

AN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY  
TO THE 20TH YEAR OF THE  
REIGN OF CONSTANTINE

EUSEBIUS

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AN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY TO THE TWENTIETH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF  
CONSTANTINE BEING THE 324TH OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA

BY EUSEBIUS SURNAMED PAMPHILUS, BISHOP OF CÆSAREA

TRANSLATED BY THE REV. C. F. CRUSÉ, D.D. PROFESSOR IN ST. PAUL'S  
COLLEGE, FLUSHING, NEW YORK THE FOURTH EDITION, CAREFULLY REVISED TO  
WHICH IS PREFIXED, THE LIFE OF EUSEBIUS, BY VALESIIUS TRANSLATED BY S. E.  
PARKER, OF PHILADELPHIA

ΠΟΛΛΑΙ μὲν θνητοὶς ΓΛΩΤΤΑΙ, μίᾳ δ' ἀθανάτοισιν.

LONDON: SAMUEL BAGSTER AND SONS WAREHOUSE FOR BIBLES, NEW  
TESTAMENTS, PRAYER-BOOKS, LEXICONS, GRAMMARS, CONCORDANCES, AND  
PSALTERS, IN ANCIENT AND MODERN LANGUAGES PATERNOSTER ROW  
M.DCCC.XLVII



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AN ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY TO THE 20TH  
YEAR OF THE REIGN OF CONSTANTINE





# PREFACE

IF history be accurately defined as philosophy teaching by examples, no branch of it can contain lessons of philosophy so interesting and important as the history of the church. Taking the terms in the most comprehensive sense, church history for more than four thousand years is matter of express revelation. It is the history of man and of Divine providence in their most momentous aspects, and has therefore been selected from the common trains of history to form the subject of an inspired chronicle. The Acts of the Apostles complete the annals; thenceforth ecclesiastical history flows from a different origin. It is written by the pen of man, and therefore marked by errors and defects; but the thought of ecclesiastical writers being, in a manner, continuators of the record of scripture,—followers in the train of evangelists and apostles,—while it is calculated deeply to impress every author who enters on this field of literature with a sense of his personal responsibility, must also impart, in the estimation of the reader, a degree of interest to such compositions that no others can possess.

Of all the periods of church history, the first three or four centuries are in many respects the most important. They exhibit to us the early struggles and triumphs of Christianity, the means by which it was disseminated, and the extent to which it prevailed; the sufferings and heroism of martyrs—the development of theology as a science—the effects of false philosophy upon the simple truths of revelation—the activity of the human mind in aiming at discoveries beyond its reach, and the forms of government and polity which the early churches assumed; subjects worthy the examination not only of the Christian, but of the philosopher.

While ecclesiastical history in general, now receives a growing measure of attention, the period just specified is the subject of most minute and critical investigation. Whatever throws light upon the character of those eventful times, possesses at the present

day more than ordinary value. But though most of the ecclesiastical writers of that age contain information relative to the history of Christianity, no professed historian of that period remains except EUSEBIUS. Hegesippus, who lived in the second century, wrote a history of the church in five books, but the only fragments handed down to us have been preserved by Eusebius. He is then, truly, the father of ecclesiastical history, the only compiler we have of a narrative of Christian affairs for nearly three hundred years after the close of the inspired annals. Venerable for his antiquity, he is valuable as an historian. The extensive learning he possessed formed one leading qualification for undertaking such a work, and the extent to which he availed himself of all existing documents, connected with his subject, is apparent to every reader of his history. And even though, according to the learned Scaliger, his judgment should not be equal to his research, yet all must admit that the mass of historical materials he has bequeathed to the church constitutes a most precious legacy—that indeed excess in their accumulation is an error on the safe side, and that it is much more to be regretted that our author did not make a still larger collection of documents and extracts, than that he should have included in his compilation some of doubtful authority.

Eusebius closes his history with the year 324, where the thread of his narrative is taken up by Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen, who continue it down to the year 439. Theodoret forms a kind of supplement to these, beginning with the same year as Sozomen, 324, and carrying it to the year 429. Evagrius again resumes the history at the year 439, and proceeds with it to the year 594. These form a cabinet of ecclesiastical history for the first six centuries. The worth of works of this kind, with all their imperfections, will be fully appreciated by every thoughtful mind. Modern compilations may be more philosophical, critical, and elegant; the matter may be more carefully collected, condensed into a smaller space, arranged in a better form, and expressed in more polished language, but the independent investigator will wish to examine for himself the sources whence they have been derived, and form a judgment from the perusal of original documents.

Eusebius is by far the most valuable of those we have mentioned, and who that takes an interest in historical studies, while incompetent to the perusal of our author in the original, but will gladly avail himself of an opportunity of becoming acquainted with him through the medium of a translation? Besides several versions in Latin, French, and German, there are three in English, published in this country; one by Hanmer, another published at Cambridge, 1683, without a name, and a third, incorporated by Parker in his abridgement of the works of the ecclesiastical writers. Yet these do not preclude the propriety, and indeed desirableness, of publishing a new translation, more correct in its renderings, and more suited in its style to the taste and character of the age.

A translation, therefore, by an American Episcopal divine, the Reverend C. F. Crusè, D.D., has been adopted in the present volume, and is now submitted to the public.

Speaking of his own labours, he says, "Whether the present translator has succeeded in presenting his author to the public in a costume that shall appear worthy of the original, must be left to the judgment of others. He is not so confident as to presume his labour is here immaculate, and a more frequent revision of the work may suggest improvements which have thus far escaped him. Some allowances are also due to a work like this, which may not obtain in those of a different description. The translator does not stand upon the same ground as one who renders a work of elegance and taste, from profane antiquity. The latter leaves more scope for the display of genius and taste. The great object of the former is to give a faithful transcript of his author's statement, that the reader may derive, if possible, the same impression that he would from the original, in case it were his vernacular language. He is not at liberty to improve his author, whatever may be the occasional suggestions of elegance or taste, for there is scarcely any such improvement but what involves the fidelity of the version. The more experienced reader and critic may, perhaps, discover instances where the translator might perhaps have been more easy, without sacrificing much of the meaning; and the present version is not without passages where perhaps a little liberty might have obviated an apparent stiffness in the style. But the translator

has sometimes preferred the latter, to what appeared a sacrifice of the sense.

“The office of a translator, like that of a lexicographer, is an ungrateful office. Men who have no conception of the requisites for such a task, who measure it by the same rough standard that they do a piece of manual labour, are apt to suppose he has nothing to do but to travel on from word to word, and that it amounts at last to scarcely more than a transcription of what is already written in his own mind. In the estimate which is thus made, there is little credit given, for the necessary adaptation of the style and phraseology to that of the original,—no allowance for that degree of judgment, which the interpreter must constantly exercise in order to make his version tell what its original says. And yet, with all this, there is generally discrimination enough to mark what may be happily expressed; but by a singular perversion, such merit is sure to be assigned to the original work, whilst the defects are generally charged to the account of the translator. Some, ignorant of the limits of the translator’s office, even expect him to give perfection to his author’s deficiencies, and if he fails in this, he is in danger of having them heaped upon himself.

“To preclude any unwarrantable expectations, the translator does not pretend to more in the present work, than to give a faithful transcript of the sense of his author. Occasionally, he thinks he has expressed that sense with more perspicuity than his original, and wherever the ambiguity seemed to justify it, it has been done, not with a view to improve his author, but to prevent mistaking his meaning.”

The version is from the accurate Greek text of Valesius, a learned French civilian, to whom the palm is due as an editor and Latin translator of Eusebius and the other ecclesiastical historians we have mentioned. The edition used was the splendid one by Reading, printed at Cambridge, 1720.

In this edition the whole of the American translation has undergone revision; and the present editor hopes that he has been successful in correcting some few errors which had been admitted into the renderings, and some obscurities and inelegant peculiarities of diction that had disfigured the style. He has also

prefixed to the History, Parker's translation of the life of Eusebius, by Valesius, having carefully compared it with the original, and corrected it.

The few notes introduced in the work, are, with two or three exceptions, by the American translator.

The whole forms a volume which it is hoped will be found peculiarly acceptable to the public, in an age distinguished by an increasing taste for the study of Ecclesiastical History.



# THE ORDER OF THE EPISCOPAL SUCCESSION IN THE MORE PROMINENT DIOCESES

## BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM

1. James the brother of our Lord.
2. Symeon, son of Cleopas.
3. Justus.
4. Zaccheus.
5. Tobias.
6. Benjamin.
7. John.
8. Matthias.
9. Philip.
10. Seneca.
11. Justus.
12. Levi.
13. Ephres.
14. Joseph.
15. Judas, last of the Hebrew succession.
16. Marcus.
17. Cassianus.
18. Publius.
19. Maximus.
20. Julian.
21. Caius.
22. Symmaehus.
23. Caius II.
24. Julian II.
25. Capito.
26. Maximus II.
27. Antoninus.
28. Valens.

29. Doliehianus.
30. Nareissus.
31. Dius.
32. Germanio.
33. Gordius.
34. Narcissus II.
35. Alexander.
36. Mazabanus.
37. Hymenæus.
38. Zabdas.
39. Hermon.

#### BISHOPS OF ANTIOCH

1. Evodius.
2. Ignatius.
3. Heron.
4. Cornelius.
5. Eros.
6. Theophilus.
7. Maximinus.
8. Serapion.
9. Aselepiades.
10. Philetus.
11. Zebinas.
12. Babyllas.
13. Fabius.
14. Demetrianus.
15. Paul of Samosata.
16. Domnus.
17. Timæus.
18. Cyrillus.
19. Tyrannus.

