originating in the first instance in the Alexandrian church, overspread the whole of Egypt and Libya, and the further Thebaid.

Eventually it extended its ravages to the other provinces and cities of the empire; so that not only the prelates of the churches might be seen encountering each other in the strife of words, but the people themselves were completely divided, some adhering to one faction and others to another. Nay, so notorious did the scandal of these proceedings become, that the sacred matters of inspired teaching were exposed to the most shameful ridicule in the very theaters of the unbelievers.

CHAPTER LXII. CONCERNING THE SAME ARIUS, AND THE MELITIANS.

Some thus at Alexandria maintained an obstinate conflict on the highest questions. Others throughout Egypt and the Upper Thebaid, were at variance on account of an earlier controversy: so that the churches were everywhere distracted by divisions. The body therefore being thus diseased, the whole of Libya caught the contagion; and the rest of the remoter provinces became affected with the same disorder. For the disputants at Alexandria sent emissaries to the bishops of the several provinces, who accordingly ranged themselves as partisans on either side, and shared in the same spirit of discord.

CHAPTER LXIII. HOW CONSTANTINE SENT A MESSENGER AND A LETTER CONCERNING PEACE.

As soon as the emperor was informed of these facts, which he heard with much sorrow of heart, considering them in the light of a calamity personally affecting himself, he forthwith selectedfrom the Christians in his train one whom he well knew to be approved for the sobriety and genuineness of his faith, and who had before this time distinguished himself by the boldness. of his religious profession, and sent him to negotiate peace between the dissentient parties at Alexandria. He also made him the bearer of a most needful and appropriate letter to the original movers of the strife: and this letter, as exhibiting a specimen of his watchful care over God's people, it may be well to introduce into this our narrative of his life. Its purport was as follows.

CHAPTER LXIV. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO ALEXANDER THE BISHOP, AND ARIUS THE PRESBYTER.

"Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Alexander and Arius. "I call that God to witness, as well I may, who is the helper of my endeavors, and the Preserver of all men, that I had a twofold reason for undertaking that duty which I have now performed.

CHAPTER LXV. HIS CONTINUAL ANXIETY FOR PEACE.

"My design then was, first, to bring the diverse judgments formed by all nations respecting the Deity to a condition, as it were, of settled uniformity; and, secondly, to restore to health the system of the world, then suffering under the malignant power of a grievous distemper. Keeping these objects in view, I sought to accomplish the one by the secret eye of thought, while the other I tried to rectify by the power of military authority. For I was aware that, if I should succeed in establishing, according to my hopes, a common harmony of sentiment among all the servants of God, the general course of affairs would also experience a change correspondent to the pious desires of them all.

CHAPTER LXVI. THAT HE ALSO ADJUSTED THE CONTROVERSIES WHICH HAD ARISEN IN AFRICA.

"Finding, then, that the whole of Africa was pervaded by an intolerable spirit of mad folly, through the influence of those who with heedless frivolity had presumed to rend the religion of the people into diverse sects; I was anxious to check this disorder, and could discover no other remedy equal to the occasion, except in sending some of yourselves to aid in restoring mutual harmony among the disputants, after I had removed that common enemy of mankind who had interposed his lawless sentence for the prohibition of your holy synods.

CHAPTER LXVII. THAT RELIGION BEGAN IN THE EAST.

"For since the power of Divine light, and the law of sacred worship, which, proceeding in the first instance, through the favor of God, from the bosom, as it were, of the East, have illumined the world, by their sacred radiance, I naturally believed that you would be the first to promote the salvation of other nations, and resolved with all energy of thought and diligence of enquiry to seek your aid. As soon, therefore, as I had secured my decisive victory and unquestionable triumph over my enemies, my first enquiry was concerning that object which I felt to be of paramount interest and importance.

CHAPTER LXVIII. BEING GRIEVED BY THE DISSENSION, HE COUNSELS PEACE.

"But, O glorious Providence of God! how deep a wound did not my ears only, but my very heart receive in the report that divisions existed among yourselves more grievous still than those which continued in that country! so

that you, through whose aid I had hoped to procure a remedy for the errors of others, are in a state which needs healing even more than theirs. And yet, having made a careful enquiry into the origin and foundation of these differences, I find the cause to be of a truly insignificant character, and quite unworthy of such fierce contention. Feeling myself, therefore, compelled to address you in this letter, and to appeal at the same time to your unanimity and sagacity, I call on Divine Providence to assist me in the task, while I interrupt your dissension in the character of a minister of peace. And with reason: for if I might expect, with the help of a higher Power, to be able without difficulty, by a judicious appeal to the pious feelings of those who heard me, to recall them to a better spirit, even though the occasion of the disagreement were a greater one, how can I refrain from promising myself a far easier and more speedy adjustment of this difference, when the cause which hinders general harmony of sentiment is intrinsically trifling and of little moment?

CHAPTER LXIX. ORIGIN OF THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN ALEXANDER AND ARIUS, AND THAT THESE QUESTIONS OUGHT NOT TO HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED.

1 I Understand, then, that the origin of the present controversy is this. When you, Alexander, demanded of the presbyters what opinion they severally maintained respecting a certain passage in the Divine law, or rather, I should say, that you asked them something connected with an unprofitable question, then you, Arius, inconsiderately insisted on what ought never to have been conceived at all, or if conceived, should have been buried in profound silence. Hence it was that a dissension arose between you, fellowship was withdrawn, and the holy people, rent into diverse parties, no longer preserved the unity of the one body. Now, therefore, do ye both exhibit an equal degree of forbearance, and receive the advice which your fellow-servant righteously gives. What then is this advice? It was wrong in the first instance to propose such questions as these, or to reply to them when propounded. For those points of discussion which are enjoined by the authority of no law, but rather suggested by the contentious spirit which is fostered by misused leisure, even though they may be intended merely as an intellectual exercise, ought certainly to be confined to the region of our own thoughts, and not hastily produced in the popular assemblies, nor unadvisedly intrusted to the general ear. For how very few are there able either accurately to comprehend,

or adequately to explain subjects so sublime and abstruse in their nature? Or, granting that one were fully competent for this, how many people will he convince?

2 Or, who, again, in dealing with questions of such subtle nicety as these, can secure himself against a dangerous declension from the truth? It is incumbent therefore on us in these cases to be sparing of our words, lest, in case we ourselves are unable, through the feebleness of our natural faculties, to give a clear explanation of the subject before us, or, on the other hand, in case the slowness of our hearers' understandings disables them from arriving at an accurate apprehension of what we say, from one or other of these causes the people be reduced to the alternative either of blasphemy or schism.

CHAPTER LXX. AN EXHORTATION TO UNANIMITY.

"Let therefore both the unguarded question and the inconsiderate answer receive your mutual forgiveness. For the cause of your difference has not been any of the leading doctrines or precepts of the Divine law, nor has any new heresy respecting the worship of God arisen among you. You are in truth of one and the same judgment: you may therefore well join in communion and fellowship.

CHAPTER LXXI. THERE SHOULD BE NO CONTENTION IN MATTERS WHICH ARE IN THEMSELVES OF LITTLE MOMENT.

1 "For as long as you continue to contend about these small and very insignificant questions, it is not fitting that so large a portion of God's people should be under the direction of your judgment, since you are thus divided between yourselves. I believe it indeed to be not merely unbecoming, but positively evil, that such should be the case. But I will refresh your minds by a little illustration, as follows. You know that philosophers, though they all adhere to one system, are yet frequently at issue on certain points, and differ, perhaps, in their degree of knowledge: yet they are recalled to harmony of sentiment by the uniting power of their common doctrines. If this be true, is it not far more reasonable that you, who are the ministers of the Supreme God, should be of one mind respecting the profession of the same religion? But let us still more thoughtfully and with closer attention examine what I have said, and see whether it be right that, on the ground of some trifling and foolish verbal difference between ourselves, brethren should assume towards each other the attitude of enemies, and the august meeting of the Synod be rent by profane disunion, because of you who wrangle together on

points so trivial and altogether unessential? This is vulgar, and rather characteristic of childish ignorance, than consistent I with the wisdom of priests and men of sense. Let us withdraw ourselves with a good will from these temptations of the devil.

2 Our great God and common Saviour of all has granted the same light to us all. Permit me, who am his servant, to bring my task to a successful issue, under the direction of his Providence, that I may be enabled, through my exhortations, and diligence, and earnest admonition, to recall his people to communion and fellowship. For since you have, as I said, but one faith, and one sentiment respecting our religion, and since the Divine commandment in all its parts enjoins on us all the duty of maintaining a spirit of concord, let not the circumstance which has led to a slight difference between you, since it does not affect the validity of the whole, cause any division or schism among you. And this I say without in any way desiring to force you to entire unity of judgment in regard to this truly idle question, whatever its real nature may be. For the dignity of your synod may be preserved, and the communion of your whole body maintained unbroken, however wide a difference may exist among you as to unimportant matters. For we are not all of us like-minded on every subject, nor is there such a thing as one disposition and judgment common to all alike. As far, then, as regards the Divine Providence, let there be one faith, and one understanding among you, one united judgment in reference to God.

3 But as to your subtle disputations on questions of little or no significance, though you may be unable to harmonize in sentiment, such differences should be consigned to the secret custody of your own minds and thoughts. And now, let the preciousness of common affection, let faith in the truth, let the honor due to God and to the observance of his law continue immovably among you. Resume, then, your mutual feelings of friendship, love, and regard: restore to the people their wonted embracings; and do ye yourselves, having purified your souls, as it were, once more acknowledge one another. For it often happens that when a reconciliation is effected by the removal of the causes of enmity, friendship becomes even sweeter than it was before.

CHAPTER LXXII. THE EXCESS OF HIS PIOUS CONCERN CAUSED HIM TO SHED TEARS; AND HIS INTENDED JOURNEY TO THE EAST WAS POSTPONED BECAUSE OF THESE THINGS.

"Restore me then my quiet days, and untroubled nights, that the joy of undimmed light, the delight of a tranquil life, may henceforth be my portion. Else must I needs mourn, with constant tears, nor shall I be able to pass the residue of my days in peace. For while the people of God, whose fellow-servant I am, are thus divided amongst themselves by an unreasonable and pernicious spirit of contention, how is it possible that I shall be able to maintain tranquillity of mind? And I will give you a proof how great my sorrow has been on this behalf. Not long since I had visited Nicomedia, and intended forthwith to proceed from that city to the East. It was while I was hastening towards you, and had already accomplished the greater part of the distance, that the news of this matter reversed my plan, that I might not be compelled to see with my own eyes that which I felt myself scarcely able even to hear. Open then for me henceforward by your unity of judgment that road to the regions of the East which your dissensions have closed against me, and permit me speedily to see yourselves and all other peoples rejoicing together, and render due acknowledgment to God in the language of praise and thanksgiving for the restoration of general concord and liberty to all."

CHAPTER LXXIII. THE CONTROVERSY CONTINUES WITHOUT ABATEMENT, EVEN AFTER THE RECEIPT OF THIS LETTER.

In this manner the pious emperor endeavored by means of the foregoing letter to promote the peace of the Church of God. And the excellent man to whom it was intrusted performed his part not merely by communicating the letter itself, but also by seconding the views of him who sent it; for he was, as I have said, in all respects a person of pious character. The evil, however, was greater than could be remedied by a single letter, insomuch that the acrimony of the contending parties continually increased, and the effects of the mischief extended to all the Eastern provinces. These things jealousy and some evil spirit who looked with an envious eye on the prosperity of the Church, wrought.

CHAPTER I. A COMPARISON OF CONSTANTINE'S PIETY WITH THE WICKEDNESS OF THE PERSECUTORS.

1 In this manner that spirit who is the hater of good, actuated by envy at the blessing enjoyed by the Church, continued to raise against her the stormy

troubles of intestine discord, in the midst of a period of peace and joy. Meanwhile, however, the divinely-favored emperor did not slight the duties befitting him, but exhibited in his whole conduct a direct contrast to those atrocities of which the cruel tyrants had been lately guilty, and thus triumphed over every enemy that opposed him. For in the first place, the tyrants, being themselves alienated from the true God, had enforced by every compulsion the worship of false deities: Constantine convinced mankind by actions as well as words, that these bad but an imaginary existence, and exhorted them to acknowledge the only true God. They had derided his Christ with words of blasphemy: he assumed that as his safeguard against which they directed their blasphemies, and gloried in the symbol of the Saviour's passion. They had persecuted and driven from house and home the servants of Christ: he recalled them every one, and restored them to their native homes. They had covered them with dishonor: he made their condition honorable and enviable in the eyes of all. They had shamefully plundered and sold the goods of godly men: Constantine not only replaced this loss, but still further enriched them with abundant presents. They had circulated injurious calumnies, through their written ordinances, against the prelates of the Church:

2 he on the contrary, conferred dignity on these individuals by personal marks of honor, and by his edicts and statutes raised them to higher distinction than before. They had utterly demolished and razed to the ground the houses of prayer: he commanded that those which still existed should be enlarged, and that new ones should be raised on a magnificent scale at the expense of the imperial treasury. They had ordered the inspired records to be burnt and utterly destroyed: he decreed that copies of them should be multiplied, and magnificently adorned at the charge of the imperial treasury. They had strictly forbidden the prelates, anywhere or on any occasion, to convene synods; whereas he gathered them to his court from every province, received them into his palace, and even to his own private apartments and thought them worthy to share his home and table. They had honored the demons with offerings: Constantine exposed their error, and continually distributed the now useless materials for sacrifice, to those who would apply them to a better use. They had ordered the pagan temples to be sumptuously adorned: he razed to their foundations those of them which had been the chief objects of superstitious reverence. They had subjected God's servants to the most ignominious punishments: he took vengeance on the persecutors,

and inflicted on them just chastisement in the name of God, while he held the memory of his holy martyrs in constant veneration. They had driven God's Worshipers from the imperial palaces:

3 he placed full confidence in them at all times, and knowing them to be the better disposed and more faithful than any beside. They, the victims of avarice, voluntarily subjected themselves as it were to the pangs of Tantalus: he with royal magnificence unlocked all his treasures, and distributed his gifts with rich and high-souled liberality They committed countless murders, that they might plunder or confiscate the wealth of their victims; while throughout the reign of Constantine the sword of justice hung idle everywhere, and both people and municipal magistrates in every provence were governed rather by paternal authority than by any constraining. Surely it must seem to all who duly regard these facts, that a new and fresh era of existence had begun to appear, and a light heretofore unknown suddenly to dawn from the midst of darkness on the human race: and all must confess that these things were entirely the work of God, who raised up this pious emperor to withstand the multitude of the ungodly.

CHAPTER II. FATHER REMARKS ON CONSTANTINE'S PIETY, AND HIS OPEN TESTIMONY TO THE SIGN OF THE CROSS.

And when we consider that their iniquities were without example, and the atrocities which they dared to perpetrate against the Church such as had never been heard of in any age of the world, well might God himself bring before us something entirely new, and work thereby effects such as had hitherto been never either recorded or observed. And what miracle was ever more marvelous than the virtues of this our emperor, whom the wisdom of God has vouchsafed as a gift to the human race? For truly he maintained a continual testimony to the Christ of God with all boldness, and before all men; and so far was he from shrinking from an open profession of the Christian name, that he rather desired to make it manifest to all that he regarded this as his highest honor, now impressing on his face the salutary sign, and now glorying in it as the trophy which led him on to victory.

CHAPTER III. OF HIS PICTURE SURMOUNTED BY A CROSS AND HAVING BENEATH IT A DRAGON.

And besides this, he caused to be painted on a lofty tablet, and set up in the front of the portico of his palace, so as to be visible to all, a representation of the salutary sign placed above his head, and below it that hateful and savage

adversary of mankind, who by means of the tyranny of the ungodly had wasted the Church of God, falling headlong, under the form of a dragon, to the abyss of destruction. For the sacred oracles in the books of God's prophets have described him as a dragon and a crooked serpent; and for this reason the emperor thus publicly displayed a painted resemblance of the dragon beneath his own and his children's feet, stricken through with a dart, and cast headlong into the depths of the sea. In this manner he intended to represent the secret adversary of the human race, and to indicate that he was consigned to the gulf of perdition by virtue of the salutary trophy placed above his head. This allegory, then, was thus conveyed by means of the colors of a picture: and I am filled with wonder at the intellectual greatness of the emperor, who as if by divine inspiration thus expressed what the prophets had foretold concerning this monster, saying that "God would bring his great and strong and terrible sword against the dragon, the flying serpent; and would destroy the dragon that was in the sea." This it was of which the emperor gave a true and faithful representation in the picture above described.

CHAPTER IV. A FARTHER NOTICE OF THE CONTROVERSIES RAISED IN EGYPT BY ARIUS.

In such occupations as these he employed himself with pleasure: but the effects of that envious spirit which so troubled the peace of the churches of God in Alexandria, together with the Theban and Egyptian schism, continued to cause him no little disturbance of mind. For in fact, in every city bishops were engaged in obstinate conflict with bishops, and people rising against people; and almost like the fabled Symplegades, coming into violent collision with each other. Nay, some were so far transported beyond the bounds of reason as to be guilty of reckless and outrageous conduct, and even to insult the statues of the emperor. This state of things had little power to excite his anger, but rather caused in him sorrow of spirit; for he deeply deplored the folly thus exhibited by deranged men.

CHAPTER V. OF THE DISAGREEMENT RESPECTING THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER.

But before this time another most virulent disorder had existed, and long afflicted the Church; I mean the difference respecting the salutary feast of Easter. For while one party asserted that the Jewish custom should be adhered to, the other affirmed that the exact recurrence of the period should be observed, without following the authority of those who were in error, and

strangers to gospel grace. Accordingly, the people being thus in every place divided in respect of this, and the sacred observances of religion confounded for a long period (insomuch that the diversity of judgment in regard to the time for celebrating one and the same feast caused the greatest disagreement between those who kept it, some afflicting themselves with fastings and austerities, while others devoted their time to festive relaxation), no one appeared who was capable of devising a remedy for the evil, because the controversy continued equally balanced between both parties. To God alone, the Almighty, was the healing of these differences an easy task; and Constantine appeared to be the only one on earth capable of being his minister for this good end. For as soon as he was made acquainted with the facts which I have described, and perceived that his letter to the Alexandrian Christians had failed to produce its due effect, he at once aroused the energies of his mind, and declared that he must prosecute to the utmost this war also against the secret adversary who was disturbing the peace of the Church.

CHAPTER VI. HOW HE ORDERED A COUNCIL TO BE HELD AT NICOEA.

Then as if to bring a divine array against this enemy, he convoked a general council, and invited the speedy attendance of bishops from all quarters, in letters expressive of the honorable estimation in which he held them. Nor was this merely the issuing of a bare command but the emperor's good will contributed much to its being carried into effect: for he allowed some the use of the public means of conveyance, while he afforded to others an ample supply of horses for their transport. The place, too, selected for the synod, the city Nicaea in Bithynia (named from "Victory"), was appropriate to the occasion. As soon then as the imperial injunction was generally made known, all with the utmost willingness hastened thither, as though they would outstrip one another in a race; for they were impelled by the anticipation of a happy result to the conference, by the hope of enjoying present peace, and the desire of beholding something new and strange in the person of so admirable an emperor. Now when they were all assembled, it appeared evident that the proceeding was the work of God, inasmuch as men who had been most widely separated, not merely in sentiment but also personally, and by difference of country, place, and nation, were here brought together, and comprised within the walls of a single city, forming as it were a vast garland of priests, composed of a variety of the choicest flowers.

CHAPTER VII. OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL, AT WHICH BISHOPS FROM ALL NATIONS WERE PRESENT.

In effect, the most distinguished of God's ministers from all the churches which abounded in Europe, Lybia, and Asia were here assembled. And a single house of prayer, as though divinely enlarged, sufficed to contain at once Syrians and Cilicians, Phoenicians and Arabians, delegates from Palestine, and others from Egypt; Thebans and Libyans, with those who came from the region of Mesopotamia. A Persian bishop too was present at this conference, nor was even a Scythian found wanting to the number. Pontus, Galatia, and Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia, furnished their most distinguished prelates; while those who dwelt in the remotest districts of Thrace and Macedonia, of Achaia and Epirus, were notwithstanding in attendance. Even from Spain itself, one whose fame was widely spread took his seat as an individual in the great assembly. The prelate of the imperial city was prevented from attending by extreme old age; but his presbyters were present, and supplied his place. Constantine is the first prince of any age who bound together such a garland as this with the bond of peace, and presented it to his Saviour as a thank-offering for the victories he had obtained over every foe, thus exhibiting in our own times a similitude of the apostolic company.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT THE ASSEMBLY WAS COMPOSED, AS IN THE DOTS OF THE APOSTLES, OF INDIVIDUALS FROM VARIOUS NATIONS.

For it is said that in the Apostles' age, there were gathered "devout men from every nation under heaven"; among whom were Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia, in Judea, and Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia, in Phrygia and Pamphylia, in Egypt, and the parts of Libya about Cyrene; and sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabians. But that assembly was less, in that not all who composed it were ministers of God; but in the present company, the number of bishops exceeded two hundred and fifty, while that of the presbyters and deacons in their train, and the crowd of acolytes and other attendants was altogether beyond computation.

CHAPTER IX. OF THE VIRTUE AND AGE OF THE TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY BISHOPS.

Of these ministers of God, some were distinguished by wisdom and eloquence, others by the gravity of their lives, and by patient fortitude of char-

acter, while others again united in themselves all these graces. There were among them men whose years demanded veneration: others were younger, and in the prime of mental vigor; and some had but recently entered on the course of their ministry. For the maintenance of all ample provision was daily furnished by the emperor's command.

CHAPTER X. COUNCIL IN THE PALACE. CONSTANTINE, ENTERING, TOOK HIS SEAT IN THE ASSEMBLY.

1 Now when the appointed day arrived on which the council met for the final solution of the questions in dispute, each member was present for this in the central building of the palace, which appeared to exceed the rest in magnitude. On each side of the interior of this were many seats disposed in order, which were occupied by those who had been invited to attend, according to their rank. As soon, then, as the whole assembly had seated themselves with becoming orderliness, a general silence prevailed, in expectation of the emperor's arrival. And first of all, three of his immediate family entered in succession, then others also preceded his approach, not of the soldiers or guards who usually accompanied him, but only friends in the faith. And now, all rising at the signal which indicated the emperor's entrance, at last he himself proceeded through the midst of the assembly, like some heavenly messenger of God, clothed in raiment which glittered as it were with rays of light, reflecting the glowing radiance of a purple robe, and adorned with the brilliant splendor of gold and precious stones. Such was the external appearance of his person; and with regard to his mind, it was evident that he was distinguished by piety and godly fear. This was indicated by his downcast eyes, the blush on his countenance, and his gait. For the rest of his personal excellencies, he surpassed all present in height of stature and beauty of form, as well as in majestic dignity of mien, and invincible strength and vigor.

2 All these graces, united to a suavity of manner, and a serenity becoming his imperial station, declared the excellence of his mental qualities to be above all praise. As soon as he had advanced to the upper end of the seats, at first he remained standing, and when a low chair of wrought gold had been set for him, he waited until the bishops had beckoned to him, and then sat down, and after him the whole assembly did the same.

CHAPTER XI. SILENCE OF THE COUNCIL, AFTER SOME WORDS BY THE THE BISHOP EUSEBIUS.

The bishop who occupied the chief place in the right division of the assembly then rose, and, addressing the emperor, delivered a concise speech, in a strain of thanksgiving to Almighty God on his behalf. When he had resumed his seat, silence ensued, and all regarded the emperor with fixed attention; on which he looked serenely round on the assembly with a cheerful aspect, and, having collected his thoughts, in a calm and gentle tone gave utterance to the following words.

CHAPTER XII. CONSTANTINE'S ADDRESS TO THE COUNCIL CONCERNING PEACE.

1 "It was once my chief desire, dearest friends, to enjoy the spectacle of your united presence; and now that this desire is fulfilled, I feel myself bound to render thanks to God the universal King, because, in addition to all his other benefits, he has granted me a blessing higher than all the rest, in permitting me to see you not only all assembled together, but all united in a common harmony of sentiment. I pray therefore that no malignant adversary may henceforth interfere to mar our happy state; I pray that, now the impious hostility of the tyrants has been forever removed by the power of God our Saviour, that spirit who delights in evil may devise no other means for exposing the divine law to blasphemous calumny; for, in my judgment, intestine strife within the Church of God, is far more evil and dangerous than any kind of war or conflict; and these our differences appear to me more grievous than any outward trouble. Accordingly, when, by the will and with the co-operation of God, I had been victorious over my enemies, I thought that nothing more remained but to render thanks to him, and sympathize in the joy of those whom he had restored to freedom through my instrumentality;

2 as soon as I heard that intelligence which I had least expected to receive, I mean the news of your dissension, I judged it to be of no secondary importance, but with the earnest desire that a remedy for this evil also might be found through my means, I immediately sent to require your presence. And now I rejoice in beholding your assembly; but I feel that my desires will be most completely fulfilled when I can see you all united in one judgment, and that common spirit of peace and concord prevailing amongst you all, which it becomes you, as consecrated to the service of God, to commend to others.

Delay not, then, dear friends: delay not, ye ministers of God, and faithful servants of him who is our common Lord and Saviour: begin from this moment to discard the causes of that disunion which has existed among you, and remove the perplexities of controversy by embracing the principles of peace. For by such conduct you will at the same time be acting in a manner most pleasing to the supreme God, and you will confer an exceeding favor on me who am your fellow-servant."

CHAPTER XIII. HOW HE LED THE DISSENTIENT BISHOPS TO HARMONY OF SENTIMENT.

As soon as the emperor had spoken these words in the Latin tongue, which another interpreted, he gave permission to those who presided in the council to deliver their opinions. On this some began to accuse their neighbors, who defended themselves, and recriminated in their turn. In this manner numberless assertions were put forth by each party, and a violent controversy arose at the very commencement. Notwithstanding this, the emperor gave patient audience to all alike, and received every proposition with steadfast attention, and by occasionally assisting the argument of each party in turn, he gradually disposed even the most vehement disputants to a reconciliation. At the same time, by the affability of his address to all, and his use of the Greek language, with which he was not altogether unacquainted, he appeared in a truly attractive and amiable light, persuading some, convincing others by his reasonings, praising those who spoke well, and urging all to unity of sentiment, until at last he succeeded in bringing them to one mind and judgment respecting every disputed question.

CHAPTER XIV. UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE COUNCIL CONCERNING FAITH, AND THE CELEBRATION OF EASTER.

The result was that they were not only united as concerning the faith, but that the time for the celebration of the salutary feast of Easter was agreed on by all. Those points also which were sanctioned by the resolution of the whole body were committed to writing, and received the signature of each several member. Then the emperor, believing that he had thus obtained a second victory over the adversary of the Church, proceeded to solemnize a triumphal festival in honor of God.

CHAPTER XV. HOW CONSTANTINE ENTERTAINED THE BISHOPS ON THE OCCASION OF HIS VICENNALIA.

About this time he completed the twentieth year of his reign. On this occasion public festivals were celebrated by the people of the provinces generally, but the emperor himself invited and feasted with those ministers of God whom he had reconciled, and thus offered as it were through them a suitable sacrifice to God. Not one of the bishops was wanting at the imperial banquet, the circumstances of which were splendid beyond description. Detachments of the body-guard and other troops surrounded the entrance of the palace with drawn swords, and through the midst of these the men of God proceeded without fear into the innermost of the imperial apartments, in which some were the emperor's own companions at table, while others reclined on couches arranged on either side. One might have thought that a picture of Christ's kingdom was thus shadowed forth, and a dream rather than reality.

CHAPTER XVI. PRESENTS TO THE BISHOPS, AND LETTERS TO THE PEOPLE GENERALLY.

After the celebration of this brilliant festival, the emperor courteously received all his guests, and generously added to the favors he had already bestowed by personally presenting gifts to each individual according to his rank. He also gave information of the proceedings of the synod to those who had not been present, by a letter in his own hand-writing. And this letter also I will inscribe as it were on some monument by inserting it in this my narrative of his life. It was as follows:

CHAPTER XVII. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO THE CHURCHES RESPECTING THE COUNCIL AT NICAEA.

"Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches. "Having had full proof, in the general prosperity of the empire, how great the favor of God has been towards us, I have judged that it ought to be the first object of my endeavors, that unity of faith, sincerity of love, and community of feeling in regard to the worship of Almighty God, might be preserved among the highly favored multitude who compose the Catholic Church. And, inasmuch as this object could not be effectually and certainly secured, unless all, or at least the greater number of the bishops were to meet together, and a discussion of all particulars relating to oar most holy religion to take place; for this reason as numerous an assembly as possible has been convened, at which I myself was present, as one among yourselves (and far be it from me to deny that which is

my greatest joy, that I am your fellow-servant), and every question received due and full examination, until that judgment which God, who sees all things, could approve, and which tended to unity and concord, was brought to light, so that no room was left for further discussion or controversy in relation to the faith.

CHAPTER XVIII. HE SPEAKS OF THEIR UNANIMITY RESPECTING THE FEAST OF EASTER, AND AGAINST THE PRACTICE OF THE JEWS.

1 "At this meeting the question concerning the most holy day of Easter was discussed, and it was resolved by the united judgment of all present, that this feast ought to be kept by all and in every place on one and the same day. For what can be more becoming or honorable to us than that this feast from which we date our hopes of immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one ascertained order and arrangement? And first of all, it appeared an unworthy thing that in the celebration of this most holy feast we should follow the practice of the Jews, who have impiously defiled their hands with enormous sin, and are, therefore, deservedly afflicted with blindness of soul. For we have it in our power, if we abandon their custom, to prolong the due observance of this ordinance to future ages, by a truer order, which we have preserved from the very day of the passion until the present time. Let us then have nothing in common with the detestable Jewish crowd; for we have received from our Saviour a different way. A course at once legitimate and honorable lies open to our most holy religion. Beloved brethren, let us with one consent adopt this course, and withdraw ourselves from all participation in their baseness. For their boast is absurd indeed, that it is not in our power without instruction from them to observe these things.

2 For how should they be capable of forming a sound judgment, who, since their parricidal guilt in slaying their Lord, have been subject to the direction, not of reason, but of ungoverned passion, and are swayed by every impulse of the mad spirit that is in them? Hence it is that on this point as well as others they have no perception of the truth, so that, being altogether ignorant of the true adjustment of this question, they sometimes celebrate Easter twice in the same year. Why then should we follow those who are confessedly in grievous error? Surely we shall never consent to keep this feast a second time in the same year. But supposing these reasons were not of sufficient weight, still it would be incumbent on your Sagacities to strive and pray continually that the purity of your souls may not seem in anything to be sul-

lied by fellowship with the customs of these most wicked men. We must consider, too, that a discordant judgment in a case of such importance, and respecting such religious festival, is wrong. For our Saviour has left us one feast in commemoration of the day of our deliverance, I mean the day of his most holy passion; and he has willed that his Catholic Church should be one, the members of which, however scattered in many and diverse places, are yet cherished by one pervading spirit, that is, by the will of God.

3 And let your Holinesses' sagacity reflect how grievous and scandalous it is that on the self-same days some should be engaged in fasting, others in festive enjoyment; and again, that after the days of Easter some should be present at banquets and amusements, while others are fulfilling the appointed fasts. It is, then, plainly the will of Divine Providence (as I suppose you all clearly see), that this usage should receive fitting correction, and be reduced to one uniform rule.

CHAPTER XIX. EXHORTATION TO FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE OF THE GREATER PART OF THE WORLD.

"Since, therefore, it was needful that this matter should be rectified, so that we might have nothing in common with that nation of parricides who slew their Lord: and since that arrangement is consistent with propriety which is observed by all the churches of the western, southern, and northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern also: for these reasons all are unanimous on this present occasion in thinking it worthy of adoption. And I myself have undertaken that this decision should meet with the approval of your Sagacities, in the hope that your Wisdoms will gladly admit that practice which is observed at once in the city of Rome, and in Africa; throughout Italy, and in Egypt, in Spain, the Gauls, Britain, Libya, and the whole of Greece; in the dioceses of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia, with entire unity of judgment. And you will consider not only that the number of churches is far greater in the regions I have enumerated than in any other, but also that it is most fitting that all should unite in desiring that which sound reason appears to demand, and in avoiding all participation in the perjured conduct of the Jews. In fine, that I may express my meaning in as few words as possible, it has been determined by the common judgment of all, that the most holy feast of Easter should be kept on one and the same day. For on the one hand a discrepancy of opinion on so sacred a question is unbecoming, and on

the other it is surely best to act on a decision which is free from strange folly and error.

CHAPTER XX. EXHORTATION TO OBEY THE DECREES OF THE COUNCIL.

1 "Receive, then, with all willingness this truly Divine injunction, and regard it as in truth the gift of God. For whatever is determined in the holy assemblies of the bishops is to be regarded as indicative of the Divine will. As soon, therefore, as you have communicated these proceedings to all our beloved brethren, you are bound from that time forward to adopt for yourselves, and to enjoin on others the arrangement above mentioned, and the due observance of this most sacred day; that whenever I come into the presence of your love, which I have long desired, I may have it in my power to celebrate the holy feast with you on the same day, and may rejoice with you on all accounts, when I behold the cruel power of Satan removed by Divine aid through the agency of our endeavors, while your faith, and peace, and concord everywhere flourish. God preserve you, beloved brethren."|

2 The emperor transmitted a faithful copy of this letter to every province, wherein they who read it might discern as in a mirror the pure sincerity of his thoughts, and of his piety toward God.

CHAPTER XXI. RECOMMENDATION TO THE BISHOPS, ON THEIR DEPARTURE, TO PRESERVE HARMONY.

1 And now, when the council was on the point of being finally dissolved, he summoned all the bishops to meet him on an appointed day, and on their arrival addressed them in a farewell speech, in which he recommended them to be diligent in the maintenance of peace, to avoid contentious disputations, amongst themselves and not to be jealous, if any one of their number should appear pre-eminent for wisdom and eloquence, but to esteem the excellence of one a blessing common to all. On the other hand he reminded them that the more gifted should forbear to exalt themselves to the prejudice of their humbler brethren, since it is God's prerogative to judge of real superiority. Rather should they considerately condescend to the weaker, remembering that absolute perfection in any case is a rare quality indeed. Each then, should be willing to accord indulgence to the other for slight offenses, to regard charitably and pass over mere human weaknesses; holding mutual harmony in the highest honor, that no occasion of mockery might be given by their dissensions to those who are ever ready to blaspheme the word of God: whom indeed we should do all in our power to save, and this cannot be

unless our conduct seems to them attractive. But you are well aware of the fact that testimony is by no means productive of blessing to all, since some who hear are glad to secure the supply of their mere bodily necessities, while others court the patronage of their superiors;

2 some fix their affection on those who treat them with hospitable kindness, others again, being honored with presents, love their benefactors in return; but few are they who really desire the word of testimony, and rare indeed is it to find a friend of truth. Hence the necessity of endeavoring to meet the case of all, and, physician-like, to administer to each that which may tend to the health of the soul, to the end that the saving doctrine may be fully honored by all. Of this kind was the former part of his exhortation; and in conclusion he enjoined them to offer diligent supplications to God on his behalf. Having thus taken leave of them, he gave them all permission to return to their respective countries; and this they did with joy, and thenceforward that unity of judgment at which they had arrived in the emperor's presence continued to prevail, and those who had long been divided were bound together as members of the same body.

CHAPTER XXII. HOW HE DISMISSED SOME, AND WROTE LETTERS TO OTHERS; ALSO HIS PRESENTS.

Full of joy therefore at this success, the emperor presented as it were pleasant fruits in the way of letters to those who had not been present at the council. He commanded also that ample gifts of money should be bestowed on all the people, both in the country and the cities, being pleased thus to honor the festive occasion of the twentieth anniversary of his reign.

CHAPTER XXIII. HOW HE WROTE TO THE EGYPTIANS, EXHORTING THEM TO PEACE.

And now, when all else were at peace, among the Egyptians alone an implacable contention still raged, so as once more to disturb the emperor's tranquillity, though not to excite his anger. For indeed he treated the contending parties with all respect, as fathers, nay rather, as prophets of God; and again he summoned them to his presence, and again patiently acted as mediator between them, and honored them with gifts, and communicated also the result of his arbitration by letter. He confirmed and sanctioned the decrees of the council, and called on them to strive earnestly for concord, and not to distract and rend the Church, but to keep before them the thought of

God's judgment. And these injunctions the emperor sent by a letter written with his own hand.

CHAPTER XXIV. HOW HE WROTE FREQUENT LETTERS OF A RELIGIOUS CHARACTER TO THE BISHOPS AND PEOPLE.

But besides these, his writings are very numerous on kindred subjects, and he was the author of a multitude of letters, some to the bishops, in which he laid injunctions on them tending to the advantage of the churches of God; and sometimes the thrice blessed one addressed the people of the churches generally, calling them his own brethren and fellow-servants. But perhaps we may hereafter find leisure to collect these despatches in a separate form, in order that the integrity of our present history may not be impaired by their insertion.

CHAPTER XXV. HOW HE ORDERED THE ERECTION OF A CHURCH AT JERUSALEM, IN THE HOLY PLACE OF OUR SAVIOUR'S RESURRECTION.

After these things, the pious emperor addressed himself to another work truly worthy of record, in the province of Palestine. What then was this work? He judged it incumbent on him to render the blessed locality of our Saviour's resurrection an object of attraction and veneration to all. He issued immediate injunctions, therefore, for the erection in that spot of a house of prayer: and this he did, not on the mere natural impulse of his own mind, but being moved in spirit by the Saviour himself.

CHAPTER XXVI. THAT THE HOLY SEPULCHRE HAD BEEN COVERED WITH RUBBISH AND WITH IDOLS BY THE UNGODLY.

1 For it had been in time past the endeavor of impious men (or rather let me say of the whole race of evil spirits through their means), to consign to the darkness of oblivion that divine monument of immortality to which the radiant angel had descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone for those who still had stony hearts, and who supposed that the living One still lay among the dead; and had declared glad tidings to the women also, and removed their stony-hearted unbelief by the conviction that he whom they sought was alive. This sacred cave, then, certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that thus they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly they brought a quantity of earth from a distance with much labor, and covered the entire spot; then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the holy cave beneath this massive mound.

Then, as though their purpose had been effectually accomplished, they prepare on this foundation a truly dreadful sepulchre of souls, by building a gloomy shrine of lifeless idols to the impure spirit whom they call Venus, and offering detestable oblations therein on profane and accursed altars. For they supposed that their object could not otherwise be fully attained, than by thus burying the sacred cave beneath these foul pollutions. Unhappy men!

2 they were unable to comprehend how impossible it was that their attempt should remain unknown to him who had been crowned with victory over death, any more than the blazing sun, when he rises above the earth, and holds his wonted course through the midst of heaven, is unseen by the whole race of mankind. Indeed, his saving power, shining with still greater brightness, and illumining, not the bodies, but the souls of men, was already filling the world with the effulgence of its own light. Nevertheless, these devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any one of the governors, or military commanders, or even of the emperors themselves ever yet appeared, with ability to abolish these daring impieties, save only that one who enjoyed the favor of the King of kings. And now, acting as he did under the guidance of the divine Spirit, he could not consent to see the sacred spot of which we have spoken, thus buried, through the devices of the adversaries, under every kind of impurity, and abandoned to forgetfulness and neglect; nor would he yield to the malice of those who had contracted this guilt, but calling on the divine aid, gave orders that the place should be thoroughly purified, thinking that the parts which had been most polluted by the enemy ought to receive special tokens, through his means, of the greatness of the divine favor.

3 As soon, then, as his commands were issued, these engines of deceit were cast down from their proud eminence to the very ground, and the dwelling-places of error, with the statues and the evil spirits which they represented, were overthrown and utterly destroyed.

CHAPTER XXVII. HOW CONSTANTINE COMMANDED THE MATERIALS OF THE IDOL TEMPLE, AND THE SOIL ITSELF, TO BE REMOVED AT A DISTANCE.

Nor did the emperor's zeal stop here; but he gave further orders that the materials of what was thus destroyed, both stone and timber, should be removed and thrown as far from the spot as possible; and this command also was speedily executed. The emperor, however, was not satisfied with having

proceeded thus far: once more, fired with holy ardor, he directed that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth, and the soil which had been polluted by the foul impurities of demon worship transported to a far distant place.

