

The Early Church Fathers Writings

Volume 67

THE EARLY CHURCH FATHERS WRITINGS

Volume 67

Theodoret, Philostorgius, Gelasius and the Eastern Saints

c. AD 425 – 480

S E R M O N I N D E X

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Volume 67: Theodoret, Philostorgius, Gelasius and the Eastern Saints

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Published by SermonIndex, sermonindex.net

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First edition, 2026

ISBN to be added

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INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

How this book is arranged

This is the sixty-seventh 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 Theodoret, Philostorgius, Gelasius and the Eastern Saints, from the period about AD 425 – 480.

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 Ecclesiastical History of the Council of Nicaea (Anonymous of Cyzicus) and Letters of Besa, from the Sahidic Coptic (Besa of Atripe); the other works are printed in older public-domain translations.

In this volume

Theodoret was born at Antioch about AD 393 and became bishop of Cyrrhus in Syria about AD 423, a see he held until about AD 457. He was a great commentator on Scripture and a historian, and he argued against Cyril of Alexandria in the controversy with Nestorius. He was deposed at the council of Ephesus in AD 449 and restored at Chalcedon in AD 451.

Philostorgius was born in Cappadocia about AD 368 and held the teaching of Eunomius on the Son. His history in twelve books ran from the rise of Arius to AD 425. It is lost, and what remains is the epitome made by Photius in the ninth century, with a few other fragments. Because he was a heretic by

the standard of his time, the epitome is often hostile, and it is read with that in mind.

The History of the Council of Nicaea was long ascribed to a Gelasius of Cyzicus, but its author is now called the Anonymous of Cyzicus. He wrote about AD 475 and drew on older sources, some of which are otherwise lost. The speeches and debates he reports are better read as later reconstruction than as minutes of the council.

Philip of Side was a deacon at Constantinople who lost the contest for the see to Sisinnius in AD 426. His Christian History in thirty-six books is lost, and only fragments of it remain.

Rabbula was bishop of Edessa from AD 411 until his death in AD 435. He was a strict ascetic and a supporter of Cyril against Nestorius.

Besa was the disciple and successor of Shenoute at the White Monastery near Atripe in Upper Egypt. His letters are in Coptic and show the discipline of a large monastic community.

Dioscorus succeeded Cyril as patriarch of Alexandria in AD 444. He was deposed at the Council of Chalcedon in AD 451 and died in exile in AD 454.

Timothy, called Aelurus, was patriarch of Alexandria from AD 457 to 460 and again from AD 475 to 477. He was a leading opponent of the Council of Chalcedon.

The writers of this volume cover the Church of the East in the fifth century, from several points of view. Theodoret's history and the history of the Council of Nicaea represent the Nicene tradition. Philostorgius wrote as a follower of Eunomius, and we hear him only through the epitome of Photius, who read him with disapproval. The fragments of Philip of Side belong to a history that is lost. The short pieces at the end come from Syria, Egypt and the monasteries of the East.

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.

P A R T O N E

Theodoret: Ecclesiastical History

Five books of Church history from the rise of Arius to AD 428.

The Ecclesiastical History

THEODORET OF CYRUS

c. AD 393–458

Theodoret wrote this history of the Church about AD 449–450. It takes up the story at the rise of Arius, as Socrates and Sozomen do, and ends in AD 428. The five books are rich in letters and documents, and they give the view of a bishop of Antioch's school.

BOOK I

Prologue.—Design of the History.

When artists paint on panels and on walls the events of ancient history, they alike delight the eye, and keep bright for many a year the memory of the past. Historians substitute books for panels, bright description for pigments, and thus render the memory of past events both stronger and more permanent, for the painter's art is ruined by time. For this reason I too shall attempt to record in writing events in ecclesiastical history hitherto omitted, deeming it indeed not right to look on without an effort while oblivion robs noble deeds and useful stories of their due fame. For this cause too I have been frequently urged by friends to undertake this work. But when I compare my own powers with the magnitude of the undertaking, I shrink from attempting it. Trusting, however, in the bounty of the Giver of all good, I enter upon a task beyond my own strength.

Eusebius of Palestine has written a history of the Church from the time of the holy Apostles to the reign of Constantine, the prince beloved of God. I shall begin my history from the period at which his terminates.

Chapter I. Origin of the Arian Heresy.

After the overthrow of the wicked and impious tyrants, Maxentius, Maximinus, and Licinius, the surge which those destroyers, like hurricanes, had roused was hushed to sleep; the whirlwinds were checked, and the Church henceforward began to enjoy a settled calm. This was established for her by

Constantine, a prince deserving of all praise, whose calling, like that of the divine Apostle, was not of men, nor by man, but from heaven. He enacted laws prohibiting sacrifices to idols, and commanding churches to be erected. He appointed Christians to be governors of the provinces, ordering honour to be shown to the priests, and threatening with death those who dared to insult them. By some the churches which had been destroyed were rebuilt; others erected new ones still more spacious and magnificent. Hence, for us, all was joy and gladness, while our enemies were overwhelmed with gloom and despair. The temples of the idols were closed; but frequent assemblies were held, and festivals celebrated, in the churches, But the devil, full of all envy and wickedness, the destroyer of mankind, unable to bear the sight of the Church sailing on with favourable winds, stirred up plans of evil counsel, eager to sink the vessel steered by the Creator and Lord of the Universe.

When he began to perceive that the error of the Greeks had been made manifest, that the various tricks of the demons had been detected, and that the greater number of men worshipped the Creator, instead of adoring, as heretofore, the creature, he did not dare to declare open war against our God and Saviour; but having found some who, though dignified with the name of Christians, were yet slaves to ambition and vainglory, he made them fit instruments for the execution of his designs, and by their means drew others back into their old error, not indeed by the former method of setting up the worship of the creature, but by bringing it about that the Creator and Maker of all should be reduced to a level with the creature. I shall now proceed to relate where and by what means he sowed these tares. Alexandria is an immense and populous city, charged with the leadership not only of Egypt, but also of the adjacent countries, the Thebaid and Libya. After Peter , the victorious champion of the faith, had, during the sway of the aforesaid impious tyrants, obtained the crown of martyrdom, the Church in Alexandria was ruled for a short time by Achillas . He was succeeded by Alexander , who proved himself a noble defender of the doctrines of the gospel. At that time, Arius, who had been enrolled in the list of the presbytery, and entrusted with the exposition of the Holy Scriptures, fell a prey to the assaults of jealousy, when he saw that the helm of the high priesihood was committed to Alexander. Stung by this passion, he sought opportunities for dispute and contention; and, although he perceived that Alexander's irreproachable conduct forbade his bringing any charges against him, envy would not allow him to

rest. In him the enemy of the truth found an instrument whereby to stir and agitate the angry waters of the Church, and persuaded him to oppose the apostolical doctrine of Alexander. While the Patriarch, in obedience to the Holy Scriptures, taught that the Son is of equal dignity with the Father, and of the same substance with God who begat Him, Arius, in direct opposition to the truth, affirmed that the Son of God is merely a creature or created being, adding the famous dictum, "There once was a time when He was not ;

with other opinions which may be learned from his own writings. He taught these false doctrines perseveringly, not only in the church, but also in general meetings and assemblies; and he even went from house to house, endeavouring to make men the slaves of his error. Alexander, who was strongly attached to the doctrines of the Apostles, at first tried by exhortations and counsels to convince him of his error; but when he saw him playing the madman and making public declaration of his impiety, he deposed him from the order of the presbytery, for he heard the law of God loudly declaring, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee ."

Chapter II. List of the Principal Bishops.

Of the church of Rome at this period Silvester held the reins. His predecessor in the see was Miltiades , the successor of that Marcellinus who had so nobly distinguished himself during the persecution. In Antioch, after the death of Tyrannus , when peace began to be restored to the churches, Vitalis received the chief authority, and restored the church in the "Palaea " which had been destroyed by the tyrants. He was succeeded by Philogonius , who completed all that was wanting in the work of restoration: he had, during the time of Licinius, signalised himself by his zeal for religion. After the administration of Hermon , the government of the church in Jerusalem was committed to Macarius , a man whose character was equal to his name, and whose mind was adorned by every kind of virtue. At this same period also, Alexander, illustrious for his apostolical gifts, governed the church of Constantinople .

It was at this time that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, perceiving that Arius, enslaved by the lust of power, was assembling those who had been taken captive by his blasphemous doctrines, and was holding private meetings, communicated an account of his heresy by letter to the rulers of the principal churches. That the authenticity of my history may not be suspected, I shall now insert in my narrative the letter which he wrote to his namesake, containing, as it does, a clear account of all the facts I have mentioned.

I shall also subjoin the letter of Arius, together with the other letters which are necessary to the completeness of this narrative, that they may at once testify to the truth of my work, and make the course of events more clear. The following letter was written by Alexander of Alexandria, to the bishop of the same name as himself.

Chapter III. The Epistle of Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria to Alexander, Bishop of Constantinople.

"To his most revered and likeminded brother Alexander, Alexander sendeth greeting in the Lord. "Impelled by avarice and ambition, evil-minded persons have ever plotted against the wellbeing of the most important dioceses. Under various pretexts, they attack the religion of the Church; and, being maddened by the devil, who works in them, they start aside from all piety according to their own pleasure, and trample under foot the fear of the judgment of God. Suffering as I do from them myself, I deem it necessary to inform your piety, that you may be on your guard against them, lest they or any of their party should presume to enter your diocese (for these cheats are skilful in deception), or should circulate false and specious letters, calculated to delude one who has devoted himself to the simple and undefiled faith. "Arius and Achillas have lately formed a conspiracy, and, emulating the ambition of Colluthus, have gone far beyond him . He indeed sought to find a pretext for his own pernicious line of action in the charges he brought against them. But they, beholding his making a trade of Christ for lucre , refused to remain any longer in subjection to the Church; but built for themselves caves, like robbers, and now constantly assemble in them, and day and night ply slanders there against Christ and against us. They revile every godly apostolical doctrine, and in Jewish fashion have organized a gang to fight against Christ, denying His divinity, and declaring Him to be on a level with other men. They pick out every passage which refers to the dispensation of salvation, and to His humiliation for our sake; they endeavour to collect from them their own impious assertion, while they evade all those which declare His eternal divinity, and the unceasing glory which He possesses with the Father. They maintain the ungodly doctrine entertained by the Greeks and the Jews concerning Jesus Christ; and thus, by every means in their power, hunt for their applause. Everything which outsiders ridicule in us they officiously practise. They daily excite persecutions and seditions against us. On the one hand they bring accusations against us before the courts, suborn-

ing as witnesses certain unprincipled women whom they have seduced into error. On the other they dishonour Christianity by permitting their young women to ramble about the streets. Nay, they have had the audacity to rend the seamless garment of Christ, which the soldiers dared not divide.

"When these actions, in keeping with their course of life, and the impious enterprise which had been long concealed, became tardily known to us, we unanimously ejected them from the Church which worships the divinity of Christ. They then ran hither and thither to form cabals against us, even addressing themselves to our fellow-ministers who were of one mind with us, under the pretence of seeking peace and unity with them, but in truth endeavouring by means of fair words, to sweep some among them away into their own disease. They ask them to write a wordy letter, and then read the contents to those whom they have deceived, in order that they may not retract, but be confirmed in their impiety, by finding that bishops agree with and support their views. They make no acknowledgment of the evil doctrines and practices for which they have been expelled by us, but they either impart them without comment, or carry on the deception by fallacies and forgeries. Thus concealing their destructive doctrine by persuasive and meanly truckling language, they catch the unwary, and lose no opportunity of calumniating our religion. Hence it arises that several have been led to sign their letter, and to receive them into communion, a proceeding on the part of our fellow-ministers which I consider highly reprehensible; for they thus not only disobey the apostolical rule, but even help to inflame their diabolical action against Christ.

It is on this account, beloved brethren, that without delay I have stirred myself up to inform you of the unbelief of certain persons who say that "There was a time when the Son of God was not ; and "He who previously had no existence subsequently came into existence; and when at some time He came into existence He became such as every other man is. God, they say, created all things out of that which was non-existent, and they include in the number of creatures, both rational and irrational, even the Son of God. Consistently with this doctrine they, as a necessary consequence, affirm that He is by nature liable to change, and capable both of virtue and of vice, and thus, by their hypothesis of his having been created out of that which was non-existent, they overthrow the testimony of the Divine Scriptures, which declare the immutability of the Word and the Divinity of the Wisdom of

the Word, which Word and Wisdom is Christ. 'We are also able,' say these accursed wretches, 'to become like Him, the sons of God; for it is written,-I have nourished and brought up children .' When the continuation of this text is brought before them, which is, 'and they have rebelled against Me,' and it is objected that these words are inconsistent with the Saviour's nature, which is immutable, they throw aside all reverence, and affirm that God foreknew and foresaw that His Son would not rebel against Him, and that He therefore chose Him in preference to all others.

They likewise assert that He was not chosen because. He had by nature any thing superior to the other sons of God; for no man, say they, is son of God by nature, nor has any peculiar relation to Him. He was chosen, they allege, because, though mutable by nature, His painstaking character suffered no deterioration. As though, forsooth, even if a Paul and a Peter made like endeavours, their sonship would in no respects differ from His. "To establish this insane doctrine they insult the Scriptures, and bring forward what is said in the Psalms of Christ, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity, therefore thy God hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows , all things having been endowed with such an origin of existence by the Father through the Son. John, the most pious apostle, perceiving that the word 'was' applied to the Word of God was far beyond and above the intelligence of created beings, did not presume to speak of His generation or creation, nor yet dared to name the Maker and the creature in equivalent syllables. Not that the Son of God is unbegotten, for the Father alone is unbegotten; but that the ineffable personality of the only-begotten God is beyond the keenest conception of the evangelists and perhaps even of angels. Therefore, I do not think men ought to be considered pious who presume to investigate this subject, in disobedience to the injunction, 'Seek not what is too difficult for thee, neither enquire into what is too high for thee .' For if the knowledge of many other things incomparably inferior is beyond the capacity of the human mind, and cannot therefore be attained, as has been said by Paul, 'Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him ,' and as God also said to Abraham, that the stars could not be numbered by him ;

and it is likewise said, 'Who shall number the grains of sand by the sea-shore, or the drops of rain ?' how then can any one but a madman presume to

enquire into the nature of the Word of God? It is said by the Spirit of prophecy, 'Who shall declare His generation?' And, therefore, our Saviour in His kindness to those men who were the pillars of the whole world, desiring to relieve them of the burden of striving after this knowledge, told them that it was beyond their natural comprehension, and that the Father alone could discern this most divine mystery; 'No man,' said He, 'knoweth the Son but the Father, and no man knoweth the Father save the Son.' It was, I think, concerning this same subject that the Father said, 'My secret is for Me and for Mine.' "But the insane folly of imagining that the Son of God came into being out of that which had no being, and that His sending forth took place in time, is plain from the words 'which I had no being,' although the foolish are incapable of perceiving the folly of their own utterances. For the phrase 'He was not' must either have reference to time, or to some interval in the ages. If then it be true that all things were made by Him, it is evident that every age, time, all intervals of time, and that 'when' in which 'was not' has its place, were made by Him. And is it not absurd to say that there was a time when He who created all time, and ages, and seasons, with which the 'was not' is confused, was not? For it would be the height of ignorance, and contrary indeed to all reason, to affirm that the cause of any created thing can be posterior to that caused by it. The interval during which they say the Son was still unbegotten of the Father was, according to their opinion, prior to the wisdom of God, by whom all things were created.

They thus contradict the Scripture which declares Him to be 'the first-born of every creature.' In consonance with this doctrine, Paul with his usual mighty voice cries concerning Him; 'whom He hath appointed heir of all things, by whom also He made the worlds.' 'For by Him were all things created that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers: all things were created by Him and for Him: and He is before all things.' Since the hypothesis implied in the phrase 'out of the non-existent' is manifestly impious, it follows that the Father is always Father. And He is Father from the continual presence of the Son, on account of whom He is called Father. And the Son being ever present with Him, the Father is ever perfect, wanting in no good thing, for He did not beget His only Son in time, or in any interval of time, nor out of that which had no previous existence.

"Is it not then impious to say that there was a time when the wisdom of God was not? Who saith, 'I was by Him as one brought up with Him: I was daily His delight ?' Or that once the power of God was not, or His Word, or anything else by which the Son is known, or the Father designated, defective? To assert that the brightness of the Father's glory 'once did not exist,' destroys also the original light of which it is the brightness ; and if there ever was a time in which the image of God was not, it is plain that He Whose image He is, is not always: nay, by the non-existence of the express image of God's Person, He also is taken away of whom this is ever the express image. Hence it may be seen, that the Sonship of our Saviour has not even anything in common with the sonship of men. For just as it has been shown that the nature of His existence cannot be expressed by language, and infinitely surpasses in excellence all things to which He has given being, so His Sonship, naturally partaking in His paternal Divinity, is unspeakably different from the sonship of those who, by His appointment, have been adopted as sons. He is by nature immutable, perfect, and all-sufficient, whereas men are liable to change, and need His help. What further advance can be made by the wisdom of God ? What can the Very Truth, or God the Word, add to itself?

How can the Life or the True Light in any way be bettered? And is it not still more contrary to nature to suppose that wisdom can be susceptible of folly? that the power of God can be united with weakness? that reason itself can be dimmed by unreasonableness, or that darkness can be mixed with the true light? Does not the Apostle say, 'What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial ?' and Solomon, that 'the way of a serpent upon a rock ' was 'too wonderful' for the human mind to comprehend, which 'rock,' according to St. Paul, is Christ . Men and angels, however, who are His creatures, have received His blessing, enabling them to exercise themselves in virtue and in obedience to His commands, that thus they may avoid sin. And it is on this account that our Lord being by nature the Son of the Father, is worshipped by all; and they who have put off the spirit of bondage, and by brave deeds and advance in virtue have received the spirit of adoption through the kindness of Him Who is the Son of God by nature, by adoption also become sons.

"His true, peculiar, natural, and special Sonship was declared by Paul, who, speaking of God, says, that 'He spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us ,' who are not by nature His sons. It was to distinguish Him from

those who are not 'His own,' that he called Him 'His own son.' It is also written in the Gospel, 'This is My beloved Son in whom I am well pleased ;' and in the Psalms the Saviour says, 'The Lord said unto Me, Thou art My Son .' By proclaiming natural sonship He shows that there are no other natural sons besides Himself. "And do not these words, I begot thee 'from the womb before the morning ,' plainly show the natural sonship of the paternal birth of One whose lot it is, not from diligence of conduct, or exercise in moral progress, but by individuality of nature? Hence it ensues that the filiation of the only-begotten Son of the Father is incapable of fall; while the adoption of reasonable beings who are not His sons by nature, but merely on account of fitness of character, and by the bounty of God, may fall away, as it is written in the word, 'The sons of God saw the daughters of men, and took them as wives,' and so forth . And God, speaking by Isaiah, said, 'I have nourished and brought up children, and they have rebelled against Me .' "

"I have many things to say, beloved, but because I fear that I shall cause weariness by further admonishing teachers who are of one mind with myself, I pass them by. You, having been taught of God, are not ignorant that the teaching at variance with the religion of the Church which has just arisen, is the same as that propagated by Ebion and Artemas , and rivals that of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by a council of all the bishops. Lucianus , his successor, withdrew himself from communion with these bishops during a period of many years. "And now amongst us there have sprung up, 'out of the non-existent' men who have greedily sucked down the dregs of this impiety, offsets of the same stock: I mean Arius and Achillas, and all their gang of rogues. Three bishops of Syria, appointed no one knows how, by consenting to them, fire them to more fatal heat. I refer their sentence to your decision. Retaining in their memory all that they can collect concerning the suffering, humiliation, emptying of Himself , and so-called poverty, and everything of which the Saviour for our sake accepted the acquired name, they bring forward those passages to disprove His eternal existence and divinity, while they forget all those which declare His glory and nobility and abiding with the Father; as for instance, 'I and My father are one .' In these words the Lord does not proclaim Himself to be the Father, neither does He represent two natures as one; but that the essence of the Son of the Father preserves accurately the likeness of the Father, His nature taking off the impress of likeness to Him in all things, being

the exact image of the Father and the express stamp of the prototype. When, therefore, Philip, desirous of seeing the Father, said to Him, 'Lord, show us the Father,' the Lord with abundant plainness said to him, 'He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father,' as though the Father were beheld in the spotless and living mirror of His image. The same idea is conveyed in the Psalms, where the saints say, 'In Thy light we shall see light.' It is on this account that 'he who honoureth the Son, honoureth the Father.' And rightly, for every impious word which men dare to utter against the Son is spoken also against the Father.

"After this no one can wonder at the false calumnies which I am about to detail, my beloved brethren, propagated by them against me, and against our most religious people. They not only set their battle in array against the divinity of Christ, but ungratefully insult us. They think it beneath them to be compared with any of those of old time, nor do they endure to be put on a par with the teachers we have been conversant with from childhood. They will not admit that any of our fellow-ministers anywhere possess even mediocrity of intelligence. They say that they themselves alone are the wise and the poor, and discoverers of doctrines, and to them alone have been revealed those truths which, say they, have never entered the mind of any other individuals under the sun. O what wicked arrogance! O what excessive folly! What false boasting, joined with madness and Satanic pride, has hardened their impious hearts! They are not ashamed to oppose the godly clearness of the ancient scriptures, nor yet does the unanimous piety of all our fellow-ministers concerning Christ blunt their audacity. Even devils will not suffer impiety like this; for even they refrain from speaking blasphemy against the Son of God.

"These then are the questions I have to raise, according to the ability I possess, with those who from their rude resources throw dust on the Christ, and try to slander our reverence for Him. These inventors of silly tales assert that we, who reject their impious and unscriptural blasphemy concerning the creation of Christ from the non-existent, teach that there are two unbegotten Beings. For these ill-instructed men contend that one of these alternatives must hold; either He must be believed to have come out of the non-existent, or there are two unbegotten Beings. In their ignorance and want of practice in theology they do not realize how vast must be the distance between the Father who is uncreate, and the creatures, whether rational or

irrational, which He created out of the non-existent; and that the only-begotten nature of Him Who is the Word of God, by Whom the Father created the universe out of the non-existent, standing, as it were, in the middle between the two, was begotten of the self-existent Father, as the Lord Himself testified when He said, 'Every one that loveth the Father, loveth also the Son that is begotten of Him.'

"We believe, as is taught by the apostolical Church, in an only unbegotten Father, Who of His being hath no cause, immutable and invariable, and Who subsists always in one state of being, admitting neither of progression nor of diminution; Who gave the law, and the prophets, and the gospel; of patriarchs and apostles, and of all saints, Lord: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God, begotten not out of that which is not, but of the Father, Who is; yet not after the manner of material bodies, by severance or emanation, as Sabellius and Valentinus taught; but in an inexpressible and inexplicable manner, according to the saying which we quoted above, 'Who shall declare His generations?' since no mortal intellect can comprehend the nature of His Person, as the Father Himself cannot be comprehended, because the nature of reasonable beings is unable to grasp the manner in which He was begotten of the Father.

"But those who are led by the Spirit of truth have no need to learn these things of me, for the words long since spoken by the Saviour yet sound in our ears, 'No one knoweth who the Father is but the Son, and no one knoweth who the Son is but the Father.' We have learnt that the Son is immutable and unchangeable, all-sufficient and perfect, like the Father, lacking only His "unbegotten." He is the exact and precisely similar image of His Father. For it is clear that the image fully contains everything by which the greater likeness exists, as the Lord taught us when He said, 'My Father is greater than I.' And in accordance with this we believe that the Son always existed of the Father; for he is the brightness of His glory, and the express image of His Father's Person.' But let no one be led by the word 'always' to imagine that the Son is unbegotten, as is thought by some who have their intellects blinded: for to say that He was, that He has always been, and that before all ages, is not to say that He is unbegotten.

"The mind of man could not possibly invent a term expressive of what is meant by being unbegotten. I believe that you are of this opinion; and, indeed, I feel confident in your orthodox view that none of these terms in any

way signify the unbegotten. For all the terms appear to signify merely the extension of time, and are not adequate to express the divinity and, as it were, the *primaeval* being of the only-begotten Son. They were used by the holy men who earnestly endeavoured to clear up the mystery, and who asked pardon from those who heard them, with a reasonable excuse for their failure, by saying 'as far as our comprehension has reached.' But if those who allege that what was 'known in part' has been 'done away' for them, expect from human lips anything beyond human powers, it is plain that the terms 'was,' and 'ever,' and 'before all ages,' fall far short of this expectation. But whatever they may mean, it is not the same as 'the unbegotten.' Therefore His own individual dignity must be reserved to the Father as the Unbegotten One, no one being called the cause of His existence: to the Son likewise must be given the honour which befits Him, there being to Him a generation from the Father which has no beginning; we must render Him worship, as we have already said, only piously and religiously ascribing to Him the 'was' and the 'ever,' and the 'before all ages,' not however rejecting His divinity, but ascribing to Him a perfect likeness in all things to His Father, while at the same time we ascribe to the Father alone His own proper glory of 'the unbegotten,' even as the Saviour Himself says, 'My Father is greater than I.'

"And in addition to this pious belief respecting the Father and the Son, we confess as the Sacred Scriptures teach us, one Holy Ghost, who moved the saints of the Old Testament, and the divine teachers of that which is called the New. We believe in one only Catholic Church, the apostolical, which cannot be destroyed even though all the world were to take counsel to fight against it, and which gains the victory over all the impious attacks of the heterodox; for we are emboldened by the words of its Master, 'Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world.' After this, we receive the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, of which Jesus Christ our Lord became the first-fruits; Who bore a Body, in truth, not in semblance, derived from Mary the mother of God; in the fulness of time sojourning among the race, for the remission of sins: who was crucified and died, yet for all this suffered no diminution of His Godhead. He rose from the dead, was taken into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Majesty on high.

"In this epistle I have only mentioned these things in part, deeming it, as I have said, wearisome to dwell minutely on each article, since they are well known to your pious diligence. These things we teach, these things we

preach; these are the dogmas of the apostolic Church, for which we are ready to die, caring little for those who would force us to forswear them; for we will never relinquish our hope in them, though they should try to compel us by tortures. "Arius and Achillas, together with their fellow foes, have been expelled from the Church, because they have become aliens from our pious doctrine: according to the blessed Paul, who said, 'If any of you preach any other gospel than that which you have received, let him be accursed, even though he should pretend to be an angel from heaven , and 'But if any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness, he is proud, knowing nothing ,' and so forth. Since, then, they have been condemned by the brotherhood, let none of you receive them, nor attend to what they say or write. They are deceivers, and propagate lies, and they never adhere to the truth. They go about to different cities with no other intent than to deliver letters under the pretext of friendship and in the name of peace, and by hypocrisy and flattery to obtain other letters in return, in order to deceive a few 'silly women who are laden with sins .' I beseech you, beloved brethren, to avoid those who have thus dared to act against Christ, who have publicly held up the Christian religion to ridicule, and have eagerly sought to make a display before judicial tribunals, who have endeavoured to excite a persecution against us at a period of the most entire peace, and who have enervated the unspeakable mystery of the generation of Christ. Unite unanimously in opposition to them, as some of our fellow-ministers have already done, who, being filled with indignation, wrote to me against them, and signed our formulary .

"I have sent you these letters by my son Apion, the deacon; being those of (the ministers in) all Egypt and the Thebaid, also of those of Libya, and the Pentapolis, of Syria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Asia, Cappadocia, and in the other adjoining countries. Whose example you likewise, I trust, will follow. Many kindly attempts have been made by me to gain back those who have been led astray, but no remedy has proved more efficacious in restoring the laity who have been deceived by them and leading them to repentance, than the manifestation of the union of our fellow-ministers. Salute one another, with the brotherhood that is with you. I pray that you may be strong in the Lord, my beloved, and that I may receive the fruit of your love to Christ. "The following are the name of those who have been anathematized as heretics: among

the presbyters, Arius; among the deacons, Achillas, Euzoius, Aïthales, Lucius, Sarmates, Julius, Menas, another Arius, and Helladius."

Alexander wrote in the same strain to Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, to Eustathius, who then ruled the church of the Beroeans, and to all those who defended the doctrines of the Apostles. But Arius could not endure to keep quiet, but wrote to all those whom he believed to agree with him in opinion. His letter to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, is a clear proof that the divine Alexander wrote nothing that was false concerning him. I shall here insert his letter, in order that the names of those who were implicated in his impiety may become generally known.

Chapter IV. The Letter of Arius to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia.

"To his very dear lord, the man of God, the faithful and orthodox Eusebius, Arius, unjustly persecuted by Alexander the Pope, on account of that all-conquering truth of which you also are a champion, sendeth greeting in the Lord. "Ammonius, my father, being about to depart for Nicomedia, I considered myself bound to salute you by him, and withal to inform that natural affection which you bear towards the brethren for the sake of God and His Christ, that the bishop greatly wastes and persecutes us, and leaves no stone unturned against us. He has driven us out of the city as atheists, because we do not concur in what he publicly preaches, namely, God always, the Son always; as the Father so the Son; the Son Co-exists unbegotten with God; He is everlasting; neither by thought nor by any interval does God precede the Son; always God, always Son; he is begotten of the unbegotten; the Son is of God Himself. Eusebius, your brother bishop of Caesarea, Theodotus, Paulinus, Athanasius, Gregorius, Aetius, and all the bishops of the East, have been condemned because they say that God had an existence prior to that of His Son; except Philogonius, Hellanicus, and Macarius, who are unlearned men, and who have embraced heretical opinions. Some of them say that the Son is an eructation, others that He is a production, others that He is also unbegotten. These are impieties to which we cannot listen, even though the heretics threaten us with a thousand deaths. But we say and believe, and have taught, and do teach, that the Son is not unbegotten, nor in any way part of the unbegotten; and that He does not derive His subsistence from any matter;

but that by His own will and counsel He has subsisted before time, and before ages, as perfect God, only begotten and unchangeable, and that be-

fore He was begotten, or created, or purposed, or established, He was not. For He was not unbegotten. We are persecuted, because we say that the Son has a beginning, but that God is without beginning. This is the cause of our persecution, and likewise, because we say that He is of the non-existent . And this we say, because He is neither part of God, nor of any essential being . For this are we persecuted; the rest you know. I bid thee farewell in the Lord, remembering our afflictions, my fellow-Lucianist , and true Eusebius ." Of those whose names are mentioned in this letter, Eusebius was bishop of Caesarea , Theodotus of Laodicea, Paulinus of Tyre, Athanasius of Anazarbus, Gregorius of Berytus, and Aetius of Lydda. Lydda is now called Diospolis. Arius prided himself on having these men of one mind with himself. He names as his adversaries, Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, Hellanicus, of Tripolis, and Macarius, of Jerusalem. He spread calumnies against them because they said that the Son is eternal, existing before all ages, of equal honour and of the same substance with the Father. When Eusebius received the epistle, he too vomited forth his own impiety, and wrote to Paulinus, chief of the Tyrians, in the following words.

Chapter V. The Letter of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, to Paulinus, Bishop of Tyre.

"To my lord Paulinus, Eusebius sendeth greeting in the Lord. "The zeal of my lord Eusebius in the cause of the truth, and likewise your silence concerning it, have not failed to reach our ears. Accordingly, if, on the one hand, we rejoiced on account of the zeal of my lord Eusebius; on the other we are grieved at you, because even the silence of such a man appears like a defeat of our cause. Hence, as it behoves not a wise man to be of a different opinion from others, and to be silent concerning the truth, stir up, I exhort you, within yourself the spirit of wisdom to write, and at length begin what may be profitable to yourself and to others, specially if you consent to write in accordance with Scripture, and tread in the tracks of its words and will. "We have never heard that there are two unbegotten beings, nor that one has been divided into two, nor have we learned or believed that it has ever undergone any change of a corporeal nature; but we affirm that the unbegotten is one and one also that which exists in truth by Him, yet was not made out of His substance, and does not at all participate in the nature or substance of the unbegotten, entirely distinct in nature and in power, and made after perfect likeness both of character and power to the maker. We believe that the mode of His beginning not only cannot be expressed by words but even in

thought, and is incomprehensible not only to man, but also to all beings superior to man. These opinions we advance not as having derived them from our own imagination, but as having deduced them from Scripture, whence we learn that the Son was created, established, and begotten in the same substance and in the same immutable and inexpressible nature as the Maker; and so the Lord says, 'God created me in the beginning of His way; I was set up from everlasting; before the hills was I brought forth.'

"If He had been from Him or of Him, as a portion of Him, or by an emanation of His substance, it could not be said that He was created or established; and of this you, my lord, are certainly not ignorant. For that which is of the unbegotten could not be said to have been created or founded, either by Him or by another, since it is unbegotten from the beginning. But if the fact of His being called the begotten gives any ground for the belief that, having come into being of the Father's substance, He also has from the Father likeness of nature, we reply that it is not of Him alone that the Scriptures have spoken as begotten, but that they also thus speak of those who are entirely dissimilar to Him by nature. For of men it is said, 'I have begotten and brought up sons, and they have rebelled against me;' and in another place, 'Thou hast forsaken God who begat thee;' and again it is said, 'Who begat the drops of dew?' This expression does not imply that the dew partakes of the nature of God, but simply that all things were formed according to His will. There is, indeed, nothing which is of His substance, yet every thing which exists has been called into being by His will. He is God; and all things were made in His likeness. and in the future likeness of His Word, being created of His free will. All things were made by His means by God. All things are of God.

"When you have received my letter, and have revised it according to the knowledge and grace given you by God, I beg you will write as soon as possible to my lord Alexander. I feel confident that if you would write to him, you would succeed in bringing him over to your opinion. Salute all the brethren in the Lord. May you, my lord, be preserved by the grace of God, and be led to pray for us." It is thus that they wrote to each other, in order to furnish one another with weapons against the truths. And so when the blasphemous doctrine had been disseminated in the churches of Egypt and of the East, disputes and contentions arose in every city, and in every village, concerning theological dogmas. The common people looked on, and be-

came judges of what was said on either side, and some applauded one party, and some the other. These were, indeed, scenes fit for the tragic stage, over which tears might have been shed. For it was not, as in bygone days, when the church was attacked by strangers and by enemies, but now natives of the same country, who dwelt under one roof, and sat down at one table, fought against each other not with spears, but with their tongues. And what was still more sad, they who thus took up arms against one another were members of one another, and belonged to one body.

Chapter VI. General Council of Nicaea.

The emperor, who possessed the most profound wisdom, having heard of these things, endeavoured, as a first step, to stop up their fountain-head. He therefore despatched a messenger renowned for his ready wit to Alexandria with letters, in the endeavour to extinguish the dispute, and expecting to reconcile the disputants. But his hopes having been frustrated, he proceeded to summon the celebrated council of Nicaea ; and pledged his word that the bishops and their officials should be furnished with asses, mules, and horses for their journey at the public expense. When all those who were capable of enduring the fatigue of the journey had arrived at Nicaea, he went thither himself, with both the wish of seeing the multitude of bishops, and the yearning desire of maintaining unanimity amongst them. He at once arranged that all their wants should be liberally supplied. Three hundred and eighteen bishops were assembled. The bishop of Rome , on account of his very advanced age, was absent, but he sent two presbyters to the council, with authority to agree to what was done.

At this period many individuals were richly endowed with apostolical gifts; and many, like the holy apostle, bore in their bodies the marks of the Lord Jesus Christ . James, bishop of Antioch, a city of Mygdonia, which is called Nisibis by the Syrians and Assyrians, raised the dead and restored them to life, and performed many other wonders which it would be superfluous to mention again in detail in this history, as I have already given an account of them in my work, entitled "Philotheus ." Paul, bishop of Neo-Caesarea, a fortress situated on the banks of the Euphrates, had suffered from the frantic rage of Licinius. He had been deprived of the use of both hands by the application of a red-hot iron, by which the nerves which give motion to the muscles had been contracted and rendered dead. Some had had the right eye dug out, others had lost the right arm. Among these was Paphnutius of

Egypt. In short, the Council looked like an assembled army of martyrs. Yet this holy and celebrated gathering was not entirely free from the element of opposition; for there were some, though so few as easily to be reckoned, of fair surface, like dangerous shallows, who really, though not openly, supported the blasphemy of Arius.

When they were all assembled, the emperor ordered a great hall to be prepared for their accommodation in the palace, in which a sufficient number of benches and seats were placed; and having thus arranged that they should be treated with becoming dignity, he desired the bishops to enter in, and discuss the subjects proposed. The emperor, with a few attendants, was the last to enter the room; remarkable for his lofty stature, and worthy of admiration for personal beauty, and for the still more marvellous modesty which dwelt on his countenance. A low stool was placed for him in the middle of the assembly, upon which, however, he did not seat himself until he had asked the permission of the bishops. Then all the sacred assembly sat down around him. Then forthwith rose first the great Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who, upon the translation of Philogonius, already referred to, to a better life, had been compelled reluctantly to become his successor by the unanimous suffrages of the bishops, priests, and of the Christ-loving laity. He crowned the emperor's head with the flowers of panegyric, and commended the diligent attention he had manifested in the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs.

The excellent emperor next exhorted the Bishops to unanimity and concord; he recalled to their remembrance the cruelty of the late tyrants, and reminded them of the honourable peace which God had, in his reign and by his means, accorded them. He pointed out how dreadful it was, aye, very dreadful, that at the very time when their enemies were destroyed, and when no one dared to oppose them, they should fall upon one another, and make their amused adversaries laugh, especially as they were debating about holy things, concerning which they had the written teaching of the Holy Spirit. "For the gospels" (continued he), "the apostolical writings, and the oracles of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us what we ought to believe concerning the divine nature. Let, then, all contentious disputation be discarded; and let us seek in the divinely-inspired word the solution of the questions at issue. These and similar exhortations he, like an affectionate son, addressed to the bishops as to fathers, labouring to bring about their unanimity in the

apostolical doctrines. Most members of the synod, won over by his arguments, established concord among themselves, and embraced sound doctrine. There were, however, a few, of whom mention has been already made, who opposed these doctrines, and sided with Arius; and amongst them were Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, and Narcissus, bishop of Neronias, which is a town of the second Cilicia, and is now called Irenopolis; also Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais in Egypt.

They drew up a formulary of their faith, and presented it to the council. As soon as it was read it was torn to pieces, and was declared to be spurious and false. So great was the uproar raised against them, and so many were the reproaches cast on them for having betrayed religion, that they all, with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, stood up and took the lead in publicly renouncing Arius. This impious man, having thus been expelled from the Church, a confession of faith which is received to this day was drawn up by unanimous consent; and, as soon as it was signed, the council was dissolved.

Chapter VII. Confutation of Arianism Deduced from the Writings of Eustathius and Athanasius.

The above-named bishops, however, did not consent to it in sincerity, but only in appearance. This was afterwards shewn by their plotting against those who were foremost in zeal for religion, as well as by what these latter have written about them. For instance, Eustathius, the famous bishop of Antioch, who has been already mentioned, when explaining the text in the Proverbs, 'The Lord created me in the beginning of His way, before His works of old,' wrote against them, and refuted their blasphemy. "I Will now proceed to relate how these different events occurred. A general council was summoned at Nicaea, and about two hundred and seventy bishops were convened. There were, however, so many assembled that I cannot state their exact number, neither, indeed, have I taken any great trouble to ascertain this point. When they began to inquire into the nature of the faith, the formulary of Eusebius was brought forward, which contained undisguised evidence of his blasphemy. The reading of it before all occasioned great grief to the audience, on account of its departure from the faith, while it inflicted irremediable shame on the writer. After the Eusebian gang had been clearly convicted, and the impious writing had been torn up in the sight of all, some amongst them by concert, under the pretence of preserving peace, imposed silence on all the

ablest speakers. The Ariomaniacs, fearing lest they should be ejected from the Church by so numerous a council of bishops, sprang forward to anathematize and condemn the doctrines condemned, and unanimously signed the confession of faith. Thus having retained possession of their episcopal seats through the most shameful deception, although they ought rather to have been degraded, they continue, sometimes secretly, and sometimes openly, to patronize the condemned doctrines, plotting against the truth by various arguments. Wholly bent upon establishing these plantations of tares, they shrink from the scrutiny of the intelligent, avoid the observant, and attack the preachers of godliness. But we do not believe that these atheists can ever thus overcome the Deity. For though they 'gird themselves' they 'shall be broken in pieces,' according to the solemn prophecy of Isaiah."

These are the words of the great Eustathius. Athanasius, his fellow combatant, the champion of the truth, who succeeded the celebrated Alexander in the episcopate, added the following, in a letter addressed to the Africans. "The bishops convened in council being desirous of refuting the impious assertions invented by the Arians, that the Son was created out of that which was non-existent, that He is a creature and created being, that there was a period in which He was not, and that He is mutable by nature, and being all agreed in propounding the following declarations, which are in accordance with the holy Scriptures; namely, that the Son is by nature only-begotten of God, Word, Power, and sole Wisdom of the Father; that He is, as John said, 'the true God,' and, as Paul has written, 'the brightness of the glory, and the express image of the person of the Father,' the followers of Eusebius, drawn aside by their own vile doctrine, then began to say one to another, Let us agree, for we are also of God; 'There is but one God, by whom are all things; 'Old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new, and all things are of God'.' They also dwelt particularly upon what is contained in 'The Shepherd': 'Believe above all that there is one God, who created and fashioned all things, and making them to be out of that which is not.'

"But the bishops saw through their evil design and impious artifice, and gave a clearer elucidation of the words 'of God,' and wrote, that the Son is of the substance of God; in order that while the creatures, which do not in any way derive their existence of or from themselves, are said to be of God, the Son alone is said to be of the substance of the Father; this being peculiar to the only-begotten Son, the true Word of the Father. This is the reason why

the bishops wrote, that He is of the substance of the Father. "But when the Arians, who seemed few in number, were again interrogated by the Bishops as to whether they admitted 'that the Son is not a creature, but Power, and sole Wisdom, and eternal unchangeable Image of the Father; and that He is very God,' the Eusebians were noticed making signs to one another to shew that these declarations were equally applicable to us. For it is said, that we are 'the image and glory of God ;' and 'for always we who live : ' there are, also, they said, many powers; for it is written-'All the power of God went out of the land of Egypt . ' The canker-worm and the locust are said to be 'a great power . ' And elsewhere it is written, The God of powers is with us, the God of Jacob helper . ' To which may be added that we are God's own not simply, but because the Son called us 'brethren . ' The declaration that Christ is 'the true God' does not distress us, for, having come into being, He is true.

"Such was the corrupt opinion of the Arians; but on this the bishops, having detected their deceitfulness in this matter, collected from Scripture those passages which say of Christ that He is the glory, the fountain, the stream, and the express image of the person; and they quoted the following words: 'In thy light we shall see light ;' and likewise, 'I and the Father are one . ' They then, with still greater clearness, briefly declared that the Son is of one substance with the Father; for this, indeed, is the signification of the passages which have been quoted. The complaint of the Arians, that these precise words are not to be found in Scripture, is proved groundless by their own practice, for their own impious assertions are not taken from Scripture; for it is not written that the Son is of the non-existent, and that there was a time when He was not: and yet they complain of having been condemned by expressions which, though not actually in Scripture, are in accordance with true religion. They themselves, on the other hand, as though they had found their words on a dunghill, uttered things verily of earth. The bishops, on the contrary, did not find their expressions for themselves; but, received their testimony from the fathers, and wrote accordingly.

Indeed, there were bishops of old time, nearly one hundred and thirty years ago, both of the great city of Rome and of our own city , who condemned those who asserted that the Son is a creature, and that He is not of one substance with the Father. Eusebius, the bishop of Caesarea, was acquainted with these facts; he, at one time, favoured the Arian heresy, but he afterwards signed the confession of faith of the Council of Nicaea. He wrote

to the people of his diocese, maintaining that the word 'consubstantial' was 'used by illustrious bishops and learned writers as a term for expressing the divinity of the Father and of the Son.'" So these men concealed their unsoundness through fear of the majority, and gave their assent to the decisions of the council, thus drawing upon themselves the condemnation of the prophet, for the God of all cries unto them, "This people honour Me with their lips, but in their hearts they are far from Me." Theonas and Secundus, however, did not like to take this course, and were excommunicated by common consent as men who esteemed the Arian blasphemy above evangelical doctrine. The bishops then returned to the council, and drew up twenty laws to regulate the discipline of the Church.

Chapter VIII. Facts Relating to Meletius the Egyptian, from Whom Originated the Meletian Schism, Which Remains to This Day.-Synodical Epistle Respecting Him.

After Meletius had been ordained bishop, which was not long before the Arian controversy, he was convicted of certain crimes by the most holy Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who also received the crown of martyrdom. After being deposed by Peter he did not acquiesce in his deposition, but filled the Thebaid and the adjacent part of Egypt with tumult and disturbance, and rebelled against the primacy of Alexandria. A letter was written by the council to the Church of Alexandria, stating what had been decreed against his revolutionary practices. It was as follows:- Synodical Epistle. "To the Church of Alexandria which, by the grace of God, is great and holy, and to the beloved brethren in Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis, the bishops who have been convened to the great and holy council of Nicaea, send greeting in the Lord. "The great and holy council of Nicaea having been convened by the grace of God, and by the most religious emperor, Constantine, who summoned us from different provinces and cities, we judge it requisite that a letter be sent from the whole Holy Synod to inform you also what questions have been mooted and debated, and what has been decreed and established.

"In the first place, the impious doctrines of Arius were investigated before our most religious emperor Constantine; and his impiety was unanimously anathematized, as well as the blasphemous language and views which he had propounded, alleging that the Son of God was out of what was not, that before He was begotten He was not, that there was a period in which He was not, and that He can, according to His own freewill, be capable either of virtue or of vice. The holy council anathematized all these assertions, and even

refused so much as to listen to such impious and foolish opinions, and such blasphemous expressions. The final decision concerning him you already know, or will soon hear; but we will not mention it now, lest we should appear to trample upon a man who has already received the recompense due to his sins. Such influence has his impiety obtained as to involve Theonas, bishop of Marmarica, and Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais, in his ruin, and they have shared his punishment.

"But after Egypt had, by the grace of God, been delivered from these false and blasphemous opinions, and from persons who dared to raise discord and division among a hitherto peaceable people, there yet remained the question of the temerity of Meletius, and of those ordained by him. We now inform you, beloved brethren, of the decrees of the council on this subject. It was decided by the holy council, that Meletius should be treated with clemency, though, strictly speaking, he was not worthy of even the least concession. He was permitted to remain in his own city, but was divested of all power, whether of nomination or of ordination, neither was he to shew himself in any province or city for these purposes: but only to retain the bare name of his office. Those who had received ordination at his hands were to submit to a more religious re-ordination; and were to be admitted to communion on the terms of retaining their ministry, but of ranking in every diocese and church below those who had been ordained before them by Alexander, our much-honoured fellow-minister. Thus they would have no power of choosing or nominating others to the ministry, according to their pleasure, or indeed of doing anything without the consent of the bishops of the Catholic and Apostolic Church, who are under Alexander.

But they who, by the grace of God, and in answer to your prayers, have been detected in no schism, and have continued spotless in the Catholic and Apostolic Church, are to have the power of electing, and of nominating men worthy of the clerical office, and are permitted to do whatsoever is in accordance with law and the authority of the Church. If it should happen, that any of those now holding an office in the Church should die, then let these recently admitted be advanced to the honours of the deceased, provided only that they appear worthy, and that the people choose them, and that the election be confirmed and ratified by the catholic bishop of Alexandria. The same privilege has been conceded to all the others. With respect to Meletius, however, an exception has been made, both on account of his

former insubordination, and of the rashness and impetuosity of his disposition; for if the least authority were accorded to him, he might abuse it by again exciting confusion. These are the chief points which relate to Egypt, and to the holy Church of Alexandria. Whatever other canons were made, or dogmas decreed, you will hear of them from Alexander, our most-honoured fellow-minister and brother, who will give you still more accurate information, because he himself directed, as well as participated in, every thing that took place.

"We also give you the good news that, according to your prayers, the celebration of the most holy paschal feast was unanimously rectified, so that our brethren of the East, who did not previously keep the festival at the same time as those of Rome, and as yourselves, and, indeed, all have done from the beginning, will henceforth celebrate it with you. Rejoice, then, in the success of our undertakings, and in the general peace and concord, and in the extirpation of every heresy, and receive with still greater honour and more fervent love, Alexander, our fellow-minister and your bishop, who imparted joy to us by his presence, and who, at a very advanced age, has undergone so much fatigue for the purpose of restoring peace among you. Pray for us all, that what has been rightly decreed may remain steadfast, through our Lord Jesus Christ, being done, as we trust, according to the good pleasure of God and the Father in the Holy Ghost, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."

Notwithstanding the endeavours of that divine assembly of bishops to apply this medicine to the Meletian disease, vestiges of his infatuation remain even to this day; for there are in some districts bodies of monks who refuse to follow sound doctrine, and observe certain vain points of discipline, agreeing with the infatuated views of the Jews and the Samaritans.

Chapter IX. The Epistle of the Emperor Constantine, Concerning the Matters Transacted at the Council, Addressed to Those Bishops Who Were Not Present.

The great emperor also wrote an account of the transactions of the council to those bishops who were unable to attend. And I consider it worth while to insert this epistle in my work, as it clearly evidences the piety of the writer. "Constantinus Augustus to the Churches. "Viewing the common public prosperity enjoyed at this moment, as the result of the great power of divine grace, I am desirous above all things that the blessed members of the Catholic Church should be preserved in one faith, in sincere love, and in one

form of religion, towards Almighty God. But, since no firmer or more effective measure could be adopted to secure this end, than that of submitting everything relating to our most holy religion to the examination of all, or most of all, the bishops, I convened as many of them as possible, and took my seat among them as one of yourselves; for I would not deny that truth which is the source of my greatest joy, namely, that I am your fellow-servant. Every point obtained its due investigation, until the doctrine pleasing to the all-seeing God, and conducive to unity, was made clear, so that no room should remain for division or controversy concerning the faith.

"The commemoration of the most sacred paschal feast being then debated, it was unanimously decided, that it would be well that it should be everywhere celebrated upon the same day. What can be more fair, or more seemly, than that that festival by which we have received the hope of immortality should be carefully celebrated by all, on plain grounds, with the same order and exactitude? It was, in the first place, declared improper to follow the custom of the Jews in the celebration of this holy festival, because, their hands having been stained with crime, the minds of these wretched men are necessarily blinded. By rejecting their custom, we establish and hand down to succeeding ages one which is more reasonable, and which has been observed ever since the day of our Lord's sufferings. Let us, then, have nothing in common with the Jews, who are our adversaries. For we have received from our Saviour another way. A better and more lawful line of conduct is inculcated by our holy religion. Let us with one accord walk therein, my much-honoured brethren, studiously avoiding all contact with that evil way. They boast that without their instructions we should be unable to commemorate the festival properly. This is the highest pitch of absurdity. For how can they entertain right views on any point who, after having compassed the death of the Lord, being out of their minds, are guided not by sound reason, but by an unrestrained passion, wherever their innate madness carries them.

Hence it follows that they have so far lost sight of truth, wandering as far as possible from the correct revisal, that they celebrate a second Passover in the same year. What motive can we have for following those who are thus confessedly unsound and in dire error? For we could never tolerate celebrating the Passover twice in one year. But even if all these facts did not exist, your own sagacity would prompt you to watch with diligence and with prayer, lest your pure minds should appear to share in the customs of a people so

utterly depraved. It must also be borne in mind, that upon so important a point as the celebration of a feast of such sanctity, discord is wrong. One day has our Saviour set apart for a commemoration of our deliverance, namely, of His most holy Passion. One hath He wished His Catholic Church to be, whereof the members, though dispersed throughout the most various parts of the world, are yet nourished by one spirit, that is, by the divine will. Let your pious sagacity reflect how evil and improper it is, that days devoted by some to fasting, should be spent by others in convivial feasting; and that after the paschal feast, some are rejoicing in festivals and relaxations, while others give themselves up to the appointed fasts. That this impropriety should be rectified, and that all these diversities of commemoration should be resolved into one form, is the will of divine Providence, as I am convinced you will all perceive.

Therefore, this irregularity must be corrected, in order that we may no more have any thing in common with those parricides and the murderers of our Lord. An orderly and excellent form of commemoration is observed in all the churches of the western, of the southern, and of the northern parts of the world, and by some of the eastern; this form being universally commended, I engaged that you would be ready to adopt it likewise, and thus gladly accept the rule unanimously adopted in the city of Rome, throughout Italy, in all Africa, in Egypt, the Spains, the Gauls, the Britains, Libya, Greece, in the dioceses of Asia, and of Pontus, and in Cilicia, taking into your consideration not only that the churches of the places above-mentioned are greater in point of number, but also that it is most pious that all should unanimously agree in that course which accurate reasoning seems to demand, and which has no single point in common with the perjury of the Jews.

"Briefly to summarize the whole of the preceding, the judgment of all is, that the holy Paschal feast should be held on one and the same day; for, in so holy a matter, it is not becoming that any difference of custom should exist, and it is better to follow the opinion which has not the least association with error and sin. This being the case, receive with gladness the heavenly gift and the plainly divine command; for all that is transacted in the holy councils of the bishops is to be referred to the Divine will. Therefore, when you have made known to all our beloved brethren the subject of this epistle, regard yourselves bound to accept what has gone before, and to arrange for the regular observance of this holy day, so that when, according to my long-cher-

ished desire, I shall see you face to face, I may be able to celebrate with you this holy festival upon one and the same day; and may rejoice with you all in witnessing the cruelty of the devil destroyed by our efforts, through Divine grace, while our faith and peace and concord flourish throughout the world. May God preserve you, beloved brethren."

Chapter X. The Daily Wants of the Church Supplied by the Emperor, and an Account of His Other Virtues.

Thus did the emperor write to the absent. To those who attended the council, three hundred and eighteen in number he manifested great kindness, addressing them with much gentleness, and presenting them with gifts. He ordered numerous couches to be prepared for their accommodation and entertained them all at one banquet. Those who were most worthy he received at his own table, distributing the rest at the others. Observing that some among them had had the right eye torn out, and learning that this mutilation had been undergone for the sake of religion, he placed his lips upon the wounds, believing that he would extract a blessing from the kiss. After the conclusion of the feast, he again presented other gifts to them. He then wrote to the governors of the provinces, directing that provision-money should be given in every city to virgins and widows, and to those who were consecrated to the divine service; and he measured the amount of their annual allowance more by the impulse of his own generosity than by their need. The third part of the sum is distributed to this day. Julian impiously withheld the whole. His successor conferred the sum which is now dispensed, the famine which then prevailed having lessened the resources of the state. If the pensions were formerly triple in amount to what they are at present, the generosity of the emperor can by this fact be easily seen.

I do not account it right to pass over the following circumstance in silence. Some quarrelsome individuals wrote accusations against certain bishops, and presented their indictments to the emperor. This occurring before the establishment of concord, he received the lists, formed them into a packet which he sealed with his ring, and ordered them to be kept safely. After the reconciliation had been effected, he brought out these writings, and burnt them in their presence, at the same time declaring upon oath that he had not read a word of them. He said that the crimes of priests ought not to be made known to the multitude, lest they should become an occasion of offence, and lead them to sin without fear. It is reported also that he added

that if he were to detect a bishop in the very act of committing adultery, he would throw his imperial robe over the unlawful deed, lest any should witness the scene, and be thereby injured. Thus did he admonish all the priests, as well as confer honours upon them, and then exhorted them to return each to his own flock.

Chapter XI.

I shall here insert the letter respecting the faith, written by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, as it describes the effrontery of the Arians, who not only despise our fathers, but reject their own: it contains a convincing proof of their madness. They certainly honour Eusebius, because he adopted their sentiments, but yet they openly contradict his writings. He wrote this epistle to some of the Arians, who were accusing him, it seems, of treachery. The letter itself explains the writer's object. Epistle of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, which he wrote from Nicaea when the great Council was assembled. "You will have probably learnt from other sources what was decided respecting the faith of the church at the general council of Nicaea, for the fame of great transactions generally outruns the accurate account of them: but lest rumours not in strict accordance with the truth should reach you, I think it necessary to send to you, first, the formulary of faith originally proposed by us, and, next, the second, published with additions made to our terms. The following is our formulary, which was read in the presence of our most pious emperor, and declared to be couched in right and proper language.

The Faith put forth by us. "As in our first catechetical instruction, and at the time of our baptism, we received from the bishops who were before us and as we have learnt from the Holy Scriptures, and, alike as presbyters, and as bishops, were wont to believe and teach; so we now believe and thus declare our faith. It is as follows:- "We believe in one God, Father Almighty, the Maker of all things, visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, Only-begotten Son, First-born of every creature, begotten of the Father before all worlds; by Whom all things were made; Who for our salvation was incarnate, and lived among men . He suffered and rose again the third day, and ascended to the Father; and He will come again in glory to judge the quick and the dead. We also believe in one Holy Ghost.

"We believe in the being and continual existence of each of these; that the Father is in truth the Father; the Son in truth the Son; the Holy Ghost in

truth the Holy Ghost; as our Lord, when sending out His disciples to preach the Gospel, said, 'Go forth and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' We positively affirm that we hold this faith, that we have always held it, and that we adhere to it even unto death, condemning all ungodly heresy. We testify, as before God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we have thought thus from the heart, and from the soul, ever since we have known ourselves; and we have the means of showing, and, indeed, of convincing you, that we have always during the past thus believed and preached.'

"When this formulary had been set forth by us, there was no room to gainsay it; but our beloved emperor himself was the first to testify that it was most orthodox, and that he coincided in opinion with it; and he exhorted the others to sign it, and to receive all the doctrine it contained, with the single addition of the one word-'consubstantial.' He explained that this term implied no bodily condition or change, for that the Son did not derive His existence from the Father either by means of division or of abscission, since an immaterial, intellectual, and incorporeal nature could not be subject to any bodily condition or change. These things must be understood as bearing a divine and mysterious signification. Thus reasoned our wisest and most religious emperor. The addition of the word consubstantial has given occasion for the composition of the following formulary:- The Creed published by the Council.

"We believe in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father; only-begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, Very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father: by Whom all things were made both in heaven and on earth: Who for us men, and for our salvation, came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and was made man; He suffered, and rose again the third day; He ascended into heaven, and is coming to judge both quick and dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost. The holy Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes all who say that there was a time when the Son of God was not; that before He was begotten He was not; that He was made out of the non-existent; or that He is of a different essence and of a different substance from the Father; and that He is susceptible of variation or change.'

"When they had set forth this formulary, we did not leave without examination that passage in which it is said that the Son is of the substance of the Father, and consubstantial with the Father. Questions and arguments thence arose, and the meaning of the terms was exactly tested. Accordingly they were led to confess that the word consubstantial signifies that the Son is of the Father, but not as being a part of the Father. We deemed it right to receive this opinion; for that is sound doctrine which teaches that the Son is of the Father, but not part of His substance. From the love of peace, and lest we should fall from the true belief, we also accept this view, neither do we reject the term 'consubstantial.' For the same reason we admitted the expression, 'begotten, but not made;' for they alleged that the word 'made' applies generally to all things which were created by the Son, to which the Son is in no respect similar; and that consequently He is not a created thing, like the things made by Him, but is of a substance superior to all created objects. The Holy Scriptures teach Him to be begotten of the Father, by a mode of generation which is incomprehensible and inexplicable to all created beings. So also the term 'of one substance with the Father,' when investigated, was accepted not in accordance with bodily relations or similarity to mortal beings.

For it was also shown that it does not either imply division of substance, nor abscission, nor any modification or change or diminution in the power of the Father, all of which are alien from the nature of the unbegotten Father. It was concluded that the expression 'being of one substance with the Father,' implies that the Son of God does not resemble, in any one respect, the creatures which He has made; but that to the Father alone, who begat Him, He is in all points perfectly like: for He is of the essence and of the substance of none save of the Father. This interpretation having been given of the doctrine, it appeared right to us to assent to it, especially as we were aware that of the ancients some learned and celebrated bishops and writers have used the term 'consubstantial' with respect to the divinity of the Father and of the Son.

"These are the circumstances which I had to communicate respecting the published formulary of the faith. To it we all agreed, not without investigation, but, after having subjected the views submitted to us to thorough examination in the presence of our most beloved emperor, for the above reasons we all acquiesced in it. We also allowed that the anathema appended by

them to their formulary of faith should be accepted, because it prohibits the use of words which are not scriptural; through which almost all the disorder and troubles of the Church have arisen. And since no passage of the inspired Scripture uses the terms 'out of the non-existent,' or that 'there was a time when He was not,' nor indeed any of the other phrases of the same class, it did not appear reasonable to assert or to teach such things. In this opinion, therefore, we judged it right to agree; since, indeed, we had never, at any former period, been accustomed to use such terms. Moreover, the condemnation of the assertion that before He was begotten He was not, did not appear to involve any incongruity, because all assent to the fact that He was the Son of God before He was begotten according to the flesh. And here our emperor, most beloved by God, began to reason concerning His divine origin, and His existence before all ages. He was virtually in the Father without generation, even before He was actually begotten, the Father having always been the Father, just as He has always been a King and a Saviour, and, virtually, all things, and has never known any change of being or action.

"We have thought it requisite, beloved brethren, to transmit you an account of these circumstances, in order to show you what examination and investigation we bestowed on all the questions which we had to decide; and also to prove how at one time we resisted firmly, even to the last hour, when doctrines improperly expressed offended us, and, at another time, we, without contention, accepted the articles which contained nothing objectionable, when after a thorough and candid investigation of their significance, they appeared perfectly conformable with what had been confessed by us in the formulary of faith which we had published."

Chapter XII. Confutation of the Blasphemies of the Arians of Our Time, from the Writings of Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea.

Eusebius clearly testifies that the aforesaid term "consubstantial" is not a new one, nor the invention of the fathers assembled at the council; but that, from the very first it has been handed down from father to son. He states that all those then assembled unanimously received the creed then published; and he again bears testimony to the same fact in another work, in which he highly extols the conduct of the great Constantine. He writes as follows :- "The emperor having delivered this discourse in Latin, it was translated into Greek by an interpreter, and then he gave liberty of speech to the leaders of the council. Some at once began to bring forward complaints

against their neighbours, while others had recourse to recriminations and reproaches. Each party had much to urge, and at the beginning the debate waxed very violent. The emperor patiently and attentively listened to all that was advanced, and gave full attention to what was urged by each party in turn. He calmly endeavoured to reconcile the conflicting parties; addressing them mildly in Greek, of which language he was not ignorant, in a sweet and gentle manner. Some he convinced by argument, others he put to the blush; he commended those who had spoken well, and excited all to unanimity; until, at length, he reduced them all to oneness of mind and opinion on all the disputed points, so that they all agreed to hold the same faith, and to celebrate the festival of Salvation upon the same day. What had been decided was committed to writing, and was signed by all the bishops."

Soon after the author thus continues the narrative:- "When matters had been thus arranged, the emperor gave them permission to return to their own dioceses. They returned with great joy, and have ever since continued to be of the one opinion, agreed upon in the presence of the emperor, and, though once widely separated, now united together, as it were, in one body. Constantine, rejoicing in the success of his efforts, made known these happy results by letter to those who were at a distance. He ordered large sums of money to be liberally distributed both among the inhabitants of the country and of the cities, in order that the twentieth anniversary of his reign might be celebrated with public festivities." Although the Arians impiously gainsay the statements of the other fathers, yet they ought to believe what has been written by this father, whom they have been accustomed to admire. They ought, therefore, to receive his testimony to the unanimity with which the confession of faith was signed by all. But, since they impugn the opinions of their own leaders, they ought to become acquainted with the most foul and terrible manner of the death of Arius and with all their powers to flee from the impious doctrine of which he was the parent. As it is likely that the mode of his death is not known by all, I shall here relate it.

Chapter XIII. Extract from the Letter of Athanasius on the Death of Arius .

After Arius had remained a long time in Alexandria, he endeavoured riotously to obtrude himself again into the assemblies of the Church, professing to renounce his impiety, and promising to receive the confession of faith drawn up by the fathers. But not succeeding in obtaining the confidence of the divine Alexander, nor of Athanasius, who followed Alexander alike in

the patriarchate and in piety, he, helped and encouraged by Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, betook himself to Constantinople. The intrigues upon which he then entered, and their punishment by the righteous Judge are all best narrated by the excellent Athanasius, in his letter to Apion . I shall therefore now insert this passage in my work. He writes:- "I was not at Constantinople when he died; but Macarius, the presbyter, was there, and from him I learnt all the circumstances. The emperor Constantine was induced by Eusebius and his party to send for Arius. Upon his arrival, the emperor asked him whether he held the faith of the Catholic church. Arius then swore that his faith was orthodox, and presented a written summary of his belief; concealing, however, the reasons of his ejection from the Church by the bishop Alexander, and making a dishonest use of the language of Holy Scripture. When, therefore, he had declared upon oath that he did not hold the errors for which he had been expelled from the Church by Alexander, Constantine dismissed him, saying, 'If thy faith is orthodox, thou hast well sworn; but if thy faith is impious and yet thou hast sworn, let God from heaven judge thee.' When he quitted the emperor, the partizans of Eusebius, with their usual violence, desired to conduct him into the church; but Alexander, of blessed memory, bishop of Constantinople, refused his permission, alleging that the inventor of the heresy ought not to be admitted into communion. Then at last the partizans of Eusebius pronounced the threat: 'As, against your will, we succeeded in prevailing on the emperor to send for Arius, so now, even if you forbid it, shall Arius join in communion with us in this church to-morrow.' It was on Saturday that they said this.

The bishop Alexander, deeply grieved at what he had heard, went into the church and poured forth his lamentations, raising his hands in supplication to God, and throwing himself on his face on the pavement in the sanctuary , prayed. Macarius went in with him, prayed with him, and heard his prayers. He asked one of two things. 'If Arius,' said he, 'is to be joined to the Church to-morrow, let me Thy servant departs and do not destroy the pious with the impious. If Thou wilt spare Thy Church, and I know that Thou dost spare her, look upon the words of the followers of Eusebius, and give not over Thy heritage to destruction and to shame. Remove Arius, lest if he come into the Church, heresy seem to come in with him, and impiety be hereafter deemed piety.' Having thus prayed, the bishop left the church deeply anxious, and then a horrible and extraordinary catastrophe ensued. The followers of Euse-

bis had launched out into threats, while the bishop had recourse to prayer. Arius, emboldened by the protection of his party, delivered many trifling and foolish speeches, when he was suddenly compelled by a call of nature to retire, and immediately, as it is written, 'falling headlong, he burst asunder in the midst,' and gave up the ghost, being deprived at once both of communion and of life. This, then, was the end of Arius. The followers of Eusebius were covered with shame, and buried him whose belief they shared.

The blessed Alexander completed the celebration, rejoicing with the Church in piety and orthodoxy, praying with all the brethren and greatly glorifying God. This was not because he rejoiced at the death of Arius-God forbid; for 'it is appointed unto all men once to die;' but because the event plainly transcended any human condemnation. For the Lord Himself passing judgment upon the menaces of the followers of Eusebius, and the prayer of Alexander, condemned the Arian heresy, and shewed that it was unworthy of being received into the communion of the Church; thus manifesting to all that, even if it received the countenance and support of the emperor, and of all men, yet by truth itself it stood condemned." These were the first fruits, reaped by Arius, of those pernicious seeds which he had himself sown, and formed the prelude to the punishments that awaited him hereafter. His impiety was condemned by his punishment. I shall now turn my narrative to the piety of the emperor. He addressed a letter to all the subjects of the Roman empire, exhorting them to renounce their former errors, and to embrace the doctrines of our Saviour, and trying to guide them to this truth. He stirred up the bishops in every city to build churches, and encouraged them not only by his letter, but also by presenting them with large sums of money, and defraying all the expenses of building. This his own letter sets forth, which was after this manner:-

Chapter XIV. Letter Written by the Emperor Constantine Respecting the Building of Churches.

"Constantinus Augustus, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius. "I am well aware, and am thoroughly convinced, my beloved brother, that as the servants of our Saviour Christ have been suffering up to the present time from nefarious machinations and tyrannical persecutions, the fabrics of all the churches must have either fallen into utter ruin from neglect, or, through apprehension of the impending iniquity, have been reduced below their proper dignity. But now that freedom is restored, and that dragon, through

the providence of God, and by our instrumentality, thrust out from the government of the Empire, I think that the divine power has become known to all, and that those who hitherto, from fear or from incredulity or from depravity, have lived in error, will now, upon becoming acquainted with Him who truly is, be led into the true and correct manner of life. Exert yourself, therefore, diligently in the reparation of the churches under your own jurisdiction, and admonish the principal bishops, priests, and deacons of other places to engage zealously in the same work; in order that all the churches which still exist may be repaired or enlarged, and that new ones may be built wherever they are required. You, and others through your intervention, can apply to magistrates and to provincial governments, for all that may be necessary for this purpose; for they have received written injunctions to render zealous obedience to whatever your holiness may command. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

Thus the emperor wrote to the bishops in each province respecting the building of churches. From his letter to Eusebius of Palestine, it is easily learnt what measures he adopted to obtain copies of the Holy Bible .

Chapter XV. The Epistle of Constantine Concerning the Preparation of Copies of the Holy Scriptures.

"Constantinus Augustus, the great and the victorious, to Eusebius. "In the city which bears our name, a great number of persons have, through the providential care of God the Saviour, united themselves to the holy Church. As all things there are in a state of rapid improvement, we deemed it most important that an additional number of churches should be built. Adopt joyfully the mode of procedure determined upon by us, which we have thought expedient to make known to your prudence, namely, that you should get written, on fine parchment, fifty volumes, easily legible and handy for use; these you must have transcribed by skilled calligraphers, accurately acquainted with their art. I mean, of course, copies of the Holy Scriptures, which, as you know, it is most necessary that the congregation of the Church should both have and use. A letter has been sent from our clemency to the catholicus of the diocese, in order that he may be careful that everything necessary for the undertaking is supplied. The duty devolving upon you is to take measures to ensure the completion of these manuscripts within a short space of time. When they are finished, you are authorised by this letter to order two public carriages for the purpose of transmitting them

to us; and thus the fair manuscripts will be easily submitted to our inspection. Appoint one of the deacons of your church to take charge of this part of the business; when he comes to us, he shall receive proofs of our benevolence. May God preserve you, beloved brother."

What has been already said is enough to shew, nay to clearly prove, how great zeal the emperor manifested on the matters of religion. I will, however, add his noble acts with regard to the Sepulchre of our Saviour. For having learnt that the idolaters, in their frantic rage, had heaped earth over the Lord's tomb, eager thus to destroy all remembrance of His Salvation, and had built over it a temple to the goddess of unbridled lust, in mockery of the Virgin's birth, the emperor ordered the foul shrine to be demolished, and the soil polluted with abominable sacrifices to be carried away and thrown out far from the city, and a new temple of great size and beauty to be erected on the site. All this is clearly set forth in the letter which he wrote to the president of the church of Jerusalem, Macarius, whom we have already mentioned as a member of the great Nicene Council, and united with his brethren in withstanding the blasphemies of Arius. The following is the letter.

Chapter XVI. Letter from the Emperor to Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, Concerning the Building of the Holy Church.

"Constantinus, the victorious and the great, to Macarius. "The grace of our Saviour is so wonderful, that no words are adequate to express the present marvel. The fact that the monument of His most holy sufferings should have remained concealed beneath the earth, during so long a course of years, until the time when, on the death of the common enemy of all, it was destined to shine forth on His liberated servants, surpasses every other subject of admiration. If all the wise men throughout the world were collected into one place, and were to endeavour to express themselves worthily of it, they could not approach within an infinite distance of it; for this miracle is as much beyond all human power of belief, as heavenly things by their nature are mightier than human. Hence it is my first and only object that, as by new miracles the faith in the truth is daily confirmed, so the minds of us all may be more earnestly devoted to the holy law, wisely, zealously, and with one accord. As my design is, I think, now generally known, I desire that you, above all, should be assured that my most intense anxiety is to decorate with beautiful edifices that consecrated spot, which by God's command I have relieved from

the burden of the foul idol which encumbered it. For from the beginning He declared it holy, and has rendered it still more holy from the time that He brought to light the proof and memorial of the sufferings of our Lord.

I trust, then, to your sagacity to take every necessary care, not only that the basilica itself surpass all others; but that all its arrangements be such that this braiding may be incomparably superior to the most beautiful structures in every city throughout the world. We have entrusted our friend Dracilianus , who discharges the functions of the most illustrious praefect of the province, with the superintendence of the work of the erection and decoration of the walls. He has received our orders to engage workmen and artisans, and to provide all that you may deem requisite for the building. Let us know, by letter, when you have inspected the work, what columns or marbles you consider would be most ornamental, in order that whatever you may inform us is necessary for the work may be conveyed thither from all quarters of the world. For that which is of all places the most wonderful, ought to be decorated in accordance with its dignity. I wish to learn from you whether you think that the vaulted roof of the basilica ought to be panelled , or to be adorned in some other way; for if it is to be panelled it may also be gilt. Your holiness must signify to the aforesaid officers, as soon as possible, what workmen and artificers, and what sums of money, are requisite; and let me know promptly not only about the marbles and columns, but also about the panelled ceiling, if you decide that this will be the most beautiful mode of construction. May God preserve you, beloved brother ."

Chapter XVII. Helena , Mother of the Emperor Constantine.-Her Zeal in the Erection of the Holy Church.

The bearer of these letters was no less illustrious a personage than the mother of the emperor, even she who was glorious in her offspring, whose piety was celebrated by all; she who brought forth that great luminary and nurtured him in piety. She did not shrink from the fatigue of the journey on account of her extreme old age, but undertook it a little before her death, which occurred in her eightieth year . When the empress beheld the place where the Saviour suffered, she immediately ordered the idolatrous temple, which had been there erected , to be destroyed, and the very earth on which it stood to be removed. When the tomb, which had been so long concealed, was discovered, three crosses were seen buried near the Lord's sepulchre. All held it as certain that one of these crosses was that of our Lord Jesus Christ, and that

the other two were those of the thieves who were crucified with Him. Yet they could not discern to which of the three the Body of the Lord had been brought nigh, and which had received the outpouring of His precious Blood. But the wise and holy Macarius, the president of the city, resolved this question in the following manner. He caused a lady of rank, who had been long suffering from disease, to be touched by each of the crosses, with earnest prayer, and thus discerned the virtue residing in that of the Saviour. For the instant this cross was brought near the lady, it expelled the sore disease, and made her whole.

The mother of the emperor, on learning the accomplishment of her desire, gave orders that a portion of the nails should be inserted in the royal helmet, in order that the head of her son might be preserved from the darts of his enemies . The other portion of the nails she ordered to be formed into the bridle of his horse, not only to ensure the safety of the emperor, but also to fulfil an ancient prophecy; for long before Zechariah, the prophet, had predicted that "There shall be upon the bridles of the horses Holiness unto the Lord Almighty ." She had part of the cross of our Saviour conveyed to the palace . The rest was enclosed in a covering of silver, and committed to the care of the bishop of the city, whom she exhorted to preserve it carefully, in order that it might be transmitted uninjured to posterity . She then sent everywhere for workmen and for materials, and caused the most spacious and most magnificent churches to be erected. It is unnecessary to describe their beauty and grandeur; for all the pious, if I may so speak, hasten thither and behold the magnificence of the buildings .

This celebrated and admirable empress performed another action worthy of being remembered. She assembled all the women who had vowed perpetual virginity, and placing them on couches, she herself fulfilled the duties of a handmaid, serving them with food and handing them cups and pouring out wine, and bringing a basin and pitcher, and pouring out water to wash their hands. After performing these and other laudable actions, the empress returned to her son, and not long after, she joyfully entered upon the other and a better life, after having given her son much pious advice and her fervent parting blessing. After her death, those honours were rendered to her memory which her steadfast and zealous service to God deserved .

Chapter XIII. The Unlawful Translation of Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia.

The Arian party did not desist from their evil machinations. They had only signed the confession of faith for the purpose of disguising themselves in sheeps'-skins, while they were acting the part of wolves. The holy Alexander, of Byzantium, for the city was not yet called Constantinople, who by his prayer had pierced Arius to the heart, had, at the period to which we are referring, been translated to a better life. Eusebius, the propagator of impiety, little regarding the definition which, only a short time previously, he with the other bishops had agreed upon, without delay quitted Nicomedia and seized upon the see of Constantinople, in direct violation of that canon which prohibits bishops and presbyters from being translated from one city to another. But that those who carry their infatuation so far as to deny the divinity of the only-begotten Son of God, should likewise violate the other laws, cannot excite surprise. Nor was this the first occasion that he made this innovation; for, having been originally entrusted with the see of Berytus, he leapt from thence to Nicomedia. Whence he was expelled by the synod, on account of his manifest impiety, as was likewise Theognis, bishop of Nicaea. This is related a second time in the letters of the emperor Constantine; and I shall here insert the close of the letter which he wrote to the Nicomedians.

Chapter XIX. Epistle of the Emperor Constantine Against Eusebius and Theognis, Addressed to the Nicomedians.

"Who has taught these doctrines to the innocent multitude? It is manifestly Eusebius, the co-operator in the cruelty of the tyrants. For that he was the creature of the tyrant has been clearly shown; and, indeed, is proved by the slaughter of the bishops, and by the fact that these victims were true bishops. The relentless persecution of the Christians proclaims this fact aloud. "I shall not here say anything of the insults directed against me, by which the conspiracies of the opposite faction were mainly carried out. But he went so far as to send spies to watch me, and scarcely refrained from raising troops in aid of the tyrant. Let not any one imagine that I allege what I am not prepared to prove. I am in possession of clear evidence; for I have caused the bishops and presbyters belonging to his following to be seized. But I pass over all these facts. I only mention them for the purpose of making these persons ashamed of their conduct, and not from any feeling of resentment.

"There is one thing I fear, one thing which causes me anxiety, and that is to see you charged as accomplices; for you are influenced by the doctrines of

Eusebius, and have thus been led away from the truth. But your cure will be speedy, if, after obtaining a bishop who holds pure and faithful doctrines, you will but look unto God. This depends upon you alone; and you would, no doubt, have thus acted long ago, had not the aforesaid Eusebius come here, strongly supported by those then in power, and overturned all discipline. "As it is necessary to say something more about Eusebius, your patience will remember that a council was held in the city of Nicaea, at which, in obedience to my conscience, I was present, being actuated by no other motive than the desire of producing unanimity among all, and before all else of proving and dispelling the mischief which originated from the infatuation of Arius of Alexandria, and was straightway strengthened by the absurd and pernicious machinations of Eusebius. But, beloved and much-honoured brethren, you know not how earnestly and how disgracefully Eusebius, although convicted by the testimony of his own conscience, persevered in the support of the false doctrines which had been universally condemned. He secretly sent persons to me to petition on his behalf, and personally intreated my assistance in preventing his being ejected from his bishopric, although his crimes had been fully detected. God, who, I trust, will continue His goodness towards you and towards me, is witness to the truth of what I say. I was then myself deluded and deceived by Eusebius, as you shall well know. In everything he acted according to his own desire, his mind being full of every kind of secret evil.

"Omitting the relation of the rest of his misdeeds, it is well that you should be informed of the crime which he lately perpetrated in concert with Theognis, the accomplice of his folly. I had sent orders for the apprehension of certain individuals in Alexandria who had deserted our faith, and by whose means the firebrand of dissension was kindled. But these good gentlemen, forsooth, bishops, whom, by the clemency of the council, I had reserved for penitence, not only received them under their protection, but also participated in their evil deeds. Hence I came to the determination to punish these ungrateful men, by apprehending and banishing them to some far-distant region. "It is now your duty to look unto God with that same faith which it is clear that you have ever held, and in which it is fitting you should abide. So let us have cause of rejoicing in the appointment of pure, orthodox, and beneficent bishops. If any one should make mention of those destroyers, or presume to speak in their praise, let him know that his audacity will be

repressed by the authority which has been committed to me as the servant of God. May God preserve you, beloved brethren!"

The above-mentioned bishops were then deposed and banished. Amphion was entrusted with the church of Nicomedia, and Chrestus with that of Nicaea. But the exiled bishops, employing their customary artifices, abused the benevolence of the emperor, renewed the previous contests, and regained their former power.

Chapter XX. The Artful Machinations of Eusebius and His Followers Against the Holy Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch.

Eusebius, as I have already stated, seized the diocese of Constantinople by force. And thus having acquired great power in that city, frequently visiting and holding familiar intercourse with the emperor, he gained confidence and formed plots against those who were foremost in the support of the truth. He at first feigned a desire of going to Jerusalem, to see the celebrated edifices there erected: and the emperor, who was deceived by his flattery, allowed him to set out with the utmost honour, providing him with carriages, and the rest of his equipage and retinue. Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, who, as we have before said, was his accomplice in his evil designs, travelled with him. When they arrived at Antioch, they put on the mask of friendship, and were received with the utmost deference. Eustathius, the great champion of the faith, treated them with fraternal kindness. When they arrived at the holy places, they had an interview with those who were of the same opinions as themselves, namely, Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, Aetius, bishop of Lydda, Theodotus, bishop of Laodicea, and others who had imbibed the Arian sentiments; they made known the plot they had hatched to them, and went with them to Antioch. The pretext for their journey was, that due honour might be rendered to Eusebius; but their real motive was their war against religion.

They bribed a low woman, who made a traffic of her beauty, to sell them her tongue, and then repaired to the council, and when all the spectators had been ordered to retire, they introduced the wretched woman. She held a babe in her arms, of which she loudly and impudently affirmed that Eustathius was the father. Eustathius, conscious of his innocence, asked her whether she could bring forward any witness to prove what she had advanced. She replied that she could not: yet these equitable judges admitted her to oath, although it is said in the law, that "at the mouth of two or three witnesses shall the

matter be established ; and the apostle says, "against an elder receive not any accusation but before two or three witnesses . But they despised these divine laws, and admitted the accusation against this great man without any witnesses. When the woman had again declared upon oath that Eustathius was the father of the babe, these truth-loving judges condemned him as an adulterer. When the other bishops, who upheld the apostolical doctrines, being ignorant of all these intrigues, openly opposed the sentence, and advised Eustathius not to submit to it, the originators of the plot promptly repaired to the emperor, and endeavoured to persuade him that the accusation was true, and the sentence of deposition just; and they succeeded in obtaining the banishment of this champion of piety and chastity, as an adulterer and a tyrant. He was conducted across Thrace to a city of Illyricum .

Chapter XXI. Bishops of Heretical Opinions Ordained in Antioch After the Banishment of St. Eustathius .

Eulalius was first consecrated in place of Eustathius. But Eulalius surviving his elevation only a short period, it was intended that Eusebius of Palestine should be translated to this bishopric. Eusebius, however, refused the appointment, and the emperor forbade its being conferred on him. Next Euphronius was put forward, who also dying, after a lapse of only one year and a few months, the see was conferred on Flaccillus . All these bishops secretly clung to the Arian heresy. Hence it was that most of those individuals, whether of the clergy or of the laity, who valued the true religion, left the churches and formed assemblies among themselves. They were called Eustathians, since it was after the banishment of Eustathius that they began to hold their meetings. The wretched woman above-mentioned was soon after attacked by a severe and protracted illness, and then avowed the imposture in which she had been engaged, and made known the whole plot, not only to two or three, but to a very large number of priests. She confessed that she had been bribed to bring this false and impudent charge, but yet that her oath was not altogether false, as a certain Eustathius, a coppersmith, was the father of the babe. Such were some of the crimes perpetrated in Antioch by this most excellent faction.

Chapter XXII. Conversion of the Indians .

At this period, the light of the knowledge of God was for the first time shed upon India. The courage and the piety of the emperor had become celebrated throughout the world; and the barbarians, having learnt by experience to

choose peace rather than war, were able to enjoy intercourse with one another without fear. Many persons, therefore, set out on long journeys; some for the desire of making discoveries, others from a spirit of commercial enterprise. About this period a native of Tyre, acquainted with Greek philosophy, desiring to penetrate into the interior of India, set off for this purpose with his two young nephews. When he had accomplished the object of his wishes, he embarked for his own country. The ship being compelled to put in to land in order to obtain a fresh supply of water, the barbarians fell upon her, drowned some of the crew, and took the others prisoners. The uncle was among the number of those who were killed, and the lads were conducted to the king. The name of the one was Aedesius, and of the other Frumentius. The king of the country, in course of time, perceiving their intelligence, promoted them to the superintendence of his household. If any one should doubt the truth of this account, let him recal to mind the history of Joseph in the kingdom of Egypt, and also the history of Daniel, and of the three champions of the truth, who, from being captives, became princes of Babylon. The king died;

but these young men remained with his son, and were advanced to still greater power. As they had been brought up in the true religion, they exhorted the merchants who visited the country to assemble, according to the custom of Romans, to take part in the divine liturgy. After a considerable time they solicited the king to reward their services by permitting them to return to their own country. They obtained his permission, and safely reached Roman territory. Aedesius directed his course towards Tyre, but Frumentius, whose religious zeal was greater than the natural feeling of affection for his relatives, proceeded to Alexandria, and informed the bishop of that city that the Indians were deeply anxious to obtain spiritual light. Athanasius then held the rudder of that church; he heard the story, and then "Who," said he, "better than you yourself can scatter the mists of ignorance, and introduce among this people the light of Divine preaching? After having said this, he conferred upon him the episcopal dignity, and sent him to the spiritual culture of that nation. The newly-ordained bishop left this country, caring nothing for the mighty ocean, and returned to the untilled ground of his work. There, having the grace of God to labour with him, he cheerfully and successfully played the husbandman, catching those who sought to gainsay

his words by works of apostolic wonder, and thus, by these marvels, confirming his teaching, he continued each day to take many souls alive .

Chapter XXIII. Conversion of the Iberians .

Frumentius thus led the Indians to the knowledge of God. Iberia, about the same time, was guided into the way of truth by a captive woman . She continued instant in prayer, allowing herself no softer bed than a sack spread upon the ground, and accounted fasting her highest luxury. This austerity was rewarded by gifts similar to those of the Apostles. The barbarians, who were ignorant of medicine, were accustomed, when attacked by disease, to go to one another's houses, in order to ask those who had suffered in a similar way, and had got well, by what means they had been cured. In accordance with this custom, a mother who had a sick child, repaired to this admirable woman, to enquire if she knew of any cure for the disease. The latter took the child, placed it upon her bed, and prayed to the Creator of the world to be propitious to it, and cure the disease. He heard her prayer, and made it whole. This extraordinary woman hence obtained great celebrity; and the queen, who was suffering from a severe disease, hearing of her by report, sent for her. The captive held herself in very low estimation, and would not accept the invitation of the queen. But the queen, forced by her sore need, and careless of her royal dignity, herself ran to the captive. The latter made the queen lie down upon her mean bed, and once again applied to her disease the efficacious remedy of prayer.

The queen was healed, and offered as rewards for her cure, gold, silver, tunics, and mantles, and such gifts as she thought worthy of possession, and such as royal munificence should bestow. The holy woman told her that she did not want any of these, but that she would deem her greatest reward to be the queen's knowledge of true religion. She then, as far as in her lay, explained the Divine doctrines, and exhorted her to erect a church in honour of Christ who had made her whole. The queen then returned to the palace, and excited the admiration of her consort, by the suddenness of her cure; she then made known to him the power of that God whom the captive adored, and besought him to acknowledge the one only God, and to erect a church to Him, and to lead all the nation to worship Him. The king was greatly delighted with the miracle which had been performed upon the queen, but he would not consent to erect a church. A short time after he went out hunting, and the loving Lord made a prey of him as He did of Paul; for a sudden dark-

ness enveloped him and forbade him to move from the spot; while those who were hunting with him enjoyed the customary sunlight, and he alone was bound with the fetters of blindness.

In his perplexity he found a way of escape, for calling to mind his former unbelief, he implored the help of the God of the captive woman, and immediately the darkness was dispelled. He then went to the marvellous captive, and asked her to shew him how a church ought to be built. He who once filled Bezaleel with architectural skill, graciously enabled this woman to devise the plan of a church. The woman set about the plan, and men began to dig and build. When the edifice was completed, the roof put on, and every thing supplied except the priests, this admirable woman found means to obtain these also. For she persuaded the king to send an embassy to the Roman emperor asking for teachers of religion. The king accordingly despatched an embassy for the purpose. The emperor Constantine, who was warmly attached to the cause of religion, when informed of the purport of the embassy, gladly welcomed the ambassadors, and selected a bishop endowed with great faith, wisdom, and virtue, and presenting him with many gifts, sent him to the Iberians, that he might make known to them the true God. Not content with having granted the requests of the Iberians, he of his own accord undertook the protection of the Christians in Persia;

for, learning that they were persecuted by the heathens, and that their king himself, a slave to error, was contriving various cunning plots for their destruction, he wrote to him, entreating him to embrace the Christian religion himself, as well as to honour its professors. His own letter will render his earnestness in the cause the plainer.

Chapter XXIV. Letter Written by the Emperor Constantine to Sapor , the King of Persia, Respecting the Christians.

"In protecting the holy faith I enjoy the light of truth, and by following the light of truth I attain to fuller knowledge of the faith. Therefore, as facts prove, I recognize that most holy worship as teaching the knowledge of the most holy God. This service I profess. With the Power of this God for my ally, beginning at the furthest boundaries of the ocean, I have, one after another, quickened every part of the world with hope. Now all the peoples once enslaved by many tyrants, worn by their daily miseries, and almost extinct, have been kindled to fresh life by receiving the protection of the State. "The God I reverence is He whose emblem my dedicated troops bear on their

shoulders, marching whithersoever the cause of justice leads them, and rewarding me by their splendid victories. I confess that I reverence this God with eternal remembrance. Him, who dwelleth in the highest heavens, I contemplate with pure and unpolluted mind. On Him I call on bended knees, shunning all abominable blood, all unseemly and illomened odours, all fire of incantation, and all pollution by which unlawful and shameful error has destroyed whole nations and hurled them down to hell.

"God does not permit those gifts which, in His beneficent Providence, He has bestowed upon men for the supply of their wants to be perverted according to every man's desire. He only requires of men a pure mind and a spotless soul, and by these He weighs their deeds of virtue and piety. He is pleased with gentleness and modesty; He loves the meek, and hates those who excite contentions; He loves faith, chastises unbelief; He breaks all power of boasting, and punishes the insolence of the proud. Men exalted with pride He utterly overthrows, and rewards the humble and the patient according to their deserts. Of a just sovereignty He maketh much, strengthens it by His aid, and guards the counsels of Princes with the blessing of peace. "I know that I am not in error, my brother, when I confess that this God is the Ruler and the Father of all men, a truth which many who preceded me upon the imperial throne were so deluded by error as to attempt to deny. But their end was so dreadful that they have become a fearful warning to all mankind, to deter others from similar iniquity. Of these I count that man one whom the wrath of God, like a thunderbolt, drove hence into your country, and who made notorious the memorial of his shame which exists in your own land. Indeed it appears to have been well ordered that the age in which we live should be distinguished by the open and manifest punishments inflicted on such persons. I myself have witnessed the end of those who have persecuted the people of God by unlawful edicts. Hence it is that I more especially thank God for having now, by His special Providence, restored peace to those who observe His law, in which they exalt and rejoice.

"I am led to expect future happiness and security whenever God in His goodness unites all men in the exercise of the one pure and true religion. You may therefore well understand how exceedingly I rejoice to hear that the finest provinces of Persia are adorned abundantly with men of this class; I mean Christians; for it is of them I am speaking. All then is well with you and with them, for you will have the Lord of all merciful and beneficent to

you. Since then you are so mighty and so pious, I commend the Christians to your care, and leave them in your protection. Treat them, I beseech you, with the affection that befits your goodness. Your fidelity in this respect will confer on yourself and on us inexpressible benefits." This excellent emperor felt so much solicitude for all who had embraced the true religion, that he not only watched over those who were his own subjects, but also over the subjects of other sovereigns. For this reason he was blessed with the special protection of God, so that although he held the reins of the whole of Europe and of Africa, and the greater part of Asia, his subjects were all well disposed to his rule, and obedient to his government. Foreign nations submitted to his sway, some by voluntary submission, others overcome in war. Trophies were everywhere erected, and the emperor was styled Victorious.

The praises of Constantine have, however, been proclaimed by many other writers. We must resume the thread of our history. This emperor, who deserves the highest fame, devoted his whole mind to matters worthy of the apostles, while men who had been admitted to the sacerdotal dignity not only neglected to edify the church, but endeavoured to uproot it from the very foundations. They invented all manner of false accusations against those who governed the church in accordance with the doctrines taught by the apostles, and did their best to depose and banish them. Their envy was not satisfied by the infamous falsehood which they had invented against Eustathius, but they had recourse to every artifice to effect the overthrow of another great bulwark of religion. These tragic occurrences I shall now relate as concisely as possible.

Chapter XXV. An Account of the Plot Formed Against the Holy Athanasius.

Alexander, that admirable bishop, who had successfully withstood the blasphemies of Arius, died five months after the council of Nicaea, and was succeeded in the episcopate of the church of Alexandria by Athanasius. Trained from his youth in sacred studies, Athanasius had attracted general admiration in each ecclesiastical office that he filled. He had, at the general council, so defended the doctrines of the apostles, that while he won the approbation of all the champions of the truth, its opponents learned to look on their antagonist as a personal foe and public enemy. He had attended the council as one of the retinue of Alexander, then a very young man, although he was the principal deacon. When those who had denied the only-begotten Son of God heard that the helm of the Church of Alexandria had been entrusted to

his hands knowing as they did by experience his zeal for the truth, they thought that his rule would prove the destruction of their authority. They, therefore, resorted to the following machinations against him. In order to avert suspicion, they bribed some of the adherents of Meletius, who, although deposed by the council of Nicaea, had persevered in exciting commotions in the Thebaid and in the adjacent part of Egypt, and persuaded them to go to the emperor, and to accuse Athanasius of levying a tax upon Egypt, and giving the gold collected to a certain man who was preparing to usurp the imperial power. The emperor being deceived by this story, Athanasius was brought to Constantinople. Upon his arrival he proved that the accusation was false, and had the charge given him by God restored to him. This is shown by a letter from the emperor to the Church of Alexandria of which I shall transcribe only the concluding paragraph.

A Portion of the Letter from the Emperor Constantine to the Alexandrians. "Believe me, my brethren, the wicked men were unable to effect anything against your bishop. They surely could have had no other design than to waste our time, and to leave themselves no place for repentance in this life. Do you, therefore, help yourselves, and love that which wins your love; and exert all your power in the expulsion of those who wish to destroy your concord. Look unto God, and love one another. I joyfully welcomed Athanasius your bishop; and I have conversed with him as with one whom I know to be a man of God."

Chapter XXVII. Another Plot Against Athanasius.

The calumniators of Athanasius, however, did not desist from their attempts. On the contrary, they devised so bold a fiction against him, that it surpassed every invention of the ancient writers of the tragic or comic stage. They again bribed individuals of the same party, and brought them before the emperor, vociferously accusing that champion of virtue of many abominable crimes. The leaders of the party were Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus, a city now called Heraclea. After having accused Athanasius of crimes which they described as too shocking to be tolerated, or even listened to, they persuaded the emperor to convene a council at Caesarea in Palestine, where Athanasius had many enemies, and to command that his cause should be there tried. The emperor, utterly ignorant of the plot that had been devised, was persuaded by them to give the required order. But the holy Athanasius, well aware of the malevolence of those who

were to try him, refused to appear at the council. This served as a pretext to those who opposed the truth to criminate him still further; and they accused him before the emperor of contumacy and arrogance. Nor were their hopes altogether frustrated; for the emperor, although exceedingly forbearing, became exasperated by their representations, and wrote to him in an angry manner, commanding him to repair to Tyre. Here the council was ordered to assemble, from the suspicion, as I think, that Athanasius had an apprehension of Caesarea on account of its bishop. The emperor wrote also to the council in a style consistent with his devoted piety. His letter is as follows.

Chapter XXVIII. Epistle of the Emperor Constantine to the Council of Tyre .

"Constantinus Augustus to the holy council assembled in Tyre. "In the general prosperity which distinguishes the present time, it seems right that the Catholic Church should likewise be exempt from trouble, and that the servants of Christ should be freed from every reproach. "But certain individuals instigated by the mad desire of contention, not to say leading a life unworthy of their profession, are endeavoring to throw all into disorder. This appears to me to be the greatest of all possible calamities. I beseech you, therefore, in post haste, as the phrase goes, to assemble together, without any delay, in formal synod; so that you may support those who require your assistance, heal the brethren who are in danger, restore unanimity to the divided members, and rectify the disorders of the Church while time permits; and thus restore to those great provinces the harmony which, alas! the arrogance of a few men has destroyed. I believe every one would admit that you could not perform anything so pleasing in the sight of God, so surpassing all my prayers as well as your own, or so conducive to your own reputation, as to restore peace.

"Do not ye therefore delay, but when you have come together with all that sincerity and fidelity which our Saviour demands of all His servants, almost in words that we can hear, endeavour with redoubled eagerness to put a fitting end to these dissensions. "Nothing shall be omitted on my part to further the interests of our religion. I have done all that you recommended in your letters. I have sent to those bishops whom you specified, directing them to repair to the council for the purpose of deliberating with you upon ecclesiastical matters. I have also sent Dionysius , a man of consular rank, to counsel those who are to sit in synod with you, and to be himself an eye witness of your proceedings, and particularly of the order and regularity that is main-

tained. If any one should dare on the present occasion also to disobey our command, and refuse to come to the council, which, however, I do not anticipate, an officer will be despatched immediately to send him into banishment by imperial order, that he may learn not to oppose the decrees enacted by the emperor for the support of truth.

"All that now devolves upon your holinesses is to decide with unanimous judgment, without partiality or prejudice, in accordance with the ecclesiastical and apostolical rule, and to devise suitable remedies for the offences which may have resulted from error; in order that the Church may be freed from all reproach, that my anxiety may be diminished, that peace may be restored to those now at variance, and that your renown may be increased. May God preserve you, beloved brethren." The bishops accordingly repaired to the council of Tyre. Amongst them were those who were accused of holding heterodox doctrines; of whom Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, was one. The admirable Athanasius also attended. I shall first dwell on the tragedy of the accusation, and shall then relate the proceedings of this celebrated tribunal.

Chapter XXIX. The Council of Tyre.

Arsenius was a bishop of the Meletian faction. The men of his party put him in a place of concealment, and charged him to remain there as long as possible. They then cut off the right hand of a corpse, embalmed it, placed it in a wooden case, and carried it about everywhere, declaring that it was the hand of Arsenius, who had been murdered by Athanasius. But the all-seeing eye did not permit Arsenius to remain long in Concealment. He was first seen alive in Egypt; then in the Thebaid; afterwards he was led by Divine Providence to Tyre, where the hand of tragic fame was brought before the council. The friends of Athanasius hunted him up, and brought him to an inn, where they compelled him to lie hid for a time. Early in the morning the great Athanasius came to the council. First of all a woman of lewd life was brought in, who deposed in a loud and impudent manner that she had vowed perpetual virginity, but that Athanasius, who had lodged in her house, had violated her chastity. After she had made her charge, the accused came forward, and with him a presbyter worthy of all praise, by name Timotheus. The court ordered Athanasius to reply to the indictment; but he was silent, as if he had not been Athanasius. Timotheus, however, addressed her thus: "Have I, O woman, ever conversed with you, or have I entered your house?" She replied with still greater effrontery, screaming aloud in her dis-

pute with Timotheus, and, pointing at him with her finger, exclaimed, "It was you who robbed me of my virginity; it was you who stripped me of my chastity;" adding other indelicate expressions which are used by shameless women. The devisers of this calumny were put to shame, and all the bishops who were privy to it, blushed.

The woman was now being led out of the Court, but the great Athanasius protested that instead of sending her away they ought to examine her, and learn the name of the hatcher of the plot. Hereupon his accusers yelled and shouted that he had perpetrated other viler crimes, of which it was utterly impossible that he could by any art or ingenuity be cleared; and that eyes, not ears, would decide on the evidence. Having said this, they exhibited the famous box and exposed the embalmed hand to view. At this sight all the spectators uttered a loud cry. Some believed the accusation to be true; the others had no doubt of the falsehood, and thought that Arsenius was lurking somewhere or other in concealment. When at length, after some difficulty, a little silence was obtained, the accused asked his judges whether any of them knew Arsenius. Several of them replying that they knew him well, Athanasius gave orders that he should be brought before them. Then he again asked them, "Is this the right Arsenius? Is this the man I murdered? Is this the man those people mutilated after his murder by cutting off his right hand?" When they had confessed that it was the same individual, Athanasius pulled off his cloak, and exhibited two hands, both the right and the left, and said, "Let no one seek for a third hand, for man has received two hands from the Creator and no more."

Even after this plain proof the calumniators and the judges who were privy to the crime, instead of hiding themselves, or praying that the earth might open and swallow them up, raised an uproar and commotion in the assembly, and declared that Athanasius was a sorcerer, and that he had by his magical incantations bewitched the eyes of men. The very men who a moment before had accused him of murder now strove to tear him in pieces and to murder him. But those whom the emperor had entrusted with the preservation of order saved the life of Athanasius by dragging him away, and hurrying him on board a ship. When he appeared before the emperor, he described all the dramatic plot which had been got up to ruin him. The calumniators sent bishops attached to their faction into Mareotis, viz., Theognis, bishop of Nicaea, Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus, Maris, bishop of

Chalcedon, Narcissus of Cilicia , with others of the same sentiments. Mareotis is a district near Alexandria, and derives its name from the lake Maria . Here they invented other falsehoods, and, forging the reports of the trial, mixed up the charges which had been shown to be false with fresh accusations, as if they had been true, and despatched them to the emperor.

Chapter XXX. Consecration of the Church of Jerusalem.-Banishment of St. Athanasius.

All the bishops who were present at the council of Tyre, with all others from every quarter, were commanded by the emperor to proceed to Aelia to consecrate the churches which he had there erected. The emperor despatched also a number of officials of the most kindly disposition, remarkable for piety and fidelity, whom he ordered to furnish abundant supplies of provisions, not only to the bishops and their followers, but to the vast multitudes who flocked from all parts to Jerusalem. The holy altar was decorated with imperial hangings and with golden vessels set with gems. When the splendid festival was concluded, each bishop returned to his own diocese. The emperor was highly gratified when informed of the splendour and magnificence of the function, and blessed the Author of all good for having thus granted his petition. Athanasius having complained of his unjust condemnation, the emperor commanded the bishops against whom this complaint was directed to present themselves at court. Upon their arrival, they desisted from urging any of their former calumnies, because they knew how clearly they could be refuted; but they made it appear that Athanasius had threatened to prevent the exportation of corn. The emperor believed what they said, and banished him to a city of Gaul called Treves . This occurred in the thirtieth year of the emperor's reign .

Chapter XXXI. Will of the Blessed Emperor Constantine.

A Year and a few months afterwards the emperor was taken ill at Nicomedia, a city of Bithynia, and, knowing the uncertainty of human life, he received the holy rite of baptism , which he had intended to have deferred until he could be baptized in the river Jordan. He left as heirs of the imperial throne his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans , the youngest. He ordered that the great Athanasius should return to Alexandria, and expressed this decision in the presence of Eusebius, who did all he could to dissuade him.

Chapter XXXII. Apology for Constantine.

It ought not to excite astonishment that Constantine was so far deceived as to send so many great men into exile: for he believed the assertions of bishops of high fame and reputation, who skilfully concealed their malice. Those who are acquainted with the Sacred Scriptures know that the holy David, although he was a prophet, was deceived; and that too not by a priest, but by one who was a menial, a slave, and a rascal. I mean Ziba, who deluded the king by lies against Mephibosheth, and thus obtained his land. It is not to condemn the prophet that I thus speak; but that I may defend the emperor, by showing the weakness of human nature, and to teach that credit should not be given only to those who advance accusations, even though they may appear worthy of credit; but that the other party ought also to be heard, and that one ear should be left open to the accused.

Chapter XXXIII. The End of the Holy Emperor Constantine.

The emperor was now translated from his earthly dominions to a better kingdom. The body of the emperor was enclosed in a golden coffin, and was carried to Constantinople by the governors of the provinces, the military commanders, and the other officers of state, preceded and followed by the whole army, all bitterly deploring their loss; for Constantine had been as an affectionate father to them all. The body of the emperor was allowed to remain in the palace until the arrival of his sons, and high honours were rendered to it. But these details require no description here, as a full account has been given by other writers. From their works, which are easy of access, may be learnt how greatly the Ruler of all honours His faithful servants. If any one should be tempted to unbelief, let him look at what occurs now near the tomb and the statue of Constantine, and then he must admit the truth of what God has said in the Scriptures, "Them that honour Me I will honour, and they that despise Me shall be lightly esteemed."

BOOK II

Chapter I. Return of St. Athanasius.

The divine Athanasius returned to Alexandria, after having remained two years and four months at Treves. Constantine, the eldest son of Constantine the Great, whose imperial sway extended over Western Gaul, wrote the following letter to the church of Alexandria. Epistle of the Emperor Constantine, the son of Constantine the Great, to the Alexandrians. "Con-

stantinus Caesar to the people of the Catholic Church of Alexandria. "I think that it cannot have escaped your pious intelligence that Athanasius, the interpreter of the venerated law, was opportunely sent into Gaul, in order that, so long as the savagery of these bloodthirsty opponents was threatening peril to his sacred head, he might be saved from suffering irremediable wrongs. To avoid this imminent peril, he was snatched from the jaws of his foes, to remain in a city under my jurisdiction, where he might be abundantly supplied with every necessary. Yet the greatness of his virtue, relying on the grace of God, led him to despise all the calamities of adverse fortune. Constantine, my lord and my father, of blessed memory, intended to have reinstated him in his former bishopric, and to have restored him to your piety; but as the emperor was arrested by the hand of death before his desires were accomplished, I, being his heir, have deemed it fitting to carry into execution the purpose of this sovereign of divine memory. You will learn from your bishop himself, when you see him, with how much respect I have treated him. Nor indeed is it surprising that he should have been thus treated by me. I was moved to this line of conduct by his own great virtue, and the thought of your affectionate longing for his return. May Divine Providence watch over you, beloved brethren!"

Furnished with this letter, St. Athanasius returned from exile, and was most gladly welcomed both by the rich and by the poor, by the inhabitants of cities, and by those of the provinces. The followers of the madness of Arius were the only persons who felt any vexation at his return. Eusebius, Theognis, and those of their faction resorted to their former machinations, and endeavoured to prejudice the ears of the young emperor against him. I shall now proceed to relate in what manner Constantius swerved from the doctrines of the Apostles.

Chapter II. Declension of the Emperor Constantius from the True Faith.

Constantia, the widow of Licinius, was the half-sister of Constantine. She was intimately acquainted with a certain priest who had imbibed the doctrines of Arius. He did not openly acknowledge his unsoundness; but, in the frequent conversations which he had with her, he did not refrain from declaring that Arius had been unjustly calumniated. After the death of her impious husband, the renowned Constantine did everything in his power to solace her, and strove to prevent her from experiencing the saddest trials of widowhood. He attended her also in her last illness, and rendered her every

proper attention. She then presented the priest whom I mentioned to the emperor, and entreated him to receive him under his protection. Constantine acceded to her request, and soon after fulfilled his promise. But though the priest was permitted the utmost freedom of speech, and was most honourably treated, he did not venture to reveal his corrupt principles, for he observed the firmness with which the emperor adhered to the truth. When Constantine was on the point of being translated to an eternal kingdom, he drew up a will, in which he directed that his temporal dominions should be divided among his sons. None of them was with him when he was dying, so he entrusted the will to this priest alone, and desired him to give it to Constantius, who, being at a shorter distance from the spot than his brothers, was expected to arrive the first.

These directions the priest executed, and thus by putting the will into his hands, became known to Constantius, who accepted him as an intimate friend, and commanded him to visit him frequently. Perceiving the weakness of Constantius, whose mind was like reeds driven to and fro by the wind, he became emboldened to declare war against the doctrines of the gospel. He loudly deplored the stormy state of the churches, and asserted it to be due to those who had introduced the unscriptural word "consubstantial" into the confession of faith, and that all the disputes among the clergy and the laity had been occasioned by it. He calumniated Athanasius and all who coincided in his opinions, and formed designs for their destruction, being used as their fellow-worker by Eusebius, Theognis, and Theodorus, bishop of Perinthus. The last-named, whose see is generally known by the name of Heraclea, was a man of great erudition, and had written an exposition of the Holy Scriptures. These bishops resided near the emperor, and frequently visited him; they assured him that the return of Athanasius from banishment had occasioned many evils, and had excited a tempest which had shaken not only Egypt, but also Palestine, Phoenicia, and the adjacent countries.

Chapter III. Second Exile of St. Athanasius.-Ordination and Death of Gregorius.

With these and similar arguments, the bishops assailed the weak-minded emperor, and persuaded him to expel Athanasius from his church. But Athanasius obtained timely intimation of their design, and departed to the west. The friends of Eusebius had sent false accusations against him to Julius, who was then bishop of Rome. In obedience to the laws of the church, Julius summoned the accusers and the accused to Rome, that the cause might be

tried . Athanasius, accordingly, set out for Rome, but the calumniators refused to go because they saw that their falsehood would easily be detected . But perceiving that the flock of Athanasius was left without a pastor, they appointed over it a wolf instead of a shepherd. Gregorius, for this was his name, surpassed the wild beasts in his deeds of cruelty towards the flock: but at the expiration of six years he was destroyed by the sheep themselves. Athanasius went to Constans (Constantine, the eldest brother, having fallen in battle), and complained of the plots laid against him by the Arians, and of their opposition to the apostolical faith . He reminded him of his father, and how he attended in person the great and famous council which he had summoned; how he was present at its debates, took part in framing its decrees, and confirmed them by law. The emperor was moved to emulation by his father's zeal, and promptly wrote to his brother, exhorting him to preserve inviolate the religion of their father, which they had inherited; "for," he urged, "by piety he made his empire great, destroyed the tyrants of Rome, and subjugated the foreign nations on every side." Constantius was led by this letter to summon the bishops from the east and from the west to Sardica , a city of Illyricum, and the metropolis of Dacia, that they might deliberate on the means of removing the other troubles of the church, which were many and pressing.

Chapter IV. Paulus, Bishop of Constantinople.

Paulus , bishop of Constantinople, who faithfully maintained orthodox doctrines, was accused by the unsound Arians of exciting seditions, and of such other crimes as they usually laid to the charge of all those who preached true piety. The people, who feared the machinations of his enemies, would not permit him to go to Sardica. The Arians, taking advantage of the weakness of the emperor, procured from him an edict of banishment against Paulus, who was, accordingly, sent to Cucusus, a little town formerly included in Cappadocia, but now in Lesser Armenia. But these disturbers of the public peace were not satisfied with having driven the admirable Paulus into a desert. They sent the agents of their cruelty to despatch him by a violent death. St. Athanasius testifies to this fact in the defence which he wrote of his own flight. He uses the following words : "They pursued Paulus, bishop of Constantinople, and having seized him at Cucusus, a city of Cappadocia, they had him strangled, using as their executioner Philippus the prefect, who

was the protector of their heresy, and the active agent of their most atrocious projects."

Such were the murders to which the blasphemy of Arius gave rise. Their mad rage against the Only-begotten was matched by cruel deeds against His servants.

Chapter V. The Heresy of Macedonius.

The Arians, having effected the death of Paulus, or rather having despatched him to the kingdom of heaven, promoted Macedonius in his place, who, they imagined, held the same sentiments, and belonged to the same faction as themselves, because he, like them, blasphemed the Holy Ghost. But, shortly after, they deposed him also, because he refused to call Him a creature Whom the Holy Scriptures affirm to be the Son of God. After his separation from them, he became the leader of a sect of his own. He taught that the Son of God is not of the same substance as the Father, but that He is like Him in every particular. He also openly affirmed that the Holy Ghost is a creature. These circumstances occurred not long afterwards as we have narrated them.

Chapter VI. Council Held at Sardica.

Two hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Sardica, as is proved by ancient records. The great Athanasius, Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, already mentioned, and Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, the metropolis of Galatia, who also held this bishopric at the time of the council of Nicaea, all repaired thither. The calumniators, and the chiefs of the Arian faction, who had previously judged the cause of Athanasius, also attended. But when they found that the members of the synod were staunch in their adherence to sound doctrine, they would not even enter the council, although they had been summoned to it, but fled away, both accusers and judges. All these circumstances are far more clearly explained in a letter drawn up by the council; and I shall therefore now insert it. Synodical Letter from the Bishops assembled at Sardica, addressed to the other Bishops. "The holy council assembled at Sardica, from Rome, Spain, Gaul, Italy, Campania, Calabria, Africa, Sardinia, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia, Dardania, Lesser Dacia, Macedonia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Thrace, Rhodope, Asia, Caria, Bithynia, the Hellespont, Phrygia, Pisidia, Cappadocia, Pontus, the lesser Phrygia, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lydia, the Cyclades, Egypt, the Thebaid, Libya, Galatia, Palestine and Arabia, to the bish-

ops throughout the world, our fellow-ministers in the catholic and apostolic Church, and our beloved brethren in the Lord. Peace be unto you.

"The madness of the Arians has often led them to the perpetration of violent atrocities against the servants of God who keep the true faith; they introduce false doctrines themselves, and persecute those who uphold orthodox principles. So violent were their attacks on the faith, that they reached the ears of our most pious emperors. Through the co-operation of the grace of God, the emperors have summoned us from different provinces and cities to the holy council which they have appointed to be held in the city of Sardica, in order that all dissensions may be terminated, all evil doctrines expelled, and the religion of Christ alone maintained amongst all people. Some bishops from the east have attended the council at the solicitation of our most religious emperors, principally on account of the reports circulated against our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Perhaps the calumnies of the Arians have already reached you, and they have endeavoured thus to forestall the council, and make you believe their groundless accusations of the innocent, and prevent any suspicion being raised of the depraved heresy which they uphold. But they have not long been permitted so to act. The Lord is the Protector of the churches; for them and for us all He suffered death, and opened for us the way to heaven.

"The adherents of Eusebius Maris, Theodorus, Theognis, Ursacius, Valens, Menophantus, and Stephanus, had already written to Julius, the bishop of Rome, and our fellow-minister, against our aforesaid fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza. Some bishops of the opposite party wrote also to Julius, testifying to the innocence of Athanasius, and proving that all that had been asserted by the followers of Eusebius was nothing more than lies and slander. The refusal of the Arians to obey the summons of our beloved brother and fellow-ruler, Julius, and also the letter written by that bishop, clearly prove the falseness of their accusation. For, had they believed that what they had done and represented against our fellow-minister admitted of justification, they would have gone to Rome. But their mode of procedure in this great and holy council is a manifest proof of their fraud. Upon their arrival at Sardica, they perceived that our brethren, Athanasius, Marcellus, Asclepas, and others, were there also; they were therefore afraid to come to the

test, although they had been summoned, not once or twice only, but repeatedly. There were they waited for by the assembled bishops, particularly by the venerable Hosius, one worthy of all honour and respect, on account of his advanced age, his adherence to the faith, and his labours for the church.

All urged them to join the assembly and avail themselves of the opportunity of proving, in the presence of their fellow-ministers, the truth of the charges they had brought against them in their absence, both by word and by letter. But they refused to obey the summons, as we have already stated, and so by their excesses proved the falsity of their statements, and all but proclaimed aloud the plot and schemes they had formed. Men confident of the truth of their assertions are always ready to stand to them openly. But as these accusers would not appear to substantiate what they had advanced, any future allegations which they may by their usual artifices bring against our fellow-ministers, will only be regarded as proceeding from a desire of slandering them in their absence, without the courage to confront them openly. "They fled, beloved brethren, not only because their charges were slander, but also because they saw men arrive with serious and manifold accusations against themselves. Chains and fetters were produced. Some were present whom they had exiled: others came forward as representatives of those still kept in exile. There stood relations and friends of men whom they had put to death. Most serious of all, bishops also appeared, one of whom exhibited the irons and the chains with which they had laden him. Others testified that death followed their false charges. For their infatuation had led them so far as even to attempt the life of a bishop; and he would have been killed had he not escaped from their hands. Theodulus, our fellow-minister, of blessed memory, passed hence with their calumny on his name; for, through it, he had been condemned to death. Some showed the wounds which had been inflicted on them by the sword; others deposed that they had been exposed to the miseries of famine.

"All these depositions were made, not by a few obscure individuals, but by whole churches; the presbyters of these churches giving evidence that the persecutors had armed the military against them with swords, and the common people with clubs; had employed judicial threats, and produced spurious documents. The letters written by Theognis, for the purpose of prejudicing the emperor against our fellow-ministers, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, were read and attested by those who had formerly been the deacons of

Theognis. It was also proved that they had stripped virgins naked, had burnt churches, and imprisoned our fellow-ministers, and all because of the infamous heresy of the Ariomaniacs. For thus all who refused to make common cause with them were treated. "The consciousness of having committed all these crimes placed them in great straits. Ashamed of their deeds, which could no longer be concealed, they repaired to Sardica, thinking that their boldness in venturing thither would remove all suspicion of their guilt. But when they perceived the presence of those whom they had falsely accused, and of those who had suffered from their cruelty; and that likewise several had come with irrefragable accusations against them, they would not enter the council. Our fellow-ministers, on the other hand, Athanasius, Marcellus, and Asclepas, took every means to induce them to attend, by tears, by urgency, by challenge, promising not only to prove the falsity of their accusations, but also to show how deeply they had injured their own churches. But they were so overwhelmed by the consciousness of their own evil deeds, that they took to flight, and by this flight clearly proved the falsity of their accusations as well as their own guilt.

"But though their calumny and perfidy, which had indeed been apparent from the beginning, were now clearly perceived, yet we determined to examine the circumstances of the case according to the laws of truth, lest they should, from their very flight, derive pretexts for renewed acts of deceitfulness. "Upon carrying this resolution into effect, we proved by their actions that they were false accusers, and that they had formed plots against our fellow-ministers. Arsenius, whom they declared had been put to death by Athanasius, is still alive, and takes his place among the living. This fact alone is sufficient to show that their other allegations are false. "Although they spread a report everywhere that a chalice had been broken by Macarius, one of the presbyters of Athanasius, yet those who came from Alexandria, from Mareotis, and from other places, testified that this was not the fact; and the bishops in Egypt wrote to Julius, our fellow-minister, declaring that there was not the least suspicion that such a deed had been done. The judicial facts which the Arians assert they possess against Macarius have been all drawn up by one party; and in these documents the depositions of pagans and of catechumens were included. One of these catechumens, when interrogated, replied that he was in the church on the entry of Macarius. Another deposed that Ischyra, whom they had talked about so much, was then lying ill in his

cell. Hence it appears that the mysteries could not have been celebrated at that time, as the catechumens were present, and as Ischyrras was absent; for he was at that very time confined by illness. Ischyrras, that wicked man who had falsely affirmed that Athanasius had burnt some of the sacred books, and had been convicted of the crime, now confessed that he was ill in bed when Macarius arrived; hence the falsehood of his accusation was clearly demonstrated. His calumny was, however, rewarded by his party; they gave him the title of a bishop, although he was not yet even a presbyter. For two presbyters came to the synod, who some time back had been attached to Meletius, and were afterwards received back by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and are now with Athanasius, protesting that he had never been ordained a presbyter, and that Meletius had never had any church, or employed any minister in Mareotis. Yet, although he had never been ordained a presbyter, they promote him to a bishopric, in order that his title may impose upon those who hear his false accusations .

"The writings of our fellow-minister, Marcellus, were also read, and plainly evinced the duplicity of the adherents of Eusebius; for what Marcellus had simply suggested as a point of inquiry, they accused him of professing as a point of faith. The statements which he had made, both before and after the inquiry, were read, and his faith was proved to be orthodox. He did not affirm, as they represented, that the beginning of the Word of God was dated from His conception by the holy Mary, or that His kingdom would have an end. On the contrary, he wrote that His kingdom had had no beginning, and would have no end. Asclepas, our fellow-minister, produced the reports drawn up at Antioch in the presence of the accusers, and of Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, and proved his innocence by the sentence of the bishops who had presided as judges. "It was not then without cause, beloved brethren, that, although so frequently summoned, they would not attend the council; it was not without cause that they took to flight. The reproaches of conscience constrained them to make their escape, and thus, at the same time, to demonstrate the groundlessness of their calumnies, and the truth of those accusations which were advanced and proved against them. Besides all the other grounds of complaint, it may be added that all those who had been accused of holding the Arian heresy, and had been ejected in consequence, were not only received, but advanced to the highest dignities by them. They raised deacons to the presbyterate, and thence to the episcopate; and in all

this they were actuated by no other motive than the desire of propagating and diffusing their heresy, and of corrupting the true faith.

"Next to Eusebius, the following are their principal leaders; Theodorus, bishop of Heraclea, Narcissus, bishop of Neronias in Cilicia, Stephanus, bishop of Antioch, Georgius, bishop of Laodicea, Acacius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus in Asia, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Moesia, and Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia. These bishops forbade those who came with them from the east to attend the holy council, or to unite with the Church of God. On their road to Sardica they held private assemblies at different places, and formed a compact cemented by threats, that, when they arrived in Sardica, they would not join the holy council, nor assist at its deliberations; arranging that, as soon as they had arrived they should present themselves for form's sake, and forthwith betake themselves to flight. These facts were made known to us by our fellow-ministers, Macarius of Palestine, and Asterius of Arabia, who came with them to Sardica, but refused to share their unorthodoxy. These bishops complained before the holy council of the violent treatment they had received from them, and of the want of right principles evinced in all their transactions. They added that there were many amongst them who still held orthodox opinions, but that these were prevented from going to the council; and that sometimes threats, sometimes promises, were resorted to, in order to retain them in that party. For this reason they were compelled to reside together in one house; and never allowed, even for the shortest space of time, to be alone.

"It is not right to pass over in silence and without rebuke the calumnies, the imprisonments, the murders, the stripes, the forged letters, the indignities, the stripping naked of virgins, the banishments, the destruction of churches, the acts of incendiarism, the translation of bishops from small towns to large dioceses, and above all, the ill-starred Arian heresy, raised by their means against the true faith. For these causes, therefore, we declare the innocence and purity of our beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra in Galatia, and Asclepas, bishop of Gaza, and of all the other servants of God who are with them; and we have written to each of their dioceses, in order that the people of each church may be made acquainted with the innocence of their respective bishops, and that they may recognise them alone and wait for their re-

turn. Men who have come down on their churches like wolves , such as Gregorius in Alexandria, Basilius in Ancyra, and Quintianus in Gaza, we charge them not even to call bishops, nor yet Christians, nor to have any communion with them, nor to receive any letters from them, nor to write to them.

"Theodorus, bishop of Heraclea in Europe, Narcissus, bishop of Neronias in Cilicia, Acacius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, Stephanus, bishop of Antioch, Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Moesia, Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, Menophantus, bishop of Ephesus, and Georgius, bishop of Laodicea (for though fear kept him from leaving the East, he has been deposed by the blessed Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and has imbibed the infatuation of the Arians), have on account of their various crimes been cast forth from their bishoprics by the unanimous decision of the holy council. We have decreed that they are not only not to be regarded as bishops, but to be refused communion with us. For those who separate the Son from the substance and divinity of the Father, and alienate the Word from the Father, ought to be separated from the Catholic Church, and alienated from all who bear the name of Christians. Let them then be anathema to you, and to all the faithful, because they have corrupted the word of truth. For the apostle's precept enjoins, if any one should bring to you another gospel than that which ye have received, let him be accursed . Command that no one hold communion with them; for light can have no fellowship with darkness. Keep far off from them; for what concord has Christ with Belial? Be careful, beloved brethren, that you neither write to them nor receive their letters. Endeavour, beloved brethren and fellow-ministers, as though present with us in spirit at the council, to give your hearty consent to what is enacted, and affix to it your written signature, for the sake of preserving unanimity of opinion among all our fellow-ministers throughout the world .

"We declare those men excommunicate from the Catholic Church who say that Christ is God, but not the true God; that He is the Son, but not the true Son; and that He is both begotten and made; for such persons acknowledge that they understand by the term 'begotten,' that which has been made; and because, although the Son of God existed before all ages, they attribute to Him, who exists not in time but before all time, a beginning and an end . "Valens and Ursacius have, like two vipers brought forth by an asp, proceeded from the Arian heresy. For they boastingly declare themselves to

be undoubted Christians, and yet affirm that the Word and the Holy Ghost were both crucified and slain, and that they died and rose again; and they pertinaciously maintain, like the heretics, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost are of diverse and distinct essences . We have been taught, and we hold the catholic and apostolic tradition and faith and confession which teach, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one essence, which is termed substance by the heretics. If it is asked, 'What is the essence of the Son?' we confess, that it is that which is acknowledged to be that of the Father alone; for the Father has never been, nor could ever be, without the Son, nor the Son without the Father. It is most absurd to affirm that the Father ever existed without the Son, for that this could never be so has been testified by the Son Himself, who said, 'I am in the Father, and the Father in Me ;' and 'I and My Father are one . ' None of us denies that He was begotten; but we say that He was begotten before all things, whether visible or invisible; anti that He is the Creator of archangels and angels, and of the world, and of the human race. It is written, 'Wisdom which is the worker of all things taught me ,' and again, 'All things were made by Him . '

"He could not have existed always if He had had a beginning, for the everlasting Word has no beginning, and God will never have an end. We do not say that the Father is Son, nor that the Son is Father; but that the Father is Father, and the Son of the Father Son. We confess that the Son is Power of the Father. We confess that the Word is Word of God the Father, and that beside Him there is no other. We believe the Word to be the true God, and Wisdom and Power. We affirm that He is truly the Son, yet not in the way in which others are said to be sons: for they are either gods by reason of their regeneration, or are called sons of God on account of their merit, and not on account of their being of one essence , as is the case with the Father and the Son. We confess an Only-begotten and a Firstborn; but that the Word is only-begotten, who ever was and is in the Father. We use the word firstborn with respect to His human nature. But He is superior (to man) in the new creation (of the Resurrection), inasmuch as He is the Firstborn from the dead.

"We confess that God is; we confess the divinity of the Father and of the Son to be one. No one denies that the Father is greater than the Son: not on account of another essence , nor yet on account of their difference, but simply from the very name of the Father being greater than that of the Son.

The words uttered by our Lord, 'I and My Father are one,' are by those men explained as referring to the concord and harmony which prevail between the Father and the Son; but this is a blasphemous and perverse interpretation. We, as Catholics, unanimously condemned this foolish and lamentable opinion: for just as mortal men on a difference having arisen between them quarrel and afterwards are reconciled, so do such interpreters say that disputes and dissension are liable to arise between God the Father Almighty and His Son; a supposition which is altogether absurd and untenable. But we believe and maintain that those holy words, 'I and My Father are one,' point out the oneness of essence which is one and the same in the Father and in the Son.

"We also believe that the Son reigns with the Father, that His reign has neither beginning nor end, and that it is not bounded by time, nor can ever cease: for that which always exists never begins to be, and can never cease. "We believe in and we receive the Holy Ghost the Comforter, whom the Lord both promised and sent. We believe in It as sent. "It was not the Holy Ghost who suffered, but the manhood with which He clothed Himself; which He took from the Virgin Mary, which being man was capable of suffering; for man is mortal, whereas God is immortal. We believe that on the third day He rose, the man in God, not God in the man; and that He brought as a gift to His Father the manhood which He had delivered from sin and corruption. "We believe that, at a meet and fixed time, He Himself will judge all men and all their deeds.

"So great is the ignorance and mental darkness of those whom we have mentioned, that they are unable to see the light of truth. They cannot comprehend the meaning of the words: 'that they may be one in us.' It is obvious why the word 'one' was used; it was because the apostles received the Holy Spirit of God, and yet there were none amongst them who were the Spirit, neither was there any one of them who was Word, Wisdom, Power, or Only-begotten. 'As Thou,' He said, 'and I are one, that they, may be one in us.' These holy words, 'that they may be one in us,' are strictly accurate: for the Lord did not say, 'one in the same way that I and the Father are one,' but He said, 'that the disciples, being knit together and united, may be one in faith and in confession, and so in the grace and piety of God the Father, and by the indulgence and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, may be able to become one.'"

From this letter may be learnt the duplicity of the calumniators, and the injustice of the former judges, as well as the soundness of the decrees. These holy fathers have taught us not only truths respecting the Divine nature, but also the doctrine of the Incarnation . Constans was much concerned on hearing of the easy temper of his brother, and was highly incensed against those who had contrived this plot and artfully taken advantage of it. He chose two of the bishops who had attended the council of Sardica, and sent them with letters to his brother; he also despatched Salianus, a military commander who was celebrated for his piety and integrity, on the same embassy. The letters which he forwarded by them, and which were worthy of himself, contained not only entreaties and counsels, but also menaces. In the first place, he charged his brother to attend to all that the bishops might say, and to take cognizance of the crimes of Stephanus and of his accomplices. He also required him to restore Athanasius to his flock; the calumny of the accusers and the injustice and ill-will of his former judges having become evident. He added, that if he would not accede to his request, and perform this act of justice, he would himself go to Alexandria, restore Athanasius to his flock which earnestly longed for him, and expel all opponents.

Constantius was at Antioch when he received this letter; and he agreed to carry out all that his brother commanded.

Chapter VII. Account of the Bishops Euphratas and Vincentius, and of the Plot Formed in Antioch Against Them.

The wonted opponents of the truth were so much displeased at these proceedings, that they planned a notoriously execrable and impious crime. The two bishops resided near the foot of the mountain, while the military commander had settled in a lodging in another quarter. At this period Stephanus held the rudder of the church of Antioch, and had well nigh sunk the ship, for he employed several tools in his despotic doings, and by their aid involved all who maintained orthodox doctrines in manifold calamities. The leader of these instruments was a young man of a rash and reckless character, who led a very infamous life. He not only dragged away men from the market-place, and treated them with blows and insult, but had the audacity to enter private houses, whence he carried off men and women of irreproachable character. But, not to be too prolix in relating his crimes, I will merely narrate his daring conduct towards the bishops; for this alone is sufficient to give an idea of the unlawful deeds of violence which he perpetrated against

the citizens. He went to one of the lowest women of the town, and told her that some strangers had just arrived, who desired to pass the night with her. He took fifteen of his band, placed them in hiding among the stone walls at the bottom of the hill, and then went for the prostitute. After giving the preconcerted signal, and learning that the folk privy to the plot were on the spot, he went to the gate of the courtyard belonging to the inn where the bishops were lodging. The doors were opened by one of the household servants, who had been bribed by him.

He then conducted the woman into the house, pointed out to her the door of the room where one of the bishops slept, and desired her to enter. Then he went out to call his accomplices. The door which he had pointed out happened to be that of Euphratas, the elder bishop, whose room was the outer of the two. Vincentius, the other bishop, occupied the inner room. When the woman entered the room of Euphratas, he heard the sound of her footsteps, and, as it was then dark, asked who was there. She spoke, and Euphratas was full of alarm, for he thought that it was a devil imitating the voice of a woman, and he called upon Christ the Saviour for aid. Onager, for this was the name of the leader of this wicked band (a name peculiarly appropriate to him, as he not only used his hands but also his feet as weapons against the pious), had in the meantime returned with his lawless crew, denouncing as criminals those who were expecting to be judges of crime themselves. At the noise which was made all the servants came running in, and up got Vincentius. They closed the gate of the courtyards, and captured seven of the gang; but Onager and the rest made off. The woman was committed to custody with those who had been seized.

At the break of day the bishops awoke the officer who had come with them, and they all three proceeded together to the palace, to complain of the audacious acts of Stephanus, whose evil deeds, they said, were too evident to need either trial or torture to prove them. The general loudly demanded of the emperor that the audacious act should not be dealt with synodically, but by ordinary legal process, and offered to give up the clergy attached to the bishops to be first examined, and declared that the agents of Stephanus must undergo the torture too. To this Stephanus insolently objected, alleging that the clergy ought not to be scourged. The emperor and the principal authorities then decided that it would be better to judge the cause in the palace. The woman was first of all questioned, and was asked by whom she was conducted

to the inn where the bishops were lodging. She replied, that a young man came to her, and told her that some strangers had arrived who were desirous of her company; that in the evening he conducted her to the inn; that he went to look for his band, and when he had found it, brought her in through the door of the court, and desired her to go into the chamber adjoining the vestibule. She added, that the bishop asked who was there; that he was alarmed; and that he began to pray; and that then others ran to the spot.

Chapter VIII. Stephanus Deposed.

After the judges had heard these replies, they ordered the youngest of those who had been arrested to be brought before them. Before he was subjected to the examination by scourging, he confessed the whole plot, and stated that it was planned and carried into execution by Onager. On this latter being brought in he affirmed that he had only acted according to the commands of Stephanus. The guilt of Stephanus being thus demonstrated, the bishops then present were charged to depose him, and expel him from the Church. By his expulsion the Church was not, however, wholly freed from the plague of Arianism. Leontius, who succeeded him in his presidency, was a Phrygian of so subtle and artful a disposition, that he might be said to resemble the sunken rocks of the sea . We shall presently narrate more concerning him .

Chapter IX. The Second Return of Saint Athanasius.

The emperor Constantius, having become acquainted with the plots formed against the bishops, wrote to the great Athanasius once, and twice, aye and thrice, exhorting him to return from the West . I shall here insert the second letter, because it is the shortest of the three. Constantius Augustus the Conqueror to Athanasius. "Although I have already apprised you by previous letters, that you can, without fear of molestation, return to our court, in order that you may, according to my ardent desire, be reinstated in your own bishopric, yet I now again despatch another letter to your gravity to exhort you to take immediately, without fear or suspicion, a public vehicle and return to us, in order that you may receive all that you desire." When Athanasius returned, Constantius received him with kindness, and bade him go back to the Church of Alexandria . But there were some attached to the court, infected with the errors of Arianism, who maintained that Athanasius ought to cede one church to those who were unwilling to hold communion with him.

On this being mentioned to the emperor, and by the emperor to Athanasius, he remarked, that the imperial command appeared to be just; but that he also wished to make a request. The emperor readily promising to grant him whatever he might ask, he said that those in Antioch who objected to hold communion with the party now in possession of the churches wanted temples to pray in, and that it was only fair that one House of God also be assigned to them. This request was deemed just and reasonable by the emperor; but the leaders of the Arian faction resisted its being carried into execution, maintaining that neither party ought to have the churches assigned to them. Constantius on this was struck with high admiration for Athanasius, and sent him back to Alexandria . Gregorius was dead, having met his end at the hands of the Alexandrians themselves . The people kept high holiday in honour of their pastor; feasting marked their joy at seeing him again, and praise was given to God .Not long after Constans departed this life .

Chapter X. Third Exile and Flight of Athanasius.

Those who had obtained entire ascendancy over the mind of Constantius, and influenced him as they pleased, reminded him that Athanasius had been the cause of the differences between his brother and himself, which had nearly led to the rupture of the bonds of nature, and the kindling of a civil war. Constantius was induced by these representations not only to banish, but also to condemn the holy Athanasius to death; and he accordingly despatched Sebastianus , a military commander, with a very large body of soldiery to slay him, as if he had been a criminal. How the one led the attack and the other escaped will be best told in the words of him who so suffered and was so wonderfully saved. Thus Athanasius writes in his Apology for his Flight:-"Let the circumstances of my retreat be investigated, and the testimony of the opposite faction be collected; for Arians accompanied the soldiers, as well for the purpose of spurring them on, as of pointing me out to those who did not know me. If they are not touched with sympathy at the tale I tell, at least let them listen in the silence of shame. It was night, and some of the people were keeping vigil, for a communion was expected. A body of soldiers suddenly advanced upon them, consisting of a general and five thousand armed men with naked swords, bows and arrows, and clubs, as I have already stated. The general surrounded the church, posting his men in close order, that those within might be prevented from going out. I deemed that I ought not in such a time of confusion to leave the people, but that I

ought rather to be the first to meet the danger; so I sat down on my throne and desired the deacon to read a psalm, and the people to respond, 'For His mercy endureth for ever.' Then I bade them all return to their own houses. But now the general with the soldiery forced his way into the church, and surrounded the sanctuary in order to arrest me. The clergy and the laity who had remained clamorously besought me to withdraw. This I firmly refused to do until all the others had retreated.

I rose, had a prayer offered, and directed all the people to retire. 'It is better,' said I, 'for me to meet the danger alone, than for any of you to be hurt.' When the greater number of the people had left the church, and just as the rest were following, the monks and some of the clergy who had remained came up and drew me out. And so, may the truth be my witness, the Lord leading and protecting me, we passed through the midst of the soldiers, some of whom were stationed around the sanctuary, and others marching about the church. Thus I went out unperceived, and fervently thanked God that I had not abandoned the people, but that after they had been sent away in safety, I had been enabled to escape from the hands of those who sought my life."

Chapter XI.

The evil and daring deeds done by Georgius in Alexandria. Athanasius having thus escaped the bloodstained hands of his adversaries, Georgius, who was truly another wolf, was entrusted with authority over the flock. He treated the sheep with more cruelty than wolf, or bear, or leopard could have shewn. He compelled young women who had vowed perpetual virginity, not only to disown the communion of Athanasius, but also to anathematize the faith of the fathers. The agent in his cruelty was Sebastianus, an officer in command of troops. He ordered a fire to be kindled in the centre of the city, and placed the virgins, who were stripped naked, close to it, commanding them to deny the faith. Although they formed a most sorrowful and pitiable spectacle for believers as well as for unbelievers, they considered that all these dishonours conferred the highest honour on them; and they joyfully received the blows inflicted on them on account of their faith. All these facts shall be more clearly narrated by their own pastor.

"About Lent, Georgius returned from Cappadocia, and added to the evils which he had been taught by our enemies. After the Easter week virgins were cast into prison, bishops were bound and dragged away by the soldiers, the

homes of widows and of orphans were pillaged, robbery and violence went on from house to house, and the Christians during the darkness of night were seized and torn away from their dwellings. Seals were fixed on many houses. The brothers of the clergy were in peril for their brothers' sake. These cruelties were very atrocious, but still more so were those which were subsequently perpetrated. In the week following the holy festival of Pentecost, the people who were keeping a fast came out to the cemetery to pray, because they all renounced any communion with Georgius. This vilest of men was informed of this circumstance, and he incited Sebastianus the military commander, a Manichean, to attack the people; and, accordingly, on the Lord's day itself he rushed upon them with a large body of armed soldiers wielding naked swords, and bows, and arrows. He found but few Christians in the act of praying, for most of them had retired on account of the lateness of the hour. Then he did such deeds as might be expected from one who had lent his ears to such teachers. He ordered a large fire to be lighted, and the virgins to be brought close to it, and then tried to compel them to declare themselves of the Arian creed.

When he perceived that they were conquering, and giving no heed to the fire, he ordered them to be stripped naked, and to be beaten until their faces for a long while were scarcely recognisable. He then seized forty men, and inflicted on them a new kind of torture. He ordered them to be scourged with branches of palm-trees, retaining their thorns; and by these their flesh was so lacerated that some because of the thorns fixed fast in them had again and again to put themselves under the surgeon's hand; others were not able to bear the agony and died. All who survived, and also the virgins, were then banished to the Greater Oasis. They even refused to give up the bodies of the dead to their kinsfolk for burial, but flung them away unburied, and hid them just as they pleased, in order that it might appear that they had nothing to do with these cruel transactions, and were ignorant of them. But they were deceived in this foolish expectation: for the friends of the slain, while they rejoiced at the faithfulness of the deceased, deeply lamented the loss of the corpses, and spread abroad a full account of the cruelty that had been perpetrated.

"The following bishops were banished from Egypt and from Libya:-Ammonius, Muius, Caius, Philo, Hermes, Plenius, Psinosiris, Nilammon, Agapius, Anagamphus, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, another Ammonius,

another Marcus, and Athenodorus; and also the presbyters Hierax and Dioscorus . These were all driven into exile in so cruel a manner that many died on the road, and others at the place of their banishment. The persecutors caused the death of more than thirty bishops. For, like Ahab, their mind was set on rooting out the truth, had it been possible ." Athanasius also, in a letter addressed to the virgins who were treated with so much barbarity, uses the following words: "Let none of you be grieved although these impious heretics grudge you burial and prevent your corpses being carried forth. The impiety of the Arians has reached such a height, that they block up the gates, and sit like so many demons around the tombs, in order to hinder the dead from being interred."

These and many other similar atrocities were perpetrated by Georgius in Alexandria. The holy Athanasius was well aware that there was no spot which could be considered a place of safety for him; for the emperor had promised a very large reward to whoever should bring him alive, or his head as a proof of his death.

Chapter XII. Council of Milan.

After the death of Constans, Magnentius assumed the chief authority over the Western empire; and, to repress his usurpation, Constantius repaired to Europe. But this war, severe as it was, did not put an end to the war against the Church. Constantius, who had embraced Arian tenets and readily yielded to the influence of others, was persuaded to convoke a council at Milan , a city of Italy, and first to compel all the assembled bishops to sign the deposition enacted by the iniquitous judges at Tyre; and then, since Athanasius had been expelled from the Church, to draw up another confession of faith. The bishops assembled in council on the receipt of the imperial letter, but they were far from acting according to its directions. On the contrary, they told the emperor to his face that what he had commanded was unjust and impious. For this act of courage they were expelled from the Church, and relegated to the furthest boundaries of the empire.