#### BISHOPS OF ALEXANDRIA

The evangelist Mark established the church there, and afterwards

1. Annianus.



2. Avilius.
3. Cerdo.
4. Primus.
5. Justus.
6. Enmenes.
7. Marcus.
8. Celadion.
9. Agrippinus.
10. Julianus.
11. Demetrius.
12. Heraclas.
13. Dionysius.
14. Maximus.
15. Theonas.
16. Peter.
17. Achillas.
18. Alexander.

## BISHOPS OF ROME

1. Linus.
2. Anencletus.
3. Clement.
4. Euarestus.
5. Alexander.
6. Xystus or Sixtus.
7. Telesphorus.
8. Hyginus.
9. Pius.
10. Anicetus.
11. Soter.
12. Elentherus.
13. Victor.
14. Zephyrinus.
15. Callistus.
16. Urbanus.
17. Pontianus.
18. Anteros.

19. Fabianus.
20. Cornelius.
21. Lucius.
22. Stephanus.
23. Xystus or Sixtus II.
24. Dionysius.
25. Felix.
26. Eutychianus.
27. Caius.
28. Marcellinus.
29. Miltiades.

#### BISHOPS OF LAODICEA

Thelymedres. Heliodorns. Socrates. Eusebius of Alexandria.  
Anatolius.  
Stephen. Theodotus.

#### BISHOPS OF CÆSAREA

Theophilus. Theoctistus.  
Domnus. Theotecnus.  
Agapius. Eusebius.



# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE SHOWING THE STATE OR PERIOD OF THE MOST PROMINENT PERSONS AND EVENTS

In this Table, the dates are given according to the vulgar era, or four years later than the true time.

A.D.

1. AUGUSTUS (Oct. Cæs.) being emperor of Rome, Christ was born.

14. Tiberius succeeds him.

33. Christ crucified.—Tiberius dies in the 23d year of his reign, and is succeeded by Caius Cæsar Caligula.

37. James, surnamed the Just, bishop of Jerusalem, the first b. of the first Christian church.—The mission of Thaddeus to Edessa.—The name Christian grows into use at Antioch.

40. Herod Agrippa afflicts the church, and puts James the Great, brother of John, to death.

41. Caligula dies, and is succeeded by Claudius.—The famine mentioned in the Acts.—Herod dies. Theudas the impostor.—Helen, queen of the Osrhoenians.—Simon Magus. Peter at Rome.—Philo's communication with Peter.—Sedition of the Jews at Jerusalem, and destruction.—Agrippa, Herod's son, appointed king of the Jews.

54. Claudius dies, and is succeeded by Tiberius Claudius Nero.

61. Annianus, b. of Alexandria, and successor of St. Mark.—The FIRST general Persecution of the Christian church.—Peter and Paul suffer martyrdom.—Linus the first b. of Rome.

68. Nero dies, and is succeeded by Galba and Otho.

69. Vitellius acknowledged emperor, soon after killed, and Vespasian declared emperor.—The Jews oppressed by grievous famine.

70. Capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the son of Vespasian.—Gnostics, Dositheus, Simon Magus, Ebion, Cerinthus.—Simeon, son of Cleopas, the second b. of Jerusalem. These two first b. of this church were relatives of our Lord.—The family of David investigated by Vespasian.

79. Vespasian dies, and is succeeded by his son Titus.—Anencletus, b. of Rome.

81. Titus dies, and is succeeded by Domitian, a second Nero.—SECOND general Persecution.—Clement, b. of Rome.—Avilius, b. of Alexandria.—John the apostle exiled to Patmos.

94. Fl. Clement and Domitilla, martyrs.—The grandchildren of Judas, relatives of our Lord, yet living.

96. Death of Domitian, who is succeeded by Nerva. Nerva is succeeded by Trajan.

98. Cerdon, b. of Alexandria.—Clement of Rome; Ignatius of Antioch, successor of Evodius, the first b.—Simeon of Jerusalem suffers martyrdom, and is succeeded by Justus in the episcopate.—The first fifteen b. of Jerusalem were all Hebrews.—After these followed the Gentile succession. See the tabular view of the bishops, page xvi.

99. The apostle John dies at Ephesus.—Euarestus, b. of Rome.—Primus, b. of Alexandria.—Alexander succeeds Euarestus in the see of Rome.

107. Ignatius suffers martyrdom.

117. Trajan dies, and is succeeded by Adrian.—Quadratus and Aristides write a defence of Christianity, addressed to Adrian.—Xystus, or Sixtus, b. of Rome. Justus of Alexandria; Telesphorus succeeds Xystus at Rome, and Eumenes succeeds Justus at Alexandria.—Barchochebas the impostor.—The last siege of the Jews, when the name of Jerusalem was changed and called Ælia, in honour of the emperor, Ælius Adrian—Now appeared the heresies of Menander, Saturninus, and Basilides, the offspring of the heresy of Simon Magus.—Adrian forbids the Christians to be punished without trial.—Hegesippus

and Justin, contemporary writers.

138. Adrian dies, and is succeeded by Antoninus Pius.—Hyginus, successor of Telesphorus at Rome.—Valentine and Cerdon, Gnostics, notorious at Rome.—Justin addresses his apology to Antonine, by which the emperor is induced to send his edict to the cities of Asia.—Pius, b. of Rome, is succeeded by Anicetus.

161. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus succeeds Antoninus Pius, and is associated with Lucius Antoninus Verus, his brother.

163. Justin addresses a second apology to the emperors; about the same time also Athenagoras and Tatian wrote their apologies.

166. Martyrdom of Justin and Polycarp.—FOURTH Persecution; Anicetus succeeded by Soter in the see of Home, and Celadion succeeded by Agrippinus at Alexandria.—Heron, Eros, Theophilus, b. of Antioch.—Dionysius of Corinth, Pinytus of Crete, Philip Apollinaris, and Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and Irenæus, contemporary writers.

169. L. Verus dies.—The Christian legion pray for rain and victory, whence the legion is called Fulminea.—Eleutherus of Rome.—Bardesanes of Syria.

177. Martyrs of Lyons and Vienna in Gaul.—Syriac and Italian translations of the New Testament, as also those of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

180. Antonine dies, and is succeeded by Commodus.—Agrippinus is succeeded by Julian in the see of Alexandria.—Pantænus, the philosopher, at the head of the Alexandrian school.—Clement of Alexandria, the pupil of Pantænus.—Narcissus b. of Jerusalem, being the fifteenth of the Gentile succession, which commenced after the invasion of Judea under Adrian.—Rhodon opposes the errors of Marcion.—Phrygian errors, Montanus, Priscilla, Maximilla.—Blastus, schismatic at Rome.—Miltiades and Apollonius, ecclesiastical writers; the latter dies a martyr.—Eleutherus is succeeded by Victor in the see of Rome; and Julian of Alexandria by Demetrius.—Serapion, b. of Antioch.—Narcissus of Jerusalem, Bachylus of Corinth, and Polycrates at Ephesus.—The dispute respecting the Passover.—

Artemon's errors revived by Paul of Samosata.—Natalius, Asclepiodotus.

192. Pertinax.

193. Didius Julius.—Septimius Severus, emperor.—Tertullian writes his apology.—FIFTH Persecution.—Martyrdom of Philip, governor in Egypt, Leonidas and others.

205. Irenæus, and the martyrs at Lyons. Origen.—Clement succeeds Pantæus in the Alexandrian school.—About the same time flourished Judas the historian, Alexander of Jerusalem, Demetrius of Alexandria, and Porphyry, the opponent of Christianity.

211. A. Caracalla and Geta, emperors.

217. Macrinus with his son.—Zephyrinus of Rome, successor of Victor, is succeeded by Callistus, who again left the church to Urbanus.

218. Heliogabalus (alias Antoninus) succeeds Macrinus.

222. Alexander Severus, emperor.—Philetas succeeds Asclepiades in the see of Antioch.—Mamæa, Alexander's mother, favourable to Christianity.—Hippolytus, an ecclesiastical writer.—Heraclas succeeds Demetrius in the see of Alexandria.—Firmilianus b. of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.—Theoetistus b. of Cæsarea in Palestine.

235. Alexander assassinated by Maximinus Thrax, who is proclaimed emperor, and commences the SIXTH Persecution.

238. Maximinus Thrax is succeeded by Gordian.—Pontianus is succeeded by Anteros in the see of Rome, who was succeeded by Fabianus.—Heraclas b. of Alexandria.—Zebinus of Antioch is succeeded by Babylas.—Africanus, author of "Cesti."—Beryllus of Arabia.

244. Gordian is succeeded by Philip the Arabian. Origen's works on the Scriptures.—Heraclas is succeeded by Dionysius in the see of Alexandria.—Dissensions of the Arabians.—Heresy of the Helcesaites.

249. Decius succeeds Philip.—SEVENTH Persecution.—Alexander, b. of Jerusalem, dies a martyr, and is succeeded by Mazabanus.—Babylas of Antioch dies in prison,

and is succeeded by Fabius.—Origen's great sufferings and tortures.—The sufferings of Dionysius.—The martyrs at Alexandria.—Novatus creates a schism at Rome.—Fabianus suffers martyrdom.—Cornelius b. of Home. Cyprian of Carthage, and Fabianus of Antioch.—Dionysius writes to Novatus.—The dispute between Cyprian of Carthage and Stephen of Rome.