CHAPTER XXVIII. DISCOVERY OF THE MOST HOLY SEPULCHRE.

This also was accomplished without delay. But as soon as the original surface of the ground, beneath the covering of earth, appeared, immediately, and contrary to all expectation, the venerable and hollowed monument of our Saviour's resurrection was discovered. Then indeed did this most holy cave present a faithful simili- tude of his return to life, in that, after lying buried in darkness, it again emerged to light, and afforded to all who came to witness the sight, a clear and visible proof of the wonders of which that spot had once been the scene, a testimony to the resurrection of the Saviour clearer than any voice could give.

CHAPTER XXIX. HOW HE WROTE CONCERNING THE ERECTION OF A CHURCH, BOTH TO THE GOVERNORS OF THE PROVINCES, AND TO THE BISHOP MACARIUS.

Immediately after the transactions I have recorded, the emperor sent forth injunctions which breathed a truly pious spirit, at the same time granting ample supplies of money, and commanding that a house of prayer worthy of the worship of God should be erected near the Saviour's tomb on a scale of rich and royal greatness. This object he had indeed for some time kept in view, and had foreseen, as if by the aid of a superior intelligence, that which should afterwards come to pass. He laid his commands, therefore, on the governors of the Eastern provinces, that by an abundant and unsparing expenditure they should secure the completion of the work on a scale of noble and ample magnificence. He also despatched the following letter to the bishop who at that time presided over the church at Jerusalem, in which he clearly asserted the saving doctrine of the faith, writing in these terms.

CHAPTER XXX. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO MACARIUS RESPECTING THE BUILDING OF THE CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOUR.

"Victor Constantius, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius. 1 "Such is our Saviour's grace, that no power of language seems adequate to describe the wondrous circumstance to which I am about to refer. For, that the monument of his most holy Passion, so long ago buried beneath the ground, should have remained unknown for so long a series of years, until its reappearance to his

servants now set free through the removal of him who was the common enemy of all, is a fact which truly surpasses all admiration. For if all who are accounted wise throughout the world were to unite in their endeavors to say somewhat worthy of this event, they would be unable to attain their object in the smallest degree. Indeed, the nature of this miracle as far transcends the capacity of human reason as heavenly things are superior to human affairs. For this cause it is ever my first, and indeed my only object, that, as the authority of the truth is evincing itself daily by fresh wonders, so our souls may all become more zealous, with all sobriety and earnest unanimity, for the honor of the Divine law. I desire, therefore, especially, that you should be persuaded of that which I suppose is evident to all beside, namely, that I have no greater care than how I may best adorn with a splendid structure that sacred spot, which, under Divine direction, I have disencumbered as it were of the heavy weight of foul idol worship; a spot which has been accounted holy from the beginning in God's judgment, but which now appears holier still, since it has brought to light a clear assurance of our Saviour's passion.

CHAPTER XXXI. THAT THE BUILDING SHOULD SURPASS ALL THE CHURCHES IN THE WORLD IN THE BEAUTY OF ITS WALLS, ITS COLUMNS, AND MARBLES.

1 "It will be well, therefore, for your sagacity to make such arrangements and provision of all things needful for the work, that not only the church itself as a whole may surpass all others whatsoever in beauty, but that the details of the building may be of such a kind that the fairest structures in any city of the empire may be excelled by this. And with respect to the erection and decoration of the walls, this is to inform you that our friend Dracilianus, the deputy of the Praetorian Praefects, and the governor of the province, have received a charge from us. For our pious directions to them are to the effect that artificers and laborers, and whatever they shall understand from your sagacity to be needful for the advancement of the work, shall forthwith be furnished by their care. And as to the columns and marbles, whatever you shall judge, after actual inspection of the plan, to be especially precious and serviceable, be diligent to send information to us in writing, in order that whatever quantity or sort of materials we shall esteem from your letter to be needful, may be procured from every quarter, as required, for it is fitting that the most marvelous place in the world should be worthily decorated.

CHAPTER XXXII. THAT HE INSTRUCTED THE GOVERNORS CONCERNING THE BEAUTIFYING OF THE ROOF; ALSO CONCERNING WORKMEN, AND MATERIALS.

"With respect to the ceiling of the church, I wish to know from you whether in your judgment it should be panel-ceiled, or finished with any other kind of workmanship. If the panel ceiling be adopted, it may also be ornamented with gold. For the rest, your Holiness will give information as early as possible to the before-mentioned magistrates how many laborers and artificers, and what expenditure of money is required. You will also be careful to send us a report without delay, not only respecting the marbles and columns, but the paneled ceiling also, should this appear to you to be the most beautiful form. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

CHAPTER XXXIII. HOW THE CHURCH OF OUR SAVIOUR, THE NEW JERUSALEM PROPHESIED OF IN SCRIPTURE, WAS BUILT.

This was the emperor's letter; and his directions were at once carried into effect. Accordingly, on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings, a new Jerusalem was constructed, over against the one so celebrated of old, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of Divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the emperor now began to rear a monument to the Saviour's victory over death, with rich and lavish magnificence. And it may be that this was that second and new Jerusalem spoken of in the predictions of the prophets, concerning which such abundant testimony is given in the divinely inspired records. First of all, then, he adorned the sacred cave itself, as the chief part of the whole work, and the hallowed monument at which the angel radiant with light had once declared to all that regeneration which was first manifested in the Saviour's person.

CHAPTER XXXIV. DESCRIPTION OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

This monument, therefore, first of all, as the chief part of the whole, the emperor's zealous magnificence beautified with rare columns, anti profusely enriched with the most splendid decorations of every kind.

CHAPTER XXXV. DESCRIPTION OF THE ATRIUM AND PORTICOS.

The next object of his attention was a space of ground of great extent, and open to the pure air of heaven. This he adorned with a pavement of finely polished stone, and enclosed it on three sides with porticos of great length.

CHAPTER XXXVI. DESCRIPTION OF THE WALLS, ROOF, DECORATION, AND GILDING OF THE BODY OF THE CHURCH.

For at the side opposite to the cave, which was the eastern side, the church itself was erected; a noble work rising to a vast height, and of great extent both in length and breadth. The interior of this structure was floored with marble slabs of various colors; while the external surface of the walls, which shone with polished stones exactly fitted together, exhibited a degree of splendor in no respect inferior to that of marble. With regard to the roof, it was covered on the outside with lead, as a protection against the rains of winter. But the inner part of the roof, which was finished with sculptured panel work, extended in a series of connected compartments, like a vast sea, over the whole church; and, being overlaid throughout with the purest gold, caused the entire building to glitter as it were with rays of light.

CHAPTER XXXVII. DESCRIPTION OF THE DOUBLE PORTICOS ON EITHER SIDE, AND OF THE THREE EASTERN GATES.

Besides this were two porticos on each side, with upper and lower ranges of pillars, corresponding in length with the church itself; and these also had their roofs ornamented with gold. Of these porticos, those which were exterior to the church were supported by columns of great size, while those within these rested on piles of stone beautifully adorned on the surface. Three gates, placed exactly east, were intended to receive the multitudes who entered the church.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. DESCRIPTION OF THE HEMISPHERE, THE TWELVE COLUMNS, AND THEIR BOWLS.

Opposite these gates the crowning part of the whole was the hemisphere, which rose to the very summit of the church. This was encircled by twelve columns (according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour), having their capitals embellished with silver bowls of great size, which the emperor himself presented as a splendid offering to his God.

CHAPTER XXXIX. DESCRIPTION OF THE INNER COURT, THE ARCADES AND PORCHES.

In the next place he enclosed the atrium which occupied the space leading to the entrances in front of the church. This comprehended, first the court, then the porticos on each side, and lastly the gates of the court. After these, in the midst of the open market-place, the general entrance-gates, which were of exquisite workmanship, afforded to passers-by on the outside a view of the interior which could not fail to inspire astonishment.

CHAPTER XL. OF THE NUMBER OF HIS OFFERINGS.

This temple, then, the emperor erected as a conspicuous monument of the Saviour's resurrection, and embellished it throughout on an imperial scale of magnificence. He further enriched it with numberless offerings of inexpressible beauty and various materials,-gold, silver, and precious stones, the skillful and elaborate arrangement of which, in regard to their magnitude, number, and variety, we have not leisure at present to describe particularly.

CHAPTER XLI. OF THE ERECTION OF CHURCHES IN BETHLEHEM, AND AN THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

In the same country he discovered other places, venerable as being the localities of two sacred caves: and these also he adorned with lavish magnificence. In the one case, he rendered due honor to that which had been the scene of the first manifestation of our Saviour's divine presence, when he submitted to be born in mortal flesh; while in the case of the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his ascension to heaven from the mountain top. And while he thus nobly testified his reverence for these places, he at the same time eternized the memory of his mother, who had been the instrument of conferring so valuable a benefit on mankind.

CHAPTER XLII. THAT THE EMPRESS HELENA, CONSTANTINE'S MOTHER, HAVING VISITED THIS LOCALITY FOR DEVOTIONAL PURPOSES, BUILT THESE CHURCHES.

For she, having resolved to discharge the duties of pious devotion to the God, the King of kings, and feeling it incumbent on her to render thanksgivings with prayers on behalf both of her own son, now so mighty an emperor, and of his sons, her own grandchildren, the divinely favored Caesars, though now advanced in years, yet gifted with no common degree of wisdom, had hastened with youthful alacrity to survey this venerable land; and

at the same time to visit the eastern provinces, cities, and people, with a truly imperial solicitude. As soon, then, as she had rendered due reverence to the ground which the Saviour's feet had trodden, according to the prophetic word which says "Let us worship at the place whereon his feet have stood," she immediately bequeathed the fruit of her piety to future generations.

CHAPTER XLIII. A FARTHER NOTICE OF THE CHURCHES AT BETHLEHEM.

1 For without delay she dedicated two churches to the God whom she adored, one at the grotto which had been the scene of the Saviour's birth; the other on the mount of his ascension. For he who was "God with us" had submitted to be born even in a cave of the earth, and the place of his nativity was called Bethlehem by the Hebrews. Accordingly the pious empress honored with rare memorials the scene of her travail who bore this heavenly child, and beautified the sacred cave with all possible splendor. The emperor himself soon after testified his reverence for the spot by princely offerings, and added to his mother's magnificence by costly presents of silver and gold, and embroidered hangings. And farther, the mother of the emperor raised a stately structure on the Mount of Olives also, in memory of his ascent to heaven who is the Saviour of mankind, erecting a sacred church and temple on the very summit of the mount. And indeed authentic history informs us that in this very cave the Saviour imparted his secret revelations to his disciples. And here also the emperor testified his reverence for the King of kings, by diverse and costly offerings. Thus did Helena Augusta, the pious mother of a pious emperor, erect over the two mystic caverns these two noble and beautiful monuments of devotion, worthy of everlasting remembrance, to the honor of God her Saviour, and as proofs of her holy zeal, receiving from her son the aid of his imperial power.

2 Nor was it long ere this aged woman reaped the due reward of her labors. After passing the whole period of her life, even to declining age, in the greatest prosperity, and exhibiting both in word and deed abundant fruits of obedience to the divine precepts, and having enjoyed in consequence an easy and tranquil existence, with unimpaired powers of body and mind, at length she obtained from God an end befitting her pious course, and a recompense of her good deeds even in this present life.

CHAPTER XLIV. OF HELENA'S GENEROSITY AND BENEFICENT ACTS.

For on the occasion of a circuit which she made of the eastern provinces, in the splendor of imperial authority, she bestowed abundant proofs of her liberality as well on the inhabitants of the several cities collectively, as on individuals who approached her, at the same time that she scattered largesses among the soldiery with a liberal hand. But especially abundant were the gifts she bestowed on the naked and unprotected poor. To some she gave money, to others an ample supply of clothing: she liberated some from imprisonment, or from the bitter servitude of the mines; others she delivered from unjust oppression, and others again, she restored from exile.

CHAPTER XLV. HELENA'S PIOUS CONDUCT IN THE CHURCHES.

While, however, her character derived luster from such deeds as I have described, she was far from neglecting personal piety toward God. She might be seen continually frequenting his Church, while at the same time she adorned the houses of prayer with splendid offerings, not overlooking the churches of the smallest cities. In short, this admirable woman was to be seen, in simple and modest attire, mingling with the crowd of worshipers, and testifying her devotion to God by a uniform course of pious conduct.

CHAPTER XLVI. HOW SHE MADE HER WILL, AND DIED AT THE AGE OF EIGHTY YEARS.

And when at length at the close of a long life, she was called to inherit a happier lot, having arrived at the eightieth year of her age, and being very near the time of her departure, she prepared and executed her last will in favor of her only son, the emperor and sole monarch of the world, and her grandchildren, the Caesars his sons, to whom severally she bequeathed whatever property she possessed in any part of the world. Having thus made her will, this thrice blessed woman died in the presence of her illustrious son, who was in attendance at her side, caring for her and held her hands: so that, to those who rightly discerned the truth, the thrice blessed one seemed not to die, but to experience a real change and transition from an earthly to a heavenly existence, since her soul, remoulded as it were into an incorruptible and angelic essence, was received up into her Saviour's presence.

CHAPTER XLVII. HOW CONSTANTINE BURIED HIS MOTHER, AND HOW HE HONORED HER DURING HER LIFE.

Her body, too, was honored with special tokens of respect, being escorted on its way to the imperial city by a vast train of guards, and there deposited in a royal tomb. Such were the last days of our emperor's mother, a person worthy of being had in perpetual remembrance, both for her own practical piety, and because she had given birth to so extraordinary and admirable an offspring. And well may his character be styled blessed, for his filial piety as well as on other grounds. He rendered her through his influence so devout a worshiper of God, (though she had not previously been such,) that she seemed to have been instructed from the first by the Saviour of mankind: and besides this, he had honored her so fully with imperial dignities, that in every province, and in the very ranks of the soldiery, she was spoken of under the titles of Augusta and empress, and her likeness was impressed on golden coins. He had even granted her authority over the imperial treasures, to use and dispense them according to her own will and discretion in every case for this enviable distinction also she received at the hands of her son. Hence it is that among the qualities which shed a luster on his memory, we may rightly include that surpassing degree of filial affection whereby he rendered full obedience to the Divine precepts which enjoin due honor from children to their parents. In this manner, then, the emperor executed in Palestine the noble works I have above described: and indeed in every province he raised new churches on a far more imposing scale than those which had existed before his time.

CHAPTER XLVIII. HOW HE BUILT CHURCHES IN HONOR OF MARTYRS, AND ABOLISHED IDOLATRY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

And being fully resolved to distinguish the city which bore his name with especial honor, he embellished it with numerous sacred edifices, both memorials of martyrs on the largest scale, and other buildings of the most splendid kind, not only within the city itself, but in its vicinity: and thus at the same time he rendered honor to the memory of the martyrs, and consecrated his city to the martyrs' God. Being filled, too, with Divine wisdom, he determined to purgethe city which was to be distinguished by his own name from idolatry of every kind, that henceforth no statues might be worshiped there in the temples of those falsely reputed to be gods, nor any altars defiled by the pollution of blood: that there might be no sacrifices consumed by fire,

no demon festivals, nor any of the other ceremonies usually observed by the superstitious.

CHAPTER XLIX. REPRESENTATION OF THE CROSS IN THE PALACE, AND OF DANIEL AT THE PUBLIC FOUNTAINS.

On the other hand one might see the fountains in the midst of the market place graced with figures representing the good Shepherd, well known to those who study the sacred oracles, and that of Daniel also with the lions, forged in brass, and resplendent with plates of gold. Indeed, so large a measure of Divine love possessed the emperor's soul, that in the principal apartment of the imperial palace itself, on a vast tablet displayed in the center of its gold-covered paneled ceiling, he caused the symbol of our Saviour's Passion to be fixed, composed of a variety of precious stones richly inwrought with gold. This symbol he seemed to have intended to be as it were the safeguard of the empire itself.

CHAPTER L. THAT HE ERECTED CHURCHES IN NICOMEDIA, AND IN OTHER CITIES.

Having thus embellished the city which bore his name, he next distinguished the capital of Bithynia by the erection of a stately and magnificent church, being desirous of raising in this city also, in honor of his Saviour and at his own charges, a memorial of his victory over his own enemies and the adversaries of God. He also decorated the principal cities of the other provinces with sacred edifices of great beauty; as, for example, in the case of that metropolis of the East which derived its name from Antiochus, in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building was encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rose to a vast elevation, being of an octagonal form, and surrounded on all sides by many chambers, courts, and upper and lower apartments; the whole richly adorned with a profusion of gold, brass, and other materials of the most costly kind.

CHAPTER LI. THAT HE ORDERED A CHURCH TO BE BUILT AT MAMBRE.

Such was the principal sacred edifices erected by the emperor's command. But having heard that the self-same Saviour who erewhile had appeared on earth had in ages long since past afforded a manifestation of his Divine presence to holy men of Palestine near the oak of Mambre, he ordered that a house of

prayer should be built there also in honor of the God who had thus appeared. Accordingly the imperial commission was transmitted to the provincial governors by letters addressed to them individually, enjoining a speedy completion of the appointed work. He sent moreover to the writer of this history an eloquent admonition, a copy of which I think it well to insert in the present work, in order to convey a just idea of his pious diligence and zeal. To express, then, his displeasure at the evil practices which he had heard were usual in the place just referred to, he addressed me in the following terms.

CHAPTER LII. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO EUSEBIUS CONCERNING MAMBRE.

"Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Macarius, and the rest of the bishops in Palestine. "One benefit, and that of no ordinary importance, has been conferred on us by my truly pious mother-in-law, in that she has made known to us by letter that abandoned folly of impious men which has hitherto escaped detection by you: so that the criminal conduct thus overlooked may now through our means obtain fitting correction and remedy, necessary though ardy. For surely it is a grave impiety indeed, that holy places should be defiled by the stain of unhallowed impurities. What then is this, dearest brethren, which, though it has eluded your sagacity, she of whom I speak was impelled by a pious sense of duty to disclose?

CHAPTER LIII. THAT THE SAVIOUR APPEARED IN THIS PLACE TO ABRAHAM.

1 "She assures me, then, that the place which takes its name from the oak of Mambre, where we find that Abraham dwelt, is defiled by certain of the slaves of superstition in every possible way. She declares that idols which should be utterly destroyed have been erected on the site of that tree; that an altar is near the spot; and that impure sacrifices are continually performed. Now since it is evident that these practices are equally inconsistent with the character of our times, and unworthy the sanctity of the place itself, I wish your Gravities to be informed that the illustrious Count Acacius, our friend, has received instructions by letter from me, to the effect that every idol which shall be found in the place above-mentioned shall immediately be consigned to the flames; that the altar be utterly demolished; and that if any one, after this our mandate, shall be guilty of impiety of any kind in this place, he shall be visited with condign punishment. The place itself we have directed to be adorned with an unpolluted structure, I mean a church; in or-

der that it may become a fitting place of assembly for holy men. Meantime, should any breach of these our commands occur, it should be made known to our clemency without the least delay by letters from you, that we may direct the person detected to be dealt with, as a transgressor of the law, in the severest manner.

2 For you are not ignorant that the Supreme God first appeared to Abraham, and conversed with him, in that place. There it was that the observance of the Divine law first began; there first the Saviour himself, with the two angels, vouchsafed to Abraham a manifestation of his presence; there God first appeared to men; there he gave promise to Abraham concerning his future seed, and straightway fulfilled that promise; there he foretold that he should be the father of a multitude of nations. For these reasons, it seems to me right that this place should not only be kept pure through your diligence from all defilement, but restored also to its pristine sanctity; that nothing hereafter may be done there except the performance of fitting service to him who is the Almighty God, and our Saviour, and Lord of all. And this service it is incumbent on you to care for with due attention, if your Gravities be willing (and of this I feel confident) to gratify my wishes, which are especially interested in the worship of God. May he preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER LIV. DESTRUCTION OF IDOL TEMPLES AND IMAGES EVERYWHERE.

1 All these things the emperor diligently performed to the praise of the saving power of Christ, and thus made it his constant aim to glorify his Saviour God. On the other hand he used every means to rebuke the superstitious errors of the heathen. Hence the entrances of their temples in the several cities were left exposed to the weather, being stripped of their doors at his command; the tiling of others was removed, and their roofs destroyed. From others again the venerable statues of brass, of which the superstition of antiquity had boasted for a long series of years, were exposed to view in all the public places of the imperial city: so that here a Pythian, there a Sminthian Apollo, excited the contempt of the beholder: while the Delphic tripods were deposited in the hippodrome and the Muses of Helicon in the palace itself. In short, the city which bore his name was everywhere filled with brazen statues of the most exquisite workmanship, which had been dedicated in every province, and which the deluded victims of superstition had long vainly

honored as gods with numberless victims and burnt sacrifices, though now at length they learnt to renounce their error, when the emperor held up the very objects of their worship to be the ridicule and sport of all beholders. With regard to those images which were of gold, he dealt with them in a different manner.

2 For as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the way of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed to all. Having formed this resolution, he considered no soldiers or military force of any sort needful for the suppression of the evil: a few of his own friends sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to visit each several province. Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's pious intentions and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, amidst general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day: they then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the gaze of all the unsightly reality which had been hidden beneath a painted exterior. Lastly, whatever part of the material appeared valuable they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purpose, leaving to the superstitious worshipers that which was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame. Meanwhile our admirable prince was himself engaged in a work similar to what we have described.

3 For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes and as it were carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods.

CHAPTER LV. OVERTHROW OF AN IDOL TEMPLE, AND ABOLITION OF LICENTIOUS PRACTICES, AT APHACA IN PHOENICIA.

1 The emperor's next care was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might still exist. And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heav-

enward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth, so did he, while residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover as from a watch-tower a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phoenicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, nor in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, at Aphaca, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus. It was a school of wickedness for all the votaries of impurity, and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving of the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their effeminate conduct; here too unlawful commerce of women and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes.

2 These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial command, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental in purging the place. And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint learned self-control through the emperor's threat of punishment, as likewise those superstitious Gentiles wise in their own conceit, who now obtained experimental proof of their own folly.

CHAPTER LVI. DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF AESCULAPIUS AT EGAAE.

For since a wide-spread error of these pretenders to wisdom concerned the demon worshiped in Cilicia, whom thousands regarded with reverence as the possessor of saving and healing power, who sometimes appeared to those who passed the night in his temple, sometimes restored the diseased to health, though on the contrary he was a destroyer of souls, who drew his easily deluded worshipers from the true Saviour to involve them in impious error, the emperor, consistently with his practice, and desire to advance the worship of him who is at once a jealous God and the true Saviour, gave directions that this temple also should be razed to the ground. In prompt obedience to this

command, a band of soldiers laid this building, the admiration of noble philosophers, prostrate in the dust, together with its unseen inmate, neither demon nor god, but rather a deceiver of souls, who had seduced mankind for so long a time through various ages. And thus he who had promised to others deliverance from misfortune and distress, could find no means for his own security, any more than when, as is told in myth, he was scorched by the lightning's stroke. Our emperor's pious deeds, however, had in them nothing fabulous or feigned; but by virtue of the manifested power of his Saviour, this temple as well as others was so utterly overthrown, that not a vestige of the former follies was left behind.

CHAPTER LVII. HOW THE GENTILES ABANDONED IDOL WORSHIP, AND TURNED TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF GOD.

Hence it was that, of those who had been the slaves of superstition, when they saw with their own eyes the exposure of their delusion, and beheld the actual ruin of the temples and images in every place, some applied themselves to the saving doctrine of Christ; while others, though they declined to take this step, yet reprobated the folly which they had received from their fathers, and laughed to scorn what they had so long been accustomed to regard as gods. Indeed, what other feelings could possess their minds, when they witnessed the thorough uncleanness concealed beneath the fair exterior of the objects of their worship? Beneath this were found either the bones of dead men or dry skulls, fraudulently adorned by the arts of magicians, or filthy rags full of abominable impurity, or a bundle of hay or stubble. On seeing all these things heaped together within their lifeless images, they denounced their fathers' extreme folly and their own, especially when neither in the secret recesses of the temples nor in the statues themselves could any inmate be found; neither demon, nor utterer of oracles, neither god nor prophet, as they had heretofore supposed: nay, not even a dim and shadowy phantom could be seen. Accordingly, every gloomy cavern, every hidden recess, afforded easy access to the emperor's emissaries: the inaccessible and secret chambers, the innermost shrines of the temples, were trampled by the soldiers' feet; and thus the mental blindness which had prevailed for so many ages over the gentile world became clearly apparent to the eyes of all.

CHAPTER LVIII. HOW HE DESTROYED THE TEMPLE OF VENUS AT HELIOPOLIS, AND BUILT THE FIRST CHURCH IN THAT CITY.

Such actions as I have described may well be reckoned among the emperor's noblest achievements, as also the wise arrangements which he made respecting each particular province. We may instance the Phoenician city Heliopolis, in which those who dignify licentious pleasure with a distinguishing title of honor, had permitted their wives and daughters to commit shameless fornication. But now a new statute, breathing the very spirit of modesty, proceeded from the emperor, which peremptorily forbade the con- tinuance of former practices. And besides this he sent them also written exhortations, as though he had been especially ordained by God for this end, that he might instruct all men in the principles of chastity. Hence, he disdained not to communicate by letter even with these persons, urging them to seek diligently the knowledge of God. At the same time he followed up his words by corresponding deeds, and erected even in this city a church of great size and magnificence: so that an event unheard of before in any age, now for the first time came to pass, namely, that a city which had hitherto been wholly given up to superstition now obtained the privilege of a church of God, with presbyters and deacons, and its people were placed under the presiding care of a bishop consecrated to the service of the supreme God. And further, the emperor, being anxious that here also as many as possible might be won to the truth, bestowed abundant provision for the necessities of the poor, desiring even thus to invite them to seek the doctrines of salvation, as though he were almost adopting the words of him who said, "Whether in pretense, or in truth, let Christ be preached."

CHAPTER LIX. OF THE DISTURBANCE AT ANTIOCH BY EUSTATHIUS.

1 In the midst, however, of the general happiness occasioned by these events, and while the Church of God was every where and every way flourishing throughout the empire, once more that spirit of envy, who ever watches for the ruin of the good, prepared himself to combat the greatness of our prosperity, in the expectation, perhaps, that the emperor himself, provoked by our tumults and disorders, might eventually become estranged from us. Accordingly, he kindled a furious controversy at Antioch, and thereby involved the church in that place in a series of tragic calamities, which had well-nigh occasioned the total overthrow of the city. The members of the Church were divided into two opposite parties; while the people, including

even the magistrates and soldiery, were roused to such a pitch, that the contest would have been decided by the sword, had not the watchful providence of God, as well as dread of the emperor's displeasure, controlled the fury of the multitude. On this occasion, too, the emperor, acting the part of a preserver and physician of souls, applied with much forbearance the remedy of persuasion to those who needed it. He gently pleaded, as it were by an embassy, with his people, sending among them oneof the best approved and most faithful of those who were honored with the dignity of Count;

2 at the same time that he exhorted them to a peaceable spirit by repeated letters, and instructed them in the practice of true godliness, Having prevailed by these remonstrances, he excused their conduct in his subsequent letters, alleging that he had himself heard the merits of the case from him on whose account the disturbance had arisen. And these letters of his, which are replete with learning and instruction of no ordinary kind, I should have inserted in this present work, were it not that they might affix a mark of dishonor to the character of the persons accused. I will therefore omit these, being unwilling to revive the memory of past grievances, and will only annex those to my present narrative which he wrote to testify his satisfaction at the re-establishment of peace and concord among the rest. In these letters, he cautioned them against any desire to claim the ruler of another district, through whose intervention peace had been restored, as their own, and exhorted them, consistently with the usage of the Church, to choose him as their bishop, whom the common Saviour of all should point out as suited for the office. His letter, then, is addressed to the people and to the bishops, severally, in the following terms.

CHAPTER LX. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO THE ANTIOCHIANS, DIRECTING THEM NOT TO WITHDRAW EUSEBIUS FROM CAESAREA, BUT TO SEEK SOME ONE ELSE.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the people of Antioch. 2 2 "How pleasing to the wise and intelligent portion of mankind is the concord which exists among you! And I myself, brethren, am disposed to love you with an enduring affection, inspired both by religion, and by your own manner of life and zeal on my behalf. It is by the exercise of right understanding and sound discretion, that we are enabled really to enjoy our blessings. And what can become you so well as i this discretion? No wonder, then, if I affirm that your maintenance of the truth has tended rather to promote

your security than to draw on you the hatred of others. Indeed, amongst brethren, whom the selfsame disposition to walk in the ways of truth and righteousness promises, through the favor of God, to register among his pure and holy family, what can be more honorable than gladly to acquiesce in the prosperity of all men? Especially since the precepts of the divine law prescribe a better direction to your proposed intention, and we ourselves desire that your judgment should be confirmed by proper sanction. It may be that you are surprised, and at a loss to understand the meaning of this introduction to my present address. The cause of it I will not hesitate to explain without reserve.

3 I confess, then, that on reading your records I perceived, by the highly eulogistic testimony which they bear to Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, whom I have myself long well known and esteemed for his learning and moderation, that you are strongly attached to him, and desire to appropriate him as your own. What thoughts, then, do you suppose that I entertain on this subject, desirous as I am to seek for and act on the strict principles of right? What anxiety do you imagine this desire of yours has caused me? O holy faith, who givest us in our Saviour's words and precepts a model, as it were, of what our life should be, how hardly wouldst thou thyself resist the sins of men, were it not that thou refusest to subserve the purposes of gain! In my own judgment, he whose first object is the maintenance of peace, seems to be superior to Victory herself; and where a right and honorable course lies open to one's choice, surely no one would hesitate to adopt it. I ask then, brethren, why do we so decide as to inflict an injury on others by our choice? Why do we covet those objects which will destroy the credit of our own reputation? I myself highly esteem the individual whom ye judge worthy of your respect and affection:

4 notwithstanding, it cannot be right that those principles should be entirely disregarded which should be authoritative and binding on all alike, so that each should not be content with his own circumstances, and all enjoy their proper privileges: nor can it be right, in considering the claims of rival candidates, to suppose but that not one only, but many, may appear worthy of comparison with this person. For as long as no violence or harshness are suffered to disturb the dignities of the church, they continue to be on an equal footing, and worthy of the same consideration everywhere. Nor is it reasonable that an inquiry into the qualifications of this one should be made

to the detriment of others; since the judgment of all churches, whether reckoned of greater or less importance in themselves, is equally capable of receiving and maintaining the divine ordinances, so that one is in no way inferior to another, if we will but boldly declare the truth, in regard to that standard of practice which is common to all. If this be so, we must say that you will be chargeable, not with retaining this prelate, but with wrongfully removing him; your conduct will be characterized rather by violence than justice; and whatever may be generally thought by others, I dare clearly and boldly affirm that this measure will furnish ground of accusation against you, and will provoke factious disturbances of the most mischievous kind:

5 for even timid flocks can show the use and power of their teeth, when the watchful care of their shepherd declines, and they find themselves bereft of his accustomed guidance. If this then be really so, if I am not deceived in my judgment, let this, brethren, be your first consideration, for many and important considerations will immediately present themselves, whether, should you persist in your intention, that mutual kindly feeling and affection which should subsist among you will suffer no diminution? In the next place, remember that he, who came among you for the purpose of offering disinterested counsel, now enjoys the reward which is due to him in the judgment of heaven; for he has received no ordinary recompense in the high testimony you have borne to his equitable conduct. Lastly, in accordance with your usual sound judgment, do ye exhibit a becoming diligence in selecting the person of whom you stand in need, carefully avoiding all factious and tumultuous clamor; for such clamor is always wrong, and from the collision of discordant elements both sparks and flame will arise.

6 I protest, as I desire to please God and you, and to enjoy a happiness commensurate with your kind wishes, that I love you, and the quiet haven of your gentleness, now that you have cast from you that which defiled, and received in its place at once sound morality and concord, firmly planting in the vessel the sacred standard, and guided, as one may say, by a helm of iron in your course onward to the light of heaven. Receive then on board that merchandise which is incorruptible, since, as it were, all bilge water has been drained from the vessel; and be careful henceforth so to secure the enjoyment of all your present blessing, that you may not seem at any future time either to have determined any measure on the impulse of inconsiderate or

ill-directed zeal, or in the first instance rashly to have entered on an inexpedient course. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER LXI. THE EMPEROR'S LETTER TO EUSEBIUS PRAISING HIM FOR REFUSING THE BISHOPRIC OF ANTIOCH.

The Emperor's Letter to me on my refusing the Bishopric of Antioch. "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius. "I have most carefully perused your letter, and perceive that you have strictly conformed to the rule enjoined by the discipline of the Church. Now to abide by that which appears at the same time pleasing to God, and accordant with apostolical tradition, is a proof of true piety. You have reason to deem yourself happy on this behalf, that you are counted worthy, in the judgment, I may say, of all the world, to have the oversight of any church. For the desire which all feel to claim you for their own, undoubtedly enhances your enviable fortune in this respect. Notwithstanding, your Prudence whose resolve it is to observe the ordinances of God and the apostolic canon of the Church, has done excellently well in declining the bishopric of the church at Antioch, and desiring to continue in that church of which you first received the oversight by the will of God. I have written on this subject to the people of Antioch, and also to your colleagues in the ministry who had themselves consulted me in regard to this question; on reading which letters, your Holiness will easily discern, that, inasmuch as justice itself opposed their claims, I have written to them under divine direction. It will be necessary that your Prudence should be present at their conference, in order that this decision may be ratified in the church at Antioch. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

CHAPTER LXII. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL, DEPRECIATING THE REMOVAL OF EUSEBIUS FROM CAESAREA.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, A tius, Alpheus, and the rest of the bishops who are at Antioch. 2 "I have perused the letters written by your Prudences, and highly approve of the wise resolution of your colleague in the ministry, Eusebius. Having, moreover, been informed of the circumstances of the case, partly by your letters, partly by those of our illustrious counts, Acacius and Strategius, after sufficient investigation I have written to the people of Antioch, suggesting the course which will be at once pleasing to God and advantageous for the Church. A copy of this I have ordered to be subjoined to this present letter, in order that ye yourselves may know what I thought fit, as an advocate of

the cause of justice, to write to that people: since I find in your letter this proposal, that, in consonance with the choice of the people, sanctioned by your own desire, Eusebius the holy bishop of Caesarea should preside over and take the charge of the church at Antioch. Now the letters of Eusebius himself on this subject appeared to be strictly accordant with the order prescribed by the Church. Nevertheless it is expedient that your Prudences should be made acquainted with my opinion also. For I am informed that Euphronius the presbyter, who isa citizen of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and George of Arethusa, likewise a presbyter, and appointed to that office by Alexander at Alexandria, are men of tried faith. It was right, therefore, to intimate to your Prudences, that in proposing these men and any others whom you may deem worthy the episcopal dignity, you should decide this question in a manner conformable to the tradition of the apostles. For in that case, your Prudences will be able, according to the rule of the Church and apostolic tradition, to direct this election in the manner which true ecclesiastical discipline shall prescribe. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER LXIII. HOW HE DISPLAYED HIS ZEAL FOR THE EXTIRPATION OF HERESIES.

Such were the exhortations to do all things to the honor of the divine religion which the emperor addressed to the rulers of the churches. Having by these means banished dissension, and reduced the Church of God to a state of uniform harmony, he next proceeded to a different duty, feeling it incumbent on him to extirpate another sort of impious persons, as pernicious enemies of the human race. These were pests of society, who ruined whole cities under the specious garb of religious decorum; men whom our Saviour's warning voice somewhere terms false prophets and ravenous wolves: "Beware of false prophets, which will come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves. By their fruits ye shall know them." Accordingly, by an order transmitted to the governors of the several provinces, he effectually banished all such offenders. In addition to this ordinance he addressed to them personally a severely awakening admonition, exhorting them to an earnest repentance, that they might still find a haven of safety in the true Church of God. Hear, then, in what manner he addressed them in this letter.

CHAPTER LXIV. CONSTANTINE'S EDICT AGAINST THE HERETICS.

"Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the heretics. "Understand now, by this present statute, ye Novatians, Valentinians, Marcionites, Paulians, ye who are called Cataphrygians, and all ye who devise and support heresies by means of your private assemblies, with what a tissue of falsehood and vanity, with what destructive and venomous errors, your doctrines are inseparably interwoven; so that through you the healthy soul is stricken with disease, and the living becomes the prey of everlasting death. Ye haters and enemies of truth and life, in league with destruction! All your counsels are opposed to the truth, but familiar with deeds of baseness; full of absurdities and fictions: and by these ye frame falsehoods, oppress the innocent, and withhold the light from them that believe. Ever trespassing under the mask of godliness, ye fill all things with defilement: ye pierce the pure and guileless conscience with deadly wounds, while ye withdraw, one may almost say, the very light of day from the eyes of men. But why should I particularize, when to speak of your criminality as it deserves demands more time and leisure than I can give? For so long and unmeasured is the catalogue of your offenses, so hateful and altogether atrocious are they, that a single day would not suffice to recount them all. And, indeed, it is well to turn one's ears and eyes from such a subject, lest by a description of each particular evil, the pure sincerity and freshness of one's own faith be impaired. Why then do I still bear with such abounding evil; especially since this protracted clemency is the cause that some who were sound are become tainted with this pestilent disease? Why not at once strike, as it were, at the root of so great a mischief by a public manifestation of displeasure?

CHAPTER LXV. THE HERETICS ARE DEPRIVED OF THEIR MEETING PLACES.

"Forasmuch, then, as it is no longer possible to bear with your pernicious errors, we give warning by this present statute that none of you henceforth presume to assemble yourselves together. We have directed, accordingly, that you be deprived of all the houses in which you are accustomed to hold your assemblies: and our care in this respect extends so far as to forbid the holding of your superstitious and senseless meetings, not in public merely, but in any private house or place whatsoever. Let those of you, therefore, who are desirous of embracing the true and pure religion, take the far better course of entering the catholic Church, and uniting with it in holy fellowship,

whereby you will be enabled to arrive at the knowledge of the truth. In any case, the delusions of your perverted understandings must entirely cease to mingle with and mar the felicity of our present times: I mean the impious and wretched double-mindedness of heretics and schismatics. For it is an object worthy of that prosperity which we enjoy through the favor of God, to endeavor to bring back those who in time past were living in the hope of future blessing, from all irregularity and error to the right path, from darkness to light, from vanity to truth, from death to salvation. And in order that this remedy may be applied with effectual power, we have commanded, as before said, that you be positively deprived of every gathering point for your superstitious meetings, I mean all the houses of prayer, if such be worthy of the name, which belong to heretics, and that these be made over without delay to the catholic Church; that any other places be confiscated to the public service, and no facility whatever be left for any future gathering; in order that from this day forward none of your unlawful assemblies may presume to appear in any public or private place. Let this edict be made public."

CHAPTER LXVI. HOW ON THE DISCOVERY OF PROHIBITED BOOKS AMONG THE HERETICS, MANY OF THEM RETURN TO THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Thus were the lurking-places of the heretics broken up by the emperor's command, and the savage beasts they harbored (I mean the chief authors of their impious doctrines) driven to flight. Of those whom they had deceived, some, intimidated by the emperor's threats, disguising their real sentiments, crept secretly into the Church. For since the law directed that search should be made for their books, those of them who practiced evil and forbidden arts were detected, and, these were ready to secure their own safety by dissimulation of every kind. Others, however, there were, who voluntarily and with real sincerity embraced a better hope. Meantime the prelates of the several churches. continued to make strict inquiry, utterly rejecting those who attempted an entrance under the specious disguise of false pretenses, while those who came with sincerity of purpose were proved for a time, and after sufficient trial numbered with the congregation. Such was the treatment of those who stood charged with rank heresy: those, however, who maintained no impious doctrine, but had been separated from the one body through the influence of schismatic advisers, were received without difficulty or delay. Accordingly, numbers thus revisited, as it were, their own country after an

absence in a foreign land, and acknowledged the Church as a mother from whom they had wandered long, and to whom they now returned with joy and gladness. Thus the members of the entire body became united, and compacted in one harmonious whole; and the one catholic Church, at unity with itself, shone with full luster, while no heretical or schismatic body anywhere continued to exist. And the credit of having achieved this mighty work our Heaven-protected emperor alone, of all who had gone before him, was able to attribute to himself.