The admirable Athanasius thus mentions this circumstance in his Apology :-"Who," he writes, "can narrate such atrocities as they have perpetrated? A short time ago when the Churches were in the enjoyment of peace, and when the people were assembled for prayer, Liberius , bishop of Rome, Paulinus, bishop of the metropolis of Gaul , Dionysius, bishop of the metropolis of Italy , Luciferus, bishop of the metropolis of the Isles of Sardinia , and Eu-

sebius, bishop of one of the cities of Italy , who were all exemplary bishops and preachers of the truth, were seized and driven into exile, for no other cause than because they could not assent to the Arian heresy, nor sign the false accusation which had been framed against us. It is unnecessary that I should speak of the great Hosius, that aged and faithful confessor of the faith, for every one knows that he also was sent into banishment. Of all the bishops he is the most illustrious. What council can be mentioned in which he did not preside, and convince all present by the power of his reasoning? What Church does not still retain the glorious memorials of his protection? Did any one ever go to him sorrowing, and not leave him rejoicing? Who ever asked his aid, and did not obtain all that he desired? Yet they had the boldness to attack this great man, simply because, from his knowledge of the impiety of their calumnies, he refused to affix his signature to their artful accusations against us."

From the above narrative will be seen the violence of the Arians against these holy men. Athanasius also gives in the same book an account of the numerous plots formed by the chiefs of the Arian faction against many others:-"Did any one," said he, "whom they persecuted and got into their power ever escape from them without suffering what injuries they pleased to inflict? Was any one who was an object of their search found by them whom they did not subject to the most agonizing death, or else to the mutilation of all his limbs? The sentences inflicted by the judges are all attributable to these heretics; for the judges are but the agents of their will, and of their malice. Where is there a place which contains no memorial of their atrocities? If any one ever differed from them in opinion, did they not, like Jezebel, falsely accuse and oppress him? Where is there a church which has not been plunged in sorrow by their plots against its bishop? Antioch has to mourn the loss of Eustathius, the faithful and the orthodox . Balaneae weeps for Euphration ; Paltus and Antaradus for Cymatius and Carterius. Adrianople has been called to deplore the loss of the well-beloved Eutropius , and of Lucius his successor, who was repeatedly loaded with chains, and expired beneath their weight . Ancyra, Beroea, and Gaza had to mourn the absence of Marcellus , Cyrus and Asclepas , who, after having suffered much ill-treatment from this deceitful sect, were driven into exile. Messengers were sent in quest of Theodulus and Olympius , bishops of Thrace, as well as of me and of the presbyters of my diocese; and had they found us, we should no doubt have been put to

death. But at the very time that they were planning our destruction we effected our escape, although they had sent letters to Donatus, the proconsul, against Olympius, and to Philagrius, against me."

Such were the audacious acts of this impious faction against the most holy Christians. Hosius was the bishop of Cordova, and was the most highly distinguished of all those who assembled at the council of Nicaea; he also obtained the first place among those convened at Sardica. I now desire to insert in my history an account of the admirable arguments addressed by the far-famed Liberius, in defence of the truth, to the emperor Constantius. They are recorded by some of the pious men of that period in order to stimulate others to the exercise of similar zeal in divine things. Liberius had succeeded Julius, the successor of Silvester, in the government of the church of Rome.

Chapter XIII. Conference Between Liberius, Pope of Rome, and the Emperor Constantius .

Constantius.-"We have judged it right, as you are a Christian and the bishop of our city, to send for you in order to admonish you to abjure all connexion with the folly of the impious Athanasius. For when he was separated from the communion of the Church by the synod the whole world approved of the decision." Liberius.-"O Emperor, ecclesiastical sentences ought to be enacted with strictest justice: therefore, if it be pleasing to your piety, order the court to be assembled, and if it be seen that Athanasius deserves condemnation, then let sentence be passed upon him according to ecclesiastical forms. For it is not possible for us to condemn a man unheard and untried." Constantius.-"The whole world has condemned his impiety; but he, as he has done from the first, laughs at the danger." Liberius.-"Those who signed the condemnation were not eye-witnesses of anything that occurred; but were actuated by the desire of glory, and by the fear of disgrace at thy hands."

The Emperor.-"What do you mean by glory and fear and disgrace?" Liberius.-"Those who love not the glory of God, but who attach greater value to thy gifts, have condemned a man whom they have neither seen nor judged; this is very contrary to the principles of Christians." The Emperor.-"Athanasius was tried in person at the council of Tyre, and all the bishops of the world at that synod condemned him." Liberius.-"No judgment has ever been passed on him in his presence. Those who there assembled condemned him after he had retired." Eusebius the Eunuch foolishly interposed.-"It was demonstrated at the council of Nicaea that he held opinions

entirely at variance with the catholic faith." Liberius.-"Of all those who sailed to Mareotis, and who were sent for the purpose of drawing up memorials against the accused, five only delivered the sentence against him. Of the five who were thus sent, two are now dead, namely, Theognis and Theodorus. The three others, Maris, Valens, and Ursacius, are still living. Sentence was passed at Sardica against all those who were sent for this purpose to Mareotis. They presented a petition to the council soliciting pardon for having drawn up at Mareotis memorials against Athanasius, consisting of false accusations and depositions of only one party. Their petition is still in our hands. Whose cause are we to espouse, O Emperor? With whom are we to agree and hold communion? With those who first condemned Athanasius, and then solicited pardon for having condemned him, or with those who have condemned these latter?"

Epictetus the Bishop.-"O Emperor, it is not on behalf of the faith, nor in defence of ecclesiastical judgments that Liberius is pleading; but merely in order that he may boast before the Roman senators of having conquered the emperor in argument." The Emperor (addressing Liberius).-"What portion do you constitute of the universe, that you alone by yourself take part with an impious man, and are destroying the peace of the empire and of the whole world?" Liberius.-"My standing alone does not make the truth a whit the weaker. According to the ancient story, there are found but three men resisting a decree." Eusebius the Eunuch.-"You make our emperor a Nebuchadnezzar." Liberius.-"By no means. But you rashly condemn a man without any trial. What I desire is, in the first place, that a general confession of faith be signed, confirming that drawn up at the council of Nicaea. And secondly, that all our brethren be recalled from exile, and reinstated in their own bishoprics. If, when all this has been carried into execution, it can be shown that the doctrines of all those who now fill the churches with trouble are conformable to the apostolic faith, then we will all assemble at Alexandria to meet the accused, the accusers, and their defender, and after having examined the cause, we will pass judgment upon it."

Epictitus the Bishop.-"There will not be sufficient post-carriages to convey so many bishops." Liberius.-"Ecclesiastical affairs can be transacted without post-carriages. The churches are able to provide means for the conveyance of their respective bishops to the sea coast ." The Emperor.-"The sentence which has once been passed ought not to be revoked. The decision of the greater

number of bishops ought to prevail. You alone retain friendship towards that impious man." Liberius.-"O Emperor, it is a thing hitherto unheard of, that a judge should accuse the absent of impiety, as if he were his personal enemy." The Emperor.-"All without exception have been injured by him, but none so deeply as I have been. Not content with the death of my eldest brother, he never ceased to excite Constans, of blessed memory, to enmity against me; but I, with much moderation, put up alike with the vehemence of both the instigator and his victim. Not one of the victories which I have gained, not even excepting those over Magnentius and Silvanus, equals the ejection of this vile man from the government of the Church."

Liberius.-"Do not vindicate your own hatred and revenge, O Emperor, by the instrumentality of bishops; for their hands ought only to be raised for purposes of blessing and of sanctification. If it be consonant with your will, command the bishops to return to their own residences; and if it appear that they are of one mind with him who to-day maintains the true doctrines of the confession of faith signed at Nicaea, then let them come together and see to the peace of the world, in order that an innocent man may not serve as a mark for reproach." The Emperor.-"One question only requires to be made. I wish you to enter into communion with the churches, and to send you back to Rome. Consent therefore to peace, and sign your assent, and then you shall return to Rome." Liberius.-"I have already taken leave of the brethren who are in that city. The decrees of the Church are of greater importance than a residence in Rome."

The Emperor.-"You have three days to consider whether you will sign the document and return to Rome; if not, you must choose the place of your banishment." Liberius.-"Neither three days nor three months can change my sentiments. Send me wherever you please." After the lapse of two days the emperor sent for Liberius, and finding his opinions unchanged, he commanded him to be banished to Beroea, a city of Thrace. Upon the departure of Liberius, the emperor sent him five hundred pieces of gold to defray his expenses. Liberius said to the messenger who brought them, "Go, and give them back to the emperor; he has need of them to pay his troops." The empress also sent him a sum of the same amount; he said, "Take it to the emperor, for he may want it to pay his troops; but if not, let it be given to Auxentius and Epictetus, for they stand in need of it." Eusebius the eunuch brought him other sums of money, and he thus addressed him: "You have

turned all the churches of the world into a desert, and do you bring alms to me, as to a criminal? Begone, and become first a Christian ." He was sent into exile three days afterwards, without having accepted anything that was offered him.

Chapter XIV. Concerning the Banishment and Return of the Holy Liberius.

This victorious champion of the truth was sent into Thrace, according to the imperial order. Two years after this event Constantius went to Rome. The ladies of rank urged their husbands to petition the emperor for the restoration of the shepherd to his flock: they added, that if this were not granted, they would desert them, and go themselves after their great pastor. Their husbands replied, that they were afraid of incurring the resentment of the emperor. "If we were to ask him," they continued, "being men, he would deem it an unpardonable offence; but if you were yourselves to present the petition, he would at any rate spare you, and would either accede to your request, or else dismiss you without injury. These noble ladies adopted this suggestion, and presented themselves before the emperor in all their customary splendour of array, that so the sovereign, judging their rank from their dress, might count them worthy of being treated with courtesy and kindness. Thus entering the presence, they besought him to take pity on the condition of so large a city, deprived of its shepherd, and made an easy prey to the attacks of wolves. The emperor replied, that the flock possessed a shepherd capable of tending it, and that no other was needed in the city. For after the banishment of the great Liberius, one of his deacons, named Felix, had been appointed bishop. He preserved inviolate the doctrines set forth in the Nicene confession of faith, yet he held communion with those who had corrupted that faith.

For this reason none of the citizens of Rome would enter the House of Prayer while he was in it. The ladies mentioned these facts to the emperor. Their persuasions were successful; and he commanded that the great Liberius should be recalled from exile, and that the two bishops should conjointly rule the Church. The edict of the emperor was read in the circus, and the multitude shouted that the imperial ordinance was just; that the spectators were divided into two factions, each deriving its name from its own colours , and that each faction would now have its own bishop. After having thus ridiculed the edict of the emperor, they all exclaimed with one voice, "One God, one Christ, one bishop. I have deemed it right to set down their precise

words. Some time after this Christian people had uttered these pious and righteous acclamations, the holy Liberius returned, and Felix retired to another city.

I have, for the sake of preserving order, appended this narrative to what relates to the proceedings of the bishops at Milan. I shall now return to the relation of events in their due course.

Chapter XV. Council of Ariminum .

When all who defended the faith had been removed, those who moulded the mind of the emperor according to their own will, flattering themselves that the faith which they opposed might be easily subverted, and Arianism established in its stead, persuaded Constantius to convene the Bishops of both East and West at Ariminum , in order to remove from the Creed the terms which had been devised by the Fathers to counteract the corrupt craft of Arius,—"substance ," and "of one substance ." For they would have it that these terms had caused dissension between church and church. On their assembling in synod the partizans of the Arian faction strove to trick the majority of the bishops, especially those of cities of the Western Empire, who were men of simple and unsophisticated ways. The body of the Church, they argued again and again, must not be torn asunder for the sake of two terms which are not to be found in the Bible; and, while they confessed the propriety of describing the Son as in all things "like" the Father, pressed the omission of the word "substance" as unscriptural. The motives, however, of the propounders of these views were seen through by the Council, and they were consequently repudiated. The orthodox bishops declared their mind to the emperor in a letter; for, said they, we are sons and heirs of the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea, and if we were to have the hardihood to take away anything from what was by them subscribed, or to add anything to what they so excellently settled, we should declare ourselves no true sons, but accusers of them that begat us. But the exact terms of their confession of faith will be more accurately given in the words of their letter to Constantius.

Letter written to the Emperor Constantius by the Synod assembled at Ariminum. "Summoned, we believe, at the bidding of God, and in obedience to your piety, we bishops of the Western Church assembled in synod at Ariminum in order that the faith of the Church Catholic might be set forth, and its opponents exposed. After long consideration we have found it to be plainly best for us to hold fast and guard, and by guarding keep safe unto the

end, the faith established from the first, preached by Prophets, and Evangelists, and Apostles, through our Lord Jesus Christ, warden of thy empire, and champion of thy salvation. For it is plainly absurd and unlawful to make any change in the doctrines rightly and justly defined, and in matters examined at Nicaea with the cognisance of the right glorious Constantine, thy Father and Emperor, whereof the teaching and spirit was published and preached that mankind might hear and understand. This faith was destined to be the one rival and destroyer of the Arian heresy, and by it not only the Arian itself, but likewise all other heresies were undone. To this faith to add aught is verily perilous; from it to subtract aught is to run great risk. If it have either addition or loss, our foes will feel free to act as they please. Accordingly Ursacius and Valens, declared adherents and friends of the Arian dogma, were pronounced separate from our communion. To keep their place in it, they asked to be granted a *locus penitentiae* and pardon for all the points wherein they had owned themselves in error;

as is testified by the documents written by themselves, by means of which they obtained favour and forgiveness. These events were going on at the very time when the synod was meeting at Milan, the presbyters of the church of Rome being also present. It was known that Constantine, who, though dead, is worthy of remembrance, had, with all exactitude and care, set forth the creed drawn up: and now that, after receiving Baptism, he was dead, and had passed away to the peace which he deserved. We judged it absurd for us after him to indulge in any innovation, and throw a slur on all the holy confessors and martyrs who had devised and formulated this doctrine, in that their minds have ever remained bound by the old bond of the Church. Their faith God has handed down even to the times of thy own reign, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by Whose grace such empire is thine that thou rulest over all the world. Yet again those pitiable and wretched men, with lawless daring, have proclaimed themselves preachers of their unholy opinion, and are taking in hand the overthrow of all the force of the truth. For when at thy command the synod assembled, then they laid bare their own disingenuous desires. For they set about trying through villany and confusion to make innovation. They got hold of certain of their own following—one Germanius, and Auxentius, and Caius, promoters of heresy and discord, whose doctrine, though but one, transcends a very host of blasphemies.

When, however, they became aware that we were not of their way of thinking, nor in sympathy with their vicious projects, they made their way into our meeting as though to make some other proposal, but a very short time was enough to convict them of their real intentions. Therefore in order to save the management of the Church from falling from time to time into the same difficulties, and to prevent them from being confounded in whirlpools of disturbance and disorder, it has seemed the safe course to keep what has been defined aforetime fixed and unchanged, and to separate the above-named from our communion. Wherefore we have sent envoys to your clemency to signify and explain the mind of the synod as expressed in this letter. These envoys before all things we have charged to guard the truth in accordance with the old and right definitions. They are to inform your holiness, not as did Ursacius and Valens, that there will be peace if the truth be upset; for how can the destroyers of peace be agents of peace? but rather that these changes will bring strife and disturbance, as well on the rest of the cities, as on the Roman church. Wherefore we beseech your clemency to receive our envoys with kindly ears and gentle mien, and not to suffer any new thing to flout the dead.

Suffer us to abide in the definition and settlement of our Fathers, whom we would unhesitatingly declare to have done all they did with intelligence and wisdom, and with the Holy Ghost. The innovation now sought to be introduced is filling the faithful with unbelief, and unbelievers with credulity. "We beg you to order bishops in distant parts, who are afflicted alike by advanced age and poverty, to be provided with facilities for travelling home, that the churches be not left long deprived of their bishops." And yet again this one thing we supplicate, that nothing be taken from or added to the established doctrines, but that all remain unbroken, as they have been preserved by your father's piety, and to our own day. Let us toil no longer nor be kept away from our own dioceses, but let the bishops with their own people spend their days in peace, in prayer, and in worship, offering supplication for thy empire, and health, and peace, which God shall grant thee for ever and ever. Our envoys, who will also instruct your holiness out of the sacred Scriptures, convey the signatures and salutations of the bishops." The letter was written, and the envoys sent, but the high officers of the Imperial Court, though they took the despatch and delivered it to their master, refused to introduce the envoys, on the ground that the sovereign was occupied with state

affairs. They took this course in the hope that the bishops, annoyed at delay, and eager to return to the cities entrusted to their care, would at length be compelled themselves to break up and disperse the bulwark erected against heresy. But their ingenuity was frustrated, for the noble champions of the Faith despatched a second letter to the emperor, exhorting him to admit the envoys to audience and dissolve the synod. This letter I subjoin.

The Second Letter of the Synod to Constantius. "To Constantius the Victorious, the pious emperor, the bishops assembled at Ariminum send greeting. "Most illustrious lord and autocrat, we have received the letter of your clemency, informing us that, in consequence of occupations of state, you have hitherto been unable to see our envoys. You bid us await their return, that your piety may come to a decision on the object we have in view, and on the decrees of our predecessors. But we venture in this letter to repeat to your clemency the point which we urged before, for we have in no way withdrawn from our position. We entreat you to receive with benign countenance the letter of our humility, wherein now we make answer to your piety, and the points which we have ordered to be submitted to your benignity by our envoys. Your clemency is no less aware than we are ourselves how serious and unfitting a state of things it is, that in the time of your most happy reign so many churches should seem to be without bishops. Wherefore once again, most glorious autocrat, we beseech you that, if it be pleasing to your humanity, you will command us to return to our churches before the rigour of winter, that we may be able, with our people, as we have done and ever do, to offer most earnest prayers for the health and wealth of your empire to Almighty God, and to Christ His Son, our Lord and Saviour."

Chapter XVI. Concerning the Synod Held at Nica In Thrace, and the Confession of Faith Drawn Up There.

After this letter they irritated the emperor, and got the majority of the bishops, against their will, to a certain town of Thrace, of the name of Nica. Some simple men they deluded, and others they terrified, into carrying out their old contrivance for injuring the true religion, by erasing the words "Substance" and "of one Substance" from the Creed, and inserting instead of them the word "like." I insert their formula in this history, not as being couched in proper terms, but because it convicts the faction of Arius, for it is not even accepted by the disaffected of the present time. Now, instead of "the like" they preach "the unlike ." Unsound Creed put forth at Nica in Thrace.

"We believe in one only true God, Father Almighty, of Whom are all things. And in the only-begotten Son of God, Who before all ages and before every beginning was begotten of God, through Whom all things were made, both visible and invisible: alone begotten, only-begotten of the Father alone, God of God: like the Father that begat Him, according to the Scriptures, Whose generation no one knoweth except only the Father that begat Him. This Only-begotten Son of God, sent by His Father, we know to have come down from heaven, as it is written, for the destruction of sin and death; begotten of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary, as it is written, according to the flesh. Who companied with His disciples, and when the dispensation was fulfilled, according to the Father's will, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended to the world below, at Whom Hell himself trembled. On the third day He rose from the dead and companied with His disciples forty days. He was taken up into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of His Father, and is coming at the last day of the Resurrection, in His Father's Glory, to render to every one according to his works. And we believe in the Holy Ghost, which the Only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, both God and Lord, promised to send to man, the Comforter, as it is written, the Spirit of Truth.

This Spirit He Himself sent after He had ascended into Heaven and sat at the right hand of the Father, from thence to come to judge both quick and dead. But the word 'the Substance,' which was too simply inserted by the Fathers, and, not being understood by the people, was a cause of scandal through its not being found in the Scriptures, it hath seemed good to us to remove, and that for the future no mention whatever be permitted of 'Substance,' on account of the sacred Scriptures nowhere making any mention of the 'Substance' of the Father and the Son. Nor must one 'essence' be named in relation to the person of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And we call the Son like the Father, as the Holy Scriptures call Him and teach; but all the heresies, both those already condemned, and any, if such there be, which have risen against the document thus put forth, let them be Anathema."

This Creed was subscribed by the bishops, some being frightened and some cajoled, but those who refused to give in their adhesion were banished to the most remote regions of the world.

Chapter XVII. Synodical Act of Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and of the Western Bishops, About the Council at Ariminum.

The condemnation of this formula by all the champions of the truth, and specially those of the West, is shewn by the letter which they wrote to the Illyrians . First of the signatories was Damasus, who obtained the presidency of the church of Rome after Liberius, and was adorned with many virtues . With him signed ninety bishops of Italy and Galatia , now called Gaul, who met together at Rome. I would have inserted their names but that I thought it superfluous. "The bishops assembled at Rome in sacred synod Damasus and Valerianus and the rest, to their beloved brethren the bishops of Illyria, send greeting in God. "We believe that we, priests of God, by whom it is fight for the rest to be instructed, are holding and teaching our people the Holy Creed which was founded on the teaching of the Apostles, and in no way departs from the definitions of the Fathers. But through a report of the brethren in Gaul and Venetia we have learnt that certain men are fallen into heresy.

"It is the duty of the bishops not only to take precautions against this mischief, but also to make a stand against whatever divergent teaching has arisen, either from incomplete instruction, or the simplicity of readers of unsound commentators. They should be minded not to slide into slippery paths, but rather whensoever divergent counsels are carried to their ears, to hold fast the doctrine of our fathers. It has, therefore, been decided that Auxentius of Milan is in this matter specially condemned. So it is right that all the teachers of the law in the Roman Empire should be well instructed in the law, and not befoul the faith with divergent doctrines. "When first the wickedness of the heretics began to flourish, and when, as now, the blasphemy of the Arians was crawling to the front, our fathers, three hundred and eighteen bishops, the holiest prelates in the Roman Empire, deliberated at Nicaea. The wall which they set up against the weapons of the devil, and the antidote wherewith they repelled his deadly poisons, was their confession that the Father and the Son are of one substance, one godhead, one virtue, one power, one likeness , and that the Holy Ghost is of the same essence and substance. Whoever did not thus think was judged separate from our communion. Their deliberation was worthy of all respect, and their definition sound. But certain men have intended by other later discussions to corrupt and befoul it. Yet, at the very outset, error was so far set right by the bishops on whom the attempt was made at Ariminum to compel them to manipu-

late or innovate on the faith, that they confessed themselves seduced by opposite arguments, or owned that they had not perceived any contradiction to the opinion of the Fathers lived at Nicaea. No prejudice could arise from the number of bishops gathered at Ariminum, since it is well known that neither the bishop of the Romans, whose opinion ought before all others to have been waited for, nor Vincentius, whose stainless episcopate had lasted so many years, nor the rest, gave in their adhesion to such doctrines. And this is the more significant, since, as has been already said, the very men who seemed to be tricked into surrender, themselves, in their wiser moments, testified their disapproval.

"Your sincerity then perceives that this one faith, which was founder at Nicaea on the authority of the Apostles, ought to be kept secure for ever. You perceive that with us, the bishops of the East, who confess themselves Catholic, and the western bishops, together glory in it. We believe that before long those who think otherwise ought without delay to be put out from our communion, and deprived of the name of bishop, that their flocks may be freed from error and breathe freely. For they cannot be expected to correct the errors of their people when they themselves are the victims of error. May the opinion of your reverence be in harmony with that of all the priests of God. We believe you to be fixed and firm in it, and thus ought we rightly to believe with you. May your charity make us glad by your reply.

"Beloved brethren, farewell."

Chapter XVIII. The Letter of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, Concerning the Same Council.

The great Athanasius also, in his letter to the Africans, writes thus about the council at Ariminum. "Under these circumstances who will tolerate any mention of the council of Ariminum or any other beside the Nicene? Who would not express detestation of the setting aside of the words of the Fathers, and the preference for those introduced at Ariminum by violence and party strife? Who would wish to be associated with these men-fellows who do not, forsooth, accept their own words? In their own ten or a dozen synods they have laid down, as has been narrated already, now one thing now another; and at the present time these synods, one after another, they are themselves openly denouncing. They are now suffering the fate undergone of old by the traitors of the Jews. For as is written in the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah "they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters and hewed them out

cisterns, broken cisterns that can hold no water," so these men, in their opposition to the Oecumenical synod, have hewed for themselves many synods which have all proved vain and like "buds that yield no meal," let us not therefore admit those who cite the council of Ariminum or any other but that of Nicaea, for indeed the very citers of Ariminum do not seem to know what was done there; if they had they would have held their tongues.

For you, beloved, have learnt from your own representatives at that Council, and are consequently very well aware, that Ursacius, Valens, Eudoxius, and Auxentius, and with them Demophilus were asked to anathematize the Arian heresy, and made excuse, choosing rather to be its champions, and so were all deposed for making propositions contrary to the Nicene decrees. The bishops, on the contrary, who were the true servants of the Lord, and of the right faith,—about two hundred in number,—declared their adherence to the Nicene Council alone, and their refusal to entertain the thought of either subtraction from, or addition to, its decrees. This conclusion they have communicated to Constantius, by whose order the council assembled. On the other hand the bishops who were deposed at Ariminum have been received by Constantius, and have succeeded in getting the two hundred who sentenced them grossly insulted, and threatened with not being allowed to return to their dioceses, and with having to undergo rigorous treatment in Thrace, and that in the winter, in order to force them to accept the innovators' measures. If, then, we hear any one appealing to Ariminum, show us, let us rejoin, first the sentence of deposition, and then the document drawn up by the bishops, in which they declare that they do not seek to go beyond the terms drawn up by the Nicene Fathers, nor appeal to any other council than that of Nicaea. In reality, these are just the facts they conceal, while they put prominently forward the forced confession of Thrace. They do but shew themselves friends of the Arian heresy, and strangers to the sound faith. Only let any one be willing to put side by side that great synod, and those others to which these men appeal, and he will perceive, on the one side, true religion, on the other, folly and disorder. The fathers of Nicaea met together not after being deposed, but after confessing that the Son was of the Substance of the Father. These men were deposed once, a second time, and again a third time at Ariminum, and then dared to lay down that it is wrong to attribute Substance or Essence to God. So strange and so many were the tricks

and machinations concocted by the mad gang of Arius in the West against the dogmas of the Truth.

Chapter XIX. Concerning the Cunning of Leontius, Bishop of Antioch, and the Boldness of Flavianus and Diadorus.

At Antioch Placidus was succeeded by Stephanus, who was expelled from the Church. Leontius then accepted the Primacy, but in violation of the decrees of the Nicene Council, for he had mutilated himself, and was an eunuch. The cause of his rash deed is thus narrated by the blessed Athanasius. Leontius, it seems, was the victim of slanderous statements on account of a certain young woman of the name of Eustolia. Finding himself prevented from dwelling with her he mutilated himself for her sake, in order that he might feel free to live with her. But he did not clear himself of suspicion, and all the more for this reason was deposed from the presbyterate. So much Athanasius has written about the rest of his earlier life. I shall now give a summary exposure of his evil conduct. Now though he shared the Arian error, he always endeavoured to conceal his unsoundness. He observed that the clergy and the rest of the people were divided into two parts, the one, in giving glory to the Son, using the conjunction "and," the other using the preposition "through" of the Son, and applying "in" to the Holy Ghost. He himself offered all the doxology in silence, and all that those standing near him could hear was the "For ever and ever. And had not the exceeding wickedness of his sold been betrayed by other means, it might have been said that he adopted this contrivance from a wish to promote concord among the people.

But when he had wrought much mischief to the champions of the truth, and continued to give every support to the promoters of impiety, he was convicted of concealing his own unsoundness. He was influenced both by his fear of the people, and by the grievous threats which Constantius had uttered against any who had dared to say that the Son was unlike the Father. His real sentiments were however proved by his conduct. Followers of the Apostolic doctrines never received from him either ordination or indeed the least encouragement. Men, on the other hand, who sided with the Arian superstition, were both allowed perfect liberty in expressing their opinions, and were from time to time admitted to priestly office. At this juncture Aetius, the master of Eunomius, who promoted the Arian error by his speculations, was admitted to the diaconate. Flavianus and Diodorus, however, who had embraced an ascetic career, and were open champions of the Apostolic decrees,

publicly protested against the attacks of Leontius against true religion. That a man nurtured in iniquity and scheming to win notoriety by ungodliness should be counted worthy of the diaconate, was, they urged, a disgrace to the Church. They further threatened that they would withdraw from his communion, travel to the western empire, and publish his plots to the world. Leontius was now alarmed, and suspended Aetius from his sacred office, but continued to show him marked favour.

That excellent pair Flavianus and Diodorus, though not yet admitted to the priesthood and still ranked with the laity, worked night and day to stimulate men's zeal for truth. They were the first to divide choirs into two parts, and to teach them to sing the psalms of David antiphonally. Introduced first at Antioch, the practice spread in all directions, and penetrated to the ends of the earth. Its originators now collected the lovers of the Divine word and work into the Churches of the Martyrs, and with them spent the night in singing psalms to God. When Leontius perceived this, he did not think it safe to try to prevent them, for he saw that the people were exceedingly well-disposed towards these excellent men. However, putting a colour of courtesy on his speech, he requested that they would perform this act of worship in the churches. They were perfectly well aware of his evil intent. Nevertheless they set about obeying his behest and readily summoned their choir to the Church, exhorting them to sing praises to the good Lord. Nothing, however, could induce Leontius to correct his wickedness, but he put on the mask of equity, and concealed the iniquity of Stephanus and Placidus. Men who had accepted the corruption of the faith of priests and deacons, although they had embraced a life of vile irregularity, he added to the roll; while others adorned with every kind of virtue and firm adherents of apostolic doctrines, he left unrecognised. Thus it came to pass that among the clergy were numbered a majority of men tainted with heresy, while the mass of the laity were champions of the Faith, and even professional teachers lacked courage to lay bare their blasphemy. In truth the deeds of impiety and iniquity done by Placidus, Stephanus, and Leontius, in Antioch are so many as to want a special history of their own, and so terrible as to be worthy of the lament of David; for of them too it must be said "For lo thy enemies make a murmuring and they that hate thee lift up their head. They have imagined craftily against the people and taken counsel against thy secret

ones. They have said come and let us root them out that they be no more a people: and that the name of Israel may be no more in remembrance."

Let us now continue the course of our narrative.

Chapter XX. Concerning the Innovations of Eudoxius, of Germanicia, and the Zeal of Basilius Of Ancyra, and of Eustathius Of Sebasteia Against Him.

Germanicia is a city on the coasts of Cilicia, Syria, and Cappadocia, and belongs to the province called Euphratisia. Eudoxius, the head of its church, directly, he heard of the death of Leontius, betook himself to Antioch and clutched the see, where he ravaged the vineyard of the Lord like a wild boar. He did not even attempt to hide his evil ways, like Leontius, but raged in direct attack upon the apostolic decrees, and involved in various troubles all who had the hardihood to gainsay him. Now at this time Basilius had succeeded Marcellus, and held the helm of the church of Ancyra, the capital of Galatia, and Sebastia, the chief city of Armenia, was under the guidance of Eustathius. No sooner had these bishops heard of the iniquity and madness of Eudoxius, than they wrote to inform the Emperor Constantius of his audacity. Constantius was now still tarrying in the west, and, after the death of the tyrants, was endeavouring to heal the harm they had caused. Both bishops were well known to the Emperor and had great influence with him on account of the high character they bore.

Chapter XXI. Of the Second Council of Nicaea.

On receipt of these despatches Constantius wrote to the Antiochenes denying that he had committed the see of Antioch to Eudoxius, as Eudoxius had publicly announced. He ordered that Eudoxius be banished, and be punished for the course he had taken at the Bithynian Nicaea, where he had ordered the synod to assemble. Eudoxius himself had persuaded the officers entrusted with authority in the imperial household to fix Nicaea for the Council. But the Supreme Ruler and Governor, who knows the future like the past, stopped the assembly by a mighty earthquake, whereby the greater part of the city was overthrown, and most of the inhabitants destroyed. On learning this the assembled bishops were seized with panic, and returned to their own churches. But I regard this as a contrivance of the divine wisdom, for in that city the doctrine of the faith of the apostles had been defined by the holy Fathers. In that same city the bishops who were assembling on this later occasion were intending to lay down the contrary. The sameness of name would have been sure to furnish a means of deception to the Arian crew, and

trick unsophisticated souls. They meant to call the council "the Nicene," and identify it with the famous council of old. But He who has care for the churches disbanded the synod.

Chapter XXII. Of the Council Held at Seleucia in Isauria.

After a time, at the suggestion of the accusers of Eudoxius, Constantius ordered the synod to be held at Seleucia. This town of Isauria lies on the sea-shore and is the chief town of the district. Hither the bishops of the East, and with them those of Pontus in Asia, were ordered to assemble. The see of Caesarea, the capital of Palestine, was now held by Acacius, who had succeeded Eusebius. He had been condemned by the council of Sardica, but had expressed contempt for so large an assembly of bishops, and had refused to accept their adverse decision. At Jerusalem Macarius, whom I have often mentioned, was succeeded by Maximus, a man conspicuous in his struggles on behalf of religion, for he had been deprived of his right eye and maimed in his right arm. On his translation to the life which knows no old age, Cyrillus, an earnest champion of the apostolic decrees, was dignified with the Episcopal office. These men in their contentions with one another for the first place brought great calamities on the state. Acacius seized some small occasion, deposed Cyrillus, and drove him from Jerusalem. But Cyrillus passed by Antioch, which he had found without a pastor, and came to Tarsus, where he dwelt with the excellent Silvanus, then bishop of that see. No sooner did Acacius become aware of this than he wrote to Silvanus and informed him of the deposition of Cyrillus. Silvanus however, both out of regard for Cyrillus, and not without suspicion of his people, who greatly enjoyed the stranger's teaching, refused to prohibit him from taking a part in the ministrations of the church. When however they had arrived at Seleucia, Cyrillus joined with the party of Basilius and Eustathius and Silvanus and the rest in the council. But when Acacius joined the assembled bishops, who numbered one hundred and fifty, he refused to be associated in their counsels before Cyrillus, as one stripped of his bishopric, had been put out from among them. There were some who, eager for peace, besought Cyrillus to withdraw, with a pledge that after the decision of the decrees they would enquire into his case. He would not give way, and Acacius left them and went out. Then meeting Eudoxius he removed his alarm, and encouraged him with a promise that he would stand his friend and supporter. Thus he hindered him from taking part in the council, and set out with him for Constantinople.

Chapter XXIII. Of What Befell the Orthodox Bishops at Constantinople.

Constantius, on his return from the West, passed some time at Constantinople. There Acacius urged many accusations against the assembled bishops presence of the emperor, called them a set of vile characters convoked for the ruin and destruction of the churches, and so fired the imperial wrath. And not least was Constantius moved by what was alleged against Cyrillus, "for," said Acachius, "the holy robe, which the illustrious Constantine the emperor, in his desire to honour the church of Jerusalem, gave to Macarius, the bishop of that city, to be worn when he performed the rite of divine baptism, all fashioned with golden threads as it was, has been sold by Cyrillus. It has been bought," he continued, "by a certain stage dancer; dancing about when he was wearing it, he fell down and perished. With a man like this Cyrillus," he went on, "they set themselves up to judge and decide for the rest of the world." The influential party at the court made this an occasion for persuading the emperor not to summon the whole synod, for they were alarmed at the concord of the majority, but only ten leading men. Of these were Eustathius of Armenia, Basilius of Galatia, Silvanus of Tarsus, and Eleusius of Cyzicus.

On their arrival they urged the emperor that Eudoxius should be convicted of blasphemy and lawlessness. Constantius, however, schooled by the opposite party, replied that a decision must first be come to on matters concerning the faith, and that afterwards the case of Eudoxius should be enquired into. Basilius, relying on his former intimacy, ventured boldly to object to the emperor that he was attacking the apostolic decrees; but Constantius took this ill, and told Basilius to hold his tongue, "for to you," said he, "the disturbance of the churches is due. When Basilius was silenced, Eustathius intervened and said, "since, sir, you wish a decision to be come to on what concerns the faith, consider the blasphemies rashly uttered against the Only Begotten by Eudoxius," and as he spoke he produced the exposition of faith wherein, besides many other impieties, were found the following expressions: "Things that are spoken of in unlike terms are unlike in substance: "There is one God the Father of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus Christ through whom are all things. Now the term "of whom" is unlike the term "through whom; so the Son is unlike God the Father. Constantius ordered this exposition of the faith to be read, and was displeased with the blasphemy which it involved. He therefore asked Eudoxius if he had drawn it up. Eu-

doxius instantly repudiated the authorship, and said that it was written by Aetius.

Now Aetius was he whom Leontius, in dread of the accusations of Flavianus and Diodorus, had formerly degraded from the diaconate. He had also been the supporter of Georgius, the treacherous foe of the Alexandrians, alike in his impious words and his unholy deeds. At the present time he was associated with Eunomius and Eudoxius; for, on the death of Leontius, when Eudoxius had laid violent hands on the episcopal throne of the church at Antioch, he returned from Egypt with Eunomius, and, as he found Eudoxius to be of the same way of thinking as himself, a sybarite in luxury as well as a heretic in faith, he chose Antioch as the most congenial place of abode, and both he and Eunomius were fast fixtures at the couches of Eudoxius. His highest ambition was to be a successful parasite, and he spent his whole time in going to gorge himself at one man's table or another's. The emperor had been told all this, and now ordered Aetius to be brought before him. On his appearance Constantius showed him the document in question and proceeded to enquire if he was the author of its language. Aetius, totally ignorant of what had taken place, and unaware of the drift of the enquiry, expected that he should win praise by confession, and owned that he was the author of the phrases in question. Then the emperor perceived the greatness of his iniquity, and forthwith condemned him to exile and to be deported to a place in Phrygia.

So Aetius reaped disgrace as the fruit of blasphemy, and was cast out of the palace. Eustathius then alleged that Eudoxius too held the same views, for that Aetius had shared his roof and his table, and had drawn up this blasphemous formula in submission to his judgement. In proof of his contention that Eudoxius was concerned in drawing up the document he urged the fact that no one had attributed it to Aetius except Eudoxius himself. To this the emperor enjoined that judges must not decide on conjecture, but are bound to make exact examination of the facts. Eustathius assented, and urged that Eudoxius should give proof of his dissent from the sentiments attributed to him by anathematizing the composition of Aetius. This suggestion the emperor very readily accepted, and gave his orders accordingly; but Eudoxius drew back, and employed many shifts to evade compliance. But when the emperor waxed wroth and threatened to send him off to share the exile of Aetius, on the ground that he was a partner in the blasphemy so punished, he

repudiated his own doctrine, though both then and afterwards he persistently maintained it. However, he in his turn protested against the Eustathians that it was their duty to condemn the word "Homoïusion" as unscriptural.

Silvanus on the contrary pointed out that it was their duty to reject and expel from their holy assemblies the phrases "out of the non-existent" and "creature" and "of another substance," these terms being also unscriptural and found in the writings of neither prophets nor apostles. Constantius decided that this was right, and bade the Arians pronounce the condemnation. At first they persisted in refusing; but in the end, when they saw the emperor's wrath, they consented, though much against the grain, to condemn the terms Silvanus had put before them. But all the more earnestly they insisted on their demand for the condemnation of the "Homoïusion." But then with unanswerable logic Silvanus put both before the Arians and the emperor the truth that if God the Word is not of the non-Existent, He is not a Creature, and is not of another Substance. He is then of one Substance with God Who begat Him, as God of God and Light of Light, and has the same nature as the Begetter. This contention he urged with power and with truth, but not one of his hearers was convinced. The party of Acacius and Eudoxius raised a mighty uproar; the emperor was angered, and threatened expulsion from their churches. Thereupon Eleusius and Silvanus and the rest said that while authority to punish lay with the emperor, it was their province to decide on points of piety or impiety, and "we will not," they protested, "betray the doctrine of the Fathers."

Constantius ought to have admired both their wisdom and their courage, and their bold defence of the apostolic decrees, but he exiled them from their churches, and ordered others to be appointed in their place. Thereupon Eudoxius laid violent hands on the Church of Constantinople; and on the expulsion of Eleusius from Cyzicus, Eunomius was appointed in his place.

Chapter XXIV. Synodical Epistle Written Against Aetius.

After these transactions the emperor ordered Aetius to be condemned by a formal Letter, and, in obedience to the command, his companions in iniquity condemned their own associate. Accordingly they wrote to Georgius, bishop of Alexandria, the letter about him to which I shall give a place in my history, in order to expose their wickedness, for they treated their friends and their foes precisely in the same way. Copy of the Letter written by the whole council to Georgius against Aetius his deacon, on account of his ini-

quitous blasphemy. To the right honourable Lord Georgius, Bishop of Alexandria, the holy Synod in Constantinople assembled, Greeting. In consequence of the condemnation of Aetius by the Synod, on account of his unlawful and most offensive writings, he has been dealt with by the bishops in accordance with the canons of the church. He has been degraded from the diaconate and expelled from the Church, and our admonitions have gone forth that none are to read his unlawful epistles, but that on account of their unprofitable and worthless character they are to be cast aside. We have further appended an anathema on him, if he abides in his opinion, and on his supporters.

It would naturally have followed that all the bishops met together in the Synod should have felt detestation of, and approved the sentence delivered against, a man who is the author of offences, disturbances and schisms, of agitation over all the world, and of rising of church against church. But in spite of our prayers, and against all our expectation, Seras, Stephanus, Heliodorus and Theophilus and their party have not voted with us, and have not even consented to subscribe the sentence delivered against him, although Seras charged the aforesaid Aetius with another instance of insane arrogance, alleging that he, with still bolder impudence, had sprung forward to declare that what God had concealed from the Apostles had been now revealed to him. Even after these wild and boastful words, reported by Seras about Aetius, the aforesaid bishops were not put out of countenance, nor could they be induced to vote with us on his condemnation. We however with much long suffering bore with them for a great length of time, now indignant, now beseeching, now importuning them to join with us and make the decision of the Synod unanimous; and we persevered long in the hope that they might hear and agree and give in.

But when in spite of all this patience we could not shame them into acceptance of our declarations against the aforesaid offender, we counted the rule of the church more precious than the friendship of men, and pronounced against them a decree of excommunication, allowing them a period of six mouths for conversion, repentance, and the expression of a desire for union and harmony with the synod. If within the given time they should turn and accept agreement with their brethren and assent to the decrees about Aetius, we decided that they should be received into the church, to the recovery of their own authority in synods, and our affection. If however they

obstinately persisted, and preferred human friendship to the canons of the church and our affection, then we judged them deposed from the rank of the bishops. If they suffer degradation it is necessary to appoint other bishops in their place, that the lawful church may be duly ordered and at unity with herself, while all the bishops of every nation by uttering the same doctrine with one mind and one counsel preserve the bond of love.

To acquaint you with the decree of the Synod we have sent these present to your reverence, and pray that you may abide by them, and by the grace of Christ rule the churches under you aright and in peace.

Chapter XXV. Of the Causes Which Separated the Eunomians from the Arians.

Eunomius in his writings praises Aetius, styles him a man of God, and honours him with many compliments. Yet he was at that time closely associated with the party by whom Aetius had been repudiated, and to them he owed his election to his bishopric. Now the followers of Eudoxius and Acacius, who had assented to the decrees put forth at Nice in Thrace, already mentioned in this history, appointed other bishops in the churches of the adherents of Basilius and Eleusius in their stead. On other points I think it superfluous to write in detail. I purpose only to relate what concerns Eunomius. For when Eunomius had seized on the see of Cyzicus in the lifetime of Eleusius, Eudoxius urged him to hide his opinions and not make them known to the party who were seeking a pretext to persecute him. Eudoxius was moved to offer this advice both by his knowledge that the diocese was sound in the faith and his experience of the anger manifested by Constantius against the party who asserted the only begotten Son of God to be a created being. "Let us" said he to Eunomius "bide our time; when it comes we will preach what now we are keeping dark; educate the ignorant; and win over or compel or punish our opponents." Eunomius, yielding to these suggestions, propounded his impious doctrine under the shadow of obscurity. Those of his hearers who had been nurtured on the divine oracles saw clearly that his utterances concealed under their surface a foul fester of error.

But however distressed they were they considered it less the part of prudence than of rashness to make any open protest, so they assumed a mask of heretical heterodoxy, and paid a visit to the bishop at his private residence with the earnest request that he would have regard to the distress of men borne hither and thither by different doctrines, and would plainly expound the truth. Eunomius thus emboldened declared the sentiments which he

secretly held. The deputation then went on to remark that it was unfair and indeed quite wrong for the whole of his diocese to be prevented from having their share of the truth. By these and similar arguments he was induced to lay bare his blasphemy in the public assemblies of the church. Then his opponents hurried with angry fervour to Constantinople; first they indicted him before Eudoxius, and when Eudoxius refused to see them, sought an audience of the emperor and made lamentation over the ruin their bishop was wreaking among them. "The sermons of Eunomius," they said, "are more impious than the blasphemies of Arius. The wrath of Constantius was roused, and he commanded Eudoxius to send for Eunomius, and, on his conviction, to strip him of his bishopric. Eudoxius, of course, though again and again importuned by the accusers, continued to delay taking action. Then once more they approached the emperor with vociferous complaints that Eudoxius had not obeyed the imperial commands in any single particular, and was perfectly indifferent to the delivery of an important city to the blasphemies of Eunomius.

Then said Constantius to Eudoxius, if you do not fetch Eunomius and try him, and on conviction of the charges brought against him, punish him, I shall exile you. This threat frightened Eudoxius, so he wrote to Eunomius to escape from Cyzicus, and told him he had only himself to blame because he had not followed the hints given him. Eunomius accordingly withdrew in alarm, but he could not endure the disgrace, and endeavoured to fix the guilt of his betrayal on Eudoxius, maintaining that both he and Aetius had been cruelly treated. And from that time he set up a sect of his own for all the men who were of his way of thinking and condemned his betrayal, separated from Eudoxius and joined with Eunomius, whose name they bear up to this day. So Eunomius became the founder of a heresy, and added to the blasphemy of Arius by his own peculiar guilt. He set up a sect of his own because he was a slave to his ambition, as the facts distinctly prove. For when Aetius was condemned and exiled, Eunomius refused to accompany him, though he called him his master and a man of God, but remained closely associated with Eudoxius.

But when his turn came he paid the penalty of his iniquity; he did not submit to the vote of the synod, but began to ordain bishops and presbyters, though himself deprived of his episcopal rank. These then were the deeds done at Constantinople.

Chapter XXVI. Of the Siege of the City of Nisibis, And the Apostolic Conversation of Bishop Jacobus.

On war being waged against the Romans by Sapor King of Persia, Constantius mustered his forces and marched to Antioch. But the enemy were driven forth, not by the Roman army, but by Him whom the pious in the Roman host worshipped as their God. How the victory was won I shall now proceed to relate. Nisibis, sometimes called Antiochia Mygdonia, lies on the confines of the realms of Persia and of Rome. In Nisibis Jacobus whom I named just now was at once bishop, guardian, and commander in chief. He was a man who shone with the grace of a truly apostolic character. His extraordinary and memorable miracles, which I have fully related in my religious history, I think it superfluous and irrelevant to enumerate again. One however I will record because of the subject before us. The city which Jacobus ruled was now in possession of the Romans, and besieged by the Persian Army. The blockade was prolonged for seventy days. "Helepoles" and many other engines were advanced to the walls. The town was begirt with a palisade and entrenchment, but still held out. The river Mygdonius flowing through the middle of the town, at last the Persians dammed its stream a considerable distance up, and increased the height of its bank on both sides so as to shut the waters in. When they saw that a great mass of water was collected and already beginning to overflow the dam, they suddenly launched it like an engine against the wall. The impact was tremendous; the bulwarks could not sustain it, but gave way and fell down. Just the same fate befell the other side of the circuit, through which the Mygdonius made its exit; it could not withstand the shock, and was carried away. No sooner did Sapor see this than he expected to capture the rest of the city, and for all that day he rested for the mud to dry and the river to become passable. Next day he attacked in full force, and looked to enter the city through the breaches that had been made. But he found the wall built up on both sides, and all his labour vain.

For that holy man, through prayer, filled with valour both the troops and the rest of the townsfolk, and both built the walls, withstood the engines, and beat off the advancing foe. And all this he did without approaching the walls, but by beseeching the Lord of all within the church. Sapor, moreover, was not only astounded at the speed of the building of the walls but awed by another spectacle. For he saw standing on the battlements one of kingly mien and all ablaze with purple robe and crown. He supposed that this was

the Roman emperor. and threatened his attendants with death for not having announced the imperial presence; but on their stoutly maintaining that their report had been a true one and that Constantius was at Antioch, he perceived the meaning of the vision and exclaimed "their God is fighting for the Romans. Then the wretched man in a rage flung a javelin into the air, though he knew that he could not hit a bodiless being, but unable to curb his passion. Therefore the excellent Ephraim (he is the best writer among the Syrians) besought the divine Jacobus to mount the wall to see the barbarians and to let fly at them the darts of his curse.

So the divine man consented and climbed up into a tower but when he saw the innumerable host he discharged no other curse than to that mosquitoes and gnats might be sent forth upon them, so that by means of these tiny animals they might learn the might of the Protector of the Romans. On his prayer followed clouds of mosquitoes and gnats; they filled the hollow trunks of the elephants, and the ears and nostrils of horses and other animals. Finding the attack of these little creatures past endurance they broke their bridles, unseated their riders and threw the ranks into confusion. The Persians abandoned their camp and fled head-long. So the wretched prince learned by a slight and kindly chastisement the power of the God who protects the pious, and marched his army home again, reaping for all the harvest of the siege not triumph but disgrace.

Chapter XXVII. Of the Council of Antioch and What Was Done There Against the Holy Meletius.

At this time. Constantius was residing at Antioch. The Persian war was over; there had been a time of peace, and he once again gathered bishops together with the object of making them all deny both the formula "of one substance" and also the formula "of different substance. On the death of Leontius, Eudoxius had seized the see of Antioch, but on his expulsion and illegal establishment, after many synods, at Constantinople, the church of Antioch had been left without a shepherd. Accordingly the assembled bishops, gathered in considerable numbers from every quarter, asserted that their primary obligation was to provide a pastor for the flock and that then with him they would deliberate on matters of faith. It fell out opportunely that the divine Meletius who was ruling a certain city of Armenia had been grieved with the insubordination of the people under his rule and was now living without occupation elsewhere. The Arian faction imagined that Mele-

tius was of the same way of thinking as themselves, and an upholder of their doctrines. They therefore petitioned Constantius to commit to his hands the reins of the Antiochene church. Indeed in the hope of establishing their impiety there was no law that they did not fearlessly transgress; illegality was becoming the very foundation of their blasphemy; nor was this an isolated specimen of their irregular proceedings.

On the other hand the maintainers of apostolic doctrine, who were perfectly well aware of the soundness of the great Meletius, and had clear knowledge of his stainless character and wealth of virtue, came to a common vote. and took measures to have their resolution written out and subscribed by all without delay. This document both parties as a bond of compromise entrusted to the safe keeping of a bishop who was a noble champion of the truth, Eusebius of Samosata. And when the great Meletius had received the imperial summons and arrived, forth to meet him came all the higher ranks of the priesthood, forth came all the other orders of the church, and the whole population of the city. There, too, were Jews and Gentiles all eager to see the great Meletius. Now the emperor had charged both Meletius and the rest who were able to speak to expound to the multitude the text "The Lord formed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old" (Prov. viii. 22. lxx), and he ordered skilled writers to take down on the spot what each man said, with the idea that in this manner their instruction would be more exact. First of all Georgius of Laodicea gave vent to his foul heresy. After him Acacius of Caesarea propounded a doctrine of compromise far removed indeed from the blasphemy of the enemy, but not preserving the apostolic doctrine pure and undefiled.

Then up rose the great Meletius and exhibited the unbending line of the canon of the faith, for using the truth as a carpenter does his rule he avoided excess and defect. Then the multitude broke into loud applause and besought him to give them a short summary of his teaching. Accordingly after showing three fingers, he withdrew two, left one, and uttered the memorable sentence, "In thought they are three but we speak as to one." Against this teaching the men who had the plague of Arius in their hearts whetted their tongues, and started an ingenious slander, declaring that the divine Meletius was a Sabellian. Thus they persuaded the fickle sovereign who, like the well known Euripus, easily shifted his current now this way and now that, and induced him to relegate Meletius to his own home. Euzoius, an open defender

of Arian tenets, was promptly promoted to his place; the very than whom, then a deacon, the great Alexander had degraded at the same time as Arius. Now the part of the people who remained sound separated from the unsound and assembled in the apostolic church which is situated in the part of the city called the Palaea. For thirty years indeed after the attack made upon the illustrious Eustathius they had gone on enduring the abomination of Arianism, in the expectation of some favourable change. But when they saw impiety on the increase, and men faithful to the apostolic doctrines both openly attacked and menaced by secret conspiracy, the divine Meletius in exile, and Euzoius the champion of heresy established as bishop in his place, they remembered the words spoken to Lot, "Escape for thy life"; and further the law of the gospel which plainly ordains "if thy right eye offend thee pluck it out and cast it from thee." The Lord laid down the same law about both hand and foot, and added, "It is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell."

Thus came about the division of the Church.

Chapter XXVIII. About Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata.

The admirable Eusebius mentioned above, who was entrusted with the common resolution, when he beheld the violation of the covenant, returned to his own see. Then certain men who were uneasy about the written document, persuaded Constantius to dispatch a messenger to recover it. Accordingly the emperor sent one of the officers who ride post with relays of horses, and bring communications with great speed. On his arrival he reported the imperial message, but, "I cannot," said the admirable Eusebius, "surrender the deed deposited with me till I am directed so to do by the whole assembly who gave it me." This reply was reported to the emperor. Boiling with rage he sent to Eusebius again and ordered him to give it up, with the further message that he had ordered his right hand to be cut off if he refused. But he only wrote this to terrify the bishop, for the courier who conveyed the dispatch had orders not to carry out the threat. But when the divine Eusebius opened the letter and saw tire punishment which the emperor had threatened, lie stretched out his right hand and his left, bidding the man cut off both. "The decree," said he, "which is a clear proof of Arian wickedness, I will not give up."

When Constantius had been informed of this courageous resolution he was struck with astonishment, and did not cease to admire it; for even foes

are constrained by the greatness of bold deeds to admire their adversaries success. At this time Constantius learned that Julian, whom he had declared Caesar of Europe, was aiming at sovereignty, and mustering an army against his master. Therefore he set out from Syria, and died in Cilicia. Nor had he the helper whom his Father had left him; for he had not kept intact the inheritance of his Father's piety, and so bitterly bewailed his change of faith.

BOOK III

Chapter I. Of the Reign of Julianus; How from a Child He Was Brought Up in Piety and Lapsed into Impiety; And in What Manner, Though at First He Kept His Impiety Secret, He Afterwards Laid It Bare.

Constantius, as has been narrated, departed this life groaning and grieving that he had been turned away from the faith of his father. Julian heard the news of his end as he was crossing from Europe into Asia and assumed the sovereignty with delight at having now no rival. In his earlier days, while yet a lad, Julian had, as well as Gallus his brother, imbibed pure and pious teaching. In his youth and earlier manhood he continued to take in the same doctrine. Constantius, dreading lest his kinsfolk should aspire to imperial power, slew them; and Julian, through fear of his cousin, was enrolled in the order of Readers, and used to read aloud the sacred books to the people in the assemblies of the church. He also built a martyr's shrine; but the martyrs, when they beheld his apostasy, refused to accept the offering; for in consequence of the foundations being, like their founder's mind, unstable, the edifice fell down before it was consecrated. Such were the boyhood and youth of Julian. At the period, however, when Constantius was setting out for the West, drawn thither by the war against Magnentius, he made Gallus, who was gifted with piety which he retained to the end, Caesar of the East. Now Julian flung away the apprehensions which had previously stood him in good stead, and, moved by unrighteous confidence, set his heart on seizing the sceptre of empire. Accordingly, on his way through Greece, he sought out seers and soothsayers, with a desire of learning if he should get what his soul longed for. He met with a man who promised to predict these things, conducted him into one of the idol temples, introduced him within the shrine, and called upon the demons of deceit. On their appearing in their wonted aspect terror compelled Julian to make the sign of the cross upon his brow. They no sooner saw the sign of the Lord's victory than they were reminded of their own rout, and forthwith fled away. On the magician becoming ac-

quainted with the cause of their flight he blamed him; but Julian confessed his terror, and said that he wondered at the power of the cross, for that the demons could not endure to see its sign and ran away. "Think not anything of the sort, good sir;" said the magician, "they were not afraid as you make out, but they went away because they abominated what you did." So he tricked the wretched man, initiated him in the mysteries, and filled him with their abominations.

So lust of empire stripped the wretch of all true religion. Nevertheless after attaining the supreme power he concealed his impiety for a considerable time; for he was specially apprehensive about the troops who had been instructed in the principles of true religion, first by the illustrious Constantine who freed them from their former error and trained them in the ways of truth, and afterwards by his sons, who confirmed the instruction given by their father. For if Constantius, led astray by those under whose influence he lived, did not admit the term *omooou/sion*, at all events he sincerely accepted the meaning underlying it, for God the Word he styled true Son, begotten of his Father before the ages, and those who dared to call Him a creature he openly renounced, absolutely prohibiting the worship of idols. I will relate also another of his noble deeds, as satisfactory proof of his zeal for divine things. In his campaign against Magnentius he once mustered the whole of his army, and counselled them to take part all together in the divine mysteries, "for," said he, "the end of life is always uncertain, and that not least in war, when innumerable missiles are hurled from either side, and swords and battle axes and other weapons are assailing men, whereby a violent death is brought about. Wherefore it behoves each than to wear that precious robe which most of all we need in yonder life hereafter: if there be one here who would not now put on this garb let him depart hence and go home. I shall not brook to fight with men in my army who have no part nor lot in our holy rites."

Chapter II. Of the Return of the Bishops and the Consecration of Paulinus.

Julian had clear information on these points, and did not make known the impiety of his soul. With the object of attracting all the bishops to acquiescence in his rule he ordered even those who had been expelled from their churches by Constantius, and who were sojourning on the furthest confines of the empire, to return to their own churches. Accordingly, on the promulgation of this edict, back to Antioch came the divine Meletius, and to Alex-

andria the far famed Athanasius. But Eusebius, and Hilarius of Italy and Lucifer who presided over the flock in the island of Sardinia, were living in the Thebaid on the frontier of Egypt, whither they had been relegated by Constantius. They now met with the rest whose views were the same and affirmed that the churches ought to be brought into harmony. For they not only suffered from the assaults of their opponents, but were at variance with one another. In Antioch the sound body of the church had been split in two; at one and the same time they who from the beginning, for the sake of the right worthy Eustathius, had separated from the rest, were assembling by themselves; and they who with the admirable Meletius had held aloof from the Arian faction were performing divine service in what is called the Palaea. Both parties used one confession of faith, for both parties were champions of the doctrine laid down at Nicaea. All that separated them was their mutual quarrel, and their regard for their respective leaders; and even the death of one of these did not put a stop to the strife. Eustathius died before the election of Meletius, and the orthodox party, after the exile of Meletius and the election of Euzoius, separated from the communion of the impious, and assembled by themselves; with these, the party called Eustathians could not be induced to unite. To effect an union between them the Eusebians and Luciferians sought to discover a means. Accordingly Eusebius besought Lucifer to repair to Alexandria and take counsel on the matter with the great Athanasius, intending himself to undertake the labour of bringing about a reconciliation.

Lucifer however did not go to Alexandria but repaired to Antioch. There he urged many arguments in behalf of concord on both parties. The Eustathians, led by Paulinus, a presbyter, persisted in opposition. On seeing this Lucifer took the improper course of consecrating Paulinus as their bishop. This action on the part of Lucifer prolonged the feud, which lasted for eighty-five years, until the episcopate of the most praise-worthy Alexander. No sooner was the helm of the church at Antioch put into his hands than he tried every expedient, and brought to bear great zeal and energy for the promotion of concord, and thus joined the severed limb to the rest of the body of the church. At the time in question however Lucifer made the quarrel worse and spent a considerable time in Antioch, and Eusebius when he arrived on the spot and learnt that bad doctoring had made the malady very hard to heal, sailed away to the West.

When Lucifer returned to Sardinia he made certain additions to the dogmas of the church and those who accepted them were named after him, and for a considerable time were called Luciferians. But in time the flame of this dogma too went out and it was consigned to oblivion. Such were the events that followed on the return of the bishops.

Chapter III. Of the Number and Character of the Deeds Done by Pagans Against the Christians When They Got the Power from Julian.

When Julian had made his impiety openly known the cities were filled with dissensions. Men enthralled by the deceits of idolatry took heart, opened the idols' shrines, and began to perform those foul rites which ought to have died out from the memory of man. Once more they kindled the fire on the altars, befouled the ground with victims' gore, and defiled the air with the smoke of their burnt sacrifices. Maddened by the demons they served they ran in corybantic frenzy round about the streets, attacked the saints with low stage jests, and with all the outrage and ribaldry of their impure processions. On the other hand the partizans of piety could not brook their blasphemies, returned insult for insult, and tried to confute the error which their opponents honoured. In their turn the workers of iniquity took it ill; the liberty allowed them by the sovereign was an encouragement to audacity and they dealt deadly blows among the Christians.

It was indeed the duty of the emperor to consult for the peace of his subjects, but he in the depth of his iniquity himself maddened his peoples with mutual rage. The deeds dared by the brutal against the peaceable he overlooked and entrusted civil and military offices of importance to savage and impious men, who though they hesitated publicly to force the lovers of true piety to offer sacrifice treated them nevertheless with all kinds of indignity. All the honours moreover conferred on the sacred ministry by the great Constantine Julian took away. To tell all the deeds dared by the slaves of idolatrous deceit at that time would require a history of these crimes alone, but out of the vast number of them I shall select a few instances. At Askalon and at Gaza, cities of Palestine, then of priestly rank and women who had lived all their lives in virginity were disembowelled, filled with barley, and given for food to swine. At Sebaste, which belongs to the same people, the coffin of John the Baptist was opened, his bones burnt, and the ashes scattered abroad.

Who too could tell without a tear the vile deed done in Phoenicia? At Heliopolis by Lebanon there lived a certain deacon of the name of Cyrillus. In

the reign of Constantine, fired by divine zeal, he had broken in pieces many of the idols there worshipped. Now men of infamous name, bearing this deed in mind, not only slew him, but cut open his belly and devoured his liver. Their crime was not, however, hidden from the all-seeing eye, and they suffered the just reward of their deeds; for all who had taken part in this abominable wickedness lost their teeth, which all fell out at once, and lost, too, their tongues, which rotted away and dropped from them: they were moreover deprived of sight, and by their sufferings proclaimed the power of holiness. At the neighbouring city of Emesa they dedicated to Dionysus, the woman-formed, the newly erected church, and set up in it his ridiculous androgynous image. At Dorystolum, a famous city of Thrace, the victorious athlete Aemilianus was thrown upon a flaming pyre, by Capitolinus, governor of all Thrace. To relate the tragic fate of Marcus, however, bishop of Arethusa, with true dramatic dignity, would require the eloquence of an Aeschylus or a Sophocles. In the days of Constantius he had destroyed a certain idol-shrine and built a church in its place; and no sooner did the Arethusians learn the mind of Julian than they made an open display of their hostility. At first, according to the precept of the Gospel, Marcus endeavoured to make his escape; but when he became aware that some of his own people were apprehended in his stead, he returned and gave himself up to the men of blood. After they had seized him they neither pitied his old age nor revered his deep regard for virtue; but, conspicuous as he was for the, beauty alike of his teaching and of his life, first of all they stripped and smote him, laying strokes on every limb, then they flung him into filthy sewers, and, when they had dragged him out again, delivered him to a crowd of lads whom they charged to prick him without mercy with their pens.

After this they put him into a basket, smeared him with pickle and honey, and hung him up in the open air in the height of summer, inviting wasps and bees to a feast. Their object in doing this was to compel him either to restore the shrine which he had destroyed, or to defray the expense of its erection. Marcus, however, endured all these grievous sufferings and affirmed that he would consent to none of their demands. His enemies, with the idea that he could not afford the money from poverty, remitted half their demand, and bade him pay the rest; but Marcus hung on high, pricked with pens, and devoured by wasps and bees, yet not only shewed no signs of pain, but derided his impious tormentors with the repeated taunt, "You are

groundlings and of the earth; I, sublime and exalted. At last they begged for only a small portion of the money; but, said he, "it is as impious to give an obole as to give all. So discomfited they let him go, and could not refrain from admiring his constancy, for his words had taught them a new lesson of holiness.

Chapter IV. Of the Laws Made by Julian Against the Christians.

Countless other deeds were dared at that time by land and by sea, all over the world, by the wicked against the just, for now without disguise the enemy of God began to lay down laws against true religion. First of all he prohibited the sons of the Galileans, for so he tried to name the worshippers of the Saviour, from taking part in the study of poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy, for said he, in the words of the proverb "we are shot with shafts feathered from our own wing," for from our own books they take arms and wage war against us. After this he made another edict ordering the Galileans to be expelled from the army.

Chapter V. Of the Fourth Exile and Flight of the Athanasius.

At this time Athanasius, that victorious athlete of the truth, underwent another peril, for the devils could not brook the power of his tongue and prayers, and so armed their ministers to revile him. Many voices did they utter beseeching the champion of wickedness to exile Athanasius, and adding yet this further, that if Athanasius remained. not a heathen would remain, for that he would get them all over to his side. Moved by these supplications Julian condemned Athanasius not merely to exile, but to death. His people shuddered, but it is related that he foretold the rapid dispersal of the storm, for said he "It is a cloud which soon vanishes away." He however withdrew as soon as he learnt the arrival of the bearers of the imperial message, and finding a boat on the bank of the river, started for the Thebaid. The officer who had been appointed for his execution became acquainted with his flight, and strove to pursue him at hot haste; one of his friends, however, got ahead, and told him that the officer was coming on apace. Then some of his companions besought him to take refuge in the desert, but he ordered the steersman to turn the boat's head to Alexandria. So they rowed to meet the pursuer, and on came the bearer of the sentence of execution, and, said he, "How far off is Athanasius?" "Not far," said Athanasius, and so got rid of his foe, while he

himself returned to Alexandria and there remained in concealment for the remainder of Julian's reign.

Chapter VI. Of Apollo and Daphne, and of the Holy Babylas.

Julian, wishing to snake a campaign against the Persians, dispatched the trustiest of his officers to all the oracles throughout the Roman Empire, while he himself went as a suppliant to implore the Pythian oracle of Daphne to make known to him the future. The oracle responded that the corpses lying hard by were becoming an obstacle to divination; that they must first be removed to another spot; and that then he would utter his prophecy, for, said he, "I could say nothing, if the grove be not purified." Now at that time there were lying there the relics of the victorious martyr Babylas and the lads who had gloriously suffered with him, and the lying prophet was plainly stopped from uttering his wonted lies by the holy influence of Babylas. Julian was aware of this, for his ancient piety had taught him the power of victorious martyrs, and so he removed no other body from the spot, but only ordered the worshippers of Christ to translate the relics of the victorious martyrs. They marched with joy to the grove, put the coffin on a car and went before it leading a vast concourse of people, singing the psalms of David, while at every pause they shouted "Shame be to all them that worship molten images." For they understood the translation of the martyr to mean defeat for the demon.

Chapter VII. Of Theodorus the Confessor.

Julian could not endure the shame brought upon him by these doings, and on the following day ordered the leaders of the choral procession to be arrested. Sallustius was prefect at this time and a servant of iniquity, but he nevertheless was anxious to persuade the sovereign not to allow the Christians who were eager for glory to attain the object of their desires. When however he saw that the emperor was impotent to master his rage, he arrested a young man adorned with the graces of a holy enthusiasm while walking in the Forum, hung him up before the world on the stocks, lacerated his back with scourges, and scored his sides with claw-like instruments of torture. And this he did all day from dawn till the day was done; and then put chains of iron on him and ordered him to be kept in ward. Next morning he informed Julian of what had been done, and reported the young man's constancy and added that the event was for themselves a defeat and for the Christians a tri-

umph. Persuaded of the truth of this, God's enemy suffered no more to be so treated and ordered Theodorus to be let out of prison, for so was named this young and glorious combatant in truth's battle.

On being asked if he had had any sense of pain on undergoing those most bitter and most savage tortures he replied that at the first indeed he had felt some little pain, but that then had appeared to him one who continually wiped the sweat from his face with a cool and soft kerchief and bade him be of good courage. "Wherefore," said he, "when the executioners gave over I was not pleased but vexed, for now there went away with them he who brought me refreshment of soul. But the demon of lying divination at once increased the martyr's glory and exposed his own falsehood; for a thunderbolt sent down from heaven burnt the whole shrine and turned the very statue of the Pythian into fine dust, for it was made of wood and gilded on the surface. Julianus the uncle of Julian, prefect of the East, learnt this by night, and riding at full speed came to Daphne, eager to bring succour to the deity whom he worshipped; but when he saw the so-called god turned into powder he scourged the officers in charge of the temple, for he conjectured that the conflagration was due to some Christian. But they, maltreated as they were, could not endure to utter a lie, and persisted in saying that the fire had started not from below but from above. Moreover some of the neighbouring rustics came forward and asserted that they had seen the thunderbolt come rushing down from heaven.

Chapter VIII. Of the Confiscation of the Sacred Treasures and Taking Away of the Allowances.

Even when the wicked had become acquainted with these events they set themselves in array against the God of all; and the prince ordered the holy vessels to be handed over to the imperial treasury. Of the great church which Constantine had built he nailed up the doors and declared it closed to the worshippers wont to assemble there. At this time it was in possession of the Arians. In company with Julianus the prefect of the East, Felix the imperial treasurer, and Elpidius, who had charge of the emperor's private purse and property, an officer whom it is the Roman custom to call "Comes privatarum," made their way into the sacred edifice. Both Felix and Elpidius, it is said, were Christians, but to please the impious emperor apostatised from the true religion. Julianus committed an act of gross indecency on the Holy Table and, when Euzoius endeavoured to prevent him, gave him a blow on

the face, and told him, so the story goes, that it is the fate of the fortunes of Christians to have no protection from the gods. But Felix, as he gazed upon the magnificence of the sacred vessels, furnished with splendour by the munificence of Constantine and Constantius, "Behold," said he, "with what vessels Mary's son is served." But it was not long before they paid the penalty of these deeds of mad and impious daring.

Chapter IX. Of What Befell Julianus, the Emperor's Uncle, and Felix.

Julianus forthwith fell sick of a painful disease; his entrails rotted away, and he was no longer able to discharge his excrements through the normal organs of excretion, but his polluted mouth, at the instant of his blasphemy, became the organ for their emission. His wife, it is said, was a woman of conspicuous faith, and thus addressed her spouse: "Husband, you ought to bless our Saviour Christ for shewing you through your castigation his peculiar power. For you would never have known who it is who is being attacked by you if with his wonted long suffering he had refrained from visiting you with these heaven-sent plagues." Then by these words and the heavy weight of his woes the wretched man perceived the cause of his disease, and besought the emperor to restore the church to those who had been deprived of it. He could not however gain his petition, and so ended his days.

Felix too was himself suddenly struck down by a heaven-sent scourge, and kept vomiting blood from his mouth, all day and all night, for all the vessels of his body poured their convergent streams to this one organ: so when all his blood was shed he died, and was delivered to eternal death. Such were the penalties inflicted on these men for their wickedness.

Chapter X. Of the Son of the Priest.

A Young man who was a priest's son, and brought up in impiety, about this time went over to the true religion. For a lady remarkable for her devotion and admitted to the order of deaconesses was an intimate friend of his mother. When he came to visit her with his mother, while yet a tiny lad, she used to welcome him with affection and urge him to the true religion. On the death of his mother the young man used to visit her and enjoyed the advantage of her wonted teaching. Deeply impressed by her counsels, he enquired of his teacher by what means he might both escape the superstition of his father and have part and lot in the truth which she preached. She replied that he must flee from his father, and honour rather the Creator both of his

father and himself; that he must seek some other city wherein he might lie hid and escape the violence of the impious emperor; and she promised to manage this for him. Then, said tile young man, "henceforward I shall come and commit my soul to you. Not many days afterwards Julian came to Daphne. to celebrate a public feast. With him came the young man's father, both as a priest, and as accustomed to attend the emperor; and with their father came the young man and his brother, being appointed to the service of the temple and charged with the duty of ceremonially sprinkling the imperial viands.

It is the custom for the festival of Daphne to last for seven days. On the first day the young man stood by the emperor's couch, and according to the prescribed usage aspersed the meats, and thoroughly polluted them. Then at full speed he ran to Antioch, and making his way to that admirable lady, "I am come," said he, "to you; and I have kept my promise. Do you look to the salvation of each and fulfil your pledge. At once she arose and conducted the young man to Meletius the man of God, who ordered him to remain for awhile upstairs in the inn. His father after wandering about all over Daphne in search of the boy, then returned to the city and explored the streets and lanes, turning his eyes in all directions and longing to light upon his lad. At length he arrived at the place where the divine Meletius had his hostelry; and looking up he saw his son peeping through the lattice. He ran up, drew him along, got him down, and carried him off home. Then he first laid on him many stripes, then applied hot spits to his feet and hands and back, then shut him up in his bedroom, bolted the door on the outside, and returned to Daphne. So I myself have heard the man himself narrate in his old age, and he added further that he was inspired and filled with Divine Grace, and broke in pieces all his father's idols, and made mockery of their helplessness.

Afterwards when he bethought him of what tie had done he fared his father's return and besought his Master Christ to nod approval of his deeds, break the bolts, and open the doors. "For it is for thy sake," said he, "that I have thus suffered and thus acted. "Even as I thus spoke. he told me, "out fell the bolts and open flew the doors, and back I ran to my instructress. She dressed me up in women's garments and took me with her in her covered carriage back to the divine Meletius. He handed me over to the bishop of Jerusalem, at that time Cyril, and we started by night for Palestine. After the death of Julian this young man led his father also into the way of truth. This

act he told ne with the rest. So in this fashion these hen were guided to the knowledge of God and were made partakers of Salvation.

Chapter XI. Of the Holy Martyrs Juventinus and Maximinus.

Now Julian, with less restraint, or shall I say, less shame, began to arm himself against true religion, wearing indeed a mask of moderation, but all the while preparing gins and traps which caught all who were deceived by them in the destruction of iniquity. He began by polluting with foul sacrifices the wells in the city and in Daphne, that every man who used the fountain might be partaker of abomination. Then he thoroughly polluted the things exposed in the Forum, for bread and meat and fruit and vegetables and every kind of food were aspersed. When those who were called by the Saviour's name saw what was done, they groaned and bewailed and expressed their abomination; nevertheless they partook, for they remembered the apostolic law, "Everything that is sold in the shambles eat, asking no question for conscience sake. Two officers in the army, who were shield bearers in the imperial suite, at a certain banquet lamented in somewhat warm language the abomination of what was being done, and employed the admirable language of the glorious youths at Babylon, "Thou hast given us over to an impious Prince, an apostate beyond all the nations on the earth. One of the guests gave information of this, and the emperor arrested these right worthy men and endeavoured to ascertain by questioning them what was the language they had used. They accepted the imperial enquiry as an opportunity for open speech, and with noble enthusiasm replied "Sir we were brought up in true religion;

we were obedient to most excellent laws, the laws of Constantine and of his sons; now we see the world full of pollution, meats and drinks alike de-filed with abominable sacrifices, and we lament. We bewail these things at home, and now before thy face we express our grief, for this is the one thing in thy reign which we take ill. No sooner did he whom sympathetic courtiers called most mild and most philosophic hear these words than he took off his mask of moderation, and exposed the countenance of impiety. He ordered cruel and painful scourgings to be inflicted on them and deprived them of their lives; or shall we not rather say freed them from that sorrowful time and gave them crowns of victory? He pretended indeed that punishment was inflicted upon them not for the true religion for sake of which they were really slain, but because of their insolence, for he gave out that he had pun-

ished them for insulting the emperor, and ordered this report to be published abroad, thus grudging to these champions of the truth the name and honour of martyrs. The name of one was Juventinus; of the other Maximinus. The city of Antioch honoured them as defenders of true religion, and deposited them in a magnificent tomb, and up to this day they are honoured by a yearly festival.

Other men in public office and of distinction used similar boldness of speech, and won like crowns of martyrdom.

Chapter XII. Of Valentinianus the Great Emperor.

Valentinianus, who shortly afterwards became emperor, was at that time a Tribune and commanded the Hastati quartered in the palace. He made no secret of his zeal for the true religion. On one occasion when the infatuated emperor was going in solemn procession into the sacred enclosure of the Temple of Fortune, on either side of the gates stood the temple servants purifying, as they supposed, all who were coming in, with their sprinkling whisks. As Valentinianus walked before the emperor, he noticed that a drop had fallen on his own cloak and gave the attendant a blow with his fist, "for," said he, "I am not purified but defiled." For this deed he won two empires. On seeing what had happened Julian the accursed sent him to a fortress in the desert, and ordered him there to remain, but after the lapse of a year and a few months he received the empire as a reward of his confession of the faith, for not only in the life that is to come does the just Judge honour them that care for holy things, but sometimes even here below He bestows recompense for good deeds, confirming the hope of guerdons yet to be received by what he gives in abundance now.

But the tyrant devised another contrivance against the truth, for when according to ancient custom he had taken his seat upon the imperial throne to distribute gold among the ranks of his soldiery, contrary to custom he had an altar full of hot coals introduced, and incense put upon a table, and ordered each man who was to receive the gold first to throw incense on the altar, and then to take the gold from his own right hand. The majority were wholly unaware of the trap thus laid; but those who were forewarned feigned illness and so escaped this cruel snare. Others in their eagerness for the money made light of their salvation while another group abandoned their faith through cowardice.

Chapter XIII. Of Other Confessors.

After this fatal distribution of money some of the recipients were feasting together at an entertainment. One of them who had taken the cup in his hand did not drink before making on it the sign of salvation. One of the guests found fault with him for this, and said that it was quite inconsistent with what had just taken place. "What," said he, "have I done that is inconsistent? Whereupon he was reminded of the altar and the incense, and of his denial of the faith; for these things are all contrary to the Christian profession. When they heard this the greater number of the feasters moaned and bewailed themselves, and tore out handfuls of hair from their heads. They rose from the banquet, and ran through the Forum exclaiming that they were Christians, that they had been tricked by the emperor's contrivances, that they retracted their apostasy, and were ready to try to undo the defeat which had befallen them unwittingly. With these exclamations they ran to the palace loudly inveighing against the wiles of the tyrant, and imploring that they might be committed to the flames in order that, as they had been befouled by fire, by fire they might be made clean. All these utterances drove the villain out of his senses, and on the impulse of the moment he ordered them to be beheaded; but as they were being conducted without the city the mass of the people started to follow them, wondering at their fortitude and glorying in their boldness for the truth.

When they had reached the spot where it was usual to execute criminals, the eldest of them besought the executioner that he would first cut off the head of the youngest, that he might not be unmanned by beholding the slaughter of the rest. No sooner had he knelt down upon the ground and the headsman bared his sword, than up ran a man announcing a reprieve, and while yet afar off shouting out to stop the execution. Then the youngest soldier was distressed at his release from death. "Ah," said he, "Romanus" (his name was Romanus) "was not worthy of being called Christ's martyr. What influenced the vile trickster in stopping the execution was his envy: he grudged the champions of the faith their glory. Their sentence was commuted to relegation beyond the city walls and to the remotest regions of the empire.

Chapter XIV. Of Artemius the Duke. Of Publia the Deaconess and Her Divine Boldness.

Artemius commanded the troops in Egypt. He had obtained this command in the time of Constantine, and had destroyed most of the idols. For this reason Julian not only confiscated his property but ordered his decapitation. These and like these were the deeds of the man whom the impious describe as the mildest and least passionate of men. I will now include in my history the noble story of a right excellent woman, for even women, armed with divine zeal, despised the mad fury of Julian. In those days there was a woman named Publia, of high reputation, and illustrious for deeds of virtue. For a short time she wore the yoke of marriage, and had offered its most goodly fruit to God, for from this fair soil sprang John, who for a long time was chief presbyter at Antioch, and was often elected to the apostolic see, but from time to time declined the dignity. She maintained a company of virgins vowed to virginity for life, and spent her time in praising God who had made and saved her. One day the emperor was passing by, and as they esteemed the Destroyer an object of contempt and derision, they struck up all the louder music, chiefly chanting those psalms which mock the helplessness of idols, and saying in the words of David "The idols of the nations are of silver and gold, the work of men's hands," and after describing their insensibility, they added "like them be they that make them and all those that trust in them. Julian heard them, and was very angry, and told them to hold their peace while he was passing by. She did not however pay the least attention to his orders, but put still greater energy into their chaunt, and when the emperor passed by again told them to strike up "Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered. On this Julian in wrath ordered the choir mistress to be brought before him;

and, though he saw that respect was due to her old age, he neither compassionated her gray hairs, nor respected her high character, but told some of his escort to box both her ears, and by their violence to make her cheeks red. She however took the outrage for honour, and returned home, where, as was her wont, she kept up her attack upon him with her spiritual songs, just as the composer and teacher of the song laid the wicked spirit that vexed Saul.

Chapter XV. Of the Jews; Of Their Attempt at Building, and of the Heaven-Sent Plagues that Befel Them.

Julian, who had made his soul a home of destroying demons, went his corybantic way, ever raging against true religion. He accordingly now armed the Jews too against the believers in Christ. He began by enquiring of some whom he got together why, though their law imposed on them the duty of sacrifices, they offered none. On their reply that their worship was limited to one particular spot, this enemy of God immediately gave directions for the re-erection of the destroyed temple, supposing in his vanity that he could falsify the prediction of the Lord, of which, in reality, he exhibited the truth. The Jews heard his words with delight and made known his orders to their countrymen throughout the world. They came with haste from all directions, contributing alike money and enthusiasm for the work; and the emperor made all the provisions he could, less from the pride of munificence than from hostility to the truth. He despatched also as governor a fit man to carry out his impious orders. It is said that they made mattocks, shovels, and baskets of silver. When they had begun to dig and to carry out the earth a vast multitude of them went on with the work all day, but by night the earth which had been carried away shifted back from the ravine of its own accord. They destroyed moreover the remains of the former construction, with the intention of building everything up afresh;

but when they had got together thousands of bushels of chalk and lime, of a sudden a violent gale blew, and storms, tempests and whirlwinds scattered everything far and wide. They still went on in their madness, nor were they brought to their senses by the divine longsuffering. Then first came a great earthquake, fit to strike terror into the hearts of men quite ignorant of God's dealings; and, when still they were not awed, fire running from the excavated foundations burnt up most of the diggers, and put the rest to flight. Moreover when a large number of men were sleeping at night in an adjacent building it suddenly fell down, roof and all, and crushed the whole of them. On that night and also on the following night the sign of the cross of salvation was seen brightly shining in the sky, and the very garments of the Jews were filled with crosses, not bright but black. When God's enemies saw these things, in terror at the heaven-sent plagues they fled, and made their way home, confessing the Godhead of Him who had been cruci-

fied by their fathers. Julian heard of these events, for they were repeated by every one. But like Pharaoh he hardened his heart.

Chapter XVI. Of the Expedition Against the Persians.

No sooner had the Persians heard of the death of Constantius, than they took heart, proclaimed war, and marched over the frontier of the Roman empire. Julian therefore determined to muster his forces, though they were a host without a God to guard them. First he sent to Delphi, to Delos and to Dodona, and to the other oracles and enquired of the seers if he should march. They bade him march and promised him victory. One of these oracles I subjoin in proof of their falsehood. It was as follows. "Now we gods all started to get trophies of victory by the river beast and of them I Ares, bold raiser of the din of war, will be leader. Let them that style the Pythian a God wise in word and prince of the muses ridicule the absurdity of the utterance. I who have found out its falsehood will rather pity him who was cheated by it. The oracle called the Tigris "beast" because the river and the animal bear the same name. Rising in the mountains of Armenia, and flowing through Assyria it discharges itself into the Persian gulf. Beguiled by these oracles the unhappy man indulged in dreams of victory, and after fighting with the Persians had visions of a campaign against the Galileans, for so he called the Christians, thinking thus to bring discredit on them.

But, man of education as he was, he ought to have bethought him that no mischief is done to reputation by change of name, for even had Socrates been called Critias and Pythagoras Phalaris they would have incurred no disgrace from the change of name-nor yet would Nireus if he had been named Thersites have lost the comeliness with which nature had gifted him. Julian had learned about these things, but laid none of them to heart, and supposed that he could wrong us by using an inappropriate title. He believed the lies of the oracles and threatened to set up in our churches the statue of the goddess of lust.

Chapter XVII. Of the Boldness of Speech of the Decurion of Beroea.

After starting with these threats he was put down by one single Beroean. Illustrious as this man was from the fact of his holding the chief place among the magistrates, he was made yet more illustrious by his zeal. On seeing his son falling into the prevailing paganism, he drove him from his home and publicly renounced him. The youth made his way to the emperor in the near

neighbourhood of the city and informed him both of his own views and of his father's sentence. The emperor bade him make his mind easy and promised to reconcile his father to him. When he reached Beroea, he invited the men of office and of high position to a banquet. Among them was the young suppliant's father, and both father and son were ordered to take their places on the imperial couch. In the middle of the entertainment Julian said to the father, "It does not seem to me to be right to force a mind otherwise inclined and having no wish to shift its allegiance. Your son does not wish to follow your doctrines. Do not force him. Even I, though I am easily able to compel you, do not try to force you to follow mine." Then the father, moved by his faith in divine truth to sharpen the debate, exclaimed "Sir," said he "are you speaking of this wretch whom God hates and who has preferred lies to truth?"

Once more Julian put on the mask of mildness and said "Cease fellow from reviling," and then, turning his face to the youth, "I," said he, "will have care for you, since I have not been able to persuade your father to do so." I mention this circumstance with a distinct wish to point out not only this worthy man's admirable boldness, but that very many persons despised Julian's sway.

Chapter XVIII. Of the Prediction of the Pedagogue.

Another instance is that of an excellent man at Antioch, entrusted with the charge of young lads, who was better educated than is usually the case with pedagogues, and was the intimate friend of the chief teacher of that period, Libanius the far-famed sophist. Now Libanius was a heathen expecting victory and bearing in mind the threats of Julian, so one day, in ridicule of our belief he said to the pedagogue, "What is the carpenter's son about now?" Filled with divine grace, he foretold what was shortly to come to pass. "Sophist," said he, "the Creator of all things, whom you in derision call carpenter's son, is making a coffin." After a few days the death of the wretch was announced. He was carried out lying in his coffin. The vaunt of his threats was proved vain, and God was glorified.

Chapter XIX. Of the Prophecy of St. Julianus the Monk.

A Man who in the body imitated the lives of the bodiless, namely Julianus, surnamed in Syrian Sabbas, whose life I have written in my "Religious History," continued all the more zealously to offer his prayers to the God of all,

when he heard of the impious tyrant's threats. On the very day on which Julian was slain, he heard of the event while at his prayers, although the Monastery was distant more than twenty stages from the army. It is related that while he was invoking the Lord with loud cries and supplicating his merciful Master, he suddenly checked his tears, broke into an ecstasy of delight, while his countenance was lighted up and thus signified the joy that possessed his soul. When his friends beheld this change they begged him to tell them the reason of his gladness. "The wild boar," said he, "the enemy of the vineyard of the Lord, has paid the penalty of the wrongs he has done to Him; he lies dead. His mischief is done." The whole company no sooner heard these words than they leaped with joy and struck up the song of thanksgiving to God, and from those that brought tidings of the emperor's death they learnt that it was the very day and hour when the accursed man was slain that the aged Saint knew it and announced it.

Chapter XX. Of the Death of the Emperor Julian in Persia.

Julian's folly was yet more clearly manifested by his death. He crossed the river that separates the Roman Empire from the Persian, brought over his army, and then forthwith burnt his boats, so making his men fight not in willing but in forced obedience. The best generals are wont to fill their troops with enthusiasm, and, if they see them growing discouraged, to cheer them and raise their hopes; but Julian by burning the bridge of retreat cut off all good hope. A further proof of his incompetence was his failure to fulfil the duty of foraging in all directions and providing his troops with supplies. Julian had neither ordered supplies to be brought from Rome, nor did he make any bountiful provision by ravaging the enemy's country. He left the inhabited world behind him, and persisted in marching through the wilderness. His soldiers had not enough to eat and drink; they were without guides; they were marching astray in a desert land. Thus they saw the folly of their most wise emperor. In the midst of their murmuring and grumbling they suddenly found him who had struggled in mad rage against his Maker wounded to death. Ares who raises the war-din had never come to help him as he promised Loxias had given lying divination; he who glads him in the thunderbolts had hurled no bolt on the man who dealt the fatal blow the boasting of his threats was dashed to the ground.

The name of the man who dealt that righteous stroke no one knows to this day. Some say that he was wounded by an invisible being, others by one

of the Nomads who were called Ishmaelites; others by a trooper who could not endure the pains of famine in the wilderness. But whether it were man or angel who plied the steel, without doubt the doer of the deed was the minister of the will of God. It is related that when Julian had received the wound, he filled his hand with blood, flung it into the air and cried, "Thou hast won, O Galilean. Thus he gave utterance at once to a confession of the victory and to a blasphemy. So infatuated was he.

Chapter XXI. Of the Sorcery at Carroe Which Was Detected After His Death. After He Was Slain the Jugglery of His Sorcery Was Detected. For Carroe is a City Which Still Retains the Relics of His False Religion.

Julian had left Edessa on his left because it was adorned with the grace of true religion, and while in his vain folly he was journeying through Carrae, he came to the temple honoured by the impious and after going through certain rites with his companions in defilement, he locked and sealed the doors, and stationed sentinels with orders to see that none came in till his return. When news came of his death, and the reign of iniquity was succeeded by one of piety, the shrine was opened, and within was found a proof of the late emperor's manliness, wisdom, and piety. For there was seen a woman hung up on high by the hairs of her head, and with her hands outstretched. The villain had cut open her belly, and so I suppose learnt from her liver his victory over the Persians. This was the abomination discovered at Carrae.

Chapter XXII. Of the Heads Discovered in the Palace at Antioch and the Public Rejoicings There.

It is said that at Antioch a number of chests were discovered at the palace filled with human heads, and also many wells full of corpses. Such is the teaching of the evil deities. When Antioch heard of Julian's death she gave herself up to rejoicing and festivity; and not only was exultant joy exhibited in the churches, and in the shrines of martyrs, but even in the theatres the victory of the cross was proclaimed and Julian's vaticination held up to ridicule. And here I will record the admirable utterance of the men at Antioch, that it may be preserved in the memory of generations yet to come, for with one voice the shout was raised, "Maximus, thou feel, where are thy oracles? for God has conquered and his Christ." This was said because there lived at that time a man of the name of Maximus, a pretender to philosophy, but really a worker of magic, and boasting himself to be able to foretell the future. But the Antiochenes, who had received their divine teaching from

the glorious yokefellows Peter and Paul, and were full of warm affection for the Master and Saviour of all, persisted in execrating Julian to the end. Their sentiments were perfectly well known to the object of them, and so he wrote a book against them and called it "Misopogon."

This rejoicing at the death of the tyrant shall conclude this book of thy history, for it were to my mind indecent to connect with a righteous reign the impious sovereignty of Julian.

BOOK IV

Chapter I. Of the Reign and Piety of Jovianus.

After Julian was slain the generals and prefects met in council and deliberated who ought to succeed to the imperial power and effect both the salvation of the army in the campaign, and the recovery of the fortunes of Rome, now, by the rashness of the deceased Emperor, placed to use the common saying, on the razor edge of peril. But while the chiefs were in deliberation the troops met together and demanded Jovianus for emperor, though he was neither a general nor in the next highest rank; a man however remarkably distinguished, and for many reasons well known. His stature was great; his soul lofty. In war, and in grave struggles it was his wont to be first. Against impiety he delivered himself courageously with no fear of the tyrant's power, but with a zeal that ranked him among the martyrs of Christ. So the generals accepted the unanimous vote of the soldiers as a divine election. The brave man was led forward and placed upon a raised platform hastily constructed. The host saluted him with the imperial titles, calling him Augustus and Caesar. With his usual bluntness, and fearless alike in the presence of the commanding officers and in view of the recent apostasy of the troops, Jovianus admirably said "I am a Christian. I cannot govern men like these. I cannot command Julian's army trained as it is in vicious discipline. Men like these, stripped of the covering of the providence of God, will fall an easy and ridiculous prey to the foe." On hearing this the troops shouted with one voice, "Hesitate not, O emperor; think it not a vile thing to command us. You shall reign over Christians nurtured in the training of truth; our veterans were taught in the school of Constantine himself; younger men among us were taught by Constantius. This dead man's empire lasted but a few years, all too few to stamp its brand even on those whom it deceived."

Chapter II. Of the Return of Athanasius.

Delighted with these words the emperor undertook for the future to take counsel for the safety of the state, and how to bring home the army without loss from the campaign. He was in no need of much deliberation, but at once reaped the fruit sprung from the seeds of true religion, for the God of all gave proof of His own providence, and caused all difficulty to disappear. No sooner had the Persian sovereign been made acquainted with Jovian's accession than he sent envoys to treat for peace; nay more, he despatched provisions for the troops and gave directions for the establishment of a market for them in the desert. A truce was concluded for thirty years, and the army brought home in safety from the war. The first edict of the emperor on setting foot upon his own territory was one recalling the bishops from their exile, and announcing the restoration of the churches to the congregations who had held inviolate the confession of Nicaea. He further sent a despatch to Athanasius, the famous champion of these doctrines, beseeching that a letter might be written to him containing exact teaching on matters of religion. Athanasius summoned the most learned bishops to meet him, and wrote back exhorting the emperor to hold fast the faith delivered at Nicaea, as being in harmony with apostolic teaching. Anxious to benefit all who may meet with it I here subjoin the letter.

Chapter III. Synodical Letter to the Emperor Jovian Concerning the Faith.

To Jovianus Augustus most devout, most humane, victorious, Athanasius, and the rest of the bishops assembled, in the name of all the bishops from Egypt to Thebaid, and Libya. The intelligent preference and pursuit of holy things is becoming to a prince beloved of God. Thus may you keep your heart in truth in God's hand and reign for many years in peace. Since your piety has recently expressed a wish to learn from us the faith of the Catholic Church, we have given thanks to the Lord and have determined before all to remind your reverence of the faith confessed by the fathers at Nicaea. This faith some have set at nought, and have devised many and various attacks on us, because of our refusal to submit to the Arian heresy. They have become founders of heresy and schism in the Catholic Church. The true and pious faith in our Lord Jesus Christ has been made plain to all as it is known and read from the Holy Scriptures. In this faith the martyred saints were perfected, and now departed are with the Lord. This faith was destined everywhere

to stand unharmed, had not the wickedness of certain heretics dared to attempt its falsification; for Arius and his party endeavoured to corrupt it and to bring in impiety for its destruction, alleging the Son of God to be of the nonexistent, a creature, a Being made, and susceptible of change.

By these means they deceived many, so that even men who seemed to be somewhat, were led away by them. Then our holy Fathers took the initiative, met, as we said, at Nicaea, anathematized the Arian heresy, and subscribed the faith of the Catholic Church so as to cause the putting out of the flames of heresy by proclamation of the truth throughout the world. Thus this faith throughout the whole church was known and preached. But since some men who wished to start the Arian heresy afresh have had the hardihood to set at naught the faith confessed by the Fathers at Nicaea, and others are pretending to accept it, while in reality they deny it, distorting the meaning of the omission and thus blaspheming the Holy Ghost, by alleging it to be a creature and a Being made through the Son's means, we, perforce beholding the harm accruing from blasphemy of this kind to the people, have hastened to offer to your piety the faith confessed at Nicaea, that your reverence may know with what exactitude it is drawn up, and how great is the error of them whose teaching contradicts it. Know, O holiest Augustus, that this faith is the faith preached from everlasting, this is the faith that the Fathers assembled at Nicaea confessed.

With this faith all the churches throughout the world are in agreement, in Spain, in Britain, in Gaul, in all Italy and Campania, in Dalmatia and Mysia, in Macedonia, in all Hellas, in all the churches throughout Africa, Sardinia, Cyprus, Crete, Pamphylia and Isauria, and Lycia, those of all Egypt and Libya, of Pontus, Cappadocia and the neighbouring districts and all the churches of the East except a few who have embraced Arianism. Of all those above mentioned we know the sentiments after trial made. We have letters and we know, most pious Augustus, that though some few gainsay this faith they cannot prejudice the decision of the whole inhabited world. After being long under the injurious influence of the Arian heresy they are the more contentiously withstanding true religion. For the information of your piety, though indeed you are already acquainted with it, we have taken pains to subjoin the faith confessed at Nicaea by these three hundred and eighteen bishops. It is as follows.

We believe in one God, Father Almighty, maker of all things visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten of the Father, that is of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God: begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father, by whom all things were made both in Heaven and in earth. Who for us men and for our salvation came down from Heaven, was incarnate and was made man. He suffered and rose again the third day. He ascended into Heaven, and is coming to judge both quick and dead. And we believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church anathematizes those who say there was a time when the Son of God was not; that before He was begotten He was not; that He was made out of the non-existent, or that He is of a different essence or different substance, or a creature or subject to variation or change. In this faith, most religious Augustus, all must needs abide as divine and apostolic, nor must any strive to change it by persuasive reasoning and word battles, as from the beginning did the Arian maniacs in their contention that the Son of God is of the non-existent, and that there was a time when He was not, that He is created and made and subject to variation. Wherefore, as we stated, the council of Nicaea anathematized this heresy and confessed the faith of the truth.

For they have not simply said that the Son is like the Father, that he may be believed not to be simply like God but very God of God. And they promulgated the term "Homooousion" because it is peculiar to a real and true son of a true and natural father. Yet they did not separate the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, but rather glorified It together with the Father and the Son in the one faith of the Holy Trinity, because the Godhead of the Holy Trinity is one.

Chapter IV. Of the Restoration of Allowances to the Churches; And of the Emperor's Death.

When the emperor had received this letter, his former knowledge of and disposition to divine things was confirmed, and he issued a second edict wherein he ordered the amount of corn which the great Constantine had appropriated to the churches to be restored. For Julian, as was to be expected of one who had gone to war with our Lord and Saviour, had stopped even this maintenance, and since the famine which visited the empire in consequence of Julian's iniquity prevented the collection of the contribution of Constantine's enactment, Jovian ordered a third part to be supplied for the

present, and promised that on the cessation of the famine he would give the whole. After distinguishing the beginning of his reign by edicts of this kind, Jovian set out from Antioch for the Bosphorus; but at Dadastanae, a village lying on the confines of Bithynia and Galatia, he died. He set out on his journey from this world with the grandest and fairest support and stay, but all who had experienced the clemency of his sway were left behind in pain. So, me-thinks, the Supreme Ruler, to convict us of our iniquity, both shews us good things and again deprives us of them; so by the former means He teaches us how easily He can give us what He will; by the latter He convicts us of our unworthiness of it, and points us to the better life.

Chapter V. Of the Reign of Valentinianus, and How He Associated Valens His Brother with Him.

When the troops had become acquainted with the emperor's sudden death, they wept for the departed prince as for a father, and made Valentinian emperor in his room. It was he who smote the officer of the temple and was sent to the castle. He was distinguished not only for his courage, but also for prudence, temperance, justice, and great stature. He was of so kingly and magnanimous a character that, on an attempt being made by the army to appoint a colleague to share his throne, he uttered the well-known words which are universally repeated, "Before I was emperor, soldiers, it was yours to give me the reins of empire: now that I have taken them, it is mine, not yours, to take counsel for the state. The troops were struck with admiration at what he said, and contentedly followed the guidance of his authority. Valentinian, however, sent for his brother from Pannonia, and shared the empire with him. Would that he had never done so! To Valens, who had not yet accepted unsound doctrines, was committed the charge of Asia and of Egypt, while Valentinian allotted Europe to himself. He journeyed to the Western provinces, and beginning with a proclamation of true religion, instructed them in all righteousness. When the Arian Auxentius, bishop of Milan, who was condemned in several councils, departed this life, the emperor summoned the bishops and addressed them as follows:

"Nurtured as you have been in holy writ, you know full well what should be the character of one dignified by the episcopate, and how he should rule his subjects aright, not only with his lip, but with his life; exhibit himself as an example of every kind of virtue, and make his conversation a witness of his teaching. Seat now upon your archiepiscopal throne a man of such char-

acter that we who rule the realm may honestly bow our heads before him and welcome is reproofs,-for, in that we are men, it needs must be that we sometimes stumble,-as a physician's healing treatment."

Chapter VI. Of the Election of Ambrosius, the Bishop of Milan.

Thus spoke the emperor, and then the council begged him, being a wise and devout prince, to make the choice. He then replied, "The responsibility is too great for us. You who have been dignified with divine grace, and have received illumination from above, will make a better choice." So they left the imperial presence and began to deliberate apart. In the meanwhile the people of Milan were torn by factions, some eager that one, some that another, should be promoted. They who had been infected with the unsoundness of Auxentius were for choosing men of like opinions, while they of the orthodox party were in their turn anxious to have a bishop of like sentiments with themselves. When Ambrosius, who held the chief civil magistracy of the district, was apprised of the contention, being afraid lest some seditious violence should be attempted he hurried to the church; at once there was a lull in the strife. The people cried with one voice "Make Ambrose our pastor,"-although up to this time he was still unbaptized. News of what was being done was brought to the emperor, and he at once ordered the admirable man to be baptized and ordained, for he knew that his judgment was straight and true as the rule of the carpenter and his sentence more exact than the beam of the balance. Moreover he concluded from the agreement come to by men of opposite sentiments that the selection was divine. Ambrose then received the divine gift of holy baptism, and the grace of the archiepiscopal office. The most excellent emperor was present on the occasion and is said to have offered the following hymn of praise to his Lord and Saviour. "We thank thee, Almighty Lord and Saviour; I have committed to this man's keeping men's bodies; Thou hast entrusted to him their souls, and hast shown my choice to be righteous."

Not many days after the divine Ambrosius addressed the emperor with the utmost freedom, and found fault with certain proceedings of the magistrates as improper. Valentinian remarked that this freedom was no novelty to him, and that, well acquainted with it as he was, he had not merely offered no opposition to, but had gladly concurred in, the appointment to the bishopric. "Go on," continued the emperor, "as God's law bids you, healing the errors of our souls." Such were the deeds and words of Valentinian at Milan.

Chapter VII.

Letters of the Emperors Valentinianus and Valens, written to the diocese of Asia about the Homoo~~u~~smion, on hearing that same men in Asia and in Phrygia were in dispute about the divine decree. Valentinian ordered a council to be held in Illyricum and sent to the disputants the decrees ratified by the bishops there assembled. They had decided to hold fast the creed put forth at Nicaea and the emperor himself wrote to them, associating his brother with him in the dispatch, urging that the decrees be kept. The edict clearly proclaims the piety of the emperor and similarly exhibits the soundness of Valens in divine doctrines at that time. I shall therefore give it in full. The mighty emperors, ever august, augustly victorious, Valentinianus, Valens, and Gratianus, to the bishops of Asia, Phrygia, Carophrygia Pacatiana, greeting in the Lord. A great council having met in Illyricum, after much discussion concerning the word of salvation, the thrice blessed bishops have declared that the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is of one substance. This Trinity they worship, in no wise remitting the service which has duly fallen to their lot, the worship of the great King. It is our imperial will that this Trinity be preached, so that none may say "We accept the religion of the sovereign who rules this world without regard to Him who has given us the message of salvation," for, as says the gospel of our God which contains this judgment, "we should render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's."

What say you, ye bishops, ye champions of the Word of salvation? If these be your professions, thus then continue to love one another, and cease to abuse the imperial dignity. No longer persecute those who diligently serve God, by whose prayers both wars cease upon the earth, and the assaults of apostate angels are repelled. These striving through supplication to repel all harmful demons both know how to pay tribute as the law enjoins, and do not gainsay the power of their sovereign, but with pure minds both keep the commandment of the heavenly King, and are subject to our laws. But ye have been shewn to be disobedient. We have tried every expedient but you have given yourselves up. We however wish to be pure from you, as Pilate at the trial of Christ when He lived among us, was unwilling to kill Him, and when they begged for His death, turned to the East, asked water for his hands and washed his hands, saying I am innocent of the blood of this righteous man.

Thus our majesty has invariably charged that those who are working in the field of Christ are not to be persecuted, oppressed, or ill treated; nor the stewards of the great King driven into exile; lest to-day under our Sovereign you may seem to flourish and abound, and then together with your evil counsellor trample on his covenant, as in the case of the blood of Zacharias, but he and his were destroyed by our Heavenly King Jesus Christ after (at) His coming, being delivered to death's judgment, they and the deadly fiend who abetted them. We have given these orders to Amegetius, to Ceronius to Damasus, to Lampon and to Brentisius by word of mouth, and we have sent the actual decrees to you also in order that you nay know what was enacted in the honourable synod. To this letter we subjoin the decrees of the synod, which are briefly as follows.

In accordance with the great and orthodox synod we confess that the Son is of one substance with the Father. And we do not so understand the term of one substance` as some formerly interpreted it who signed their names with feigned adhesion; nor as some who now-a-days call the drafters of the old creed Fathers, but make the meaning of the word of no effect, following the authors of the statement that "of one substance" means "like," with the understanding that since the Son is comparable to no one of the creatures made by Him, He is like to the Father alone. For those who thus think irreverently define the Son "as a special creation of the Father," but we, with the present synods, both at Rome and in Gaul, hold that there is one and the same substance of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in three persons, that is in three perfect essences. And we confess, according to the exposition of Nicaea, that the Son of God being of one substance, was made flesh of the Holy Virgin Mary, and hath tabernacled among men, and fulfilled all the economy for our sakes in birth, in passion, in resurrection, and in ascension into Heaven; and that He shall come again to render to us according to each man's manner of life, in the day of judgment, being seen in the flesh, and showing forth His divine power, being God bearing flesh, and not man bearing Godhead.

Them that think otherwise we damn, as we do also them that do not honestly damn him that said that before the Son was begotten He was not, but wrote that even before He was actually begotten He was potentially in the Father. For this is true in the case of all creatures, who are not for ever with God in the sense in which the Son is ever with the Father, being begot-

ten by eternal generation. Such was the short summary of the emperor. I will now subjoin the actual dispatch of the synod.

Chapter VIII. Synodical Epistle of the Synod in Illyricum Concerning the Faith.

"The bishops of Illyricum to the churches of God, and bishops of the dioceses of Asia, of Phrygia, and Carophrygia Pacatiana, greeting in the Lord. "After meeting together and making long enquiry concerning the Word of salvation, we have set forth that the Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is of one substance. And it seemed fitting to pen a letter to you, not that we write what concerns the worship of the Trinity in vain disputation, but in humility deemed worthy of the duty. "This letter we have sent by our beloved brother and fellow labourer Elpidius the presbyter. For not in the letters of our hands, but in the books of our Saviour Jesus Christ, is it written 'I am of Paul and I of Apollos and I of Cephas and I of Christ. Was Paul crucified for you? Or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'

"It seemed indeed fitting to our humility not to pen any letter to you, on account of the great terror which your preaching causes to all the region under your jurisdiction, separating as you do the Holy Spirit from the Father and Son. We were therefore constrained to send to you our lord and fellow labourer Elpidius to ascertain if your preaching is really of this character and to carry this dispatch from the imperial government of Rome. "Let them who do not regard the Trinity as one substance be anathema, and if any man be detected in communion with them let him be anathema. "But for them that preach that the Trinity is of one substance the Kingdom of Heaven is prepared. "We exhort you therefore brethren to teach no other doctrine, nor even hold any other and vain belief, but that always and everywhere, preaching the Trinity to be of one substance, ye may be able to inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.

"While writing on this point we have also been reminded to pen this letter to you about the present or future appointment of our fellow ministers as bishops, if there be any sound men among the bishops who have already discharged a public office; and, if not, from the order of presbyters: in like manner of the appointment of presbyters and deacons out of the actual priestly order that they may be in every way blameless, and not from the ranks of the senate and army. "We have been unwilling to pen you a letter at length, because of the mission of one representative of all, our lord and fellow labourer Elpidius, to make diligent enquiry about your preaching, if it really is such as

we have heard from our lord and fellow labourer Eustathius. "In conclusion, if at any time you have been in error, put off the old man and put on the new. The same brother and fellow labourer Elpidius will instruct you how to preach the true faith that the Holy Trinity, of one substance with God the Father, together with the Son and Holy Ghost, is hallowed, glorified, and made manifest, Father in Son, Son in Father, with the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. For since this has been made manifest, we shall manifestly be able to confess the Holy Trinity to be of one substance according to the faith set forth formerly at Nicaea which the Fathers confirmed. So long as this faith is preached we shall be able to avoid the snares of the deadly devil. When he is destroyed we shall be able to do homage to one another in letters of peace while we live in peace.

"We have therefore written to you in order that ye may know the deposition of the Ariomaniacs, who do not confess that the Son is of the substance of the Father nor the Holy Ghost. We subjoin their names,-Polychronius, Telemachus, Faustus, Asclepiades, Amantius, Cleopater. "This we thus write to the glory of Father and Son and Holy Ghost for ever and ever, amen. We pray the Father and the Son our Saviour Jesus Christ with the Holy Ghost that you may fare well for many years."

Chapter IX. Of the Heresy of the Audiani.

The illustrious emperor thus took heed of the apostolic decrees, but Audaus, a Syrian alike in race and in speech, appeared at that time as an inventor of new decrees. He had long ago begun to incubate iniquities and now appeared in his true character. At first he understood in an absurd sense the passage "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness." From want of apprehension of the meaning of the divine Scripture he understood the Divine Being to have a human form, and conjectured it to be enveloped in bodily parts; for Holy Scripture frequently describes the divine operations under the names of human parts, since by these means the providence of God is made more easily intelligible to minds incapable of perceiving any immaterial ideas. To this impiety Audaus added others of a similar kind. By an eclectic process he adopted some of the doctrines of Manes and denied that the God of the universe is creator of either fire or darkness. But these and all similar errors are concealed by the adherents of his faction.

They allege that they are separated from the assemblies of the Church. But since some of them exact a cursed usury, and some live unlawfully with

women without the bond of wedlock, while those who are innocent of these practices live in free fellowship with the guilty, they hide the blasphemy of their doctrines by accounting as they do for their living by themselves. The plea is however an impudent one, and the natural result of Pharisaic teaching, for the Pharisees accused the Physician of souls and bodies in their question to the holy Apostles "How is it that your Master eateth with publicans and sinners?" and through the prophet, God of such men says "Which say, 'come not near me for I am pure' this is smoke of my wrath." But this is not a tithe to refute their unreasonable error. I therefore pass on to the remainder of my narrative.

Chapter X. Of the Heresy of the Messaliani.

At this time also arose the heresy of the Messaliani. Those who translate their name into Greek call them Euchitae. They have also another designation which arose naturally from their mode of action. From their coming under the influence of a certain demon, which they supposed to be the advent of the Holy Ghost, they are called enthusiasts. Men who have become infected with this plague to its full extent shun manual labour as iniquitous; and, giving themselves over to sloth, call the imaginations of their dreams prophesyings. Of this heresy Dadoes, Sabbas, Adelphius, Hermas, and Simeones were leaders, and others besides, who did not hold aloof from the communion of the Church, alleging that neither good nor harm came of the divine food of which Christ our Master said "Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood shall live for ever." In their endeavor to hide their unsoundness they shamelessly deny it even after conviction, and abjure men whose opinions are in harmony with their own secret sentiments.

Under these circumstances Letoius, who was at the head of the church of Melitine, a man full of divine zeal, saw that many monasteries, or, shall I rather say, brigands' caves, had drunk deep of this disease. He therefore burnt them, and drove out the wolves from the flock. In like manner the illustrious Amphilochius to whom was committed the charge of the metropolis of the Lycaonians and who ruled all the people, no sooner learnt that this pestilence had invaded his diocese than he made it depart from his borders and freed from its infection the flocks he fed. Flavianus, also, the far famed high-priest of the Antiochenes, on learning that these men were living at Edessa and attacking with their peculiar poison all with whom they came in contact, sent a company of monks, brought them to Antioch, and in the fol-

lowing manner convicted them in their denial of their heresy. Their accusers, he said, were calumniating them, and the witnesses giving false evidence; and Adelphius, who was a very old man, he accosted with expressions of kindness, and ordered to take a seat at his side. Then he said "We, O venerable sir, who have lived to an advanced age, have more accurate knowledge of human nature, and of the tricks of the demons who oppose us, and have learnt by experience the character of the gift of grace. But these younger men have no clear knowledge of these matters, and cannot brook to listen to spiritual teaching. Wherefore tell me in what sense you say that the opposing spirit retreats, and the grace of the Holy Ghost supervenes. The old man was won over by these words and gave vent to all his secret venom, for he said that no benefit accrues to the recipients of Holy Baptism, and that it is only by earnest prayer that the in-dwelling demon is driven out, for that every one born into the world derives from his first father slavery to the demons just as he does his nature;

but that when these are driven away, then come the Holy Ghost giving sensible and visible signs of His presence, at once freeing the body from the impulse of the passions and wholly ridding the soul of its inclination to the worse; with the result that there is no more need for fasting that restrains the body, nor of teaching or training that bridles it and instructs it how to walk aright. And not only is the recipient of this gift liberated from the wanton motions of the body, but also clearly foresees things to come, and with the eyes beholds the Holy Trinity. In this wise the divine Flavianus dug into the foul fountain-head and succeeded in laying bare its streams. Then he thus addressed the wretched old man. "O thou that hast grown old in evil days, thy own mouth convicts thee, not I, and thou art testified against by thy own lips." After their unsoundness had been thus exposed they were expelled from Syria, and withdrew to Pamphylia, which they filled with their pestilential doctrine.

Chapter XI. In What Manner Valens Fell into Heresy.

I Will now pursue the course of my narrative, and will describe the beginning of the tempest which stirred up many and great billows to buffet the Church. Valens, when he first received the imperial dignity, was distinguished by his fidelity to apostolic doctrine. But when the Goths had crossed the Danube and were ravaging Thrace, he determined to assemble an army and march against them; and accordingly resolved not to take the field

without the garb of divine grace, but first to protect himself with the panoply of Holy Baptism. In forming this resolution he acted at once well and wisely, but his subsequent conduct betrays very great feebleness of character, resulting in the abandonment of the truth. His fate was the same as that of our first father, Adam; for he too, won over by the arguments of his wife, lost his free estate and became not merely a captive but an obedient listener to woman's wily words. His wife had already been entrapped in the Arian snare, and now she caught her husband, and persuaded him to fall along with her into the pit of blasphemy. Their leader and initiator was Eudoxius, who still held the tiller of Constantinople, with the result that the ship was not steered onwards but sunk to the bottom.

Chapter XII. How Valens Exiled the Virtuous Bishops.

At the very time of the baptism of Valens Eudoxius bound the unhappy man by an oath to abide in the impiety of his doctrine, and to expel from every see the holders of contrary opinions. Thus Valens abandoned the apostolic teaching, and went over to the opposite faction; nor was it long before he fulfilled the rest of his oath; for from Antioch he expelled the great Meletius, from Samosata the divine Eusebius, and deprived Laodicea of her admirable shepherd Pelagius. Pelagius had taken on him the yoke of wedlock when a very young man, and in the very bridal chamber, on the first day of his nuptials, he persuaded his bride to prefer chastity to conjugal intercourse, and taught her to accept fraternal affection in the place of marriage union. Thus he gave all honour to temperance, and possessed also within himself the sister virtues moving in tune with her, and for these reasons he was unanimously chosen for the bishopric. Nevertheless not even the bright beams of his life and conversation awed the enemy of the truth. Him, too, Valens relegated to Arabia, the divine Meletius to Armenia, and Eusebius, that unflagging labourer in apostolic work to Thrace. Unflagging he was indeed, for when apprised that many churches were now deprived of their shepherds, he travelled about Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine, wearing the garb of war and covering his head with a tiara, ordaining presbyters and deacons and filling up the other ranks of the Church; and if haply he lighted on bishops with like sentiments with his own, he appointed them to empty churches.

Chapter XIII. Of Eusebius, Bishop of Samosata, and Others.

Of the courage and prudence shewn by Eusebius after he had received the imperial edict which commanded him to depart into Thrace, I think all who have been hitherto ignorant should hear. The bearer of this edict reached his destination in the evening, and was exhorted by Eusebius to keep silent and conceal the cause of his coming. "For," said the bishop, "the multitude has been nurtured in divine zeal, and should they learn why you have come they will drown you, and I shall be held responsible for your death." After thus speaking and performing evening service, as he was wont, the old man started out alone on foot, at nightfall. He confided his intentions to one of his household servants who followed him carrying nothing but a cushion and a book. When he had reached the bank of the river (for the Euphrates runs along the very walls of the town) he embarked in a boat and told the oarsmen to row to Zeugma. When it was day the bishop had reached Zeugma, and Samosata was full of weeping and wailing, for the above mentioned domestic reported the orders given him to the friends of Eusebius, and told them whom he wished to travel with him, and what books they were to convey. Then all the congregation bewailed the removal of their shepherd, and the stream of the river was crowded with voyagers.

When they came where he was, and saw their beloved pastor, with lamentations and groanings they shed floods of tears, and tried to persuade him to remain, and not abandon the sheep to the wolves. But all was of no avail, and he read them the apostolic law which clearly bids us be subjects to magistrates and authorities. When they had heard him some brought him gold, some silver, some clothes, and others servants, as though he were starting for some strange and distant land. The bishop refused to take anything but some slight gifts from his more intimate friends, and then gave the whole company his instruction and his prayers, and exhorted them to stand up boldly for the apostolic decrees. Then he set out for the Danube, while his friends returned to their own town, and encouraged one another as they waited for the assaults of the wolves.

In the belief that I should be wronging them were the warmth and sincerity of their faith to lack commemoration in my history I shall now proceed to describe it. The Arian faction, after depriving the flock of their right excellent shepherd, set up another bishop in his place; but not an inhabitant of the city, were he herding in indigence or blazing in wealth, not a servant,

not a handicraftsman, not a hind, not a gardener, nor man nor woman, whether young or old, came, as had been their wont, to gatherings in church. The new bishop lived all alone; not a soul looked at him, or exchanged a word with him. Yet the report is that he behaved with courteous moderation, of which the following instance is a proof. On one occasion he had expressed a wish to bathe, so his servants shut the doors of the bath, and kept out all who wished to come in. When he saw the crowd before the doors he ordered them to be thrown open, and directed that every one should freely use the bath. He exhibited the same conduct in the balls within; for on observing certain men standing by him while he bathed he begged them to share the hot water with him. They stood silent. Thinking their hesitation was due to a respect for him, he quickly arose and made his way out, but these persons had really been of opinion that even the water was affected with the pollution of his heresy, and so sent it all down the sinks, while they ordered a fresh supply to be provided for themselves.

On being informed of this the intruder departed from the city, for he judged that it was insensate and absurd on his part to continue to reside in a city which detested him, and treated him as a common foe. On the departure of Eunomius (for this was his name) from Samosata, Lucius, an unmistakable wolf, and enemy of the sheep, was appointed in his place. But the sheep, all shepherdless as they were, shepherded themselves, and persistently preserved the apostolic doctrine in all its purity. How the new intruder was detested the following relation will set forth. Some lads were playing ball in the market place and enjoying the game, when Lucius was passing by. It chanced that the ball was dropped and passed between the feet of the ass. The boys raised an outcry because they thought that their ball was polluted. On perceiving this Lucius told one of his suite to stop and learn what was going on. The boys lit a fire and tossed the ball through the flames with the idea that by so doing they purified it. I know indeed that this was but a boyish act, and a survival of the ancient ways; but it is none the less sufficient to prove in what hatred the town held the Arian faction.

Lucius however was no follower of the mildness of Eunomius, but persuaded the authorities to exile many others of the clergy, and despatched the most distinguished champions of the divine dogmas to the furthest confines of the Roman Empire; Evolcius, a deacon, to Oasis, to an abandoned village; Antiochus, who had the honour of being related to the great Eusebius, for

he was his brother's son, and further distinguished by his own honourable character, and of priestly rank, to a distant part of Armenia. How boldly this Antiochus contended for the divine decrees will be seen from the following facts. When the divine Eusebius after his many conflicts, whereof each was a victory, had died a martyr's death, the wonted synod of the people was held, and among others came Jovinus then bishop of Perrha who for some little time had held a communion with the Arians. Antiochus was unanimously chosen as successor to his uncle. When brought before the holy table and bidden there to bend the knee, he turned round and saw that Jovinus had put his right hand on his head. Plucking the hand away he bade him be gone from among the consecrators, saying that he could not endure a right hand which had received mysteries blasphemously celebrated.

These events happened somewhat later. At the time I am speaking of he was removed to the interior of Armenia. The divine Eusebius was living by the Danube where the Goths were ravaging Thrace and besieging cities, as is described in his own works.

Chapter XIV. Of the Holy Barses, and of the Exile of the Bishop of Edessa and His Companions.

Barses, whose fame is now great not only in his own city of Edessa, and in neighbouring towns, but in Phoenicia, in Egypt, and in the Thebaid, through all which regions he had travelled with a high reputation won by his great virtue, had been relegated by Valens to the island of Aradus, but when the emperor learnt that innumerable multitudes streamed thither, because Barses was full of apostolic grace, and drove out sicknesses with a word, he sent him to Oxyrynchus in Egypt; but there too his fame drew all men to him, and the old man, worthy of heaven, was led off to a remote castle near the country of the barbarians of that district, by name Pheno. It is said that in Aradus his bed has been preserved to this day, where it is held in very great honour, for many sick persons lie down upon it and by means of their faith recover.

Chapter XV. Of the Persecution Which Took Place at Edessa, and of Eulogius and Protogenes, Presbyters of Edessa.

Now a second time Valens, after depriving the flock of their shepherd, had set over them in his stead a wolf. The whole population had abandoned the city, and were assembled in front of the town, when he arrived at Edessa. He had given orders to the prefect, Modestus by name, to assemble the troops

under his orders who were accustomed to exact the tribute, to take all who were present of the armed force, and by inflicting blows with sticks and clubs, and using if need be their other weapons of war to disperse the gathering multitude. Early in the morning, while the prefect was executing this order, on his way through the Forum he saw a woman holding an infant in her arms, and hurrying along at great speed. She had made light of the troops, and forced her way through their ranks: for a soul fired with divine zeal knows no fear of man, and looks on terrors of this kind as ridiculous sport. When the prefect saw her, and understood what had happened, he ordered her to be brought before him, and enquired whither she was going. "I have heard," said she, "that assaults are being planned against the servants of the Lord; I want to join my friends in the faith that I may share with them the slaughter inflicted by you." "But the baby," said the prefect, "what in the world are you carrying that for?" "That it may share with me," said she, "the death I long for."

When the prefect had heard this from the woman and through her means discovered the zeal which animated all the people, he made it known to the emperor, and pointed out the uselessness of the intended massacre. "We shall only reap," said he "a harvest of discredit from the deed, and shall fail to quench these people's spirit. He then would not allow the multitude to undergo the tortures which they had expected, and commanded their leaders, the priests, I mean, and deacons, to be brought before him, and offered them a choice of two alternatives, either to induce the flock to communicate with the wolf, or be banished from the town to some remote region. Then he summoned the mass of the people before him, and in gentle terms endeavoured to persuade them to submit to the imperial decrees, urging that it was mere madness for a handful of men who might soon be counted to withstand the sovereign of so vast an empire. The crowd stood speechless. Then the prefect turned to their leader Eulogius, an excellent man, and said, "Why do you make no answer to what you have heard me say?" "I did not think," said Eulogius, "that I must answer, when I had been asked no question. "But," said the prefect, "I have used many arguments to urge you to a course advantageous to yourselves. Eulogius rejoined that these pleas had been urged on all the multitude and that he thought it absurd for him to push himself forward and reply;

"but," he went on, "should you ask me my individual opinion I will give it you. "Well," said the prefect, "communicate with the emperor. With pleasant irony Eulogius continued, "Has he then received the priesthood as well as the empire? The prefect then perceiving that he was not speaking seriously took it ill, and after heaping reproaches on the old man, added, "I did not say so, you fool; I exhorted you to communicate with those with whom the Emperor communicates. To this the old man replied that they had a shepherd and obeyed his directions, and so eighty of them were arrested, and exiled to Thrace. On their way thither they were everywhere received with the greatest possible distinction, cities and villages coming out to meet them and honouring them as victorious athletes. But envy armed their antagonists to report to the emperor that what had been reckoned disgrace had really brought great honour on these men; thereupon Valens ordered that they were to be separated into pairs and sent in different directions, some to Thrace, some to the furthest regions of Arabia, and others to the towns of the Thebaid; and the saying was that those whom nature had joined together savage men had put asunder, and divided brother from brother. Eulogius their leader with Protogenes the next in rank, were relegated to Antinone.

Even of these men I will not suffer the virtue to fall into oblivion. They found that the bishop of the city was of like mind with themselves, and so took part in the gatherings of the Church; but when they saw very small congregations, and on enquiry learnt that the inhabitants of the city were pagans, they were grieved, as was natural, and deplored their unbelief. But they did not think it enough to grieve, but to the best of their ability devoted themselves to making these men whole. The divine Eulogius, shut up in a little chamber, spent day and night in putting up petitions to the God of the universe; and the admirable Protogenes, who had received a good education and was practised in rapid writing, pitched on a suitable spot which he made into a boys' school, and, setting up for a schoolmaster, he instructed his pupils not only in the art of swift penmanship, but also in the divine oracles. He taught them the psalms of David and gave them to learn the most important articles of the apostolic doctrine. One of the lads fell sick, and Protogenes went to his home, took the sufferer by the hand and drove away the malady by prayer. When the parents of the other boys heard this they brought him to their houses and entreated him to succour the sick; but he

refused to ask God for the expulsion of the malady before the sick had received the gift of baptism;

urged by their longing for the children's health, the parents readily acceded, and won at last salvation both for body and soul. In every instance where he persuaded any one in health to receive the divine grace, he led him off to Eulogius, and knocking at the door besought him to open, and put the seal of the Lord on the prey. When Eulogius was annoyed at the interruption of his prayer, Protogenes used to say that it was much more essential to rescue the wanderers. In this he was an object of admiration to all who beheld his deeds, doing such wondrous works, imparting to so many the light of divine knowledge and all the while yielding the first place to another, and bringing his prizes to Eulogius. They rightly conjectured that the virtue of Eulogius was by far the greater and higher. On the quieting of the tempest and restoration of complete calm, they were ordered to return home, and were escorted by all the people, wailing and weeping, and specially by the bishop of the church, who was now deprived of their husbandry. When they reached home, the great Barse had been removed to the life that knows no pain, and the divine Eulogius was entrusted with the rudder of the church which he had piloted; and to the excellent Protogenes was assigned the husbandry of Charrae, a barren spot full of the thorns of heathendom and needing abundant labour. But these events happened after peace was restored to the churches.

Chapter XVI. Of the Holy Basilius, Bishop of Caesarea, and the Measures Taken Against Him by Valens and the Prefect Modestus.

Valens, one might almost say, deprived every church of its shepherd, and set out for the Cappadocian Caesarea, at that time the see of the great Basil, a light of the world. Now he had sent the prefect before him with orders either to persuade Basil to embrace the communion of Eudoxius, or, in the event of his refusal, to punish him by exile. Previously acquainted as he was with the bishop's high reputation, he was at first unwilling to attack him, for he was apprehensive lest the bishop, by boldly meeting and withstanding his assault, should furnish an example of bravery to the rest. This artful stratagem was as ineffective as a spider's web. For the stories told of old were quite enough for the rest of the episcopate, and they kept the wall of the faith unmoved like bastions in the circle of its walls. The prefect, however, on his arrival at Caesarea, sent for the great Basil. He treated him with respect, and, address-

ing him with moderate and courteous language, urged him to yield to the exigencies of the time, and not to forsake so many churches on account of a petty nicety of doctrine. He moreover promised him the friendship of the emperor, and pointed out that through it he might be the means of conferring great advantages upon many. "This sort of talk," said the divine man, "is fitted for little boys, for they and their like easily swallow such inducements. But they who are nurtured by divine words will not suffer so much as a syllable of the divine creeds to be let go, and for their sake are ready, should need require, to embrace every kind of death. The emperor's friendship I hold to be of great value if conjoined with true religion; otherwise I doom it for a deadly thing."

Then the prefect was moved to wrath, and declared that Basil was out of his senses. "But," said the divine man, "this madness I pray be ever mine." The bishop was then ordered to retire, to deliberate on the course to be pursued, and on the morrow to declare to what conclusion he had come. Intimidation was moreover joined with argument. The reply of the illustrious bishop is related to have been "I for my part shall come to you tomorrow the same man that I am today; do not yourself change, but carry out your threats." After these discussions the prefect met the emperor and reported the conversation, pointing out the bishop's virtue, and the undaunted manliness of his character. The emperor said nothing and passed in. In his palace he saw that plagues from heaven had fallen, for his son lay sick at the very gates of death and his wife was beset by many ailments. Then he recognised the cause of these sorrows, and entreated the divine man, whom he had threatened with chastisement, to come to his house. His officers performed the imperial behests and then the great Basil came to the palace.

After seeing the emperor's son on the point of death he promised him restoration to life if he should receive holy baptism at the hands of the pious, and with this pledge went his way. But the emperor, like the foolish Herod, remembered his oath, and ordered some of the Arian faction who were present to baptize the boy, who immediately died. Then Valens repented; he saw how fraught with danger the keeping of his oath had been, and came to the divine temple and received the teaching of the great Basil, and offered the customary gifts at the altar. The bishop moreover ordered him to come within the divine curtains where he sat and talked much with him about the divine decrees and in turn listened to him. Now there was present a certain

man of the name of Demosthenes, superintendent of the imperial kitchen, who in rudely chiding the man who instructed the world was guilty of a sol-ecism of speech. Basil smiled and said "we see here an illiterate Demosthenes;" and on Demosthenes losing his temper and uttering threats, he continued "your business is to attend to the seasoning of soups; you cannot understand theology because your ears are stopped up." So he said, and the emperor was so delighted that he gave him some fine lands which he had there for the poor under his care, for they being in grievous bodily affliction were specially in need of care and cure.

In this manner then the great Basil avoided the emperor's first attack, but when he came a second time his better judgement was obstructed by counselors who deceived him; he forgot what had happened on the former occasion and ordered Basil to go over to the hostile faction, and, failing to persuade him, commanded the decree of exile to be enforced. But when he tried to affix his signature to it he could not even form one tittle of a word, for the pen broke, and when the same thing happened to the second and to the third pen, and he still strove to sign that wicked edict, his hand shook; he quaked, his soul was filled with fright; he tore the paper with both his hands, and so proof was given by the Ruler of the world that it was He Himself who had permitted these sufferings to be undergone by the rest, but had made Basil stronger than the snares laid against him, and, by all the incidents of Basil's case, had declared His own almighty power, while on the other hand He had proclaimed abroad the courage of good men. Thus Valens was disappointed in his attack.

Chapter XVII. Of the Death of the Great Athanasius and the Election of Petrus.

At Alexandria, Athanasius the victorious, after all his struggles, each rewarded with a crown, received release from his labours and passed away to the life which knows no toil. Then Peter, a right excellent man, received the see. His blessed predecessor had first selected him, and every suffrage alike of the clergy and of men of rank and office concurred, and all the people strove to show their delight by their acclamations. He had shared the heavy labours of Athanasius; at home and abroad he had been ever at his side, and with him had undergone manifold perils. Wherefore the bishops of the neighbourhood hastened to meet; and those who dwelt in schools of ascetic discipline left them and joined the company, and all joined in begging that Peter might be chosen to succeed to the patriarchal chair of Athanasius.

Chapter XVIII. On the Overthrow of Petrus and the Introduction of Lucius the Arian.

No sooner had they seated him on the episcopal throne than the governor of the province assembled a mob of Greeks and Jews, surrounded the walls of the church, and bade Peter come forth, threatening him with exile if he refused. He thus acted on the plea that he was fulfilling the emperor's good pleasure by bringing those of opposite sentiments into trouble, but the truth was that he was carried away by his impious passion. For he was addicted to the service of the idols, and looked upon the storms which beset the Church as a season of brilliant festivity. The admirable Peter, however, when he beheld the unforeseen conflict, secretly withdrew, and embarked in a vessel bound for Rome. After a few days Euzoius came from Antioch with Lucius, and handed over the churches to him. This was he of whose impiety and lawlessness Samosata had already had experience. But the people nurtured in the teaching of Athanasius, when they now saw how different was the spiritual food offered them, held aloof from the assemblies of the Church.

Lucius, who employed idolators as his attendants, went on scourging some, imprisoning others; some he drove to take to flight, others' homes he rifled in rude and cruel fashion. But all this is better set forth in the letter of the admirable Peter. After recounting an instance of the impious conduct of Lucius I shall insert the letter in this work. Certain men in Egypt, of angelic life and conversation, fled from the disquiet of the state and chose to live in solitude in the wilderness. There they made the sandy and barren soil bear fruit; for a fruit right sweet and fair to God was the virtue by whose law they lived. Among many who took the lead in this mode of life was the far-famed Antonius, most excellent master in the school of mortification, who made the desert a training place of virtue for his hermits. He after all his great and glorious labours had reached the haven where the winds of trouble blow no more, and then his followers were persecuted by the wretched and unhappy Lucius. All the leaders of those divine companies, the famous Macarius, his namesake, Isidorus, and the rest were dragged out of their caves and despatched to a certain island inhabited by impious men, and never blessed with any teacher of piety. When the ship drew near to the shore of the island the demon revered by its inhabitants departed from the image which had been his time-old home, and filled with frenzy the daughter of the priest.

She was driven in her inspired fury to the shore where the rowers were bringing the ship to land.

Making the tongue of the girl his instrument, the demon shouted out through her the words uttered at Philippi by the woman possessed with the spirit of Python, and was heard by all, both men and women, saying, "Alas for your power, ye servants of the Christ; everywhere we have been driven forth by you from town and hamlet, from hill and height, from wastes where no men dwell; in yon islet we had hoped to live out of the reach of your shafts, but our hope was vain; hither you have been sent by your persecutors, not to be harmed by them, but to drive us out. We are quitting the island, for we are being wounded by the piercing rays of your virtue. With these words, and words like these, they dashed the damsel to the ground, and themselves all fled together. But that divine company prayed over the girl and raised her up, and delivered her to her father made whole and in her right mind.

The spectators of the miracle flung themselves at the feet of the new comers and implored to be allowed to participate in the means of salvation. They destroyed the idol's grove, and, illuminated by the bright rays of instruction, received the grace of holy baptism. On these events becoming known in Alexandria all the people met together, reviling Lucius, and saying that wrath from God would fall upon them, were not that divine company of saints to be set free. Then Lucius, apprehensive of a tumult in the city, suffered the holy hermits to go back to their dens. Let this suffice to give a specimen of his impious iniquity. The sinful deeds he dared to do will be more clearly set forth by the letter of the admirable Peter. I hesitate to insert it at full length, and so will only quote some extracts from it.

Chapter XIX. Narrative of Events at Alexandria in the Time of Lucius the Arian, Taken from a Letter of Petrus, Bishop of Alexandria.

Palladius governor of the province, by sect a heathen, and one who habitually prostrated himself before the idols, had frequently entertained the thought of waging war against Christ. After collecting the forces already enumerated he set out against the Church, as though he were pressing forward to the subjugation of a foreign foe. Then, as is well known, the most shocking deeds were done, and at the bare thought of telling the story, its recollection fills me with anguish. I have shed floods of tears, and I should have long remained thus bitterly affected had I not assuaged my grief by di-

vine meditation. The crowds intruded into the church called Theonas and there instead of holy words were uttered the praises of idols; there where the Holy Scriptures had been read might be heard unseemly clapping of hands with unmanly and indecent utterances; there outrages were offered to the Virgins of Christ which the tongue refuses to utter, for "it is a shame even to speak of them. On only hearing of these wrongs one of the well disposed stopped his ears and prayed that he might rather become deaf than have to listen to their foul language. Would that they had been content to sin in word alone, and had not surpassed the wickedness of word by deed, for insult, however bad it be, can be borne by them in whom dwells Christ's wisdom and His holy lessons.

But these same villains, vessels of wrath fitted for destruction, screwed up their noses and poured out, if I may so say, as from a well-head, foul noises through their nostrils, and rent the raiment from Christ's holy virgins, whose conversation gave an exact likeness of saints; they dragged them in triumph, naked as when they were born, through all the town; they made indecent sport of them at their pleasure; their deeds were barbarous and cruel. Did any one in pity interfere and urge to mercy he was dismissed with wounds. Ah! woe is me. Many a virgin underwent brutal violation; many a maid beaten on the head, with clubs lay dumb, and even their bodies were not allowed to be given up for burial, and their grief-stricken parents cannot find their corpses to this day. But why recount woes which seem small when compared with greater? Why linger over these and not hurry on to events more urgent? When you hear them I know that you will wonder and will stand with us long dumb, amazed at the kindness of the Lord in not bringing all things utterly to an end. At the very altar the impious perpetrated what, as it is written, neither happened nor was heard of in the days of our fathers.

A boy who had forsworn his sex and would pass for a girl, with eyes, as it is written, smeared with antimony, and face reddened with rouge like their idols, in woman's dress, was set up to dance and wave his hands about and whirl round as though he had been at the front of some disreputable stage, on the holy altar itself where we call on the coming of the Holy Ghost, while the by-standers laughed aloud and rudely raised unseemly shouts. But as this seemed to them really rather decorous than improper, they went on to proceedings which they reckoned in accordance with their indecency; they

picked out a man who was very famous for utter baseness, made him strip off at once all his clothes and all his shame, and set him up as naked as he was born on the throne of the church, and dubbed him a vile advocate against Christ. Then for divine words he uttered shameless wickedness, for awful doctrines wanton lewdness, for piety impiety, for continence fornication, adultery, foul lust, theft; teaching that gluttony and drunkenness as well as all the rest were good for man's life. In this state of things when even I had withdrawn from the church -for how could I remain where troops were coming in-where a mob was bribed to violence-where all were striving for gain-where mobs of heathen were making mighty promises?-forth, forsooth, is sent a successor in my place. It was one named Lucius, who had bought the bishopric as he might some dignity of this world, eager to maintain the bad character and conduct of a wolf. No synod of orthodox bishops had chosen him; no vote of genuine clergy; no laity had demanded him; as the laws of the church enjoin.

Lucius could not make his entrance into the city without parade, and so he was appropriately escorted not by bishops, not by presbyters, not by deacons, not by multitudes of the laity; no monks preceded him chanting psalms from the Scriptures; but there was Euzoius, once a deacon of our city of Alexandria, and long since degraded along with Arius in the great and holy synod of Nicaea, and more recently raised to rule and ravage the see of Antioch, and there, too, was Magnus the treasurer, notorious for every kind of impiety, leading a vast body of troops. In the reign of Julian this Magnus had burnt the church at Berytus, the famous city of Phoenicia; and, in the reign of Jovian of blessed memory, after barely escaping decapitation by numerous appeals to the imperial compassion, had been compelled to build it up again at his own expense. Now I invoke your zeal to rise in our vindication. From what I write you ought to be able to calculate the character and extent of the wrongs committed against the Church of God by the starting up of this Lucius to oppose us. Often rejected by your piety and by the orthodox bishops or every region, he seized on a city which had just and righteous cause to regard and treat him as a foe. For he does not merely say like the blasphemous fool in the psalms "Christ is not true God. But, corrupt himself, he corrupted others, rejoicing in the blasphemies uttered continually against the Saviour by them who worshipped the creature instead of the Creator. The scoundrel's opinions being quite on a par with those of a heathen, why

should he not venture to worship a new-made God, for these were the phrases with which he was publicly greeted "Welcome, bishop, because thou deniest the Son. Serapis loves thee and has brought thee to us. So they named their native idol. Then without an interval of delay the afore-named Magnus, inseparable associate in the villainy of Lucius, cruel body-guard, savage lieutenant, collected together all the multitudes committed to his care, and arrested presbyters and deacons to the number of nineteen, some of whom were eighty years of age, on the charge of being concerned in some foul violation of Roman law.

He constituted a public tribunal, and, in ignorance of the laws of Christians in defence of virtue, endeavoured to compel them to give up the faith of their fathers which had been handed down from the apostles through the fathers to us. He even went so far as to maintain that this would be gratifying to the most merciful and clement Valens Augustus. "Wretched man" he shouted "accept, accept the doctrine of the Arians; God will pardon you even though you worship with a true worship, if you do this not of your own accord but because you are compelled. There is always a defence for irresponsible compulsion, while free action is responsible and much followed by accusation. Consider well these arguments; come willingly; away with all delay; subscribe the doctrine of Arius preached now by Lucius," (so he introduced him by name) "being well assured that if you obey you will have wealth and honour from your prince, while if you refuse you will be punished by chains, rack, torture, scourge and cruel torments; you will be deprived of your property and possessions; you will be driven into exile and condemned to dwell in savage regions."