251. Gallus emperor. Lucius b. of Rome.

254. Valerianus emperor. Stephen b. of Rome.

—The Sabellian heresy—Valerian stimulated by Macrianus to persecute.—Dionysius bishop of Rome.—The sufferings of Dionysius of Alexandria.—The schism of Nepos.

260. Gallienus sole emperor on the capture of his father Valerian.—Cyprian and Laurentius suffered martyrdom.—The episcopal see of James at Jerusalem held in great veneration.—Dionysius of Alexandria dies, and is succeeded by Maximus.

264. Paul of Samosata creates a schism, and is condemned in a council at Antioch.

268. Claudius emperor of Rome.—Felix, successor of Dionysius of Rome, is succeeded by Eutychianus, who was soon after succeeded by Caius.

270. Aurelian emperor, to whom an appeal was made against Paul of Samosata.

272. The NINTH Persecution commenced by Aurelian.

275. Tacitus emperor.

276. Florianus emperor.

277. Probus emperor.—Origin of the Manichean heresy.

282. Carus emperor.—Carinus and Numerianus emperors.

283. Caius b. of Rome.

284. Diocletian emperor of Rome, under whom the tenth great persecution began, preceded by the demolition of the churches.

287. Marcellinus succeeds Caius in the see of Rome, who was overtaken by the persecution in his fifteenth year.

303. The TENTH Persecution, the most violent



of all. Eusebius styles it emphatically The persecution.—Timæus, Domnus and Cyrillus successively b. of Antioch.—Tyrannus succeeds Cyrillus.—Eusebius successor of Socrates in the see of Laodicea.—Marcellus succeeds Marcellinus in the see of Rome, who was followed by Eusebius.—These were succeeded by Miltiades or Melchiades, who is mentioned in connexion with Marcus in the epistle of Constantine.

305. Diocletian and Maximian abdicate the government.—Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus, son-in-law of Diocletian, are created Augusti.—The empire being thus divided between the two emperors, Galerius adopted the two Cæsars, Severus and his nephew Maximinus.

306. Licinius appointed emperor and titled Augustus by a common vote of the emperors.—Maximinus assumes the title of Augustus.—Constantius, emperor of the west, dies in Britain, and Constantine his son is proclaimed emperor; an event which defeated the ambitious and tyrannical projects of Galerius Maximianus.—Maxentius son of Maximian assumes the purple at Rome.

310. Maximian dies a disgraceful death, after an attempt against the life of Constantine.—Maximinus of the east, and Maxentius at Rome, secretly combine against Constantine and Licinius. The excesses committed by the tyrants.—About this time flourished" Anatolius, distinguished as b. of Laodicea and a writer.—Stephen b. of Antioch.—Theotecnus, b. of Cæsarea in Palestine, was succeeded by Agapius, the contemporary of Pamphilus. Agapius was succeeded by Eusebius, the author of the Ecclesiastical History.—Now flourished as writers, Pierius of Alexandria, Melchius b. of Pontus, and Miletius the honey of Attica.—Hymenæus, Lambdas, and Hermon, successively b. of Jerusalem about this time.—Maximus, the successor of Dionysius, was succeeded by Theonas in the see of Alexandria.—Theonas was succeeded by Peter and Achillas, and he by Alexander. The last of these was indirectly the occasion of the subsequent Arian controversy.—Hermon of Jerusalem, Alexander of Alexandria, Miltiades of Rome, Tyrannus of Antioch, Theodotus of Laodicea, and Agapius of Cæsarea in Palestine, are the last b. mentioned by Eusebius in the most

prominent sees.

314. Miltiades was succeeded by Sylvester in the see of Rome, in whose times the council of Nice was held.—Constantine establishes the free exercise of the Christian religion, and liberates the Roman world from oppression.—The churches are now restored and dedicated.—Universal peace in the church, large endowments made by the emperor, privileges granted to the clergy, with the restoration of confiscated property.—The splendour which the church now began to wear seems to have laid the foundation for its subsequent corruption.



# LIFE OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS BY VALESIUS

ACCORDING to the testimony of Socrates, a book relative to the life of Eusebius was written by Acacius, his scholar and successor in the see of Cæsarea. But since this book, through that negligence in antiquity to which the loss of many others is to be ascribed, is not now extant, we will endeavour, from the testimonies of the several writers who have mentioned Eusebius, to supply the defect.

It appears that Eusebius was born in Palestine, about the close of the reign of Gallienus, one proof of which is, that by the ancients, particularly by Basilius and Theodoret, he is frequently termed a Palestinian. It is possible, indeed, that he might have received that name from his being the bishop of Cæsarea, yet probability is in favour of his having derived it from his country; certainly he himself affirms, that when a youth, he was educated and dwelt in Palestine, and that there he first saw Constantine, when journeying through it with Diocletian Augustus; and after repeating the contents of a law, written in favour of the Christians, by Constantine to the Palestinians, he observes, "This letter of the Emperor's is the first sent to us."

On the authority of Eusebius himself, it may be affirmed, that he was born in the last part of the reign of Gallienus, 259 A.D.; for, in his Ecclesiastical History, he informs us, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, lived in his own age.† Therefore, since Dionysius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, Eusebius must have been born before, if he lived within the time of that prelate. The same also follows, from his stating,\* that Paul of Samosata had revived the heresy of Artemon, in his† age. And in his history of the occurrences during the reign of Gallienus, before he begins the narrative of the error and condemnation of Paul of Samosata, he observes, "but now, after the history of these things, we will transmit to posterity an account of our own times."

Respecting his parents we know nothing, except that

Nicephorus Callistus, by what authority we cannot say, speaks of his mother as the sister of Pamphilus the martyr. In Arius's letter, he is termed brother to Eusebius of Nicomedia. Though he possibly might, on account of his friendship, have received this appellation, yet it is more probable that he was nearly related to the Nicomedian bishop; especially since he of Cæsarea only, though many others there are mentioned, is termed by Arius, brother to that prelate. Besides, the Nicomedian Eusebius was a native of Syria, and bishop first of Berytus: nor was it then the usage, that foreigners and persons unknown should be promoted to the government of churches.

Neither is it known what teachers he had in secular learning; but in sacred literature, he had for his preceptor Dorotheus, the eunuch, presbyter of the Antiochian church, of whom he makes honourable mention in his Seventh Book. Notwithstanding Eusebius there says only, that he had heard Dorotheus expounding the Holy Scriptures with propriety, in the Antiochian church, we are not inclined to object to any one thence inferring, with Trithemius, that Eusebius was Dorotheus's disciple. Theotecnus being at that time dead, the bishopric of the church of Cæsarea was administered by Agapius, a person of eminent piety and great liberality to the poor. By him Eusebius was admitted into the clerical office, and with Pamphilus, a presbyter of distinction at that time in the Cæarean church, he entered into the firmest friendship. Pamphilus was, as Photius relates, a Phœnician, born at Berytus, and scholar of Pierius, a presbyter of the Alexandrian church; who, since he was animated with the most singular attachment to sacred literature, and was with the utmost zeal collecting all the works of the ecclesiastical writers, especially Origen, founded a very celebrated school and library at Cæsarea, of which school Eusebius seems to have been the first master. Indeed, it is affirmed, by Eusebius, that Apphianus, who suffered martyrdom in the third year of the persecution, had been instructed by him in the sacred Scriptures, in the city of Cæsarea. From that time Eusebius's intimacy with Pamphilus was so great, and such was his attention to him, as his inseparable companion till death, that he acquired the name of Pamphilus. And not only while the latter was living, but after his death, Eusebius cherished

toward him the greatest affection, and ever spoke of him with reverence and tenderness. This is exemplified in the three books written by Eusebius, concerning the life of Pamphilus, eulogized by St. Jerome, and by many passages in his Ecclesiastical History, and in his account of the martyrs of Palestine. In his Second Book, also, against Sabellius, written by Eusebius, after the Nicene Council, he frequently commends Pamphilus, though he suppresses his name. In the commencement of that discourse, Eusebius observes, "I think that my ears are as yet affected by the remembrance of that blessed man, who spake with so much piety, and yours still retain the sound of his voice; for I seem to be yet hearing him utter that devout word, 'the only begotten Son of God,' a phrase he constantly employed: for it was the remembrance of the only begotten to the glory of the unborn Father. Now we have heard the apostle commanding that presbyters ought to be honoured with a double honour, those especially who have laboured in the word and doctrine." And he thus again speaks of his friend: "With these reminiscences of that blessed man I am not elated, but wish I could so speak, as if, together with you, I were always hearing from him. And the words now cited may be pleasing to him, for it is the glory of good servants to speak truth concerning the Lord, and it is the honor of those fathers, who have taught well, if their doctrines be repeated." Some "may insinuate, that these were phrases, the creatures of his lips, and no proof of the feelings of his heart; but I remember, in what a satisfactory manner, I have heard with you, his solemn asseveration, that there was not one thing on his tongue and another in his heart." Shortly after, he says: "But now on account of the memory and honour of this our father, so good, so laborious, and so vigilant for the church, let these facts be briefly stated by us. For we have not mentioned yet his family, his education or learning, nor narrated the other incidents of his life, and its leading or principal object." These passages in Eusebius were pointed out to us by the most learned Franciscus Ogerius. Hence it may be satisfactorily inferred, that it was not any family alliance, but the bond of amity that connected Eusebius with Pamphilus. Eusebius, though he mentions Pamphilus so frequently, and boasts so highly of his friendship, yet never

speaks of him as a relative. The testimony of Eusebius alone is sufficient to decide that Pamphilus, though his friend, was not his kinsman. Since in the close of his Seventh Book of Ecclesiastical History, where he is making mention of Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea, he says: "In his time, we became acquainted with Pamphilus, a most eloquent man, and in his life and practices truly a philosopher, and in the same church, ennobled with the honor of the presbytery." Since Eusebius attests that Pamphilus was then first known to him, it is sufficiently evident, that family alliance was not the tie that connected them.