CHAPTER I. HOW HE HONORED MANY BY PRESENTS AND PROMOTIONS.

1 While thus variously engaged in promoting the extension and glory of the church of God, and striving by every measure to commend the Saviour's doctrine, the emperor was far from neglecting secular affairs; but in this respect also he was unwearied in bestowing benefits of every kind and in quick succession on the people of every province. On the one hand he manifested a paternal anxiety for the general welfare of his subjects; on the other he would distinguish individuals of his own acquaintance with various marks of honor; conferring his benefits in every instance in a truly noble spirit. No one could request a favor from the emperor, and fail of obtaining what he sought: no one expected a boon from him, and found that expectation vain. Some received presents in money, others in land; some obtained the Praetorian praefecture, others senatorial, others again consular rank: many were appointed provincial governors: others were made counts of the first, second, or third order: in numberless instances the title of Most Illustrious and many other distinctions were conferred; for the emperor devised new dignities, that he might invest a larger number with the tokens of his favor.

CHAPTER II. REMISSION OF A FOURTH PART OF THE TAXES.

1 The extent to which he studied the general happiness and prosperity may be understood from a single instance most beneficial and universal in its application, and still gratefully remembered. He remitted a fourth part of the yearly tribute paid for land, and bestowed it on the owners of the soil; so that if we compute this yearly reduction, we shall find that the cultivators enjoyed their produce free of tribute every fourth year. This privilege being established by law, and secured for the time to come, has given occasion for the emperor's beneficence to be held, not merely by the then present generation, but by their children and descendants, in perpetual remembrance.

CHAPTER III. EQUALIZATION OF THE MORE OPPRESSIVE TAXES.

1 And whereas some persons found fault with the surveys of land which had been made under former emperors, and complained that their property was unduly burdened; acting in this case also on the principles of justice, he sent commissioners to equalize the tribute, and to secure immunity to those who had made this. appeal.

CHAPTER IV. HIS LIBERALITY, FROM HIS PRIVATE RESOURCES, TO THE LOSERS IN SUITS OF A PECUNIARY NATURE.

1 In cases of judicial arbitration, in order that the loser by his decision might not quit his presence less contented than the victorious litigant, he himself bestowed, and from his own private means in some cases lands, in other money, on the defeated party. In this manner he took care that the loser, as having appeared in his presence, should be as well satisfied as the gainer of the cause; for he considered that no one ought in any case to retire dejected and sorrowful from an interview with such a price. Thus it happened that both parties returned from the scene of trial with glad and cheerful countenances, while the emperor's noble-minded liberality excited universal admiration.

CHAPTER V. CONQUEST OF THE SCYTHIANS DEFEATED THROUGH THE SIGN OF OUR SAVIOUR.

1 And why should I relate even briefly and incidentally, how he subjected barbarous nations to the Roman power; how he was the first who subjugated the Scytian and Sarmatian tribes, which had never learned submission, and compelled them, how unwilling soever, to own the sovereignitiy of Rome? for the emperors who preceded him had actually rendered tribute to the Scythians: and Romans, by an annual payment, had confessed themselves servants to barbarians; an indignity which our emperor could no longer bear, nor think it consistent with his victorious career to continue the payment his predecessors had made. Accordingly, with full confidence in his Saviour's aid, he raised his conquering standard against these enemies also, and soon reduced them all to obedience; coercing by military force those who fiercely resisted his authority, while, on the other hand, he conciliated the rest by wisely conducted embassies, and reclaimed them to a state of order and civilization from their lawless and savage life. Thus the Scythians at length learned to acknowledge subjection to the power of Rome.

CHAPTER VI. CONQUEST OF THE SARMATIANS, CONSEQUENT ON THE REBELLION OF THEIR SLAVES.

1 With respect to the Sarmatians, God himself brought them beneath the rule of Constantine, and subdued a nation swelling with barbaric pride in the following manner. Being attacked by the Scythians, they had entrusted their slaves with arms, in order to repel the enemy. These slaves first overcame the invaders and then, turning their weapons against their masters, drove them all from their native land. The expelled Sarmatians found that their only hope of safety was in Constantine's protection: and he, whose familiar habit it was to save men's lives, received them all within the confines of the Roman empire. Those who were capable of serving he incorporated with his own troops: to the rest he allotted lands to cultivate for their own support: so that they themselves acknowledged that their past misfortune had produced a happy result, in that they now enjoyed Roman liberty in place of savage barbarism. In this manner God added to his dominions many and various barbaric tribes.

CHAPTER VII. AMBASSADORS FROM DIFFERENT BARBAROUS NATIONS RECEIVE PRESENTS FROM THE EMPEROR.

1 Indeed, ambassadors were continually arriving from all nations, bringing for his acceptance their most precious gifts. So that I myself have sometimes stood near the entrance of the imperial palace, and observed a noticeable array of barbarians in attendance, differing from each other in costume and decorations, and equally unlike in the fashion of their hair and beard. Their aspect truculent and terrible, their bodily stature prodigious: some of a red complexion, others white as snow, others again of an intermediate color. For in the number of those I have referred to might be seen specimens of the Blemmyan tribes, of the Indians, and the Ethiopians, "that widely-divided race, remotest of mankind." All these in due succession, like some painted pageant, presented to the emperor those gifts which their own nation held in most esteem; some offering crowns of gold, others diadems set with precious stones; some bringing fair-haired boys, others barbaric vestments embroidered with gold and flowers: some appeared with horses, others with shields and long spears, with arrows and bows, thereby offering their services and alliance for the emperor's acceptance. These presents he separately received and carefully laid aside, acknowledging them in so munificent a manner as at once to enrich those who bore them. He also honored the noblest

among them with Roman offices of dignity; so that many of them thenceforward preferred to continue their residence among us, and felt no desire to revisit their native land.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT HE WROTE ALSO TO THE KING OF PERSIA WHO HAD SENT HIM AN EMBASSY, ON BEHALF OF THE CHRISTIANS IN HIS REALM.

1 The king of the Persians also having testified a desire to form an alliance with Constantine, by sending an embassy and presents as assurances of peace and friendship, the emperor, in negotiating this treaty, far surpassed the monarch who had first done him honor, in the magnificence with which he acknowledged his gifts. Having heard, too, that there were many churches of God in Persia, and that large numbers there were gathered into the fold of Christ, full of joy at this intelligence, he resolved to extend his anxiety for the general welfare to that country also, as one whose aim it was to care for all alike in every nation.

CHAPTER IX. LETTER OF CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS TO SAPOR, KING OF THE PERSIANS, CONTAINING A TRULY PIOUS CONFESSION OF GOD AND CHRIST. COPY OF HIS LETTER TO THE KING OF PERSIA.

1 "By keeping the Divine faith, I am made a partaker of the light of truth: guided by the light of truth, I advance in the knowledge of the Divine faith. Hence it is that, as my actions themselves evince, I profess the most holy religion; and this worship I declare to be that which teaches me deeper acquaintance with the most holy God; aided by whose Divine power, beginning from the very borders of the ocean, I have aroused each nation of the world in succession to a well-grounded hope of security; so that those which, groaning in servitude to the most cruel tyrants and yielding to the pressure of their daily sufferings, had well nigh been utterly destroyed, have been restored through my agency to a far happier state. This God I confess that I hold in unceasing honor and remembrance; this God I delight to contemplate with pure and guileless thoughts in the height of his glory.

CHAPTER X. THE WRITER DENOUNCES IDOLS, AND GLORIFIES GOD.

1 "This God I invoke with bended knees, and recoil with horror from the blood of sacrifices from their foul and detestable odors, and from every earth-born magic fire: for the profane and impious superstitions which are defiled by these rites have cast down and consigned to perdition many, nay, whole nations of the Gentile world. For he who is Lord of all cannot endure that those blessings which, in his own loving-kindness and consideration of

the wants of men, he has revealed for the use of all, should be perverted to serve the lusts of any. His only demand from man is purity of mind and an undefiled spirit; and by this standard he weighs the actions of virtue and godliness. For his pleasure is in works of moderation and gentleness: he loves the meek, and hates the turbulent spirit: delighting in faith, he chastises unbelief: by him all presumptuous power is broken down, and he avenges the insolence of the proud. While the arrogant and haughty are utterly overthrown, he requires the humble and forgiving with deserved rewards: even so does he highly honor and strengthen with his special help a kingdom justly governed, and maintains a prudent king in the tranquillity of peace.

CHAPTER XI. AGAINST THE TYRANTS AND PERSECUTORS; AND ON THE CAPTIVITY OF VALERIAN.

1 "I Cannot, then, my brother believe that I err in acknowledging this one God, the author and parent of all things: whom many of my predecessors in power, led astray by the madness of error, have ventured to deny, but who were all visited with a retribution so terrible and so destructive, that all succeeding generations have held up their calamities as the most effectual warning to any who desire to follow in their steps. Of the number of these I believe him to have been, whom the lightning-stroke of Divine vengeance drove forth from hence, and banished to your dominions and whose disgrace contributed to the fame of your celebrated triumph.

CHAPTER XII. HE DECLARES THAT, HAVING WITNESSED THE FALL OF THE PERSECUTORS, HE NOW REJOICES AT THE PEACE ENJOYED BY THE CHRISTIANS.

1 "And it is surely a happy circumstance that the punishment of such persons as I have described should have been publicly manifested in our own times. For I myself have witnessed the end of those who lately harassed the worshipers of God by their impious edict. And for this abundant thanksgivings are due to God that through his excellent Providence all men who observe his holy laws are gladdened by the renewed enjoyment of peace. Hence I am fully persuaded that everything is in the best and safest posture, since God is vouchsafing, through the influence of their pure and faithful religious service, and their unity of judgment respecting his Divine character, to gather all men to himself.

CHAPTER XIII. HE BESPEAKS HIS AFFECTIONATE INTEREST FOR HE CHRISTIANS IN HIS COUNTRY.

1 "Imagine, then, with what joy I heard tidings so accordant with my desire, that the fairest districts of Persia are filled with those men on whose behalf alone I am at present speaking, I mean the Christians. I pray, therefore, that both you and they may enjoy abundant prosperity, and that your blessings and theirs may be in equal measure; for thus you will experience the mercy and favor of that God who is the Lord and Father of all. And now, because your power is great, I commend these persons to your protection;because your piety is eminent, I commit them to your care. Cherish them with your wonted humanity and kindness; for by this proof of faith you will secure an immeasurable benefit both to yourself and us."

CHAPTER XIV. HOW THE ZEALOUS PRAYERS OF CONSTANTINE PROCURED PEACE TO THE CHRISTIANS.

1 Thus, the nations of the world being everywhere guided in their course as it were by the skill of a single pilot, and acquiescing in the administration of him who governed as the servant of God, the peace of the Roman empire continued undisturbed, and all classes of his subjects enjoyed a life of tranquillity and repose. At the same time the emperor, who was convinced that the prayers of godly men contributed powerfully to the maintenance of the public welfare, felt himself constrained zealously to seek such prayers and not only himself implored the help and favor of God, but charged the prelates of the churches to offer supplications on his behalf.

CHAPTER XV. HE CAUSES HIMSELF TO BE REPRESENTED ON HIS COINS, AND IN HIS PORTRAITS, IN THE ATTITUDE OF PRAYER.

1 How deeply his soul was impressed by the power of divine faith may be understood from the circumstance that he directed his likeness to be stamped on the golden coin of the empire with the eyes uplifted as in the posture of prayer to God: and this money became current throughout the Roman world. His portrait also at full length was placed over the entrance gates of the palaces in some cities, the eyes upraised to heaven, and the hands outspread as if in prayer.

CHAPTER XVI. HE FORBIDS BY LAW THE PLATING HIS LIKENESS IN IDOL TEMPLES.

1 In this manner he represented himself, even through the medium of painting, as habitually engaged in prayer to God. At the same time he forbade, by an express enactment, the setting up of any resemblance of himself in any idol temple, that not even the mere lineaments of his person might receive contamination from the error of forbidden superstition.

CHAPTER XVII. OF HIS PRAYERS IN THE PALACE, AND HIS READING THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

1 Still nobler proofs of his piety might be discerned by those who marked how he modeled as it were his very palace into a church of God, and himself afforded a pattern of zeal to those assembled therein: how he took the sacred scriptures into his hands, and devoted himself to the study of those divinely inspired oracles; after which he would offer up regular prayers with all the members of his imperial court.

CHAPTER XVIII. HE ENJOINS THE GENERAL OBSERVANCE OF THE LORD'S DAY, AND THE DAY OF PREPARATION.

1 He ordained, too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for prayer: I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour. The entire care of his household was entrusted to deacons and other ministers consecrated to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue: while his trusty body guard, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found in their emperor an instructor in the practice of piety, and like him held the Lord's salutary day in honor and performed on that day the devotions which he loved. The same observance was recommended by this blessed prince to all classes of his subjects: his earnest desire being gradually to lead all mankind to the worship of God. Accordingly he enjoined on all the subjects of the Roman empire to observe the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and also to honor the day which precedes the Sabbath; in memory, I suppose, of what the Saviour of mankind is recorded to have achieved on that day. And since his desire was to teach his whole army zealously to honor the Saviour's day (which derives its name from light, and from the sun), he freely granted to those among them who were partakers of the divine faith, leisure for attendance on the services of the Church of God, in order that they might be able, without impediment, to perform their religious worship.

CHAPTER XIX. THAT HE DIRECTED EVEN HIS PAGAN SOLDIERS TO PRAY ON THE LORD'S DAY.

1 With regard to those who were as yet ignorant of divine truth, he provided by a second statute that they should appear on each Lord's day on an open plain near the city, and there, at a given signal, offer to God with one accord a prayer which they had previously learnt. He admonished them that their confidence should not rest in their spears, or armor, or bodily strength, but that they should acknowledge the supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself; to whom they were bound to offer their prayers with due regularity, uplifting their hands toward heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the king of heaven, on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their Preserver, Guardian, and Helper.The emperor himself prescribed the prayer to be used by all his troops, commanding them, to pronounce the following words in the Latin tongue:

CHAPTER XX. THE FORM OF PRAYER GIVEN BY CONSTANTINE TO HIS SOLDIERS.

1 "We acknowledge thee the only God: we own thee, as our King and implore thy succor. By thy favor have we gotten the victory through thee are we mightier than our enemies. We render thanks for thy past benefits, and trust thee for future blessings. Together we pray to thee, and beseech thee long to preserve to us, safe and triumphant, our emperor Constantine and his pious sons." Such was the duty to be performed on Sunday by his troops, and such the prayer they were instructed to offer up to God.

CHAPTER XXI. HE ORDERS THE SIGN OF THE SAVIOUR'S CROSS TO BE ENGRAVEN ON HIS SOLDIERS' SHIELDS.

1 And not only so, but he also caused the sign of the salutary trophy to be impressed on the very shields of his soldiers; and commanded that his embattled forces should be preceded in their march, not by golden images, as heretofore, but only by the standard of the cross.

CHAPTER XXII. OF HIS ZEAL IN PRAYER, AND THE HONOR HE PAID TO THE FEAST OF EASTER.

1 The emperor himself, as a sharer in the holy mysteries of our religion, would seclude himself daily at a stated hour in the innermost chambers of his palace; and there in solitary converse with his God, would kneel in humble supplication, and entreat the blessings of which he stood in need.

But especially at the salutary feast of Easter, his religious diligence was redoubled; he fulfilled as it were the duties of a hierophant with every energy of his mind and body, and outvied all others in the zealous celebration of this feast. He changed, too, the holy night vigil into a brightness like that of day, by causing waxen tapers of great length to be lighted throughout the city: besides which, torches everywhere diffused their light, so as to impart to this mystic vigil a brilliant splendor beyond that of day. As soon as day itself returned, in imitation of our Saviour's gracious acts, he opened a liberal hand to his subjects of every nation, province, and people, and lavished abundant bounties on all.

CHAPTER XXIII. HOW HE FORBADE IDOLATROUS WORSHIP, BUT HONORED MARTYRS AND THE CHURCH FESTIVALS.

1 Such were his sacred ministrations in the service of his God. At the same time, his subjects, both civil and military, throughout the empire, found a barrier everywhere opposed against idol worship, and every kind of sacrifice forbidden. A statute was also passed, enjoining the due observance of the Lord's day, and transmitted to the governors of every province, who undertook, at the emperor's command, to respect the days commemorative of martyrs, and duly to honor the festal seasons in the churches: and all these intentions were fullfilled to the emperor's entire satisfaction.

CHAPTER XXIV. THAT HE DESCRIBED HIMSELF TO BE A BISHOP, IN CHARGE OF AFFAIRS EXTERNAL TO THE CHURCH.

1 Hence it was not without reason that once, on the occasion of his entertaining a company of bishops, he let fall the expression, "that he himself too was a bishop," addressing them in my hearing in the following words: "You are bishops whose jurisdiction is within the Church: I also am a bishop, ordained by God to overlook whatever is external to the Church." And truly his measures corresponded with his words: for he watched over his subjects with an episcopal care, and exhorted them as far as in him lay to follow a godly life.

CHAPTER XXV. PROHIBITION OF SACRIFICES, OF MYSTIC RITES, COMBATS OF GLADIATORS, ALSO THE LICENTIOUS WORSHIP OF THE NILE.

1 Consistently with this zeal he issued successive laws and ordinances, forbidding any to offer sacrifice to idols, to consult diviners, to erect images, or to pollute the cities with the sanguinary combats of gladiators. And inasmuch

as the Egyptians, especially those of Alexandria, had been accustomed to honor their river through a priesthood composed of effeminate men, a further law was passed commanding the extermination of the whole class as vicious, that no one might thenceforward be found tainted with the like impurity. And whereas the superstitious inhabitants apprehended that the river would in consequence withhold its customary flood, God himself showed his approval of the emperor's law by ordering all things in a manner quite contrary to their expectation. For those who had defiled the cities by their vicious conduct were indeed seen no more; but the river, as if the country through which it flowed had been purified to receive it, rose higher than ever before, and completely overflowed the country with its fertilizing streams: thus effectually admonishing the deluded people to turn from impure men, and ascribe their prosperity to him alone who is the Giver of all good.

CHAPTER XXVI. AMENDMENT OF THE LAW IN FORCE RESPECTING CHILDLESS PERSONS, AND OF THE LAW OF WILLS.

1 1 So numerous, indeed, were the benefits of this kind conferred by the emperor on every province, as to afford ample materials to any who might desire to record them. Among these may be instanced those laws which he entirely remodelled, and established on a more equitable basis: the nature of which reform may be briefly and easily explained. The childless were punished under the old law with the forfeiture of their hereditary property a merciless statute, which dealt with them as positive criminals. The emperor annulled this, and decreed that those so circumstanced should inherit. He regulated the question on the principles of equity and justice, arguing willful transgressors should be chastised with the penalties their crimes deserve. But nature herself denies children to many, who long, perhaps, for a numerous offspring, but are disappointed of their hope by bodily infirmity. Others continue childless, not from any dislike of posterity, but because their ardent love of philosophy renders them averse to the conjugal union. Women, too, consecrated to the service of God, have maintained a pure and spotless virginity, and have devoted themselves, soul and body to a life of entire chastity and holiness. What then? Should this conduct be deemed worthy of punishment, or rather of admiration and praise; since to desire this state is in itself honorable, and to maintain it surpasses the power of unassisted nature? Surely those whose bodily infirmity destroys their hope of offspring are worthy of pity, not of punishment:

2 and he who devotes himself to a higher object calls not for chastisement, but especial admiration. On such principles of sound reason did the emperor rectify the defects of this law. Again, with regard to the wills of dying persons, the old laws had ordained that they should be expressed, even at the latest breath, as it were, in certain definite words, and had prescribed the exact form and terms to be employed. This practice had occasioned many fraudulent attempts to hinder the intentions of the deceased from being carried into full effect. As soon as our emperor was aware of these abuses, he reformed this law likewise, declaring that a dying man ought to be permitted to indicate his last wishes in as few words as possible, and in whatever terms he pleased; and to set forth his will in any written form; or even by word of mouth, provided it were done in the presence of proper witnesses, who might be competent faithfully to discharge their trust.

CHAPTER XXVII. AMONG OTHER ENACTMENTS, HE DECREES THAT NO CHRISTIAN SHALL SLAVE TO A JEW, AND AFFIRMS THE VALIDITY OF THE DECISIONS OF COUNCILS.

1 He also passed a law to the effect that no Christian should remain in servitude to a Jewish master, on the ground that it could not be right that those whom the Saviour had ransomed should be subjected to the yoke of slavery by a people who had slain the prophets and the Lord himself. If any were found hereafter in these circumstances, the slave was to be set at liberty, and the master punished by a fine. 2 He likewise added the sanction of his authority to the decisions of bishops passed at their synods, and forbade the provincial governors to annul any of their decrees: for he rated the priests of God at a higher value than any judge whatever. These and a thousand similar provisions did he enact for the benefit of his subjects; but there is not time now to give a special description of them, such as might convey an accurate idea of his imperial wisdom in these respects: nor need I now relate at length, how, as a devoted servant of the Supreme God, he employed himself from morning until night in seeking objects for his beneficence, and how equally and universally kind he was to all.

CHAPTER XXVIII. HIS GIFTS TO THE CHURCHES, AND BOUNTIES TO VIRGINS AND TO THE POOR.

1 His liberality, however, was most especially exercised on behalf of the churches of God. In some cases he granted lands, in others he issued supplies of food for the support of the poor, of orphan children, and widows; besides

which, he evinced much care and forethought in fully providing the naked and destitute with clothing. He distinguished, however, with most special honor those who had devoted their lives to the practice of Divine philosophy. Hence his respect, little short of veneration, for God's most holy and ever virgin choir: for he felt assured that the God to whom such persons devoted themselves was himself an inmate of their souls.

CHAPTER XXIX. OF CONSTANTINE'S DISCOURSES AND DECLAMATIONS.

1 1 For himself, he sometimes passed sleepless nights in furnishing his mind with Divine knowledge: and much of his time was spent in composing discourses, many of which he delivered in public; for he conceived it to be incumbent on him to govern his subjects by appealing to their reason, and to secure in all respects a rational obedience to his authority. Hence he would sometimes himself evoke an assembly, on which occasions vast multitudes attended, in the hope of hearing an emperor sustain the part of a philosopher. And if in the course of his speech any occasion offered of touching on sacred topics, he immediately stood erect, and with a grave aspect and subdued tone of voice seemed reverently to be initiating his auditors in the mysteries of the Divine doctrine: and when they greeted him with shouts of acclamation, he would direct them by his gestures to raise their eyes to heaven, and reserve their admiration for the Supreme King alone, and honor him with adoration and praise. He usually divided the subjects of his address, first thoroughly exposing the error of polytheism, and proving the superstition of the Gentiles to be mere fraud, and a cloak for impiety. He then would assert the sole sovereignty of God: passing thence to his Providence, both general and particular. Proceeding next to the dispensation of salvation, he would demonstrate its necessity, and adaptation to the nature of the case; entering next in order on the doctrine of the Divine judgment.

2 2 And here especially he appealed most powerfully to the consciences of his hearers, while he denounced the rapacious and violent, and those who were slaves to an inordinate thirst of gain. Nay, he caused some of his own acquaintance who were present to feel the severe lash of his words, and to stand with downcast eyes in the consciousness of guilt, while he testified against them in the clearest and most impressive terms that they would have an account to render of their deeds to God. He reminded them that God himself had given him the empire of the world, portions of which he himself, acting on the same Divine principle, had intrusted to their government;

but that all would in due time be alike summoned to give account of their actions to the Supreme Sovereign of all. Such was his constant testimony; such his admonition and instruction. And he himself both felt and uttered these sentiments in the genuine confidence of faith: but-his hearers were little disposed to learn, and deaf to sound advice; receiving his words indeed with loud applause, but induced by insatiable cupidity practically to disregard them.

CHAPTER XXX. THAT HE MARKED OUT BEFORE A COVETOUS MAN THE MEASURE OF A GRAVE, AND SO PUT HIM TO SHAME.

1 On one occasion he thus personally addressed one of his courtiers: "How far, my friend, are we to carry our inordinate desires?" Then drawing the dimensions of a human figure with a lance which he happened to have in his hand, he continued: "Though thou couldst obtain the whole wealth of this world, yea, the whole world itself, thou wilt carry with thee at last no more than this little spot which I have marked out, if indeed even that be thine." Such were the words and actions of this blessed prince; and though at the time he failed to reclaim any from their evil ways, yet notwithstanding the course of events afforded evident proof that his admonitions were more like Divine prophecies than mere words.

CHAPTER XXXI. THAT HE WAS DERIDED BECAUSE OF HIS EXCESSIVE CLEMENCY.

1 Meantime, since there was no fear of capital punishment to deter from the commission of crime, for the emperor himself was uniformly inclined to clemency, and none of the provincial governors visited offenses with their proper penalties, this state of things drew with it no small degree of blame on the general administration of the empire; whether justly or not, let every one form his own judgment: for myself, I only ask permission to record the fact.

CHAPTER XXXII. OF CONSTANTINE'S ORATION WHICH HE WROTE TO THE ASSEMBLY OF THE SAINTS.

1 The emperor was in the habit of composing his orations in the Latin tongue, from which they were translated into Greek by interpreters appointed for this special service. One of the discourses thus translated I intend to annex, by way of specimen, to this present work, that one, I mean, which he inscribed "To the assembly of the saints," and dedicated to the Church of

God, that no one may have ground for deeming my testimony on this head mere empty praise.

CHAPTER XXXIII. HOW HE LISTENED STANDING TO EUSEBIUS' DECLAMATION IN HONOR OF OUR SAVIOUR'S SEPULCHRE.

1 One act, however, I must by no means omit to record, which this admirable prince performed in my own presence. On one occasion, emboldened by the confident assurance I entertained of his piety, I had begged permission to pronounce a discourse on the subject of our Saviour's sepulchre in his hearing. With this request he most readily complied, and in the midst of a large number of auditors, in the interior of the palace itself, he stood and listened with the rest. I entreated him, but in vain, to seat himself on the imperial throne which stood near: he continued with fixed attention to weigh the topics of my discourse, and gave his own testimony to the truth of the theological doctrines it contained. After some time had passed, the oration being of considerable length, I was myself desirous of concluding; but this he would not permit, and exhorted me to proceed to the very end. On my again entreating him to sit, he in his turn was displeased and said that it was not right to listen in a careless manner to the discussion of doctrines relating to God; and again, that this posture was good and profitable to himself, since it was reverent to stand while listening to sacred truths. Having, therefore, concluded my discourse, I returned home, and resumed my usual occupations.

CHAPTER XXXIV. THAT HE WROTE TO EUSEBIUS RESPECTING EASTER, AND RESPECTING COPIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

1 Ever careful for the welfare of the churches of God, the emperor addressed me personally in a letter on the means of providing copies of the inspired oracles, and also on the subject of the most holy feast of Easter. For I had myself dedicated to him an exposition of the mystical import of that feast; and the manner in which he honored me with a reply may be understood by any one who reads the following letter.

CHAPTER XXXV. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO EUSEBIUS, IN PRAISE OF HIS DISCOURSE CONCERNING EASTER.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius. 2 "It is indeed an arduous task, and beyond the power of language itself, worthily to treat of the mysteries of Christ, and to explain in a fitting manner the controversy respecting the feast of Easter, its origin as well as its precious and toilsome ac-

complishment. For it is not in the power even of those who are able to apprehend them, adequately to describe the things of God. I am, notwithstanding, filled with admiration of your learning and zeal, and have not only myself read your work with pleasure, but have given directions, according to your own desire, that it be communicated to many sincere followers of our holy religion. Seeing, then, with what pleasure we receive favors of this kind from your Sagacity, be pleased to gladden us more frequently with those compositions, to the practice of which, indeed, you confess yourself to have been trained from an early period, so that I am urging a willing man, as they say, in exhorting you to your customary pursuits. And certainly the high and confident judgment we entertain is a proof that the person who has translated your writings into the Latin tongue is in no respect incompetent to the task, impossible though it be that such version should fully equal the excellence of the works themselves. God preserve you, beloved brother." Such was his letter on this subject: and that which related to the providing of copies of the Scriptures for reading in the churches was to the following purport.

CHAPTER XXXVI. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO EUSEBIUS ON THE PREPARATION OF COPIES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to Eusebius. 2 "It happens, through the favoring providence of God our Saviour, that great numbers have united themselves to the most holy church in the city which is called by my name. It seems, therefore, highly requisite, since that city is rapidly advancing in prosperity in all other respects, that the number of churches should also he increased. Do you, therefore, receive with all readiness my determination on this behalf. I have thought it expedient to instruct your Prudence to order fifty copies of the sacred Scriptures, the provision and use of which you know to be most needful for the instruction of the Church, to be written on prepared parchment in a legible manner, and in a convenient, portable form, by professional transcribers thoroughly practiced in their art. The catholicus of the diocese has also received instructions by letter from our Clemency to be careful to furnish all things necessary for the preparation of such copies; and it will be for you to take special care that they be completed with as little delay as possible. You have authority also, in virtue of this letter, to use two of the public carriages for their conveyance, by which arrangement the copies when fairly written will most easily be forwarded for my personal inspection; and one of the deacons of your church may be intrusted

with this service, who, on his arrival here, shall experience my liberality. God preserve you, beloved brother!"

CHAPTER XXXVII. HOW THE COPIES WERE PROVIDED.

1 Such were the emperor's commands, which were followed by the immediate execution of the work itself, which we sent him in magnificent and elaborately bound volumes of a threefold and fourfold form. This fact is attested by another letter, which the emperor wrote in acknowledgment, in which, having heard that the city Constantia in our country, the inhabitants of which had been more than commonly devoted to superstition, had been impelled by a sense of religion to abandon their past idolatry, he testified his joy, and approval of their conduct.

CHAPTER XXXVIII. HOW THE MARKET-TOWN OF GAZA WAS MADE A CITY FOR ITS PROFESSION OF CHRISTIANITY, AND RECEIVED THE NAME OF CONSTANTIA.

1 For in fact the place now called Constantia, in the province of Palestine, having embraced the saving religion, was distinguished both by the favor of God, and by special honor from the emperor, being now for the first time raised to the rank of a city, and receiving the more honored name of his pious sister in exchange for its former appellation.

CHAPTER XXXIX. THAT A PLACE IN PHOENICIA ALSO WAS MADE A CITY, AND IN OTHER CITIES IDOLATRY WAS ABOLISHED, AND CHURCHES BUILT.

1 A Similar change was effected in several other cities; for instance, in that town of Phoenicia which received its name from that of the emperor, and the inhabitants of which committed their innumerable idols to the flames, and adopted in their stead the principles of the saving faith. Numbers, too, in the other provinces, both in the cities and the country, became willing inquirers after the saving knowledge of God; destroyed as worthless things the images of every kind which they had heretofore held most sacred; voluntarily demolished the lofty temples and shrines which contained them; and, renouncing their former sentiments, or rather errors, commenced and completed entirely new churches. But since it is not so much my province to give a circumstantial detail of the actions of this pious prince, as it is theirs who have been privileged to enjoy his society at all times, I shall content myself with briefly recording such facts as have come to my own personal knowledge, before I proceed to notice the last days of his life.

CHAPTER XL. THAT HAVING CONFERRED THE DIGNITY OF CAESARS ON HIS THREE SONS AT THE THREE DECENNIAL PERIODS OF HIS REIGN, HE DEDICATED THE CHURCH AT JERUSALEM.

1 By this time the thirtieth year of his reign was completed. In the course of this period, his three sons had been admitted at different times as his colleagues in the empire. The first, Constantinus, who bore his father's name, obtained this distinction about the tenth year of his reign. Constantius, the second son, so called from his grandfather, was proclaimed Caesar about the twentieth, while Constans, the third, whose name expresses the firmness and stability of his character, was advanced to the same dignity at the thirtieth anniversary of his father's reign. Having thus reared a threefold offspring, a Trinity, as it were, of pious sons, and having received them severally at each decennial period to a participation in his imperial authority, he judged the festival of his Tricennalia to be a fit occasion for thanksgiving to the Sovereign Lord of all, at the same time believing that the dedication of the church which his zealous magnificence had erected at Jerusalem might advantageously be performed.

CHAPTER XLI. THAT IN THE MEANTIME HE ORDERED A COUNCIL TO BE CONVENED AT TYRE, BECAUSE OF CONTROVERSIES RAISED IN EGYPT.

1 Meanwhile that spirit of envy which is the enemy of all good, like a dark cloud intercepting the sun's brightest rays, endeavored to mar the joy of this festivity, by again raising contentions to disturb the tranquillity of the Egyptian churches. Our divinely favored emperor, however, once more convened a synod composed of many bishops, and set them as it were in armed array, like the host of God, against this malignant spirit, having commanded their presence from the whole of Egypt and Libya, from Asia, and from Europe, in order, first, to decide the questions in dispute, and afterwards to perform the dedication of the sacred edifice above mentioned. He enjoined them, by the way, to adjust their differences at the capital city of Phoenicia, reminding them that they had no right, while harboring feelings of mutual animosity, to engage in the service of God, since his law expressly forbids those who are at variance to offer their gift until they have first become reconciled and mutually disposed to peace. Such were the salutary precepts which the emperor continually kept vividly before his own mind, and in accordance with which he admonished them to undertake their present duties in a spirit of perfect unanimity and concord, in a letter to the following purport.

CHAPTER XLII. CONSTANTINE'S LETTER TO THE COUNCIL AT TYRE.

1 1 "Victor Constantinus, Maximus Augustus, to the holy Council at Tyre. 2 2 "Surely it would best consist with and best become the prosperity of these our times, that the Catholic Church should be undivided, and the servants of Christ be at this present moment clear from all reproach. Since, however, there are those who, carried away by a baleful and furious spirit of contention (for I will not charge them with intentionally leading a life unworthy of their profession), are endeavoring to create that general confusion which, in my judgment, is the most pernicious of all evils; I exhort you, forward as you already are, to meet together and form a synod without delay: to defend those who need protection; to administer remedies to your brethren who are in peril; to recall the divided members to unity of judgment; to rectify errors while opportunity is yet allowed: that thus you may restore to so many provinces that due measure of concord which, strange and sad anomaly! the arrogance of a few individuals has destroyed. And I believed that all are alike persuaded that this course is at the same time pleasing to Almighty God (as well as the highest object of my own desires), and will bring no small honor to yourselves, should you be successful in restoring peace. Delay not, then, but hasten with redoubled zeal to terminate the present dissensions in a manner becoming the occasion, by assembling together in that spirit of true sincerity and faith which the Saviour whom we serve especially demands from us, I may almost say with an audible voice, on all occasions.

3 No proof of pious zeal on my part shall be wanting. Already have I done all to which my attention was directed by your letters. I have sent to those bishops whose presence you desired, that they may share your counsels. I have despatched Dionysius, a man of consular rank, who will both remind those prelates of their duty who are bound to attend the Council with you, and will himself be there to superintend the proceedings, but especially to maintain good order. Meantime should any one, though I deem it most improbable, venture on this occasion to violate my command, and refuse his attendance, a messenger shall be despatched forthwith to banish that person in virtue of an imperial edict, and to teach him that it does not become him to resist an emperor's decrees when issued in defense of truth. For the rest, it will be for your Holinesses, unbiased either by enmity or favor, but consistently with ecclesiastical and apostolic order, to devise a fitting remedy whether it be for positive offenses or for unpremeditated errors; in order that

you may at once free the Church from all reproach, relieve my anxiety, and, by restoring the blessings of peace to those who are now divided, procure the highest honor for yourselves. God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

CHAPTER XLIII. BISHOPS FROM ALL THE PROVINCES ATTENDED THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH AT JERUSALEM.

1 No sooner had these injunctions been carried into effect, than another emissary arrived with despatches from the emperor, and an urgent admonition to the Council to hasten their journey to Jerusalem without delay. Accordingly they all took their departure from the province of Phoenicia, and proceeded to their destination, availing themselves of the public means of transport. Thus Jerusalem became the gathering point for distinguished prelates from every province, and the whole city was thronged by a vast assemblage of the servants of God. The Macedonians had sent the bishop of their metropolis; the Pannonians and Moesians the fairest of God's youthful flock among them. A holy prelate from Persia too was there, deeply versed in the sacred oracles; while Bithynian and Thracian bishops graced the Council with their presence; nor were the most illustrious from Cilicia wanting, nor the chief of the Cappadocians, distinguished above all for learning and eloquence. In short, the whole of Syria and Mesopotamia, Phoenicia and Arabia, Palestine, Egypt, and Libya, with the dwellers in the Thebaid, all contributed to swell the mighty concourse of God's ministers, followed as they were by vast numbers from every province. They were attended by an imperial escort, and officers of trust had also been sent from the palace itself, with instructions to heighten the splendor of the festival at the emperor's expense.

CHAPTER XLIV. OF THEIR RECEPTION BY THE NOTARY MARIANUS; THE DISTRIBUTION OF MONEY TO THE POOR; AND OFFERINGS TO THE CHURCH.

1 The director and chief of these officers was a most useful servant of the emperor, a man eminent for faith and piety, and thoroughly acquainted with the Divine word, who had been honorably conspicuous by his profession of godliness during the time of the tyrants' power, and therefore was deservedly entrusted with the arrangement of the present proceedings. Accordingly, in faithful obedience to the emperor's commands, he received the assembly with courteous hospitality, and entertained them with feasts and banquets on a scale of great splendor. He also distributed lavish supplies of money and clothing among the naked and destitute, and the multitudes of both sexes

who suffered from want of food and the common necessaries of life. Finally, he enriched and beautified the church itself throughout with offerings of imperial magnificence, and thus fully accomplished the service he had been commissioned to perform.

CHAPTER XLV. VARIOUS DISCOURSES BY THE ASSEMBLED BISHOPS; ALA BY EUSEBIUS, THE WRITER OF THIS HISTORY.

1 Meantime the festival derived additional luster both from the prayers and discourses of the ministers of God, some of whom extolled the pious emperor's willing devotion to the Saviour of mankind, and dilated on the magnificence of the edifice which he had raised to his memory. Others afforded, as it were, an intellectual feast to the ears of all present, by public disquisitions on the sacred doctrines of our religion. Others interpreted passages of holy Scripture, and unfolded their hidden meaning; while such as were unequal to these efforts presented a bloodless sacrifice and mystical service to God in the prayers which they offered for general peace, for the Church of God, for the emperor himself as the instrumental cause of so many blessings, and for his pious sons. I myself too, unworthy as I was of such a privilege, pronounced various public orations in honor of this solemnity, wherein I partly explained by a written description the details of the imperial edifice, and partly endeavored to gather from the prophetic visions apt illustrations of the symbols it displayed. Thus joyfully was the festival of dedication celebrated in the thirtieth year of our emperor's reign.

CHAPTER XLVI. THAT EUSEBIUS AFTERWARDS DELIVERED HIS DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE SAVIOUR, AND A TRI-CENNIAL ORATION BEFORE CONSTANTINE HIMSELF.

1 The structure of the church of our Saviour, the form of his sacred cave, the splendor of the work itself, and the numberless offerings in gold, and silver, and precious stones, I have described to the best of my ability, and dedicated to the emperor in a separate treatise, which on a fitting opportunity I shall append to this present work. I shall add to it also that oration on his Tricennalia which shortly afterwards, having traveled to the city which bears his name, I delivered in the emperor's own presence. This was the second opportunity afforded me of glorifying the Supreme God in the imperial palace itself: and on this occasion my pious hearer evinced the greatest joy, as he afterwards testified, when he entertained the bishops then present, and loaded them with distinctions of every kind.

CHAPTER XLVII. THAT THE COUNCIL AT NICAEA WAS HELD IN THE TWENTIETH, THE DEDICATION OF THE CHURCH AT JERUSALEM IN THE THIRTIETH, YEAR OF CONSTANTINE'S REIGN.

1 This second synod the emperor convened at Jerusalem, being the greatest of which we have any knowledge, next to the first which he had summoned at the famous Bithynian city. That indeed was a triumphal assembly, held in the twentieth year of his reign, an occasion of thanksgiving for victory over his enemies in the very city which bears the name of victory. The present meeting added luster to the thirtieth anniversary, during which the emperor dedicated the church at the sepulchre of our Saviour, as a peace-offering to God, the giver of all good.