Thus this noble character mixed intimidation with deceit and so endeavoured to persuade and compel the people to apostatise from true religion. They however knew full well how true it is that the pain of treachery to right religion is sharper than any torment; they refused to lower their virtue and noble spirit to his trickery and threats, and were thus constrained to answer him. "Cease, cease trying to frighten us with these words, utter no more vain words. We worship no God of late arrival or of new invention. Foam at us if you will in the vain tempest of your fury and dash yourselves against us like a furious wind. We abide by the doctrines of true religion even unto death; we have never regarded God as impotent, or as unwise, or untrue, as at one time a Father and at another not a Father, as this impious Arian teaches, making

the Son a being of time and transitory. For if, as the Ariomaniacs say, the Son is a creature, not being naturally of one substance with the Father, the Father too will be reduced to non-existence by the nonexistence of the Son, not being as they assert at one period a Father. But if He is ever a Father, his offspring being truly of Him, and not by derivation, for God is impassible, how is not he mad and foolish who says of the Son through whom all things came by grace into existence, "there was a time when he was not."

These men have truly become fatherless by falling away from our fathers throughout the world who assembled at Nicaea, and anathematized the false doctrine of Arius, now defended by this later champion. They laid down that the Son was not as you are now compelling us to say, of a different substance from the Father, but of one and the same. This their pious intelligence clearly perceived, and so from an adequate collation of divine terms they owned Him to be consubstantial. Advancing these and other similar arguments, they were imprisoned for many days in the hope that they might be induced to fall away from their right mind, but the rather, like the noblest of the athletes in a Stadium, they crushed all fear, and from time to time as it were anointing themselves with the thought of the bold deeds done by their fathers, through the help of holy thoughts maintained a nobler constancy in piety, and treated the rack as a training place for virtue. While they were thus struggling, and had become, as writes the blessed Paul, a spectacle to angels and to men, the whole city ran up to gaze at Christ's athletes, vanquishing by stout endurance the scourges of the judge who was torturing them, winning by patience trophies against impiety, and exhibiting triumphs against Arians. So their savage enemy thought that by threats and torments he could subdue and deliver them to the enemies of Christ. Thus therefore the savage and inhuman tyrant evilly entreated them by inflicting on them the tortures that his cruel ingenuity devised, while all the people stood wailing and shewing their sorrow in various ways. Then he once more mustered his troops, who were disciplined in disorder, and summoned the martyrs to trial, or as it might rather be called, to a foregone condemnation, by the seaport, while after their fashion hired cries were raised against them by the idolaters and the Jews. On their refusal to yield to the manifest heresy of the Ariomaniacs they were sentenced, while all the people stood in tears before the tribunal, to be deported from Alexandria to the Phoenician Heliopolis, a place where

none of the inhabitants, who are all given over to idols, can endure so much as to hear the name of Christ.

After giving them the order to embark, Magnus stationed himself at the port, for he had delivered his sentence against them in the neighbourhood of the public baths. He showed them his sword unsheathed, thinking that he could thus strike terror into men who had again and again smitten hostile demons to the ground with their two-edged blade. So he bade them put out to sea, though they had got no provisions on board, and were starting without one single comfort for their exile. Strange and almost incredible to relate, the sea was all afoam; grieved, I think, and unwilling, if I may so say, to receive the good men upon its surface, and so have part or lot in an unrighteous sentence. Now even to the ignorant was made manifest the savage purpose of the judge and it may truly be said "at this, the heavens stood astonished." The whole city groaned, and is lamenting to this day. Some men beating on their breast with one hand after another raised a mighty noise; others lifted up at once their hands and eyes to heaven in testimony of the wrong inflicted on them, and so saying in all but words, "Hear, O heavens, and give ear, O earth," what unlawful deeds are being done. Now all was weeping and wailing; singing and sighing sounded through all the town, and from every eye flowed a river of tears which threatened to overwhelm the very sea with its tide. There was the aforesaid Magnus on the port ordering the rowers to hoist the sails, and up went a mingled cry of maids and matrons, old men and young, all sobbing and lamenting together, and the noise of the multitude overwhelmed the roar raised by the waves on the foaming sea. So the martyrs sailed off for Heliopolis, where every man is given over to superstition, where flourish the devil's ways of pleasure, and where the situation of the city, surrounded on all sides by mountains that approach the sky, is fitted for the terrifying lairs of wild beasts. All the friends they left behind now alike in public in the middle of the town and each in private apart groaned and uttered words of grief, and were even forbidden to weep, at the order of Palladius, prefect of the city, who happened himself to be a man quite given over to superstition. Many of the mourners were first arrested and thrown into prison, and then scourged, torn with carding combs, tortured, and, champions as they were of the church in their holy enthusiasm, were despatched to the mines of Phennesus and Proconnesus.

Most of them were monks, devoted to a life of ascetic solitude, and were about twenty-three in number. Not long afterwards the deacon who had been sent by our beloved Damasus, bishop of Rome, to bring us letters of consolation and communion, was led publicly through the town by executioners, with his hands tied behind his back like some notorious criminal. After sharing the tortures inflicted on murderers, he was terribly scourged with stones and bits of lead about his very neck. He went on board ship to sail, like the rest, with the mark of the sacred cross upon his brow; with none to aid and none to tempt him he was despatched to the copper mines of Phennesus. During the tortures inflicted by the magistrate on the tender bodies of little boys, some have been left lying on the spot deprived of holy rites of burial, though parents and brothers and kinsfolk, and indeed the whole city, begged that this one consolation might be given them. But alas for the inhumanity of the judge, if indeed he can be called judge who only condemns! They who had contended nobly for the true religion were assigned a worse fate than a murderer's, their bodies lying, as they did, unburied. The glorious champions were thrown to be devoured by beasts and birds of prey. Those who were anxious for conscience' sake to express sympathy with the parents were punished by decapitation, as though they had broken some law.

What Roman law, nay what foreign sentiment, ever inflicted punishment for the expression of sympathy with parents? What instance is there of the perpetration of so illegal a deed by any one of the ancients? The male children of the Hebrews were indeed once ordered to be slain by Pharaoh, but his edict was suggested by envy and by fear. How far greater the inhumanity of our day than of his. How preferable, if there be a choice in unrighteousness, their wrongs to ours. How much better; if what is illegal can be called good or bad, though in truth iniquity is always iniquity. I am writing what is incredible, inhuman, awful, savage, barbarous, pitiless, cruel. But in all this the votaries of the Arian madness pranced, as it were, with proud exultation, while the whole city was lamenting; for, as it is written in Exodus, "there was not a house in which there was not one dead." The men whose appetite for iniquity was never satisfied planned new agitation. Ever wreaking their evil will in evil deeds, they darted the peculiar venom of their iniquity at the bishops of the province, using the aforesaid treasurer Magnus as the instrument of their unrighteousness. Some they delivered to the Senate, some they

trapped at their good pleasure, leaving no stone unturned in their anxiety to hunt in all from every quarter to impiety, going about in all directions, and like the devil, the proper father of heresy, they sought whom they might devour.

In all, after many fruitless efforts, they drove into exile to Dio-Caesarea, a city inhabited by Jews, murderers of the Lord, eleven of the bishops of Egypt, all of them men who from childhood to old age had lived an ascetic life in the desert, had subdued their inclinations to pleasure by reason and by discipline, had fearlessly preached the true faith of piety, had imbibed the pious doctrines, had again and again won victory against demons, were ever putting the adversary out of countenance by their virtue, and publicly posting the Arian heresy by wisest argument. Yet like Hell, not satisfied with the death of their brethren, fools and madmen as they were, eager to win a reputation by their evil deeds, they tried to leave memorials in all the world of their own cruelty. For lo now they roused the imperial attention against certain clerics of the catholic church who were living at Antioch, together with some excellent monks who came forward to testify against their evil deeds. They got these men banished to Neocaesarea in Pontus, where they were soon deprived of life in consequence of the sterility of the country. Such tragedies were enacted at this period, fit indeed to be consigned to silence and oblivion, but given a place in history for the condemnation of the men who wag their tongues against the Only begotten, and infected as they were with the raving madness of blasphemy, strive not only to aim their shafts at the Master of the universe, but further waged a truceless war against His faithful servants.

Chapter XX. Of Mavia, Queen of the Saracens, and the Ordination Of Moses the Monk.

At this time the Ishmaelites were devastating the country in the neighbourhood of the Roman frontier. They were led by Mavia, a princess who regarded not the sex which nature had given her, and displayed the spirit and courage of a man. After many engagements she made a truce, and, on receiving the light of divine knowledge, begged that to the dignity of high priest of her tribe might be advanced one, Moses by name, who dwelt on the confines of Egypt and Palestine. This request Valens granted, and ordered the holy man to be conveyed to Alexandria, and there, as the most convenient place in the neighbourhood, to receive episcopal grace. When he had arrived

and saw Lucius endeavouring to lay hands on him—"God forbid" said he "that I should be ordained by thine hand: the grace of the Spirit visits us not at thy calling." "Whence," said Lucius, "are you led to conjecture this?" He rejoined "I am not speaking of conjecture but of clear knowledge; for thou fightest against the apostolic decrees, and speakest words against them, and for thy blasphemous utterances thy lawless deeds are a match. For what impious man has not on thy account mocked the meetings of the Church? What excellent man has not been exiled? What barbarous savagery is not thrown into the shade by thy daily deeds?" So the brave man said, and the murderer heard him and desired to slay him, but was afraid of kindling once again the war which had come to an end. Wherefore he ordered other bishops to be produced whom Moses had requested. After receiving the episcopal grace of the right worthy faith Moses returned to the people who had asked for him, and by his apostolic teaching and miracles led them in the way that leads to truth.

These then were the deeds done by Lucius in Alexandria under the dispensation of the providence of God.

Chapter XXI.

At Constantinople the Arians filled a boat with pious presbyters and drove her without ballast out to sea, putting some of their own men on another craft with orders to set the presbyters boat on fire. So, fighting at the same time against both sea and flames, at last they were delivered to the deep, and won the martyrs crown. At Antioch Valens spent a considerable time, and gave complete license to all who, under cover of the Christian name, pagans, Jews and the rest, preached doctrines contrary to those of the gospel. The slaves of this error even went so far as to perform pagan rites, and thus the deceitful fire which, after Julian, had been quenched by Jovian, was now re-kindled by permission of Valens. The rites of Jews, of Dionysus, and of Demeter were now no longer performed in a corner, as they would be in a pious reign, but by revellers running wild in the forum. Valens was a foe to none but them that held the apostolic doctrine. First he drove them from their churches, the illustrious Jovian having given them also the new built church. And when they assembled close up to the mountain cliff to honour their Master in hymns, and enjoy the word of God, putting up with all the assaults of the weather, now of rain, now of snow and cold, and now of violent heat,

they were not even suffered this poor protection, and troops were sent to scatter them far and wide.

Chapter XXII. How Flavianus and Diodorus Gathered the Church of the Orthodox in Antioch.

Now Flavianus and Diodorus, like break-waters, broke the force of the advancing waves. Meletius their shepherd had been constrained to sojourn far away. But these looked after the flock, opposing their own courage and cunning to the wolves, and bestowing due care upon the sheep. Now that they were driven away from under the cliff they fed their flocks by the banks of the neighbouring river. They could not brook, like the captives at Babylon, to hang their harps upon the willows, but they continued to hymn their maker and benefactor in all places of his dominion. But not even in this spot was the meeting of the pious pastors of them that blessed the Lord suffered by the foe to be assembled. So again this pair of excellent shepherds gathered their sheep in the soldiers training ground and there tried to show them their spiritual food in secret. Diodorus, in his wisdom and courage, like a clear and mighty river, watered his own and drowned the blasphemies of his opponents, thinking nothing of the splendour of his birth, and gladly undergoing the sufferings of the faith.

The excellent Flavianus, who was also of the highest rank, thought piety the only nobility, and, like some trainer for the games, anointed the great Diodorus as though he had been an athlete for five contests. At that time he did not himself preach at the services of the church, but furnished an abundant supply of arguments and scriptural thoughts to preachers, who were thus able to aim their shafts at the blasphemy of Arius, while he as it were handed them the arrows of his intelligence from a quiver. Discoursing alike at home and abroad he easily rent asunder the heretics nets and showed their defences to be mere spiders webs. He was aided in these contests by that Aphraates whose life I have written in my Religious History, and who, preferring the welfare of the sheep to his own rest, abandoned his cell of discipline and retirement, and undertook the hard toil of a shepherd. Having written on these matters in another work I deem it now superfluous to recount the wealth of virtue which he amassed, but one specimen of his good deeds I will proceed now to relate, as specially appropriate to this history.

Chapter XXIII. Of the Holy Monk Aphraates.

On the north of the river Orontes lies the palace. On the South a vast two storied portico is built on the city wall with lofty towers on either side. Between the palace and the river lies a public way open to passengers from the town, through the gate in this quarter, and leading to the country in the suburbs. The godly Aphraates was once passing along this thoroughfare on his way to the soldiers training ground, in order to perform the duty of serving his flock. The emperor happened to be looking down from a gallery in the palace, and saw him going by wearing a cloak of undressed goat's skin, and walking rapidly, though of advanced age. On its being remarked that this was Aphraates to whom all the town was then attached, the emperor cried out "Where are you going? Tell us. Readily and cleverly he answered "To pray for your empire. "You had better stop at home" said the emperor "and pray alone like a monk. "Yes," said the divine man, "so I was bound to do and so I always did till now, as long as the Saviour's sheep were at peace; but now that they are grievously disturbed and in great peril of being caught by beasts, I needs must leave no means untried to save the nurslings.

For tell me, sir, had I been a girl sitting in my chamber, and looking after the house, and had seen a flash of flame fall and my father's house on fire, what ought I to do? Tell me; sit within and never mind the house being on fire, and wait for the flame to approach? or bid my bower good bye and run up and down and get water and try to quench the flame? Of course you will say the latter, for so a quick and spirited girl would do. And that is what I am doing now, sir. You have set fire to our Father's house and we are running about in the endeavour to put it out. So said Aphraates, and the emperor threatened him and said no more. One of the grooms of the imperial bed-chamber, who threatened the godly man somewhat more violently, met with the following fate. He was entrusted with the charge of the bath, and immediately after this conversation he came down to get it ready for the emperor. On entering he lost his wits, stepped into the boiling water before it was mixed with the cold, and so met his end. The emperor sat waiting for him to announce that the bath was ready for him to enter, and after a considerable time had gone by he sent other officers to report the cause of the delay.

After they had gone in and looked all about the room they discovered the chamberlain slain by the heat, and lying dead in the boiling water. On this

becoming known to the emperor they perceived the force of the prayers of Aphraates. Nevertheless they did not depart from the impious doctrines but hardened their heart like Pharaoh, and the infatuated emperor, though made aware of the miracle of the holy man, persisted in his mad rage against piety.

Chapter XXIV. Of the Holy Monk Julianus.

At this time too the celebrated Julianus, whom I have already mentioned, was forced to leave the desert and come to Antioch, for when the foster children of lies, the facile framers of calumny, I mean of course the Arians, were maintaining that this great man was of their faction, those lights of the truth Flavianus, Diodorus, and Aphraates sent Acacius, an athlete of virtue who afterwards very wisely ruled the church at Beroea, to the famous Julianus with the entreaty that he would take pity on so many thousands of men, and at the same time convict the enemy of lies and confirm the proclamation of the truth. The miracles worked by Julianus on his way to and from Antioch and in that vast city itself are described in my Religious History, which is easily accessible to all who wish to become acquainted with them. But I am sure that no one who has enquired into human nature will doubt that he attracted all the population of the city to our assembly, for the extraordinary is generally sure to draw all men after it. The fact of his having wrought great marvels is attested even by the enemies of the truth.

Before this time in the reign of Constantius the great Antonius had acted in the same way in Alexandria, for he abandoned the desert and went up and down that city, telling all men that Athanasius was the preacher of the true doctrine and that the Arian faction were enemies of the truth. So those godly men knew how to adapt themselves to each particular opportunity, when to remain inactive, and at rest, and when to leave the deserts for towns.

Chapter XXV. Of What Other Monks Were Distinguished at This Period.

There were also other then at this period who emitted the bright rays of the philosophy of solitary life. In the Chalcidian desert Avitus, Marcianus and Abraames, and more besides whom I cannot easily enumerate, strove in their bodies of sense to live a life superior to sense. In the district of Apamea, Agapetus, Simeon, Paulus and others reaped the fruits of the highest wisdom. In the district of the Zeugmatenses were Publius and Paulus. In the Cyrestian the famous Acepsemas had been shut up in a cell for sixty years without be-

ing either seen or spoken to. The admirable Zeumatius, though bereft of sight, used to go about confirming the sheep, and fighting with the wolves; so they burnt his cell, but the right faithful general Trajanus got another built for him, and paid him besides other attentions. In the neighbourhood of Antioch, Marianus, Eusebius, Ammianus, Palladius, Simeon, Abraames, and others, preserved the divine image unimpaired; but of all these the lives have been recorded by us. But the mountain which is in the neighbourhood of the great city was decked like a meadow, for in it shone Petrus, the Galatian, his namesake the Egyptian, Romanus Severus, Zeno, Moses, and Malchus, and many others of whom the world is ignorant, but who are known to God.

Chapter XXVI. Of Didymus of Alexandria and Ephraim the Syrian.

At that period at Edessa flourished the admirable Ephraim, and at Alexandria Didymus, both writers against the doctrines that are at variance with the truth. Ephraim, employing the Syrian language, shed beams of spiritual grace. Totally untainted as he was by heathen education he was able to expose the niceties of heathen error, and lay bare the weakness of all heretical artifices. Harmonius the son of Bardesanes had once composed certain songs and by mixing sweetness of melody with his impiety beguiled the hearers, and led them to their destruction. Ephraim adopted the music of the songs, but set them to piety, and so gave the hearers at once great delight and a healing medicine. These songs are still used to enliven the festivals of our victorious martyrs. Didymus, however, who from a child had been deprived of the sense of sight, had been educated in poetry, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, the logic of Aristotle, and the eloquence of Plato. Instruction in all these subjects he received by the sense of hearing alone,—not indeed as conveying the truth, but as likely to be weapons for the truth against falsehood. Of holy scriptures he learnt not only the sound but the sense. So among lovers of ascetic lives and students of virtue, these men at that time were conspicuous.

Chapter XXVII. Of What Bishops Were at This Time Distinguished in Asia and Pontus.

Among the bishops were the two Gregorii, the one of Nazianzus and the other of Nyssa, the latter the brother and the former the friend and fellow worker of the great Basilius. These were foremost champions of piety in Capadocia; and in front rank with them was Peter, born of the same parents

with Basilius and Gregorius, who though not having received like them a foreign education, like them lived a life of brilliant distinction. In Pisidia Optimus, in Lycaonia Amphilochius, fought in the front rank on behalf of their fathers faith, and repelled their enemies assaults. In the West Damasus, Bishop of Rome, and Ambrosius, entrusted with the government of Milan, smote those who attacked them from afar. In conjunction with these, bishops forced to dwell in remote regions, confirmed their friends and undid their foes by writings—thus pilots able to cope with the greatness of the storm were granted by the governor of the universe. Against the violence of the foe He set in battle array the virtue of His captains, and provided means meet to ward off the troubles of these difficult times, and not only were the churches granted this kind of protection by their loving Lord, but deemed worthy of yet another kind of guidance.

Chapter XXVIII. Of the Letter Written by Valens to the Great Valentinianus About the War, and How He Replied.

The Lord roused the Goths to war, and drew on to the Bosphorus him who knew only how to fight against the pious. Then for the first time the vain man became aware of his own weakness, and sent to his brother to ask for troops. But Valentinian replied that it were impious to help one fighting against God, and right rather to check his rashness. By this the unhappy man was filled with yet greater infatuation, yet he did not withdraw from his rash undertaking, and persisted in ranging himself against the truth.

Chapter XXIX. Of the Piety of Count Terentius.

Terentius, an excellent general, distinguished for his piety, had set up trophies of victory and returned from Armenia. On being ordered by Valens to choose a boon, he mentioned one which it was becoming in a man nurtured in piety to choose, for he asked not gold nor yet silver, not land, not dignity, not a house, but that one church might be granted to them that were risking their all for the Apostolic doctrine. Valens received the petition, but on becoming acquainted with its contents he tore it up in a rage, and bade Terentius beg some other boon. The count, however, picked up the pieces of his petition, and said, "I have my reward, sir, and I will not ask another. The Judge of all things is Judge of my intention."

Chapter XXX. Of the Bold Utterance of Trajanus the General.

After Valens had crossed the Bosphorus and come into Thrace he first spent a considerable time at Constantinople, in alarm as to the issue of the war. He had sent Trajanus in command of troops against the barbarians. When the general came back beaten, the emperor reviled him sadly, and charged him with infirmity and cowardice. Boldly, as became a brave man, Trajanus replied: "I have not been beaten, sir, it is thou who hast abandoned the victory by fighting against God and transferring His support to the barbarians. Attacked by thee He is taking their side, for victory is on God's side and comes to them whom God leads. Dost thou not know," he went on, "whom thou hast expelled from their churches and to whose government these churches have been delivered by thee?" Arintheus and Victor, generals like Trajanus, confirmed the truth of what he said, and implored the emperor not to be angered by reproaches which were founded upon fact.

Chapter XXXI. Of Isaac The Monk of Constantinople and Bretanio the Scythian Bishop.

It is related that Isaac, who lived as a solitary at Constantinople, when he saw Valens marching out with his troops, cried aloud, "Whither goest thou, O emperor? To fight against God, instead of having Him as thy ally? 'Tis God himself who has roused the barbarians against thee, because thou hast stirred many tongues to blasphemy against Him and hast driven His worshippers from their sacred abodes. Cease then thy campaigning and stop the war. Give back to the flocks their excellent shepherds and thou shalt win victory without trouble, but if thou tightest without so doing thou shalt learn by experience how hard it is to kick against the pricks. Thou shalt never come back and shalt destroy thy army." Then in a passion the emperor rejoined, "I shall come back; and I will kill thee, and so exact punishment for thy lying prophecy." But Isaac undismayed by the threat exclaimed, "If what I say be proved false, kill me."

Bretanio, a man distinguished by various virtues, and entrusted with the episcopal government of all the cities of Scythia, fired his soul with enthusiasm, and protested against the corruption of doctrines, and the emperor's lawless attacks upon the saints, crying in the words of the godly David, "I spoke of thy testimonies also before Kings and was not ashamed."

Chapter XXXII. Of the Expedition of Valens Against the Garbs and How He Paid the Penalty of His Impiety.

Valens, however, spurned these excellent counsellors, and sent out his troops to join battle while he himself sat waiting in a hamlet for the victory. His troops could not stand against the barbarians' charge, turned tail and were slain one after another as they fled, the Romans fleeing at full speed and the barbarians chasing them with all their might. When Valens heard of the defeat he strove to conceal himself in the village where he lay, but when the barbarians came up they set the place on fire and together with it burnt the enemy of piety. Thus in this present life Valens paid the penalty of his errors.

Chapter XXXIII. How the Goths Became Tainted by the Arian Error.

To those ignorant of the circumstances it may be worth while to explain how the Goths got the Arian plague. After they had crossed the Danube, and made peace with Valens, the infamous Eudoxius, who was on the spot, suggested to the emperor to persuade the Goths to accept communion with him. They had indeed long since received the rays of divine knowledge and had been nurtured in the apostolic doctrines, "but now," said Eudoxius, "community of opinion will make the peace all the firmer." Valens approved of this counsel and proposed to the Gothic chieftains an agreement in doctrine, but they replied that they would not consent to forsake the teaching of their fathers. At the period in question their Bishop Ulphilas was implicitly obeyed by them and they received his words as laws which none might break. Partly by the fascination of his eloquence and partly by the bribes with which he baited his proposals Eudoxius succeeded in inducing him to persuade the barbarians to embrace communion with the emperor, so Ulphilas won them over on the plea that the quarrel between the different parties was really one of personal rivalry and involved no difference in doctrine. The result is that up to this day the Goths assert that the Father is greater than the Son, but they refuse to describe the Son as a creature, although they are in communion with those who do so. Yet they cannot be said to have altogether abandoned their Father's teaching, since Ulphilas in his efforts to persuade them to join communion with Eudoxius and Valens denied that there was any difference in doctrine and that the difference had arisen from mere empty strife.

BOOK V

Chapter I. Of the Piety of the Emperor Gratianus.

How the Lord God is long suffering towards those who rage against him, and chastises those who abuse his patience, is plainly taught by the acts and by the fate of Valens. For the loving Lord uses mercy and justice like wights and scales; whenever he sees any one by the greatness of his errors over-stepping the bounds of loving kindness, by just punishment He hinders him from being carried to further extremes. Now Gratianus, the son of Valentinianus, and nephew of Valens, acquired the whole Roman Empire. He had already assumed the sceptre of Europe on the death of his father, in whose life-time he had shared the throne. On the death of Valens without issue he acquired in addition Asia, and the portions of Libya.

Chapter II. Of the Return of the Bishops.

The emperor at once gave plain indications of his adherence to true religion, and offered the first fruits of his kingdom to the Lord of all, by publishing an edict commanding the exiled shepherds to return, and to be restored to their flocks, and ordering the sacred buildings to be delivered to congregations adopting communion with Damasus. This Damasus, the successor of Liberius in the see of Rome, was a man of most praiseworthy life and by his own choice alike in word and deed a champion of Apostolic doctrines. To put his edict in force Gratianus sent Sapor the general, a very famous character at that time, with orders to expel the preachers of the blasphemies of Arius like wild beasts from the sacred folds, and to effect the restoration of the excellent shepherds to God's flocks. In every instance this was effected without dispute except in Antioch, the Eastern capital, where a quarrel was kindled which I shall proceed to describe.

Chapter III. Of the Dissension Caused by Paulinus; Of the Innovation by Apollinarius of Laodicea, and of the Philosophy of Meletius.

It has been already related how the defenders of the apostolic doctrines were divided into two parties; how immediately after the conspiracy formed against the great Eustathius, one section, in abhorrence of the Arian abomination, assembled together by themselves with Paulinus for their bishop, while, after the ordination of Euzoius, the other party separated themselves from the impious with the excellent Meletius, underwent the perils previously described, and were guided by the wise instructions which Meletius

gave them. Besides these Apollinarius of Laodicea constituted himself leader of a third party, and though he assumed a mask of piety, and appeared to defend apostolic doctrines, he was soon seen to be an open foe. About the divine nature he used unsound arguments, and originated the idea of certain degrees of dignities. He also had the hardihood to render the mystery of the incarnation imperfect and affirmed that the reasonable soul, which is entrusted with the guidance of the body, was deprived of the salvation effected. For according to his argument God the Word did not assume this soul, and so neither granted it His healing gift, nor gave it a portion of His dignity. Thus the earthly body is represented as worshipped by invisible powers, while the soul which is made in the image of God has remained below invested with the dishonour of sin. Many more errors did he utter in his stumbling and blinded intelligence.

At one time even he was ready to confess that of the Holy Virgin the flesh had been taken, at another time he represented it to have come down from heaven with God the Word, and yet again that He had been made flesh and took nothing from us. Other vain tales and trifles which I have thought it superfluous to repeat he mixed up with God's gospel promises. By arguments of this nature he not only filled his own friends with dangerous doctrine but even imparted it to some among ourselves. As time went on, when they saw their own insignificance, and beheld the splendour of the Church, all except a few were gathered into the Church's communion. But they did not quite put away their former unsoundness, and with it infected many of the sound. This was the origin of the growth in the Church of the doctrine of the one nature of the Flesh and of the Godhead, of the ascription to the Godhead of the Passion of the only begotten, and of other points which have bred differences among the laity and their priests. But these belong to a later date. At the time of which I am speaking, when Sapor the General had arrived and had exhibited the imperial edict, Paulinus affirmed that he sided with Damasus, and Apollinarius, concealing his unsoundness, did the same. The divine Meletius, on the other hand, made no sign, and put up with their dispute.

Flavianus, of high fame for his wisdom, who was at that time still in the ranks of the presbyterate, at first said to Paulinus in the hearing of the officer "If, my dear friend, you accept communion with Damasus, point out to us clearly how the doctrines agree, for he though he owns one substance of the Trinity openly preaches three essences. You on the contrary deny the Trinity

of the essences. Shew us then how these doctrines are in harmony, and receive the charge of the churches, as the edict enjoins. After so silencing Paulinus by his arguments he turned to Apollinarius and said, "I am astonished, my friend, to find you waging such violent war against the truth, when all the while you know quite clearly how the admirable Damasus maintains our nature to have been taken in its perfection by God the Word; but you persist in saying the contrary, for you deprive our intelligence of its salvation. If these our charges against you be false, deny now the novelty that you have originated; embrace the teaching of Damasus, and receive the charge of the holy shrines."

Thus Flavianus in his great wisdom stopped their bold speech with his true reasoning. Meletius, who of all men was most meek, thus kindly and gently addressed Paulinus. "The Lord of the sheep has put the care of these sheep in my hands: you have received the charge of the rest: our little ones are in communion with one another in the true religion. Therefore, my dear friend, let us join our flocks; let us have done with our dispute about the leading of them, and, feeding the sheep together, let us tend them in common. If the chief seat is the cause of strife, that strife I will endeavour to put away. On the chief seat I will put the Holy Gospel; let us take our seats on each side of it; should I be the first to pass away, you, my friend, will hold the leadership of the flock alone. Should this be your lot before it is mine, I in my turn, so far as I am able, will take care of the sheep." So gently and kindly spoke the divine Meletius. Paulinus did not consent. The officer passed judgment on what had been said and gave the churches to the great Meletius. Paulinus still continued at the head of the sheep who had originally seceded.

Chapter IV. Of Eusebius Bishop of Samosata.

Apollinarius after thus failing to get the government of the churches, continued, for the future, openly to preach his new fangled doctrine, and constituted himself leader of the heresy. He resided for the most part at Laodicea; but at Antioch he had already ordained Vitalius, a man of excellent character, brought up in the apostolic doctrines, but afterwards tainted with the heresy. Diodorus, whom I have already mentioned, who in the great storm had saved the ship of the church from sinking, had been appointed by the divine Meletius, bishop of Tarsus, and had received the charge of the Cilicians. The see of Apamea Meletius entrusted to John, a man of illustrious birth, more distinguished for his own high qualities than for those of his

forefathers, for he was conspicuous alike for the beauty of his teaching and of his life. In the time of the tempest he piloted the assembly of his fellows in the faith supported by the worthy Stephanus. The latter was however translated by the divine Meletius to carry on another contest, for on the arrival of intelligence that Germanicia had been contaminated by the Eudoxian pest he was sent thither as a physician to ward off the disease, thoroughly trained as he had been in a complete heathen education as well as nurtured in the Divine doctrines. He did not disappoint the expectations formed of him, for by the power of his spiritual instruction he turned the wolves into sheep.

On the return of the great Eusebius from exile he ordained Acacius whose fame is great at Beroea. and at Hierapolis Theodotus, whose ascetic life is to this day in all men's mouths. Eusebius was moreover appointed to the see of Chalcis, and Isidorus to our own city of Cyrus; both admirable men, conspicuous for their divine zeal. Meletius is also reported to have ordained to the pastorate of Edessa, where the godly Barses had already departed this life, Eulogius, the well known champion of apostolic doctrines, who had been sent to Antinone with Protogenes. Eulogius gave Protogenes, his companion in hard service, the charge of Carrae, a healing physician for a sick city. Lastly the divine Eusebius ordained Maris, Bishop of Doliche, a little city at that time infected with the Arian plague. With the intention of enthroning this Maris, a right worthy man, illustrious for various virtues, in the episcopal chair, the great Eusebius came to Doliche. As he was entering into the town a woman thoroughly infected with the Arian plague let fall a tile from the roof, which crushed in his head and so wounded him that not long after he departed to the better life. As he lay a-dying he charged the bystanders not to exact the slightest penalty from the woman who had done the deed, and bound them under oath to obey him. Thus he imitated his own Lord, who of them that crucified Him said "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

Thus, too, he followed the example of Stephanus, his fellow slave, who, after the stones had stormed upon him, cried aloud, "Lord lay not this sin to their charge." So died the great Eusebius after many and various struggles. He had escaped the barbarians in Thrace, but he did not escape the violence of impious heretics, and by their means won the martyr's crown. These events happened after the return of the bishops, and now Gratian learnt that

Thrace was being laid waste by the barbarians who had burnt Valens, so he left Italy and proceeded to Pannonia.

Chapter V. Of the Campaign of Theodosius.

Now at this time Theodosius, on account alike of the splendour of his ancestry, and of his own courage, was a man of high repute. For this reason being from time to time stricken by the envy of his rivals, he was living in Spain, where he had been born and brought up. The emperor, being at a loss what measures to take, now that the barbarians, puffed up by their victory, both were and seemed well nigh invincible, formed the idea that a way out of his difficulties would be found in the appointment of Theodosius to the supreme command. He therefore lost no time in sending for him from Spain, appointing him commander in chief and despatching him at the head of the assembled forces. Defended by his faith Theodosius marched confidently forth. On entering Thrace, and beholding the barbarians advancing to meet him, he drew up his troops in order of battle. The two lines met, and the enemy could not stand the attack and broke. A rout ensued, the foe taking to flight and the conquerors pursuing at full speed. There was a great slaughter of the barbarians, for they were slain not only by Romans but even by one another. After the greater number of them had thus fallen, and a few of those who had been able to escape pursuit had crossed the Danube, the great captain dispersed the troops which he commanded among the neighbouring towns, and forthwith rode at speed to this emperor Gratianus, himself the messenger of his own triumph. Even to the emperor himself, astounded at the event, the tidings he carried seemed incredible, while others stung with envy gave out that he had run away and lost his army. His only reply was to ask his gainsayers to send and ascertain the number of the barbarian dead, "For," said he, "even from their spoils it is easy to learn their number." At these words the emperor gave way and sent officers to investigate and report on the battle.

Chapter VI. Of the Reign of Theodosius and of His Dream.

The great general remained, and then saw a wonderful vision clearly shewn him by the very God of the universe himself. In it he seemed to see the divine Meletius, chief of the church of the Antiochenes, investing him with an imperial robe, and covering his head with an imperial crown. The morning after the night in which he had seen the vision he told it to one of his intim-

ate friends, who pointed out that the dream was plain and had nothing obscure or ambiguous about it. A few days at most had gone by when the commissioners sent to investigate the battle returned and reported that vast multitudes of the barbarians had been shot down. Then the emperor was convinced that he had done right well in selecting Theodosius for the command, and appointed him emperor and gave him the sovereignty of the share of Valens. Upon this Gratian departed for Italy and despatched Theodosius to the countries committed to his charge. No sooner had Theodosius assumed the imperial dignity than before everything else he gave heed to the harmony of the churches, and ordered the bishops of his own realm to repair with haste to Constantinople. That division of the empire was now the only region infected with the Arian plague, for the west had escaped the taint. This was due to the fact that Constantine the eldest of Constantine's sons, and Constans the youngest, had preserved their father's faith in its integrity, and that Valentinian, emperor of the West, had also kept the true religion undefiled.

Chapter VII. Of Famous Leaders of the Arian Faction.

The Eastern section of the empire had received the infection from many quarters. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria in Egypt, there begat the blasphemy. Eusebius, Patrophilus, and Aetius of Palestine, Paulinus and Gregorius of Phoenicia, Theodotus of Laodicea and his successor Georgius, and after him Athanasius and Narcissus of Cilicia, had nurtured the seeds so foully sown. Eusebius and Theognis of Bithynia; Menophantus of Ephesus; Theodorus of Perinthus and Maris of Chalcedon, and some others of Thrace famous only for their vices, had for a long time gone on watering and tending the crop of tares. These bad husbandmen were aided by the indifference of Constantius and the malignity of Valens. For these reasons only the bishops of his own empire were summoned by the emperor to meet at Constantinople. They arrived, being in all one hundred and fifty in number, and Theodosius forbade any one to tell him which was the great Meletius, for he wished the bishop to be recognized by his dream. The whole company of the bishops entered the imperial palace, and then without any notice of all the rest, Theodosius ran up to the great Meletius, and, like a boy who loves his father, stood for a long space gazing on him with filial joy, then flung his arms around him, and covered eyes and lips and breast and head and the hand that had given him the crown, with kisses. Then he told him of his

dream. All the rest of the bishops were then courteously welcomed, and all were bidden to deliberate as became fathers on the subjects laid before them.

Chapter VIII. The Council Assembled at Constantinople.

At this time the recent feeder of the flock at Nazianzus was living at Constantinople, continually withstanding the blasphemies of the Arians, watering the holy people with the teaching of the Gospel, catching wanderers outside the flock and removing them from poisonous pasture. So that flock once small he made a great one. When the divine Meletius saw him, knowing as he did full well the object which the makers of the canon had before them when, with the view of preventing the possibility of ambitious efforts, they forbade the translation of bishops, he confirmed Gregory in the episcopate of Constantinople. Shortly afterwards the divine Meletius passed away to the life that knows no pain, crowned by the praises of the funeral eloquence of all the great orators. Timotheus, bishop of Alexandria, who had followed Peter, the successor of Athanasius in the patriarchate, ordained in place of the admirable Gregorius, Maximus—a cynic who had but recently suffered his cynic's hair to be shorn, and had been carried away by the flimsy rhetoric of Apollinarius. But this absurdity was beyond the endurance of the assembled bishops—admirable men, and full of divine zeal and wisdom, such as Helladius, successor of the great Basil, Gregorius and Peter, brothers of Basil, and Amphilochius from Lycaonia, Optimus from Pisidia, Diodorus from Cilicia.

The council was also attended by Pelagius of Laodicea, Eulogius of Edessa, Acacius, our own Isidorus, Cyril of Jerusalem, Gelasius of Caesarea in Palestine, who was renowned alike for lore and life and many other athletes of virtue. All these then whom I have named separated themselves from the Egyptians and celebrated divine service with the great Gregory. But he himself implored them, assembled as they were to promote harmony, to subordinate all question of wrong to an individual to the promotion of agreement with one another. "For," said he, "I shall be released from many cares and once more lead the quiet life. I bold so dear; while you, after your long and painful warfare, will obtain the longed for peace. What can be more absurd than for men who have just escaped the weapons of their enemies to waste their own strength in wounding one another; by so doing we shall be a laughing stock to our opponents. Find then some worthy man of sense, able to sustain heavy responsibilities and discharge them well, and make him bishop. The excellent pastors moved by these counsels appointed as bishop of

that mighty city a man of noble birth and distinguished for every kind of virtue as well as for the splendour of his ancestry, by name Nectarius. Maximus, as having participated in the insanity of Apollinarius, they stripped of his episcopal rank and rejected. They next enacted canons concerning the good government of the church, and published a confirmation of the faith set forth at Nicaea. Then they returned each to his own country. Next summer the greater number of them assembled again in the same city, summoned once more by the needs of the church.

and received a synodical letter from the bishops of the west inviting them to come to Rome, where a great synod was being assembled. They begged however to be excused from travelling thus far abroad; their doing so, they said, would be useless. They wrote however both to point out the storm which had risen against the churches, and to hint at the carelessness with which the western bishops had treated it. They also included in their letter a summary of the apostolic doctrine, but the boldness and wisdom of their expressions will be more clearly shown by the letter itself.

Chapter IX. Synodical Letter from the Council at Constantinople.

"To the right honourable lords our right reverend brethren and colleagues Damasus, Ambrosius, Britton, Valerianus, Ascholius, Ahemius, Basilius and the rest of the holy bishops assembled in the great city of Rome, the holy synod of the orthodox bishops assembled at the great city of Constantinople, sends greeting in the Lord. "To recount all the sufferings inflicted on us by the power of the Arians, and to attempt to give information to your reverences, as though you were not already well acquainted with them, might seem superfluous. For we do not suppose your piety to hold what is befalling us as of such secondary importance as that you stand in any need of information on matters which cannot but evoke your sympathy. Nor indeed were the storms which beset us such as to escape notice from their insignificance. Our persecutions are but of yesterday. The sound of them still rings in the ears alike of those who suffered them and of those whose love made the sufferers' pain their own. It was but a day or two ago, if I may so say, that some released from chains in foreign lands returned to their own churches through manifold afflictions; of others who had died in exile the relics were brought home; others again, even after their return from exile, found the passion of the heretics still at boiling heat, and, slain by them with stones as was the blessed Stephen, met with a sadder fate in their own than in a

stranger's land. Others, worn away with various cruelties, still bear in their bodies the scars of their wounds and the marks of Christ.

"Who could tell the tale of fines, of disfranchisements, of individual confiscations, of intrigues, of outrages, of prisons? In truth all kinds of tribulation were wrought out beyond number in us, perhaps because we were paying the penalty of sins, perhaps because the merciful God was trying us by means of the multitude of our sufferings. For these all thanks to God, who by means of such afflictions trained his servants and, according to the multitude of his mercies, brought us again to refreshment. We indeed needed long leisure, time, and toil to restore the church once more, that so, like physicians healing the body after long sickness and expelling its disease by gradual treatment, we might bring her back to her ancient health of true religion. It is true that on the whole we seem to have been delivered from the violence of our persecutions and to be just now recovering the churches which have for a long time been the prey of the heretics. But wolves are troublesome to us who, though they have been driven from the byre, yet harry the flocks up and down the glades, daring to hold rival assemblies, stirring seditions among the people, and shrinking from nothing which can do damage to the churches.

"So, as we have already said, we needs must labour all the longer. Since however you showed your brotherly love to us by inviting us (as though we were your own members) by the letters of our most religious emperor to the synod which you are gathering by divine permission at Rome, to the end that since we alone were then condemned to suffer persecution, you should not now, when our emperors are at one with us as to true religion, reign apart from us, but that we, to use the apostle's phrase, should reign with you, our prayer was, if it were possible, all in company to leave our churches, and rather gratify our longing to see you than consult their needs. For who will give us wings as of a dove, and we will fly and be at rest? But this course seemed likely to leave the churches who were just recovering quite undefended, and the undertaking was to most of us impossible, for, in accordance with the letters sent a year ago from your holiness after the synod at Aquileia to the most pious emperor Theodosius, we had journeyed to Constantinople, equipped only for travelling so far as Constantinople, and bringing the consent of the bishops remaining in the provinces for this synod alone. We had

been in no expectation of any longer journey nor had heard a word about it before our arrival at Constantinople.

In addition to all this, and on account of the narrow limits of the appointed time which allowed of no preparation for a longer journey, nor of communicating with the bishops of our communion in the provinces and of obtaining their consent, the journey to Rome was for the majority impossible. We have therefore adopted the next best course open to us under the circumstances, both for the better administration of the church, and for manifesting our love towards you, by strongly urging our most venerated, and honoured colleagues and brother bishops Cyriacus, Eusebius and Priscianus, to consent to travel to you. "Through them we wish to make it plain that our disposition is all for peace with unity for its sole object, and that we are full of zeal for the right faith. For we, whether we suffered persecutions, or afflictions, or the threats of emperors, or the cruelties of princes or any other trial at the hands of heretics, have undergone all for the sake of the evangelic faith, ratified by the three hundred and eighteen fathers at Nicaea in Bithynia. This is the faith which ought to be sufficient for you, for us, for all who wrest not the word of the true faith; for it is the ancient faith; it is the faith of our baptism; it is the faith that teaches us to believe in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. "According to this faith there is one Godhead, Power and Substance of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; the dignity being equal, and the majesty being equal in three perfect essences and three perfect persons. Thus there is neither room for the heresy of Sabellius by the confusion of the essences or destruction of the individualities; thus the blasphemy of the Eunomians, of the Arians, and of the Pneumatomachi is nullified, which divides the substance, the nature and the godhead and superinduces on the uncreated consubstantial and co-eternal trinity a nature posterior, created and of a different substance. We moreover preserve unperturbed the doctrine of the incarnation of the Lord, holding the tradition that the dispensation of the flesh is neither soulless nor mindless nor imperfect; and knowing full well that God's Word was perfect before the ages, and became perfect than in the last days for our salvation.

"Let this suffice for a summary of the doctrine which is fearlessly and frankly preached by us, and concerning which you will be able to be still further satisfied if you will deign to read the report of the synod of Antioch, and also that issued last year by the oecumenical council held at Constantinople,

in which we have set forth our confession of the faith at greater length, and have appended an anathema against the heresies which innovators have recently inscribed. "Now as to the particular administration of individual churches, an ancient custom, as you know, has obtained, confirmed by the enactment of the holy fathers at Nicaea, that, in every province, the bishops of the province, and, with their consent, the neighbouring bishops with them, should perform ordinations as expediency may require. In conforming with these customs note that other churches have been administered by us and the priests of the most famous churches publicly appointed. Accordingly over the new made (if the expression be allowable) church at Constantinople, which, as though from a lion's mouth, we have lately snatched by God's mercy from the blasphemy of the heretics, we have ordained bishop the right reverend and most religious Nectarius, in the presence of the oecumenical council, with common consent, before the most religious emperor Theodosius, and with the assent of all the clergy and of the whole city. And over the most ancient and truly apostolic church in Syria, where first the noble name of Christians was given them, the bishops of the province and of the eastern diocese have met together and canonically ordained bishop the right reverend and most religious Flavianus, with the consent of all the church, who as though with one voice joined in expressing their respect for him. This rightful ordination also received the sanction of the general council.

Of the church at Jerusalem, mother of all the churches, we make known that the right reverend and most religious Cyril is bishop, who was some time ago canonically ordained by the bishops of the province, and has in several places fought a good fight against the Arians. We beseech your reverence to rejoice at what has thus been rightly and canonically settled by us, by the intervention of spiritual love and by the influence of the fear of the Lord, compelling the feelings of then, and making the edification of churches of more importance than individual grace or favour. Thus since among us there is agreement in the faith and Christian charity has been established, we shall cease to use the phrase condemned by the apostles, 'I am of Paul and I of Apollos and I of Cephas,' and all appearing as Christ's, who in us is not divided, by God's grace we will keep the body of the church unrent, and will boldly stand at the judgment seat of the Lord."

These things they wrote against the madness of Arius, Aetius, and Eunomius; and moreover against Sabellius, Photinus, Marcellus, Paul of Samosata, and Macedonius. Similarly they openly condemned the innovation of Apollinarius in the phrase, "And we preserve the doctrine of the incarnation of the Lord, holding the tradition that the dispensation of the flesh is neither soulless, nor mindless, nor imperfect."

Chapter X. Synodical Letter of Damasus Bishop of Rome Against Apollinarius and Timotheus.

When the most praiseworthy. Damasus had heard of the rise of this heresy, he proclaimed the condemnation not only of Apollinarius but also of Timotheus his follower. The letter in which he made this known to the bishops of the Eastern empire I have thought it well to insert in my history. Letter of Damasus bishop of Rome. "Most honourable sons: Inasmuch as your love renders to the apostolic see the reverence which is its due, accept the same in no niggard measure for yourselves. For even though in the holy church in which the holy apostle sat, and taught us how it becomes us to manage the rudder which has been committed to us, we nevertheless confess ourselves to be unworthy of the honour, we yet on this very account strive by every means within our power if haply we may be able to achieve the glory of that blessedness. Know then that we have condemned Timotheus, the unhallowed, the disciple of Apollinarius the heretic, together with his impious doctrine, and are confident that for the future his remains will have no weight whatever. But if that old serpent, though smitten once and again, still revives to his own destruction, who though he exists without the church never ceases from the attempt by his deadly venom to overthrow certain unfaithful men, do you avoid it as you would a pest, mindful ever of the apostolic faith—that, I mean, which was set out in writing by the Fathers at Nicaea; do you remain on steady ground, firm and unmoved in the faith, and henceforward suffer neither your clergy nor laity to listen to vain words and futile questions, for we have already given a form, that he who professes himself a Christian may keep it, the form delivered by the Apostles, as says St. Paul, 'if any one preach to you another gospel than that you have received let him be Anathema.' For Christ the Son of God, our Lord, gave by his own passion abundant salvation to the race of men, that he might free from all sin the whole man involved in sin. If any one speaks of Christ as having had

less of manhood or of Godhead, he is full of devils' spirits, and proclaims himself a child of hell.

"Why then do you again ask me for the condemnation of Timotheus? Here, by the judgment of the apostolic see, in the presence of Peter, bishop of Alexandria, he was condemned, together with his teacher, Apollinarius, who will also in the day of judgment undergo due punishment and torment. But if he succeeds in persuading some less stable men, as though having some hope, after by his confession changing the true hope which is in Christ, with him shall likewise perish whoever of set purpose withstands the order of the Church. May God keep you sound, most honoured sons." The bishops assembled in great Rome also wrote other things against other heresies which I have thought it necessary to insert in my history.

Chapter XI. A Confession of the Catholic Faith Which Pope Damasus Sent to Bishop Paulinus in Macedonia When He Was at Thessalonica.

After the Council of Nicaea there sprung up this error. Certain men ventured with profane mouths to say that the Holy Spirit is made through the Son. We therefore anathematize those who do not with all freedom preach that the Holy Spirit is of one and the same substance and power with the Father and the Son. In like manner we anathematize them that follow the error of Sabellius and say that the Father and the Son are the same. We anathematize Arius and Eunomius who with equal impiety, though with differences of phrase, maintain the Son and the Holy Spirit to be a creature. We anathematize the Macedonians who, produced from the root of Arius, have changed the name but not the impiety. We anathematize Photinus who, renewing the heresy of Ebion, confessed that our Lord Jesus Christ was only of Mary. We anathematize them that maintain that there are two sons—one before the ages and another after the assumption of the flesh from Mary. We anathematize also all who maintain that the Word of God moved in human flesh instead of a reasonable soul. For this Word of God Himself was not in His own body instead of a reasonable and intellectual soul, but assumed and saved our soul, both reasonable and intellectual, without sin. We anathematize also them that say that the Word of God is separated from the Father by extension and contraction, and blasphemously affirm that He is without essential being or is destined to die.

Them that have gone from churches to other churches we so far hold alien from our communion till they shall have returned to those cities in

which they were first ordained. If any one, when another has gone from place to place, has been ordained in his stead, let him who abandoned his own city be held deprived of his episcopal rank until such time as his successor shall rest in the Lord. If any one denies that the Father is eternal and the Son eternal and the Holy Ghost eternal, let him be anathema. If any one denies that the Son was begotten of the Father, that is of His divine substance, let him be anathema. If any one denies that the Son of God is very God, omnipotent and omniscient, and equal to the Father, let him be anathema. If any one says that the Son of God, living in the flesh when he was on the earth, was not in heaven and with the Father, let him be anathema.

If any one says that in the Passion of the Cross the Son of God sustained its pain by Godhead, and not by reasonable soul and flesh which He had assumed in the form of a servant, as saith the Holy Scripture, let him be anathema. If any one denies that the Word of God suffered in the flesh and tasted death in the flesh, and was the first-born of the dead, as the Son is life and giver of life, let him be anathema. If any one deny that He sits on the right hand of the Father in the flesh which He assumed, and in which He shall come to judge. quick and dead, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Holy Spirit is truly and absolutely of the Father, and that the Son is of the divine substance and very God of God, let him be anathema.

If any one deny that the Holy Spirit is omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, as also the Son of the Father, let him be anathema. If any one say that the Holy Spirit is a created being or was made through the Son, let him be anathema. If any one deny that the Father made all things visible and invisible, through the Son who was made Flesh, and the Holy Spirit, let him be anathema. If any one deny one Godhead and power, one sovereignty and glory, one lordship, out kingdom, will and truth of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, let him be anathema. If any one deny three very persons of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, living for ever, containing all things visible and invisible, omnipotent, judging all things, giving life to all things, creating all things and preserving all things, let him be anathema.

If any one denies that the Holy Ghost is to be worshipped by all creation, as the Son, and as the Father, let him be anathema. If any one shall think aright about the Father and the Son but does not hold aright about the Holy Ghost, anathema, because he is a heretic, for all the heretics who do not

think aright about God the Son and about the Holy Ghost are convicted of being involved in the unbelief of the Jews and the heathen; and if any one shall divide Godhead, saying that the Father is God apart and the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and should persist that they are called Gods and not God, on account of the one Godhead and sovereignty which we believe and know there to be of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost—one God in three essences, —or withdrawing the Son and the Holy Ghost so as to suggest that the Father alone is called God and believed in as one God, let him be anathema.

For the name of gods has been bestowed by God upon angels and all saints, but of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost on account of their one and equal Godhead, not the names of "gods" but the name of "our God" is predicated and proclaimed, that we may believe that we are baptized in Father and Son and Holy Ghost and not in the names of archangels or angels, like the heretics or the Jews or foolish heathen. This is the salvation of the Christians that believing in the Trinity, that is in the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, and being baptized into the same one Godhead and power and divinity and substance, in Him we may trust. These events happened during the life of Gratianus.

Chapter XII. Of the Death of Gratianus and the Sovereignty of Maximus.

Gratianus in the midst of his successes in war and wise and prudent government ended his life by conspiracy. He left no sons to inherit the empire, and a brother of the same name as their father, Valentinianus, who was quite a youth. So Maximus, in contempt of the youth of Valentinianus, seized the throne of the West.

Chapter XIII. Of Justina, the Wife of Valentinianus, and of Her Plot Against Ambrosius.

At this time Justina, wife of Valentinianus the great, and mother of the young prince, made known to her son the seeds of the Arian teaching which she had long ago received. Well knowing the warmth of her consort's faith she had endeavoured to conceal her sentiments during the whole of his life, but perceiving that her son's character was gentle and docile, she took courage to bring her deceitful doctrine forward. The lad supposed his mother's counsels to be wise and beneficial, for nature so disposed the bait that he could not see the deadly hook below. He first communicated on the subject with Ambrosius, under the impression that, if he could persuade the bishop,

he would be able without difficulty to prevail over the rest. Ambrosius, however, strove to remind him of his father's piety, and exhorted him to keep inviolate the heritage which he had received. He explained to him also how one doctrine differed from the other, how the one is in agreement with the teaching of the Lord and with the teaching of his apostles, while the other is totally opposed to it and at war with the code of the laws of the spirit.

The young man, as young men will. spurred on moreover by a mother herself the victim of deceit, not only did not assent to the arguments adduced, but lost his temper, and, in a passion, was for surrounding the approaches to the church with companies of legionaries and targeteers. When, however, he learnt that this illustrious champion was not in the least alarmed at his proceedings, for Ambrosius treated them all like the ghosts and hobgoblins with which some men try to frighten babies, he was exceedingly angry and publicly ordered him to depart from the church. "I shall not," said Ambrosius, "do so willingly. I will not yield the sheepfold to the wolves nor betray God's temple to blasphemers. If you wish to slay me drive your sword or your spear into me here within. I shall welcome such a death."

Chapter XIV. Of the Information Given by Maximus the Tyrant to Valentinianus.

After a considerable time Maximus was informed of the attacks which were being made upon the loud-voiced herald of the truth, and he sent dispatches to Valentinianus charging him to put a stop to his war against true religion and exhorting him not to abandon his father's faith. In the event of his advice being disregarded he further threatened war, and confirmed what he wrote by what he did, for he mustered his forces and marched for Milan where Valentinianus was then residing. When the latter heard of his approach he fled into Illyricum. He had learnt by experience what good he had got by following his mother's advice.

Chapter XV. Of the Letter Written by the Emperor Theodosius Concerning the Same.

When the illustrious emperor Theodosius had heard of the emperor's doings and what the tyrant Maximus had written to him he wrote to the fugitive youth to this effect: You must not be astonished if to you has come panic and to your enemy victory; for you have been fighting against piety, and he on its side. You abandoned it, and are running away naked. He in its panoply is getting the mastery of you stripped bare of it, for He who hath given us the law of true religion is ever on its side. So wrote Theodosius when he was yet afar

off; but when he had heard of Valentinian's flight, and had come to his aid, and saw him an exile, taking refuge in his own empire, his first thought was to give succour to his soul, drive out the intruding pestilence of impiety, and win him back to the true religion of his fathers. Then he bade him be of good cheer and marched against the tyrant. He gave the lad his empire again without loss of blood and slew Maximus. For he felt that he should be guilty of wrong and should violate the terms of his treaty with Gratianus were he not to take vengeance on those who had caused his ally's death.

Chapter XVI. Of Amphilocheius, Bishop of Iconium.

On the emperor's return the admirable Amphilocheius, whom I have often mentioned, came to beg that the Arian congregations might be expelled from the cities. The emperor thought the petition too severe, and refused it. The very wise Amphilocheius at the moment was silent, for he had hit upon a memorable device. The next time he entered the Palace and beheld standing at the emperor's side his son Arcadius, who had lately been appointed emperor, he saluted Theodosius as was his wont, but did no honour to Arcadius. The emperor, thinking that this neglect was due to forgetfulness, commanded Amphilocheius to approach and to salute his son. "Sir," said he, "the honour which I have paid you is enough." Theodosius was indignant at the discourtesy, and said, "Dishonour done to my son is a rudeness to myself." Then, and not till then, the very wise Amphilocheius disclosed the object of his conduct, and said with a loud voice, "You see, sir, that you do not brook dishonour done your son, and are bitterly angry with those who are rude to him. Believe then that the God of all the world abominates them that blaspheme the Only begotten Son, and hates them as ungrateful to their Saviour and Benefactor."

Then the emperor understood the bishop's drift, and admired both what he had done and what he had said. Without further delay he put out an edict forbidding the congregations of heretics. But to escape all the snares of the common enemy of mankind is no easy task. Often it happens that one who has kept clear of lascivious passion is fixed fast in the toils of avarice; and if he prove superior to greed there on the other side is the pitfall of envy, and even if he leap safe over this he will find a net of passion waiting for him on the other side.. Other innumerable stumbling blocks the enemy sets in men's paths, trying to catch them to their ruin. Then he has at his disposal the bodily passions to help the wiles which he lays against the soul. The mind

alone, if it keep awake, gets the better of him, frustrating the assault of his devices by its inclination to what is Divine. Now, since this admirable emperor had his share of human nature, and was not free from its emotions, his righteous anger passed the bounds of moderation, and caused the perpetration of a savage and lawless deed. I must tell this story for the sake of those into whose hands it will fall; it does not, indeed, only involve blame of the admirable emperor, but so redounds to his credit as to deserve to be remembered.

Chapter XVII. Of the Massacre of Thessalonica; The Boldness of Bishop Ambrosius, and the Piety of the Emperor.

Thessalonica is a large and very populous city, belonging to Macedonia, but the capital of Thessaly and Achaia, as well as of many other provinces which are governed by the prefect of Illyricum. Here arose a great sedition, and several of the magistrates were stoned and violently treated. The emperor was fired with anger when he heard the news, and unable to endure the rush of his passion, did not even check its onset by the curb of reason, but allowed his rage to be the minister of his vengeance. When the imperial passion had received its authority, as though itself an independent prince, it broke the bonds and yoke of reason unsheathed swords of injustice right and left without distinction, and slew innocent and guilty together. No trial preceded the sentence. No condemnation was passed on the perpetrators of the crimes. Multitudes were mowed down like ears of corn in harvest-tide. It is said that seven thousand perished.

News of this lamentable calamity reached Ambrosius. The emperor on his arrival at Milan wished according to custom to enter the church. Ambrosius met him outside the outer porch and forbade him to step over the sacred threshold. "You seem, sir, not to know," said he, "the magnitude of the bloody deed that has been done. Your rage has subsided, but your reason has not yet recognised the character of the deed. Peradventure your Imperial power prevents your recognising the sin, and power stands in the light of reason. We must however know how our nature passes away and is subject to death; we must know the ancestral dust from which we sprang, and to which we are swiftly returning. We must not because we are dazzled by the sheen of the purple fail to see the weakness of the body that it robes. You are a sovereign, Sir, of men of like nature with your own, and who are in truth your fellow slaves; for there is one Lord and Sovereign of mankind, Creator of the

Universe. With what eyes then will you look on the temple of our common Lord-with what feet will you tread that holy threshold, how will you stretch forth your hands still dripping with the blood of unjust slaughter? How in such hands will you receive the all holy Body of the Lord? How will you who in your rage unrighteously poured forth so much blood lift to your lips the precious Blood? Begone. Attempt not to add another crime to that which you have committed. Submit to the restriction to which the God the Lord of all agrees that you be sentenced. He will be your physician, He will give you health."

Educated as he had been in the sacred oracles, Theodosius knew clearly what belonged to priests and what to emperors. He therefore bowed to the rebuke of Ambrose, and retired sighing and weeping to the palace. After a considerable time, when eight months had passed away, the festival of our Saviour's birth came round and the emperor sat in his palace shedding a storm of tears. Now Rufinus, at that time controller of the household, and, from his familiarity with his imperial master, able to use great freedom of speech, approached and asked him why he wept. With a bitter groan and yet more abundant weeping "You are trifling, Rufinus," said the emperor, "because you do not feel my troubles. I am groaning and lamenting at the thought of my own calamity; for menials and for beggars the way into the church lies open; they can go in without fear, and put up their petitions to their own Lord. I dare not set my foot there, and besides this for me the door of heaven is shut, for I remember the voice of the Lord which plainly says, 'Whatsoever ye bind on earth shall have been bound in heaven.'"

Rufinus replied "With your permission I will hasten to the bishop, and by my entreaties induce him to remit your penalty." "He will not yield" said the emperor. "I know the justice of the sentence passed by Ambrose, nor will he ever be moved by respect for my imperial power to transgress the law of God." Rufinus urged his suit again and again, promising to win over Ambrosius; and at last the emperor commanded him to go with all despatch. Then, the victim of false hopes, Theodosius, in reliance on the promises of Rufinus, followed in person, himself. No sooner did the divine Ambrose perceive Rufinus than he exclaimed, "Rufinus, your impudence matches a dog's, for you were the adviser of this terrible slaughter; you have wiped shame from your brow, and guilty as you are of this mad outrage on the image of God you stand here fearless, without a blush." Then Rufinus began to beg

and pray, and announced the speedy approach of the emperor. Fired with divine zeal the holy Ambrosius exclaimed "Rufinus, I tell you beforehand; I shall prevent him from crossing the sacred threshold. If he is for changing his sovereign power into that of a tyrant I too will gladly submit to a violent death." On this Rufinus sent a messenger to inform the emperor in what mind the archbishop was, and exhorted him to remain within the palace. Theodosius had already reached the middle of the forum when he received the message. "I will go," said he, "and accept the disgrace I deserve." He advanced to the sacred precincts but did not enter the holy building. The archbishop was seated in the house of salutation and there the emperor approached him and besought that his bonds might be loosed.

"Your coming" said Ambrose "is the coming of a tyrant. You are raging against God; you are trampling on his laws." "No," said Theodosius, "I do not attack laws laid down, I do not seek wrongfully to cross the sacred threshold; but I ask you to loose my bond, to take into account the mercy of our common Lord, and not to shut against me a door which our master has opened for all them that repent." The archbishop replied "What repentance have you shown since your tremendous crime? You have inflicted wounds right hard to heal; what salve have you applied?" "Yours" said the emperor "is the duty alike of pointing out and of mixing the salve. It is for me to receive what is given me." Then said the divine Ambrosius "You let your passion minister justice, your passion not your reason gives judgment. Put forth therefore an edict which shall make the sentence of your passion null and void; let the sentences which have been published inflicting death or confiscation be suspended for thirty days awaiting the judgment of reason. When the days shall have elapsed let them that wrote the sentences exhibit their orders, and then, and not till then, when passion has calmed down, reason acting as sole judge shall examine the sentences and will see whether they be right or wrong. If it find them wrong it will cancel the deeds; if they be righteous it will confirm them, and the interval of time will inflict no wrong on them that have been rightly condemned."

This suggestion the emperor accepted and thought it admirable. He ordered the edict to be put out forthwith and gave it the authority of his sign manual. On this the divine Ambrosius loosed the bond. Now the very faithful emperor came boldly within the holy temple but did not pray to his Lord standing, or even on his knees, but lying prone upon the ground he tittered

David's cry "My soul cleaveth unto the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word." He plucked out his hair; he smote his head; he besprinkled the ground with drops of tears and prayed for pardon. When the time came for him to bring his oblations to the holy table, weeping all the while he stood up and approached the sanctuary. After making his offering, as he was wont, he remained within at the rail, but once more the great Ambrosius kept not silence and taught him the distinction of places. First he asked him if he wanted anything; and when the emperor said that he was waiting for participation in the divine mysteries, Ambrose sent word to him by the chief deacon and said, "The inner place, sir, is open only to priests; to all the rest it is inaccessible; go out and stand where others stand; purple can make emperors, but not priests." This instruction too the faithful emperor most gladly received, and intimated in reply that it was not from any audacity that he had remained within the rails, but because he had understood that this was the custom at Constantinople. "I owe thanks," he added, "for being cured too of this error."

So both the archbishop and the emperor showed a mighty shining light of virtue. Both to me are admirable; the former for his brave words, the latter for his docility; the archbishop for the warmth of his zeal, and the prince for the purity of his faith. On his return to Constantinople Theodosius kept within the bounds of piety which he had learnt from the great archbishop. For when the occasion of a feast brought him once again into the divine temple, after bringing his gifts to the holy table he straightway went out. The bishop at that time was Nectarius, and on his asking the emperor what could possibly be the reason of his not remaining within, Theodosius answered with a sigh "I have learnt after great difficulty the differences between an emperor and a priest. It is not easy to find a man capable of teaching me the truth. Ambrosius alone deserves the title of bishop."

So great is the gain of conviction when brought home by a man of bright and shining goodness.

Chapter XVIII. Of the Empress Placilla.

Yet other opportunities of improvement lay within the emperor's reach, for his wife used constantly to put him in mind of the divine laws in which she had first carefully educated herself. In no way exalted by her imperial rank she was rather fired by it with greater longing for divine things. The greatness of the good gift given her made her love for Him who gave it all the

greater, so she bestowed every kind of attention on the maimed and the mutilated, declining all aid from her household and her guards, herself visiting the houses where the sufferers lodged, and providing every one with what he required. She also went about the guest chambers of the churches and ministered to the wants of the sick, herself handling pots and pans, and tasting broth, now bringing in a dish and breaking bread and offering morsels, and washing out a cup and going through all the other duties which are supposed to be proper to servants and maids. To them who strove to restrain her from doing these things with her own hands she would say, "It befits a sovereign to distribute gold; I, for the sovereign power that has been given me, am giving my own service to the Giver." To her husband, too, she was ever wont to say, "Husband, you ought always to bethink you what you were once and what you have become now; by keeping this constantly in mind you will never grow ungrateful to your benefactor, but will guide in accordance with law the empire bestowed upon you, and thus you will worship Him who gave it." By ever using language of this kind, she with fair and wholesome care, as it were, watered the seeds of virtue planted in her husband's heart.

She died before her husband, and not long after the time of her death events occurred which showed how well her husband loved her.

Chapter XIX. Of the Sedition of Antioch.

In consequence of his continual wars the emperor was compelled to impose heavy taxes on the cities of the empire. The city of Antioch refused to put up with the new tax, and when the people saw the victims of its exaction subjected to torture and indignity, then, in addition to the usual deeds which a mob is wont to do when it is seizing an opportunity for disorder, they pulled down the bronze statue of the illustrious Placilla, for so was the empress named, and dragged it over a great part of the town. On being informed of these events the emperor, as was to be expected, was indignant. He then deprived the city of her privileges, and gave her dignity to her neighbour, with the idea that thus he could inflict on her the greatest indignity, for Antioch from the earliest times had had a rival in Laodicea. He further threatened to burn and destroy the town and reduce it to the rank of a village. The magistrates however had arrested some men in the very act, and had put them to death before the tragedy came to the emperor's ears. All these orders had been given by the Emperor, but had not been carried out because of the restriction imposed by the edict which had been made by the advice of the

great Ambrosius. On the arrival of the commissioners who brought the emperor's threats, Elebichus, then a military commander, and Caesarius prefect of the palace, styled by the Romans *magister officiorum*, the whole population shuddered in consternation.

But the athletes of virtue, dwelling at the foot of the hill, of whom at that time there were many of the best, made many supplications and entreaties to the imperial officers. The most holy Macedonius, who was quite unversed in the things of this life, and altogether ignorant of the sacred oracles, living on the tops of the mountains, and night and day offering up pure prayers to the Saviour of all, was not in the least dismayed at the imperial violence, nor at all affected by the power of the commissioners. As they rode into the middle of the town he caught hold of one of them by the cloak and bade both of them dismount. At the sight of a little old man, clad in common rags, they were at first indignant, but some of those who were conducting them informed them of the high character of Macedonius, and then they sprang from their horses, caught hold of his knees, and asked his pardon. The old man, urged on by divine wisdom, spoke to them in the following terms: "Say, dear sirs, to the emperor; you are not only an emperor, you are also a man. Bethink you, therefore, not only of your sovereignty, but also of your nature. You are a man, and you reign over your fellow men. Now the nature of man is formed after the image and likeness of God. Do not, therefore, thus savagely and cruelly order the massacre of God's image, for by punishing His image you will anger the Maker.

Think how you are acting thus in your wrath for the sake of a brazen image. Now all who are endued with reason know how far a lifeless image is inferior to one alive and gifted with soul and sense. Take into account, too, that for one image of bronze we can easily make many more. Even you yourself cannot make one single hair of the slain." After the good men had heard these words they reported them to the emperor, and quenched the flame of his rage. Instead of his threats he wrote a defence, and explained the cause of his anger. "It was not right," said he, "because I was in error, that indignity should be inflicted after her death on a woman so worthy of the highest praise. They that were aggrieved ought to have armed their anger against me." The emperor further added that he was grieved and distressed when he heard that some had been executed by the magistrates. In relating these events I have had a twofold object. I did not think it right to leave in obli-

on the boldness of the illustrious monk, and I wished to point out the advantage of the edict which was put out by the advice of the great Ambrosius.

Chapter XX.

Of the destruction of the temples all over the Empire. Now the right faithful emperor diverted his energies to resisting paganism, and published edicts in which he ordered the shrines of the idols to be destroyed. Constantine the Great, most worthy of all eulogy, was indeed the first to grace his empire with true religion; and when he saw the world still given over to foolishness he issued a general prohibition against the offering of sacrifices to the idols. He had not, however, destroyed the temples, though he ordered them to be kept shut. His sons followed in their father's footsteps. Julian restored the false faith and rekindled the flame of the ancient fraud. On the accession of Jovian he once more placed an interdict on the worship of idols, and Valentinian the Great governed Europe with like laws. Valens, however, allowed every one else to worship any way they would and to honour their various objects of adoration. Against the champions of the Apostolic decrees alone he persisted in waging war. Accordingly during the whole period of his reign the altar fire was lit, libations and sacrifices were offered to idols, public feasts were celebrated in the forum, and votaries initiated in the orgies of Dionysus ran about in goat-skins, mangling hounds in Bacchic frenzy, and generally behaving in such a way as to show the iniquity of their master. When the right faithful Theodosius found all these evils he pulled them up by the roots, and consigned them to oblivion.

Chapter XXI. Of Marcellus, Bishop of Apamea, and the Idols' Temples Destroyed by Him.

The first of the bishops to put the edict in force and destroy the shrines in the city committed to his care was Marcellus, trusting rather in God than in the hands of a multitude. The occurrence is remarkable, and I shall proceed to narrate it. On the death of John, bishop of Apamea, whom I have already mentioned, the divine Marcellus, fervent in spirit, according to the apostolic law, was appointed in his stead. Now there had arrived at Apamea the prefect of the East with two tribunes and their troops. Fear of the troops kept the people quiet. An attempt was made to destroy the vast and magnificent shrine of Jupiter, but the building was so firm and solid that to break up its closely compacted stones seemed beyond the power of man; for they were huge and well and truly laid, and moreover clamped fast with iron and lead.

When the divine Marcellus saw that the prefect was afraid to begin the attack, he sent him on to the rest of the towns; while he himself prayed to God to aid him in the work of destruction. Next morning there came uninvited to the bishop a man who was no builder, or mason, or artificer of any kind, but only a labourer who carried stones and timber on his back. "Give me," said he, "two workmen's pay; and I promise you I will easily destroy the temple. The holy bishop did as he was asked, and the following was the fellow's contrivance. Round the four sides of the temple went a portico united to it, and on which its upper story rested. The columns were of great bulk, commensurate with the temple, each being sixteen cubits in circumference. The quality of the stone was exceptionally hard, and offering great resistance to the masons' tools. In each of these the man made an opening all round, propping up the superstructure with olive timber before he went on to another. After he had hollowed out three of the columns, he set fire to the timbers. But a black demon appeared and would not suffer the wood to be consumed, as it naturally would be, by the fire, and stayed the force of the flame. After the attempt had been made several times, and the plan was proved ineffectual, news of the failure was brought to the bishop, who was taking his noontide sleep.

Marcellus forthwith hurried to the church, ordered water to be poured into a pail, and placed the water upon the divine altar. Then, bending his head to the ground, he besought the loving Lord in no way to give in to the usurped power of the demon, but to lay bare its weakness and exhibit His own strength, lest unbelievers should henceforth find excuse for greater wrong. With these and other like words he made the sign of the cross over the water, and ordered Equitius, one of his deacons, who was armed with faith and enthusiasm, to take the water and sprinkle it in faith, and then apply the flame. His orders were obeyed, and the demon, unable to endure the approach of the water, fled. Then the fire, affected by its foe the water as though it had been oil, caught the wood, and consumed it in an instant. When their support had vanished the columns themselves fell down, and dragged other twelve with them. The side of the temple which was connected with the columns was dragged down by the violence of their fall, and carried away with them. The crash, which was tremendous, was heard throughout the town, and all ran to see the sight. No sooner did the multi-

tude hear of the flight of the hostile demon than they broke out into a hymn of praise to God.

Other shrines were destroyed in like manner by this holy bishop. Though I have many other most admirable doings of this holy man to relate,-for he wrote letters to the victorious martyrs, and received replies from them, and himself won the martyr's crown,-for the present I hesitate to narrate them, lest by over prolixity I weary the patience of those into whose hands my history may fall. I will therefore now pass to another subject.

Chapter XXII. Of Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, and What Happened at the Demolition of the Idols in that City.

The illustrious Athanasius was succeeded by the admirable Petrus, Petrus by Timotheus, and Timotheus by Theophilus, a man of sound wisdom and of a lofty courage. By him Alexandria was set free from the error of idolatry; for, not content with razing the idols' temples to the ground, he exposed the tricks of the priests to the victims of their wiles. For they had constructed statues of bronze and wood hollow within, and fastened the backs of them to the temple walls, leaving in these walls certain invisible openings. Then coming up from their secret chambers they got inside the statues, and through them gave any order they liked and the hearers, tricked and cheated, obeyed. These tricks the wise Theophilus exposed to the people. Moreover he went up into the temple of Serapis, which has been described by some as excelling in size and beauty all the temples in the world. There he saw a huge image of which the bulk struck beholders with terror, increased by a lying report which got abroad that if any one approached it, there would be a great earthquake, and that all the people would be destroyed. The bishop looked on all these tales as the mere drivelling of tipsy old women, and in utter derision of the lifeless monster's enormous size, he told a man who had an axe to give Serapis a good blow with it. No sooner had the man struck, than all the folk cried out, for they were afraid of the threatened catastrophe. Serapis however, who had received the blow, felt no pain, inasmuch as he was made of wood, and uttered never a word, since he was a lifeless block. His head was cut off, and forthwith out ran multitudes of mice, for the Egyptian god was a dwelling place for mice. Serapis was broken into small pieces of which some were committed to the flames, but his head was carried through all the town in sight of his worshippers, who mocked the weakness of him to whom they had bowed the knee.

Thus all over the world the shrines of the idols were destroyed.

Chapter XXIII. Of Flavianus Bishop of Antioch and of the Sedition Which Arose in the Western Church on Account of Paulinus.

At Antioch the great Meletius had been succeeded by Flavianus who, together with Diodorus, had undergone great struggles for the salvation of the sheep. Paulinus had indeed desired to receive the bishopric, but he was withstood by the clergy on the ground that it was not right that Meletius at his death should be succeeded by one who did not share his opinions, and that to the care of the flock ought to be advanced he who was conspicuous for many toils, and had run the risk of many perils for the sheep's sake. Thus a lasting hostility arose among the Romans and the Egyptians against the East, and the ill feeling was not even destroyed on the death of Paulinus. After him when Evagrius had occupied his see, hostility was still shewn to the great Flavianus, notwithstanding the fact that the promotion of Evagrius was a violation of the law of the Church, for he had been promoted by Paulinus alone in disregard of many canons. For a dying bishop is not permitted to ordain another to take his place, and all the bishops of a province are ordered to be convened; again no ordination of a bishop is permitted to take place without three bishops. Nevertheless they refused to take cognizance of any of these laws, embraced the communion of Evagrius, and filled the ears of the emperor with complaints against Flavianus, so that, being frequently importuned, he summoned him to Constantinople, and ordered him to repair to Rome.

Flavianus, however, urged in reply that it was now winter, and promised to obey the command in spring. He then returned home. But when the bishops of Rome, not only the admirable Damasus, but also Siricius his successor and Anastasius the successor of Siricius, importuned the emperor more vehemently and represented that, while he put down the rivals against his own authority, he suffered bold rebels against the laws of Christ to maintain their usurped authority, then he sent for him again and tried to force him to undertake the journey to Rome. On this Flavianus in his great wisdom spoke very boldly, and said, "If, sir, there are some who accuse me of being unsound in the faith, or of life and conversation unworthy of the priesthood, I will accept my accusers themselves for judges, and will submit to whatever sentence they may give. But if they are contending about see and primacy I will not contest the point; I will not oppose those who wish to take them; I will

give way and resign my bishopric. So, sir, give the episcopal throne of Antioch to whom you will."

The emperor admired his manliness and wisdom, and bade him go home again, and tend the church committed to his care. After a considerable time had elapsed the emperor arrived at Rome, and once more encountered the charges advanced by the bishops on the ground that he was making no attempt to put down the tyranny of Flavianus. The emperor ordered them to set forth the nature of the tyranny, saying that he himself was Flavianus and had become his protector. The bishops rejoined that it was impossible for them to dispute with the emperor. He then exhorted them in future to join the churches in concord, put an end to the quarrel, and quench the fires of an useless controversy. Paulinus, he pointed out, had long since departed this life; Evagrius had been irregularly promoted; the eastern churches accepted Flavianus as their bishop. Not only the east but all Asia. Pontius, and Thrace were united in communion with him, and all Illyricum recognised his authority over the oriental bishops. In submission to these counsels the western bishops promised to bring their hostility to a close and to receive the envoys who should he sent them.

When Flavianus had been informed of this decision he despatched to Rome certain worthy bishops with presbyters and deacons of Antioch, giving the chief authority among them to Acacius bishop of Beroea, who was famous throughout the world. On the arrival of Acacius and his party at Rome they put an end to the protracted quarrel, and after a war of seventeen years gave peace to the churches. When the Egyptians were informed of the reconciliation they too gave up their opposition, and gladly accepted the agreement which was made. At that time Anastasius had been succeeded in the primacy of the Roman Church by Innocent, a man of prudence and ready wit. Theophilus, whom I have previously mentioned, held the see of Alexandria.

Chapter XXIV. Of the Tyranny of Eugenius and the Victory Won Through Faith by the Emperor Theodosius.

In this manner the peace of the churches was secured by the most religious emperor. Before the establishment of peace he had heard of the death of Valentinianus and of the usurpation of Eugenius and had marched for Europe. At this time there lived in Egypt a man of the name of John, who had embraced the ascetic life. Being full of spiritual grace, he foretold many

future events to persons who from time to time came to consult him. To him the Christ-loving emperor sent, in his anxiety to know whether he ought to make war against the tyrants. In the case of the former war he foretold a bloodless victory. In that of the second he predicted that the emperor would only win after a great slaughter. With this expectation the emperor set out, and, while drawing up his forces, shot down many of his opponents, but lost many of his barbarian allies.

When his generals represented that the forces on their side were few and recommended him to allow some pause in the campaign, so as to muster an army at the beginning of spring and out-number the enemy, Theodosius refused to listen to their advice. "For it is wrong," said he, "to charge the Cross of Salvation with such infirmity, for it is the cross which leads our troops, and attribute such power to the image of Hercules which is at the head of the forces of our foe." Thus in right faith he spoke, though the men left him were few in number and much discouraged. Then when he had found a little oratory, on the top of the hill where his camp was pitched, he spent the whole night in prayer to the God of all. About cock-crow sleep overcame him, and as he lay upon the ground he thought he saw two men in white raiment riding upon white horses, who bade him be of good cheer, drive away his fear, and at dawn arm and marshal his men for battle. "For," said they, "we have been sent to fight for you," and one said, "I am John the evangelist," and the other, "I am Philip the apostle."

After he had seen this vision the emperor ceased not his supplication, but pursued it with still greater eagerness. The vision was also seen by a soldier in the ranks who reported it to his centurion. The centurion brought him to the tribune, and the tribune to the general. The general supposed that he was relating something new, and reported the story to the emperor. Then said Theodosius, "Not for my sake has this vision been seen by this man, for I have put my trust in them that promised me the victory. But that none may have supposed me to have invented this vision, because of my eagerness for the battle, the protector of my empire has given the information to this man too, that he may bear witness to the truth of what I say when I tell you that first to me did our Lord vouchsafe this vision. Let us then fling aside our fear. Let us follow our front rank and our generals. Let none weigh the chance of victory by the number of the men engaged, but let every man bethink him of the power of the leaders."

He spoke in similar terms to his men, and after thus inspiring all his host with high hope, led them down from the crest of the hill. The tyrant saw the army coming to attack him from a distance, and then armed his forces and drew them up for battle. He himself remained on some elevated ground, and said that the emperor was desirous of death, and was coming into battle because he wished to be released from this present life: so he ordered his generals to bring him alive and in chains. When the forces were drawn up in battle array those of the enemy appeared by far the more numerous, and the tale of the emperor's troops might be easily told. But when both sides had begun to discharge their weapons the front rank proved their promises true. A violent wind blew right in the faces of the foe, and diverted their arrows and javelins and spears, so that no missile was of any use to them, and neither trooper nor archer nor spearman was able to inflict any damage upon the emperor's army. Vast clouds of dust, too, were carried into their faces, compelling them to shut their eyes and protect them from attack. The imperial forces on the other hand did not receive the slightest injury from the storm, and vigorously attacked and slew the foe. The vanquished then recognised the divine help given to their conquerors, flung away their arms, and begged the emperor for quarter.

Theodosius then yielded to their entreaty and had compassion on them, and ordered them to bring the tyrant immediately before him. Eugenius was ignorant of how the day had gone, and when he saw his men running up the hillock where he sat, all out of breath, and shewing their eagerness by their panting, he took them for messengers of victory, and asked if they had brought Theodosius in chains, as he had ordered. "No," said they, "we are not bringing him to you, but we are come to carry you off to him, for so the great Ruler has ordained. Even as they spoke they lifted him from his chariot, put chains upon him, and carried him off thus fettered, and led away the vain boaster of a short hour ago, now a prisoner of war. The emperor reminded him of the wrongs he had done Valentinianus, of his usurped authority, and of the wars which he had waged against the rightful emperor. He ridiculed also the figure of Hercules and the foolish confidence it had inspired and at last pronounced the sentence of right and lawful punishment. Such was Theodosius in peace and in war, ever asking and never refused the help of God.

Chapter XXV. Of the Death of the Emperor Theodosius.

After this victory Theodosius fell sick and divided his empire between his sons, assigning to the elder the sovereignty which he had wielded himself and to the younger the throne of Europe. He charged both to hold fast to the true religion, "for by its means," said he, "peace is preserved, war is stopped, foes are routed, trophies are set up and victory is proclaimed." After giving this charge to his sons he died, leaving behind him imperishable fame. His successors in the empire were also inheritors of his piety.

Chapter XXVI. Of Honorius the Emperor and Telemachus the Monk.

Honorius, who inherited the empire of Europe, put a stop to the gladiatorial combats which had long been held at Rome. The occasion of his doing so arose from the following circumstance. A certain man of the name of Telemachus had embraced the ascetic life. He had set out from the East and for this reason had repaired to Rome. There, when the abominable spectacle was being exhibited, he went himself into the stadium, and, stepping down into the arena, endeavoured to stop the men who were wielding their weapons against one another. The spectators of the slaughter were indignant, and inspired by the mad fury of the demon who delights in those bloody deeds, stoned the peacemaker to death. When the admirable emperor was informed of this he numbered Telemachus in the array of victorious martyrs, and put an end to that impious spectacle.

Chapter XXVII. Of the Piety of the Emperor Arcadius and the Ordination of John Chrysostom.

On the death at Constantinople of Nectarius, bishop of that see, Arcadius, who had succeeded to the Eastern empire, summoned John, the great luminary of the world. He had heard that he was numbered in the ranks of the presbyterate, and now issued orders to the assembled bishops to confer on him divine grace, and appoint him shepherd of that mighty city. This fact is alone sufficient to show the emperor's care for divine things. At the same time the see of Antioch was held by Flavianus, and that of Laodicea by Elpidius, who had formerly been the comrade of the great Meletius, and had received the impress of his life and conversation more plainly than wax takes the impression of a seal ring. He succeeded the great Pelagius; and the divine Marcellus was followed by the illustrious Agapetus whom I have already described as conspicuous for high ascetic virtue. In the time of the tempest of

heresy, of Seleucia ad Taurum, Maximus, the companion of the great John, was bishop, and of Mopsuestia Theodorus, both illustrious teachers. Conspicuous, too, in wisdom and character was the holy Acacius, bishop of Beroea.

Leontius, a shining example of many virtues, tended the flock of the Galatians.

Chapter XXVIII. Of John's Boldness for God.

When the great John had received the tiller of the Church, he boldly convicted certain wrong doers, made seasonable exhortations to the emperor and empress, and admonished the clergy to live according to the laws laid down. Transgressors against these laws he forbade to approach the churches, urging that they who shewed no desire to live the life of true priests ought not to enjoy priestly honour. He acted with this care for the church not only in Constantinople, but throughout the whole of Thrace, which is divided into six provinces, and likewise of Asia, which is governed by eleven governors. Pontica too, which has a like number of rulers with Asia, was happily brought by him under the same discipline.

Chapter XXIX. Of the Idol Temples Which Were Destroyed by John in Phoenicia.

On receiving information that Phoenicia was still suffering from the madness of the demons' rites, John got together certain monks who were fired with divine zeal armed them with imperial edicts and despatched them against the idols' shrines. The money which was required to pay the craftsmen and their assistants who were engaged in the work of destruction was not taken by John from imperial resources, but he persuaded certain wealthy and faithful women to make liberal contributions, pointing out to them how great would be the blessing their generosity would win. Thus the remaining shrines of the demons were utterly destroyed.

Chapter XXX. Of the Church of the Goths.

It was perceived by John that the Scythians were involved in the Arian net; he therefore devised counter contrivances and discovered a means of winning them over. Appointing presbyters and deacons and readers of the divine oracles who spoke the Scythian tongue, he assigned a church to them, and by their means won many from their error. He used frequently himself to visit it and preach there, using an interpreter who was skilled in both languages, and he got other good speakers to do the same. This was his constant practice

in the city, and many of those who had been deceived he rescued by pointing out to them the truth of the apostolic preaching.

Chapter XXXI. Of His Care For the Scythians and His Zeal Against the Marcionists.

On learning that some of the Nomads encamped along the Danube were thirsty for salvation, but had none to bring them the stream, John sought out men who were filled with a love of labour like that which had distinguished the apostles, and gave them charge of the work. I have myself seen a letter written by him to Leontius, bishop of Ancyra, in which he described the conversion of the Scythians, and begged that fit men for their instruction might be sent. On hearing that in our district some men were infected with the plague of Marcion he wrote to the then bishop charging him to drive out the plague, and proffering him the aid of the imperial edicts. I have said enough to show how, to use the words of the divine apostle, he carried in his heart "the care of all the churches." His boldness may also be learnt from other sources.

Chapter XXXII. Of the Demand Made by Gainas and of John Chrysostom's Reply.

One Gainas, a Scythian, but still more barbarous in character, and of cruel and violent disposition, was at that time a military commander. He had under him many of his own fellow-countrymen, and with them commanded the Roman cavalry and infantry. He was an object of terror not only to all the rest but even to the emperor himself, who suspected him of aiming at usurpation. He was a participator in the Arian pest, and requested the emperor to grant him the use of one of the churches. Arcadius replied that he would see to it and have it done. He then sent for the divine John, told him of the request that had been made, reminded him of the power of Gainas, hinted at the usurpation which was being aimed at, and besought him to bridle the anger of the barbarian by this concession. "But," said that noble man, "attempt, sir, no such promise, nor order what is holy to be given to the dogs. I will never suffer the worshippers and praisers of the Divine Word to be expelled and their church to be given to them that blaspheme Him. Have no fear, sir, of that barbarian; call us both, me and him, before you; listen in silence to what is said, and I will both curb his tongue and persuade him not to ask what it is wrong to grant."

The emperor was delighted with what Chrysostom said, and on the next day summoned both the bishop and the general before him. Gainas began to

request the fulfilment of the promise, but the great John said in reply that the emperor, who professed the true religion, had no right to venture on any act against it. Gainas rejoined that he also must have a place to pray in. "Why," said the great John, "every church is open to you, and nobody prevents you from praying there when you are so disposed." "But I," said Gainas, "belong to another sect, and I ask to have one church with them, and surely I who undergo so many toils in war for Romans may fairly make such a request." "But," said the bishop, "you have greater rewards for your labours, you are a general; you are vested in the consular robe, and you must consider what you were formerly and what you are now—your indigence in the past and your present prosperity; what kind of raiment you wore before you crossed the Ister, and what you are robed in now. Consider, I say, the littleness of your labours and the greatness of your rewards, and be not unthankful to them who have shewn you honour." With these words the teacher of the world silenced Gainas, and compelled him to stand dumb. In process of time, however, he made known the rebellion which he had long had at heart, gathered his forces in Thrace, and went out ravaging and plundering in very many directions. At news of this there arose an universal panic among both princes and subjects, and no one was found willing to march against him; no one thought it safe to approach him with an ambassage, for every one suspected his barbarous character.

Chapter XXXIII. Of the Ambassage of Chrysostom to Gainas.

Then when every one else was passed over because of the universal panic, this great chief was persuaded to undertake the ambassage. He took no heed of the dispute which has been related, nor of the ill feeling which it had engendered, and readily set out for Thrace. No sooner did Gainas hear of the arrival of the envoy than he bethought him of the bold utterance which he had made on behalf of true religion. He came eagerly from a great distance to meet him, placed his right hand upon his eyes, and brought his children to his saintly knees. So is it the nature of goodness to put even those who are most opposed to it to the blush and vanquish them. But envy could not endure the bright rays of his philosophy. It put in practice its wonted wiles and deprived of his eloquence and his wisdom the imperial city—aye indeed the whole world.

Chapter XXXIV. Of the Events Which Happened on Account of Chrysostom.

At this part of my history I know not what sentiments to entertain; wishful as I am to relate the wrong inflicted on Chrysostom, I yet regard in other respects the high character of those who wronged him. I shall therefore do my best to conceal even their names. These persons had different reasons for their hostility, and were unwilling to contemplate his brilliant virtue. They found certain wretches who accused him, and, perceiving the openness of the calumny, held a meeting at a distance from the city and pronounced their sentence. The emperor, who had confidence in the clergy, ordered him to be banished. So Chrysostom, without having heard the charges brought against him, or brought forward his defence, was forced as though convicted on the accusations advanced against him to quit Constantinople, and departed to Hieron at the mouth of the Euxine, for so the naval station is named.

In the night there was a great earthquake and the empress was struck with terror. Envoys were accordingly sent at daybreak to the banished bishop beseeching him to return without delay to Constantinople, and avert the peril from the town. After these another party was sent and yet again others after them and the Bosphorus was crowded with the couriers. When the faithful people learned what was going on they covered the mouth of the Propontis with their boats, and the whole population lighted up waxen torches and came forth to meet him. For the time indeed his banded foes were scattered. But after the interval of a few months they endeavoured to enact punishment, not for the forged indictment, but for his taking part in divine service after his deposition. The bishop represented that he had not pleaded, that he had not heard the indictment, that he had made no defence, that he had been condemned in his absence, that he had been exiled by the emperor, and by the emperor again recalled. Then another Synod met, and his opponents did not ask for a trial, but persuaded the emperor that the sentence was lawful and right. Chrysostom was then not merely banished, but relegated to a petty and lonely town in Armenia of the name of Cucusus. Even from thence he was removed and deported to Pityus, a place at the extremity of the Euxine and on the marches of the Roman Empire, in the near neighbourhood of the wildest savages. But the loving Lord did not suffer the victorious athlete to be carried off to this islet, for when he had reached Comana he was removed to the life that knows nor age nor pain.

The body that had struggled so bravely was buried by the side of the coffin of the martyred Basiliscus, for so the martyr had ordained in a dream. I think it needless to prolong my narrative by relating how many bishops were expelled from the church on Chrysostom's account, and sent to live in the ends of the earth, or how many ascetic philosophers were involved in the same calamities, and all the more because I think it needful to curtail these hideous details, and to throw a veil over the ill deeds of men of the same faith as our own. Punishment however did fall on most of the guilty, and their sufferings were a means of good to the rest. This great wrong was regarded with special detestation by the bishops of Europe, who separated themselves from communion with the guilty parties. In this action they were joined by all the bishops of Illyria. In the East most of the cities shrank from participation in the wrong, but did not make a rent in the body of the church.

On the death of the great teacher of the great teacher of the world, the bishops of the West refused to embrace the communion of the bishops of Egypt, of the East, of the Bosphorus, and in Thrace, until the name of that holy man had been inserted among those of deceased bishops. Arsacius his immediate successor they declined to acknowledge, but Atticus the successor of Arsacius, after he had frequently solicited the boon of peace, was after a time received when he had inserted the name in the roll.

Chapter XXXV. Of Alexander, Bishop of Antioch.

At this time the see of Alexandria was held by Cyril, brother's son to Theophilus whom he succeeded; at the same time Jerusalem was occupied by John in succession to Cyril whom we have formerly mentioned. The Antiochenes were under the care of Alexander whose life and conversation were of a piece with his episcopate. Before his consecration he passed his time in ascetic training and in hard bodily exercise. He was known as a noble champion, teaching by word and confirming the word by deed. His predecessor was Porphyrius who guided that church after Flavianus, and left behind him many memorials of his loving character. He was also distinguished by intellectual power. The holy Alexander was specially rich in self discipline and philosophy; his life was one of poverty and self denial; his eloquence was copious and his other gifts were innumerable; by his advice and exhortation, the following of the great Eustathius which Paulinus, and after him Evagrius, had not permitted to be restored, was united to the rest of the body, and a festival

was celebrated the like of which none had ever seen before. The bishop gathered all the faithful together, both clergy and laity, and marched with them to the assembly. The procession was accompanied by musicians; one hymn was sung by all in harmony, and thus he and his company went in procession from the western postern to the great church, filling the whole forum with people, and constituting a stream of thinking living beings like the Orontes in its course.

When this was seen by the Jews, by the victims of the Arian plague, and by the insignificant remnant of Pagans, they set up a groaning and wailing, and were distressed at seeing the rest of the rivers discharging their waters into the Church. By Alexander the name of the great John was first inscribed in the records of the Church.

Chapter XXXVI. Of the Removal of the Remains of John and of the Faith of Theodosius and His Sisters.

At a later time the actual remains of the great doctor were conveyed to the imperial city, and once again the faithful crowd turning the sea as it were into land by their close packed boats, covered the mouth of the Bosphorus towards the Propontis with their torches. The precious possession was brought into Constantinople by the present emperor, who received the name of his grandfather and preserved his piety undefiled. After first gazing upon the bier he laid his head against it, and prayed for his parents and for pardon on them who had ignorantly sinned, for his parents had long ago been dead, leaving him an orphan in extreme youth, but the God of his fathers and of his forefathers permitted him not to suffer trial from his orphanhood, but provided for his nurture in piety, protected his empire from the assaults of sedition, and bridled rebellious hearts. Ever mindful of these blessings he honours his benefactor with hymns of praise. Associated with him in this divine worship are his sisters, who have maintained virginity throughout their lives, thinking the study of the divine oracles the greatest delight, and reckoning that riches beyond robbers' reach are to be found in ministering to the poor. The emperor himself was adorned by many graces, and not least by his kindness and clemency, an unruffled calm of soul and a faith as undefiled as it is notorious. Of this I will give an undeniable proof.

A certain ascetic somewhat rough of temper came to the emperor with a petition. He came several times without attaining his object, and at last ex-

communicated the emperor and left him under his ban. The faithful emperor returned to his palace, and as it was the time for the banquet, and his guests were assembled, he said that he could not partake of the entertainment before the interdict was taken off. On this account he sent the most intimate of his suite to the bishop, beseeching him to order the imposer of the interdict to remove it. The bishop replied that an interdict ought not to be accepted from every one, and pronounced it not binding, but the emperor refused to accept this remission until the imposer of it had after much difficulty been discovered, and had restored the communion withdrawn. So obedient was he to divine laws. In accordance with the same principles he ordered a complete destruction of the remains of the idolatrous shrines, that our posterity might be saved from the sight of even a trace of the ancient error, this being the motive which he expressed in the edict published on the subject. Of this good seed sown he is ever reaping the fruits, for he has the Lord of all on his side. So when Rhoïlas, Prince of the Scythian Nomads, had crossed the Danube with a vast host and was ravaging and plundering Thrace, and was threatening to besiege the imperial city, and summarily seize it and deliver it to destruction, God smote him from on high with thunderbolt and storm, burning up the invader and destroying all his host. A similar providence was shewn, too, in the Persian war. The Persians received information that the Romans were occupied elsewhere, and so in violation of the treaty of Peace, marched against their neighbours, who found none to aid them under the attack, because, in reliance on the Peace, the emperor had despatched his generals and his men to other wars. Then the further march of the Persians was stayed by a very violent storm of rain and hail; their horses refused to advance; in twenty days they had not succeeded in advancing as many furlongs. Meanwhile the generals returned and mustered their troops.

In the former war, too, these same Persians, when besieging the emperor's eponymous city, were providentially rendered ridiculous. For after Vararanes had beset the aforesaid city for more than thirty days with all his forces, and had brought up many helepoles, and employed innumerable engines, and built up lofty towers outside the wall, resistance was offered, and the assault of the attacking engines repelled, by the bishop Eunomius alone. Our men had refused to fight against the foe, and were shrinking from bringing aid to the besieged, when the bishop, by opposing himself to them,

preserved the city from being taken. When one of the barbarian chieftains ventured on his wonted blasphemy, and with words like those of Rabshakeh and Sennacherib, madly threatened to burn the temple of God, the holy bishop could not endure his furious wrath, but himself commanded a balista, which went by the name of the Apostle Thomas, to be set up upon the battlements, and a mighty stone to be adjusted to it. Then, in the name of the Lord who had been blasphemed, he gave the word to let go, -down crashed the stone on that impious chief and hit him on his wicked mouth, and crushed in his face, and broke his head in pieces, and sprinkled his brains upon the ground. When the commander of the army who had hoped to take the city saw what was done, he confessed himself beaten and withdrew, and in his alarm made peace.

Thus the universal sovereign protects the faithful emperor, for he clearly acknowledges whose slave he is, and performs fitting service to his Master.

Chapter XXXVII. Of Theodotus Bishop of Antioch.

Theodosius restored the relics of the great luminary of the world to the city which deeply regretted his loss. These events however happened later. Innocent the excellent bishop of Rome was succeeded by Bonifacius, Bonifacius by Zosimus and Zosimus by Caelestinus. At Jerusalem after the admirable John the charge of the church was committed to Praylius, a man worthy of his name. At Antioch after the divine Alexander Theodotus, the pearl of purity, succeeded to the supremacy of the church, a man of conspicuous meekness and of exact regularity of life. By him the sect of Apollinarius was admitted to fellowship with the rest of the sheep on the earnest request of its members to be united with the flock. Many of them however continued marked by their former unsoundness.

Chapter XXXVIII. Of the Persecutions in Persia and of Them that Were Martyred There.

At this time Isdigirdes, King of the Persians, began to wage war against the churches and the circumstances which caused him so to do were as follows. A certain bishop, Abdas by name, adorned with many virtues, was stirred with undue zeal and destroyed a Pyreum, Pyreum being the name given by the Persians to the temples of the fire which they regarded as their God. On being informed of this by the Magi Isdigirdes sent for Abdas and first in moderate language complained of what had taken place and ordered him to rebuild the Pyreum. This the bishop, in reply, positively refused to do, and

thereupon the king threatened to destroy all the churches, and in the end carried out all his threats, for first he gave orders for the execution of that holy man and then commanded the destruction of the churches. Now I am of opinion that to destroy the Pyreum was wrong and inexpedient, for not even the divine Apostle, when he came to Athens and saw the city wholly given to idolatry, destroyed any one of the altars which the Athenians honoured, but convicted them of their ignorance by his arguments, and made manifest the truth. But the refusal to rebuild the fallen temple, and the determination to choose death rather than so do, I greatly praise and honour, and count to be a deed worthy of the martyr's crown; for building a shrine in honour of the fire seems to me to be equivalent to adoring it.

From this beginning arose a tempest which stirred fierce and cruel waves against the nurslings of the true faith, and when thirty years had gone by the agitation still remained kept up by the Magi, as the sea is kept in commotion by the blasts of furious winds. Magi is the name given by the Persians to the worshippers of the sun and moon but I have exposed their fabulous system in another treatise and have adduced solutions of their difficulties. On the death of Isdigirdes, Vararanes, his son, inherited at once the kingdom and the war against the faith, and dying in his turn left them both together to his son. To relate the various kinds of tortures and cruelties inflicted on the saints is no easy task. In some cases the hands were flayed, in others the back; of others they stripped the heads of skin from brow to beard; others were enveloped in split reeds with the cut part turned inwards and were surrounded with tight bandages from head to foot; then each of the reeds was dragged out by force, and, tearing away the adjacent portions of the skin, caused severe agony; pits were dug and carefully greased in which quantities of mice were put; then they let down the martyrs, bound hand and foot, so as not to be able to protect themselves from the animals, to be food for the mice, and the mice, under stress of hunger, little by little devoured the flesh of the victims, causing them long and terrible suffering. By others sufferings were endured even more terrible than these, invented by the enemy of humanity and the opponent of the truth, but the courage of the martyrs was unbroken, and they hastened unbidden in their eagerness to win that death which ushers men into indestructible life. Of these I will cite one or two to serve as examples of the courage of the rest.

Among the noblest of the Persians was one called Hormisdas, by race an Achaemenid and the son of a Prefect. On receiving information that he was a Christian the king summoned him and ordered him to abjure God his Saviour. He replied that the royal orders were neither right nor reasonable, "for he," so he went on, "who is taught to find no difficulty in spurning and denying the God of all, will haply the more easily despise a king who is a man of mortal nature; and if, sir, he who denies thy sovereignty is deserving of the severest punishment, how much more terrible a chastisement is not due to him who denies the Creator of the world? The king ought to have admired the wisdom of what was said, but, instead of this, he stripped the noble athlete of his wealth and rank, and ordered him to go clad in nothing save a loin cloth, and drive the camels of the army. After some days had gone by, as he looked out of his chamber, he saw the excellent man scorched by the rays of the sun, and covered with dust, and he be thought him of his father's illustrious rank, and sent for him, and told him to put on a tunic of linen. Then thinking the toil he had suffered, and the kindness shewn him, had softened his heart, "Now at least," said he "give over your opposition, and deny the carpenter's son.

Full of holy zeal Hormisdas tore the tunic and flung it away saying, "If you think that this will make one give up the true faith, keep your present with your false belief. When the king saw how bold he was he drove him naked from the palace. One Suenes, who owned a thousand slaves, resisted the King, and refused to deny his master. The King therefore asked him which of his slaves was the vilest, and to this slave handed over the ownership of all the rest, and gave him Suenes to be his slave. He also gave him in marriage Suenes' wife, supposing that thus he could bend the will of the champion of the truth. But he was disappointed, for he had built his house upon the rock. The king also seized and imprisoned a deacon of the name of Benjamin. After two years there came an envoy from Rome, to treat of other matters, who, when he was informed of this imprisonment, petitioned the king to release the deacon. The king ordered Benjamin to promise that he would not attempt to teach the Christian religion to any of the Magi, and the envoy exhorted Benjamin to obey, but Benjamin, after he heard what the envoy had to say, replied, "It is impossible for me not to impart the light which I have received; for how great a penalty is due for the hiding of our talent is taught in the history of the holy gospels. Up to this time the King had not

been informed of this refusal and ordered him to be set free. Benjamin continued as he was wont seeking to catch them that were held down by the darkness of ignorance, and bringing them to the light of knowledge. After a year information of his conduct was given to the king, and he was summoned and ordered to deny Him whom he worshipped. He then asked the king "What punishment should be assigned to one who should desert his allegiance and prefer another? "Death and torture," said the king. "How then" continued the wise deacon "should he be treated who abandons his Maker and Creator, makes a God of one of his fellow slaves, and offers to him the honour due to his Lord?

Then the king was moved with wrath, and had twenty reeds pointed, and driven into the nails of his hands and feet. When he saw that Benjamin took this torture for child's play, he pointed another reed and drove it into his privy part and by working it up and down caused unspeakable agony. After this torture the impious and savage tyrant ordered him to be impaled upon a stout knotted staff, and so the noble sufferer gave up the ghost. Innumerable other similar deeds of violence were committed by these impious men, but we must not be astonished that the Lord of all endures their savagery and impiety, for indeed before the reign of Constantine the Great all the Roman emperors wreaked their wrath on the friends of the truth, and Diocletian, on the day of the Saviour's passion, destroyed the churches throughout the Roman Empire, but after nine years had gone by they rose again in bloom and beauty many times larger and more splendid than before, and he and his iniquity perished. These wars and the victory of the church had been predicted by the Lord, and the event teaches us that war brings us more blessing than peace. Peace makes us delicate, easy and cowardly. War whets our courage and makes us despise this present world as passing away. But these are observations which we have often made in other writings.

Chapter XXXIX. Of Theodorus, Bishop of Mopsuestia.

When the divine Theodorus was ruling the church of Antioch, Theodorus, bishop of Mopsuestia, a doctor of the whole church and successful combatant against every heretical phalanx, ended this life. He had enjoyed the teaching of the great Diodorus, and was the friend and fellow-worker of the holy John, for they both together benefited by the spiritual draughts given by Diodorus. Six-and-thirty years he had spent in his bishopric, fighting against the forces of Arius and Eunomius, struggling against the piratical band of

Apollinarius, and finding the best pasture for God's sheep. His brother Polychronius was the excellent bishop of Apamea, a man gifted with great eloquence and of illustrious character. I shall now make an end of my history, and shall entreat those who meet with it to requite my labour with their prayers. The narrative now embraces a period of 105 years, beginning from the Arian madness and ending with the death of the admirable Theodorus and Theodotus. I will give a list of the bishops of great cities after the persecution.

List of the bishops of great cities. List of the bishops of great cities. Of Rome:- Miltiades [Melchiades. 311-314] Silvester Julius [337-352. Mark Jan. to Oct., 336] Liberius Damasus Siricius Anastasius Innocentius Bonifacius Zosimus Caelestinus Of Antioch:- Vitalius

P A R T T W O

Philostorgius

*The history of a follower of Eunomius, in twelve books, as
summed up by Photius.*

The Ecclesiastical History (Epitome by Photius)

PHILOSTORGIUS

c. AD 368–439

Arian church historian.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

Philostorgius would seem to have been a person possessed | of a considerable amount of general information, and he has inserted in his narrative many curious geographical and other details about remote and unknown countries, and more especially about the interior of Asia and Africa. He was rather inclined to credulity, in regard to portents, monsters, prodigies, and other wonderful things, of which he gives accounts at considerable length; and Photius himself vehemently censures him for his absurdity in attributing miracles to those whom the patriarch himself regarded as heretics. He is quoted by Gibbon in the 18th, 19th, and 20th chapters of his "Decline and Fall," not however without a caution against his Arian predilections and his partiality to the cause of Gallus. The Epitome was translated into Latin, with comments by J. Gothofredus, and published in 4to at Geneva in 1642; as also by H. de Valois, under the title of "Compendium Historiae Ecclesiasticae Philostorgii, quod dictavit Photius Patriarcha," Paris, 1673, with notes. It has also been translated into French, and published at Paris in 1676, under the title *Abregé de l'Histoire de l'Eglise de Philostorge*. It appears now for the first time in an English translation.

BOOK I

Chapter 1

Philostorgius says that he cannot tell who was the author of the two books which are commonly called those of the Maccabees. But he is especially loud in the praise of their unknown author, inasmuch as the events which he nar-

rates in them are found to correspond exactly with the prophecies of Daniel: and also because of the skill which he shows in explaining how the evil deeds of men reduced the condition of the Jewish people to the lowest depths, just as afterwards it was the valour of other men that retrieved it again; when the Jews resuscitated the spirit in which they had met their enemies of old, and had seen their temple purged of foreign superstitions. The Second Book of Maccabees, however, according to Philostorgius, would seem to be the work of a different writer from the First; and is a mere compendium of what Jason of Cyrene related at length in five books. It gives an account of the war carried on by Judas Maccabeus against Antiochus Epiphanes, and his son named Eupator. But as to the Third Book of the Maccabees, Philostorgius utterly rejects it as monstrous, and as bearing no resemblance to the two former ones. The Fourth Book he asserts to have been the work of Joseph, and to be regarded rather as an encomium upon Eleazar and his seven sons, the Maccabees, than as a regular history of events.

Chapter 2

Though Philostorgius praises Eusebius Pamphilus as well on other grounds as on account of his Ecclesiastical History, yet he accuses him of erroneous opinions in matters relating to religion. The accusation which he brings against him is to the effect that Eusebius considered the Deity as unintelligible and incomprehensible, and that he was implicated in a variety of other strange opinions. He also bears witness that Eusebius brought down his history to the period when Constantine the Great was succeeded in the empire by his sons. CHAP. 3.--The impious Philostorgius says that when the votes of the people were inclining to his own side in the election of an archbishop of Alexandria, Arius preferred Alexander to himself, and so contrived to give him a majority. CHAP. 4.--He also says that a certain presbyter of Alexandria, who was called Baucalis, on account of a lump of superfluous flesh which had grown upon his back to the size of an earthen vessel, such as the Alexandrians call "Baucala" in their provincial dialect, having obtained the post of honour among the presbyters next to Arius himself, brought about the beginning of contention between Alexander and Arius, and that it was from this circumstance that the preaching of the Homoöusian doctrine was devised.

Chapter 5

Constantius, the father of Constantine the Great, according to Philostorgius, was proclaimed emperor of Upper Galatia and the district lying around the Alps; regions which were very remote and difficult of access. This Upper Galatia is now called Gallia or Gaul by the Romans. The death of Constantius occurred in Britain, which is also called the island of Albion. Constantine succeeded in avoiding the treachery of Diocletian, and finding his father on his deathbed upon his arrival in Britain, he soon after committed his body to the tomb, and was shortly proclaimed his successor in the empire. CHAP. 6.--As to the cause of the conversion of Constantine from heathen superstitions to the Christian faith, Philostorgius, in conformity with all other writers, ascribes it to his victory over Maxentius, in a battle in which the sign of the cross was seen in the East, vast in extent and lit up with glorious light, and surrounded on each side by stars like a rainbow, symbolizing the form of letters. The letters too were in the Latin tongue and formed these words, "In hoc signo vinces."

Chapter 7

Philostorgius says that before the synod at Nicaea, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, came to Nicomedia, and after a convention with Hosius of Cordova and the other bishops who were with him, prevailed upon the synod to declare the Son consubstantial with the Father, and to expel Arius from the communion of the church. CHAP. 8.--Not long after this, the synod of Nicaea was held; at this synod, over and above the other high priests of God, Basileus, bishop of Amasea, and Meletius, bishop of Sebastopolis, were present. CHAP. 9.--Philostorgius also confesses that all the bishops consented to the exposition of the faith made at Nicaea, with the exception of Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais, and Theon, bishop of Marmarica. But the rest of the band of Arian bishops, such as Eusebius of Nicomedia, (whom Philostorgius calls the Great,) Theognis of Nicaea, and Tharis of Chalcedon, and all the others, embraced the sentence of the council, though with a fraudulent and treacherous purpose, (as Philostorgius admits,) for under the term *ὁμοούσιος* they secretly introduced that of *ὁμοιούσιος*. But still they did not refuse submission to the decrees of the synod, though Constantina, the emperor's sister, suggested this counsel to them.

Chapter 10

Philostorgius adds that Secundus, on going into exile, said to Eusebius, "You subscribed, Eusebius, in order to escape being sent into banishment: but I place my confidence in a revelation made to me by God, that within a year you will be sent into exile too." In point of fact, within three months after the conclusion of the synod, Eusebius was sent into exile according to the prediction of Secundus, upon returning to his own original and manifest impiety. EPITOME OF BOOK II. CHAP. I.--PHILOSTORGIUS falsely relates, that after the general council and the recantation of the Eusebians, and their open return to the orthodox faith, the emperor Constantine punished them, because, while they subscribed to the Homooousian faith, they entertained sentiments at variance with it, and on the other band, that he recalled Secundus and his associates from banishment, and sent letters in every direction, exploding the term "Homooousios," and confirming the doctrine of a diversity of substance. He adds that Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, subscribed these letters, and that on this account Arius communicated with him. But when all fear on account of the emperor was at an end, Alexander returned to his original sentiments, while Arius and those who joined with him in his opinions seceded from communion with Alexander and the church.

BOOK II

Chapter 2

He says that Arius, after his secession from the church, composed several songs to be sung by sailors, and by millers, and by travellers along the high road, and others of the same kind, which he adapted to certain tunes, as he thought suitable in each separate case, and thus by degrees seduced the minds of the unlearned by the attractiveness of his songs to the adoption of his own impiety. CHAP. 3.--Though Philostorgius extols Arius to the skies for impugning the Divinity of the Son, yet he asserts that the latter is involved in the most absurd errors, because he everywhere affirms that God cannot be known, or comprehended, or conceived by the human mind; and not only by men, (which perhaps were an evil more easy to endure,) but also not even by His own only-begotten Son. And he asserts that not only Arius, but also a large body of his followers, were carried away into this absurd error at the same time. For with the exception of Secundus and Theonas, and the dis-

ciples of the martyr Lucian, namely Leontius, Antonius, and Eusebius of Nicomedia, the rest of the impious band of heretics adopted this opinion.

Chapter 4

Philostorgius asserts that Constantine was induced by the fraudulent artifices of his step-mother to put his son Crispus to death; and afterwards, upon detecting her in the act of adultery with one of his Cursores, ordered the former to be suffocated in a hot bath. He adds, that long afterwards Constantine was poisoned by his brothers during his stay at Nicomedia, by way of atonement for the violent death of Crispus.

Chapter 5

He also says that Urphilas brought over as settlers to the Roman territory a large body of persons who had been driven out of their ancient abodes for the sake of their religion. These came from among the Scythians, north of the Ister, and were formerly called Getae, though now they are better known as Goths. And he asserts that this race of men were brought over to the faith of Christ in the following manner. While Valerian and Gallienus were administering the empire, a large multitude of Scythians, who lived north of the Ister, made an incursion into the Roman territory, and laid waste a great part of Europe by their predatory excursions and afterwards having crossed over into Asia, invaded Cappadocia and Galatia. Here they took a large quantity of prisoners, among whom were not a few ecclesiastics; and they returned to their own country laden with spoils and booty. These pious captives, by their intercourse with the barbarians, brought over a great number of the latter to the true faith, and persuaded them to embrace the Christian religion in the place of heathen superstitions. Of the number of these captives were the ancestors of Urphilas himself, who were of Cappadocian descent, deriving their origin from a village called Sadagolthina, near the city of Parnassus. This Urphilas, then, was the header of this pious band which came out from among the Goths, and became eventually their first bishop. The following was the method of his appointment.

Being sent by the then king of the Goths on an embassy to the court of the emperor Constantine, (for the barbarous tribes in those parts were subject to the emperor,) he was ordained bishop of the Christians among the Goths, by Eusebius and the other prelates that were with him. Accordingly he took the greatest care of them in many ways, and amongst others, he re-

duced their language to a written form, and translated into their vulgar tongue all the books of holy Scripture, with the exception of the Books of Kings, which he omitted, because they are a mere narrative of military exploits, and the Gothic tribes were especially fond of war, and were in more need of restraints to check their military passions than of spurs to urge them on to deeds of war. But those books have the greatest influence in exciting the minds of readers, inasmuch as they are regarded with great veneration, and are adapted to lead the hearts of believers to the worship of God. This multitude of converts were located by the emperor in the different parts of Moesia, as he thought best, and he held Urphilas himself in such high honour, that he would often speak of him in conversation as the Moses of his day. Philostorgius is loud in his praises of this Urphilas ; and asserts that both he and the Goths who were under his spiritual rule, were followers of his own heretical opinions.

Chapter 6

The impious Philostorgius relates that the Christians in Central India, who were converted to the faith of Christ by the preaching of St. Bartholomew, believe that the Son is not of the same substance with the Father. He adds that Theophilus the Indian, who had embraced this opinion, came to them, and delivered it to them as a doctrine; and also that these Indians are now called Homeritae, instead of their old name of Sabaeans, which they received from the city of Saba, the chief city of the whole nation. CHAP. 7.--Philostorgius says, that Eusebius, Maris, and Theognis, after a period of three years spent in banishment, were recalled by command of the emperor, and immediately put forth an heretical form of faith, and sent it in every direction, in order to counteract the Nicene Creed. He adds, that Alexander, the bishop of Alexandria, was deposed and excommunicated by the same parties, because he afterwards returned to the Homooousian faith; but that Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, was deposed by them on different grounds, namely, on a charge of having attempted the chastity of a certain woman, and seduced her; upon this the emperor condemned him to banishment, and sent him into the western parts of the empire. As to the rest, he writes, that in this illegitimate council there were no less than two hundred and fifty bishops, and that Nicomedia was the workshop where they contrived all their evil deeds.

Chapter 8

Concerning Agapetus, a follower of his own peculiar heretical sect., who was originally a soldier, then a priest of his sect, and eventually became bishop of Synada, he tells many wonderful stories ; he says, for example, that many dead men were raised by him to life again, and that he expelled and healed many maladies of various kinds. He adds that many other wonderful things were done by him, and that by his exertions many of the Gentiles were converted to the Christian religion. CHAP. 9.--He says that, in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, Constantine turned Byzantium into the city of Constantinople; and that, when he went to mark out the circuit of the city, he walked round it with a spear in his hand; and that when his attendants thought that he was measuring out too large a space, one of them came up to him and asked him, How far, O prince?" and that the emperor answered, "Until he who goes before me conies to a stop ;" by this answer clearly manifesting that some heavenly power was heading him on, and teaching him what he ought to do. Philostorgius adds, that Constantine, after building the city, called it "Alma Roma," which means in the Latin tongue, "Glorious." He also states, that the emperor established there a senate, and distributed among the citizens a copious allowance of corn, and adorned the city in other particulars with such sumptuous magnificence, that it became a rival to ancient Rome in splen dour.

Chapter 10

He states, that on the decease of Alexander, the bishop of this city, Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, was translated to the episcopal chair of the newly erected metropolis.

Chapter 11

The impious contriver of lies asserts, that after the death of Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, the votes of the prelates were not unanimous, and that when there was a diversity of sentiment, and a considerable amount of time had been spent in altercation, the divine Athanasius suddenly appeared one evening in the church called after Dionysius, and finding there two Egyptian bishops, firmly closed the doors with the assistance of some of his followers, and so was ordained by them, though strongly against the will of the the ordainers. For a power from above fell upon them, and so constrained their will and powers that what Athanasius wished ; was at once done. Philostorgi-

us adds, that the remainder of the bishops then present anathematized Athanasius on account of this transaction ; and that the latter, having first thoroughly strengthened his cause, addressed to the emperor certain letters relating to his ordination, in the name of the entire state; and that the emperor, thinking that the letters in question were written by the assembly of the Alexandrians, ratified the election with his own approval. Afterwards, however, upon being informed of the details of the transaction, he sent Athanasius to Tyre, a city of Phoenicia, to give account of the matter before a synod which was assembled there. And Philostorgius writes, that Athanasius gave way before the threats of the emperor.

At length, however, upon arriving at Tyre, he was unwilling to submit to a legal inquiry, but fraudulently suborned a certain harlot, whose belly proclaimed her shame, and laid his plots against Eusebius, who was regarded as the head and chief of the assembly, thinking doubtless that he would escape from trial, and avoid the sentence of the synod, in the midst of the tumult and commotion which he thought in all probability would be raised. But our author, so partial to liars, writes that the fraud was openly detected in the very same manner, as the orthodox party say the harlot was detected who had been suborned by the heretics to give evidence against the great Athanasius. For he says that Eusebius asked the harlot if she knew the person who had defiled her; and that upon her answering that she knew him well, Eusebius again asked her whether the party in question was present among the episcopal assembly. She answered, "Spare evil words, my lord; I should be mad, if I were to accuse such holy men of such foul lust" From this the truth was elucidated, and so the whole of the fraudulent conspiracy was brought to light. Thus, says Philostorgius, Eusebius showed himself superior to every calumny that was brought forward, but Athanasius, who had hoped to escape trial altogether, went away after having been convicted of a double crime, not merely an illegal ordination, but also a foul calumny; and so, by the common consent of all, a sentence of deposition was passed against him.

Athanasius, however, went on unblushingly, and ventured to assert that the sentence of deposition and the calumnious stories thrown in his teeth were equally untrue, being mere fabrications of time hatred and ill-will of the bishops assembled in the synod, because he refused to receive ordination at their hands. On this account the emperor, he adds, charged a second synod of bishops to examine into the cause of Athanasius; and the latter added

some fresh charges to the original calumnies. For they said. that Callinicus the confessor, and bishop of Pelusium, had been loaded by him with iron chains and sent into confinement, and that Athanasius did not cease to treat him with contumely, until he had fairly removed him out of his way. Then also the hand of Armenius was brought into court, and Mareotes and Ischyras came forward, and the sacred cup and other stories of a like kind were devised. For these reasons, he says, Athanasius was excommunicated by the synod, and Gregory the Cappadocian substituted in his place. Such are the stories of this lover of untruth against the holy Athanasius.

Chapter 12

He says that Helen, the mother of the emperor, built the city which was called Helenopolis, at the entrance of the Gulf of Nicomedia: and that the reason of her great predilection for the spot, was because the body of the martyr Lucian was carried thither by a dolphin after his death by martyrdom. CHAP. 13.--He says that when this martyr Lucian was about to die, and was debarred from the church and the altar by the hand of tyranny, and when chains and stripes forbade him even to move, he lay upon his back and offered the venerable sacrifice upon his own breast, and so partook himself, and gave his companions the opportunity of receiving likewise of the unspotted sacrifice. This act of sacrifice was performed in the prison, and the holy band of Christians who stood as it were around his dying bed, at the same time represented the church, and afforded a screen to prevent the heathen from seeing what was being done.

Chapter 14

Philostorgius recounts many other disciples of this martyr Lucian, and especially Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, Maris, bishop of Chalcedon, and Theognis, bishop of Nicaea; and also Leontius, who afterwards became bishop of Antioch, and Antonius of Tarsus in Cilicia; likewise Menophantus, Numenius, and Eudoxius, together with Alexander and Asterius the Cappadocian; of whom he says that they yielded to the violence of tyrants so far as to offer sacrifice to the gods of the heathen; but afterwards made amends for their lapse, their master himself assisting to bring them to repentance. CHAP. 15.--Out of the above-mentioned individuals he specifies Antonius and Leontius as having preserved their piety pure and unsullied; but as for Eusebius, Maris, and Theognis, they were brought into collision with the

Nicene symbol, but afterwards returned to their original opinions. But Mar-is, after returning to the orthodox belief, fell afterwards into another grievous error. In like manner, too, Theognis, who held that God was the Father even before he had begotten the Son, inasmuch as he had the power of be-getting him. Of Asterius he says that he interpolated the doctrine of Lucian, affirming in his writings and orations that the Son is the image of the Fath-er's substance, and in no way differing from him.

Chapter 16

He says that Constantine, having entered upon the thirty-second year of his reign, was poisoned by his brothers at Nicomedia. And that when his end drew near, and the plot was discovered, he drew up a testament enjoining that the authors of his death should be punished, and ordering that whichever of his sons should first arrive, should proceed to take measures against them, lest his children too should be destroyed by a like conspiracy. He further adds, that the document itself which contained these instruc-tions, was intrusted to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; but that the latter, be-ing alarmed lest the emperor's brothers should make search for it, and wish to know what was written in it, placed the tablet in the hands of the deceased emperor, and concealed it beneath his clothes. Accordingly when they had come, as Eusebius expected they would, to search for the tablet which con-tained the will, Eusebius answered that he had. indeed received it, but that he had immediately returned it into the hands of the emperor. Afterwards, however, this same Eusebius, having again taken away the tablet, deposited it in the hands of Constantius the son of Constantine, who was the first of the brothers to arrive; and who not long afterwards put into execution the in-structions contained in his father's will.

Chapter 17

This impious enemy of God also accuses the Christians of offering sacrifices to an image of Constantine placed upon a column of porphyry, and of hon-ouring it with lighted lamps and incense, and of offering vows to it as to God, and making supplications to it to ward off calamities. CHAP. 18.--He writes also, that after the death of Constantine the Great, when all who were in exile in various parts had obtained permission to return, Athanasius, too, returned from Gaul to Alexandria, and hearing of the death of Gregory, landed and went straight from the ship, just as he was, to the church, and

took his episcopal seat, without showing any regard to those who had deposed him. EPITOME OF BOOK III. CHAP. I.--Philostorgius says that Constans, the eldest of the sons of Constantine, plotted against the life of his brother Constantine the younger, and that the latter, together with his generals, was defeated and put to death, and his portion of the empire added to that of Constans.

BOOK III

Chapter 2

Philostorgius is loud in his praise of Constantius, and says that he built at Constantinople the church which is deservedly called "the Great." He also writes that he translated the remains of St. Andrew the apostle from Achaia to the church which he had erected, and which was called that of "the Holy Apostles;" as also that he erected near it a tomb in honour of his father. And lastly, he adds, that the body of the apostle Timothy was translated from Ephesus in Ionia to the same renowned and venerable church by the command of the same Constantius. CHAP. 3.--Philostorgius says that Constantius, having learned that Athanasius had again taken possession of the see of Alexandria, expelled him from that city, and issued a mandate ordering that George the Cappadocian should be elected in his room. Accordingly, he adds that Athanasius, in fear of the emperor's threats and the snares of his enemies, betook himself again to the emperor of the West.

Chapter 4

He says that Constantius sent ambassadors to those who were formerly called Sabaeans, but are now known as Homeritae, a tribe which is descended from Abraham by Keturah. As to the territory which they inhabit, he says that it is called by the Greeks "Arabia Magna" and "Arabia Felix," and that it extends into the most distant part of the ocean. Its metropolis, he says, is Saba, the city from which the queen of Sheba went forth to see Solomon. This tribe is part of the Israelitish family, and practises circumcision on the eighth day; but they also offer sacrifices to the sun and moon, and to the native gods of the country. Constantius accordingly sent an embassy to them, in order to induce them to come over to the true religion. The king determined, in pursuance of his plan, to conciliate the king of that people by magnificent presents and words of gentle persuasion, and thence to take an opportunity forthwith of sowing the seeds of religion. He also asked for licence to build

churches on behalf of the Romans who came thither by sea, and the inhabitants of the country who wished to embrace time Christian faith. At the head of this embassy was placed Theophilus the Indian, who had been sent when very young as a hostage from the Divaeans to the Romans when Constantine was at the head of the empire. The island called Divus, is a portion of their territory, and the inhabitants of it are called Indians.

Further, he relates that this Theophilus, having passed a long life among the Romans, formed his character upon a pattern of the most strict amid perfect virtue, and embraced the true faith concerning God; but, he adds, that he chose the monastic life, and was promoted to the diaconate at the hands of Eusebius. Thus much as to his early life. But afterwards, having undertaken this embassy, he was invested, by the men of his own party, with the episcopal dignity. But Constantius, wishing to array the embassy with peculiar splendour, put on board of their ships two hundred well-bred horses from Cappadocia, and sent with them many other gifts, with the double view of making an imposing show and of conciliating the feelings of the people. Accordingly, Theophilus, on his arrival among the Sabaeans, endeavoured to persuade the ruler of the tribe to become a Christian, and to give over the deceits of heathenism. Hereupon, the customary fraud and malice of tire Jews was compelled to shrink into deep silence, as soon as ever Theophilus had once or twice proved by his wonderful miracles the truth of the Christian faith. The embassy turned out successfully;

for the prince of the nation, by sincere conviction, came over to the true religion, and built three churches in the district, not, however, with the money which the emperor's ambassadors had brought with them, but out of sums which he voluntarily supplied out of his private resources, with a laudable strife to show that his own zeal was a match for the wonders performed by Theophilus. One of these churches he erected in a place called Tapharum, the metropolis of tire nation: another in the place where the mart of Roman commerce stood, lying towards the outer sea. This place is called Adane; and it is the spot where everybody is in the habit of landing on coming out of the Roman territories. The third church he built in another part of the district, where the mart of Persian commerce stands, hard by the mouth of the Persian Sea, which lies along those parts.

Chapter 5

Theophilus, having arranged everything among the Homeritae according to his ability and circumstances, and having dedicated the churches, and adorned them with such decorations as he could, crossed over to the island of Divus, which, as we above showed, was his native country. Thence he made his way to the other districts of India, and corrected many disorders among their inhabitants. For they listened to the reading of the Gospel in a sitting posture, and used other customs repugnant to the Divine law. But Theophilus, having corrected everything among them according to a religious rule, confirmed the doctrine of the church. For, with regard to the worship of the Divine Being, as that impious writer asserts, they needed no correction, inasmuch as from the earliest antiquity they constantly professed to believe the Son to be of a different substance from the Father.

Chapter 6

From this Arabia Magna Theophilus proceeded to the Aethiopians who are called Auxumitae, who dwell along the coast near the entrance of the Red Sea, which is formed there by the ocean deeply indenting the continent. The Red Sea, in its turn, after extending to a very great length, terminates in two distinct gulfs, the one of which bends in the direction of Egypt, and is called Clysma, after the name of a place situated at the head of it. This was the sea across which the Israelites passed on dry ground, when they fled away from the Egyptians. The other gulf goes off in the direction of Palestine, near a city which, from the earliest times, has borne the name of Aila. On the further coast of this gulf of the Red Sea, and on its left side, dwell the Auxumitae, so called from their metropolis, which bears the name of Auxumis. Nest to these Auxumitae, but to the east, dwell the Syrians, who stretch to the other ocean, and who are so called even by the men of those parts. For Alexander the Great of Macedon placed them there after he had removed them from Syria; and they still use their hereditary Syrian tongue. Further, these are all of a very dark colour, from the effects of the vertical rays of the sun. Among these, the wood-casia, and the common casia, grow in the greatest abundance, as likewise the cassamum and cinnamon. In this same region, also, there is an abundance of elephants. Theophilus did not penetrate as far as these people, but he came to the Auxumitae, and, having, ordered all things there correctly, he thence began to return into the territory of the

Romans : and after his return he was loaded with honours by the emperor; he received the charge of no episcopal see; but was looked up to by the followers of his own sect, as a public example of excellence.

Chapter 7

Philostorgius says, that among other large rivers, the Tigris falls into the inner part of the Persian Sea, which is here connected with the ocean. The shores of this sea are surrounded by many nations ; and the river itself runs in a south-easterly direction, below the Hyrcanian Sea, and appears to take its rise among the Cordiaens. Thence it flows along the side of Syria,⁴⁸ and upon reaching the district of Susis, it joins the waters of the Euphrates with its own, and thence flowing on with a deep and rapid stream, it rushes on with a violent roar of its eddies, from which circumstance they say it derives its name of Tigris.⁴⁹ Before, however, it reaches the sea, it divides its waters into two large channels ; and thence it flows into the Persian Sea, the extreme points of its mouths being so far distant from each other, that the two mouths embrace between them a large extent of country. This is an island ; it is washed both by the rivers and the sea, and it is inhabited by a tribe called Messenians.

Chapter 8

The Euphrates, however, to all appearance, takes its rise among the Armenians ; in this region stands the Mount of Ararat, so called even to the present day by the Armenians,--the same mount on which the Holy Scripture says that the ark rested. Many fragments of the wood and nails of which the ark was composed are said to be still preserved in those localities. This is the place where the Euphrates takes its rise. At first it is but a small stream, but gradually increases in size, and absorbing into itself many other tributary rivers which flow into it, it passes through Upper and Lower Armenia in its onward course. First of all it cuts Syria Euphratensis, so called after the river. Afterwards, however, it cuts its way through the rest of Syria, winding along with many varied folds in every region which it passes through, until it reaches Arabia, where it takes a circular course, when nearly opposite to the Red Sea; and embracing in its windings a large tract of country, finally turns its course towards the wind called Caecias, or Northeast, and falls into the Tigris. Here its waters do not entirely mingle with those of the Tigris ; but though partly absorbed in it, it flows parallel to the Tigris with the largest

portion of its waters, and finally mixes with the Tigris near about Susa ; and thenceforward, the Euphrates having lost its independent name, the two rivers flow, conjointly into the Persian Gulf. The district which lies between these two rivers, the Euphrates, namely, and the Tigris, is called Mesopotamia.

Chapter 9

The sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris, so far as we have been able to ascertain, are such as we have related. But our sacred books, when they say that these rivers flow out of Paradise, speak most truly. For it is from this place that they derive their first supplies of water ; inasmuch as after having traversed some distance in all probability above-ground, they afterwards pass into a large sandy desert, where they sink deep into the sand, and do not cease from this downward course, until they reach the firm rocky soil, of which that region consists : the base of this region affords a check on their downward course, and so they each gather their waters together and rush onwards, making their course all the more straight on account of the force and magnitude of their accumulating waters. But these rivers flowing beneath the ground, being partially absorbed by the sand of the intermediate district, burst forth again with a considerably diminished supply of water. It is not, however, after all so incredible a thing, that these rivers should flow so long a distance underground. For there are found everywhere the largest and most rapid streams and rivers whose course is under-ground, as is clear from the fact that their sound is heard as they rush on with loud murmurs and roarings.

Moreover, some persons in their attempts to sink wells in the ground above these rivers, when they had gradually dug down to the rocky soil which resisted their efforts, beneath which the roaring waves endeavoured to force an egress upwards, were with difficulty rescued by those who stood above at the brink of the well, for the water burst forth in a torrent, which was intercepted by no subsequent drought, on account of the perpetual supply of water. For the secret wisdom of God has rendered the very courses of rivers, some occult and others open to the view, like veins supplying the necessary blood in the body. Whence also the prophet David sings, "He hath founded it upon the seas, and hath prepared it upon the floods,"⁵⁰ enclosing the seas like treasures in the embraces of the largest tracts of land, and supplying them with a firm bottom for supporting the vast mass and multitude

of waters which are collected in them. But to rivers, by a wise arrangement, he has ever given a free course : affording a passage to the onward current of their waters by the depression of certain localities, and by declivities from the higher to the lower parts.

Chapter 10

Philostorgius, going entirely upon conjecture, writes, that the situation of Paradise was towards the east ;⁵¹ and he so conjectures, firstly, because in the first place the parts to the south of it are all inhabited as far as the outer sea, which the sun scorches with his perpendicular rays ; (this is what is called the Middle, or Torrid, Zone ; and, secondly, because the river now called the Hyphasis, and which is called Pison in the Holy Scriptures, itself taking its rise out of Paradise, seems to flow from the northern parts of the east down towards the south, and to pour its waters into the ocean there, opposite to the island of Taprobana. On the banks of this river is found the fruit, or flower, which is known under the name of Karyophyllum. The inhabitants of those parts believe that it formerly grew in Paradise ; and, moreover, all the district above them is especially desert and barren. But as the river produces that fruit, it would seem clear that the river runs entirely above-ground, and that it nowhere has a subterranean channel, for else it could not produce the plant which grows there. And further still, this river shows another sign of its connexion above-ground with Paradise ; for they say, that if a man bathe in its waters when he is suffering under the most burning fever, he immediately recovers.

On the other hand, the Tigris and Euphrates, as flowing under-ground and then emerging again, can bring down their streams no production of those parts, as the Hyphasis does. No, nor even the Nile ; and yet the Nile also flows out of Paradise, according to the oracles of Moses, in which it is called Ghion, though the Greeks named it Aegyptius. This river then, if one may conjecture, takes its rise in Paradise, and before reaching any inhabited region, its waters are absorbed by the sand, whence it makes its way secretly into the Indian Sea, and there takes a sort of circular course,--for what man knows anything accurately concerning this matter, --and then passing under all the intervening continent, makes its hidden passage into the Red Sea, on the other side of which it eventually appears again beneath the mountain which is called after the Moon. There it is said to form two great fountains, situated at no great distance from each other, and throwing their waters up

to a great height from below. The river then falls down a steep ridge of cliffs and passes through Aethiopia into Egypt.

Chapter 11

He says that the whole district which lies to the east and the south, though parched up with the excessive heat, brings forth by far the finest and best productions, both by land and sea. For the sea teems with whales of incredible size, which are often seen as they rise out of the sea by those who sail around the coasts. The land also produces elephants of prodigious and gigantic size, and those which are called bull-elephants. As to this kind of beast, it is an ox of huge magnitude, and has a hide in colour and thickness closely resembling that of the elephant. This animal I saw with my own eyes, when it was brought to Rome ; and I simply describe what I beheld. There are also among them serpents whose bodies are as thick as beams, and extending in length as much as fifteen fathoms;⁵² for I have seen their skins brought to Rome. There is also an animal called a unicorn which is found in these parts. It has a head like a serpent, with the exception of a single crooked horn of no great size which grows upon it ; and its whole chin is covered with a beard. Its neck is lengthy and reaches high aloft, and especially resembles the folds of a serpent : but the rest of its body more nearly approaches that of a stag, with the exception of its feet, which are those of a lion. A picture of this animal is to be seen at Constantinople.

Moreover, the cameleopard is a production of this region : this beast is in most respects like a very large stag, but in its height it approximates the form of the camel. Its neck, which it carries high aloft, is long beyond proportion to the rest of its body; and the whole of its skin from head to foot is dappled with spots like a leopard. Its fore legs are much taller than its hind ones. In these parts too there is a kind of ape, called the *aesopithecus* ; for the ape tribe comprises a variety of kinds. There is, for instance, the *arctopithecus* and the *leontopithecus*, and the dog-headed ape ; for the ape form is found conjoined with a variety of other animals, as is evident from the various specimens of the ape tribe which are brought to us. Of this kind is the deity called Pan, who resembles a goat in his head, face, and horns, and from his middle downwards ; while in his breast, his belly, and his hands he is almost a perfect ape. One of these animals was sent by the king of the Indians as a present to the emperor Constantine ; it lived a little while and was carried about as a sight, enclosed in a cage on account of its ferocity. After its death,

those who had the care of it embalmed its body in salt for the purpose of turning the strange sight to account, and they took it safe and entire to Constantinople.

It seems to me that the Greeks must once upon a time have seen this monster, and, amazed at the strangeness of its appearance, adopted it as a god, in accordance with their ordinary practice of making a god out of everything strange and wonderful. This they clearly did in the case of the satyr, which is of the ape tribe, with a red face, and restless motion, and furnished with a tail. The sphinx, too, is a kind of ape, as I myself can testify from what I have seen. The rest of the body of the sphinx is covered with hair, just as all other apes, but from its head to its breast it is free from hair, and has the breasts of a woman. Where its body is bare, it has a raised portion of red, like millet, running round it, which elegantly harmonizes with the fleshy colour in the middle, and improves it. Its face is tolerably round, and inclining to the form of a woman. Its voice is very like the human voice, though not articulate; it most nearly approximates that of a woman uttering her words in a hurried and indistinct manner under the influence of anger and grief, and it is rather flat than sharp ; the beast moreover is very savage and cunning, and cannot be tamed without difficulty.