In these times occurred that most severe persecution of the Christians, which was begun by Diocletian, and continued by the following emperors for ten years. During this persecution, Eusebius, at that time being a presbyter of the church of Cæsarea, remained almost constantly in that city, and by continual exhortations, prepared many for martyrdom; amongst whom was Apphianus, a noble youth, whose illustrious fortitude is related in Eusebius's book concerning the martyrs of Palestine. In the same year Pamphilus was cast into prison, where he spent two whole years in bonds, during which time, Eusebius by no means deserted his friend and companion, but visited him continually, and in the prison wrote, together with him, five books in defence of Origen; but the sixth and last book of that work, he finished after the death of Pamphilus.—That whole work was by Eusebius and Pamphilus dedicated to Christian confessors, living in the mines of Palestine. In the time of this persecution, on account, probably, of some urgent affairs of the church, Eusebius went to Tyre, in which city he witnessed the glorious martyrdom of five Egyptian Christians; and afterwards, on his arrival in Egypt and Thebais, the persecution then prevailing there, he beheld the admirable constancy of many martyrs of both sexes. Some have insinuated that Eusebius, to exempt himself in this persecution, from imprisonment, sacrificed to idols; and that this was objected against him, as will be hereafter related, by the Egyptian bishops and confessors, in the synod at Tyre. But we doubt not that this is false, and that it was a calumny forged by the enemies of Eusebius. For had a crime so great been really committed by him, how could he have been afterwards appointed bishop of

Cæsarea? How is it likely that he should, in this case, have been invited by the Antiochians to undertake the episcopate of their city? And yet Cardinal Baronius has seized on that as certain and undoubted, which by his enemies, for litigious purposes, was objected against Eusebius, but never confirmed by the testimony of any one. At the same time, a book was written by Eusebius against Hierocles. For Hierocles of Nicomedia, about the beginning of the persecution, when the Christian Churches were every where harassed, published, in the city of Nicomedia, as an insult to a religion then assailed by all its enemies, two books against the Christian faith; in which books he asserted, that Apollonius Tyaneus performed more and greater things than Christ. But Eusebius disregarding the man, confuted him in a very short volume.

Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea during this interval, being dead, the persecution subsiding, and peace being restored to the church, Eusebius, by common consent, succeeded to the episcopal dignity at Cæsarea. Others represent Agricola, who subscribed to the synod of Ancyra, at which he was present in the 314th year of the Christian era, to be the successor of Agapius. This is affirmed by Baronius in his Annals, and Blondellus. The latter writes, that Eusebius undertook the administration of the church of Cæsarea, after the death of Agricola, about the year 315. But these subscriptions of the bishops, extant only in the Latin collections of the canons, seem in our judgment to be entitled to little credit. For they occur neither in the Greek copies, nor in the Latin Versions of Dionysius Exiguus. Besides, Eusebius,| enumerating the bishops of the principal dioceses, where the persecution began and raged, ends with the mention of Agapius, bishop of Cæsarea; who, he observes, laboured much, during that persecution, for the good of his own church. The necessary inference, therefore, is, that Agapius must have been bishop until the end of the persecution. But Eusebius was elevated to the episcopal office immediately after that persecution; for after peace was restored to the church, Eusebius\* and other prelates being invited by Paulinus bishop of Tyre, to the dedication of a cathedral, Eusebius made there a very eloquent oration. Now this happened before the rebellion of Licinius against Constantine,



in the 315th year of the Christian era, about which period Eusebius wrote those celebrated books, “De Demonstratione Evangelicâ,” and “De Præparatione Evangelicâ.” And these books were certainly written before the Nicene Synod, since they are expressly mentioned in his Ecclesiastical History, which was written before that council.

Meanwhile, Licinius, who managed the government in the eastern empire, excited by sudden rage, began to persecute the Christians, especially the prelates, whom he suspected of showing more regard, and of offering up more prayers for Constantine than for himself. Constantine, however, having defeated him in two battles by land and sea, compelled him to surrender, and restored peace to the Christians of the east.

A disturbance, however, far more grievous, arose at that time, amongst the Christians themselves. Arius, a presbyter of the city of Alexandria, publicly advanced some new and impious tenets relative to the Son of God, and persisting in this, notwithstanding repeated admonition by Alexander the bishop, he and his associates in this heresy, were at length expelled. Highly resenting this, Arius sent letters with a statement of his own faith to all the bishops of the neighbouring cities, in which he complained, that though he asserted the same doctrines which the rest of the eastern prelates maintained, he had been unjustly deposed by Alexander. Many bishops, imposed on by these artifices, and powerfully excited by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who openly favoured the Arian party, wrote letters in defence of Arius to Alexander bishop of Alexandria, entreating him to restore Arius to his former rank in the church. Our Eusebius was one of their number, whose letter, written to Alexander, is extant in the acts of the seventh Œcumenical Synod. The example of Eusebius of Cæsarea was soon followed by Theodotus and Paulinus, the one bishop of Laodicea, the other of Tyre, who interceded with Alexander for Arius’s restoration. Since Arius boasted on every occasion of this letter, and by the authority of such eminent men, drew many into the participation of his heresy, Alexander was compelled to write to the other eastern bishops, showing the justice of the expulsion of Arius. Two letters of Alexander’s are yet extant; the one to Alexander, bishop of Constantinople, in which

the former complains of three Syrian bishops, who agreeing with Arius, had more than ever inflamed that contest, which they ought rather to have suppressed. These three, as may be learned from Arius's letter to Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, are Eusebius, Theodotius, and Paulinus. The other letter of Alexander's, written to all the bishops throughout the world, Socrates records in his first book. To these letters of Alexander's, almost all the eastern bishops subscribed, amongst whom the most eminent were Philogonius, bishop of Antioch, Eustathius of Beræa, and Macarius of Jerusalem.

The bishops who favoured the Arian party, especially Eusebius of Nicomedia, imagining themselves to be severely treated in Alexander's letters, became much more vehement in their defence of Arius. For our Eusebius of Cæsarea, together with Patrophilus, Paulinus, and other Syrian bishops, merely voted that it should be lawful for Arius, as a presbyter, to hold assemblies in his church; at the same time, that he should be subject to Alexander, and seek from him reconciliation and communion. The bishops disagreeing thus among themselves, some favouring the party of Alexander, and others that of Arius; the contest became singularly aggravated. To remedy this, Constantine, from all parts of the Roman world, summoned to Nicea, a city of Bithynia, a general synod of bishops, such as no age before had seen. In this greatest and most celebrated council, our Eusebius was far from an unimportant person. For he both had the first seat on the right hand, and in the name of the whole synod addressed the emperor Constantine, who sat on a golden chair, between the two rows of the opposite parties. This is affirmed by Eusebius himself in his Life of Constantine, and by Sozomen in his Ecclesiastical History. Afterwards, when there was a considerable contest amongst the bishops, relative to a creed or form of faith, our Eusebius proposed a formula, at once simple and orthodox, which received the general commendation both of the bishops and of the emperor himself. Something, notwithstanding, seeming to be wanting in the creed, to confute the impiety of the new opinion, the fathers of the Nicene Council determined that these words, "VERY GOD OF VERY GOD, BEGOTTEN NOT MADE, BEING OF ONE SUBSTANCE WITH THE FATHER," should be added. They also

annexed anathemas against those who should assert that the Son of God was made of things not existing, and that there was a time when he was not. At first, indeed, our Eusebius refused to admit the word “consubstantial,” but when the import of that word was explained to him by the other bishops, he consented, and as he himself relates in his letter to his diocese at Cæsarea, subscribed to the creed. Some affirm that it was the necessity of circumstances, or the fear of the emperor, and not the conviction of his own mind, that induced Eusebius to subscribe to the Nicene Council. Of some, present at the synod, this might be believed, but this we cannot think of Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea. After the Nicene Council, too, Eusebius always condemned those who asserted that the Son of God was made of things not existing. Athanasius likewise affirms the same concerning him, who though he frequently mentions that Eusebius subscribed to the Nicene Council, nowhere intimates that he did it insincerely. Had Eusebius subscribed to that Council, not according to his own mind, but fraudulently and in pretence, why did he afterwards send the letter we have mentioned to his diocese at Cæsarea, and there ingenuously profess that he had embraced that faith which had been published in the Nicene Council?

After that Council, the Arians, through fear of the emperor, were for a short time quiet. But at length, confidence being resumed, they ingratiated themselves into the favour of the prince, and began, by every method and device, to persecute the Catholic prelates. Their first attack fell on Eustathius, bishop of the city of Antioch, who was eminent for the glory of his confession, and was chief amongst the advocates of the Nicene faith. Eustathius was, therefore, accused before the emperor of maintaining the Sabellian impiety, and of slandering Helena Augusta, the emperor’s mother. A numerous assembly of bishops was convened in the city of Antioch, in which Eusebius of Nicomedia, the chief and ringleader of the whole faction, presided. In addition to the accusation advanced at this assembly by Cyrus, bishop of the Beræans, against Eustathius, of maintaining the impious doctrine of Sabellius, another was devised against him of incontinency, and he was therefore expelled from his diocese. On this account, a very impetuous tumult arose at Antioch. The

people, divided into two factions, the one requesting that the episcopacy of the Antiochian church might be conferred on Eusebius of Cæsarea, the other, that Eustathius their bishop might be restored, would have resorted to measures of violence, had not the fear and authority of the emperor and judges prevented it. The sedition being at length subdued, and Eustathius banished, our Eusebius, though entreated both by the people, and the bishops that were present, to undertake the administration of the church at Antioch, nevertheless refused. And when the bishops, by letters written to Constantine, had acquainted him with their own vote, and with the suffrages of the people, Eusebius wrote his letters also to that prince, who highly commended his resolution.