CHAPTER XLVIII. THAT CONSTANTINE WAS DISPLEASED WITH ONE WHO PRAISED HIM EXCESSIVELY.

1 And now that all these ceremonies were completed, and the divine qualities of the emperor's character continued to be the theme of universal praise, one of God's ministers presumed so far as in his own presence to pronounce him blessed, as having been counted worthy to hold absolute and universal empire in this life, and as being destined to share the empire of the Son of God in the world to come. These words, however, Constantine heard with indignation, and forbade the speaker to hold such language, exhorting him rather to pray earnestly on his behalf, that whether in this life or in that which is to come, he might be found worthy to be a servant of God.

CHAPTER XLIX. MARRIAGE OF HIS SON CONSTANTIUS CAESAR.

1 On the completion of the thirtieth year of his reign he solemnized the marriage of his second son, having concluded that of his first-born long before. This was an occasion of great joy and festivity, the emperor himself attending on his son at the ceremony, and entertaining the guests of both sexes, the men and women in distinct and separate companies, with sumptuous hospitality. Rich presents likewise were liberally distributed among the cities and people.

CHAPTER L. EMBASSY AND PRESENTS FROM THE INDIANS.

1 About this time ambassadors from the Indians, who inhabit the distant regions of the East, arrived with presents consisting of many varieties of brilliant precious stones, and animals differing in species from those known to us. These offerings they presented to the emperor, thus allowing that his sov-

ereignty extended even to the Indian Ocean, and that the princes of their country, who rendered homage to him both by paintings and statues, acknowledged his imperial and paramount authority. Thus the Eastern Indians now submitted to his sway, as the Britons of the Western Ocean had done at the commencement of his reign.

CHAPTER LI. THAT CONSTANTINE DIVIDED THE EMPIRE BETWEEN HIS THREE SONS, WHOM HE HAD INSTRUCTED IN POLITICS AND RELIGION.

1 Having thus established his power in the opposite extremities of the world, he divided the whole extent of his dominions, as though he were allotting a patrimonial inheritance to the dearest objects of his regard, among his three sons. To the eldest he assigned his grandfather's portion; to the second, the empire of the East; to the third, the countries which lie between these two divisions. And being desirous of furnishing his children with an inheritance truly valuable and salutary to their souls, he had been careful to imbue them with true religious principles, being himself their guide to the knowledge of sacred things, and also appointing men of approved piety to be their instructors. At the same time he assigned them the most accomplished teachers of secular learning, by some of whom they were taught the arts of war, while they were trained by others in political, and by others again in legal science. To each moreover was granted a truly royal retinue, consisting of infantry, spearmen, and body guards, with every other kind of military force; commanded respectively by captains, tribunes, and generals of whose warlike skill and devotion to his sons the emperor had had previous experience.

CHAPTER LII. THAT AFTER THEY HAD REACHED MAN'S ESTATE HE WAS THEIR GUIDE IN PIETY.

1 As long as the Caesars were of tender years, they were aided by suitable advisers in the management of public affairs; but on their arrival at the age of manhood their father's instructions alone sufficed. When present he proposed to them his own example, and admonished them to follow his pious course: in their absence he furnished them by letter with rules of conduct suited to their imperial station, the first and greatest of which was an exhortation to value the knowledge and worship of the Sovereign Lord of all more than wealth, nay, more than empire itself. At length he permitted them to direct the public administration of the empire without control, making it his first request that they would care for the interests of the Church of God, and boldly profess themselves disciples of Christ. Thus

trained, and excited to obedience not so much by precept as by their own voluntary desire for virtue, his sons more than fulfilled the admonitions of their father, devoting their earnest attention to the service of God, and observing the ordinances of the Church even in the palace itself, with all the members of their households. For their father's forethought had provided that all the attendants of his son's should be Christians. And not only so, but the military officers of highest rank, and those who had the control of public business, were professors of the same faith: for the emperor placed confidence in the fidelity of men devoted to the service of God, as in a strong and sure defense. When our thrice blessed prince had completed these arrangements, and thus secured order and tranquillity throughout the empire, God, the dispenser of all blessings, judged it to be the fitting time to translate him to a better inheritance, and summoned him to pay the debt of nature.

CHAPTER LIII. HAVING REIGNED ABOUT THIRTY-TWO YEARS, AND LIVED ABOVE SIXTY, HE STILL HAD A SOUND BODY.

1 He completed the time of his reign in two and thirty years, wanting a few months and days, and his whole life extended to about twice that period. At this age he still possessed a sound and vigorous body, free from all blemish, and of more than youthful vivacity; a noble mien, and strength equal to any exertion; so that he was able to join in martial exercises, to fide, endure the fatigues of travel, engage in battle, and erect trophies over his conquered enemies, besides gaining those bloodless victories by which he was wont to triumph over those who opposed him.

CHAPTER LIV. OF THOSE WHO ABUSED HIS EXTREME BENEVOLENCE FOR AVARICE AND HYPOCRISY.

1 In like manner his mental qualities reached the highest point of human perfection. Indeed he was distinguished by every excellence of character, but especially by benevolence; a virtue, however, which subjected him to censure from many, in consequence of the baseness of wicked men, who ascribed their own crimes to the emperor's forbearance. In truth I can myself bear testimony to the grievous evils which prevailed during these times; I mean the violence of rapacious and unprincipled men, who preyed on all classes of society alike, and the scandalous hypocrisy of those who crept into the Church, and assumed the name and character of Christians. His own benevolence and goodness of heart, the genuineness of his own faith, and his truthfulness of character, induced the emperor to credit the profession of

these reputed Christians, who craftily preserved the semblance of sincere affection for his person. The confidence he reposed in such men sometimes forced him into conduct unworthy of himself, of which envy took advantage to cloud in this respect the luster of his character.

CHAPTER LV. CONSTANTINE EMPLOYED HIMSELF IN COMPOSITION OF VARIOUS KINDS TO THE CLOSE OF HIS LIFE.

1 These offenders, however, were soon over-taken by divine chastisement. To return to our emperor. He had so thoroughly trained his mind in the art of reasoning that he continued to the last to compose discourses on various subjects, to deliver frequent orations in public, and to instruct his hearers in the sacred doctrines of religion. He was also habitually engaged in legislating both on political and military questions; in short, in devising whatever might be conducive to the general welfare of the human race. It is well worthy of remark, that, very shortly before his departure, he pronounced a funeral oration before his usual auditory, in which he spoke at length on the immortality of the soul, the state of those who had persevered in a life of godliness, and the blessings which God has laid up in store for them that love him. On the other hand he made it appear by copious and conclusive arguments what the end of those will be who have pursued a contrary career, describing in vivid language the final ruin of the ungodly. His powerful testimony on these subjects seemed so far to touch the consciences of those around him, that one of the self-imagined philosophers, of whom he asked his opinion of what he had heard, bore testimony to the truth of his words, and accorded a real, though reluctant, tribute of praise to the arguments by which he had exposed the worship of a plurality of gods. By converse such as this with his friends before his death, the emperor seemed as it were to smooth and prepare the way for his transition to a happier life.

CHAPTER LVI. HOW HE TOOK BISHOPS WITH HIM ON AN EXPEDITION AGAINST THE PERSIANS, AND LOOK WITH HIM A TENT IN THE FORM OF A CHURCH.

1 It is also worthy of record that about the time of which I am at present writing, the emperor, having heard of an insurrection of some barbarians in the East, observed that the conquest of this enemy was still in store for him, and resolved on an expedition against the Persians. Accordingly he proceeded at once to put his forces in motion, at the same time communicating his intended march to the bishops who happened to be at his court, some of

whom he judged it right to take with him as compan- ions, and as needful coadjutors in the service of God. They, on the other hand, cheerfully declared their willingness to follow in his train, disclaiming any desire to leave him, and engaging to battle with and for him by supplication to God on his behalf. Full of joy at this answer to his request, he unfolded to them his projected line of march; after which he caused a tent of great splendor, representing in shape the figure of a church, to be prepared for his own use in the approaching war. In this he intended to unite with the bishops in offering prayers to the God from whom all victory proceeds.

CHAPTER LVII. HOW HE RECEIVED AN EMBASSY FROM THE PERSIANS AND KEPT THE NIGHT VIGIL WITH OTHERS AT THE FEAST OF EASTER.

1 In the meanwhile the Persians, hearing of the emperor's warlike preparations, and not a little terrified at the prospect of an engagement with his forces, dispatched an embassy to pray for conditions of peace. These overtures the emperor, himself a sincere lover of peace, at once accepted, and readily entered on friendly relations with that people. At this time, the great festival of Easter was at hand; on which occasion he rendered the tribute of his prayers to God, and passed the night in watching with the rest.

CHAPTER LVIII. CONCERNING THE BUILDING OF A CHURCH IN HONOR OF THE APOSTLES AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

1 After this he proceeded to erect a church in memory of the apostles, in the city which bears his name. This building he carried to a vast height, and brilliantly decorated by encasing it from the foundation to the roof with marble slabs of various colors. He also formed the inner roof of finely fretted work, and overlaid it throughout with gold. The external covering, which protected the building from the rain, was of brass instead of tiles; and this too was splendidly and profusely adorned with gold, and reflected the sun's rays with a brilliancy which dazzled the distant beholder. The dome was entirely encompassed by a finely carved tracery, wrought in brass and gold.

CHAPTER LIX. FARTHER DESCRIPTION OF THE SAME CHURCH.

1 Such was the magnificence with which the emperor was pleased to beautify this church. The building was surrounded by an open area of great extent, the four sides of which were terminated by porticos which enclosed the area and the church itself. Adjoining these porticos were ranges of stately cham-

bers, with baths and promenades, and besides many apartments adapted to the use of those who had charge of the place.

CHAPTER LX. HE ALSO ERECTED HIS OWN SEPULCHRAL MONUMENT IN THIS CHURCH.

1 All these edifices the emperor consecrated with the desire of perpetuating the memory of the apostles of our Saviour. He had, however, another object in erecting this building: an object at first unknown, but which afterwards became evident to all. He had in fact made choice of this spot in the prospect of his own death, anticipating with extraordinary fervor of faith that his body would share their title with the apostles themselves, and that he should thus even after death become the subject, with them, of the devotions which should be performed to their honor in this place. He accordingly caused twelve coffins to be set up in this church, like sacred pillars in honor and memory of the apostolic number, in the center of which his own was placed, having six of theirs on either side of it. Thus, as I said, he had provided with prudent foresight an honorable resting-place for his body after death, and, having long before secretly formed this resolution, he now consecrated this church to the apostles, believing that this tribute to their memory would be of no small advantage to his own soul. Nor did God disappoint him of that which he so ardently expected and desired. For after he had completed the first services of the feast of Easter, and had passed this sacred day of our Lord in a manner which made it an occasion of joy and gladness to himself and to all; the God through whose aid he performed all these acts, and whose zealous servant he continued to be even to the end of life, was pleased at a happy time to translate him to a better life.

CHAPTER LXI. HIS SICKNESS AT HELENOPOLIS, AND PRAYERS RESPECTING HIS BAPTISM.

1 At first he experienced some slight bodily indisposition, which was soon followed by positive disease. In consequence of this he visited the hot baths of his own city; and thence proceeded to that which bore the name of his mother. Here he passed some time in the church of the martyrs, and offered up supplications and prayers to God. Being at length convinced that his life was drawing to a close, he felt the time was come at which he should seek purification from sins of his past career, firmly believing that whatever errors he had committed as a mortal man, his soul would be purified from them through the efficacy of the mystical words and the salutary waters of baptism.

Impressed with these thoughts, he poured forth his supplications and confessions to God, kneeling on the pavement in the church itself, in which he also now for the first time received the imposition of hands with prayer. After this he proceeded as far as the suburbs of Nicomedia, and there, having summoned the bishops to meet him, addressed them in the following words.

CHAPTER LXII. CONSTANTINE'S APPEAL TO THE BISHOPS, REQUESTING THEM TO CONFER UPON HIM THE RITE OF BAPTISM.

1 "The time is arrived which I have long hoped for, with an earnest desire and prayer that I might obtain the salvation of God. The hour is come in which I too may have the blessing of that seal which confers immortality; the hour in which I may receive the seal of salvation. I had thought to do this in the waters of the river Jordan, wherein our Saviour, for our example, is recorded to have been baptized: but God, who knows what is expedient for us, is pleased that I should receive this blessing here. Be it so, then, without delay: for should it be his will who is Lord of life and death, that my existence here should be prolonged, and should I be destined henceforth to associate with the people of God, and unite with them in prayer as a member of his. Church, I will prescribe to myself from this time such a course of life as befits his service." After he had thus spoken, the prelates performed the sacred ceremonies in the usual manner, and, having given him the necessary instructions, made him a partaker of the mystic ordinance. Thus was Constantine the first of all sovereigns who was regenerated and perfected in a church dedicated to the martyrs of Christ; thus gifted with the Divine seal of baptism, he rejoiced in spirit, was renewed, and filled with heavenly light: his soul was gladdened by reason of the fervency of his faith, and astonished at the manifestation of the power of God. At the conclusion of the ceremony he arrayed himself in shining imperial vestments, brilliant as the light, and reclined on a couch of the purest white, refusing to clothe himself with the purple any more.

CHAPTER LXIII. HOW AFTER HIS BAPTISM HE RENDERED THANKS TO GOD.

1 He then lifted his voice and poured forth a strain of thanksgiving to God; after which he added these words. "Now I know that I am truly blessed: now I feel assured that I am accounted worthy of immortality, and am made a partaker of Divine light." He further expressed his compassion for the unhappy condition of those who were strangers to such blessings as he enjoyed: and

when the tribunes and generals of his army appeared in his presence with lamentations and tears at the prospect of their bereavement, and with prayers that his days might yet be prolonged, he assured them in reply that he was now in possession of true life; that none but himself could know the value of the blessings he had received; so that he was anxious rather to hasten than to defer his departure to God. He then proceeded to complete the needful arrangement of his affairs, bequeathing an annual donation to the Roman inhabitants of his imperial city; apportioning the inheritance of the empire, like a patrimonial estate, among his own children; in short, making every disposition according to his own pleasure.

CHAPTER LXIV. CONSTANTINE'S DEATH AT NOON ON THE FEAST OF PENTECOST.

1 All these events occurred during a most important festival, I mean the august and holy solemnity of Pentecost, which is distinguished by a period of seven weeks, and sealed with that one day on which the holy Scriptures attest, the ascension of our common Saviour into heaven, and the descent of the Holy Spirit among men. In the course of this feast the emperor received the privileges I have described; and on the last day of all, which one might justly call the feast of feasts, he was removed about mid-day to the presence of his God, leaving his mortal remains to his fellow mortals, and carrying into fellowship with God that part of his being which was capable of understanding and loving him. Such was the close of Constantine's mortal life. Let us now attend to the circumstances which followed this event.

CHAPTER LXV. LAMENTATIONS OF THE SOLDIERY AND THEIR OFFICERS.

1 Immediately the assembled spearmen and body-guard rent their garments, and prostrated themselves on the ground, striking their heads, and uttering lamentations and cries of sorrow, calling on their imperial lord and master, or rather, like true children, on their father, while their tribunes and centurions addressed him as their preserver, protector, and benefactor. The rest of the soldiery also came in respectful order to mourn as a flock the removal of their good shepherd. The people meanwhile ran wildly throughout the city, some expressing the inward sorrow of their hearts by loud cries, others appearing confounded with grief: each mourning the event as a calamity which had befallen himself, and bewailing his death as though they felt themselves bereft of a blessing common alike to all.

CHAPTER LXVI. REMOVAL OF THE BODY FROM NICOMEDIA TO THE PALACE AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

1 After this the soldiers lifted the body from its couch, and laid it in a golden coffin, which they enveloped in a covering of purple, and removed to the city which was called by his own name. Here it was placed in an elevated position in the principal chamber of the imperial palace, and surrounded by candles burning in candlesticks of gold, presenting a marvelous spectacle, and such as no one under the light of the sun had ever seen on earth since the world itself began. For in the central apartment of the imperial palace, the body of the emperor lay in its elevated resting-place, arrayed in the symbols of sovereignty, the diadem and purple robe, and encircled by a numerous retinue of attendants, who watched around it incessantly night and day.

CHAPTER LXVII. HE RECEIVED THE SAME HONORS FROM THE COUNTS AND OTHER OFFICERS AS BEFORE HIS DEATH.

1 The military officers, too, of the highest rank, the counts, and the whole order of magistrates, who had been accustomed to do obeisance to their emperor before, continued to fulfill this duty without any change, even after his death entering the chamber at the appointed times, and saluting their coffined sovereign with bended knee, as though he were still alive. After them the senators appeared, and all who had been distinguished by any honorable office, and rendered the same homage. These were followed by multitudes of every rank, who came with their wives and children to witness the spectacle. These honors continued to be rendered for a considerable time, the soldiers having resolved thus to guard the body until his sons should arrive, and take on themselves the conduct of their father's funeral. No mortal had ever, like this blessed prince, continued to reign even after death, and to receive the same homage as during his life: he only, of all who have ever lived, obtained this reward from God: a suitable reward, since he alone of all sovereigns had in all his actions honored the Supreme God and his Christ, and God himself accordingly was pleased that even his mortal remains should still retain imperial authority among men; thus indicating to all who were not utterly devoid of understanding the immortal and endless empire which his soul was destined to enjoy. This was the course of events here.

CHAPTER LXVIII. RESOLUTION OF THE ARMY TO CONFER THENCEFORWARD THE TITLE OF AUGUSTUS ON HIS SONS.

1 Meanwhile the tribunes selected from the troops under their command those officers whose fidelity and zeal had long been known to the emperor, and dispatched them to the Caesars with intelligence of the late event. This service they accordingly performed. As soon, however, as the soldiery throughout the provinces received the tidings of the emperor's decease, they all, as if by a supernatural impulse, resolved with one consent, as though their great emperor had been yet alive, to acknowledge none other than his sons as sovereigns of the Roman world: and these they soon after determined should no longer retain the name of Caesar, but should each be honored with the title of Augustus, a name which indicates the highest supremacy of imperial power. Such were the measures adopted by the army; and these resolutions they communicated to each other by letter, so that the unanimous desire of the legions became known at the same point of time throughout the whole extent of the empire.

CHAPTER LXIX. MOURNING FOR CONSTANTINE AT ROME; AND THE HONOR PAID HIM THERE THROUGH PAINTINGS AFTER HIS DEATH.

1 On the arrival of the news of the emperor's death in the imperial city, the Roman senate and people felt the announcement as the heaviest and most afflictive of all calamities, and gave themselves up to an excess of grief. The baths and markets were closed, the public spectacles, and all other recreations in which men of leisure are accustomed to indulge, were interrupted. Those who had erewhile lived in luxurious ease, now walked the streets in gloomy sadness, while all united in blessing the name of the deceased, as the one who was dear to God, and truly worthy of the imperial dignity. Nor was their sorrow expressed only in words: they proceeded also to honor him, by the dedication of paintings to his memory, with the same respect as before his death. The design of these pictures embodied a representation of heaven itself, and depicted the emperor reposing in an ethereal mansion above the celestial vault. They too declared his sons alone to be emperors and Augusti, and begged with earnest entreaty that they might be permitted to receive the body of their emperor, and perform his obsequies in the imperial city.

CHAPTER LXX. HIS BURIAL BY HIS SON CONSTANTIUS AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

1 Thus did they there testify their respect for the memory of him who had been honored by God. The second of his sons, however, who had by this time arrived, proceeded to celebrate his father's funeral in the city which bears his name, himself heading the procession, which was preceded by detachments of soldiers in military array, and followed by vast multitudes, the body itself being surrounded by companies of spearmen and heavy armed infantry. On the arrival of the procession at the church dedicated to the apostles of our Saviour, the coffin was there entombed. Such honor did the youthful emperor Constantius render to his deceased parent, both by his presence, and by the due performance of this sacred ceremony.

CHAPTER LXXI. SACRED SERVICE IN THE CHURCH OF THE APOSTLES AN THE OCCASION OF CONSTANTINE'S FUNERAL.

1 As soon as [Constantius] had withdrawn himself with the military train, the ministers of God came forward, with the multitude and the whole congregation of the faithful, and performed the rites of Divine worship with prayer. At the same time the tribute of their praises was given to the character of this blessed prince, whose body rested on a lofty and conspicuous monument, and the whole multitude united with the priests of God in offering prayers for his soul, not without tears,-nay, rather with much weeping; thus performing an office consonant with the desires of the pious deceased. In this respect also the favor of God was manifested to his servant, in that he not only bequeathed the succession of the empire to his own beloved sons, but that the earthly tabernacle of his thrice blessed soul, according to his own earnest wish, was permitted to share the monument of the apostles; was associated with the honor of their name, and with that of the people of God; was honored by the performance of the sacred ordinances and mystic service; and enjoyed a participation in the prayers of the saints. Thus, too, he continued to possess imperial power even after death, controlling, as though with renovated life, a universal dominion, and retaining in his own name, as Victor, Maximus, Augustus, the sovereignty of the Roman world.

CHAPTER LXXII. OF THE PHOENIX.

1 We cannot compare him with that bird of Egypt, the only one, as they say, of its kind, which dies, self-sacrificed, in the midst of aromatic perfumes,

and, rising from its own ashes with new life, soars aloft in the same form which it had before. Rather did he resemble his Saviour, who, as the sown corn which is multiplied from a single grain, had yielded abundant increase through the blessing of God, and had overspread the whole world with his fruit. Even so did our thrice blessed prince become multiplied, as it were, through the succession of his sons. His statue was erected along with theirs in every province; and the name of Constantine was owned and honored even after the close of his mortal life.

CHAPTER LXXIII. HOW CONSTANTINE IS REPRESENTED ON COINS IN THE ACT OF ASCENDING TO HEAVEN.

1 A Coinage was also struck which bore the following device. On one side appeared the figure of our blessed prince, with the head closely veiled: the reverse exhibited him sitting as a charioteer, drawn by four horses, with a hand stretched downward from above to receive him up to heaven.

CHAPTER LXXIV. THE GOD WHOM HE HAD HONORED DESERVEDLY HONORED HIM IN RETURN.

1 Such are the proofs by which the Supreme God has made it manifest to us, in the person of Constantine, who alone of all sovereigns had openly professed the Christian faith, how great a difference he perceives between those whose privilege it is to worship him and his Christ, and those who have chosen the contrary part, who provoked his enmity by daring to assail his Church, and whose calamitous end, in every instance, afforded tokens of his displeasure, as manifestly as the death of Constantine conveyed to all men an evident assurance of his Divine love.

CHAPTER LXXV. HE SURPASSED ALL PRECEDING EMPERORS IN DEVOTION TO GOD.

1 Standing, as he did, alone and pre-eminent among the Roman emperors as a worshiper of God; alone as the bold proclaimer to all men of the doctrine of Christ; having alone rendered honor, as none before him had ever done, to his Church; having alone abolished utterly the error of polytheism, and discountenanced idolatry in every form: so, alone among them both during life and after death, was he accounted worthy of such honors as none can say have been attained to by any other; so that no one, whether Greek or Barbarian, nay, of the ancient Romans themselves, has ever been presented to us as worthy of comparison with him.

The Oration in Praise of the Emperor Constantine

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

INTRODUCTION

Pronounced on the Thirtieth Anniversary of His Reign. — Prologue to the Oration.

1 1 I Come not forward prepared with a fictitious narrative, nor with elegance of language to captivate the ear, desiring to charm my hearers as it were, with a siren's voice; nor shall I present the draught of pleasure in cups of gold decorated with lorry flowers (I mean the graces of style) to those who are pleased with such things. Rather would I follow the precepts of the wise, and admonish all to avoid and turn aside from the beaten road, and keep themselves from contact with the vulgar crowd. 2 I come, then, prepared to celebrate our emperor's praises in a newer strain; and, though the number be infinite of those who desire to be my companions in my present task, I am resolved to shun the common track of men, and to pursue that untrodden path which it is unlawful to enter on with unwashed feet. Let those who admire a vulgar style, abounding in puerile subtleties, and who court a pleasing and popular muse, essay, since pleasure is the object they have in view, to charm the ears of men by a narrative of merely human merits. Those, however who are initiated into the universal science, and have attained to Divine as well as human knowledge, and account the choice of the latter as the real excellence, will prefer those virtues of the emperor which Heaven itself approves, and his pious actions, to his merely human accomplishments; and will leave to inferior encomiasts the task of celebrating his lesser merits.

2 3 For since our emperor is gifted as well with that sacred wisdom which has immediate reference to God, as with the knowledge which concerns the interests of men; let those who are competent to such a task describe his sec-

ular acquirements, great and transcendent as they are, and fraught with advantage to mankind (for all that characterizes the emperor is great and noble), yet still inferior to his diviner qualifies, to those who stand without the sacred precincts. 4 Let those, however, who are within the sanctuary, and have access to its inmost and untrodden recesses, close the doors against every profane ear, and unfold, as it were, the secret mysteries of our emperor's character to the initiated alone. And let those who have purified their ears in the streams of piety, and raised their thoughts on the soaring wing of the mind itself, join the company which surrounds the Sovereign Lord of all, and learn in silence the divine mysteries.

3 5 Meanwhile let the sacred oracles, given, not by the spirit of divination (or rather let me say of madness and folly), but by the inspiration of Divine truth, be our instructors in these mysteries; speaking to us of sovereignty, generally: of him who is the Supreme Sovereign of all, and the heavenly array which surrounds the Lord of all; of that exemplar of imperial power which is before us, and that counterfeit coin: and, lastly, of the consequences which result from both. With these oracles, then, to initiate us in the knowledge of the sacred rites, let us essay, as follows, the commencement of our divine mysteries.

CHAPTER I. THE ORATION.

1 1 To-Day is the festival of our great emperor: and we his children rejoice therein, feeling the inspiration of our sacred theme. He who presides over our solemnity is the Great Sovereign himself; he, I mean, who is truly great; of whom I affirm (nor will the sovereign who hears me be offended, but will rather approve of this ascription of praise to God), that HE is above and beyond all created things, the Highest, the Greatest, the most Mighty One; whose throne is the arch of heaven, and the earth the footstool of his feet. His being none can worthily comprehend; and the ineffable splendor of the glory which surrounds him repels the gaze of every eye from his Divine majesty. 2 His ministers are the heavenly hosts; his armies the supernal powers, who own allegiance to him as their Master, Lord, and King. The countless multitudes of angels, the companies of archangels, the chorus of holy spirits, draw from and reflect his radiance as from the fountains of everlasting light. Yea every light, and specially those divine and incorporeal intelligences whose place is beyond the heavenly sphere, celebrate this august Sovereign with lofty and sacred strains of praise. The vast expanse of heaven,

like an azure veil, is interposed between those without, and those who inhabit his royal mansions: while round this expanse the sun and moon, with the rest of the heavenly luminaries (like torch-bearers around the entrance of the imperial palace), perform, in honor of their sovereign, their appointed courses; holding forth, at the word of his command, an ever-burning light to those whose lot is cast in the darker regions without the pale of heaven.

2 3 And surely when I remember that our own victorious emperor renders praises to this Mighty Sovereign, I do well to follow him, knowing as I do that to him alone we owe that imperial power under which we live. The pious Caesars, instructed by their father's wisdom, acknowledge him as the source of every blessing: the soldiery, the entire body of the people, both in the country and in the cities of the empire, with the governors of the several provinces, assembling together in accordance with the precept of their great Saviour and Teacher, worship him. In short, the whole family of mankind, of every nation, tribe, and tongue, both collectively and severally, however diverse their opinions on other subjects, are unanimous in this one confession; and, in obedience to the reason implanted in them, and the spontaneous and uninstructed impulse of their own minds, unite in calling on the One and only God.

3 4 Nay, does not the universal frame of earth acknowledge him her Lord, and declare, by the vegetable and animal life which she produces her subjection to the will of a superior Power? The rivers, flowing with abundant stream, and the perennial fountains, springing from hidden and exhaustless depths, ascribe to him the cause of their marvellous source. The mighty waters of the sea, enclosed in chambers of unfathomable depth, and the swelling surges, which lift themselves on high, and menace as it were the earth itself, shrink back when they approach the shore, checked by the power of his Divine law. The duly measured fall of winter's rain, the rolling thunder, the lightning's flash, the eddying currents of the winds, and the airy courses of the clouds, all reveal his presence to those to whom his Person is invisible. 4 5 The all-radiant sun, who holds his constant career through the lapse of ages, owns him Lord alone, and obedient to his will, dares not depart from his appointed path. The inferior splendor of the moon, alternately diminished and increased at stated periods, is subject to his Divine command. The beauteous mechanism of the heavens, glittering with the hosts of stars, moving in harmonious order, and preserving the measure of each several orbit, proclaims

him the giver of all light: yea, all the heavenly luminaries maintaining at his will and word a grand and perfect unity of motion, pursue the track of their ethereal career, and complete in the lapse of revolving ages their distant course. The alternate recurrence of day and night, the changing seasons, the order and proportion of the universe, all declare the manifold wisdom of [his boundless power]. To him the unseen agencies which hold their course throughout the expanse of space, render the due tribute of praise. To him this terrestrial globe itself, to him the heavens above, and the choirs beyond the vault of heaven, give honor as to their mighty Sovereign: the angelic hosts greet him with ineffable songs of Praise; and the spirits which draw their being from incorporeal light, adore him as their Creator. The everlasting ages which were before this heaven and earth, with other periods beside them, infinite, and antecedent to all visible creation, acknowledge him the sole and supreme Sovereign and Lord.

5 6 Lastly, he who is in all, before, and after all, his only begotten, pre-existent Word, the great High Priest of the mighty God, elder than all time and every age, devoted to his Father's glory, first and alone makes intercession with him for the salvation of mankind. Supreme and pre-eminent Ruler of the universe, he shares the glory of his Father's kingdom: for he is that Light, which, transcendent above the universe, encircles the Father's Person, interposing and dividing between the eternal and uncreated Essence and all derived existence: that Light which, streaming from on high, proceeds from that Deity who knows not origin or end, and illumines the super-celestial regions, and all that heaven itself contains, with the radiance of wisdom bright beyond the splendor of the sun. This is he who holds a supreme dominion over this whole world, who is over and in all things, and pervades all things visible and invisible; the Word of God. From whom and by whom our divinely favored emperor, receiving, as it were a transcript of the Divine sovereignty, directs, in imitation of God himself, the administration of this world's affairs.

CHAPTER II.

1 1 This only begotten Word of God reigns, from ages which had no beginning, to infinite and endless ages, the partner of his Father's kingdom. And [our emperor] ever beloved by him, who derives the source of imperial authority from above, and is strong in the power of his sacred title, has controlled the empire of the world for a long period of years. 2 Again, that Pre-

server of the universe orders these heavens and earth, and the celestial kingdom, consistently with his Father's will. Even so our emperor whom he loves, by bringing those whom he rules on earth to the only begotten Word and Saviour renders them fit subjects of his kingdom. 3 And as he who is the common Saviour of mankind, by his invisible and Divine power as the good shepherd, drives far away from his flock, like savage beasts, those apostate spirits which once flew through the airy tracts above this earth, and fastened on the souls of men; so this his friend, graced by his heavenly favor with victory over all his foes, subdues and chastens the open adversaries of the truth in accordance with the usages of war.

24 He who is the pre-existent Word, the Preserver of all things, imparts to his disciples the seeds of true wisdom and salvation, and at once enlightens and gives them understanding in the knowledge of his Father's kingdom. Our emperor, his friend, acting as interpreter to the Word of God, aims at recalling the whole human race to the knowledge of God; proclaiming clearly in the ears of all, and declaring with powerful voice the laws of truth and godliness to all who dwell on the earth. 5 Once more, the universal Saviour opens the heavenly gates of his Father's kingdom to those whose course is thitherward from this world. Our emperor, emulous of his Divine example, having purged his earthly dominion from every stain of impious error, invites each holy and pious worshiper within his imperial mansions, earnestly desiring to save with all its crew that mighty vessel of which he is the appointed pilot. And he alone of all who have wielded the imperial power of Rome, being honored by the Supreme Sovereign with a reign of three decennial periods, now celebrates this festival, not, as: his ancestors might have done, in honor of infernal demons, or the apparitions of seducing spirits, or of the fraud and deceitful arts of impious men; but as an act of thanksgiving to him by whom he has thus been honored, and in acknowledgment of the blessings he has received at his hands. He does not, in imitation of ancient usage, defile his imperial mansions with blood and gore, nor propitiate the infernal deities with fire and smoke, and sacrificial offerings; but dedicates to the universal Sovereign a pleasant and acceptable sacrifice, even his own imperial soul, and a mind truly fitted for the service of God.

36 For this sacrifice alone is grateful to him: and this sacrifice our emperor has learned, with purified mind and thoughts, to present as an offering without the intervention of fire and blood, while his own piety,

strengthened by the truthful doctrines with which his soul is stored, he sets forth in magnificent language the praises of God, and imitates his Divine philanthropy by his own imperial acts. Wholly devoted to him, he dedicates himself as a noble offering, a first-fruit of that world, the government of which is intrusted to his charge. This first and greatest sacrifice our emperor first dedicates to God; and then, as a faithful shepherd, he offers, not "famous hecatombs of firstling lambs," but the souls of that flock which is the object of his care, those rational beings whom he leads to the knowledge and pious worship of God.

CHAPTER III.

1 1 And gladly does he accept and welcome this sacrifice, and commend the presenter of so august and noble an offering, by protracting his reign to a lengthened period of years, giving larger proofs of his beneficence in proportion to the emperor's holy services to himself. Accordingly he permits him to celebrate each successive festival during great and general prosperity throughout the empire, advancing one of his sons, at the recurrence of each decennial period, to a share of his own imperial power. 2 The eldest, who bears his father's name, he received as his partner in the empire about the close of the first decade of his reign: the second, next in point of age, at the second; and the third in like manner at the third decennial period, the occasion of this our present festival. And now that the fourth period has commenced, and the time of his reign is still further prolonged, he desires to extend his imperial authority by calling still more of his kindred to partake his power; and, by the appointment of the Caesars, fulfills the predictions of the holy prophets, according to what they uttered ages before: "And the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom."

2 3 And thus the Almighty Sovereign himself accords an increase both of years and of children to our most pious emperor, and renders his sway over the nations of the world still fresh and flourishing, as though it were even now springing up in its earliest vigor. He it is who appoints him this present festival, in that he has made him victorious over every enemy that disturbed his peace: he it is who displays him as an example of true godliness to the human race. 4 And thus our emperor, like the radiant sun, illuminates the most distant subjects of his empire through the presence of the Caesars, as with the far piercing rays of his own brightness. To us who occupy the eastern regions he has given a son worthy of himself; a second and a third re-

spectively to other departments of his empire, to be, as it were, brilliant reflectors of the light which proceeds from himself. Once more, having harnessed, as it were, under the self-same yoke the four most noble Caesars as horses in the imperial chariot, he sits on high and directs their course by the reins of holy harmony and concord; and, himself every where present, and observant of every event, thus traverses every region of the world.

3 5 Lastly, invested as he is with a semblance of heavenly sovereignty, he directs his gaze above, and frames his earthly government according to the pattern of that Divine original, feeling strength in its conformity to the monarchy of God. And this conformity is granted by the universal Sovereign to man alone of the creatures of this earth: for he only is the author of sovereign power, who decrees that all should be subject to the rule of one. 6 And surely monarchy far transcends every other constitution and form of government: for that democratic equality of power, which is its opposite, may rather be described as anarchy and disorder. Hence there is one God, and not two, or three, or more: for to assert a plurality of gods is plainly to deny the being of God at all. There is one Sovereign; and his Word and royal Law is one: a Law not expressed in syllables and words, not written or engraved on tablets, and therefore subject to the ravages of time; but the living and self-subsisting Word, who himself is God, and who administers his Father's kingdom on behalf of all who are after him and subject to his power.

4 7 His attendants are the heavenly hosts; the myriads of God's angelic ministers; the super-terrestrial armies, of unnumbered multitude; and those unseen spirits within heaven itself, whose agency is employed in regulating the order of this world. Ruler and chief of all these is the royal Word, acting as Regent of the Supreme Sovereign. To him the names of Captain, and great High Priest, Prophet of the Father, Angel of mighty counsel, Brightness of the Father's light, Only begotten Son, with a thousand other titles, are ascribed in the oracles of the sacred writers. And the Father, having constituted him the living Word, and Law and Wisdom the fullness of all blessing, has presented this best and greatest gift to all who are the subjects of his sovereignty. 8 And he himself, who pervades all things, and is every where present, unfolding his Father's bounties to all with unsparing hand, has accorded a specimen of his sovereign power even to his rational creatures of this earth, in that he has provided the mind of man, who is formed after his own image, with Divine faculties, whence it is capable of other virtues also,

which flow from the same heavenly source. For he only is wise, who is the only God: he only is essentially good: he only is of mighty power, the Parent of justice, the Father of reason and wisdom, the Fountain of light and life, the Dispenser of truth and virtue: in a word, the Author of empire itself, and of all dominion and power.

CHAPTER IV.

1 1 But whence has man this knowledge, and who has ministered these truths to mortal ears? Or whence has a tongue of flesh the power to speak of things so utterly distinct from fleshly or material substance? Who has gazed on the invisible King, and beheld these perfections in him? The bodily sense may comprehend elements and their combinations, of a nature kindred to its own: but no one yet has boasted to have scanned with corporeal eye that unseen kingdom which governs all things nor has mortal nature yet discerned the beauty of perfect wisdom. Who has beheld the face of righteousness through the medium of flesh? And whence came the idea of legitimate sovereignty and imperial power to man? Whence the thought of absolute dominion to a being composed of flesh and blood? Who declared those ideas which are invisible and undefined, and that incorporeal essence which has no external form, to the mortals of this earth?

2 2 Surely there was but one interpreter of these things; the all-pervading Word of God. For he is the author of that rational and intelligent being which exists in man; and, being himself one with his Father's Divine nature, he sheds upon his offspring the out-flowings of his Father's bounty. Hence the natural and untaught powers of thought, which all men, Greeks or Barbarians, alike possess: hence the perception of reason and wisdom, the seeds of integrity and righteousness, the understanding of the arts of life, the knowledge of virtue, the precious name of wisdom, and the noble love of philosophic learning. Hence the knowledge of all that is great and good: hence apprehension of God himself, and a life worthy of his worship: hence the royal authority of man, and his invincible lordship over the creatures of this world. 3 3 And when that Word, who is the Parent of rational beings, had impressed a character on the mind of man according to the image and likeness of God, and had made him a royal creature, in that he gave him alone of all earthly creatures capacity to rule and to obey (as well as forethought and foreknowledge even here, concerning the promised hope of his heavenly kingdom, because of which he himself came, and, as the Parent of

his children, disdained not to hold converse with mortal men); he continued to cherish the seeds which himself had sown, and renewed his gracious favors from above; holding forth to all the promise of sharing his heavenly kingdom. Accordingly he called men, and exhorted them to be ready for their heavenward journey, and to provide themselves with the garment which became their calling. And by an indescribable power he filled the world in every part with his doctrine, expressing by the similitude of an earthly kingdom that heavenly one to which he earnestly invites all mankind, and presents it to them as a worthy object of their hope.

CHAPTER V.

1 1 And in this hope our divinely-favored emperor partakes even in this present life, gifted as he is by God with native virtues, and having received into his soul the out-flowings of his favor. His reason he derives from the great Source of all reason: he is wise, and good, and just, as having fellowship with perfect Wisdom, Goodness, and Righteousness: virtuous, as following the pattern of perfect virtue: valiant, as partaking of heavenly strength. 2 And truly may he deserve the imperial title, who has formed his soul to royal virtues, according to the standard of that celestial kingdom. But he who is a stranger to these blessings, who denies the Sovereign of the universe, and owns no allegiance to the heavenly Father of spirits; who invests not himself with the virtues which become an emperor, but overlays his soul with moral deformity and baseness; who for royal clemency substitutes the fury of a savage beast; for a generous temper, the incurable venom of malicious wickedness; for prudence, folly; for reason and wisdom, that recklessness which is the most odious of all vices, for from it, as from a spring of bitterness, proceed the most pernicious fruits; such as inveterate profligacy of life, covetousness, murder, impiety and defiance of God; surely one abandoned to; such vices as these, however he may be deemed powerful through despotic violence, has no true title to the name of Emperor.