This beast, I imagine, was formerly carried to Thebes in Boeotia, and having flown at several of the spectators who came together to view it, and having torn their faces, Oedipus slew the monster, because he was indignant at seeing his fellow-citizens thus mangled ; and so, as it seems to me, he gained his high renown. But in order to exaggerate the praises of Oedipus, the story makes out that the animal was winged, because it flew violently at the spectators; it adds the breast of a woman and the body of a lion, because the former was bare and closely approximated to the female figure, and as to the latter, because it was fierce and generally went upon all four feet. The story also represented it as endued with reason, because its voice approached so nearly to that of man; and attributed to it enigmas, because it uttered indistinct sounds and inarticulate words. And the whole of this matter is not to be wondered at, considering that the Greeks are accustomed to distort many other stories also into a fabulous form.⁵³ This region produces also wild asses of lofty stature, and with skins wonderfully variegated with a mixture of black and white. For they have certain coloured streaks running down from their backs to their sides and belly, and then separating, which mutually

connecting form a strange intermixture and variety. The phoenix too, a bird so celebrated in story, is found among them. I have also seen a parrot brought from those parts;

this bird is the most loquacious of all, and its voice approacheth very nearly to that of man. I have seen also some painted and spotted birds which are commonly called Garamantides, (by a name borrowed from the African tribe,) very many of which are brought over to us. Many other animals besides of a remarkable character come from the same districts, but I shrink from recounting them in my present narrative. Above all, the purest gold is obtained there, with golden fibre², as it were, springing out of the ground, layers of which are piled upon layers, and show the clearest proofs of the production of gold. Their fruits too are very large and fine ; among these the most remarkable are the nuts. And in a word, the whole region of the Homeritae, even to the Red Sea itself, brings forth its produce twice every year, from which circumstance it is called Arabia Felix. But speaking generally, nil that district which lies toward the east is far superior to the remaining regions in every respect. But Paradise, as being the most pure and excellent spot of all the East, and endued with the brightest and fairest climate, and irrigated by the most limpid of streams, is beyond a doubt incomparably superior to all other portions of the habitable globe, lying as it does towards the east, and washed by the waves of the sea.

Chapter 12

Philostorgius says that Athanasius reached the emperor of the West, and having used presents in order to propitiate the nobles of his palace, and especially Eustathius, chamberlain of his privy purse, who had very great weight with the emperor, produced letters from Constans to Constantius⁵⁴ to the following purport. "Athanasius comes to us and shows by manifest proofs that the bishopric of Alexandria belongs to him, wherefore allow him to obtain possession of it, or certainly he shall recover it by the assistance of my arms. He adds that, on receipt of this letter, Constantius convened the bishops in order to deliberate with them as to what should be done; and that they advised Constantius that it was better to leave Alexandria smarting under the severe yoke of Athanasius, than to undertake a war against his brother. Constantius therefore, he adds, allowed Athanasius to recover his see, and sent a letter to George, summoning him to his presence. George returned into his native country, Cappadocia, and there busied himself with the ad-

ministration of his own private affairs. But Athanasius henceforth passed through the cities with greater confidence, and by his discourse brought over all the separate bishops with whom he had any intercourse to the Homooousian faith. He writes, however, that certain other bishops did not pay deference to the words of Athanasius,⁵⁵ and that Aetius,⁵⁶ a bishop of Palestine, who had been accused of fornication, endeavoured to avoid the charge by coming over to the communion of Athanasius, and so ranged himself upon his side ;

but that he soon paid the penalty of his sin, for that a disease seized upon his genitals, and producing worms, in the end deprived him of life. He writes also that Maximus,⁵⁷ bishop of Jerusalem, inclined to the side of Athanasius, although in the persecution under Maximian he had become illustrious as a confessor, and had had one eye put out. He adds that Athanasius by degrees brought several others also over to his doctrine.

Chapter 13

He says that Flavian of Antioch was the first who collected together a large band of monks, and uttered aloud the doxology, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost."⁵⁸ For among those who had gone before him, some had been accustomed to say, "Glory be to the Father through the Son in the Holy Ghost," and that this latter form of doxology was the one more customarily received. He says that others again used a different form, saying, "Glory be to the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost," CHAP. 14.--He says that the Arians, though they differed in their doctrinal statements from those who preached the Catholic faith, were nevertheless accustomed to communicate with them in prayers, hymns, and deliberations, and in everything except the mystic sacrifice. As soon, however, as Aetius came and began the contention on these points, he persuaded the multitude of his followers⁵⁹ to break the bands of amity and friendship which had formerly bound them to the Homooousians, and to range themselves as a faction in entire opposition to them.

Chapter 15

He says that Aetius⁶⁰ came from Coele-Syria. His father, who had held a post in the victualling department of the army, failed in his business ; and upon his dying insolvent, the governor of the province to which he belonged paid the proceeds of his effects into the imperial treasury. Thus it happened that Aetius was left at a very early age, together with his mother, in a state of

extreme destitution ; on this account he was obliged to follow the trade of gilding to provide a maintenance for his mother and himself. He had followed this art for a considerable time, when, on account of his superior intelligence, he began to turn his attention to the study of philosophy. In the first instance he became the disciple of Paulinus,⁶¹ who had been translated to the see of Antioch from that of Tyre. Afterwards, however, upon the death of his mother, on whose account more especially he followed his trade as a gilder, Aetius began to apply himself entirely to the study of logic ; nor was it long before he began to show himself superior to his fellows in disputation, which was the cause of more than ordinary ill-will being roused against him. As long as Paulinus lived, this envious feeling was kept in check;

but upon his death, after having held the bishopric for the short space of six months, Eulalius ⁶² was appointed to the see in his room, and the old grudge against Aetius broke out afresh with such violence that Eulalius was induced to banish him from Antioch. Accordingly Aetius went to Anagrabus, a city of Cilicia, and again resorted to the practice of his craft in order to maintain himself ; at the same time, however, he did not wholly abstain from disputations with such as desired to enter upon them with him. At this conjuncture, a certain grammarian was so struck with admiration at his ability that he offered to teach him the rudiments of his art, and Aetius became an inmate of his home, and performed for him the menial duties of the house. He willingly instructed Aetius in the first principles of grammar ; but when at length Aetius had publicly confuted his master, showing that he gave a wrong interpretation to the Divine oracles, and had covered him with shame on account of his want of skill in expounding, he was rewarded for his pains by being expelled from the house that owed him so much. After this expulsion, he lived for some time with Athanasius, a disciple of the martyr Lucian. who at that time was bishop of Anagrabus. Under him he read the writings of the evangelists, and made himself perfect master of their contents ;

this done, he found his way to Tarsus, in order to see Anthony, who had himself been one of the disciples of Lucian. From him he learned the interpretation of St. Paul's Epistles, and lived with him for some space of time, while he as yet held the rank of a mere presbyter. But upon his elevation to the episcopate, Anthony found that he had no time to devote to the instruction of Aetius ; so the latter returned to Antioch, in order to become the dis-

ciple of Leontius, who was at that time a presbyter at Antioch, and had been one of the pupils of Lucian. He expounded to Aetius the books of "the Prophets," and especially Ezekiel. But again ill-will, as Philostorgius dreams, or rather, as one might say with greater truth, his own unbridled tongue, and the impious nature of his doctrines, drove him from the city. Thence accordingly Aetius took his departure into Cilicia, where one of the heretical sect of the Borboriani entirely overcame and confounded him in a disputation in defence of his doctrines. On this account he began to be cast down in spirit, and to feel that life was no longer worth living for, seeing that he found falsehood to be more powerful than truth. While Aetius was in this state of mind, as Philostorgius declares, a vision appeared to him, which raised him up again, and confirmed his mind; for it showed him by certain external signs the indomitable strength of the wisdom which should hereafter be imparted to him.

From that time forward Aetius had a special gift from God, which saved him from defeat in his disputations. Not long afterwards a certain man named Aphthonius, a leader of the mad heresy of the Manichaeans, and who had gained great renown for his wisdom as well as for his eloquence, met him in the city of Alexandria, for the curiosity of Aetius was so much excited by his fame that he had actually gone thither from Antioch to see him. But upon coming to a regular discussion, Aetius very shortly dumbfounded Aphthonius, and reduced him to deep shame from the pinnacle of glory. Aphthonius was so grievously afflicted by the suddenness of his defeat that he fell into a dangerous sickness, on which death shortly ensued, his bodily strength not being able to bear up against it for more than seven days. But Aetius went on everywhere overcoming his adversaries, and gaining the most illustrious victories. At the same time, he gave himself up to the study of medicine,⁶³ that he might be able to cure diseases not of the soul only, but also of the body. He had also, as a master in this line, Sopolis, a man inferior to none of his day in his art.

But if at any time he chanced to be in want of necessities, he would go by night to some artisan of his former trade, that he might not be hindered from attending to more important business during the day, and quickly finished anything of gold that needed a skilful hand, and so getting his pay from the goldsmith, he supported life. But this all happened in the reign of

Constantius, at the same time when Theophilus was staying at Antioch, after his return from India.

Chapter 16

He says that Aetius, in a discussion upon consubstantiality, which he maintained against Basil, bishop of Ancyra, and Eustathius of Sebastia, proved them to be the most foolish of all men ; and on this account, according to his fabulous narrative, he incurred their implacable hatred. CHAP. 17.--He says that this Leontius, of whom we have already made mention as a presbyter, and as the instructor of Aetius, upon his promotion to the bishopric of Antioch, raised his former disciple to the diaconate, and gave him permission publicly to teach in the church the ecclesiastical doctrines. Aetius 64 shrunk from the humble function of a deacon, but willingly embraced the office of a teacher ; and having remained as long as he judged sufficient in order to teach the sacred doctrines which were intrusted to him, he went again back to Alexandria, where Athanasius was already in high repute, and was so manfully defending the doctrine of consubstantiality, that it was necessary to find some one to oppose him.

Chapter 18

Philostorgius says that Flavian and Paulinas, who afterwards divided between them the diocese of Antioch, were deposed by the same Leontius, as holding opinions at variance with his own. These followed Eustathius when he was driven into banishment; and Leontius permitted none of his cares 65 at Antioch, or rather the interests of religion in general, to suffer by the many vicissitudes of the time. CHAP. 19.--Philostorgius says that Aetius refused his consent to Secundus and Serras, 66 when they wished to put him forward as a candidate for the episcopal office ; for he said that they did not celebrate the Divine mysteries purely or holily, seeing they were in communion 67 with the professors of consubstantiality. CHAP. 20.--Upon hearing the report of Aetius's wisdom, Eunomius came from Cappadocia to Antioch, and held a conference with Secundus. He recommended Eunomius to Aetius, who at this time was living at Alexandria. Accordingly they lived together; Aetius being engaged in teaching, and Eunomius in attending upon his course of sacred instruction. 68

Chapter 21

The impious Philostorgius says that he wrote an encomium in praise of Eunomius, and he does not blush to avow the deed. CHAP. 22.--He says that Constans was put to death by the tyrant Magnentius, on account of his zeal for Athanasius. After his death, Constantius stayed for some time at Edessa in Mesopotamia, his presence being required there on account of the Persian war. During this time their elder sister Constantia,⁶⁹ the widow of Hanniballian, in fear lest the tyrant Magnentius should reduce the whole empire under his power, proclaimed as Caesar Veteranis, one of the masters of the cavalry. She seemed to do this in her own right, because their father, while alive, had placed the imperial crown upon her head, and had named her Augusta. As soon as he received intelligence of these matters, Constantius sent the crown forthwith to Veteranis, confirming to him by this act his title of king ; afterwards, however, he set out with an army into the West against Magnentius, under the pretext of a desire to enter into a friendly conversation with Veteranis ; and because the latter had afforded him some ground for suspecting a revolt, he apprehended him, and deprived him of his imperial robe. But he punished him with no other disability, and even admitted him to his table ; and eventually he banished him to Prusa in Bithynia, and assigned him an ample and magnificent estate, thus securing him against all possibility of being in want of those comforts which constitute the happiness of private life.

Chapter 23

Philostorgius says that Sapor, king of Persia, waged war against the Romans, and laid siege to the city of Nisibis; but that, contrary to the general expectation, he was obliged to withdraw his forces and to return covered with shame, because James,⁷⁰ bishop of that city, had shown the citizens what to do on their own behalf, and had fought wonderfully with a firm hope and confidence in God on behalf of the safety of the city. CHAP. 24.--The Sucian Alps, as Philostorgius says, as well as those which are called the Julian Alps, are a succession of narrow passes, with large mountains meeting closely together, so as to afford mutual strength to the position. These passes, he observes, by the way, are somewhat like the narrow pass of Thermopylae. The Julian Alps⁷¹ divide Gaul from Italy, but the Sucian Alps are the frontier between Dacia and Thrace. Veteranis seized upon these narrow passes, and

so afforded to Constantius grounds for suspecting him of meditating a revolt.

Chapter 25

While Constantius was preparing his expedition against the tyrant Magnentius, intelligence was brought to him that the Persians had already set their forces in motion against the provinces of the East. On this account he deemed it necessary to nominate Gallus as Caesar, and to send him into the East against the Persians. Now Gallus was his own cousin ; for Constantius, the father of Gallus, was brother to Constantine the Great, who was the father of Constantius and his brothers.

Chapter 26

Constantius gained a victory over the tyrant: upon this occasion also the sign of the cross appeared to him: its appearance was of immense size, and in the brightness of its rays it wonderfully surpassed even the brightness of day. It appeared at Jerusalem⁷² about the third hour of the day which is called the day of Pentecost. This sign, which was portrayed by no human hand, was seen to stretch from the Mount of Calvary even to the Mount of Olives, and was accompanied by a large iris, like a crown, which surrounded it on all sides. The iris, indeed, signified the mercy of Jesus Christ crucified and taken up into heaven, and the crown denoted the victory of the emperor. Moreover, that splendid and venerable sign did not escape the notice even of the soldiers. But though it was clearly seen by both armies, it frightened above all measure Magnentius and his partisans, who were addicted to superstitious practices ; while, on the other hand, it inspired Constantius and his army with invincible bravery. Magnentius, however, having suffered this defeat from Constantius, afterwards recovered his strength by degrees, and, engaging with him in a second battle, was entirely defeated, and fled away to Lyons with the loss of nearly all his army. And first, indeed, under the assumed appearance of good-will he killed his brother in order to rescue him from injury at the hands of the enemy. Finally, he fell upon the sword which he had placed to his breast, and so died by his own hand, having exercised his usurped power for about four years.

Chapter 27

Philostorgius says, that Basil and Eustathius, having fallen into enmity with Aetius, devised some absurd calumnies, and incited Gallus against him, so

that Gallus, in reliance upon his bishops and burning with rage, ordered Aetius to be sought out and to be put to death by having his legs broken. But when Leontius, bishop of Antioch, had given the Caesar information which directly contradicted what had been alleged against Aetius, the sentence of condemnation was revoked, and Aetius soon afterwards went to the court of Gallus and was reckoned among his friends. He was also repeatedly sent to Julian, especially at the time when Gallus had taught his brother to lean rather to the side of heathenism. He was sent, however, with the design of recalling Julian from his impiety. Gallus, moreover, appointed Aetius his superintendent of religious instruction.

Chapter 28

Gallus having shown considerable valour in the war against the Persians, certain calumniators endeavoured to stir up against him the hostility of Constantius. The latter, accordingly, as soon as the war was settled by the valour and bravery of Gallus, sent Domitian the prefect of the Praetorium with secret instructions to keep Gallus from quitting the city of Antioch. For by this means he thought to diminish the glory which Gallus was reaping from his bravery and care of the state. But Domitian, who was so far from acting within the tenor of instructions, that he even exceeded them by his boldness both of thought and of deed, as soon as he reached Antioch, where Gallus was staying, would not endure even to appear in his presence. On account of this insult, and other matters besides, Gallus determined to inflict capital punishment on the prefect for his haughtiness and contumacious conduct, and took Montius⁷³ as his assessor in this determination. The latter, using unbounded confidence, addressed Gallus in these terms: " You are not empowered to create even a curator⁷⁴ of the city; how then can you venture to kill the prefect of the Praetorium?" Constantia,⁷⁵ the wife of Gallus, was so exasperated by these words, because Gallus was both Caesar and the husband of Augusta-- (for this latter dignity she had herself received from her father)--that she dragged down Montius from the judgment-seat with her own hands, and gave him over into the hands of the attendants, who immediately seized him and carried him to Domitian; they then seized him also, dragged him down from his throne, and tying ropes round the feet of both, they put them to death with every mark of insult. This was done in great haste, and with the consent of Gallus.

BOOK IV

Chapter 1

CONSTANTIUS was much enraged when he heard what had happened to Montius and Domitian, and summoned to his presence Gallus, who immediately obeyed the command, because, although he suspected no good from his sudden summons, yet he feared the chance of a civil war following in the event of his refusal. Constantia, however, went on before him, and endeavoured to obtain an interview with her brother before her husband, and to implore mercy on his behalf. But upon her arrival at Bithynia, her journey and her life were at once broken off by a sudden attack which ended fatally. By this mischance the fears of Gallus were considerably increased, but still he did not depart from his previous resolution, so he went on his way accompanied by Theophilus the Indian. Moreover, upon the arrival of Gallus in Noricum, Barbation is sent from Milan, where Constantius then happened to be, to strip him of his purple robes, and to banish him to an island⁷⁶ in Dalmatia. But Theophilus, who chanced to be at hand, would by no means allow the matter to be brought to so ready a decision: for at the time when Gallus was created Caesar, he was himself the mediator of the treaty made between Gallus and Constantius, by which they mutually pledged themselves to friendship, and promised that they would not lay plots against each other; and it was he who all along had kept them at peace.

Accordingly, on being informed of this middle position thus held by Theophilus, Constantius ordered him to be sent away into exile, and Gallus to be stripped of his purple and carried in the dress of a private citizen into a certain island, where a military guard was set over him. Moreover, the eunuch Eusebius, who had been elevated to the dignity of a Praepositus, was supported by a party in his attempts to excite the mind of Constantius more and more against Gallus; for they feared that Constantius, either in remembrance of his oath, or moved by the tie of consanguinity, would recall the Caesar from banishment, and that Gallus, as soon as he had escaped that danger, would miserably destroy them all. Accordingly, they fraudulently and treacherously plotted together and sent persons to put Gallus to death. But, before the deed of blood was accomplished, Constantine relented, and sent another party to prevent the bloodshed. But Eusebius persuaded them not to approach the island, and not to show any one the rescript of the emperor forbidding the execution of Gallus before he was actually put to the

sword. The matter was carried out in accordance with their designs: and hence it was that Julian, when he afterwards succeeded to the purple, put to death Eusebius and his comrades on account of the iniquitous execution of Gallus.

Chapter 2

Constantius, moreover, weighing well the weight of the imperial power, and his own inability to support it single-handed, summoned Julian, the brother of Gallus, out of Ionia, and appointed him Caesar, at the same time giving him his sister Helen in marriage; and sent him forthwith into Gaul as governor; for matters were in a very troubled state in those parts. CHAP. 3.--He went however himself to Sirmium, where he settled for some time. At this period he recalled from exile and restored to his citizens Liberius the bishop of Rome, for whose recall the Romans were very clamorous. Philostorgius then goes on to say that this same Liberius, and with him Hosius the bishop [of Cordova], wrote openly against the term "consubstantial,"⁷⁷ and against Athanasius himself, when a synod had been convened there, and had brought over the aforementioned prelates to its own opinion. But as soon as they had subscribed, adds Philostorgius, Hosius returned to his see of Cordova in Spain and governed the church in that place, while Liberius⁷⁸ administered the church of Rome. Felix, who had been consecrated as bishop during the absence of Liberius, voluntarily retired, retaining the dignity of a bishop, though he presided over no local church.

Chapter 4

Upon the death of Leontius, bishop of Antioch, the friends and partisans of Eudoxius,⁷⁹ as Philostorgius relates, translated him from his see of Germanicea, and placed him in the chair of Antioch.⁸⁰ This Eudoxius followed the opinions of the Arians, except only in as far as he was led by the writings of Asterius to profess the opinion of those who held that the Son was like in substance to the Father. But the Arians led him to abandon this opinion, and brought him over to believe the persons to be unlike in substance. But Philostorgius says that Eudoxius was gentle and modest in his character, and endued with no small degree of dexterity and cunning, but he vehemently censures him for want of courage. He says also that his father's name was Caesarius, and that he derived his origin from Arabissus, a town of Armenia Minor ; adding at the same time, that though he yielded to the blandish-

ments of women, yet he ended his life by martyrdom, thus blotting out the spots upon his character, and gaining moreover a heavenly crown.

Chapter 5

Eudoxius, according to Philostorgius, promoted Eunomius to the diaconate. But Eunomius refused to undertake the office of a deacon before he had arrived at an accurate knowledge of the doctrines of that party. CHAP. 6.--When the administration of the church at Antioch was put into the hands of Eudoxius, Philostorgius relates that Basil of Ancyra bore the disappointment with great impatience. For he had himself cast an ambitious eye towards that see, and carried it about fixed in his breast as the one desire of his heart. CHAP. 7.--Constantius, when his wife Eusebia,⁸¹ whom he dearly loved, was afflicted with a disease of the womb, found it necessary to recall Theophilus from exile, for the latter was celebrated for his divine skill in healing diseases. Accordingly Constantius implored his pardon for all the injuries which he had inflicted upon him, and earnestly entreated him to cure his wife. And his request, as Philostorgius testifies, was not made in vain, for as soon as Theophilus had laid his healing hands upon the empress, she was set free from her malady.

Chapter 8

He says that Basil, having taken with him Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, and other leaders of the churches, brought charges before the emperor against Aetius and Eudoxius, alleging against them] among other matters, that they had been privy to the conspiracy of Gallus, and actual participators in it. Theophilus too was implicated in the same series of charges. The emperor believed the story of Basil,⁸² which was supported by the women, whom Basil had already brought over to his side, and accordingly sentenced Theophilus to exile, and banished him to Heraclea on the Pontus, while he ordered Eudoxius to quit Antioch, and to keep himself within his own house. Afterwards he gave up Aetius and the rest of his party into the power of his calumniators. But Basil had held a disputation concerning the faith in the presence of the emperor. In this disputation he maintained that the Son was like to the Father in all things,⁸³ but he made no mention of the question of substance, and totally avoided the term. They also endeavoured to get this opinion confirmed by the sentence and signature of the senate. And not long afterwards, as soon as the news of what Basil had done reached Antioch,

Eunomius undertakes the ordination of a deacon, and being sent as an ambassador to Constantius to get the decrees rescinded, he was taken prisoner on his road by the followers of Basil, and was banished to Midasus in Phrygia. Aetius, however, fell into the hands of Basil and his party, and was sent into banishment at Pepuza, a small village of the same country: at the same time Eudoxius retired into Armenia, his native country. Other individuals also, to the number of seventy, were condemned by the voice of Basil and his party, and were sent into exile.

Chapter 9

The victorious party, upon accomplishing the above-mentioned matters, traversed the country in every direction, confirming men everywhere in the Homoiousian belief, that is, in the likeness of substance between the Father and the Son ; and when many flocked over to their opinion, they drew over to their side Macedonius,⁸⁴ the bishop of Constantinople, although he had previously been more inclined to the sentiments of Eunomius. Many other bishops also they induced to join their party, being drawn over partly by their speeches and partly by the force which they added to their persuasions. CHAP. 10.--He says that Patrophilus, bishop of Scythopolis, and Narcissus, of Irenopolis, together with some others, came to Singidunum, a city of Maesia, and brought back to Constantius news of what had been fraudulently done by Basil. Constantius was amazed and confounded with grief, and recalled the condemned from exile, ordering at the same time two synods to be convened, one at Rimini, for the bishops of the West, and the other at Nicomedia, to assemble together the bishops of the East, and Libya, and Thrace, in order that the arguments alleged by either side might be diligently weighed and sifted. But the impious Philostorgius asserts that an earthquake put a stop to the holding of the synod at Nicomedia, because the greater part of the bishops there were favourably inclined to the Homooousian creed ; this earthquake, he says, killed Cecropius, bishop of Nicomedia, and fifteen other bishops, who had arrived before the rest, shattering the church in which they were assembled. But the synod of Rimini, at which three hundred bishops were present, entirely rejected the use of the term "substance," but declaring the Son to be like to the Father according to the Scriptures, it confirmed that belief with the signatures of the bishops present.

Chapter 11

Nicomedia being thus overthrown, as Philostorgius says, by the earthquake and a consequent conflagration and inundation of the sea, a synod was at length convened at Seleucia, Basil⁸⁵ and his party having refused to meet at Nicaea, and Eudoxius and Aetius to adopt Tarsus. But the party of Basil, having contrived by their artifices to divide the synod into two factions, and having met together apart from the rest, declared the Son to be like to the Father in substance; they also proceeded to depose such as entertained the opposite opinion, condemned the doctrine which asserts the Persons to be unlike, and finally by themselves ordained Annianus bishop of Antioch. But Eudoxius and Aetius, having subscribed their names to the doctrine of unlikeness, sent their letters about in every direction.

Chapter 12

But the emperor, on being informed of these matters, ordered the whole of the bishops to assemble at Constantinople. Accordingly they meet together, nearly all the episcopate, as well from the West as from the East and from Libya, Basil and Eustathius⁸⁶ being the leaders of those who professed to hold that the Son was like to the Father in substance. These these had a great number of supporters present, and among them a second Basil, who even at that time was only of the order of deacon; he was superior to many in his powers of speech, though from natural timidity⁸⁷ and shyness he shrunk from public discussions. But of those who professed their belief in the unlikeness of the Persons, Aetius and Eunomius were the leaders, so far as concerned power and influence, each of them being only of the rank of a deacon. Next to these came the bishops Maris and Eudoxius, who at that time was bishop of Antioch, but was afterwards promoted to the see of Constantinople, as likewise Acacius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, who pretended that he was of their party in order to cause pain to Basil, because the latter treated with marked respect Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, whom he had deposed. Acacius, moreover, was bold in discussion, most acute in discerning the point in matters of business, and very eloquent in enforcing his opinion. Hence also the acts of this synod, which are not few in number⁸⁶, were digested and arranged by him.

Accordingly, as soon as both parties had come into conflict concerning their respective dogmas, Basil was the patron of those who professed to be-

lieve that the Son was like in substance to the Father. But those who asserted the dissimilarity of substance, put forward Aetius and Eunomius as the champions of their cause. Moreover, Basil and his partisans, when they saw Aetius pitted against him as his adversary, in fear of his eloquence, avowed that it was indecorous for bishops to contend with a deacon concerning the doctrines of the faith. But when the leaders of the opposite cause shrunk back from the contest, saying that the matter at stake was not their dignity, but the question of the truth. Basil⁸⁸ came forward to the contest, though unwillingly; and, as he writes, he was entirely overcome by his eloquence. So that he not only confessed that the substance of the begotten Son differed from that of the Father who begot him, and was like him in no respect; but also, as Aetius demanded, he confirmed his profession by the subscription of his signature. When the emperor learned these tidings, and still bore in his mind all fresh the calumny of Basil against Aetius, he took advantage of that event to gratify his anger. Accordingly, he ordered both of them to appear in his presence, and asked Basil what were the charges which he brought against Aetius. Basil answered, that he asserted the Son to be unlike the Father in substance.

Upon this Aetius said, "I am so far from thinking or asserting that the Son is unlike the Father, that I confess him to be like without any difference. But Constantine, laying hold of that word, "without any difference," and not even enduring to learn in what sense Aetius used that term, gave orders that he should be expelled from the palace. But afterwards, with the assistance of Acacius, he brought about the judicial deposition of Aetius from the episcopate; and it was not only the orthodox who subscribed his degradation, but also those who were of his own opinion; of whom some had changed their former opinion, while others defended, under the name of economy,⁸⁹ what they had been unwillingly compelled to do. Further, Constantius, bringing into the midst of the synod the epistle of the Western bishops, ordered it to be confirmed by the subscription of the bishops who were present. Now, in the letter were contained the following words, " That the Son is like to the Father according to the Scriptures. Then also, by the artifice of this same Acacius, who always had one thing hidden in his bosom and another ready upon his tongue, both all the bishops who were present, and also those who hitherto had professed to believe the Persons to be unlike in substance, added their subscriptions.

BOOK V

Chapter 1

UPON this Acacius, having drawn over the emperor to his own sentiments, assailed Basil, Eustathius, and many other bishops with various accusations, and deposed them from their sees. He also stripped of his sacerdotal dignity Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople; and after his degradation it was with the consent of the emperor that Eudoxius was translated from the see of Antioch and chosen in his room.⁹⁰ Those who were deposed were also sent into banishment : Basil went into Illyria, and the rest were dispersed in various places. When they were led into exile, they revoked the subscriptions with which they ratified the faith of the council of Rimini: and the latter party preached the doctrine of consubstantiality, while the others renewed the opinion of a similarity of substance in the Persons. Aetius, however, being deposed for the introduction of his term "without any difference," which was manifestly at variance with the rest of his public teaching, is banished to Mopsuestia in Cilicia, though most of his followers and partisans had not only set their signatures to the condemnation of himself, but also of his doctrine; some casting entirely away the opinion which they had previously embraced ; others, again, playing the part of mere time-servers, and reverencing the will of the emperor as paramount to the truth.

Moreover, Acacius, having got Basil deposed and banished from motives of private hostility, and Aetius on account of his difference of opinion, returns to Caesarea and appoints professors of the Homoeousian faith, as bishops of the sees of those churches which were deprived of their pastors. Thus, at Nicomedia., he consecrated Onesimus in the place of Cecropius, and substituted Athanasius⁹¹ in the room of Basil at Ancyra, while he set another Acacius over the church at Tarsus in the room of Silvanus. But at Antioch, all the clergy who had formerly agreed with Basil in the line which he pursued against Aetius and Eudoxius, were driven into banishment without an opportunity of defending themselves. Meletius, too, was summoned from Sebastia, a city of Armenia, and placed in the see of Antioch by the same Acacius in the place of Eudoxius, who had ascended the throne of Constantinople. But Meletius, though previously he had professed his belief in the unlikeness of substance between the Father and the Son, suited his views according to the will of the emperor, and subscribed the epistle of the Eastern bishops. But after his elevation to the see of Antioch, he came forward as

a most valiant defender of consubstantiality. The same Acacius also consecrated Pelagius bishop of Laodicea. And, to speak briefly, wherever force and influence seconded his design, he used all, possible zeal in placing those who most strenuously professed the consubstantial creed in the place of those who were expelled.

Chapter 2

The emperor, having learned from Acacius that Aetius was treated by Auxentius, bishop of Mopsuestia, with all possible care and kindness, ordered him to be removed to Ambdala,⁹² that he might there bring his life to a miserable close on account of the fierce and savage character of its inhabitants. And when, on account of the heat, that place was infected with a very terrible pestilence, this impious forger of lies declares that Aetius appeased the Divinity and warded off these calamities, and was treated in consequence by the barbarians with the greatest kindness and respect. CHAP. 3.--After the deposition of Eustathius, Eusebius, and Eleusius, Maris and Eudoxius consecrated Eunomius bishop of Cyzicus,⁹³ with the full consent of Constantius. Eunomius, however, refused to submit to their consecration until he had received from them a pledge that Aetius should be set free from his sentence of banishment and deposition. A period of three months was specified for the performance of this stipulation.

Chapter 4

Constantius had previously been in the habit of gaining victories over his enemies ; but after he had stained his hands with the blood of those who were near of kin to him,⁹⁴ and had been driven on by the calumnies of Basil to punish Aetius, Theophilus, and Serras with banishment, he was forced to retreat in disgrace from a battle which he fought with the Persians. CHAP. 5. -- The impious Philostorgius declares that Meletitos, bishop of Antioch, was banished by Constantius, who happened at that time to be staying at that city, to Meletina, his native country, as though he had been convicted of perjury, because while he was most ardent in preaching the doctrine of consubstantiality, he pretended to embrace the doctrine of "an unlikeness of Persons."⁹⁵ After this, Constantius summoned from Alexandria Euzoius, the partner of the heresy of Arius, and, ordering the bishops to lay their hands on him, appointed him to the see of Antioch.

BOOK VI

Chapter 1

SOME individuals of the clergy of the city of Cyzicus accused Eunomius before Eudoxius as though he asserted the Son to be unlike the Father, because he denied that he was like him in substance, from which they drew the inference that he held the Son to be really unlike the Father. Moreover, they accused him of changing the established rites, and of casting out those who would not join with him in his impious designs. On this account a tumult was raised in the church of Constantinople, which was strenuously agitated by a certain presbyter of that church named Hesychius. Eudoxius forthwith summoned Eunomius to his presence.⁹⁶ Upon his arrival he accused Eudoxius of sloth and carelessness in the performance of his promises. Eudoxius answered that he had by no means neglected to perform them, but that first the tumult ought to be quieted which had been roused on his account. Accordingly, Eunomius began to plead his defence before the clergy of Constantinople, and so conciliated the minds of those who were previously excited against him, that he was induced not only to come over to his own opinions, but also to offer a ready testimony to the piety of Eunomius. For not only was he never detected in asserting the Son to be unlike the Father in those sermons which he delivered,⁹⁷ but he also freely professed to teach that he was like him according to the Scriptures.

That he was like in substance was a position which he by no means admitted;⁹⁸ for he said that it was equally impious to declare the Son to be like in substance to the Father, and not to confess that he was entirely like, according to the relation existing between the only-begotten Son and the Father, who had begotten him without passions. And he infected with these views not merely the great body of the clergy, but also the entire congregation of the church; for the style of his discussions on these points struck them with admiration, not only of his wisdom, but also of his piety. On this account Eudoxius was rejoiced above measure, and exclaimed, "Mine answer to them that do examine me is this."⁹⁹ And the people applauded Eudoxius, because he had quoted the words of Holy Scripture so effectively and opportunely.

Chapter 2

The impious Philostorgius declares that the hateful Eunomius delivered to the people, at the command of Eudoxius, on the feast of the Epiphany, a sermon in which the abominable and detestable doctrine of that school was openly taught. For those detestable individuals ventured to assert, that after the ineffable birth of her Son, Joseph had conjugal intercourse with the Virgin Mary; and what is still more audacious, they did not hesitate to declare that the Son was but the minister of the Father, and the Spirit of the Son. Moreover, the very style which they used at that time was far removed from that of graceful panegyric, being turgid, with obscure and superfluous expressions, and the employment of words of impurity, tending to a speech at once distasteful, ridiculous, and confused ; declaring that God had openly visited them with the punishment of a mind darkened and confounded.

Chapter 3

After heaping many praises on Eunomius, Eudoxius not only brought himself to perform no part of his promises to him, but also endeavoured to persuade him to subscribe to the deposition of Arius, and to the exposition of the creed adopted at Rimini, excusing to them, under the pretext of "economy,"¹⁰⁰ his unlawful and involuntary crime. By these doings Eunomius was grievously enraged, and would not perform either of them ; but he leaves them¹⁰¹ in possession of Cyzicus, first in promise, and afterwards confirming the grant by letter, and retired into his native country of Cappadocia.

CHAP. 4.-- Acacius, being grievously indignant against Eunomius because he had been appointed bishop of Cyzicus, accused him and Eudoxius of having consecrated as bishop, without the common consent, the disciple of Aetius, a person who vied with and even surpassed his master in the fervency of his zeal for heresy. And by his calumnies he managed to make so much way that Constantius lent him his ear, and recalled Eunomius to Antioch. On his arrival thither, Constantius ordered him to be examined, and to plead his cause in the judicial assembly. But when the assembly demanded a prosecutor, no one appeared against him; for Acacius was struck dumb with fear, and persevered in keeping a most profound silence, for he thought that his adversary would be entirely overwhelmed by the mere force of calumny with the emperor. As soon as Constantius learned this, he regarded Acacius with suspicion, as one who had instituted the charges against Eudoxius rather out

of spiteful motives than from any real uprightness of character. Accordingly he bade him return at once to his church, and reserved for a larger assembly all further inquiry into the present business.

Chapter 5

While Constantius was pondering in his mind over these matters, news was brought to him of the rebellion of Julian.¹⁰² Accordingly he seized at once upon Constantinople, and convened by proclamation a synod at the city of Nicaea for the purpose of examining into the doctrine which declared the Son to be of a different substance from the Father. But upon his arrival at a place called Mopsi Crene, he was struck with a fatal disorder, and being there baptized by Euzoius, he died, leaving behind him his royalty and the synods to be held for the purpose of confirming a heresy. CHAP. 6.--When the body of Constantius was being carried out to burial, Julian entered Constantinople, and walked before the bier without his crown, thus paying honour to the corpse of one whose life he had so shortly before endeavoured to take away. CHAP. 7.--Julian, having thus seized upon the empire, recalled Aetius as one who had been sent into banishment on account of Gallus ; and restored to their sees not only him, but also all the other prelates who had been banished on account of the contested doctrines of the church.

BOOK VII

Chapter 1

JULIAN having thus seized upon the imperial purple, and issued edicts permitting all possible licence to the heathen, and allowing them to practise all that they had learnt, involved the Christians in the most grievous and inexplicable persecutions, by allowing the heathen everywhere to inflict upon them every kind of death, accompanied with every sort of tortures and torments, unheard of until then. CHAP. 2.--When George, bishop of Alexandria, presided over the council,¹⁰³ and compelled those who were of the sentiments of Aetius to subscribe the epistle ¹⁰⁴ against Aetius, the heathen suddenly attacked him and seized him : and after inflicting many indignities upon his body, at last they committed it to the flames. Further, this impious writer asserts that they were incited to this act by the counsel of Athanasius. ¹⁰⁵ For the latter recovered his see upon the death of George, and the people of Alexandria received him back with open arms.

Chapter 3

Concerning an image¹⁰⁶ of our Saviour erected by the faith of a pious woman in grateful remembrance of her cure from a bloody flux, Philostorgius writes, that it was placed near the fountain in the city among other statues, and presented a pleasant and agreeable sight to the passers-by. And when a certain herb, which grew up at the foot of this statue, was found to be a most effectual remedy against all diseases, and especially against consumption, men naturally began to inquire into the cause of this matter ; for by lapse of time all memory of the fact had been lost, and it was even forgotten whose statue it was, and on what account it had been erected. Inasmuch as the figure of our Saviour had long stood exposed in the open air, and a great part of it was covered over by the earth which was perpetually carried down against the pediment, especially during seasons of heavy rain, the notice contained in the inscription upon it was well nigh obliterated. A diligent inquiry was consequently made, and the part of the statue which had been covered up being brought to light, the inscription was discovered which explained the entire circumstances of the fact ; and the plant thenceforth was never again seen either there or in any other place. The statue itself they placed in the part of the church which was allotted to the deacons,¹⁰⁷ paying to it due honour and respect, yet by no means adoring or worshipping it;

and they showed their love for its great archetype by erecting it in that place with circumstances of honour, and by flocking thither in eager crowds to behold it. During the reign of Julian, however, the heathen ¹⁰⁸ who inhabited Paneas were excited by an impious frenzy to pull down this statue from its pediment, and to drag it through the midst of the streets with ropes fastened round its feet; afterwards they broke in pieces the rest of the body, while some persons, indignant at the whole proceeding, secretly obtained possession of the head, which had become, detached from the neck as it was dragged along, and they preserved it as far as was possible. This transaction Philostorgius declared that he witnessed with his own eyes. But the district of Paneas was formerly called Dan, from Dan the son of Jacob, who was the head of one of the twelve tribes, which was situated in those parts. But in the course of time it came to be called Caesarea Philippi,¹⁰⁹ and later still, when the heathen erected in it a statue of the god Pan, its name was changed to Paneas.¹¹⁰

Chapter 4

The heathens perpetrated everywhere many atrocities against the Christians, and more particularly the following disgraceful deed they committed in Palestine. The bones of the prophet Eliseus and of John the Baptist¹¹¹ were dug up out of their sepulchres where they were buried, and being mingled with the bones of beasts, they were thrown into the flames, reduced to ashes, and scattered to the winds. In some places, too, they seized upon the Christians and placed them as victims on the heathen altars ; and many other fearful atrocities did they commit, impelled, as it would seem, by some supernatural frenzy. When Julian learned these tidings, he not only felt no indignation against their authors, but even rejoiced at their doings; as though the infamy belonging to such deeds attached itself to others, while his own wishes were in concert with their acts. But as soon as he perceived that none of his desires were realized by all these atrocities, inasmuch as the spirit of the Christians, whom he specially persecuted, did but gather fresh strength daily, he contrived to bring into open collision¹¹² the bishops who had been banished for various reasons and those who had been substituted in their room. Accordingly he gave to both parties full licence of doing whatever they could to obtain their restoration and to defend their possessions respectively. And on this account they were so brought into open contest with each other as to cause our religion great disgrace and opprobrium,--a point which the Apostate had especially at heart.

He added also another insult to this malignant contrivance, for he pressed those who were already enrolled among the clerical body to undertake the public functions of the Decurios, and assigned the revenues of the churches to the ministers of the heathen deities. In fine, he did not cease to employ every effort and contrivance to cause the superstitions of the heathens to flourish in every quarter, and, as he hoped, entirely to extinguish our religion.

Chapter 5

While matters were in this state, Eudoxius, recalling to mind the oath and pledges in which he had bound himself before Eunomius in favour of Aetius, wrote letters to Euzoius, bishop of Antioch, commanding him to convene a synod, in order to absolve Aetius from the sentence of condemnation which had formerly been passed upon him. But Euzoius took no account of this re-

quest, but was especially loud in his censures of Eudoxius for not having sooner set himself to do what he now enjoined others to execute. But when Eudoxius persevered in his command, Euzoius at length promised to comply.

Chapter 6

While Aetius and Eunomius were staying at Constantinople, they were joined by Leontius, bishop of Tripolis, and Theodulus of Chaeretapa, as also by Serras. Theophilus and Heliodorus from either Libya,¹¹³ and all who embraced the like opinion, and who had not ventured to subscribe either the condemnation of Aetius or the letter of the Western¹¹⁴ bishops. These therefore assembled together and consecrated Aetius as bishop,¹¹⁵ and Aetius and Eunomius were all in all with them. They also consecrated other bishops, Eudoxius not only not being indignant on the occasion, but also giving his vote in favour of those who were to be ordained even more readily than the partisans of Aetius. During the same period Euzoius too, having collected a synod of nine bishops, reversed the measures which had been originally adopted against Aetius.¹¹⁶ He also reversed the six months of licence at the expiration of which Serras had been condemned to deposition from his priesthood, as a punishment in case of his refusing to subscribe the deposition of Aetius and the letter of the Western bishops. Accordingly, when the two measures which I have mentioned above had turned out thus, Euzoius contemplated sending letters to Eudoxius, but it so happened that the persecution of the Christians, which at that time was past all endurance, checked his attempt.

Chapter 7

When the apostate Julian found himself after many ineffectual attempts unable to detach from the faith. Valentinian, the commander of a regiment in the army, he stripped him of his dignity and banished him to Thebes in Egypt.¹¹⁷ He was Comes of the band called "Cornuti," and while Constantius was emperor one of the school of the Silentarii is said to have seen him with flames issuing out of his mouth about mid-day, just at the time when we take our meal, and to have reported the sight to Constantius. Being sent by him to summon Valentinian to his presence on some business or other, he happened to witness the event; and as soon as he learned the tidings of it, Constantius was seized with suspicion and alarm, though he did nothing to Valentinian by way of punishment. But to calm his fears, he sent him to the

fortresses of Mesopotamia, with instructions to keep garrison there and to check the incursions of the Persians.

Chapter 8

Philostorgius does not differ much from other writers in his narration concerning the martyr Babylas,¹¹⁸ the number and greatness of the indignities with which Julian treated his body, what the devils were compelled to speak, how the shrine together with the image of Apollo¹¹⁹ was burnt down by lightning, and as to all the other wondrous events which happened, both natural and supernatural. He says moreover that the holy Babylas¹²⁰ was put to death together with three boys of a very tender age, and that his martyrdom arose from the following cause. Babylas was bishop of Antioch; by inspiration of the devil, Numerian the Roman emperor, or as others say, Decius, was led to desire to enter the church of the Christians at the time when a very large concourse of people had assembled together. But the priest of God stood at the entrance porch and forbade his entry, declaring that, so far as in him lay, he would not suffer a wolf to climb into the fold. But the emperor immediately desisted from his effort, either because he feared a popular outbreak, or because he changed his mind on some other account. But as to the bishop, he first accused him of insolence, and afterwards commanded him to sacrifice to the heathen deities, as being the only sacrifice by which he could at once wash out his offence, and gain honour and glory from posterity. Babylas having resisted the proposals of the emperor with a stout and noble heart, received the crown of martyrdom.

Chapter 9

The apostate Julian endeavouring to convict of falsehood the prophecies of our Saviour, in which he declared that Jerusalem should be so utterly overthrown that "one stone should not be left upon another,"¹²¹ not only failed in his attempt, but also was compelled against his will to give a most irrefragable proof of their truth. For having collected together all the Jews¹²² from every quarter, and having supplied them with money from the imperial treasury and with other resources, he enjoined upon them to set about the rebuilding of their temple. But a panic repeatedly inspired in their minds, such as no tongue of eloquence can describe, put a check to their attempts, and also covered with shame and disgrace as well the emperor as the Jews, and drove them into the greatest straits. Hence flames came down and des-

troyed those who dared to set a hand to the work ; hence an earthquake came and swallowed them up, while others perished again by some other calamity. So the audacity which dared to cast discredit upon the prophecies of our Lord, was overruled to show their venerable truth and efficacy.

Chapter 10

When many of those who had been most furious against the Christians and our holy religion had thus suffered the well-merited penalty of their sins, Julian, the count of the East, the uncle of the apostate emperor,¹²³ and Felix, the count of Largesses, and Elpidius, the prefect of the palace, whom the Romans are accustomed to call Counts of the Privy Chamber, paid the most manifest and conspicuous penalty of all. These three were among those who apostatized from our faith in order to gain favour with the emperor. Felix, indeed, without any apparent predisposing cause, suddenly burst one of the largest of the interior veins, when a torrent of blood flowed from his mouth. He afforded a most horrible spectacle to all who were present, and did not survive the stroke an entire day, for towards the same evening, when the blood ceased to flow any longer, he breathed his last. But Julian, being seized with a severe disorder, the nature of which was unknown, lay prostrated on his bed for forty days without speech, and almost without showing signs of consciousness. But afterwards, when he began to mend in a slight degree, he condemned the impious deed which he had committed, and confessed that his disease was sent upon him as a punishment for it; and recovering so far as to become a witness against his own impiety, he breathed his last in great tortures from the ulcers which tore his intestines in pieces.

Last of all, Elpidius, at a somewhat later period than the rest, having been detected favouring the conspiracy of Procopius, who had rebelled against Valens, was despoiled of his goods, and being condemned to perpetual imprisonment, finished his life in the deepest disgrace, amid the execration of all, who called him Elpidius the Sacrificer. Moreover, another of them, who went with the above-mentioned individuals into a church which they were pillaging and plundering, robbing it of its sacred vessels and shrines, and insulting the God who was honoured in those sacred rites, this very man, I say, insolently lifted up his robe and made water upon the altar, whereupon he suffered an immediate and sudden penalty. For those very parts which he had thus insolently abused began to putrify into his very bowels, and produced a vast multitude of worms, so that he died by a miserable end, and one which

deserves to be kept in silence. Others, and many too, who had dared to perpetrate similar crimes, paid a like penalty for their sin.

Chapter 11

The Roman emperor Hadrian, who was called Aelius, named the city of Jerusalem Aelia, after himself, in order entirely to banish and exclude thence the Jewish race, that they might not find in the name of the city a pretext for claiming it as their country.¹²⁴ Hadrian was in reality afraid of their hot and impetuous disposition as a nation, and especially dreaded lest they should meet in that city under the pretext of performing their sacrifices, and cause the Romans trouble. CHAP. 12.--After the translation of the relics of the martyr Babylas, the heathen oracles, beginning with that at Delphi, gave forth some predictions and prophecies; the good providence of God permitting them to speak, but turning to shame the reverence and respect paid to them by their worshippers.¹²⁵ For the more diligently the heathen sought to get answers from their deities in order to find a just cause for paying to them divine honours, the more they were compelled by Divine Providence to discover their weakness and powerlessness for truth ; for the answers which they uttered were shown to be false and without fulfilment. In truth, when all the oracles had given their answer, that Julian, the emperor's uncle, who at that time lay ill, would recover and not die, he breathed out his wretched soul while those very responses were being read by the people.

Chapter 13

A certain man named Heron, a native of Thebes in Egypt, and who had borne the episcopal office, having afterwards gone back to heathen superstitions, was suddenly seized by a putrid disorder, which affected his entire body, and rendered him loathsome to the sight. Being brought then into great straits, he lay about in the streets, unpitied by any one, for the Christians turned aside from him in disgust, while the heathen knew him only so far as they had led him into their errors. Heron, indeed, died a bitter and miserable death. A certain Theotecnus, also, having passed over to the same superstition, suddenly became putrid in his body, which became a mere receptacle of worms, which eat out his eyes, and he was reduced by madness to the very last extremity. His very tongue was gnawed out and eaten by them; and after undergoing these painful tortures, he was reserved for even a severer penalty. God displayed many of these miracles at that time upon

those who had impiously apostatized from religion, exacting from them a penalty commensurate with their crimes.

Chapter 14

When Julian bade the city of Jerusalem to be rebuilt in order to refute openly the predictions of our Lord concerning it, he brought about exactly the opposite of what he intended. For his work was checked by many other prodigies from heaven; and especially, during the preparation of the foundations, one of the stones which was placed at the lowest part of the base, suddenly started from its place and opened the door of a certain cave hollowed out in the rock. Owing to its depth, it was difficult to see what was within this cave ; so persons were appointed to investigate the matter, who, being anxious to find out the truth, let down one of their workmen by means of a rope. On being lowered down he found stagnant water reaching up to his knees ; and, having gone round the place and felt the walls on every side, he found the cave to be a perfect square. Then, in his return, as he stood near about the middle, he struck his foot against a column which stood rising slightly above the water. As soon as he touched this pillar, he found lying upon it a book¹²⁶ wrapped up in a very fine and thin linen cloth ; ¹²⁷ and as soon as he had lifted it up just as he had found it, he gave a signal to his companions to draw him up again.

As soon as he regained the light, he showed them the book, which struck them all with astonishment, especially because it appeared so new and fresh, considering the place where it had been found. This book, which appeared such a mighty prodigy in the eyes of both heathens and Jews, as soon as it was opened showed the following words in large letters : "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."¹²⁸ In fact, the volume contained that entire Gospel which had been declared by the divine tongue of the (beloved) disciple and the Virgin. Moreover, this miracle, together with other signs which were then shown from heaven, most clearly showed that "the word of the Lord would never go forth void,"¹²⁹ which had foretold that the devastation of the Temple should be perpetual. For that book declared Him who had uttered those words long before, to be God and the Creator of the universe ; and it was a very clear proof that "their labour was but lost that built,"¹³⁰ seeing that the immutable decree of the Lord had condemned the Temple to eternal desolation. The city of Jerusalem itself was formerly called Jebus, and was inhabited by some of the tribe of Benjamin,

before King David took it by the aid of Joab. The army promised him the throne of Israel if he could only get possession of that city, and when he captured it, the army faithfully observed its promises.

He then built a new city on the same site, and chose it as the metropolis of the entire Hebrew race.

Chapter 15

The apostate Julian undertook an expedition against the Persians, relying upon the prophecies of the heathen oracles in different quarters, that his might would prove irresistible. But a certain old man, who had long since been discharged from the Persian service, contrived by fraud and treachery to ensnare the Apostate as he was making war in Persia.¹³¹ And when he had brought the Romans into the greatest straits by leading them into a pathless desert, in which a very great portion of the army perished, he gave the enemy, like the prey of a hunter, into the hands of his countrymen. For the Persians rushed upon the Romans, having joined to their forces as allies some Saracenic horsemen who were armed with spears. One of them hurled a spear against Julian, which struck him on the thigh near the groin; and when the spear was drawn out, it was followed by a quantity of dung and blood also. One of the body-guard of the emperor immediately attacked the Saracen who had wounded the king, and cut off his head : while the Romans immediately placed Julian, thus mortally wounded, on a shield, and carried him off into a tent. Many even thought that the fatal blow was struck by Julian's own friends, so sudden and unexpected was it, and so much at a loss were they to know whence it proceeded.

But the wretched Julian took up in his hands the blood which flowed from his wounds, and cast it up towards the sun, exclaiming, "Take thy fill; and he added curses upon the other gods as villains and destroyers. In his train was a most distinguished physician, one Oribasius, a native of the Lydian city, Sardis. But the wound was far beyond all medical art, and carried Julian off after three days of suffering, after he had enjoyed the dignity of Caesar for five years, and the imperial throne two years and a half from the death of Constantius. Philostorgius in this passage writes, that Julian sprinkled his blood towards the sun and cursed his gods. But most historians write that he used this act as an expression of hatred against our Lord and only true God, Jesus Christ."¹³²

BOOK VIII

Chapter 1

ON the next day after Julian's death, the soldiers proclaimed Jovian emperor. He found that there was no other means left of escape, for the whole army had been reduced to a tenth of its original numbers ; so he concluded a truce for three years with the Persians, on the condition of surrendering to them Nisibis and all the fortresses which had been erected by the Romans as means of defence against the Persians, even as far as Armenia. Moreover, Merobaudes¹³³ and his fellow-comrades, as they were carrying the corpse of Julian into Cilicia, placed it by accident, and not by design, opposite to the tomb which contained the bones of Maximin, so that the coffins of both were separated from each other only by the highway.

Chapter 2

Euzoius and the bishops of his party compiled a book in defence of Aetius¹³⁴ and his doctrines, but they took no pains to get the matter brought to a satisfactory termination.¹³⁵ Accordingly Aetius and Eunomius stayed some time in Constantinople, and busied themselves with looking after their own affairs ; and having arranged other matters as seemed to them most advantageous, they ordered certain bishops, among whom were Candidus¹³⁶ and Arrianus, who were set over the churches of Lydia and Ionia, while Theodulus¹³⁷ was promoted from the see of Chaeretapa to the bishopric of Palestine. At Constantinople too they chose Paemenius as bishop of their church, for many seceders from the party of Eudoxius and other sects in that city had swelled the adherents of Aetius and Eunomius. By this act, however, they contrived to incur the hostility of Eudoxius, who had hitherto cherished the hope of cementing a friendship with them. And when Paemenius died, soon after this, they substituted Florentius in his place, at the same time appointing Thallus bishop of Lesbos, upon the death of the existing bishop. Euphronius,¹³⁸ too, they set over Galatia, on the shores of the Euxine, and Cappadocia, as bishop, and Julian over Cilicia. Theophilus the Indian not long afterwards betook himself to Antioch in Coele-Syria of his own accord, for the special purpose of rousing Euzoius to carry into execution the decrees which had been passed in favour of Aetius ; and, if he could not accomplish this point, at all events to preside over the people who adhered to his own views of doctrine. But the care of both parts of Libya, and all who

professed their doctrines throughout Egypt, was placed in the hands of Serras and Stephen and Heliodorus. In relating all these matters, Philostorgius exceeds all bounds of moderation in praising their eloquence and their sanctity of life to the skies.

Chapter 3

Philostorgius makes mention of a certain bishop named Theodosius,¹³⁹ a most zealous supporter of the Eunomian tenets, but a follower of wanton women, and one who added some other impious tenets to the ancient creed, and especially this, namely, that the nature of Christ was subject to change, but that by the most perfect practice of the Christian virtues he was raised to a state not subject to change ; and also that God neither speaks nor hears, for else he would have material hands and ears. Many other impious assertions of the same Theodosius are also related by him.

Chapter 4

Aetius, indeed, went into Lydia to set Candidas and Arrian over the districts of that province. But the aforesaid Theodosius, fearing that their life would be the condemnation of his own, took up hostilities against Aetius, although previously he had refused to put his signature to the synodical epistle¹⁴⁰ against him ;¹⁴¹ and having communicated his design to Phoebus,¹⁴² who was himself of the number of those who had declined to condemn Aetius, and who was inclined to regard Theodosius in the more friendly manner from early remembrance of him, and from being like to him in the immortality of his life,--the two joined forces with Auxidianus, who, like themselves, had been a bishop, and laid their plans against Aetius and Candidas, collected together six other bishops, and having formed themselves into a synod, sent letters by common consent to Eudoxius and Maris. In these letters they condemned the ordination of Aetius as illegal, especially on the ground that after his being deposed from the diaconate, and while as yet he was still under the censure of those who had deposed him, still, though degraded from the lower office, he had been promoted to the higher rank. They also assailed the ordination of Candidus and Arrianus, on the ground that they had been hastily performed without the common consent, and likewise other ordinations which had been held by Aetius. Eudoxius, however, having very readily received this letter, never took the pains to call back to mind the sacred oaths by which he had pledged himself to Eunomius, and

the letters which he had written to Euzoius, and the many and various pledges by which he had ratified his promises. But he wrote back to Theodosius and his companions, urging them to carry on the matter with promptness, and exhorting them to reserve their punishments for those who had held ordinations, rather than visit those who had been ordained with penalties.

Chapter 5

The emperor Jovian restored the churches to their original uses,¹⁴³ and set them free from all the vexatious persecutions inflicted on them by the apostate Julian. He also called back from exile all whom he had banished because they refused to abandon their faith : among their number was Valentinian,¹⁴⁴ who at that time returned from Thebes in Egypt. CHAP. 6.--Philostorgius says, that Candidus and Arrianus, relatives of Jovian, came to him while he was staying at Edessa, and resisted him in his efforts to conciliate the goodwill of the emperor towards Athanasius. But the emperor referred what was said on either side to be decided by the common voice, and meantime showed no sign as to which of the two sides he regarded with favour. CHAP. 7.--Eudoxius addressed to Euzoius certain letters against Candidus and Arrianus. Euzoius felt indignant at this step, so he joined forces with Elpidius, and wrote back to Eudoxius, partly in censure of his opinion, and partly, on the other hand, exhorting him the rather to give up opinions of such a nature. At the same time he visited him with a gentle censure for the long delay which he had made in performing the promises which he had made Eunomius in favour of Aetius.

Chapter 8

The emperor Jovian, having arrived at Ancyra, on his way to Constantinople, gave the title of "most noble" to one of his two sons, named Varonianus, who was then quite a child. Thence he set out with his army on a further expedition, though it was the very depth of winter, and lost many of his men upon the road ; reaching Dadastana itself together with a few survivors.¹⁴⁵ Having put up at a certain station on the way, he laid down to take his rest in a bedchamber, the walls of which had been recently white-washed ; and when a fire was lit, and the heat diffused itself through the room, the moisture of the newly-stained walls began to exude, and being drawn in by the nostrils in breathing, choked up the passages of the lungs,

and suffocated the emperor, after he had held the imperial throne about ten months complete. His corpse was afterwards brought to Constantinople. The army on its arrival at Nicaea, after a lapse of twelve days, proclaimed Valentinian emperor, according to a suggestion of Datian the patrician, communicated in letters from Galatia, where he had been left, partly on account of his old age, and partly on account of the severity of the winter. Secundus,¹⁴⁶ prefect of the Praetorium, and Arinthaeus, master of the horse, together with Dagalairus, chamberlain of the household, joined in effecting this matter.

And when forthwith after his proclamation, the army, as it carried along the emperor on a shield,¹⁴⁷ demanded of him that he would choose some one to share with him the imperial power,¹⁴⁸ Valentinian lifted up his hand and commanded them to hold their peace; and no way alarmed, he thus addressed them with all the firmness of an emperor. "It was your own free choice and vote, my soldiers, which raised me from a private state to the dignity of emperor. Henceforth, however, to discern and to arrange what is to be done, is the place of the emperor only, and not that of his subjects. As soon, however, as he had entered Constantinople, he took his brother Valens to share his throne, and having made this appointment, went as far as Sirmium in the regions of the West; here he divided with his brother all the imperial ornaments, and the other insignia of state and court, and sent him back to Constantinople, assigning to him all those parts of the East which had been formerly subject to Constantius. The emperor himself, however, took in hand the other two portions of the empire, and so possessed himself of the entire West. And not long afterwards he began to train up, in imitation of his own character, his son Gratian, whom he advanced to the regal dignity at a very early age.

Chapter 9

Philostorgius says, that Hypatia,¹⁴⁹ the daughter of Theon, was so well educated in mathematics by her father, that she far surpassed her teacher, and especially in astronomy, and taught many others the mathematical sciences. The impious writer asserts that, during the reign of Theodosius the younger, she was torn in pieces by the Homoeousian party. CHAP. 10.--The author here relates that there was a Philostorgius living in the days of Valens and Valentinian, who was the most illustrious physician of his time. He had two sons, Philagrius and Posidonius. Of these two, he relates that he saw

Posidonius, who was also eminent as a physician. This Posidonius, however, used falsely to assert that men do not grow fanatic by the agency of evil spirits, but merely by the superfluity of certain evil humours ; and that there is no power in evil spirits to assail the human race. At the same period also flourished Magnus, who practised the same art at Alexandria.

Chapter 11

This impious writer, though against his will, expresses his admiration of the wisdom of Basil the Great and Gregory the theologian ; whose country Nadiandum he calls Nadiandum. But he prefers to both the one and the other Apollinaris of Laodicea, as far as regards the literature of the Scriptures, though he admits that in panegyric discourses the latter is surpassed by Basil; while Gregory, as compared with the other two, had a much more rounded style of composition ; he was also more fluent in speech than Apollinaris, and more stately than Basil. CHAP. 12.--He says that not only Basil the Great, but also Apollinaris, wrote against the Apology of Eunomius; but that Eunomius replied to him in five books, and that when he had read only the first of these, he was struck with such profound remorse that he died. Thus does this writer show how much more highly he values falsehood than truth,

Chapter 13

He openly calumniates these same most holy men, Basil and Gregory. For he makes out that they said that the Son was not made man, but dwelt in a human frame ; and on this account Apollinaris joined their party. He also not only accuses him on account of those matters for which he is deservedly censured by pious individuals, but he also relates that he was carried away into another strange belief. For among other things, he asserts that he denied the resurrection of the body.¹⁵⁰ CHAP. 14.--In the books which he wrote against Porphyry, Apollinaris far surpassed all that had been written against the same Porphyry by Eusebius. He also left far behind the books of Methodius on the same subject. CHAP. 15.--He says further, but I know not whence he derives his information, that Apollinaris was a bishop, and that Novatus was of Phrygian descent. CHAP. 16.--He also asserts that Cibates was the birthplace of Valens and Valentinian.

Chapter 17

He says that among those who professed the doctrine of the likeness of the Son in substance to the Father, the most celebrated were Theodore, bishop of Heraclea in Thrace, and George, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, an Alexandrian by origin, who had previously devoted himself to the study of philosophy. Next to these in esteem and in point of time came the elder Eustathius, a man held in high veneration by the people, and most powerful in his method of persuasion. To these must be added Basil and Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, and Eleusius, bishop of Cyzicus, as well as Marathonius and Maximin, presbyters of the church at Constantinople. CHAP. 18.--In his comparison of Eunomius and Aetius, Philostorgius prefers the latter in respect to the force of his demonstrations, and his ready faculty of reply to objections, saying that everything seems to lie ready for use at the tip of his tongue. But as to perspicuity in teaching, and a style well suited to learners, he prefers Eunomius.

BOOK IX

Chapter 1

THE ninth book of Philostorgius contains some wonderful miracles wrought by the hands of Aetius, Eunomius, and Leontius,--inventions of the author ; as likewise some others wrought by Candidus, Evagrius, Arrianus, and Florentius ; but above all, by Theophilus the Indian, and of certain other persons, whom their zeal rendered more vehement than others in their profession of the same impiety. When Philostorgius was compiling these fictions, it would seem that no idea of their absurdity came into his mind to keep him in check. CHAP. 2.--Philostorgius says that, when Moses punished Jannes and Jambres with wounds inflicted by heaven, he also condemned to death the mother of the latter. CHAP. 3.-- According to Philostorgius, Valens, upon his return from Illyricum to Constantinople, paid especial honours to Eudoxius ;¹⁵¹ and when Eudoxius had it in his power without difficulty to fulfil his promises to Eunomius, he lacked the will to do so. Euzoius¹⁵² also had, in like manner, an opportunity of ordering to be put into execution the resolutions which he had carried on their behalf in the synod held at Antioch. But both the one and the other were so far from remembering their promises, that Euzoius began to abuse the very persons whose cause he had espoused, calling in mockery the followers of Aetius and Theophilus

the Indian,¹⁵³ "Heaven-goers," as though it were not religion and the faith that was at stake, but merely the choice of colours or genera. Eudoxius, too, heaped upon them other reproaches, and also used this very term "Heaven-goers"¹⁵⁴ against them in the church. I indeed do not call those men impious, says Philostorgius, as they wish to be called, lest their apostasy should seem to the world to have a show of reason; but I call them pests and plagues.

Chapter 4

Aetius and Eunomius now broke off entirely from Eudoxius and Euzoius, and intrusted the church of Constantinople to Florentius, Aetius at the same time leaving the city, and sailing to Lesbos. Here he lived in a certain rural district near Mitylene, receiving with kind speeches such as repaired to him. This very district the emperor Julian had given to Aetius as a sign of his good-will and affection. Eunomius, however, passing over to Chalcedon, lived there in a garden close to the sea walls, which was his own property, taking especial care of his revenues, as Aetius did, though neither of them thenceforth had the charge of any particular church. But the followers of their sect considered them as their common fathers and leaders. Eunomius certainly, since he had left the city of Cyzicus, never celebrated the holy mysteries¹⁵⁵ of the altar during the remainder of his life, although there was no bishop of the same sect who transacted any ecclesiastical matters without consulting his opinion.

Chapter 5

Upon entering on the third year of his empire, Valens commenced an expedition against the Persians. At the same time¹⁵⁶ Procopius¹⁵⁷ also seized upon the imperial power at Constantinople. He was near of kin to Julian ; and many opinions were passed concerning him, which said that the empire ought to be offered to him; and these opinions from time to time were spread publicly abroad. On this account, as soon as Jovian was raised to the empire, Procopius took to flight and left Mesopotamia with his wife. Being obliged to conceal himself, by changing about from place to place, which he did with great difficulty and distress, weary at length of his wanderings and concealment, at last he threw, as men say, his last stake. Accordingly he went to Chalcedon, and, in the absence of Eunomius, took refuge in the land belonging to him outside the town. Hence he passed over to Constantinople, and seized upon the imperial power without bloodshed. And not long after-

wards, having engaged in battle with Valens, he was overcome by the treachery of his generals, Gomarius and Agelius, and, taking to flight, he retreated to Nicaea. Next day, while he was meditating to take his departure thence, he was seized by Florentius, who was in charge of the garrison of that town, and was carried in chains to Valens. Procopius soon afterwards was beheaded, having had possession of his power for about the space of six months. But his betrayal of Procopius did not avail to insure the life of Florentius ; for his soldiers delivered him to be burnt, being enraged with him on account of a former grudge, because, when he had been sent by Procopius to garrison Nicaea, he had treated several of them with indignity as favourers of the side of Valens.

Chapter 6

Whilst Procopius was still exercising the imperial power, Eunomius came to him during his stay at Cyzicus. The arrival of Eunomius seemed to demand the liberation of those who were illegally detained in prison by Procopius, where they had been cast into chains, because they had embraced the part of Valens. These relations had constrained Eunomius to undertake this embassy : he accordingly took it in hand, and immediately returned as soon as he had set them free from chains. About the same time the person who had been sent by Procopius to administer the island of Lesbos,¹⁵⁸ brought Aetius also into public disgrace, by getting the inhabitants to accuse him of favouring the side of Valens. And beyond a doubt a violent death would have ensued, had not one of the most influential persons in the court of Procopius come up at the time and saved Aetius from the sword. For the person who had been sent by Procopius was a relative of Herennianus and Gerresianus, two brothers, who had lived much in company with Eunomius, and who had been joined with him in the indictment. Accordingly, in pursuance of the authority with which he had been invested, having severely threatened the judge who had condemned them, and having rescinded the capital sentence passed upon them, he sent them away freely and fully acquitted of the crimes alleged against them. Aetius, however, took them along with himself and sailed for Constantinople, where he lived with Eunomius and Florentius for a short space of time, after which he died. Eunomius closed his eyes and mouth, and carried out in the most splendid style the other ceremonies appertaining to the funeral conjointly with the followers of the same sect.

Chapter 7

Whilst Eudoxius was staying with Valens at Marcianopolis, the clergy of the church at Constantinople resolved that Eunomius should be banished from the royal city. Accordingly the latter went to Chalcedon, and wrote and told Eudoxius what had happened. Eudoxius was not only not moved by the contents of the letter, but also showed openly his indignation at his not having had to bear a more severe sentence. CHAP. 8.--Some persons, says Philostorgius, censured Eunomius, because he had concealed Procopius in his country place, when he was meditating to seize the imperial power. This calumny, and an attempt upon his life on account of it, Eunomius escaped with great difficulty. Yet he was sent into exile in Mauritania; a punishment inflicted on him by Auxonius, the prefect of the Praetorium. Eunomius, indeed, was led off into exile during the continuance of the bad weather of winter. But on his arrival at Mursa, a city of Illyricum,¹⁵⁹ the bishop of which city was a certain Valens,¹⁶⁰ he was received with great kindness by him and recalled from banishment, Valens having joined Domninus, bishop of Marcianopolis, in an application on his behalf to the emperor, and pleaded the cause of Eunomius with great interest. After recalling Eunomius from exile, the emperor was anxious to admit him into his presence ; but Eudoxius contrived by some artifices to prevent this interview. But after this, he went to Nicaea to ordain a bishop in that place, in the room of Eugenius,¹⁶¹ bishop of that city, who had recently died; but before he had brought the matter to a conclusion, he departed this life. Demophilus, however, was translated from Beraea to Constantinople, the emperor approving the decree of the synod.¹⁶²

Chapter 9

Philostorgius says that a certain presbyter named Anysius lived at Borissus, a village of the further part of Cappadocia; this man had four sons,¹⁶³ and an only daughter, named Eulampia, who was the mother of Philostorgius, the writer of this history. Her husband, Carterius by name, who followed the sect of Eunomius, persuaded his wife to come over to his own opinion ; for she was one who, both on her father's and mother's side, inherited an attachment to the consubstantial faith. The woman was drawn over by the persuasions of her husband, and gained over to the same opinion, first, her brothers, then her father, and lastly, by degrees, the remainder of her relatives. CHAP. 10.--Theodore, bishop of Heraclea, as Philostorgius relates, had

an especial hand in placing Demophilus in the see of Constantinople ; for the privilege of this particular consecration seemed to belong to him more particularly. And farther, while Demophilus was being placed in the episcopal see, many of the people who were present cried out, not "He is worthy,"¹⁶⁴ but, "He is unworthy."

Chapter 11

Modestus,¹⁶⁵ who was promoted after Auxonius as prefect of the Praetorium, being indignant with Eunomius, as Philostorgius says, condemned him unheard, as one who raised disturbances in churches and states, and so he banished him to the island of Naxos. CHAP. 12.--Caesarea was originally called Mozoca, from Mosoch, a prince of Cappadocia ; but, in process of time, the name was corrupted into Mazaca. CHAP. 13.--From the day that Eunomius had left Cyzicus, no bishop, according to Philostorgius, had been appointed in his room. But Demophilus, upon his arrival at Cyzicus with Dorotheas and others,¹⁶⁶ found that he could bring nothing to pass in the matter of ordaining a bishop, because the inhabitants of that city were most zealous in their profession of the similarity of substance, according to the teaching and instruction of Eleusius, who had confirmed them in this opinion. But when Demophilus and his partisans had admitted the protest of the people of Cyzicus, and had condemned and anathematized Aetius and Eunomius, (for this was what their protest amounted to,) and both in their speeches and their public writings had called him a "denier of similarity,"¹⁶⁷ and had subjected to the same anathema both their faith and all the followers of it, at length the people of Cyzicus admitted his ordination, though they suffered no one else to be advanced to the episcopate, except such only as they had preferred by their votes. The individual ordained as bishop straightway preached and taught the consubstantial faith.

Chapter 14

Upon the death of Euzoius, bishop of Antioch, Dorotheus¹⁶⁸ was translated from Heraclea of Thrace to the see which he had held. Philostorgius however is severe upon both Demophilus and Dorotheus; the latter he calls the vainest of men, while he accuses Demophilus of being wont to mix up everything in confusion, and especially the dogmas of the church. So that on a certain occasion, while he was preaching before the people of Constantinople, he said that the body of Christ was mingled with his Divinity, and so entirely disap-

peared, just as a pint of milk is lost when poured into the vast body of the ocean. Demophilus was a native of the city of Thessalonica,¹⁶⁹ and of noble descent. He was also very much enraged with the partisans of Eunomius, and visited them with the severest penalties. CHAP. 15.--During the time of Valens, the oracles of the heathens gave to those who consulted them, pebbles marked with certain letters. These letters, when combined together, seemed to some to make up the name of Theodosius, to others that of Theodulus or Theodore, or of some other individual. For the forms of letters went on regularly as far as D, the daemons, according to their custom, giving ambiguous responses,¹⁷⁰ to the ruin of those who trust in them, but so as to escape the discredit of having spoken untruly. Hence a certain Theodore among the Syrians, being led aside by deceit to attempt to seize upon the imperial power, was immediately put to death along with those who had followed him. Together with them Valens punished also many innocent persons because their names began with the same letters.

Chapter 16

The emperor Valentinian died, after a reign of twelve years, leaving his son Gratian heir to the empire. He left also two other children, his daughter Galla and the younger Valentinian, who was only about four years of age.¹⁷¹ His mother Justina and the army in Pannonia straightway caused the child to be proclaimed emperor. Gratian, however, on hearing of this proceeding, withheld his approval from the proclamation of Valentinian, because it had been made without his sanction. He moreover punished some¹⁷² of those who had dared to make the attempt. Nevertheless he did not entirely refuse to share the throne with his brother, towards whom also he discharged the duty of a father.

Chapter 17

The Scythians who dwelt on the further side of the Rhine were attacked by an invasion of the Huns, and being forced from their settlements, and being driven out of their abodes, they crossed over into the Roman territory under the pretence of friendly intentions. The Huns would seem to be identical with those who were anciently called Neuri; and their settlements were at the foot of the Rhipaeian¹⁷³ mountains, out of which the river Tanais takes its rise and pours its waters into the Sea of Azof. But the Scythians, having crossed over into the territory of the Romans, at first conducted themselves

quietly towards the latter, but afterwards they began to plunder, and finally made open war upon them, without previously sending a herald to proclaim war. As soon as Valens learned these tidings, he straightway quitted Antioch, and reaching Constantinople, made his way with speed into Thrace. Here he encountered the barbarians, and having lost many of his soldiers, he speedily betook himself to flight. At last, being driven to the most extreme necessity, and being wholly destitute of counsel, he hid himself, together with a few of his followers, in a small rural cottage where some hay was stored up. The barbarians who were in pursuit of him burnt everything that came in their way, and among other things, the hut above mentioned, little imagining that the emperor was there. Thus died Valens,¹⁷⁴ losing at the same time the most brave and numerous portion of his Roman soldiery.

The barbarians, too, without any fear henceforth overran and devastated the whole of Thrace, under their general Fritigernus. Gratian mourned for his uncle, and shed tears for the calamity which had befallen the empire; and having proclaimed Theodosius emperor, he sent him to govern that part of the empire which was in his uncle's hands. The native country of this Theodosius was Spain, now called Iberia ; the river Iberus,¹⁷⁵ which flows through it, having abolished its former name.

Chapter 18

On the death of Theodulus of Chaeretapa, who was bishop of Palestine, Eunomius ordained Carterius in his room; and on his death shortly after, John was chosen to supply the vacancy. Eunomius, Arrianus, and Euphronius left Constantinople and went into the East in company with this John, in order to bring Julian thither from Cilicia, and to meet Theophilus the Indian at Antioch, and to regulate the entire state of matters in the East. CHAP. 19.--The emperor Theodosius met the barbarians near the city of Sirmium,¹⁷⁶ whither he had gone as soon as he had received the imperial purple, on account of the exigencies of the state: then, having defeated the barbarians in battle, he entered the city of Constantinople with great pomp, and intrusted the care of the churches to the consubstantial party, driving out of the city the party of Arius and Eunomius. Among their number was Demophilus, who, on his expulsion, betook himself to his own city Beraea. Hypatius also, being driven out of Nicaea, withdrew to Cyrus in Syria, the place of his birth. Dorotheus, too, being driven out of Antioch, went off into Thrace, whence he originally came. The rest dispersed into their different localities.

BOOK X

Chapter 1

DOROTHEUS indeed, as we said above, was driven out of Antioch, The presbyters, however, of the same city, Asterius and Crispinus, and the rest of the clergy, convened a council, at which some of the neighbouring bishops were present, and sent to Eunomius and his party, demanding to be admitted into communion by them. These, however, sent letters by way of reply, to the effect that they would receive them into communion on no other conditions except that they should rescind the sentence of condemnation which they had formerly passed on Aetius and his writings; and moreover, they required them to show a reformation in their lives ; for they were tainted by some impure actions. The others did not at that time admit the proffered conditions, but afterwards they went so far as to revile Eunomius and his party in the churches, calling them "Men in the clouds;"¹⁷⁷ and full of desperation and madness, because forsooth they had dared to proffer to them such, terms as those mentioned above,

Chapter 2

Philostorgius brings a charge of impiety against their leader Arius, because he said that the God of the universe consisted of many parts ; for he declares that Arius asserted that God can be comprehended, not in his entire magnitude, but so far as each individual is gifted with strength to comprehend him ; and that he also gave it as his opinion that God was neither substance nor person, nor any one of those things which are usually predicated of him ;¹⁷⁸ and that these assertions are supported by the synods of Ariminum and Constantinople, the latter of which declared that the mode of the generation of the Son was entirely unknown to all, ascribing the knowledge of that generation to him alone who begot him.¹⁷⁹ Now this is the very synod which passed sentence of condemnation on Aetius. CHAP. 3. -- The Arian party developed their doctrine of the likeness of the only-begotten Son to the Father into a variety of heresies ; some of them, for instance, made it to consist in the fact that both of them have a foreknowledge of future events. Others, again, in that both the Father and the Son are born God. Others, again, in the fact that both can create things out of nothing. But, says Philostorgius, these opinions, though they seem to be at variance with each other, all come to one point in the end, namely, in that they declare the Son

to be of one substance¹⁸⁰ with the Father. Philostorgius, moreover, adds, that this party, after being cut up into a variety of discordant sects, perpetrated many other foul and disgraceful deeds, buying and selling the priesthood¹⁸¹ for money, and giving themselves up to the lowest of sensual pleasures.

Chapter 4

The Eunomians, according to the testimony of Philostorgius, so utterly abhorred the heresies above mentioned, that they would not admit their baptism or their ordination. Moreover, the Eunomians baptized not with trine immersion, but with one immersion only, baptizing, as they said, into the Lord's death ;¹⁸² and this death (they added) he underwent for us once only, and not three times. CHAP. 5. -- The emperor Theodosius invested his son Arcadius ¹⁸³ with the imperial purple while he was still very young. And not long afterwards, the emperor Gratian was put to death in Gaul by the treachery of the tyrant Maximus. Philostorgius also forges many calumnies against Gratian, going even so far as to compare him with Nero. For his profession of the right rule of faith did not please Philostorgius in Gratian.

Chapter 6

The emperor Theodosius, on finding some of the chamberlains of his court infected with the Eunomian doctrines, expelled them from his palace. Eunomius himself he ordered to be banished from the city of Chalcedon, and to be sent into exile at Halmyris.¹⁸⁴ This Halmyris is a place in Moesia, situate on the Danube ; but soon after this it was captured by the barbarians, who crossed the Danube when it was frozen over. Eunomius is dismissed thence to Caesarea in Cappadocia. But becoming distasteful to the people of Caesarea, because he had formerly written some books against their bishop, Basil, he was permitted to live in his country place, which was called the Dacoroenian fields. In this place, Philostorgius writes, that when he was twenty years of age, he came to Constantinople and saw Eunomius. He raises him to the very skies with praise, and declares that his prudence and virtue were consummate. He also describes his personal appearance, his countenance, body, and limbs, as full of grace and dignity. He compares also to pearls the speeches which flowed from his lips, though shortly afterwards he confesses him, even against his will, to have lisped. And he is not ashamed to exalt this lisp into a mark of great grace and elegance. Moreover, the white lep-

rosy,¹⁸⁵ which marked his face as it were with brands and sears, were an addition to the majesty of his person. And further, although he praises very highly the rest of his writings, still he affirms that his Epistles far surpass the rest of his works in merit.

Chapter 7

Upon the demise of his empress Placidia,¹⁸⁶ Theodosius took to wife Galla, the sister of the younger Valentinian, and the daughter of Valentinian the Great, and of Justina, who was created Augusta.¹⁸⁷ This Justina was a follower of the Arian heresy. By Galla Theodosius had a daughter who was named Placidia. CHAP. 8.--Theodosius joined his forces with those of Valentinian at Thessalonica, and set out to meet the tyrant Maximus; for the latter, when he had possessed himself of Gratian's share in the imperial purple, endeavoured to obtain possession of that of Valentinian as well. Accordingly, the emperors send against the tyrant,¹⁸⁸ Timasius and Richomer, masters of the cavalry, as likewise Promotus and Arbogastes. These surprise him by a sudden attack, and quickly hurl him down from his throne, strip him of the insignia of empire, and bring him before the emperors in the dress of a private citizen. Maximus was then beheaded, having exercised the power of a tyrant for five years.

Chapter 9

After gaining this victory over Maximus, and after the arrival¹⁸⁹ of Theodosius at Rome, when the emperor was on the point of taking his departure thence, a new and strange star¹⁹⁰ was seen in the sky, which announced the coming of very great calamities upon the world. It appeared first at midnight, near the east, in the very circle which is called the Zodiac. It was large and bright, and in brilliance it was not much inferior to the morning star. After this, a concourse of stars gathered around it on every side, like a swarm of bees gathering in a cluster round their queen. Then, as if impelled, by some mutual collision, the light of all the stars mingled together, and shone forth in a single flame, assuming the shape of a double-edged sword, huge and terrible. But that one star which first appeared seemed like the hilt of the sword above mentioned, or rather like a root shooting up the large body of light, from what appeared to be a star, surmounted with flowers darting up like the flame from a lamp. Such was the novel and wondrous sight exhibited by the star which then appeared. Its course, moreover,

was very different from that of the rest of the stars ; for from the time of its first appearing in the place where we have said, and moving on from thence, it began to rise and set together with the morning star.

Afterwards, however, receding by little and little, it went up towards the north, advancing slowly and gradually, and following its own course with a slight deflection towards the left of those who beheld it, but in reality it pursued in the same course as the other stars, with which it came into contact from time to time. At length, having completed its course in the space of forty days, it suddenly passed on into the sign of the Great Bear, and was last seen in the very centre of it, where, soon afterwards, it was extinguished. In addition to these particulars, Philostorgius gives us many other wonderful details concerning this star in the shape of a sword.

Chapter 10

Philostorgius says that he himself wrote against Porphyry on behalf of the Christians. CHAP. 11.--At the very time of the appearance of this star in the shape of a sword, there were seen also two human bodies ; one in Syria, far surpassing in height the usual stature of man, the other in Egypt, of incredible smallness. The Syrian was five cubits and a palm in height; though his feet were by no means in proportion to the rest of the body, but were turned inwards and crooked. His name was Anthony. The Egyptian, however, was so extremely short, that he gracefully imitated partridges shut up in cages, and that the latter played and strove with him in jest. And what is more wonderful still he had a stock of practical wisdom by no means commensurate with his bodily stature. His voice was far from unmusical, and his conversation evinced clearly the excellence of his intellectual powers. Both of these lived in the time of Philostorgius, and neither of them was short-lived;191 the tall one dying after reaching five and twenty years of age, and the diminutive one nearly attaining the same number. In this place Philostorgius makes mention of many other prodigies which had happened either at the same time with, or just before, those above-mentioned.

BOOK XI

Chapter 1

2. -- Philostorgius says, that the fast of the fourth and sixth days of the week does not consist in mere abstinence from flesh meat, but that it is laid down by the canons, that no kind of food whatever is to be taken till evening. For

concerning Eudoxius,¹⁹² a follower of his own peculiar heresy, who was of the degree of presbyter, though he had lost his genitals, he thus writes, "He was so zealous in keeping the fast, that throughout his life he observed not only those days which the Christians keep, according to the precept of the church, in memory of the Passion of our Lord." (Here four pages are wanting, and the 10th book is imperfect.) EPITOME OF BOOK XI. (The beginning of this book is wanting.)

Chapter 1

[VALENTINIAN 193 the Younger] used to hunt bears and lions ; but while he was only in his twentieth year, he was deprived of his life, his imperial purple, and his field-sports. He was also uncontrollable in his rage, and this was the chief cause of his death. For on one occasion, when he was conversing in the palace with Arbogastes, and was roused to anger by something that he said, he attempted to draw a sword against his Master of the Horse. He was checked, however ; for the attendant whose sword he endeavoured to draw, held him back, and endeavoured by his words to remove all suspicion from Arbogastes. At the same time he found out from the words of the emperor himself what were his designs, and brought them into light. For on asking what was the motive of so violent an outburst, the emperor answered that he was about to lay violent hands on himself, because, although he was emperor, he was not allowed to do everything that he pleased. Arbogastes at the time made no very curious inquiry. But afterwards, when he had dined one day at Vienne in Gaul, and when he had seen him with some low buffoons, lying down and dipping his lips into the river, he sent some of his attendants to attack him. These laid violent hands upon him and savagely strangled him, while not one of the emperor's servants were at hand, for at that moment they had gone to take their dinner. But that none might straightway make search after the authors of his death, they tied his handkerchief like a noose around his neck, and hung him ¹⁹⁴ with it up to a tree, so that it might seem that he had hung himself of his own accord.

Chapter 2

After the murder of Valentinian, Arbogastes found himself excluded from the imperial purple by reason of his birth ; so he proclaimed as emperor a certain man named Eugenius, who in rank was a magister, but in religion was a heathen. Having discovered this, Theodosius placed the imperial crown

on the head of Honorius, one of his two sons, and spent the entire winter in making the necessary preparations for war. But as soon as the spring approached, he commenced his expedition against the usurper: on arriving at the Alps, he seized upon them by a stratagem, and having met the usurper near the river called Frigidus, and having fought with him a severe conflict, in which very many were killed on both sides, at length victory turned aside from the usurper, and placed the crown on the head of the legitimate emperor. On this the usurper was captured and beheaded. Arbogastes cast aside all hope of escape, so he fell upon his own sword, and so terminated his life. After this the emperor made his entry into Milan ; when he sent for his son Honorius, and gave up into his hands the command of the entire West. After gaining this victory over the usurper, Theodosius died of a dropsical disease after a reign of sixteen years ; during which time,¹⁹⁵ as emperor, he had arrived at the highest pinnacle of human felicity.

For, having gained fame by his victories, and having chained the crown of the entire Roman empire, and having seen his two sons raised to the imperial dignity, which he left to them firmly secured and free from conspiracy, he died upon his own bed the happiest of deaths, obtaining, as it seems to me, this reward of the burning zeal which he cherished against the worship of images. When the impious Philostorgius speaks thus concerning Theodosius, he is not ashamed to traduce him at the same time as given to intemperate living and immoderate pleasures, saying that it was by this means that he contracted his fatal dropsy.

Chapter 3

In the Eastern parts Rufinus held the highest post of esteem with Arcadius, whilst in the West Stilicho held the same position with respect to Honorius. Both of these generals readily allowed the name and title of emperor to remain¹⁹⁶ in the hands of the two sons of Theodosius, while they retained in their own hands the actual authority of empire, each of them ruling his own emperor, the one under the title of Master of the Cavalry, the other under that of Prefect. Neither of them, moreover, was content with the place which he held under his emperor. For Rufinus, indeed, spared no artifice to invest himself with the title of emperor, while Stilicho used his efforts to secure the purple for his son Eucherius. But the soldiers who had gone forth to war against the usurper under Theodosius, on their return from Rome, slew¹⁹⁷ with their swords Rufinus in the place which is called the Tribunal,

at the very feet of the emperor ; and this they did partly in compliance with the instructions of Stilicho, and partly because they found themselves scornfully treated by Rufinus. And further, it is to be observed that he was put to death on that very day on which the astrologers¹⁹⁸ had all but invested him by anticipation with the purple. Moreover, Rufinus was tall in person and of a manly disposition, according to Philostorgius. The quick glance of his eye and the eloquence of his tongue showed him to be a person of skill and ability.

On the other hand, Arcadius was short of stature, and weak in bodily frame; his personal strength was slight, and his complexion dark. The sloth of his natural disposition showed itself in his speech, and in the blinking of his eyes, which remained closed like those of persons asleep, and were kept open with an effort. These points caused Rufinus to miscalculate his chance, for he thought that at the very first sight the army would gladly choose him as emperor, and depose Arcadius. Moreover, the soldiers having cut off Rufinus' head, inserted a stone into its mouth, and carrying it about upon a pole they marched forth in every direction. They cut off his right hand too, and carried it about through all the workshops of the city, adding these words, "Give something to the insatiate one. In this way they collected together a large amount of gold, for they who saw the head, gladly gave their gold on account of the pleasure they derived from the spectacle. The ambition and thirst after power which marked Rufinus met with this end. Stilicho¹⁹⁹ also, according to Philostorgius, was put to death with his fellow-conspirators by the army, upon a given signal, on account of the plots which he had laid against Honorius.

Chapter 4

After the murder of Rufinus, a eunuch named Eutropius, of servile descent, having gained entrance to the court, and having been promoted to the dignity of a Praepositus, still was far from being contented with his present condition. For, since the loss of his genitals deprived him of all hopes of the empire, he persuaded the emperor to appoint him to patrician and consular rank; and thus a eunuch, who could not beget even a common son, became thenceforth the father of the emperor. CHAP. 5.--According to Philostorgius, Eutropius, who succeeded Rufinus in the office of prefect of the Praetorium, gave orders to transfer Eunomius from the Dacoroenian territory to Tyana, to be there kept by the monks. For he felt envy against the glory of

Eunomius, and would not suffer his body even to be laid in the same tomb with the master, though many of the soldiers earnestly entreated him. The very books too of the same Eunomius he commanded to be destroyed by a public edict.²⁰⁰

Chapter 6

The emperor Arcadius, after his father's death, took to wife the daughter of Bauto. Now this Bauto was of barbarian origin, and had discharged the office of Master of the Soldiery in the West. The wife too was quite the opposite of her husband in respect of his sloth and indolence, for she had in her a considerable amount of the audacity which marks barbarians. Arcadius had already had by her two daughters, Pulcheria and Arcadia; and soon afterwards he had another son and daughter, named Theodosius and Marina. But at the time when he had only two children, Eutropius had on one occasion treated his wife with great indignity; for he threatened her that he would straightway turn her out of his palace ; accordingly, embracing her two children in her arms, she came to her husband just as she was, and crying and stretching forth her children, she poured forth a flood of tears, adding also those other artifices which women in their anger are wont to adopt with the truly feminine design of exciting their husbands' feelings of pity more vehemently. Then Arcadius was moved with pity for his infants, who by a natural impulse joined their lamentations with those of their mother, and was fired with rage. And then it was that Arcadius showed himself to be an emperor, ²⁰¹ while his anger inflamed him, and prompted to him weighty words. Accordingly he forthwith stripped Eutropius of all his dignity, deprived him of his wealth, and banished him to the island of Cyprus.

And not long afterwards, when certain persons accused him of having made use, when consul, of those very ornaments which no one but the emperor could legally use, he was recalled from Cyprus. And when the judges were seated in the place called Pantichium,²⁰² and Aurelian the prefect of the Praetorium, and the other magistrates who were in high command, had been appointed to carry on the investigation, Eutropius was convicted of the crime laid to his charge, and suffered the penalty of it by the loss of his head. Thus at all events Philostorgius gives the narrative of the event; others however allege different circumstances as the grounds on account of which Eutropius was stripped of his dignity and command, and eventually put to death.

Chapter 7

Philostorgius says that in his day there was so severe a pestilence as had never occurred before within the memory of man, in accordance with the portent of the star which appeared in the form of a sword. For not only was the military force destroyed, as in former wars, nor was it only in one part of the world that signal calamities occurred; but men of every rank and degree perished, and the whole of Europe and a very large part of Asia was entirely ravaged. A considerable portion of Africa also, and especially that part which was subject to the Romans, felt the blow. For the sword of the barbarians carried off large multitudes, and pestilence and famine pressed upon them at the same time together with large herds of wild beasts. In addition to this there were very grievous earthquakes, which overturned houses and entire cities from their foundations, and hurled them into inevitable ruin. Moreover, in certain parts the earth opened and gaped, swallowing up the inhabitants suddenly as in a tomb. There were also in certain other parts deluges of rain from heaven ; in other parts fierce droughts and fiery whirlwinds, descending from above, to complete the manifold calamity till it was past endurance. Hail too fell in many places, bigger than a stone which would fill the hand, nay, it was found in some parts of such a size that it weighed no less than eight pounds. Moreover there was a great downfall of snow accompanied by a very severe frost, which seized upon those who had not been carried off by the other calamities, and deprived them of life, most clearly revealing the anger of God. But to mention the details of these visitations is a task which surpasses human ability.

Chapter 8

The Huns,²⁰³ who had seized upon that part of Scythia which lies across the Ister and laid it waste, afterwards crossed the river when it was frozen over, and made an irruption into the Roman territory : then spreading themselves over the entire surface of Thrace, they laid waste all Europe. But the Eastern Huns crossed the river Tanais, and pouring into the provinces of the East, made an irruption through the Greater Armenia into a district called Melitine. Thence they proceeded to attack the parts about the Euphrates, and penetrated as far as Coele-Syria, and having overrun Cilicia, destroyed an incredible number of its inhabitants. Moreover the Mazices and Ausorians, who dwell between Africa and Libya, flocking in from the eastern parts, dev-

astated Libya, and at the same time overran a considerable portion of Egypt. On the west they attacked the Africans, and inflicted upon them a similar loss. Besides all these barbarians, Tribigildus,²⁰⁴ a Scythian by birth and origin, and one of that tribe which are now called Goths,--for there are several distinct and separate tribes of this race,--this Tribigildus, finding himself surrounded by a large force of barbarians, while he resided at Nacolia in Phrygia, and when he had been rewarded with the title of a Count, (Comes,) suddenly became an enemy of the Romans instead of a friend ; and beginning from Nacolia itself, he seized on very many cities of Phrygia, and made great havoc among their inhabitants.

Gainas, the Master of the Soldiery, who was himself a barbarian, on being sent against him, betrayed the victory, for he was meditating a similar course against the Romans. Thereupon Tribigildus, as though flying away from Gainas, made an invasion into Pisidia and Pamphylia, and laid them waste; when at last, after having suffered many losses through the difficulty of the various places, and in his battles in Isauria, he escaped at length to the Hellespont, and crossing thence into Thrace, he died not very long afterwards. Gainas after his revolt assumed the dignity of Master of the Soldiery, returned to Constantinople, and endeavoured to seize upon it. But a heavenly army, seen by those who had endeavoured to put the affair into execution, deterred his troops, and freed the city from all fear of a siege; while on the other hand it caused the opposing party to be caught, and gave them over into the hands of their foes. Accordingly a vast slaughter followed: Gainas too was seized with such alarm, that immediately upon night-fall, he broke through the guards of the gates by a sally and left the city, attended by a small band which he was able to rally round him. But since Thrace had been laid entirely waste, and could afford no means of sustenance or offer any rewards for another predatory incursion, Gainas crossed over into the Chersonese, contemplating to cross over thence into Asia by means of boats.

As soon as this plan of his was made known to the emperor, Fravitas, the Master of the Soldiery, was sent against him. This person was a Goth by descent, and a pagan by religion ; but he was faithful to the Romans, and most skilled in military tactics. Accordingly while Gainas was transporting his army in vessels to the opposite continent, he came against him with some ships of war, and after a light encounter destroyed all who were being carried in the transports. Hereupon Gainas, seeing that all hope was lost, fled away

into the higher regions of Thrace. And not long afterwards certain Huns made an attack upon him and killed him : his head was seasoned with salt and carried to Constantinople. Besides these calamities, the tribe of the Isaurians inflicted several disasters on the Romans. For in the East they overran Cilicia and the neighbouring parts of Syria, and not only what is called Coele-Syria, but all that tract which stretches on till it joins Persia. But towards the north and north-west²⁰⁵ they invaded Pamphylia and laid waste Lycia. They also devastated the island of Cyprus, and likewise carried off the Lycaonians and Pisidians into slavery; and having driven the Cappadocians out of their settlements, and taken them captive, they pushed on as far as Pontus, and treated their captives far more savagely than was customary among the other barbarians.

BOOK XII

Chapter 1

PHILOSTORGIUS severely censures Stilicho on many other grounds, and more especially accuses him of having aimed at seizing the empire. He also relates how a certain magister named Olympius, seized with his own hand the sword which had been drawn against the emperor in his own palace, and so saved the emperor's life at the cost of great bodily injury, and lent him his aid and assistance in putting Stilicho to death while he was staying at Ravenna. Others call this man not Olympius but Olympiodorus; and they relate not that he came to the assistance of the emperor, but that he laid plots against Stilicho, who deserved well at his hands, and falsely accused him of aiming at the empire. They also state that, at this time, he was not a magister at all, but that he attained this dignity after the unjust murder of Stilicho, as the reward of his crime, and that not long afterwards he was put to death with clubs, and so paid to Stilicho the penalty of his nefarious wickedness.

Chapter 2

About the same period Alaric, a Goth by descent, having collected an army in the upper parts of Thrace, made an incursion into Achaia and took Athens ; he also laid waste the regions belonging to Macedonia, and the borders of Dalmatia. Moreover, he made an inroad into Illyricum, and then crossed over the Alps, and overran the north of Italy. According to Philostorgius, he was recalled thence by Stilicho,²⁰⁶ who at this time was still alive, and who opened to him the passes of the Alps. He says that Stilicho employed

against the emperor every possible artifice of treachery, and not only viewed him with an unfavourable eye because he was his son-in-law²⁰⁷--(for he had given him his daughter in marriage)-- but also administered to him a potion for the purpose of preventing him from becoming a parent; nor did he perceive that, while he was endeavouring to proclaim his son Eucherius emperor in the teeth of right and justice, he was ruining and destroying, before arriving at his time, his own grandson, and the rightful heir to the imperial throne. And further, he writes, that Stilicho assumed the imperial dignity so manifestly, openly, and without scruple, that he even coined money on which nothing was wanting but his image.

Chapter 3

Upon the death of Stilicho, the barbarians who were with him took his son and went away. When they had neared Rome, they permitted him to take refuge²⁰⁸ in a certain temple which enjoyed the privilege of a sanctuary. He laid waste everything that lay around the city, as well in order to avenge the death of Stilicho as because they were severely tried by hunger. But when Eucherius was put to death, in pursuance of letters from Honorius, which were superior to all rights of sanctuary, on this the barbarians joined Alaric. and urged him to lay siege to the city of Rome. He accordingly seizes the port of the city without delay : this was the largest arsenal of the Romans, consisting of three ports, and stretching out till they equalled a small city in magnitude : a large supply of corn belonging to the state was here stored up according to ancient custom. Accordingly, when Alaric had seized upon the port without much difficulty, he took the city of Rome, partly by stress of famine, and partly by his military engines ; and by the common voice of the Romans, he proclaimed Attalus emperor, in compliance with the permission of Alaric. This Attalus was a native of Asia Minor ; he was a heathen in religion, and the post which he held was that of prefect of the city of Rome.

After the nomination of Attalus as emperor, Alaric thenceforth permitted the remaining portion of the Roman people, such in fact as had survived the famine, and had not been devoured by each other, to bring in supplies of corn from the port. Then, taking with him Attalus, to whom he acted as Master of the Soldiery, he advanced to Ravenna with an army to oppose Honorius. Whilst this was going on, Attalus urged Honorius voluntarily to adopt a private life, and purchase the safety of his body by cutting off his extremities. But Sarus, who had succeeded Stilicho as Master of the Soldiery,

under Honorius, gave Alaric battle, and overcame him, forcing him to fly far away from the city of Ravenna. Then Alaric seized upon the port²⁰⁹ himself, and stripped Attalus of the imperial purple ; either on the plea that he was accused of being ill-disposed towards Alaric, or (as others say) because he contemplated entering upon a treaty with Honorius, and considered that it would be well first to remove the individual who seemed likely to prove an impediment to his plan. After this Alaric returned to Ravenna, and having offered to make a treaty²¹⁰ with Honorius, he was repulsed by the above-mentioned Sarus, who affirmed that a man who ought long since to have paid the penalty of his audacity, was unworthy to be reckoned among friends.

Alaric was enraged at this speech, and a year after his first attack upon the port of the city of Rome, he marched off towards Rome, as an enemy, with a flag of hostility. But the fire of barbarians, and the sword of the enemy, and captivity by aliens, divided, as it were, among them the vast pile of her fame, and the greatness of her glory. For while the city of Rome was lying in ruins, Alaric laid waste Campania, and died of a disorder which seized upon him there.

Chapter 4

The brother of his wife, * * * * * [Here two lines of the Greek text are wanting.] [named ²¹¹ Adolphus, succeeded him. He was married to Placidia, the sister of Honorius, whom Alaric had carried off with him from Rome as a captive; to marry whom he had repudiated his former wife,] because she was of Sarmatian origin. According to Philostorgius, it was at this time that the kingdom of iron and the kingdom of clay were united together.²¹² And not then only, but also at a subsequent period, when Adolphus took Placidia to wife ; for then the clay and the iron coalesced. * * * * * [Here about nine lines of the Greek text are wanting.] [But²¹³ since the Scripture says that that alliance should not be lasting, therefore Constantius, who loved Placidia] had conceived in his mind the hope that if he could conquer Adolphus in war, he would be able to gain her as his wife. Not long after this Adolphus was put to death by one of his own domestics, after he had perpetrated several very foul deeds under the influence of anger. After this, the barbarians concluded a treaty with Honorius, and gave up into his hands both his sister Placidia and Attalus, having themselves first received from the emperor a grant of corn, and a district in Gaul for the purpose of tillage.

Chapter 5

After these events, the city of Rome gained a slight respite from its severe misfortunes, and began to be more thickly inhabited again: when the emperor arrived there, he signified both by gesture and by words his wish that the city should be restored ; and having ascended the tribunal, he ordered Attalus to come to the lowest step of it. After this * * * * * [Here two lines of the Greek text are wanting.] he cut off two of the fingers of his right hand, namely, the thumb and forefinger, and banished him into the island²¹⁴ of Lipara, without inflicting on him any other punishment, and actually supplying him besides with all the necessities of life. CHAP. 6.--About this same period Jovian²¹⁵ rebelled against the emperor, but his insurrection was speedily put down. His brother Sebastian, too, having made a similar attempt, suffered a similar penalty. But Heraclian, who imitated the madness of these men, was raised to a higher pitch of success, from which he had a proportionate notorious fall, the providence of God clearly showing in his case that he allows nothing to pass its due bounds, and that he delights not in usurpers, but that he assists those who strive in defence of their lawful sovereign.

Chapter 7

After the death of Arcadius, his son Theodosius,²¹⁶ then quite a child, is proclaimed his successor in the Eastern parts of the empire. With him lived in the palace his sister Pulcheria, who administered and directed the imperial rescripts.²¹⁷

Chapter 8

When Theodosius had entered the years of boyhood,²¹⁸ on the 19th of July, a little after noon-day, the sun was so completely eclipsed that the stars appeared ; and so great a drought followed on this eclipse that a sudden mortality carried off great multitudes both of men and of beasts in all parts. Moreover, at the time that the sun was eclipsed, a bright meteor appeared in the sky, in shape like a cone, which some persons in their ignorance called a cornet, for there was nothing like a comet in the phenomena of this meteor as it appeared. For its light did not end in a tail, nor had it any of the characteristics of a star, but it seemed like the flame of a huge lamp, subsisting by itself, with no star below it to answer to the appearance of a lamp.²¹⁹ Its track, too, was far different from that of comets. For it arose first in the east,

just where the sun rises at the equinox, and then passing across the lowest star in the constellation of the Bear, crossed gradually over to the west. After measuring the whole expanse of the heavens, it at length disappeared, after it had continued its course for more than four months. Its apex, moreover, at one time was carried up to a high and narrow point, so that the meteor exceeded the length and shape of a cone, while at another time it returned to that particular form.

Moreover, it showed to the eye a number of other prodigious appearances, which showed that it was different from common stars in nature. It began about midsummer, and continued till nearly the end of autumn, and it was the precursor of severe wars and an incredible mortality. In the following year a series of earthquakes commenced, which cannot be easily compared with former ones. At the same time with the earthquakes, fire came down from the skies, which seemed to banish all hope of escape; however, it caused no destruction of life, for the mercy of God sent a violent wind which scattered the fire in every direction, and at length drove it into the sea. Then a new and strange sight was to be seen; --the waves of the sea burning in the day-time, like woods and forests,²²⁰ until at length the flames were extinguished in the waters.

Chapter 9

Moreover, in many places, immediately upon the occurrence of the earthquake, the roofs of houses were seen to be shattered with a loud crash and report, so that those who were within their walls beheld the sky above them. After this convulsion, they became joined and compacted again so closely that not a single trace of the occurrence was left. The same thing happened also to the flooring of houses in several places: granaries²²¹ falling in upon those who dwelt below, and pouring down upon them large heaps of grain through the sudden openings ; then, again, the ground became solid and firm, so that they all began to doubt whence that fatal load of corn had fallen in upon them. Moreover, other strange and unwonted calamities of the same kind happened at this period, showing in the very clearest way that these things do not happen by a mere law and order of nature, as the heathen falsely imagine, but that they are sent down upon mankind as scourges of the Divine wrath.

Chapter 10

This same Philostorgius endeavours to show by a variety of proofs that earthquakes are not caused by an inundation of water, nor by the force of winds pent up within the bosom of the earth ; nor, again, from any deviation of the earth; but only happen by the will of God, for the purpose of converting sinners and bringing them to repentance. And he says, that he constantly asserts this, because neither of the above-mentioned elements can bring about such effects by any natural power. But if God so will, then even the smallest drop of rain that falls, or the lightest flake of snow, can move with the greatest ease Olympus in Macedonia, or any other of the highest mountains, since we see God frequently make use of these events for the correction of the human race. For, although he could have suddenly divided the Red Sea, had he chosen, yet he first lashed it and roused it by a violent south wind, that at length the waters stood on this side and on that;²²² not because there is naturally any such power whatever in the south wind, but because the Divine Majesty chose to make use of it in order to carry out his will. So, also, the stroke of the rod drew fountains of water out of the stony rock,²²³ and the streams of Jordan healed the leprosy ;²²⁴ not because their natural powers could produce any such effects, but because the Creator has the full and perfect use of changing all his creatures to such uses and purposes as he may please.

Chapter 11

After the death of Eudoxius, who had been the ruler of the sect of the Eunomians at Constantinople, Lucian, the son of the sister of Eunomius, is chosen in his room. They say that he fell into avarice and its kindred vices, and fearing that he would be punished for so doing, tore himself away from the rest of the Eunomian party, though he remained at the head of his own band of followers, heading no inconsiderable a multitude, inasmuch as all persons of doubtful character, and who were stained with vices, flocked together to his party. CHAP. 12.--The emperor Honorius took Constantius, his Master of the Soldiery, as partner of his throne, on account of his near relationship, when Placidia had borne him his son Valentinian.²²⁵ On this Valentinian the dignity of "Most Noble" was conferred by Honorius. Accordingly, the images of Constantius were sent into the East, in accordance with the ancient custom of those who had been recently raised to the purple. But

Theodosius, disapproving of the nomination of Constantius, would not admit his images: and when Constantius was preparing to avenge this insult by arms, death came upon him and freed him from his life and his cares, when he had reigned about six months.

Chapter 13

During the tenth consulship of the emperor Theodosius, and the thirteenth of Honorius, the latter was carried off by dropsy. John, having seized upon the imperial power, sent an embassy to Theodosius. But they returned without accomplishing their purpose, and, moreover, having been treated with indignity, so they were sent in different directions through Propontis. 226 But Placidia and Valentinian the Third, who had fled to Byzantium after the death of Honorius, were sent by Theodosius to Thessalonica. There he granted the dignity of Caesar to his cousin, at the same time intrusting the carrying on of the war against the usurper to Ardaburius, Master of the Soldiery, and his son Aspar. These passed across Pannonia and Illyricum, with Placidia and Valentinian in their train, and took by storm Salonas, a city of Dalmatia. After this, Ardaburius set out with his naval reinforcements to oppose the usurper; while Aspar took under his command the cavalry: anticipating all suspicions by the suddenness of his attack, he seized on Aquileia, a very considerable city, Placidia and Valentinian being still in his train. Here, indeed, he took a very large city without any labour or cost. But Ardaburius was surprised by a violent wind, which threw him, with two of his triremes, into the hands of the usurper, who treated Ardaburius most kindly because he had an eye to a treaty. He enjoyed perfect liberty, and excited against the usurper some of his inferior officers who were already ripe for a revolt.

At the same time he sent private instructions to his son Aspar to come to him as if to celebrate an immediate victory. He speedily arrived with his cavalry, and in a light encounter John was taken prisoner, (for he was betrayed by the treachery of those who were about him,) and led away to Aquileia to Placidia and Valentinian. There his right hand was cut off, and soon afterwards he was beheaded ; having held his usurped power for about a year and a half, when Theodosius despatched Valentinian to Rome and proclaimed him emperor,

Chapter 14

Aetius, one of the generals of the usurper John, arrived three days after the death of the latter, bringing with him much about sixty thousand barbarian troops, whom he had succeeded in hiring as auxiliaries ; he at once engaged in battle with the forces of Aspar, and many fell on both sides. After this Aetius made a treaty with Placidia and Valeutinian, and was promoted to the dignity of a count. On the payment of a sum of gold, the barbarians laid down their arms and returned to their own homes, after a mutual interchange of hostages and promises of fidelity. END OF THE EXTRACTS FROM THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF PHILOSTORGIUS. FRAGMENTS OF PHILOSTORGIUS. CONCERNING APOLLINARIUS, 227 BASIL, AND GREGORY OF NAZIANZUM, AS GIVEN IN SUIDAS UNDER THOSE NAMES, IN THE WORDS OF PHILOSTORGIUS. AT those times flourished Apollinarius at Laodicea in Syria, Basil at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Gregory at Nazianzum, which is a station on the road through Cappadocia. These three individuals were strenuous in their defence of the consubstantial faith against the doctrine of dissimilarity of substance, and so wholly confuted all those who previously and up to my own day were leaders of that heresy, that Athanasius must be judged a mere child in comparison with them. For they were very great proficients in that kind of instruction which is called "external," or "profane," and they had great knowledge of whatever contributed to the deep study and remembrance of the Scriptures ; this was the case most especially with Apollinarius, for he was skilled also in Hebrew. Moreover, each of them, in his own particular matter, was excellent in his style of writing and speaking ; Apollinarius being first in that kind which is best adapted to commentaries; Basil being the most splendid in panegyric discourses ; while the style of Gregory, as compared with both of them, would rank higher as a composition. Apollinarius was the more copious, Basil the weightier, in his speech, And whilst they were endowed with such talents for speaking and writing, they exhibited in their lives a character well fitted to draw a multitude to imitate themselves ; so that those who beheld them and heard their speech, and read their writings, were all of them drawn over to their communion, as many at least as could easily be persuaded by any of their arguments.

CONCERNING PANEAS AND THE JORDAN. AT the farthest confines of Palestine, near where Phoenicia commences, there is situated a city

formerly called Dan, after the tribe to which it belonged. Here some wanderers, cut off from the rest of their race at a distant period, settled down for some time., taking possession of the district around, built a town at its extreme border, and assumed to themselves the name of Phylarchs. This was the farthest point of Judaea on the side of Phoenicia. Herod the Great, in later times, built this city, and changed its name to that of Caesarea Philippi ; now, however, it is called Paneas, from a statue of Pan which was placed within its confines. In this town of Paneas rises one of the two fountains of the Jordan, (for it has two sources,) which is even now called "Dan," after the ancient name of the place. The other fountain, which is called "Jor," is about 160 stadia distant, and takes its rise out of the side of a hill. From each of these fountains 228 flows a river, the one called Jorates and the other Danites. Descending from their hills, these rivers descend into a plain, where they join their waters, and, flowing in a single channel, form the river Jordan. This river henceforth mingles together alike the waters and the names of both, and flows through the lake of Tiberias, dividing it in the midst, and finding its way to the opposite continent, maintaining throughout an uniform size and width. Thence it flows through the whole of Palestine, and is at length absorbed in the sea which is called the Dead Sea, where it disappears.

CONCERNING AGAPETUS. AGAPETUS, bishop of Synada, whom Eusebius Pamphilus²²⁹ celebrates with the highest praises, commemorating his wondrous and surpassing miracles, used to change the situation of mountains and the courses of rivers, and to raise the dead to life. He says also, that the emperor Maximin wished to kill him while he was still a soldier, as a Christian, because he had found many who were so taken with admiration of the wonderful works which were done by Agapetus, that he left the worship of heathen gods and came over to the Christian faith.²³⁰ CONCERNING AETIUS. AETIUS of Antioch in Syria, whose pupil was Eunomius, was born in Antioch, a city of Syria, of parents both poor and humble. His father had been enrolled among the military ranks, and having been unfortunate in his affairs, died early, leaving him quite a child. Reduced to the extreme of penury, he began to practise the art of gilding, and arrived at great eminence in his line. But the bent of genius led him to loftier aspirations, and he applied his mind to the study of logic. At first he was a pupil of Paulinus, who had been shortly before translated to Antioch from the city of Tyre, while

Constantine was still emperor. While Aetius was his pupil, he showed no small grasp of intellect in disputations against those to whom he was opposed in the schools, and his attack was almost beyond all endurance. At length Paulinus died, and was succeeded by Eulalius as the twenty-third successor of the apostles 231 in the see of Antioch. Hereupon many of those who had been convicted by Aetius, feeling indignant at being conquered and defeated by a stripling and a common artisan, formed a combination against him, and expelled him from Antioch. Accordingly, on being rejected, Aetius betook himself to Anazarbus, and in a very short time, having learned all the science and faculty of logic, he continually showed fruits far superior to the rudimental and elementary instructions which he had received from others. Meantime, however, he did not cease to censure and refute his adversaries, though he wore but a thin and scanty cloak, and lived upon very humble and ordinary food.²³²

CONCERNING AUXENTIUS. AUXENTIUS, bishop of Mopsuestia, was one of the confessors. He was one of the number of those who were distinguished as soldiers in the palace of the emperor Licinius, being one of his scribes, or, as the Romans call them, notaries. His confession was made in the following way. In a certain court of the imperial palace stood a fountain, and above it a statue of Bacchus, and around it a large vine which covered and overshadowed the entire place. When Licinius had gone thither for the purpose of mental recreation, followed by a numerous train of attendants from the palace, and among others by Auxentius, he cast his eyes upon the vine, and happening to see a bunch of grapes of prodigious size and beauty, as it hung down from the branches of the vine, he ordered Auxentius to cut it. Forthwith Auxentius, without any suspicion of what was about to follow, cut off the bunch of grapes. Licinius then turned to him and said, "Place this before the feet of Bacchus. To this Auxentius answered, "By no means, O emperor ; I am a Christian. On hearing this Licinius said, "Go then away ; you are discharged from the service, for one of two things you must do. Auxentius delayed not a moment, but without delay threw aside his belt, and gladly took his departure from the palace, ungirded, just as he was. Not long afterwards, the supervisors 233 appointed him bishop of Mopsuestia.

His younger brother was Theodore, who had taught rhetoric at Athens, and who afterwards obtained the bishopric of Tarsus. For Aetius being accustomed even aforetime to teach Eunomius,²³⁴ and others who were of high-

er than ordinary talent, as soon as he promoted Eunomius to the degree of a professor, made him act instead of himself as a master and teacher, as well of others as those who were more perfectly advanced in learning and instruction, while he himself was ever ready to teach others the elements and first principles. But Eunomius was considered as by far his superior in improving and building upon the foundations previously laid, and in giving perspicuous and eloquent interpretations.²³⁵ **CONCERNING EUDOXIUS.** EUDOXIUS, bishop of Antioch, came originally from Arabyssus, a town of Lesser Armenia. His father, Caesarius, had obtained the crown of martyrdom during the reign of the emperor Maximin, although previously he had shown himself addicted to vicious pleasures. But he studied to wash out the stains of his early life in the blood of martyrdom. For when his executioners had pierced both of his feet with six huge nails, they cast him on a funeral pile; and because he expired while yet on his way to the flames, his relations carried off his body from the pile, when it was still entire and only partially burnt, and buried it in a field called Subel.²³⁶ **CONCERNING THEOPHILUS.** THIS Theophilus returned from India and took up his abode at Antioch, without having the care of any particular church as his own, but acting as a common bishop, so that at his will he visited all churches as his own ; the emperor exhibiting towards him all possible respect and reverence, and the rest whom he visited receiving him with great alacrity, and admiring the excellence of his virtue. This was so great and so noble, that no one can do justice to it in terms ; it was, so to speak, a correct copy of that of the apostles. They say that while he was at Antioch, he raised to life again a certain Jewess : such at least is the assertion of Thalassius, who lived with him for many years, and has never been suspected of falsehood in matters of this nature; and who, moreover, has very many persons who lived at the time, and who were eye-witnesses of the miracle.

CONCERNING LEONTIUS. LEONTIUS, bishop of Tripolis, a city of Lydia, was sprung from a Moesian tribe, dwelling on the banks of the Danube, the same that Homer calls ἀγχιμαχοί,²³⁷ that is " fighting in close combat," This Leontius is claimed by the impious Philostorgius, in his seventh book,²³⁸ as inclined to the Arian party, of which he was himself an adherent. He had an only son, and perceiving in him no signs of a good disposition, he obtained by prayer from God that he should depart this life while still very young ; judging that it would be better to die, and to be removed

from the uncertain dangers and chances of this life, before he could do anything sinful and disgraceful. They also called him the "Rule of the Church," on account of the extreme freedom which he used in his opinions, and in his speech towards all alike. On one occasion, when a synod of bishops was convened, and the empress Eusebia, and wife of Constantius, was Saluted by the rest of the bishops, he alone of them all remained at home, and paid no regard to her whatever. The empress being enraged at this, and boiling with indignation, sent to him one of her attendants, with the endeavour to conciliate him, partly by reproaches and partly by enticing promises, and saying that she would build him a large church, and add to it a large sum of money besides, if he would only come to visit her. Leontius answered her in the following terms :

"If you have the desire of performing any of these promises which you make to me, my empress, be assured that you will be gratifying your own inclination rather than me. But if you really wish me to come and salute you, I will do so, provided the due and customary reverence for the bishop be shown ; I mean, that when I enter the room, you will come down from your lofty throne, and meet me with respect, bending your head down to my hands in order to receive my episcopal benediction. Next, that I shall sit down, and you stand in a respectful attitude; sitting clown when I bid you and give you the signal for so doing. If you choose to do all this, I will willingly come to you ; but if not, you will never give me presents sufficiently ample and magnificent to induce me to abate one particle of the honour which is due to bishops, and be willing to violate the divine laws of the priesthood. The queen, on receiving this message, grew white with the vehemence of her rage ; and would not patiently submit to have such an answer brought back to her from Leontius. And being violently excited with wrath, and agitated in mind, and having used those threats which accord with the light and excitable disposition of a woman, she related the matter to her husband, and demanded revenge. He, however, thought that the freedom of speech used by Leontius was rather to be admired ;

so he calmed down the rage of his wife, and sent her back to her own apartment. Likewise on another occasion, when Constantius was presiding in an assembly of bishops, and wanted to enter all the churches at his will, while all the rest received the words of the emperor with admiration and applause, and said that he had done everything right, Leontius alone held his

tongue and was silent. And when the emperor asked him why he alone of all kept silence, Leontius answered thus : "I am astonished that you, who are set over matters of one kind, to administer them, should take in hand the administration of others which are distinct from them : and that when the care of military and civil matters has been intrusted to you, you should dictate to bishops in matters which appertain to the office of a bishop alone. On hearing these words, Constantius was fairly abashed and overcome with shame, and ceased thenceforth to act and to command on behalf of the state in matters of this kind.²³⁹

CONCERNING DEMOPHILUS. DEMOPHILUS, bishop of Constantinople, was a man who was accustomed to mingle everything together in his mad impetuosity, and who, like some wild and rapid torrent,²⁴⁰ rolled along much mud and filth in his discourses, as any one might easily detect from the first sermon which he delivered at Constantinople. Now, in this discourse, it is probable that he would have been more than usually accurate and diligent, considering that these kind of discourses are taken down by notaries. Certainly, in his commentaries extant to the present day, he is very confused and indistinct in his positions; and, discussing concerning the Father and the Son, he thus speaks in learned terms. "The Son was begotten by the will of the Father alone, without time and without means, so that he is the minister and servant of the commands of the Father. For God foresaw that all those things which he was about to create, could not exist, inasmuch as they were to be of a kind pure and unmixed, like God himself who created them. And so it was necessary that all created beings should become gods according to the dignity of their Creator; from whence it would follow that there would be a plurality of gods. Or certainly it was necessary that all things should be straightway dissolved as soon as made, just as though they were placed near the hottest fire. On this account, the Son existed as a medium between the creatures who were to be created and the Father from whom he is begotten ;

so that abasing himself, and joining and uniting himself to those things which were to be created, he might fulfil the Divine will, and become the Mediator between God and us men who are created by him. But Demophilus does not perceive that in these words he falsely attributes weakness and envy to the Supreme God, and that he makes the Son to be of a lower condition than the rest of his creatures. For the Father himself must needs be weak, ac-

according to the opinion of Demophilus, inasmuch as though he wished to impart his essence to all created beings, he could not effect his design afterwards. But he would by no means be free from evil will, if, when it was in his power to make all his creatures gods, he studiously abstained from making his creatures of the same condition and dignity with himself. And, moreover, there would be none of his creatures who would not appear to be more perfect and happy than the Son himself, if indeed he was begotten not as his own end, but for the contemplation and use of his own creatures. For whatever exists for the use of something else, must needs be inferior to that for which it is created. And many other mad dreams of the same kind does Demophilus set forth in his writings.²⁴¹

THE END.

P A R T T H R E E

The Council of Nicaea and Philip of Side

A fifth-century history of the Council of Nicaea, and the fragments of a lost Christian History.

History of the Council of Nicaea

ANONYMOUS OF CYZICUS

c. AD 475

A history of the Council of Nicaea (AD 325) in three books, written about AD 475 by an unknown cleric of Cyzicus. For centuries it was attributed to 'Gelasius of Cyzicus'; that name is now thought to be wrong. The work is not a historian's record: it gathers earlier sources and adds imagined speeches and debates. It is read today as a witness to how the fifth century remembered Nicaea. Authorship is unknown.

BOOK I

Preface

¹ The proceedings of the holy, great and ecumenical council of bishops that gathered at Nicaea from practically all the provinces of the Roman world and from Persia. It met by the grace of God and by the decree of our God-loving and pious emperor Constantine, on behalf of the apostolic and orthodox faith and against the wicked and impious doctrines of Arius, that fighter against God. ² I read everything that was said, done and defined in that virtuous and holy council, long ago and even earlier, while I was still living in my father's house. I found it all written down, with nothing left out, in a very ancient book of parchment. That book had belonged to the divine and celebrated Dalmatius, who became archbishop of the holy catholic church of the Cyzicenes, the splendid metropolis. It had then passed to the master of what was once our household, I mean my father according to the flesh, who had been counted worthy of the presbyterate of that same most holy church.

³ When I came upon this sacred book and spent much leisure on it, I was not able to carry everything in memory. For no one could hold in memory, or [on the lips], the boundless sea of what is laid out in it. ⁴ But I marked a great many things. I marked the doctrines of our holy fathers and bishops, the teaching of sound speech. I marked their arguments against the Arius-maniacs and their written refutations of the blasphemy that the defiled

Arius-maniacs uttered against the Son of God, and indeed also against the Holy Spirit. ⁵I marked also the objections that Arius' philosophers raised against the bishops, and our own side's clear answers to those same sophisms, drawn from the teachings of Scripture. ⁶I marked what was said about the one pre-eternal Godhead of his Son and of the Holy Spirit, a Godhead without beginning and always existing together with God the Father. I marked what was said about the ineffable incarnation of the Son of God, God the Word, from the virgin Mary, the Mother of God, in the last times for the sake of our salvation, and about the apostolic ordinances of the church. In short, the sacred book I have mentioned recorded the whole business transacted there.

⁷Above all it recorded the divine and truly apostolic thoughts of the most faithful emperor Constantine, who sat in the council. I was so delighted with what that sacred book contained that I said to the Lord: "How sweet your words are to my throat, more than honey to my mouth." ⁸So greatly was I amazed at what was written there about the spotless and blameless, orthodox and apostolic faith. ⁹Some time later, by God's good pleasure, I came here, I mean to the province of Bithynia. There had been a great stir and much dispute over the revolt of the unholy Basiliscus against the apostolic and catholic church of God and against the apostolic faith that has its life in that church. ¹⁰The party of those who shared the mind of the heretic Eutyches was especially fanning the flames and stirring up the imperial court. They deceitfully claimed to us that they held the faith [defined] at Nicaea, I mean by the fathers.

¹¹But we exposed them as its enemies, for they did not know what they were saying or what they were insisting on. When I brought forward what the Lord had proclaimed through them, in the Holy Spirit, in that holy company of God's orthodox priests, they leapt away from us. The wretches uttered with their tongues things worse than the blasphemies of Arius against what was defined there, and hurled an anathema at those who think this way. ¹²Because of this, and because of many other disturbances raised against our holy and orthodox faith, I made a very great search everywhere and in every place, and, as the saying goes, moved every rope. That faith has been lived out from the beginning in the church of God, our mother, and came from the holy apostles and from the holy fathers I mentioned, who gathered at Nicaea. ¹³I wanted to search out what was done in that sacred

council about the definition of that same holy and apostolic faith. The church of God received this faith “not from men nor through men,” but from the Savior of us all and God, Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God.

¹⁴ After the dispensation of his coming in the flesh, which is truly the great mystery of godliness, as it is written, he was revealed in flesh and seen by angels. ¹⁵ (For the only-begotten could not be seen by angels in the essence of his divinity, unless he had become flesh.) He fulfilled everything that belonged to the plan of salvation: the suffering he took on willingly for us, the burial, and the resurrection. He yielded these to that holy and sinless flesh of his, through which he made our race immortal. Then, as he went up into the heavens, he himself fixed the divine and venerable definition of this holy and blameless faith. He thundered mightily, as it is written, “The Lord went up into the heavens and thundered,” and in another place, “The Lord thundered from heaven, ¹⁶ and the Most High gave his voice.” And what did he thunder? What voice did the Most High give? He speaks to the apostles and says, “Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.”

¹⁷ “For although, out of love for humanity, I have taken your flesh, living and rational, from the all-holy and holy virgin Mary, yet taking on flesh did not add anything to the Trinity of the Father, myself and the Holy Spirit. The Trinity remains a Trinity. So go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the [Holy] Spirit.” ¹⁸ The holy apostles received from the Lord this holy and venerable definition of the right and blameless faith, and they proclaimed it to the whole church of God under heaven. So the word of the prophet was fulfilled in it, which says: “Their sound has gone out into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.” ¹⁹ This definition, and this venerable gift, given to us through the divine apostles by the Son of God, was attacked after a great many years. The persecution against the church of God had ceased, and the enemy of our salvation, eager to corrupt it, used Arius as his city, so to speak, and armed himself against that same holy and blameless faith. He brought in foreign, blasphemous words against the Savior, and with them he threw the church of the Lord throughout the whole world into confusion.

²⁰ For this reason the most faithful emperor Constantine gathered that great multitude of bishops, the council at the city of Nicaea. I had already investigated all its proceedings, as I said above, and I could scarcely find clear

accounts of what was examined and written down there. These were scattered among various men who loved learning. ²¹ One was a certain John, a presbyter, an old man and thoroughly versed in the Scriptures, who recorded them in very old notebooks, though not the whole account. ²² I also drew on various other writers: Eusebius Pamphili, bishop of Caesarea, and Rufinus, presbyter of Rome, both of whom had shared in that holy council, and very many others. ²³ Yet I did not find a consistent, harmonious sequence in the holy book I first came upon, as I said above. Only the admirable Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, traveled the highway of truth without swerving, from the coming of the Lord down to the times of the great Constantine.

²⁴ But I could not find the whole story either, except what I recognized as true in the book I read first. I gathered material from both sources and thought it necessary to write it down in this book, for the common benefit and encouragement of those who will read this writing. ²⁵ My account will therefore begin, with the ever-living Word of God preparing the way and guiding my steps, from the times of the reign of the most devout, Christ-bearing emperor Constantine, who commanded the council of bishops to assemble in the city of Nicaea. ²⁶ For in another work, if God is willing, I will set down his birth and the course of the reign of his father Constantius, the most God-loving emperor. On the beginning of the reign of Constantius.

Chapter 1

¹ After the tyrants Diocletian and Maximian laid aside the imperial purple and returned to private life, as Eusebius says, a short time passed. Then the emperor Constantius, who had been gentle all his life and very kind to his subjects, and who had made himself very dear to the divine Word, left his legitimate son Constantine as emperor and Augustus in his place. He ended his life by the common law of nature, and after his death he was granted all the honor that is owed to an emperor. He had been a most good and mild emperor. ² He alone among the emperors of our time ruled worthily of his office through the whole length of his reign. In every other respect he showed himself most gracious and generous to everyone. He reached a glorious and thrice-blessed end of life. Alone among them, during his own reign, he died peacefully and with honor, leaving a lawful son as his successor, a son who was wise and most devout in everything.

³His son Constantine, from the very beginning of his rule, was proclaimed a perfect emperor and Augustus by the armies. Long before that, he had been proclaimed by God himself, the King of all. He made himself a zealous follower of his father's devotion toward our faith. ⁴And after other matters: So we have said that Constantine became an emperor son of an emperor, devout son of a most devout father, and wise in everything. He was honored with understanding and piety. God, the King of all and Savior, raised him up against the most impious men. When he drew up his forces in a lawful war, God fought at his side in the most astonishing way. Maxentius fell at Rome before Constantine. The other, who ruled in the East, did not outlive him by long. He too ended his life by a most shameful death. Licinius, who had not yet then gone mad, was sent against him by Constantine, the emperor most beloved of God.

⁵Constantine, first in honor and rank among the emperors, first took pity on those who were being tyrannized at Rome. He called on the heavenly God and his Word, the Savior of all, Jesus Christ, as his ally through prayers, and advanced with his whole army to win back for the Romans the freedom of their ancestors. So says Eusebius. Concerning the emperors of the same period, Constantine, Maxentius and Maximin.

Chapter 2

¹Rufinus did not set his account in order, nor in the sequence and harmony of truth, alongside the history of Eusebius, the great Eusebius Pamphili. Nevertheless, whatever I find related to Eusebius' work, gathered from Rufinus himself and from the other writers, I will insert into this book, as I said above. Rufinus also says this: ²After the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian and the death of Constantius, these emperors were left ruling the Roman realm at the same time. Constantine had received his father's portion. It began from what is called Europe and extended to the Danube. It included both Scythias, all the Celts, the Illyrians and Sauromatians, the barbarian land reaching to the river Rhine, Macedonia and the sea beside it, Thessaly and Achaia, and all the land toward the setting sun that the Ionian Sea bounds as it turns back. ³Maximin, Diocletian's son [that is, his adopted son], governed all the nations of the East, as Eusebius says. Maxentius governed Rome and the lands from Italy as far as the Ocean itself. Concerning the tyranny of Maxentius.

Chapter 3

¹After the lawful burial of his father and the customary honors, Constantine therefore considered quiet inaction to be a loss, given the misfortune of the Romans. ²For he heard that the city of Rome was suffering under the evils of Maxentius. His manner of ruling had turned into the cruelty of a tyrant. He handed many of the men in office over to death without trial. He imposed fines, banishments, redistributions of land, and promotions, all without examination. He also lusted after other men's wives, and either corrupted them by wickedness or forced them by his orders. In the end it was unsafe to have a beautiful wife, and there was much murder in the city for those who kept faith with chastity. ³Constantine, most beloved of God, heard these things and very many others that do not belong to the present work, and he was stirred to anger. For the injustice done to others causes real grief to men who love God's people. Concerning the emperor Constantine, and how he took the field against the tyrant Maxentius.

Chapter 4

¹It seemed good to him at last to take up arms and come to the aid of the Romans who were suffering such things. To rescue them from their evils was the same as saving all mankind. ²But first he resolved to call back the cities that had broken away from Roman rule. Some he won by words, some by arms, and some by the kindness of his generosity. He made their taxes lighter and gave them equal access to a hearing. Rebellions and arrogance he dissolved wisely, more by silence than by fear. He knew that the nations of the Saurians, the Franks and the Germans love novelty, and that they are quick to rush into uprisings against their kings and often make their own whim into law. ³He also brought under his rule the Spaniards, the Britons, the islands there, and the remaining peoples, all who live as witnesses of the sunset. They are said to know whether the sun truly sinks into the ocean, or whether it passes around the water and turns back toward us by another road. He also conquered the barbarian tribes there by force of arms, treating the fighting as a side matter to the real task.

⁴Some he subdued, some he paid, and some he made friends instead of enemies and familiar companions instead of old foes. He brought them all back as allies. He distressed no one and besieged no one, and he hurried on toward the rescue of others. ⁵For where God fights alongside, everything is

set right, and it goes beyond human reckoning. With this God-loving purpose, Constantine, most faithful in every respect, crossed the Rhine to the right. With a small army he passed over many mountains and many nameless rivers, and he subdued many barbarian tribes. He won over ten nations of the Gauls, the Franks and the Spaniards, and then led his army toward the mountains of Italy. ⁶ When Maxentius heard this, he fell into an unexpected panic. He had never expected anyone to cross so great a country, fenced in by mountains, rivers, assorted barbarians and the natural hardships of the wilderness. For the desolation of a region often becomes the greatest fortification of a kingdom.

⁷ So he decided to leave Rome with great speed, lead his army out against the enemy, and make the first move somewhere in Italy. When the two sides drew up facing each other and saw each other's standards, the hopes of battle were unequal. Maxentius' men had been brought out from Rome and were pouring out in ranks. They had enjoyed a long rest and respite, so they seemed fit for battle and appeared to bear a spirit worthy of a city that was their match. ⁸ But those drawn up with Constantine had covered a great deal of country, and out of desire they had been gathering much plunder and spoil of war. They had used up their strength in running toward victory rather than enjoying what they had taken, and by now they were giving out from weariness and giving way under the constant strain. Concerning the cross that appeared in heaven to the emperor Constantine.

Chapter 5

¹ The battle was not yet decided and the lines were evenly matched, when God armed Constantine from heaven. He showed him in the sky, in a form of light, the saving sign of the cross. Letters revealed the meaning of the vision, saying: "By this, conquer." ² To unbelievers this account seems a myth, a fiction made up to please our doctrines. But to those used to believing the truth, the proof of the matter is plain. For God, who painted this sign, afterward showed by deed the truth of the inscription's grace. ³ Perhaps what we write does not yet persuade. We are writing history first, because from the beginning we are gathering only a little of what is useful from the things he lived through. But we should not disbelieve in what follows. In our own generation, those who fought beside Constantius, the son of Constantine, saw it with their own eyes, and healed the old unbelief with fresh sights.

⁴For if those who contradict these things are Hebrews, far less believable are the things believed in their own books. A sea crossed on foot, water made into a wall, a deep traveled as a road, God speaking in a bush, a flame giving law, a trumpet sounding without an instrument over the desert, angels drawn up in battle line, commanders of the Lord's host fighting for the army, and hailstones and darts of fire hurled instead of the usual spears. Yet all of us who are sensible agree with these without examining them. ⁵For when God wills, nothing is impossible. And if those who reject the marvel are Greeks, we have much to say that we would rather not say. How many things did the oracle-givers declare divinely to Alexander, when he was about to cross over to the war at the Granicus and the battle line against Darius? Yet their fictions have no visible proof. And how did a divine spirit announce by a voice to the philosopher Socrates the outcome of things he should not do? And what of the accounts about Pythagoras of Samos, put together by his disciples?

⁶I will not even mention the inventions of the poets, or how some of their famous men recorded that certain beings counted as gods among them fought alongside them. I leave this out so that no one will think I am weighing myths against true things, or things that never happened against things that did. ⁷For the many-sided power of Christ's grace, from the time it blossomed among human beings, has been a remedy and a cure in heaven and on earth, in the sea, in plants, in wood, in clothing, in sickness and in health, in food and in drink. It has been so, it is so, and it will be so. Those who have tried it know this, and we ourselves will set it out at the proper time as the history goes on. Concerning the sign which Emperor Constantine made as a copy of the cross that appeared to him in heaven.

Chapter 6

¹So Constantine took the sight of the wonder and turned it into the form of a trophy. He fitted it together with gold-bonded stones and made it into the shape of a very tall spear, and he gave it to the cavalry officers at the head of his army to carry. From then on he looked for the promise of the writing to be fulfilled in actual deeds. ²He was not disappointed in his hope. He believed what he had seen all the more quickly, and he received a victory that came faster than the vision itself. Concerning the victory of the godly Emperor Constantine over the impious Maxentius.

Chapter 7

¹ Constantine, then, cut short the great toil of war by his faith, and he drew up his battle line bravely against the army from Rome, with no fear of it. Maxentius, however, was afraid of Constantine's strength, and he was also wary of the Romans' hatred of him, for most of them had turned against him because of his debauchery. So he decided to pursue his plot by treachery. The treachery was a bridge [put together] as a kind of contraption † by such men. ² For what appeared on the surface was a crossing meant to receive Constantine, but what lay hidden was a snare of deception built under his steps. He had only to cross a little way, and the contraption would be released and the enemy caught, finding in that spot an unexpected grave of destruction. ³ That was how Maxentius prepared the traps for Constantine's crossing. But divine grace wrapped the craftsman of evil in his own clever schemes. Before Constantine could be caught, the tyrant himself fell first into his own devices. There he became the killer of the tyrant, that is, of himself, and prepared a good plot against himself. Before Rome, near the bridge called the Milvian, the aforesaid Maxentius himself went down into the river and drowned. So the whole Roman people cried out, saying:

⁴ "Let us sing to the Lord, for he has been gloriously glorified," as Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, says. "Horse and rider he has thrown into the sea. He became my helper and protector for salvation. And who is like you among the gods, Lord? Who is like you? Glorified among the holy ones, wonderful in glory, working marvels." ⁵ To this the same writer adds: These things, and whatever is akin and similar to them, were the words with which Constantine, by his very deeds, praised God, the ruler of all and the cause of his victory, and his only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ. Then he rode into Rome with triumph. All the people together received him with bright eyes and with their whole souls, as a deliverer, savior and benefactor, with shouts of praise and insatiable joy. Even little children and women came, along with the members of the senate, the other most distinguished men, and the whole Roman people.

⁶ But he had an innate reverence for God. He was not shaken at all by the shouting, nor puffed up by the praises, and he was well aware that the help had come from God. At once he ordered the trophy of the Savior's passion to be set up under the hand of his own statue. So they placed the statue in the most public spot in Rome, holding the sign of the cross in its right hand,

and he commanded that this inscription be set up in these very words, in the Roman language: 7 “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 freed the senate and the Roman people and restored them to their ancient distinction and splendor.” So much from Eusebius. Concerning Licinius, who was sent by the godly Constantine against the tyrant in the East.

Chapter 8

1 Rufinus, or Gelasius, says this: After these events the Roman senate asked that Licinius, who was the brother-in-law of the God-beloved Constantine through Constantine’s sister Constantia, should rule jointly with Constantine. Constantine sent him out again to the East against the tyrant there, taking thought for the safety of the Christians in those parts. The pious Constantine had received such great benefits from God, and he was eager to offer thanksgiving to his benefactor. This meant ending the persecution of Christians, calling back those in exile, releasing those in prison, restoring their property to those whose goods had been confiscated, and rebuilding the churches. He did all of this with great eagerness, because his mind was set on the things of Christ. Being altogether a Christian, he acted in everything as a Christian: he raised up the churches of God and honored them with costly offerings, and he also ordered that the temples of the pagans be pulled down and destroyed by fire. Concerning the madness of Maximinus, the tyrant in the East.

Chapter 9

1 The tyrant in the East, however, was ravaging the churches of God. This is what brought him down. He was not able to bear the greatness of the rule that had been entrusted to him beyond his worth. Lacking any sound or kingly judgment, he set about his business in a crude and tasteless way. Above all, his soul was senselessly lifted up with boastful pride. Already he had begun to dare to act insolently even against his partners in the empire, and above all against Constantine, who surpassed him in everything: in birth, upbringing and education, in rank and understanding, and, the crowning thing of all, in self-control and in godliness toward the true God. Maximinus began by setting himself up for honors above them. 2 He carried this to the height of raving arrogance. He broke the agreements he had made with Licinius and took up a war with no truce. Then in a short time he

threw everything into confusion, stirred up every city, gathered an army of countless thousands, and marched out to battle against Licinius, and so against Constantine, who had sent Licinius. But when he came to close fighting, he was left without the oversight of God, since the victory was granted by the one God of all to Constantine, who then held the power.