Eustathius having been in this manner deposed, in the year 330, the Arians turned the violence of their fury on Athanasius; and in the prince's presence they complained first of his ordination; secondly, that he had exacted the impost of a linen garment from the provincials; thirdly, that he had broken a sacred cup; and lastly, that he had murdered one Arsenius, a bishop. Constantine, wearied with these vexatious litigations, appointed a council in the city of Tyre, and directed Athanasius the bishop to proceed there, to have his cause tried. In that Synod, Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, whom Constantine had desired should be present, sat amongst others, as judge. Potamo, bishop of Heracleopolis, who had come with Athanasius the bishop and some Egyptian prelates, seeing him sitting in the council, is said to have addressed him in these words: "Is it fit, Eusebius, that you should sit, and that the innocent Athanasius should stand to be judged by you? Who can endure this? Were you not in custody with me, during the time of the persecution? And I truly, in defence of the truth, lost an eye; but you are injured in no part of your body, neither did you undergo martyrdom, but are alive and whole. In what manner did you escape out of prison, unless you promised to our persecutors that you would commit the detestable thing? And perhaps you have done it." This is related by Epiphanius, in the heresy of the Meletians. Hence it appears, that they are mistaken who affirm, that Eusebius had sacrificed to idols, and that he had been convicted of the fact in the Tyrian synod. For

Potamo did not attest that Eusebius had sacrificed to idols, but only that, being dismissed from prison safe and well, it afforded ground of suspicion. It was, however, evidently possible that Eusebius might have been liberated from confinement in a manner very different from that of Potamo's insinuation. From the words of Epiphanius, it seems to be inferred that Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, presided at this synod; for he adds, that Eusebius, being previously affected in hearing the accusation against him by Potamo, dismissed the council. Yet by other writers we are informed, that not Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea, but Eusebius of Nicomedia, presided at the Tyrian synod.

After that council, all the bishops who had assembled at Tyre, repaired, by the emperor's orders, to Jerusalem, to celebrate the consecration of the great church, which Constantine in honour of Christ had erected in that place. There our Eusebius graced the solemnity, by the several sermons he delivered. And when the emperor, by very strict letters, had summoned the bishops to his own court, that in his presence they might give an account of their fraudulent and litigious conduct towards Athanasius, our Eusebius, with five others, went to Constantinople, and furnished that prince with a statement of the whole transaction. Here also, in the palace, he delivered his tricennialian oration, which the emperor heard with the utmost joy, not so much on account of any praises to himself, as on account of the praises of God, celebrated by Eusebius throughout the whole of that oration. This oration was the second delivered by Eusebius in that palace. For he had before made an oration there, concerning the sepulchre of our Lord, which the emperor heard standing; nor could he, though repeatedly entreated by Eusebius, be persuaded to sit in the chair placed for him, alleging that it was fit that discourses concerning God should be heard in that posture.

How dear and acceptable our Eusebius was to Constantine, may be known both from the facts we have narrated, as well as from many other circumstances. For he both received many letters from him, as may be seen in the books already mentioned, and was not unfrequently sent for to the palace, where he was entertained at table, and honoured with familiar conversation. Constantine, moreover, related to our Eusebius, the vision of the

cross seen by him when on his expedition against Maxentius; and showed to him, as Eusebius informs us, the labarum that he had ordered to be made to represent the likeness of that cross. Constantine also committed to Eusebius, since he knew him to be most skilful in Biblical knowledge, the care and superintendence of transcribing copies| of the Scriptures, which he wanted for the accommodation of the churches he had built at Constantinople. Lastly, the book concerning the Feast of Easter, dedicated to him by our Eusebius, was a present to Constantine, so acceptable, that he ordered its immediate translation into Latin; and by letter entreated Eusebius, that he would communicate, as soon as possible, works of this nature, with which he was engaged, to those concerned in the study of sacred literature.

About the same time, Eusebius dedicated a small book to the emperor Constantine, in which was comprised his description of the Jerusalem church, and of the gifts that had been consecrated there,—which book, together with his tricennialian oration, he placed at the close of his Marcellus; of which the last three, “De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ,” he dedicated to Flaccillus, bishop of Antioch. Flaccillus entered on that bishopric, a little before the synod of Tyre, which was convened in the consulate of Constantius and Albinus, A.D. 335. It is certain that Eusebius, in his First Book writes in express words, that Marcellus had been deservedly condemned by the church. Now Marcellus was first condemned in the synod held at Constantinople, by those very bishops that had consecrated Constantine’s church at Jerusalem, in the year of Christ 335, or, according to Baronius, 336. Socrates, indeed, acknowledges only three books written by Eusebius against Marcellus, namely those entitled, “De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ;” but the whole work by Eusebius, against Marcellus, comprised Five Books. The last books written by Eusebius, seem to be the four on the life of Constantine; for they were written after the death of that emperor, whom Eusebius did not long survive. He died about the beginning of the reign of Constantius Augustus, a little before the death of Constantine the Younger, which happened, according to the testimony of Socrates’ Second Book, when Acindynus and Proculus were consuls, A.D. 340.

We cannot admit, what Scaliger has affirmed, that Eusebius’s

books against Porphyry, were written under Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, especially since this is confirmed by the testimony of no ancient writer. Besides, in what is immediately after asserted by Scaliger, that Eusebius wrote his last three books of the "Evangelic Demonstration," against Porphyry, there is an evident error. St. Jerome says, indeed, that Eusebius in three volumes, (that is, in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth,) answered Porphyry, who in the Twelfth and Thirteenth of those books which he published against the Christians, had attempted to confute the book of the prophet Daniel. St. Jerome,\* however, does not mean, as Scaliger thought, Eusebius's Books on Evangelic Demonstration, but the books he wrote against Porphyry, entitled, according to Photius's Bibliotheca, ἐλέγχου καὶ ἀπολογίας, Refutation and Defence. We are also persuaded that Eusebius wrote these books after his Ecclesiastical History; because Eusebius, in the Sixth Book† of his Ecclesiastical History, where he quotes a notorious passage from Porphyry,‡ makes no allusion to any books he had written against him, though he is always sufficiently careful to quote his own works, and thereupon refers the reader to the study of them.

We avail ourselves of the present opportunity to make some remarks relative to Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History, the chief subject of our present labour and exertions. Much, indeed, had been written by our Eusebius, both against Jews and Heathens, to the edification of the orthodox and general church, and in confirmation of the verity of the Christian faith: nevertheless, amongst all his books, his Ecclesiastical History deservedly stands pre-eminant. For before Eusebius, many had written in defence of Christianity, and had, by the most satisfactory arguments, refuted the Jews on the one hand and the Heathens on the other, but not one, before Eusebius, had delivered to posterity a history of ecclesiastic affairs. On which account, therefore, because Eusebius not only was the first to show this example, but has transmitted to us what he undertook, in a state so complete and perfect, he is entitled to the greater commendation. Though many, it is true, induced by his example, have, since his time, furnished accounts of ecclesiastical affairs, yet they have not only uniformly commenced their histories from

the times of Eusebius, but have left him to be the undisputed voucher of the period of which he yet remains the exclusive historian. And if any one be entitled to the epithet of the Father of Ecclesiastical History, it certainly belongs to him.

By what preliminary circumstances Eusebius was led to this undertaking, it is not difficult to conjecture. Having in his Chronological Canons accurately stated the time of the advent and passion of Jesus Christ, the names of the several bishops that had presided in the four principal churches, and of the eminent characters therein, and having also detailed an account of the successive heresies and persecutions, he was, as it were, led by insensible degrees to write an Ecclesiastical History, to furnish a full development of what had been but briefly sketched in his Chronological Canons. This, indeed, is expressly confirmed by Eusebius in his preface to that work; where he also implores the forbearance of the candid reader, if his work should be found less substantial, for he was the first who had devoted himself to the inquiry, and had to commence a path unbeaten by previous footsteps. Though this, it is true, in the view of some, may appear not so much an apology as an indirect device of acquiring praise.