2 3 For how should he whose soul is impressed with a thousand absurd images of false deities, be able to exhibit a counterpart of the true and heavenly sovereignty? Or how can he be absolute lord of others, who has subjected himself to the dominion of a thousand cruel masters? a slave of low delights and ungoverned lust, a slave of wrongfully-extorted wealth, of rage and passion, as well as of cowardice and terror; a slave of ruthless demons, and soul-destroying spirits? 4 Let, then, our emperor, on the testimony of

truth itself, be declared alone worthy of the title; who is dear to the Supreme Sovereign himself; who alone is free, nay, who is truly lord: above the thirst of wealth, superior to sexual desire; victorious even over natural pleasures; controlling, not controlled by, anger and passion. He is indeed an emperor, and bears a title corresponding to his deeds; a Victor in truth, who has gained the victory over those passions which overmaster the rest of men: whose character is formed after the Divine original of the Supreme Sovereign, and whose mind reflects, as in a mirror, the radiance of his virtues. Hence is our emperor perfect in discretion, in goodness, in justice, in courage, in piety, in devotion to God: he truly and only is a philosopher, since he knows himself, and is fully aware that supplies of every blessing are showered on him from a source quite external to himself, even from heaven itself. Declaring the august title of supreme authority by the splendor of his vesture, he alone worthily wears that imperial purple which so well becomes him.

35 He is indeed an emperor, who calls on and implores in prayer the favor of his heavenly Father night and day, and whose ardent desires are fixed on his celestial kingdom. For he knows that present things, subject as they are to decay and death, flowing on and disappearing like a river's stream, are not worthy to be compared with him who is sovereign of all; therefore it is that he longs for the incorruptible and incorporeal kingdom of God. And this kingdom he trusts he shall obtain, elevating his mind as he does in sublimity of thought above the vault of heaven, and filled with inexpressible longing for the glories which shine there, in comparison with which he deems the precious things of this present world but darkness. For he sees earthly sovereignty to be but a petty and fleeting dominion over a mortal and temporary life, and rates it not much higher than the goatherd's, or shepherd's, or herdsman's power: nay, as more burdensome than theirs, and exercised over more stubborn subjects. The acclamations of the people, and the voice of flattery, he reckons rather troublesome than pleasing, because of the steady constancy of his character, and genuine discipline of his mind.

46 Again, when he beholds the military service of his subjects, the vast array of his armies, the multitudes of horse and foot, entirely devoted to his command, he feels no astonishment, no pride at the possession of such mighty power; but turns his thoughts inward on himself, and recognizes the same common nature there. He smiles at his vesture, embroidered with gold and flowers, and at the imperial purple and diadem itself, when he sees the

multitude gaze in wonder, like children at a bugbear, on the splendid spectacle. Himself superior to such feelings, he clothes his soul with the knowledge of God, that vesture, the broidery of which is temperance, righteousness, piety, and all other virtues; a vesture such as truly becomes a sovereign. 7 The wealth which others so much desire, as gold, silver, or precious gems, he regards to be, as they really are, in themselves mere stones and worthless matter, of no avail to preserve or defend from evil. For what power have these things to free from disease, or repel the approach of death? And knowing as he does this truth by personal experience in the use of these things, he regards the splendid attire of his subjects with calm indifference, and smiles at the childishness of those to whom they prove attractive. Lastly, he abstains from all excess in food and wine, and leaves superfluous dainties to gluttons, judging that such indulgences, however suitable to others, are not so to him, and deeply convinced of their pernicious tendency, and their effect in darkening the intellectual powers of the soul.

5 8 For all these reasons, our divinely taught and noble-minded emperor, aspiring to higher objects than this life affords, calls upon his heavenly Father as one who longs for his kingdom; exhibits a pious spirit in each action of his life; and finally, as a wise and good instructor, imparts to his subjects the knowledge of him who is the Sovereign Lord of all.

CHAPTER VI.

1 1 And God himself, as an earnest of future reward, assigns to him now as it were tricennial crowns composed of prosperous periods of time; and now, after the revolution of three circles of ten years, he grants permission to all mankind to celebrate this general, nay rather, this universal festival. And while those on earth thus rejoice, crowned as it were with the flowers of divine knowledge, surely, we may not unduly suppose that the heavenly choirs, attracted by a natural sympathy, unite their joy with the joy of those on earth: nay, that the Supreme Sovereign himself, as a gracious father, delights in the worship of duteous children, and for this reason is pleased to honor the author and cause of their obedience through a lengthened period of time; and, far from limiting his reign to three decennial circles of years, he extends it to the remotest period, even to far distant eternity. Now eternity in its whole extent is beyond the power of decline or death: its beginning and extent alike incapable of being scanned by mortal thoughts. Nor will it suffer its central point to be perceived, nor that which is termed its present

duration to be grasped by the inquiring mind. Far less, then, the future, or the past: for the one is not, but is already gone; while the future has not yet arrived, and therefore is not. As regards what is termed the present time, it vanishes even as we think or speak, more swiftly than the word itself is uttered.

2 Nor is it possible in any sense to apprehend this time as present; for we must either expect the future, or contemplate the past; the present slips from us, and is gone, even in the act of thought. Eternity, then, in its whole extent, resists and refuses subjection to mortal reason. But it does not refuse to acknowledge its own Sovereign and Lord, and bears him as it were mounted on itself, rejoicing in the fair trappings which he bestows. And he himself, not binding it, as the poet imagined, with a golden chain, but as it were controlling its movements by the reins of ineffable wisdom, has adjusted its months and seasons, its times and years, and the alterations of day and night, with perfect harmony, and has thus attached to itlimits and measures of various kinds. For eternity, being in its nature direct, and stretching onward into infinity, and receiving its name, eternity, as having an everlasting existence, and being similar in all its parts, or rather having no division or distance, progresses only in a line of direct extension. But God, who has distributed it by intermediate sections, and has divided it, like a far extended line, in many points, has included in it a vast number of portions; and though it is in its nature one, and resembles unity itself, he has attached to it a multiplicity of numbers, and has given it, though formless in itself, an endless variety of forms.

3 5 For first of all he framed in it formless matter, as a substance capable of receiving all forms. He next, by the power of the number two, imparted quality to matter, and gave beauty to that which before was void of all grace. Again, by means of the number three, he framed a body compounded of matter and form, and presenting the three dimensions of breadth, and length, and depth. Then, from the doubling of the number two, he devised the quaternion of the elements, earth, water, air, and fire, and ordained them to be everlasting sources for the supply of this universe. Again, the number four produces the number ten. For the aggregate of one, and two, and three, and four, is ten. And three multiplied with ten discovers the period of a month: and twelve successive months complete the course of the sun. Hence the revolutions of years, and changes of the seasons, which give grace,

like variety of color in painting, to that eternity which before was formless and devoid of beauty, for the refreshment and delight of those whose lot it is to traverse therein the course of life.

4 6 For as the ground is defined by stated distances for those who run in hope of obtaining the prize; and as the road of those who travel on a distant journey is marked by resting-places and measured intervals, that the traveler's courage may not fail at the interminable prospect; even so the Sovereign of the universe, controlling eternity itself within the restraining power of his own wisdom, directs and turns its course as he judges best. The same God, I say, who thus clothes the once undefined eternity as with fair colors and blooming flowers, gladdens the day with the solar rays; and, while he overspreads the night with a covering of darkness, yet causes the glittering stars, as golden spangles, to shine therein. It is he who lights up the brilliancy of the morning stab the changing splendor of the moon, and the glorious companies of the starry host, and has arrayed the expanse of heaven, like some vast mantle, in colors of varied beauty. Again, having created the lofty and profound expanse of air, and caused the world in its length and breadth to feel its cooling influence, he decreed that the air itself should be graced with birds of every kind, and left open this vast ocean of space to be traversed by every creature, visible or invisible, whose course is through the tracts of heaven. In the midst of this atmosphere he poised the earth, as it were its center, and encompassed it with the ocean as with a beautiful azure vesture.

5 7 Having ordained this earth to be at once the home, the nurse, and the mother of all the creatures it contains, and watered it both with rain and water-springs, he caused it to abound in plants and flowers of every species, for the enjoyment of life. And when he had formed man in his own likeness, the noblest of earthly creatures, and dearest to himself, a creature gifted with intellect and knowledge, the child of reason and wisdom, he gave him dominion over all other animals which move and live upon the earth. For man was in truth of all earthly creatures the dearest to God: man, I say, to whom, as an indulgent Father, he has subjected the brute creation; for whom he has made the ocean navigable, and crowned the earth with a profusion of plants of every kind; to whom he has granted reasoning faculties for acquiring all science; under whose control he has placed even the creatures of the deep, and the winged inhabitants of the air; to whom he has permitted the contemplation of celestial objects, and revealed the course and changes of

the sun and moon, and the periods of the planets and fixed stars. In short, to man alone of earthly beings has he given commandment to acknowledge him as his heavenly Father, and to celebrate his praises as the Supreme Sovereign of eternity itself.

6 8 But the unchangeable course of eternity the Creator has limited by the four seasons of the year, terminating the winter by the approach of spring, and regulating as with an equal balance that season which commences the annual period. Having thus graced the eternal course of time with the varied productions of spring, he added the summer's heat; and then granted as it were a relief of toil by the interval of autumn: and lastly, refreshing and cleansing the season by the showers of winter, he brings it, rendered sleek land glossy, like a noble steed, by these abundant rains, once more to the gates of spring. 9 As soon, then, as the Supreme Sovereign had thus connected his own eternity by these cords of wisdom with the annual circle, he committed it to the guidance of a mighty Governor, even his only begotten Word, to whom, as the Preserver of all creation, he yielded the reins of universal power. And he, receiving this inheritance as from a beneficent Father, and uniting all things both above and beneath the circumference of heaven in one harmonious whole, directs their uniform course; providing with perfect justice whatever is expedient for his rational creatures on the earth, appointing its allotted limits to human life, and granting to all alike permission to anticipate even here the commencement of a future existence. For he has taught them that beyond this present world there is a divine and blessed state of being, reserved for those who have been supported here by the hope of heavenly blessings; and that those who have lived a virtuous and godly life will remove hence to a far better habitation; while he adjudges to those who have been guilty and wicked here a place of punishment according to their crimes.

7 10 Again, as in the distribution of prizes at the public games, he proclaims various crowns to the victors, and invests each with the rewards of different virtues: but for our good emperor, who is clothed in the very robe of piety, he declares that a higher recompense of his toils is prepared; and, as a prelude to this recompense, permits us now to assemble at this festival, which is composed of perfect numbers, of decades thrice, and triads ten times repeated. 11 The first of these, the triad, is the offspring of the unit, while the unit is the mother of number itself, and presides over all months, and sea-

sons, and years, and every period of time. It may, indeed, be justly termed the origin, foundation, and principle of all number, and derives its name from its abiding character. For, while every other number is diminished or increased according to the subtraction or addition of others, the unit alone continues fixed and steadfast, abstracted from all multitude and the numbers which are formed from it, and resembling that indivisible essence which is distinct from all things beside, but by virtue of participation in which the nature of all things else subsists.

8 12 For the unit is the originator of every number, since all multitude is made up by the composition and addition of units; nor is it possible without the unit to conceive the existence of number at all. But the unit itself is independent of multitude, apart from and superior to all number; forming, indeed, and making all, but receiving 13 no increase from any. Kindred to this is the triad; equally indivisible and perfect, the first of those sums which are formed of even and uneven numbers. For the perfect number two, receiving the addition of the unit, forms the triad, the first perfect compound number. And the triad, by explaining what equality is, first taught men justice, having itself an equal beginning, and middle, and end. And it is also an image of the mysterious, most holy, and royal Trinity, which, though itself without beginning or origin, yet contains the germs, the reasons, and causes of the existence of all created things.

9 14 Thus the power of the triad may justly be regarded as the first cause of all things. Again, the number ten, which contains the end of all numbers, and terminates them in itself, may truly be called a full and perfect number, as comprehending every species and every measure of numbers, proportions, concords, and harmonies. For example, the units by addition form and are terminated by the number ten; and, having this number as their parent, and as it were the limit of their course they round this as the goal of their career. 15 Then they perform a second circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, until the tenth and thus by ten decades they complete the hundredth number. Returning thence to the first starting point, they again proceed to the number ten, and having ten times completed the hundredth number, again they recede, and perform round the same barriers their protracted course, proceeding from themselves back to themselves again, with revolving motion.

10 16 For the unit is the tenth of ten, and ten units make up a decade, which is itself the limit, the settled goal and boundary of units: it is that

which terminates the infinity of number; the term and end of units. Again, the triad combined with the decade, and performing a threefold circuit of tens, produces that most natural number, thirty. For as the triad is in respect to units, so is the number thirty in respect to tens. 17 It is also the constant limit to the course of that luminary which is second to the sun in brightness. For the course of the moon from one conjunction with the sun to the next, completes the period of a month; after which, receiving as it were a second birth, it recommences a new light, and other days, being adorned and honored with thirty units, three decades, and ten triads.

11 18 In the same manner is the universal reign of our victorious emperor distinguished by the giver of all good, and now enters on a new sphere of blessing, accomplishing, at present, this tricennalian festival, but reaching forward beyond this to far more distant intervals of time, and cherishing the hope of future blessings in the celestial kingdom; where, not a single sun, but infinite hosts of light surround the Almighty Sovereign, each surpassing the splendor of the sun, glorious and resplendent with rays derived from the everlasting source of light. 19 There the soul enjoys its existence, surrounded by fair and unfading blessings; there is a life beyond the reach of sorrow; there the enjoyment of pure and holy pleasures, and a time of unmeasured and endless duration, extending into illimitable space; not defined by intervals of days and months, the revolutions of years, or the recurrence of times and seasons, but commensurate with a life which knows no end. And this life needs not the light of the sun, nor the lustre of the moon or the starry host, since it has the great Luminary himself, even God the Word, the only begotten Son of the Almighty Sovereign.

12 20 Hence it is that the mystic and sacred oracles reveal him to be the Sun of righteousness, and the Light which far transcends all light. We believe that he illumines also the thrice-blessed powers of heaven with the rays of righteousness, and the brightness of wisdom, and that he receives truly pious souls, not within the sphere of heaven alone, but into his own bosom, and confirms indeed the assurances which he himself has given. 21 No mortal eye has seen, nor ear heard, nor can the mind in its vesture of flesh understand what things are prepared for those who have been here adorned with the graces of godliness; blessings which await thee too, most pious emperor, to whom alone since the world began has the Almighty Sovereign of the universe granted power to purify the course of human life: to whom also he

has revealed his own symbol of salvation, whereby he overcame the power of death, and triumphed over every enemy. And this victorious trophy, the scourge of evil spirits, thou hast arrayed against the errors of idol worship, and hast obtained the victory not only over all thy impious and savage foes, but over equally barbarous adversaries, the evil spirits themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

1 1 For whereas we are composed of two distinct natures, I mean of body and spirit, of which the one is visible to all, the other i invisible, against both these natures two kinds of barbarous and savage enemies, the one invisibly, the other openly, are constantly arrayed. The one oppose our bodies with bodily force: the other with incorporeal assaults besiege the naked soul itself. 2 Again, the visible barbarians, like the wild nomad tribes, no better than savage beasts, assail the nations of civilized men, ravage their country, and enslave their cities, rushing on those who inhabit them like ruthless wolves of the desert, and destroying all who fall under their power. But those unseen foes, more cruel far than barbarians, I mean the soul-destroying demons whose course is through the regions of the air, had succeeded, through the snares of vile polytheism, in enslaving the entire human race, insomuch that they no longer recognized the true God, but wandered in the mazes of atheistic error. For they procured, I know not whence, gods who never anywhere existed, and set him aside who is the only and the true God, as though he were not.

2 3 Accordingly the generation of bodies was esteemed by them a deity, and so the opposite principle to this, their dissolution and destruction, was also deified. The first, as the author of generative power, was honored with rites under the name of Venus: the second, as rich, and mighty in dominion over the human race, received the names of Pluto, and Death. For men in those ages, knowing no other than naturally generated life, declared the cause and origin of that life to be divine: and again, believing in no existence after death, they proclaimed Death himself a universal conqueror and a mighty god. Hence, unconscious of responsibility, as destined to be annihilated by death, they lived a life unworthy of the name, in the practice of actions deserving a thousand deaths. No thought of God could enter their minds, no expectation of Divine judgment, no recollection of, no reflection on, their spiritual existence: acknowledging one dread superior, Death, and persuaded that the dissolution of their bodies by his power was final annihil-

ation, they bestowed on Death the title of a mighty, a wealthy god, and hence the name of Pluto. Thus, then, Death became to them a god; nor only so, but whatever else they accounted precious in comparison with death, whatever contributed to the luxuries of life.

3 4 Hence animal pleasure became to them a god; nutrition, and its production, a god; the fruit of trees, a god; drunken riot, a god; carnal desire and pleasure, a god. Hence the mysteries of Ceres and Proserpine, the rape of the latter, and her subsequent restoration, by Pluto: hence the orgies of Bacchus, and Hercules overcome by drunkenness as by a mightier god: hence the adulterous rites of Cupid and of Venus: hence Jupiter himself infatuated with the love of women, and of Ganymede: hence the licentious legends of deities abandoned to effeminacy and pleasure. 5 Such were the weapons of superstition whereby these cruel barbarians and enemies of the Supreme God afflicted, and indeed entirely subdued, the human race; erecting everywhere the monuments of impiety, and rearing in every corner the shrines and temples of their false religion. 6 Nay, so far were the ruling powers of those times enslaved by the force of error, as to appease their gods with the blood of their own countrymen and kindred; to whet their swords against those who stood forward to defend the truth; to maintain a ruthless war and raise unholy hands, not against foreign or barbarian foes, but against men l bound to them by the ties of family and affection, against brethren, and kinsmen, and dearest friends, who had resolved, in the practice of virtue and true piety, to honor and worship God.

4 7 Such was the spirit of madness with which these princes sacrificed to their demon deities men consecrated to the service of the King of kings. On the other hand their victims, as noble martyrs in the cause of true godliness, resolved to welcome a glorious death in preference to life itself, and utterly despised these cruelties. Strengthened, as soldiers of God, with patient fortitude, they mocked at death in all its forms; at fire, and sword, and the torment of crucifixion; at exposure to savage beasts, and drowning in the depths of the sea; at the cutting off and searing of limbs, the digging out of eyes, the mutilation of the whole body; lastly, at famine, the labor of the mines, and captivity: nay, all these sufferings they counted better than any earthly good or pleasure, for the love they bore their heavenly King. In like manner women also evinced a spirit of constancy and courage not inferior to that of men.

5 8 Some endured the same conflicts with them, and obtained a like reward of their virtue: others, forcibly carried off to be the victims of violence and pollution, welcomed death rather than dishonor; while many, very many more, endured not even to hear the same threats wherewith they were assailed by the provincial governors, but boldly sustained every variety of torture, and sentence of death in every form. Thus did these valiant soldiers of the Almighty Sovereign maintain the conflict with steadfast fortitude of soul against the hostile forces of polytheism: and thus did these enemies of God and adversaries of man's salvation, more cruel far than the ferocious savage, delight in libations of human blood: thus did their ministers drain as it were the cup of un-righteous slaughter in honor of the demons whom they served, and prepare for them this dread and impious banquet, to the ruin of the human race.

6 9 In these sad circumstances, what course should the God and King of these afflicted ones pursue? Could he be careless of the safety of his dearest friends or abandon his servants in this great extremity? Surely none could deem him a wary pilot, who, without an effort to save his fellow-mariners should suffer his vessel to sink with all her crew: surely no general could be found so reckless as to yield his own allies, without resistance, to the mercy of the foe: nor can a faithful shepherd regard with unconcern the straying of a single sheep from his flock, but will rather leave the rest in safety, and dare all things for the wanderer's sake, even, if need be, to contend with savage beasts. 10 The zeal, however, of the great Sovereign of all was for no unconscious sheep: his care was exercised for his own faithful host, for those who sustained the battle for his sake: whose conflicts in the cause of godliness he himself approved, and honored those who had returned to his presence with the prize of victory which he only can bestow, uniting them to the angelic choirs. Others he still preserved on earth, to communicate the living seeds of piety to future generations; to be at once eye-witnesses of his vengeance on the ungodly, and narrators 11 of the events.

7 11 After this he outstretched his arm in judgment on the adversaries, and utterly destroyed them with the stroke of Divine wrath, compelling them, how reluctant soever to confess with their own lips and recant their wickedness, but raising from the ground and exalting gloriously those who had long been oppressed and disclaimed by all. 12 Such were the dealings of the Supreme Sovereign, who ordained an invincible champion to be the

minister of his heaven-sent vengeance (for our emperor's surpassing piety delights in the title of Servant of God), and him he has, proved victorious over all that opposed him, having raised him up, an individual against many foes. For they were indeed numberless, being the friends of many evil spirits (though in reality they were nothing, and hence are now no more); but our emperor is one, appointed by, and the representative of, the one Almighty Sovereign. And they, in the very spirit of impiety, destroyed the righteous with cruel slaughter: but he, in imitation of his Saviour, and knowing only how to save men's lives, has spared and instructed in godliness the impious themselves.

8 13 And so, as truly worthy the name of Victor, he has subdued the twofold race of barbarians; soothing the savage tribes of men by prudent embassies, compelling them to know and acknowledge their superiors, and reclaiming them from a lawless and brutal life to the governance of reason and humanity; at the same time that he proved by the facts themselves that the fierce and ruthless race of unseen spirits had long ago been vanquished by a higher power. For he who is the preserver of the universe had punished these invisible spirits by an invisible judgment: and our emperor, as the delegate of the Supreme Sovereign, has followed up the victory, bearing away the spoils of those who have long since died and mouldered into dust, and distributing the plunder with lavish hand among the soldiers of his victorious Lord.

CHAPTER VIII.

1 1 For as soon as he understood that the ignorant multitudes were inspired with a vain and childish dread of these bugbears of error, wrought in gold and silver, he judged it right to remove these also, like stumbling-stones thrown in the path of men walking in the dark, and henceforward to open a royal road, plain and unobstructed, to all. 2 Having formed this resolution, he considered that no soldiers or military force of any sort was needed for the repression of the evil: a few of his own friends sufficed for this service, and these he sent by a simple expression of his will to visit each several province. 3 Accordingly, sustained by confidence in the emperor's piety and their own personal devotion to God, they passed through the midst of numberless tribes and nations, abolishing this ancient system of error in every city and country. They ordered the priests themselves, in the midst of general laughter and scorn, to bring their gods from their dark recesses to the light of day. They then stripped them of their ornaments, and exhibited to the

gaze of all the unsightly reality which had been hidden beneath a painted exterior: and lastly, whatever part of the material appeared to be of value they scraped off and melted in the fire to prove its worth, after which they secured and set apart whatever they judged needful for their purposes, leaving to the superstitious worshipers what was altogether useless, as a memorial of their shame.

24 Meanwhile our admirable prince was himself engaged in a work similar to that we have described. For at the same time that these costly images of the dead were stripped, as we have said, of their precious materials, he also attacked those composed of brass; causing those to be dragged from their places with ropes, and, as it were, carried away captive, whom the dotage of mythology had esteemed as gods. The next care of our august emperor was to kindle, as it were, a brilliant torch, by the light of which he directed his imperial gaze around, to see if any hidden vestiges of error might yet exist. 5 And as the keen-sighted eagle in its heavenward flight is able to descry from its lofty height the most distant objects on the earth: so did he, whilst residing in the imperial palace of his own fair city, discover, as from a watch-tower, a hidden and fatal snare of souls in the province of Phoenicia. This was a grove and temple, not situated in the midst of any city, or in any public place, as for splendor of effect is generally the case, but apart from the beaten and frequented road, on part of the summit of Mount Lebanon, and dedicated to the foul demon known by the name of Venus.

36 It was a school of wickedness for all the abandoned votaries of impurity and such as destroyed their bodies with effeminacy. Here men undeserving the name forgot the dignity of their sex, and propitiated the demon by their effeminate conduct: here too unlawful commerce of women, and adulterous intercourse, with other horrible and infamous practices, were perpetrated in this temple as in a place beyond the scope and restraint of law. 7 Meantime these evils remained unchecked by the presence of any observer, since no one of fair character ventured to visit such scenes. These proceedings, however, could not escape the vigilance of our august emperor, who, having himself inspected them with characteristic forethought, and judging that such a temple was unfit for the light of heaven, gave orders that the building with its offerings should be utterly destroyed. Accordingly, in obedience to the imperial edict, these engines of an impure superstition were immediately abolished, and the hand of military force was made instrumental

in purging the place. And now those who had heretofore lived without restraint, learned, through the imperial threat of punishment, to practice self-control.

48 Thus did our emperor tear the mask from this system of delusive wickedness, and expose it to the public gaze, at the same time proclaiming openly his Saviour's name to all. No advocate appeared; neither god nor demon, prophet nor diviner, could lend his aid to the detected authors of the imposture. For the souls of men were no longer enveloped in thick darkness: but enlightened by the rays of true godliness, they deplored the ignorance and pitied the blindness of their forefathers, rejoicing at the same time in their own deliverance from such fatal error. 9 Thus speedily, according to the counsel of the mighty God, and through our emperor's agency, was every enemy, whether visible or unseen, utterly removed: and henceforward peace, the happy nurse of youth, extended her reign throughout the world. Wars were no more, for the gods were not: no more did warfare in country or town, no more did the effusion of human blood, distress mankind, as heretofore, when demon-worship and the madness of idolatry prevailed.

CHAPTER IX.

11 And now we may well compare the present with former things, and review these happy changes in contrast with the evils that are past, and mark the elaborate care with which in ancient times porches and sacred precincts, groves and temples, were prepared in every city for these false deities, and how their shrines were enriched with abundant offerings. 2 The sovereign rulers of those days had indeed a high regard for the worship of the gods. The nations also and people subject to their power honored them with images both in the country and in every city, nay, even in their houses and secret chambers, according to the religious practice of their fathers. The fruit, however, of this devotion, far different from the peaceful concord which now meets our view, appeared in war, in battles, and seditions, which harassed them throughout their lives, and deluged their countries with blood and civil slaughter.

23 Again, the objects of their worship could hold out to these sovereigns with artful flattery the promise of prophecies, and oracles, and the knowledge of futurity: yet could they not predict their own destruction, nor forewarn themselves of the coming ruin: and surely this was the greatest and most convincing proof of their imposture. 4 Not one of those whose words

once were heard with awe and wonder, had announced the glorious advent of the Saviour of mankind, or that new revelation of divine knowledge which he came to give. Not Pythius himself, nor any of those mighty gods, could apprehend the prospect of their approaching desolation; nor could their oracles point at him who was to be their conqueror and destroyer. 5 What prophet or diviner could foretell that their rites would vanish at the presence of a new Deity in the world, and that the knowledge and worship of the Almighty Sovereign should be freely given to all mankind? Which of them foreknew the august and pious reign of our victorious emperor, or his triumphant conquests everywhere over the false demons, or the overthrow of their high places?

3 6 Which of the heroes has announced the melting down and conversion of the lifeless statues from their useless forms to the necessary uses of men? Which of the gods have yet had power to speak of their own images thus melted and contemptuously reduced to fragments? 7 Where were the protecting powers, that they should not interpose to save their sacred memorials, thus destroyed by man? Where, I ask, are those who once maintained the strife of war, yet now behold their conquerors abiding securely in the profoundest peace? And where are they who upheld themselves in a blind and foolish confidence, and trusted in these vanities as gods; but who, in the very height of their superstitious error, and while maintaining an implacable war with the champions of the truth, perished by a fate proportioned to their crimes? 4 8 Where is the giant race whose arms were turned against heaven itself; the hissings of those serpents whose tongues were pointed with impious words against the Almighty King? These adversaries of the Lord of all, confident in the aid of a multitude of gods, advanced to the attack with a powerful array of military force, preceded by certain images of the dead, and lifeless statues, as their defense. On the other, side our emperor, secure in the armor of godliness, opposed to the numbers of the enemy the salutary and life-giving Sign, as at the same time a terror to the foe, and a protection against every harm; and returned victorious at once over the enemy and the demons whom they served. And then, with thanksgiving and praise, the tokens of a grateful spirit, to the Author of his victory, he proclaimed this triumphant Sign, by monuments as well as words, to all mankind, erecting it as a mighty trophy against every enemy in the midst of the imperial city, and

expressly enjoining on all to acknowledge this imperishable symbol of salvation as the safeguard of the power of Rome and of the empire of the world.

5 9 Such were the instructions which he gave to his subjects generally; but especially to his soldiers, whom he admonished to repose their confidence, not in their weapons, or armor, or bodily strength, but to acknowledge the Supreme God as the giver of every good, and of victory itself. 10 Thus did the emperor himself, strange and incredible as the fact may seem, become the instructor of his army in their religious exercises, and teach them to offer pious prayers in accordance with the divine ordinances, uplifting their hands towards heaven, and raising their mental vision higher still to the King of heaven, on whom they should call as the Author of victory, their preserver, guardian, and helper. He commanded too, that one day should be regarded as a special occasion for religious worship; I mean that which is truly the first and chief of all, the day of our Lord and Saviour; that day the name of which is connected with light, and life, and immortality, and every good.

6 11 Prescribing the same pious conduct to himself, he honored his Saviour in the chambers of his palace, performing his devotions according to the Divine commands, and storing his mind with instruction through the hearing of the sacred word. The entire care of his household was intrusted to ministers devoted to the service of God, and distinguished by gravity of life and every other virtue; while his trusty body-guards, strong in affection and fidelity to his person, found in their emperor an instructor in the practice of a godly life. 12 Again, the honor with which he regards the victorious Sign is founded on his actual experience of its divine efficacy. Before this the hosts of his enemies have disappeared: by this the powers of the unseen spirits have been turned to flight: through this the proud boastings of God's adversaries have come to nought, and the tongues of the profane and blasphemous been put to silence. By this Sign the Barbarian tribes were vanquished: through his the rites of superstitious fraud received a just rebuke: by this our emperor, discharging as it were a sacred debt, has performed the crowning good of all, by erecting triumphant memorials of its value in all parts of the world, raising temples and churches on a scale of royal costliness, and commanding all to unite in constructing the sacred houses of prayer.

7 13 Accordingly these signal proofs of our emperor's magnificence forthwith appeared in the provinces and cities of the empire, and soon shone conspicuously in every country; convincing memorials of the rebuke and over-

throw of those impious tyrants who but a little while before had madly dared to fight against God, and, raging like savage dogs, had vented on unconscious buildings that fury which they were unable to level against him; had thrown to the ground and Upturned the very foundations of the houses of prayer, causing them to present the appearance of a city captured and abandoned to the enemy. Such was the exhibition of that wicked spirit whereby they sought as it were to assail God himself, but soon experienced the result of their own madness and folly. But a little time elapsed, when a single blast of the storm of Heaven's displeasure swept them utterly away, leaving neither kindred, nor offspring, nor memorial of their existence among men: for all, numerous as they were, disappeared as in a moment beneath the stroke of Divine vengeance.

8 14 Such, then, was the fate which awaited these furious adversaries of God: but he who, armed with the salutary Trophy, had alone opposed them (nay rather, not alone, but aided by the presence and the power of him who is the only Sovereign), has replaced the ruined edifices on a greater scale, and made the second far superior to the first. For example, besides erecting various churches to the honor of God in the city which bears his name, and adorning the Bithynian capital with another on the greatest and most splendid scale, he has distinguished the principal cities of the other provinces by structures of a similar kind. 15 Above all, he has selected two places in the eastern division of the empire, the one in Palestine (since from thence the life-giving stream has flowed as from a fountain for the blessing of all nations), the other in that metropolis of the East which derives its name from that of Antiochus; in which, as the head of that portion of the empire, he has consecrated to the service of God a church of unparalleled size and beauty. The entire building is encompassed by an enclosure of great extent, within which the church itself rises to a vast elevation, of an octagonal form, surrounded by many chambers and courts on every side, and decorated with ornaments of the richest kind.

9 16 Such was his work here. Again, in the province of Palestine, in that city which was once the seat of Hebrew sovereignty, on the very site of the Lord's sepulchre, he has raised a church of noble dimensions, and adorned a temple sacred to the salutary Cross with rich and lavish magnificence, honoring that everlasting monument, and the trophies of the Saviour's victory over the power of death, with a splendor which no language can describe. 17

In the same country he discovered three places venerable as the localities of three sacred caves: and these also he adorned with costly structures, paying a fitting tribute of reverence to the scene of the first manifestation of the Saviour's presence; while at the second cavern he hallowed the remembrance of his final ascension from the mountain top; and celebrated his mighty conflict, and the victory which crowned it, at the third.

10 18 All these places our emperor thus adorned in the hope of proclaiming the symbol of redemption to all mankind; that Cross which has in deed repaid his pious zeal; through which his house and throne alike have prospered, his reign has been confirmed for a lengthened series of years, and the rewards of virtue bestowed on his noble sons, his kindred, and their descendants. 19 And surely it is a mighty evidence of the power of that God whom he serves, that he has held the balances of justice with an equal hand, and has apportioned to each party their due reward. With regard to the destroyers of the houses of prayer, the penalty of their impious conduct followed hard upon them: forthwith were they swept away, and left neither race, nor house, nor family behind. On the other hand, he whose pious devotion to his Lord is conspicuous in his every act, who raises royal temples to his honor, and proclaims his name to his subjects by sacred offerings throughout the world, he, I say, has deservedly experienced him to be the preserver and defender of his imperial house and race. Thus clearly have the dealings of God been manifested, and this through the sacred efficacy of the salutary Sign.

CHAPTER X.

1 1 Much might indeed be said of this salutary Sign, by those who are skilled in the mysteries of our Divine religion. For it is in very truth the symbol of salvation, wondrous to speak of, more wondrous still to conceive; the appearance of which on earth has thrown the fictions of all false religion from the beginning into the deepest shade, has buried superstitious error in darkness and oblivion, and has revealed to all that spiritual light which enlightens the souls of men, even the knowledge of the only true God. 2 Hence the universal change for the better, which leads men to spurn their lifeless idols, to trample under foot the lawless rites of their demon deities, and laugh to scorn the time-honored follies of their fathers. Hence, too, the establishment in every place of those schools of sacred learning, wherein men are taught the precepts of saving truth, and dread no more those objects of creation which are seen by the natural eye, nor direct a gaze of wonder at the

sun, the moon, or stars; but acknowledge him who is above all these, that invisible Being who is the Creator of them all, and learn to worship him alone.

2 3 Such are the blessings resulting to mankind from this great and wondrous Sign, by virtue of which the evils which once existed are now no more, and virtues heretofore unknown shine everywhere resplendent with the light of true godliness. 4 Discourses, and precepts, and exhortations to a virtuous and holy life, are proclaimed in the ears of all nations. Nay, the emperor himself proclaims them: and it is indeed a marvel that this mighty prince, raising his voice in the hearing of all the world, like an interpreter of the Almighty Sovereign's will, invites his subjects in every country to the knowledge of the true God. 5 No more, as in former times, is the babbling of impious men heard in the imperial palace; but priests and pious worshipers of God together celebrate his majesty with royal hymns of praise. The name of the one Supreme Ruler of the universe is proclaimed to all: the gospel of glad tidings connects the human race with its Almighty King, declaring the grace and love of the heavenly Father to his children on the earth.

3 6 His praise is everywhere sung in triumphant strains: the voice of mortal man is blended with the harmony of the angelic choirs in heaven; and the reasoning soul employs the body which invests it as an instrument for sounding forth a fitting tribute of praise and adoration to his name. The nations of the East and the West are instructed at the same moment in his precepts: the people of the Northern and Southern regions unite with one accord, under the influence of the same principles and laws, in the pursuit of a godly life, in praising the one Supreme God, in acknowledging his only begotten Son their Saviour as the source of every blessing, and our emperor as the one ruler on the earth, together with his pious sons. 7 He himself, as a skillful pilot, sits on high at the helm of state, and directs the vessel with unerring course, conducting his people as it were with favoring breeze to a secure and tranquil haven. Meanwhile God himself, the great Sovereign, extends the right hand of his power from above for his protection, giving him victory over every foe, and establishing his empire by a lengthened period of years: and he will bestow on him yet higher blessings, and confirm in every deed the truth of his own promises. But on these we may not at present dwell; but must await the change to a better world: for it is not given to mortal eyes or ears of flesh, fully to apprehend the things of God.

CHAPTER XI.

1 1 And now, victorious and mighty Constantine, in this discourse, whose noble argument is the glory of the Almighty King, let me lay before thee some of the mysteries of his sacred truth: not as presuming to instruct thee, who art thyself taught of God; nor to disclose to thee those secret wonders which he himself, not through the agency of man, but through our common Saviour, and the frequent light of his Divine presence has long since revealed and unfolded to thy view: but in the hope of leading the unlearned to the light, and displaying before those who know them not the causes and motives of thy pious deeds. 2 True it is that thy noble efforts for the daily worship and honor of the Supreme God throughout the habitable world, are the theme of universal praise. But those records of gratitude to thy Saviour and Preserver which thou hast dedicated in our own province of Palestine, and in that city from which as from a fountain-head the Saviour Word has issued forth to all mankind; and again, the hallowed edifices and consecrated temples which thou hast raised as trophies of his victory over death; and those lofty and noble structures, imperial monuments of an imperial spirit, which thou hast erected in honor of the everlasting memory of the Saviour's tomb the cause, I say, of these things is not equally obvious to all.

2 3 Those, indeed, who are enlightened in heavenly knowledge by the power of the Divine Spirit, well understand the cause, and justly admire and bless thee for that counsel and resolution which Heaven itself inspired. On the other hand the ignorant and spiritually blind regard these designs with open mockery and scorn, and deem it a strange and unworthy thing indeed that so mighty a prince should waste his zeal on the graves and monuments of the dead. 4 "Were it not better," such a one might say, "to cherish those rites which are hallowed by ancient usage; to seek the favor of those gods and heroes whose worship is observed in every province; instead of rejecting and disclaiming them, because subject to the calamities incident to man? Surely they may claim equal honors with him who himself has suffered: or, if they are to be rejected, as not exempt from the sorrows of humanity, the same award would justly be pronounced respecting him." Thus, with important and contracted brow, might he give utterance in pompous language to his self-imagined wisdom.

3 5 Filled with compassion for this ignorance, the gracious Word of our most beneficent Father freely invites, not such a one alone, but all who are in

the path of error, to receive instruction in Divine knowledge; and has ordained the means of such instruction throughout the world, in every country and village, in cultivated and desert lands alike, and in every city: and, as a gracious Saviour and Physician of the soul, calls on the Greek and the Barbarian, the wise and the unlearned, the rich and the poor, the servant and his master, the subject and his lord, the ungodly, the profane, the ignorant, the evil-doer, the blasphemer, alike to draw near, and hasten to receive his heavenly cure. And thus in time past had he clearly announced to all the pardon of former transgressions, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." And again, "I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners, to repentance." And he adds the reason, saying, "For they that are whole need not a physician, but they that are sick." And again, "I desire not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should repent."

4 6 Hence it is only for those who are themselves instructed in Divine things and understand the motives of that zeal of which these works are the result, to appreciate the more than human impulse by which our emperor was guided, to admire his piety toward God, and to believe his care for the memorial of our Saviour's resurrection to be a desire imparted from above, and truly inspired by that Sovereign, to be whose faithful servant and minister for good is his proudest boast. 7 In full persuasion, then, of thy approval, most mighty emperor, I desire at this present time to proclaim to all the reasons and motives of thy pious works. I desire to stand as the interpreter of thy designs, to explain the counsels of a soul devoted to the love of God. I propose to teach all men, what all should know who care to understand the principles on which our Saviour God employs his power, the reasons for which he who was the pre-existent Controller of all things at length descended to us from heaven: the reasons for which he assumed our nature, and submitted even to the power of death. I shall declare the causes of that immortal life which followed, and of his resurrection from the dead. Once more, I shall adduce convincing proofs and arguments, for the sake of those who yet need such testimony: and now let me commence my appointed task.