³ First the accursed man lost the multitude of armed men in whom he trusted. He was stripped of the guards around him, who left him wholly alone and fled to the victor. The wretch quickly took off the royal dress that did not suit him, stripping himself in a cowardly, base and unmanly way, and slipped into the crowd. Then he ran off, hiding in the fields and villages, and barely escaped the hands of the soldiers, seeking his own safety. ⁴ By these very deeds the divine oracles can be shown to be entirely trustworthy and true, where it is said: "A king is not saved by a great army, and a giant will not be saved by the greatness of his strength. A horse is a false hope for safety, and he will not be saved by the greatness of his power. Behold, the eyes of the Lord are on those who fear him, on those who hope in his mercy, to deliver their souls from death." But the ungodly man was struck all at once by the scourge of God, and in a second clash of war he ended his life.

⁵ His end was not like that of generals and commanders, who often show courage in battle for the sake of virtue and their friends and bravely endure a glorious death. Being ungodly and a fighter against God, he stayed at home and hid, while the battle line stood drawn up in the field, and there he paid the penalty. He was struck all at once by the scourge of God, so that, driven by terrible pains and agonies, he fell on his face and wasted away with hunger, and his whole flesh was melted away by an unseen fire sent from God. As his flesh ran away, his whole former appearance vanished, and only a kind of ghost of dry bones was left, like a skeleton from long ago. Those present could think only that his body had become a tomb for his soul, buried in the shape of a corpse that had wholly wasted away.

⁶ The heat burned him still more fiercely from the depth of his marrow, and his eyes leapt out and fell from their sockets, leaving him blind. Even so, while he still drew breath, he confessed to the Lord and called on death. At the very last he admitted that he suffered these things justly because of his drunken violence against Christ, and he gave up his soul. Concerning the renewal of the churches.

Chapter 10

¹ So Maximin was removed. He was the only one of the enemies of true religion still left, and he had proved the worst of them all. Then, by the grace of almighty God, the rebuilding of the churches began again from their foundations. And the word of Christ, shining out to the glory of the God of all, gained greater boldness than before. ² Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, the best of men in every way, wrote this in the ninth volume of his Ecclesiastical History. As I said above, I am gathering material from his labors and from others for this little book, and I set down the account briefly. I am pressing on with great eagerness toward the high, shining, holy and divine mountain, the apostolic and virtuous council of God's priests at Nicaea. For I see the prophet taking me by the hand and urging me on: ³ "Come," he says, "let us go up to the mountain of the Lord and to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will tell us his way, and we will walk in it. For out of Zion will go forth the law, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem."

⁴ For in truth that divine gathering of God's orthodox priests was Zion and Jerusalem, the loftiest mountain of the Lord and the house of the God of Jacob. By the Holy Spirit they examined the matter, and through the writings of the prophets, the Gospels and the apostles they set out very clearly the truth "about the word of life." That is, the Son of God is truly uncreated in the nature of his deity and not a creature, as the God-fighting and utterly impious Arius blasphemed against him. He is also of the same substance as the Father who begot him before all ages, and of the same stuff. In the same way they showed that the Holy Spirit is of the same deity and substance as the Father and the Son. ⁵ And this is for us a high mountain of God from above, as the word declared beforehand. That word was given by the Lord himself through the apostles, and now, through his priests at Nicaea, it has been made plain by the witness of the Scriptures. This is the venerable and holy mountain of the faultless faith. As the account goes on, with the help of God's grace, it will show this to us more clearly.

⁶ But let us return to the subject set before us in this church history. Let us take up again the account of how God the King came to the help of his people, and how the tyrants were brought down through his servant, the God-loving emperor Constantine. ⁷ Through him the one who alone is "the great Lord, who alone does great wonders, past finding out, of which there is no number," gave peace to his churches throughout the world. He is the one

“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 dunghill. He has brought down rulers from their thrones and exalted the humble. He has filled the hungry with good things and sent the rich away empty. He has shattered the arms of the proud.” He is the wonder-worker and doer of great deeds, the master of all, the Creator of the whole world, the almighty, the all-good, the one and only God. To him we send up the new song, adding in our hearts: “To him who alone does great 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 lowliness the Lord remembered us.”

⁸ For all these things let us not cease to sing the praises of the God of all, and of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord. With the Father he is the cause of all good things for us. He is the one who led us into the knowledge of God, the teacher of true devotion to him, the destroyer of the ungodly, the slayer of tyrants, the reformer of our way of life, and the savior of those who had given up hope. Let us all glorify Jesus with one mouth and one heart, because he alone, ⁹ as the counsel of an all-good Father [text missing] and by the loving-kindness of the Father, of himself and of the Holy Spirit, looked out for our salvation, since we lay down here below in corruption. He put on our nature fully, like an excellent physician who takes up our weaknesses and bears our diseases. Then, and always, he worked salvation and life for the human race.

¹⁰ This King of kings, always caring for his own people, raised up Constantine, his friend and own servant, and armed him with godliness and faith in himself against the ungodly tyrants: Maxentius at Rome and Maximinus in the East. Through Constantine he destroyed them and gave his own people a bright and deep peace. Concerning the wickedness of Licinius.

Chapter 11

¹ But, says Eusebius the son of Pamphilus, the sight of these things was unbearable to the envy that hates what is good and to the demon who loves evil. Nor was what had happened to the tyrants described above enough to bring Licinius, who had changed for the worse, to sober thinking. His rule was flourishing. He held second place in honor to the emperor, the great Constantine, and had been judged worthy of marriage connection and kinship with him. Yet he fell short of imitating what is good, and he envied the wickedness of the ungodly tyrants and copied their evil ways. He had seen

with his own eyes how their lives ended, but he preferred to follow their way of thinking rather than the friendship and goodwill of the better man. ² Being envious, then, of his great benefactor, he began a wicked and terrible war against him. He spared no law of nature, and he took no thought of

³ oaths, of blood-relationship, or of treaties. For Constantine, as a thoroughly good emperor, had given him tokens of true goodwill. He had not begrudged him kinship with himself, and had not refused him a share in a splendid marriage with his sister. ⁴ And after other matters: Licinius, however, did the opposite of all this. This hater of God devised all kinds of schemes every day against his better, and contrived every sort of plot, so as to repay his benefactor with evils. ⁵ To this he adds: But God was a friend, protector and guardian to Constantine, I mean, and brought into the light and exposed the plans that the tyrant was devising in secret and darkness. So great is the power of virtue, the mighty weapon of godliness, both to ward off enemies and to guard one's own safety. Our most God-beloved emperor Constantine, protected by help from God, escaped the many tangled plots of that man of ill name.

⁶ When the tyrant saw that his secret scheming was by no means going as he wished, since God was exposing every trick and piece of villainy against the man he loved, he could no longer keep it hidden, and so chose open war. ⁷ Having decided to fight Constantine face to face, he now also set out to take the field against the God of all, as Constantine's guardian, whom he knew Constantine worshiped. And then he began to drive out the godly people under his rule. ⁸ And after other matters: The manner of his envy against them was strange, such as had never been heard of. For the cities around Amaseia and the rest of the cities of Pontus, which he ordered to be crushed with evils, he outdid every extreme of cruelty. There some of the churches of God were thrown down from top to bottom, razed to the ground, and others he ordered to be shut up, so that none of the usual worshippers might gather, or offer to God the prayers and worship due to him.

⁹ For he did not suppose that these prayers were being offered for himself (how could this hater of God think of such a thing?), reasoning this from a bad conscience. He was convinced that we acted on behalf of Constantine, the God-beloved emperor, and that we were seeking to win God's favor for him. Stirred up by this, he turned his anger against us. ¹⁰ And a little later: Many of the bishops were led away and punished without any excuse, like

murderers, though they had done no wrong. They suffered a strange new kind of death: their bodies were hacked by the sword into many pieces, and after this cruel and most horrible spectacle they were thrown into the depths of the sea as food for the fish. ¹¹ There were also flights of all the godly together, men and women with even the youngest infants. Once again fields, once again deserts, glens and mountains received the servants of Christ, because the ungodly man had stirred up war against everyone.

¹² And a little later: If God, who is supremely good to souls, had not foreseen what was coming and very quickly made a great light and savior shine out for all at once, as in deep darkness and the blackest night, by leading his servant Constantine by the hand with a lofty arm and a most valiant hand.

¹³ To Constantine, then, from above, from heaven, God granted victories over the ungodly as trophies, a fitting fruit of his godliness. But the God of Constantine and of us all cast down the accursed Licinius, together with all his counselors and friends, under Constantine's feet. ¹⁴ When Licinius's affairs were driving on to the extreme of madness, the emperor Constantine, friend of God, judged it intolerable. He gathered up his own sober and pious judgment and mixed the firm trophy of justice with kindness. He decided to come to the help of those suffering under the tyrant. He set out to rescue the greater part of mankind by removing a few destroyers.

¹⁵ Up to that time the most humane emperor Constantine had shown the ungodly man nothing but kindness. He had even pitied a man who did not deserve sympathy. But it gained nothing. Licinius did not turn from his wickedness, and he only increased his rage against [his subjects]. The sufferers had no hope of safety, crushed as they were by a dreadful beast. ¹⁶ So the giver of good things mixed hatred of evil with kindness. The emperor set out against the tyrant from the western parts, from the great city of Rome, together with his most humane son, the emperor Crispus. He held out a hand of salvation to all. Father and son made the all-ruling God and his Son Christ, the Savior, their guide and ally. The emperor Constantine and the emperor Crispus both divided their forces and wheeled around the battle line against the God-haters, and they won an easy victory. Everything in the engagement went smoothly for them, according to the will of the all-ruling God. So says the truth-loving Eusebius, son of the much-praised Pamphilus.

¹⁷ Rufinus says the following. He did not mention any part of what happened under Licinius, but I will still pick out his very words and put them

in my account. He says: Licinius, who reigned together with Constantine, the God-loved, held Greek beliefs and hated Christians. For fear of the emperor Constantine he held back from beginning an open persecution against them, but in secret he plotted against many. ¹⁸ As time went on he openly stirred up persecution against everyone in the regions of the east. As a result many martyrs of Christ appeared in various places. By this he stirred the emperor Constantine to the deepest hatred of him. The two were enemies of each other. So much for this writer. ¹⁹ The others, who defend the truthfulness of Eusebius Pamphili, say this. The father, the emperor Constantine, and the son, the emperor Crispus, divided their army between them and set out against the ungodly tyrant. The son Crispus marched with the army he had with him to the regions of Asia. The father Constantine went through Europe with the guards around him.

²⁰ The God-hater, full of every impiety and murder, came from the east against them with a very large army, drawn up for battle and boasting loudly. He reached Nicomedia. He knew that the soul of the God-loved Constantine revered the priests of God and honored them in every way. So he paid Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, [a man who had long been attached to him and hostile] to the pious emperor Constantine. Licinius thought that through him and his circle he could destroy Constantine, who was fenced about with the unconquerable weapons of God. ²¹ So the admirable Eusebius came to terms with him, won over by the promises of Licinius, who shared his impiety. That this is how it was, one can be fully assured from the letter of the Christ-loving emperor himself, which he wrote to the people of Nicomedia. Near the end of the letter he says something like this:

²² “Who taught these things to so innocent a crowd? Eusebius, plainly, the fellow-initiate in the tyrant’s cruelty. That he became the tyrant’s guard can be seen from many things. The murders of bishops bear witness to it, and of bishops at that. And the very harsh persecution of Christians cries it out plainly. ²³ I will not now speak of any of the things he did against me. At the very time when the conspiracies of the opposing side were being worked up against us, this man supplied the tyrant with spying eyes against me, and all but armed men, to serve his purposes. ²⁴ Let no one think that I am unprepared to prove these things. The proof is exact: it is established that the [presbyters] and deacons who were being sent along with Eusebius were arrested by me. But I bring these things forward now not out of anger but to put

those men to shame. This alone I fear, this I keep turning over: that I see you being called into a share of the charge. For through [his] conduct and his twisting of the truth, [you have taken on] a conscience separated from [what is right; the Greek here is corrupt].”

²⁵ But the cure is not slow in coming, if you will now at last take a faithful and sound bishop and look to God. This is [now present] among you, and it ought to have depended on your judgment long ago. It would have, if the aforementioned Eusebius, with a terrible purpose [shared by those who then wished it for him], had not come here and shamelessly [corrupted] the right order of [the church]. ²⁶ But since it is right for me to say a few things to your love about this same Eusebius, listen patiently. Your forbearance remembers that a council was held in the city of Nicaea. I myself was present at it, as my conscience required. I wanted nothing other than harmony for everyone, and above all I wanted to refute and shake off this affair. It had taken its beginning through Arius of Alexandria [], and it was strengthened at once through the absurd and [] zeal of Eusebius.

²⁷ But consider, dearest and most honored brothers, this same Eusebius. Overcome by his own conscience, how much he bustles about! With what shame he is caught in his lying on every side! He secretly sends various people to me to plead for him. He begs me for help so that, convicted of so great a fault, he will not fall from the honor he now holds. God himself is my witness in these things. May he kindly stay with me and with you. This man led even me astray and improperly carried me off. ²⁸ But divine providence brought me back to its own truest way. You also have recognized this, and you will go on to know it. For everything was done by him at that time, Eusebius the unholy I mean, just as he himself desired, while he hid every kind of evil in his mind. ²⁹ But recently, to pass over the rest of his wickedness, listen, I beg you, to what he did with Theognis, whom he had as a partner in his unholy purpose. Certain Alexandrians who had withdrawn from our faith [I had ordered to be brought] here, because through their service a firebrand of discord was being raised up.

³⁰ But these fine and good bishops, whom the truth of the council had once spared for repentance, not only received these men and kept them safe in their own houses. They also shared with them in their wickedness of character. For that reason I decided to deal with these ungrateful men as I did. I ordered them seized and [sent] into exile. ³¹ Now it is for you to look to God

with that faith which you have always had and ought to have, and to act so that we may rejoice in having bishops who are pure, orthodox and kind to people. But if anyone, in remembrance of those corrupters or in praise of them, is carelessly fired up, his own boldness will immediately be checked through the work of the servant of God, that is, of me. [May] God [keep] you, beloved brothers. ³² This letter, and others like it, of the God-loving emperor Constantine showed most clearly what sort of man the impious Eusebius of Nicomedia was. He was not only a close attendant of the God-hated Licinius, but also a fellow initiate and servant of his tyranny and impiety. From here I will go on to the proper subject of this church history. Concerning the victory of the God-loving emperor Constantine over the impious Licinius.

Chapter 12

¹ Licinius set out with the army that was with him from Nicomedia toward Byzantium, against the God-loving emperor Constantine, who was there at the time. But the other ranks of soldiers had the Christ-bearing emperor in a circle around them. When the wretch saw this, he also saw himself abandoned by his own armies, who had fled to the shield of the stronger side. At first he was eager to hide in Chrysopolis in Bithynia (this is the port of Chalcedon). When he could not, he saw himself already lying prone at the feet of the emperor Constantine, and he surrendered himself. ² The most gentle and devout emperor took him alive and treated him kindly. He did not kill him at all, but ordered him to live quietly in Thessalonica. ³ For a short time Licinius seemed to keep quiet. But after this he summoned some barbarians, and plotting with them, he was eager to win back by war the defeat he had suffered.

⁴ When the most faithful emperor learned of this, he ordered the God-hated man put to death. And so he was killed, the [tyrant] of Christ and of Christ's servant.

BOOK II

Chapter 1

¹ So Constantine became master of everything through the help God gave him, and was proclaimed sole emperor. He was eager to advance the cause of the Christians more and more. He did this in various ways, for he had a burning faith and an inborn, wholly faithful devotion to the God of all.

And the whole church under heaven was in deep peace. ² Let us hear, then, what the finest sower in the field of the church, the lover of truth Eusebius, son of the famous Pamphilus, says on this point. ³ “Licinius,” he says, “followed the same road of impiety as the godless tyrants, and so he was justly brought down to the same precipice as they.” ⁴ “He, then, lay thrown down in this way. But the greatest of conquerors, Augustus Constantine, who shone with every virtue of godliness, together with his son Crispus, a emperor most beloved of God and in every way most like his father, recovered the East, which was their own. They gave the Roman realm its single united rule as in former times. They brought the whole circle of the world, from the rising sun, on both sides, north and south, to the furthest limits of the setting day, under one and the same peace.”

⁵ “All fear of their oppressors was taken away from people. They celebrated bright festival days, and everything was full of light. Those who had been downcast before looked at one another with smiling faces and radiant eyes. Hymns were heard in city and countryside alike. First of all they honored God the King and his true Son, Christ, because this is what they had been taught. Then they praised the devout emperor together with his God-beloved sons.” ⁶ “The old evils were forgotten, and every impiety was lost from memory. People enjoyed the good things present and looked forward to those to come. Edicts full of the victorious emperor’s kindness were published in every place, and laws that showed generous giving and true godliness.” ⁷ “So, with every tyranny cleared away, the rightful rule was kept secure and free from envy for Constantine and his sons alone.” ⁸ So much, then, from Eusebius son of Pamphilus, the most trustworthy of the ancient church historians. He took great pains and searched thoroughly through [the text is corrupt here: sources of the plainest kind], and he left us an accurate account of church history in ten whole volumes.

⁹ He began from the coming of the Lord and carried it down to these times. It was not without toil. How could it have been, when he took on so great a care to preserve the harmony of such a collection? But, as I said just now, he put in great zeal and an immense wealth of labor. ¹⁰ Let no one suppose, from what is rumored about him, that the man ever held any of the blasphemous wickedness of Arius. Rather, be persuaded that if he ever said or wrote anything slightly suggestive of Arius, it was not according to Arius’s impious thought but out of unguarded simplicity. He himself assured us of

this, bearing witness in his defense, which he sent to the body of the orthodox bishops. ¹¹ Anyone of sound mind would take the man to be telling the truth, since it is also agreed from that source that the teachings of Arius had not yet at that time been heard. What he did at the council at Nicaea will show how he struggled against the impiety of Arius for the sake of the apostolic and orthodox faith.

¹² But let us return to the sequence of the church's history. The church of Christ our Savior throughout the world was enjoying deep peace. This had been granted to it by God, the King of all, through his servant Constantine and his sons. ¹³ After the martyrdom of the divinely inspired Peter, who had been bishop of the church of Alexandria, he was perfected in that martyrdom and won the unfading crown of the contest. The church there was left without a bishop for one year. ¹⁴ After the year, Achillas was appointed to the throne of the same holy martyr Peter. He was a sturdy man of great natural gifts and holy mind, outstanding in reverence and in abundant wisdom, as the ancient writings, which are reliable, tell us. After much urging, he received Arius into the diaconate. ¹⁵ Achillas lived only five months more. Then Alexander took up the high-priestly office of the church of the Alexandrians there. He was a man honored by all the clergy and people of the church. He was small in stature, generous in giving, a good speaker, gentle, a lover of God, a lover of people, a lover of the poor, kind, and approachable to all, as much as anyone ever was. He himself also set Arius as a presbyter, very near to himself.

¹⁶ Under him the peace of the churches was growing brighter day by day, standing together in a single harmony, and it was honored everywhere on earth by the struggles of the holy martyrs. The devil could not bear such growth in the most faithful people of the church, in their heavenly worship of God. So again, out of some quarrelsomeness, he brought about trouble among them. Concerning the heresy invented by Arius, the fighter against God.

Chapter 2

¹ That presbyter, whom we said Bishop Alexander of Alexandria had honored with such a position, was named Arius. He was a man pious in outward appearance, but for the rest a hot-blooded lover of glory and empty show. He began to put forward certain strange teachings about faith in Christ, things no one in earlier times had ever asked about or introduced.

² He tried to divide our only-begotten Lord Jesus Christ from the ineffable and eternal Godhead of the Father, and so he became responsible for great disturbance in the church. ³ Alexander, with his gentle nature, wished to turn Arius to a better course by suitable exhortations, and for the time being did not decide to use a formal sentence. Because of this, many were drawn in to share the plague of the heresy, and then, like a great fire kindled from a small spark, it blazed up. ⁴ The evil began in the church of the Alexandrians and then spread through other cities and provinces.

⁵ At last, when Alexander saw the evil growing worse, he called together a synod of the bishops under him and deposed Arius. He then set the matter before his fellow ministers. He set out the case of Arius more fully and urged zeal for destroying the heresy. He told them to prepare themselves for a judgment on it, and wrote to them as follows. The letter of deposition against Arius and those with him, sent by Bishop Alexander to the bishops everywhere:

Chapter 3

¹ “To his beloved and most honored fellow ministers everywhere in the catholic church, Alexander sends greetings in the Lord. ² “Since the catholic church is one body, and the divine Scriptures command us to keep the bond of concord and peace, it follows that we should write and tell one another what is happening among each of us. Then, if one member suffers or rejoices, we may either suffer with one another or rejoice with one another. ³ “Now in our own region lawless men, enemies of Christ, have come forward and are teaching an apostasy which one might reasonably suspect to be the forerunner of the Antichrist, and might call it so. ⁴ “I wanted to pass over such a thing in silence, so that the evil might be used up among the apostates alone, and not cross into other places and defile the ears of some simple people. ⁵ “But Eusebius, who is now in Nicomedia, thinks that the affairs of the church lie in his hands, because he left Berytus and, having set his eye on the church of Nicomedia, has not been called to account for it. He has put himself at the head of these apostates and has tried to write everywhere on their behalf, to draw away some who are unaware into this heresy, so ruinous and hostile to Christ. So I was under compulsion. Knowing what is written in the law, I could no longer keep silent, and I must now report to you, so that you may know who the apostates are, and the wretched little phrases of their heresy, and so that, if Eusebius writes to you, you may pay no attention.

⁶“For he wishes to renew through these men an old ill will of his own, which time had silenced. He puts on a show of writing on their behalf, but in fact he shows that he is zealous in this for himself. The apostates, then, are these: Arius, Achilles, Thales, Carpones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoius, Lucius, Julius, Menas, Helladius, Gaius, and with them Secundus and Theonas, who were once called bishops. ⁷“The things they have invented against the Scriptures and now say are these: ‘God was not always Father, but there was a time when God was not Father. The Word of God was not always, but came into being out of things that were not. For the God who is made the one who was not out of what was not. Therefore there was a time when he was not. For the Son is a creature and a made thing. He is not like the Father in essence, nor is he the true and natural Word of the Father, nor his true wisdom. Rather he is one of the things made and created, and he is called Word and Wisdom only by misuse of the terms,

⁸‘having himself come into being through God’s own Word and the Wisdom that is in God, by which God made all things and him as well. Therefore he is also changeable and alterable in nature, like all rational beings. ⁹‘The Word is a stranger to the essence of God, foreign to it and cut off from it, and the Father is ineffable to the Son. For the Word neither knows the Father perfectly and accurately, nor can he see him perfectly. Indeed the Son does not even know his own essence as it is. ¹⁰‘For he was made on our account, so that God might create us through him as through an instrument. He would not have come to exist if God had not wished to make us.”

¹¹Someone once asked them whether the Word of God can change, as the devil changed. They were not afraid to answer, “He can. His nature is changeable, since he is begotten and created.” Arius and his followers said these things and were not ashamed of them. So we gathered together, with the bishops of Egypt and the Libyas, a hundred in number, and laid an anathema on them and on those who followed them. But Eusebius and his party received them. They were eager to mix falsehood into the truth and ungodliness into godliness. They will not succeed, for the truth prevails. “There is no fellowship of light with darkness,” and no “agreement of Christ with Belial.” For who has ever heard such things?

¹²Who hears such things now without being shocked, and without stopping his ears so that the filth of these words does not touch his hearing? When John says, “In the beginning was the Word,” who does not condemn

those who say, "There was once when he was not"? Who hears the words "only-begotten Son, and through him all things came to be" and does not condemn those who declare that "he is one of the created things"? How can he be one of the things that came into being through him? Or how can he be only-begotten if, by their account, he is counted together with everything else? And how can he be "from things that were not," when the Father says, "My heart has brought forth a good word," and "from the womb, before the morning star, I begat you"? ¹³ Or how can he be unlike the Father in essence, when he is the perfect image and radiance of the Father, and says, "Whoever has seen me has seen the Father"?

¹⁴ And if the Son of God is Word and Wisdom, how can there have been "a time when he was not"? To say that is the same as saying that God was once without reason and without wisdom. And how can he be changeable and alterable, when he says of himself, "I am in the Father and the Father is in me," and "I and the Father are one," and says through the prophet, "See me, for I am, and I do not change"? Even if someone could apply that saying to the Father himself, it fits better with the Word, since even when he became man he was not altered. As the apostle said, "Jesus Christ is the same yesterday and today and for the ages." And what persuaded them to say that he was made for our sake, when Paul says, "through whom are all things and for whom are all things"?

¹⁵ As for their blasphemy that the Son does not know the Father perfectly, we should not be surprised. Having once set out to fight against God, they twist even his own words, when he says, "The Father knows me, and I know the Father." Now if the Father knows the Son only in part, then clearly the Son also knows the Father perfectly; but if it is not right to say this, and the Father knows the Son perfectly, then clearly, just as the Father knows his own Word, so also the Word knows his own Father, and he is the Word. ¹⁶ By saying these things and unfolding the divine Scriptures, we often confounded them. Then again, like chameleons, in their love of strife they tried to draw to themselves the saying, "When the ungodly comes into the depth of evils, he despises." Many before them have gone further than they should and fallen into folly. But these men, by attempting everything to destroy the divinity of the Word, have condemned themselves beyond those others, since they have come nearer to the antichrist.

17 And so they were proclaimed outcasts and anathematized by the church. We grieve over their destruction, especially because they once belonged to the church and have now leapt away from it. But we are not dismayed. For Hymenaeus and Philetus suffered this, and so did Judas, one of the Twelve, who followed the Savior and later became a traitor and apostate.

18 We have not been left untaught about these men either. The Lord warned beforehand: "Take care that no one leads you astray. For many will come in my name, saying, 'I am he,' and 'The time has come near,' and they will lead many astray. Do not go after them." And the apostle, who learned this from the Savior, wrote that "in later times some will fall away from the sound faith, giving heed to spirits of error and to teachings of those who turn away from the truth."

19 So our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ commanded this himself and signified it through the apostle concerning such people. In keeping with that, when we heard their ungodliness, we anathematized them, as such people deserve, and declared them strangers to the church and to the faith. 20 So we have also made this known to your Godliness, beloved and most honored fellow ministers. If any of them should rashly come to you, do not receive them. And do not be persuaded by Eusebius, or by anyone else who writes on their behalf. We who are Christians ought to turn away from all who speak against Christ, and who think as they do, as fighters against God and destroyers of souls. We should not even say "Greetings" to such people, so that we do not share in their sins, as the blessed John commanded. Greet the brothers who are with you; those with me greet you. The presbyters of Alexandria.

21 I, Kollouthos, presbyter, agree with what has been written and with the deposition of Arius and of those who were extinguished with him. Alexander, presbyter, likewise. Dionysios, presbyter, likewise. Alexander, presbyter, likewise. Harpokration, presbyter, likewise. Nemesios, presbyter, likewise. Silvanos, presbyter, likewise. Apis, presbyter, likewise. Paulos, presbyter, likewise. Dioskoros, presbyter, likewise. Eusebios, presbyter, likewise. Silas, presbyter, likewise. Agathon, presbyter, likewise. Longos, presbyter, likewise. Pirous, presbyter, likewise. Proterios, presbyter, likewise. Kyros, presbyter, likewise. Deacons: Ammonios, deacon, likewise. Pistos, deacon, likewise. Eumenes, deacon, likewise. Olympios, deacon, likewise. Athanasios, deacon, likewise. Pnaulos, Paulos, deacon, likewise. Amyntianos, deacon, likewise.

Makarios, deacon, likewise. Athanasios, deacon, likewise. Apollonios, deacon. Aphthonios, deacon, likewise. Makarios, deacon, likewise. Petros, deacon, likewise. Gaios, deacon, likewise. The presbyters of Mareotis: Ammonas, presbyter, likewise. Sostras, presbyter, likewise. Tyrannos, presbyter, likewise. Ammonas, presbyter, likewise. Serenos, presbyter, likewise. Herakles, presbyter, likewise. Agathon, presbyter, likewise. Deacons: Sarapion, deacon, likewise. Didymos, deacon, likewise. Maurus, deacon, likewise. Komon, deacon, likewise. Tryphon, deacon, likewise. Didymos, deacon, likewise. Seras, deacon, likewise. Hierax, deacon, likewise. Dioskoros, presbyter, likewise. Theon, presbyter, likewise. Kopres, presbyter, likewise. Orion, presbyter, likewise. Didymos, presbyter, likewise. Bokkon, presbyter, likewise. Achillas, presbyter, likewise. Ioustos, deacon, likewise. Demetrios, deacon, likewise. Markos, deacon, likewise. Alexander, deacon, likewise. Ammonios, deacon, likewise. Ptolariion, deacon, likewise. Gaios, deacon, likewise. Markos, deacon, likewise.

²² While Alexander was writing this to people everywhere, city by city, the evil grew worse. When the emperor Constantine learned of it, he was deeply pained in his soul and counted the matter as a disaster of his own. He was eager to put out at once the evil that had been kindled, so he sent a letter to Alexander and Arius by a trustworthy man, the bishop of Cordoba, a city of Spain, since the emperor loved him and held him in honor. A letter of the emperor Constantine to Alexander and Arius, sent by Hosius, bishop of Cordoba.

Chapter 4

¹ Constantine, Victor, Greatest, Augustus, to Alexander and Arius. I learn that the beginning of the present dispute arose like this. You yourself, father Alexander, were asking each of the presbyters what each of them thought about a certain passage written in the Law, or rather, about some idle part of it. And you, Arius, rashly put forward a position which you should never have thought of in the first place, or, having thought of it, should have kept to yourself in silence. ² So when this disagreement arose among you, communion was refused, and the most holy people, split into two parts, were separated from the harmony of the common body. Let each of you, giving equal consideration, accept what your fellow servant rightly advises you. And what is that? ³ It was not right at the beginning either to ask about such matters or, when asked, to answer. For no necessity of any law demands such inquir-

ies; rather, the quarrelsomeness of useless idleness puts them forward. Even if it is done for the sake of some natural exercise of the mind, we ought nevertheless to shut such questions up within our thoughts and not carelessly bring them out into public gatherings, nor thoughtlessly entrust them to everyone's ears. For how many people are able to grasp accurately, or to explain properly, matters so great and so difficult?

⁴ And a little later: So we must avoid long talk on such subjects. Otherwise, because of the weakness of our nature we may be unable to explain what has been set forth, or the slower understanding of those being taught may fail to grasp accurately what was said. Then the people may again be brought, because of one or the other of these, either to blasphemy or to schism. And after other remarks: For it is believed to be neither fitting nor at all permitted. ⁵ To remind your good sense with a small example: you surely know that even the philosophers all agree on one doctrine, yet often, when they differ on some part of it, they are divided by the excellence of their knowledge, but are united again in their agreement on the doctrine. If this is so, how much more just is it that you, who are servants of the great God, should be of one mind with each other in such a choice of religion?

⁶ Let us look at this with greater care and think over what has been said with more understanding. Is it really possible that, because of a few quarrels over empty words among you, brothers should be set against brothers and children against fathers, and that the council should be split by this ungodly division because of you? ⁷ Let us willingly turn away from the devil's temptations. Our great God, the Savior of all, has stretched out his light to everyone. By his providence he has [given me, his servant, this task], so that I might bring you, his peoples, by my appeal and by the service of my exhortation and urging, into the holy fellowship of the council. ⁸ And after other things: Concerning the divine providence, let there be one faith among you, one understanding, one agreement about what is better. But as for the things you argue over so precisely among yourselves in these very small questions, even if you come together in one opinion, it is right that they stay within the mind's reasoning, kept as something unspoken. Yet what belongs to the common good, the faith of the truth, and the worship and honor owed to God and to the law, let these remain unshaken among you.

⁹ Return, then, to friendship and goodwill toward one another. Give back to the whole people their own embraces. Cleanse your own souls, as it

were, and recognize one another again. Friendship is often sweet when it returns to reconciliation after enmity has been laid aside. ¹⁰ So give me back peaceful days and nights free of care, so that I too may keep some pleasure in pure light and, from then on, the joy of quiet. ¹¹ Otherwise I must groan, be held in tears all the time, and [be unable to bear] the rest of my life. For when the peoples of God, my fellow servants I mean, are divided from one another in such an unjust and harmful way, how can my own mind be at peace any longer? ¹² So that you may feel how great my grief is over this, listen. Not long ago I arrived at the city of Nicomedia, and at once my mind was hurrying toward [the East]. But while I was already hastening to you, and for the most part was with you, the report of this matter turned my thoughts back the other way, so that I would not be forced to see with my eyes what I could not bear to accept even with my ears.

¹³ Open to me, then, in your agreement, the road to the East, which you closed to me by your quarrels with one another. Allow me soon to see both you and all the other peoples rejoicing, and to give to the Better One, in words of good omen, the thanks owed for the common harmony and [healing] of all. ¹⁴ Such were the wonderful and wise-filled exhortations of the emperor's letter. But the evil was stronger than the emperor's zeal and than the trustworthiness of the one who served as bearer of the letters. Whereupon the most God-beloved emperor Constantine commanded that a council of bishops take place at Nicaea.

Chapter 5

¹ So the emperor, seeing the church in turmoil, assembled an ecumenical council, urging the bishops from everywhere by letter to come together at Nicaea in Bithynia. It was the sixteenth year and six months of his reign when he was pursuing these efforts for the peace of the church. ² Bishops came from many provinces and cities. Concerning them Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus, says the following word for word in the third book of his work on the Life of Constantine: "From all the churches that filled all of Europe, Libya and Asia, the choicest of God's ministers were gathered together in one place. ³ A single house of prayer, as though enlarged by God, held within it at once Syrians, Cilicians, Phoenicians, Arabs and Palestinians, and besides these Egyptians, Thebans, Libyans, and those from Mesopotamia. Already a Persian bishop was present at the council, and a Scythian was not missing from the company. Pontus, Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia provided

their chosen men. Thracians and Macedonians, Achaeans and Epirotes, and those living even farther away also came. Even the famous Hosius of Spain was there, taking the place of Sylvester, bishop of the great city of Rome, and sitting with the Roman presbyters Vito and Vincentius.

⁴ The head of the now-reigning city, Metrophanes by name, was absent because of old age, but presbyters present there filled his place. One of them was Alexander, who later became bishop of that same city. ⁵ Constantine, the one emperor from all the ages to do so, joined this crown to Christ with the bond of peace. He offered it to his Savior as a thank-offering worthy of God for victory over his hostile enemies. In our own time he had set up this picture of the apostolic company. ⁶ For the account says that in the apostles' day too, devout men from every nation under heaven were gathered, as in the Acts of the Apostles, where there were "Parthians and Medes and Elamites." The difference is that those gatherings lacked this: not all of them were present as ministers of God. In the present company the bishops numbered more than three hundred. The presbyters, deacons, attendants and many others who followed them were too many to count.

⁷ Among these ministers of God, some stood out for their wisdom in speech. Others stood out for the firmness of their lives and their patient endurance. Others were adorned by a middle way. Some were honored for their many years. Others shone with youth and vigor of soul. Others had only just entered the course of ministry. ⁸ The emperor ordered that provisions be supplied lavishly to all of them every day. Such is the account Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus, gave of those who gathered there. Here the emperor sits in council with the bishops.

Chapter 6

¹ After the emperor had celebrated the festival of victory over Licinius, he himself came to Nicaea. On the next day all the bishops gathered together in one place, and the emperor came in after them. When he entered he stood in the middle. He would not sit down until the bishops nodded their consent. Such reverence and respect for these men held the emperor. ² The emperor, whom all praised, gave them a speech of exhortation and instruction. It was a speech of hymn-singing, glory and thanksgiving to the God of all, who had granted him so much. He spoke somewhat as follows. An address by Constantine Augustus to the holy council.

Chapter 7

¹ “The righteousness that nurtures [us], the righteousness of almighty God, has laid out many most conspicuous roads for the human race to do good. Not least among them is that more distinguished and flashing road. In the crown of the most holy law of the [catholic] church it has gathered for us all something greater than any wonder: the Lord’s dwelling-place of faith. ² We see its summit reaching up to the light of the stars. Even while the work was only beginning, we know that its foundations were laid so deeply and so faithfully, by the nod of God, that the whole world perceived it. ³ From that summit, which stands above all the rest, a level and even way appears, lit with the brightness of light, running to the end of the exit. Its front is adorned with a seal like a star. Ten columns brighter than snow bear it up, unmoved in their setting of faith, and they bear it forever by the power of our Savior’s divinity.

⁴ The craftsman of so great a work [took us up], and gave us also a righteous faith from the soul. He put into our minds the dignity of this same law. To its gates nothing else comes forward but a pure and pious desire pressing on, with a mind purely [fixed], in confidence. [The one who approaches does so in this way.] ⁵ To this same house a saving purpose added a wonderful splendor of adornment. I mean this: inside, the faith of men, honored with blooming crowns throughout the whole precinct of the Lord, gathers the fruit of immortality. It brings out into the open the pure strains of human life and makes them conspicuous. From there the heavenly glory outside, crowned, outlines the prizes of the age that always remains, or rather keeps growing. What has been nourished adorns the whole completion of the work with the praise that is fitting.

⁶ This same house of the Lord is guarded by only two guards. Divine fear comes to the mind of some as a corrective. For the sensible there is always present, as a prize, the divine praise of understanding. While each of these stays at the forecourts of the most holy place, the open gates receive righteousness. Once it has settled within, it remains undefiled. But injustice has no right even to approach the doors. It is banished and shut out of the place. ⁷ Most honored brothers, worthy of all praise, these things have brought matters so clearly into the brightness of the eternal and [undying] light. So I pray that no faith of the soul may perhaps make me unfit and far from the truth. ⁸ But what shall I affirm first? Shall it be the pattern of that blessedness

which lies hidden, shut up inside my breast? Or the divine kindnesses that almighty God has shown me? Out of the great number of those works it would be enough to say this: our own God, the Father of all [things], has rightly made my lowly self his own servant.

⁹ Believe me, most honored brothers, and receive what I say with an undivided faith. My mind may seem to be blessed by the divine kindnesses, and from such a matter it may seem able to fill [outstanding minds]. Yet, as the faith of the truth plainly shows, neither voice nor tongue is able to carry out what the mind commands, and quite understandably. ¹⁰ The greatness of these kindnesses is beyond measure. The mind, being lofty, reaches places far above the body. But the [tongue's] course is shut up in a very narrow space, and being almost useless for speaking it falls completely silent. Which of us is so rash, with such confidence, as to throw away reason and say that he could easily and fully utter glorious and worthy praises to God, who can do all things, and who is the maker of all that is fairest? ¹¹ If anyone considers only the majesty of the one who ordained that he should be born, he would see well enough that nothing can be set down that is able to be called worthy of God.

¹² What then should I, in my lowliness, say about this devotion, except what the word of truth shows? Let the greatest act of worship look carefully at his greatness, to see whether it can attain it in the things said about him. Then no error will cause it to slip. ¹³ I wish that I, your fellow servant, had a rich supply of words, so that I could praise those things that deserve to be proclaimed. Our divine Saviour, the guardian of all things, [showed them] by the [signs] of his coming. For our benefit he deigned to take from a virgin a pure body as his dwelling. He made known to people a lesson of his compassion, and he showed it by the calm nod of his divinity. Where then shall I begin? ¹⁴ Shall I begin with his teaching and his dignity? Or with the divine teachings, in which, with no one teaching him, he alone appeared as teacher? Or with this: that by his providence so many crowds, as many as can be counted, drew breath again, with a little food, the smallest provisions, and only two fish, [...] by his divine providence?

¹⁵ And Lazarus: after his death, with a short rod, he made a resurrection and brought him back again into the brightness of the light. ¹⁶ How could I speak of his pure divinity? By it he saw a certain woman in a rather hidden way and counted her worthy of his conversation alone. He showed her

healthy again and free from every disease. ¹⁷ Who could speak worthily of his deathless work? By it a certain man had been consumed by a continual, long wasting sickness, his limbs dissolved, and he lay [helpless]. Suddenly he was strengthened by divine healing. He put on his shoulders the very bed on which he had lain, and, pouring out praises of thanksgiving, he ran through his homeland and his district. ¹⁸ And what of his divine and steady walking? He trod on the wild sea as one who steps upon it, and walked over it. With his divine footsteps he made the water of the deepest sea firm. Through the middle of the open sea, which no measure of depth bounds, he made his journey as if over land.

¹⁹ And what of his gentle patience under wrong? By it he was victor in all things. He tamed the self-willed arrogance of the peoples, and when it was tamed he [separated] its wildness far from [...] and subjected it to the law. ²⁰ And what of those most brilliant and greatest works of his divinity, by which we live? By them we not only look for the hope of the coming blessedness, but in some way already possess it. ²¹ What more do I dare to say, even with this small preparation of speech? It is not only this, [which concerns] the purity of my consecrated soul, but what kind of God the almighty is, who dwells in heaven. He is so toward the whole human race, and most of all and especially toward that righteousness which is most beautiful and greater than any praise. For he deigned that the most holy part of his own divine Spirit should dwell [in the body] and in this way be saving for our bodies.

²² So then, concerning this most holy and saving order of almighty God, the boundless madness of the enemies, as though confused in a mist of destructive perversity, hesitates to give an account of it. I will therefore try to tell it briefly, as far as my faith and the abundance of speech in my soul allow. ²³ For the malice of these [nations] brings in such a kind of shamelessness that, with impious mouth, they are not afraid to say that God, who can do all things, has neither done nor wished to do all the things set out in the divine law. ²⁴ What an impious thing to say! It deserves every extreme of punishment against itself. Truly, with madness and daring, it wants to hide the glory of this divine kindness, which no human being is able to comprehend. ²⁵ For what is more worthy of God than holiness? It came forth from the most holy fellowship with the fountain of righteousness. It has overflowed through the whole circuit of the world, and it has shown people the powers of the most holy virtues. But they first counted these virtues as en-

emies to themselves, and [they suffered the fate] of the Assyrians. With their bad example leading the way, the remaining nations were persuaded to join them.

²⁶ In these matters, as we judge from our own observation, we see the divine compassion of our God and Savior working with us. Day by day, and over many ages, he has commanded those who were driven by the goad of a fiery madness to turn back to the patience of saving healing. Even so, the greatness of such a kindness cannot come as a favor to the rest, [because] of human ignorance. They do not understand that the divine power can exalt every word, make it firm once it is raised on high, and again bring it down and dissolve it. ²⁷ But the course of events would rather have gone against human affairs, if God, who can do all things, had not purposed to do everything by the silent nod of his own divinity. For human madness would rather have become widespread, and human [arrogance], with no limit, would have ravaged every soul. Nor could the many other things have appeared, which serve their own appointed order in the turning of the world.

²⁸ But everything together, along with the ignorance of the divine, would quickly have perished. The injustice of envy and malice would not have stayed among a few; no one would have been found a stranger to this malice. Religions of every kind have spread so greatly and widely into the souls of human beings that, deservedly, by their own shamefulfulness, they are always [deprived] of the light of this our brightness, and deprive themselves of it.

²⁹ No argument, then, will be able to drag my faith away from what has been said. For with my faith, with nothing evil standing in the way, goes perfect power: the living Word of truth, the one who can do all things, the guardian of all [...], the protector of our salvation. He seems, then, in the manner of his most holy word, to supply abundantly [the fellowship] of the one who sets free, to preserve it, and to provide us with the brightness of the light.

³⁰ Why, then, even now do the crowds of all the [nations] not look at the heavenly light, or [understand] the most glorious and holy [...]? Why do they seek what is earthly, which has no real existence, no radiance of pure brightness, and no power of divinity? ³¹ What an unworthy drama! Even now they fall short of nothing in impiety, and they do not look to what is needed. They fall under wretched error and do not see. With these filthy works they do not stop defiling the brightness of the world. They set up wood and stone

and bronze and silver and gold, these earthly [materials], to be worshiped, and from them they promise hope of life. They adorn temples for them with conspicuous decoration, and in this way they increase the [...] of their [...]. For the sheer size of the buildings they have made offers a marvel worthy of their own sight.

³² So when they seem to be doing these things, it is clearly understood, even if in their pride they neither perceive nor see it, that they are caught while thinking they are boasting in their own works. How great and mighty, then, is the ruler of all, who is not seen! He is the sovereign and judge of all. Some, in their very confidence in their own virtue, as they suppose, [insult themselves] and do not notice it. ³³ By his design the form of our body received its proper shape. So that we might have the full vigor of harmony, the same God bound the joining of our limbs together with very strong sinews, so that in every action of our effort we would have the untiring strength of that harmony. [Text lost here] by a saving design of these things, he also breathed a spirit into us, so that all these parts could move and live. He granted sight to our eyes, gave our head [its place] for understanding, and shut up reasoning inside the whole region of our mind.

³⁴ So if anyone of sound mind were to consider the [purpose] of this design, and set aside the rest, which can be grasped neither by word nor by number, he would quickly come to see and understand the eternal and saving power of the immortal God. Without any error he would be able [to bind a human being to him], since he can plainly see that all things that have come into being exist by the power of God, as God himself willed them all to be. ³⁵ I want it to be seen that some lawless way of life in the world produced ignorance of God among people. It began when a line of thinking, born from the deceit of the enemy, took root in the wretched souls of perverse men. Let us take clear proof of this from the divine law. ³⁶ From the time when the divine holy command was not kept with fitting care by those two who were set in place at the beginning, the [flower] of this name was not born afterward. The evil became continual and grew more, from the time when the two I mentioned were driven out by a divine nod.

³⁷ Matter itself, together with the wickedness of people, advanced so far that it condemned the [foundations] of the east and the west. The very excess of the opposing power seized people's minds and... [the text breaks off here].

³⁸ In this command, however, lies the holy and immortal, untiring compas-

sion of God, who can do all things. For through all the days and past ages, God has been setting free countless multitudes of peoples who were enslaved under this burden, and he did so through me, the same servant of his. He will lead them out into the full brightness of eternal light. Because of these things, my dearest brothers, I trust that from now on I will be more distinguished, through a more personal providence and glorious benefits from our immortal God, and through my most pure faith toward him. ³⁹ So let the most pure synod of your holiness receive me, and do not allow the doors of the most prudent church, the common mother of us all, to be set against me. Even if my soul's reasoning, which seeks complete purity of the catholic faith, does not think itself worthy of this, it still urges and reminds me. [The text here is corrupt: something about the forehead of its own modesty, a seal of all the finest virtues, and knocking at the gates of...] and at these too, so that you also may deign at once to grant the goodwill of your brotherhood, [looking] toward one concord and toward the catholic faith.

⁴⁰ For this is fitting for God, suited to the faith of the catholic church, and beneficial to the common good. Since this [stable] peace has been granted to us by God, let us all offer a worthy repayment to the one who [gave] it to us. ⁴¹ It would be truly terrible, exceedingly terrible, now that our enemies have been destroyed and no one dares to oppose us, for us to strike one another and give our adversaries the pleasure of a good laugh. This is all the worse because, on divine matters and on the all-holy Spirit, we have the teaching in writing. The books of the gospels and of the apostles, and the oracles of the prophets, clearly teach us what we ought to think about [God]. So let us drive out war-making strife and take the solution to our questions from the God-inspired words. ⁴² The all-wise emperor, like a child who loves his father, set these and similar words before the priests as before fathers, working to bring about agreement in the apostolic teachings. The synod of bishops who had come together numbered three hundred and eighteen. The three hundred were persuaded by what was said, and they welcomed both harmony with one another and soundness of doctrine.

⁴³ The rest, as we said earlier, fought against the apostolic teachings. They were eager to give Arius's opinion a grand and forceful defense. There were seventeen of them: Eusebius of Nicomedia, as was said before; Theognis of Nicaea; Maris of Chalcedon; Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace; Menophantus of Ephesus; Patrophilus of Scythopolis; Narcissus of Neronias in the second

Cilicia, which we now call Irenopolis; Theonas of Marmarica; Secundus of Ptolemais in Egypt; and with them eight others. These mingled themselves with the company of the three hundred holy men, as though they were orthodox, and worked against the apostolic teachings, speaking on behalf of Arius. ⁴⁴ Against these, our fathers among the saints struggled nobly: Alexander, then a presbyter of Constantinople, and Athanasius, the archdeacon of the church of the Alexandrians. For this reason envy was armed against them, as we will tell later. Our holy bishops summoned Arius to the council, permitting him to defend his own teachings, at the bidding of the emperor, victorious in all things, since, as we have just said, he himself sat with the council. Here the emperor receives the petitions of the bishops.

Chapter 8

¹ But what the emperor, victorious in all things, did at the council is marvelous and should not be passed over in silence. When all the bishops had been gathered, there were, as usual, inquiries and disputes. Some bishops, for the sake of quarrelling, had a grievance one against another. They handed in written petitions and brought charges before the pious emperor. He received the petitions, sealed them with his ring, and ordered them to be kept. ² Seeing the contentiousness of such bishops toward one another, he said that they must all meet together on one day and settle these matters. When the appointed day came, the emperor sat down in the middle. When a quiet suited to the occasion had fallen, he ordered everyone's petitions to be brought in. He received them and put them in the fold of his robe, unwilling even to look into what was written in them. He said:

³ "God has set you apart as priests and rulers, to judge and decide among the multitudes, and has appointed you to be gods, as being above all men, according to what was said: 'I said, You are gods, and all of you sons of the Most High,' and: 'God stood in the assembly of gods.' So you ought to neglect common affairs and give all your zeal to divine matters." ⁴ Then he ordered fire to be brought, and commanded that the petitions be burned. For he was eager that none of those outside should learn of such uneven conduct on the part of these bishops. So great was the emperor's reverence toward the priests of God, which all right-minded people would admire. ⁵ Another act of his, similar to this, I think it unjust to pass over in silence. Certain lay people, fond of strife and of abuse, drew up written accusations against some of the

bishops and gave them to the emperor. This was before the agreement had been reached.

6 He received these also, then tied them up, marked them with his ring, and ordered them to be kept. Then, when the agreement of concord had been made, he commanded them to be brought, and in the presence of all the bishops he burned these too in the fire. He swore that he had read nothing of what was written in them. 7 For he said that the offences of priests ought not to become known to the many, lest they take occasion for stumbling from this and sin without fear. They also say he added this: that if he had been an eyewitness of a bishop breaking into another man's marriage, he would have covered up the lawless deed with his purple robe, so that the sight of what was done would not harm those who beheld it. Such was the emperor's God-loving and admirable understanding. 8 For many days, and indeed at successive times, the emperor met with the bishops. Together with them he discussed matters of the faith, and he went over their differing opinions. For, as we have often said, there were among them some who agreed with the unlawful teachings of Arius and who opposed the multitude of holy bishops who were fighting for the truth. But our excellent and altogether most holy fathers, secured by the weapon of truth, proclaimed the bright and blameless faith with boldness. With them was also a great number of confessors, standing against those who wished to secure the wretched teachings of Arius. Concerning holy Paphnutius.

Chapter 9

1 Among them was also the great and holy Paphnutius, an adornment of the company of confessors and bishops. He was an Egyptian, a man of God from that assembly. The emperor Maximian had gouged out his right eye and cut the sinews of his left knee, and had handed him over to be held in the mines.

2 In him the grace of God was so great that he worked signs no less than those done long ago by the apostles. By a word alone he drove out demons, and by prayer he healed all kinds of sick people. He asked God to give sight to the blind, and they received it. Those whose limbs were paralyzed he restored to their natural strength, so that their limbs worked soundly again.

3 The emperor held him in very high honor. He often summoned him to the palace and would kiss the eye that had been gouged out. So great was the faith that this pious emperor had toward the saints. Concerning the holy Spyridon.

Chapter 10

¹ Spyridon, too, a Cypriot, was a man of distinction in the Lord. He had been trained in shepherding sheep and was consecrated to shepherd the flock of Christ. He lived a prophetic life and was well known for it. Even while he held the office of bishop, he did not stop tending his own sheep. ² He was so kind and patient that when robbers came by stealth against his flock, they were held fast by invisible bonds and could not move until morning. The blessed man came upon them and by prayer freed them from their restraint. More than that, he gave them the strongest of the rams as they left, saying, "Take this, young men, for your need. Do not go away empty-handed tonight and blame me for your failure." ³ We have heard many other wonders about this saint, but we will set down one out of many. Here he raises his dead daughter because of the merchant.

Chapter 11

¹ This marvelous and celebrated man of God had a daughter named Irene. She served the old man faithfully, remained a virgin, and departed from human life. ² After her death a man came back from a journey abroad and demanded from the old man a deposit, which he had entrusted to the virgin, his daughter. ³ But the blessed Spyridon knew nothing at all about the matter. Since the man pressed him hard, the old man searched the house high and low, and when he found nothing he was greatly distressed. He told the man that he neither knew of it nor was there anything in the house. ⁴ The merchant cried out, held in tears and lamenting, and demanded the deposit. He said that he would kill himself over the loss if he did not get back what he had deposited. He said he had kept this as a comfort for his old age, and had entrusted it to the virgin herself.

⁵ So that holy old man was compelled to go with the merchant to his daughter's tomb to inquire into the matter. When he came, he called his daughter by name and said to her, "My child Irene." She answered from the grave and said to him, "What do you want, father?" The old man said to her, "Where did you put this man's deposit, daughter?" She said to him, "It lies in this place, father," and she clearly pointed out the place to her father. ⁶ He said to her, "Go in peace, my child Irene." Then the old man returned home, found the deposit lying where the virgin had said, and gave it back to the man. ⁷ Many other miracles and marvels of this man are sung, and the

local people still point them out to visitors even now, to give assurance of our true faith in Christ. Such were the holy men by whom the church shone down to those times, and many of them were present at the council in Nicaea.

⁸ Athanasius also, of whom we spoke earlier, was at that time a deacon, and everyone agreed that he was no stranger to the company of those saints. He was with Alexander, bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, and was an excellent helper to him. ⁹ Day after day, for a very long time, our holy bishops raised a great many questions about the faith. They thought that nothing should be done carelessly or rashly in so great an inquiry. ¹⁰ They often summoned Arius, and by repeated questioning they unfolded his propositions and refuted them. They took the greatest zeal and care over how they should vote and define a position against the overthrow he sought through his lawless teachings. ¹¹ They handled these matters, then, with much deliberation and with supplication to God. So, very wisely and fittingly, they set out their refutations against the lawless teachings of Arius and those with him. They tore out by the roots their foul blasphemies against the Son of God and wiped them out.

¹² Against their saying “not from God,” our side set “God from God.” Against their “not true God,” our side stitched on “true God from true God.” Against their calling him a “creature,” our side defined him as “begotten, not made.” Against the “of a different substance” which they put forward, our bishops set the statement that the Son is “of one substance with the Father,” that is, begotten from the substance of the Father. They also proclaimed him Creator and Maker of things visible and invisible. They did this according to the apostolic faith handed down to his church from the beginning, and they gave their proofs from the testimonies of Scripture, as the account will show as it goes on. ¹³ With this antidote they overturned the deadly poisons, and from then on they set down the apostolic faith in agreement, now more clearly. On the need to understand and believe three hypostases, inseparably, in the ineffable one Godhead of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 12

¹ The holy, great and ecumenical council of our holy fathers gathered at Nicaea spoke through the blessed and holy bishop Hosius, of the city of Cordoba in the province of the Spaniards. He also held the place of the bishop of

the Romans, together with the presbyters of that same see mentioned earlier, and another man interpreted for him. He said: “The Godhead is not ² one person, as the Jews suppose, but three persons in true subsistence, not in mere name. This is proclaimed by many testimonies from both the old and the new covenant. ³ The old covenant, speaking still in a more bodily manner, presented the Word as something spoken. The new covenant showed the Word to be God, in the words, ‘In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.’ He is a perfect person from a perfect person. For the Son is not a part of God, but perfect as the Father is perfect, being of the same substance as the Father who begat him beyond all telling.

⁴ In the same way the Holy Spirit also exists together with the Father and the Son, being of the same substance and the same nature as the Father and the Son. ⁵ We must therefore confess one counsel, one kingdom, one authority, one lordship over all created natures, both seen and understood, and one Godhead and the same substance of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. In proclaiming this we are not teaching any confusion or division of the persons of that ineffable and blessed Trinity. ⁶ Rather, we confess the Father, truly Father of a true Son, always existing and subsisting; the Son, truly Son of a true Father, always existing and subsisting; and the Holy Spirit, truly Holy Spirit, always existing and subsisting. This is an inseparable Trinity, ineffable, truly beyond understanding and beyond expression, and we believe that its Godhead is one and its substance the same.

⁷ We confess this as the true exactness of the teachings of that same faith, handed down to us from the beginning by the Lord through his holy apostles, and by our holy fathers of old who kept their holy faith without stain. And with the good pleasure of the Holy Spirit we are ready to show, through very many testimonies from the divine Scriptures, that these things are so.” ⁸ While these things were being declared by them, or rather through them by the Holy Spirit, those who held to the impiety of Arius muttered under their breath, greatly worn down. They were the party of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, whom we have already mentioned. Yet they looked above all to certain philosophers hired by Arius, exceedingly learned men. Arius had hired them as advocates for his own wickedness, and he came with them to that holy and ecumenical council.

9 For very many philosophers were present. As we have just said, the enemies of the truth had put their hope in them, and so they were rightly caught, together with the teacher of their blasphemy. Holy Scripture was fulfilled in him and in them when it says: “Cursed is every man who puts his hope in man, and whose heart has departed from the Lord.” 10 For truly the blasphemous heart of Arius, that fighter against God, departed from the Lord, as did the hearts of those who shared his impiety. They dared to call the Son of God a creature and a made thing, though he is the Creator and Maker of all things, of created natures both invisible and visible. At this point one of the philosophers spoke a great many words on behalf of Arius against that holy council of the apostolic priests of God.

Chapter 13

1 One of Arius’s hired philosophers, who was admired far more than all the others, argued at great length on Arius’s behalf against our bishops, for a great many days. Each day his exchanges of argument drew a large audience, and the crowd that gathered was in uproar. The philosopher set Arius’s impious blasphemies against what the holy council was saying. Of the Son of God he said, “There was a time when he was not,” and that “he is a creature and a made thing, from things that did not exist, and from another essence and substance.” 2 For these defiled doctrines of Arius he fought hard, with snowflakes of words, raging against the Son of God and running down that chorus of holy priests. In him and through him the enemy of human salvation was speaking. 3 But the champions of the truth, our bishops, calmly offered the philosopher the fitting and proper answers on behalf of the apostolic teachings. They imitated the great prophet and king David, who said, “I was made ready, and I was not troubled.” For with the divine word, as with fire, they consumed all the philosopher’s tangled arguments as if they were tow.

4 Even so, the philosopher, trusting in the devilish skill of his words, set himself to shoot back against the truth proclaimed by the bishops. He handled, as he thought, all the points brought against him very easily, and he forced himself to untie whatever was raised, like an eel. Where he thought he was standing firm, he kept slipping away from the stronger arguments brought against him, and when he was caught by his own words he fell down along with them. 5 Even so, he rushed like a Corybant, boastfully, against the most peaceable council, hoping to conquer the unconquerable power of Christ’s invincible Spirit within them. 6 But God “who catches the wise in

their craftiness” wanted to show that “his kingdom does not consist in talk but in power.” So through one of his servants who was there he not only forcefully silenced the evil demon speaking in the philosopher, but drove him out.

⁷ There was a man among the holy confessors present at the council, as simple by nature as any of the saints, who knew nothing else “except Jesus Christ, and him crucified” in the flesh, according to the Scriptures. He was with the bishops, and he saw the philosopher exulting over our holy bishops and boasting in his wretched debating. He asked the bishops, the priests of God, to give him room to converse with the philosopher. ⁸ Then our holy bishops, seeing the man’s simplicity and that he was unlearned, urged him not to put himself forward, in case he became a laughingstock among the wretched enemies of the truth. ⁹ But he would not be held back. He went up to the philosopher and said to him, “In the name of Jesus Christ, the God the Word who is always with the Father, listen to the teachings of the truth, philosopher.” The philosopher said to him, “Speak, if you will.” And the holy man said, “There is one God, who made the heaven and the sea and everything in them. He also formed man from the earth, and he established all things by his Word and his Holy Spirit.

¹⁰ “This Word, philosopher, we know as the Son of God and worship him. We believe that for our redemption he was made flesh from a virgin, was born, and became man. Through the suffering of his flesh on the cross and through his death he set us free from eternal condemnation, and through his resurrection he won eternal life for us. We hope that he, who went up into the heavens, will come again and will be judge of everything we have done. Do you believe this, philosopher?” ¹¹ The philosopher, who had never had any experience of arguing against such words, was struck dumb. He fell silent like a deaf or mute man. He said to him only this, in a very pitiful voice: “To me too it seems that these things are so, and that there is nothing else but everything just as you have said.” ¹² The old man said to him, “If you believe that these things are so, philosopher, get up and follow me. Let us hurry to the church, where you will receive the sign of this faith.”

¹³ The philosopher turned his whole self toward true reverence for the God of all. He got up and followed the old man. Then he turned and spoke to his own disciples and to all who had gathered to listen: “Hear me, men. Until now, while I gave my attention to words, I set words against words,

and by skill in speaking I overturned whatever was brought against me. ¹⁴ But when, instead of words, a divine power came out of the mouth of the one questioning me, words could no longer stand against that power. For no man is able to stand against God. For this reason, if any of you can understand, as I have come to believe, let him believe in Christ and follow this old man, in whom God has spoken.” ¹⁵ In this way the philosopher took up the faith. He was enlightened and became a Christian, gladly defeated by the old man. After the philosopher was baptized and joined to the church of God, and was resting and rejoicing in the great works of God, the council rejoiced. Another philosopher, named Phaedo, then raised an objection, and he too spoke on behalf of Arius, the fighter against God, and the blasphemy he had devised.

Chapter 14

¹ The philosopher’s proposition to the holy council, on the words “Let us make man”: “And God said: ‘Let us make man in our image and likeness.’ Now if the sense is carried away with the sound of the words, as the wording shows, someone might say that God has a human form. But we know God to be simple and without shape. What, then, do these expressions mean? Tell us: surely the divine is not in human form?” The answer of the holy fathers through Eustathius, bishop of Antioch: Not ² so, philosopher. Rather, when God said, “Let them rule over all the earth” and “Let them have dominion over it and over all that is in it,” this is the meaning of making man in the image of God and of his ruling over all the earth. ³ For as God rules over all the earth and everything in it, so he set man up as a second ruler over all the earth and what is in it. This, I say, is what it means that man was made “in the image of God and in his likeness.” There was also a further answer from the holy fathers through the same bishop Eustathius, on this text: “And God said:

⁴ ‘Let us make man in our image and likeness.’” But to whom did he say it? Let us ask, philosopher. For by saying “And God said: ‘Let us make man in our image and likeness,’” he put before us the question of understanding to whom he was saying “Let us make.” For after saying “And God said, ‘Let us make man,’” he went on to say, “And God made man; in the image of God he made him; male and female he made them.” ⁵ The meaning of “Let us make,” then, indicates that there is a person who is a fellow-creator, and it brings in one who shares the same title. For just as God the Father is the

one who said “Let us make man,” so also the one to whom he said “Let us make” is God. The Godhead of both persons is one, both of the one who said “Let us make man in our image and likeness” and of the one who made man.

⁶ For the expression “Let us make” shows the all-holy and unchanging Godhead of the Father and the Son. For the image of God is simple and uncompounded, being fire in its nature. ⁷ The fathers answered in agreement: The nature of the holy Trinity, its very being, is a light that cannot be approached and cannot be endured. This is the meaning of “Let us make.”

Chapter 15

¹ The philosopher’s objection on behalf of Arius: “I will say again that God is simple, without shape and uncompounded. So how is the phrase ‘in our image and likeness’ to be explained, and how is it that the speaker did not exist before the one to whom he said ‘Let us make man,’ and the rest? Give us a clear proof about these things, if you can.” The holy bishops answered through Hosius, bishop of the city of Cordova, with another man interpreting for him: ² “If the Father existed before the Son, as you say, and the Son came later, created by God after some span of time and only afterward proclaimed his Son by the Father himself, as you say in your impious blasphemy, having been created beforehand by him for the making of created natures, then according to your impiety the uncreated God would have said to the created god, as you have it: ‘Make me a man in my image and [likeness].’”

³ Since God is always Father, as we showed earlier, the Son also exists with the Father always. He is not later in time, not lesser in power, not confined to a place. He exists with the Father always, in the same way, eternally. He has been begotten from him in a way beyond understanding and beyond expression, as we have said before. He is true God, always from the always-existing true God and Father. He is without beginning together with the Father, eternal together with the Father, always reigning together with the Father, of one substance with the Father, equal in power with the Father, and fellow-creator with the Father. ⁴ For although the divine voice of the Gospels says that all things came into being through the Son, and “apart from him not one thing came into being that has come into being,” yet he did not create apart from the Father. For there is one Godhead and one will of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit; the Father is always inseparably with the Son, and the Son with the Father. So you must understand, philosopher,

5 that the Father and the Son are one in the substance of the Godhead. So also in the Gospels the Son himself cries out, "I and the Father are one." It was to him that God was speaking when he said, "Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness." 6 The philosopher's reply: Already in our earlier questions we said that God is not in human form. So tell us what this saying means: "in our image and according to our likeness." For this expression gives us no small difficulty. For now, this must be explained. The answer of the holy council, through the same bishop, Hosius of Cordova: 7 Philosopher, "in the image" must be understood not as referring to a composition of bodies, but, as the word of truth shows, as something stamped on the mind. So listen and understand. God, being good by nature, planted in the mind-endowed substance of man, "in his image and likeness,"

8 such qualities as goodness, simplicity, holiness, purity, generosity, kindness, blessedness and the like. The purpose was that what God is by nature, man, whom God created, might be able to have by God's grace. This is what is rational in him. 9 Skilled painters, when they paint likenesses of images on panels, paint those images faithfully not from one color but from many. In the same way God has given to man, whom he created, in the inner store-room of the soul, that is, in the mind, the ability to have, through the virtues, what is "in his image and likeness," 10 since the image is found in man without fail through the divine qualities mentioned above, which God put in him when he said, "Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness."

Chapter 16

1 The philosopher's reply: Let this be set aside for the present. I would rather ask about the one through whom God made man and all things, seen and unseen. For what you have said does not seem right to me: that the Father and the Son are one in the same respect, eternally together, and that the Son is God, always existing along with the Father. 2 I would say instead that God brought him into being as a servant among the created things. For God needed a servant for the making of man and the world. So when God the Creator was about to create created natures, he brought into being for himself a tool, through which he would create all natures. 3 Just as a carpenter first provides tools for making the things he is going to produce, so we can understand it of God: he brought the Son into being for himself as a tool, and through him created the world.

⁴ For when the apostles said, “All things came into being through him,” they meant that the natures were created through him as through a tool. And when God said that man was created “in our image and according to our likeness,” God meant that man was created through the tool, that is, through the Son, according to God’s own image and likeness. The reply of the holy fathers, through Leontius bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia and Eupychius bishop of Tyana: ⁵ If, as you say, the Son was created by the Father as a tool for making created natures, then you fall by your own words, philosopher. For the voice of the Gospel says, as you yourself just mentioned, “All things came into being through him,” and it goes on to add, “and apart from him not one thing came into being that has come into being.” ⁶ “If, then, everything created came to be through him, and nothing at all came to be without him, and the world is a created thing, and the Son too, as you say, is a created thing, then he created himself, and not the Father.”

⁷ The philosopher’s objection: “I have said it once already: God made all things through him as through an instrument. For this very purpose he made him before all creation, preparing him as an instrument for making the created natures.” The holy fathers’ answer, through the same bishops, Leontius and Eupychius: ⁸ “Tell us, most excellent man, where has anyone ever proclaimed to you that the Son of God, or his Holy Spirit, is an instrument? Give us the witnesses for your claims. Which Spirit-bearing writer do you have, whose writings declare the Son of God an instrument, when he is the Creator of all the ages, of all the heavenly hosts, and of all things on earth?” ⁹ “Listen, then, philosopher, to the testimonies from the divine Scriptures, which set forth his Son as God, co-eternal with the Father, and as Creator and Maker of all created natures.” ¹⁰ “In the book of Genesis you have the prophet Moses, who presented the Son as a fellow-creator with God the Father. As we have already told you, most excellent man, he says: ‘God said: Let us make man in our image and according to our likeness.’ It is natural to call a person to join in the work as fellow-creator, but not an instrument. And the words, ‘And God made man; in the image of God he made him; male and female he made them,’ point to the authority of persons.”

¹¹ “For in saying ‘Let us make man,’ he does away with the whole notion of instruments. Now receive a clearer and authoritative testimony, one given of the person of the Son alone, showing him to be the Maker of all created natures. It is written in the book of Baruch, from the mouth of the prophet

Jeremiah, who says:" ¹² "He who established the earth for everlasting time filled it with four-footed beasts. He sends out the light, and it goes; he called it, and it obeyed him with trembling. The stars shone in their watches and rejoiced. He called them, and they said, "Here we are." They shone with gladness for the one who made them. This is our God; no other will be reckoned beside him. He found out every way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved. After this he appeared on the earth and lived among human beings."

¹³ "And Isaiah says to Israel: 'And now, do you not know, if you have not heard? The everlasting God, the God who established the ends of the earth.' Who, then, is this everlasting God, philosopher, who established the ends of the earth, who also appeared on earth and lived among human beings? Do you say it was the Son who lived among human beings, or the Father?" The philosopher's answer: ¹⁴ "It was the Son," he says, "who lived among them, as the divine Scriptures have said, and I have been convinced by them and have accepted it. But I still have a most powerful and irrefutable objection concerning him: that God created him before all creation, so that through him he might create all things. I will prove this too in the contests that lie ahead." The holy fathers' answer, through the same most devout bishops, Leontius and Euphychius: "Not so,

¹⁵ philosopher. You cannot show what you claim. He is begotten of God and not made, as we have shown at length. And which man rich in godliness and sharp understanding, philosopher, is not astonished at all the great works of the natures created by him, as made by God, that is, by him? For the Scripture cries out, 'God made man,' and 'God saw all that he had made, and behold, it was very good.'" ¹⁶ "John the evangelist shows most clearly that he always existed together with the Father, co-eternal and without beginning like the Father. For he says: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God. All things came to be through him, and without him not one thing came to be that has come to be.'" ¹⁷ "See, philosopher, it has been shown most clearly that the Son is the Maker of every created nature. If, then, he is the Maker of all created things, as he is, both seen and unseen, it is plain that he is truly God by nature, and not an instrument, as you say, nor a creature, nor a made thing, nor [later in time?] than the Father."

¹⁸ The word “was,” said four times by the evangelist, has nothing before it that came earlier. So that you may know fully that he is not under another’s authority but has authority of his own, as the Father does, receive another very clear testimony. ¹⁹ Listen, then, to the inspired Isaiah as he cries out. Speaking of the Jews, he says, “And they will wish that they had been burned with fire,” and he proclaims, “For a child has been born, a son, and he was given to us. The government is upon his shoulder, and his name is called Angel of great counsel, Wonderful, Counselor, mighty God, one who has authority.” Listen, philosopher: he is proclaimed as one who has authority, and not as one under authority, as you say. ²⁰ But let us repeat the wording: “Mighty God, one who has authority, ruler of peace, father of the age to come.” In one of his acts of kindness the same only-begotten Son of God shows himself to be self-governing and the creator of man, in the restoring of the man born blind, which the Son of God himself performed.

²¹ For he is the radiance of the Father, co-eternal with him, and the exact imprint of his whole being, as Paul the apostle says, the chosen vessel. ²² See, philosopher, how many witnesses have shown that the Son of God is without beginning, since he is also [uncreated together] with the Father, and the creator of all created natures, both seen and unseen, as we have said very often. ²³ And where are the witnesses for “instruments”? Tell us, if you have any. Perhaps you were baptized into instruments as well, if, as you say, you are faithful to God.

Chapter 17

¹ The philosopher’s objection concerning “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works,” from the Proverbs of Solomon. “Since you force the truth so hard,” he says, “what shall we say about this plain saying, ‘The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works’?” The answer of the holy fathers, the bishops, through Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine: ² Why do you pierce through the depths so persuasively and so easily, as you suppose? Do not heap up for yourself feeble pretexts, philosopher. Take care that you do not step carelessly onto steep cliffs that are hard to climb, and be thrown headlong. ³ But now let us speak about “The Lord created me.” Those before us published many things about this saying, “The Lord created me,” including how they understood it with reference to the fleshly dispensation of the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. You surely know those writings.

⁴ We, however, will now give our own account, with other narratives as well, with the Lord Jesus Christ working with us. And if you wish, philosopher, let us set out the whole passage itself, together with its beginning.

⁵ Its beginning says: "If I report to you the things that happen every day, I will remember to count the things from of old." Then he goes on: "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 the waters came forth, before the mountains were settled, and before all the hills, he begets me." So, building up the point that "the Lord created me," he joined on and said, "The Lord made regions and uninhabited places." ⁶ Let us then look for the Lord who created him, who also made regions and uninhabited places. Solomon was given a riddle by the words spoken to Job, "Where were you when I was laying the foundation of the earth?" and he said, "The Lord made regions and uninhabited places."

⁷ In the book of Baruch, from the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet, as we showed earlier, it says this about the one who made regions and uninhabited places: "The sons of Hagar, who seek understanding on the earth, the merchants and the searchers for understanding, did not know the way of wisdom, nor did they remember its paths." ⁸ And a little later: "But he who knows all things knows her; he found her out by his understanding." Having spoken of the one who found out wisdom by his understanding, he adds his works, saying: "He who established the earth for everlasting time filled it with four-footed animals; he who sends out the light, and it goes." ⁹ For it must not be overlooked, philosopher, to repeat the same words again, as a clear proof of the matter before us. "He who sends out the light," it says, "and it goes, called it, and it obeyed him with trembling. The stars shone in their watches and rejoiced. He called them, and they said, 'Here we are.' They shone with gladness for the one who made them. This is our God; no other will be reckoned beside him. He found out every way of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved. After this he appeared on the earth and lived among human beings."

¹⁰ Let us set side by side the two statements that Solomon and Baruch (that is, Jeremiah) made about the one who made the lands and the uninhabited places. After saying "he created me," he went on to speak of his works, saying, "the Lord made lands and uninhabited places." Now let us reason it out, my good man: who is this Lord who made lands and uninhab-

ited places? ¹¹ We will understand that he is no one else than the very one who prepared the earth for all time. For in preparing the earth, he is making “lands and uninhabited places.” He is also the one who filled it with four-footed animals, and the one who called the light, and it obeyed him with trembling, and so on. Of him it says that “he was seen on the earth and lived among human beings.” ¹² We must understand, then, that this is the Lord who created rational wisdom as the beginning of his ways. He prepared it for the human being made in his image. He is the one who made lands and uninhabited places, who prepared the earth for all time.

¹³ But let us look again at the beginning of the passage: “If I declare to you the things that happen day by day.” He did not say “the things to come.” And again he says, “I will remember to number the things from of old”; he did not say, “the things before the ages.” ¹⁴ It has been made known to us that he is the Son of God who also created rational wisdom, who prepared the earth for all time, who made lands and uninhabited places. He is also the one who said to Job, “When the stars came into being, all my angels praised me.” And Moses says of the one who made the light, “And God said, ‘Let there be light,’” and he continues, “And God made the two great lights and the stars,” and so on. ¹⁵ What has been said seems to me sufficient, philosopher, since the proofs have shown that the Son of God is the one who created the rational wisdom in Solomon and all created things, and that he is not a tool.

¹⁶ But so that we may set before you a clearer, true demonstration of the matter, and come more quickly to the meaning of the subject and its contemplation, let us state what comes from Scripture. ¹⁷ When the prophet Moses was about to depart from life, as it is written in the Book of the Assumption of Moses, he called Joshua son of Nun and said to him in conversation: “And God foresaw me, before the foundation of the world, to be the mediator of his covenant.” And in the book of the mystical words of Moses, Moses himself foretold things about David and Solomon. ¹⁸ Of Solomon he foretold this: “And God will make wisdom and righteousness and fullness succeed [to] him; he will build the house of God,” and so on. ¹⁹ So that what I am saying may be clearer, let us examine the point this way: is the human being for the sake of the world, or the world for the sake of the human being? The philosopher: “Certainly the world is for the sake of the human being.” Our holy bishops, through the same bishop Eusebius Pamphili, said:

²⁰ “And if the world is for the sake of the human being, then the human being was certainly earlier, being in God’s thought first, while the world came later than the human being and rational wisdom in God’s thought. So the human being is earlier than the world, and so is wisdom. And what is earlier than the world also exists before the natures of the world, such as heaven, day, night, clouds, winds, depths, springs, mountains and hills. ²¹ Wisdom and the human being, for whose sake the world exists, are earlier than all these things in God’s thought. So the human being and wisdom are older than the natures of the world, and already exist before the world in God’s thought. ²² But this one, though he was created later, was brought forward in the passing course of creation; whereas the one who was later than the human being in God’s thought was brought forward earlier in the passing course of creation.

²³ And the wisdom too, which the Son of God found out by his understanding, which he gave to the human being made in his own image, existed before the world and its natures in God’s thought — ²⁴ So Solomon knew within himself, taught by the wisdom God had given him, that man and wisdom existed before the world and its natures, in God’s thought. He examined what already existed before the world in God’s thought, before the foundation of the world. What the Lord had devised by his understanding, that same Lord then created later, after the world and its natures. ²⁵ So Solomon speaks, as if in the person of the wisdom in man that existed before the world in God’s thought: “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works.” The ²⁶ wisdom in man was suited to speak out in the reasoning faculty, which was prepared for man, who was made in the image of God. So the words “the Lord created” he applied to what existed before the world in God’s thought. But the words “he begets me” he understood as referring to the later begetting of children by nature, and so he said it. Understand “he begets me” in this way, philosopher: it refers to the same nature growing old and being renewed until the end.

²⁷ So the words “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works” must be taken as referring to the reasoning wisdom given to man. But “he begets me” refers to God’s foreknowledge of that nature itself, and to what comes from it: from images, like a wheel turning round to the turning-post, returning to the beginning, to the first-created man, who was created in the image of God. In him God placed the created reasoning wis-

dom, and in him God stamped his own pure love. ²⁸ The Savior, making the renewal of this man in himself, said to the Father, in the manner of the economy: "Because you loved me," he says, "before the foundation of the world." As for "before the age he founded me in the beginning": Solomon observed that the ages in this world get their existence from the cycle of day and night, and that to exist before day and night is to exist before this age. Having considered these things, Solomon fitted the words suitably to man and to

²⁹ wisdom. So he speaks in her person and says, "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works; before the age he founded me in the beginning." He reasoned within himself again that when God was about to bring these worldly natures into being, they were to come after man and wisdom, and that those who came first needed to be present; and when the natures came into being, he was to record in order the natures that had come into being. Man and wisdom were appointed to lead the works. ³⁰ So the reasoning and discerning wisdom given by God to man, which passed down by succession to Solomon, as the great Moses says, speaks in Solomon: "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways, for his works," and so on. ³¹ In the person of this wisdom, which existed before the world together with man, the same writer describes the works of God as he brings the natures into being in the world, and says: "The Lord made even uninhabited places, the inhabited heights of what is under heaven. When he prepared the heaven, I was present with him; when he marked off his own throne upon the winds, when he made the clouds above strong, and when he set the springs of what is under heaven as secure, when he set a limit for the sea, and the waters will not pass beyond the word of his mouth, and when he made the foundations of the earth strong, I was beside him, fitting things together; I was the one in whom he delighted."

³² These words are spoken in the person of wisdom. They show with certainty that the one who existed before the world in God's thought, for whose sake the world was prepared, also existed before the natures of the world. ³³ So wisdom, which existed before them, became an eyewitness of the coming-into-being of the natures and lists their order. This is the wisdom that he devised by his ³⁴ understanding and prepared for man. Who, then, is the one who prepared this wisdom beforehand and gave it to man, or who guided its workings? It is none other than the one who established the

earth for ever, who filled it with four-footed animals, who called the light, and it obeyed him with trembling. ³⁵ He is the one who appeared on earth and lived among human beings. To him have been allotted the active courses of the natures. But the words “The Lord created me” were spoken with reference to the person of Wisdom, not of the Son of God. They refer to the reasoning wisdom that the Lord himself prepared and gave to man, for whose sake the world came into being.

³⁶ It has been shown very clearly from all of this that these words were spoken with reference to the person of reasoning wisdom. The Lord confirms what has been said in the gospel, where he says, “The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath.” There he personifies the world as the person of the Sabbath, meaning: the world was made for man, not man for the world.

Chapter 18

¹ The philosopher raises another objection. He says: “But the wisdom in Solomon is the Son of God, that is, the Wisdom of God, the one who says, ‘The Lord created me,’” and so on. The holy bishops answer the philosopher through Eusebius, bishop, son of Pamphilus. ² “Tell me, philosopher: is the wisdom in Solomon, as you say, the Wisdom of God?” The philosopher: “Yes, that is so.” The bishop: “Tell me, does the Wisdom of God have foreknowledge or not?” The philosopher: “Yes, it does.” The bishop: “Is the Wisdom of God, which you say is in Solomon, the Son of God?” The philosopher: “Yes.” The bishop: “How does a judge judge: by foreknowledge or not?” The philosopher: “Yes, by foreknowledge. But how do you mean?” The bishop: “Then one who judges by foreknowledge also judges according to works, as one who foreknows?” The philosopher: “Yes, I said so.” ³ The bishop: “Then how does the wisdom in Solomon say, ‘Three things are impossible for me to understand, and the fourth I do not know’? Having named the three things she cannot understand, the wisdom in Solomon said that as to the fourth she does not know ‘the ways of a man in his youth.’”

⁴ “So if the wisdom in Solomon is the Wisdom of God, how does she judge the world when she does not know a man’s ways in his youth? And how can this be true: that the one who made man in the image of God, that is, the Son of God, as Moses the prophet says, and John the evangelist as well (‘All things came to be through him,’ he says), does not know the ways of a man in his youth?” ⁵ “He is the one who alone formed their hearts, who un-

derstands all their works, who tests hearts and kidneys,” according to the prophet who said: “You know my sitting down and my rising up. You understand all my thoughts from afar, he says. You have traced my path and my line, and you foresaw all my ways.” ⁶ And again in another place: “He who disciplines the nations, will he not rebuke? He who teaches man knowledge? The Lord knows the thoughts of men, that they are vain.”

⁷ “Then does the one who knows and foreknows all things not know the ways of a man in his youth? Many passages can be found in the Scriptures that refute the folly of those who have wrongly understood this saying.” ⁸ “For how could the one who teaches man knowledge not know the ways of a man in his youth? So understand well, philosopher, that Solomon received a wisdom for judging, which the Son of God found out by his understanding, and which he prepared as a reasoning faculty for man, who is made in his image.” ⁹ The Lord himself confirms what has been said in the gospels when he says, “Behold, something greater than Solomon is here.” He overturned those who say that he is the wisdom in Solomon. For if he shares the name only in the sound of the word, “wisdom” (since the Wisdom of God is the Son of God), then he is God who foreknows, and he judges by foreknowledge and according to works, as creator and maker of all things. So Paul, “the chosen vessel,” says when writing to the Hebrews.

¹⁰ He speaks of him in this way: “For the word of God is living and active, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing as far as the division of soul and spirit, and able to judge the thoughts and intentions of the heart. And no creature is hidden before him, but all things are naked and laid bare to his eyes, to whom we must give account.” ¹¹ The same Paul also writes to the Romans, saying: “To them belong the fathers, and from them, according to the flesh, comes Christ, who is God over all, blessed forever. Amen.” ¹² Here he shows that the Wisdom of God the Father is truly God, from God himself: eternal from the Eternal, true from the True, by nature always the Son of the God and Father who always is.

Chapter 19

¹ The philosopher objects: What then is the meaning of what you say: “They did not know the way of wisdom, nor did they remember her paths,” and so on? The holy bishops answered through the same bishop, Eusebius Pamphili:

² Often, philosopher, when you have looked at the words of Wisdom, you have marveled at her power, because one can find in them the greatest truth

of thought in the fewest words. ³ And perhaps one might fairly compare the words of Scripture to the gospel parable, which says that the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed. It is smaller than all the seeds on the earth, yet when it has grown and reached full size, it gives ample shelter to the birds. ⁴ In the same way we see the power of the divine words sown in a few short phrases. As their meanings grow full and spread out like branches over the understanding of the birds, that is, of human beings, such great power is found in them that they give ample shelter not only to the farmers but also to the birds that come and stand by.

⁵ Where, then, was I moved to this thought, if not from the word of holy Scripture, from the sacred psalmist David? It is to demonstrate and establish not the wisdom of reasoning, as you yourself have supposed, but the incomprehensible wisdom, uncreated and without beginning, that made this wisdom and everything that has come into being. That is, Christ. ⁶ For Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God, in the manner of his ineffable and inconceivable divinity: the true Word, God of God. “By the word of the Lord,” he says, “the heavens were made firm, and by the breath of his mouth all their power.” ⁷ You have heard “the word of the Lord”; you have heard “the breath of his mouth.” Now listen again about the establishing of the true faith, which is understood and proclaimed in godliness by the godly. For I think you have taken in none of what was said to you earlier from so great a spiritual company of holy high priests. So listen, listen with reverence,

⁸ and do not try to search out unspeakable things by human reasonings. The perfect is neither diminished nor increased. There is one unbegotten, God and Father. There is also one begotten from him, the only-begotten Son, God the Word. ⁹ Just as there is no other God begotten together with God the Father, so there is no other son of God begotten together with, before, or after his only-begotten Son, God the Word. There is truly one God, the Father. There is also truly one who has been begotten from him in a way beyond words: the Son, God the Word. ¹⁰ Therefore, just as God is Father not in word only, so the Son is not Son in word only, but truly Son. The Father is genuine, the Son is genuine. The Father is God, and the Son begotten from him is also God. The Father is perfect, and his Son is also perfect. The Father is [without body], and the Son is also without body, for [the image] of one without body is [likewise] without body.

¹¹ Do you believe this, philosopher: that his only-begotten Son has been begotten from the substance of the Father, as we showed from the beginning of our discourse through very many testimonies of Scripture, or not? The philosopher asks in return: How, and in what manner? Tell me. The holy bishops, through the same Eusebius Pamphili, said: Do not ask how, philosopher. ¹² Otherwise, as has already been said to you at greater length, and as we solemnly warned at the start of the discussion, you are hurrying to throw yourself over a cliff by trying to search out what cannot be searched out.

¹³ For if it is permissible to ask how the Unbegotten is, then it is permissible to ask how the Begotten is. But if the Unbegotten leaves no room to ask how he is unbegotten, then neither does the Begotten leave room to ask how he was begotten. Do not seek what cannot be searched out, for you will not find it. Seek what can be found, and you will find.

¹⁴ For if you do inquire, from whom can you learn? From the earth? It did not yet exist. From the sea? The water had not yet been created. From heaven? It had not been made. From the sun and moon and stars? They had not yet been created. From angels and archangels? They did not yet exist, since the Son is the maker of them also. From the ages? The Only-begotten is before the ages. ¹⁵ Do not examine things that did not always exist concerning the One who always is. The Father is unspeakable and unbegotten. The Son is unspeakable, begotten from him in a way beyond speech. ¹⁶ Be silent about the “how,” and leave that to the one who begot and the one who was begotten. For only the Father knows who the Son is, and only the Son knows the Father, and so does anyone to whom the Son chooses to reveal him. So says his Gospel.

¹⁷ But if you will not stop asking “how,” and insist on probing what cannot be probed, we laugh at your boldness. More than that, we grieve for you. You refuse to understand by faith that God is always the Father of his Son, and that his only-begotten Son is always his Son, always existing together with the Father and not coming after him, as you impiously claim. ¹⁸ Understand it by faith instead, and confess that the Son is perfect from the perfect, as you have often heard: eternal light from eternal light, true God from true God and Father, uncreated from the uncreated, uncomposed from the uncomposed, always with the Father. For “in the beginning was the Word,” as John the evangelist says, “and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” ¹⁹ The word “was,” philosopher, has nothing before it. The word

“was,” philosopher, rules out “was not,” as we showed earlier, and the word “God” rules out “not God.” Believe what is written. Do not think about or inquire into what is not written.

²⁰ Believe that the Son himself made everything that has come to be, by the Father’s nod and not by a glance of the eyes. For God is uncomposed, as we said before. It was by a nod, in the way only he knows. We understand this by faith and proclaim it according to the teaching of the holy Scriptures: by the will of the Father and his own will, he created the whole creation, heavenly and earthly, visible and intelligible. He used no tools or devices, and no help from anyone else. It was by the Father’s will, as we have just said, when he and the Holy Spirit said to him, “Let us make man in our image and likeness.” ²¹ He did not say “make” (singular) or “make” (plural, to others), but “Let us make.” This shows the sameness of substance and equal honor in that blessed and inexpressible Trinity.

²² Do not grumble under your breath, philosopher, and do not roll your eyes. Look with the eye of your mind at the precision of the apostolic teachings, and accept them in faith. Do not become more and more unbelieving; be a believer. ²³ So listen and understand. The Word of God, his Son before the ages, the one to whom it was said “Let us make man” and so on, himself became man in the last days, by the will of the Father and his own will. He was made flesh from a virgin because of the fallen man, Adam. ²⁴ The bodiless one, in a body, emptied himself, as the apostle Paul said, for the sake of the body. God the Word took the body as a cloud, so that he would not burn up the created natures in the world, for “no one has ever seen God.” ²⁵ He was held in flesh, so that the flesh, through its unchangeable union with him, might be set free from death. He was invisible in what is visible, so that he might undergo what is seen, as a man, in time. Yet in truth he is both, God and man, man and God, the same one. For Christ is one out of both, and the difference between the two substances, his divinity and the flesh, is understood and recognized. He was God and is God; he became man by the plan of salvation.

²⁶ For his sake there are prophets, for his sake apostles, for his sake martyrs: prophets for the one prophesied, apostles for the one sent according to the plan, martyrs for the first martyr. God the Son came upon the earth. He hid in flesh, as he willed, the greatness of his divinity, without leaving the heavens empty, for even before he became flesh the world was not empty of

him. ²⁷ He was God and is God, and he also became man by the plan of salvation, made flesh and born of a virgin out of his own love for humanity. ²⁸ The Father begot a Son worthy and equal, as God who begot him knows, and the Son begotten from him knows, philosopher.

Chapter 20

¹ The philosopher's reply: Do not go on any longer forcing the truth, and do not try to overshadow, like a cloud, the bright light of Scripture with the cleverness of your words. Come to the plain text of Scripture set before you, and do not run from "The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works," and "The Lord made regions and uninhabited lands, the ends of the inhabited world under heaven." ² [These passages] have one and the same meaning about the one Lord. They belong to God, who created him as the first-created, "as the beginning of his ways for his works." God also called him his Son, and through him, as through an instrument, God made regions and uninhabited places. ³ For even if the created wisdom of God, that is, the Son, does work, it was still God who was creating through him the things that did not exist, as through an instrument. The reply of the holy bishops, given through the same bishop, Eusebius of Pamphilus:

⁴ You stand far from the king's highway, that is, from the apostolic faith, and you let yourself be carried somewhere outside it. You have chosen once for all to throw yourself over a cliff. You lifted your head only a little out of the depth of impiety that surrounds you when you heard from this holy council the prophecy of the great Jeremiah, who points with his finger, so to speak, and says, "This is our God; no other will be reckoned alongside him," and so on. ⁵ He adds to these words, "After this he appeared on earth and lived among people." And you know, philosopher, that when the holy bishops asked you who it was that appeared on earth and lived among people, the Father or the Son, you confessed that it was the Son. Did you not say this just as the divine Scriptures do? ⁶ How is it, then, that you again hurl yourself, or rather sink yourself, into the depth of Arius's wickedness? You did not break away and separate from him; you yoked yourself to him. You prefer Arius's blasphemous words to the apostolic teachings, wretched man, when you call the Son of God a creature and an instrument.

⁷ So listen to us, philosopher, if you really are a philosopher, and be persuaded of this. The created wisdom, the reasoning faculty given to man by the Son of God himself, is not the Son of God. The Son is the one who made

regions and uninhabited places. ⁸ Fix your mind on this, looking not toward hostility but toward the truth, and the truth itself will guide you. You will know that the only-begotten Son of God is not a creature but is himself the maker and craftsman of all created natures. You yourself have understood this by looking a little more closely, and you will understand it [further], as I at least believe, if you truly long to be saved.

Chapter 21

¹ The philosopher's objection against the Holy Spirit. "Granted," he says, "that what is said about the Son is trustworthy and beyond dispute, as you say: that he created, or created together with God the Father, as the testimonies [show]; and that he is not a product but an offspring of God, begotten from him by nature. See, we accept it. But do you have anything to say about the Spirit as well? ² "For who would dare to call the Holy Spirit the creator of any created natures? Where do the testimonies say of him that he made any of the visible or invisible creatures? Who at all has written about him as about the Son? Which of you has anything, if you do?" The fathers' answer, through Protogenes, bishop of Sardica: ³ It is not hard, philosopher, to show you the testimonies of the works of the Holy Spirit, which our fathers set out concerning him, showing that he created. Let us again cite what was said about creation: "And God said, 'Let us make man in our image and likeness.'" He went on to say, "And God made man; in the image of God he made him; male and female he made them."

⁴ So the Father is God, who said to the Son, "Let us make." And the Son, being God, made man. If we call God both the one who spoke and the one who made Adam and Eve, then hear now about the Holy Spirit. Was the one who made Adam God, or not? The philosopher: Yes, he is God. ⁵ The bishop: In the book of Job, Elihu the Buzite says to Job, "A divine Spirit is the one who made me." So if the one who made Adam is God, what would you call the one who made Elihu? Or does Elihu seem to you to be of a different substance from Adam? [For] among makers of equal knowledge, the near-identical result naturally shows itself [in the person of man]. ⁶ What then will you say, philosopher, of the one who made Elihu? Is he not God, and the maker of man? For just as you said of the one who made Adam, "And God made Adam," so it is right for us to say of the one who made Elihu that the Holy Spirit is God. For where the forming in creation is equal, the title of

the creators is equal too, since the Godhead of the holy Trinity is one, understood in three perfect and equal persons.

⁷ In the book of the Assumption of Moses, the archangel Michael, speaking with the devil, says, “For by his Holy Spirit we were all created.” And again he says, “From the face of God his Spirit went out, and the world came to be.” This is equal to saying, “All things came to be through him.” ⁸ For the divine and unspeakable Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, is always inseparable, and together created the whole creation, both intelligible and sensible. ⁹ For he says also in the thirty-second psalm, “By the word of the Lord the heavens were made firm, and by the Spirit of his mouth all their power.” Now hear God speaking in Isaiah: “I am the Lord your God; I will hear you, God of Israel.” ¹⁰ After speaking of his benefits toward the people, he adds: “So that they may see and understand and know together that the hand of the Lord has made all these things, and the Holy One of Israel has shown them.” By “hand” he means the Holy Spirit of God, and by “Holy One of Israel” his Son.

¹¹ And again he said to Jacob, “My hand laid the foundation of the earth, and my right hand made the heaven firm.” Ezekiel likewise says, “The hand of the Lord came upon me.” This is the Scripture’s habit. ¹² O philosopher, Scripture is accustomed to call the Holy Spirit of God “hand” or “arm,” and his Son “right hand.” Further, the holy fathers spoke through Leontius, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia: ¹³ “What has been said about the works of the Holy Spirit is enough to persuade you, philosopher, that he is a fellow-creator with the Father and the Son of all created natures, and that he is of the same Godhead and being as the Father and the Son.” ¹⁴ So now fix your mind on what has been said before, and hear clearer proofs about him from the holy Scriptures. The prophet David says in the seventh psalm, “Sing to the Lord a new song.” Why? “Because the Lord has done marvelous things; his right hand saved him”—that is, his Son—“and his holy arm”—meaning the Holy Spirit.

¹⁵ In the Catholic Epistles also, John the evangelist cries out, speaking of the Holy Spirit in divine terms: “It is the Spirit who bears witness, because the Spirit is the truth.” And a little later he says, “The one who believes in the Son of God has the testimony of God in himself”—that is, the Spirit of God—“but the one who does not believe the Son has made him a liar.”

¹⁶ And Peter, the great leader of the apostles, says to Ananias, “Why has

Satan filled your heart, so that you lied to the Holy Spirit?” And a little later, “You have not lied to men, but to God.” And in the Old Testament long ago it says, “Do I not fill heaven and earth? says the Lord.” And Solomon, showing who it is that fills, says, “The Spirit of the Lord has filled the world.”

¹⁷ So then, concerning the lordship of the Holy Spirit, accept also the testimonies about him. Believe that the Holy Spirit is of the same Godhead, being and substance as the Father and the Son, and that he exists always together with the Father and the Son. Do you hear, philosopher? The philosopher’s answer to our holy fathers:

¹⁸ “Then, as you say, and as the testimonies of the Scriptures you have brought forward make clear, we must confess the Holy Spirit as God as well. And it seems to me that the idea would be forced, if the testimonies of the Scriptures had not been brought forward by you.” ¹⁹ “However, the case of Elihu the Buzite is clearly proved. But about the Assumption of Moses that you just mentioned, I had never heard of it until now. So I ask you to give me a clearer account of what was said.” ²⁰ For what you have already said is not enough to give me complete assurance about the Spirit. The matter calls for a plainer and more forceful statement, since the inquiry is not about trivial things. The answer of our holy fathers, given through Leontius, their fifty-seventh bishop, to the philosopher: ²¹ The proofs brought before you were many, and the testimonies from the divine Scriptures were very clear and able to persuade you about the matter at hand. So, philosopher, we are amazed that you, who seem so full of understanding, still doubt.

²² But because we want you to look toward the truth, and pray that you will, we urge your intelligence to begin by understanding by faith that nature, uncreated and unchangeable. Do not presume, as we have often said, to pry with human reasonings into what is beyond the mind. Do not allow yourself to be tangled up any longer in the wrong-headed and impious notions of Arius, since you are a philosopher, as you say, philosopher. Instead receive in faith, as we have plainly told you, both what has now been said to you and what is still to be said. ²³ Receive one Godhead: of the Father, who begot the Son in a way no words can express; of the Son, who was begotten from him; and of the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from the Father himself, and who is the Son’s own. ²⁴ As the divine apostle Paul says, “If anyone does not have the Spirit of Christ, this person is not his.” And in another place the same apostle says, “The Lord is the Spirit.” And again: “There are dis-

tinctions of gifts, but the same Spirit; and there are distinctions of services, but the same Lord; and there are distinctions of workings, but the same God who works all things in all.” And a little later: “All these things are worked by the one and the same Spirit,

²⁵ distributing to each one individually just as he wills.” See, philosopher, a very clear and plain proof that declares the Holy Spirit to be God and shows his freedom of will. Notice how it says here, “There are distinctions of workings, but the same God who works all things in all,” and then, “All these things are worked by the one and the same Spirit, distributing to each one individually just as he wills.” ²⁶ And the Lord in the Gospels, as you know, speaking plainly to the Samaritan woman, what does he say? “God is spirit.” If then God is spirit, the Spirit is surely God as well. Yet there is no one God and another God; there is one Godhead of the other persons, according to the understanding of their distinct subsistences. ²⁷ But when we hear the word “person,” let us not suppose that the divine is shaped like a human being. For it is uncompounded and without shape, as you yourself agreed, as we did, at the beginning of our discussion.

²⁸ For even heaven and earth are testified to have a “face” (or “person”). The Lord himself in the Gospels, speaking to the scribes and Pharisees, said, “Hypocrites, you know how to judge the face of heaven and of the earth,” and so on. ²⁹ For everything that has real existence is said, so far as it exists, to have the “face,” that is, the form, of its own nature. Yet heaven and earth are created, as is the whole nature of things that come to be. The divine and unspeakable essence, by contrast, is uncreated, since it is simple, uncompounded, without shape, eternal and immortal. ³⁰ But let us return to the subject before us. From many testimonies of the divine Scriptures we have shown that the Holy Spirit is fellow-creator with the Father and the Son of all creation, seen and unseen, since he is always inseparable from the Father and the Son, just as the Son is from the Father and the Father from the Son.

³¹ Come now, if you like, and take some helpful guidance from illustrations, though they are weaker. Your word, like every person’s, is spoken aloud, yet it is born without division from your mind. In the same way your breath too goes out from you. You would not call either your word or your breath foreign to you. ³² You would not refuse to understand this in the case of human beings. Yet in the case of that unspeakable, unfathomable and incomprehensible essence of God, would you call foreign to him his Word, not

a spoken word but one that is always living and active, sharper than any two-edged sword, and judge of all because he is also its creator? “No creature is hidden before him, but all things are naked and laid bare to his eyes.”

³³ Does anyone dare to say that his Holy Spirit, who searches even the depths of God, is a stranger to him? Does anyone dare to say that either the Word or the Spirit of God is foreign to him, or to welcome those who say such things? Yes, philosopher. The philosopher’s reply to the whole company of the holy bishops:

Chapter 22

¹ Since you have led me to a higher thought, saying that one Godhead of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit must be understood and believed, I remember what you said earlier: that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God. ² Now you say there is one Godhead of three perfect subsistences, of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. Please explain these statements to me more clearly. The holy fathers’ answer to the philosopher, through the same bishop Leontius: ³ That divine and unspeakable being is beyond expression, since it is also beyond understanding, beyond reckoning, and altogether beyond tracing out. It surpasses all things and contains all things. ⁴ But hear it from us. We have not told you of one God and another God, as the impious Arius blasphemed, saying that one is an uncreated God and another a created one, and proclaiming that the Spirit of God is likewise created — God forbid. Rather, we have said that one Godhead is to be understood and believed: one being, one lordship and one will of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

⁵ We have said, too, that the subsistences of the holy Trinity are to be known as not separated and not located in place. By faith alone one Godhead is to be understood and believed, as we have often said, of the holy, consubstantial and adorable Trinity. ⁶ See, the true faith has shown in every way that no difference is to be conceived in the holy Trinity. Now be willing to give us your attention for a little while, and you will be more fully convinced, receiving through us from the Holy Spirit counsel that brings salvation. Then you will know that the one Godhead of the holy Trinity always exists and subsists, a Trinity truly a Trinity, with nothing in it ever existing before the rest, but always and in the same way an undivided and consubstantial Trinity. The philosopher’s answer: ⁷ “Do not think that I am turning away from the teachings of truth. If I were, I would have rejected your

words right at the start of the discussion. I am searching out the meaning of your thoughts so that what you are saying may become clearer and better defined for me.” The holy fathers answered with an illustration, through the same bishop Leontius, about fire, radiance and light:

⁸ “Listen now, philosopher, listen. We have already set before your mind, from a great many passages of the divine Scriptures, that the Godhead is simple and uncompounded. You yourself agreed to this at the beginning of your propositions. ⁹ It is also immortal, eternal and uncreated fire by nature, and light that cannot be contained or grasped. It is not understood as a single person, as the Jews think. All Christians believe and proclaim that it exists always in a Trinity of inseparable Persons: the inseparable Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, as has been shown. ¹⁰ Learn this now as well, philosopher. If we are being bold, may the divine majesty be kind to us, for our labor is carried through for the sake of your salvation and that of the others. Learn, then, from things perceived by the senses about things perceived by the mind, from things within the mind’s reach about things beyond the mind, and from things that can be spoken about things beyond speech.

¹¹ All things, both seen and understood, among creatures “in heaven and on earth and under the earth,” are beyond comparison with that uncreated, incomprehensible and immortal being of God. Still, the illustration that has come to us is no small help to those who receive it in faith. It offers a sufficient picture of true devotion to those who wish to understand reverently. Let us speak. ¹² This fire that we perceive with our senses is one nature, or one being, and at the same time a triad: fire, radiance, light. None of these is found to exist before another. The three exist inseparably from one another: the fire, the radiance that comes from it, and the light. ¹³ So separate the three, philosopher, if you can, and show us one of them existing before another. Show us the fire existing by itself before the radiance, and the radiance coming later, after some span of time. Or show us the light coming later than the fire and the radiance, or earlier in time.”

¹⁴ Show us, if you can, by separating the three from one another, that they are not alike fire, radiance and light, while the nature of the fire remains one. ¹⁵ Take these things to heart. They are perceptible and created, and, as we said a moment ago, they cannot be compared with the eternal and uncreated being of the Son. Still, accept from them these starting points for

salvation. Give wings to the eye of your mind by faith, and rise up to the lofty knowledge of God. ¹⁶ As we pray and believe, the grace of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit will meet you, shining upon you. It will show you one Godhead: immortal fire, radiance and light. It is simple and uncompounded, inseparable and undivided, beyond comprehension and beyond words. It is truly a Trinity of one substance, the Trinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit.

¹⁷ [Where the philosopher believes in the holy Trinity.] When the philosopher heard this, he was as though in a trance. For a long while he was struck speechless, “his thoughts troubled him,” and great fear fell upon him. Then he came to himself and cried out loudly: ¹⁸ Glory to you, O God, who inspired these your saints with the mystery, beyond all understanding, of the undefiled, inseparable and uncreated Godhead. But I beg you, Christ, all-good Son of an all-good Father: forgive what I did wrong when I was led astray against you by the impious opinions of Arius. Do not make me pay the penalty before you, the righteous judge, for those impious words which I, wretched man, declared against you. ¹⁹ Woe to Arius and his impious company! They blasphemed against the Son of God when they said, “There was a time when he was not,” and that the Son of God is a creature and a thing made, and of a different substance; and that the Holy Spirit too is not of the same substance as the Father. So they spoke of the Son of God and the Holy Spirit.

²⁰ I anathematize Arius now and always, and his impious opinions, and all who think as he does, and all who blaspheme against the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. For whoever does not have the Son does not have the Father either. And whoever blasphemes against the Son and the Holy Spirit has blasphemed against the Father. ²¹ I humbly beg your holy council of elders: help me by your prayers for me to Christ, the Son of God. I follow above all what has been set forth and defined through you by the Holy Spirit, and I confess that these things are true and sure. ²² For I believe this to be what the great teacher of sacred mysteries, Paul, spoke of: “the mystery hidden from the ages and from the generations, which has now been revealed, as it was told to his holy apostles and prophets” and to you. In the Spirit the Son and his Holy Spirit always exist, and exist together with God the Father and abide together with him. The holy fathers then added a further word to the philosopher, through Bishop Leontius, about a spring, a river and water:

Chapter 23

¹ There is something else, my friend, that you must now understand about the truth, philosopher. Let us think of a spring that gives birth to a river of water. Every river, as you know, has a spring as its begetter. The river comes forth from the spring of water. Yet no one calls the river the spring, or the spring the river. The spring is called a spring and the river a river, and both are one water. ² But when someone wants to draw water from the river or the spring, he changes the name. He will not say, "Go, draw and bring me the spring or the river," but "water." So the nature is one, but three persons are to be named: spring, river, water. ³ But the divine Scripture is shown to say these same things too. We are not saying anything foreign to it to you, who are now a true child of grace, even if we have introduced our argument by way of examples, types and images of the truth.

⁴ So the divine Scripture says about the Son: "He will incline toward them like a river of peace." The river, clearly, flows out from the true fountain of life, the Godhead of the Father. The Lord himself cries out in the Gospels: "I came forth from the Father and have come." He also said most plainly, "I and the Father are one," and "I am in the Father and the Father is in me." And the same is true of the Holy Spirit, ⁵ that all of us who believe receive from him. The Spirit is of the same essence as the Father and the Son. He proceeds from the Father, and is also proper to the Son, as we showed above. That he wells up for us out of the Son, the Lord himself taught most clearly in the Gospels when he said: "If anyone is thirsty, let him come to me and drink. As the Scripture said, whoever believes in me, rivers of living water will flow from his belly." The evangelist, inspired by God, explains what was said and adds: "He said this about the Spirit, whom those who believed in him were about to receive."

⁶ Now see what the prophet David cries out about this fountain of true life, the holy Trinity: "With you is the fountain of life; in your light we shall see light." He calls God the Father the fountain of life, and speaks to him in the Son's presence, since the Father is in the Son and the Son in the Father. The Son he calls "light," and he says that in this light we shall see light, the Holy Spirit. For he says, "In your light we shall see light." ⁷ For the Father is truly the fountain of life and of light. The Son is light from the light of the Father. The Holy Spirit is also light, from that same light. ⁸ For, as we must say again and again, there is one Godhead of the Father, the Son and the

Holy Spirit. So he himself cries out through the words of the prophets: "I am God, and there is no other. I am God, the first, and after these things, and I am for ever." And again: "I am, and I have not changed, and I am for ever." And so on, in line with what has already been shown.

⁹ I think it necessary to take up these sayings again. I will not give them all, because there are so many, but at least the clearer ones, so that what has been said may stand on firmer ground. ¹⁰ So I will set out the words from the mouth of the prophet Jeremiah. He says: "He who made the earth for everlasting time filled it with four-footed beasts. He sends out the light, and it goes; he called it, and it obeyed him with trembling. The stars shone in their watches and rejoiced. He called them, and they said, 'Here we are.' They shone with gladness for the one who made them. This is our God; no other will be counted beside him." And so on. ¹¹ So, most God-loving philosopher, it is necessary to fix your mind on this and unfold the meaning of the passage. For it has shown, as you yourself agreed, that these things were said beforehand about the Son. For it says: "After these things he was seen on the earth and lived among human beings."

¹² Now suppose, following the impious wickedness of Arius, that the Son is some other, created essence, a god who came after the Father. Yet the Scripture says of him: "This is our God; no other will be counted beside him." Then, by Arius's impiety, the Father is not God, since of the Son it says, "No other will be counted beside him." So the impious Arius-maniacs are refuted, together with the author of their blasphemy. Before denying the Son they have cast out the Father himself from the Godhead, and these enemies of the truth are found to be altogether godless. ¹³ For whoever does not have the Son, as it says in the Catholic Epistles, "does not have the Father either." The catholic faith knows one Godhead and proclaims it as that of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, beside which no other will be counted. This mystery of the holy, worshipful and consubstantial Trinity is beyond understanding, beyond expression and altogether beyond grasp. It can be understood by faith alone.

Chapter 24

¹ And the philosopher said: "What the Holy Spirit has spoken through you is truly divine and full of light. Your holy words of teaching are dear to me, so I ask you to lend me your pure ears and teach me about what I now ask. In this way you will receive from God the fullest reward for my salvation." The an-

swer of the holy fathers, through the same bishop Leontius: ² “Say what you wish. We are eager to give you full assurance. You are now especially able to receive the proofs of the sayings easily on every point, since you have been enlightened by the Holy Spirit.” The philosopher’s thanks and his question about the Lord’s becoming man: ³ “Thanks be to your holy head. Tell me, most holy men, how should we understand that God the Word, the Son of God, appeared on earth and lived among men, when he cannot be seen by any created nature, whether seen or understood? And what was the reason for which he did these things? Teach me, I beg you.” The answer of the holy fathers to the philosopher, through Bishop Leontius:

⁴ “The reason for his coming was arranged by him because of the fall of the first-created human beings, Adam and Eve, in paradise. That fall spread to their whole race. ⁵ So when they transgressed the commandment, they were stripped of the divine gift, and the Creator wished to give it back to the human race. We should understand here that just as God said, ‘Let us make man according to our image and likeness,’ and God made man, in line with the proofs already given, so the same God said again, ‘Let us save lost man, whom we made according to our image and likeness.’ ⁶ And just as God the Father said ‘Let us make’ and the Son carried out the creating, being God from God, so the same Son, by the Father’s counsel, willed to restore man in himself.” ⁷ The philosopher’s question on the same subject: “And how was he seen on earth and how did he live among men as a man, when he is God and does not change?” The answer from the holy fathers, through Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem:

⁸ “In the words of the inspired Paul, ‘Great is the mystery of godliness: God was revealed in flesh.’ That is, the Son of God himself was then seen, even by angels. For the Only-begotten was not visible even to angels or archangels or any of the heavenly powers, since no one has ever seen God. ⁹ So when you hear of his coming down from heaven, do not suspect that his divinity, which cannot be contained, moved from one place to another. Understand this whole thing, the truly great mystery of godliness in which we were made new, as an act of the divine plan. ¹⁰ For renewal is the taking up again of newness. For this reason the Word of God himself came down into our likeness, giving back to us the likeness to himself. ¹¹ It was impossible for God to become like us without taking flesh. The form of an incorporeal being was not added to an incorporeal substance, for that was what he himself

was; what was added was the bodily. And a bodily substance could not come to be without being taken on. For this reason he truly took a body, so that we, who fell from the original brotherhood through the change of our incorporeal form, that is, of the grace of the Spirit, which we lost through the first human beings, Adam and Eve, might be brought back into that brotherhood through his taking of a body, and might receive again what is incorporeal and divine.

¹² He takes flesh from a woman. In this way he becomes of one kind with us, so that he may share his own glory with us as those of his kind, and so that he may also save the woman through birth. ¹³ For it says, ‘The woman will be saved through childbearing.’ And the flesh he took had the life-giving element that belongs to its nature. For there is no flesh without the life-giving principle, which Scripture also properly calls the soul.” ¹⁴ The philosopher said: “Who would not be amazed at these great works of God, as you have described them? But how does he take flesh from a woman, as you said just now?” The answer of the holy fathers, through the same Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem: ¹⁵ “We have already told you, excellent friend, never to ask ‘how’ about the mysteries of God. They are unspeakable and beyond reckoning. But as we have been taught from the sacred writings, we will say as much as speech can set forth.”

¹⁶ For the complete understanding of that mystery, the incarnate plan of the Lord and how it came about, no human being knows, and no angel either. Not even Gabriel, who served in that mystery, nor the all-pure, clean and holy virgin Mary, could set out a full grasp of how God the Word took flesh. For the only-begotten Son of God alone knows exactly how he became man for our sake. ¹⁷ For even though “those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and servants of the word” handed down to us, as Luke says, the things about his incarnate plan, namely that he was “of the seed of David and Abraham according to the flesh”; and “of whom Jesus was born,” that is, of the virgin, “who is called Christ”; and that “to them belong the fathers, and from them comes the Christ according to the flesh”; and that “he did not take hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham”; and that “in all things he was made like us, except for sin.”

¹⁸ These things we know. But the manner in which they came about surpasses the understanding of every rational nature. For the prophet Jeremiah also says of this, “He is a man, and who will know him?” The philosopher

and the whole crowd that had gathered to listen were amazed. The holy fathers, speaking through Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem, added: ¹⁹ We have already shown at great length that the only-begotten Son of God, being God, became man out of love for humanity. He took flesh and was born of the virgin Mary in an unspeakable birth. ²⁰ For, as our argument showed earlier, he wished to renew what had been ruined by the fall of the first-formed man. So he came to be in what is ours, in order to make us to be in what is his, stooping down to our weakness like an excellent physician. ²¹ Again we say: his stooping down, coming down and being sent must be understood according to the manner of his becoming man, as we showed before. For in his divinity he always fills all things together with the Father, in the senses already given.

²² So listen. We are born of a woman. For love of humanity he came to this as well. But we are born from the pleasure of sleep and a man's seed, while he alone was born of the Holy Spirit and the virgin Mary. We are nursed with milk. He came to this too, in the flesh, he who by his divinity gives food to all flesh. We grow in progress and in stature. He did not disdain to undergo this himself in the body, as it is written, "Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and men." ²³ He completed thirty years, so that he might bless every age. Then he came to baptism, while John, the son of Zachariah, was proclaiming to the people a baptism of repentance. John was not giving forgiveness of sins or the gift of adoption. It was not for John to give these things, nor for any angel, but for God the Word himself, who was made flesh and became man.

²⁴ And he submitted to baptism for our sake. Though God and sinless, he was baptized in the body as a man. He did not need baptism himself, but he did it to glorify our baptism, so that we might believe that just as the Holy Spirit came down upon him, so he comes also upon us who are baptized into him. ²⁵ Then he lived among people. He handed down the declarations of his divine commandments and worked the wonders of signs. He did this for three years and had begun a fourth. Then he came to his voluntary bodily suffering on our behalf. For the penalty of the cross was owed by us. But if we had all been crucified, we still could not have snatched ourselves out of death. ²⁶ "For death reigned from Adam until Moses, even over those who had not sinned." There were many holy ones, many prophets, many righteous people, and none of them was able to free himself from the power of death. But the

Savior of all came himself and took the penalties owed by us into his sinless flesh, taken from us, in our place and on our behalf.

²⁷ After death we were carried down to Hades. He took this on as well, and went down into it willingly. He was not carried down as we are, but went down, for he was not subject to death but was master of death. And though he went down alone, he came back up with a multitude. ²⁸ For he himself was the spiritual grain of wheat that fell into the earth for us and died in the flesh. By the power of his divinity he raised up his bodily temple, according to the Scriptures, and it bore fruit: the resurrection of the whole human race. After three days in the tomb and his return to life from the dead, he appeared to the disciples and showed them the sufferings his body had endured on the cross. He said, "Touch me and see that it is I myself, the one who works wonders, the one who also took upon himself in my flesh the sufferings that belonged to your race."

²⁹ Then for forty days he lived with them and gave them instructions for their salvation. He went up into the heavens while they watched, and the holy words of Scripture taught that he sat down at the right hand of the Father. We expect him to come at the end of the age to judge the living and the dead. He reigns forever with the Father, as he always has, for endless ages.

³⁰ This is the apostolic and blameless faith of the church. It was handed down from above, from the Lord himself through the apostles, from ancestors to descendants. The church proclaims it to this day and will hold to it forever. For the Lord said to the disciples, "Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." On the agreement of all in the "of one substance."

Chapter 25

¹ When these things had been spoken in this way by the Holy Spirit through our holy fathers gathered in that holy council, the whole multitude that had come together to hear them praised God greatly. ² The most God-beloved emperor himself was listening too, since he was present at most of the council's sessions. He was full of admiration and glorified God for hearing such divine teachings. He rejoiced at the agreement of our bishops and exulted in spirit, for he was eager that no one, great or small, should disagree with this saving confession. ³ So after this long and thorough, reverent examination was finished, it seemed good to all our bishops together to define "of one substance" as part of the church's faith. This was just how our holy fathers

after the apostles had handed down this faith: that is, to confess that the Son and the Holy Spirit are of the same substance as the Father.

⁴ All the holy bishops gathered at Nicaea confirmed this faith. The multitude of priests and holy confessors, the highly praised and most God-beloved emperor himself, and the whole crowd of believers who had come together there gladly accepted the confession of faith. The exception was seventeen bishops, about whom we have spoken above. Arius, who thought he was pleasing them, was caught along with them, since they agreed with him. They said with him that the Son was made by God from outside, out of certain things that did not exist, and was not begotten from the Father's own divinity. At this point the impious Arius and those with him are publicly condemned by the common voice of the council.

Chapter 26

¹ Therefore all our holy fathers, by unanimous vote, decreed that these men should again be cast out of the catholic church together with Arius. They anathematized them, along with their impious opinion and their blasphemous words and thoughts, which they had used against the only-begotten Son. For they said that he was from things that did not exist, and that there was a time when he was not, and that the Son of God, by his own free will, was capable of both vice and virtue. They called him a created thing and a product of making. ² The holy council anathematized all these things and these men themselves. It could not bear even to hear their impious opinion, their arrogance, and their blasphemous words. ³ They even tore up on the spot the little document, full of their impiety, which they had dared to hand in. This was the outcome the holy council gave to their case.

⁴ As for the orthodox faith, all the bishops agreed. For the sake of the simplicity of the believing multitude of the people, they gathered the whole of it into a few words and set down in writing the creed of the catholic faith, in this way. Statement of the catholic and apostolic faith, set forth by the council at Nicaea in the presence of the most God-beloved emperor Constantine, in the consulship of the illustrious Paulinus and Julianus, in the year 636 from Alexander, in the month Desius, on the nineteenth, the thirteenth day before the Kalends of July, in the [fourth] indiction, at Nicaea, the metropolis of Bithynia.

Chapter 27

¹ We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things, seen and unseen. ² And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from the Father, only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father; God from God, light from light, true God from true God; begotten, not made; of one substance with the Father; through whom all things came into being, those in heaven and those on earth; ³ who for us human beings and for your salvation came down, was made flesh, and became man; ⁴ suffered, was buried, and rose again on the third day; went up into the heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father; and will come again to judge the living and the dead. ⁵ And in his Spirit. ⁶ But those who say, "There was a time when he was not," and, "Before he was begotten he was not," and that "he came to be out of things that were not," or who claim that the Son of God is from a different hypostasis or substance, or is created, or changeable, or alterable: the catholic and apostolic Church anathematizes such people.

⁷ This is the faith which our holy fathers, the orthodox bishops at Nicaea, set forth. They set it forth first against Arius, who blasphemed ⁸ and said that the Son of God is a created thing. They set it forth also against Sabellius, Photinus, Paul of Samosata, Manichaeus, Valentinus and Marcion, and against every heresy that has risen up against the catholic and apostolic Church. ⁹ The council of holy and orthodox men gathered in the city of Nicaea condemned these. The names of the bishops and of their provinces are listed below. ¹⁰ So the council's decisions were reported to the devout and highly praised emperor: the judgment against those who fight against God, and the statement of the orthodox faith. He gladly received it, with the greatest reverence, as something brought forward from God. As for those who opposed it, since they were resisting God, he decreed that they should go into exile.

¹¹ Six of the bishops with Arius, then, accepted being driven out together with Arius himself and those around him. ¹² But the other eleven were afraid of the God-loving emperor's presence and of the great number of bishops in the council, and feared being banished. So they pretended, and signed in favor of "of one substance" with the hand, not with the intention. ¹³ The ringleader of this deceit was Eusebius of Nicomedia. He is shown to have held a double mind to the very end, as Eustathius of Antioch, Eusebius son of Pamphilus, the great Athanasius, and all who wrote accounts of the coun-

cil relate. By pretense he appeared to be on our side, while in fact he vigorously defended the party of our opponents. The signatures of the bishops on the faith follow.

Chapter 28

¹Hosius, bishop of the city of Cordoba, for the holy churches of God in Rome, Spain and all Italy, and in the other nations beyond, as far as the ocean, as they are in my region, through the presbyters with him, Vito and Vincentius of Rome. ²Alexander of Alexandria, with Athanasius, who was then archdeacon, for the churches throughout all Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, and the neighboring regions as far as the provinces of India. ³Eustathius of Antioch the Great, for the churches in Coele-Syria, all Mesopotamia, and both Cilicias. ⁴John the Persian, for the churches in all Persia and in Greater India. ⁵Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the adornment of the Lord's church, for the churches in Cappadocia itself, Galatia, Pontus, Diospontus, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Armenia, Lesser and Greater. ⁶Theonas of Cyzicus, for the churches in Asia and the Hellespont, Lydia and Caria, through the bishops under him, Eutychius of Smyrna and Marinus of Troas.

⁷Macarius of Jerusalem, with Eusebius son of Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea, for the churches in Palestine, Arabia and Phoenicia. ⁸Alexander of Thessalonica, through those serving under him, for the churches in Macedonia, First and Second, together with Greece, all of Europe, both Scythias, all the Illyrian regions, Thessaly and Achaia. ⁹Nunechius of Laodicea, for the churches in Phrygia, First and Second. ¹⁰Protopogenes, the admirable bishop of the city of Sardica, for the churches in Dacia, Calabria, Dardania, and the regions bordering them. ¹¹Caecilian of Carthage, for the holy churches of God throughout all the provinces, in the Africas, the Numidias, and both Mauritania. ¹²Pistus of Marcianopolis, for the churches in Moesia, the nations of the Menes and the Galli, and the cities near them. ¹³Alexander of Constantinople, at that time still a presbyter (he later received the bishop's office in the church there), together with Paul, who was then still a reader and his secretary, for all the churches in the islands of the Cyclades.

¹⁴All these holy and apostolic men carried the decisions of the holy, great and ecumenical council of Nicaea across the sea and handed them on to all the holy churches of God under heaven, everywhere on earth. At that

point the emperor rose from his throne and sent up words of thanksgiving to God.

Chapter 29

¹ The emperor Constantine was delighted at the statement of the right and apostolic faith. It had been proclaimed through our three hundred holy fathers by the Holy Spirit, as if from a single mouth, and approved by all. So he rose from his throne in the presence of the whole crowd of holy bishops and of all who had gathered for that holy hearing of the faith, and ² spread out his hands, lifted his eyes to heaven toward God, and with words of praise he hymned God, the Savior and benefactor of all of us, because God had granted him the harmony of the bishops that he longed for, and their agreement in voice about the right and saving faith. ³ So great was that best of emperors, beloved of God, in his care for the churches of God and for the entirely peaceful harmony of the shepherds. ⁴ I think it is not out of place to include in this writing also what Eusebius Pamphilus says about the business done in the council. He took it up well at the start of his account in his third book, the one on the life of Constantine, the emperor beloved of God.

⁵ It runs as follows. Very many proposals were put forward by each side, and at first there was much uncertainty on the part of some. The all-praised emperor listened to everyone, and with great patience and attention received the proposals of both parties. ⁶ In turn he took up what each side said. Quietly he brought together those who were stubbornly contentious, and he spoke gently with each one. He spoke in Greek, since he was not unskilled in that language either, and he was sweet and pleasant. ⁷ Some he persuaded, others he shamed with his words; those who spoke well he praised; and he urged all toward agreement. In the end he brought them to one mind and one belief, so that the godly confession of praise prevailed with one voice. The saving faith, which had truly been proclaimed by the Holy Spirit through all our holy fathers mentioned above, was confirmed.

⁸ At the same time he also made a law that one date be agreed on by all for the saving feast of the Pascha. ⁹ Then he also ordered that what had been decided in common be confirmed in writing, with each man adding his signature. And he urged the bishops to set down in writing the various church regulations and canons. Concerning Acesius, bishop of the Novatians, and those with him.

Chapter 30

¹ The emperor's faith moves us to mention one more matter. He took such zeal and forethought for the peace of the church that he overlooked not even the smallest things. He had invited to the council Acesius, bishop of the Novatian sect, and those with him, as though they too held the homoousion and glorified the Trinity. ² So after the definition of the faith had been set out and signed by the council and the emperor, the emperor Constantine asked Acesius whether he too agreed with the faith and with the ruling about the feast of Pascha. ³ Acesius said to him, "The council has decided nothing new, O emperor. For we have all received from of old, from apostolic times, both the definition of the faith and the date of the feast of Pascha."

⁴ The emperor said to him, "Then why are you separated from our communion?" Acesius told of what happened under Decius, during the persecution, about those who had been unable to struggle through martyrdom but had denied the faith. He put forward the strictness of a severe rule, saying that "those who have sinned after baptism ought not to be received when they repent, or be counted worthy of communion in the mystery from then on."

⁵ When Acesius had said this, the emperor said to him, "Acesius, set up a ladder for yourself alone, and climb up into heaven." ⁶ After this all the bishops set out various church regulations. A teaching discourse on the church regulations.

Chapter 31

¹ Let us speak with the light, who is Christ, as those who stand near him. Let us conduct our lives as people who see him, through prayers that sanctify. Prayers do sanctify, if we pray with a divine word. And a divine word is present wherever the heart and the manner of life are kept pure in humility. Israel grew weary offering its sacrifices. The prophets cried out to God: "Send out your light and your truth." They cried out, and we have received. "Others have labored," as the Lord said, "and we have entered into their labor." For he himself has come to us, the one who says, "I am the light, I am the truth." We received grace without weariness, but we must guard that grace through toil. ² Concerning those who say Christians must not work. Some people do not want to work but to meddle. They misunderstand the Lord's holy words, "Do not be anxious for your life, what you will eat." They claim that, following this saying, Christians ought not to work the land. We must show that

the Lord did not mean it that way. It is possible both to work and not to be anxious, knowing and believing that the Lord himself gives the growth and the fruits of our works. He said: "So is the kingdom of God, as if a man casts his seed on the ground, and sleeps and rises night and day; and the seed sprouts and grows long, though he himself does not know how."

3 Concerning the clergy. The clergy ought to be a type and image of the heavenly things. The bishop is the <throne> of the Lord himself, being after him the head of the church he has received. The presbyter holds the seraphic throne, and the deacon the cherubic. The attendant is fitting for serving these. 4 Concerning laypeople not going up onto the ambo. Laypeople must not go up onto the ambo, except those appointed to read or to sing from the parchment books. 5 Concerning holy baptism. Our baptism must be understood not with the eyes of the senses but with the eyes of the mind. You see water; understand the power of God hidden in the water. For the sacred words teach that we are baptized in the Holy Spirit and fire. Through faith of the one baptizing and faith of the one being baptized, by the holy invocation, understand the waters to be full of the sanctification of the Spirit and of divine fire. "For he himself," it says, "will baptize in the Holy Spirit and fire." The one being baptized goes down guilty of sins and held in slavery to corruption. He comes up set free from that slavery and from sin, having become by his grace a son of God and an heir, and a joint heir with Christ, having put on Christ himself, as it is written: "As many of you as were baptized into Christ have put on Christ."

6 Concerning the divine table and the mystery on it of the body and blood of Christ. At the divine table, here too, let us not give humble attention to the bread and the cup set before us. Instead, let us lift up our mind and believe by faith that the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world, lies on that holy table, sacrificed by the priests without being slaughtered. And as we truly receive his precious body and blood, let us believe that these are the symbols of our resurrection. For this reason we take not much but a little, so that we may know that it is not for filling but for sanctification. 7 On the resurrection from the dead. The Lord did not hand over his own flesh to suffering and death for us for no reason. He did it to work out our salvation, even though he was free from death, as the argument above has shown. The prophet cries out as if in his person, announcing beforehand the mystery of his plan in the flesh: "I became like a man without

help, free among the dead.” Who is free from death, if not God? But in accordance with what has already been shown, he took flesh out of love for humanity and became like a helpless man. He humbled his flesh even to death, death on a cross, and he is proclaimed to have been raised. By making us immortal he would provide for us, who had been given up as hopeless, the hope of our resurrection through that very firstfruits of ours. So we would no longer be slaves to eternal death but free, as Christ, our firstfruits, is free. The blessed apostle Paul says: “Christ the firstfruits, then those who belong to Christ at his coming.” Paul also bears witness that we are waiting for this same Lord, our Lord Jesus Christ, the only-begotten Son of God the Father, as Savior from heaven, to raise our bodies from the tombs. He says: “Our citizenship is in heaven, and from there we await a Savior, the Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform the body of our humiliation to be like the body of his glory.” For our body must be glorified in this way, like the Master’s: incapable of evil and of all the sufferings we now have, free from death and sin, holy. Then we will be able to walk with him in newness of life, in heavenly light, reigning together with Christ himself forever. For it is in this hope that we received holy baptism, and we receive the saving communion of his holy members. These are the doctrines of the catholic church.

8 That the church of God is one. There is one church in heaven, and it is the same on earth. In it the Holy Spirit rests. The heresies outside it, which people hold, are not the teachings of our Savior or of the apostles. They are the teachings of Satan and of their father the devil. For they teach the things of the Jews and of the Greeks in another form, in order to rob people of the life that is truly life. 9 On God’s foreknowledge and on the world. According to the sacred writings, we wait in a lowly state for the appearing and kingdom of our great God and Savior Jesus Christ to be shown to us. “And then,” as Daniel says, “the saints of the Most High will receive the kingdom.” The earth will be clean and holy, a land of the living and not of the dead. David foresaw it with the eye of faith and cries out: “I believe that I will see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living.” It is the land of the meek and humble. “For blessed,” he says, “are the meek, for they will inherit the earth.” And the prophet says: “The feet of the meek and humble will tread on it.”

10 These matters, a small selection from many, I have set down in this writing from the church’s regulations that our holy fathers took pains over.

They also issued twenty church canons in the council at Nicaea itself, and I thought it necessary to include these too in the work. Church rules: When the holy and great council had gathered at Nicaea, the following was decided.

Chapter 32

¹ On eunuchs who have cut off their own members. If anyone was operated on by a physician because of illness, or was castrated by barbarians, let him remain among the clergy. But if anyone in good health castrated himself, then even if he is enrolled among the clergy it is right that he be removed from service, and from now on no such person is to be promoted. Just as it is clear that this applies to those who practice the deed and dare to castrate themselves, so also, if any were made eunuchs by barbarians or by their masters but are otherwise found worthy, the canon admits these to the clergy.

² Concerning those brought to ordination from among the pagans. Many things have been done contrary to the rule of the Church, whether from necessity or because people were pressed in some other way. Men who had only just come to the faith from a pagan way of life, and had been instructed for a short time, were led at once to the spiritual washing, and as soon as they were baptized were promoted to be bishop or presbyter. It seemed good that from now on nothing of the kind should happen. For the catechumen needs time, and after baptism a longer testing. The apostolic writing is plain, which says, "Not a new convert, lest he become puffed up and fall into judgment and the snare of the devil." If as time goes on some sin of the soul is found in the person, and he is convicted by two or three witnesses, such a man shall cease from the clergy. And whoever acts contrary to these things, acting rashly against the great synod, will himself put his own place in the clergy at risk.

³ Concerning those who have women living with them. The great synod forbade outright that any bishop, presbyter or deacon, or anyone at all in the clergy, may keep a woman living with him, unless she is a mother, a sister, an aunt, or such persons only as escape all suspicion. Whoever acts contrary to these things will endanger his own rank. ⁴ Concerning the appointment of bishops. It is most fitting that a bishop be appointed by all the bishops of the province. But if that is difficult, either because of some pressing necessity or because of the length of the journey, at least three must by all means gather together, and the absent bishops must also cast their votes and give their consent by letter. Then the ordination is to be carried out. The author-

ity to confirm what is done is given, in each province, to the metropolitan bishop. ⁵Concerning those who are excommunicated. Concerning those who are excommunicated by the bishops in each province, whether among the clergy or in the lay order, let the opinion prevail, in accordance with the rule, that those who have been expelled by some are not to be received by others. But let it be examined whether they were cast out of the assembly through the bishop's pettiness, quarrelsomeness, or some similar ill-feeling. So that this may receive a proper examination, it seemed good that in each province synods be held twice a year. All the bishops of the province, gathered together, can then jointly examine such questions. In this way, those who have plainly offended the bishop will reasonably be regarded by all as excommunicated, until it seems right to the assembly, or to the bishop, to pass a more merciful judgment on them. Let one synod be held before Lent, so that all pettiness may be removed and a pure gift offered to God, and the second around the autumn season.

⁶Concerning the special honors that were established by the Church for those who govern the greater bishoprics. Let the ancient customs prevail, those in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, so that the bishop of Alexandria has authority over all of these, since this is also customary for the bishop of Rome. In the same way, in Antioch and in the other provinces, the privileges are to be preserved for the churches. This is plain in general: if anyone becomes a bishop without the consent of the metropolitan, the great synod decreed that such a man must not be a bishop. But if the common vote of all is reasonable and in accordance with the rule of the Church, and two or three object out of their own contentiousness, let the vote of the majority prevail.

⁷Concerning the bishop of Aelia. Since a custom has prevailed, and an ancient tradition, that the bishop of Aelia be honored, let him have the sequence of honor, while the metropolis keeps its own proper dignity.

⁸Concerning those who call themselves Cathars. Concerning those who once called themselves Cathars and now come to the most holy catholic and apostolic Church: the holy and great council decided that they are to receive the laying on of hands and so remain in the clergy. Before all this, it is right for them to confess in writing that they will agree to and follow the doctrines of the catholic and apostolic Church. That means they will have communion with those who have married a second time, and with those who fell away in the persecution, for whom a length of time has been set and a season

appointed. In this way they are to follow the Church's doctrines in everything. Now where all of them, whether in villages or in cities, are found to be the only ones who have received the laying on of hands, they will remain in the clergy in the same rank in which they are found. But where they come in and there is already a bishop or presbyter of the catholic Church, it is plain that the bishop of the Church will hold the dignity of bishop. The man called a bishop among the Cathars will have the honor of a presbyter, unless the bishop decides to let him share the honor of the title. If that does not please the bishop, he will devise a place for him, either as a country bishop or as a presbyter, so that he may in some way be counted among the clergy, and so that there are not two bishops in the city.

9 Concerning the ordination of presbyters. If any were promoted to the presbyterate without examination, or, when questioned, confessed the sins they had committed, and men acting contrary to the rule nevertheless laid hands on them despite their confession, the rule does not admit such men. For the catholic Church will defend what is blameless. 10 Concerning those who have fallen and were appointed through ignorance. Where any of the fallen were appointed through ignorance, or even when those appointing them knew beforehand, this does not prejudice the rule of the Church. For once they are found out, they are deposed. 11 Concerning those who lapsed without compulsion. Concerning those who lapsed without compulsion, or loss of property, or danger, or anything of that kind, as happened under the tyranny of Licinius: the council decided that, although they did not deserve kindness, it should still be shown to them. So those who genuinely repent shall spend three years among the hearers and seven years in the position of penitents who prostrate themselves. For two years they shall share with the people in the prayers, but without the offering.

12 Concerning those who renounced the world and then ran back to it. Those who were called by grace and showed their first zeal and laid aside their military belts, but afterward ran back to their own vomit, so that some even paid money and by favors secured a return to military service, shall be penitents for ten years after the three-year period of hearing. In all these cases it is right to examine the intention and the kind of repentance. Those who show their turning back by deeds and not by appearance, with fear, tears, patient endurance and good works, shall, when they have completed the appointed time of hearing, share in the prayers; and the bishop may con-

sider something more merciful for them. But those who took it lightly and thought that the outward form of entering the church was enough for their conversion must complete the whole time.

¹³ Concerning those who ask for communion as they are dying. Concerning those who are departing this life, the old and canonical law shall be kept now as well: if anyone is departing, he is not to be deprived of the Lord's provision for the journey. But if someone who was despaired of, and received communion and shared in the offering, is found again among the living, he shall be among those who share in the prayer only. In general, then, and concerning anyone at all who is departing and asks to share in the Eucharist, the bishop shall give him a share of the offering after examination. ¹⁴ Concerning catechumens who have fallen. Concerning catechumens who have fallen during their catechesis, the holy and great council decided that they shall be hearers only for three years, and after that pray with the catechumens. ¹⁵ That no one should be transferred from one city to another. Because of the great disturbance and the conflicts that arise, it was decided that the custom found in some places contrary to the rule must be removed entirely: no bishop, presbyter or deacon is to move from city to city. If anyone, after this decree of the holy council, attempts anything of the kind or gives himself to such a course, the arrangement will be completely void, and he shall be restored to the church for which he was ordained bishop, presbyter or deacon.

¹⁶ Concerning those who do not remain in the churches to which they were appointed. Some act recklessly, with no fear of God before their eyes and no knowledge of the church's rule. They leave their church, whether they are presbyters or deacons or are in any way counted among the clergy. These men must not be received in any other church. Every pressure must be brought on them to return to their own congregations. If they persist in staying away, they are to be excluded from communion. And if anyone seizes a man who belongs to another and ordains him in his own church, without the consent of the bishop from whom the man withdrew, who was counted on the church's roll, let that ordination be void. ¹⁷ Concerning clergy who lend at interest. Many who are counted on the church's roll have pursued greed and shameful gain. They have forgotten the divine Scripture which says, "He did not give his money at interest." They lend money and demand a hundredth part each month. The holy and great council therefore decided

this: if, after this decree, anyone is found taking interest on a loan, or carrying on the business in some other way, or demanding one and a half times the amount, or devising anything else for the sake of shameful gain, he shall be removed from the clergy and be a stranger to the church's roll.

¹⁸ Concerning presbyters receiving the Eucharist from deacons. It came to the attention of the holy and great council that in some places and cities the deacons give the Eucharist to the presbyters. Neither the rule nor custom has handed this down: that those who have no authority to offer should give the body of Christ to those who do offer. It was also made known that some deacons now touch the Eucharist even before the bishops. Let all this be removed. Let the deacons stay within their own limits. They should know that they are servants of the bishop and are lower than the presbyters. Let them receive the Eucharist in order, after the presbyters, with either the bishop or the presbyter giving it to them. Nor may deacons sit in the midst of the presbyters, for that is contrary to the rule and to proper order. If anyone is unwilling to obey, even after these decrees, let him be removed from the diaconate.

¹⁹ Concerning those who came over from Paul of Samosata, or who are coming, to the catholic church. Concerning the followers of Paul who then took refuge in the catholic church, a decree has been issued that they must be rebaptized without exception. If any of them were counted among the clergy in the past, then if they appear blameless and beyond reproach, let them be rebaptized and ordained by the bishop of the church. But if on examination they are found unfit, they must be removed from office. The same pattern is to be observed for deacons, and in general for all who are counted on the same roll. We also made mention of the deaconesses among them, those who have been counted in that dress. Since they have no laying on of hands, they are to be counted without exception among the laity. ²⁰ Concerning those who kneel on the Lord's day. Some people kneel on the Lord's day and during the days of Pentecost. So that everything may be kept alike and in agreement in every diocese, the holy council decided that prayers should be offered to the Lord standing.