Though it is evident, from Eusebius's own testimony, that he wrote his Ecclesiastical History after his Chronological Canons, it is remarkable that the twentieth year of Constantine is a limit common to both those works. Nor is it less singular, that, though the Nicene Council was held in that year yet no mention is made of it in either work. But in his Chronicle, at the fifteenth year of Constantine, we read that "Alexander is ordained the nineteenth bishop of the Alexandrian church, by whom Arius the presbyter being expelled, associates many in his own impiety. A synod, therefore, of three hundred and eighteen bishops, convened at Nice, a city of Bithynia, by their agreement on the term *ὁμοούσιος* (consubstantial, or co-essential), suppressed all the devices of the heretics." It is sufficiently evident that these words were not written by Eusebius, but by St. Jerome, who in Eusebius's Chronicle inserted many passages of his own. For, not to mention that this reference to the Nicene Council is inserted in a place with which it has no proper connexion, who could believe that Eusebius would thus write concerning Arius, or should have inserted the term



ὁμοούσιος in his own Chronicle; which word, as we shall hereafter state, was not satisfactory to him? Was it likely that Eusebius should, in the Chronicle, state that three hundred and eighteen bishops were present at the Nicene synod, and in his Third Book on the Life of Constantine, say expressly that something more than two hundred and fifty sat in that council? We have no doubt, however, that the Ecclesiastical History was not completely finished by Eusebius till some years after the council at Nice. But when Eusebius had determined, as he states in the beginning of his history, to close his narrative with that, era of peace which shone from heaven on the church after the persecution of Diocletian, he carefully avoided all mention of the Nicene synod, lest he should be obliged to describe the seditions of Bishops quarrelling among themselves. Because writers of history ought especially to be careful that their work concludes with some glorious event, as Dionysius Halicarnassus had long before intimated in his comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides. Now what event more illustrious could have been desired by Eusebius, than that repose which, after a most sanguinary persecution, had been restored to the Christians by Constantine; when, the persecutors being every where extinct, and Licinius himself at length removed, no fear remained of such evils as had been experienced? This epoch, therefore, rather than that of the Nicene council, afforded the most eligible limit to his Ecclesiastical History. For in that synod, the contentions seemed not so much appeased as renewed; and that not through any fault of the synod itself, but by the pertinacity of those who refused to acquiesce in the very salutary decrees of that venerable assembly.

Having said thus much relative to the life and writings of Eusebius, it remains to make some remarks in reference to the orthodoxy of his faith. Let not the reader, however, here expect from us a defence, nor even any opinion of our own, but rather the judgment of the church and of the ancient fathers concerning him. Wherefore certain points shall be here premised, as preliminary propositions, relying on which, we may arrive at the greater certainty relative to the faith of Eusebius. As the opinions of the ancients concerning Eusebius are various, since some have termed him a Catholic, others a heretic, others a διγλωπτον, a

person of a double tongue, or wavering faith, it is incumbent on us to inquire to which opinion we should chiefly assent. Of the law it is an invariable rule, to adopt, in doubtful cases, the more lenient opinion as the safer alternative. Besides, since all the westerns, St. Jerome excepted, have entertained honourable sentiments relative to Eusebius, and since the Gallican church has enrolled him in the catalogue of saints, it is undoubtedly better to assent to the judgment of our own [the western] fathers, than to that of the eastern schismatics. In short, whose authority ought to be more decisive in this matter than that of the bishops of Rome? But Galesius, in his work on the Two Natures, has recounted our Eusebius amongst the catholic writers, and has quoted two authorities out of his books. Pope Pelagius, too, terms him the most honourable amongst historians, and pronounces him to be free from every taint of heresy, notwithstanding he had highly eulogized the heretical Origen. Some, however, may say, that since the Easterns were better acquainted with Eusebius, a man of their own language, a preference should be given, in this case, to their judgment. Even amongst them, Eusebius does not want those, Socrates and Gelasius Cyzicenus| for example, who entertained a favourable opinion concerning him. But if the judgment of the Seventh Œcumenical Synod be opposed to any inclination in his favour, our answer is ready. The faith of Eusebius was not the subject of that synod's debate, but the worship of images. In order to the subversion of which, when the opponents that had lately assembled in the imperial city had produced evidence out of Eusebius's letter to Constantia, and laid the greatest stress thereon, the fathers of the Seventh Synod, to invalidate the authority of that evidence, exclaimed that Eusebius was an Arian. But this was done merely casually, from the impulse of the occasion, and hatred of the letter, not advisedly, or from a previous investigation of the charge. They produce some passages, it is true, from Eusebius, to insinuate that he was favourable to the Arian hypothesis; but they avoid all discrimination between what Eusebius wrote prior to the Nicene Council, and what he wrote afterwards, which, undoubtedly, ought to have been made as essential to a just decision relative to Eusebius's faith. In short, nothing written by Eusebius before that

synod is fairly chargeable, in this respect, against him. Eusebius's letter to Alexander, containing his intercession with that prelate for Arius, was certainly written before that council. The affirmation, therefore, of the fathers of the Seventh Synod, notwithstanding it has the semblance of the highest authority, seems rather to have arisen from the prejudice than the mature judgment of the council. The Greeks may assume the liberty to think as they please concerning Eusebius, and to term him an Arian, or a favourer of that heresy; but who can patiently endure St. Jerome, who, not content with calling him heretic and Arian, frequently terms him the ringleader of that faction? Can he be justly termed a ringleader of the Arians, who, after the Nicene Council, always condemned their opinions? Let his books *De Ecclesiasticâ Theologiâ* be perused, which he wrote against Marcellus long after the Nicene Council; and we shall find, what we have affirmed, that he condemned those who asserted that the Son of God was made of things not existing, and that there was a time when he existed not. Athanasius, likewise, in his letter relative to the decrees of the Nicene Council, attests the same fact concerning Eusebius, in the following words: "In this, truly, he was unfortunate: that he might clear himself, however, of the imputation, he ever afterwards charged the Arians, when they said that the Son of God had not existed before he was begotten, with virtually denying, in this way, his existence before his incarnation." With this testimony too, Eusebius was favoured by Athanasius, notwithstanding the personal differences between them. But St. Jerome, who had no cause of enmity against Eusebius, who had profited so liberally by his writings, who had translated his *Chronological Canon*, and his *Book De Locis Hebraicis* into Latin, notwithstanding, brands Eusebius with a calumny, which even his most malignant enemies never fastened on him. The reason of this we cannot conjecture, except it is, that St. Jerome, in consequence of his enmity to Origen, persisted in an unqualified persecution of all that maintained his opinions, particularly Eusebius.

On the other hand, we do not conceal the fact, that Eusebius, though he cannot be deservedly esteemed a ringleader of the Arian faction, yet after the Nicene Council, was perpetually conversant with the principals of that party, and, together with

them, opposed the catholic bishops, Eustathius and Athanasius, the most strenuous advocates for the adoption of the term ὁμοούσιος. Though Eusebius always asserted the eternity of the Son of God, against the Arians, yet in his disapproval of that word he seems censurable. It is certain that he never made use of that term, either in his books against Marcellus, or in his orations against Sabellius. Nay, in his Second Book against Sabellius, he expressly declares, that since that word is not in the Scriptures, it is not satisfactory to him. On this occasion he speaks to the following effect: "As not inquiring into truths which admit of investigation is indolence, so prying into others, where the scrutiny is inexpedient, is audacity. Into what truths ought we then to search? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But what Ave do not find recorded there, let us not search after. For had the knowledge of them been incumbent on us, the Holy Spirit would doubtless have placed them there." Shortly after, he says: "Let us not hazard ourselves in such a risk, but speak safely; and let not anything that is written be blotted out." And in the end of his oration, he thus expresses himself: "Speak what is written, and the strife will be abandoned." In which passages, Eusebius, no doubt, alludes to the word ὁμοούσιος.

Finally, we now advert to the testimonies of the ancients concerning Eusebius. Here one thing is to be observed, namely, however various the opinions of men have been relative to the accuracy of the religious sentiments of Eusebius, all have unanimously esteemed him as a person of the most profound learning. To this Ave have to mention one solitary exception, Joseph Scaliger, who within the memory of our fathers, impelled by the current of temerity, and relish for vituperation, endeavoured to filch from Eusebius those literary honours which even his adversaries never dared to impugn. On Scaliger's opinion, we had at first determined to bestow a more ample refutation; but this we shall defer, until more leisure on the one hand, or a more urgent claim on the part of the reader, on the other, shall again call our attention to the subject.

# THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY BY EUSEBIUS

# THE HISTORY—BOOK I



# CHAPTER I

## THE ARGUMENT OF THE WORK

AS it is my purpose to record the successions of the holy apostles, together with the times since our Saviour, down to the present, to recount how many and important transactions are said to have occurred in Ecclesiastical History, what individuals in the most noted places eminently governed and presided over the church, what men also in their respective generations, whether with or without their writings, proclaimed the divine Word; to describe the character, times and number of those who, stimulated by the desire of innovation, and advancing to the greatest errors, announced themselves leaders in the propagation of false opinions, like grievous wolves, unmercifully assaulting the flock of Christ; as it is my intention, also, to describe the calamities that swiftly overwhelmed the whole Jewish nation, in consequence of their plots against our Saviour; how often, by what means, and in what times, the word of God has encountered the hostility of the nations; what eminent persons persevered in contending for it through those periods of blood and torture, beside the martyrdoms which have been endured in our own times: and, after all, to show the gracious and benign interposition of our Saviour; these being proposed as the subjects of the present work, I shall go back to the very origin and the earliest introduction of the dispensation of our Lord and Saviour the Christ of God.