5 8 Those who transfer the worship due to that God who formed and rules the world to the works of his hand; who hold the sun and moon, or other parts of this material system, nay, the elements themselves, earth, water, air, and fire, in equal honor with the Creator of them all; who give the name of gods to things which never would have had existence, or even name, except

as obedient to that Word of God who made the world: such persons in my judgment resemble those who overlook the master hand which gives its magnificence to a royal palace; and, while lost in wonder at its roofs and walls, the paintings of varied beauty and coloring which adorn them, and its gilded ceilings and sculptures, ascribe to them the praise of that skill which belongs to the artist whose work they are: whereas they should assign the cause of their wonder, not to these visible objects, but to the architect himself, and confess that the proofs of skill are indeed manifest, but that he alone is the possessor of that skill who has made them what they are.

6 9 Again, well might we liken those to children, who should admire the seven-stringed lyre, and disregard him who invented or has power to use it: or those who forget the valiant warrior, and adorn his spear and shield with the chaplet of victory: or, lastly, those who hold the squares and streets, the public buildings, temples, and gymnasia of a great and royal city in equal honor with its founder; forgetting that their admiration is due, not to lifeless stones, but to him whose wisdom planned and executed these mighty works. 10 Not less absurd is it for those who regard this universe with the natural eye to ascribe its origin to the sun, or moon, or any other heavenly body. Rather let them confess that these are themselves the works of a higher wisdom, remember the Maker and Framer of them all, and render to him the praise and honor above all created objects. Nay rather, inspired by the sight of these very objects, let them address themselves with full purpose of heart to glorify and worship him who is now invisible to mortal eye, but perceived by the clear and unclouded vision of the soul, the supremely sovereign Word of God. To take the instance of the human body: no one has yet conferred the attribute of wisdom on the eyes, or head, the hands, or feet, or other members, far less on the outward clothing, of a wise and learned man: no one terms the philosopher's household furniture and utensils, wise: but every rational person admires that invisible and secret power, the mind of the man himself.

7 11 How much more, then, is our admiration due, not to the visible mechanism of the universe, material as it is, and formed of the selfsame elements; but to that invisible Word who has moulded and arranged it all, who is the only-begotten Son of God, and whom the Maker of all things, who far transcends all being, has begotten of himself, and appointed Lord and Governor of this universe? 12 For since it was impossible that perishable bodies,

or the rational spirits which he had created, should approach the Supreme God, by reason of their immeasurable distance from his perfections, for he is unbegotten, above and beyond all creation, ineffable, inaccessible, unapproachable, dwelling, as his holy word assures us, in the light which none can enter; but they were created from nothing, and are infinitely far removed from his unbegotten Essence; well has the all-gracious and Almighty God interposed as it were an intermediate Power between himself and them, even the Divine omnipotence of his only-begotten Word. And this Power, which is in perfect nearness and intimacy of union, with the Father which abides in him, and shares his secret counsels, has yet condescended, in fullness of grace, as it were to conform itself to those who are so far removed from the supreme majesty of God. How else, consistently with his own holiness could he who is far above and beyond all things unite himself to corruptible and corporeal matter? Accordingly the Divine Word, thus connecting himself with this universe, and receiving into his hands the reins, as it were, of the world, turns and directs it as a skillful charioteer according to his own will and pleasure

8 13 The proof of these assertions is evident. For supposing that those component parts of the world which we call elements, as earth, water, air, and fire, the nature of which is manifestly without intelligence, are self-existent; and if they have one common essence, which they who are skilled in natural science call the great receptacle, mother, and nurse of all things; and if this itself be utterly devoid of shape and figure, of soul and reason; whence shall we say it has obtained its present form and beauty? To what shall we ascribe the distinction of the elements, or the union of things contrary in their very nature? Who has commanded the liquid water to sustain the heavy element of earth? Who has turned back the waters from their downward course, and carried them aloft in clouds? Who has bound the force of fire, and caused it to lie latent in wood, and to combine with substances most contrary to itself? Who has mingled the cold air with heat, and thus reconciled the enmity of opposing principles? Who has devised the continuous succession of the human race, and given it as it were an endless term of duration? Who has moulded the male and female form, adapted their mutual relations with perfect harmony, and given one common principle of production to every living creature? Who changes the character of the fluid and corruptible seed, which in itself is void of reason, and gives it its prolific

power? Who is at this moment working these and ten thousand effects more wonderful than these, nay, surpassing all wonder, and with invisible influence is daily and hourly perpetuating the production of them all?

9 14 Surely the wonder-working and truly omnipotent Word of God may well be deemed the efficient cause of all these things: that Word who, diffusing himself through all creation, pervading height and depth with incorporeal energy, and embracing the length and breadth of the universe within his mighty grasp, has compacted and reduced to order this entire system, from whose unreasoned and formless matter he has framed for himself an instrument of perfect harmony, the nicely balanced chords and notes of which he touches with all-wise and unerring skill. He it is who governs the sun, and moon, and the other luminaries of heaven by inexplicable laws, and directs their motions for the service of the universal whole. 15 It is this Word of God who has stooped to the earth on which we live, and created the manifold species of animals, and the fair varieties of the vegetable world. It is this same Word who has penetrated the recesses of the deep, has given their being to the finny race, and produced the countless forms of life which there exist. It is he who fashions the burden of the womb, and informs it in nature's laboratory with the principle of life. By him the fluid and heavy moisture is raised on high, and then, sweetened by a purifying change, descends in measured quantities to the earth, and at stated seasons in more profuse supply.

10 16 Like a skillful husbandman, he fully irrigates the land, tempers the moist and dry in just proportion, diversifying the whole with brilliant flowers, with aspects of varied beauty, with pleasant fragrance, with alternating varieties of fruits, and countless gratifications for the taste of men. But why do I dare essay a hopeless task, to recount the mighty works of the Word of God, and describe an energy which surpasses mortal thought? By some, indeed, he has been termed the Nature of the universe, by others, the World-Soul, by others, Fate. Others again have declared him to be the most High God himself, strangely confounding things most widely different; bringing down to this earth, uniting to a corruptible and material body, and assigning to that supreme and unbegotten Power who is Lord of all an intermediate place between irrational animals and rational mortals on the one hand, and immortal beings on the other.

CHAPTER XII.

1 1 On the other hand, the sacred doctrine teaches that he who is the supreme Source of good, and Cause of all things, is beyond all comprehension, and therefore inexpressible by word, or speech, or name; surpassing the power, not of language only, but of thought itself. Un-circumscribed by place, or body; neither in heaven, nor in ethereal space, nor in any other part of the universe; but entirely independent of all things else, he pervades the depths of unexplored and secret wisdom. The sacred oracles teach us to acknowledge him as the only true God, apart from all corporeal essence, distinct from all subordinate ministration. Hence it is said that all things are from him, but not through him. 2 And he himself dwelling as Sovereign in secret and undiscovered regions of unapproachable light, ordains and disposes all things by the single power of his own will. At his will whatever is, exists; without that will, it cannot be. And his will is in every case for good, since he is essentially Goodness itself. But he through whom are all things, even God the Word, proceeding in an ineffable manner from the Father above, as from an everlasting and exhaustless fountain, flows onward like a river with a full and abundant stream of power for the preservation of the universal whole.

2 3 And now let us select an illustration from our own experience. The invisible and undiscovered mind within us, the essential nature of which no one has ever known, sits as a monarch in the seclusion of his secret chambers, and alone resolves on our course of action. From this proceeds the only-begotten word from its father's bosom, begotten in a manner and by a power inexplicable to us; and is the first messenger of its father's thoughts, declares his secret counsels, and, conveying itself to the ears of others, accomplishes his designs. 4 And thus the advantage of this faculty is enjoyed by all: yet no one has ever yet beheld that invisible and hidden mind, which is the parent of the word itself. In the same manner, or rather in a manner which far surpasses all likeness or comparison, the perfect Word of the Supreme God, as the only-begotten Son of the Father (not consisting in the power of utterance, nor comprehended in syllables and parts of speech, nor conveyed by a voice which vibrates on the air; but being himself the living and effectual Word of the most High, and subsisting personally as the Power and Wisdom of God), proceeds from his Father's Deity and kingdom. Thus, being the perfect Offspring of a perfect Father, and the common Preserver of all things,

he diffuses himself with living power throughout creation, and pours from his own fullness abundant supplies of reason, wisdom, light, and every other blessing, not only on objects nearest to himself, but on those most remote, whether in earth, or sea, or any other sphere of being.

35 To all these he appoints with perfect equity their limits, places, laws, and inheritance, allotting to each their suited portion according to his sovereign will. To some he assigns the super-terrestrial regions, to others heaven itself as their habitation: others he places in ethereal space, others in air, and others still on earth. He it is who transfers mankind from hence to another sphere, impartially reviews their conduct here, and bestows a recompense according to the life and habits of each. 6 By him provision is made for the life and food, not of rational creatures only, but also of the brute creation, for the service of men; and while to the latter he grants the enjoyment of a perishable and fleeting term of existence, the former he invites to a share in the possession of immortal life. Thus universal is the agency of the Word of God: everywhere present, and pervading all things by the power of his intelligence, he looks upward to his Father, and governs this lower creation, inferior to and consequent upon himself, in accordance with his will, as the common Preserver of all things.

47 Interme- diate, as it were, and attracting the created to the uncreated Essence, this Word of God exists as an unbroken bond between the two, uniting things most widely different by an inseparable tie. He is the Providence which rules the universe; the guardian and director of the whole: he is the Power and Wisdom of God the only-begotten God, the Word begotten of God himself. For "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. All things were made by him and without him was not anything made that hath been made"; as we learn from the words of the sacred writer. Through his vivifying power all nature grows and flourishes, refreshed by his continual showers, and invested with a vigor and beauty ever new. 8 Guiding the reigns of the universe, he holds its onward course in conformity to the Father's will and moves, as it were, the helm of this mighty ship. This glorious Agent, the only-begotten Son of the Supreme God, begotten by the Father as his perfect Offspring, the Father has given to this world as the highest of all goods infusing his word, as spirit into a lifeless body, into unconscious nature; imparting light and energy to that which in itself was a rude, inanimate, and formless mass, through the Divine power.

Him therefore it is ours to acknowledge and regard as everywhere present, and giving life to matter and the elements of nature: in him we see Light, even the spiritual offspring of inexpressible Light: one indeed in essence, as being the Son of one Father; but possessing in himself many and varied powers.

5 9 The world is indeed divided into many parts; yet let us not therefore suppose that there are many independent Agents: nor, though creation's works be manifold, let us thence assume the existence of many gods. How grievous the error of those childish and infatuated advocates of polytheistic worship, who deify the constituent parts of the universe, and divide into many that system which is only one! 10 Such conduct resembles theirs who should abstract the eyes of an individual man, and term them the man himself, and the ears, another man, and so the head: or again, by an effort of thought should separate the neck, the breast and shoulders, the feet and hands,: or other members, nay, the very powers of sense, and thus pronounce an individual to be a multitude of men. Such folly must surely be rewarded with contempt by men of sense. Yet such is he who from the component parts of a single world can devise for himself a multitude of gods, or even deem that world which is the work of a Creator, and consists of many parts, to be itself a god: not knowing that the Divine Nature can in no sense be divisible into parts; since, if compounded, it must be so through the agency of another power; and that which is so compounded can never be Divine. How indeed could it be so, if composed of unequal and dissimilar, and hence of worse and better elements? Simple, indivisible, uncompounded, the Divine Nature exists at an infinite elevation above the visible constitution of this world.

6 11 And hence we are assured by the clear testimony of the sacred Herald, that the Word of God, who is before all things, must be the sole Preserver of all intelligent beings: while God, who is above all, and the Author of the generation of the Word, being himself the Cause of all things, is rightly called the Father of the Word, as of his only-begotten Son, himself acknowledging no superior Cause. God, therefore, himself is One, and from him proceeds the one only-begotten Word, the omnipresent Preserver of all things. And as the many-stringed lyre is composed of different chords, both sharp and flat, some slightly, others tensely strained, and others intermediate between-the two extremes, yet all attuned according to the rules of harmon-

ic art; even so this material world, compounded as it is of many elements, containing opposite and antagonist principles, as moisture and dryness, cold and heat, yet blended into one harmonious whole, may justly be termed a mighty instrument framed by the hand of God: an instrument on which the Divine Word, himself not composed of parts or opposing principles, but indivisible and uncompounded, performs with perfect skill, and produces a melody at once accordant with the will of his Father the Supreme Lord of all, and glorious to himself. Again, as there are manifold external and internal parts and members comprised in a single body, yet one invisible soul, one undivided and incorporeal mind pervades the whole; so is it in this creation, which, consisting of many parts, yet is but one: and so the One mighty, yea, Almighty Word of God, pervading all things, and diffusing himself with undeviating energy throughout this universe, is the Cause of all things that exist therein.

7 12 Survey the compass of this visible world. Seest thou not how the same heaven contains within itself the countless courses and companies of the stars? Again, the sun is one, and yet eclipses many, nay all other luminaries, by the surpassing glory of his rays. Even so, as the Father himself is One, his Word is also One, the perfect Son of that perfect Father. Should any one object because they are not more, as well might he complain that there are not many suns, or moons, or worlds, and a thousand things beside; like the madman, who would fain subvert the fair and perfect course of Nature herself. As in the visible, so also in the spiritual world: in the one the same sun diffuses his light throughout this material earth; in the other the One Almighty Word of God illumines all things with invisible and secret power.

8 13 Again, there is in man one spirit, and one faculty of reason, which yet is the active cause of numberless effects. The same mind, instructed in many things, will essay to cultivate the earth, to build and guide a ship, and construct houses: nay, the one mind and reason of man is capable of acquiring knowledge in a thousand forms: the same mind shall understand geometry and astronomy, and discourse on the rules of grammar, and rhetoric, and the healing art. Nor will it excel in science only, but in practice too: and yet no one has ever supposed the existence of many minds in one human form, nor expressed his wonder at a plurality of being in man, because he is thus capable of varied knowledge. 9 14 Suppose one were to find a shapeless mass of clay, to mould it with his hands, and give it the form of a living

creature; the head in one figure, the hands and feet in another, the eyes and cheeks in a third, and so to fashion the ears, the mouth and nose, the breast and shoulders, according to the rules of the plastic art. The result, indeed, is a variety of figure, of parts and members in the one body; yet must we not suppose it the work of many hands, but ascribe it entirely to the skill of a single artist, and yield the tribute of our praise to him who by the energy of a single mind has framed it all. The same is true of the universe itself, which is one, though consisting of many parts: yet surely we need not suppose many creative powers, nor invent a plurality of gods. Our duty is to adore the all-wise and all-perfect agency of him who is indeed the Power and the Wisdom of God, whose undivided force and energy pervades and penetrates the universe, creating and giving life to all things, and furnishing to all, collectively and severally, those manifold supplies of which he is himself the source.

10 15 Even so one and the same impression of the solar rays illumines the air at once, gives light to the eyes, warmth to the touch, fertility to the earth, and growth to plants. The same luminary constitutes the course of time, governs the motions of the stars, performs the circuit of the heavens, imparts beauty to the earth, and displays the power of God to all: and all this he performs by the sole and unaided force of his own nature. In like manner fire has the property of refining gold, and fusing lead, of dissolving wax, of parching clay, and consuming wood; producing these varied effects by one and the same burning power. 11 16 So also the Supreme Word of God, pervading all things, everywhere existent, everywhere present in heaven and earth, governs and directs the visible and invisible creation, the sun, the heaven, and the universe itself, with an energy inexplicable in its nature, irresistible in its effects. From him, as from an everlasting fountain, the sun, the moon, and stars receive their light: and he forever rules that heaven which he has framed as the fitting emblem of his own greatness. The angelic and spiritual powers, the incorporeal and intelligent beings which exist beyond the sphere of heaven and earth, are filled by him with light and life, with wisdom and virtue, with all that is great and good, from his own peculiar treasures. Once more, with one and the same creative skill, he ceases not to furnish the elements with substance, to regulate the union and combinations, the forms and figures, and the innumerable qualities of organized bodies; preserving the varied distinctions of animal and vegetable life, of the rational and the brute creation; and supplying all things to all with equal power: thus proving

himself the Author, not indeed of the seven-stringed lyre, but of that system of perfect harmony which is the workmanship of the One world-creating Word.

CHAPTER XIII.

1 1 And now let us proceed to explain the reasons for which this mighty Word of God descended to dwell with men. Our ignorant and foolish race, incapable of comprehending him who is the Lord of heaven and earth, proceeding from his Father's Deity as from the supreme fountain, ever present throughout the world, and evincing by the clearest proofs his providential care for the interests of man; have ascribed the adorable title of Deity to the sun, and moon, the heaven and the stars of heaven. Nor did they stop here, but deified the earth itself, its products, and the various substances by which animal life is sustained, and devised images of Ceres, of Proserpine, of Bacchus, and many such as these. 2 Nay, they shrank not from giving the name of gods to the very conceptions of their own minds, and the speech by which those conceptions are expressed; calling the mind itself Minerva, and language Mercury, and affixing the names of Mnemosyne and the Muses to those faculties by means of which science is acquired. Nor was even this enough: advancing still more rapidly in the career of impiety and folly, they deified their own evil passions, which it behooved them to regard with aversion, or restrain by the principles of self-control. Their very lust and passion and impure disease of soul, the members of the body which tempt to obscenity, and even the very uncontrol in shameful pleasure, they described under the titles of Cupid, Priapus, Venus, and other kindred terms.

2 3 Nor did they stop even here. Degrading their thoughts of God to this corporeal and mortal life, they deified their fellow-men, conferring the names of gods and heroes on those who had experienced the common lot of all, and vainly imagining that the Divine and imperishable Essence could frequent the tombs and monuments of the dead. Nay, more than this: they paid divine honors to animals of various species, and to the most noxious reptiles: they felled trees, and excavated rocks; they provided themselves with brass, and iron, and other metals, of which they fashioned resemblances of the male and female human form, of beasts, and creeping things; and these they made the objects of their worship. 4 Nor did this suffice. To the evil spirits themselves which lurked within their statues, or lay concealed in secret and dark recesses, eager to drink their libations, and inhale the odor of their

sacrifices, they ascribed the same divine honors. Once more, they endeavored to secure the familiar aid of these spirits, and the unseen powers which move through the tracts of air, by charms of forbidden magic, and the compulsion of unhallowed songs and incantations. Again, different nations have adopted different persons as objects of their worship. The Greeks have rendered to Bacchus, Hercules, Aesculapius, Apollo, and others who were mortal men, the titles of gods and heroes. The Egyptians have deified Horus and Isis, Osiris, and other mortals such as these. And thus they who boast of the wondrous skill whereby they have discovered geometry, astronomy, and the science of number, know not, wise as they are in their own conceit, nor understand how to estimate the measure of the power of God, or calculate his exceeding greatness above the nature of irrational and mortal beings.

35 Hence they shrank not from applying the name of gods to the most hideous of the brute creation, to venomous reptiles and savage beasts. The Phoenicians deified Melcatharus, Usorus, and others; mere mortals, and with little claim to honor: the Arabians, Dusaris and Obodas: the Getae, Zamolxis: the Cicilians, Mopsus: and the Thebans, Amphiaraus: in short, each nation has adopted its own peculiar deities, differing in norespect from their fellow-mortals, being simply and truly men. Again, the Egyptians with one consent, the Phoenicians, the Greeks, nay, every nation beneath the sun, have united in worshiping the very parts and elements of the world, and even the produce of the ground itself. And, which is most surprising, though acknowledging the adulterous, unnatural, and licentious crimes of their deities, they have not only filled every city, and village, and district with temples, shrines, and statues in their honor, but have followed their evil example to the ruin of their own souls.

46 We hear of gods and the sons of gods described by them as heroes and good genii, titles entirely opposed to truth, honors utterly at variance with the qualifies they are intended to exalt. It is as if one who desired to point out the sun and the luminaries of heaven, instead of directing his gaze thitherward, should grope with his hands on the ground, and search for the celestial powers in the mud and mire. Even so mankind, deceived by their own folly and the craft of evil spirits, have believed that the Divine and spiritual Essence which is far above heaven and earth could be compatible with the birth, the affections, and death, of mortal bodies here below. To such a pitch of madness did they proceed, as to sacrifice the dearest objects of their affec-

tion to their gods, regardless of all natural ties, and urged by frenzied feeling to slay their only and best beloved children.

57 For what can be a greater proof of madness, than to offer human sacrifice, to pollute every city, and even their own houses, with kindred blood? Do not the Greeks themselves attest this, and is not all history filled with records of the same impiety? The Phoenicians devoted their best beloved and only children as an annual sacrifice to Saturn. The Rhodians, on the sixth day of the month Metageitnion, offered human victims to the same god. At Salamis, a man was pursued in the temple of Minerva Agraulis and Diomede, compelled to run thrice round the altar, afterwards pierced with a lance by the priest, and consumed as a burnt offering on the blazing pile. In Egypt, human sacrifice was most abundant. At Heliopolis three victims were daily offered to Juno, for whom king Amoses, impressed with the atrocity of the practice, commanded the substitution of an equal number of waxen figures. In Chios, and again in Tenedos, a man was slain and offered up to Omadian Bacchus. At Sparta they immolated human beings to Mars. In Crete they did likewise, offering human sacrifices to Saturn. In Laodicea of Syria a virgin was yearly slain in honor of Minerva, for whom a hart is now the substitute. The Libyans and Carthaginians appeased their gods with human victims. The Dumateni of Arabia buried a boy annually beneath the altar. History informs us that the Greeks without exception, the Thracians also, and Scythians, were accustomed to human sacrifice before they marched forth to battle. The Athenians record the immolation of the virgin children of Leus, and the daughter of Erechtheus. Who knows not that at this day a human victim is offered in Rome itself at the festival of Jupiter Latiaris?

68 And these facts are confirmed by the testimony of the most approved philosophers. Diodorus, the epitomizer of libraries, affirms that two hundred of the noblest youths were sacrificed to Saturn by the Libyan people, and that three hundred more were voluntarily offered by their own parents. Dionysius, the compiler of Roman history, expressly says that Jupiter and Apollo demanded human sacrifices of the so-called Aborigines, in Italy. He relates that on this demand they offered a proportion of all their produce to the gods; but that, because of their refusal to slay human victims, they became involved in manifold calamities, from which they could obtain no release until they had decimated themselves, a sacrifice of life which proved the desolation of their country. 9 Such and so great were the evils which of old af-

flicted the whole human race. Nor was this the full extent of their misery: they groaned beneath the pressure of other evils equally numerous and irremediable. All nations, whether civilized or barbarous, throughout the world, as if actuated by a demoniac frenzy, were infected with sedition as with some fierce and terrible disease: insomuch that the human family was irreconcilably divided against itself; the great system of society was distracted and torn asunder; and in every corner of the earth men stood opposed to each other, and strove with fierce contention on questions of law and government.

7 10 Nay, more than this: with passions aroused to fury, they engaged in mutual conflicts, so frequent that their lives were passed as it were in uninterrupted warfare. None could undertake a journey except as prepared to encounter an enemy in the very country and villages the rustics girded on the sword, provided themselves with armor rather than with the implements of rural labor, and deemed it noble exploit to plunder and enslave any who belonged to a neighboring state. 11 Nay, more than this: from the fables they had themselves devised respecting their own deities, they deduced occasions for a vile and abandoned life, and wrought the ruin of body and soul by licentiousness of every kind. Not content with this, they even overstepped the bounds which nature had defined, and together committed incredible and nameless crimes, "men with men (in the words of the sacred writer) working un-seemliness, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was due."

8 12 Nor did they stop even here; but perverted their natural thoughts of God, and denied that the course of this world was directed by his providential care, ascribing the existence and constitution of all things to the blind operation of chance, or the necessity of fate. 13 Once more: believing that soul and body were alike dissolved by death, they led a brutish life, unworthy of the name: careless of the nature or existence of the soul, they dreaded not the tribunal of Divine justice, expected no reward of virtue, nor thought of chastisement as the penalty of an evil life. 14 Hence it was that whole nations, a prey to wickedness in all its forms, were wasted by the effects of their own brutality: some living in the practice of most vile and lawless incest with mothers, others with sisters, and others again corrupting their own daughters. Some were found who slew their confiding guests; others who fed on human flesh; some strangled, and then feasted on, their aged men; others

threw them alive to dogs. The time would fail me were I to attempt to describe the multifarious symptoms of the inveterate malady which had asserted its dominion over the whole human race.

9 15 Such, and numberless others like these, were the prevailing evils, on account of which the gracious Word of God, full of compassion for his human flock, had long since, by the ministry of his prophets, and earlier still, as well as later, by that of men distinguished by pious devotion to God, invited those thus desperately afflicted to their own cure; and had, by means of laws, exhortations, and doctrines of every kind, proclaimed to man the principles and elements of true godliness. But when for mankind, distracted and torn as I have said, not indeed by wolves and savage beasts, but by ruthless and soul-destroying spirits of evil, human power no longer sufficed, but a help was needed superior to that of man; then it was that the Word of God, obedient to his all-gracious Father's will, at length himself appeared, and most willingly made his abode amongst us.

10 16 The causes of his advent I have already described, induced by which he condescended to the society of man; not in his wonted form and manner, for he is incorporeal, and present everywhere throughout the world, proving by his agency both in heaven and earth the greatness of his almighty power, but in a character new and hitherto unknown. Assuming a mortal body, he deigned to associate and converse with men; desiring, through the medium of their own likeness, to save our mortal race.

CHAPTER XIV.

1 1 And now let us explain the cause for which the incorporeal Word of God assumed this mortal body as a medium of intercourse with man. How, indeed, else than in human form could that Divine and impalpable, that immaterial and invisible Essence manifest itself to those who sought for God in created and earthly objects, unable or unwilling otherwise to discern the Author and Maker of all things? 2 As a fitting means, therefore, of communication with mankind, he assumed a mortal body, as that with which they were themselves familiar; for like, it is proverbially said, loves its like. To those, then, whose affections were engaged by visible objects, who looked for gods in statues and lifeless images, who imagined the Deity to consist in material and corporeal substance, nay, who conferred on men the title of divinity, the Word of God presented himself in this form. 3 Hence he procured for himself this body as a thrice-hallowed temple, a sensible habitation of an intel-

lectual power; a noble and most holy form, of far higher worth than any lifeless statue. The material and senseless image, fashioned by base mechanic hands, of brass or iron, of gold or ivory, wood or stone, may be a fitting abode for evil spirits: but that Divine form, wrought by the power of heavenly wisdom, was possessed of life and spiritual being; a form animated by every excellence, the dwelling-place of the Word of God, a holy temple of the holy God.

24 Thus the indwelling Word conversed with and was known to men, as kindred with themselves; yet yielded not to passions such as theirs, nor owned, as the natural soul, subjection to the body. He parted not with aught of his intrinsic greatness, nor changed his proper Deity. For as the all-pervading radiance of the sun receives no stain from contact with dead and impure bodies; much less can the incorporeal power of the Word of God be injured in its essential purity, or part with any of its greatness, from spiritual contact with a human body. 5 Thus, I say, did our common Saviour prove himself the benefactor and preserver of all, displaying his wisdom through the instrumentality of his human nature, even as a musician uses the lyre to evince his skill. The Grecian myth tells us that Orpheus had power to charm ferocious beasts, and tame their savage spirit, by striking the chords of his instrument with a master hand: and this story is celebrated by the Greeks, and generally believed, that an unconscious instrument could subdue the untamed brute, and draw the trees from their places, in obedience to its melodious power. But he who is the author of perfect harmony, the all-wise Word of God, desiring to apply every remedy to the manifold diseases of the souls of men, employed that human nature which is the workmanship of his own wisdom, as an instrument by the melodious strains of which he soothed, not indeed the brute creation, but savages endued with reason; healing each furious temper, each fierce and angry passion of the soul, both in civilized and barbarous nations, by the remedial power of his Divine doctrine. Like a physician of perfect skill, he met the diseases of their souls who sought for God in nature and in bodies, by a fitting and kindred remedy, and showed them God in human form.

36 And then, with no less care for the body than the soul, he presented before the eyes of men wonders and signs, as proofs of his Divine power, at the same time instilling into their ears of flesh the doctrines which he himself uttered with a corporeal tongue. In short, he performed all his works

through the medium of that body which he had assumed for the sake of those who else were incapable of apprehending his Divine nature. 7 In all this he was the servant of his Father's will, himself remaining still the same as when with the Father; unchanged in essence, unimpaired in nature, unfettered by the trammels of mortal flesh, nor hindered by his abode in a human body from being elsewhere present. 8 Nay, at the very time of his intercourse with men, he was pervading all things, was with and in the Father, and even then was caring for all things both in heaven and earth. Nor was he precluded, as we are, from being present everywhere, or from the continued exercise of his Divine power. He gave of his own to man, but received nothing in return: he imparted of his Divine power to mortality, but derived no accession from mortality itself.

4 9 Hence his human birth to him brought no defilement; nor could his impassible Essence suffer at the dissolution of his mortal body. For let us suppose a lyre to receive an accidental injury, or its chord to be broken; it does not follow that the performer on it suffers: nor, if a wise man's body undergo punishment, can we fairly assert that his wisdom, or the soul within him, are maimed or burned. 10 Far less can we affirm that the inherent power of the Word sustained any detriment from his bodily passion, any more than, as in the instance we have already used, the solar rays which are shot from heaven to earth contract defilement, though in contact with mire and pollution of every kind. We may, indeed, assert that these things partake of the radiance of the light, but not that the light is contaminated, or the sun defiled, by this contact with other bodies.

5 11 And indeed these things are themselves not contrary to nature; but the Saviour, the incorporeal Word of God, being Life and spiritual Light itself, whatever he touches with Divine and incorporeal power must of necessity become endued with the intelligence of light and life. Thus, if he touch a body, it becomes enlightened and sanctified, is at once delivered from all disease, infirmity, and suffering, and that which before was lacking is supplied by a portion of his fullness. 12 And such was the tenor of his life on earth; now proving the sympathies of his human nature with our own, and now revealing himself as the Word of God: wondrous and mighty in his works as God; foretelling the events of the far distant future; declaring in every act, by signs, and wonders, and supernatural powers, that Word whose

presence was so little known; and finally, by his Divine teaching, inviting the souls of men to prepare for those mansions which are above the heavens.

CHAPTER XV.

1 1 What now remains, but to account for those which are the crowning facts of all; I mean his death, so far and widely known, the manner of his passion, and the mighty miracle of his resurrection after death: and then to establish the truth of these events by the clearest testimonies? 2 For the reasons detailed above he used the instrumentality of a mortal body, as a figure becoming his Divine majesty, and like a mighty sovereign employed it as his interpreter in his intercourse with men, performing all things consistently with his own Divine power. Supposing, then, at the end of his sojourn among men, he had by any other means suddenly withdrawn himself from their sight, and, secretly removing that interpreter of himself, the form which he had assumed, had hastened to flee from death, and afterwards by his own act had consigned his mortal body to corruption and dissolution: doubtless in such a case he would have been deemed a mere phantom by all. Nor would he have acted in a manner worthy of himself, had he who is Life, the Word, and the Power of God, abandoned this interpreter of himself to corruption and death.

2 3 Nor, again, would his warfare with the spirits of evil have received its consummation by conflict. with the power of death. The place of his retirement must have remained unknown; nor would his existence have been believed by those who had not seen him for themselves. No proof would have been given that he was superior to death nor would he have delivered mortality from the law of its natural infirmity. His name had never been heard throughout the world nor could he have inspired his disciples with contempt of death, or encouraged those who embraced his doctrine to hope for the enjoyment of a future life with God. Nor would he have fulfilled the assurances of his own promise, nor have accomplished the predictions of the prophets concerning himself. Nor would he have undergone the last conflict of all; for this was to be the struggle with the power of death.

3 4 For all these reasons, then, and inasmuch as it was necessary that the mortal body which had rendered such service to the Divine Word should meet with an end worthy its sacred occupant, the manner of his death was ordained accordingly. For since but two alternatives remained: either to consign his body entirely to corruption, and so to bring the scene of life to a dis-

honored close, or else to prove himself victorious over death, and render mortality immortal by the act of Divine power; the former of these alternatives would have contravened his own promise. For as it is not the property of fire to cool, nor of light to darken, no more is it compatible with life, to deprive of life, or with Divine intelligence, to act in a manner contrary to reason. For how would it be consistent,with reason, that he who had promised life to others, should permit his own body, the form which he had chosen, to perish beneath the power of corruption? That he who had inspired his disciples with hopes of immortality, should yield this exponent of his Divine counsels to be destroyed by death?

4 5 The second alternative was therefore needful I mean, that he should assert his dominion over the power of death. But how? should this be a furtive and secret act, or openly performed and in the sight of all? So mighty an achievement, had it remained unknown and unrevealed, must have failed of its effect as regards the interests of men; whereas the same event, if openly declared and understood, would, from its wondrous character, redound to the common benefit of all. With reason, therefore, since it was needful to prove his body victorious over death, and that not secretly but before the eyes of men, he shrank not from the trial, for this indeed would have argued fear, and a sense of inferiority to the power of death, but maintained that conflict with the enemy which has rendered mortality immortal; a conflict undertaken for the life, the immortality, the salvation of all.

5 6 Suppose one desired to show us that a vessel could resist the force of fire; how could he better prove the fact than by casting it into the furnace and thence withdrawing it entire and unconsumed? Even thus the Word of God who is the source of life to all, desiring to prove the triumph of that body over death which he had assumed for man's salvation, and to make this body partake his own life and immortality, pursued a course consistent with this object. Leaving his body for a little while, and delivering it up to death in proof of its mortal nature, he soon redeemed it from death, in vindication of that Divine power whereby he has manifested the immortality which he has promised to be utterly beyond the sphere of death. 7 The reason of this is clear. It was needful that his disciples should receive ocular proof of the certainty of that resurrection on which he had taught them to rest their hopes as a motive for rising superior to the fear of death. It was indeed most needful that they who purposed to pursue a life of godliness should receive a clear

impression of this essential truth: more needful still for those who were destined to declare his name in all the world, and to communicate to mankind that knowledge of God which he had before ordained for all nations.

6 8 For such the strongest conviction of a future life was necessary, that they might be able with fearless and unshrinking zeal to maintain the conflict with Gentile and polytheistic error: a conflict the dangers of which they would never, have been prepared to meet, except as habituated to the contempt of death. Accordingly, in arming his disciples against the power of this last enemy, he delivered not his doctrines in mere verbal precepts, nor attempted to prove the soul's immortality, by persuasive and probable arguments; but displayed to them in his own person a real victory over death. 9 Such was the first and greatest reason of our Saviour's conflict with the power of death, whereby he proved to his disciples the nothingness of that which is the terror of all mankind, and afforded a visible evidence of the reality of that life which he had promised; presenting as it were a first-fruit of our common hope, of future life and immortality in the presence of God.

7 10 The second cause of his resurrection was, that the Divine power might be manifested which dwelt in his mortal body. Mankind had heretofore conferred Divine honors on men who had yielded to the power of death, and had given the titles of gods and heroes to mortals like themselves. For this reason, therefore, the Word of God evinced his gracious character, and proved to man his own superiority over death, recalling his mortal body to a second life, displaying an immortal triumph over death in the eyes of all, and teaching them to acknowledge the Author of such a victory to be the only true God, even in death itself. 11 I may allege yet a third cause of the Saviour's death. He was the victim offered to the Supreme Sovereign of the universe for the whole human race: a victim consecrated for the need of the human race, and for the overthrow of the errors of demon worship. For as soon as the one holy and mighty sacrifice, the sacred body of our Saviour, had been slain for man, to be as a ransom for all nations, heretofore involved in the guilt of impious superstition, thenceforward the power of impure and unholy spirits was utterly abolished, and every earth-born and delusive error was at once weakened and destroyed.

8 12 Thus, then, this salutary victim taken from among themselves, I mean the mortal body of the Word, was offered on behalf of the common race of men. This was that sacrifice delivered up to death, of which the sacred

oracles speak: "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world." And again, as follows: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer is dumb." They declare also the cause, saying: "He bears our sins, and is pained for us: yet we accounted him to be in trouble, and in suffering, and in affliction. But he was wounded on account of our sins, and bruised because of our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and by his bruises we were healed. All we as sheep have gone astray; every one has gone astray in this way; and the Lord gave him up for our sins."

9 13 Such were the causes which led to the offering of the human body of the Word of God. But forasmuch as he was the great high priest, consecrated to the Supreme Lord and King, and therefore more than a victim, the Word, the Power, and the Wisdom of God; he soon recalled his body from the grasp of death, presented it to his Father as the first-fruit of our common salvation, and raised this trophy, a proof at once of his victory over death and Satan, and of the abolition of human sacrifices, for the blessing of all mankind.

CHAPTER XVI.

1 1 And now the time is come for us to proceed to the demonstration of these things; if indeed such truths require demonstration, and if the aid of testimony be needful to confirm the certainty of palpable facts. Such testimony, however, shall be here given; and let it be received with an attentive and gracious ear. 2 Of old the nations of the earth, the entire human race, were variously distributed into provincial, national, and local governments, subject to kingdoms and principalities of many kinds. The consequences of this variety were war and strife, depopulation and captivity, which raged in country and city with unceasing fury. Hence, too, the countless subjects of history, adulteries, and rapes of women; hence the woes of Troy, and the ancient tragedies, so known among all peoples. 3 The origin of these may justly be ascribed to the delusion of polytheistic error. But when that instrument of our redemption, the thrice holy body of Christ, which proved itself superior to all Satanic fraud, and free from evil both in word and deed, was raised, at once for the abolition of ancient evils, and in token of his victory over the powers of darkness; the energy of these evil spirits was at once destroyed. The manifold forms of government, the tyrannies and republics, the siege of cit-

ies, and devastation of countries caused thereby, were now no more, and one God

2 4 was proclaimed to all mankind. At the same time one universal power, the Roman empire, arose and flourished, while the enduring and implacable hatred of nation against nation was now removed: and as the knowledge of one God, and one way of religion and salvation, even the doctrine of Christ, was made known to all mankind; so at the self-same period, the entire dominion of the Roman empire being vested in a single sovereign, profound peace reigned throughout the world. And thus, by the express appointment of the same God, two roots of blessing, the Roman empire, and the doctrine of Christian piety, sprang up together for the benefit of men. 5 For before this time the various countries of the world, as Syria, Asia, Macedonia, Egypt, and Arabia, had been severally subject to different rulers. The Jewish people, again, had established their dominion in the laud of Palestine. And these nations, in every village, city, and district, actuated by some insane spirit, were engaged in incessant and murderous war and conflict. But two mighty powers, starting from the same point, the Roman empire, which henceforth was swayed by a single sovereign, and the Christian religion, subdued and reconciled these contending elements.

3 6 Our Saviour's mighty power destroyed at once the many governments and the many gods of the powers of darkness, and proclaimed to all men, both rude and civilized, to the extremities of the earth, the sole sovereignty of God himself. Meantime the Roman empire, the causes of multiplied governments being thus removed, effected an easy conquest of those which yet remained; its object being to unite all nations in one harmonious whole; an object in great measure already secured, and destined to be still more perfectly attained, even to the final conquest of the ends of the habitable world, by means of the salutary doctrine, and through the aid of that Divine power which facilitates and smooths its way. 4 7 And surely this must appear a wondrous fact to those who will examine the question in the love of truth, and desire not to cavil at these blessings. The falsehood of demon superstition was convicted: the inveterate strife and mutual hatred of the nations was removed: at the same time One God, and the knowledge of that God, were proclaimed to all: one universal empire prevailed; and the whole human race, subdued by the controlling power of peace and concord, received one another as brethren, and responded to the feelings of their common nature.

Hence, as children of one God and Father, and owning true religion as their common mother, they saluted and welcomed each other with words of peace. Thus the whole world appeared like one well-ordered and united family: each one might journey unhindered as far as and whithersoever he pleased: men might securely travel from West to East, and from East to West, as to their own native country: in short, the ancient oracles and predictions of theprophets were fulfilled, more numerous than we can at present cite, and those especially which speak as follows concerning the saving Word. "He shall have dominion from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth." And again, "In his days shall righteousness spring up; and abundance of peace." "And they shall beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into sickles: and nation shall not take up sword against nation, neither shall they learn to war any more."