²¹ This holy assembly wrote these twenty laws concerning the order of the church, in the presence of the most God-loving and universally praised emperor Constantine. ²² Some of the bishops also planned to set out one further law, which Paphnutius prevented. I thought it necessary to relate an account

of it, one worthy of the greatest wonder. Some of the bishops thought they should introduce a new law into the church at the council, and lay this down as they had the others concerning the church. Concerning the claim that clergy ought not each to put away his own wife.

Chapter 33

¹ They were therefore writing that the consecrated, whether bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons or anyone on the roll of the priesthood, must not sleep with the wives whom they had married while they were still laymen.

² When this was being decreed, the divine Paphnutius stood up in the middle of the crowd of bishops and cried out in a loud voice: "Do not make the yoke of the consecrated heavier. For marriage is honorable among all, he says, and the marriage bed undefiled. Do not harm the church by an excess of strictness." For he said that not everyone can bear the discipline of freedom from passion. ³ "I think no one will be kept in self-control if each man is deprived of his own wife. By self-control I mean the fine thing it is for each man to live with his lawful wife. Do not separate from her the woman whom God gave him, and whom he married once, when he was a reader or a psalmist or a layman."

⁴ Pafnutius said this although he had no experience of marriage, because from childhood he had lived in ascetic communities. So the whole assembly of bishops was persuaded by the man's advice and said no more about the question. They left it to the judgment of each man who wished, by mutual agreement, to abstain from his own wife. ⁵ These things were done at the holy, great and ecumenical council gathered at Nicaea in Bithynia. But Eusebius and Theognis and the Arians with them could not bear the confirmation of the true faith that had been firmly established. They would not even consent to anathematize Arius. They were exposed on this account and fell under sentence of exile, by the decision of the God-beloved emperor and the judgment of the holy synod of bishops. Others were set up in their places in their own dioceses, by the vote of the same synod and of the clergy and people of each diocese.

⁶ Amphion took over the leadership of the church of the Nicomedians, Chrestus that of Nicaea itself, and others took the sees of those who shared their mind. But Eusebius and Theognis again used their usual schemes. They found in the emperor's kindness a means, gained by deceit, and tried to fight their way back and recover their former power. ⁷ Their wicked schemes were

very many and full of every impiety. I would refer those who wish to learn about them to the ecclesiastical history of Theodoret and the other writers. From here I will go on in my account to what follows. It concerns what the synod of bishops wrote to the bishops who had been left behind and to their own dioceses. It also concerns what the victorious and most faithful emperor wrote, to establish the holy faith that had been set out and the holy feast of Easter, and to refute the champions of impiety.

⁸ When the synod had been convened on all these matters in so great-minded a way, and the faith had been proclaimed in a manner worthy of God, the holy fathers laid down everything that concerned good order in the church. They then made every effort to make all their decisions known by letter to all the holy churches of God under heaven. They also added the matters concerning Meletius. Concerning the unholy Meletius.

Chapter 34

¹ A certain Meletius had been thought worthy of ordination to the episcopate, not long before the madness of Arius. He was convicted by the most godly Peter, bishop of the Alexandrians, who also won the crown of martyrdom, and was deposed. But Meletius did not accept the sentence of deposition. He filled the Thebaid and the neighboring parts of Egypt with disturbance and turmoil, and used tyranny against the bishop Alexander's position as head of the church. The synod wrote a common letter to the church of the Alexandrians, setting out what it decreed about his rebellion: ² "A synodical letter written to those in Alexandria, Egypt, Pentapolis and Libya, and to the holy churches of God throughout the whole world, to clergy and peoples of right faith, from the holy synod at Nicaea. To the holy church of the Alexandrians, by the grace of God, and to the brothers in Egypt, Pentapolis and Libya, and to those under heaven, clergy and orthodox peoples: the bishops who gathered at Nicaea and formed the holy and great synod send greetings in the Lord.

³ By the grace of God and the God-beloved emperor Constantine, who gathered us from various provinces, the great and holy synod has been assembled at Nicaea and has determined the matters concerning the faith of the church. It was necessary for us to send these to you by letter, so that you may know what was raised and examined, and what was decided and confirmed. First of all, the matters concerning the impiety and lawlessness of Arius and those with him were examined, in the presence of our emperor

Constantine. ⁴It was decided by the unanimous vote of all that he should be anathematized, together with his impious opinion and his blasphemous words and thoughts, which he used in blaspheming the Son of God. He said that the Son is from things that did not exist, and that before he was begotten he did not exist. He said that there was a time when he was not, and that by his own free will he is capable of evil and of virtue. He called the Son of God a creature and a thing made.

⁵ The holy synod anathematized all this. It could not bear to listen even briefly to his impious opinion, his arrogance and his words. As for what has happened to him, you have either heard it already or will hear it, so that we do not seem to trample on a man who is receiving the fitting wages for his own sin. ⁶ So great was the power of his impiety that it also destroyed Theonas of Marmarica and Secundus of [Ptolemais], for they met the same end as the others. But the grace of God has delivered [Egypt] from that evil teaching, from that blasphemy, and from the persons who dared to cause division and splitting among a people who had been at peace from of old. What remained was the matter of Melitius's rashness and of those ordained by him. The synod has made a decision about this part also, and we make it known to you, beloved brothers.

⁷ The synod was moved to deal with Melitius more humanely, for by strict reckoning he deserved no pardon. It therefore decided that he should stay in his own city. He is to have no authority to appoint, to administer, or to lay on hands, and he is not to appear in any country district or city for this purpose. He is to keep only the bare name of honor. ⁸ Those who were set in office by him have been confirmed by a more mystical ordination. They are to be admitted to communion on these terms: they may keep their honor and serve, but they are to rank second to all who are in each parish and church [enrolled] under our most honored fellow-minister Alexander. These men are to have no authority to choose whom they please, to propose names, or to do anything at all without the consent of the bishop of the catholic and apostolic church, [among] those under Alexander, our most holy [brother].

⁹ But those who, by God's grace and your prayers, were found in no schism, and who are spotless in the catholic and apostolic church, have authority to choose and to name those worthy of the clergy, and in general to do everything according to the law and rule of the church. ¹⁰ If any of those

in the church should happen to die, then those who have only just been received may advance to the honor of the deceased, provided they prove worthy and the people choose them, with the bishop of Alexandria also voting with them and sealing the choice. ¹¹ This was granted to all the others. In the case of Melitius, however, the same did not seem right, because of his disorderliness from the beginning and his hasty and rash disposition. So no authority [or privilege] was to be given to him, since he is a man who could commit the same disorders again.

¹² These are the special matters that concern Egypt and the most holy church of the Alexandrians. If anything else was laid down or decreed with our lord and most honored brother Alexander present, he will report it to you more exactly when he arrives, since he is both a leading figure and a partner in what took place. ¹³ We also bring you good news about the agreement concerning the most holy Pascha. By your prayers this part also has been set right. All the brothers in the East who formerly kept it with the Jews will from now on celebrate the same most holy feast of Pascha in agreement with the Romans, with you, and with all of us who have kept Pascha with you from ancient times. ¹⁴ Rejoice, then, in these successes, in the common peace, and in the cutting off of every heresy. Receive with greater honor and more love our fellow-minister Alexander, your bishop. He gladdened us by his presence, and at his age he endured so great a labor so that peace might come among you and all. Pray also for us, that what seemed good may remain firm. This has been done, as we believe, through almighty God and his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and through the Holy Spirit, to whom be glory forever. A circular letter written by Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine.

Chapter 35

¹ It is likely, beloved, that you have already learned from other sources what was done about the faith of the church at the great council gathered at Nicaea, since rumor tends to run ahead of the true account of events. But lest the truth be reported to you differently through such hearsay, we have of necessity sent you two documents. The first is the statement of faith that we put forward. The second is the one that was issued after additions were made to our words. ² Our document was read in the presence of our most God-beloved emperor, and was declared good and approved. It runs as follows. The faith set out by us is as we received it from the bishops before us, both in the

³ first instruction and when we received the washing. It is as we have learned from the divine Scriptures, and as we believed and taught when we served as presbyter and in the episcopate itself. So now too, believing as we do, we set our faith before you. It is this:

⁴ We believe in one God, the Father, [Almighty], the maker of all things, seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God: God from God, light from light, life from life, the only-begotten Son, firstborn of all creation, begotten from the Father before all ages, through whom all things came to be. For our salvation he was made flesh, lived among human beings, suffered, rose on the third day, went up to the Father, and will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead. We believe also in one Holy Spirit, truly a Holy Spirit, ⁵ just as our Lord also said when he sent out his own disciples to preach: “Go and make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit.” We affirm that this is how things stand with these truths, that this is what we think, that this is what we have always held, and that we will stand firm for this faith even to death. We anathematize every godless heresy.

⁶ We testify before God the Almighty and our Lord Jesus Christ that we have always thought these things from the heart and soul, from the time we have known ourselves. We think and say them now in truth. We are able to show you by proofs, and to persuade you, that in times past also this is what we believed and preached. ⁷ When we had set out this faith, there was no room for objection. Our most God-beloved emperor was himself the first to testify that it was entirely sound in what it contained. He agreed that this was also his own conviction, and he urged everyone to give their assent, to sign the doctrines, and to agree with them, with only one word added: “of one substance” (*homousios*). He also explained this word himself. He said that “of one substance” was not meant in the way of bodily experiences. It did not mean that the Son came into being from the Father by division or by any cutting off. For a nature that is immaterial, intelligent and without body cannot undergo any bodily experience; such things must be understood in divine and unspeakable terms. So our [most wise] and most devout emperor reasoned in this way. But the others, using the addition of “of one substance” as their pretext, drew up the following document. The faith dictated in the council:

⁸ We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, maker of all things seen and unseen. We believe in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, begotten from the Father as only-begotten, that is, from the substance of the Father: God from God, light from light, God from true God, begotten, not made, of one substance with [the Father,] through whom all things came to be, both in heaven and on earth. For us human beings and for our salvation he [came down and] was made flesh, became man, suffered, was buried, and on the third day [rose again], went up into the heavens, and [will come to judge] the living and the dead. We believe also in the Holy Spirit. As for those who say, "There was a time when he was not," and "Before he was begotten he was not," and that "he came to be from things that were not," or who claim that the Son of God is from a different hypostasis or substance, or that he is created, or changeable, or subject to alteration, the apostolic and catholic Church anathematizes them.

⁹ Now when this document had been dictated by them, we did not leave unexamined how they used the phrases "from the substance of the Father" and "of one substance." So we put questions to them, and answers were drawn out from this. The [discussion] tested the meaning of what was said. It was admitted by them that "from the substance of the Father" shows that the Son is from the Father, yet not as being a part of the Father. ¹⁰ It seemed good to us also to agree with this meaning, since godly teaching declares that the Son is from the Father and is not a part of his substance. So we agreed to the meaning, and did not refuse even the wording, since the aim of peace lay before our eyes and we did not want to [fall away] from the right meaning. ¹¹ In the same way we also accepted "begotten, not made." For they said that "made" is a term shared with the rest of the created things that came to be through the Son, and the Son has nothing [in common] with any of them. So he is not a product like the things made through him. He is of a [nature] better than any product, which the divine oracles teach was begotten from the Father, since the manner of his begetting is inexpressible and beyond the reckoning of everything that has come to be.

¹² In this way the statement that the Son is of the same substance as the Father was also examined and established. It is not meant in the way of bodies, as with mortal creatures. It does not mean a division of the substance, or a cutting off of part of it, or any suffering, change or alteration of the Father's power. The Father's unbegotten nature is foreign to all of these. ¹³ "Of

the same substance with the Father” shows that the Son of God bears no resemblance to the created things. He is made like in every way only to the Father who begot him, and he is not from another hypostasis and substance, but from the Father. Once the term was explained in this way, it seemed right to agree with it. We also knew that some learned and distinguished bishops and writers of old had used the word “of the same substance” in their teaching about the Father and the Son.

¹⁴ So much, then, for the creed that was set out. We all agreed to it, and not without examination. We agreed according to the meanings that were given, which were examined in the presence of the [most wise (?)] emperor himself and confirmed by the reasonings already stated. ¹⁵ We also considered the anathema that they added after the creed to be harmless, because it forbids words that are not in Scripture. Almost all the confusion and disturbance of the church has come about through such words. No divinely inspired Scripture has “from things that did not exist,” or “there was a time when he was not,” or the other things added after these. So it did not seem reasonable to say and teach them. ¹⁶ We agreed to this as well, since it seemed right. For in the time before this we were not accustomed to use these expressions. Moreover, it was not thought out of place to anathematize the saying “before he was begotten he was not,” since everyone agrees that he was Son of God before his birth according to the flesh.

¹⁷ Our most God-loving emperor himself was already arguing the same point by reasoning. He held that the Son’s divine begetting was before all ages. Even before he was begotten in actuality, he was in the Father in potentiality [unbegotten (?)], since the Father is always Father, just as he is always King, and always all things in potentiality, and always the same in the same way. ¹⁸ We have sent you these things of necessity, beloved, to make clear the outcome of our examination and agreement. We wanted to show how reasonably we held out until the last moment, while the things written in a different way offended us. Then we accepted without contentiousness what did not grieve us, when, on examining the sense of the words, it seemed to agree with what they had set out in the creed already given. We greet you together with the brotherhood with you. We pray that you may be well in the Lord, most honored brothers. Constantine, Victor, Maximus, Augustus, to the bishops and the peoples.

Chapter 36

¹ Arius has imitated the wicked and the impious, and it is right that he suffer the same dishonor as they. Porphyry, an enemy of godliness, composed certain lawless treatises against true religion and found a fitting reward. He became a reproach for all later time and was filled with ill repute, and his impious writings were destroyed. In the same way it now seems right that Arius and [those who share his opinion] be called Porphyrians, so that they may bear the name of those whose ways they imitate. In addition, if any writing composed by Arius is found, it is to be given to the fire. Then not only the worthless parts of his teaching, but no memorial of him at all, will be left.

² I declare this beforehand: if anyone is found to have hidden a writing composed by Arius, and does not immediately bring it forward and burn it, the penalty will be death. For the one caught in this will at once undergo punishment. May God keep you, beloved brothers.

³ The emperor also wrote other letters against Arius and those of his opinion, in a more elaborate style, and had them posted everywhere in every city. Letter of the Emperor Constantine to the Alexandrians, against Arius and to all the orthodox.

Chapter 37

¹ Constantine Augustus, to the catholic church of the Alexandrians and of all the orthodox. Greetings, beloved brothers. We have received complete grace from divine providence, so that, set free from all error, we may acknowledge one and the same faith. ² From now on the devil is permitted nothing against us. Whatever he attempted by his evil craft has been torn up from its foundations. By God's command, the brightness of the truth has conquered the schisms, those disturbances, and, so to speak, the deadly poisons of disagreements. ³ So let all of us be called by one name, and let us believe that he is one. To bring this about, by the will of God I called together to the city of Nicaea most of the bishops. I myself was among them, as one of you, and being exceedingly glad to be your fellow servant, I too took up the examination of the truth.

⁴ Everything that seemed to give grounds for doubt and division was therefore tested and carefully examined. May the divine majesty forgive us, for some blasphemed in terrible and unworthy ways about the Savior, about our hope and our life. They spoke things contrary to the God-inspired Scrip-

tures and the holy faith, and yet they confessed that they believed. ⁵ There were more than three hundred bishops, admired for their self-control and sharpness of mind, and they held one and the same faith, which by its nature is the exact faith of the divine law. Only Arius was found to have been overcome by the devil's working. He first spread this evil among you, and then among others also, with a corrupt purpose. ⁶ Let us therefore accept the faith which almighty God has given. Let us return to our beloved brothers, from whom a shameless servant of the devil separated us. Let us go to our common body and our own true members, with all [eagerness].

⁷ For this befits your sharpness of mind, your faith and your holiness: that once the error of that man, who has been shown to be an enemy of the truth, has been exposed, you return to the divine grace. ⁸ For what pleased the holy bishops is nothing other than the mind of the Son of God alone, especially since the Spirit, dwelling in the thoughts of such men and of such great stature, made God's will shine out. ⁹ So let no one doubt, let no one delay. Let all of you eagerly return to the truest [faith]. Then, when I come to you, as soon as I possibly can, I will join you in giving the thanks owed to God who sustains all things, because he has shown us the pure faith and given us what we prayed for. May God keep you, beloved brothers. A letter of the Emperor Constantine, which he sent from Nicaea to the bishops who were absent from the council.

¹⁰ Constantine Augustus, to the churches and to the bishops who were absent from the holy and great council at Nicaea: greetings. I have learned by experience, from the good success of public affairs, how great the grace of the divine power is. Above all else, then, I judged that this ought to be my aim: that among the most blessed congregations of the catholic church one faith, a sincere love, and a godliness of one mind toward almighty God should be preserved. ¹¹ But this could not be firmly and steadily established in any other way than by all the bishops, or at least the majority, coming together and each point of our most holy religion being decided. For this reason very many beloved bishops were gathered in this city of Nicaea. I myself was present, as one of you. I would not deny that I most rejoice to be your fellow servant. Everything was examined thoroughly, until the judgment that pleases God, who sustains all things, was brought to light, in agreement and unity, so that nothing was left that could cause division or dispute about the faith.

¹² There a question also arose about the most holy day of Easter, and it seemed good, by common judgment, that Christians everywhere should celebrate the saving feast of the most holy Easter on one day. For what could be finer for us, or more fitting, than that this feast, from which we have received the hope of truth, should be kept by everyone without fail, in one order and by a plain rule? First of all, it seemed unworthy to celebrate that most holy feast following the custom of the Jews, who have stained their hands with a lawless crime, and so, as one would expect, the impure are blind in their souls. With their custom set aside, it is possible to keep to a truer order, which we have kept from the first day of the Passion until now, and to carry out the observance of it for ages to come.

¹³ Let us therefore have nothing in common with the hateful crowd of the Jews. We have received another way from the Savior. A course is set before our most sacred religion, and a fitting law. Holding to it with one accord, let us tear ourselves away from that shameful conscience, most honored brothers. ¹⁴ It is truly absurd for them to boast against us, as though we were not able to keep these things without their practice. What can they think rightly, when after that murder of the Lord they have gone out of their [minds]? They are led not by any reasoning but by impulse, wherever their inborn madness drags them. So here too they fail to see the truth. They are always in error, and instead of correcting it as they should, they celebrate the Passover twice in the same year. ¹⁵ Why then should we follow people who admittedly hold a terrible error? We will never put up with keeping the Passover twice in one year. And even if these reasons were not before us, your sharp minds ought always to take care that the purity of your souls does not seem, in the judgment of men, to share in any likeness with them [and their evils].

¹⁶ Besides this, you can also see that in so great a matter, and in a feast of such a faith, disagreement is not permitted. ¹⁷ Our Savior handed down to us one day of our freedom, that is, the day of his most holy Passion, and he willed that his catholic church be one. Even though its members are gathered in many different places, it is still kept warm by one Spirit, that is, by the divine will. ¹⁸ Let the sharp minds of your holiness consider how terrible and unseemly it is that on the same days some fast while others hold banquets. And after the days of Passover, some spend their time in feasting and relaxation while others give themselves to fasts that have been set for

them. For this reason divine providence wills that this be corrected and brought to one rule, as I think everyone can see. ¹⁹ So this had to be corrected, in order that we have nothing in common with those murderers of their fathers and of the Lord. There is a proper order which all the churches of the western, southern and northern parts of the world keep, and which some in the eastern regions do not accept. For these reasons all judged it good for the present, and I myself promised to please your sharp minds. What is kept in the city [of Rome], and in all Italy, Africa, Spain, Britain, Egypt, Libya, all Greece, the diocese of Asia, Pontus and Cilicia, with one and the same harmonious judgment, let your own mind also gladly accept. Consider not only that the churches in the places I have named are greater in number, but also that this is what all should most devoutly desire, and what exact reckoning seems to demand: that we have no fellowship with the perjury of the Jews.

²⁰ To state the main point briefly: it pleased all by common judgment that the most holy feast of Passover be celebrated on one and the same day. For it is not fitting that there be any difference in such a holy matter. It is better to follow this decision [than a day on which] there is a mixture of error and sin. ²¹ These things have been laid down by divine judgment through so many and such great holy bishops. So receive this grace gladly, as a truly divine commandment. For whatever is done in the holy councils of the bishops has its reference to the divine will. Therefore make known to all our beloved brothers what has been written above, together with the statement of the catholic faith mentioned earlier, and the observance of the most holy day of Passover. You ought to receive them and put them in order, [so that] I may come to the sight of you and of your love, which I have long desired, and on one and the same

²² day I may be able to celebrate the holy feast with you. In every way I will be glad with you, seeing the devil's cruelty removed by divine power through these proceedings. And while [faith], peace and harmony flourish everywhere, I will send up hymns of thanksgiving with you to God, the benefactor of all and our Savior. May God keep you, beloved brothers. ²³ This is what he wrote to those who had been absent from the council. But those who had come together he treated kindly, with words and with gifts. He ordered many couches to be prepared and feasted them all together. The more distinguished he took as his own table companions, ²⁴ and the others he divided among the other tables. He saw that some had no right eyes, be-

cause they had been gouged out, and he learned that their steadfast devotion to Christ had been the cause of their suffering. He put his lips to their wounds, believing that by the kiss he would draw a blessing from them. When the banquet ended, he gave them still other gifts.

²⁵ He also gave letters to the governors who ruled the provinces. In them he ordered that in every city an annual allowance of grain be supplied to consecrated virgins, to widows, and to those dedicated to the divine service. He fixed these amounts out of generosity rather than need. ²⁶ Eusebius, the son of Pamphilus, speaks of these matters and says something like this: "So the all-praised and most faithful emperor Constantine gave the holy bishops every honor and refreshed them. He gave them his final instructions to go back home, and he let them all go. They went back with great joy. From then on one mind prevailed among them all, the one agreed upon with the emperor himself, and those who had long been divided were joined together like one body." ²⁷ The emperor rejoiced at this success. To the bishops who had not been present at the council he sent, with letters, a rich gift of fruit. He also commanded that money be distributed generously to all the people, both those in the countryside and those living around the cities. In this way he honored the feast of the twentieth year of his reign.

²⁸ He had gathered the holy council of bishops in the sixteenth year and six months of his reign, as the account above has shown from the old narratives. In the twentieth year the bishops dissolved the council's assembly, and each went back to his own diocese, as was set out earlier. I have arranged in this church history, as far as I was able, what was judged and decided in the holy council itself. It concerned the catholic and orthodox faith, the venerable feast of the holy Pascha, the ordinances for the divine liturgy of the church, and the canons for good order in it. For the fullest assurance of those who will read this work, I will end my account here. I have decided to set out the rest of the pious zeal of the all-praised and most faithful emperor on behalf of the faith in a third book. This is for the glory of Christ, the Savior of us all, and for the clearest demonstration of the faithful emperor's piety. I thought I must add one thing here, and I did not consider it a side issue but very fitting. It is the names of the bishops who were sent by the whole body of bishops to the provinces in every land. Through them the council sent what it had decided, by synodal letters and the letters of the all-praised emperor, to all the holy churches of God under heaven. This was for the glory

of God the Father, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen. List of the holy bishops through whom the holy, great and ecumenical council at Nicaea, together with them, sent to the churches of God throughout the world what had been decided in it through them by the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 38

¹Hosius, bishop of Cordoba, to the holy churches of God in Rome, Spain and all Italy, and in the other nations beyond, in my region, as far as the Ocean. He went through the presbyters of Rome who were with him, Vitus and Vincentius. ²Alexander of Alexandria, with Athanasius, who was then archdeacon, to the churches throughout all Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis, and the neighboring regions as far as the provinces of India. ³Macarius of Jerusalem, with Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea, to the churches in Palestine, Arabia and Phoenicia. ⁴Eustathius of great Antioch, to the churches in Coele-Syria, all of Mesopotamia, and both Cilicias. ⁵John the Persian, to the churches in all Persia and in Greater India. ⁶Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, the adornment of the Lord's church, to the churches in Cappadocia itself, Galatia, Pontus, Diospontus, Paphlagonia, Pontus Polemoniacus, and Lesser and Greater Armenia. ⁷Theonas of Cyzicus, to the churches in Asia and the Hellespont, and in Lydia and Caria. He went through the bishops under him, Eutychius of Smyrna and Marinus of Troas.

⁸Alexander of Thessalonica, through those who served under him, to the churches in First and Second Macedonia, together with all of Greece, all of Europe, both Scythias, all the churches in Illyricum, and Thessaly and Achaia. ⁹Nunechius of Laodicea, to the churches in First and Second Phrygia. ¹⁰Protogenes, the admirable bishop of the city of Sardica, to the churches in Dacia, [Calabria], Dardania, and their neighbors. ¹¹Caecilian of the city of Carthage, to the holy churches of God in all the provinces: the Africas, the Numidias, and both Mauritanias. ¹²Pistus of Marcianopolis, to the churches in Moesia and the nations of the Athenians and the Gauls, and to the neighboring cities. ¹³Alexander of Constantinople, who was then still a presbyter but later received the bishop's office of the church there, together with Paul, who was then still his reader and secretary, wrote to all the churches in the islands of the Cyclades.

¹⁴ All these holy and apostolic men carried across the decisions of the holy, great and ecumenical council of the Nicaeans to all the holy churches of God under heaven, and handed them on everywhere on earth, just as the account has now shown.

BOOK III

Chapter 1

¹ The account has set out for us in order the first and second books of the church history. It began from the first years of the reign of the Christ-bearing and victorious emperor Constantine. It passed through everything in between, down to the full conclusion of the business of the holy council of the Nicaeans, and presented it as a picture of what happened. It also described the siege that the God-hating tyrants stirred up against the churches of the Lord, and the utterly shameful end of those same impious tyrants. ² It told how Christ, the bridegroom of the church, armed his worthy servant Constantine with the weapons of his precious cross and raised him up against these impious men. ³ It told how Christ granted him trophies of victory over those very tyrants, striking them all down, whole families together, under the feet of the most God-beloved Constantine. Through them he gave deep peace from above to his churches throughout the whole world.

⁴ It also told of the scheme that afterward was stirred up again against the church by the enemy demon, who hates what is good, through the thoroughly polluted Arius. ⁵ It told how, on account of him and the impious blasphemies he uttered against the Son of God, the holy, great and ecumenical council in Nicaea took place, by God's command, through his servant, the most God-beloved emperor Constantine. And it told what was done in that council ⁶ by the Holy Spirit, through the holy bishops gathered there, three hundred in number and orthodox, on behalf of the apostolic and orthodox faith. By the grace of Christ our God, and as far as his power allowed, the account has handed this on to us plainly. ⁷ From here I will go on to the narrative of the emperor's devotion, and how he never ceased his concern for the churches of God.

Chapter 2

¹ On the emperor's unrelenting zeal for the churches. His zeal for Christianity was great and beyond words: he wanted to bring everyone, even those outside, to the true knowledge of the living God. He wrote to all the peoples

under Roman rule, urging them to leave their former deception and exhorting them to turn themselves to the teaching of our God and Savior. He called on them all to come to this truth, acting with a purpose more apostolic than royal. ² He also stirred up the bishops in each city to build churches. He did not urge them by letters alone; he also gave money generously and supplied all the costs of the building. The letter he wrote shows this, and it runs as follows. Letter of the emperor Constantine to Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, about the building of churches.

Chapter 3

¹ Constantine, victor, greatest, Augustus, to Eusebius. Until the present time, while that unholy purpose was persecuting the servants of God our Savior, I have been fully persuaded, dearest brother, that the buildings of all the churches had either been ruined through neglect, or, out of fear of [the injustice that prevailed], had been made smaller than they deserved to be. ² But now that freedom has been given back, and that dragon has been driven out from the administration of public affairs by the providence of God, who works all things, and by our service, I believe the power of God has become clear to all. I believe also that those who fell into fear, unbelief, or some sins will recognize the God who truly is, and will come to the true and right faith and to an ordered way of life. ³ So, for all the churches that you yourself lead, or that you know other bishops, presbyters or deacons to be leading in their own places, remind them to be diligent about the work of building the churches. Let them either repair the existing ones, or enlarge them, or, wherever the need requires, build new ones.

⁴ You yourself, and through you the others, shall ask for what is needed from the governors and the provincial officials. For they have been instructed to serve with all diligence whatever your holiness says. May God keep you, beloved brother. ⁵ These things, then, he wrote about the building of churches, both to Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, and to the bishops presiding in each province. ⁶ It is easy to learn from the letter itself what he wrote to the same Eusebius of Palestine about the making of the sacred books. Letter of the Emperor Constantine concerning the making of the sacred books.

Chapter 4

¹ “Constantine, Victor, Maximus, Augustus, to Eusebius the bishop. In the city that bears our name, with the help of God’s providence, a very great

number of people have given themselves to the most holy church of Christ. Everything there is growing greatly, so it seems to us very fitting that more churches also be built in it. ² So receive most eagerly what has seemed good to our purpose. It seemed right to make this known to your wisdom: that you order fifty volumes on parchment to be written. They are to be easy to read and convenient to carry for use, and they are to be written by skilled copyists who know their craft precisely. They should be copies of the divine Scriptures especially, whose preparation and use you know to be necessary for the reason and order of the church. ³ Letters have been sent from our Clemency to the diocesan treasury official, that he take care to supply everything needed for their preparation.

⁴ So that the volumes may be made as quickly as possible, this will be a task for your diligence. By the authority of our letter you are also entitled to take the use of two public carriages for transporting them. ⁵ In this way the finely written volumes can most easily be brought to our sight. One of the deacons of your church is to carry this out, and when he comes to us he will experience our kindness. God keep you, brother.” ⁶ These things are enough to prove, or rather to teach plainly, how the all-praised emperor, as we have said above, turned all his zeal toward divine matters. ⁷ I will add to what has been said what he accomplished concerning the Saviour’s tomb. He learned that those frenzied people, revelling in the worship of idols, had buried the Lord’s own tomb. They were determined to hand the memory of human salvation over to oblivion, and on top of the tomb they built a house for the licentious demon Aphrodite. The most faithful emperor ordered that abominable building to be torn down as quickly as possible. He ordered that the soil, defiled by unclean sacrifices, be carried out and thrown far away from the city. Then he commanded that a temple of our Saviour God be built, very great and very beautiful. The letter of the most God-beloved emperor, which he sent to the head of that church (I mean the church in Jerusalem), makes this clearer. The bishop then was Macarius, whom we mentioned before. He had taken part in the great council at Nicaea, and together with the others he put out the flame of Arius’s blasphemy. Letter of Constantine the pious emperor to the <bishop> of Jerusalem concerning the Saviour’s tomb.

Chapter 5

¹ “Constantine, Victor, Maximus, Augustus, to Macarius, bishop of Jerusalem. So great is the grace of our Saviour that no [eloquence] seems to me

worthy of the present wonder. That the [sign] of that most holy tomb, hidden under the earth long ago for so many cycles of years, could not stay hidden, until the [tyranny] of the common enemy of us all was removed by the grace of our God. Christ gave his servants freedom from that tyranny, and he made the [sign] of that most holy place shine out, so that it truly surpasses all astonishment. ²For if all who are thought to be wise throughout the whole world were to gather into one place and wished to say something worthy of this matter, they would not be able to compete even in the smallest degree. The faith in this [event] surpasses every human nature that is capable of reasoning, as far as heavenly things are established as higher than human things.

³For this reason this is always my first and only aim: that just as the faith of the truth shows itself daily by wonders, so the [minds] of all of us may become more earnest, in self-control and eagerness, concerning the holy law. ⁴Therefore, since I think this is plain to all, I especially want you to be persuaded of this: that I care more than for anything else to adorn with beautiful buildings that sacred place. By God's command I ordered it to be [freed] from the error of the idol, which lay on it like a heavy burden. It was holy from the beginning by God's judgment, and it has been shown [still more holy], since it brought to light the faith in the saving Passion." ⁵It is therefore fitting that your good judgment arrange everything and make provision for each need, so that not only the basilica of this most holy place becomes better than any elsewhere, but also that the other buildings are made so fine that all the most beautiful buildings in every city are surpassed by the splendor of this one.

⁶As for raising the walls and finishing them with fine workmanship, know that we have entrusted the care of it to our friend Dracilianus, who administers parts of the most illustrious provinces, and to the governor of the province. For my piety has commanded that craftsmen, laborers, and everything else connected with the building, as soon as they learn from your good judgment what is needed, be sent at once by their care. ⁷As for the columns or the marbles, write to us as soon as possible about whichever you judge most useful, once you have looked the matter over. Then, when we learn from your letter how many are needed and of what kind, they can be brought from everywhere to adorn that house. For it is right that the most wonderful place in the world be adorned as it deserves. ⁸I also want to learn

from you whether you think the vaulted ceiling of the basilica of that house should be coffered [or “lacunar” work] or made with some other, more brilliant workmanship. For if it is to be coffered, the rest can be adorned with gold. Let your good judgment make known to the judges mentioned above, as quickly as possible, how many workmen, craftsmen and what expenses are needed. Hasten to report these to me at once, not only about the marbles and columns, but also about the coffered ceilings, if you decide on that. May God keep you, beloved brother. On the journey of the blessed Helena to Jerusalem.

Chapter 6

¹No one else served this letter’s purpose but the emperor’s own mother. She was the mother of a noble son, praised by all the pious, and she bore this great light for the world. From his childhood she gave him the food of godliness. For she raised him in the divine laws of piety toward Christ no less than his father did, her own husband Constantius. ²She endured the labors of the journey and gave no thought to the troubles of old age. For she undertook this journey abroad shortly before her death; she reached the end of this life at about eighty years of age. On the finding of the holy cross of Christ.

Chapter 7

¹So, longing for it and burning in her heart like fire to reach the holy places, to see where the Savior suffered and to search for the precious wood of the cross of Christ, she came to Jerusalem. ²When she saw the place that had received the sufferings for the salvation of all, she at once ordered that foul temple to be torn down to its foundations and the defiled rubble to be thrown far away. When the hidden place was made plain, three buried crosses were seen beside the Lord’s tomb. ³All believed without doubt that one of these was the cross of our Lord and Savior, and that the other two were those of the robbers nailed up with him. But they did not know which one had touched that holy body of the Lord and received the stream of his precious blood. ⁴But that very wise and truly godly Macarius, the head of that church, solved the difficulty in this way. There was a very prominent woman of that city who was held by a long illness and was close to death. Macarius considered bringing the wooden crosses to her, and he understood the power of the saving cross, after he prayed to God in this way:

⁵ He knelt by the woman's bed and cried out in a loud voice, with the most God-loving Helena and many people with him: "You, Lord God Almighty, who through your child Jesus Christ worked salvation for the human race on the wood of the cross, who even now, at the end of the times, inspired your servant [Helena] together with her son, your servant, to seek the blessed wood on which Christ, the Savior of all people, especially believers, was nailed in the flesh — show us, Lord, which of these three pieces of wood is the cross of Christ. By being touched through our hands to this sick and half-dead woman, let it lead her by the hand to health and to rising up." And when he had finished praying, ⁶ He brought the first piece of wood and laid it on the sick woman, but it did her no good. Then he brought the second, and it too proved useless. But when he stretched out his hand to the third and again brought the wood close to the sick woman, a very great miracle happened. All at once the half-dead woman opened her eyes. Then, when the precious cross of the Lord was laid upon her, she leaped up at once and stood on her feet. She gave glory to God, made far stronger than she had ever been. She went all around the house, and in her joy, together with her whole household, she announced the good news of the power of the divine cross in a loud voice.

⁷ In this way the most devout queen, the mother of the renowned and God-beloved emperor Constantine, gave sincere attention to the matter and was fully convinced about the Savior's tomb and the precious cross of Christ. At once, in that very place, she built a house of prayer, following the commands of her most devout son Constantine. She named it a martyrion, and she kept advancing more and more in faith. ⁸ So, having obtained what she longed for, she then gave herself without hesitation to the search for the nails with which the Lord's body had been fastened to the wood of the cross. When she found them, she had some of them worked into a royal helmet, taking thought for her son's head, so that it might turn aside the missiles of his enemies. She sent this helmet to her son as a divine gift. The rest of the nails she had forged and mixed into the bridle of the emperor's horse. She did this to secure the emperor's safety, and so she brought an old prophecy to its fulfillment. For long before, the prophet Zechariah had cried out: "And what is on the bridle shall be holy to the Lord Almighty."

⁹ A portion of the saving cross she set aside for the royal palace. The rest she placed in a case made of silver and gave to the bishop of that city, the di-

vine Macarius, whom we mentioned above. She charged him to guard these memorials of salvation for later generations. ¹⁰ She gathered craftsmen in every kind of material from all quarters. Together with Macarius, the head of the church there, and following the orders of her son the emperor Constantine, she built those very great and splendid churches in a marvelous way. I judged it superfluous to include their beauty and size in this writing, since practically all lovers of Christ from everywhere under heaven flock there and see for themselves the costliness of the works. ¹¹ That famous and admirable queen, the mother of the most faithful emperor, also did something else worth remembering. She gathered all the women who practiced virginity throughout their lives and had them recline on many couches. Then she herself fulfilled the task of a maidservant. She waited on them, set dishes before them, handed them cups, poured the wine, carried the pitcher over the basin, and poured water over their hands.

¹² After doing these and similar things, she returned to her son rejoicing. Not long afterward, in perfect cheerfulness, she passed over to the life that knows no destruction. She had given her son many instructions about a godly manner of life and crowned him with parting blessings. After her death she received such honor as was fitting for one who had served the God of all so carefully and so warmly. ¹³ She left behind a daughter named Constantia, who had become the wife of the impious Licinius. ¹⁴ This much, then, I have set down in this historical writing about the most blessed, most devout and God-beloved Helena, a few things out of her many great virtues, done in God our Savior. Concerning the forum of the emperor Constantine.

Chapter 8

¹ But I will turn my account again to the divine zeal of her son Constantine, the Christ-bearing emperor. He so far surpassed the zeal for Christ's salvation shown by his father and mother that he took the symbol of the saving cross, the cross of the Lord Christ's suffering in the flesh, which his mother had brought him. He believed that the city named after him would always be preserved if that symbol were kept in it. So he hid it, placing it inside his own statue in the place called the Agora, or forum of Constantine, which stands on the great porphyry column. Concerning Frumentius and Aedesius and those in inner India.

Chapter 9

¹So the emperor, most beloved of God, was bound to God by such devotion and faith, and he brought very many other barbarian nations into peace with himself. God subdued to him these peoples, who had long been in conflict with the Romans. For the more he humbled himself before God in reverence, the more, indeed far more, God set everything right for him. ²At that time many additions were being made to the apostolic preaching. Matthew had preached to the Parthians, Bartholomew to the Ethiopians, and Thomas to the Indians of Greater India. But the message about Christ was not yet known to the Indians farther away than the Parthians, nor to some of the nations bordering on them. ³In imitation of a certain philosopher, Metrodorus, who had travelled through almost all the nations for the sake of learning, a man of Tyre named Meropius, a distinguished philosopher, undertook the same kind of journey, also for the sake of learning. He took with him two boys who were related by blood. They were thoroughly trained in every kind of learning and eager for knowledge of every kind, and they had urged the philosopher Meropius to take them along with him. One was named Frumentius and the other Edesius.

⁴Now it was the custom and law among the barbarians there to kill any Romans from our side who were found among them whenever the Romans did not keep to the treaty of peace with them. It happened that the treaties between the two sides had been completely broken at the very time when Meropius was exploring inner India with Frumentius and Edesius. ⁵They were hard pressed to get necessary supplies, above all water. So they left the country and sailed by sea, and put in at harbors in those innermost regions, since they could not go farther, being held back by contrary winds. They remained there unnoticed for some days, supplying their bodily needs from the land there. ⁶One day, while the boys were sitting in a shady spot busily studying their readings, the barbarians came upon them and slaughtered everyone along with Meropius, except the two boys, Frumentius and Edesius. When the barbarians saw them they took pity on them because they were boys, and brought them as a gift to their own king. The king soon perceived Frumentius' natural ability and made him steward over the household expenses; Edesius he appointed as his cupbearer.

⁷While they were in this position and advancing day by day, it happened that the king departed from human life. By the will of the great king of the

Indians he left behind a very young son as successor to his kingdom. ⁸So Frumentius and his companion became, in turn, guardians of the whole kingdom for the child. The boy's mother had put them in charge of everything because of their honest character and their experience of the affairs of life. For besides natural ability they had knowledge, having been well trained especially through education and life abroad, which above all gives even the young the steadiness of older men. ⁹Since they were also devout, outstanding in faith toward God, and surpassing most people in every kindness, they traveled over land and sea managing the affairs of the child's kingdom. They gave orders to the neighboring peoples to bring to them any Romans who were staying as strangers among them, and they took care to sow among the Indians the knowledge of God.

¹⁰ For they found the times favorable to this. They searched out some of these Romans and urged them to follow Roman customs: to build places of prayer and houses of the church for the gathering of those who were receiving the knowledge of God, even though they could not set up altars, since they did not have the authority of the priesthood. ¹¹ From this, then, an occasion for the knowledge of God arose among the Indians farther inland, as Frumentius earnestly approached them with kind deeds and with persuasive, gentle encouragement. ¹² When the royal child whose guardianship of the kingdom they held had grown to manhood and had advanced to great maturity, they asked him as a favor to grant them a return to their own homes. The king and his mother pleaded with them with many entreaties, kept hold of them, and would not let them go. Frumentius said that they were deeply grieved at this, and so they forced the king and his mother to agree to release them. They consented with the greatest distress, since they did not wish to oppose Frumentius, whom they regarded as their lord.

¹³ Having handed over to the boy and his mother all the affairs of the kingdom that had been entrusted to them, they left India with great honor and made their journey home. ¹⁴ Then Edesius went to Tyre, but Frumentius came to Alexandria. He reasoned that it would be fitting not to overlook the divine work that had been done among the barbarians. He went to Athanasius, bishop of the church of the Alexandrians (for Athanasius then held the helm of the high priesthood there). Frumentius explained to him each thing that had happened and reminded him that bishops should be sent to them. ¹⁵ Then the great Athanasius listened very wisely and carefully to what was

said, and he told Frumentius, “Where shall we find another man like you, brother, in whom is the Spirit of God, who can give these instructions rightly and guide the churches there as well as possible?” He ordained him bishop and ordered him to go back to the Indians. There he was to consecrate the churches and care for the people.

¹⁶ After his ordination, abundant grace from God was added to the man, and he sent out apostolic rays. He reached the innermost India mentioned above and confirmed the gospel of Christ with signs and powers. He drew great crowds of Indians to the true faith of Christ, and they received the divine word through him in complete sincerity. As a result, churches and ordinations increased greatly among those nations. ¹⁷ Aedesius told us these things when he was living in Tyre. He became a presbyter of the church there and stayed in it until the end of his life. Concerning the Iberians and the Lazi, and the holy captive woman among them.

Chapter 10

¹ At about the same time the Iberians and the Lazi, who live next to the land of Pontus, received the word of God. They had not believed in it before. The cause of this very great good was a woman who was a captive among them. She lived a life of the highest standard, through self-control and other good works, and she amazed them all. ² They asked her the reason for such strict discipline. That holy woman answered in simplicity, “Because of Christ, the Son of God.” Even so, this did not bring anyone to faith in the true worship. They only marveled at the woman, and as they watched her unfamiliar way of life they speculated about it in many ways. ³ It was their custom, when they had an infant who had fallen sick, to carry the child around to all the local people, one after another, to get help. So it happened that a woman going about in this way came also to the captive.

⁴ The captive spoke to the woman standing at the door with her child. She said, “I cannot help the child at all. But I know that Christ, of whom I have often told you, is able both to raise the dead and to give healing to those who have been given up on.” The child’s mother begged the captive. Then the captive was moved by pity for the woman in need. She wrapped the infant in her own sackcloth, prayed to God, and gave the child back to its mother healthy. ⁵ What happened spread to many people and reached the queen, who was lying in bed in the grip of a most severe illness. She had been ill for a long time, and her condition from the terrible disease that had

struck her was now beyond cure. So she sent members of her household and asked the captive to come to her. But the captive, out of fear and reverence, refused to go to the queen, because she knew the slippery danger that creeps in with human praise.

⁶The queen understood that she was holding firmly to her refusal to come, so she ordered that she herself be carried to her on her little bed. The blessed captive was moved to shame by the queen's humility. In the same way she wrapped the queen in the sackcloth, knelt, and offered prayers to God with her usual [devotion] to Christ. Then she sent the queen home healthy, rejoicing and walking on her own feet. This was a new and strange wonder to the people of that place. The queen confessed the grace of Christ, as she had been taught by the captive woman, and as she went she cried out plainly, "Glory to you, Christ, Lord of the captive. To you be thanks and all honor, to you, [Savior] of us who have been counted worthy to believe in you." ⁷ The queen also told her husband everything. She urged him to be willing to repay the captive with money, as a fitting return for the kindness shown to his wife.

⁸But the queen said to him, "This captive, O king, does not crave silver, and she does not pursue gold. The worthy gift she asks of us is only this: that we believe that Christ is the Son of God the Most High. For a woman whose whole life is fasting and self-control, treasures of gold and silver are superfluous. I have tested this pious woman myself. I am telling you the truth, O king. But if you care at all about my salvation, let us repay the woman in a new way, by receiving her Christ as the one we worship." ⁹The king, for the time being, was rather reluctant. Though his wife reminded him many times, he kept putting it off, wearing down her request with good news of other things, and he said he was hoping for a suitable moment that would serve his purpose in this matter. And this did happen, by the providence of God, who wants "all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth."

¹⁰For it happened that the king was occupied with hunting in a thick, very deep forest, on a clear day, when an unexpected night overtook him. Suddenly, at midday, a very deep darkness poured over the whole forest where the king was. His companions, who had been scattered here and there in the hunt, were found to be in the same state. A great fear gripped the king, and he could think of no way to escape the danger. ¹¹All his compan-

ions were suffering the same helplessness. Each of those trying to reach him was brought to a standstill, as if fixed like a pillar, in the place where the darkness found him; it did not let them go forward to encourage one another. Then the king remembered his wife and the captive woman who had healed her of an incurable illness, and he cried out: "Christ, Lord of the captive woman, stand by me now, so that I may escape the trouble that lies on me. For in my wife I have the clearest proof of your divine power." As soon as he finished his prayer, the darkness was removed at once, and the light of day poured over the whole forest, brighter than before, where they had been held fast.

¹² When they came home safe, they found the king immediately ordering the captive woman to be brought to him, promising that he would worship no other god but Jesus Christ, whom the woman revered. ¹³ So the captive woman came and became the king's teacher, setting before him the whole pattern of the faith. He rejoiced, and was not ashamed to learn godliness from a humble woman. On the contrary, he took pride in her, and ordered her to be brought into the midst of the crowd, and he spoke openly about her: "My wife escaped death through this woman's prayer, by the grace of Christ, the King of all." He urged his subjects, if they wanted to be saved, to share his mind and to choose the worship of Christ, despising the idols.

¹⁴ When he learned from the holy woman that churches must be founded for the worship of Christ, he at once set about the work with zeal. They built up the outer walls of the house, and what remained was to set up the columns in the middle of the house, to divide the men and women who would gather there. God wished to set firm conviction in the king and in all his subjects concerning the gospel of Jesus Christ his Son, preached by the captive woman. So he made the third column, which had been raised into the middle but was still slanting, fail to stand upright to the end as the other two had. The craftsmen labored long. They broke the ropes and tore apart all their machinery, and then retreated and fled, afraid that if they were left behind they would be killed under the column on the ground. For the column stood hanging in the air, slanting, since none of the craftsmen could think of any of the usual means of help.

¹⁵ The captive woman heard this. Gripped by great fear that the crowd might turn back again to the idols, she went to the place as the sun was setting, knelt before God, and until morning raised the column by prayer. It

was not standing on its base, but hung upright above the base by about one cubit. God was arranging that the captive woman should not go home until the crowd arrived, so that they might know her faith in the true God whom she proclaimed. ¹⁶ So at dawn they came with the king, and when they saw so great a column hanging upright, they were astonished. Then, as the captive woman was made plain to all because of what had happened, she rose from her prayer, and immediately the column was set down on its own base, as if craftsmen had fitted it there as well as could be, and it had a firmness far more fitting than the columns before it and after it.

¹⁷ From this it came about that the rest of the crowd also gathered and agreed with the king's faith, marveling at Christ. For that holy captive woman had testified this to them. She had feared the simplicity of the crowd, that, pricked by the superstition of their fathers, they might transfer the reverence due to Christ onto her, or form some opinion of her that did not lead toward true godliness. ¹⁸ For this reason she had urged them to share in the prayer when she caused the raised column to be fitted into its place. In this way she hid her own reputation, and she told them that the working of Christ the Savior passes to all people who reverence him, in deeds that are beyond human power. ¹⁹ After the church was finished, the captive woman advised the king and the queen to send to the most God-beloved emperor Constantine, who had been brought up in godliness, and to ask him to send someone to consecrate the church. Then the ambassadors sent by the king and by the whole people of the Iberians reached Constantinople. They reported to the emperor Constantine that the faith of Christ had been firmly established in their land, and they asked him to give them a bishop, both to consecrate and to set in order the churches among them.

²⁰ The pious and Christ-loving emperor Constantine received them kindly and, rejoicing in the Lord, granted their request. He urged Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, to ordain a bishop for the Iberians. At the same time he saw that it was the will of God, who was bringing foreign peoples under his rule in this way. ²¹ Our guide for these matters was the most trustworthy Bakkourios, a most devout man and a most distinguished member of the royal family of the Iberians. He became a military governor, and when he led a campaign in the highlands of Palestine against the barbarian Saracens, he won a most complete victory over them. ²² But let us return to the history we have in hand regarding the emperor. Constantine was

very careful about Christianity and burned with an apostolic longing for Christ. He built still other churches in various cities. One he built at the place called the oak of Mamre, under which the sacred writings tell us that angels were entertained by Abraham.

²³ For the emperor Constantine, excellent in everything and most beloved of God, learned that an altar had been set up under that oak and that Greek sacrifices were being offered on it. He blamed Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, in a letter, because he had overlooked such an abomination. He ordered the altar overturned and a church of the living God built beside the oak. ²⁴ Again, in Heliopolis in Phoenicia, he learned that the people lived impiously and followed a shameful way of life. By a solemn law he put an end to their shameful living. He built a church in that city, had a bishop ordained, and ordered a sacred clergy to be consecrated with him in that church. In this way he made the evils of the people of Heliopolis more moderate. Moreover, he selected Christian civil officials, well attested for their upright life, and set them over the city and all its surrounding region. He threatened them with death unless they changed as quickly as possible from the shameful conduct they had formerly practiced and from their superstitious devotion to abominable idols.

²⁵ He also overturned the [rite] of unspeakable [practices] of Aphrodite at Aphaca, and he drove out the Pythonic demon in Cilicia, ordering the temple in which it lurked to be torn down from its foundations. Such good deeds the most faithful emperor Constantine did everywhere on earth. ²⁶ I will set beside this another proof, in this church history, of the same most God-beloved emperor Constantine's faith in the God of all. So great was his devotion and zeal for Christ that, thinking of the Christians in Persia, he planned to cross over to them. He ordered a tent of embroidered linen to be made, in the form of a church, as Moses also did in the wilderness, and to be carried with him on the road. In this way he would have a fitting place of prayer in the desert places, where he could send up his prayers to God.

²⁷ But the journey to Persia did not turn out for him then as he intended, since he was providing for the peace of the churches of God. Yet the king of that country, that is, of the Persians, was taking thought for those under him who were nurtured in godliness. He learned that they were being harassed by the impious there, and that this very king of theirs, enslaved by error, was devising all kinds of plots against them. His name was Sabor. Con-

stantine wrote to him, urging him to worship God rightly and asking that the godly, the Christians, receive honor. The letter itself will show the zeal of the Christ-loving emperor. A letter of the emperor Constantine to Sabor, king of the Persians, about care for the people of God.

Chapter 11

¹ Because I hold to the one faith, I share in the light of truth. Guided by the light of truth, I come to know the divine faith. And so, as the facts confirm, I recognize the most holy [religion] as the teacher of the knowledge of the most holy [God], and I confess that I hold to this worship. With the power of this my God as my ally, [I have set out] from the ends of the ocean and [brought] the whole inhabited world, step by step, [toward] salvation. The nations had been enslaved under so many tyrants and worn down by daily misfortunes, and had faded away. Now they receive vindication for the wrongs done to all, and as if kindled afresh by some great [experience], they boast and exult and keep festal celebrations to God. ² This is the God whom I honor. My army, dedicated to him, carries his sign on its shoulders, and goes wherever [the word of the cause?] calls it. From those very campaigns, with splendid trophies, I at once [give thanks for] his favor, and with a pure and unmixed mind I make this God shine forth [in praise] in [all that befalls me].

³ I call upon this God on bended knee. I shun all abominable blood and foul, loathsome odors, and I turn away from every [allurement] by which the utterly defiled and unlawful error has polluted many of the nations and whole peoples, and cast them down, handing them over to the lowest places.

⁴ For God, taking thought for human beings out of his own love for humanity, brought into the open the things we need. But these things turn out badly when each person follows his own desire. God asks only for a pure mind and a spotless soul in human beings, weighing in the balance the deeds of virtue and piety. For he is pleased with works of gentleness and mildness, and he loves them. He hates the troublemakers, and he loves faith. ⁵ He punishes unbelief. Every power joined with arrogance he condemns and throws down. He punishes the proud, and those puffed up with conceit he removes from their foundations. He also values just kingship highly, and strengthens it with his help, and he preserves the royal understanding in peace.

⁶ Therefore, brother, I rejoice greatly and exult, confessing this God as the source and savior of all. Many of those [who ruled] here were led astray by

mad errors and attempted [to attack him]. But such an avenger destroyed them all in the end, so that the whole human race after them regards their misfortunes as no other example than these, for those who [do] the same things. ⁷ I count that man as one of these. Divine justice, like a thunderbolt, drove him out from here and handed him over to your regions, and so made the trophy among you, set up for his shame, much talked about. But it seems to have turned out for good that, even in our own age, the punishment of such men has been shown so openly. ⁸ For I myself saw the ends of those who recently threw into confusion, with unlawful orders, the people dedicated to God. Great thanks are due to God, because by his perfect providence the whole human race that keeps his divine law has had peace restored to it, and rejoices and exults.

⁹ From this we ourselves are also persuaded that all things are in the best and safest state for us when [all] are gathered through the pure, approved worship of these people, I mean the people of God, out of agreement about the divine. [This text is unclear.] ¹⁰ [As for] this list of my fellow servants, I mean the Christians (for on their behalf all my [concern lies]), how glad do you think I am to hear [of them], when even the strongest of Persia [flourish] to the greatest extent, just as I wish? So may you also, as is fitting, agree to grant the best to them, and likewise the best, whatever [is best] for you and for them. ¹¹ For in this way you will have the master and God of all gentle, gracious and kindly. Therefore, since you are so great, I entrust to you, because you are distinguished, the governing of these people, I mean of those among them who [practice] the pious worship of God. Love them, as befits your own kindness to humanity. For through faith you will give boundless favor both to yourself and to us.

¹² Such was the care that Constantine, best of men in all things, took for those adorned with piety toward Christ. He looked after not only his own subjects, but also, as far as he could, those who lived under other scepters. For this reason he himself also enjoyed the divine care from above. He held the reins of everyone in the Roman world, and even of the barbarians, and he had them well disposed toward him, obeying gladly. For the barbarians too, [having come ...], obeyed with pleasure. ¹³ In fact the barbarians too, whether willingly or held down by fear of war, now served him, since they feared the God who stood with him. Everywhere trophies were set up, and the emperor was shown to be victorious over all. Many others have written about these

things with greater precision, praising them to the glory of the God of all. Let us return to the sequence of the history before us. Concerning Constantia, the sister of the all-praised Emperor Constantine, and the Arian presbyter whom she introduced into the palace.

Chapter 12

¹ The most faithful Emperor Constantine, then, was providing for the peace of the churches, and, as we have often said, he carried the concerns of these churches in his soul, in keeping with the apostle. But those who were called priests in appearance only, all who had accepted the plague of Arius, could not bear to keep quiet. They had taken up an implacable war against the truth, and they were devising all kinds of schemes against the right faith.

² [The Greek of this section is badly damaged. It speaks of one who shared in the blasphemy of Arius, a flattering “choice offering,” named Eutocius.] ³ At first he corrupted some of Constantia’s attendants, and soon he came into the sight of Constantia herself. He enjoyed great freedom of speech with her and great care from her, through their frequent meetings. So his conversation with her about Arius made progress. ⁴ Then, having gained confidence, he swept her away with his deceitful words. He said that envy alone had brought about what was done against Arius. By these and similar deceitful words he persuaded her that Arius thought and taught the very same things as Alexander and the bishops throughout the world.

⁵ Constantia believed what he told her. She was especially swayed when she heard from him that Arius was of one mind with Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, and that Pope Alexander was opposing him for nothing, out of jealousy over his good fortune with the many. So, having received the words of the deceit of this Arian presbyter, Constantia was pleased with what he said. She judged that presbyter worthy of greater honor and kept him among her closest associates. ⁶ Not long afterward she fell into a most severe illness, and in it she died. The most devout Emperor Constantine learned of it and came eagerly to visit her. After the death of her impious husband, and after the departure of their mother, the God-beloved and celebrated Helena, to the life without grief, this all-praised and most faithful emperor had thought her worthy of every care. He had not allowed her to experience the pains of widowhood or of being orphaned. For this reason, even at her death, whether absent or present, he gave her the attention that suited her.

⁷ After a long conversation between the emperor and Constantia, she spoke to him, confident as with a true brother: "Grant me one favor, all-praised emperor, as I depart to God." The emperor said to her, "What is it?" Constantia said to him, "I beg you, emperor, to command that Arius be released from exile, and to quell the misfortune that has risen against him from a faction. Do not, even in a small way, put a stain of innocent blood on your pious reign." ⁸ Emperor Constantine accepted his sister's request. He supposed that she spoke to him out of sisterly affection and had not been led astray by the Arian presbyter. He thought his sister a safe adviser. ⁹ For the time being he forbade Arius to set foot in Alexandria and Egypt. But because of the appeal of his sister Constantia, he ordered that Arius be released from exile at once. Constantia also entrusted to him that presbyter who was on Arius's side. She urged the emperor to trust him and to take pleasure in what he said: "Since I have proven his soundness, most devout emperor, I entrust him to you."

¹⁰ So Constantia departed from human life. That presbyter, however, slipped into the palace. The gentle and God-beloved emperor had promised Constantia to do this, and afterward he fulfilled his promise. He ordered the presbyter to come to him often, and gave him a great deal of freedom of speech. The man became one of the closest associates of Constantine, the Christ-bearing emperor. ¹¹ When Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, who were still living in exile, heard this, they took courage. They wrote a document of supposed repentance and sent it to the most prominent of the bishops, asking to be recalled from exile. They declared, in word and not in manner, as before, that they accepted and held the faith of Nicaea.

¹² The bishops who had received the book of their feigned repentance showed them kindness. At their request, [they] were recalled from exile by royal command. They took back the churches from which they had been driven out, and pushed aside the bishops who had been ordained in their place: Eusebius pushed out Amphion, and Theognis pushed out Chrestus.

¹³ It would be good to include in this account a copy of the book of their counterfeit repentance itself. It reads as follows. The book of feigned repentance of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea:

Chapter 13

¹ "We were already condemned by your holiness, [and were willing] to bear in silence what your holy judgment had decided. But since by our silence we

give ground against ourselves, we therefore report to your holiness that we too joined your council. We examined the meaning of the word ‘of one substance’ and gave ourselves wholly to peace, in no way [text lost] ... 2... [text lost] ... Having reminded you, for the safety of the churches, of whatever ran through our reasoning, and having given assurance and [text lost] to those who were to be persuaded through us, we signed [the creed]. But we did not sign the anathema. We did not refuse it because we found fault with [the creed], God forbid. We refused because we did not believe that the man who was accused was such a man. We were fully convinced of this by what he had already told us, both in his letters and in face-to-face conversations, that he was not such a man.

3 But if your holy [council] was persuaded, we do not oppose it. We agree with what you have decided, and we give assurance of that. By this letter we give our consent. It is not the exile that we bear heavily, but we lament the suspicion of [heresy]. 4 For if you would now deign to take us back into your presence, you would find us of one mind with you in everything, following what you have decided. After all, it seemed good to your holiness that the very man who was charged with the heresy should be treated kindly by our [most pious] emperor and be counted worthy of his humane mercy. You pleaded for him to be freed from exile. How much more is it right that those who are blameless should be counted worthy of [release] from exile and of returning to your holiness. 5 For it would be out of place, now that the man who seems guilty has been set free, for us to go on giving evidence against ourselves by our silence, as we said before. So we beg you, as befits your Christ-loving holiness, to deign to remind our [most pious] emperor about this. Place our petitions in his hands, and decide about us what is fitting for you to decide, most holy ones.”

6 This is the book of recantation of the aforesaid Eusebius and Theognisus. From their own words it is clear that they signed the creed laid down at Nicaea by the holy council there with the hand only and not by intention, as has already been shown. But they were unwilling to vote with the holy council for the deposition of Arius and the anathema against him. 7 Nevertheless, through the zeal of the bishops who had received their petitions, they were released from exile. They went back to their former dioceses, as I said above, and, so to speak, only looked at them. Then with the greatest haste they hurried to the imperial camp. They got ahead to Constantinople and took cour-

age to rush into the palace. They trusted in the patronage of that presbyter whom Constantia, as his own sister, had entrusted to the most God-loving Constantine, and whom the emperor honored with great attention and respect.

⁸ But even this man did not dare, as I said before, to reveal the Arian heresy that lay hidden inside him. He saw how fervent the emperor's soul was toward the things of God, and how strict his care for the true faith. ⁹ He did, however, bring Eusebius and Theognius in to the emperor. He urged them to hide for the present the sickness of the impious heresy of Arius. He pleaded with the emperor at length on their behalf, that they might be granted freedom of speech, especially Eusebius. He testified that they held what had been said in the council. ¹⁰ So the man who was truly an enemy of the truth spoke "the truth." For the very things they had muttered against there with slander, these the flatterer said they believed. The emperor was good and noble by nature. He had great reverence for the clergy, and the heart that bore no grudges, like that of the great king and prophet David. He could not bear even to take into his mind the plots that Eusebius had dared to make against him under the impious Licinius. So he received them kindly and respectfully, as priests of God. He honored them greatly, welcomed them warmly, and commanded them to come to him more often.

¹¹ As they advanced day by day in boldness before Constantine, the emperor who was best in everything, they pressed that presbyter, the one on Arius's side, to begin appealing to the emperor on Arius's behalf. They wanted him to ask the emperor to grant Arius [his sight; the text reads "his serpents"], since Arius was able to stand beside him and show that he held the views of the saints at Nicaea. ¹² The presbyter gave way to the entreaties of Eusebius and Theognius and began to speak to the emperor on Arius's behalf. Most of what he said was in the name of the men just mentioned. He said that Arius claimed to agree with everything decided at the council and to be satisfied with the faith proclaimed there. But the presbyter's mild words about Arius seemed strange to the emperor. ¹³ He did this for very many days, sometimes in private and sometimes with Eusebius of Nicomedia present. The emperor sent for him quite often. The most faithful emperor did not remember the plots which this impious Eusebius had once staged against him.

¹⁴ So by the skill of his deceitful words Eusebius persuaded the most kindly and gentle emperor, through the presbyter and through his own efforts, to order Arius to be summoned to him. Eusebius assured him that once Arius came into the presence of the pious emperor, he would agree with all the things by which, he said, the council and we ourselves are bound. ¹⁵ This seemed unbelievable to the emperor. But he was held by his God-loving gentleness and his zeal for harmony among the churches, and as if he believed it he said to them, "If Arius agrees with the council and truly chooses to hold its views, I will [seek him out] in person and send him back to Alexandria with honor." He said this, and he ordered by letter that Arius be summoned to the court. ¹⁶ Arius, honored with the emperor's letter, hurried to reach Constantinople again. Euzoius was with him, the man whom the divine Alexander, bishop of the church of Alexandria, had deposed along with him. Through the presbyter, and at the urging of Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party, it was reported to the pious emperor that Arius had arrived.

¹⁷ So the emperor received him together with Euzoius, and asked them whether they agreed with the faith set out at Nicaea by the three hundred holy fathers. Arius said under oath that he had always believed and still believed just as our holy fathers at Nicaea did, and that all who were with him believed the same. By this he meant Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognius of Nicaea itself. He spoke as though keeping his oath, in order to deceive and persuade the simplicity of the Christ-loving emperor. ¹⁸ When Arius had said this under oath, he so astonished the most God-loving and gentle emperor that the emperor at once sent Arius off to Alexandria with honor. ¹⁹ But when Arius reached Alexandria, [Athanasius] would not receive him. He turned away from him as from something loathsome. ²⁰ Then Eusebius and his party wrote on Arius's behalf themselves, and also prepared the emperor to write in sharper terms to Alexander and Athanasius.

²¹ Athanasius, however, utterly refused to receive Arius and those with him. He also wrote to the emperor, together with the bishop, and instructed him. He said it was impossible for men who had once rejected the faith, and who had been anathematized and condemned by so great and holy a council and by your God-loving piety, to be taken back again on the ground of a change of heart. ²² Then the emperor took this badly, and, stirred to anger by Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party, he threatened Athanasius in writing as follows. Part of the emperor's letter to Athanasius.

Chapter 14

¹ “Now that you know my intention, give free entry into the church to all who wish to enter. For if I learn that you have hindered any who wished to share in the faith of the church [text uncertain], or have barred such people from entering, I will immediately send someone to depose you by my order and remove you from your place.” In the same way he wrote the same things to Alexander the bishop concerning Arius. Letter of the most God-loving emperor Constantine to Alexander, bishop of Alexandria.

Chapter 15

¹ “Constantine, Victor, Maximus, Augustus, to father Alexander the bishop. And now, it seems, utterly loathsome envy will bark back with unholy sophistries of [delay]. What then shall we do about the present matter? Shall we decree things other than what was judged through you by the Holy Spirit, most honored brother?” ² Arius, that very Arius, I say, came to me, the Augustus, at the urging of a great many people. He promised to hold, about our catholic faith, the very things that were defined and confirmed through you at the council at Nicaea. I was present there and joined in the definition, as your fellow servant. ³ So he came to us at once, together with Euzoïus, because they clearly knew what the royal command intended. I spoke with them, with many others present, about the word of life. I am the man who has given his own mind to God in sincere faith. I am your fellow servant, who have taken on all the care for [text missing] and for concord.

⁴ And after other things: I have therefore sent, not only to remind you but also to ask you to receive these men who are pleading with you. If, then, you find that they hold to the apostolic faith set out rightly at Nicaea, which lives always (for they assured us that they hold this), then take thought for them all, I urge you. For if you take care of these matters, you will overcome hatred with concord. ⁵ Help concord, then, I urge you. Bring the good things of friendship to those who are divided over matters of the faith. Let me hear what I wish and desire from the heart: peace and concord among you all. May God keep you, most honored father. ⁶ The emperor wrote these things. He was aiming at what was beneficial, and he did not want the church to be torn apart, for he was eager to bring everyone to concord.

⁷ The divine Alexander received the emperor’s letter. He lived only a short time longer and departed this life with a blessed end. He had been

bishop of God's church in Alexandria for sixteen years in all: nine years and one month before the council at Nicaea, three years and six months during the council, and three years and five months after the council, sixteen years in all. ⁸ Athanasius then took up the service of the priesthood. What sort of man he was in understanding, in godliness, and in the ordering of the church, the following account will show us. ⁹ When the heretics learned that the divine Athanasius was leading the church, at first they were thrown into confusion [?]. Then they joined together against him with one mind, so as, if one may say so, to wipe out his memory from the earth, just as the Jews planned against Christ. For they immediately set about persuading the most God-beloved emperor to use royal decrees against him.

¹⁰ First we must briefly tell of the man's upbringing from childhood. The blessed Alexander had been entrusted with the leadership of the priesthood after the blessed Achillas. After the gathering to commemorate the contest of the holy Peter, bishop and martyr, he had invited his clergy to a meal. While they were assembling, he stood at a distance and saw some children who had begun a game [modeled on the church's order?]. ¹¹ The house faced the sea, and the holy children were playing along its shore. Among them Athanasius was the bishop, and there were other companions as presbyters and deacons. They also brought to him children who were catechumens, to be [baptized] by him. Athanasius, as bishop, baptized them all in the church's form, and then wished to give them a teaching discourse. ¹² The divine Alexander was astonished at what was going on and ordered the children to be brought to him. When he had learned everything just as it had happened, he acted with the agreement of the clergy with him. He sealed the baptized children with the seal in Christ, anointed them with the symbols of holy saving baptism, and completed what was lacking. He called Athanasius's parents together and entrusted Athanasius to them. He told them to have him taught letters and to advance him in the Lord as far as possible, and when he had grown, to give him back to himself, or rather to the church, just as Hannah, it is said, brought Samuel.

¹³ When the time had come, the parents presented Athanasius to Bishop Alexander. The bishop at once put the priestly ephod on him, bringing him forward for the church as a new Samuel, to defend it against the truly foreign enemies. For Athanasius endured many struggles on account of the heretics. They made a conspiracy, and there were not just forty men, as in the

holy apostle Paul, but the whole multitude of heretics throughout the whole world, above all the Arius-maniacs. And Athanasius, with David, sang and said: ¹⁴ “If an army is drawn up against me, my heart will not fear. If war rises up against me, in this I hope to put on the crown of victory.” He clearly longed to receive it from the Lord, who also said to him: “Take courage and do not be afraid, for I am with you, and no one will attempt to harm you.”

¹⁵ We avoid describing most of what happened to him, so that we do not tire those who will read this book by stretching out the account. What he endured when the most ungodly heretics persecuted him is beyond counting. We will be content with his more notable deeds, which are sung among all who knew the man. ¹⁶ As soon as he took charge of the church, as we said, Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party, who hated Athanasius bitterly, thought they had found a good opportunity for their own purpose in the emperor’s displeasure against the great Athanasius. They dared everything against him and stirred up trouble, eager to remove him from his bishopric, and they voted against the man on the ground that he had entered the priesthood unworthily. For they hoped that the Arian doctrine would prevail only if they got Athanasius out of the way. ¹⁷ So those mentioned above, of the impious Arian heresy, joined with Hosius, Euhaimon and Kallinikos in a plot against him, and openly brought various accusations against the divine Athanasius. First, they said that Athanasius, after slipping into the bishopric, ordered the Egyptians to pay a tax of linen garments to the church of the Alexandrians. Then they stitched on a second slander, worse than the first: that Athanasius, against the emperor’s orders, had sent a certain Philoumenos a money-chest full of gold to support resistance against the emperor Constantine.

¹⁸ Third, a certain man called Ischyrras had undertaken an act deserving many deaths. Though he had never received ordination, he gave himself the title of presbyter and dared to perform the duties of priests in the villages of the district called Mareotes. At this point the holy bishop Athanasius came to the Mareotes and was visiting the churches there. When he learned about Ischyrras, he sent the presbyter Macarius to investigate whether the reports were true. Ischyrras was found out, ran away from there in headlong flight, reached Nicomedia, and took refuge with Eusebius and his party. ¹⁹ Out of their hatred for Athanasius they received him as a presbyter, and they promised to honor him with the rank of bishop, if he would agree to bring an ac-

cusation against Athanasius. So he patched together this story: that Macarius, a presbyter sent by Athanasius, he said, had made an assault on our church in the Mareotes, leaped into the sanctuary, overturned the holy table, smashed the mystical cup, and burned the sacred books.

²⁰ These and similar things the accusers mentioned above told the emperor through Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party, stirring him up to anger against Athanasius. They also said that Athanasius had received the divine letter but had not accepted it, and that he had not received Arius or the faith of your Piety. When the emperor heard what was said against Athanasius he was astonished, so that he immediately ordered that Athanasius the bishop be brought to him at once in Constantinople. ²¹ Athanasius came and saw the emperor. He exposed the falsehood of the slanderers and fully convinced the emperor. ²² Fortified with royal letters and with the greatest honor from the most faithful emperor, he was sent back to Alexandria, and he returned to the church that God had entrusted to him. The letters of the pious emperor, which he wrote to the church of the Alexandrians, make this clear. I will set the end of them in this writing.

²³ But let none of those who read this work blame me for not joining the whole letter to the account of this history. I searched through all the writers on these matters and did not find the whole letter written down by any of them. Indeed, they also wrote many other letters in the same way, in abridged form, giving only some visible part of them in the histories they labored over. So I am more grieved about this than any of you. ²⁴ But let us return to our subject, and inscribe the end of the letter mentioned above in this history, as the account promised. It was written as follows: The end of the letter written by the emperor Constantine on behalf of Athanasius to the church of the Alexandrians.

Chapter 16

¹ “The wicked have had no power against your bishop. Believe me, brothers: they have worked at nothing else except to wear down our times, so that they might be able to get no place in this life for plunder.” ² So help yourselves, my beloved, you who are so dear to me. Love one another with your whole heart, and receive your bishop Athanasius with unbounded joy, beloved. I know very well that his absence did not cause you as much grief as you now have joy in his coming back to you. ³ Drive out those who want to destroy the grace of our harmony. Look to God, and love one another, I urge you.

For I gladly welcomed Athanasius, your bishop, and I spoke to him as one convinced that he is a man of God. God will keep you safe, beloved brothers.

⁴ The great Athanasius received this letter from the emperor and arrived at Alexandria. The whole clergy and people welcomed him gladly and rejoiced, seeing their shepherd come back to his flock with the greatest possible honor. They all glorified God, and with words of praise they honored Constantine, the best of emperors in every way.

⁵ But while this brought our people unspeakable joy, it brought pain and endless shame to the hostile, who had trained themselves to make war on the Son of God. ⁶ Even so, Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party above all stripped off every trace of shame from their own faces. They shaped for themselves a form of godliness while denying its power. They ought to have sunk into the earth, but they put on the most brazen shamelessness, and turned their cruel and wicked skill at evil schemes toward another tower of piety [that is, another pretext of piety]. ⁷ The originator and chief leader of all these wicked plans was Eusebius of Nicomedia. He was extremely clever at doing harm, like his father the devil. He held the reins not of God's church but of the impious party of the Arians. He spent a long time in Constantinople and often saw the emperor through the presbyter who sided with Arius. As his boldness with the emperor grew, he found the emperor's simplicity a resource for his own wicked craft, and he easily set up plots against the champions of the truth.

⁸ Then, disappointed in his hope from his wicked zeal against the great Athanasius, he devised a plausible way of attacking the godly Eustathius, head of the church of the Antiochenes. He approached the good-loving emperor Constantine, pretending to be most devoted and to rejoice in what the emperor was doing. He asked permission to travel to Jerusalem, saying he longed to see the holy houses of God that the emperor had built there. With these deceitful words he charmed the emperor's soul, which was like David's, and left Constantinople with great honor, the emperor providing him with carriages and every other attendance. ⁹ Theognis of Nicaea went with him, since he was, as we said before, his partner in his wicked and impious plans. ¹⁰ When they arrived, they came to Antioch and put on a show of friendship. So says Theodoret, though he passed over very many events and wrote his history with very brief attention. But we have read the earlier writers, who recorded everything accurately in order and sequence, and I arrange the nar-

rative accordingly. For, as I said before, we gather their works from both sides and arrange them here.

¹¹ But let us return to our subject. When these sinners reached the city of Antioch, the head of the church there, the great Eustathius, received them spiritually with great joy. For he had heard of their feigned repentance, taking it, so it says, as genuine, and he rejoiced over them. The great Eustathius welcomed them kindly for the sake of piety toward Christ and thought them worthy of the fullest hospitality. ¹² After this they left Antioch and arrived at the holy places of Jerusalem. There they found some of those who shared their views, and they were greatly encouraged by them because of the plot that had been stitched together against the champion of the truth. This was not Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, ¹³ as Theodoret seems to slander the man, writing falsehoods about him. All our holy fathers mention him as one who shone in the orthodox faith, and they sing of the man's labors and struggles at the Council of Nicaea on behalf of the holy and consubstantial Trinity.

¹⁴ So too the divine Macarius, bishop in Jerusalem, and the great Eustathius, and Alexander of Alexandria, and Leontius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Euphrasius [Eupsychius] of Tyana, and the bishop of Sardica, and before all of them Hosius of Cordova, Athanasius of Alexandria, Alexander of Constantinople, and all the rest who struggled in that holy and sacred council for the apostolic teachings, all of these likewise make mention of the admirable Eusebius, son of Pamphilus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine. But this man was not ¹⁵ found by Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party. Instead they found those who shared their mind: Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Aetius of Lydda, Theodotus of Laodicea, and all the others they found to be partners in the impiety of Arius. They joined these men and made known to them what had been contrived against holy Eustathius. Then they left Jerusalem with them and arrived together at Antioch.

¹⁶ The pretext for the visit of the others was supposedly an honor of escorting him on his way. But what they were really eager for was war against the true faith in Christ. They hired a prostitute with gold and persuaded her to give them her tongue for one hour. They convened a council with the great Eustathius and the holy bishops with him. Then they ordered everyone else to go outside, and these men who had composed the plot against the chief bishop commanded that the thrice-wretched woman be brought into

the council as quickly as possible. ¹⁷ The servants of their lawlessness led the woman into the middle of them. She stood there showing a nursing infant and saying that she had conceived and borne it from intercourse with Eustathius, and she kept on shouting this shamelessly. The great Eustathius saw plainly that this was slander, and he ordered her to bring forward anyone who could testify to it.

¹⁸ When she said she had no one, the men who had woven the slander put her under an oath, this prostitute, even though the divine apostolic rule says that no accusation against an elder is to be received except on two or three witnesses. ¹⁹ But they despised the divine laws in this way, and counted as nothing the sentence God has pronounced against slanderers. They wove an accusation without a witness against so great a man by means of the prostitute, and received it, themselves as judges already condemned. Then, since the woman also added the oath they had laid on her, crying out that the child was Eustathius's, these men, full of every shamefulness, pronounced the verdict as against an adulterer. But the other bishops ²⁰ (for there were many of the apostolic party who were defending the doctrines together with the great Eustathius, and who knew nothing of all that had been plotted) openly spoke against the lawless men and tried to stop that unjust verdict from being counted against Bishop Eustathius. But the authors of the plot ran quickly to the emperor to persuade him that what had been investigated was found true and the sentence of deposition was just. So the man was to be driven out of the sacred precincts as an adulterer and a tyrant, and the champion of piety and self-control was to be carried off by way of Thrace into distant exile, to a city of Illyria.

²¹ Eusebius of Nicomedia, an enemy of the apostolic teachings and skilled at staging slanders against the heralds of the true faith, stayed in Constantinople with Theognis. But they had left behind in Antioch the partners in their own wickedness, who ordained Eulalius in place of the divine Eustathius. ²² When he had lived only a very short time afterward, they put forward a certain Euphrasius. He too died very quickly (he lived one year and a few months after his ordination), and the leadership of that church was given to Flacitus. All of these alike kept the impiety of Arius hidden. ²³ So all who held to the right and godly faith, both clergy and people, left the church assemblies and gathered by themselves. Everyone called them Eustathians, because they formed their group after his departure. ²⁴ Not long

afterward that thrice-wretched woman fell into a most severe and very long illness. She exposed the plot and laid the slander bare. She called in not two or three but many of the priests and told them what had been contrived by that admirable band of the impious. She said that she had dared that slander for money. As for the oath, she said it was not very false: she had cried out that the child belonged to a certain Eustathius, a coppersmith.

²⁵ These things, then, were what the impious Eusebius and his party dared to do at Antioch at that time. But even so the ungodly felt no shame, and they could not get enough of slandering the champions of the truth. They saw that the matter of the great Eustathius had turned out as they wished, so they stitched together another drama, this time against the divine Athanasius. No one had ever dared anything like it. ²⁶ Once again they hired some accusers from the same party of Meletius and brought them to the emperor. These men cried out that Athanasius, the athlete of virtue, had committed many shameful and unholy acts. Eusebius, Theognius, and Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace led them, saying that these things were intolerable and could not even be borne by the ears. ²⁷ So they persuaded the emperor to order a council to be gathered at Antioch in Syria, where their enemies were more numerous, and for Athanasius to be tried there. The emperor trusted them as priests (for he was completely ignorant of what was being schemed behind the scenes), and he gave the order.

²⁸ But the great Athanasius, champion of the truth, knew the hostility of the men mentioned above, and he did not come to the assembly. From this they took a greater pretext for slander. Having once taken up the war against the truth, they wrote to the emperor and condemned him for tyranny and arrogance. ²⁹ The emperor, though a very gentle man, was inflamed with anger against Athanasius over this. He wrote to him, showing his anger and instructing him to go to Tyre; for he ordered the council to be moved and gathered there. [He suspected] that Athanasius was wary of the Antiochenes, because there were many in the East who had accepted the plague of Arius. He also wrote to the council what a man of piety ought to write. It is this: Letter of the Emperor Constantine to the Council at Tyre.

Chapter 17

¹ “Constantine, Victor, Greatest, Augustus, to the holy council gathered at Tyre. Perhaps it would have been fitting, and suited to the good fortune of our times, for the catholic church to be free of faction, and for the servants

of Christ now to be rid of all abuse. ² But some people, driven by a sick goad of contentiousness (I can call it nothing else) and living in a way unworthy of themselves, are trying to throw everything into confusion. This seems to me to surpass every calamity. For this reason I urge you to hurry, as the saying goes, and to run together without delay and complete the spiritual assembly, to defend those in need, to heal brothers who are in danger and bring them back to harmony, to set right the members that have been separated, and to correct what has gone wrong, while the time allows. It is the time to give so many provinces the harmony which, alas for the absurdity, the contempt of a very few people has destroyed.

³ That this is pleasing to God the Master, and beyond all our prayers, and for you yourselves also, if you call peace back, it is worthy of no ordinary glory. ⁴ [text damaged] I think all people agree. So delay no longer, but from now on stretch your zeal to the utmost, and make it your aim to set the fitting limit [text damaged], coming together with complete sincerity and faith. See to it that this peace is made to prevail among all, for you and for everyone. ⁵ I have sent to those of the bishops whom you wished, so that they may come and share your concerns. I have also sent Dionysius, the former consular, who will remind those who ought to come to the council with you, and who will be an overseer of what is done, especially of good order. ⁶ For if anyone, as I do not think will happen, tries even now to evade our command and does not wish to come to the council, he will be sent from here by us. He will remove him by royal order and teach him that it is not right ever to resist decisions made for the sake of the truth.

⁷ What remains is the work of your holiness: with a unanimous judgment, [neither out of hatred] nor out of favor, but rather in accordance with the ecclesiastical and apostolic rule, to devise the fitting remedy for those who have offended or have gone astray by error. In this way you will free the church from blasphemy, relieve my concerns, and give the grace of peace to those now living, and so win for yourselves the greatest good fortune. May God keep you, beloved brothers.” ⁸ So, in ordering the council to be held at Tyre, he wrote these things. He trusted the slanderers because they were priests; and although his zeal for piety was unbridled, he thought the opposing side had been wronged, and so, as a just judge, he put up with this ruling too. He did order, however, that once the council had completed its work

and carefully examined each matter, the whole council should go on to Jerusalem for the dedication of the church that he had built there.

⁹ The emperor also wrote a second letter to the council. He urged that Athanasius should not be the only one to appear before the council, but Arius as well, and that what each side had done should be examined honestly. If Arius was right in saying that he had caused the division out of envy, while he himself stood within the right faith, then he should first condemn himself for what he had dared to do against the truth, and fall silent. ¹⁰ The only alternative was that he had cleverly refused correction in order to take revenge on his own bishop Athanasius, weaving suspicions and slanders against him. If envy was found to be the cause, the bishops in the council were to make it their concern to bring both men together in peace. But if Arius was using some feigned repentance, he was to go back to Alexandria and be judged there about these matters.

¹¹ The most praiseworthy emperor wrote these things out of concern for harmony among all, so that with every quarrel removed from the scene, they might celebrate the dedication of the church in Jerusalem in greater peace, ¹² and consecrate it to God. But the impious Arius would not bring himself to appear before the council at Tyre. The great Athanasius, however, reached Tyre very eagerly, with Timothy and Macarius, his presbyters, and a great many other distinguished and respected men who accompanied him. ¹³ So the bishops came together at Tyre. When all of them had assembled with the consular Dionysius, with the eminent men honored along with him, and with the governor of the province, Dionysius, the former consular, handed the emperor's letters over to the council of bishops. ¹⁴ Some other bishops also arrived who were accused of corrupting doctrine, and one of them was Asclepas of Gaza. But I want first to set out in this account the tragic charges brought against holy Athanasius, and then to describe what happened in that much-talked-about court.

¹⁵ A certain Arsenius had at first been a reader under Athanasius. He was charged with certain offenses and was about to be destroyed by the crowd. The great Athanasius learned of this. [The Greek is damaged here.] In this way Arsenius was saved: Athanasius learned that Arsenius was being falsely accused, came to him by night, and rescued him, arranging for him to escape the killing by flight. ¹⁶ Afterward the followers of Meletius found him in Egypt and arranged for the title of bishop to be given to him. Some time

later, at the instigation of Eusebius of Nicomedia (for he was the man who everywhere devised intricate slanders against the godly), the party of Meletius hid this same Arsenius and kept him out of sight for a long time. ¹⁷ Then they cut off the right hand from some corpse, preserved it in salt in a wooden box, and carried it around everywhere. They said that Arsenius had been murdered and dismembered by Athanasius, and they called Athanasius a murderer.

¹⁸ But the eye of God, which sees all things, did not allow Arsenius to stay hidden for very long. First it became known in Egypt and the Thebaid that he was alive. Then God put it into his mind, as he himself told later, to reflect on the rescue that Athanasius had granted him beyond all hope. He saw that he would be wronging Athanasius and committing a very great lawless act if he overlooked his benefactor being put to death on his account, instead of dying himself on that man's behalf. So the ruler of all things brought him to Tyre, where the hand, made the stuff of tragedy by the slanderers, was being produced before the judges. ¹⁹ Athanasius' companions saw him, brought him to their lodging, and learned from him both about God's ordering of events and about his own readiness. They urged him to remain hidden for the time being.

²⁰ At dawn the great Athanasius arrived at the council, together with Timothy and Macarius, his presbyters, and the others who had come there with him from Alexandria. ²¹ First they brought in a woman who had lived in licentiousness. She cried out without restraint that she professed virginity, but that Athanasius, when he was a guest in her lodging, had forced her and violated her against her will. While she was saying these things, the accused came in, and with him, among the others, was Timothy the presbyter, a man worthy of admiration. ²² The judges ordered Athanasius to answer the accusation. Athanasius stayed silent, as though he were not the man accused. Timothy then said to the woman, "Madam, have I ever met you? Have I ever come into your house?" But she shouted back more shamelessly, arguing with Timothy. She stretched out her hand toward him and caught hold of him, and said to Timothy himself, "You took my virginity. You stripped me of my chastity. You ruined the honor of my soul." And she said everything else that women say who, in the extreme of their immorality, have no shame.

²³ What was happening was truly astonishing, greater than any wonder: Athanasius was the one accused, yet it was Timothy who was being charged. So those who had put this play together were put to shame, and those of the judges who were in on it blushed. They ordered the woman to be thrown out.

²⁴ Then the godly Athanasius said that the woman should not be let go, but should be examined so that the truth could be learned. But the false accusers shouted that there were other, more serious charges, which could not possibly be dissolved by any skill or cleverness: "For sight, not hearsay, will judge what is shown." With these words they brought out that much-talked-of chest and uncovered the embalmed hand. ²⁵ When each member of the council saw it, they cried out. Those who were party to the accusers' scheme said that the horror was real. Others knew the charge was false, and laughed, saying that Arsenius was still alive and was being kept in hiding.

²⁶ The council was filled with great uproar, and when at last there was a little quiet, Athanasius, the accused, asked the judges whether anyone among them knew Arsenius. Many said they knew the man well, and Athanasius ordered him to be brought in. ²⁷ When he had come in and stood in the middle of the council, Athanasius asked again, "Is this Arsenius, the man I am said to have killed, whom these men, after his murder, abused and deprived of his right hand?" Very many of those in the council agreed that this was Arsenius himself. Then the godly Athanasius uncovered him by taking off his cloak, and showed both of Arsenius's hands, the right and the left. "Let no one look for a third," he said, "for each of us has received from the Maker of all things two hands." ²⁸ Even after these things were shown in this way, by the judgment of God who watches over all things, the accusers ought to have sunk out of sight. So should those of the judges who were in the secret, and they should have prayed for the earth itself to open over them and swallow them whole. They did the opposite. They filled the council with uproar and faction, calling Athanasius a sorcerer and saying that by some trickery he deceived people's eyes.

²⁹ They rose up against him and tried to tear him apart and cut down this champion of true religion. They stirred up, as it were, the very earth and threw dust into the air, like those who once shouted against the divine apostle Paul and said: ³⁰ "Away with him, quickly! It is not fitting that he should live." But the men entrusted by the emperor with keeping good order prevented the killing. They snatched the victor out of the crowd, made him

board a boat, and so secured his safety. The godly Athanasius got into the boat and hurried to the emperor's camp, having escaped the hands of those murderers. ³¹ As for the others, just as they were, they sent some bishops of their own party to the Mareotis: Theognius of Nicaea, Marius of Chalcedon, Theodore of Heraclea in Thrace, Narcissus the Cilician, Ursacius, and some others who shared their views. Their purpose was to draw up records there against Athanasius, in a one-sided proceeding. (The Mareotis is in Alexandria, taking its name from Lake Maria, which is close by.) They instructed these men

³² to send as quickly as possible to them at Aelia, that is Jerusalem, Arius also, the author of these evils. They themselves were to set out there from Tyre together with the bishops in the synod. For the emperor had again commanded the whole synod, together with all the bishops from everywhere, to go from Tyre to Jerusalem, as I said before, in order to dedicate the churches he had built there. ³³ He also sent along some of the more loyal officials, men distinguished for piety and faith. He commanded that everything be supplied generously to all through them: not only to the bishops, the priests and their attendants, but also to all the needy who were streaming in from every direction. An indescribable crowd was pouring in from practically the whole land of the East to the dedication of the new Jerusalem. The holy altar was also adorned with royal hangings and with gold treasures set with precious stones.

³⁴ The impious Arius arrived at Aelia on the day of the dedication, very eagerly, having heard above all that Athanasius was absent from that festival. He was gladly received by those who shared his views, that is, the circle of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Patrophilus of Scythopolis. ³⁵ But those who held to the right faith, when they saw Arius, turned away from him as from something loathsome. They drove him out of the church and ordered that he be expelled from the assembly. They decided that his case would be heard at the synod at Alexandria, where he had in fact been convicted, as they say our Christ-loving emperor Constantine had also commanded. ³⁶ So the corrupter was out of the way, and the festival was most peaceful and splendid. The emperor, who was widely praised and most faithful, learned of the splendor and lavishness of the celebration. He was filled with the greatest joy, and he sang great praise to the Giver of good things, because He had granted him this request as well.

³⁷ So when the festival of the dedication had been completed in this way, most of the bishops returned to their own homelands, especially those who had not sat in the synod held at Tyre. ³⁸ But those of the brotherhood of Eusebius of Nicomedia, all who with him had accepted the plague of Arius, went with Eusebius himself and the other bishops back to Tyre, waiting there for their like-minded colleagues to return from the Mareotis. ³⁹ In the meantime the great Athanasius, who had arrived first, went to the most pious and God-beloved emperor Constantine and told him the whole tragic story of what had been dared against him. The emperor Constantine, who was deeply sympathetic and kind, was grieved to the soul at what had been done against Athanasius, and was moved by the ⁴⁰ unjust judgment passed against him. Athanasius begged with tears that both the accusers and the judges be summoned and that the case be heard again before the pious emperor himself. So the emperor, who had departed from Aelia, sent a letter to those at Tyre. It stated that Athanasius was with him, and that they should come to Constantinople as quickly as possible. What was written is this: Letter of the God-beloved emperor Constantine to the bishops who had left Aelia and were at Tyre.

Chapter 18

¹ “Constantine, Victor, Greatest, Augustus, to the bishops who have again gathered at Tyre. I do not know what has been decided by your synod amid so much uproar and storm. But it seems that the truth has somehow been distorted by some disorderly rivalry. You, evidently out of quarrelsomeness toward your neighbors, which you want to be unbeaten, have failed to see what pleases God. ² But let it be the work of divine providence that the evils of your contentiousness, or rather of your ill-treatment of others, have been openly caught and scattered, and that it be plainly shown to us whether you gathered there and took any care for the truth, and whether you judged what you decided without any favor or hatred. ³ Therefore I want all of you to come in haste to my Reverence, so that you may explain to me in person the exact truth of what was done. Why I thought it right to write this to you and summoned you to myself by letter, you will learn from what follows.

⁴ Athanasius, bishop of the church at Alexandria, a student of the divine law, is with me. As I was entering our namesake and most blessed city of Constantinople, from the suburb of Proconnesus, he approached me in the middle of the main road with some others he had with him, mourning and

lamenting. His approach was so sudden that it gave me a cause for alarm.”

⁵ God, who watches over all, is my witness: at first sight I could not even recognize who he was, until some of our people, when I asked, told me who he was and the wrong he had suffered at your hands. We saw the man so humbled and downcast that we were moved to inexpressible pity for him, once we learned that this was Athanasius. His holy appearance alone is enough to draw even pagans to reverence for the God of all. Some wicked men, strangers to peace and harmony, had long ago wrapped him in slanders of no ordinary kind.

⁶ I myself was carried away by their many-sided deceit, and I was about to sin against the man, had I not been moved by divine judgment. I then ordered him to come with all speed from Alexandria to the camp of our Clemency. ⁷ So he was examined by my Piety about the things falsely staged against him. When he stood before us, he himself exposed the falseness of the charges. He was declared innocent of all of them, and was sent back to his homeland with the greatest honor from us, restored in peace to the orthodox people whom he guides. ⁸ But now he cries out, with even greater boldness, that worse things than the first have been dared against him a second time. He asks for nothing else from them than your coming to us, which he begged for himself, so that with you present he might lay out the sufferings he has endured.

⁹ Since this seemed to us reasonable and fitting for the times, I ordered this letter to be written to you. All of you who made up the council that was held should hurry to us without delay. By your very deeds you should show that your judgment was pure and not twisted, before me, who am a true servant of God. Nor could you [defend] what has been decided by you in any other way. ¹⁰ Through my service to God, peace is established everywhere. Even most of the barbarian nations, who until now did not know the truth, now truly revere the name of God. (It is clear that whoever does not know the truth does not know God either.) Nevertheless, as was said before, even the barbarians, because of me, the true servant of God, have come to know God and have learned to revere him. They have perceived that he shields and cares for me everywhere, in the very outcome of events. So they know God, whom they revere out of fear of us.

¹¹ But we, who seem to put forward the holy mysteries of his kindness (I would not say “to guard” them), do nothing else than what leads to discord

and hatred, and, to put it simply, what has its end in the destruction of the human race. ¹² But hurry to us, as I said before, with all speed. Be assured that I will try with all my strength to see that these matters are kept in the law of God, in an especially unshaken way, so that no blame and no false teaching can attach itself to them. For the enemies of the law of God will be scattered, crushed utterly, and wholly wiped out. ¹³ Under cover of the holy name they bring forward all kinds of varied blasphemies to deceive the simple. They long, as far as they can, for the purity of the catholic church, which our Savior cleansed with his saving and precious blood, to make it spotless, holy and without blemish, just as his divine and unbreakable [words] declare.

¹⁴ This letter threw the members of the council into anguish, especially Eusebius of Nicomedia and his party. Those, however, who had been sent by them, and who had written down falsehoods as truth, had drawn up a record of proceedings against the great Athanasius, from one side only, before this imperial letter arrived. They reached Tyre, where the council of those admirable bishops was meeting. ¹⁵ But not everyone accepted that forged record against Athanasius, which was full of the slanders of those loathsome men. So most of them, having learned from the reading what the imperial letter contained, were afraid and went back to their own places. ¹⁶ But Eusebius of Nicomedia, Theognius and those with them stayed on in Tyre, deliberately dragging out the time. They wrote to the pious emperor that they had been kept there against their will, and that they were hurrying to set out to him with the record of the forged proceedings. The most faithful emperor had thrown that record away as something abominable, and would not bear to accept it at all. He had commanded these wretches to come to him at once.

¹⁷ Meanwhile, while Eusebius and his party were delaying, the emperor sent Athanasius back to Alexandria with the greatest honor. He wrote again to the church of the Alexandrians, saying that their bishop Athanasius had been falsely slandered, and that his purity had shone out brilliantly before everyone. ¹⁸ While Athanasius was in Alexandria, the council was being gathered at the emperor's command and on the instructions of the orthodox bishops who had come together in Jerusalem for the dedication. Then the matter of Arius came up. A great crowd gathered, and their hope swung back and forth on an uncertain outcome. Above all, everyone saw that what so many great bishops had agreed on and judged was being torn apart again.

¹⁹ When divine Athanasius saw Alexandria and all Egypt thrown into tur-

moil, he did not keep silent. He made the matter plain by letter to the pious ears of the emperor, the best of men in every way.

²⁰ When the emperor learned that Arius had been turned aside from the truth, he ordered him to be brought again to Constantinople. There he was to give an account of what he had dared to stir up anew. The emperor wrote to him, and sent with him a letter full of indignation against them. What he wrote is as follows: Letter of Constantine, the most God-beloved emperor, to Arius and the Arians.

Chapter 19

¹ Constantine Augustus to Arius and the Arians. [The text here is corrupt.] A bad interpreter is truly an image and a statue of [the one who...]. Clever sculptors, to make a bait for deceit, contrive a kind of seemly beauty for a figure that is utterly ugly by nature, so that by holding out error they may destroy the wretched. In the same way, I think, this man would act, who considers only this to be worthy [text corrupt]: to put forward without restraint the [...] of his own [...]. ² So both now, and ever since human beings came to be, it brings in a faith that comes from unbelief, one that has never been seen before. Then the saying spoken long ago in plain words does not seem out of tune with the truth: that they are faithful toward evil. ³ What should one say of the man who has lost the grace of deliberating, yet still wants to find some help of relief? So then: Christ, Christ, Lord, Lord! Why ever does this band of robbers wound us? A terrible, violent audacity stands against us. It roars and grinds its teeth, misshapen with dishonor and wounded by charges of every kind.

⁴ This audacity, in the law and in the preaching about you, as in storms and great waves of evils, belches out ruinous words, and by writing them it shows them openly. [You, who exist together with the Father, the eternal source of yourself, never separated yourself by the knowledge concerning yourself.] It gathers up and agrees together on dreadful and lawless impieties. At one moment it wags its tongues; at another it is lifted up again by the eagerness of the wretched, who are present, and whom it deceives and corrupts with impunity. ⁵ Now I want to examine the nature of its leader. For what does he say? "Either let us keep what we have already gained, or let it be as we ourselves wish." He has fallen, and fallen to his own destruction. "By trickery," he says, "or by cleverness of villainy"; it makes no difference. He

considers honorable only what has flowed [into the pipe] through a wicked scheme.

⁶ “We have crowds,” he says. I will myself advance a little to the front, to become a spectator of the wars of madness. I myself, I said, will advance, I who am accustomed to put a stop to the wars of fools. Come then, Arius, Ares that you are, you need shields. Please do not do this, we beg you. Let the company of Aphrodite at least hold you back. But would that, just as you seem to be so well organized among the crowds, you also flourished so in piety toward Christ. ⁷ See, again I come as a suppliant. Though I am strong enough with arms to fight any multitude, I do not wish to fight. Fenced in by faith in Christ, I wish to heal you and to cure the others. ⁸ So what do you say you are doing, when it does not suit your character? But with what calm, tell me, or clothed in what abundance, or rather to what rashness have you driven yourself? O audacity, worthy to be struck down by thunderbolts! Hear what he recently declared to me, writing with a pen dripping poison: “Thus,” he says, “we believe.” Then, I think, he added I know not what, haughtily and very carefully worked up. Going further, he kept silent about nothing dreadful, but opened, one might say, the whole treasure of his madness.

⁹ “We are being driven away,” he says, “and he has taken from us the freedom to be received.” But this has nothing to do with the matter yet. Pay attention to what follows, for I will use his own words. “We ask,” he says, “that if the bishop of Alexandria stays in the same opinion, we be given freedom from now on to carry out our service to God, lawful and not to be refused, according to the ordinance of the law.” ¹⁰ What terrible shamelessness! The truth ought to be eager to expose it. For what suited his own pleasure he set down in a brief phrase. What are you saying, you wretch? Are you scheming to build up, against me, a plausible-looking division out of the rottenness of your savage mind? Are you hurrying to destroy those who have joined themselves to you for their harm? “What then,” you say, “shall I do, if no one thinks me worthy to receive me?”

¹¹ You often cry this out from your unholy throat. But I ask you the opposite: where have you shown any clear mark or witness of your own mind? You ought to have unfolded it and made it plain, in things divine and human alike. This is the more needful because venomous snakes by nature grow fiercer when they feel themselves settled in the recesses of their dens. ¹² But this is very charming of him: he is eager, quite carefully, to put on a silence as

though under a mask of modesty. By the art of appearance you make yourself seem tame and gentle, but you are full inside of countless evils and plots, and most people do not notice. Oh, the wretchedness of it! Just as the evil one wanted, so he has made Arius for us a workshop of lawlessness. ¹³ Come forward now and tell me the mark of your own faith, and do not keep silent about it, you whose mouth is twisted and whose nature is quick to incline to wickedness. “You say there is one God”? Then you have me agreeing with you. “You say that his Word is without beginning and without end”? I welcome that.

¹⁴ Believe it so. If you weave in anything beyond this, take it away. If you are patching together anything toward an impious separation, I confess I neither see it nor understand it. If you take up “the lodging in a body for the ordering of the divine works,” I do not reject it. If you say “the Spirit of eternity came to be in the Word who is above all,” I accept it. Who has known the Father, except the one who came from the Father? Whom has the Father known, except the one whom he has begotten from himself eternally and without beginning? You think you must put beneath him a foreign substance, believing wrongly, of course. But I know that the fullness of the power that is above all and extends through all things is one substance of the Father and the Son. ¹⁵ So then, if you take away something from him from whom not even in thought could the quibblers ever separate anything, and if you fashion marks of addition and set up distinguishing signs for inquiries concerning him to whom the Father gave a whole eternity from himself and an incorruptible mind, and through whom he gave out the faith of immortality and of the church, then cast down, cast down this foolish lawlessness. You clever fellow with the fine voice, you have set out evils to bring the senseless to unbelief.

¹⁶ It is no wonder, then, that the evil one has overthrown you by his own wickedness. To some, perhaps, being like this seems pleasant, since you have persuaded yourself of it. But the evil is altogether deadly. ¹⁷ Come now, leave off your lingering in absurdities and listen, you demon-driven Arius, for I am speaking to you. Have you been cast out of God’s church and do not perceive it? You are lost, know well, unless you look at yourself and condemn the folly that is now in you. But you will say that crowds work with you and lighten your cares. ¹⁸ So listen, then, lending your ears a little, you unholy Arius, and understand your own folly. And you, God, caretaker of all, be

gracious to what is said, if it holds to faith. For I, having your forethought kindly toward me, will show clearly, from Greek writing and from very ancient [Sibylline?] writing, what was foretold about three thousand years ago by the [Sibyl] of the Red Sea.

¹⁹ For she said: “Woe to you, Libya, lying in coastal lands. A time will come for you when, with your twin [cities?] and your own daughters, you will be forced to undergo a terrible struggle, cruel and most harsh. From it a judgment of faith and piety will be handed out to all, but you will turn toward final ruin. For you seized the receiving-place of the heavenly flowers, and tore it with a bite, and defiled it with iron teeth.” What then, you scoundrel? ²⁰ Where on earth do you now admit you are? There, obviously. For I hold your letters, which you scratched out to me with [the reed pen of ...]. In them you say that every Libyan agrees with you, presumably on the matter of salvation. But if that is not so, I call God to witness that I will send [to ...] a very ancient book of [the Sibyl(?)], composed in the Greek language, so that you may perish all the sooner.

²¹ So are you without sin, you pitchfork-bearer? Have you not plainly perished, wretch, hemmed in on every side? We know, we know what you are attempting. What anxiety and fear trouble you has not escaped us, you miserable, suffering man. How dull your mind is! You do not even check the sickness and [the gaping wound(?)] of your own soul. Unholy man, you dig it deeper with your intricate arguments. Being such a man, are you not ashamed [of ...] us? Sometimes you think you are refuting us, and sometimes you think you are surpassing us in faith and argument. Yet it is from such a man that these wretched people are eager to get [salvation(?)] for themselves.

²² And yet one should not even associate with such a man, or speak to him at all, unless one thinks that the hope of living rightly lies stored up in his deceitful words, modest as they are.

²³ But this is not so. Far from it! The truth is this, you who share his folly, all you who [follow] him: what frenzy forced you to put up with his cruel tongue and [his ...]? ²⁴ Very well. Now I will come at you directly with my argument. Your soul is senseless, your tongue is glib, and you are faithless in [your ...]. Give me, then, room for the argument. I do not ask for something spacious, a field for horsemen, but at least a well-marked circle. It must not be rotten only, but [also ...] and firm by nature. You are unholy and utterly wicked! I am carried away in saying these things. Better still, I will throw a

noose around you and bind your feet with my argument. Then I will set you in the middle, so that every [listener] may learn how worthless you are.

²⁵ Now I will go straight to the matter itself. Our hands are washed, I suppose, so let us approach. Call on God! Or rather, wait a moment and tell me, you hothead: which God will you call on to help you? But I cannot [hold back].

²⁶ O Master, who hold authority over all things, O Father of the one and only power, because of this unholy man your [Church] bears insults, griefs, and also wounds and pains. Arius now fits out a place for you, and fits it very neatly. Sitting on it, I suppose, he makes for himself a [council]. Or rather, he makes your Christ, the originator of our help, into a child from you, by the rule of placement, and holds him as such. Listen, I beg you, to this marvelous faith! ²⁷ He supposes that you, Master, move with a movement tied to place. He dares to draw a circle around you with a fixed seat. For where is your presence not found? Or where do all people not perceive your working from your laws, which extend through all things? For you contain all things, and it is not right to imagine any place or anything else outside you. So great is your power, together with its working, and it has no limit. You, God, listen. And all you people, pay attention.

²⁸ For this shameless and useless man has reached the height of wickedness and [lawlessness(?)] alike, and he pretends to be reverent. "Away with it," he says. "I do not want God to seem subject to the suffering of insults.

²⁹ "And for this reason I suppose and invent, with marvelous faith, that God made a newly born and newly created substance, Christ, and so provided himself with help. That is how it seems to me. For whatever you take away from him, he says, you have made less." ³⁰ Then, you destroyer and ruin, is this what you call faith? You take by hypothesis and invention the one who condemned the inventions of the nations! You call him an imported outsider, a kind of servant of what is fitting. Yet he accomplished all things without deliberation or reasoning, by existing together with the Father's eternity. Now apply to God, if you dare. Yes, I say, apply to God the fearing and the hoping for what will result. Apply also the deliberating, the reasoning, the weighing a decision, the declaring and working out an opinion. Apply, in short, the being pleased, the laughing, the grieving.

³¹ What then do you say, you most wretched of the wretched, you real contriver of evil? Understand, if you can, that in your very cunning you are

wasting yourself away, wicked as you are. ³² “Christ,” he says, “suffered for us.” But I have already said that a form of a body was sent. “Yes,” he says, “but we fear that we might seem to diminish him in some way.” Then, you go-between of wild beasts, when you say this, are you not raving and plainly in a frenzy? Look: the world itself is a form, or a shape. The stars have been set out as distinct marks. And the very air of this spherical circle is the outward appearance of the things that exist, a kind of moulded figure. Yet God is present everywhere. Where, then, are the insults in God? Or in what way is God diminished? ³³ You who murder your own father’s gentleness, reason it out from yourself and consider whether it seems a sin for God to be present in Christ. He saw the dishonor done to the Word, and he did not delay in bringing punishment. Apart from this, sins happen in the world every single day, and yet God is present and justice does not fall behind. So how is the greatness of his power diminished by this, if he perceives what happens everywhere? In nothing, I think.

³⁴ For the mind of the world is through God: through him comes all continuance, through him all justice. But the faith of Christ comes from him without beginning. In short, Christ is the law of God, and through him it has what is boundless and also without end. ³⁵ But you, it seems, are thinking this over by yourself. What utter madness! Turn the devil’s sword now against your own destruction. Look, all of you, look how he already cries out in wailing tones, caught by the viper’s bite. His veins and flesh are overrun with the poison and stir up terrible pains. His whole body has wasted away and dissolved. It is full of squalor and filth, lamentation, pallor, shuddering and countless other evils, and it has dried up terribly. His thick hair is ugly and hangs down. He is half dead, and his gaze is already failing. His face is bloodless and melted away with anxiety. Frenzy, madness and futility have all run together into him, and by the long duration of his sickness they have made him wild and beastlike.

³⁶ At once, without even perceiving what evil he is in, he says, “I am lifted up with pleasure, and I leap and skip for joy, and I grow wings.” Then again, very boldly, he says, “Well then, we are lost.” ³⁷ This last is indeed true. For to you alone wickedness has lavishly granted its own zealous efforts, and what had been bought at a great price, it has given you most easily as a gift. Come now, tell me, where are your solemn commands? Wash yourself in the Nile, if that is possible, you man full of absurd insensibility. Yet you have

been eager to throw the whole inhabited world into confusion with your impieties. ³⁸Do you understand that I, the man of God, already know everything? But I am at a loss whether I should stay or go. I can no longer even look at him, and I am ashamed of the sin, Arius. You brought us into light, but you, wretched man, cast yourself down into darkness. This is the end of your labors that has appeared.

³⁹But I return to that point again. You say there is a multitude of those taken captive around you. That is likely, I think, and take them in, I say, take them in. For they have given themselves up to be eaten by wolves and lions. Yet each of them, pressed by the addition of ten chapters and by their payments, will very soon be sweating, unless he runs as quickly as possible to the saving church and recovers the peace of love through the charm of concord. ⁴⁰For they will no longer be deceived by you, a man condemned by an evil conscience. Nor will they bear to be utterly destroyed, entangled in your foul inquiries. For the time to come, your sophistries are clear and known to all. You yourself will not be able to accomplish anything, but you put on a false show in vain, pretending to gentleness and mildness of words and putting on the outside, so to speak, a mask of simplicity. Your whole contrivance is futile. For soon the truth will stand around you, and soon the rain, as it were, of divine power will put out your flames.

⁴¹And indeed your companions and those who share your opinion, who have already become guilty by their counsel, will be overtaken by the burdens of public service, unless they flee as quickly as possible from association with you and exchange [your] corrupting faith for another. ⁴²But you, man of iron mind, give me, give me a sample of your purpose, if you trust yourself, if you are strong in the firmness of your faith, and if your conscience is wholly clean. Come to me, I say, come to a man of God. Believe me: by my questions I will search out the hidden secrets of your heart. If madness seems to be in you, I will call on divine grace and [leave you in a better state]. But if you prove to be sound in these matters, and have come to know the light of truth within you, then I will rejoice with you. I will thank God [for the godliness that is in me].

⁴³And in another hand: "God will keep you safe, beloved." These things were also delivered by Syncletius and Gaudentius, the magistriani, when Paterius was prefect of Egypt, and they were read in the palace.

Fragments of Philip of Side

fl. c. AD 430

Church historian.

FRAGMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY

The fragments of Philip of Side

³[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] A catalogue of the fragments is given by Katharina Heyden, who lists all the fragments and discusses them: *Die Christliche Geschichte des Philippos von Side: Mit einem kommentierten Katalog der Fragmente*, in M. Wallraff (ed.), *Julius Africanus und die christliche Weltchronistik* (Berlin, 2006), pp. 209-243.

Fr. 1 [On Adam and Eve]

⁴[From Cod. Bodl. gr. 120, fol. 300r and Paris. Suppl. gr. 685, fol. 10r. — Greek text printed by D. Serruys, "Autour d'un fragment de Philippe de Side," in *Mélanges d'archéologique et d'histoire* 26 (1906), pp. 335-359 (p. 336 for the text of these two mss.; on p. 346, Serruys prints the parallel material from Paris. gr. 1712, where Philip's name is not cited). Wirth, *Aus orientalischen Chroniken*, pp. 208-9, had earlier printed somewhat more text as the fragment from Paris Suppl. gr. 685.] Paris. gr. 1712 Bodl. gr. 120 Paris. Suppl. gr. 685 Some say, from tradition, that Adam spent one hundred years in Paradise. Others, that he was formed at the third hour, transgressed at the sixth, and was cast out at the ninth... ..and this took place through seven years, as some of the presbyters / elders declared. (1) Note that Philip of Side in the twentieth tome of the Christian History says that Adam spent one hundred years in Paradise, and was cast out. And after another hundred years he knew Eve his wife and produced Cain, and after three years [produced] Abel, and after thirty years, Seth. This [information] is from the tradition.

⁵(2) But others say that he worked seven years in Paradise and from the transgression, from the first hour of that day until the sixth hour, he was cast out. The Hebrews have 22 letters, and 22 books, and 22 generations from

Adam to Jacob. And on the sixth day of the second week, it is said that Eve was created, and 40 days after Adam's creation he entered in order to work in Paradise. (1) But Philip of Side in the 22nd tome of <the> Christian History says that Adam spent 100 years in Paradise. And after being cast out, he spent another 100 years and he knew Eve and produced Cain the accursed, and after three years [produced] Abel, and after 100 years, Seth.

Fr. 2 [On Athenagoras and the heads of the Alexandrian catechetical school]

6 [From Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 216r line 40 - 216v line 15 (i.e., following the material classified by Heyden as Fr. 4 and Fr. 6). — First edited by H. Dodwell, *Dissertationes in Irenaeum* (Oxford, 1689), p. 488; Greek text more recently edited by G. C. Hansen in *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte*, GCS 54 (Berlin, 1971), p. 160; cf. text and tr. by P. Nautin, "La continuation de l'Histoire Ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe par Gélase de Césarée," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 50 (1992), pp. 175-8. — For a thorough consideration of the manuscripts (with facsimiles), and the historical accuracy of the information provided, see B. Pouderon, "Le témoignage du Codex Baroccianus 142 sur Athénagore et les origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," Chapter 1 of *D'Athènes à Alexandrie: Études sur Athénagore et les origines de la philosophie chrétienne* (Québec, 1997), which appeared earlier (with different pagination) in G. Agroud, *Science et vie intellectuelle à Alexandrie, Ier à IIIe siècle après J.-C.* (Saint-Étienne, 1994), pp. 163-224 and in *Archipel égéen* (Tours, 1992), 1: 23-63.]

7 As Philip of Side says in the 24th logos: Athenagoras was the first to lead the school in Alexandria; he flourished in the times of Hadrian and Antoninus, to whom also he addressed his Embassy-speech on behalf of the Christians—a man who lived as a Christian in the very philosophers' cloak, and who was at the head of the Academic school. This man—before Celsus—was eager to write against the Christians, but when he read the divine Scriptures in order to make his arguments more precisely, he was seized by the Holy Spirit in such a way that, like the great Paul, he became a teacher instead of a persecutor of the faith which he was persecuting. Philip says that Clement, the author of the *Stromateis*, became a student of this man, and Pantaenus [a student] of Clement. And Pantaenus himself was also an Athenian, and a Pythagorean philosopher. But Eusebius says that Pantaenus became Clement's teacher—and he mentions him as a teacher in his *Hypotyposes*. And this Pantaenus, according to Philip, had Origen as student and

successor in the headship of the school after him. But according to Eusebius, [it was] Clement and after Clement, Origen. Still, in one way or another, Origen was fourth head of the Christian school. After Origen, Heraclas; after him, Dionysius; after him, Pierius; after Pierius, Theognostus; after him, Serapion; after him, Peter the Great, the bishop, who became a martyr. After Peter, Macarius, whom his fellow-countrymen called "Politicus"; after him, Didymus; after Didymus, Rhodon, who moved the school, according to Philip, to the city of Side, the same [as Philip's home city], at the time of Theodosius the Great. Philip says that he was a student of this Rhodon, concerning whose knowledge of literature / argument, both our own and that of those outside [the Church], he provides copious attestation.

⁸ The teachers: Athenagoras (1); Pantaenus (2); Origen (3); Heraclas (4); Dionysius (5); Clement (6); Pierius (7); Theognostus (8); Serapion (9); Peter the martyr (10); Macarius Politicus (11); Didymus (12); Rhodon (13).

Fr. 3.1-5 [Fragments contained in De gestis in Perside / Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden]

⁹ [The exact delineation and attribution of the fragments are uncertain and depend on one's interpretation of the role Philip of Side's material played in the composition of the Religionsgespräch, which should be examined in full for a complete picture of the testimonia and fragments in context. Fr. 3.1 and 3.2 are more certainly to be connected with Philip of Side; Fr. 3.3-5 are classified by Heyden as "mit zweifelhafter Zuweisung." — Greek text edited by E. Bratke, "Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden," TU 19.3 (1899)—the standard reference point; but now most recently, and with a more extensive survey and collation of mss., P. Bringel, *Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le De gestis in Perside. Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction* (diss. Sorbonne, 2007). Page numbers in the text below refer to Bratke's edition; section numbers refer to Bringel's edition (unless otherwise stated, her edition of the "long recension"—pp. 288-494); references to "Bringel's text" normally introduce my own translation of her Greek text, not her (French) translation, and general references to Bringel's comments refer to footnotes ad locc. in her edition.]

Fr. 3.1 [From the Story of Cassander]

¹⁰ [p. 5] 11. Cassander died, leaving behind a sister, called Doris; she was the daughter of Pylades, who had been killed in Greece. Attalus the king of the Lacedaemonians lusted after her; and when they went to bed together, she,

having a sword inside [the room], planted it in his heart and took control of the kingdom. And once this had happened, she acquired great fear. And his brother Philip went to live in Achaea and there taking as wife the sister of Calliopos their general, named Alisbis [p. 6], he was seeking to destroy Doris and her people. And they were afraid. For all the peoples around her, being enamored of her beauty, were helping her. For she would not give herself in marriage to just anyone. But since they were all afraid of her—for she had attacked many and had destroyed them all—the Achaeans decided at that time to send an embassy to Delphi and to receive an oracle there about this matter. And they, after setting out, asked Euoptia the priestess at the water of the Castalian [spring], for themselves to know the object of their coming. She, having tasted the spring water, answered thus: "Philip, <child of Olympias, of Pella, going to places above Asia>, will strike the higher ring that circles everything with his all-powerful arm."

11 12. But they, deriding and cursing her, said: "Thrice-accursed one, we asked about a woman; we did not ask about a man who came from Macedonia, did we?" But she said to them that unconquerable times had begun to arise; for indeed she herself [i.e., the woman] and that man, and those with him, would vanquish everyone. And they departed, with insults for the prophetess, and went off to the temple of Athens. And while a priestly cloth was being woven and fine purple was being applied to it, they came with a will and burst in. The priestess, Xanthippe, said to them with a burst of anger: "You have entered here at an evil hour, you reckless and unruly ones!"—and they, becoming displeased in turn, mistreated her and said: "You are unworthy of any honor; [p. 8] you are foreign to the priestly disposition—and you are disgracing the purple, which the gods granted to royalty, by which those who wear it possess honor and glory. Stop speaking strange things! Depart from your wineless drunkenness, you arrogant huckster!" But she said to them: "You have brought these charges not against me, but against those who cannot be insulted. Nevertheless, receive a secure oracle and go your way: 'A certain youthful man, who is the effectual conception of a mingling bed, having the unconquerable weight of God's unconquerable scale, will circle the boundless world like an egg, capturing all with his spear.'" But they, blowing on her, withdrew, speaking unlawful things against the gods. And they said, "We do ourselves no good, if we do not go to Phoebus Apollo the Great!"

1213. And they went to the temple of Apollo and said by way of entreaty: "You victorious and pure well-pleasing gods, why do you treat your servants in this way—asking to win a womanly war? You throw us into a warlike war! Do not act this way, you immortals, true masters, who have granted to us the greatest material things as gifts; instead, give us clear signs. What, then, will happen to us?" And immediately a voice came in invisibly speaking as follows: "The tripod turning a third turn, the prophet is the root; [p. 9] for [there are] three-fold of these [oracles]; a certain light-bringer, heaven-sent to earth's plain, passing by, dwells within matter, forming for himself a body in the womb of a maiden. And her name is twice seventy-six. He, demolishing the lordships and every holy object of your reverence, will transfer the reward of all glory to the heights of his all-blessed wisdom."

Fr. 3.2 [Aphroditianus' Story]

13 [p. 11] 19. Christ was known to Persia from the beginning. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden tablets, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall announce—for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has first been heard of. The temple of Hera, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple King Cyrus, who was knowledgeable in all piety, built, and erected golden and silver statues of the gods in it, and adorned it with precious stones—not to digress with a detailed description of that ornamentation... Now about that time (as the inscribed tablets testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting a dream-interpretation, was addressed by the priest Prupippus thus: "I congratulate you, master: Hera has conceived."

14 And the king, smiling, said to him, "Has she who is dead conceived?" And he said, "Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and begets life." [p. 12] 20. And the king said, "What is this? Explain it to me." 15 And he replied, "In truth, master, you have come here at just the right time. For over the whole night the images, both the males and the females, continuously danced, saying to each other, 'Come, let us congratulate Hera.' And they said to me, 'Prophet, come forward; congratulate Hera, for she has been loved.' And I said, 'Who was able to be loved—she who does not exist?' They reply, 'She has come to life again, and is no longer called Hera, but Urania. For the mighty Helios has loved her.' Then the females say to the males, disparaging

the matter, 'Pege is she who was loved; for it was not Hera, was it? She espoused a carpenter.' And the males say, 'She has rightly been called Pege, we admit. But her name is Myria; for she bears in her womb, as in the sea, a vessel conveying a myriad. And if she is also [called] Pege, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth a perennial stream of spirit; it contains but a single fish, taken with the hook of divinity, and with its own flesh sustaining the whole world, while it dwells [there] as though in the sea. You have well said, "She has a carpenter"—but not a carpenter whom she bears from a marriage-bed. For this carpenter who is born, the child of the chief carpenter, framed by his most sagacious skill the triple-constructed celestial roof, and established by his word this dwelling with its triple habitations.' Thus, then, the statues continued to dispute with each other concerning Hera and Pege, and [at length] with one voice they said: 'When the day is brought to completion, we all, male and female, [p. 13] shall know the matter clearly.' Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly receive full clarity. For that which has emerged is no common affair."

¹⁶ 21. And when the king remained there and was watching the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the Muses began to sing; and all the creatures that were within [the temple], whether quadrupeds or birds (made of silver and gold), were uttering their own characteristic voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear—he was about to withdraw, for he could not endure the spontaneous tumult—the priest said to him, "Remain, O King, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to make plain to us." 22. And when these things had been said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect: "Mistress Pege, the great Sun has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to serve you in your giving birth—as he produces blameless offspring with you, who are becoming mother of the first of all ranks [of being], bride of the single divinity with three names. And the child born without seed is called the Beginning and the End: the beginning of salvation, and the end of destruction."

¹⁷ When this voice had spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, with Pege alone still standing, on whom also a royal diadem was found to have been fastened, having on its upper side a star set with precious stones of car-

buncle and emerald. And up above [i.e., in the sky], the star stood still. 23. And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the wise interpreters of signs, as many as were under his dominion. And when the heralds hurried them along with their trumpets, they all assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star [p. 14] above Pege, and the diadem with the starry stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said: "O king, a divinely inspired and royal root has risen, bearing the stamp of a heavenly and earthly king. For Pege is the daughter of Karia the Bethlehemite, and the diadem is a kingly mark, and the star is a celestial announcement of marvels on the earth. Out of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall destroy all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor anticipated the end of their honor. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall shake those who are new in it [i.e., dignity]. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Son of the Omnipotent God being carried in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman."

¹⁸ And the star remained above Pege, who has been named Urania, until the magi went forth, and then it went with them. 24. And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the satyrs, and said to the statues: "Pege is no longer one of us, but stands far above us, since she gives birth to a human being who was conceived by divine Fortune. O priest Prupippus! What are you doing sitting here? An action, indicated in writing, has proceeded against us, and we are going to be convicted [p. 15] as false by a person in action. The apparitions we produced, we produced; and that which we ruled, we ruled. No longer do we give oracular responses. Removed from us is our honour. We have become without honor and glory. There is one, one alone, out of all, who has received again his proper honour."

¹⁹ 25. They said: "Do not be disturbed. No longer do the Persians exact tribute of earth and air. For he who established these things is at hand, and he brings tribute of actions to him who sent him—he who renews the ancient image, and puts image together with image, and brings the unlike to likeness. Heaven rejoices with earth, and earth itself boasts at receiving heaven's boast. Things which have not happened above, have happened below. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is viewed by the [order of] the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew is present for these. It [was] the good fortune of Karia to give birth to Pege in Bethlehem, and it [is] Pege's grace to

become heaven-desired and to conceive grace of grace. Judaea has bloomed, and our affairs are withering immediately. To Gentiles and foreigners, salvation has come; to the wretched, relief is provided in abundance. Rightly do the women dance, and say, 'Lady Pege, Stream-bearer, you who have become mother of the heavenly light-giver, you cloud that brings the world dew after heat, remember your servants, dear mistress.'"

²⁰ 26. The king then, without delay, sent the magi under his dominion with gifts, with the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated everything to the men of that time—those very things which were also written on leaves of gold, to the following effect: ²¹ 27. For when we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, [p. 16] disturbed everyone. They say, "What is this? Wise men of the Persians are here, and along with them an appearance of a star?" And the foremost of the Jews asked us what was going to happen, and the reason for our coming. And we said: "He whom you call 'Messiah' has been born." And they were confounded, and dared not oppose us. But they, for their part, said to us, "Justice of Heaven! Tell us what you know." And we said to them: "You have the disease of unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do you believe, but you follow your own ill-advised intentions. For the Christ, the child of the Most High, has been born, putting an end to of your law and synagogues. And it is for this reason that, struck as it were by a most excellent oracle as with a dart, you do not hear with pleasure this name which has come up against you suddenly." And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell no one such a thing [as the news] from this land [of theirs], lest a revolt rise against us. But we said: "We have brought gifts in his honor, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which have happened in our country on occasion of his birth—and you bid us take your gifts, and conceal the things which have been made known to us by celestial divinity, and neglect the commandments of our own king? Or do you not know what an experience of the Assyrians you once received?" And they became afraid, and after beseeching us repeatedly, they sent us away.

²² When the one who was ruling over Judaea sent for us [p. 17] and had some converse with us, and asked us questions, we said to him [things] at which he was thoroughly disturbed. We departed from him, without giving any greater heed to him than to any worthless person. 28. And we came to that place to which we had been sent, and saw the one who had given birth

and the one who had been born, the star indicating to us the lordly babe. And we said to the mother: "What are you called, O renowned mother?" And she says: "Mary, masters." And we said to her: "Where do you come from?" And she said: "From this district—[the district] of the Bethlehemites." "Have you not taken a husband?" She says: "I have only been betrothed, with only pre-nuptial arrangements having been concluded; but my thoughts are divided. For I had no wish at all to come to this [state of affairs]. But while I was giving very little concern to it, at the dawn of a certain Sabbath—at the rising of the sun—an angel straightway appeared to me bringing me the good news of offspring, all of a sudden. And I was disturbed, and cried out, 'Let it not be so to me, Lord, for I do not have a husband.' And he persuaded me to believe, that it was by the will of God that I would have the son." And we said to her: "Mother of mothers, all the gods of the Persians have called you blessed: Your grounds for boasting are great, for you have transcended all women of renown, and you have become manifestly more queenly than all queens."

23 29. The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, nearly two years old, and having in part the likeness of the one who bore him. For she was small in stature even when holding her head up, and had a delicate body; and she was the color of wheat; and she had her hair bound up with a simple, very beautiful hair-style. And as we had along with [p. 18] us a servant quite skilled in painting, we brought back with us to our country a likeness of them both; and it was placed in the temple in which the oracle was given, with the following inscription: "In the heaven-sent temple, the power of Persia dedicated this to Zeus Helios, the great God, King Jesus." And taking the child up, and bearing him in our arms, each of us in turn, we saluted him and worshipped him, and presented to him gold, addressing Him thus: "[We give] to you what is your own; we lavish you [with gifts], O powerful one in heaven. Things unordered would be ordered in no way other than by your presence. In no other way could things above be brought into conjunction with things below, but by your descent. Service is not carried out to such a degree, if only a servant is sent, as when the [master] himself is present; neither [can so much be achieved] when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when he is there himself. It was quite fitting for your methods, for you to deal in this manner with the rebels."

24 And the child smiled and leaped at our fawning and our words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown us honor, and we had glorified her as was necessary, we went to the place in which we lodged. 30. And when evening came, there appeared to us someone terrifying and awesome, saying: "Get away quickly, lest you fall prey to a plot." And we, in fear, said: "And who is it that is plotting against so august [p. 19] an embassy, O general of God?" And he replied: "Herod—but get up immediately and depart in safety and peace." And we speedily mounted our strong steeds and departed from there in all earnestness; and we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem. Behold, then, such great things have we told you regarding Christ; and we know that Christ has become our Savior. But you, by your ways, are opposed to him, slandering his pain and suffering all the time. For speaking unworthy things, and doing still more unworthy things, are a mark of hatred.

25 [p. 45] 84. ...And the same presbyter [i.e., Philip] recounted that the day on which the star appeared in the temple—that same day, every year, until the Lord was taken up [into heaven], all the statues would produce their characteristic utterance, and so that entire city there was transfixed, beholding the great marvels and the yearly appearance of the star.

Fr. 3.3 [Prophecies of "Learned Greeks" —Ophianus, Elibatus, Trachelaphius]

26 [p. 31] 27 52. "Why should I unfold the Hebrews' prophecies and not our own? Ophianus [p. 32] Pertillaeus spoke in his 'Laws' as follows: 'Oh my! How the Caspian Gate has been adorned—it has received a mountain stone, which hands did not hew out, but rather grace discovered, and narrowed the whole Gate all around by means of it. Not only did it strengthen it, but it also opened it when it had been closed—the stone having become way and door. The door leads to an august door, and the way draws one to a pure way, as all those who see it shout: "Great is the dominion of the gods, whose will for action is more easily realized."' And Elibatus, who wrote down innumerable laws, when speaking On Eucles towards the end, says, 'A frightful cloud settled upon a mountain and cast a single stone upon the earth, and strengthened all its foundations. And how shall a single stone prevail over the entire [earth]? Did not one God alone create the universe?' And Trachelaphius, speaking Against the Falsely-Named, demonstrates his mastery also in the following solid reasoning: 'Who deceived those who trust in Dionysus so as to say about him that he, being forever without a beginning,

was born from an unravished virgin? They clothe him with another's dignity. For the one without a beginning, being of the substance that is forever without beginning, takes hold of mortal substance without receiving it as a violation. For that which he formed, he shall not consider an violation, when he takes it up.

²⁸ There, a virgin—[p. 33] unsullied in her body and having no falsehood in her tongue—supplies virginal flesh; [this process is the] activation of all grace dwelling within [her]. I marvel at the flux-bound taking hold of the flux-free—knowing this: that some have been deified on account of their promulgation of laws; others, because of their nobility of life and their conspicuous purity in other respects, because of which it is fitting to honor them; but to go after heavenly honors is beyond all audacity and above all blasphemy."

Fr. 3.4 [Virtuous Pagans]

²⁹ [p. 19] ³⁰ 32. ..."There have been Christians [p. 20] indeed, but there have also been pagans, who practiced the utmost virtue. King Cyrus had very attractive female bodyguards where he slept: he was sharpening his desire, but also correcting it by such trials. He used to say that all glory was worthy of the heavenly power alone. He loved his fellow man so much that there was no poor man or even the least captive in Persian territory, because of his constant bestowing of benefits upon everyone. And Concenbrates, who was truly a philosopher, possessed one single rough cloak—he lived near the peak of Masgabala, being terribly worn out by the snow and cold; and the wise Neoctetius said to him: 'You will perish, wise man, and die because of the heat and cold.' And he said: 'If I die to those here [on earth], I shall live by my future hope.' He asked: 'What [hope] is that?' And the other said, 'Truly, I am directing my attention to a certain other life, and offering myself myself to it. For the Providence of God will not disregard those who have labored during the day: in the evening it will deem them worthy of reward and rest. Every day I see the heavens and the things of earth that seem good diminishing and decaying. And this takes place because of our "exasperations," which show beforehand that everything here below perishes.

³¹ But those who have acquired the virtues above do not die, as they are spoken about and answered with eternal remembrance by them.' This man only ate fruit, and drank a little water once a day, not wishing to know anything else [p. 21] of what belongs to the world, [but] practicing death every

day. And this is sufficient. And Dichorionus, who published so many things about God, and who used to say that he was nourished by these things, and not by those which harm the body—after preserving impassibility of body and mind for 90 years, while he was dying said: 'Glory to you, righteous Justice, who changed my [mind] regarding what was honorable.' And there are many others of whom the book-lovers know—both Christians and true philosophers. But let us leave off for today, and tomorrow we [will] inquire into the rest. If it is desired by the will of heaven that we come this far, we [will] achieve resolution of further questions in turn."

Fr. 3.5 [The Shepherdess and Coatus]

32 [p. 42] 80. ... "I once learned of a woman, a shepherdess, in the settlement of the Arigbanes. One Coatus, son of Coatus, fell in love with her and sent her gifts, so that she would come to an agreement with him. But she, seeing the gifts, laughed and said to the messenger, pointing to her sheep: 'Behold my gifts and my children, from which I am nourished by divine grace.' And he came away to her and with splendid promises he urged her to accept him. She said to him: 'Shall I defile the undefiled cloak which grace has given to me?' Coatus said: 'Miserable girl, this law has been established from above for the propagation of the race.' The shepherdess: 'A law has been established for me not to acquire more than I have.' After much pleading to no effect, he ordered that she be starved to death. And so, on the third day, when she was about to expire, she uttered cheerful words as follows: 'O heavenly Father of your genuine children, O unsullied bridegroom of those who are in the bloom of beauty, I come to you, thrice-desired Lord, giving back to you without complaint that which you gave to me—virginity, forgiveness of sins, an existence without property, a truthful tongue, a heart unacquainted with wickedness—ever intent on the hope that is to come, which I have honored and whose joys I am now by all means going to meet.' And thus she expired. [p. 43] His father, learning this, ordered that he be hung head-downwards on a tall post in the middle of the city, so as to be eaten by birds."

Fr. 4.1 - 4.7 [Expansions of Eusebius' HE / Fragments of Papias, Hegesippus, Pierius]
[Attribution questionable]

33 [Found interspersed with extracts from Eusebius in Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 212r-216r, i.e., preceding in this ms. the material classified by Heyden as Fr. 6 and Fr. 2; Cod. Oxon. misc. 61 (Auct. E.4.18), fol. 136r-143r (unedited); nos. 3-6 also in Cod. Athous Vatopedi 286 fol. 91r-218r. — Greek text edited by

C. de Boor, "Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius in bisher unbekannten Excerpten aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes," *TU* 5.2 (1888), pp. 169-71. — De Boor (pp. 173-4) argued that these are fragments of Philip of Side, and that the use and expansion of Eusebius observable in them is consistent with what we know of his method; but his argument for this is partly tied to his attribution of the material labeled by Heyden as Fr. 6, now more convincingly attributed to Gelasius of Caesarea. Pouderon, "Le témoignage," pp. 10-11, 62-63, and Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, point out that at the very least De Boor's case for these fragments remains unproved. Heyden, p. 224, however, revives De Boor's appeal to the reference to John Chrysostom in no. 6 as one remaining point in favor of Philip of Side's authorship; and as another, notes the fact that Gelasius of Caesarea is not otherwise attested as providing information on the pre-Constantinian period, and thus any attempt to attribute this material to him would be problematic. — In the translations below, the italicized material is directly from Eusebius, whether verbatim or paraphrased; the normal text represents the additions made by our author to Eusebius' history.]

Fr. 4.1

³⁴ Africanus, in a "Letter to Aristides," has written the best treatment concerning the apparent discrepancy in the genealogy, as regards the family lines, in the evangelists Matthew and Luke. And Africanus was from the village of Emmaus in Palestine, to which Cleopas and company travelled, and which later, through Africanus' embassy, received the status of a city and was renamed Nicopolis.

Fr. 4.2

³⁵ Philip, the one who baptized Candace, the Ethiopian, was not an apostle, but one of the seven servers / deacons who had been appointed to serve alongside Stephen, the first martyr. And he says that Candace was the first of the Gentiles to be baptized. Philip [means] "mouth of torches"; Herodias [means] "deceived"; Herod [means] "glory of skin" —according to Pierius.

Fr. 4.3

³⁶ Domitian, the son of Vespasian, having demonstrated many wicked [qualities / acts] to the Romans who were governmental officials, was the second to conduct a persecution against the Christians, surpassing Nero's savagery. During this, he also banished the Apostle and Evangelist John to Patmos.

But after meeting the sons of Jude (the Lord's brother), and coming to know the men's virtue, he called a halt to the persecution against us. And Hegesippus also makes reference to their names, and says that the one was called Zôkêr, and the other James. And he also gives other indispensable information.

Fr. 4.4

³⁷ The majority of the ancient [Christian writers] do not accept the Epistle of John, since they consider it to belong to some other John. But the "Gospel according to the Hebrews" and the [Gospel] said to be "of Peter" and [the one said to be] "of Thomas" they completely rejected, saying that these are the writings of heretics. And there are other false Gospels as well, the [Gospel] "according to the Egyptians," and [the one] "according to the Twelve," and [the one] "according to Basilides."

Fr. 4.5

³⁸ Clement, in the third book of the *Stromata*, by way of combating those who disallow marriage, asserts that Peter and Paul and Philip had wives. And in the seventh *Stroma* he says that Peter's wife was even made perfect through martyrdom. And Pierius too, in his first discourse of those On the Pascha, asserts strongly that Paul had a wife and dedicated her to God for the sake of the Church, renouncing his association with her.

Fr. 4.6

³⁹ Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who was a hearer of John the Theologian, and a companion of Polycarp, wrote five books of the Lord's logia. In these, he enumerated the Apostles after Peter and John, Philip and Thomas and Matthew, and recorded Aristion and a second John—whom he called a "presbyter"—as disciples of the Lord; and thus, some think that the two Epistles, the short and general ones, which are in circulation under the name "John," belong to this John, because the ancient [Christian writers] only accepted the first [Epistle of John as genuine]. And some erroneously considered the Apocalypse to belong to this [John] as well; and Papias is also mistaken regarding the Millenium—as is Irenaeus, because of him. Papias in the second book says that John the Theologian and James his brother were killed by the Jews. The aforementioned Papias related, as something he had heard from the daughters of Philip, that Barsabas, who was also called Justus, when he was being put to the test by the unbelievers, drank a viper's poison

in the name of Christ and was preserved unhurt. He also relates other marvellous stories, in particular the one about Menahem's mother, who was raised from the dead. Concerning those who were raised from the dead by Christ, [he relates] that they lived until Hadrian. And Chrysostom, in the 1st Homily of the second section on the 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, says that both those who were raised from the dead at the time of the cross [i.e., the crucifixion of Jesus] and those [who were raised from the dead] before them—all died.

Fr. 4.7

⁴⁰ Pierius, a presbyter of Alexandria, flourished at this time, and in Pontus, Meletius the bishop—men who were amazing with respect to their learning. And Pierius, in his first discourse ... renouncing his association with her. And I also read quite a number of his other indispensable works and especially the one Concerning the Mother of God and the one On the beginning of Hosea. And Theodorus, a certain court-pleader in Alexandria, writing in epic verse, says in his 13th book that Pierius and Isidorus his brother suffered martyrdom and have a very large shrine in Alexandria. And in his discourse On the Life of the Holy Pamphilus, Pierius himself provided very much help in the divine Scripture.

Fr. 5.1 - 5.7 [*Constantine and the Council of Nicaea*] [*Attribution questionable*] — *Fr. 5.1* [*The Beginning of Constantine's Reign: Relations with Barbarian Tribes*]

⁴¹ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.4.2-5 [p. 7, lines 7-28 Hansen] And first he determined to call back to himself those cities that were rebelling against Roman overlordship—some by words, others by force of arms, and others by good treatment and kindness. For he decreed a lighter tax-burden for them, and gave them equal rights of commerce; he put an end to their rebelliousness and madness wisely, more by calmness than by frightening them, since he knew that the peoples of the Sauri and the Frangi and the Germani were lovers of novelty and had a strong inclination toward rebellion against their rulers, and often treated their own thoughts as law. He also subdued the Spani and the Brettani and the islands in that area, and the remaining tribes and all those who are witnesses of the setting of the sun—who, they say, know whether it is really submerged in the Ocean or goes around the water and returns back to us by another route. And he took the barbarian tribes there by force of arms, making use of a side-task to further his [primary] task. For, subduing some, making others subject to tribute, and

making others friends instead of opponents and intimates instead of ancient enemies, he brought them in as allies, not causing distress or laying siege to anyone, and being eager for the salvation of others. For where God acts as one's ally, everything is rightly guided and he raises up on high the human reason. With this sort of God-loving thought, Constantine, most faithful in all things, crossed to the right-hand side of the Rhine, passed many mountains, many unnamed rivers, with a small army, conquered many barbarian peoples, brought over to his side ten tribes of Gauls and Frangi and Spani, and finally brought his army to the mountains of Italy.