But here, acknowledging that it is beyond my power to present the work perfect and unexceptionable, I freely confess it will crave indulgence, especially since, as the first of those that have entered upon the subject, we are attempting a kind of trackless and unbeaten path. Looking up with prayer to God as our guide, we trust, indeed, that we shall have the power of Christ as our aid, though we are totally unable to find even the bare vestiges of those who may have travelled the way before us: unless, perhaps,



what is only presented in the slight intimations, which some in different ways have transmitted to us in certain partial narratives of the times in which they lived; who, raising their voices before us, like torches at a distance, and as looking down from some commanding height, call out and exhort us where we should walk, and whither direct our course with certainty and safety. Whatsoever, therefore, we deem likely to be advantageous to the proposed subject, we shall endeavour to reduce to a compact body by historical narration. For this purpose we have collected the materials that have been scattered by our predecessors, and culled, as from some intellectual meadows, the appropriate extracts from ancient authors. In the execution of this work we shall be happy to rescue from oblivion, the successions, if not of all, at least of the most noted apostles of our Lord, in those churches which even at this day are accounted the most eminent; a labour which has appeared to me necessary in the highest degree, as I have not yet been able to find that any of the ecclesiastical writers have directed their efforts to present any thing complete in this department of writing. But as, on the one hand, I deem it highly necessary, so also I believe it will appear no less useful, to those who are zealous admirers of historical research. Of these matters, indeed, I have already heretofore furnished an epitome in my chronological tables; but in the present work I have undertaken a more full narrative. As I said above, I shall begin my treatise with that dispensation, and that doctrine of the divinity which in sublimity and excellency surpasses all human invention, viz. that of our Saviour Christ. And, indeed, whoever would give a detail of Ecclesiastical History to posterity, is necessarily obliged to go back to the very origin of the dispensation of Christ, as it is from him, indeed, that we derive our very epithet, a dispensation more divine than many are disposed to think.



## CHAPTER II

# SUMMARY VIEW OF THE PRE-EXISTENCE AND DIVINITY OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

AS the mode of existence in Christ is twofold, the one resembling the head of the body, indicating his Divinity: the other compared to the feet, by which he, for the sake of our salvation, assumed that nature which is subject to the same infirmities with ourselves; hence our account of the subsequent matter may be rendered complete and perfect, by commencing with the principal and most important points in his history. By this method, at the same time, the antiquity and the divine dignity of the Christian name will be exhibited to those who suppose it a recent and foreign production, that sprang into existence but yesterday, and was never before known.

No language, then, is sufficient to express the origin, the dignity, the substance and nature of Christ. Whence even the divine Spirit in the prophecies says, "Who will declare his generation?" For as no one hath known the Father, but the Son, so no one, on the other hand, can know the Son fully, but the Father alone, by whom he was begotten. For who but the Father hath thoroughly understood that Light which existed before the world was—that intellectual and substantial wisdom, and that living Word which in the beginning was with the Father, before all creation and any production visible or invisible, the first and only offspring of God, the prince and leader of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of the mighty council, the agent to execute the Father's secret will, the maker of all things with the Father, the second cause of the universe next to the Father, the true and only Son of the Father, and the Lord and God and King of all created things, who has received rule and

dominion with divinity itself, and power and honour from the Father? All this is evident from those more abstruse passages in reference to his divinity, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." "All things were made by him, and without him nothing was made." This, too, we are taught by the great Moses, that most ancient of all the prophets; when, under the influence of the divine Spirit, he describes the creation and arrangement of all things, he also informs us that the Creator and Maker of the universe yielded to Christ, and to none but to his divine and first begotten Word, the formation of all subordinate things, and communed with him respecting the creation of man. "For," says he, "God said, Let us make man according to our image and according to our likeness." This expression is confirmed by another of the prophets, who, discoursing of God in his hymns, declares, "He spake, and they were made; he commanded, and they were created." Where he introduces the Father and Maker as the Ruler of all, commanding with his sovereign nod; but the divine Word as next to him, the very same that is proclaimed to us, as ministering to his Father's commands. Him, too, all that are said to have excelled in righteousness and piety, since the creation of man, Moses, that eminent servant of God, and Abraham before him, the children of the latter, and as many righteous prophets as subsequently appeared, contemplated with the pure eyes of the mind, and both recognized and gave him the worship that was his due as the Son of God. The Son himself, however, by no means indifferent to the worship of the Father, is appointed to teach the knowledge of the Father to all. The Lord God, therefore, appeared as a common man to Abraham, whilst sitting at the oak of Mamre. And he immediately falling down, although he plainly saw a man with his eyes, nevertheless worshipped him as God, and entreated him as Lord. He confesses too that he is not ignorant who he is, in the words, "Lord, the judge of all the earth, wilt not thou judge righteously?" For as it were wholly unreasonable to suppose the uncreated and unchangeable substance of the Almighty God to be changed into the form of a man, or to deceive the eyes of beholders with the phantom of any created substance, so also it is unreasonable to suppose that the Scriptures have falsely invented

such things as these. "God and the Lord, who is judge of the whole earth, and executeth judgment," appearing in the shape of man, who else can he be called, if it be not lawful to call him the author of the universe, than his only pre existing Word? Concerning whom also in the Psalms, it is said, "He sent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their corruptions." Of Him Moses obviously speaks as the second after the Father, when he says, "The Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord." Him also, again appearing to Jacob in the form of man, the sacred Scriptures call by the name of God, saying to Jacob, "Thy name shall no longer be called Jacob; but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast prevailed with God." Whence also Jacob called the name of that place, the vision of God, saying, "I have seen God face to face, and my soul has lived." To suppose these divine appearances the forms of subordinate angels and servants of God, is inadmissible; since, as often as any of these appeared to men, the Scriptures do not conceal the fact in the name, expressly saying that they were called not God nor Lord, but angels, as would be easy to prove by a thousand references. Joshua also, the successor of Moses, calls him the ruler of celestial angels and archangels, of supernal powers, and the power and wisdom of God, entrusted with the second rank of sovereignty and rule over all, "the captain of the Lord's host," although he saw him only in the form and shape of man. For thus it is written: "And it came to pass when Joshua was by Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold there stood a man over against him, with his sword drawn in his hand; and Joshua went unto him, and said unto him, Art thou for us, or for our adversaries? And he said, Nay, but as captain of the Lord's host am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, What saith my Lord unto his servant? And the captain of the Lord's host said unto Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot: for the place whereon thou standest is holy" (Joshua 5).

Here, then, you will perceive, from the words themselves, that this is no other than the one that also communicated with Moses, since the Scripture in the same words, and in reference to the same one, says, "When the Lord saw that he drew near to see,

the Lord called to him from the midst of the bush, saying, Moses, Moses. And he answered, Here am I. But he said, Draw not nearer, loose thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place on which thou standest is holy ground. And he said to him, I am the God of thy fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.”

That there is also a certain ante-mundane, living, and self existing substance, ministering to the Father and God of all unto the formation of all created objects, called the Word and the wisdom of God, besides the proofs already advanced, we may also learn from the very words of wisdom, speaking of herself in the clearest manner, through Solomon, and thus initiating us into her mysteries. Prov. 8.:—“I wisdom make my habitation with prudence and knowledge, and have called to understanding. By me kings reign and princes define justice. By me the great are magnified, and rulers subdue the earth.” To which he subjoins the following: “The Lord created me in the beginning of his ways, for his works; before the world he established me, before the formation of the earth, before the waters came from their fountains, before the foundation of the mountains, before all hills, he brought me forth. When he prepared the heavens, I was present with him, and when he established the fountains under the heavens, I was with him, adjusting them. I was his delight; daily I exulted before him at all times, when he rejoiced that he had completed the world.” That the divine Word, therefore, pre-existed and appeared, if not to all, at least to some, has been thus briefly shown.

The reason, however, why this was not also proclaimed before in ancient times, to all men and to all nations, as it is now, will appear from the following considerations. The life of men, in ancient times, was not in a situation to receive the doctrine of Christ, in the all comprehensive fulness of its wisdom and its virtue. For immediately in the beginning, after that happy state, the first man, neglecting the Divine commands, fell into the present mortal and afflicted condition, and exchanged his former divine enjoyment for the present earth, subject to the curse. The descendants of this one, having filled our earth, and proved themselves much worse, excepting one here and another there,

commenced a certain brutal and disorderly mode of life. They had neither city nor state, no arts or sciences, even in contemplation. Laws and justice, virtue and, philosophy they knew not, even in name. They wandered lawless through the desert, like savage and fierce animals, destroying the intellectual faculty of man, and exterminating the very seeds of reason and culture of the human mind, by the excesses of determined wickedness, and by a total surrender of themselves to every species of iniquity.

Hence, at one time they corrupted each other by criminal intercourse; at another, they murdered; and at others, fed upon human flesh. Hence, too, their audacity, in venturing to wage war with the Deity himself; and hence those battles of the giants, celebrated by all. Hence too, their attempts to wall up the earth against heaven, and, by the madness of a perverted mind, to prepare an attack upon the supreme God himself. Upon these men, leading a life of such wickedness, the Omniscient God sent down inundations and conflagrations, as upon a forest scattered over the earth. He cut them down with successive famines and pestilence, with constant wars and thunder-bolts, as if to suppress the dreadful and obdurate disease of the soul, with his more severe punishments. Then it was, when the excess of malignity had nearly overwhelmed all the world, like a deep fit of drunkenness overshadowing and beclouding the minds of men—then it was, that the first-begotten Wisdom of God, existing before all creatures, and the self-same pre-existing Word, induced by his exceeding love of man, appeared at times to his servants, in visions of angels; at others, in his own person. As the salutary power of God, he was seen by one and the other of the pious in ancient times, in the shape of man, because it was impossible to appear in any other way. And as, by these pious men, the seeds of godliness had been already scattered among the mass of mankind, and the whole nation that claimed its origin from those ancient Hebrews, continued devoted to the worship of God—to these, therefore, as to a multitude still affected by former corrupt practices, he imparted, through Moses, images and signs of a certain mystical Sabbath and circumcision, and instructions in other spiritual principles, but did not yet grant the privilege of an immediate initiation. But when their law obtained celebrity, and like