58 These words, predicted ages before in the Hebrew tongue, have received in our own day a visible fulfillment, by which the testimonies of the ancient oracles are clearly confirmed. And now, if thou still desire more ample proof, receive it, not in words, but from the facts themselves. Open the eyes of thine understanding expand the gates of thought; pause awhile, and consider; inquire of thyself as though thou weft another, and thus diligently examine the nature of the case. What king or prince in any age of the world, what philosopher, legislator, or prophet, in civilized or barbarous lands, has attained so great a height of excellence, I say not after death, but while living still, and full of mighty power, as to fill the ears and tongues of all mankind with the praises of his name? Surely none save our only Saviour has done this, when, after his victory over death, he spoke the word to his followers, and fulfilled it by the event, saying to them, "Go ye, and make disciples of all nations in my name." He it was who gave the distinct assurance, that his gospel must be preached in all the world for a tes testimony to all nations, and immediately verifiedhis word: for within a little time the world itself was filled with his doctrine.

69 How, then, will those who caviled at the commencement of my speech be able to reply to this? For surely the force of ocular testimony is superior to any verbal argument. Who else than he, with an invisible and yet potent hand, has driven from human society like savage beasts that ever noxious and destructive tribe of evil spirits who of old had made all nations their prey, and by the motions of their images had practiced many a delusion

among men? Who else, beside our Saviour, by the invocation of his name, and by unfeigned prayer addressed through him to the Supreme God, has given power to banish from the world the remnant of those wicked spirits to those who with genuine and sincere obedience pursue the course of life and conduct which he has himself prescribed? Who else but our Saviour has taught his followers to offer those bloodless and reasonable sacrifices which are performed by prayer and the secret worship of God?

7 10 Hence is it that throughout the habitable world altars are erected, and churches dedicated, wherein these spiritual and rational sacrifices are offered as a sacred service by every nation to the One Supreme God. Once more, who but he, with invisible and secret power, has suppressed and utterly abolished those bloody sacrifices which were offered with fire and smoke, as well as the cruel and senseless immolation of human victims; a fact which is attested by the heathen historians themselves? For it was not till after the publication of the Saviour's Divine doctrine, about the time of Hadrian's reign, that the practice of human sacrifice was universally abandoned. 8 11 Such and so manifest are the proofs of our Saviour's power and energy after death. Who then can be found of spirit so obdurate as to withhold his assent to the truth, and refuse to acknowledge his life to be Divine? Such deeds as I have described are done by the living, not the dead; and visible acts are to us as evidence of those which we cannot see. It is as it were an event of yesterday that an impious and godless race disturbed and confounded the peace of human society, and possessed mighty power. But these, as soon as life departed, lay prostrate on the earth, worthless as dung, breathless, motionless, bereft of speech, and have left neither fame nor memorial behind. For such is the condition of the dead; and he who no longer lives is nothing: and how can he who is nothing be capable of any act? But how shall his existence be called in question, whose active power and energy are greater than in those who are still alive? And though he be invisible to the natural eye, yet the discerning faculty is not in outward sense. We do not comprehend the rules of art, or the theories of science, by bodily sensation; nor has any eye yet discerned the mind of man. Far less, then, the power of God: and in such cases our judgment is formed from apparent results.

9 12 Even thus are we bound to judge of our Saviour's invisible power, and decide by its manifest effects whether we shall acknowledge the mighty operations which he is even now carrying on to be the works of a living agent;

or whether they shall be ascribed to one who has no existence; or, lastly, whether the inquiry be not absurd and inconsistent in itself. For with what reason can we assert the existence of one who is not? Since all allow that that which has no existence is devoid of that power, and energy, and action, for these are characteristics of the living, but the contrary is characteristic of the dead.

CHAPTER XVII.

1 1 And now the time is come for us to consider the works of our Saviour in our own age, and to contemplate the living operations of the living God. For how shall we describe these mighty works save as living proofs of the power of a living agent, who truly enjoys the life of God? If any one inquire the nature of these works, let him now attend. 2 But recently a class of persons, impelled by furious zeal, and backed by equal power and military force, evinced their enmity against God, by destroying his churches, and overthrowing from their foundations the buildings dedicated to his worship. In short, in every way they directed their attacks against the unseen God, and assailed him with a thousand shafts of impious words. But he who is invisible avenged himself with an invisible hand. 3 By the single fiat of his will his enemies were utterly destroyed, they who a little while before had been flourishing in great prosperity, exalted by their fellow men as worthy of divine honor, and blessed with a continued period of power and glory, so long as they had maintained peace and amity with him whom they afterwards opposed. As soon, however, as they dared openly to resist his will, and to set their gods in array against him whom we adore; immediately, according to the will and power of that God against whom their arms were raised, they all received the judgment due to their audacious deeds. Constrained to yield and flee before his power, together they acknowledged his Divine nature, and hastened to reverse the measures which they had before essayed.

2 4 Our Saviour, therefore, without delay erected trophies of this victory everywhere, and once more adorned the world with holy temples and consecrated houses of prayer; in every city and village, nay, throughout all countries, and even in barbaric wilds, ordaining the erection of churches and sacred buildings to the honor of the Supreme God and Lord of all. Hence it is that these hallowed edifices are deemed worthy to bear his name, and receive not their appellation from men, but from the Lord himself, from which circumstances they are called churches (or houses of the Lord). 5 And now let

him who will stand forth and tell us who, after so complete a desolation, has restored these sacred buildings from foundation to roof? Who, when all hope appeared extinct, has caused them to rise on a nobler scale than heretofore? And well may it claim our wonder, that this renovation was not subsequent to the death of those adversaries of God, but whilst the destroyers of these edifices were still alive; so that the recantation of their evil deeds came in their own words and edicts. And this they did, not in the sunshine of prosperity and ease (for then we might suppose that benevolence or clemency might be the cause), but at the very time that they were suffering under the stroke of Divine vengeance.

36 Who, again, has been able to retain in obedience to his heavenly precepts, after so many successive storms of persecution, nay, in the very crisis of danger, so many persons throughout the world devoted to philosophy, and the service of God and those holy choirs of virgins who had dedicated themselves to a life of perpetual chastity and purity? Who taught them cheerfully to persevere in the exercise of protracted fasting, and to embrace a life of severe and consistent self-denial? Who has persuaded multitudes of either sex to devote themselves to the study of sacred things, and prefer to bodily nutriment that intellectual food which is suited to the wants of a rational soul? Who has instructed barbarians and peasants, yea, feeble women, slaves, and children, in short, unnumbered multitudes of all nations, to live in the contempt of death; persuaded of the immortality of their souls, conscious that human actions are observed by the unerring eye of justice, expecting God's award to the righteous and the wicked, and therefore true to the practice of a just and virtuous life? For they could not otherwise have persevered in the course of godliness. Surely these are the acts which our Saviour, and he alone, even now performs.

47 And now let us pass from these topics, and endeavor by inquiries such as these that follow to convince the objector's obdurate understanding. Come forward, then, whoever thou art, and speak the words of reason: utter, not the thoughts of a senseless heart, but those of an intelligent and enlightened mind: speak, I say, after deep solemn converse with thyself. Who of the sages whose names have yet been known to fame, has ever been foreknown and proclaimed from the remotest ages, as our Saviour was by the prophetic oracles to the once divinely-favored Hebrew nation? But his very birth-place, the period of his advent the manner of his life, his miracles, and

words and mighty acts, were anticipated and recorded in the sacred volumes of these prophets. 8 Again, who so present an avenger of crimes against himself; so that, as the immediate consequence of their impiety, the entire Jewish people were scattered by an unseen power, their royal seat utterly removed, and their very temple with its holy things levelled with the ground? Who, like our Saviour, has uttered predictions at once concerning that impious nation and the establishment of his church throughout the world, and has equally verified both by the event? Respecting the temple of these wicked men, our Saviour said: "Your house is left unto you desolate": and, "There shall not be left one stone upon another in this place, that shall not be thrown down." And again, of his church he says: "I will build my church upon a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

5 9 How wondrous, too, must that power be deemed which summoned obscure and unlettered men from their fisher's trade, and made them the legislators and instructors of the human race! And how clear a demonstration of his deity do we find in the promise so well performed, that he would make them fishers of men: in the power and energy which he bestowed, so that they composed and published writings of such authority that they were translated into every civilized and barbarous language, were read and pondered by all nations, and the doctrines contained in them accredited as the oracles of God! 10 How marvelous his predictions of the future, and the testimony whereby his disciples were forewarned that they should be brought before kings and rulers, and should endure the severest punishments, not indeed as criminals, but simply for their confession of his name! Or who shall adequately describe the power with which he prepared them thus to suffer with a willing mind, and enabled them, strong in the armor of godliness, to maintain a constancy of spirit indomitable in the midst of conflict?

6 11 Or how shall we enough admire that steadfast firmness of soul which strengthened, not merely his immediate followers, but their successors also, even to our present age, in the joyful endurance of every infliction, and every form of torture, in proof of their devotion to the Supreme God? Again, what monarch has prolonged his government through so vast a series of ages? Who else has power to make war after death, to triumph over every enemy, to subjugate each barbarous and civilized nation and city, and to subdue his adversaries with an invisible and secret hand? 12 Lastly, and chief of all, what

slanderous lip shall dare to question that universal peace to which we have already referred; established by his power throughout the world For thus the mutual concord and harmony of all nations coincided in point of time with the extension of our Saviour's doctrine and preaching in all the world: a concurrence of events predicted in long ages past by the prophets of God. The day itself would fail me, gracious emperor, should I attempt to exhibit in a single view those cogent proofs of our Saviour's Divine power which even now are visible in their effects; for no human being, in civilized or barbarous nations, has ever yet exhibited such power of Divine virtue as our Saviour.

7 13 But why do I speak of men, since of the beings whom all nations have deemed divine, none has appeared on earth with power like to his? If there has, let the fact now be proved. Come forward, ye philosophers, and tell us what god or hero has yet been known to fame, who has delivered the doctrines of eternal life and a heavenly kingdom as he has done who is our Saviour? Who, like him, has persuaded multitudes throughout the world to pursue the principles of Divine wisdom, to fix their hope on heaven itself, and look forward to the mansions there reserved for them that love God? What god or hero in human form has ever held his course from the rising to the setting sun, a course co-extensive as it were with the solar light, and irradiated mankind with the bright and glorious beams of his doctrine, causing each nation of the earth to render united worship to the One true God? What god or hero yet, as he has done, has set aside all gods and heroes among civilized or barbarous nations; has ordained that divine honors should be withheld from all, and claimed obedience to that command: and then, though singly conflicting with the power of all, has utterly destroyed the opposing hosts; victorious over the gods and heroes of every age, and causing himself alone,in every region of the habitable world, to be acknowledged by all people as the only Son of God?

8 14 Who else has commanded the nations inhabiting the continents and islands of this mighty globe to assemble weekly on the Lord's day, and to observe it as a festival, not indeed for the pampering of the body, but for the invigoration of the soul by instruction in Divine truth? What god or hero, exposed, as our Saviour was, to so sore a conflict, has raised the trophy of victory over every foe? For they indeed, from first to last, unceasingly assailed his doctrine and his people: but he who is invisible, by the exercise of a secret power, has raised his servants and the sacred houses of their worship to the

height of glory. But why should we still vainly aim at detailing those Divine proofs of our Saviour's power which no language can worthily express; which need indeed no words of ours, but themselves appeal in loudest tones to those whose mental ears are open to the truth? Surely it is a strange, a wondrous fact, unparalleled in the annals of human life; that the blessings we have described should be accorded to our mortal race, and that he who is in truth the only, the eternal Son of God, should thus be visible on earth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1 1 These words of ours, however, [gracious] Sovereign, may well appear superfluous in your ears, convinced as you are, by frequent and personal experience, of our Saviour's Deity; yourself also, in actions still more than words, a herald of the truth to all mankind. Yourself, it may be, will vouchsafe at a time of leisure to relate to us the abundant manifestations which your Saviour has accorded you of his presence, and the oft-repeated visions of himself which have attended you in the hours of sleep. I speak not of those secret suggestions which to us are unrevealed: but of those principles which he has instilled into your own mind, and which are fraught with general interest and benefit to the human race. You will yourself relate in worthy terms the visible protection which your Divine shield and guardian has extended in the hour of battle; the ruin of your open and secret foes; and his ready aid in time of peril. To him you will ascribe relief in the midst of perplexity; defence in solitude; expedients in extremity; foreknowledge of events yet future; your fore-thought for the general weal; your power to investigate uncertain questions; your conduct of most important enterprises; your administration of civil affairs; your military arrangements, and correction of abuses in all departments; your ordinances respecting public right; and, lastly, your legislation for the common benefit of all.

2 You will, it may be, also detail to us those particulars of his favor which are secret to us, but known to you alone, and treasured in your royal memory as in secret storehouses. Such, doubtless, are the reasons, and such the convincing proofs of your Saviour's power, which caused you to raise that sacred edifice which presents to all, believers and unbelievers alike, a trophy of his victory over death, a holy temple of the holy God: to consecrate those noble and splendid monuments of immortal life and his heavenly kingdom: to offer memorials of our Almighty Saviour's conquest which well become the imperial dignity of him by whom they are bestowed. With such memorials

have you adorned that edifice which witnesses of eternal life: thus, as it were in imperial characters, ascribing victory and triumph to the heavenly Word of God: thus proclaiming to all nations, with clear and unmistakable voice, in deed and word, your own devout and pious confession of his name.parpar-par

The Oration of the Emperor Constantine

EUSEBIUS OF CAESAREA

c. AD 260–339

Bishop of Caesarea and the first church historian.

CHAPTER I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS ON THE FEAST OF EASTER: AND HOW THE WORD OF GOD, HAVING CONFERRED MANIFOLD BENEFITS ON MANKIND, WAS BETRAYED BY HIS BENEFICIARIES.

1 That light which far outshines the day and sun, first pledge of resurrection, and renovation of bodies long since dissolved, the divine token of promise, the path which leads to everlasting life-in a word, the day of the Passion-is arrived, best beloved doctors, and ye, my friends who are assembled here, ye blessed multitudes, who worship him who is the author of all worship, and praise him continually with heart and voice, according to the precepts of his holy word. But thou, Nature, parent of all things, what blessing like to this hast thou ever accomplished for mankind? Nay rather, what is in any sense thy workmanship, since he who formed the universe is himself the author of thy being? For it is he who has arrayed thee in thy beauty; and the beauty of Nature is life according to Nature's laws. But principles quite opposed to Nature have mightily prevailed; in that men have agreed in withholding his rightful worship from the Lord of all, believing that the order of the universe depended, not on his providence, but, on the blind uncertainty of chance: and this notwithstanding the clearest announcement of the truth by his inspired prophets, whose words should have claimed belief, but were in every way resisted by that impious wickedness which hates the light of truth, and loves the obscure mazes of darkness.

2 Nor was this error unaccompanied by violence and cruelty, especially in that the will of princes encouraged the blind impetuosity of the multitude, or rather itself led the way in the career of reckless folly. Such principles as these, confirmed by the practice of many generations, became the source of terrible evils in those early times: but no sooner had the radiance of the Sa-

viour's presence appeared, than justice took the place of wrong, a calm succeeded the confusion of the storm, and the predictions of the prophets were all fulfilled. For after he had enlightened the world by the glorious discretion and purity of his character, and had ascended to the mansions of his father's house, he founded his Church on earth, as a holy temple of virtue, an immortal, imperishable temple, wherein the worship due to the Supreme Father and to himself should be piously performed. But what did the insane malice of the nations hereupon devise? Their effort was to reject the grace of Christ, and to ruin that Church which was ordained for the salvation of all, though they thus ensured the overthrow of their own superstition. Once more then unholy sedition, once more war and strife prevailed, with stiffneckedness, luxurious riot, and that craving for wealth which now soothes its victims with specious hope, now strikes them with groundless fear; a craving which is contrary to nature, and the very characteristic of Vice herself. Let her, however, lie prostrate in the dust, and own the victorious power of Virtue;

3 and let her rend and tear herself, as well she may, in the bitterness of repentance. But let us now proceed to speak of topics which pertain to the Divine doctrine.

CHAPTER II. AN APPEAL TO THE CHURCH AND TO HIS HEARERS TO PARDON AND CORRECT THE ERRORS OF HIS SPEECH.

Hear then, thou master of the ship, possessor of virgin purity, and thou Church, the cherisher of tender and inexperienced age, guardian of truth and gentleness, through whose perennial fountain the stream of salvation flows! Be ye also indulgent, my hearers, who worship God sincerely, and are, therefore, the objects of his care: attending, not to the language, but to the truth of what is said; not to him who speaks, but rather to the pious zeal which hallows his discourse! For what will be the use of words when the real purpose of the speaker remains unknown? It may be, indeed, that I essay great things; the love of God which animates my soul, a love which overpowers natural reserve, is my plea for the bold attempt. On you, then, I call, who are best instructed in the mysteries of God, to aid me with your counsel, to follow me with your thoughts, and correct whatever shall savor of error in my words, expecting no display of perfect knowledge, but graciously accepting the sincerity of my endeavor. And may the Spirit of the Father and the Son accord his mighty aid, while I utter the words which he shall suggest to

speech or thought. For if any one, whether in the practice of eloquence, or any other art, expects to produce a finished work without the help of God, both the author and his efforts will be found alike imperfect; while he has no cause to fear, no room for discouragement, who has once been blessed with the inspiration of Heaven. Wherefore asking your indulgence for the length of this preface, let us attempt the theme in its utmost scope.

CHAPTER III. THAT GOD IS THE FATHER OF THE WORD, AND THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS; AND THAT MATERIAL OBJECTS COULD NOT CONTINUE TO EXIST, WERE THEIR CAUSES VARIOUS.

1 God, who is ever above all existence, and the good which all things desire, has no origin, and therefore no beginning, being himself the originator of all things which receive existence. But he who proceeds from him is again united to him; and this separation from and union with him is not local, but intellectual in its character. For this generation was accompanied by no diminution of the Father's substance (as in the case of generation by seed); but by the determining act of foreknowledge God manifested a Saviour presiding over this sensible world, and all created things therein. From hence, then, is the source of existence and life to all things which are within the compass of this world; hence proceed the soul, and every sense; hence those organs through which the sense-perceptions are perfected. What, then, is the object of this argument? To prove that there is One director of all things that exist, and that all things, whether in heaven or on earth, both natural and organized bodies, are subject to his single sovereignty. For if the dominion of these things, numberless as they are, were in the hands, not of one but of many, there must be a partition and distribution of the elements, and the old fables would be true; jealousy, too, and ambition, striving for superior power, would destroy the harmonious concord of the whole, while each of the many masters would regulate in a manner different from the rest the portion subject to his control.

2 The fact, however, that this universal order is ever one and the same, is the proof that it is under the care of a superior power, and that its origin cannot be ascribed to chance. Else how could the author of universal nature ever be known? To whom first, or last, could prayers and supplications be addressed? Whom could I choose as the object of my worship, without being guilty of impiety towards the rest? Again, if haply I desired to obtain some temporal blessing, should I not, while expressing my gratitude to the Power

who favored my request, convey a reproach to him who opposed it? Or to whom should I pray, when desiring to know the cause of my calamity, and to obtain deliverance? Or let us suppose that the answer is given by oracles and prophecies, but that the case is not within the scope of their authority, being the province of some other deity. Where, then, is mercy? where is the provident care of God for the human race? Unless, indeed, some more benevolent Power, assuming a hostile attitude against another who has no such feeling, be disposed to accord me his protection. Hence anger, discords, mutual censure, and finally universal confusion, would ensue, while each departed from his proper sphere of action, dissatisfied, through ambitious love of power, with his allotted portion. What, then, would be the result of these things? Surely this discord among the heavenly powers would prove destructive to the interests of earth: the orderly alternation of times and seasons would disappear;

3 the successive productions of the earth would be enjoyed no more: the day itself, and the repose of night which follows it, would cease to be. But enough on this subject: let us once more resume that species of reasoning which admits of no reply.

CHAPTER IV. ON THE ERROR OF IDOLATROUS WORSHIP.

1 Whatever has had a beginning, has also an end. Now that which is a beginning in respect of time, is called a generation: and whatever is by generation is subject to corruption, and its beauty is impaired by the lapse of time. How, then, can they whose origin is from corruptible generation, be immortal? Again, this supposition has gained credit with the ignorant multitude, that marriages, and the birth of children, are usual among the gods. Granting, then, such offspring to be immortal, and continually produced, the race must of necessity multiply to excess: and if this were so, where is the heaven, or the earth, which could contain so vast and still increasing a multitude of gods? But what shall we say of those men who represent these celestial beings as joined in incestuous union with their sister goddesses, and charge them with adultery and impurity? We declare, further, with all confidence, that the very honors and worship which these deities receive from men are accompanied by acts of wantonness and profligacy. Once more; the experienced and skillful sculptor, having formed the conception of his design, perfects his work according to the rules of art; and in a little while, as if forgetful of himself, idolizes his own creation, and adores it as an immortal god,

while yet he admits that himself, the author and maker of the image, is a mortal man. Nay, they even show the graves and monuments of those whom they deem immortal, and bestow divine honors on the dead:

2 not knowing that that which is truly blessed and incorruptible needs no distinction which perishable men can give: for that Being, who is seen by the mental eye, and conceived by the intellect alone, requires to be distinguished by no external form, and admits no figure to represent its character and likeness. But the honors of which we speak are given to those who have yielded to the power of death: they once were men, and tenants, while they lived, of a mortal body.

CHAPTER V. THAT CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD, CREATED ALL THINGS, AND HAS APPOINTED TO EVERY THING THE TERM OF ITS EXISTENCE.

1 But why do I defile my tongue with unhallowed words, when my object is to sound the praises of the true God? Rather let me cleanse myself, as it were, from this bitter draught by the pure stream which flows from the everlasting fountain of the virtue of that God who is the object of my praise. Be it my special province to glorify Christ, as well by the actions of my life, as by that thanksgiving which is due to him for the manifold and signal blessings which he has bestowed. I affirm, therefore, that he has laid the foundations of this universe; and conceived the race of men, ordaining these things by his word. And immediately he transferred our newly created parents (ignorant at first, according to his will, of good and evil) to a happy region, abounding in flowers and fruits of every kind. At length, however, he appointed them a seat on earth befitting creatures endued with reason; and then unfolded to their faculties, as intelligent beings, the knowledge of good and evil. Then, too, he bade the race increase; and each healthy region of the world, as far as the bounds of the circumambient ocean, became the dwelling-place of men; while with this increase of numbers the invention of the useful arts went hand in hand. Meantime the various species of inferior animals increased in due proportion, each kind discovering some characteristic quality, the special gift of nature: the tame distinguished by gentleness and obedience to man;

2 the wild by strength and swiftness, and an instinctive foresight which warned them to escape from peril. The gentler animals he placed entirely beneath man's protecting care, but entailed on him the necessity of strife with those of fiercer nature. He next created the feathered race, manifold in num-

ber, diverse in character and habits; brilliant with every variety of color, and endued with native powers of melody. Finally, having arranged with wise discrimination whatever else the compass of this world contains, and having assigned to every creature the stated term of its existence, he thus completed the beautiful order of the perfect whole. 3 Chapter VI. The Falsity of the General Opinion Respecting Fate Is Proved by the Consideration of Human Laws, and by the Works of Creation, the Course of Which is Not Fortuitous, But According to an Orderly Arrangement Which Evinces the Design of the Creator. 4 The great majority, however, in their folly, ascribe the regulation of the universe to nature, while some imagine fate, or accident, to be the cause. With regard to those who attribute the control of all things to fate, they know not that in using this term they utter a mere word, but designate no active power, nor anything which has real and substantial existence. For what can this fate be, considered in itself, if nature be the first cause of all things? Or what shall we suppose nature itself to be, if the law of fate be inviolable? Indeed, the very assertion that there is a law of fate implies that such law is the work of a legislator: if, therefore, fate itself be a law, it must be a law devised by God. All things, therefore, are subject to God, and nothing is beyond the sphere of his power. If it be said that fate is the will of God, and is so considered, we admit the fact. But in what respect do justice, or self-control, or the other virtues, depend on fate? From whence, if so, do their contraries, as injustice and intemperance, proceed? For vice has its origin from nature, not from fate; and virtue is the due regulation of natural character and disposition. But, granting that the varied results of actions, whether right or erroneous in themselves, depend on fortune or fate: in what sense can the general principle of justice, the principle of rendering to every one his due, be ascribed to fate?

5 Or how can it be said that laws, encouragements to virtue and dissuasives from what is evil, praise, blame, punishment, in short whatever operates as a motive to virtue, and deters from the practice of vice, derive their origin from fortune or accident, and not rather from that of justice, which is a characteristic attribute of the God of providence? For the events which befall men are consequent upon the tenor of their lives. Hence pestilence or sedition, famine and plenty, succeed in turn, declaring plainly and emphatically that all these things are regulated with reference to our course of life. For the Divine Being delights in goodness, but turns with aversion from all impiety;

looks with acceptance on the humble spirit, but abhors presumption, and that pride which exalts itself above what becomes a creature. And though the proofs of these truths are clear and manifest to our sight, they appear in a still stronger light, when we collect, and as it were concentrate our thoughts within ourselves, and ponder their causes with deep attention. I say, then, that it becomes us to lead a life of modesty and gentleness, not suffering our thoughts to rise proudly above our natural condition, and ever mindful that God is near us, and is the observer of all our actions. But let us still farther test the truth of the proposition, that the order of the universe depends on chance or accident.

6 Are we then to suppose that the stars and other heavenly bodies, the earth and sea, fire and wind, water and air, the succession of the seasons, the recurrence of summer and winter, that all these have an undesigned and fortuitous existence, and not rather that they proceed from the creative hand of God? Some, indeed, are so senseless as to say that most of these things have been devised by mankind because of their need of them. Let it be admitted that this opinion has a semblance of reason in regard to earthly and corruptible things (though Nature herself supplies every good with a lavish hand); yet can we believe that things which are immortal and unchangeable are the inventions of men? These, indeed, and all things else which are beyond the reach of our senses, and comprehended by the intellect alone, receive their being, not from the material life of man, but from the intellectual and eternal essence of God. Again, the orderly arrangement of these things is the work of his providence: for instance, that the day, deriving radiance from the sun, is bright; that night succeeds his setting, and the starry host by which night itself is redeemed from total darkness. And what shall we say of the moon, which when most distant from, and opposite to the sun, is filled with light, but wanes in proportion to the nearness of her approach to him? Do not these things manifestly evince the intelligence and sagacious wisdom of God?

7 Add to this that needful warmth of the solar rays which ripens the fruits of the earth; the currents of wind, so conducive to the fertility of the seasons; the cool and refreshing showers; and the harmony of all these things in accordance with which all are reasonably and systematically conducted: lastly, the everlasting order of the planets, which return to the self-same place at their appointed times: are not all these, as well as the perfect ministry of the

stars, obedient to a divine law, evident proofs of the ordinance of God? Again, do the mountain heights, the deep and hollow valleys, the level and extensive plains, useful as they are, as well as pleasing to the eye, appear to exist independently of the will of God? Or do not the proportion and alternate succession of land and water, serviceable, the one for husbandry, the other for the transport of such foreign products as we need, afford a clear demonstration of his exact and proportionate providential care? For instance, the mountains contain a store of water, which the level ground receives, and after imbibing sufficient for the renovation of the soil, sends forth the residue into the sea, and the sea in turn passes it onward to the ocean. And still we dare to say that all these things happen by chance and accident; unable though we be to show by what shape or form this chance is characterized; a thing which has no foundation either in intellect or sense existence;

8 which rings in our ears as the mere sound of an unsubstantial name!

CHAPTER VII. IN REGARD TO THINGS ABOVE OUR COMPREHENSION, WE SHOULD GLORIFY THE CREATOR'S WISDOM, AND ATTRIBUTE THEIR CAUSES TO HIM ALONE, AND NOT TO CHANCE.

In fact, this word "chance" is the expression of men who think in haphazard and illogical fashion; who are unable to understand the causes of these things, and who, owing to the feebleness of their own apprehensions, conceive that those things for which they cannot assign a reason, are ordered without reason. There are, unquestionably, some things which possess wonderful natural properties, and the full apprehension of which is very difficult: for example, the nature of hot springs. For no one can easily explain the cause of so powerful a fire; and it is indeed surprising that though surrounded on all sides by a body of cold water, it loses none of its native heat. These phenomena appear to be of rare occurrence throughout the world, being intended, I am persuaded, to afford to mankind convincing evidence of the power of that Providence which ordains that two directly opposite natures, heat and cold, should thus proceed from the self-same source. Many indeed, yea, numberless, are the gifts which God has bestowed for the comfort and enjoyment of man; and of these the fruit of the olive-tree and the vine deserve especial notice; the one for its power of renovating and cheering the soul, the other because it ministers to our enjoyment, and is likewise adapted for the cure of bodily disease. Marvelous, too, is the course of rivers, flowing night and day with unceasing motion, and presenting a type of ever-flowing,

never-ceasing life: and equally wonderful is the alternate succession of day and night.

CHAPTER VIII. THAT GOD BESTOWS AN ABUNDANT SUPPLY OF WHATEVER IS SUITED TO THE WANTS OF MAN, AND MINISTERS BUT SPARINGLY TO HIS PLEASURES; IN BOTH CASES WITH A VIEW TO HIS ADVANTAGE.

Let what has been said suffice to prove that nothing exists without reason and intelligence, and that reason itself and providence are of God. It is he who has also distributed the metals, as gold, silver, copper, and the rest, in due proportion; ordaining an abundant supply of those which would be most needed and generally employed, while he dispensed those which serve the purposes merely of pleasure in adornment of luxury with a liberal and yet a sparing hand, holding a mean between parsimony and profusion. For the searchers for metals, were those which are employed for ornament procured in equal abundance with the rest, would be impelled by avarice to despise and neglect to gather those which, like iron or copper, are serviceable for husbandry, or house-building, or the equipment of ships; and would care for those only which conduce to luxury and a superfluous excess of wealth. Hence it is, as they say, that the search for gold and silver is far more difficult and laborious than that for any other metals, the violence of the toil thus acting as a counterpoise to the violence of the desire. And how many instances might still further be enumerated of the workings of that Divine Providence which, in all the gifts which it has so unsparingly conferred upon us, plainly urges us to the practice of self-control and all other virtues, and leads us away from unbefitting covetousness! To trace the secret reasons of all these things is indeed a task which exceeds the power of human faculties. For how can the intellect of a frail and perishable being arrive at the knowledge of perfect truth, or apprehend in its purity the counsel of God from the beginning?

CHAPTER IX. OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, WHO FELL INTO MISTAKEN NOTIONS, AND SOME OF THEM INTO DANGER, BY THEIR DESIRE OF UNIVERSAL KNOWLEDGE.-ALSO OF THE DOCTRINES OF PLATO.

1 We ought, therefore, to aim at objects which are within our power, and exceed not the capacities of our nature. For the persuasive influence of argument has a tendency to draw most of us away from the truth of things, which has happened to many philosophers, who have employed themselves in reasoning, and the study of natural science, and who, as often as the mag-

nitude of the subject surpasses their powers of investigation, adopt various devices for obscuring the truth. Hence their diversities of judgment, and contentious opposition to each others' doctrines, and this notwithstanding their pretensions to wisdom. Hence, too, popular commotions have arisen, and severe sentences, passed by those in power, apprehensive of the overthrow of hereditary institutions, have proved destructive to many of the disputants themselves. Socrates, for example, elated by his skill in argumentation, indulging his power of making the worse appear the better reason, and playing continually with the subtleties of controversy, fell a victim to the slander of his own countrymen and fellow-citizens. Pythagoras, too, who laid special claim to the virtues of silence and self-control, was convicted of falsehood. For he declared to the Italians that the doctrines which he had received during his travels in Egypt, and which had long before been divulged by the priests of that nation, were a personal revelation to himself from God.

2 Lastly, Plato himself, the gentlest and most refined of all, who first essayed to draw men's thoughts from sensible to intellectual and eternal objects, and taught them to aspire to sublimer speculations, in the first place declared, with truth, a God exalted above every essence, but to him he added also a second, distinguishing them numerically as two, though both possessing one perfection, and the being of the second Deity proceeding from the first. For he is the creator and controller of the universe, and evidently supreme: while the second, as the obedient agent of his commands, refers the origin of all creation to him as the cause. In accordance, therefore, with the soundest reason, we may say that there is one Being whose care and providence are over all things, even God the Word, who has ordered all things; but the Word being God himself is also the Son of God. For by what name can we designate him except by this title of the Son, without falling into the most grievous error? For the Father of all things is properly considered the Father of his own Word. Thus far, then, Plato's sentiments were sound; but in what follows he appears to have wandered from the truth, in that he introduces a plurality of gods, to each of whom he assigns specific forms.

3 And this has given occasion to still greater error among the unthinking portion of mankind, who pay no regard to the providence of the Supreme God, but worship images of their own devising, made in the likeness of men or other living beings. Hence it appears that the transcendent nature and admirable learning of this philosopher, tinged as they were with such errors as

these, were by no means free from impurity and alloy. And yet he seems to me to retract, and correct his own words, when he-plainly declares that a rational soul is the breath of God, and divides all things into two classes, intellectual and sensible: [the one simple, the other] consisting of bodily structure; the one comprehended by the intellect alone, the other estimated by the judgment and the senses. The former class, therefore, which partakes of the divine spirit, and is uncompounded and immaterial, is eternal, and inherits everlasting life; but the latter, being entirely resolved into the elements of which it is composed, has no share in everlasting life. He farther teaches the admirable doctrine, that those who have passed a life of virtue, that is, the spirits of good and holy men, are enshrined, after their separation from the body, in the fairest mansions of heaven. A doctrine not merely to be admired, but profitable too. For who can believe in such a statement, and aspire to such a happy lot, without desiring to practice righteousness and temperance, and to turn aside from vice?

4 Consistently with this doctrine he represents the spirits of the wicked as tossed like wreckage on the streams of Acheron and Pyriphlegethon.

CHAPTER X. OF THOSE WHO REJECT THE DOCTRINES OF PHILOSOPHERS, AS WELL AS THOSE OF SCRIPTURE: AND THAT WE OUGHT TO BELIEVE THE POETS IN ALL THINGS, OR DISBELIEVE THEM IN ALL.

1 There are, however, some persons so infatuated, that when they meet with such sentiments as these, they are neither converted or alarmed: nay, they even treat them with contempt and scorn, as if they listened to the inventions of fable; applauding, perhaps, the beauty of the eloquence, but abhorring the severity of the precepts. And yet they give credence to the fictions of the poets, and make both civilized and barbarous countries ring with exploded and false tales. For the poets assert that the judgment of souls after death is committed to men whose parentage they ascribe to the gods, extolling their righteousness and impartiality and represent them as guardians of the dead. The same poets describe the battles of the gods and certain usages of war among them, and speak of them as subject to the power of fate. Some of these deities they picture to us as cruel, others as strangers to all care for the human race, and others again as hateful in their character. They introduce them also as mourning the slaughter of their own children, thus implying their inability to succor, not strangers merely, but those most dear to

them. They describe them, too, as subject to human passions, and sing of their battles and wounds, their joys and sorrows. And in all this they appear worthy of belief. For if we suppose them to be moved by a divine impulse to attempt the poetic art, we are bound to believe them and to be persuaded of what they utter under this inspiration.

2 They speak, then, of the calamities to which their divinities are subject; calamities which of course are altogether true! But it will be objected that it is the privilege of poets to lie, since the peculiar province of poetry is to charm the spirits of the hearers, while the very essence of truth is that things told be in reality exactly what they are said to be. Let us grant that it is a characteristic of poetry occasionally to conceal the truth. But they who speak falsehood do it not without an object; being influenced either by a desire of personal gain or advantage, or possibly, being conscious of some evil conduct, they are induced to disguise the truth by dread of the threatening vengeance of the laws. But surely it were possible for them (in my judgment), by adhering faithfully to truth at least while treating of the nature of the Supreme Being, to avoid the guilt at once of falsehood and impiety.

CHAPTER XI. ON THE COMING OF OUR LORD IN THE FLESH; ITS NATURE AND CAUSE.

1 Whoever, then, has pursued a course unworthy of a life of virtue, and is conscious of having lived an irregular and disorderly life, let him repent, and turn with enlightened spiritual vision to God; and let him abandon his past career of wickedness, content if he attain to wisdom even in his declining years. We, however, have received no aid from human instruction; nay, whatever graces of character are esteemed of good report by those who have understanding, are entirely the gift of God. And I am able to oppose no feeble buckler against the deadly weapons of Satan's armory; I mean the knowledge I possess of those things which are pleasing to him: and of these I will select such as are appropriate to my present design, while I proceed to sing the praises of the Father of all. But do thou, O Christ, Saviour of mankind, be present to aid me in my hallowed task! Direct the words which celebrate thy virtues, and instruct me worthily to sound thy praises. And now, let no one expect to listen to the graces of elegant language: for well I know that the nerveless eloquence of those who speak to charm the ear, and whose aim is rather applause than sound argument, is distasteful to hearers of sound judgment. It is asserted, then, by some profane and senseless persons, that

Christ, whom we worship, was justly condemned to death, and that he who is the author of life to all, was himself deprived of life.

2 That such an assertion should be made by those who have once dared to enter the paths of impiety, who have cast aside all fear, and all thought of concealing their own depravity, is not surprising. But it is beyond the bounds of folly itself that they should be able, as it seems, really to persuade themselves that the incorruptible God yielded to the violence of men, and not rather to that love alone which he bore to the human race: that they should fail to perceive that divine magnanimity and forbearance is changed by no insult, is moved from its intrinsic steadfastness by no revilings; but is ever the same, breaking down and repelling, by the spirit of wisdom and greatness of soul, the savage fierceness of those who assail it. The gracious kindness of God had determined to abolish iniquity, and to exalt order and justice. Accordingly, he gathered a company of the wisest among men, and ordained that most noble and useful doctrine, which is calculated to lead the good and blessed of mankind to an imitation of his own providential care. And what higher blessing can we speak of than this, that God should prescribe the way of righteousness, and make those who are counted worthy of his instruction like himself; that goodness might be communicated to all classes of mankind, and eternal felicity be the result? This is the glorious victory: this the true power: this the mighty work, worthy of its author, the restoration of all people to soundness of mind:

3 and the glory of this triumph we joyfully ascribe to thee, thou Saviour of all! But thou, vile and wretched blasphemy, whose glory is in lies and rumors and calumny; thy power is to deceive and prevail with the inexperience of youth, and with men who still retain the folly of youth. These thou seducest from the service of the true God, and settest up false idols as the objects of their worship and their prayers; and thus the reward of their folly awaits thy deluded victims: for they calumniate Christ, the author of every blessing, who is God, and the Son of God. Is not the worship of the best and wisest of the nations of this world worthily directed to that God, who, while possessing boundless power, remains immovably true to his own purpose, and retains undiminished his characteristic kindness and love to man? Away, then, ye impious, for still ye may while vengeance on your transgressions is yet withheld; begone to your sacrifices, your feasts, your scenes of revelry and drunkenness, wherein, under the semblance of religion, your hearts are de-

voted to profligate enjoyment, and pretending to perform sacrifices, yourselves are the willing slaves of your own pleasures.