Fr. 5.2 [Discussion of the Plausibility of the Sign that Appeared to Constantine]

⁴² Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.5.2-7 [p. 8, line 15 - p. 9, line 20 Hansen] ⁴³ This story seems to the unbelievers to be a myth and a fiction composed to flatter our opinions, but to those who have become accustomed to believe the truth, the proof of the event is manifest. For God, the "painter" of this omen, demonstrated afterwards through the outcome that the gracious gift of the writing [in the sky] was truthful. But if I am not yet persuading [you about] what I write (for I am transcribing histories of earlier [writers], because of my task [mentioned] a little earlier of collecting the useful events of that man's life), still you should not fail to believe in the subsequent events—that which, in our own generation, those who stood in battle with Constantius the son of Constantine saw with their own eyes and [thus] cured ancient unbelief with more recent sights. If those who dispute these things are Hebrews, the stories that are contained in their books and are believed are much more unbelievable than these—marching in the sea, water forming a wall, walking in the water, and God speaking in a bush, a flame giving laws, the resounding of a trumpet in the desert without an actual instrument, angels ranged together for battle and the "chief generals of the Lord's forces" fighting on behalf of the army, and "stones of hail" and missiles of fire being cast instead of the usual spears—and yet, all of us who are right-minded give assent [to these stories] without [skeptical] examination. For nothing is impossible when God wills it.

⁴⁴ If, on the other hand, those who do not accept this marvel are Greeks, I can cite many things which I do not wish to speak about—how many prophecies the oracle-mongers proclaimed for Alexander, when he was preparing to cross over for the battle at the Granicus and the contest with Darius (and yet their fictions do not have manifest proofs); and how a "daimo-

nion" gave prior indication to Socrates the philosopher regarding the outcome of things that should not be done; and the things written about Pythagoras of Samos by that man's disciples. I will leave unmentioned the fictions of the poets, and how they related that some of the famous [heroes] in them even fought side by side with some of those who were considered gods by them, so that no one will think that I am comparing mythical events with true events, things that were never done with things that were. For the grace of Christ, ever since it bloomed among men, has been, is, and will continue to be a medicinal remedy and a source of healing, <as it has appeared> in heaven and on earth and in the sea, in plants and trees, and in clothes—those who have experienced it know this, and I will set forth [such occurrences] at the appropriate time as my history proceeds.

Fr. 5.3 [Constantine and Crispus against Licinius]

⁴⁵ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 1.11.19–21 [p. 18, line 18 – p. 19, line 2] and 1.12.1 [p. 21, lines 1–9 Hansen] (19) ...But the others, as many as agree with the true account of Eusebius Pamphili, say that both the Father, Emperor Constantine, and the son, Emperor Crispus, dividing the army, rushed out against the impious tyrant—the son, Crispus, to the region of Asia, marching with the army that was with him, while the father, Constantine, in Europe, accomplished his journey with the bodyguards [i.e., the Praetorians] around him. (20) But the God-hating one, full of all impiety and savagery, came from the East, arrogantly drawing up against them with as large an army as possible. And arriving at Nicomedia, and recognizing and knowing that the soul of God-loving Constantine revered the priests of God, and that he held them in honor at all times, he paid off the bishop of Nicomedia, Eusebius, who had long since defected to his side in opposition to the pious Emperor Constantine. [Licinius] thought that by using him and his associates he would destroy Constantine—who was hedged around by the invincible weapons of God. (21) The extraordinary Eusebius made a compact with him, being prevailed upon by promises from Licinius, his equal in impiety...

⁴⁶ (32) ...But from here I shall move on to the events of the Ecclesiastical History that lie before us. (1) So, when Licinius rushed out from Nicomedia to Byzantium with the army that was with him, against the Emperor Constantine who was there at that time, and the contingents of soldiers on the one side were surrounding the Christ-bearing Emperor, then Licinius—that sinner—seeing this, and contemplating the fact that he was bereft of his

own armies, which had deserted to the protection of the stronger side, at first was anxious to hide in Chrysopolis in Bithynia (this is the sea-port of Chalcedon)—but since he could not do this, and saw that he was now lying face-down under the feet of the Emperor Constantine, he gave himself up...

Fr. 5.4 [Succession of Bishops in Alexandria—and Arius]

⁴⁷ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.1.13f. [p. 23, line 28 - p. 24, line 9 Hansen] (12) So, when the Church of Christ our Savior throughout the world was enjoying deep peace, this [peace] having been obtained for it by God, the universal King, through his servant Constantine and his children, (13) after the death of the divine Peter, bishop of the Alexandrian Church, who had been made perfect by the very act of martyrdom and had bound his brow with the incorruptible crown of the contest, the Church there was bereft [of a leader] for one year. And after this year, the throne of that same holy martyr Peter was allotted to Achillas, (14) a man who was strong, noble, holy-minded, and pre-eminent with very great piety and wisdom, as the ancient unerring writings describe; he, after frequent urging, received Arius and made him a deacon. (15) But after this man [i.e., Achillas] had lived on only five months, the authority of high-priest over the Church of Alexandria was received by Alexander, a man who was honored in every respect by both the clergy and laity of the church; small in stature, generous, well-spoken, capable, loving God, loving his fellow man, loving the poor, good and gentle to all as much as anyone ever has been. He himself too installed Arius into a position—that of presbyter, nearest to himself..

Fr. 5.5 [Constantine Speaks at the Council of Nicaea]

⁴⁸ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.7 [p. 34, line 17 - p. 42, line 9 Hansen] (2) To them, the most praiseworthy Emperor directed a discourse of moral exhortation and teaching, for praise and glorification and thanksgiving to the God of all, who had granted him such favors; he spoke somewhat as follows: ⁴⁹(1) Many most manifest paths toward well-doing have been laid out for the human race by the nurturing righteousness of Almighty God, not least that one which is quite conspicuous, most spectacular—that one which he prepared for us all, more grandly than any marvel, in the main point of the most holy law of the universal Church: the Lord's prayer-house of Faith. (2) We see that the peak of this [building] has gone up all the way to the sparkling stars, while we recognize that its foundations—even as the work is

still only beginning—are so deeply and faithfully rooted, by God's will, that the whole inhabited world perceives it. (3) Now then, from the aforementioned peak that completely overtops all others, through to the end of the exit, there is seen a smooth and level course, endowed with the brilliance of light. Its façade, adorned with a star-shaped seal, is supported by columns, twelve in number, brighter than snow, immovable in their placement in Faith—eternally, by the power of our Savior's divinity. (4) When we also receive the righteous faith that comes from the soul, the Architect of this amazing work brings home to our minds the awesomeness of his everlasting law. Whoever wishes approaches the gates of this [structure], but in no way other than with the impulse of a holy and pious desire, with only the confidence of a pure mind. (5) And the Savior's plan has added to this [building] a certain marvellous brightness of ornament.

⁵⁰ What I mean is that on the inside, people's faith, honored over the entire course of the wall of the Lord's house with blooming garlands, assembles immortality's fruit, brings the holy products of human life into the open and makes them manifest—and next, in turn, the heavenly glory on the outside, which is [also] garlanded, as the struggle is constantly arising, or rather constantly rising, sketches out the prizes; and the depictions [of these] adorn the full completion of this same work with the appropriate praise. (6) And this same house of the Lord is protected by only two guards; divine fear on the one hand comes into the thoughts of some, as an inducement to self-control, and on the other hand for those who are right-minded their praise directed toward God is ever-present, as a prize for understanding. For as these two [guards] are placed at the front doors of the most holy place, righteousness is received by wide-open gates, and this [righteousness] having been given a home within, it remains there in purity; but unrighteousness is not allowed to approach the gates, but is shut out from this place and banished.

⁵¹(7) O brothers most honored, and worthy of all praise, these facts so clear have led me into the brightness of the eternal and immortal light, so that I will not stand far away and be rendered out of harmony with the truth by any wavering faith. (8) But what shall I proclaim first? The pattern of blessedness, which has been compressed and hidden within my breast? Or the divine benefits in my regard <that have been bestowed> by Almighty God? Of these deeds, which are numerous, it would seem sufficient for now to say that this same God of ours, the Father of all, quite rightly made my me-

diocrity subject to himself. Believe me, most honored brothers, and apply an unprejudiced faith to what I say; even if my mind, having been satiated with God's favors, seems very much to be blessed, nevertheless, as the proof of the truth shows, neither voice nor tongue are fully able to carry out the mind's commands—and rightly so. (10) For since the greatness of his benefits is without measure, although the mind, which is an exalted thing, possesses the lower "places"—the body—the path of the tongue, being confined in a truly narrow place, being more or less reprehensible, remains altogether silent. For which of us is so ready for reasoning that he would utter such a self-confident speech, whereby he would presume to pronounce glorious praises easily, and worthy praises perfectly, to the all-powerful God and creator of all the most beautiful things?

⁵²(11) If someone were to think only about the magnificence of the one who ordained the law of his birth, he would consider with full knowledge that nothing can be found which would be able to be spoken as something worthy of God. (12) Then what should the devotion of my mediocrity speak about, except that which the divine Word of truth makes manifest? The greatest act of worship must consider wisely whether it will be able to reach his greatness in the very things that are spoken about him, whether some error will not cause him to stumble. (13) And would that a liberal abundance of speaking would suffice for me, your fellow servant, to render him those praises (which are worthy of proclamation) that our divine Savior, the guardian of all things, made known by the calm assent of his divinity, in the "prologue" of his presence here, when for the sake of our benefit he deigned to receive the dwelling-place of a holy body from a virgin, thus displaying the proof of his own compassion.

⁵³(14) Where, then, shall I begin? With his teaching and his dignity? Or rather, with the divine teachings of which he himself appeared as sole teacher on his own account, with no one teaching him? Or rather, with how so many people revived through his wise provision, as many as cannot be encompassed by a number, with a small amount of nourishment and the tiniest loaves of bread and only two fish? By his divine provision he also caused resurrection, using a certain short staff, after the death of Lazarus, and brought him back again into the brightness of the light. (16) But how could I speak of his holy divinity, by virtue of which, when he saw that a certain woman was <suffering from> a hidden <illness>, deeming her worthy of

simple contact with himself, he rendered her well again, and free from all disease? (17) And who could worthily speak about his immortal deed, by which a certain man who had been worn out by a major chronic wasting disease, lying there with all his limbs hanging loose and splayed out, was suddenly strengthened by divine healing and put upon his shoulders the very pallet on which he had lain; and, pouring forth praise and thanksgiving, he ran through the country and local territory?

⁵⁴(18) Or rather, his divine and steady walking, when he stepped upon and trod down the savage sea on foot, and stilled the fluidity of the deepest sea with his divine feet, and made his way in the midst of the waves, bounded by no measure of depth, as though he were on dry land? (19) Or rather, his gentle patience, by which he, being conqueror in all things, tamed the stubbornness of the foolish people and, once it was tamed, removed it far from them and subjected their savagery to [his] law? (20) Or rather, the clearest, the greatest [attributes] of his divinity, by which we live, in which we are well-pleased, we who not only look forward to the hope of the coming blessedness, but in some way as it were already possess it? (21) What more do I dare to say, even with my exiguous cultivation of discourse, except this—what the purity of my devoted soul ought to understand: What the omnipotent God, who dwells in heaven, is like in relation to the whole human race, and especially and preeminently in relation to righteousness, which is most beatiful and greater than any praise—considering that he deigned <to receive> a body—the holiest, as befitted his divine spirit—and to dwell in it, and thus to work salvation for [all] human bodies.

⁵⁵(22) Therefore, since concerning the all-powerful order of God, so entirely holy and salvific, the measureless madness of the enemies, thrown into confusion as though by some cloud, does not hesitate to offer an interpretation, perverse and destructive, I shall attempt to set forth [my views] briefly, as far as the faith and devotion of my soul have abundant resources for speaking. (23) For indeed, the malice of these men, <just like that> of the pagans, puts on display such a kind of shamelessness that they are not afraid to say, with an impious mouth, that the all-powerful God did not do, did not wish to do, all that is revealed in the divine Law. (24) O, such impious speech, that calls down on itself and deserves every extreme punishment: It desires, truly insanely and rashly, to make the glory of this divine benefaction—a glory that cannot be comprehended by any human being—disappear. (25) For

what is more worthy of God than purity? This has come forth from most holy association with the source of righteousness, passed like a flood through the whole circumference of the world, and put the powers of the most holy virtues on display for the human race. But they, considering these virtues at first to be hostile to themselves, suffered <the fate> of the Assyrians—and with these leading the way as a bad example, the other nations were persuaded to go along with them.

⁵⁶ (26) In these things, just as we perceive it in our own experience, we see that the divine compassion of God our Savior has been at work, when the same [Savior] day by day and year by year commanded many of them, who were being plagued by the sting of fiery madness, to rise to the patient endurance of the Savior's healing. And yet not even so is the greatness of such generosity able to come with favor in the eyes of the others, <because of> human ignorance of the fact that the divine lordship is able to raise up every people, and to make it secure once it has been raised to a height, <and> likewise, to demolish and destroy. (27) But things would have turned out more adversely for human affairs, if God, who is all-powerful, had <not> given himself the task of doing everything, by the quiet nod of his own divinity. For human madness would have become even more long-lived, and human stubbornness, which knows no bounds, would have destroyed all souls, nor would the other most numerous things, which in the disorder of the world still perform their orderly duties, have been able to appear—(28) rather, all things would have quickly perished, together with [human] ignorance of God;

⁵⁷ and the unrighteousness of malice and jealousy would have remained, not as in a few people, but rather, no one would have been found opposed to jealousy, with the [various] religions diffused largely and broadly into the souls of men to such an extent that through the baseness of these men, the light of this brightness of ours would have been obscured for them, and they would always have been deprived of it. (29) Therefore, no word that has been spoken will be able to drag my faith out of my soul; for, when nothing base stands in the way, it is accompanied by a perfect power, the living Word of truth, which is alone all-powerful, the guardian of all things and protector of our salvation. Thus he [i.e., God] seems, in a certain manner, lavishly to bestow intimacy with his most holy Word, to preserve <....> of the one who frees [us], and to provide for us the brightness of the light. (30) So then, for

what reason do the people of all the nations even now fail to discern the heavenly light, despise the most glorious Holy One, and go after earthly things, which have no substantial truth, no brilliance of pure brightness, no authority of celestial divinity? (31) What unworthy behavior! Even to this day, not at all falling short in impiety, and not looking toward their duty, they fail to see that they are falling down because of their wretched error;

⁵⁸ they do not cease to defile the brightness with these filthy works of the world—that is to say, by setting up wood and stone and bronze and silver and gold and these sorts of earthly <materials> for worship, and promising themselves a hope of life from these, building temples for them with striking ornaments, and in this way increasing and adding to their worship because of the fact that the greatness of the buildings (constructed by them! produces a sense of wonder worthy of their own gaze. (32) So then, when they are seen to do this, it is clearly discerned—even if for the most part they themselves in their arrogance do not perceive or see it—that they are caught openly boasting over their own works. Thus, we do not see how great and how vast is God, the ruler of all, who is also master and judge of all, whom some [of us] unwittingly <outrage> with their very confidence in their own virtue (as they see it). (33) For it was by virtue of his arrangements that the form of our bodies received its due shape. The same [God] bound together the connections of all our limbs with the strongest sinews, so that in every action we pursue we might keep the vigor of our united parts without tiring.

⁵⁹ Then, when this had been brought to completion by his saving arrangement, he also breathed spirit into us, so that all these [physical parts] would be able to move and flourish, and granted vision to our eyes, set them in our head for our understanding, and within this place [i.e., the head] he enclosed the reasoning process of all our thinking. (34) For this reason, if any right-minded person were to examine the logic of these arrangements, and leave off the rest—which cannot be comprehended either with words or numbers—he would be able, with a little reflection, to see and to understand the eternal and salvific authority of the immortal God. And a man will not be able to trap that one [i.e., God] with the snares of any kind of error, when it is possible for him to see that everything that has come to be is [as it is] by the power of God, as he himself has wished all these things to be. (35) But so that we may be able to see that a certain unlawful way of life in the world brought about people's ignorance of God, the reasoning process of sin hav-

ing first been produced in the wretched souls of those stupid people because of the Enemy's deception, we can receive clear proof concerning this from the divine law.

⁶⁰ (36) For ever since that time, when the divine and holy command was not kept with the appropriate diligence by those two people who had been formed in the beginning, after that, the flower of this name was born. And it became continual and increased still further, from the time when the aforementioned two were cast out by God's will. (37) And the physical world itself was brought along with human stupidity to such a point that he pronounced sentence against the Orient and the lands of the Occident. And the very excess of the Opposite Power took possession of human thoughts and made them dim. (38) Yet even in this situation, the untiring compassion of the all-powerful God is both holy and immortal. For in all the days and years that have passed, God has been setting free from this burden—through me, his servant—numberless multitudes of people who had been enslaved; and he will bring them out into the perfect brilliance of the eternal light. From these [facts], most beloved brethren, by virtue of a certain special providence and the glorious favors of our immortal God, I am confident that in future I shall be even more highly regarded for my very pure faith in him.

⁶¹ (39) Therefore, let this most holy gathering of your sanctity receive me, and do not suffer the most chaste Church and the the doors of the pure mother common to us all to be set in opposition to me. Even if the reasoning power of my soul, while it very much even now is seeking the complete purity of the universal faith, does not think it right for this to be granted too easily, nevertheless it urges and reminds me—and it has displayed its own reverential brow as a seal of the most beautiful virtues; and it has begun to lay hold of the gates of immortality and to knock on them—so that you too will consider it right to grant me straightway the goodwill of your brotherhood, with a view only to the harmony and peace of the universal Church. (40) For this is fitting with respect to God, harmonious with respect to the faith of the universal Church, and beneficial with respect to our common affairs, so that [in the end] we may all together offer a response, worthy of the most highly honored peace that has been granted to us by God, to the one who has favored us with it.

⁶² (41) For it would be truly terrible—most terrible!—if, when our enemies have been destroyed and no one is still daring to resist, we attack each

other and provide pleasure and laughter to those who are ill-disposed, and taking different sides in discussion of divine matters while also having the teaching of the all-holy Spirit in written form. For the Gospels and Apostolic books, and the utterances of the ancient prophets, clearly teach us what it is necessary to think concerning the divine. Therefore, throwing off all belligerent strife, let us receive the resolution of our questions from the divinely inspired words [of Scripture]."

Fr. 5.6 [*Supporters of Arius at the Council of Nicaea*]

⁶³ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.12.8-10 [p. 47, lines 5-19 Hansen] (8) When these things were expressed by them—or rather, through them, by the Holy Spirit—those who endorsed Arius' impiety were wearing themselves out with murmuring (these were the circles of Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea, whom I have already pointed out earlier), and yet they were looking with favor on the "hirelings" of Arius, certain philosophers who were indeed very good with words; Arius had hired them as supporters of his own wickedness, and arrived with them at that holy and ecumenical council. (9) For there were present very many philosophers; and having put their hopes in them, as I have said just now, the enemies of the truth were reasonably caught, along with the one who actually taught them their blasphemy. The Holy Scripture was fulfilled in him and in them, which says, "Cursed is everyone who has his hope in a mortal man, and whose heart has departed from the Lord." (10) For truly, the blasphemous heart of the fighter against God, Arius, and of those who shared in his impiety, departed from the Lord—they dared to say that the Son of God, the creator of the universe and the craftsman of both visible and invisible created natures, is something created and something made.

Fr. 5.7 [*The Arian Philosopher and the Simple Old Man*]

⁶⁴ Anonymous Ecclesiastical History 2.13 [p. 47, line 20 - p. 50, line 5 Hansen] ⁶⁵(1) A certain one of the hirelings of Arius, a philosopher, who was marveled at much more than all the others, contended much, indeed very much, on Arius' behalf with our bishops for very many days, with the result that there was a great lecture every day arising from their verbal encounters: the crowd of those who were gathering would rush together, and the philosopher would put forward the impious blasphemies of Arius against what was said by the holy council, saying about the Son that "there was a time when he

was not," and that "he is a created being, made from nothing, and from a different substance and existence [than the Father]. (2) On behalf of these abominable doctrines of Arius, he had a great struggle, and [sent forth] his "showers" of arguments, as he raved against the Son of God and attacked the chorus of those holy priests--the enemy of human salvation was speaking in him and through him. (3) But the defenders of the truth, our bishops, calmly brought to bear against him the necessary and appropriate counter-arguments, on behalf of the Apostolic doctrines, imitating the great prophet and king, David, who said, "I was made ready, and I was not disturbed. For they burned through the philosopher's convoluted propositions by means of the divine word, as though with fire through hempen fibers.

⁶⁶(4) But even so, the philosopher continued to be confident in his diabolical facility with arguments, and began to shoot his arrows against the truth proclaimed by the bishops, applying good and glib responses to all the considerations advanced against him—so he thought—and, slippery as an eel, he struggled to solve the issues raised. For in the midst of what he thought he was contriving for his own benefit, slipping out of the logical arguments that were being brought quite powerfully against him, he was caught, on the basis of his own words, and collapsed along with them. (5) But even so, in an arrogant frenzy, he moved against the most peaceful council, hoping to defeat the invincible power of the unconquerable Spirit of Christ that was in them. (6) But God, "who catches the wise in their cunning," in order to demonstrate that his kingdom does not stand "on talk but on power," not only powerfully silenced the wicked demon that was speaking in the philosopher, but even cast it out, through one of his servants who was there. (7) For a certain man, one of the holy confessors who was present at the council, with as simple a nature as any other of the saints [has had], and one who knew nothing "except Jesus Christ, and him crucified" in the flesh according to the Scriptures, was with the bishops and saw the philosopher swooping down to attack our holy bishops, and arrogantly engaged in his malicious disputation;

⁶⁷he asked the bishops, the priests of God, to give him an opportunity for discussion with the philosopher. (8) Then, the holy bishops on our side, perceiving the man's simplicity and his lack of experience with letters, tried to persuade him not to put himself into the fray, for fear that it would provoke laughter among the malicious enemies of the truth. (9) But he, not content

with this, approached the philosopher and said to him, "In the name of Jesus Christ, the Word of God who is always with the Father, listen to the doctrines of truth, O philosopher. And the other said to him, "Go ahead and speak. And the saint said to him, "There is one God, who created the heavens and the earth and the sea, and all things that are in them, who also formed man from the earth and subjected everything to his Logos and to the Holy Spirit. (10) This Logos, O philosopher, we know and worship as the Son of God, believing that for the sake of our redemption he was made flesh and was born and became a man, and that through the suffering of his flesh on the cross and his death he freed us from eternal condemnation, and that through his resurrection he procured eternal life for us; and we have hope that as he went up into the heavens he will come back and will judge us concerning all that we have accomplished. Do you believe in these things, O philosopher?

⁶⁸(11) And the philosopher, as though he had never had experience of words spoken in opposition to him, was dumbfounded and fell silent just like that, as though he were mute and speechless, after saying to him, in a most pitiable voice, only the following: "I too think this is so, and I think no differently that as you have just said. (12) And the old man said to him, "If you believe that this is so, O philosopher, stand up and follow me, and let us hurry to the church, in which you will receive the sign of this faith. (13) And the philosopher, transforming his whole self toward the true reverence for the God of the universe, stood up and followed the old man and, turning around, said to his disciples and to all those who had gathered to hear [the discussion], "Listen, men. As long as I was enthusiastic for arguments, I would place words in opposition to words and would overturn the matters presented to me by my skill in speaking; (14) but now that instead of words, some divine power has come forth from the mouth of my interlocutor, my words no longer had the strength to resist this power. For neither is a human being able to stand in opposition to God. Therefore, if any of you is able to understand, as I have now come to think, he shall believe in Christ—and let him follow this old man, in whom God spoke.

⁶⁹(15) In this way, the philosopher recovered and, being illuminated and becoming a Christian, rejoiced to have been beaten by the old man. And when this philosopher had been baptized and was joined to the Church of

God and found relief and exulted, the council rejoiced over the mighty acts of God.

Fr. 6.1 - 6.7 [*History from Diocletian to Constantine*] [*Attribution to Philip questionable at best*]

⁷⁰[Originally known in part from Cod. Barocc. 142 (= B), fol. 216r, lines 11-39; thus, directly precedes in this ms. the passage classified by Heyden as Fr. 2, and follows Fr. 4. Other mss.: Cod. Paris. gr. 1555A (= P); Cod. Athous Vatopedi 286 (= V). — De Boor, "Neue Fragmente," pp 165-84, attributes this sequence of excerpts to Philip of Side; at p. 173 he stresses the mention of Philip of Side by name, but this relates primarily to the fragment on the Alexandrian school; De Boor, "Zur Kenntnis," p. 487 n., interprets the phrase that begins fr. 2, "as Philip of Side says...", as a phrase of attribution for the material here classified as fr. 6, but that is unlikely. More convincingly, Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes: Kirchengeschichte, GCS (Berlin, 1971), p. xxxviii, and Nautin, "La continuation," pp. 178-81, argue for attribution of all but no. 1 here to Gelasius of Caesarea, pointing to (a) the parallel between no. 2 and Photius's description (Bibl. cod. 89) of Gelasius of Caesarea's prologue, and (b) parallels with Theophanes' Chronography, especially because Theophanes cites material from no. 3 here explicitly as from Gelasius, and (c) parallels with the text of "Gelasius of Cyzicus." Cf. also Pouderon, "Le témoignage," pp. 11-12. — Greek text printed by De Boor, "Neue Fragmente," pp. 182-4; newly edited by Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes, pp. 158-9, but omitting the material before no. 2, and with a different numeration; Nautin, pp. 174-8, prints Greek text with a French translation.]

⁷¹Up to this point Eusebius writes. 1. Constantius the Great, the father of Constantine, produced these sons from his two wives: Constantine, son of Helena; Dalmatius; Constantius. [Diagram—remains of family tree in bottom margin of Barocc. 142 fol. 216r] [This first part is on the left-hand side of the page:] Helen wife Constantine Constantius Constans of Julian [This part is mid-way between left- and right-hand sides of the page; no connection is indicated with the previous chart:] Gallus Julian 2. Cyril, the bishop of Jerusalem, was the maternal uncle of Gelasius of Caesarea, and he himself when he was dying obligated Gelasius in writing to [compose] the history of the events after Eusebius and of those about which Eusebius did not write. 3. Diocletian and Maximian Herculus both reigned over the Romans together, and with shared counsel they laid aside their royal power and took up

again the rank of private individuals; and in the sight of the army they installed as emperors Constantius the father of Constantine, and another Maximian, [also called] Galerius. But when they changed their minds and wished to rule again, they were killed by a common decree of the Senate.

72 4. Theotecnus, who was plotting against the Christians in Antioch, entered the cave in which Maximian used to sacrifice to the demons and indeed received oracles. On the basis of a demonic oracle he [i.e., Theotecnus] enjoined on him [i.e., Maximian] the persecution against the Christians. And Maximian, in obedience to this man, rekindled the persecution against us. And he also urged on his fellow-tyrants to do the same, bringing forward the demons' oracle as though it were indeed some great commandment. 5. When Diocletian went to war against the usurpers in Alexandria, he had Constantine, who was very young, as an ally and counsellor. When he [i.e., Diocletian] saw that he [i.e., Constantine] showed excellence, he was moved with devilish envy and was eager to destroy him by treachery. But God preserved him and returned him safe, after escaping the plot, to his father, who was on the point of death. And in the sight of the army, his father proclaimed him as emperor, giving him many commands on behalf of the Christians, and thus he "fell asleep" in peace.

73 6. When Constantius died, the following were left behind as rulers: Constantine the Great administered the territory of his father—this was from the edge of Europe as far as the Ionian Sea; Maxentius held Rome and [the territory] as far as the Ocean; Severus having died of an illness, the Roman Senate voted Licinius emperor, by way of doing a favor for Constantine, who had made Licinius his brother-in-law through his sister Constantia. And Maximian held sway over the region of the East. 7. Licinius, for fear of the emperor Constantine, worked his treachery against us secretly. But later, he drew up his forces against us openly. At that point, Constantine grew angry against Licinius. And after war had occurred between them, Licinius was taken alive in Chrysopolis. He [i.e., Constantine] commanded him [i.e., Licinius] to live quietly in Thessalonica, but when he was plotting rebellion again, and was going to take up arms, he ordered him killed.

Fr. 7.1-2 [Chemical processes for treating copper and iron] [Attribution to Philip questionable at best]

74 [For the text, see Berthelot, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (Paris, 1888), *Livraison* [= vol.] 3, Greek text pp. 346-7; French tr. pp. 330-332.

(Note that the Greek texts and French translations follow independent page numbering, in each case continuing the numeration of the previous volumes.). — P. Lambeck (Lambecius), *Commentatorium de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi*, 2nd ed. A. F. Collarius (Vienna, 1780), vol. 6, pp. 406-7, attributed them to Philip of Side on the basis of the mention of a "Philip" (cited by Heyden, p. 228 n. 95), but this seems quite unlikely. Heyden, p. 228, sees a reference to Philip II of Macedon; Berthelot, *Fr. tr.*, p. 331 n. (continued from p. 330), interprets it instead as a reference to a successor of Alexander (e.g., Philip V).]

Fr. 7.1 [5.4 Berthelot]

⁷⁵ "Dyeing" of the copper found among the Persians, recorded from the reign of Philip. (1) Take the upper thuthia, as much as you wish, and pound it finely and sift it with a very fine sieve. Put it into an earthenware vessel, and put on top of it oil of whatever sort you wish, whether common or sesame-oil. Take it up again in your hands; mix the oil with the thuthia and grind it in the earthenware receptacle until the thuthia is saturated with the oil and does not absorb any more of the oil. And when you see that it has absorbed enough, add again and mix in still more of the same oil, until it becomes like mud. And [then] take some of the crimson/palm-paste, the red [pigment] called natêph by the Arabs, one-fifth of the amount of thuthia, and place it on top of the previously softened thuthia in the earthenware vessel, after breaking it [i.e., the pigment] up into small pieces—not too many, nor too large. Heat an oven with the most intense fire; put the vessel in the oven; then, cover the opening of the oven with mud until the following day, because the thuthia is going to be burnt and become black. And the next day, take it out, crush it and sift it with a fine sieve.

⁷⁶ (2) And when you wish to dye the above copper—no better is dyed in Persia—take two parts of fine Cyprian copper, and one of the powder that has been prepared with the thuthia beforehand. Break up the copper into very small parts, as many as you can, and mix the powder in with it; put both into a crucible, and use the bellows vigorously, until the copper bubbles up along with the powder. When it bubbles, add further coals, together with much bellows-work, until the two are united together. And if you wish to make sure of the beauty of the color, take an iron implement with a bent end, and pull out [some of the material] with its end, and look at it. If the color is pleasing, stop using the bellows; but if it is not yet pleasing, keep up

the bellows-work and add more coal. For the more you use the bellows and coal, the better your material is rendered.

Fr. 7.2 [5.5 Berthelot]

⁷⁷ "Dyeing" of the Indian iron, recorded at the same time. (1) Take 4 pounds of soft iron and cut it up into small pieces. Take bark of the palm-nut—called elileg among the Arabs—15 mil. in weight; and also belileg, with the insides similarly cleaned out, that is, the bark alone—4 mil. in weight; and amblag, similarly cleaned out—4 mil.; and of the above-mentioned glass-makers' magnesia (feminine magnesia), 2 mil. Pound all this together, not too finely, and mix it in with the 4 pounds of iron. Put it into a crucible—and level out the place of the crucible before applying the flames; for if you do not do this, so that it does not move this way and that, there will necessarily be problems in the melting process. Then, after this, add the coals, and heat up the crucible until the iron melts, and the [other] materials are united with it. And the 4 pounds of iron require 100 pounds of coals.

⁷⁸ (2) Note that if the iron is quite soft, it does not need the magnesia, but only the other materials. For the magnesia dries it out to excess, and it becomes fragile. But if it is soft, there is need of it [i.e., the magnesia?] alone, so that it is higher. For this accomplishes everything. (3) This is the first, the royal work, with which they are concerned to this day, and on the basis of which they fashion the "marvelous" swords. It was discovered by the Indians, and was passed on to the Persians, and from them it came to us. This translation was commissioned by Roger Pearse and made public domain 19th March 2011. This ms. represents an unpublished Byzantine world chronicle, the so-called "Ps.-Symeon," running from Adam to A.D. 963. It was a source of George Cedrenus, in whose text this same parallel phrasing appears, ed. Bekker, vol. 1 (Bonn, 1838), p. 12. For Ps.-Symeon and the relationship with Cedrenus, cf. M. Wallraff et al., *Iulius Africanus: Chronographiae*, GCS n. F. 15 (Berlin, 2007), p. xlvii.

⁷⁹ Gk. *χρόνοι*. According to the LXX, Adam was 230 when he begot Seth, by contrast with the MT, which puts his age at 130. Since the details of Adam's chronology do not all agree with an extant canonical or non-canonical account of Adam, Serruys (pp 338-9) posits a lost apocryphal life of Adam as Philip's source. Gk. *ἐργάσασθαι*. Cf. Jubilees 3.15, 17. Gk. *ἀπὸ ὥραν πρώτην* [sic]. Cf. the time-frame put forward by the Cave of Treasures 5, which puts Adam's formation at the 1st hour of the 6th day, his entry into Paradise at

the 3rd hour, Adam and Eve's dishonor at the 6th hour, and their expulsion at the 9th hour. The timing is not the same, at least in the current state of the text of Bodl. gr. 120, and also contradicts the seven years mentioned in the first part of the note here, but still seems to indicate some relationship. A. Su-Min Ri, *Commentaire de la Caverne des trésors*(Leuven, 2000), pp. 167-8, further compares the Cave of Treasures time-frame to that of Rabbinic Jewish sources.

⁸⁰ Gk. ἐργάσασθαι. Wirth prints this first passage, while Serruys ignores it. The explicit turn to Philip of Side makes it less likely that this first passage also derives from Philip. Gk. ἐτή. Either Book 24 of his History, or the 24th volume of the (1st?) Book. Photius (Bibl. cod. 35) says that each of Philip's bibloi contained multiple logoi; Socrates, HE 7.27 calls the smaller divisions tomoi. Gk. διδασκαλείον. Athenagoras' work is in fact addressed to Marcus Aurelius (Antoninus) and Commodus. Gk. ὁ ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν πρεσβευτικός (sc. λόγος); the mss. of Athenagoras' work give it the title πρεσβεία περὶ Χριστιανῶν—translated by Crehan (ACW), for example, as "Embassy." Gk. τῆς Ακαδημαϊκῆς σχολῆς προϊστάμενος. Gk. διατριβή. Gk. λόγοι. This list does not entirely agree with the previous account—the position of Clement is strangely shifted. It is quite likely that this change is due to a copyist's confusion. Gk. τοῦ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀναιρεθέντος;. Note the unclassical use of the preposition εἰς.

⁸¹ Alternatively, following a variant reading (mss. FG): "of the Macedonians." Gk. φόβον ἐκτήσατο πολύν—not that she "had" fear in that she was afraid, but that she "acquired" the (respect and) fear of others. Gk. τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κατέλαβε. Alternatively, "conquered the Achaeans." Gk. γινῶναι αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ᾧ παρήσαν. Bratke reconstructs plausible wording after the name "Philip" on the basis of mangled indications in the manuscripts and also the cues apparent in the context: namely, their response to the oracle shows that the oracle has mentioned a woman, and a man from Macedonia; and Aphroditianus' comment in §14 (p. 9) makes clear that a prediction is made that can be taken as referring to "the Macedonian" and to Christ. Bringel, by contrast, marks the words following Philip as a crux, having little confidence in any reconstruction. In connection with this consultation of the oracle, there is a further major textual variant: In a couple of manuscripts, a fairly long sequence of text is either substituted for (ms. Q) or added to the end of (ms. N) the oracular response translated above; this additional text runs

roughly as follows [minor discrepancies do exist in the witnesses]: "Late, a certain one will make his way to this much-splintered earth, and without a misstep will become flesh, and by the untiring bounds of divinity he will dissolve the destructive force of incurable passions / sufferings; and ill-will shall arise for this one at the hands of an unbelieving people, and he will be hung up to a height as one condemned to death. And having willingly suffered to bear all these things as well, at death he will be lifted up into eternal life." The supposed prophecy of Christ is much clearer in this additional text, which may well have been added specifically to alleviate the annoyance of a too-obscure prophecy.

⁸² Gk. ἀήττητοι καιροί; Bringel translates, "un empire invincible," but it is not clear why. Cf. Lampe s.v. ἀνακόλουθος. Bringel's text, with an additional word: "against the gods, who cannot be insulted." Bringel's text, using other variants: "a leader having the unconquerable power of the unconquerable God." Gk. ἀλῶν; the reading and its significance are debatable. This motif is odd; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, some magical / imprecatory power is envisaged. Gk. εὐάρεστοι; Bringel's text has ἀρευστοι ("unchanging"). The participle is in the nominative case—grammatically, then, it ought to be describing the gods; but the context seems to require a reference to the envoys and the occasion for their consultations. Some emendation is likely required. Bringel cites the Diccionario griego-español s.v. δῆλος for the LXX use of the word as a masc. noun connected with divination; cf. also (e.g.) Muraoka, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, s.v. Gk. πυθιμεύει; the sense is obscure. Lampe (s.v.) glosses the verb as to "give the base of a series" and argues that its appearance in this context implies that with this third oracle, the full understanding is revealed. Bringel translates, "va jusqu'au fond" ("goes to the bottom"—i.e., of the tripod / cauldron, to fetch the oracles).

⁸³ Gk. παρείς; Bringel, printing a different variant (σπαρείς), translates, "une fois engendré" ("having once been engendered"—or "sown") The letters of Μαρία, when interpreted as numerals, add up to 152. Gk. πᾶν ἱερόν ὑμῶν σέβας. Bringel translates, "toute votre majesté sacrée" ("all your holy majesty"). Adapted from ANF translation (attributed to Julius Africanus). Gk. ἐκ Περσίδος ἐγνώσθη. Alternatively, this could be translated, "became known [to others] from Persia." ἐν ταῖς χρυσαῖς ἀρκλαρίαις—but this term which from the context must mean "tablets" (cf. πτυχαί a little later) is not attested elsewhere. Bringel points out that an apparently related word, ἀρκλα

(= Lat. *arca* [?]), is found in a number of late texts. The order of the Greek words should mean, "the holy palaces"—but perhaps emendation is in order. Bringel does not include the phrase, "and the priests connected with them," in her text. "them" Bringel. The mss. give several different variants for this name.

⁸⁴ Lit., "I rejoice with you." Lit., "rejoice with." ANF translates a variant reading: "How was she able...?" *Urania* means "heavenly / celestial." The re-naming seems to play on perceived etymological connections between *Hera* and "earth" or "aër" (i.e., the cloudy, thick lower atmosphere, as opposed to the higher, more rarefied "ether"). *Pege* means "spring," "source," or "stream." Cf. the Tübingen Theosophy, pp. 26-27 *Beatrice*. Bringel, choosing a variant reading: "You have well said, 'She espoused a carpenter'; for she has a carpenter..." Perhaps the quotation of the "females" continues on to the end of the sentence. In any case, this does not quite reflect what they were reported as saying earlier—"she espoused a carpenter"—unless the variant chosen by Bringel is correct. Bringel translates the last part of the sentence, "mais il ne vient pas de son lit, le charpentier qu'elle met au monde." Bringel, choosing a slightly different variant: "framed...the triple-constructed sky as a roof."

⁸⁵ I.e., land, sea, and sky (ANF). Bringel translates, "ce firmament à trois habitations." Bringel excludes this last sentence from her text. Or, "statue." Gk. *στῆλη*. Gk. *Ἡλιος*. Bringel points out the parallel shining gem-stone described by Lucian, *De dea Syria* 32. Bringel, following a different variant: "The king, having watched this, gave orders..." The name *Karia* is obscure; one textual variant at the next occurrence is "*Makaria*" (blessed), which might make more sense. Variant reading: "kings." I.e. (as Bringel points out by citing the parallel of Pilate's words at Jn. 19.22), he is saying that their time of producing apparitions and of ruling is over. Gk. *μὴ θροβαῖ*. This is Bringel's text and interpretation. Bratke's text, *Μιθροβαῖ*, would introduce quite inexplicably a *Mithrobades*—the preceding verb then could be interpreted either as "they said" or "I said" or "Say" [to *Mithrobades*], with the following words possibly still part of *Dionysus*' speech.

⁸⁶ As Bringel points out here, the last few phrases allude to Gen. 1.26, and Christ's work in restoring the "image" of God in human beings, and leading them to the "likeness" of God. I.e., the Son of God ("heaven's boast") is now to be born on earth. Bringel has a slightly different text, and further imagines a supplement so that the first part of this sentence refers to the birth of

Christ, not (as I have read it) to the prior birth of Pege (i.e., Mary). She translates as follows: "Karia a le bonheur de voir Source mettre un enfant au monde à Bethléem. Source a la grâce d'être désirée par le ciel et de concevoir le bienfait de la grâce"—I have underlined the supplement she adds. Bringel's reading, quite possibly correct, omits τὰ ἡμέτερα ("our affairs") and leaves the verb "is / are withering" to be connected to Judaea.

⁸⁷ Instead of δέσποινα ("mistress"), Bringel's text gives οὐρανία ("Urania / heavenly"). Bringel's text, slightly more logically, here reads "sent [some] magi of those under his dominion." Here Bringel's text reads "by madness" (ὕπο μανίας) rather than "by an oracle" (ὕπο μαντείας). Or rather: "lest a revolt rise [against them] toward us"—that is, fearing that the people of Judaea would revolt against the high priests and convert to the good news of the Messiah announced by the magi. Or, "we spoke to him until he was thoroughly disturbed." I.e., the voice heard in §22, or the divine manifestations and their interpretations more generally. Bringel interprets this sentence differently: "Il fut consacré dans le temple, où il se trouve avec l'inscription que voici." See Bringel ad loc. for a long exploration of the term διοπετής and its significance. Bringel's text reads: "gold, frankincense, and myrrh." Gk. ἀντάρτας. The "rebels" would be rebellious / sinful humans in general.

⁸⁸ Bringel's text: "a certain terrifying angel." It is not clear whether this sentence is part of the report of the magi or part of the enclosing speech. Bringel's text includes a sentence at this point to conclude the account of the magi, and a further phrase to introduce Aphroditianus' final comments: "And those are the marvellous narrations of the inspired magi. And [here are] mine." I would argue, however, that the account of the magi should be understood to have concluded either after the words, "Christ has become our Savior"—or perhaps even after the statement, "we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem." The address to "you," who are slandering and opposing Christ, seems to revert to Aphroditianus' situation. Gk. ιστόρησε. Gk. ἀπετέλει. Here I follow Bringel's text; Bratke's has an infinitive instead of a finite verb. Bringel: "Pertelaus." Gk. τὸ θέλει τὸ πρακτικὸν ἐτοιμότερον. Lit., "in those at the end"—it is unclear whether "those at the end" refers to particular "laws" in his collection (so Bringel), or generically to the end of his text.

⁸⁹ Gk. ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ στερεᾷ ταῦτα. The text and precise sense are unclear. Bringel, with different accentuation, interprets the first word as a dative

noun that could be interpreted as the addressee: "to Epicrates"; as a verb [with Bratke], the basic idea is to "prevail over"—which I am rendering, "demonstrates his mastery" since there is no object specified. Here, Bringel's text has the additional word "progeny." This phrase is a sentence fragment added to the rest; I suspect that some words have fallen out in transmission. Gk. Ἑλλήνες. Note that the first example is Cyrus the Great of Persia—demonstrating clearly that for the author, "Hellenes" is not an ethnic term but refers to pagans. In the reading preferred by Bringel, the bodyguards are not female. This name (unknown otherwise) is the reading favored by Bringel; Bratke does not choose between ms. variants here, printing simply an ellipsis in the middle of the name: C...enbrates. Wirth, p. 200, reports Noeldeke's suggestion that the Cynic Crates may be the distant inspiration for this reference.

⁹⁰ Gk. παροξυσμοί; the precise reference is obscure. ἔνεκεν τῶν γενειῶν De Boor; γενειῶν must be emended either to γενῶν ("families / family lines") or to γενεῶν ("generations"). The former is a term that appears repeatedly in the excerpts from the letter provided by Eusebius, and so is more likely correct. Cf. Eus., HE 1.7, where Eusebius gives an excerpt from this treatment; also, 6.31.3. For a modern reconstruction / edition of the letter, see W. Reichardt, *Die Briefe des Sextus Julius Africanus an Aristides und Origenes*, TU 34.3 (Leipzig, 1909). Cf. Lk. 24.13, 18. On the embassy and the change of status of Emmaus, including Africanus' role in promoting it, see Eus., Chron. II (2: 178-9 Schoene); Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 63. Some garbling has taken place here: Candace was the name / title for the Ethiopian queen, but the articles used here in Greek with both "Candace" and "Ethiopian" are masculine rather than feminine; and of course, according to Acts 8.26-38, Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch who was a court official [δυνάστης] of Candace, not Candace herself.

⁹¹ Gk. πρῶτον—this could be masc. (conflicting with Candace) again, or neut. (adverbial). Cf. Eus., HE 2.1.1, 13—verbal parallel especially in this last sentence. Gk. στόμα λαμπάδων. Fancifully, from Hebrew: pî + lapîd(îm). Cf. Wutz, *Onomastica Sacra*, p. 444 / Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, p. 203: στόμα χειρῶν ἢ στόμα λαμπάδος; Wutz, p. 444 / Lagarde, p. 223: στόμα λαμπάδων. For all the "etymologies" in this fragment, cf. also Wutz, p. 35. Gk. ἀπατωμένη. Wutz, p. 35, notes that this is not paralleled in the onomastic material, and suggests a Syriac "etymological" connection. Gk. δερματίνη

δόξα. Fancifully, from Hebrew: 'ôr + hôd. Cf. Wutz, p. 475 / Lagarde, p. 205: δερμάτινος ἐπίδοξα; Wutz, p. 475 / Lagarde, p. 217: δέρματος δόξα. Cf. also Wutz, p. 477. De Boor, p. 181, notes the appearance of these three names together at Mt. 14.3 (and Mk. 6.17), which appears to imply that the etymologies formed part of a comment on that passage.

⁹² Cf. Eus., HE 3.17-20, including an excerpt from Hegesippus provided by Eusebius. The names do not appear in the Hegesippus extract supplied by Eusebius, and they might be expected to if Hegesippus gave them at all, since the beginning of the passage quoted seems to be introducing them to the reader for the first time. For the names, cf. the late *Index Apostolorum* attributed to Epiphanius, and edited by T. Schermann, *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 113. (Note also that a version of this, although not including this specific information, appears in Cod. Barocc. 142, fol. 284—see sigla in Schermann, p. 107.) Cf. Eus., HE 3.25 (also 3.24.17-18), although this text does not closely preserve Eusebius' classification. Eusebius records doubts about the 2 and 3 John, not (as here apparently) 1 John; for the "Gospel of the Hebrews" he notes disagreement. These others are listed together by Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* 1.

⁹³ Cf. Eus., HE 3.30; the reference to Clement's 3rd book is just earlier, at HE 3.29.1, and the passages of Clement summarized here from Eusebius' quotations are Strom. 3.6.52.5-53.1 and 7.11.63.3-64.1. For Paul, Clement cites 1 Cor. 9.5 and appears to be interpreting Phil. 4.3, where Paul addresses a σύζυγος, as an address to his wife. Or "book" (Gk. λόγος); but from Jerome, *De viris illustribus* 76, this work appears to have been homilies on Hosea orally delivered at Easter; and Photius (*Bibl. cod.* 119) speaks of 12 λόγοι (of which he particularly mentions the one "on the Pascha and Hosea") contained in one βιβλίον. Gk. διά (Cf. Sophocles, *Lexicon* s.v. διά 3). Gk. λόγια, a derivative of λόγος that usually means "oracles." Eusebius here describes these as five books "of explanation of the Lord's logia." The precise point of the word "after" (Gk. μετά) is not entirely clear here, although it does at least serve to put Aristion and John in a separate category from the first list.

⁹⁴ Cf. Eus., HE 3.39 (with some information possibly also taken from 3.25). Cf. Eus., HE 3.39.9; but the fragment here provides some slightly different information. De Boor, pp. 171-2, suggests that this refers to the same incident that Eusebius mentions as an (anonymous) resurrection in HE 3.39.9. Menahem: The Greek spelling of the name is Μαναιῖμος—cf. 2 Kgs

[4 Kgdms] 15.14-16, on the reign of Menahem, spelled *Μαναημ* in LXX, but *Μαναϊμ* in Byzantine chroniclers. Harnack, in an editorial note to De Boor here, suggests a connection with the *Μαναην* who appears in Acts 13.1 as one of the "prophets and teachers" of Antioch (NRSV transliterates this name as Manaen). This is apparently a reference to Hom. in 1 Cor. 40.2 [PG 61: 349, NPNF translation online: <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npn-f112.iv.xli.html>]; Chrysostom cites Old Testament resurrections and Lazarus, as well as those "at the time of the cross." De Boor notes the necessary correction from the ms. reading "Antioch."

⁹⁵ Cf. Eus., HE 7.32.26. De Boor notes, "wie Nr. 5"—i.e., this sentence repeats the wording of no. 5 above (and so De Boor did not print the whole sentence again). Gk. *ἐμαρτύρησαν*. Cf. Eus., VC 1.25, which Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 195, considers to be a source that Philip is expanding here. Hansen (in app.) suggests that this is possibly to be read as a reference to Sauromatae. I.e., the Franci. Dan. 10.13; Jos. 5.14. Jos. 10.11. I.e., in the poems--or perhaps "among them," meaning "among the pagans." This part of the sentence appears to be corrupt; I have translated in accordance with my sense of the point, which would require a correction of *τινες* to *τινας*, *τινας* to *τισί*, in addition to the deletion of *αὐτοῖς* endorsed by Hansen and the use of the variant *ἐξιστόρησαν* not adopted by Hansen. With this phrase, the anonymous compiler turns from "Rufinus" (mentioned at 1.17) to another source.

⁹⁶ Cf. Eus., HE 10.9.4, which is the source of some of the wording here. Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 194 n. 45, notes the ironic use of this word. At this point the anonymous compiler adds a letter from Theodoret, HE 1.20, to confirm the account (cf. Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 194). From this point, Hansen identifies a fragment of Gelasius of Caesarea in addition to the suggestion that the account is derived from Philip. Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 195, identifies the following as one (or two) of a whole series of possible "additions" to the basic framework of 2.1.12 - 2.6.1. In general here, the anonymous compiler is following Gelasius of Caesarea, but Hansen considers some passages likely to have come instead from Philip; in the passage translated here, he points out the style (asyndetic lists of qualities) and the attribution to unspecified "writings." Needless to say, the precise boundaries of what belongs to Philip here are difficult to

draw; I have put into italics material that Hansen definitely does not attribute to Philip's voice, but some of the rest may not be Philip's either.

⁹⁷ I.e., bishop. This account, including its rhetorically composed oration, which is most unlikely to reflect Constantine's actual words on this occasion, is quite different from Eusebius' contemporary account (Life of Constantine 3.11-12). I.e., the assembled bishops. While the narration leading up to this section comes from Gelasius of Caesarea, the introduction to the speech is modelled on the description given by Theodoret, HE 1.7.11; the words preserved verbatim are printed in italics. *κεφάλαιον*; the precise reference is obscure. The descriptions of the church building that begin here seem to be a metaphor for the Church as a whole, or rather for the gathering of bishops at the Council of Nicaea; if this latter suggestion is correct, Hansen's emendation, *ἡτοίμασε* ("he prepared") for the mss. *ἠθροισε* ("he gathered together") seems unnecessary. *στέφανοι*, sometimes translated "crowns." I have adapted the figure here; literally, "being born" and "growing." I.e., the "fear of the Lord."

⁹⁸ *εὐδαιμονία*. A modest reference to himself—"mediocrity" as opposed to (e.g.) "majesty" or "highness." Lampe suggests "your humble servant" as a possible equivalent. *εὐδαιμονεῖν. ἀδόκιμος. πρόνοια*; alternatively, "providence" or "forethought." Variant reading: "speech." Jesus was frequently represented with what seems to be a "magic wand," especially in connection with the Lazarus story, although this does not correspond to the Biblical text (hence the apparent correction represented by the variant reading here); see R. M. Jensen, *Understanding Early Christian Art* (Routledge, 2000), pp. 120-24. I.e., the teaching of Arius, as Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 188 n. 31, notes. This appears to be a reference to natural phenomena like the movements of the stars. Hansen, following Lietzmann, suggests "the knowledge" as the most likely supplement here. *τὸ γήινον*; perhaps, as Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," p. 139, suggests, supply "light" rather than the more generic "things." *λανθάνουσιν*; alternatively, "secretly." *ἁρμονία. προσηγορία*. The "name" in question seems to be a reference to sin, but "name" seems inappropriate; one suggested emendation is "wickedness" (*πονηρία*).

⁹⁹ I.e., the general political and social life of the Empire. At this point, the text of Theodoret becomes the model; additions to that text are left in plain type, whereas the words taken from Theodoret are in italics. This passage is identified by Heyden, "Christliche Geschichte," p. 227, as a fragment

of Philip, but not by Hansen, either in his article, "Eine fingierte Ansprache" or in his edition of the Anonyme Kirchengeschichte. Jer. 17.5. Here, Hansen, "Eine fingierte Ansprache," pp. 195-6, argues that Philip has reworked Gelasius of Caesarea's narrative, whose version can be reconstructed from Rufinus and Georgius Monachus. Especially significant is the conclusion, where there seem to be both a lightly revised version of Gelasius' concluding statement, and then in addition to that a sentence more freely composed, but with elements from Gelasius' statement still visible as the framework of construction. In Hansens' edition of the Anonyme Kirchengeschichte, he indicates in detail which words and phrases he considers to be additions to Gelasius' narrative; in this translation, the additions (by Philip) are in plain type, whereas the originally Gelasian narrative is in italics.

¹⁰⁰ οὐσία. ὑπόστασις. I.e., bishops. Ps. 118[119].60. 1 Cor. 3.19. 1 Cor. 4.20. 1 Cor. 2.2. Alternatively, "caused everything to subsist by means of his Logos and the Holy Spirit." This comment (concluding the series of excerpts from Eusebius that precedes it in the mss.) is extant in mss. BV. Extant in ms. B. Nautin, p. 182, suggests that this is originally a reader's marginal note that was later brought into the main text. See facsimile reproduction of this folio in Heyden, plate 2a. De Boor, "Neue Fragmente," p. 182, considers this to be connected to the account of Constantius' children that appears in the main text, although it is not in close physical proximity. Extant in mss. PB. This note seems to be directly summarized from the prologue of Gelasius of Caesarea's continuation of Eusebius' history (see Photius, Bibl. cod. 89). Cf. Nautin, p. 178. κατέκρινεν. Extant in ms. P.

¹⁰¹ ἀναιρούνται. Extant in ms. B. Extant in mss. BV. Lit., "...against those who tyrannized over the Alexandrians." I.e., died. Extant in mss. BV. τὴν πατρῶαν διεῖπεν ἀρχήν; lit., "...managed his father's rule / empire." Extant in mss. BP. Alternatively, "from the beginning of Philip"—but the phrase seems to imply a dating formula, and thus a king's reign, as the heading of the following section shows; also, some mss. supply further information: "...Philip of Macedon—such (copper) as is on the gates of the Hagia Sophia"; with a subtitle: "the making of tawny copper." This thuthia is called "upper" in the sense that it has been produced by sublimation to the upper part of the furnace / oven, according to Berthelot, Fr. tr., p. 331 n. 3, identifying the substance as zinc oxide (see the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 239-40, where this is referred to as [artificially manufactured] cadmia). As Berthelot's note argues,

the word *thuthia* is attested late; along with the mention of the Arabs, it indicates that this portion of text at least was probably written between the 7th and 11th centuries. (Cf. also introduction, Livr. 1, p. 268.)

¹⁰² Gk. ἀπὸ τοῦ φοινικοπαστίλλου; Berthelot: "la couleur de palmier." The first element of the word is used both for the palm tree and for red/purple dye. Berthelot suggests that this was a derivative of arsenic, perhaps equivalent to the *cobathia* red / arsenic sulfide (*realgar*) which was treated as equivalent to palm-cinders as early as Zosimus' time (see Fr. tr., p. 185; see also the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 244-5, on *cobathia*). This abbreviation appears in the Greek text, but Berthelot translates it as "parts," and so it appears not to be a standard unit of measure. Berthelot, p. 332 n. 4, identifies this as "oxyde de fer ou de manganèse"—i.e., so-called "black magnesia" (see the introduction, Livr. 1, pp. 255-6). This text was commissioned and uploaded by Roger Pearse, 2010.

APPENDIX: THE RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION AT THE COURT OF THE
SASSANIDS

Religious Discussion at the Court of the Sassanids [*Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden / De Gestis in Perside*]

[Translated by Andrew Eastbourne] Page numbers refer to Bratke's edition; section numbers refer to Bringel's edition (unless otherwise stated, her edition of the "long recension"—pp. 288-494). References to "Bringel's text" normally introduce my own translation of her Greek text, not her (French) translation, and general references to Bringel's comments refer to footnotes *ad locc.* in her edition. Fragments of Philip of Side, and probable references to him, are put in boldface here. [p. 1] 1. When Arrhinatus was king of Persia, and second after him was Pasargarus, who held the highest rank of the highest officials in authority, and third was Diocles, who managed the satrapies and provinces, and Aphroditianus, holding the rank of "chief cook"—*dialalia abdodedôrou mou toi*—"the authority will judge purely"—there arose a dispute in this land between pagans and Christians concerning Dionysarus and Philip, the writers of history. The pagans championed Dionysarus, the Christians, Philip. 2. And when many had been agitated, the King gathered together all the bishops who were in those lands, numbering more than 100, and not a few archimandrites; [p. 2] among these they urged me also to come along—the only one from Roman territory; for all [these others] were from those regions.

3. And when they had been assembled, the King brought together the Rabbis of the Jews, saying to them: "Since some have said that the fine sayings of the pagans preach about Christ, and some dispute this, become judges of the two sides, and tell me the truth accurately. For I trust neither pagans nor Christians one-sidedly, when they are speaking in defense of themselves. Therefore, laboriously unfolding every idea in the divine book, and devoting all your thoughts to it, neither favoring the one group nor the other, report them to the unconquerable authority of my hands—knowing that if you are hindered by any other order, I will immediately see to the destruction of you all." And they fell down upon the golden pavement at his feet seven times, and said: "Imperial Master, first god of all authority and kingship, grant us space for a defence!" And he granted it, saying: "Consider the religion which you revere, without partiality to either."

And they said: "Let us not come into evil suspicion, when your hand holds sway over all the land. We shall not say anything except what is right for Your Heavenly Divinity to hear. For we are not able to listen to pagans—for they are far from our religion—nor to give heed at all to the murderous and impure Christians, who have become tyrants over the whole human race, and have attacked all the just [commands] of the divine monarchy; they apply all [p. 3] their professions of faith to one single man, whom our ancestors rightly determined to destroy; and they treat the one who died as though he were alive, and they call upon the one whom they did not see as though they see him. But if it seems good to you, righteous masters, make the all-wise and noble Aphroditianus [act as] judge for the two parties."

And immediately the King said: "By Zeus, you have uttered inspired speech today!" And quickly bringing Aphroditianus, and sending those men [i.e., the Jews] away, he said to him: "Your people began the dispute against Philip, the priest of the Christians. Therefore, whereas I know that you neither take delight in feasting nor take pleasure in wine, but instead you spurn gatherings of people and despise reputation and cast aside money, devoting yourself solely to philosophy, I give you this order: Go yourself alone and respond to the chorus of priests, showing all deference to the truth, so that in this matter too the power of our kingship shall be preeminent." 4. But the Jews were putting this man forward as a trick, so that he might trample underfoot the Christians' name. This Aphroditianus was a pagan to whom no one's mouth was able to render an account. And there was no

small struggle impending for us, so as not to be defeated by this man. For all the hairs [on our heads], if they became mental processes, would not be able to disentangle one simple thought of his.

5. Now then, when before the meeting everyone had been cowering in fear of him, and they were trying to escape from his inarguable stratagems, and were lamenting—before his appearance, I said to the bishops who were with me: "Do you not know that right here, the "un-wise" [art] defeated the "all-wise" art? Have you given yourselves such expectations of being entirely overcome by him? All the wisdom of the Chaldaeans and Babylonians has been overcome by the divine thought of that young man, Daniel. [p. 4] Therefore, in imitation of him, let us say: 'There is a God in heaven who reveals deep and hidden things.' So let us take along with us Casteleus the senior priest and let us continue entirely undefeated." 6. And after fasting and making prayers of entreaty, we assembled together, along with that man who had grown old in righteousness, Casteleus; and the bishops sealed themselves, keeping the name of the Lord Jesus Christ in their minds.

And now, Aphroditianus arrived—he himself having also grown old, being now in his eightieth year—and when he sat down upon a throne of gold, built from priceless stones, since the faces of everyone were bowed to the ground, he recognized that they were in no way able to defend themselves before him. And he said to them, having been goaded by God: "You peaceful priests, why are you disturbed? I have not come to cause you pain by any means, but rather to encourage you. So the contest can proceed painlessly. Take heart, then, and apply yourselves to the truth correctly, in earnest, and you will have victory." And the bishops, hearing this, recovered their wits fully. 7. Irenaeus, the bishop of Basirênê, said: "With whom is your God-fearing will disputing? With Dionysarus or with Philip? If you are at odds with Dionysarus, he is yours! You ought to be the judge regarding him. But if [you are at odds] with Philip, then we should make a defence in his regard, since he is a Christian."

8. Aphroditianus said: "It is well for you, priest, if you finish as you have begun. For I bear on my lips the things [written] by Philip. But, so that you will not think that I [p. 5] have made any additions, bring the so-called 'books' themselves and read them to the assembly." 9. Hesiod the bishop said: "And if I bring out a book and you attack it as having been falsified....?" Aphroditianus said: "I know, if anything has been left out or if anything has been

added." 10. And his long-winded book was brought, in which "Greek Oracles" were contained. And he ordered the boy standing near him to read it: Phdgse distrarek tou ô—"let the one standing beside [me] read." But he, not paying heed to the book, quickly declared it (?). And he said to him, "Read from the story of Cassander." And he read as follows:

11. Cassander died, leaving behind a sister, called Doris; she was the daughter of Pylades, who had been killed in Greece. Attalus the king of the Lacedaemonians lusted after her; and when they went to bed together, she, having a sword inside [the room], planted it in his heart and took control of the kingdom. And once this had happened, she acquired great fear. And his brother Philip went to live in Achaea and there taking as wife the sister of Calliopus their general, named Alisbis [p. 6], he was seeking to destroy Doris and her people. And they were afraid. For all the peoples around her, being enamored of her beauty, were helping her. For she would not give herself in marriage to just anyone. But since they were all afraid of her—for she had attacked many and had destroyed them all—the Achaeans decided at that time to send an embassy to Delphi and to receive an oracle there about this matter. And they, after setting out, asked Euoptia the priestess at the water of the Castalian [spring], for themselves to know the object of their coming. She, having tasted the spring water, answered thus: "Philip, <child of Olympias, of Pella, going to places above Asia>, will strike the higher ring that circles everything with his all-powerful arm."

12. But they, deriding and cursing her, said: "Thrice-accursed one, we asked about a woman; we did not ask about a man who came from Macedonia, did we?" But she said to them that unconquerable times had begun to arise; for indeed she herself [i.e., the woman] and that man, and those with him, would vanquish everyone. And they departed, with insults for the prophetess, and went off to the temple of Athens. And while a priestly cloth was being woven and fine purple was being applied to it, they came with a will and burst in. The priestess, Xanthippe, said to them with a burst of anger: "You have entered here at an evil hour, you reckless and unruly ones!"—and they, becoming displeased in turn, mistreated her and said: "You are unworthy of any honor; [p. 8] you are foreign to the priestly disposition—and you are disgracing the purple, which the gods granted to royalty, by which those who wear it possess honor and glory. Stop speaking strange things! Depart from your wineless drunkenness, you arrogant huckster!" But she said to

them: "You have brought these charges not against me, but against those who cannot be insulted. Nevertheless, receive a secure oracle and go your way: 'A certain youthful man, who is the effectual conception of a mingling bed, having the unconquerable weight of God's unconquerable scale, will circle the boundless world like an egg, capturing all with his spear.'" But they, blowing on her, withdrew, speaking unlawful things against the gods. And they said, "We do ourselves no good, if we do not go to Phoebus Apollo the Great!"

13. And they went to the temple of Apollo and said by way of entreaty: "You victorious and pure well-pleasing gods, why do you treat your servants in this way—asking to win a womanly war? You throw us into a warlike war! Do not act this way, you immortals, true masters, who have granted to us the greatest material things as gifts; instead, give us clear signs. What, then, will happen to us?" And immediately a voice came in invisibly speaking as follows: "The tripod turning a third turn, the prophet is the root;[p. 9] for [there are] three-fold of these [oracles]; a certain light-bringer, heaven-sent to earth's plain, passing by, dwells within matter, forming for himself a body in the womb of a maiden. And her name is twice seventy-six. He, demolishing the lordships and every holy object of your reverence, will transfer the reward of all glory to the heights of his all-blessed wisdom."

14. Aphroditianus said: "You have pointed out as something impressive—something that escapes my notice, in your view—the fact that [these oracles] have spoken about the Macedonian and about your Christ. But the Macedonian, when he had trodden upon the provinces of the Persians in an untimely fashion, departed from them in a timely fashion, whereas Christ prevailed when he was defeated, and he put the machinations of the plotters to shame. 15. The bishops said: "Your commendable love of wisdom has not missed anything pertaining to knowledge. But it was in doubt about the oracles [recorded] by Philip. Hence, if there is any truth and benefit contained [in them], share salvation with us, who have fled for refuge to your serenity."

16. Aphroditianus: "You think that I am ignorant of the opinions that have been voiced regarding Christ. But the fact that there is not one single voice and one single tongue—[such that] the people around him are plentiful or that group itself is not divided or at variance with itself, advancing divided opinions itself—while the Jews speak differently about him (for indeed, I have both come into contact with their Scriptures and know yours; and the

Scriptures themselves are well-constructed, but those who deal with [p. 10] them are inharmonious)—for this reason, Christian [teachings and arguments] remain implausible to me, hindered as they are by their own disputations—because [the teachers] are incoherent and thoughtless."

17. The bishops said: "And what nation does not fight against itself, both in earlier times and now? Jews, Samaritans, Greeks who live in religious ignorance, and the children of the Buddha [all disagree with themselves / each other (?)]. For indeed, Jews and Samaritans say that there is a Christ, but he has not yet come; and Greeks even unwillingly have proclaimed the doctrines concerning him, exactly as the prophets taught them." 18. Aphroditianus: "But you ought not to disagree, you who are said to rise above every [other] nation! Nevertheless, if you will bear with me, I will tell you countless further quotes about Christ. But the fact that the subject of him is so disputed by his own people leaves me in two minds. And not only that, but so does the fact that his own nation lies with all their might, never allowing truth into their thinking; they commit injustice, love impure unions, and are prone to anger, eager to destroy each other, each one believing as seems best to him, preferring his wishes over tradition—and all this is not characteristic of true religion. Therefore, I patiently urge you to listen to me; and I believe that I both give and receive help. For if I benefit you, then I myself have received a benefit. Indeed, I do not accept the eulogies you make to me: for I am nothing. I hate all that [is said] in order to curry favor, and I reject mere human glory. But if anything aims at truth, I take pleasure in it; if anything aims at righteousness, I rejoice in it; and I am not saying this by way of seeking praise—far be it from me to do anything with a view to pleasing mortal men! But [may I] speak and perform whatever is in accord with the God-pleasing laws. But as for you, noble priests—for I do not call you Christian priests, but ministers of divine power [p. 11]—pay attention to my words, as befits your consecrated status:"

Aphroditianus' Story 19. Christ was known to Persia from the beginning. For nothing escapes the learned jurists of that country, who investigate all things with the utmost care. The facts, therefore, which are inscribed upon the golden tablets, and laid up in the royal temples, I shall announce—for it is from the temples there, and the priests connected with them, that the name of Christ has first been heard of. The temple of Hera, surpassing even the royal palace, which temple King Cyrus, who was knowledgeable in all

piety, built, and erected golden and silver statues of the gods in it, and adorned it with precious stones—not to digress with a detailed description of that ornamentation... Now about that time (as the inscribed tablets testify), the king having entered the temple, with the view of getting a dream-interpretation, was addressed by the priest Prupippus thus: "I congratulate you, master: Hera has conceived."

And the king, smiling, said to him, "Has she who is dead conceived?" And he said, "Yes, she who was dead has come to life again, and begets life." [p. 12] 20. And the king said, "What is this? Explain it to me." And he replied, "In truth, master, you have come here at just the right time. For over the whole night the images, both the males and the females, continuously danced, saying to each other, 'Come, let us congratulate Hera.' And they said to me, 'Prophet, come forward; congratulate Hera, for she has been loved.' And I said, 'Who was able to be loved—she who does not exist?' They reply, 'She has come to life again, and is no longer called Hera, but Urania. For the mighty Helios has loved her.' Then the females say to the males, disparaging the matter, 'Pege is she who was loved; for it was not Hera, was it? She espoused a carpenter.' And the males say, 'She has rightly been called Pege, we admit. But her name is Myria; for she bears in her womb, as in the sea, a vessel conveying a myriad. And if she is also [called] Pege, let it be understood thus: This stream of water sends forth a perennial stream of spirit; it contains but a single fish, taken with the hook of divinity, and with its own flesh sustaining the whole world, while it dwells [there] as though in the sea. You have well said, "She has a carpenter"—but not a carpenter whom she bears from a marriage-bed. For this carpenter who is born, the child of the chief carpenter, framed by his most sagacious skill the triple-constructed celestial roof, and established by his word this dwelling with its triple habitations.' Thus, then, the statues continued to dispute with each other concerning Hera and Pege, and [at length] with one voice they said: 'When the day is brought to completion, we all, male and female, [p. 13] shall know the matter clearly.' Now, therefore, master, tarry for the rest of the day. For the matter shall certainly receive full clarity. For that which has emerged is no common affair."

21. And when the king remained there and was watching the statues, the harpers of their own accord began to strike their harps, and the Muses began to sing; and all the creatures that were within [the temple], whether quadrupeds or birds (made of silver and gold), were uttering their own characteristic

voices. And as the king shuddered, and was filled with great fear—he was about to withdraw, for he could not endure the spontaneous tumult—the priest said to him, "Remain, O King, for the full revelation is at hand which the God of gods has chosen to make plain to us." 22. And when these things had been said, the roof was opened, and a bright star descended and stood above the pillar of Pege, and a voice was heard to this effect: "Mistress Pege, the great Sun has sent me to make the announcement to you, and at the same time to serve you in your giving birth—as he produces blameless offspring with you, who are becoming mother of the first of all ranks [of being], bride of the single divinity with three names. And the child born without seed is called the Beginning and the End: the beginning of salvation, and the end of destruction."

When this voice had spoken, all the statues fell upon their faces, with Pege alone still standing, on whom also a royal diadem was found to have been fastened, having on its upper side a star set with precious stones of carbuncle and emerald. And up above [i.e., in the sky], the star stood still. 23. And the king forthwith gave orders to bring in all the wise interpreters of signs, as many as were under his dominion. And when the heralds hurried them along with their trumpets, they all assembled in the temple. And when they saw the star [p. 14] above Pege, and the diadem with the starry stone, and the statues lying on the floor, they said: "O king, a divinely inspired and royal root has risen, bearing the stamp of a heavenly and earthly king. For Pege is the daughter of Karia the Bethlehemite, and the diadem is a kingly mark, and the star is a celestial announcement of marvels on the earth. Out of Judah has arisen a kingdom which shall destroy all the memorials of the Jews. And the prostration of the gods upon the floor anticipated the end of their honor. For he who comes, being of more ancient dignity, shall shake those who are new in it [i.e., dignity]. Now therefore, O king, send to Jerusalem. For you will find the Son of the Omnipotent God being carried in bodily form in the bodily arms of a woman."

And the star remained above Pege, who has been named Urania, until the magi went forth, and then it went with them. 24. And then, in the depth of evening, Dionysus appeared in the temple, unaccompanied by the satyrs, and said to the statues: "Pege is no longer one of us, but stands far above us, since she gives birth to a human being who was conceived by divine Fortune. O priest Prupippus! What are you doing sitting here? An action, indicated in

writing, has proceeded against us, and we are going to be convicted [p. 15] as false by a person in action. The apparitions we produced, we produced; and that which we ruled, we ruled. No longer do we give oracular responses. Removed from us is our honour. We have become without honor and glory. There is one, one alone, out of all, who has received again his proper honour."

25. They said: "Do not be disturbed. No longer do the Persians exact tribute of earth and air. For he who established these things is at hand, and he brings tribute of actions to him who sent him—he who renews the ancient image, and puts image together with image, and brings the unlike to likeness. Heaven rejoices with earth, and earth itself boasts at receiving heaven's boast. Things which have not happened above, have happened below. He whom the order of the blessed has not seen, is viewed by the [order of] the miserable. Flame threatens those; dew is present for these. It [was] the good fortune of Karia to give birth to Pege in Bethlehem, and it [is] Pege's grace to become heaven-desired and to conceive grace of grace. Judaea has bloomed, and our affairs are withering immediately. To Gentiles and foreigners, salvation has come; to the wretched, relief is provided in abundance. Rightly do the women dance, and say, 'Lady Pege, Stream-bearer, you who have become mother of the heavenly light-giver, you cloud that brings the world dew after heat, remember your servants, dear mistress.'"

26. The king then, without delay, sent the magi under his dominion with gifts, with the star showing them the way. And when they returned, they narrated everything to the men of that time—those very things which were also written on leaves of gold, to the following effect: 27. For when we came to Jerusalem, the sign, together with our arrival, [p. 16] disturbed everyone. They say, "What is this? Wise men of the Persians are here, and along with them an appearance of a star?" And the foremost of the Jews asked us what was going to happen, and the reason for our coming. And we said: "He whom you call 'Messiah' has been born." And they were confounded, and dared not oppose us. But they, for their part, said to us, "Justice of Heaven! Tell us what you know." And we said to them: "You have the disease of unbelief; and neither without an oath nor with an oath do you believe, but you follow your own ill-advised intentions. For the Christ, the child of the Most High, has been born, putting an end to of your law and synagogues. And it is for this reason that, struck as it were by a most excellent oracle as with a dart,

you do not hear with pleasure this name which has come up against you suddenly." And they then, taking counsel together, urged us to accept their gifts, and tell no one such a thing [as the news] from this land [of theirs], lest a revolt rise against us. But we said: "We have brought gifts in his honor, with the view of proclaiming those mighty things which have happened in our country on occasion of his birth—and you bid us take your gifts, and conceal the things which have been made known to us by celestial divinity, and neglect the commandments of our own king? Or do you not know what an experience of the Assyrians you once received?" And they became afraid, and after beseeching us repeatedly, they sent us away.

When the one who was ruling over Judaea sent for us [p. 17] and had some converse with us, and asked us questions, we said to him [things] at which he was thoroughly disturbed. We departed from him, without giving any greater heed to him than to any worthless person. 28. And we came to that place to which we had been sent, and saw the one who had given birth and the one who had been born, the star indicating to us the lordly babe. And we said to the mother: "What are you called, O renowned mother?" And she says: "Mary, masters." And we said to her: "Where do you come from?" And she said: "From this district—[the district] of the Bethlehemites." "Have you not taken a husband?" She says: "I have only been betrothed, with only pre-nuptial arrangements having been concluded; but my thoughts are divided. For I had no wish at all to come to this [state of affairs]. But while I was giving very little concern to it, at the dawn of a certain Sabbath—at the rising of the sun—an angel straightway appeared to me bringing me the good news of offspring, all of a sudden. And I was disturbed, and cried out, 'Let it not be so to me, Lord, for I do not have a husband.' And he persuaded me to believe, that it was by the will of God that I would have the son." And we said to her: "Mother of mothers, all the gods of the Persians have called you blessed: Your grounds for boasting are great, for you have transcended all women of renown, and you have become manifestly more queenly than all queens."

29. The child, moreover, was seated on the ground, being, as she said, nearly two years old, and having in part the likeness of the one who bore him. For she was small in stature even when holding her head up, and had a delicate body; and she was the color of wheat; and she had her hair bound up with a simple, very beautiful hair-style. And as we had along with [p. 18] us a servant quite skilled in painting, we brought back with us to our country a

likeness of them both; and it was placed in the temple in which the oracle was given, with the following inscription: "In the heaven-sent temple, the power of Persia dedicated this to Zeus Helios, the great God, King Jesus." And taking the child up, and bearing him in our arms, each of us in turn, we saluted him and worshipped him, and presented to him gold, addressing Him thus: "[We give] to you what is your own; we lavish you [with gifts], O powerful one in heaven. Things unordered would be ordered in no way other than by your presence. In no other way could things above be brought into conjunction with things below, but by your descent. Service is not carried out to such a degree, if only a servant is sent, as when the [master] himself is present; neither [can so much be achieved] when the king sends only his satraps to war, as when he is there himself. It was quite fitting for your methods, for you to deal in this manner with the rebels."

And the child smiled and leaped at our fawning and our words. And when we had bidden the mother farewell, and when she had shown us honor, and we had glorified her as was necessary, we went to the place in which we lodged. 30. And when evening came, there appeared to us someone terrifying and awesome, saying: "Get away quickly, lest you fall prey to a plot." And we, in fear, said: "And who is it that is plotting against so august [p. 19] an embassy, O general of God?" And he replied: "Herod—but get up immediately and depart in safety and peace." And we speedily mounted our strong steeds and departed from there in all earnestness; and we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem. Behold, then, such great things have we told you regarding Christ; and we know that Christ has become our Savior. "But you, by your ways, are opposed to him, slandering his pain and suffering all the time. For speaking unworthy things, and doing still more unworthy things, are a mark of hatred.

31. "As for me, I honor the Sun / Helios, which is beneficial to all, the one that sends out its rays of light; and in the same way, I marvel at Air, which stoutly encompasses our bodies round about, and embellishes the earth with its other natural qualities. [Likewise,] the irresistible Fire, to which all corporeal nature is subjected, the proof more approved than all matter. [Likewise,] Water, the life of mortals—when it is not present, nothing fleshly shall live. And while I honor all these, I honor the one who graciously gave them, the one who stands as First Cause of the universe. He was owed obedience from the undefiled powers alone, whose thanksgivings are uninter-

ted and undivided, whom no other occupation ever dominates, whose attendance on him is unvarying and who worship him in accordance with their very nature. For human beings are known to be worthless, since they are slaves to their own pleasures.

32. And when Aphroditianus had said these things, the entire gathering fell silent, having nothing to answer. But it only said, "Glory to you, O Christ, whose gifts of grace every mouth confesses." Aphroditianus said: "There have been Christians [p. 20] indeed, but there have also been pagans, who practiced the utmost virtue. King Cyrus had very attractive female bodyguards where he slept: he was sharpening his desire, but also correcting it by such trials. He used to say that all glory was worthy of the heavenly power alone. He loved his fellow man so much that there was no poor man or even the least captive in Persian territory, because of his constant bestowing of benefits upon everyone. And Concencrates, who was truly a philosopher, possessed one single rough cloak—he lived near the peak of Masgabala, being terribly worn out by the snow and cold; and the wise Neoctetius said to him: 'You will perish, wise man, and die because of the heat and cold.' And he said: 'If I die to those here [on earth], I shall live by my future hope.' He asked: 'What [hope] is that?' And the other said, 'Truly, I am directing my attention to a certain other life, and offering myself myself to it. For the Providence of God will not disregard those who have labored during the day: in the evening it will deem them worthy of reward and rest. Every day I see the heavens and the things of earth that seem good diminishing and decaying. And this takes place because of our "exasperations," which show beforehand that everything here below perishes.

But those who have acquired the virtues above do not die, as they are spoken about and answered with eternal remembrance by them.' This man only ate fruit, and drank a little water once a day, not wishing to know anything else [p. 21] of what belongs to the world, [but] practicing death every day. And this is sufficient. And Dichorianus, who published so many things about God, and who used to say that he was nourished by these things, and not by those which harm the body—after preserving impassibility of body and mind for 90 years, while he was dying said: 'Glory to you, righteous Justice, who changed my [mind] regarding what was honorable.' And there are many others of whom the book-lovers know—both Christians and true philosophers. But let us leave off for today, and tomorrow we [will] inquire

into the rest. If it is desired by the will of heaven that we come this far, we [will] achieve resolution of further questions in turn."

33. When everyone had departed, some archimandrites accused Aphroditianus to the king of having inclined toward the Christians, pleading on their behalf in everything, and engaging in no discourse about the true religion of the pagans, but instead working contrary to the pagans, conducting his exercise about Christ alone. The king, on the other hand, grew angry at them, and said to them: "You who are called Christians and heads of monasteries, what is your object in unsettling the affairs of the pagans? Why, as monks, are you not at rest?" And immediately Aphroditianus entered and told the king everything. And the king said to him: "In the name of our divinely inspired Fortune, I am in no doubt at all regarding you. For I know your guilelessness and truthfulness; and if only my kingdom had another one like you! But you are doing well in making known the truth to both Christians and pagans. Hence, take these sycophants and cut off their heads!" And Aphroditianus, taking them into his own house, accorded them [p. 22] all possible care, not in any way mistreating them, and [thus] he kept the Christians safe from the plot against them.

34. The following day, Oricatus the foremost of the enchanters came to him and said: "Master of everything under the sun, grant me glory, so that I may preside in this assembly, since I have three mighty acts to perform! And the king said: "Are you trying to rise above the marvellous Aphroditianus? Oricatus said: "If I do not demonstrate there a power which no one else has demonstrated, persuading them with great signs, then hand me over to be crucified! But the king did not wish to cause pain to Aphroditianus, and he told him the entire matter. Aphroditianus said: "What he intends to do, he cannot do in the midst of those men, and he [will] fail. But let him act as the king decides. And again, along with others, he troubled [the king], giving assurances to the king that he possessed the ability absolutely to undo the Christians, with all probability. The king said to him: "Go today to my council-chamber, and either persuade or be persuaded; and if you pass through this affair and persuade them without any compulsion, you will be deemed worthy of monuments—but if, on the contrary, you fail, you will be deprived of possessions and life. And he was sent to the gathering with a letter containing the following words: "The great king, superior to all glory,

lord of peoples and tribes and islands, to the priests of the Christians who have assembled together, rejoice! I myself rejoice as well.

I have sent to you Oricatus, the leader of the [p. 23] enchanter belonging to my kingdom—who will in no way compel you, but will learn either to persuade or to be persuaded. But if he goes too far, he will come to know what the force of kingly power is able to do. And I am sending to you Aphroditianus, who is enthroned with me, for the sake of evaluating the aforementioned [Oricatus], and he will fill up any lack or deficiency. Abanatanê chrô katelloi ter terennatoi—that is to say: 'The heaven-born power has deigned to converse with mortals.'" 35. Oricatus himself, along with others in white robes, came wearing a necklace with three Gorgon-faces—the figure of three "dignities," he said. When the holy Casteleus, who saw ahead with a prophetic eye, caught sight of him, he said: "This man is here to destroy himself." And when everyone had sat down, the same Oricatus said to the gathering: "We have heard that before now you have honored actions more than words. What then does your wisdom wish either to say or to do?" But everyone was silent, viewing him with displeasure; and he said to them: "If you remain silent, then it is necessary for me to say this—as it were, in accordance with your Scripture: that you should give us a sign or a wonder, or I should give one to you." The bishops, together with the holy Casteleus, said: "It is proper that you, who have put forward and proposed this, should do it first." The same group, again, said: "We do not have the 'dignity' to go after amazing deeds; instead, you yourself, since you are the standard of measurement for such things, display your [p. 24] power, so that we may know whether it really comes from a divine source." And he said: "Straight-away." And taking some clay, he fashioned a falcon and immediately caused it to fly. But the holy Casteleus along with the bishops paying attention to it—it straightaway fell, becoming clay again, and shattered. Oricatus said: "Grant me five responses whereby I can persuade you that I am a child of gods and everything obeys me as a powerful being." The gathering said: "Very well."

36. Oricatus said: "There are some Ethiopian Indians here, who have come in pursuit of business: I shall make them white quickly with a word." The bishops, along with the holy man, said: "If you know of anything that is a help to you, do it." And having brought the Indians [forward], he said: "I am able to make you white and send you home with many gifts." And they

were content with this. And taking a silver dish and putting spring water in it, he called on the forces with which he was familiar. And when he had made the incantation, he poured [the water] on the two men by way of finishing [the process]. Immediately their entire bodies were covered with blisters, and their shouts went up to the heavens as they were burned up by the blisters. And he threatened the forces on whom he had called, shrieking at them and growing angry. The gathering, together with the holy man, said to the Ethiopians: "Behold the gifts of Satan! But believe in God, and he himself will heal you through water and the Spirit." And they said: "We believe in the God whom you worship, who will revive us in body and in spirit." And immediately they exorcized them—for their affliction was frothing up—and brought them down into the pool, saying: "Now you shall know the power of God and Christ the Savior." And they baptized them. And when they came up out of the water, their bodies were found [p. 25] free of any fault. And they said to Oricatus: "You afflicted us by means of water, but God healed us by means of water. We are now going to tell our King about the amazing works of the Lord, and the benefits conferred by his soldiers."

37. But Oricatus waited, protesting and saying: "I still have three acts to perform—and by all means, if I succeed in one [of them], I win. And again, the bishops said: "For your own judgment, do what you wish. And he said: "I shall bring Philip the presbyter, concerning whom we are disputing, out of Hades into our midst—he will say that the History does not belong to him. The bishops said: "And again we say to you: At your own risk, do as you will. And taking a brazier filled with coals, he first placed calves upon it, and then also threw wine-bottles into the fire, such that many stepped back so as not to be harmed; but he, bearing staves of walnut, again called upon the familiar names of the demons—while the gathering loudly laughed at him. For they knew that he was going to be refute himself. And indeed, after an interval of time elapsed, and his artifice was being hindered, and he was trying to compel the force to show itself, there came into our midst the appearance of a certain monk, to whom the bishops, along with the holy Casteus, said: "Where have you been a monk? Put to shame, it was transformed into a weeping woman, and they, as one, all said: "Whom are you lamenting? And she said: "The man who brought me here. And the holy man said to her:

"Say in the presence of everyone who you are, so that the man who brought you here will not seem to be boasting as though he had contrived

some noble action. And she said: "I am an angel; I have been put to shame before you and debased because of the contentiousness of this man alone, who is not able to perform any signs. The gathering, together with Casteleus, said: "Behold! In the third procedure, you fail; and you remain in your failure. So then, since you have been beaten, henceforth give way before the men of God, lest you be destroyed by them. And he said: "I have been defeated three times, but in what remains [p. 26] I believe I will win. Then they say to the demon: "Do you confess that you are a demon, or [do you claim to be] a human being? And it said: "I am a demon, and I have come here to deceive—if I were permitted to do so. And they breathed upon it and caused it to disappear—and he, on the other hand, would not stop gnashing his teeth and blaspheming.

38. Oricatus said: "I shall fire up a furnace to a high pitch, and I shall walk into the midst of the fire and then come out." The gathering said: "Do this as your final sign." Then Oricatus in his turn said: "A woman has died before the gates. So then, the one in whose name she rises again, this one is a god." And they all rejoiced and were content. And he, for his part, making use of the sweet smell of incense, began to sprinkle the dead woman with the blood of goats." And again, he performed an ox-sacrifice and, snorting loudly, said threateningly to the familiar standing next to him: "I give you eight souls; grant me the one soul of the Nazoraean, since I am worn out because of you." And a voice came: "You have adversaries who are defeating you in all respects. Now then, yield to defeat. For the angels of Jesus are standing with swords in opposition to us, along with our followers." But he, along with the hundred oxen, slaughtered birds, not at all acting well—and groaning deeply indeed because he had been triumphed over, he said to the bishops: "At this point I will believe in you, so that you may accomplish that for which I have lost esteem."

And the bishops, casting themselves down [to their knees] together with the holy man made their request to God, with toil and humility, and standing over the body with one accord, they raised a single voice, saying: "Lord, let impiety not defeat piety, but rather, glorify your name, O God, in the midst of these unbelievers who pay heed to vain things." And when they had finished their prayer, the woman sat up and stood up straight on her feet. 39. And Oricatus said: "By Hera, this power is great! And yet, the perfection [p. 27] of the fifth sign will persuade [you]. Let the furnace be fired up, and let

each person enter there, [trusting] in whichever god he worships, and then the truth of the god will be manifest. However, I am going to select whomever of you I wish to enter the fire." And he chose Se.....tianus, bishop of Homobyrrhus. And that man, removing his tunic and clothing himself with the name of Christ, entered the furnace and took his place in the middle, while conversing with those who stood nearby. And the bishops said to Se.....tianus: "Come out, confessor, so that this man too may fulfill his promise." And he came out, having not even taken in any smoke at all." And so, Oricatus, trying not to lose face, went in, and was completely engulfed in flames, along with his clothing—and they took him and dragged him out, only half alive. And they prayed over him and healed him. Now then, those who were with him, having seen what had happened, said: "No power of the gods is equal to this power!"

40. And when the king found out about this, he proceeded against all his [i.e., Oricatus'] possessions, handing him over to Aphroditianus to be crucified. The latter, however, took him and led him to his house, and after taking care of him suitably for a few days, persuaded the king to receive him. And the king said to him: "I know of no man who has helped an enemy except you!" And he said: "We have learned to give help from the one who gives help to all. For when one does good to one's enemies, the force of enmity will no longer be useful; instead, dear peace will be there, dancing for the sake of everyone." 41. Now then, when the Jewish lawgivers knew that the Christians had won and had been honored in this way, they were bitterly jealous [p. 28] and they approached the king, saying: "Master, heavenly sun, the priests of the Christians are able, if they are willing, to resolve our doubts. So command them to make a decision on what concerns us, together with the divine Aphroditianus. For we are able, since we revere one single God just as they do, to gain insight into the question at issue—whether Christ has already been made manifest." And the king said: "Regarding Christ, hear this without evasion: To those who came before us he did indeed appear, and a heavenly star made publicly known both him and his birth. And people from here brought gifts to him; and we have the image of the mother and the child, housed in the temple of the Heaven-sent. Regarding your coming to be in harmony, by Mithras, I pray that both parties may be belong to one single religion. But I do not know whether your love of power

will allow you to be reconciled. For indeed, from the beginning this [love of power] has cast you down, attacking everyone tyrannically."

43. And they answered: "We implore your immortal sovereignty, now that we have come into its presence: We are willing to be persuaded, as we engage with them in discussions which Aphroditianus, your partner in the throne, will hear and [thereby] provide a speedy resolution on every subject."

44. And the king summoned Aphroditianus and said to him: "Indulge your good character by judging between the Jews and Christians. For because of your freedom from falsehood, they all choose you as judge." And he wrote to the bishops a letter running as follows: "I, the king of kings, having the magnificence of the celestial gods, write as follows to the priests of the Christians: Jacob and Pharas, the foremost of the Jews, have asked me to persuade you to have a dialogue with them and to arrive at full assurance regarding Christ, whether in fact he has come. Therefore, do not approach them as foreigners, but receive them as parts of your own body, so that they may become fellow-members with you [in one body]. For if this happens, the innermost ill-will will be weakened, [p. 29] and justice and pious simplicity, being glorified, will grant the peace that befits our times. Marthedredela kornakykola peplandereinak—which is translated: He who administers the heavenly powers has given this command to mortals."

45. Jacob and Pharas, the Jews who were mentioned earlier, came to the gathering along with the guileless Aphroditianus, and when all were seated, Aphroditianus said: "Beloved men, let us not come together with each other in striving and contentiousness, like enemies, but rather become one in purpose and receive the truthful oracles. Therefore, I urge you to interact with each other without rancor." Then he says to the Jews: "Tell us without imposture all that is contained in your Law. For I will know if you take away or add anything. So tell us, for what reason have you gathered here?" 46. Jacob and his companions said: "For us, the discussion is about the Christ who is born in Bethlehem: whether he has indeed come." 47. Aphroditianus said: "And how are you inclined, regarding him?" And they answered: "He has yet to come." Aphroditianus said: "When do you think he will be born?" The Jews said: "At the end of time." Aphroditianus said: "And what more is there for him to do, when time is done away with?" The Jews said: "That which your inspired wisdom said—restoring what is done away with."

48. Aphroditianus: "He will restore again what is done away with by his command and will? The story is incoherent. For it has nowhere been said that after the consummation of the world another such structure is to arise. Of this, your own prophet will convince you, saying: 'I shall send to you Elijah the Tishbite before the great day [p. 30] of the Lord comes...without coming, I shall smite the earth utterly.' Now then, if this one, whom you expect as Christ [i.e., Messiah], is Elijah, one who is not coming to restore but to smite, then we must also find out this: How is it that he is not called Christ but Elijah?—and is the one who was begotten in Tishbe begotten [also] in Bethlehem, as your ancestors understood the prophet? For the one who said, 'I shall send to you Elijah,' is different from the one who is sent, and since he said, 'Without coming, I shall smite the earth utterly' through that man, he first calls his audience to witness and then does away with this structure [i.e., the earth]. What then? Is Christ's birth then, or before that time? For whom would he be pleasing or useful?"

49. The Jews: "Christ and Elijah are two different figures. For our prophet Daniel beheld a stone for the king of the Babylonians, and it became a great mountain." 50. Aphroditianus: "You have recklessly refuted yourselves, not understanding your own bulwark of protection. For this text was brought from Babylon to Persia, and I know it perfectly. It reads as follows: 'And in the days of those kings, the God of heaven will raise up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed'—and [p. 31] 'This [kingdom] shall never be destroyed'—and 'The king saw that a stone was cut without hands from a mountain, and the stone that crushed the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.' So after those four kingdoms, the God of heaven raised a kingdom which he promised would be indestructible and without a successor—which is the stone that became a great mountain and filled the whole earth. Thus, you have cited this text against yourselves!"

51. The Jews: "What four kingdoms?" Aphroditianus: "The glorious and renowned ones, which came in succession one after the other: the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, and the fourth one, the bandit-like one that was difficult to attack, the Macedonian [kingdom]. These [first] three were powerful, and this [fourth] with its rashness has been added to the three. For it grew up after these [first] kingdoms. The Jews: "We assert that the iron kingdom is that of Augustus and his successors." 52. Aphroditianus: "Whom did the kingdom of Augustus and the rest pulverize and subdue? They both

defeated and were defeated. The 'pulverizing' [kingdom] is undefeatable. How do these [i.e., the Romans] subdue anyone, when they themselves all also give tribute and gifts to this kingdom? And you should understand the statement, 'In the days of those kings, the God of heaven will raise up a kingdom,' to mean that it appeared between them. If, then, you believe that there is a Christ, look for him at that point in time, for you will not find him afterwards. For just as your ancestors, keeping hold of their past expectation, missed its proper time, even so will it be with you as well. You should see the prophet's words, 'The stone, which the builders rejected, this has become the head [stone] of the corner,' not as still pointing to the future, but as already having taken place.

"Why should I unfold the Hebrews' prophecies and not our own? Ophi-anus [p. 32] Pertillaeus spoke in his 'Laws' as follows: 'Oh my! How the Caspi-an Gate has been adorned—it has received a mountain stone, which hands did not hew out, but rather grace discovered, and narrowed the whole Gate all around by means of it. Not only did it strengthen it, but it also opened it when it had been closed—the stone having become way and door. The door leads to an august door, and the way draws one to a pure way, as all those who see it shout: "Great is the dominion of the gods, whose will for action is more easily realized." And Elibatus, who wrote down innumerable laws, when speaking On Eucles towards the end, says, 'A frightful cloud settled upon a mountain and cast a single stone upon the earth, and strengthened all its foundations. And how shall a single stone prevail over the entire [earth]? Did not one God alone create the universe?' And Trachelaphius, speaking Against the Falsely-Named, demonstrates his mastery also in the following solid reasoning: 'Who deceived those who trust in Dionysus so as to say about him that he, being forever without a beginning, was born from an unravished virgin? They clothe him with another's dignity. For the one without a beginning, being of the substance that is forever without beginning, takes hold of mortal substance without receiving it as a violation. For that which he formed, he shall not consider an violation, when he takes it up.

There, a virgin—[p. 33] unsullied in her body and having no falsehood in her tongue—supplies virginal flesh; [this process is the] activation of all grace dwelling within [her]. I marvel at the flux-bound taking hold of the flux-free—knowing this: that some have been deified on account of their promulgation of laws; others, because of their nobility of life and their con-

spicuous purity in other respects, because of which it is fitting to honor them; but to go after heavenly honors is beyond all audacity and above all blasphemy." 53. The Jews: "We are not familiar with these things, Lord, nor do we have them in our knowledge." Aphroditianus: "With your own prophets, you are not in agreement; your laws, you falsify. Produce for us simply your laws concerning women, if indeed you will obey them." The Jews: "Custom is law. It was established for us, and we are not able to overturn ancestral practices." Aphroditianus: "I too know that, as you hold fast to your own habits, you do not accept the true religion. For, as you safeguard your own glory, you do not subject yourselves to the glory of your God." 54. The Jews: "What, then, is your command? Are we to become Christians and fall into heresies?" Aphroditianus: "So you are not acting as heresiarchs in living by your own customs? But when the bishops themselves are sitting [nearby], why should I wish to give an account of them—in particular when having a discussion with you, who appear to magnify yourselves by your own defeat?"

The Jews said: "Let the crowd of bishops speak to us! For we know that we will not be at a loss before them." 55. The bishops: "You have done well to come. We do not stand apart from the God who said, 'Take heart, for I have defeated the world.'" The bishops, again: "We shall set before them a challenge which shall by all means vanquish them." The Jews: "Propose it with boldness!" 56. The bishops: "In Jeremiah, he says: 'This is our God; there shall not be reckoned any other in addition to him. He searched out every path of knowledge and gave it to Jacob his servant and to Israel his beloved. After this, [p. 34] he appeared upon the earth and lived with humans.'" 57. Aphroditianus: "What can Jacob and Pharas, the Rabbis of the priests, say in answer to this?" The Jews: "It is fitting for them to make use of one other witness, as the Law says."

58. The bishops: "To whom was it said, 'Sit at my right hand, until I make your enemies the footstool of your feet?'" The Jews: "Christ sits at the right hand of God, until he makes his timely arrival—which he promised through the prophets." 59. The bishops: "To the one who is sitting, he says, 'Sit at my right hand? And with whom were the enemies at enmity? With the one who was not yet there? Indeed, the word 'sit,' which he says, refers to his going back up from earth to the heavens and sitting, as before, above his enemies—so that you are under the feet of his nation, being trampled until the last hour." The Jews: "You too should by all means expect to be trampled

at the proper time." 60. The bishops: "After unjustly trampling, you are justly trampled. Hence, what will happen to you is just. The bishops, again: "As for the time which you say is coming upon you—it is approaching, quite terrible to see; and with it, both you and the deceiver in whom you trust at that time will be handed over to the eternal embrace of fire. Nevertheless, we put before you your own witnesses, who understood Christ's presence in the flesh. For indeed, you also have what we are going to say to you in your records: Your ancestors (who had suffered grave defeat and were recalling the defeat as an unconquerable victory) at that time commanded that no one possess or even look for these things, so that diligence would not procure knowledge for the many. But we say these things to those who know—even if you are compelled by your custom to conceal the truth. Did you not hear about the magi who crossed over from here to there, [p. 35] led by divine prophecy, in connection with whom your leaders at the time met with Herod and told him where [the Messiah] was [to be] born, such that Herod became jealous of the kingdom that had sprouted, and committed such a huge slaughter of children? Wasn't John the Baptist of Jewish ancestry?—to whom you sent people to ask whether he was the Messiah, and he said, 'I am not';

but he pointed him out and said, 'This is the lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world.'" Furthermore, [what about] Nicodemus, your ruler, and Nathanael and Joseph from Arimathaea, and Bizes and Alexander, who dined with him at the marriage of Simon of Galilee, where he turned the water into wine? [What about] the elders who were sent by those very men on an embassy on behalf of the centurion's servant—that he trouble himself on account of his salvation—they said: 'For he is worthy that you provide this for him; for indeed, he loves our people and he himself built the synagogue for us? Basilicus the proconsul, the brother of Jairus the leader of the synagogue, whose son he made well? This man's brother, Jairus, who implored him [p. 36] and raised his daughter from the dead? Caiaphas, who counselled that a single man should die 'and the whole nation not perish'? Your own children who shout, 'Hosanna to the son of David! Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord,' 'King of Israel'? The disciple Judas, with whom you settled thirty pieces of silver, so that he would betray him to you? The soldiers, to whom you gave silver so that they would say, 'His disciples came at night and stole him away while we were sleeping'? Josephus your own writer of history, who spoke about Christ, who was demonstrated to be a righteous

and good man by divine grace, by means of signs and wonders, one who bestowed benefits on many?

And as many other things as are recorded, which we do not bring forward now?" 61. The Jews: "We crucified a certain man, but not the Messiah." Aphroditianus: "Who was it that you crucified?" And they said: "A certain man who said that he was God, not indeed the Messiah." Aphroditianus: "You crucified, in short, the one you say was a man, the son of Mary?" They said: "Yes." 62. Aphroditianus: "And why did you crucify him?" "Because he said that he was God." "And for this reason," he said, "he was killed?" They said: "Yes." 63. Aphroditianus: "And which of those who claimed to be God have been killed, in all times? But this one, by contrast, did more good, and healed people." The bishops: "In reference to whom did they, according to the prophet David, 'divide my garments amongst themselves, and cast lots for my clothes?'" But they were silent. [p. 37] The bishops: "Concerning whom did Moses say, 'You will see your life suspended before your eyes, and you shall surely not believe?'"

64. Jacob and Pharas said: "Truly, a great mistake has occurred, even should those of our nation recoil from us in horror ten thousand times over. For as the hierophants proclaimed beforehand vinegar and gall and division of garments, we did these things because of great blindness, so that his blood would come upon the nation and the events would prove true. For, carried away by envy of his signs and wonders, which he did before them, they hurried to destroy him (because everyone followed him afterwards), so that the nation would stand firm—and not only did it not stand firm, but we were even handed over to multiple scatterings and we sang the song of the Lord in a strange land because of our power-hungry teachers at that time, whose minds Satan had blinded." 65. The bishops: "We urge, Lord, that all this be reported back to the divine hearing."

Aphroditianus: "It shall be so reported. *Dastikon labokétras; autíka pithí-grisab lestrin*—which means, We shall immediately make it known." And he went off and made it all known to the king. And the king rejoiced, as did those under his rule, at the uprightness of Aphroditianus. 66. And now the rest of the Jews, and their leaders, learning of this, rose up against these two, Jacob and Pharas, and cast them out of the synagogue, saying to them: "You have shamed us since you have become advocates for the Christians; you have begun to be Christians, you have scorned your ancestors, you have dissolved

the Law. You have learned, in short, to worship a human being." And straightway they went off to Mithrobades the son of Arrhinatus, agreeing to pay him 30 centenaria, [p. 38] so that those men would not lead them any longer, but instead be [cast] out of the priestly rank. But Arrhinatus said to his son: "Why do you want money for such a reason, as though the Persian kingdom is in need? Count up its wealth: All the treasures of the Medes and Bactrians, the Scythians and Elymaeans and Semiramites, are in your hands. And you pay attention to this paltry sum, especially when it is provided for the sake of breaking the Law? Stand aside from this, child. Let the priests act in accordance with their consciences."

67. Jacob and Pharas, when they found out what had been said, left and assembled all their households and their friends and those who were diligent for the truth, and they divided their people, such that their part was more than half. And in the other part were Simon and Barnaes and Scillas (this last had converted from paganism). And Jacob's party implored Aphroditianus that they should have a decree not to be subject to any attack from the authorities—and "we [will] defend ourselves also with the justification speeches that are available to us." And the king did accordingly. [p. 39] Arríkês exakt-oraklés—which means, "I order each [group] to plead their cause." 68. On the next day, both came in and did obeisance to Aphroditianus and the bishops; and they were commanded to sit down, the two groups separately, as they ought to do. And when they had sat down, Aphroditianus said to the bishops: "Now the controversy is not between us, but between these people. Therefore, I urge you not to interrupt this debate, so that they themselves may persuade themselves. For if you stand in opposition, they themselves too [will] become more vigorous in opposition, and the audience-chamber [will] be thrown into confusion—and for such a thing to happen is especially contrary to your dignity."

The bishops: "As you command us, O pure and distinguished man, so shall we do." 69. Aphroditianus: "It is permitted to you, Simon and Barnaes and Scillas, to speak, if you have any speech of justification to make regarding your own Law. For subsequently, after this it will remain to ask also about your accusation of your teachers." 70. Simon and his party: "Your august and celestial will knows, as does that of the God-beloved priests here, that we all worship one single God and that God is the father of countless glories. Thus, each one worships him in accordance with his view of God's

glory." 71. Aphroditianus said: "God neither had nor will have his glories divided. For since he is one, he also has a single, firm-standing glory, which everyone ought to know. For if he is the father of countless glories / opinions, which of them should one cling to, or how could one judge which of them one should grasp? If the glories are divided, then the one who is glorified is also divided."

72. Simon's party, again: "We implore your gentle and calm kindness not to inveigh against us [p. 40] in this way. For you have trained yourself with great diligence, and we have no great resources for speaking to you. But speak to us rather in a way that we can understand." 73. Jacob and Pharas: "Our dispute, surely, is not about the glory of God, but about Christ the Nazorean, whom your ancestors—for [they are not] our [ancestors any more]—killed out of envy. For since you cannot bear the shame of this envy, you reject the whole thing, so that you are not condemned. This is the one about whom David said, 'The Lord said to me: You are my son; today I have begotten you,' and so on; and 'Your throne, O God, is forever and ever,' down to the words, 'For this reason, God, your God, has anointed you with the oil of gladness beyond your companions'; and 'The stone which the builders rejected, this has become the head of the corner'; and 'Behold! a stone was cut without hands from a mountain, and the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole world'; and 'Behold! I place in Zion a corner-foundation-stone, choice and precious; and the one who believes in it shall be saved'; and 'Behold! the young woman shall conceive and bear a son and they shall call his name Emmanuel'; and 'He was led like a lamb to slaughter' and the rest; and 'Behold! there was coming with the clouds of heaven one like a son of man, and he proceeded as far as the Ancient of Days, and honor and kingship were presented to him, and all the peoples shall serve him. His kingdom is perpetual and his authority is for generations and further.' All these things, and the others, were said about Christ, whom your self-condemned ancestors crucified—and he rose again and is sitting with his holy Father in the unsullied heavens."

74. Simon and his party: "And why did you not say these things earlier, [p. 41] but instead you began to put forward such teachings by virtue of your antipathy." 75. Jacob and Pharas said: "Antipathy is able to procure good and profitable resources. And as our ancestral God knows, we kept all these things in mind and we condemned those who killed him—and we con-

cealed the truth because of the dignity we possessed. And yet, we began to be Christians in our heart. Therefore, behold! we have come to the stage of completion with a good pretext. For indeed, even then, while because of our fear we preserved our outward appearance, we were different in our minds."

76. Aphroditianus: "The human being is unsettled, by virtue of both its own cogitations and those that come in from outside, and it inclines to many different things; one will not attain the truth in its entirety through falsehood, nor will one find uprightness through its opposite. And even if someone comes across piety, how will he remain in it? Hence, both parties here should accomplish what is pleasing to them by their own examination."

77. Jacob's party said: "We know that Christ has come from heaven and we belong to his faith, no longer wishing to have a Jewish mindset." 78. Simon and the others: "The nation will not accept you even if you want them to. For how could they keep with them those who are against them?" Aphroditianus: "Do you then cast aside your teachers, if they choose to speak the truth?" Simon: "Neither shall they be at peace any longer with us, nor we with them; for we are at variance with each other and have become each other's enemies." 79. Aphroditianus: "Enough! (For this was his oath.) Your affairs are still at the stage of words, and you are bereft of all action. For I know that those people, who are agitated over action, are a chosen people, being in touch with heavenly things in a heavenly manner, and not boasting in a word only but strengthened by an eternal subject for boasting. [p. 42]

80. "I shall, however, present to you an example equal to the first. I once learned of a woman, a shepherdess, in the settlement of the Arigbanes. One Coatus, son of Coatus, fell in love with her and sent her gifts, so that she would come to an agreement with him. But she, seeing the gifts, laughed and said to the messenger, pointing to her sheep: 'Behold my gifts and my children, from which I am nourished by divine grace.' And he came away to her and with splendid promises he urged her to accept him. She said to him: 'Shall I defile the undefiled cloak which grace has given to me?' Coatus said: 'Miserable girl, this law has been established from above for the propagation of the race.' The shepherdess: 'A law has been established for me not to acquire more than I have.' After much pleading to no effect, he ordered that she be starved to death. And so, on the third day, when she was about to expire, she uttered cheerful words as follows: 'O heavenly Father of your genuine children, O unsullied bridegroom of those who are in the bloom of

beauty, I come to you, thrice-desired Lord, giving back to you without complaint that which you gave to me—virginity, forgiveness of sins, an existence without property, a truthful tongue, a heart unacquainted with wickedness—ever intent on the hope that is to come, which I have honored and whose joys I am now by all means going to meet.’ And thus she expired. [p. 43] His father, learning this, ordered that he be hung head-downwards on a tall post in the middle of the city, so as to be eaten by birds.

81. “And now, I speak to everyone regarding Christ. That which has happened already has happened. And as regards Philip the history-writer: I met him in Amida and in Ostra. And as regards all the pagans and Christians and Jews: We boast in a name only. And so, brothers, whether you live as Christians or live as Jews, do not destroy the common bond of peace. Let us honor each other with love, and strive after the uninterrupted good things of heaven; and let us hate the division of opposites. Embrace each other, everyone, with a view to being brought to unity by divine grace.” 82. And the man received grace to persuade both parties to be reconciled with each other, as the party of Simon and the others cast itself at the feet of the party of Jacob, asking them not to abandon their ancient friendship. But worship [of God should proceed] as any individual wished, with sincere love remaining [between all]. And after bidding each other farewell, as they ought, and kissing the bishops’ feet, giving thanks to God, praising the king at length, and saying the Alleluia in Hebrew together, they departed from each other. And Jacob, Pharas, and 60 [other] souls were baptized. But the others remained in the section [p. 44] of Simon, and they were called “Christianomerites.” Aphroditianus urged both to honor Providence, because “this [i.e., Providence] has greatly honored us.”

83. Nakenátare. Rophóes. Meroréktaloi sisinnérôtoi. Medidókalla. Auxontêtora—which means, “The absolute authority orders this to be stored away on the tablets for their own witnesses and for those who wish to make exact copies.” Arrhenatus, Baukogegeðras; Pasargarus, Lexribonátus; Diocles, Bazeas; Aphroditianus, Meïmathlos; command, decision, success, judgment. The authoritative power of the four approved with knowledge the matters so judged. Naburicês, Mithrobadês, Tertulus, members of the gubernatorial class and the corresponding [military] command and satrapal [rank]—whose orders were published and made known to the farthest reaches of the Babylarchy. Let the agreements be published in both forms, as approved mu-

tually. [p. 45] 84. This Philip was a presbyter and synkellos of John, the bishop of Constantinople; he divided the whole [of history] into stages—magnificently, such that not one of the wise writers of history of all time is comparable to him. And the same presbyter recounted that the day on which the star appeared in the temple—that same day, every year, until the Lord was taken up [into heaven], all the statues would produce their characteristic utterance, and so that entire city there was transfixed, beholding the great marvels and the yearly appearance of the star.

85. And it is amazing how Aphroditianus, who was nominally a pagan but in fact behaved as a Christian, surpassed the presbyter Philip in saying great things about Christ. And Dorus the Jew, the advocate of his own slanderous nation, said that the king conducted a competition in the temple, which had never taken place—and the statues have under their feet invisible "reed-nuts," and the craftsmen who operate these lie down secretly in them, and artfully contrive the particular voice of each form. And opposite these there stand women whom they call Th*****ae, singing, and by virtue of the technicians, the blocks of stone by their clever artifices defeat the living women. But this same thing [is true] in the case of [them] all. For he says that the reputation [of these marvels] advances in this way through these. And to those who read this it should be clear to see, whether that [interpretation] seems true.

This translation was commissioned by Roger Pearse and made public domain 19 March 2011. E. Bratke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof der Sasaniden*, TU 19 (n. F. 4) 3a. Leipzig, 1899. Pauline Bringel, *Une polémique religieuse à la cour perse: le De gestis in Perside. Histoire du texte, édition critique et traduction* (diss. Sorbonne, 2007). Bringel selects a different variant: Arrhenatus—she suggests that it is meant to be seen as derived from Gk. ἄρρην ("male"). This character, like the majority of the characters in this story, seems to be entirely fictional, although Bratke cites an apocryphal list of Persian kings in cod. Paris. 1775 as a parallel. Alternatively, "armed forces" (cf. Bringel's translation, "l'armée"); Gk. στρατηγίαι. Cf. Nabuzaradan in 2 Kgs. [4 Kgdms] 25—in effect, as Bringel points out, the highest functionary in the state. At a number of points, the text offers a sequence of non-Greek words--allegedly, the original language of official utterances (i.e., Persian, or pseudo-Persian). Here, the presence of recognizable Greek words is suspicious (διαλαλιά; μου; τοι), as is the fact that the apparent

"translation" is not introduced explicitly as such. Bringel does not include this particular sequence in her text.

"Pagans" here and elsewhere in this text is used to translate Gk. Ἕλληνες (originally "Greeks," but by the time period of this text, very commonly used as generic term for "pagans"). Bringel points out that this number is roughly correct for the church in 6th-cen. Persia. I.e., leaders of monasteries, or abbots. Gk. εὐγλωττίαι, following Bringel. Bringel selects the reading εὐγλωττίας over γλώσσας (Bratke), and translates, "les propos éloquentes." Gk. τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀριβῶς μοι εἶπατε (Bratke); Bringel prints a different variant: τὴν ἀκριβειάν μοι εἶπατε. Bringel's text reads somewhat differently: "...unfolding every Law-learned [νομομαθής] book" (Bringel translates, "Feuilletez...tout livre traitant de la Loi," but notes the fact that the adjective is otherwise only used of people). Bringel's text, quite a bit more simply: "...report them to me." Gk. πάντων ὑμῶν τὴν ἀπάλειαν αὐθωρὶ ποιήσω; Bringel's Greek text is quite different here, although the purport is about the same: πάντας ὑμᾶς ἀναιρῶ.

Bringel's text does not include any of the material marked here with a dotted underline. Gk. τὰ ὁμολογημένα; see Lampe, s.v. ὁμολογέω 1(a). Bringel's text does not include any of the material marked here with a dotted underline. Gk. ἀχραντοί. Bringel translates, "intègre." But anomalous acc. Δίαν rather than Δία. Bringel's text does not include this speech. Bringel rejects the reading οἱ σοὶ, on the assumption that σοὶ is a dative of the personal pronoun, and emends to οὗτοι. I take it rather as the possessive adjective, in which case it seems to make sense. As Bringel points out here, "priest" (Gk. ἱερεὺς) is frequently used as a synonym of "bishop." Alternatively, "[sexual] unions" (Bringel: "unions charnels"); Gk. συνουσίαι. Here again Bringel chooses a different reading from Bratke. I.e., no one could successfully argue against him. Gk. ...εἰς τὸ φυγεῖν ὄντων τὰς ἀλόγους αὐτοῦ μηχανάς... So Lampe, s.v. οἰκτεῖρω. Bringel does not include this phrase in her text.

Bratke's text omits this name; it may be that the name did not appear in the original, but the allusion to the character of Daniel would be present regardless. Dan. 2.28, with some wording from the similar phrase in 2.22. I.e., "crossed themselves"; Gk. κατεσφραγίσαντο. Gk. προσρῦεσθαι; Bringel translates, "se défendre." Bringel's text, slightly differently: "as though having been goaded..." Alternatively, "have confidence in the truth, then, and apply yourselves correctly to the matter..." Bringel's text does not include this designation of place. I.e., "like you, he is a pagan." Gk. ἐπὶ στόματος...φέρω. Brin-

gel translates: "Je connais par coeur..." Gk. τὰ παρὰ Φιλίππου. Bringel prints a different variant, τὰ περὶ Φιλίππου, and translates accordingly: "ce qui concerne Philippe" ("the [facts?] concerning Philip"). The context, however, seems to require a reference to Philip's text here, not to information regarding Philip. Gk. τὰ καλούμενα βιβλία; as Bringel points out, the phrase implies that the word "book(s)" was understood as part of the title of the work in question; cf. "book" in the description of the work in §10.

The verbs here are plural. Gk. παραφθαρέντι. Lit., "I have in knowledge." The idea seems to be, "I know it well enough to detect any tampering"; as Bringel translates, "Je le connais assez pour savoir s'il y est fait quelque omission ou quelque ajout." Lampe, s.v. περιωγικός, citing only this passage, glosses the word as "prolix." Bringel interprets the word as another indication of the title—Περιογώγη—which could have various implications. Lampe's interpretation chimes in with Photius' judgment on Philip of Side's wordy and digressive style, but a negative characterization of the book does seem odd at this point in the narrative. Bringel points out other works whose titles include the root ἄγω, and suggests possibilities such as "guide" or "cycle" for the meaning of this as a title. As Bringel points out, this may imply that "Greek Oracles" was the title of one section of Philip's work. Bringel's text does not include this "Persian" sentence and the translation thereof.

With the negative particle, as in Bratke's text, the sequence is obscure; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, the idea would be that Aphroditianus does not need any further examination of the book to be able to point out the portion he wishes to hear. Bringel's text, however, does not include the negative here; she translates, "Celui-ci tourna son attention vers le livre et commença aussitôt à le lire." Gk. ἐκ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ περὶ Κασάνδρου. Gk. τοῦ εἰς Ἑλλάδα ἀναιρεθέντος. Note the unclassical use of the preposition εἰς. Alternatively, following a variant reading (mss. FG): "of the Macedonians." Gk. φόβον ἐκτήσατο πολύν—not that she "had" fear in that she was afraid, but that she "acquired" the (respect and) fear of others. Gk. τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς κατέλαβε. Alternatively, "conquered the Achaeans." Gk. γινῶναι αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ᾧ παρῆσαν. Bratke reconstructs plausible wording after the name "Philip" on the basis of mangled indications in the manuscripts and also the cues apparent in the context: namely, their response to the oracle shows that the oracle has mentioned a woman, and a man from Macedonia; and Aphroditianus' comment in §14 (p. 9) makes clear that a prediction is made that can be taken as refer-

ring to "the Macedonian" and to Christ. Bringel, by contrast, marks the words following Philip as a crux, having little confidence in any reconstruction. In connection with this consultation of the oracle, there is a further major textual variant: In a couple of manuscripts, a fairly long sequence of text is either substituted for (ms. Q) or added to the end of (ms. N) the oracular response translated above; this additional text runs roughly as follows [minor discrepancies do exist in the witnesses]: "Late, a certain one will make his way to this much-splintered earth, and without a misstep will become flesh, and by the untiring bounds of divinity he will dissolve the destructive force of incurable passions / sufferings; and ill-will shall arise for this one at the hands of an unbelieving people, and he will be hung up to a height as one condemned to death. And having willingly suffered to bear all these things as well, at death he will be lifted up into eternal life." The supposed prophecy of Christ is much clearer in this additional text, which may well have been added specifically to alleviate the annoyance of a too-obscure prophecy.

Gk. ἀήττητοι καιροί; Bringel translates, "un empire invincible," but it is not clear why. Cf. Lampe s.v. ἀνακόλουθος. Bringel's text, with an additional word: "against the gods, who cannot be insulted." Bringel's text, using other variants: "a leader having the unconquerable power of the unconquerable God." Gk. ἀλῶν; the reading and its significance are debatable. This motif is odd; perhaps, as Bringel suggests, some magical / imprecatory power is envisaged. Gk. εὐάρεστοι; Bringel's text has ἄρεστοι ("unchanging"). The participle is in the nominative case—grammatically, then, it ought to be describing the gods; but the context seems to require a reference to the envoys and the occasion for their consultations. Some emendation is likely required. Bringel cites the Diccionario griego-español s.v. δῆλος for the LXX use of the word as a masc. noun connected with divination; cf. also (e.g.) Muraoka, Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint, s.v. Gk. πυθμεύει; the sense is obscure. Lampe (s.v.) glosses the verb as to "give the base of a series" and argues that its appearance in this context implies that with this third oracle, the full understanding is revealed. Bringel translates, "va jusqu'au fond" ("goes to the bottom"—i.e., of the tripod / cauldron, to fetch the oracles).

Gk. παρείς; Bringel, printing a different variant (σπαρείς), translates, "une fois engendré" ("having once been engendered"—or "sown") The letters of Μαρία, when interpreted as numerals, add up to 152. Gk. πᾶν ἱερὸν ὑμῶν

σεβας. Bringel translates, "toute votre majesté sacrée" ("all your holy majesty"). Gk. φιλοσοφία. Here the phrase doubles as a kind of honorific address: "Your Philosophy" (parallel to phrases like "Your Majesty" for a monarch) is a paraphrase for "you"—hence, "it was in doubt" is equivalent to "you were in doubt." I.e., "your love of wisdom." Here Bringel chooses a different reading: διὰ τὸ εἶναι ("because of the fact that...") rather than τὸ εἶναι. This makes the overall architecture of this sprawling sentence marginally better: "for this reason" a few lines later then reiterates / reinforces the logic of the preposition διὰ. Cf. Gen. 11.1. There is an unexpected switch to a masc. participle here (hence "teachers" rather than "teachings").

Gk. ἐκ πρίν (Bratke) / πρώην (Bringel) καὶ δεῦρο. Gk. ἀπειροθρήσκως; Lampe, s.v., renders this "without experience of true religion"; cf. Bringel, "sans expérience de la religion." An alternative interpretation is possible: "with boundless religiosity." Something appears to be missing in this sentence. Bringel's text is slightly expanded at the beginning of this sentence, with an explicit reference to disagreement, but still does not quite sit comfortably; and it omits any reference to Buddhists: "Jews fight against Samaritans; Greeks likewise who live without experience of religion" [cf. previous footnote for this adverb]. Gk. δοῦναι. Gk. χρήσεις; Bringel translates "oracles." Adapted from ANF translation (attributed to Julius Africanus). Gk. ἐκ Περσίδος ἐγνώσθη. Alternatively, this could be translated, "became known [to others] from Persia." ἐν ταῖς χρυσαῖς ἀρκλαρίαις—but this term which from the context must mean "tablets" (cf. πτυχαί a little later) is not attested elsewhere. Bringel points out that an apparently related word, ἀρκλα (= Lat. arca [?]), is found in a number of late texts.

The order of the Greek words should mean, "the holy palaces"—but perhaps emendation is in order. Bringel does not include the phrase, "and the priests connected with them," in her text. "them" Bringel. The mss. give several different variants for this name. Lit., "I rejoice with you." Lit., "rejoice with." ANF translates a variant reading: "How was she able...?" Urania means "heavenly / celestial." The re-naming seems to play on perceived etymological connections between Hera and "earth" or "aër" (i.e., the cloudy, thick lower atmosphere, as opposed to the higher, more rarefied "ether"). Pege means "spring," "source," or "stream." Cf. the Tübingen Theosophy, pp. 26-27 Beatrix. Bringel, choosing a variant reading: "You have well said, 'She espoused a carpenter'; for she has a carpenter..." Perhaps the quotation of the "females"

continues on to the end of the sentence. In any case, this does not quite reflect what they were reported as saying earlier—"she espoused a carpenter"—unless the variant chosen by Bringel is correct. Bringel translates the last part of the sentence, "mais il ne vient pas de son lit, le charpentier qu'elle met au monde."

Bringel, choosing a slightly different variant: "framed...the triple-constructed sky as a roof." I.e., land, sea, and sky (ANF). Bringel translates, "ce firmament à trois habitations." Bringel excludes this last sentence from her text. Or, "statue." Gk. *στήλη*. Gk. *Ἡλίου*. Bringel points out the parallel shining gem-stone described by Lucian, *De dea Syria* 32. Bringel, following a different variant: "The king, having watched this, gave orders..." The name Karia is obscure; one textual variant at the next occurrence is "Makaria" (blessed), which might make more sense. Variant reading: "kings." I.e. (as Bringel points out by citing the parallel of Pilate's words at Jn. 19.22), he is saying that their time of producing apparitions and of ruling is over. Gk. *μή θροβάδει*. This is Bringel's text and interpretation. Bratke's text, *Μιθροβάδη*, would introduce quite inexplicably a Mithrobades—the preceding verb then could be interpreted either as "they said" or "I said" or "Say" [to Mithrobades], with the following words possibly still part of Dionysus' speech.

As Bringel points out here, the last few phrases allude to Gen. 1.26, and Christ's work in restoring the "image" of God in human beings, and leading them to the "likeness" of God. I.e., the Son of God ("heaven's boast") is now to be born on earth. Bringel has a slightly different text, and further imagines a supplement so that the first part of this sentence refers to the birth of Christ, not (as I have read it) to the prior birth of Pege (i.e., Mary). She translates as follows: "Karia a le bonheur de voir Source mettre un enfant au monde à Bethléem. Source a la grâce d'être désirée par le ciel et de concevoir le bienfait de la grâce"—I have underlined the supplement she adds. Bringel's reading, quite possibly correct, omits *τὰ ἡμέτερα* ("our affairs") and leaves the verb "is / are withering" to be connected to Judea.

Instead of *δέσποινα* ("mistress"), Bringel's text gives *οὐρανία* ("Urania / heavenly"). Bringel's text, slightly more logically, here reads "sent [some] magi of those under his dominion." Here Bringel's text reads "by madness" (*ὑπὸ μανίας*) rather than "by an oracle" (*ὑπὸ μαντείας*). Or rather: "lest a revolt rise [against them] toward us"—that is, fearing that the people of

Judaea would revolt against the high priests and convert to the good news of the Messiah announced by the magi. Or, "we spoke to him until he was thoroughly disturbed." I.e., the voice heard in §22, or the divine manifestations and their interpretations more generally. Bringel interprets this sentence differently: "Il fut consacré dans le temple, où il se trouve avec l'inscription que voici." See Bringel *ad loc.* for a long exploration of the term *διοπετής* and its significance. Bringel's text reads: "gold, frankincense, and myrrh." Gk. *ἀντάρτας*. The "rebels" would be rebellious / sinful humans in general.

Bringel's text: "a certain terrifying angel." Bringel's text includes a sentence at this point to conclude the account of the magi, and a further phrase to introduce Aphroditianus' final comments: "And those are the marvellous narrations of the inspired magi. And [here are] mine." I would argue, however, that the account of the magi should be understood to have concluded either after the words, "Christ has become our Savior"—or perhaps even after the statement, "we reported all that we had seen in Jerusalem." The address to "you," who are slandering and opposing Christ, seems to revert to Aphroditianus' situation. Bringel's text: "...Christ, to whom every mouth acknowledges / gives thanks." Gk. *Ἑλλήνες*. Note that the first example is Cyrus the Great of Persia—demonstrating clearly that for the author, "Hellenes" is not an ethnic term but refers to pagans. In the reading preferred by Bringel, the bodyguards are not female. This name (unknown otherwise) is the reading favored by Bringel; Bratke does not choose between ms. variants here, printing simply an ellipsis in the middle of the name: C...encrates. Wirth, p. 200, reports Noeldeke's suggestion that the Cynic Crates may be the distant inspiration for this reference.

Gk. *παροξυσμοί*; the precise reference is obscure. At this point in the text, Bratke includes a few words which he seems to view as another example of "Persian": *drô kai telo*. Alternatively, with the Greek variant spelling chosen by Bringel, "Horicatus." Gk. *ἀνδρεῖα*. Gk. *στηλῶν ἀξιοῦσαι*. Bringel's text, following an alternate reading (*τιμῶν ἀξιοῦσαι*): "...worthy of honors." I.e., "greetings." The normal Greek salutation is the imperative, "rejoice!" Gk. *καθεμάτιον...τρίγοργον*. Bringel selects a different reading: *ἱμάτιον...τρίγωνον* ("a triangular cloak"). Gk. *ἀνεπέτασεν*; this ought to mean "opened" but the context seems to require the sense indicated. Gk. *λύσεις*. Here, Bringel's text has additionally: "of demons." Here, Bringel's text includes a further sentence: "They have not helped you at all." Here, Bringel's text has additionally:

"in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit." Here Bringel's text has additionally: "and white." As Bringel suggests, it seems likely that accidental transposition of material has occurred here: probably, the interaction with the demon here originally appeared before the references to his failure in the third trial.

Here Bringel's text has the additional words: "For if you go in there, you shall by all means not come out." As a parallel to this nasal gesture in the context of pagan cult, Bringel cites Sophronius of Jerusalem, *Mir. Cyr. et Joh.* 31, tr. J. Gascou (Paris, 2006); cf. also Lampe s.v. The Greek text does not specify "our" followers, which however seems the most likely reference in context. Bringel's text adds, "of heart." Bringel's text, somewhat differently: "By Hera and her great power, if the perfection of the fifth sign does not persuade me, I am not [i.e., will not be] persuaded." Bringel's text: "the truth of the true god." The mss. variants here cause Bratke to despair of finding the correct reading. Bringel's text gives the name as Sechthrantianus. In Bringel's text, the bishops are explicitly the subject here. Gk. κατὰ...πάσης τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐχώρησεν. For the verb, Bringel reads ἐχώρισε, and translates, "confisqua toute sa richesse" ("confiscated all his wealth").

Cf. 29 above: the "heaven-sent temple"—emend the previous? Here Bringel's text has additionally: "I take joy in this and..." Alternatively, "the Messiah." Bringel's text reads: Masthe dre delakornakykoëarerêande roinason. Gk. ἀλύπως; i.e., without causing (or receiving) pain. Mal. 3.22-23 LXX [= 4.5-6 MT]. The text, however, skips a number of words and presents the variant reading "coming" (ἐλθών) rather than "I come and..." (ἐλθω καὶ)—which licenses the unusual interpretation of the verse, as Bringel explains, following the Latin translation of Anastasius—which is cited by Bratke in his apparatus as β: non veniens percutiam terram totam. With the standard text, μή introduces a negative purpose clause ("so that I will not come and smite the earth"); with the variant, μή simply modifies the participle and Elijah is understood as the instrument of God's destruction of the world ("not coming, I will smite"). Bringel's text has an additional "then" here. Gk. λίθον αὐτόν—perhaps the second word has demonstrative force as frequently in later Greek: "that stone."

Bringel's text: "You are...refuting." Gk. πρόβλημα. For the first two quotations, see Dan. 2.44; for the third, see Dan. 2.34-35. Bringel's text does not include the phrase, "and his successors." Cf. Dan. 2.34, 44-45. Bringel inter-

prets this to mean "between the Macedonian rule and the Roman rule"—i.e., Christ's birth was under Herod, before Judaea was directly administered by the Romans, but after the remnants of Alexander's empire had disappeared. Ps. 118.22. Here I follow Bringel's text; Bratke's has an infinitive instead of a finite verb. Bringel: "Pertelaeus." Gk. τὸ θέλειν τὸ πρακτικὸν ἐτοιμότερον. Lit., "in those at the end"—it is unclear whether "those at the end" refers to particular "laws" in his collection (so Bringel), or generically to the end of his text. Gk. ἐπικρατεῖ καὶ στερεὰ ταῦτα. The text and precise sense are unclear. Bringel, with different accentuation, interprets the first word as a dative noun that could be interpreted as the addressee: "to Epicrates"; as a verb [with Bratke], the basic idea is to "prevail over"—which I am rendering, "demonstrates his mastery" since there is no object specified.

Here, Bringel's text has the additional word "progeny." This phrase is a sentence fragment added to the rest; I suspect that some words have fallen out in transmission. Gk. παραγράφεσθε. Jn. 16.33. Ba. 3.36-38. Bringel's text: "of the Jews." Ps. 110.1. Bringel's text: "of the Christian tribe." Gk. ἐν ὑπομνήμασι. Gk. εἶπαν τὸ "ποῦ γεννᾶται." Bringel's text additionally includes Χριστός as the subject of the question; but Bringel interprets this as direct quotation of the leaders ("...said, 'Where is the Christ born?'"). I understand it as an indirect question; they provide the answer to the question actually posed by Herod, in keeping with the Biblical text (Mt. 2.4-5). Jn. 1.21, 29-30. For the apparent use of apocryphal traditions on the wedding at Cana here, cf. Bratke, pp. 219ff. The connection of this phrase with the context is unclear; also, note that the verb ("trouble himself") appears in Lk. 7.6, paired with a negative: "Lord, do not trouble yourself further"—this partial parallel perhaps indicates a deeper corruption in the present passage.

Gk. βασιλικός; alternatively, "the royal official." Jn. 4.46ff. Mk. 5.22-23, 35-43. Jn. 11.49-50. Here the grammatical sequence seems to come loose from its moorings: "your children" is an expression in the accusative case (and indeed, "Judas" and "the soldiers" in the subsequent sentences are introduced in the dative case), whereas the previous figures mentioned have all been nominative [i.e., the subjects of the respective questions—were they not all Jews?]. Now, therefore, the implied supplement seems to be "consider" or "pay attention to" the next-listed characters. Mt. 28.12-13. Cf. Josephus, AJ 18.3; for this form of the testimonium Flavianum, cf. John Malalas, *Chronographia* (ed. Thurn), p. 187.26, cited by Bringel and Bratke. Ps. 21[22].19[18].

Deut. 28.66. Originally, this term refers to initiatory priests (who "show holy things") in the Eleusinian mysteries; here, it is a reference to the Hebrew prophets. I.e., to the Persian king. Bringel's version of the "Persian" words is somewhat different, although it includes the same Greek word *αὐτίκα* ("immediately, straightway") in the midst of otherwise non-Greek material.

A centenarium would be a unit of "a hundred" (usually understood as a Byzantine measure of 100 pounds of gold). The precise import of this sentence is obscure. Bringel translates, "Jacob et les siens firent appel à Aphroditien pour avoir un sauf-conduit leur garantissant qu'ils n'auraient pas à subir quelque attaque de la part du pouvoir. 'Et nous nous protégerons par nous-mêmes et par les justifications qui sont à notre disposition.'" Bringel's text does not include the last part of the sentence (from "the two groups" to the end). Gk. *ἡμῶν*—lit., "the controversy is not ours." Bringel instead reads *ὑμῶν* ("yours," but mistakenly translating "de notre ressort"; this seems to be a misprint for "de votre ressort") on the grounds that Aphroditianus does not fully identify himself with the Christians; but the pronoun need not be understood in that way, even if "ours" is the correct reading—rather, by "our" controversy, Aphroditianus could easily refer to his discussion with the Christian bishops.

The Gk. word *δόξα*, translated here and in the next sentences for the most part as "glory," can also mean "opinion" (as in compounds such as "orthodox"). Hence, these sentences can equally be read as meaning that God is the "father of countless opinions" and everyone worships in accordance with his view of the "opinion one holds about God." So Bringel translates throughout, but the wordplay depends on both meanings remaining available. Here Bringel's text has the additional parenthetical phrase: "Would that they had never been born!" I.e., since they have now embraced Christianity, they have also renounced their Jewish ancestors. Bringel's text: "murder" (reading *φόνου* rather than *φθόνου*). Ps. 2.7; cf. Heb. 1.5. Ps. 44[45].7-8; cf. Heb. 1.8-9. Ps. 117[118].22. Dan. 2.34-35. Isa. 28.16; cf. Rom. 9.33; 10.11. Isa. 7.14; note the use of the Gk. *νεᾶνις* (with Aquila etc.) rather than *παρθένος* ("virgin"—the LXX reading). Isa. 53.7. Dan. 7.13-14.

It is not clear which "first" example is meant here. Bringel here cites E. Honigmann, "Philippus of Side and His Christian History," in *Patristic Studies* (Rome, 1953), pp. 90-91, for the idea that these details were meant to tie in with details of Philip of Side's history—that is, that Philip of Side men-

tioned such a meeting, and presumably also said something about a controversy between himself and Dionysarus (cf. §1 above). Bringel's text: "...everyone, as the grace above asks of you." I.e., "partakers in Christianity." Bringel's text: "Christianomerists" (reading Χριστιανομεριστάς rather than Χριστιανομερίτας, Bratke's reading). In favor of Bringel's reading would be the clear reflection of a verb stem, μεριζ-, denoting "division" (thus, "dividers of Christianity") and thus working well with the narration of the establishment of a sect. Neither term is attested elsewhere. Here, the text includes what seems to present itself as the official decree concluding these discussions. In the next sentence, each name appears with another word, perhaps meant to be taken as an official title.

As usual, Bringel's text of the "Persian" is slightly different. Cf. §19 above. Bringel's text: "as a testimony." Lit., "sons." I.e., the area whose capital was Babylon. (?) Gk. ιστόρησε. Gk. ἀπετέλει. Gk. καλαμιοκάρυα. Bringel chooses the variant καλαμισκάρια, interpreting it to mean "little pipes"; in either case, some sort of tubes through which the technicians supposedly produced the voice of the statues is clearly envisioned. Bratke does not decide among the variant readings here (including Tharaglinae, Thyagrilae); Bringel chooses Thyariglae. This text was commissioned by Roger Pearce, 2010.

PART FOUR

Eastern Letters and Lives

*Short writings from Syria and Egypt: an admonition to monks,
letters from Coptic and Alexandrian leaders, and lives of Syri-
ac saints.*

Admonitions to the Monks

RABBULA OF EDESSA

d. AD 435

Bishop of Edessa.

ADMONITIONS TO THE MONKS

SOME EARLY RULES FOR SYRIAN MONKS.

The ancient city of Urhai, or Edessa, which in Roman times was capital of the Province of Osrhoene in northern Mesopotamia, had for its Bishop during the years 411-435 A.D. a remarkable man, by name Rabbula. Rabbula was the friend of St. Cyril of Alexandria, and, like him, a stout opponent of Nestorius. But he was a man of action rather than a theologian, an organizer and reformer rather than a great teacher; and during his episcopate he set himself sternly to the correction of abuses. He focussed his attention especially upon the clergy of all ranks, and upon the monks, and made them the subject of careful legislation. For each of these classes he drew up a set of "Admonitions," or reformatory canons, aimed at the characteristic abuses of the times. Nor did he confine his reforms to matters of personal conduct: there are good reasons for believing that it was he who finally banished from the Syriac-speaking Church the harmony of the Gospels made by Tatian, and known as the Diatessaron, which for more than two centuries was in constant use amongst the Syrians, and replaced it by a new translation of the four Gospels from the Greek----the same which, from the beginning of the fifth century to the present day, has been universally received by Syrian Christians.

It is not, however, the interesting personality of Rabbula that we are directly concerned with here, but the Syrian monks of whom he affords us a passing glimpse in the "Admonitions to Monks" which he drew up for their better guidance and control. As these rules have not, to my knowledge, been translated into English before, and as they represent one of the earliest ex-

tant documents dealing with Mesopotamian Monks, it may interest some readers of the Downside Review to know what is in them. The coming of the monks to Mesopotamia is an obscure chapter in the history of monasticism. It has been supposed that they were introduced from Egypt, early in the fourth century, by a certain Mar Awgin, or Eugenius. An extant Life of Mar Awgin states that he founded the first monastery in Mesopotamia about the year 325, not very far from the famous city of Nisibis. But it is probable that this statement is less than half true. It is not, indeed, unlikely that the first monks came either from Egypt or from Western Syria, but there are reasons for questioning the date assigned. The Life is a comparatively late one, and cannot be trusted very far in matters of detail, since there is traceable in it, as in some kindred documents, a definite "tendency" or purpose. This is to establish the greater antiquity of the Nestorian over the Monophysite monks. The Nestorians claimed direct descent from the monks of what was held to be the most ancient Mesopotamian monastery.

The earliest Syriac Father, Aphraates, who wrote between the years 337 and 345, makes no mention of dayraye, or cenobite monks, at all; he has, however, a good deal to say about another class of ascetics, who appear to have been of very ancient origin in Mesopotamia and to have grown up quite independently of foreign influences. The members of this body were known as the Sons and Daughters of the Covenant. They were not cenobites. They did not live in a dayra or monastic enclosure, but, subject to certain restrictions, in their own homes and with their own relations. An important part of their work was to go about in the cities and villages visiting the sick and caring for the poor and destitute. Finally, they appear as a distinct and independent body long after the introduction of monasticism proper. They seem always to have been closely associated with the clergy; and so we find that Rabbula, in his "Commands and Admonitions to Priests and Sons of the Covenant," classes them with the clergy and not with the monks. It would appear, then, that there was no historical connection between them and the monks: monasticism in Mesopotamia, was not a development of this earlier form of asceticism----though the two institutions had much in common----but was introduced from without. The date of its introduction is uncertain, but it is probable that it reached the northern districts----those lying within the Roman Empire considerably earlier than the southern, or those which belonged to the Persian King. And so when Aphraates wrote,

about the middle of the fourth century, the monks may very well have established themselves in Edessa and other northern cities, although he had not encountered them in the South.

With these remarks by way of clearing the ground we come to Rabbula's "Admonitions to Monks." It will be best to set forth first, the text of the document in full. We can then, by comparing very briefly what is known of Egyptian and later Syriac monks, attempt to read between the lines, and trace some of the general characteristics of early Mesopotamian monasticism. Points of minor interest it will be best to confine to foot-notes.

Admonitions concerning Monks, by Mar Rabbula, Bishop of Urhai

1. Before all things let the monks see to it that on no account women enter their monasteries. 2. Let not the brethren of the monastery enter the villages, except the Visitor of the monastery only, [and let him] observe the rules of decorum. 3. The Visitor who enters a village or a city shall not go about from house to house; and he shall not lodge with lay folk, but at the church, or at a monastery, if there be one at hand. 4. Let not the monks be drinking wine, lest they fall to blaspheming; rather let them avoid buying [wine] to drink. 5. Let not the monks grow their hair long; and let them not wear or hang iron [upon their persons], except only those who are recluses, and do not go abroad anywhere. 6. Visitors who go abroad on the business of the monastery shall not wear garments of hair: nor any of the monks, [when] outside the monastery, lest they bring their venerable [monastic] habit into contempt.

7. Let none of the monks perform the anointing (i.e. of the sick), especially for women. If, however, there is one who is held in general esteem, let him give the anointing to men. And if there are any women who are suffering, let it (i.e. the oil) be sent to them through their relations. 8. Let not the commemorations [of the martyrs] be celebrated with large gatherings of people, but by the monks of the monastery only. 9. Let not the monks have possessions of sheep and goats, or of horses and mules or of other cattle,--- unless it be an ass, for those who require one, or a single yoke of oxen, for those who sow [the fields]. 10. Books, other than [those dealing with] the Faith of the Church shall not be kept in the monasteries. 11. Let there be no traffic of buying and selling in the monasteries; save only what is sufficient for their need, without avarice.

12. Let no one of the brethren who are in the monasteries acquire anything as his private property, apart from what is common to the brotherhood and under the control of the superior. 13. Let not the superiors of the monasteries allow the brethren to have interviews with their relations, or to go out and pay them visits, lest they become demoralised. 14. Let not the brethren, on the plea of sickness, leave their monasteries and wander about in the cities or villages; but let them bear their sufferings inside their monasteries for the love of God. 15. Let not the monks leave their own locality and, under an assumed personality, obtain judgments by bribery. And let them not go into the cities or to the judges. 16. The monks shall not, on the plea of [other] occupation or work, neglect the seasons fixed for [divine] service by day and night,

17. Let them receive strangers lovingly: and let them not shut the door in the face of any of the brethren. 18. No one of the brethren shall dwell as a solitary except such an one that has given proof of his manners for a considerable time. 19. Let no monk take an oracle out of a book for any one. 20. Let not any brother who is not a priest or a deacon dare to give the Sacrament (lit., the Holy Thing). 21. Those who have been made priests and deacons in the monasteries, and have been entrusted with churches in the villages, shall appoint as superiors in the monasteries those who have shewn proof [of their capacity] and are able to rule the brotherhood; and they themselves shall remain in charge of their churches. 22. Let not any bones of the martyrs be found in the monasteries; but whosoever has any such, let him bring them before us, and if they are genuine they may be venerated in the chapel of the Martyrs; otherwise let them be buried.

23. Those of the monks who wish to make for themselves urns for the dead must bury them in the ground so that they cannot in any wise be seen. 24. If a brother, or a superior of one of the monasteries, departs this world, let only the brethren of the same monastery bury him, and that quietly. If they are not enough, let them invite with them the brethren of a neighbouring monastery; but let them not assemble to the funeral lay people from the villages. 25. If any one is buying corn for the use of the monastery, let him not receive anything over and above; but according to the current charge of the threshing-floor, so shall he buy, and not be acting avariciously in the name of the monastery. 26. Let no one receive a brother who moves

about from one monastery to another, without the permission of the superior with whom he was [before].

End of the *Admonitions to Monks*. This short, and purely occasional set of rules, terse and to the point, doubtless reflects the mind of the lawgiver; but the rules do not at first sight offer much material for a characterisation of Syrian Monasticism at the beginning of the fifth century. Still they contain one or two notices which may supply us with a basis of comparison with other, better known, embodiments of the monastic ideal. The forms with which it is natural to set out in instituting a comparison are the Antonian and Pachomian Egyptian types. As Dom Butler has pointed out in his *Lausiac History* (i. pp. 233 ff.), the Antonian type was not purely cenobitic. Many of the monks, doubtless after a due course of probation, retired to separate cells, out of earshot of one another, and lived a semi-eremitic life. They had, besides, no fixed rule of life, but, in the matter of spiritual exercises, every man did that which was good in his own eyes. The Pachomian monks, on the other hand, were real cenobites, and lived a life of carefully organised discipline. The institute assumed almost from the beginning "the shape of a fully organised congregation or order, with a superior-general and a system of visitation and general chapters."

No. 18 of our "*Admonitions*" clearly contemplates a system which, on broad lines, more closely resembles that of the Antonian monks. For the Syrian monk life in a monastery is not the goal of his aspirations, but only a stepping stone to the more austere life of a recluse. Those who have shewn themselves capable of the hermit's life are to be allowed to embrace it. Again, No. 11, forbidding all sorts of buying and selling in the monastery except what was required for the bare support of the monks, seems to point to a state of things quite different from that which prevailed in the Pachomian monasteries, where every monk was taught to ply some special craft. The Syrian monks of Rabbula's time further resembled the Antonian monks in that they appear to have had no formal or written rule of life. A century and a half later a modification of the Pachomian rule was introduced among the Nestorian monks of Mesopotamia. But even so they continued the semi-eremitic life. In the great monastery of Beth Abhe, founded about the end of the sixth century, the monks retired, after a noviciate of three years spent in the monastery, to separate cells at some distance from the monastic church. A point on which the Syrian monks differed from all their Egyptian

brethren was the greater length and frequency of their offices. Rabbula in No. 16 implies that there was a considerable number of night and day offices. Among the Egyptians there were only two, evensong and nocturns.

The abuses which Rabbula had to deal with were evidently the outcome of a large amount of individual liberty enjoyed by the monks, and especially by the solitaries; and he strove to cope with the situation by limiting the number of these recluses. Those, again, who were allowed to undertake the solitary life were to confine their more eccentric practices of austerity to the privacy of their cells. Rabbula would not have the gaunt ascetic with matted hair, loaded with chains, and sackcloth about his loins, to become a familiar figure in the streets of the great cities: the role of a Christian fakir was one that lent itself too readily as a mask for trickery and fraud. Isaac of Antioch tells us how, half a century later, these possibilities came to be realised in fact. Writing on the capture of Beth Hor by the Arabs, which took place in 457 A.D., and detailing the crimes of the inhabitants which drew that visitation upon them, he turns with bitter sarcasm to the impostures practised upon the simple under cover of the monastic habit.

"And now," he says, "let us come to the modest conversation of the Nazirs (i.e. ascetics), who are had in honour for their flowing locks, and revered for their monastic garb. And observe how far the genuine members of that class are out-numbered by ruffians and impostors----runaway slaves who have swindled their masters, and sons who have thrown off the obedience due to their fathers. And they cultivate their hair,----contrary to the Gospel rule----and think with their shaggy locks to cover the infamy of their lives. They stroll about the cities collecting alms, and for the sake of gain put up with insults at the doors of the rich. Ridiculed by citizens and taunted by slaves, they nevertheless put on a bold face and brazen it out in order to till their pockets. And to carry on their ungodly trade they have recourse to every imaginable deceit. . . . One gives himself out for a beneficent person engaged in the redemption of ill-used slaves; another declares that the brethren of his monastery have been carried off captives. And [these stories] they affirm on oath, the better to deceive the simple..... They are supposed to model themselves upon Elijah and John [the Baptist] and Samuel; but while they copy their dress, they are far from imitating their works. They make not the smallest, advance towards the austerity of John, while the righteousness of Samuel they never even saw in a dream."

It would be a mistake to suppose that Isaac bore any ill-will towards the monks; like Rabbula he was a monk himself, and only resented the shame brought upon his venerable calling by charlatans who made it a cloak for deception and avarice. There were giants in those days also among the Syrian monks, even greater than were to be found in Egypt ----but this is only a peep, and it must not be prolonged. The age was one of extremes, of utter self-annihilation on the one hand, and of the wildest licence on the other; and in Mesopotamia of all countries on the earth----for centuries the battle-field of hostile empires, and the hunting ground of wild marauders----we must not look for the types of Christian life which are accustomed to grow amid the blessings of order, prosperity and peace. Monasticism in our days is, we may hope, a highly respectable institution; but we hardly look to find monks living upon pillars, or weighed down with iron chains. The times have changed: now we look outside of Christianity for "all that sort of thing," and are not always edified, when we find it. Yet that was the way of our fathers; and who shall say that the old was not good?

R. CONNOLLY. [Footnotes moved to the end]

Letters of Besa

BESA OF ATRIPE

c. AD 390–474

Besa's letters to the nuns and monks of the White Monastery: a warning against theft, a letter on vigilance, one on lack of food, an exhortation, and a letter to the noblewoman Aphthonia. The brackets mark places where the manuscript is damaged.

EXHORTATIONS

¹ world, as we walk in defilement and drunkenness and reveling and drinking and defiled idol worship. (1 Pet 4:3) As we walk in wickedness and envy, becoming hated as we hate each other. As we become disobedient and stray. (Titus 3:3) As we walk in the vanity of our heart and become dark in our thoughts. As we become alienated from the life of God because of the ignorance that is inside us because of our obstinacy. As we have given over to defilement and doing every impure thing. But now it is not in this way that we were taught. (Eph 4:17–20) But rather what was taught to us is to do something for our salvation in fear and trembling. For God is the one who enacts the will and the fulfillment of the will. (Phil 2:12–13) And indeed the children of Israel, Moses saw them at that time in the way that they hastened to forget the commandments of God. He commanded them to make fringes at the wings of their garments so that they might see them and think of the commandments of God and not forget them. (cf. Num 15:38–39) Now let us too place the fear of God in our heart instead of the fringes, so that we do not forget the commandments that our fathers entrusted to us. Therefore brothers let us turn around and repent while the opportunity is not yet lost for us, and while the light is still with us, which is the teachings of our fathers.

² In the way that the Lord said: 'Walk as long as you have the light so that the darkness does not overtake you.' (Jn 12:35) And: 'As we are in the day, let us walk while we are in propriety.' (Rom 13:13) And: 'Those that sleep, it's at

night that they sleep. And those that are drunk, it is at night that they are drunk. But we are of the day, let us be sober as we don the armor of faith.' (1 Thess 5:7-8)

ON LACK OF FOOD

It is by those who are bound and suffering that you are troubled, in the manner that they live on the herb of the field, because they did not find what they shall eat, and in the manner that we hear and those who see agree about their difficulty. Hence, let us all pray, everyone who fears God, that Christ may put his blessing and that it may remain in his congregations and that he may not let his monasteries (lit. places) lack anything.

ON VIGILANCE

¹ [Why] do you subject [yourselves] to laws in the world as the living do: 'Do not touch, do not taste, do not approach.' This means: we have escaped the sins of the world by leaving them behind us. Why do we now turn around and entangle us in them? And he has also said, at that time you were dark, but now you are light in the Lord. Walk as children of the light. For the fruit of the light consists purely in good things, in justice and truth. Examine what pleases the Lord and do not take part in the fruitless deeds of darkness, which bear no fruit, but expose them instead. For what they do in secret is shameful to even mention. But each filthy work is exposed by the light. For everything which is manifest is light. Therefore, let us denounce our foolish notions and all inspirations by the devil, unbelief and hatred, as they inspire us to devise evil against each other, which will cause there to be no true connection among us. And we blame each other and not ourselves, as if our struggle were to be against each other and not against the principalities and powers, against the world rulers of darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil that are under heaven – our fight should be against them, but not against flesh and blood.

² As the Apostle said: Reach for the armor of God, so that you can resist the crafty snares of the devil, because not against flesh and blood is our fight. Therefore, be vigilant and let us hold onto the good, because although many are together in the flesh, they are far apart in the heart and in terms of love. Many, however, who are not together in the flesh, they are together in the love of Christ and the Spirit and the desire for Jesus. But you, brethren, pay attention to yourselves and do not deviate from what we have learned. Then

many will learn and profit from you, as he has said, your good works shall be seen, and your Father in heaven be praised. For just as you have modeled yourself after all the saints through your Christian way of life, as he said: But you, you have followed my teaching, my example, my purpose, my faith, my patience, my love, my steadfastness, my persecutions, my suffering, continue to imitate them by preserving for yourselves the fruits of your efforts. After all, who has imperishable riches in Christ, must also assure themselves of this wealth. If already those who have earthly goods, gold, silver and other possessions, are vigilant so that robbers do not carry them off in secret, then we must watch all the more so that the enemy does not secretly carry off our merits: our prayers, our fasting practices, our chastity and our steadfastness.

³ The theft of silver and gold is not quite comparable to this, but the more respected virginity and the monastic life are, the more the enemy strives also to capture them unnoticed. Who has obtained pearls or gold, stands guard. If even the enemy remains awake at night to commit a villainy, then the owner of the wealth will watch all the more so that they don't fall victim to any attack. We want to remind ourselves of what our father said, brothers according to our way of life fast and pray and hold vigils, but they also lie, argue, are defiant, grumble and slander, hate, are hostile, fornicate and are devious: they commit every imaginable evil. Such people toil for nothing, and nothing good will happen to them. Their steadfastness is of no benefit to them. As has been said: He is not a full sheaf that he could give flour. In this regard has also been said: Sow wheat, and reap thorns. Their fields will bring them no harvest. Therefore keep watch and do not let the enemy destroy our merit while we make it. Instead, we want to adamantly preserve our minds from any impure thought from the devil to become worthy to hear this with satisfaction (p 3): 'From now on, they will no longer work on an agency basis, but they will work for the Lord, their God.

⁴ Because thieves do not break into a house or anywhere else where there are no valuables, but only where they would find valuables. They also do not break into a place guarded against thieves, but where they know that no one watches, but everyone is asleep, it is there that they break in and rob, whatever they find, In the same way the devil does not rob the one who is vigilant and preserves the fruits of his effort, but the one whom he finds careless and without fear of God, not considering, in which state he will come

into the hands of God, driven back and forth by every wind, this is the one whose fruits he robs ruthlessly. Therefore now take courage and be vigilant, brothers, everyone who is of one mind with God and our fathers, and also with us, whether man or woman, young or old, here with us or with you! We will not allow our eyes sleep and our eyelids slumber until the Lord saves us from any temptation by the enemy. Because there are many who envy us. And give no heed to brothers, who are often involved in strife and rebellion, and disown their steadfastness. Do not let them become a stumbling block to you! God shall never be able to say that they are a stumbling block to the righteous, those who have complete faith in Christ and wait for the Spirit of God.

5 But woe to you sinners who disown your steadfastness and throw the communities into turmoil through cowardice, envy, hatred, strife, rebellion and intrigue! What are you going to do on the day of your visitation? For your trouble comes from afar. Or is it no judgment for us that we - after we have left behind what we have left behind, and have entered into a contract with whom which we have entered into a contract, affirming under oath, 'We will not steal, lie, commit sexual misconduct, bear false witness, commit fraud secretly', and all the points that come hereafter - that we then do these again [... 2 sheets ...]

TO APHTHONIA

1 You have given glory to God indeed. It's to you that I speak, you Aphthonia, daughter of the Comes Alexander. Have you not honoured the place you were nourished in according to God and according to the world, in your words and your deeds? If your heart hadn't corrupted, you would not despise the place you are in, or shame the sisters who are in the place with you. They call you by your name "Aphthonia", but you revile yourself alone. And you are a slanderer to you yourself, what you wish is to destroy your soul, which the whole world isn't worthy of. and to lead astray in your sufferings for no reason. For you have left room for Satan inside you to transform your heart, and daze you like those sheep that become (spoiled) by moths. You stupid and foolish one in which there isn't wisdom. For if there had been knowledge in you, even if they truly fought with you, then you ought to let a man know how they are inside your place. Most of all when you sent to your father and your mother: "they fought with me," or "they abused me". It's you lying, as they didn't fight with you nor did they abuse you. That they "fought

with you” was that you were given knowledge in your transgressing the law by your receiving something from your parents without asking.

² What is it that you asked for or needed and were rejected, or you weren’t given it? If you told your father and your mother, are we to be afraid? All the more so as you lie. So you don’t want us to tell them about your foolish actions which you do and your stealing and your quarrels. Oh you truly blind one who gropes in daylight like those who are in midnight and like those blind ones, who have no eyes. Where is it that your parents from the world will hear of your action inside this place, without us knowing in the monastery? So if they truly did violence to you or grieved or pained you, you should have told us of your pain. I tell you we’ll know if it’s the truth you’re telling or not. Or you should have told your mother in this place with you. If you don’t call her only with your mouth “mother”. But it’s that your heart is distant far away from her. As it is written: “this people honours me with their lips, but their heart is distant far away from me.” For if your stupid heart hadn’t darkened on you, would you have scorned your parents who are in the community with you, or despised the sisters that you dwell with in your pride and your boastfulness? Or if you hadn’t left behind you the teaching and the wisdom.

³ And as you loved what is evil, instead of what is good. Would you have practiced things which are evil, and said with your mouth that is full of curses upon bitterness: “I’ll go to another monastery”. In what was it that this place did you violence? Or what is the weight that they put on you, except that they told you “don’t violate the command of God,” because you gave perfume and mesouaphi to a maiden while she was in the house with you so that you’ll become an obstacle and a scandal to each other. For this thing, I promise you that if you don’t give your admission and take away this disobedience of yours and those quarrels in vain, I will make your heart suffer. And I will make them treat you like what came out of your mouth. Indeed I am concerned, for you (Aphthonia) and for you (the congregation). What I’m afraid of is that, in the way that the serpent deceived Eve in his treachery, your hearts waste away from the simplicity and the purity which bring to Christ. If he didn’t leave the one who is there in paradise, is it you (Aphthonia) that he will spare? Or you (the congregation), in your leaving room for him inside yourselves. As you also indulge in his plans of guile and

his wicked deeds. For he will not have power over those who fear God inside. Those for whom Christ is an aid and a protector.

⁴ As it is written: 'the one who fights on your behalf is your aid, and the sword of your pride and the glory of your foundation' Whoever will love that which is evil, he is the one who will perish. And he is the one that the devil will have power over in his deeds of soul killing. But the wise one who loves the teaching, he will receive the commandment. And the intelligent one who fears God inside will acquire guidance for himself. But let me hear that you have pleased your parents who are in the place with you. And that you obey them in every action. And our heart shall be at ease. And as for you, you will be filled with satisfaction. But if you still have something to say, here are the elders, our parents and our brothers, they have come to you. Proclaim it to them, and all of you. So you have words there, or any deed in your place. Don't continue to want to tell them As you do not hide anything from them So that all our hearts may be at ease together, we and you. And God will be pleased with us too.

TO THIEVING NUNS

¹ Oh you guilty on your part who allow Satan to come in, defiling the holy places of God. And you defile his temple which is you yourselves. Didn't you remember the prohibition of the apostle, "he who will defile the temple of God, that one God will destroy." Nor still did you remember all the curses which our father said as he gave all of us into the hand of God saying: "he is cursed, he who will defile his body in any form, or steal anything, from a string to a lace." Most of all clothes and robes and hoods. And down to the least of things of eating. Whether out of the service of God or out of the shares of those next to them I actually thought to come to you in good faith, but the sorrow of those who have enraged God and pained his holy ghost, is what has hindered our joy. I know that every suffering is my fate, but if God with our Lord Jesus is doing his will, I come to you in a rage. And I will do to these unwise ones and these foolish virgins, who have no oil in their vessels all those things that are in my heart. That still again you return back to these provocations of God you fall down by the sword of the wicked one who has destroyed all of civilization in his sins and acts of lawlessness.

² For you have loved defilement rather than purification, and you have chosen death for you rather than life. For you have angered him who has created you, and who has nourished you, God who is forever. And you have

also given suffering to her who has nursed you, Jerusalem, which is the congregation. And you have fallen in daylight like those who are in midnight. As it is written: “she has stumbled, she has fallen, that is the virgin of Israel and so she won’t get up again. For “those who sleep,” he said, “it’s at night that they sleep. And those who are drunk, it’s at night that they’re drunk”. But as for you, you’ve drunk in day like those of whom it is said: “those who are drunk without wine ”. And you have slept in daylight like those who sleep in the night. For you have left the fear of God behind you; as you have loved darkness instead of light; and as you have also thought what’s bitter to be sweet, and what’s sweet to be bitter. Because of this, woe to you evil ones that you did not think of all the toil that our father has endured with all of you. As you have left behind his teachings of life and those of the petitions of your fathers.

3 Furthermore, behold the elders go with their brothers they came to you another time. As we live in a great grief and much heart ache. To have them done one by one by you according to their worth. Since you have left the flow of the water of life behind you. While you dug yourselves pits that are broken in making your hearts of foolishness do wrong to you. While you say: ‘we are clever’. You have been foolish. While you have changed the honor of God in your actions which are unworthy. For this reason, God has laid you down to torments, which are written, that is stealing and defilement and every kind of evil. Those things which every vengeance will happen to those that commit them. Not just in this world but in the other one.

Letter to Shenouda Concerning an Origenist Monk

DIOSCORUS OF ALEXANDRIA

d. AD 454

Patriarch of Alexandria.

LETTER TO SHENOUDA CONCERNING AN ORIGENIST MONK

¹[Translated by Herbert Thompson] These are the letters of the Archbishop of Alexandria, which he wrote to our aged Father, and these are their answers which our holy Father wrote to him, ²Dioscorus writes to Sinuthius the priest, the father of the monks, my beloved and him whom I desire in the Lord, greeting We have praised the admirable zeal of Psenthaesius the priest and the monks who are with him; for they have put on them the shield of the faith and they have hated those who hate God, they have accounted it as nothing to fight with enemies; moreover having done this gladly they have received a stone of victory, and they were elect the more (in proportion? as they were so. And further they will be (elect) as we believe, especially because they have removed the offence from the midst, I mean Helias who was a priest indeed for a time, but who was revealed as a destroyer of souls and on this account we degraded him; on this account we appointed and ordained that he should not be found, nor should he live from this time forth either in the diocese of Shmin [Panopolis] or in any other city of the Eparchy of the Thebais, or in the monasteries, or in the caves in the desert; we being anxious lest he should contaminate others so as to become zealots and partakers of his heresy or his evil teachings. Hence the matter rests on your affection to watch that the regulations which shall be ordained be not broken, those which the most pious bishops will ordain [and which Sabinus] with Gennadius and Hermogenes will prescribe for the monasteries of Panopolis.

³ And do thou moreover inquire earnestly also concerning the cities and monasteries of that diocese and convene them, and further do thy best not to let any insolence assail the beloved priest Psenthaesius and the worthy monks who are with him. For we will also care specially for those convents, searching into everything. Meanwhile the presence of your Reverence and the care which you will exercise daily for them will greatly benefit the business. It is on this account that I have written to you. I pray that you may keep well, my loved one and worthy of love. May your Reverence make speed to have the entire Memorandum translated into the Egyptian tongue, so that it may be read in that form and none may be ignorant of the authority of the things that are written therein. ⁴ The Memorandum of the Archbishop to the most pious Bishops Sabinus, Gennadius and Hermogenes.

⁵ The reasons indeed for which we degraded Helias the ex-priest it is superfluous for me to write to you, especially as the bishop of the church of Shmin was with us here in Rakote [Alexandria], he knowing everything that took place among us, and he having been the first of all to give a decision with regard to him, as he was under his authority at that time. It is necessary however that we should instruct you that first of all it is meet that you should summon the entire congregation in the great church of Shmin and that a service should be held at which all the clergy and the whole body of monks in all that diocese should be present and you should read out to them the memoranda which were drawn up here among us; so that they may all be made acquainted with the degradation of Helias, as to whom we have therefore prescribed that he shall not be seen from henceforth either in Shmin or in the other cities of the entire eparchy of the Thebais, nor in the monasteries, nor in the caves and that neighbourhood. Let this matter then be enforced, and do you execute it, and let your Reverences seek after him and take care that he is not seen from henceforth not only in the diocese of Shmin but also in all the other cities of the Thebais and also their dioceses whether in the south country or the north.

⁶ For it is no trifling matter that we are in fear of; but they are matters of prime importance; and if any one were [merely] to assert that Helias is a soul-destroying corrupter he would not be able to alter him by what he says; therefore we fear greatly that many may be polluted by him. The matter therefore rests with you, if he be seen anywhere or you hear where he is, to write to the bishop of that diocese and pursue him and expel him as a heretic.

But if he persist, or resolve to conceal himself, it is lawful for you to apply to the judges and inform them and hand him over and let them condemn him as an offender, seeing that, having anathematized Origen and his doctrines for a time he turned to him again; and the word of the true proverb applied to him "a dog who has turned again to his vomit" ; and moreover as to the convent which is called the Paremboule he is not to enter its door henceforth nor to remove anything from, it either by himself or by another, nor is he to administer anything nor to remove anything among the things that appertain to the monastery. For if any such thing happen, we shall know, and nothing will be hidden from us. For we shall search into everything carefully, and more especially whatever is done in Shmin from henceforth.

7 And let this too be made clear in order that he may not dare to face any monk whatever from this time, especially those of the Paremboule, nor is anyone among those who live in it to be allowed to speak to him or to communicate with him, or on the other hand to let him communicate with them, nor shall they associate with him at all to the ruin of the monastery and its property. And whoever shall be found associating with him, let him be expelled from the holy places, the saying being applied to him "You shall be pure with the pure, you shall avoid sin with him that avoids sin and you shall err with him who errs" , and further "These evil words corrupt hearts that are good" . These then together with all those who wish to be of one mind with us must be strict regarding Helias; and let the memoranda which have been issued regarding him be placed in that church. But since I have heard moreover that there are books and numerous treatises of the pest named Origen and other heretics in that convent and in the former temple of Shmin and elsewhere, let your Reverences inquire after them carefully and collect them and write their *κάθεμα* (?) and send them to us; for it God has given us power to bind.....

8[Selected footnotes]

Patristic Testimonies from Irenaeus, Athanasius and Dionysius

TIMOTHY AELURUS

d. AD 477

Miaphysite patriarch of Alexandria.

SOME PATRISTIC TESTIMONIA FROM IRENAEUS, ATHANASIUS, AND
DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA

THE PATRISTIC TESTIMONIA OF TIMOTHEUS AELURUS.

¹(IRENAEUS, ATHANASIUS, DIONYSIUS.)

*I. **

²In the following pages I discuss certain pieces which occur in what we may call the Patristic dossier of the patriarch of Alexandria Timotheus, nicknamed Aelurus or the Cat. Next to nothing remains in Greek of his works, because he was in conflict with the form of belief which triumphed in the great churches of the west and the east at the Council of Chalcedon. Four years ago, however, there was published at Leipzig a lengthy treatise of Timotheus in old Armenian by two archimandrites of Edschmiadsin. It is a work which seems to have been written by him when he was banished to Gangra in the year 460; his method in it is to state his own views, together with those of his opponents, and then to give select passages from fathers whose orthodoxy was considered above doubt and dispute, to shew that his opinion was old and catholic; and these are followed by passages from recognized heretics like Paul of Samosata, Nestorius, and Theodoret, and it is argued that the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon were in agreement with the latter. We should expect a patriarch of Alexandria writing in the middle of the fifth century to preserve to us passages from many Christian authors now lost; and this expectation is not wholly disappointed when |433 we come to examine the Armenian text, which was made from the original Greek

between the years 550 and 600. We find, however, many more testimonia from writers of the third and fourth century than we do from that of the second century, and Irenaeus is the only really early writer whom Timotheus had in his hands. It is also to be doubted whether he had his works entire, and did not rather derive his citations from some book of selections made for the use of the fathers who assembled at Ephesus to condemn Nestorius.

3(a) Irenaeus. The passages which he quotes from Irenaeus are as follows:---- 1. Title: Of the blessed Irenaeus, a successor of the apostles and Bishop of Lugdunum, who was celebrated for his knowledge of the lore of philosophers. 4 'The law and the prophets and the gospels have proclaimed that Christ was born of a virgin and passible upon the cross, and visible from among the dead, and that He ascended into the heavens, and was glorified by the Father and is King for ever. Also that He is perfect mind, the Word of God, who before the Daystar was born, co-creator of all, fashioner of man, who became all in all: patriarch among patriarchs, law among laws, high priest among priests, among kings ruler and leader, among prophets a prophet, among angels an angel, among men a man, in the Father Son, in God God, Eternal Ruler. He it is who steered Noah in his ship, and guided Abraham, with Isaac was He bound, and together with Jacob He sojourned in a strange land; together with Joseph He Was sold, and with Moses He led the host; to the people He gave laws, and with Joshua the son of Nave He uttered dooms. In David He was a singer, and among the prophets He proclaimed His own passion. In the virgin He was made flesh, and in Bethlehem was born, in a manger He was wrapt in swaddling clothes, and was beheld by the shepherds. By the angels He was glorified, and by the Magi worshipped, was welcomed by John and was baptized in the Jordan, was tempted in the wilderness and was found to be Lord.

5 He gathered round Him disciples, and preached the kingdom, He healed the halt and cleansed the lepers, He illuminated the blind, and raised the dead. He appeared in the temple, and was not believed in by the people, He was betrayed by the Jews and taken prisoner by the high priest, was brought before Herod and judged in the presence of Pilate. In His flesh He was nailed, and hung upon the tree, in the earth He was buried, and He rose again from the dead, He appeared to the disciples and was raised up to heaven; on the right hand of the Father He sat down and was glorified by Him. As He is the Resurrection of those who are buried, so He is the salvation of

the |434 lost, the illumination of them that are in darkness, and the ransom of those who are exiled, guide of those gone astray and refuge of the afflicted, Shepherd of the saved and Bridegroom of the Church, the charioteer of the cherubs and captain of the angels, God of God, Son from the Father, Jesus Christ, King unto the ages, Amen.'

6 The above passage has already been published in Armenian by Cardinal Pitra, in vol. i ch. 4 of his *Spicilegium*, from a recently written Codex in the library of the Convent of San Lazzaro at Venice. W. W. Harvey, the Cambridge editor of Irenaeus, remarks that it represents the same original as a Syriac fragment which he publishes, but with certain interpolations, which he brackets as such in his Latin translation. The passages bracketed at least double the length of the extract; and the text, as we have given it above from the work of Timotheus, not only contains several phrases which are not found in the Armenian MS of Venice, but is in general more correct. There is no reason to suppose that the additional matter of Timotheus is an interpolation. In antiquity his text of Irenaeus goes far behind any other sources; and there is no reason to suppose that its tradition has been tampered with. It may be remarked that the Armenian text of Timotheus is published from a very ancient uncial MS written on parchment, of which the editors 'give a couple of facsimiles. It is in a very archaic style of writing, certainly not later than the twelfth century, and perhaps as early as the tenth.

7 2. The next fragment of Irenaeus also exists in Syriac, and is given in Harvey's edition on page 458 of the second volume. It had already been printed by Cardinal Pitra in the first volume of his *Spicilegium* in a Syriac form with a Latin translation. It is as follows in the text of Timotheus:---- 8 'The Holy Scriptures recognize that Christ as He was Man, so likewise He was not man; and that as He was flesh, so also spirit, and Word of God, and God. And as in the last times born of Mary, so also first-born of all creation, come forth from God; and as hungering, so also as satisfying His appetite, and as thirsting, so also they state that He long ago gave to the Jews to drink, when He was the rock Christ ; so now to the faithful, Jesus gives spiritual water to drink, welling forth to life eternal. And as He felt weariness, so He gives rest to those who are weary and heavy-laden; and as He was Son of David, so also that He is David's Lord; and as He is descended from Abraham, that so He was before Abraham. And as He was a servant of God, so also that He was Son of God and Lord of all. And as He was spat upon in ignominy, so also

that He breathed His Spirit into His disciples; |435 and as He sorrowed, so is giver of joy to His people. And as He was susceptible to capture and to handling, so again He passed into the midst of those who thought to do Him harm, yet was not taken by them, and through closed doors He entered in, yet was not confined by them. And as He slept, so also He gave command to sea and winds and spirits;

9 and as He suffered, so also He is alive, and redeemer, and heals from every sickness. And as He died, so also is He the Resurrection of the dead; on earth without honour, yet in the heavens greater than all honour and glory. Crucified indeed He was because of infirmity, yet He lives by dint of divine potency. Into the lowest parts of earth He descended, yet ascended above the heavens. He found sufficient for Himself the manger, yet fills everything. He became dead, and was made alive for ever and ever, Amen.' 10 3. A third passage which survives in the citation of Timotheus is Book I, ch. ii, of the work against Heresies. It is a passage of which Epiphanius discerned the importance and accordingly cited it in his. work on Heresies, Book XXXI, ch. xxx. In the Armenian we have a fresh testimony to the text of it, as follows:----

11 Holy Church, although it extends over the whole world, being sown like seed to the limits of the earth, from the Apostles and from their disciples has received the faith in one God, Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, of the sea and all that is in them; and in one Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, who was made flesh for our salvation; and in the Holy Spirit, who by means of the prophets was preacher of the dispensations of God and of the advent and of the birth from a virgin, and of the passion and the resurrection from the dead and the bodily ascension into heaven, of the loved son Christ Jesus, our Lord, and of His advent from the heavens in the glory of the Father in order to recapitulate all things, and raise all flesh of all mankind; in order that to Jesus Christ, our Lord and God and Saviour and King, in accordance with the will of the Father unseen, every knee may be bent, of beings in heaven and on earth and under the earth; and that every tongue may fully confess to Him; and that He may fulfil judgement of righteousness upon all, and may send into eternal fire the spiritual powers of evil and the transgressing angels, and those that became apostates, and the impious and the unjust and the lawless and the blasphemers among men; but that bestowing life He may make ready incorruption and glory for the holy and right-

eous, and for those who kept His commandments, and did abide in His love, some from the beginning, but some by way of repentance.

¹² This preaching the Church received, and this faith, as we said above; | 436 and although she is sown like seed over all the earth, she carefully guards it, as dwelling in a single house; and in the same way she believes in the above, as having one soul, and the same heart, and concordantly she preaches these things and teaches them and hands them down, as possessed of one mouth. (b) Athanasius. From Athanasius Timotheus derived many pieces of his dossier, some of them not extant in Greek. The texts used by Timotheus were many centuries earlier than any of our MSS of Athanasius, and must have been those which were preserved in the archives of the Alexandrine patriarchate. The Armenian version is therefore of some value for the text of the excerpts, but in some cases they appear to be abridged from the original. Three passages are cited from the Discourse on the Holy Spirit which are not found in the Latin version: we may perhaps infer that the Latin text is an abridgement of the lost Greek original. Several passages are cited as from Athanasius which are from works to-day ascribed by critics to Apollinaris of Laodicea. The *De incarnatione Dei Verbi* is an example. Timotheus gives it in full among his testimonia, just as his predecessor Cyril cited it at some length in his Epistle to the Princesses. Leontius of Byzantium under Justinian surmised that the citation had been interpolated in Cyril's letter, but the reappearance of the entire piece in Timotheus does not confirm such an hypothesis; and it is possible after all that at one time of his life Athanasius may have written passages which a hundred years later the adversaries of the Council of Chalcedon found useful.

¹³ (c) Dionysius. Among the existing Greek fragments of Dionysius, Patriarch of Alexandria (died a.d. 264-265), is a letter to Basilides, Bishop of the churches in the Pentapolis, on the great Sabbath. It deals with the question of what is the right hour at which to break the Easter Fast, and was printed in vol. iii of Routh's *Reliquiae Sacrae*, in Beverege's *Synodicum*, in Mansi's *Concilia*, and other collections of the kind. Now in the same uncial MS which contains the work of Timothy Aelurus f. 306 r° we find a long excerpt from Dionysius bearing the following title: 'Of the Blessed Dionysius, Archbishop of Alexandria, from the Epistle to the Queen, an examination of the evidence of the Resurrection after three days of the Lord, shewing that the Lord is true.' I conjecture that the Armenian word *thaguhin*, 'queen', here

renders basi/lissan in a Greek original, and that this was a corruption of βασιλίδην; for we know from Eusebius that Dionysius wrote to him not only the epistle above mentioned, but several others. An alternative view is that the Queen in question was Zenobia, the patroness of Paul of Samosata. The Epistle of Dionysius against the latter proves that he was interested in churches which were under Zenobia's jurisdiction. If she was as favourably inclined to Christianity as she is reported to have been, she may well have sought information on the points with which this letter deals from the head of a church so celebrated as was that of Alexandria for skill and accuracy in respect of calendarial calculations.

¹⁴ Here are the passages of this letter preserved by Timotheus or by the Armenian who translated his book against the Decisions of Chalcedon. In the MS they follow that book without any break:---- 306 r°. 'And the evening and the morning were one day' (Gen. i 5). And they ask which was first, day or night? Now thou hast rightly reckoned that which lies immediately at hand and has been made clear in advance, that the day seems to be previous to the night. In common parlance anyhow we say that the day is fulfilled at eventide and that the dawn is the completion of the night. And for this reason perhaps Job, anxious because of his excessive agony for the divisions of time to pass by, says: 'If I fall asleep, I say, When is the day? But if I wake up, again I say, When is evening?' Signifying the evening to be as it were the limit of the day, and that the night ceases when the day, that is the dawn, appears.

¹⁵ And, mark this, a similar conclusion appears to be in accordance with convention. For after God had said, Let there be light, and after the light was first created and called by him Day, just as later on the darkness was called Night, he added----as if the day was fulfilled----that, 'There was the evening and there was the dawn.' And straightway comprising the two at once, he fulfilled one day. For, says some one, it is meet for the time of working to be called Day, but for what remains and is a cessation from work to be called Night. Even as our Lord said: It is needful for you to do the work of him that sent you, while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work. And after a little:---- For the day is always mentioned first, as God foretold to Noe: 'By day and by night thou shalt not pause'; or the Sun makes the beginning of his revolution from the West and concludes it at the East, and then pursues his return, as the Psalmist foretold: 'The Sun knew |438 his set-

ting. Thou didst set the darkness, and it was night; but thereafter the Sun arose and beamed.'

¹⁶ But if persuaded by the above arguments we believe that the day precedes night, then a doubt, as thou hast written, assails the argument; I mean that you call in question, in respect of the three days, the mystery of the resurrection of the Beloved. For it is no longer on the third day, but on the second, that he must be reckoned first to have risen from the dead; for if he died on the Paraskevé (i. e. Friday) and rose on the next day, on the Sabbath, (that was) after the same (day's) night, this being reckoned therewith. And after a little:---- Now, if one begins at this point, he contradicts all that was said before; and we all affirm----I mean that the entire Church of God beginning from the holy apostles bears witness----that the night was part not of the day which had passed away, but of that which was approaching; and was divided from what preceded it, but associated with what succeeds itself. For when does he minister and to whom, as to one dissatisfied, does he present his work? If he really refers his work first to the past, then it were meet for us to feast the Sabbath, as if the Lord had risen thereon. For he rose on the night of it, if on the night following it. But as it is, we have left this to Jews, and the eyewitnesses and those who themselves heard the Lord, have handed down to us the tradition of feasting on the first of the week. For they have related to us that our Lord arose unto it and on it; and so they honoured the day with a glorious epithet, naming it Kyriaké, which means Dominical.

¹⁷ And after a little:---- So at least the Jews, when the sun sets on Paraskevé, say that the Sabbath is come and first enforce Sabbatical inactivity during the repose of night; for it is forbidden them to light a fire on the Sabbath day. But the day belonging to the preceding night they exclude, (the day) |439 which is ushered in by the evening before it. For their repose is abrogated, having become general mourning in connexion with the feast, in that the Lord was hidden from that (day) forth, having remained wholly in the heart of the earth without arising thereon, in order to establish for us as a more Dominical and truer feast the first of the week dawning on us. And, indeed, all men associate the preceding nights with the morrows to come, and regulate their nocturnal proceedings to suit the days which immediately follow. In this manner do they celebrate birthdays, in this annual commemorations of deaths, in this those of festal occasions.

18 308 r°. Why in confirmation of this do we further appeal to the general procedure of Gentiles and to the traditional usage of the ancestors of the Jews? Not only so, but sufficient for us, as teaching this, is the Healer of God Moses, so far forth as he has revealed to us the creation of the world; for with all clearness he indicated to us that the compass of day extends from evening to evening, in the passage in which he enacts concerning the Pascha as follows:---- 'For at the commencement, on the 14th day of the first month, from even (ye are) to eat unleavened bread until the 21st day of the month at even. For seven days leaven shall not be found in your houses.' But the seven days are from the 15th to the 20th. It is clear, therefore, that the 15th began with the 14th evening, while the 21st ended on the following day before the night of the next evening. And the 14th day was not one of the days of unleavened bread; but the lamb was slain on it, not at even, for the evening was not thereof, but when the evening was advanced, as it is written :----

19 'And they shall slay it, all the multitude of the congregation of the children of Israel, towards even.' Then, anyway after a sufficient interval had taken place, during which they were laying the blood on the door-posts and lintels, were also skinning and preparing it, and as the Scripture adds:----- 'They shall eat the flesh on that night roasted with fire, with unleavened bread upon bitter herbs shall they consume it.' So then the first day of unleavened bread was the 15th, beginning with eventide and night, as he again says :---- 'Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread, and from the first day ye shall hide away leaven out of your houses.' And after a little from Leviticus :---- 'In the first month on the 14th of the month, in the middle of the | 440 evening is the Pascha of the Lord. And from the 15th of this month is the feast of unleavened bread of the Lord. Seven days ye shall eat unleavened bread.'

20 And as he said in Exodus:---- 'They shall slay it towards even.' So in this passage he modifies his expression to 'in the middle of the evening', because not at the completion nor on the verge of even, but in the middle of the term, the passover was to be slain, in order that on that account the 15th might be called the feast of unleavened bread and it might be consumed just at nightfall. And after other matter:---- 'But if any one imagine that eventide is end and last portion of the day, because the Pascha is declared to be the seventh until evening, let him reflect that the first day was declared (to begin) from the evening, as if the evening were the first limit of the day; and

it is necessary that all the days compounded of days and nights should be uniform and commensurate one with the other; and their common beginnings must be one, and their completion must be the same in transmission, while the definite periods comprised in them must be invariable one from the other. One eventide, therefore, and one dawn, and one mid-day, and one mid-night is included in each.

²¹ And after other matter:---- For the three days' mystery of our Lord's Resurrection is to be computed thus: He instructed his disciples beforehand that he must go to Jerusalem and suffer many things at the hands of the elders and high priests and scribes, and die, and on the third day rise from the dead. Now after the ninth hour----in which he died----what remained of Paraskev  was one day, but the day-night of the Sabbath totalled a second; but the evening of the Sabbath, as Matthew says, was 'beginning to dawn for the first of the week', and in these words he signified as a manner of its imminence that the night was being illumined, but not that the day was being darkened by the night's overtaking it. From the verge of night was the third day, on which, according to his prediction, our Lord arose. ²² Some one argues from there having been darkness from the sixth to the ninth hour, taking (this) for a night, that the three days and three nights (so) came to pass, and reckons this fraction too (as belonging) to the days in order to complete the days; for he divides off the Paraskev  up to the sixth hour and puts it aside as then entirely completed; but from the ninth hour on as the second day, both what |441 of these (hours) is Paraskev  and what is Sabbath. Now two days in one do not constitute a Paraskev , nor two Sabbaths. And he recognizes one true night, but adds the other that never was. For the darkness in question was in a way a symbolic passion and mourning, as it were, of the day, the sun having all but hidden himself and subsided into blackness at what was taking place. But a night was not (therefore) to be added in the reckoning; nay, even if it be called exceptional and excessive night, it was yet moonless and starless, and for that reason is not to be reckoned on a level with other nights. If, however, Sabbath follows Paraskev  and after it the first day of the week is completed, it is clear, if the Paraskev  on that occasion lasted until the sixth hour, while the Sabbath came after the ninth, then the Sabbath was turned into the first of the week, and the first of the week trenched on the second. And as we still feast it as dominical, both number

and order of the days have obviously been confused, an extra day having been intercalated.

23 But such views are most unreasonable. Why should we not equally entitle nights all eclipses of the sun? For although on that occasion, the moon being at its full, and the month only half expired, the eclipse was most incongruous and miraculous, for it is (under such circumstances) impossible, as experts in these matters declare it to be. For they say this never occurs except in the usual intercrossing of their paths and directions, by reason of the moon's intrusion and of its turning the rays into shadow relatively to us. And although this (eclipse) was a longish one, extending over three hours as it did, and though in its case the darkness was very profound, nevertheless some other eclipses have been longer in duration, and during them both the atmosphere has been darkened and the stars have shone out as at night, yet they; have never been intercalated as forming a single night. And that the day was single, and that the darkness as well as its light was included in it, had been prophesied by Zachariah : 'On that day there shall not jbe light, and cold and frost shall there be, the one day, and that day known unto the Lord, neither day nor night, but toward evening there shall be light.'

24 And that the darkness was altogether (equivalent to) three days' death is not true, for the darkness took place while he was still alive upon the tree; for he was nailed up at the third hour, as Mark assures us: 'It was now the third hour and they crucified him.' But the three evangelists are also concordant in declaring that the darkness lasted from the sixth hour to the ninth, and that then the Lord with a cry gave up the ghost. |442 And after a little:---- 25 In spite of this uncertainty, we must recognize which (were) the three days: we have clearly the Sabbath fully composed of a night and a day. For as we said above, it was in order to refute and cast opprobrium on the Jews, that he enacted that their festival should become wholly a day of mourning. At least he associated death with each of the days, and accepted for one complete day part of a day, and for another part of a night, indicating that the night in importance pre(cedes) day and that the day is to be (dated) by the night. For the part is in (the whole) and the whole is often named from the part. For a man has only to pass inside a city's gates, and he is said to have entered the city; and another to have gone aboard a ship, if he only sets foot on the gangway (or ? bows); and one who transgresses a single rule, is a transgressor of the law. Again, a man is born in a single hour, yet we

keep his birth-day, and pretend that what took place in a moment was done on that day. In the same way as we say that the passover is slain on the 14th, when it is only slain at its close, nights and days in a way passing into one another and along with one another,----So we say that the Lord fulfilled the type of Jonah by passing three days and three nights in the heart of the earth.

²⁶ F. C. CONYBEARE. [Footnotes renumbered and moved to the end.] * Note to the online edition. The text has been indented to highlight the quotations, but it is not quite clear whether 'And after a little' is a statement by Conybeare or Timothy. I have indented as if the latter. The quotation marks are as in the original: i.e. apparently random. The 'I' that appears at the top of the article suggests that further articles were intended. However in Louis Mariès, Frederick Cornwallis Conybeare (1856-1924) : Notice Biographique et Bibliographique (1926: New York reprint 1970, ISBN 0-8337-22158) , p. 261, we are told that the bibliographer could find no trace of any such continuation. 1. 1 Cor. x 4. 2. 2 Cor. xiii 4. 3. Eph. iv 9, 10. 4. Reading geradsavotzn for the vox nihili garadsotsn in the Arm. text. 5. Job vii 4. 6. Gen. i 3-5. 7. John ix 4 (the ordinary text read us or me for you).

²⁷ 8. Gen. viii 23. 9. Ps. ciii 19, 20. 10. i.e. ἀγαπητός. 11. i. e. From Friday 6 p.m. to Saturday 6 p.m. is one day; from Saturday 6 p.m. to Sunday 6 p.m. is a second day; therefore if Jesus died on Friday afternoon and rose on Sunday at dawn, he rose on the second day, not on the third. 12. i. e. of the Sabbath or on Saturday night. Perhaps this sentence is the lemma of one whom Dionysius controverts. The meaning of the sentences which precede: For when, &c, is obscure, though the Armenian text is straightforward. Perhaps for djkhoyi----'one dissatisfied' should be read dshkhoyi='a Queen', viz., the Christian Church. 13. i. e. the feasting of the Sabbath. 14. Friday. 15. i. e. our Friday 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. 16. i. e. our Thursday night. 17. i. e. our Thursday evening. 18. i. e. of the Jews.

²⁸ 19. ἐπιφώσκουσιν. 20. i.e. the eves of festivals. 21. Exod. xii 18-19. 22. Or 'added'. 23. Exod. xii 8. 24. Exod. xii 15. 25. Levit. xxiii 5-6. 26. Matt. xx 18. 27. ἡμερονύκτιον. 28. Matt. xxviii 1. 29. The next few words are to me unintelligible. 30. xiv 6-7. 31. Owing to lacunae in text the reading is not certain. 32. xv 25. 33. The brackets represent lacunae in the text and the sense is not quite clear.

Legends of Eastern Saints, chiefly from Syriac sources

various dates

Legends of saints from Syriac and other Eastern sources.

THE STORY OF BENT-RESH

THE STORY OF BENT-RESH. — The Story of Bent-Resh.

¹Lo), his majesty) was in Naharin according to his yearly custom, while the chiefs of every country came bowing down in peace, because of the fame of his majesty. From the marshes was their tribute; silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite and every sweet wood of God's-Land were upon their backs, each one leading his neighbour. Then the chief of Bekhten caused his tribute to be brought, and he placed his eldest daughter in front thereof, praising his majesty, and craving life from him. Now, she was exceedingly beautiful to the heart of his majesty, beyond everything. Then they affixed her titulary as: "Great King's-Wife, Nefrure". When his majesty arrived in Egypt, she fulfilled all the functions of King's-wife. ---- When the year 23, the tenth month, the twenty-second day, came, while his majesty was in Thebes, the victorious, the mistress of cities, performing the pleasing ceremonies of his father, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, at his beautiful feast of Southern Opet (Luxor), his favorite seat, of the beginning (of the world), came one to say to his majesty: "A messenger of the chief of Bekhten has come, bearing many gifts for the King's-Wife". Then he was brought before his majesty together with his gifts. He said, praising his majesty: "Praise to thee, Sun of the nine Bows! Give |4 us life from thee". So spake he, smelling the earth before his majesty. He spake again before his majesty: "I come to thee, o King, my lord, on account of Bentresh, thy great sister of the King's-Wife, Nefrure. Sickness has penetrated into her limbs. May thy majesty send a wise man to see her".

² Then said his majesty: "Bring to me the sacred scribes and the officials of the court". They were led to him immediately. Said his majesty: "Let one read

to you, till you hear this thing. Then bring to me one experienced in his heart, who can write with his fingers from your midst". The king's-scribe, Thutemhab, came before his majesty, and his majesty commanded that he go to Bekhten together with this messenger. The wise man arrived in Bekhten; he found Bentresh in the condition of one possessed of a spirit. He found her [unable] to contend with him. The chief of Bekhten repeated in the presence of his majesty, saying: "O King, my lord, let his majesty command to have this god brought.....). [Then the wise man whom his majesty had sent, returned] to his majesty in the year 26, the ninth month, at the feast of Amon, while his majesty was in Thebes.

³ Then his majesty repeated (it) before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, saying: "O my good lord, I repeat before thee concerning the daughter of the chief of Bekhten". Then they led Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest to Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits. Then said his majesty before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest: "O thou good lord, if thou inclinest thy face to |5 Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker, the great god, smiting the evil spirits, he shall be conveyed to Bekhten". There was violent nodding. Then said his majesty: "Send thy protection with him, that I may cause his majesty to go to Bekhten, to save the daughter of the chief of Bekhten". Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest nodded the head violently. Then he wrought the protection of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, four times. His majesty commanded to cause Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to proceed to a great ship, five transports, numerous chariots and horses of the west and the east. This god arrived in Bekhten in a full year and five months. Then the chief of Bekhten came, with his soldiers and his nobles, before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker. He threw himself upon his belly, saying: "Thou comest to us, thou art welcome with us, by command of the King Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II)".

⁴ Then this god went to the place where Bentresh was. Then he wrought the protection of the daughter of the chief of Bekhten. She became well immediately. Then said this spirit which was in her before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "Thou comest in peace, thou great god, smiting the barbarians. Thy city is Bekhten, thy servants are its people, I am thy servant, I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy the heart concerning that, on account of which thou comest. (But) let thy majesty command to celebrate a feast-day with me and with the chief of Bekhten". Then this god nodded to

his priest, saying: "Let the chief of Bekhten make a great offering before this spirit". While these things were happening, which Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes wrought with the spirit, the chief of Bekhten |6 stood with his soldiers, and feared very greatly. Then he made a great offering before Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes and the spirit; and the chief of Bekhten celebrated a feast-day [with] them. Then the spirit departed in peace to the place he desired, by command of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes, and the chief of Bekhten rejoiced very greatly, together with every man who was in Bekhten.

5 Then he took counsel with his heart, saying: "I will cause this god to remain with me in Bekhten; I will not permit that he return to Egypt". Then this god tarried three years and nine months in Bekhten. Then the chief of Bekhten slept upon his bed, and he saw this god coming to him, to forsake his shrine; he was a hawk of gold, and he flew upward to Egypt. He (the chief) awoke in fright. Then he said to the priest of Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes: "This god, he is still with us; let him depart to Egypt; let his chariot depart to Egypt". Then the chief of Bekhten caused this god to proceed to Egypt, and gave to him very many gifts of every good thing, very many soldiers and horses. They arrived in peace at Thebes. Then came the city of Thebes, and the Plan-Maker-in-Thebes to the house of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest. He set the gift which the chief of Bekhten had given to him, of good things, before Khonsu-in-Thebes-Beautiful-Rest, (but) he gave not everything thereof into his house. Khonsu-the-Plan-Maker-in-Thebes arrived [at] his [plac]e in peace in the year 33, the second month, the ninth day, of King Usermare-Setepnere; that he might be given life like Re, forever.

6[Footnotes renumbered and placed at the end] 1. 1) I have omitted the titles at the beginning of this story. 2. 2) Ramses II. 3. 1) Lacuna.

THE COPTIC VERSION

1 THE STORY OF THE TWO DAUGHTERS OF KING ZENO. TRANSLATION OF THE COPTIC TEXT.

The story of the two daughters of king Zeno.

2 [He knew not that she was a woman)]. He gave her a cell near his own cell, to the south of the church. Together with a philosopher, named apa Martyrios, he visited her twice every day. And the words which the saint apa Pambô

spake to her for the profit of her soul were translated into Greek by apa Martyrios; for this reason the girl learned the Egyptian language. When she had dwelled there three years, the Lord revealed to Pambô, that she was a woman, but he knew not that she was the daughter of the king. When he knew that she was a woman, he said to her secretly: "Let nobody know that thou art a woman, for it is not suitable for our manner of life that a woman dwell amongst us, lest anybody be hurt for our sake." Nine years later, when they saw the girl beardless amongst the brethren, they called her Hilarion the eunuch, for there were many men in such a condition. Her breasts were not like the breasts of other women, on account of her ascetic practices they were withered; and she) was not subjected to the illness of women, for God had ordained it in this way. |10

³ When she had passed nine years under these severe ascetic practices, and her parents had already ceased to think of her, a demon took possession of her younger sister in Constantinople. She was brought into the presence of the great ascetics of Byzantium, that they might pray for her; but God did not grant her recovery at their hands. The courtiers gave advice to the king and said: "May the king live for ever)! If it please thy majesty to accept our advice, thou shouldst send thy daughter to the ascetics of Shiit), who are great I in holiness), and we believe that God will grant her recovery on account of their prayers." The king on hearing their advice rejoiced, for there was great sorrow in his house for the sake of the girl. He prepared what was useful for his daughter and sent with her two eunuchs and two virgins and other servants for her service.

⁴ He wrote to Rakote) to the commander and to the governor to accompany her to Shiit. The king wrote [also] a letter to Shiit, asking for paper and ink to write with his own hand, lest haughty words should be put in the letter, such as are becoming to the royal rank. "The unworthy king Zeno, whom God hath given this honour above his merits, writeth to the saints, worthy of being loved, who pray for us in [the name of] the Lord, Hail. Above all, I worship your assembly in Christ, and if you hold me worthy enough, I shall kiss the dust of your sanctity's feet. But I inform you of what the Lord hath done me, on account of my |11 many sins. I had two daughters. I had no consolation except them. The eldest went from me, she is gone. Hath she died in the sea? Hath she become the prey of the wild beasts? (Hath she been captured by the Barbarians)? God knoweth in what manner she

died. A great sorrow struck me on her account, for I found not her corpse to bury her. (When I had consoled myself somewhat about her, saying: The will of the Lord be [accomplished]) ---- then another sorrow struck me, much more vehement than the first one: the other [daughter], who was my support, a demon took possession of her; we keep watch over her day and night. I have been advised to send her to your holiness. Now the end of this letter is truly, that God will not reject your prayer".

5 When the girl had arrived at Rakote, the commander and the governor went with her to Shiit; and when they came into the presence of the saint apa Pambô, they gave him the letter of the king and told him about the girl who was possessed by the demon. He called all the brethren together and read before them the letter of the king. But when they had begun to pray over her the demon took possession of her in the midst of the brethren, threw her on the ground and continued to torment her so that the commander and the governor wondered greatly. As to the saint Hilaria, when she saw her lay sister, she recognised her: but the lay sister did not recognise her sister, the nun: and how could she recognise her? [12 For her colour had altered, the beauty of her body had withered, her eyes were sunken in, she was only bones and skin.

6 When she saw her sister, she was vehemently troubled, her bowels were disturbed about her sister, she threw herself at her sister's neck, weeping till the earth was soaked with her tears. When the brethren saw her weeping, they said: "She hath compassion of heart with her". But when she had recovered a little from her illness, he) called an old ascetic and said to him: "Take the girl to thy cell and pray over her, till God granteth her recovery". But he said: "I have not attained such a degree of perfection as to be able to take a woman into my cell". But the philosopher Martyrios said to Pambô: "Trust her to Hilarion the eunuch, he is able to take a woman into his house". They trusted the girl to her sister, who took her into her house. When she saw the face of her sister, she was troubled, she threw herself on the ground and wept vehemently: when she had recovered she kissed her mouth. Sometimes she slept with her on the same bench.

7 After seven days God granted her the recovery [of her sister]. She took her to the midst of the church and said: "On account of your prayers God hath granted recovery to the daughter of the king". The commander and the governor held a religious meeting and turned back and departed. As to the

brethren they wrote to the king through his daughter: "The unworthy [persons] of the Nitrian mountain write to the triumphant king [13 Zeno. Above all we adore thy lofty majesty. May the Lord preserve thy empire without any scandal, like that of David and Solomon. Farewell, thou who providest for us and the whole church". In this way they arrived at Constantinople. There was a great joy over the recovery of the king's daughter. The king made a feast for all weak and ill persons, he stood and served them and gave everyone with his own hand a goblet of spiced wine. On the next day he made a feast for all the courtiers. But when he asked his daughter about that which had passed to her, she said to him: "They entrusted me to an ascetic, named Hilarion; he hath prayed over me and God hath granted me recovery. (Great was his compassion with me). Sometimes he kissed my mouth, sometimes he slept with me on the same bench during the whole night".

8 When the king heard this, the matter troubled him; he said: "I never heard that monks would kiss women or sleep with them on the same bench; but I have heard that they hated them and would not condescend to speak with them at all. How is this now? I understand it not". This thought troubled the king. He wrote a second letter to Shiit, in this way: "His victorious majesty Zeno, writeth to the pious fathers dwelling in Shiit. I am a debtor to your prayers and I cannot attain the measure of your honour, nor pay what I wish [to pay]) by your intermediary. So I wish that you accept my . . . and that you send me the brother [14 named Hilarion. There is an illness in the palace and I cannot....." [They called] Hilaria and said to her:) "Arrange thy matters, brother, for the king hath sent for thee".

9 Now the Blessed was much grieved. The brethren consoled her, saying: "Go and the Lord shall go with thee and thou shalt return in peace". They sent with her two old brethren, hermits. So they went towards Constantinople to the king. When the king heard that they had arrived, he rejoiced greatly and ordered them to be brought to him ["Tell me the truth, that I] may purify myself from this transgression. But thou, spare no words!" The holy Virgin meditated saying [to herself]: "I should like to conceal the matter; but lest the other monks be confounded on my account [I shall make known the matter] now that such foulness hath been conceived about these saints. She said to him: "Bring me the Gospels". He brought them her. She said to him: "Swear to me: I shall not [restrain thee] from going to my place". So he swore by the Gospel. She said to him: "I am

Hilaria, thy daughter". The king, on hearing this, wondered and was perplexed; he could not speak for an hour. But at once he understood [the matter], hurried towards his daughter, embraced her, weeped on her neck, kissed her mouth like Joseph in his time, when he threw himself on Benjamin's neck and wept over him.

10 When Hilaria's mother and sister heard [the news], they screamed aloud. For women are naturally inclined to be perplexed. The king restrained them, |15 saying lest God bereave us of our two [daughters]. But, on the contrary, let us praise Him because we have found her back alive". Because the king had sworn it to her, he revealed not the matter to the other brethren who had accompanied her and kept her during three months with him in order to continue seeing his daughter's face daily. He asked her how she had left his house, she told him how she wore her dress of a spatharios and how she had gone to Rakote and how she had gone to Shirt with the deacon. Then they took leave and returned to their place. The king gave Shiit three thousand [measures of] corn, for the eucharist and for his daughter, with six hundred measures of oil and this hath been continued for the church of Shiit till this day.

11 After her arrival at Shiit she lived still twelve years. At last she fell into a severe illness and bore it with courage. She called the holy Pambô and conjured him thus: "When I shall have ceased living, thou shalt take care, because thou knowest my whole life, that this coat be not taken from me, but let me be buried with it". When she had given up the ghost, he stood over her body and buried it in the coat, according to what she had said to him; when she had been buried, he sat down and spoke to the monks a divine word. He said to them: "Verily, a weak vessel hath put to shame this multitude of monks who are dwelling at Shiit: who hath shown such an endurance, when she dwelled struggling amongst men? Who hath shown such an endurance, bereaving herself of rest of the flesh, as she hath done?"

12 When the brethren heard her life, they were struck |16 with wonder and praised God, saying: "Therefore He hath granted her the grace of deceasing on the day of Mary, the holy mother of God), i.e. the 21st Touba". They wrote to her father about her end. He and [Hilaria's] mother were highly grieved. Afterwards he consoled her) mother, saying: "If he who hath posterity in Sion and kindred in Jerusalem hath been called happy), verily how much happier are we, for we have posterity in the heavenly Jerusalem. Ver-

ily..... [Footnotes renumbered and moved to the end] 1. 1) Not in Amélineau's text, but supplemented by Dr. von Lemm. 2. 2) According to a correction of the Coptic text by Dr. von Lemm. 3. 1) Cf. Daniel VI, 22; The Story of Ahiqar, éd. Conybearé, R. Harris, A. Smith Lewis, p. □, 12 paen. 4. 2) Skete.

¹³ 5. 3) politei/a. 6. 4) Alexandria. 7. (1---1) Only in Coptic Ms. 1101 (Or. 6073), British Museum, according to Dr. von Lemm. 8. 1) Pambô. 9. (1---1) According to corrections of Dr. von Lemm. 10. 2) i.e. my debt. 11. 1) Giron, p. 61. 12. 1) qeoto&koj 13. 2) i.e. Hilaria's. 14. 3) Dr. von Lemm compares Is. XXXI, 9 b according to LXX.

THE LONG ARABIC VERSION

¹ THE STORY OF HILARIA. TRANSLATION OF THE LONG ARABIC TEXT. (Forget I, p. □ et sequ.) The 21th day of the month of Tubih. On this day Hilaria the daughter of king Zeno, departed this life. He had no male child, but only two virgin daughters. He gave them a careful education; in the first place he let them learn writing, as was becoming to the royal rank, and let them learn by heart the psalms so that they could read them throughout). The name of the oldest daughter was Hilaria. She desired to remain a virgin; especially she felt inclined towards monastic life. But she shrank back from going to the monasteries of Byzantium because she knew that they would not receive her from fear before her father. ² Then she took a manly resolution and determined what to do in order to enter the pure career of monastic life. One day the king went with his daughter to the cathedral at the time of the ministration of the holy sacrifice and the blessed Hilaria raised her eyes to heaven and said in her heart: "O Lord, if Thou esteemest me worthy of the pure calling and Thou wilt make my way to succeed, let me hear words from the scripture-lessons pointing to my aim and wish. When she entered the church she listened and heard firstly the great word of the apostle: "By faith Moses refused to be called the, son of Pharaos daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the |20 pleasures of sin for a season"). And also from the catholic epistle: "The wealth of this world is like grass and hay"); and from the Acts of the Apostles: "I have coveted no silver or gold or apparel. Yea, you yourselves know that these hands have ministered unto my necessities"); and also from the Psalter: "His joy is sweeter than gold and precious stones and honey and honey-comb"); and also from the Gospel: "Whosoever forsaketh not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple"); and from the sermon of the

bishop after the Gospel: "Wherefore, O man, desirest thou what passeth away and what thou must leave behind. Know that the lusts of this world pass away.

³ Therefore confide not in riches, for riches remain here and our sins precede us to the judgment-seat of the Lord. Then she praised God saying: "God hath given success to my course and smoothed my way. When they had received the blessing, she prepared herself for fleeing and God, the beneficent, showed her how to act. On the next morning she clad herself in the dress of a spatharios, girded herself with a girdle of Taif-leather, took a stick in her hand and went in the direction of the sea, where no one would notice her. She found a ship sailing to a town called Safirâ. She said to the sailor: "I desire to be brought to the shore of Alexandria, for I have to transmit orders of the king. The sailor said: "We go not towards that place, o spatharios; but if the king wanteth it, we cannot thwart him. So they brought her to Alexandria; at that time she was twelve years old and a beautiful girl. |21 She entered the church of Anba Petros, the last of the martyrs, prayed and beseeched him to help her and went "to the church of the holy Mar Marcus and asked him to smooth her way. There she found a deacon, named Theodorus, and said to him: "Peace to thee, brother. I desire that thou travellest with me to the mountain of Shihat, for I wish to visit that place and will give thee thy wages; for I have left my country in order to pay this visit.

⁴ The deacon said to her: "O spatharios, for a long time I have wished to go to that place, and perhaps it is God's will. But let us eat bread and depart to morrow morning. The blessed said to him: "Good. She took a dinar and gave it him, saying: "Buy for this dinar what we need. The deacon took the dinar and spent of it what they wanted. ⁵ The next morning they saddled beasts to ride on and went to the church of Abu Menas) where they passed the night. On the next morning they went to Shihât. When they had arrived, the holy Man Bamfu was consulted about them: "There is a spatharios who hath brought with him a deacon." He gave order to bring them to him. When they had entered, he clapped his hands, as is the custom of monks, and prayed. When they sat down he told them many profitable stories. Then the blessed Hilaria addressed herself to the pure old man, saying: "I wish to be invested by thee with the monastic habit and to remain here." Father Bamfu answered and said: "My son, it is impossible for thee to remain here, for thou art accustomed to comfort and |22 bodily rest. But if thou desirest to become

a monk, go to Anvatun because it is hidden) and in that place is a congregation of rich people who have embraced monastic life but live there without trouble, finding consolation. But we are far from Misr, at a distance of forty) days from the plain and the towns ; nay, we are even in need of clothes. And thou canst not endure our meagre food and our hard life." The blessed Hilaria answered him saying: "Know, my father, that I have) come to this holy mountain with my whole heart and now thou repellest me, but the Lord shall call thee to account for my sake."

6 When the pure old Anba Bamfu heard this he wondered at the acuteness of the boy's answer. At once he cleared a place for her and the deacon where they could be lodged. But the deacon took the prayer) [of the prior] and returned to the town. Hilaria, the daughter of the king, said to the prior: "My Father, take this little sum from me and distribute it among the poor." He answered: "We need nothing of it, for the labour of our hands is sufficient for us. But if thou possessest something, I will give it the deacon in order to transmit it to the patriarch." Hilaria gave him all that she possessed and the golden stick and her girdle. 7 The deacon took leave of them and departed. Then Hilaria turned towards the holy Anba Bamfu and said: "My Father, I desire that thou investest me with the monastic habit. He explained [the precepts] to her, [23 examined her and taught her the ascetic practices, gave her a repaired mitre and a coat of hair. At once she would put them on; he prayed over them and invested her with them, without knowing her to be the daughter of the king. He gave her a cell near his own and visited her at all times. The Lord showed her his grace, so that she learned to speak the language of the Egyptian people. She was extremely ascetic and zealously fasting and praying. The monks wondered how the softness of her body suffered those harsh clothes. When she had stayed there nine years without getting a beard they called her Hilari the eunuch. On account of her frequent fasting and praying and ascetic practices her breasts withered and it ceased to be with her after the manner of women. After the lapse of so long a period her parents had despaired of seeing her again, but the Lord (blessed be His name) would show her and make her known to them. Her younger sister became possessed by a mean villainous demon. So her father the king sent her, escorted by soldiers and two masters, to many monasteries and dwellingplaces of ascetic old men, but the Lord gave her no healing at their hands because God planned Hilaria's glorification.

⁸ So the courtiers gave advice to the king, saying: "May our Lord the king live for ever); know that in Wadi Habib there are pure holy monks. Send thy daughter to them and we believe that God will heal thy daughter on account of their pure prayers. When the king heard this he rejoiced greatly. He ordered two masters and two slave-girls and soldiers from his armies to accompany the girl and |24 wrote to the governor of Alexandria ordering him to send his daughter to the mountain of Shihât. He wrote also to the old men: "Thus writeth Zeno, the unworthy of the kingdom, whom God hath given this gift which he meriteth not, to the holy, pious, beloved Fathers, who strive to liberate themselves from the whole world, the ascetic, selfdenying monks in the holy mountain of Shihât, called balance of hearts, Hail. In the first place I prostrate myself with my face before your holiness. Then I will inform you, my Fathers, of what the Lord hath done me on account of my many sins and trespasses. God had given me two daughters. One left me and I know nothing about her; so I was in great sorrow on her account. And while I had to suffer this great sorrow, there struck me another sorrow greater than the first one:

⁹ the other daughter, whom I had expected to be my consolation and a compensation for her sister, a demon took possession of her and tormented her day and night so that I am near to saying that death is preferable for her to life. My courtiers have given me advice to send her to your holiness. And now my whole hope is upon you, that God will not reject your request and that she will be saved by your prayers." ¹⁰ When this message reached Alexandria, the emir with many soldiers went to accompany her. They reached the monastery, brought the letter of the king and gave it the holy Anba Bamfu. He assembled the brethren and read the letter before them. When they began to pray, the demon threw her down and continued to beat her among them, so that the emir and all who were with him wondered and said: "How can a demon do so among holy persons?" |25

¹¹ When the holy Hilaria saw her younger sister, she recognised her and her heart was troubled on her account, her limbs ached and she wept over her. When the brethren saw her sick at heart for her sake, they were sorry. When prayer was finished Anba Bamfu called one of the brethren and said to him: "Take this girl with thee in thy cell and cease not to pray over her till God shall have restored her health. He said humbly: "I have not reached that degree of perfection, and I cannot be entrusted with this girl. Then Anbä

Martyrios said: "Trust her to Hilari the eunuch). So they trusted the girl to her sister. She began to pray, over her and to weep till she had soaked the earth, to embrace her and to kiss her face, to lie with her on one bench, while she held her to her bosom. After seven days the Lord healed her. The emir and the ka'id and the soldiers received with them the holy eucharist on Sunday and returned to Alexandria. As to the girl, God had given her grace and the villainous demon had left her; so the servants and slave-girls and soldiers took her and returned with her, rejoicing because the Lord had given success to their journey. The old men wrote a letter of explanation to king Zeno in the following terms: "The unworthy inhabitants of the mountain of Natrun write to their victorious lord Zeno, the pious. Above all we prostrate ourselves before thy venerable noble majesty.

12 May the Lord preserve thy throne and confirm thy kingdom like that of David and Solomon and Hezekiah) and Uzziah and rule thy kingdom without trouble. Be safe in the Lord because of thy care for |26 the church of the Lord Christ, our God. When this letter reached the king he rejoiced greatly on account of his daughter's recovery. He arranged meals for the poor and spent much money. He said: "My daughter, what hath happened to thee at Shihât? She answered: "My father, they entrusted me to a holy, ascetic monk, called Hilari the eunuch. It was he who prayed over me; then I was healed and the Lord gave me health; he was very benignant to me and many times he lay with me on the mat on the bench. But, my father, I hear that monks hate women and therefore inhabit the desert, because they will absolutely not speak with them. And how is this? I know it not."

13 When the king heard this from his daughter he wondered greatly and said: "This is not the custom of monks who expel demons; this is an innovation among the monks". He wrote a second letter to Shihât in the following terms: "The victorious king Zeno ventureth to write to the pure, pious Fathers on the mount of Shihât. I am indebted to you on account of your bounty and benignity and your prayers and I cannot pay . . .) so I beg you to show me the favour of sending brother Hilarion, for I am sick at heart and I cannot undertake a sea voyage and accomplish this great distance because of the heavy . . .). The fame of his holiness hath reached us and our confidence is in him; if he cometh to us we shall profit by his prayers." 14 When this royal letter had arrived and had been read before the rest of the holy monks, the pure presbyter Bamfu called the blessed Hilaria and said: "Prepare |27 thyself,

brother, for the king hath summoned thee. When the blessed Hilaria heard this, she felt a great sorrow. The monks consoled her saying: "Go in the peace of the Lord who will be with thee and restore thee to us safely. They sent with her two brothers and two old brothers and they went to Constantinople. When they arrived the king rejoiced and gave orders to introduce them joyfully; he received them personally. He said to them: "Pray for me, that the Lord may keep me in the loyalty of my orthodox fathers. When they went out he retained his daughter Hilaria and remained alone with her saying: "Holy Father Hilarion, we need thy prayers and wish to speak to thee; but be not offended and be not sorry. The little girl hath told me how she was in thy blessed presence: that thou used to kiss her, mouth on mouth, and to lie with her on the mat on the same bench. So I desire that thou teilest me the reason of thy kindness towards her, whether it sprang from spiritual or from bodily love. Tell me the truth and be not ashamed or disturbed by shame, that I may be pure from this transgression. The virgin Hilaria thought:

15 "I should like to conceal this matter, but I fear that the king would cast an eye of contempt on all monks. She said: "The king may live for ever. Let the four holy Gospels be brought before me. When this had been done she said to him: "Swear to me that thou wilt not reveal this secret nor restrain me from going to my monastery. The king swore by the holy Gospel. Hilarion said: "I am Hilaria thy daughter. When the king heard this he wondered and became stupefied so that he could not speak during a long time. When his spirits returned he went up to his daughter |28 and embraced her like Joseph when he embraced Benjamin his brother, and wept vehemently. When her mother and sister heard the news they came running, embraced her and wept and cried, kissed her hands and her face and would restrain her from returning to her monastery. But the king checked them saying: "I have submitted myself to her will and sworn not to restrain her. Then her mother said: "We will retain her with us, in order to crown her with the royal crown. But the king said: "I will not do so, but we will give glory to the Lord, now that we have seen her alive. The king concealed her secret and retained the monks for three months in order to be able to see his daughter every day. He questioned her about her flight from the castle.

16 She told him the details, how she had disguised herself as a spatharios, how she had reached Alexandria and how she had gone to Shihat. When the

king heard this he wondered, and gave an official order to send to the monks on the mountain of Shihat every year three thousand measures of corn for the eucharist of his daughter, and three hundred measures of oil. This hath been continued every year until to day. ¹⁷ The king bade them farewell and they departed towards their monastery. After her arrival Hilari lived twelve years. At the end there befell her an illness, the pains of which she bore with great courage. Then the holy virgin called Anba Bamfu and conjured him thus: "When I shall have accomplished my life, make known, my Father, the whole story of my life and allow not that this repaired cowl be taken from me, but if you shroud me, let me keep it." When she had departed this life in glory and honour, the holy Anba Bamfu told them what ²⁹ she had ordered him. When they had buried her the holy Anba Bamfu sat down and told the brethren in an address all about the holiness of this pure virgin, saying: "I am feeble, the unworthiest of all the brethren on the mountain of Shihat. Who is there that like her possesseth the endurance to live continually among so many men? Who possesseth such selfrestraint and is able to neglect all bodily comfort and finery and pleasure?" When the brethren heard this they praised God. And behold, the Lord gave her good fortune and grace for she departed this life on the day of the departure of the mother of Light, the virgin Mary, because she had loved her (Mary's) life; so the Lord gave her this sign of grace.

¹⁸ They wrote to her father the king that she was dead and he began to mourn over her. But her mother consoled him saying: "He hath been called happy who hath posterity in Sion and kindred in Jerusalem, according to what is written in Isaiah the prophet: "Blessed who hath posterity in Sion.") For she can be beseeched to intercede for us with our Lord Jesus Christ so that He forgive us our sins and trespasses." These words have been written by the holy Anba Bamfu. He hath written and deposited them in the church of Shihat for the sake of glory and profit. May the Lord have mercy upon us by his prayers. Amen. ³⁰ [Footnotes renumbered and moved to the end] 1. 1) [Arabic], ad aperturam. 2. 1) Hebrews XI, 24 et sequ. 3. 2) James 1, 10. 4. 3) Acts XX, 33 et sequ. 5. 4) Psalm XIX, 10.

¹⁹ 6. 5) Luke XIV, 33. 7. 1) Cf. K. M. Kaufmann, *Die Menasstadt und das Nationalheiligtum der altchristlichen Aegypter*, I (Leipzig, 1910). 8. 1) I am not sure of the meaning of the text. 9. 2) Amélineau proposes to read: four. 10. 3) The text adds: not. 11. 4) i.e. blessing. 12. 1) Cf. p. 10, note 1. 13. 1) Text:

[Arabic] 14. 2) Text: Ezekiel. 15. 1) The text is corrupt. 16. 2) The text has: hunger. 17. 1) Is. XXXI, 9b according to LXX.

THE SHORT ARABIC VERSION

¹ TRANSLATION OF THE SHORT ARABIC TEXT. (Forget I, p. [Arabic] et sequ.) On this day (21 Tubih) died also the holy, pure Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno. This king was orthodox and a friend of the church. He had two daughters, this saint and her sister, but no son. This pure maid Hilaria had from her youth an inclination for being alone. So she began to think about monasticism and putting on the angelic habit. She left the palace of her father, dressed as a man, reached Egypt and went from there towards Shihât. There she met a holy old man, named Aba Bamu. She told him the plan she had conceived and that she was a woman. He concealed her secret and gave her a grotto to dwell in and took up the habit of visiting her. When she had passed fifteen years in the grotto without getting a beard, the old men thought her to be a eunuch and they called her Hilari the eunuch.

² As to her sister, a villainous demon took hold of her. Her father spent much money on her behalf, but she was not healed. Then the advice was given him to send her to the old men in Shihât; for their fame had penetrated throughout the Roman empire, because of their holiness. So he sent her, accompanied by two masters and an escort and slaves and gave them a letter for the old men, in which he informed them of his sorrow, ³³ and told them that the Lord had given him two daughters; one of them had left him and he knew not her place of abode, and he had not heard of her. The other was possessed by a demon, she whom he) had expected to be his) comfort and consolation. He asked their holiness to pray over her, that the Lord might heal her. When the old men had read the letter of the king, they prayed over her many days but she was not healed. Lastly they requested Hilari the eunuch, her sister, to take her and pray over her, but she excused herself. Then they induced her to take her and after a few days she was liberated from the demon.

³ The holy maid had recognised her sister, without being recognised by her; and she used to embrace and to kiss her and to go outdoors to weep. Then she brought her before the old men and said to them: "Behold, the Lord hath healed her by your prayers". Then they sent her to her father in peace. When she arrived, he and all the inhabitants of the castle rejoiced over her and uttered many thanksgivings to the Lord. Her father asked her about

her manner of life among the old men. She told him how the holy Hilari had healed her and how he used to embrace her often and to kiss her. The king was disturbed by this fact and he sent a message to the old men wherein he told them to send Hilari the eunuch who had healed his daughter in order to receive his blessing, whereupon the old men told her to go to the king. Then the holy maid wept grievously before all the old men and excused herself. They said to her: "This king is pure, a friend of the |34 church. It is not allowed, according to the scriptures, to thwart him". After a struggle she went to the king. He and his courtiers saluted her. When they were alone, the king drew near to her and uttered his suspicion about her kissing his daughter and how he had been disturbed on hearing this: he asked her to reveal him the cause of this. Only he and the queen were present.

⁴So she said to them: "Bring me the Gospel and swear to me, that you will not press me not to return to the desert, when I shall have spoken". They swore, and thereupon she told them that she was their daughter Hilaria, and how she had left them disguised as a man, and showed them the signs they knew. Then they cried aloud and wept together and there was a great tumult in the castle. They said to her: "We allow thee not to go". But she reminded them of the oath and scarcely she agreed to stay a month with them. Then she departed to the desert. From this day onwards the king gave the revenues and the taxes to the inhabitants of the desert and all that they wanted from the revenues of Egypt, so that the number of the monks augmented greatly, and they began to inhabit the cells. As to the pure, holy Hilaria, after her coming back from her father, she lived five years; then she died and nobody knew her to be a woman, until after her death. May the blessing of her prayer be with us. Amen.

⁵[Footnote moved to the end] 1. 1) The text has the 1st person.

THE SYRIAC VERSION

¹ TRANSLATION OF THE SYRIAC TEXT.

The Story of the Holy Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno.

²For the pious, my Beloved, it is always good to occupy themselves with the holy doctrines, teaching the fear of God and leading us in the right ways which are pleasing unto God. And especially with the stories of the memory of the works of the Saints, who lived well with God and were perfect in the holy service. For there is nothing of such profit to the pious soul as such med-

itations which show forth the excellent life and holy works and humble habit of monasticism. For it is well known that there is no small consolation to be gathered from [an examination] as to how they lived and pleased God in humbleness; how they persisted in patience and in that love, which is a perfect sign of being a disciple of Christ, and in great works; how they persevered in steady and long fasting, how they humbled themselves in ascetic exercises beyond all power, and in performing abundant services beloved by God.

3 Not only blessed men have been seen doing this, but there have also been found women in all generations shining like stars in the whole world. And now, because |38 it is, as I have said, meritorious to make known by writing the memory of the deeds of the Saints, it is also beautiful for us to hand down and to write that which we have heard from trustworthy men who were eyewitnesses of the pious persons who were leading an angelic life by their deeds, and mortified their bodies by asceticism. So [we will speak] firstly about a woman of royal descent, whose story is above [the power] of our weak words. So it would be becoming for us to be silent, because of our inability, but as such a work, however weak, is of profit for such persons as are longing with a pious mind to hear such things, we will not refrain from speaking, asking the help of God, giver of knowledge.

4 So we will begin with the time when the famous and pious king Zeno, was reigning beautifully; he was equal in faith and love of Christ to the glorious and great Constantine; but he was vexed and suffering from his having no son and successor to the throne after his death. His desire made him frequently pray and entreat God and send to saintly-living men in mountains and caverns and monasteries, that they should ask God to grant him his wish. This he did because he was very pious and expected that on account of their intercession) with God, who loveth his elected, they could acquire all from him. So shortly after-his accession to the throne a daughter was born to him, she with whom this story dealeth, truly a firstborn fruit of the prayer of the Saints and a reward of his rich vows. When she was sanctified by baptism, the holy sign of divine birth, she was called Hilaria. |39

5 She was educated as is becoming to children of faithful parents. A heavenly grace was spread over her and with her was to be found humbleness and great peacefulness; the doctrine of the holy Scriptures she learned soon and excelled by great wisdom. She had governesses who taught her the good doc-

trine, chaste women who were ascetically living as virgins. I mean nuns, who were visiting her constantly. While she recited with them the holy Scriptures and songs and services, there awoke in her the desire of assuming their habit. They told her about the life of holy men and humble virgins who had given themselves to God and were betrothed to Christ and had mortified their flesh by asceticism. They told her especially about the holy Fathers who were abiding in the desert of Egypt, which is called Skete. All these things she concealed secretly in her soul and hoped that they could be realised in good season. But though she was anxious to assume the holy life and to perform the duties of waking and fasting which are becoming to the holy habit, she would not do this openly because she knew that it was not agreeable to the king and queen, that she had such plans: for they hoped that she would be a source of temporal joy to them; and they thought already about her marrying and having children, that would bear the royal dignity after them.

6 But she, while living alone in a room in the palace, was, according to a rule of divine wisdom, symbolically practising monasticism, fasting steadily and sometimes eating only every evening or every second day, with long vigils and constant standing in prayer, day and night, reading the holy Scriptures and the stories of elect holy men and holy women. Meanwhile she looked for the realisation of the plan which she had conceived namely to go away secretly and to adopt the solitary life in the foreign country. She hoped fervently to see the Egyptian desert and to live with the solitary ascetics there. 7 Now her parents, the king and queen, were usually admitted to see her every fifth or tenth day, according to the rule laid down by her; because she would not converse with them frequently, for she lived in a retired manner and was in this way quietly practising the habit of chastity and humbleness under a pretext. Then it happened that the king, when visiting her, perceived that the grace and royal beauty, that was spread over her handsome face, was fading away, that her body was becoming emaciated, that her strength was diminishing and day by day she was fading away and decaying and that she was sinking into a serious decline. So he said: "What hath befallen thee, my daughter? Perhaps thou art sick and, because of thy bashfulness, thou wilt not reveal it to us? Or is there a sickness of heart of which thou informest us not? Verily, thou givest us much trouble and pain, on seeing thee fading away and decaying like one wounded and sick". But she said to them: "Suffer not anyhow, my father; for there is nothing that maketh me

suffer, nor is there a pain that troubleth me. On the contrary, my heart rejoiceth very much, because thou art spared and enjoyest peace". So she cheered them up by these words.

8 As a rule her waiting-woman with whom she had intercourse brought her food from the palace, dishes of all kinds; but she took only the bread and the rest of |41 the food she sent secretly to the poor by the medium of that servant. When she had lived in such a way five years, steadily fasting every second day (she was at that time five and twenty years old), she thought that this was the time for going away to the abode she was longing for; but how could this plan be carried out if she was seen by her servant every day? And if she were to be sought in vain, they would turn every stone and seek her in every direction and there would be no means of escaping. But what devised she and what contrived she? She adopted the rule of delaying [the visits of her servant] more and more, saying to her: "To day I have got food that will be sufficient for three days; trouble me not with thy visit till the fourth day hence. Let nobody know this; otherwise thou wilt be in danger on my account. But take the food, which is given to thee to bring it me, and take it secretly to the poor. And if my parents ask thee, say, as usually: She hath taken and eaten it". In this way she would, when being ready to go away, be able to prolong the interval between her visits and hinder her from entering during five days or more, in order to be able to reach a far distance on her journey before being sought and missed.

9 Thus she did during one year, saying to her servant: "Till the fourth day hence approach not unto my door". And soon she said: "Till the fifth day", and then: "Till the seventh". When the day had come, that she was prepared for going away, she said secretly to her servant: "Take this dinar and buy for it a coat of hair and sandals and a cowl, but let nobody see or know it, for I will |42 give this to that nun, which often visiteth me, because I see that she is poorly dressed". The servant took the dinar and accomplished all according to her command. After a few days Hilaria said to her: "Visit me not during five days". Thereupon she prepared herself for departing, took off the princely dress she was wearing and put on the coat of hair and the sandals. Then she threw on the capuchin, took some food and some money for expenses and went away in the morning, while no one saw her, to the seashore which was not very far from the town, while a steady prayer was in her mouth and tears stood in her eyes.

10 Thus she prayed: "O God, Thou who guidest the Saints and ledest them on Thy eternal way, who art everywhere with them and leavest them never, lead me on this way and direct my feet on the way of salvation and bring me to the place which I long for, that I may have intercourse with Thy Saints and serve Thee with them in holiness and praise Thee eternally". Now it happened that, by divine Providence, at that time a ship was ready for departing in the direction of Egypt, to Alexandria, the place where she wished to go to. When she had asked the people there and had heard "what she hoped, she gave the fare and embarked. And nobody of those who saw her, knew whether she was a man or a woman, because she was dressed humbly and chastely in the humble monastic dress and in the royal residence there were many of such monks and nuns; so those who saw her thought that she was like the rest.

11 The ship sailed and reached Egypt in a few days. |43 Then she left the ship, entered Alexandria and visited the holy places there, churches and monasteries and strengthened herself by the prayers of those who were performing in holiness the service there. While she was still walking through the town she saw an old hermit, an excellent man of those of the desert. Addressing him she asked in the first place after the way of living of the hermits in the desert, and whether they received strangers gladly into their community, and which place or convent was the first to be reached in the desert. The hermit said to her: "Their way of living is that each of them reciteth separately and in his own way and every one accomplisheth the holy service in his cell, which he leaveth not during the whole week. But on Sundays, at the time of the ministration of the holy sacrifice, they go to the church that is situated in the midst of the cells and partake of the holy sacraments. Some of them cover their faces with their caps so as not to see anyone and not to be seen by anyone; every one fasteth as he chooseth and according to his strength, some of them every second day, others every third or fourth day. The conspicuous take food only once a week.

12 This consisteth of dry bread and olives, sometimes they take also boiled vegetables; others feed upon herbs like the beasts. The monastery which is at the entrance of the desert is called that of Aba Macarius. It is said that the number of hermits belonging to it, amounteth to three thousand. And as to their love of strangers, it is great, praiseworthy and divine. But they admit amongst them no beardless youths nor indulgeth any one in seeing a wo-

man". |44 When she heard this she replied and asked after the way to the desert. He told it her and she made an obeisance before him and received his blessing) and each of them went his own way, without knowing the other's sex and without asking after it. When he was far from her and out of sight, she knelt down in order to pray before God and thus she spoke: "Our Lord Jesus Christ, the life and salvation that hath dawned for us, thou who hast come to seek the forlorn, and to bring back to the way of truth those who have gone astray, Thou who ledest Thy Saints to the eternal way ---- turn to me the lost one, for I seek Thee, my Lord, and lead me at Thy right hand to Thy way of life, for Thee alone my soul loveth. And direct my feet in the way of salvation and receive me into Thy good harbour. For Thou art my strong hope and in Thee I have confided from my youth, now and for ever. Amen".

13 When she had finished her prayer and sealed herself with the holy sign, she took the way to the desert while continually prayer was in her mouth. After three days of travelling, she reached the convent of Aba Macarius, at the entrance of the desert. It was a sabbathday, and while she was passing between the cells she saw none of the solitaries without the door of his cell. She ventured not to knock at a door; but on going round in order to find some one, she came to the church, their place of congregation. She entered to pray and saw the Presbyter who constantly was abiding there. After having finished her prayer, she asked his blessing, and he invited her to take rest, |45 saying: "From where cometh your pious person, o Father? and what is the cause, why thou visitest us, poor creatures?" For he thought that she was a man because of her manly dress and the changed colour of her face which had become dusky and black.

14 And thus she answered him in a manly tone: "Your servant, Father, cometh from Constantinople, in order to be the disciple of your holiness, if it please God and you". The Presbyter said: "What is Thy name?" She answered: "John the eunuch. As to my class I am a slave and I belonged to a noble and well-known Roman) man and performed with him the service of a slave. And when he deceased in peace, he freed me. Then being master of my own person, I have sought to please God above all and from fear of God I assumed the holy habit. But I had an infinite longing to see the Saints who in this desert are living ascetically and devoting their lives to God, and to pass the rest of my life with them. For that reason I have hastened to come to you now". Thereupon the Presbyter said: "Thy coming is right, Father. Stay here

and take rest to-day. Tomorrow, which is a Sunday, the solitaries will assemble here as usually in order to partake of the holy sacrifice".

¹⁵ So on Sunday morning, at the third hour the solitaries assembled into the above mentioned church; and when they had partaken of the sacramental sacrifice, the Presbyter told them the story of John, the eunuch. On their wish, she) was brought before them and throwing herself at their feet, her) lips murmured a prayer, |⁴⁶ while she) was trembling from fear, that it might be known who and what) she) was. Then they prayed over her, blessed her, spoke to her words of admonition and taught her how to conduct herself; they gave her also a separate cell and ordered a very old man in her neighbourhood: "Take John the eunuch and let him be as a son to thee and take care to be his guide in the doctrine which is necessary and in the rules laid down amongst us". Thereupon the old man took her with him and showed her the cell and she dwelt amongst them and regulated her life as they did, in good work and labour. ----Thus far about her departing and arriving in the desert. ----

¹⁶ As to the governess which had served her while being in the royal palace, when the days had passed during which Hilaria had forbidden her to enter, she went to her service and saw that Hilaria was gone and that her royal garments were put aside in a corner of the apartment she at once understood that Hilaria had gone to devote herself to the service of God, and that therefore she had wanted the coat of hair and the capuchin. Weeping and crying she went to the queen and told her what had happened but she revealed nothing about the rule of her food and her [rare] visits to her; for she was afraid of being endangered, because she had not told them the secret. The king and the queen, being troubled by what they had heard, went to the apartment, and seeing that |⁴⁷ their daughter Hilaria had gone, they were in great sorrow and grief.

¹⁷ The king wept, sobbing in a loud voice, and thus lamented: "Woe, my beloved daughter. Who hath severed thee from me? How can I live without thee, support of my old age, crown on my head? Now may death hasten to me and take from me the trouble that never can be consoled away". When the nobles of the king heard what had happened, they came to lament with him. At once they sent messengers in all directions to ask and to seek. The convents were also examined but she was not found. After a few days the king recovered from his trouble, because he was certain that she had gone to

devote herself to God. And Hilaria, being in the desert of Skete, was going through great struggles and performing works of self-denial above human strength, in many vigils and long fasting, so that even the solitaries wondered at her endurance and patience.

¹⁸ And she was praiseworthy and great in the eyes of all people of her class, because of her great humility and her placidity and meekness. When she had passed ten years in the desert, another daughter was born to her father the king. When this girl was five years of age, she was tried by the Evil-one. And as the Devil attacked her vehemently, her father said to himself: "There is no hope of healing my daughter, except by the prayers of the solitaries in Skete, who are very near to God and are allowed to speak to Him)". ^{|48} Thus he resolved in his mind and prepared for her departing. He ordered a trustworthy man, one of his relatives, and he and an escort of soldiers took her, went on their way and reached the desert. The solitaries had heard of this and many of them had departed, lest they should be seen by the soldiers and the other persons. John the eunuch too had hid himself, without knowing the case exactly.

¹⁹ When the messengers of the king arrived, they told the monks about his belief and his hope on them and explained the reason of their coming. They left the girl with them and returned to the king without delay. On the next day the solitaries returned to their places and discussed to whom they should entrust the little girl. They choosed John the eunuch because he was a eunuch and advanced in holiness. Thereupon they sent for him and said to him: "The Fathers have discussed with whom the girl should be; and all of them agreed upon giving her to thee, be thou her support and teacher". Being forced thus he obeyed their will and took the girl to his cell. One time Hilaria asked the girl: "Answer, my sister, what I ask thee. What is the name of thy father, and what is the name of thy mother?" The girl said: "My father is called Zeno, my mother Augusta". She asked again: "Have they a son or daughter besides thee?" The girl answered: "I have no brother or sister at all, but as I have heard of my mother, who told it me weeping, before my birth they had another daughter, named Hilaria. But she went away from them secretly and nobody knoweth what became of her. They sought her industriously but she was not found". ^{|49}

²⁰ When she heard this from her, she knew certainly that the girl was her sister, the daughter of the parents who had borne herself and with the fer-

vous of a love not to be checked, she embraced her, the tears dropping from her eyes, on account of the girl's saying: "My mother told me weeping, that they had another daughter before me, who went away from them secretly". When the girl had passed five years with Hilaria, she got recovery from the Lord and became excellent in wisdom and knowledge. She was also distinguished by humbleness and chastity, because Hilaria had taken great care to adorn her with all praiseworthy qualities. So, when the messengers of the king, whom he used to send in order to get tidings of the girl, came, the Fathers sent her with them to her father. After her arrival, he noticed during his intercourse with her, that she excelled in wisdom and good works, and that she had got spiritual as well as bodily aid, being freed from the influence of the Evil one. So he rejoiced greatly and thanked and praised God.

²¹ He asked her: "My daughter, who was it to whom thou wast entrusted and with whom thou hast been? And how was he treating thee? For I will reward him with becoming signs of honour". The girl answered plainly: "When I was sent by thy majesty and the old men had taken me up, they discussed the next day to whom they should entrust me. And they agreed upon giving me to a trustworthy man, whose name is John the eunuch. With him I have been thenceforth and I have improved by him. He shew unto me an infinite love and honoured me greatly. I have never seen him eating before my eyes, nor lying down on the floor to sleep. ⁵⁰ But when he was overcome by sleep, he would lean against the wall for some time and so he took some comfort from sleep. Innumerable was his kneeling down on the floor, and he ceased not praying and reciting night and day. He took food only once a week".

²² When the king heard this, he was grieved and he took up evil suspicions against John the eunuch, thinking that he was no eunuch. Being anxious to examine the matter exactly and to be relieved from his care, he sent for John and about ten of the other old men. Here Providence was already at work, in order to make known who John was and that he might be a good example to the glory of God. When John and his companions had arrived, he lodged them in a quiet place as was becoming to their habit. But he took John and introduced him separately into the palace and held with him many discourses. ²³ Hilaria had a cowl covering her face lest her father should recognise her. While she spoke to him words of admonition an unchecked stream of tears flowed from her eyes, on seeing her father and

mother and her sister that was healed. But the king thought that her tears came from repentance. Sometime afterwards, the king said to her: "I have heard of the beautiful things thou art working and of the good thou hast wrought towards my daughter and that she hath received healing from the Lord by thy hands. I have called and forced thee to come towards me, that I may be deemed worthy of seeing thee and being helped by thy prayers and that my house may be blessed by thy footsteps. But I wish to hear from thee who thou art and from where thou earnest to the desert, and what |51 thy sex is". She answered: "Why askest thou me about this, the poorest and most miserable of all children of man? But, now that thou wilt know it, I say: as to my class I am a slave and as to my sex a eunuch. My lord freed me when dying; and being my own master I sought God, the true Lord, above all; Him I loved and to his service I devoted myself. Above all places, I have chosen the dwelling in the desert in order to receive support from the Saints there, by whose prayers I have had the joy of healing the girl".

²⁴ When the king had interrogated her circumstantially and revealed the trouble of his thoughts and the doubts of his heart, she resolved to relieve him from his cares and from the thoughts which were making a pernicious war against his soul. For she pitied him as a good father and a just king. She said to him: "I will reveal to thee a secret. But swear to me first by the Lord, that thou shalt accomplish my will in all things I ask and that thou shalt not oppose me in any thing I wish and that this secret shall not be revealed to any one besides the queen and the girl". When Hilaria had said this to the king, the tears flowed unchecked from her eyes and she was choked by sobbing. The king swore to her plainly, without thinking of who she might be, for her face was invisible by the cowl which covered it and her speech was altered) by reciting in the Egyptian language; and, besides, twenty years had elapsed since she left them, and he thought that she had already died.

²⁵ When she saw that the king had given his assurance |52 by his oath, she took them with her to an inner apartment, took the capuchin off, uncovered her face, showed herself to him and said: "I am whom thou seest, Hilaria, the poor, thy daughter whom thou knowest". When the king and the queen heard the name Hilaria, they were disturbed and they swooned and fell down on the floor and were as dead. When Hilaria saw what happened and that her parents were near dying, she took water and signed them with the cross, and sprinkled it on their faces, so that they revived and rose. The king weeped

vehemently and they were in great sorrow and scarcely could check their crying and weeping. Then the king and the queen threw themselves at her and kissed her eyes and her hands. Some time afterwards the king, having recovered from his weeping, said to her: "Hilaria, my beloved daughter, it is a great thing to me, to have seen to-day in thee, that an offspring pleasing to God cometh forth from me and that I may give to God a daughter who is accepted by Him. If thou wouldst only show me this kindness". Hilaria said: "What wishest thou?" The king said: "I have sworn the oath, and thy will shall be accomplished wholly. Only, if thou art willing, allow me to make for thee and those with thee a dwelling-place in our neighbourhood, that will be an abode to thee, in the same manner as there, be it for dwelling separately or commonly, as thou desirest".

²⁶ But Hilaria agreed not with this, speaking: "It is not well to alter the beautiful institutions which have pleased to the Ancients, and to change a place which has been fittingly set apart by the chosen Fathers for their rest and abode. But, if thou allowest, we soon will ⁵³ take leave in peace. The king submitted to her will and withstood not the word of her mouth concerning all which she said to him". Five days afterwards, he dismissed her and those with her. And they gave them presents and signs of honour and gifts of gold and silver, and tapers and perfumes and oil, and costly garments for adorning the altars and churches of the convents in the desert. But Hilaria accepted not the gold and the silver saying: "Gold and silver are usually not to be seen, in the desert. But we will take these other presents". Secretly she said to him: "If thou wilt, we shall spend this gold and silver for works which I will mention to thee. There are places in the desert, where the solitaries are distressed by want of water and the large distance of it. Others are unfit for dwelling, because of the absence of materials necessary for buildings. Send a trustworthy man and let him dig pits and build well-secured dwelling-places and make holes and hidden caves for those who wish to dwell in them secretly, not openly. This will give thee the wages of righteousness".

²⁷ Her father said to her: "Ay, beloved mistress, I shall accomplish all according to thy wish". Then she took leave and departed from the palace with weeping and crying, and reached the desert of Skete, with the Fathers who were accompanying her. A few days afterwards the king sent a trustworthy man according to Hilaria's wish. He gave him much money for the expenses of the buildings and for erecting well-secured towers. And thus he spake to

him: "Go straightway to John who is called the eunuch; he will tell thee what to do, accomplish his will". [54 When this trustworthy man arrived he did all that Hilaria told him; [he made] cells and pits and caves fit for dwelling therein and high, well-secured houses. Having finished all, he went back in peace. Hilaria took up her former way of life, struggling in work and difficult tasks. Her father sent continually messengers to her.

28 So within every month he sent some one to ask about her, secretly, nobody knowing of it. But this remained not concealed from the solitaries; although not knowing it certainly, yet they presumed John to be a relative or an acquaintance of the king. From that time they began to show her) signs of honour in the assemblies and in the church. When she perceived their presumption, she began to be afraid that gradually her position might become known and her labour might be lost by vain glory. So she left them secretly, while they perceived it not, and went to a more remote part of the desert. She concealed herself in a suitable cave in the earth, which she found according to her desire. At fixed intervals she went through the ravine, which led from the bottom of her cave under the earth to the ground, and got up to take the fresh air during a long time. At the mouth of the cave was a well and a little garden of wild vegetables. Whenever she wanted some food she took it there, and drank from the well; so she lived in the cave for ten years. The whole time of her staying in the desert was thirty years. By her heavy labour she was fast decaying so that she, from weakness and old age, | 55 lay down on the bottom of her cave to perform her prayer to God. At that time God exhorted three solitaries of the desert, Aba Isidorus and Aba Isaie and Aba Isak, to go through the desert in order to visit the solitaries. They took with them fruits and bread made of flour, garments and coats, to provide and strengthen the sick and weak people with, if they should find them; or if they were dead, to shroud their corpses and to bury them honourably.

29 On their march through the desert, one day at noontime, they came near the place where Hilaria was living and hearing from within the earth a sound of groaning as from a sick person they wondered and investigated what it might be; so they found the entrance of the ravine on the surface of the earth, but, on going down to enter it they feared that that sound might come from a wild animal there. Going round they perceived the garden and the well and signs of human footsteps. Then they understood that a solitary

must be living there. They took heart and entered the ravine and reaching the bottom of the cave, they saw a light as clear as daylight, as the rays of the sun. Then they looked and saw a human being lying on the ground and groaning; the hair of the head was white as wool. When they had prayed and said: "Bless me my Lord", she raised her eyes, perceived them, rose quickly and received them with a salutation. Then they sat down and asked about her coming there, saying: "When hast thou come here, Father? and from which direction hath come thy pious person?"

30 For they presumed her to be a man. She answered them and spoke with them excellent |56 words. At last she said to them: "My Fathers, you are sent to-day by God, in order to bury me". Then she rose, and prayed. Having finished her prayer, she stretched herself on the earth and entrusted her spirit to God. When the Fathers saw that she was dead they praised God and took her immediately from that cave to the ground. There they performed over her the burial service and were going, as was becoming, to shroud her body, presuming her to be an ascetic man like others, who are beardless by great heat). But touching her corpse outwardly, they perceived it to be a woman's and, full of astonishment, they praised Christ, who kindleth the fire of His Love in all mankind, men and women, old men and youths and children.

31 Then they buried her as she was, and interred her. While their lips murmured a hymn of praise, they went to wash their hands in the well from which she used to drink and to eat of the vegetables there in order to receive a blessing thereby. But they found that well dried up and the garden withered; but in the cave where she had lived, the water rose, and went up to the surface of the earth and streamed there. Then they praised still more on account of a wonder, the like of which they had neither seen nor heard. They stayed there three days, entreating God and saying: "O Lord, show thy servants who thy servant was and from where she came". When the days of death were over, in a divine revelation, there was said to them: "Make a memorial-day for the odour) which was accepted by God, three |57 days before, which belongeth to Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno, who, while dwelling amongst you before, was called John the eunuch". Three days afterwards they departed and went and told the Fathers what they had seen.

32 This is the Life and holy works of Hilaria. We, chaste brethren and faithful sisters, being envious of the works of the Saints, must imitate their beautiful deeds and perform good works, that we may attain life everlasting,

of which we may be deemed worthy by the Grace and Love of Christ. To Him be praise with His Father and the Holy Spirit for ever and ever. Amen. Here endeth the story of Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno, who left the house of her parents secretly and led an ascetic life in the desert of Egypt. [Footnotes renumbered and moved to the end] 1. 1) Parrhsi/a . 2. 1) Litt, his prayer. 3. 1) i. e. Byzantine. 4. 2) The MS. has the masculine. 5. 1) The MS. has the masculine. 6. 2) I. e. her sex. 7. 1) Litt.: Who have parrhsi/a. 8. 1) According to a correction of the text.

33 9. 1) MS. "him". 10. 1) Cf. the Introduction. 11. 2) Cf. *Acta Martyrum*, ed. Bedjan, I, 187, 17.

THE SHORT KARSHUNI VERSION

¹ TRANSLATION OF THE SHORT KARSHUNI TEXT (V). It is told that Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno, when she heard of the desert and the monks living there, left the kingdom and fled to the desert disguised as a servant. The Father of the desert received her; the Holy Ghost had revealed to him that she was a woman. But he concealed this and put her into a grotto, where she remained thirteen years, praying with the monks till her skin grew black, her appearance became altered and her bones grew thin. She reached a high degree of ascetism. When the old men saw that she remained beardless, they called her the eunuch, but her name was Alaria. It happened that her sister became insane in a vehement manner, so that her father and her mother were sorry for her sake. He said: "I will give half of my kingdom to him who healeth my daughter." But he found no one. Then there was told to him: "In Wadi Habib, near Alexandria, dwelleth a monk, called the eunuch. When he prayeth over insane persons, they are healed. He is a disciple of a disciple of Abu Macarius."

² The king wrote to the governor of Alexandria, in this way: "We have heard, that in Wadi Habib, in the neighbourhood of thy city, there is a monk who healeth insane persons. We send to thee a sick person, dear to us, with an escort. When he reacheth thee, accompany him to that place. The king sent with her) much money [61 and many of those in his confidence. When they reached Alexandria [on their way] to Wâdi Habib, the governor with his soldiers encamped at a distance. Then he took the girl with her trustworthy servants to the monastery of the monks. He told the old men what the matter was. Immediately they called the eunuch. When her sister entered, Hilaria recognized her without being recognized. She wept and kept

her with her seven days, weeping and praying over her. When she slept, she held her on her bosom. She used to kiss her eyes. On the seventh day the demon left her; her companions took her and journeyed with her to their country.

³ When they reached Constantinople and her parents saw that she was healed, they rejoiced greatly and gave opulent alms. Being alone with her they asked her about what had happened to her during her abode in that place. She told them every circumstance and how the holy eunuch (I mean her sister) had healed her. The king was very angry; he said: "A monk, a slave, healeth the sick and abuseth his monastic state in order to look on a woman; prayeth and holdeth her on his breast and kisseth her eyes." He wrote to the governor, ordering him to send the eunuch. The governor did so. When the monk was introduced to the king and he saw his person, he received him, standing, very graciously, and took his blessing. But the monk was like a shadow or a spider: his skin had grown black and his bones had become thin. The king regretted to have summoned him. Afterwards he was alone with him and asked him about what his daughter had told him. He answered: "How troublest thou me and restrainest me from doing my duty by |62 [forcing me to reveal] what I am not bound to reveal to thee. In the presence of the Gospel and the patriarch thou shalt swear to me that thou wilt let me go to my place of abode."

⁴ He swore to him, that, after having been entrusted with the secret, he would immediately let him go to the monastery without restraining him. She thought: "There remaineth for me in the world only so and so much." When she was sure of him on account of his oaths, she said: "I am thy daughter Hilaria. Thou believest this not?" He believed her not until she had communicated to him some peculiarities he knew about her and she had told the story of her life, and shown to her mother a token on her body. Then they wept vehemently and pressed her on their bosom. She stayed with them three days. Then she returned to her dwelling place in Wadi Habib, as if she were a servant. For she had made them swear that they would not betray her state. The king sent many treasures with her to that place. Then she built and fortified houses and churches and monasteries all over the desert. And the king ceased not to send these gifts [yearly] till after the death of his daughter. And the other kings followed his example by providing for this place, till Islam appeared. The church of Abu Macarius was built in Wadi Habib.

5 Their prayers be with us. Amen. [Footnotes moved to end and re-numbered] 1. 1) The text has: him. 2. 1) [...] which I do not understand.

THE LONG KARSHUNI VERSION

1 TRANSLATION OF THE LONG KARSHUNI TEXT. In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, one God, we begin to write, with the help and assistance of God, the story of king Zeno and his wife Shams al-Munir and the chosen Hilaria their daughter. May their prayer and blessings be with us. Amen. There was a faithful king and his name was Zeno. He and his wife were honourable, just and merciful in their life like our noble father and mother Abraham and Sara and like the chosen Isaac and Rebecca, going the way of our father Jacob and Rachel, the Ancients. They were of honourable origin, but they had sorrow in this world because they were barren and had no child nor heir to govern towns and cities after their decease. One day, by the working of the grace of the Lord Christ, who loveth mankind (honour and praise to him for ever. Amen.) they conceived a plan and they spoke one to the other: "Let us take a part of this money and go to the desert and the monasteries and to the temples of God and to the caverns and mountain-caves and to the clefts which are beneath the earth in darkness) who are bound, in a way pleasing to 66 God, by their own will, who are nourished and whose thirst is quenched, and who are all provided for by our Lord Jesus Christ, every one according to his wish and need; let us request them to stand before Christ and to pray for us; perhaps God will grant us a child whereby we shall be consoled for the rest of our lifetime.

2 So they went with zeal and warm faithfulness and with tears which flowed so as to soak their garments and with sighs which would remove mountains, partly on account of their sins and partly from longing for offspring. They reached the venerable places and attained their end by the power of Christ, for the sincere faithfulness that was in their heart. Then they returned to their apartments with joy and gladness. After the completion of a certain number of days Shams al-Munir perceived [that she was pregnant]. She said to the faithful king Zeno: "My husband, rejoice; by the grace of the Lord and the prayers of the Fathers I perceive that I am pregnant". Then he thanked God and began to show the monasteries and the poor still more mercy and care; till the blessed bore a girl whose beauty was not equalled in her time. Seven days afterwards she was baptized and called Hilaria, the fruit of prayer, and he) used to call her by this name.

3 When she had grown up and had come to years of discretion, her father built for her a pavilion and a beautiful apartment, the most beautiful of his country. And he sent [someone] to ask and to search in the whole town for a chaste, pious, learned woman, able to read the holy Scriptures. When she was brought into the presence of |67 the king and the queen and they spoke to her, she answered in the best manner. Then they praised and thanked God for granting them their wish. Then king Zeno took the hand of his daughter and they entrusted her to her governess, in order to teach her good demeanour and science and reading, that her intellect might shine and her demeanour be beautiful. The chaste woman received [her] with gladness and great joy, kissed the feet of the king and the queen, took the hand of the chosen [maid] and went away confiding in God. He) sent with them two blessed old men to wait at the door, and food and drink and servants and utensils, suiting to royal rank. Every fifth day the king took the queen and they visited their daughter, the fruit of prayer, and the joy of their heart.

4 In this blessed state and good demeanour she stayed for six years; then Christ would lead her to perfection. She used to read in the stories of the martyrs and the narratives of the saints which had reached perfection in the desert. Then her heart thirsted and she loved them warmly and longed for dwelling with and amongst them. So she began to fast, to pray and to observe vigils and to shed tears, the beginning of every [spiritual] gift and of remission of sins. But her beauty began to wither. Her governess observed her and said to her: "My daughter, I see thy beauty withered." She made an obeisance for her and said: "[This is caused] by my longing for meeting the saints and living amongst them. My heart is thirsting vehemently after seeing them; I hope that thy venerable person will hide me from my |68 father and mother. All food, which is brought, I shall, give to the poor; perhaps God will open for us a way to the desert by their prayers". In this state she remained for a year. As she withered her parents observed her and said to her: "Our daughter, blood of our hearts, we find thee withering in a vehement way and we are sorry for thy sake; is there not a secret sorrow which thou revealest not to us?" She smiled and said: "What sorrow can he have, who enjoyeth such honour, who hath so many servants, and whose parents converse with him? Be good to me, that I may lead this agreeable life in your shadow". So she comforted their heart by her words; they rejoiced when she spoke to them in this way; they took leave from her, kissed her and said to her: "Re-

main in peace". They greeted also her governess and went to their castle and court.

5 When the chosen [maid] perceived that they observed her she feared they would thwart her and her work would be idle; so she stood the whole night praying and shedding tears like rain; she beseeched God to save and liberate her according to His will and good pleasure. The next morning her governess came to her. They greeted one another and the chosen Hilaria took a golden dinar and gave it her governess, saying: "I request thee to buy for me to day a monk's habit". She went to the porter and said to him: "Run and buy for this dinar a cowl and a mantle and a habit, which must be worn out". He went and brought her what she had commanded; she took it and went to the chosen maid who took it with joy and gladness. They wept together till their garments were soaked by tears. Then they took leave from one another. Hilaria, the 69 pure, said to her governess: "From to day till after three days visit me not, in order that, if they ask thee, thou mayest swear sincerely: "I know not where she hath gone to, nor at what time she hath departed". She accepted her command and this was an achievement from God, strong is His name, exalted His praise.

6 She rose in the midst of the night and departed confiding in God, reciting psalms and praises and sanctifications to Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom may be glory and praise. He sent her the angel of grace and protected her wholly against the animals and the children of man, till she arrived at Suk Misr). While she passed she saw a monk who was going his way, his head bent. She went up to him and saluted him. He answered her salutation. Then she began to ask him about the way of living of the monks in the desert and as to which monastery was the first to be reached and what its name was. He informed her about their whole way of living and said: "The first monastery thou wilt reach is that of Abu Macarius; therein are three hundred monks; part of them feedeth upon grass like the beasts; another part fasteth one, two or three days and [then] eateth some bread; part of them sleepeth not and all are, according to Christ's good pleasure, standing night and day". She said to him: "Pray over me and give me thy prayer), that I may reach them and dwell amongst them". Then they prayed over one another and went their way both of them.

7 She went, confiding in God, barefoot, on the thorns 70 and pebbles and thistles till the blood ran from her feet and the sun had burnt her skin

and her beauty had faded away and she had become like an Abessinian. When she reached the gate of the monastery by the grace of Christ, she knocked and the porter came and opened the door saying: "What is thy wish, my brother?" He) answered: "To dwell with your holiness, if it please Christ". He said: "Stay here, my brother, till I shall have informed the prior of the monastery." He went and informed the prior of the monastery; then the prior of the monastery came to Hilaria, the chosen. When he came near her she rose towards him, made an obeisance and saluted and kissed his feet and his hands. He embraced her and said: "Blessed be thy coming to us, my child; by thy prayer God may protect our monastery from Satan". Then he) sobbed and wept. The prior of the monastery began to interrogate him saying: "From where art thou, my lord, and what is thy country and thy family? Inform me truly about

s thy coming and all thy affairs". He answered: "My name is John the eunuch. I know neither father nor mother other than the Lord who created me. I was the slave of a king. When he was at the point of death he freed me. Meditating I said to myself: "The service of the children of man and of earthly kings is nothing in comparison with [the service] of the king of heaven and earth". Then I went confiding in God, bought this garment from a monk, changed my dress, till I came under the feet of your holiness, our Father. I request ¶71 from your holiness to guide me by your excellency and bounty. Then grace came down) upon the prior of the monastery and he knew that he) was one of the Lord's chosen. He put before him food and water to drink after the hot journey. Then he ordered the wooden gong to be rung and all the brethren assembled, three hundred in number. They brought water and washed his feet and drank the water in order to obtain a blessing. Then they put on him the holy habit, glory on glory and honour on honour), and grace came down upon him and upon the whole monastery. When they looked upon him joy and gladness increased among them. They gave him a cell that he might perform his works as he liked; whereupon he prostrated himself at the feet of the brethren, received their prayer) and went to his cell. Then he began to do his hard works so that all the brethren and the prior of the monastery were ashamed by the ardour of his labour. ---- Now we shall return to her father Zeno and her mother.

9 As usually they rose and went to the castle. The old men came and opened the doors; then they entered. Now she would run to meet her mother

and her father joyfully and to salute them. When they entered they perceived the disorder and traces of her, but they heard no sound. They called for the governess, who began to tremble, so that she could not answer them. When they reached the room, where their daughter used to sleep, |72 they found that she had laid off her silk garments and the golden girdle which was round her waist and her shoes and that she had departed barefoot. Then the king said: "Tell me, woman, and be not afraid, whether thou knowest where she hath gone to". She swore to them: "I know not where she hath gone to, nor at which time she hath departed. But three days before she gave me a golden dinar and said to me: "I beg thee to buy for me a monk's habit". Then I went and bought what she wished". Then they understood that she had gone to the desert. The king beat his breast and threw the crown from his head and began to recite about what had befallen him regarding his daughter:

10 "O star, that sparkled upon me, and now hath set and become obscure, O moon, that shone upon me, and now is eclipsed and become dark". And he said: "Thou, Lord, who makest the rivers flow and hast created the creatures in the deepest depth, that they praise Thy holy name; Thou hast created the trees and hast adorned them by beautiful fruit, that they give praises to thy great name". With the axes of his sighs he demolished mountains and with the soap of his tears he washed his garments, saying: "Thou, who gavest back Joseph to our father Jacob so that his sorrow and his grief ceased, just so I expect from Thy generosity, that I may see her with my eyes and augment praise and glory to Thy name". While he recited and lamented and wept those who heard him trembled from awe before his words. And the old men cried in the metre of Mar Jacob: |73

11 ("The righteous have bewailed their beloved with great sorrow, Because resurrection was hidden from them and not spoken out, Abraham bewailed Sara when he buried her And accompanied and interred her with great mourning before the eyes of many. Abraham was bewailed by his heir Isaac. And when Isaac died he was bewailed by Jacob. Joseph and his brethren mourned seventy days and bewailed the old Jacob when he had died)". Then he) threw the crown from his head; her mother p. laid aside the royal robe and put on a coat of hair and put off her veil and began to lament and to utter bitter words, till the hard stones would weep with her. She said: "Had I wings like the dove and strength like the eagle, I should fly round the blood

of my heart and make cease this heavy sorrow and grief. I must lament with the lamenting dove and cry with the nightingale when she crieth in the trees. So I lament and cry over ----the blood of my heart which hath ruined my strength and vigour and hath gone. She said in the metre of Mar Ephrem:

12 (This is the gate full of mercy, In it is mercy. Enter, o sinner, and beg mercy From thy Lord who is full of mercy). Weep, ye daughters of Eve, with me over a ewe which had one lamb and the wolf came and fetched it, and now how can the ewe be consoled? And over a |74 dove which had one cub and the hawk fetched it, and now whereby can the dove be consoled? And over a vineyard which had one bunch and the sparrows came and picked it away and now whereby can the vineyard be consoled? O wine in a glass, O rose of the gardens which hath withered now. O myrtle, whose odours I used to smell when the zephyr blew, which would heal my sickness". Her mother and her father remained for three days weeping and lamenting. And after three days they opened the treasuries and gave gold to the slaves of the court and said to them: "Go and search in all monasteries and dwellings of hermits; perhaps you will find the light of my eye and the blood of my heart". He took with him his bodyguard and marched towards the desert till he reached the monastery where his daughter was serving her Lord. The monks feared from awe before the king and flew into the desert. When the king...) they asked him saying:

13 "What is thy wish, happy king"? He beat his breast and lamented and wept, saying: "My child Hilaria, the fruit of prayer, hath flown from between my hands and, we know not what hath passed her, we hope that your holiness will, stand praying and beseeching God; perhaps He will accept your prayer and as He hath done the first time, when He gave me her, He will give her back to us this time by your prayers". They rang the wooden gong and three hundred monks assembled. They stood praying and the chosen [maid], John the eunuch, amongst them. They began to beseech and to pray, that |75 Christ might reveal to them what had passed her; but she beseeched Christ to conceal it and her prayer was accepted and got the upperhand over the three hundred so that she was not found out. Then the prior of the monastery came and began to console the king saying: "Faithful and happy king (may God prolong thy life and forgive thy sins) be not grieved nor) over the brilliant gem which shineth before its Creator. Compare thyself with

our father Abraham, how he let down the knife on the neck of Isaac to slay him. Compare thyself, O king (who may be rendered happy by his Lord) with Jephtah who sacrificed his daughter and shed her blood from love for his Lord. Compare thyself, O king (may his Lord render him happy) with the blessed Lady Shamuni, the martyr, how she sacrificed her seven sons to God with joy and gladness. So thou wilt be consoled by Christ and He will comfort thy heart by His grace. Perhaps He will grant thee another child".

¹⁴ The king and queen were consoled by the speech of the venerable Father and their sorrow ceased. They returned to their home being bewildered. After a short time God granted them a girl; they rejoiced over her greatly. She was brought up in the way of princely children, in the best manner, till she had finished five years of her life. Then Satan began to throw her down and to torment her vehemently. The queen said to the king: "My husband, we cannot but send her to the monastery of Abu Macarius, perhaps Christ will heal her by their prayers". The king said: "Thy advice is accepted". At once he ordered the most splendid votive ¹⁷⁶ presents to be brought and summoned ten old men, whom he commanded to accompany His daughter to the monastery and to stay with her three days. If she was healed then, they should take her back; but if not, they should leave her behind in the monastery till she would have been healed. They answered: "We shall obey thy command". They took the girl and accompanied her to the monastery, told the monks her history, and made themselves worthy of the confidence the king had put in them. They remained three days with them and, the girl being not healed, they left her behind in the monastery and returned to the king. When it was evening the prior of the monastery and the monks deliberated: "To whom shall we entrust this girl?"

¹⁵ They unanimously chose John the eunuch, because he was a eunuch and more abundant in performing offices and ascetic works than any of them. Then they called him and trusted to him the girl his sister, the daughter of his mother and his father. He accepted her with joy and great gladness and took her hand and they went to his cell. When they had entered the cell the chosen [maid] rose, set her sister at her side, and began to shed tears and to sigh and to beat her pure breast and to cover the ground with her face, before Christ. ¹⁶ After three prostrations Satan left the girl, shrieking and flying, like a slave, more black than soot. She went up to her sister, made the sign of the cross upon her and embraced her. She praised the Lord and thanked

Him, accepting the signs of His grace, for this gift and the healing which had taken place at her hands. Then she began to speak with her sister in rest and tranquillity, saying: "What is the name of the king thy |77 father and of thy mother?" She answered: "The name of my mother is Shams al-Munir and the name of my father is king Zeno". She said: "May Christ inspire them with righteousness, prolong their kingdom and give them victory over their enemies". She answered: "Amen. It may be according to thy word and by thy prayer".

17 When she had given this sweet answer, Hilaria perceived that she was completely healed from her sickness. Then she asked, saying: "Hast thou brethren or sisters? She answered: "No, Father, I have no brother nor sister. But sometimes my mother sighed and shed tears. When I asked: "Why weep-est thou, mother?", she said: "I had a daughter, named Hilaria; she left her castle in the dead of night and we have heard nothing of her". While she told this, the holy maid shed tears; she said: "May the Lord help her and console her sorrow and...."). She answered: "Amen. May it be by thy prayer, our Father. May thy word be accepted". Then Hilaria began to teach her reading and knowledge and demeanour and agreeable speech and dignity. And by the prayer of the holy maid, her mind was opened and she began to read and to interpret like one of the old and learned men. After two months the men came to fetch her. They brought presents and all sorts of good things. They asked after the girl and it was told them that she was healed. When she was brought into their presence and they had saluted her, she gave the best answer and began to ask about her parents in most beautiful words. Then they praised God and thanked [Him for] His bounty and kissed the feet of the prior |78 of the monastery and of those who were present with him.

18 They stayed with them three days, till they had overcome the fatigue of the journey, then they took the girl and returned to their abode and castle. When she met her mother and father, they were struck by her good colour and beauty. She began to tell them about the inhabitants of the monastery. Her father said to her: "My beloved, who was the man that healed thee, who was so benevolent towards thee? [Tell us], then we shall honour him. Who hath wrought this benefaction? We shall honour him and reward him two-fold for what he hath done for thee". She answered: "My father, when the slaves had left me and were gone, the wooden gong was rung and the monks assembled and deliberated together: "With whom shall we leave this girl?

They said unanimously: "With the chosen John, the eunuch". Then the prior of the monastery called him and said: "Draw near, my child. Accept the word of thy brethren and take the daughter of the faithful king, and beseech Christ thy prayer, that she may be healed and your fame exalted and confidence in Him and in the faithful be augmented by your holiness". Then he wept and prostrated himself on the ground, saying: "Who am I amongst your holy persons? For I am a sinful slave, lower than all the brethren, O Father". The prior of the monastery sobbed and wept and considered his demeanour and modesty. He laid the exalted cross on his head and said:

19 "Contradict not the opinion of the brethren about thyself, O saint of the Lord". Then he drew near and kissed the feet of the prior of the monastery and of the old men, obeyed, and took my hand with love and great joy. I went with him to his cell. 179 When he had entered his cell, he turned towards the East) and began to pray. 20 He beat his breast and shed tears till they trickled on the ground like rain, and covered the ground with his face, so that I trembled from awe before him. When he had prostrated himself one time and two times and three full times, and laid the cross on my head ---- lo, there departed from me a slave black as soot. He cried to him and scolded him. Then he left the cell and flew. At the same moment I felt that I was healed and that my soul had become quiet. Then he stroked my head with his blessed hand and began to converse with me in quietness and tranquillity. When he spoke with me, I smelled from his mouth an odour like perfume, which refreshed me. Then he began to ask about my father and my mother, saying: "Hast thou brethren or sisters"? And he asked about all my kindred. The more I spoke to him, the more he wept, so that I wondered for which cause those tears trickled and streamed down constantly, not to speak of fasting, prayer, and long vigils. When he desired to sleep he lent against the wall and slumbered somewhat. Then he began with passion and great strength his prostrations and humiliations. When he had finished his prayer he taught me reading and the principles of good demeanour and knowledge. He held me in great honour. And when thou sent after me, my father, it was not a light matter for me to let him alone. May the Lord show us mercy by his prayer, constantly. Amen".

21 King Zeno wondered at what he heard about this 180 saint and he began to think where this eunuch might come from and which king he possibly could have served and what his origin might be. His thoughts tortured

him vehemently. Then he called the old men which had brought back the girl, and said to them: "Go and return to the monastery a second time and take with you food and drink and presents as is becoming to the sacred monastery. And greet the prior of the monastery and tell him to send me ten old men of the monks, amongst them John the eunuch. This is absolutely necessary". Then the slaves of the king rose and loaded up all sorts of things becoming to the monastery and the monks. They departed confiding in God, like all faithful persons. When they had reached the monastery they told the prior of the monastery what the king had said to them. The prior answered: "The order of the faithful king (may God prolong his happiness and confirm his dynasty) be carried out". The wooden gong was rung and all the monks assembled and received the blessing from one another like the angels). They stood during the ministration of the exalted sacrifice, the hope of the living and the dead. The prior of the monastery selected nine old men, called John and said to him:

22 "Rise," confiding in Christ (honour and praise to Him who hath given this gift to thy holiness), O glory of our religion and crown of our heads, joy of our hearts; rise and go to the king and be ever more loyal to him". They received the blessing of one another and went on their way. On the whole way they recited psalms and songs of praise without break, so that the body-guard of the king trembled from awe before them. When they entered the town the king heard of their arrival. The people went to meet them with signs of honour and great esteem; and the faithful, men and women, would take dust from under their feet and give it their children to drink. And the blessing [of God] took abode in that town by their prayers and blessings.

23 The king summoned his confidant and said to him: "Take these old men and let them take rest, heat water and wash their feet. Spread the best cloth under them and pour the water of their feet into the storehouses that people may receive a blessing by the blessings of their prayers; and bring food as much as thou canst. He answered: "According to thy good pleasure, O king of the time. The king laid hold on John and went with him to the royal apartment. When he drew near to the girl she uttered a cry and came towards him, kissed his feet and prostrated herself on the ground and covered his feet with her face. Then the Fruit of Prayer cried, in the metre of Mar Jacob: ("Peace, peace unto you, who are far and near, sayeth the Lord, who hath spread peace among mortals. The cross hath shown the love of the Father to-

wards the whole world. The Lord hath revealed Himself and the world hath perceived how He loveth it"). She blessed her mother and raised her head from the ground. Grace came down upon that place where she had taken abode. ---- When they had taken rest, the king opened the conversation and said: "Our Father, heavenly blessing hath come down upon us by the coming of thy highness and thou hast shown |82 us the utmost bounty and favour by the healing of our daughter.

24 I beseech thy holiness to tell me from where thou art and what thy extraction is, and who was the king whom thou hast served and who hath freed thee, and how thou earnest to the monastery, how thou wast liberated from [the service of] the kings, so that they let thee go to this holy monastery. After every answer the king asked a new question. Then she perceived the thoughts of her father, that he was weary on account of herself. Obedient as she was, she understood that the word of a king is not to be withstood. She said: "Happy king, if thou desirest that I speak to thy majesty about myself, give an order to these servants [to depart] and let nobody stay except thyself and my mother the queen and the beautiful girl. He ordered those who were present to depart. They saluted the king, took Hilaria's blessing and went away. Then she conjured her father, saying: "Swear by the right hand [of God] and by the voice that cried over the Jordan when our Lord was baptized; swear to me by the whole congregation), and" by the blood and the water which flowed from His side and saved our father Adam and his posterity; and swear to me by His mighty resurrection and His ascension unto heaven, that thou wilt not press me nor divulge my secret; then I will reveal my history to thee". He trembled from awe before the oaths with which she had conjured him.

25 Then he swore to her all the oaths which she had conjured him by. Then she took the cape from her head and raised the cloth from her eyes. She recited, saying in the metre of Mar |83 Ephrem: ("You are my father and my mother and I am your daughter Hilaria. Let us cry and say to the Lord, the Highest: Halleluja". The king and Shamsa Munira listened to Hilaria. They were confused and trembled and they fainted, being as dead). You are my father and my mother and I am your daughter Hilaria". They trembled and fainted and were confused and (fell down) on the ground from the vehemence of what had befallen them, they lay down and were as dead. ---- When she saw what had befallen her mother and her father, she wept and

said: "O Lord, let them constantly be confident in Thee". Then she took water, blessed it, and sprinkled it on them so that they awoke and praised the bounteous Lord and they were no longer sorry but constantly glad; they cried together, in the metre of Mar Ephrem: ("A thousand times a thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand be the praise of Thee, who acceptest the praise of the praisers who praise Thee. The whole creation is obliged to praise Thee. The high and the low places sing Thy praise. Praise to Thee"). Then they bowed their heads till they ceased weeping.

26 Then they began conversation with their daughter gladly and joyfully and quietly, as she requested them. Her father said: "My daughter, light of my eyes, which hath been augmented to day so that it shineth by thy light; my daughter, my heart's blood, I shall not break towards thee the oath which I have sworn; but how can I dispense with thy holiness? What is the best way of acting, my daughter? Build for thee and for 184 these holy men, thy brethren, a monastery outside this city, that I and thy mother and sister may be with thee morning and evening". She answered: "No, my father; do not annul the institutions of the Ancients, who have laid the foundations of the monasteries in the desert. Know, my father, that the farther the monasteries are from the world the better it is. And regarding me, Christ will give thee patience and inward joy and thy soul will rejoice in the grace of thy Lord. He answered and said: "Amen, may thy word be accepted."

27 They stayed three days till the fatigue of the journey had disappeared. Then the saints begged him permission to depart. He said: "Your order will be done". He ordered to be brought before his daughter clothes and utensils, gold and silver, tapers and perfume, oil and food, in unnumbered masses. She said: "My father, may thy votive presents be accepted, and the Lord forgive thy sins and trespasses. As to gold and silver, we have no prescript to take it. But I will give thee and thy servants a counsel." He said: "Give order, O blood of the heart of thy mother and father." She said to him: "My father, seven days after our depart thou shalt send masters and workmen in great number in order to make in the monastery deep pits, that all people may drink from their water and thy wages be constant till the end." He said: "Thy will be done, O crown of our heads." Then she took all that could be profitable to the holy monastery; and the rest she told her father to divide among the poor. Then they took leave from her and asked her blessing. And she also prostrated herself before her parents.

28 Then they went on their way. People perceived them and went to meet them. And they tore pieces from their |85 habits and took the dust from under their feet and the Lord gave them according to their fidelity. With trouble and accompanied by a crowd they departed from the town. They marched singing and sanctifying and, praising God, under the royal safeguard. And the secret remained kept. When they came near the monastery, the prior and all the brethren went to meet them. They made obeisances before one another and praised the Lord and thanked for the signs of His grace. Then everyone took the place becoming to him. After the seven days the king sent his slaves and workmen with them to the monastery. They saluted the prior of the monastery and told him the command of the king: "We have to do what John shall order us". Then John was called. He left his cell, reciting the praise of the Lord and his lips ceased not sanctifying the Lord. They went to meet him and asked his blessing. He asked after the king and the queen and the state of mind of the girl. They answered: "They wish thee much peace. The girl is well". Then they praised God and thanked Him and said to John: "See, where thou wilt have us work". He said to them: "From here till there. Work so and so and it will be completed by the power of the Lord and His good pleasure".

29 They began to dig and built and completed by the power of Him who worketh all completion; to Him be praise and honour eternally. Amen. When the workmen had finished and terminated their work they received the prayers and the blessings of the brethren and returned to the king and congratulated him on the completion of the work. He praised God and thanked Him, and asked after John. They said: "What shall we tell thee about his holiness, standing among us and laying |86 hand on the work like us, while his lips ceased not praising and sanctifying God? Blessed are the father and the mother who begat him. When this word reached his ear his heart trembled) and rejoiced, he gave them their wages and presents very graciously and began to send every two months presents in honour of the (secret of his heart) so that all the monasteries and everyone who heard it, wondered and they began to speak with one another, saying: "If he belonged not to his kindred, he would not show him this honour and submissiveness". And she used to take all the presents which her father sent and send them to the monasteries in the neighbourhood. But when she heard that the monks

spoke amongst each other in that way, she feared that her history might be revealed and her work become fruitless.

30 Then she went away stealthily and travelled in the desert in heat and thirst, barefoot on thistles and pebbles and thorns, one, two, three days, till she reached the border part of the desert. There she found a garganas-tree and near it a waterpool; at the water grew desert herbs. Near the tree was a hole which could hold one man. She praised God and thanked Him for the signs of His grace and said: "This garganas-tree is winter food, and the herbs are summer food. Then she entered the hole and dwelt in it for ten years, nobody knowing about her except Christ who had created and sent her."

31 Now there were venerable old men among the priors of the monasteries who used every year to take with them a beast of burden and to load on it food and |87 drink and clothes and shrouds, and to go round the whole desert. And every one whom they saw in need of food, they would feed; and whom they saw bare, they would clothe; and whom they found sick or distressed they would cure, and whom they found dead they would bury according to God's order.

32 During ten years the existence of this saint remained concealed, till the day of her transition to blessed Paradise came. Then they came up to the entrance of the hole; at once they heard the sound of sighing from the depth of the earth. They thought it to be an animal growling against them. But as soon as they inspected the place they found there the traces of human footsteps. They said to one another: "There is a saint in this hole. Possibly he is ill, let us go in and look." They made the sign of the cross on their face, began to recite and entered up to the border of the hole; at once they saw the hair of the innocent one shining like a polished sword in the sunshine. When she heard their reciting she rose and made an obeisance before them. Then she went back, sat down leaning on her side and trusted her pure spirit to her Lord. At her death her pure odour spread till the desert was filled with her perfume. Then the saints began to praise and to sanctify the Lord Jesus Christ, who loveth the children of man and giveth them such beautiful gifts. They bore her out of the hole and began to put off her worn out clothes and shroud her honourably in new shrouds, as was becoming. But while they were stripping off her clothes they found her breasts withered on her pure bosom like leaves wither beneath the trees; then one of them knocked his head and cried to his companions: |88 "Look here, my brethren, and gaze at

this wonder; she is a virgin and not a man." When they saw the wonder they praised God who had helped her and led her to perfection. They dug a grave and buried her and the angels descended to honour her.

³³ When they had buried her, they went to the water-pool to drink. But they found the water dried up and the herbs withered and likewise the tree. Then they praised the great Lord and stayed wondering over this fact. Then each of them laid his head on a stone and lay down to sleep. They beseeched God to make known to them her whole history, and her coming to that place. They laid down their heads and slept. Then the angel descended and made known to them her whole history from the beginning of her beautiful demeanour up to the day of her departure as they had witnessed it. When they awoke and discussed their dream among themselves it appeared to be one and the same. Then they wrote down the history of the chosen virgin and sent it to the parts of the whole world that it might be profitable for the faithful by her prayers.

³⁴ And we, the sinners, will beseech our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to give you security in your dwelling places and—to protect your wives and to support your old men, to give health to your youths and to bring up your children, to give abundant blessing on the work of your hands, by the prayer of the dome of light, the mother of all creatures, the mother of Salvation, the mistress of women and men, the hope of the dead and the living, our Lady Mariam, the mother of God, the Virgin, and of Mar Petrus the Apostle, and by the prayers of the pure Prophets and Disciples and the rest of the Martyrs ¹⁸⁹ and the Saints and by the prayer of this excellent saint Hilaria, the daughter of the faithful king Zeno. Their prayers and the prayers of all who have the same rank may protect all the faithful and the poor scribe and the reader and the hearers. The mercy of the Lord be upon every one who sayeth Amen, O Lord of the worlds, Amen, (our Father in heaven).

³⁵ Here endeth the story of the holy Hilaria, the daughter of king Zeno. May the Lord protect us by her prayers. Amen. [Footnotes renumbered and moved to the end] 1. 1) Some words seem to have fallen out here. 2. 1) The king seems to be meant. 3. 1) The king. 4. 1) See introduction. 5. 2) Nearly synonymous with blessing. 6. 1) Hilaria is henceforth spoken of as of a man. 7. 2) Hilaria. 8. 1) According to A. 9. 2) Hilaria. 10. 3) The author means to say: the glorious habit on a glorious person. 11. 4) Cf. p. 64, note 2. 12. (1----1) Syriac verses. 13. 2) The king. 14. (3----3) Syriac verses. 15. 1)

[Karshuni] which I do not understand. 16. 1) □. which I do not understand. 17. 1) □ which I do not understand. 18. 1) The direction of prayer for Eastern Christianity. 19. 1) Litt. the class of angels.

³⁶ 20. 1 ---- 1) Syriac text. 21. 1) i. e. Christianity. 22. (1 ---- 1) Syriac text, followed by an Arabic translation. 23. (2----2) Only in C. 24. (3----3) Syriac text. 25. 1) See the Glossary s. v.□. 26. (2----2) Hilaria. 27. (1 -- 1) Syriac words.

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