4 No knowledge have ye of any good, nor even of the first commandment of the mighty God, who both declares his will to man, and gives commission to his Son to direct the course of human life, that they who have passed a career of virtue and self-control may obtain, according to the judgment of that Son, a second, yea, a blessed and happy existence. I have now declared the decree of God respecting the life which he prescribes to man, neither ignorantly, as many have done, nor resting on the ground of opinion or conjecture. But it may be that some will ask, Whence this title of Son? Whence this generation of which we speak, if God be indeed only One, and incapable of union with another? We are, however, to consider generation as of two kinds; one in the way of natural birth, which is known to all; the other, that which is the effect of an eternal cause, the mode of which is seen by the prescience of God, and by those among men whom he loves. For he who is wise will recognize the cause which regulates the harmony of creation. Since, then, nothing exists without a cause, of necessity the cause of existing substances preceded their existence. But since the world and all things that it contains exist, and are preserved, their preserver must have had a prior existence; so that Christ is the cause of preservation, and the preservation of things is an effect:

5 even as the Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son the effect of that cause. Enough, then, has been said to prove his priority of existence. But how do we explain his descent to this earth, and to men? His motive in this, as the prophets had foretold, originated in his watchful care for the interests of all: for it needs must be that the Creator should care for his own works. But when the time came for him to assume a terrestrial body, and to sojourn on this earth, the need requiring, he devised for himself a new mode of birth. Conception was there, yet apart from marriage: childbirth, yet pure virginity: and a maiden became the mother of God! An eternal nature received a beginning of temporal existence: a sensible form of a spiritual essence, a material manifestation of incorporeal brightness, appeared. Alike wondrous were the circumstances which attended this great event. A radiant dove, like that which flew from the ark of Noah, alighted on the Virgin's bosom: and accordant with this impalpable union, purer than chastity, more guileless than innocence itself, were the results which followed. From infancy possess-

ing the wisdom of God, received with reverential awe by the Jordan, in whose waters he was baptized, gifted with that royal unction, the spirit of universal intelligence; with knowledge and power to perform miracles, and to heal diseases beyond the reach of human art;

6 he yielded a swift and unhindered assent to the prayers of men, to whose welfare, indeed, his whole life was devoted without reserve. His doctrines instilled, not prudence only, but real wisdom: his hearers were instructed, not in the mere social virtues, but in the ways which conduct to the spiritual world; and devoted themselves to the contemplation of immutable and eternal things, and the knowledge of the Supreme Father. The benefits which he bestowed were no common blessings: for blindness, the gift of sight; for helpless weakness, the vigor of health; in the place of death, restoration to life again. I dwell not on that abundant provision in the wilderness, whereby a scanty measure of food became a complete and enduring supply for the wants of a mighty multitude? Thus do we render thanks to thee, our God and Saviour, according to our feeble power; unto thee, O Christ, supreme Providence of the mighty Father, who both savest us from evil, and impartest to us thy most blessed doctrine: for I say these things, not to praise, but to give thanks. For what mortal is he who shall worthily declare thy praise, of whom we learn that thou didst from nothing call creation into being, and illumine it with thy light; that thou didst regulate the confusion of the elements by the laws of harmony and order?

7 But chiefly we mark thy loving-kindness, in that thou hast caused those whose hearts inclined to thee to desire earnestly a divine and blessed life, and hast provided that, like merchants of true blessings, they might impart to many others the wisdom and good fortune they had received; themselves, meanwhile, reaping the everlasting fruit of virtue. Freed from the trammels of vice, and imbued with the love of their fellow-men, they keep mercy ever before their eyes, and hoping for the promises of faith; devoted to modesty, and all those virtues which the past career of human life had thrown aside [but which were now restored by him whose providence is over all]. No other power could be found to devise a remedy for such evils, and for that spirit of injustice which had heretofore asserted its dominion over the race of men. Providence, however, could reach the circumstances even here, and with ease restored whatever had been disordered by violence and the licentiousness of human passion. And this restoring power he exercised without concealment.

For he knew that, though there were some whose thoughts were able to recognize and understand his power, others there were whose brutish and senseless nature led them to rely exclusively on the testimony of their own senses. In open day, therefore, that no one, whether good or evil, might find room for doubt, he manifested his blessed and wondrous healing power; restoring the dead to life again, and renewing with a word the powers of those who had been bereft of bodily sense.

8 Can we, in short, suppose, that to render the sea firm as the solid ground, to still the raging of the storm, and finally to ascend to heaven, after turning the unbelief of men to steadfast faith by the performance of these wondrous acts, demanded less than almighty power, was less than the work of God? Nor was the time of his passion unaccompanied by like wonders: when the sun was darkened, and the shades of night obscured the light of day. Then terror everywhere laid hold upon the people, and the thought that the end of all things was already come, and that chaos, such as had been ere the order of creation began, would once more prevail. Then, too, the cause was sought of so terrible an evil, and in what respect the trespasses of men had provoked the wrath of Heaven; until God himself, who surveyed with calm dignity the arrogance of the ungodly, renewed the face of heaven, and adorned it with the host of stars. Thus the beclouded face of Nature was again restored to her pristine beauty.

CHAPTER XII. OF THOSE WHO ARE IGNORANT OF THIS MYSTERY; AND THAT THEIR IGNORANCE IS VOLUNTARY. THE BLESSINGS WHICH AWAIT THOSE WHO KNOW IT, ESPECIALLY SUCH AS DIE IN THE CONFESSION OF THE FAITH.

1 But it will be said by some, who love to blaspheme, that it was in the power of God to ameliorate and soften the natural will of man. What better way, I ask, what better method could be devised, what more effectual effort put forth for reclaiming evil man, than converse with God himself? Was not he visibly present to teach them the principles of virtuous conduct? And if the personal instructions of God were without effect, how much more, had he continued absent and unheard? What, then, had power to hinder this most blessed doctrine? The perverse folly of man. For the clearness of our perceptions is at once obscured, as often as we receive with angry impatience those precepts which are given for our blessing and advantage. In truth, it was the very choice of men to disregard these precepts, and to turn a deaf ear to the

commandments so distasteful to them; though had they listened, they would have gained a reward well worthy such attention, and that not for the present only, but the future life, which is indeed the only true life. For the reward of obedience to God is imperishable and everlasting life, to which they may aspire who know him, and frame their course of life so as to afford a pattern to others, and as it were a perpetual standard for the imitation of those who desire to excel in virtue.

2 Therefore was the doctrine committed to men of understanding, that the truths which they communicated might be kept with care and a pure conscience by the members of their households, and that thus a truthful and steadfast observance of God's commands might be secured, the fruit of which is that boldness in the prospect of death which springs from pure faith and genuine holiness before God. He who is thus armed can withstand the tempest of the world, and is sustained even to martyrdom by the invincible power of God, whereby he boldly overcomes the greatest terrors, and is accounted worthy of a crown of glory by him to whom he has thus nobly testified. Nor does he himself assume the praise, knowing full well that it is God who gives the power both to endure, and to fulfill with ready zeal the Divine commands. And well may such a course as this receive the meed of never-failing remembrance and everlasting honor. For as the martyr's life is one of sobriety and obedience to the will of God, so is his death an example of true greatness and generous fortitude of soul. Hence it is followed by hymns and psalms, words and songs of praise to the all-seeing God: and a sacrifice of thanksgiving is offered in memory of such men, a bloodless, a harmless sacrifice, wherein is no need of the fragrant frankincense, no need of fire; but only enough of pure light to suffice the assembled worshipers.

3 Many, too, there are whose charitable spirit leads them to prepare a temperate banquet for the comfort of the needy, and the relief of those who had been driven from their homes: a custom which can only be deemed burdensome by those whose thoughts are not accordant with the divine and sacred doctrine.

CHAPTER XIII. THAT THERE IS A NECESSARY DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CREATED THINGS. THAT THE PROPENSITY TO GOOD AND EVIL DEPENDS ON THE WILL OF MAN; AND THAT, CONSEQUENTLY, JUDGMENT IS A NECESSARY AND REASONABLE THING.

There are, indeed, some who venture with childish presumption to find fault with God in respect of this also, and ask why it is that he has not created one and the same natural disposition for all, but rather has ordained the existence of many things different, nay, contrary in their nature, whence arises the dissimilarity of our moral conduct and character. Would it not (say they) have been better, both as regards obedience to the commands of God, and a just apprehension of himself, and for the confirmation of individual faith, that all mankind should be of the same moral character? It is indeed ridiculous to expect that this could be the case, and to forget that the constitution of the world is different from that of the things that are in the world; that physical and moral objects are not identical in their nature, nor the affections of the body the same as those of the soul. [For the immortal soul far exceeds the material world in dignity, and is more blessed than the perishable and terrestrial creation, in proportion as it is noble and more allied to God.] Nor is the human race excluded from participation in the divine goodness; though this is not the lot of all indiscriminately, but of those only who search deeply into the Divine nature, and propose the knowledge of sacred things as the leading object of their lives.

CHAPTER XIV. THAT CREATED NATURE DIFFERS INFINITELY FROM UNCREATED BEING; TO WHICH MAN MAKES THE NEAREST APPROACH BY A LIFE OF VIRTUE.

1 Surely it must be the very height of folly to compare created with eternal things, which latter have neither beginning nor end, while the former, having been originated and called into being, and having received a commencement of their existence at some definite time, must consequently, of necessity have an end. How then can things which have thus been made, bear comparison with him who has ordained their being? Were this the case, the power to command their existence could not rightly be attributed to him. Nor can celestial things be compared to him, any more than the material with the intellectual world, or copies with the models from which they are formed. Nay, is it not absurd thus to confound all things, and to obscure the honor of God by comparing him with men, or even with beasts? And is it

not characteristic of madmen, utterly estranged from a life of sobriety and virtue, to affect a power equivalent to that of God? If indeed we in any sense aspire to blessedness like that of God, our duty is to lead a life according to his commandments: so shall we, having finished a course consistent with the laws which he has prescribed, dwell for ever superior to the power of fate, in eternal and undecaying mansions.

2 For the only power in man which can be elevated to a comparison with that of God, is sincere and guileless service and devotion of heart to himself, with the contemplation and study of whatever pleases him, the raising our affections above the things of earth, and directing our thoughts, as far as we may, to high and heavenly objects: for from such endeavors, it is said, a victory accrues to us more valuable than many blessings. The cause, then, of that difference which subsists, as regards the inequality both of dignity and power in created beings, is such as I have described. In this the wise acquiesce with abundant thankfulness and joy: while those who are dissatisfied, display their own folly, and their arrogance will reap its due reward.

CHAPTER XV. OF THE SAVIOUR'S DOCTRINES AND MIRACLES; AND THE BENEFITS HE CONFERS ON THOSE WHO OWN SUBJECTION TO HIM.

1 The Son of God invites all men to the practice of virtue, and presents himself to all who have understanding hearts, as the teacher of his saving precepts. Unless, indeed, we will deceive ourselves; and remain in wretched ignorance of the fact, that for our advantage, that is, to secure the blessing of the human race, he went about upon earth; and, having called around him the best men of their age, committed to them instructions full of profit, and of power to preserve them in the path of a virtuous life; teaching them the faith and righteousness which are the true remedy against the adverse power of that malignant spirit whose delight it is to ensnare and delude the inexperienced. Accordingly he visited the sick, relieved the infirm from the ills which afflicted them, and consoled those who felt the extremity of penury and want. He commended also sound and rational sobriety of character, enjoining his followers to endure, with dignity and patience, every kind of injury and contempt: teaching them to regard such as visitations permitted by their Father, and the victory is ever theirs who nobly bear the evils which befall them. For he assured them that the highest strength of all consisted in this steadfastness of soul, combined with that philosophy which is nothing else than the knowledge of truth and goodness, producing in men the gener-

ous habit of sharing with their poorer brethren those riches which they have themselves acquired by honorable means.

2 At the same time he utterly forbade all proud oppression, declaring that, as he had come to associate with the lowly, so those who despised the lowly would be excluded from his favor. Such and so great was the test whereby he proved the faith of those who owned allegiance to his authority, and thus he not only prepared them for the contempt of danger and terror, but taught them at the same time the most genuine confidence in himself. Once, too, his rebuke was uttered to restrain the zeal of one of his companions, who yielded too easily to the impulse of passion, when he assaulted with the sword, and, eager to protect his Saviour's life, exposed his own. Then it was that he bade him desist, and returned his sword to its sheath, reproving him for his distrust of refuge and safety in himself, and declaring solemnly that all who should essay to retaliate an injury by like aggression, or use the sword, should perish by a violent death. This is indeed heavenly wisdom, to choose rather to endure than to inflict injury, and to be ready, should necessity so require, to suffer, but not to do, wrong. For since injurious conduct is in itself a most serious evil, it is not the injured party, but the injuring, on whom the heaviest punishment must fall.

3 It is indeed possible for one who is subject to the will of God to avoid the evil both of committing and of suffering injury, provided his confidence be firm in the protection of that God whose aid is ever present to shield his servants from harm. For how should that man who trusts in God attempt to seek for resources in himself? In such a case he must abide the conflict with uncertainty of victory: and no man of understanding could prefer a doubtful to a certain issue. Again, how can that man doubt the presence and aid of God, who has had experience of manifold dangers, and has at all times been easily delivered, at his simple nod, from all terrors: who has passed, as it were, through the sea which was leveled by the Saviour's word, and afforded a solid road for the passage of the people? This is, I believe, the sure basis of faith, the true foundation of confidence, that we find such miracles as these performed and perfected at the command of the God of Providence. Hence it is that even in the midst of trial we find no cause to repent of our faith, but retain an unshaken hope in God; and when this habit of confidence is established in the soul, God himself dwells in the inmost thoughts. But he is of

invincible power: the soul, therefore, which has within it him who is thus invincible, will not be overcome by the perils which may surround it.

4 Likewise, we learn this truth from the victory of God himself, who, while intent on providing for the blessing of mankind, though grievously insulted by the malice of the ungodly, yet passed unharmed through the sufferings of his passion, and gained a mighty conquest, an everlasting crown of triumph, over all iniquity; thus accomplishing the purpose of his own providence and love as regards the just, and destroying the cruelty of the impious and unjust.

CHAPTER XVI. THE COMING OF CHRIST WAS PREDICTED BY THE PROPHETS; AND WAS ORDAINED TO BE THE OVERTHROW OF IDOLS AND IDOLATROUS CITIES.

Long since had his passion, as well as his advent in the flesh, been predicted by the prophets. The time, too, of his incarnation had been foretold, and the manner in which the fruits of iniquity and profligacy, so ruinous to the works and ways of righteousness, should be destroyed, and the whole world partake of the virtues of wisdom and sound discretion, through the almost universal prevalence of those principles of conduct which the Saviour should promulgate, over the minds of men; whereby the worship of God should be confirmed, and the rites of superstition utterly abolished. By these not the slaughter of animals alone, but the sacrifice of human victims, and the pollutions of an accursed worship, had been devised: as, for example, by the laws of Assyria and Egypt, the lives of innocent men were offered up in images of brass or earth. Therefore have these nations received a recompense worthy so foul a worship. Memphis and Babylon [it was declared] shall be wasted, and left desolate with their fathers' gods. Now these things I speak not from the report of others, but having myself been present, and actually seen the most wretched of these cities, the unfortunate Memphis. Moses desolated, at the Divine command, the land of the once mighty Pharaoh, whose arrogance was his destruction, and destroyed his army (which had proved victorious over numerous and mighty nations, an army strong in defenses and in arms), not by the flight of arrows or the hurling of hostile weapons, but by holy prayer alone, and quiet supplication.

CHAPTER XVII. OF THE WISDOM OF MOSES, WHICH WAS AN OBJECT OF IMITATION TO THE WISE AMONG HEATHEN NATIONS. ALSO CONCERNING DANIEL, AND THE THREE CHILDREN.

1 No nation has ever been more highly blessed than that which Moses led: none would have continued to enjoy higher blessings, had they not willingly withdrawn themselves from the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But who can worthily describe the praises of Moses himself; who, after reducing to order an unruly nation, and disciplining their minds to habits of obedience and respect, out of captivity restored them to a state of freedom, turned their mourning into gladness, and so far elevated their minds, that, through the excess of contrast with their former circumstances, and the abundance of their prosperity, the spirit of the people was elated with haughtiness and pride? So far did he surpass in wisdom those who had lived before him, that even the wise men and philosophers who are extolled by heathen nations aspired to imitate his wisdom. For Pythagoras, following his wisdom, attained to such a pitch of self-control, that he became to Plato, himself a model of discretion, the standard of his own self-mastery. Again, how great and terrible the cruelty of that ancient Syrian king, over whom Daniel triumphed, the prophet who unfolded the secrets of futurity, whose actions evinced transcendent greatness of soul, and the luster of whose character and life shone conspicuous above all? The name of this tyrant was Nebuchadnezzar, whose race afterward became extinct, and his vast and mighty power was transferred to Persian hands.

2 The wealth of this tyrant was then, and is even now, celebrated far and wide, as well as his ill-timed devotion to unlawful worship, his idol statues, lifting their heads to heaven, and formed of various metals, and the terrible and savage laws ordained to uphold this worship. These terrors Daniel, sustained by genuine piety towards the true God, utterly despised, and predicted that the tyrant's unseasonable zeal would be productive of fearful evil to himself. He failed, however, to convince the tyrant (for excessive wealth is an effectual barrier to true soundness of judgment), and at length the monarch displayed the savage cruelty of his character, by commanding that the righteous prophet should be exposed to the fury of wild beasts. Noble, too, indeed was the united spirit exhibited by those brethren (whose example others have since followed, and have won surpassing glory by their faith in the Saviour's name), those, I mean, who stood unharmed in the fiery furnace, and the ter-

rors appointed to devour them, repelling by the holy touch of their bodies the flame by which they were surrounded. On the overthrow of the Assyrian Empire, which was destroyed by thunderbolts from Heaven, the providence of God conducted Daniel to the court of Cambyses the Persian king. Yet envy followed him even here; nor envy only, but the deadly plots of the magians against his life, with a succession of many and urgent dangers, from all which he was easily delivered by the providential care of Christ, and shone conspicuous in the practice of every virtue.

3 Three times in the day did he present his prayers to God, and memorable were the proofs of supernatural power which he displayed: and hence the magians, filled with envy at the very efficacy of his petitions, represented the possession of such power to the king as fraught with danger, and prevailed on him to adjudge this distinguished benefactor of the Persian people to be devoured by savage lions. Daniel, therefore, thus condemned, was consigned to the lions' den (not indeed to suffer death, but to win unfading glory); and though surrounded by these ferocious beasts of prey, he found them more gentle than the men who had enclosed him there. Supported by the power of calm and steadfast prayer, he was enabled to subdue all these animals, ferocious as, by nature, they were. Cambyses, on learning the event (for so mighty a proof of Divine power could not possibly be concealed), amazed at the marvelous story, and repenting the too easy credence he had given to the slanderous charges of the magians, resolved, notwithstanding, to be himself a witness of the spectacle. But when he saw the prophet with uplifted hands rendering praises to Christ, and the lions crouching, and as it were worshiping, at his feet, immediately he adjudged the magians, to whose persuasions he had listened, to perish by the self-same sentence, and shut them up in the lions' den. The beasts, erewhile so gentle, rushed at once upon their victims, and with all the fierceness of their nature tore and destroyed them all.

CHAPTER XVIII. OF THE ERYTHRAEAN SIBYL, WHO POINTED IN A PROPHETIC ACROSTIC AT OUR LORD AND HIS PASSION. THE ACROSTIC IS "JESUS CHRIST, SON OF GOD, SAVIOUR, CROSS."

1 My desire, however, is to derive even from foreign sources a testimony to the Divine nature of Christ. For on such testimony it is evident that even those who blaspheme his name must acknowledge that he is God, and the Son of God if indeed they will accredit the words of those whose sentiments coincided with their own. The Erythraean Sibyl, then, who herself assures us

that she lived in the sixth generation after the flood, was a priestess of Apollo, who wore the sacred fillet in imitation of the God she served, who guarded also the tripod encompassed with the serpent's folds, and returned prophetic answers to those who approached her shrine; having been devoted by the folly of her parents to this service, a service productive of nothing good or noble, but only of indecent fury, such as we find recorded in the case of Daphne. On one occasion, however, having rushed into the sanctuary of her vain superstition, she became really filled with inspiration from above, and declared in prophetic verses the future purposes of God; plainly indicating the advent of Jesus by the initial letters of these verses, forming an acrostic in these words: Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, Cross. The verses themselves are as follows:

2 Judgment! Earth's oozing pores shall mark the day; Earth's heavenly king his glories shall display: Sovereign of all, exalted on his throne, Unnumbered multitudes their God shall own; Shall see their Judge, with mingled joy and fear, Crowned with his saints, in human form appear. How vain, while desolate earth's glories lie, Riches, and pomp, and man's idolatry! In that dread hour, when Nature's fiery doom Startles the slumb'ring tenants of the tomb, Trembling all flesh shall stand; each secret wile, Sins long forgotten, thoughts of guilt and guile, Open beneath God's searching light shall lie: No refuge then, but hopeless agony. O'er heaven's expanse shall gathering shades of night From earth, sun, stars, and moon, withdraw their light; God's arm shall crush each mountain's towering pride; On ocean's plain no more shall navies ride. Dried at the source, no river's rushing sound Shall soothe, no fountain slake the parched ground.

3 Around, afar, shall roll the trumpet's blast, Voice of wrath long delayed, revealed at last. In speechless awe, while earth's foundations groan, On judgment's seat earth's kings their God shall own. Uplifted then, in majesty divine, Radiant with light, behold Salvation's Sign! Cross of that Lord, who, once for sinners given, Reviled by man, now owned by earth and heaven, O'er every land extends his iron sway. liSuch is the name these mystic lines display; Saviour, eternal king, who bears our sins away. It is evident that the virgin uttered these verses under the influence of Divine inspiration. And I cannot but esteem her blessed, whom the Saviour thus selected to unfold his gracious purpose towards us. Chapter XIX. That This Prophecy Respecting Our Saviour Was Not the Fiction of Any Member of the Christian Church,

But the Testimony of the Erythraean Sibyl, Whose Books Were Translated into Latin by Cicero Before the Coming of Christ. Also that Virgil Makes Mention of the Same, and of the Birth of the Virgin's Child: Though He Spoke Obscurely of This Mystery from Fear of the Ruling Powers.

4 Many, however, who admit that the Erythraean Sibyl was really a prophetess, yet refuse to credit this prediction, and imagine that some one professing our faith, and not unacquainted with the poetic art, was the composer of these verses. They hold, in short, that they are a forgery, and alleged to be the prophecies of the Sibyl on the ground of their containing useful moral sentiments, tending to restrain licentiousness, and to lead man to a life of sobriety and decorum. Truth, however, in this case is evident, since the diligence of our countrymen has made a careful computation of the times; so that there is no room to suspect that this poem was composed after the advent and condemnation of Christ, or that the general report is false, that the verses were a prediction of the Sibyl in an early age. For it is allowed that Cicero was acquainted with this poem, which he translated into the Latin tongue, and incorporated with his own works. This writer was put to death during the ascendancy of Antony, who in his turn was conquered by Augustus, whose reign lasted fifty-six years. Tiberius succeeded, in whose age it was that the Saviour's advent enlightened the world, the mystery of our most holy religion began to prevail, and as it were a new race of men commenced: of which, I suppose, the prince of Latin poets thus speaks:

5 Behold, a new, a heaven-born race appears. And again, in another passage of the Bucolics: Sicilian Muses, sound a loftier strain. What can be clearer than this? For he adds, The voice of Cuma's oracle is heard again. Evidently referring to the Cumaean Sibyl. Nor was even this enough: the poet goes further, as if irresistibly impelled to bear his testimony. What then does he say? Behold! the circling years new blessings bring:The virgincomes, with her the long-desired king. Who, then, is the virgin who was to come? Is it not she who was filled with, and with child of the Holy Spirit? And why is it impossible that she who was with child of the Holy Spirit should be, and ever continue to be a virgin? This king, too, will return, and by his coming lighten the sorrows of the world. The poet adds, Thou, chaste Lucina, greet the new-born child,

6 Beneath whose reign the iron offspring ends, A golden progeny from heaven descends; His kingdom banished virtue shall restore, And crime shall

threat the guilty world no more. We perceive that these words are spoken plainly and at the same time darkly, by way of allegory. Those who search deeply for the import of the words, are able to discern the Divinity of Christ. But lest any of the powerful in the imperial city might be able to accuse the poet of writing anything contrary to the laws of the country, and subverting the religious sentiments which had prevailed from ancient times, he intentionally obscures the truth. For he was acquainted, as I believe, with that blessed mystery which gave to our Lord the name of Saviour: but, that he might avoid the severity of cruel men, he drew the thoughts of his hearers to objects with which they were familiar, saying that altars must be erected, temples raised, and sacrifices offered to the new-born child. His concluding words also are adapted to the sentiments of those who were accustomed to such a creed; for he says:

CHAPTER XX. A FARTHER QUOTATION FROM VIRGILIUS MARO RESPECTING CHRIST, WITH ITS INTERPRETATION, SHOWING THAT THE MYSTERY WAS INDICATED THEREIN DARKLY, AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED FROM A POET.

1 A life immortal he shall lead, and be By heroes seen, himself shall heroes see; evidently meaning the righteous. The jarring nations he in peace shall bind, And with paternal virtues rule mankind. Unbidden earth her earliest fruits shall bring, And fragrant herbs, to greet her infant king. Well indeed was this admirably wise and accomplished man acquainted with the cruel character of the times. He proceeds: The goats, uncall'd, full udders home shall bear; The lowing herds no more fierce lions fear. Truly said: for faith will not stand in awe of the mighty in the imperial palace. His cradle shall with rising flowers be crown'd: The serpent's brood shall die; the sacred ground Shall weeds and poisonous plants refuse to bear; Each common bush th' Assyrian rose shall wear. Nothing could be said more true or more consistent with the Saviour's excellency than this. For the power of the Divine Spirit presents the very cradle of God, like fragrant flowers, to the new-born race. The serpent, too, and the venom of that serpent, perishes, who originally beguiled our first parents, and drew their thoughts from their native innocence to the enjoyment of pleasures, that they might experience that threatened death. For before the Saviour's advent, the serpent's power was shown in subverting the souls of those who were sustained by no well-grounded hope, and ignorant of that immortality which awaits the righteous. But

after that he had suffered, and was separated for a season from the body which he had assumed, the power of the resurrection was revealed to man through the communication of the Holy Spirit: and whatever stain of human guilt might yet remain was removed by the washing of sacred lustrations.

2 Then indeed could the Saviour bid his followers be of good cheer, and, remembering his adorable and glorious resurrection, expect the like for themselves. Truly, then, the poisonous race may be said to be extinct. Death himself is extinct, and the truth of the resurrection sealed. Again, the Assyrian race is gone, which first led the way to faith in God. But when he speaks of the growth of amomum every where, he alludes to the multitude of the true worshipers of God. For it is as though a multitude of branches, crowned with fragrant flowers, and fitly watered, sprung from the self-same root. Most justly said, Maro, thou wisest of poets! and with this all that follows is consistent. But when heroic worth his youth shall hear, And learn his father's virtues to revere. By the praises of heroes, he indicates the works of righteous men: by the virtues of his Father he speaks of the creation and everlasting structure of the world: and, it may be, of those laws by which God's beloved Church is guided, and ordered in a course of righteousness and virtue. Admirable, again, is the advance to higher things of that state of life which is intermediate, as it were, between good and evil, and which seldom admits a sudden change:

3 Unlabored harvests shall the fields adorn, that is, the fruit of the Divine law springs up for the service of men. And clustered gropes shall blush on every thorn. Far otherwise has it been during the corrupt and lawless period of human life. The knotted oaks shall showers of honey weep. He here describes the folly and obduracy of the men of that age; and perhaps he also intimates that they who suffer hardships in the cause of God, shall reap sweet fruits of their own endurance. Yet, of old fraud some footsteps shall remain; The merchant still shall plough the deep for gain: Great cities shall with walls be compassed round, And sharpened shares shall vex the fruitful ground: Another Tiphys shall new seas explore; Another Argo land the chiefs upon the Iberian shore; Another Helen other wars create, And great Achilles urge the Trojan fate. Well said, wisest of bards! Thou hast carried the license of a poet precisely to the proper point. For it was not thy purpose to assume the functions of a prophet, to which thou hadst no claim. I suppose also he

was restrained by a sense of the danger which threatened one who should assail the credit of ancient religious practice. Cautiously, therefore, and securely, as far as possible, he presents the truth to those who have faculties to understand it; and while he denounces the munitions and conflicts of war (which indeed are still to be found in the course of human life), he describes our Saviour as proceeding to the war against Troy, understanding by Troy the world itself. And surely he did maintain the struggle against the opposing powers of evil, sent on that mission both by the designs of his own providence and the commandment of his Almighty Father. How, then, does the poet proceed?

4 But when to ripen'd manhood he shall grow, that is, when, having arrived at the age of manhood, he shall utterly remove the evils which encompass the path of human life, and tranquilize the world by the blessings of peace: The greedy sailor shall the seas forego; No keel shall cut the waves for foreign ware, For every soil shall every product bear. The laboring hind his oxen shall disjoin; No plough shall hurt the glebe, no pruning-hook the vine; Nor wool shall in dissembled colors shine: But the luxurious father of the fold, With native purple, and unborrow'd gold, Beneath his pompous fleece shall proudly sweat; And under Tyrian robes the lamb shall bleat. Mature in years, to ready honors move, O of celestial seed, O foster son of Jove! See, laboring nature calls thee to sustain The nodding flame of heaven, and earth, and main! See to their base restored, earth, seas, and air;

5 And joyful ages, from behind, in crowing ranks appear. To sing thy praise, would heaven my breath prolong. Infusing spirits worthy such a song, Not Thracian Orpheus should transcend my lays, Nor Linus, crown'd with never-fading bays; Though each his heavenly parent should inspire; The Muse instruct the voice, and Phoebus tune the lyre. Should Pan contend in verse, and thou my theme, Arcadian judges should their God condemn. Behold (says he) how the mighty world and the elements together manifest their joy.

CHAPTER XXI. THAT THESE THINGS CANNOT HAVE BEEN SPOKEN OF A MERE MAN: AND THAT UNBELIEVERS, OWING TO THEIR IGNORANCE OF RELIGION, KNOW NOT EVEN THE ORIGIN OF THEIR OWN EXISTENCE.

1 It may be some will foolishly suppose that these words were spoken of the birth of a mere ordinary mortal. But if this were all, what reason could there be that the earth should need neither seed nor plough, that the vine should

require no pruning-hook, or other means of culture? How can we suppose these things to be spoken of a mere mortal's birth? For nature is the minister of the Divine will, not an instrument obedient to the command of man. Indeed, the very joy of the elements indicates the advent of God, not the conception of a human being. The prayer, too, of the poet that his life might be prolonged is a proof of the Divinity of him whom he invoked; for we desire life and preservation from God, and not from man. Indeed, the Erythraean Sibyl thus appeals to God: "Why, O Lord, dost thou compel me still to foretell the future, and not rather remove me from this earth to await the blessed day of thy coming?" And Maro adds to what he had said before:

2 Begin, sweet boy! with smiles thy mother know, Who ten long months did with thy burden go. No mortal parents smiled upon thy birth: No nuptial joy thou know'st, no feast of earth. How could his parents have smiled on him? For his Father is God, who is a Power without sensible quality, existing, not in any definite shape, but as comprehending other beings, and not, therefore, in a human body. And who knows not that the Holy Spirit has no participation in the nuptial union? For what desire can exist in the disposition of that good which all things else desire? What fellowship, in short, can wisdom hold with pleasure? But let these arguments be left to those who ascribe to him a human origin, and who care not to purify themselves from all evil in word as well as deed. On thee, Piety, I call to aid my words, on thee who art the very law of purity, most desirable of all blessings, teacher of holiest hope, assured promise of immortality! Thee, Piety, and thee, Clemency, I adore. We who have obtained thine aid owe thee everlasting gratitude for thy healing power. But the multitudes whom their innate hatred of thyself deprives of thy succor, are equally estranged from God himself, and know not that the very cause of their life and being, and that of all the ungodly, is connected with the rightful worship of him who is Lord of all: for the world itself is his, and all that it contains.

CHAPTER XXII. THE EMPEROR THANKFULLY ASCRIBES HIS VICTORIES AND ALL OTHER BLESSINGS TO CHRIST; AND CONDEMNS THE CONDUCT OF THE TYRANT MAXIMIN, THE VIOLENCE OF WHOSE PERSECUTION HAD ENHANCED THE GLORY OF RELIGION.

1 To thee, Piety, I ascribe the cause of my own prosperity, and of all that I now possess. To this truth the happy issue of all my endeavors bears testimony: brave deeds, victories in war, and triumphs over conquered foes. This

truth the great city itself allows with joy and praise. The people, too, of that much-loved city accord in the same sentiment, though once, deceived by ill-grounded hopes, they chose a ruler unworthy of themselves, a ruler who speedily received the chastisement which his audacious deeds deserved. But be it far from me now to recall the memory of these events, while holding converse with thee, Piety, and essaying with earnest endeavor to address thee with holy and gentle words. Yet will I say one thing, which haply shall not be unbefitting or unseemly. A furious, a cruel, and implacable war was maintained by the tyrants against thee, Piety, and thy holy churches: nor were there wanting some in Rome itself who exulted at a calamity so grievous to the public weal. Nay, the battlefield was prepared; when thou disdst stand forth, and present thyself a voluntary victim, supported by faith in God. Then indeed it was that the cruelty of ungodly men, which raged incessantly like a devouring fire, wrought for thee a wondrous and ever memorable glory. Astonishment seized the spectators themselves, when they beheld the very executioners who tortured the bodies of their holy victims wearied out, and disgusted at the cruelties;

2 the bonds loosened, the engines of torture powerless, the flames extinguished, while the sufferers preserved their constancy unshaken even for a moment. What, then, hast thou gained by these atrocious deeds, most impious of men? And what was the cause of thy insane fury? Thou wilt say, doubtless, these acts of thine were done in honor of the gods. What gods are these? or what worthy conception hast thou of the Divine nature? Thinkest thou the gods are subject to angry passions as thou art? Were it so indeed, it had been better for thee to wonder at their strange determination than obey their harsh command, when they urged thee to the unrighteous slaughter of innocent men. Thou wilt allege, perhaps, the customs of thy ancestors and the opinion of mankind in general, as the cause of this conduct. I grant the fact: for those customs are very like the acts themselves, and proceed from the self-same source of folly. Thou thoughtest, it may be, that some special power resided in images formed and fashioned by human art; and hence thy reverence, and diligent care lest they should be defiled: those mighty and highly exalted gods, thus dependent on the care of men!

CHAPTER XXIII. OF CHRISTIAN CONDUCT. THAT GOD IS PLEASED WITH THOSE WHO LEAD A LIFE OF VIRTUE: AND THAT WE MUST EXPECT A JUDGMENT AND FUTURE RETRIBUTION.

1 Compare our religion with your own. Is there not with us genuine concord, and unwearied love of others? If we reprove a fault, is not our object to admonish, not to destroy; our correction for safety, not for cruelty: Do we not exercise, not only sincere faith towards God, but fidelity in the relations of social life? Do we not pity the unfortunate? Is not ours a life of simplicity which disdains to cover evil beneath the mask of fraud and hypocrisy? Do we not acknowledge the true God, and his undivided sovereignty? This is real godliness: this is religion sincere and truly undefiled: this is the life of wisdom; and they who have it are travelers, as it were, on a noble road which leads to eternal life. For he who has entered on such a course, and keeps his soul pure from the pollutions of the body, does not wholly die: rather may he be said to complete the service appointed him by God, than to die. Again, he who confesses allegiance to God is not easily overborne by insolence or rage, but nobly stands under the pressure of necessity and the trial of his constancy is as it were, a passport to the favor of God. For we cannot doubt that the Deity is pleased with excellence in human conduct.

2 For it would be absurd indeed if the powerful and the humble alike acknowledge gratitude to those from whose services they receive benefit, and repay them by services in return, and yet that he who is supreme and sovereign of all, nay, who is Good itself, should be negligent in this respect. Rather does he follow us throughout the course of our lives, is near us in every act of goodness, accepts, and at once rewards our virtue and obedience; though he defers the full recompense to that future period, when the actions of our lives shall pass under his review and when those who are clear in that account shall receive the reward of everlasting life, while the wicked shall be visited with the penalties due to their crimes.

CHAPTER XXIV. OF DECIUS, VALERIAN, AND AURELIAN WHO EXPERIENCED A MISERABLE END IN CONSEQUENCE OF THEIR PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH.

To thee, Decius, I now appeal, who has trampled with insult on the labors of the righteous: to thee, the hater of the Church, the punisher of those who lived a holy life: what is now thy condition after death? How hard and wretched thy present circumstances! Nay, the interval before thy death gave

proof enough of thy miserable fate, when overthrown with all thine army on the plains of Scythia, thou didst expose the vaunted power of Rome to the contempt of the Goths. Thou, too, Valerian, who didst manifest the same spirit of cruelty towards the servants of God, hast afforded an example of righteous judgment. A captive in the enemies' hands, led in chains while yet arrayed in the purple and imperial attire, and at last thy skin stripped from thee, and preserved by command of Sapor the Persian king, thou hast left a perpetual trophy of thy calamity. And thou, Aurelian, fierce perpetrator of every wrong, how signal was thy fall, when, in the midst of thy wild career in Thrace, thou wast slain on the public highway, and didst fill the furrows of the road with thine impious blood!

CHAPTER XXV. OF DIOCLETIAN, WHO IGNOBLY ABDICATED THE IMPERIAL THRONE, AND WAS TERRIFIED BY THE DREAD OF LIGHTNING FOR HIS PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH.

1 Diocletian, however, after the display of relentless cruelty as a persecutor, evinced a consciousness of his own guilt and owing to the affliction of a disordered mind, endured the confinement of a mean and separate dwelling. What then, did he gain by his active hostility against our God? Simply this I believe, that he passed the residue of his life in continual dread of the lightning's stroke. Nicomedia attests the fact; eyewitnesses, of whom I myself am one, declare it. The palace, and the emperor's private chamber were destroyed, consumed by lightning, devoured by the fire of heaven. Men of understanding hearts had indeed predicted the issue of such conduct; for they could not keep silence, nor conceal their grief at such unworthy deeds; but boldly and openly expressed their feeling, saying one to another: "What madness is this? and what an insolent abuse of power, that man should dare to fight against God; should deliberately insult the most holy and just of alI religions; and plan, without the slightest provocation, the destruction of so great a multitude of righteous persons? O rare example of moderation to his subjects! Worthy instructor of his army in the care and protection due to their fellow-citizens! Men who had never seen the backs of a retreating army plunged their swords into the breasts of their own countrymen! So great was the effusion of blood shed, that if shed in battle with barbarian enemies, it had been sufficient to purchase a perpetual peace.

2 At length, indeed, the providence of God took vengeance on these unhallowed deeds; but not without severe damage to the state. For the entire

army of the emperor of whom I have just spoken, becoming subject to the authority of a worthless person, who had violently usurped the supreme authority at Rome (when the providence of God restored freedom to that great city), was destroyed in several successive battles. And when we remember the cries with which those who were oppressed, and who ardently longed for their native liberty implored the help of God; and their praise and thanksgiving to him on the removal of the evils under which they had groaned, when that liberty was regained, and free and equitable intercourse restored: do not these things every way afford convincing proofs of the providence of God, and his affectionate regard for the interests of mankind?

CHAPTER XXVI. THE EMPEROR ASCRIBES HIS PERSONAL PIETY TO GOD; AND SHOWS THAT WE ARE BOUND TO SEEK SUCCESS FROM GOD, AND ATTRIBUTE IT TO HIM; BUT TO CONSIDER MISTAKES AS THE RESULT OF OUR OWN NEGLIGENCE.

1 When men commend my services, which owe their origin to the inspiration of Heaven, do they not clearly establish the truth that God is the cause of the exploits I have performed? Assuredly they do: for it belongs to God to do whatever is best, and to man, to perform the commands of God. I believe, indeed, the best and noblest course of action is, when, before an attempt is made, we provide as far as possible for a secure result: and surely all men know that the holy service in which these hands have been employed has originated in pure and genuine faith towards God; that whatever has been done for the common welfare has been effected by active exertion combined with supplication and prayer; the consequence of which has been as great an amount of individual and public benefit as each could venture to hope for himself and those he holds most dear. They have witnessed battles, and have been spectators of a war in which the providence of God has granted victory to this people: they have seen how he has favored and seconded our prayers. For righteous prayer is a thing invincible; and no one fails to attain his object who addresses holy supplication to God: nor is a refusal possible, except in the case of wavering faith; for God is ever favorable, ever ready to approve of human virtue. While, therefore, it is natural for man occasionally to err, yet God is not the cause of human error.

2 Hence it becomes all pious persons to render thanks to the Saviour of all, first for our own individual security, and then for the happy posture of public affairs: at the same time intreating the favor of Christ with holy pray-

ers and constant supplications, that he would continue to us our present blessings. For he is the invincible ally and protector of the righteous: he is the supreme judge of all things, the prince of immorality, the Giver of everlasting life.

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