a fragrant odour was spread abroad among all men; and, by means of this law, the dispositions of men, and philosophers every where, who softened their wild and savage ferocity, so as to enjoy settled peace, friendship, and, even among most of the Gentiles, were improved by legislators' mutual intercourse; then it was, when men at length, throughout the whole world, and in all nations, had been, as it were, previously prepared and fitted for the reception of the knowledge of the Father, that he himself again appeared the master of virtue, the minister of the Father in all goodness, the divine and celestial Word of God. He appeared in a human body, in substance not differing from our own nature, at the commencement of the Roman empire; and performed and suffered such things as were to follow, according to prophecy, viz. that man and God, the author of miraculous works, would dwell in the world, and would be exhibited to all the nations as the teacher of that piety which the Father will approve. In these prophecies, also, were foretold the extraordinary fact of his birth, his new doctrine, and his wonderful works; as also the manner of his death, his resurrection from the dead, and finally his divine return to the heavens. The prophet Daniel, under the influence of the divine Spirit, foreseeing his kingdom in the end, was inspired thus to write and describe his vision, in adaptation to human capacity, in the following language: "I beheld," said he, "until the thrones were placed: and the Ancient of Days sat, and his garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head was as pure wool; his throne was a flame of fire, his wheels burning fire; a river of fire rolled before him; thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand thousands stood near him. He appointed judgment, and the books were opened." "And next, I beheld," says he, "and lo! one coming with the clouds as the Son of Man, and he advanced as far as the Ancient of Days, and he was brought into his presence. And to him was given the dominion, and the glory, and the kingdom, and all people, tribes, and tongues shall serve him. His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away; and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." These passages can evidently be referred to no one but to our Saviour, that God-word which was in the beginning with God; called the Son of God, by reason of his final appearance in the flesh. But having collected



the prophetic declarations concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, in distinct commentaries on this subject, and having elsewhere digested whatever is revealed concerning him, in a more demonstrable form, what has been said upon the subject here may suffice for the present.



## CHAPTER III

# THE NAME OF JESUS, AS ALSO THAT OF CHRIST, WAS BOTH KNOWN AND HONOURED FROM ANCIENT TIMES, BY THE INSPIRED PROPHETS

IT is now the proper place to show that the very name of JESUS, as also that of CHRIST, was honoured by the pious prophets of old. And first, Moses himself, having intimated how exceedingly august and illustrious the name of Christ is, delivering types and mystical images, according to the oracle which declared to him, "See that thou make all things according to the pattern which was shown thee on the mount,"—the same man whom, as far as it was lawful, he had called the high priest of God, the self-same he calls Christ. And in this way, to the dignity of thee priesthood, which surpasses with him all superiority among men, as additional honour and glory, he attaches the name of Christ. Hence he evidently understood that Christ was a being Divine. The same Moses, under the divine Spirit, foreseeing also the epithet Jesus, likewise dignifies this with a certain distinguished privilege. For this name, which had never been uttered among men before Moses, he applies first to him alone, who, by a type and sign, he knew would be his successor, after his death, in the government of the nation. His successor, therefore, who had not assumed the appellation Jesus (Joshua), before this period, being called by his other name, Oshea, which his parents had given, was called by Moses Jesus (Jehoshua, Joshua), Num. 13:17. This name, as an honourable distinction, far superior to any royal diadem, was conferred on Joshua, because Joshua the son of Nun bore a

resemblance to our Saviour, as the only one after Moses, and because of the completion of that symbolical worship, given through him, that should succeed him in a government of pure and undefiled religion. Thus Moses attaches the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as the greatest honour, to two men, who, according to him, excelled all the rest in virtue and glory; the one to the high priest, the other to him that should have the government after him. But the prophets that lived subsequently to these times, also plainly announced Christ before by name; whilst at the same time they foretold the machinations of the Jews against him, and the calling of the Gentiles through him. Jeremiah bears testimony, speaking thus: "The breath (the spirit) before our face, Christ the Lord, was taken away in their destructions; of whom we said, Under his shadow will we live among the nations" (Lam. 4:20). David also, fixed in astonishment, speaks of him as follows: "Why do the heathen rage, and the people imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ." To which he afterwards adds, in the person of Christ himself: "The Lord said to me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee; ask of me, and I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession" (Psalm 2).

Nor was the name of Christ, among the Hebrews, given solely as an honour to those that were dignified with the priesthood, in consequence of their being anointed with oil prepared for the purpose, as a sacred symbol; the same was done also to the kings, whom the prophets, after anointing them under a divine impulse, constituted certain typical Christs, as they themselves also were, the shadows of the royal and princely sovereignty of the only and true Christ, of that divine Word which holds sovereignty over all. Moreover, we are also told respecting the prophets, that some were typical Christs, by reason of their unction; so that all these have a reference to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Word, the only High Priest of all men, the only King of all creation, and the Father's only supreme Prophet of the prophets. The proof of this is evident, from the fact that none of those anciently anointed, whether priests, kings, or prophets, obtained such power with divine excellence as our Saviour and

Lord Jesus, the only and true Christ, has exhibited. For these, although illustrious among their countrymen in dignity and honour, and for a long series of generations, never called their subjects after themselves by a similar epithet, "Christians," and neither was there ever divine honour paid to any of these from their subjects; nor even after their death, was there ever so strong a disposition in any as to be prepared to die for the honoured individual. And never was there so great a commotion among the nations of the earth, respecting any one then existing, since the mere force of the type could not act with such efficacy among them, as the exhibition of the reality by our Saviour. Though he received no badges and emblems of priesthood from any, though he did not even derive his earthly origin from a sacerdotal race, nor was raised to empire under the escort of guards, nor installed a prophet, like those of old, nor obtained a peculiar, or even any dignity among the Jews; yet notwithstanding all this, he was adorned by the Father with all these, not merely typical honours, but with the reality itself. Although he did not obtain then the same honours with those mentioned above, yet he is called Christ by a far superior claim; and as he is the only and the true Christ of God, he has filled the whole world with a name really august and sacred, the name of Christians. To those who are admitted among these, he no longer imparts mere types and similitudes, but undisguised virtues, and a heavenly life, in the doctrines of truth. He received an unction, not formed of material substances, but that which comports with Deity, the divine Spirit itself, by a participation of the uncreated divinity of the Father. This is shown by Isaiah, who seems to exclaim, in the very person of Christ, "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me (he hath sent me) to proclaim glad tidings to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the recovery of sight to the blind." And not only Isaiah but David also, addressing him, says "Thy throne, O God, is from everlasting to everlasting. A sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity; therefore hath God, thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows;" in which words, he calls him God in the first verse; and in the second he ascribes to him the royal

sceptre; and, thus proceeding after the divine and royal power, in the third place, he represents him as Christ, anointed not by the oil of material substances, but by the divine oil of gladness. By this, also, he shows his excellence and great superiority over those who, in former ages, had been anointed as typical images with the material substance. The same speaks of him in another place, thus: "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool;" and a little after, "From the womb before the morning star did I beget thee; the Lord hath sworn, and he will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek." This Melchisedek is mentioned in the holy Scriptures, as a priest of the Most High God, not consecrated by any unction prepared of any material substance, and not even succeeding to the priesthood of the Jews, by any descent of lineage. Hence, Christ our Saviour is denominated, with the addition of an oath, Christ and priest after his own order, but not according to the order of those who received merely the badges and emblems. Hence, also, neither does history represent him anointed corporeally among the Jews, nor even as sprung from a tribe of the priesthood, but as coming into existence from God himself, before the morning star; that is, before the constitution of the world, obtaining an immortal priesthood, subject to no infirmity of age, to endless ages. But the great and convincing evidence of that incorporeal and divine power in him, is the fact that he alone, of all that have ever existed to the present day, even now is known by the title of Christ, among all men over the world; and with this title he is acknowledged and professed by all, and celebrated both among Barbarians and Greeks. Even to this day, he is honoured by his votaries throughout the world, as a King; he is admired as more than a Prophet; and glorified as the only true High Priest of God. In addition to all these, as the pre-existing Word of God, coming into existence before all ages, and who has received the honours of worship, he is also adored as God; but what is most remarkable, is the fact, that we who are consecrated to him, honour him not only with the voice and sound of words, but with all the affections of the mind; so that we prefer giving a testimony to him, beyond even the preservation of our own lives.



## CHAPTER IV

# THE RELIGION ANNOUNCED BY CHRIST TO BE MADE KNOWN AMONG ALL NATIONS, WAS NEITHER UNEXPECTED NOR STRANGE

THESE matters have thus been necessarily premised before our history, that no one may suppose our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was merely a new comer, on account of the date at which he appeared among men, in the flesh. And now, that no one may suppose his doctrine is new or strange, as if springing from one of recent origin, and in no respect differing from the rest of men, let us also briefly examine this point.

It is evident, that but a short time after the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ had been made known to all men, a new people suddenly came into existence; a people confessedly neither small nor weak, nor situated in a remote corner of the earth, but the most populous and the most religious of all, and so much the more indestructible and invincible, as it has always had the power of God as its support. This people, appearing at the time appointed by inscrutable wisdom, is that which, among all, is honoured with the name of Christ. One of the prophets, foreseeing with the eye of the Spirit of God that this people would arise, was so struck with amazement that he exclaimed: "Who hath heard such things as this? and who hath ever declared thus? Hath the earth brought forth in a single day, and hath a nation been born at once?" The same prophet also gives some intimation of the name that would be introduced: "They who serve me shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed upon the earth." And, indeed,



though we are evidently a new people, this new name also of Christians has lately become known to all nations. Our practice, however, habits of life, and religious principles, have not been recently invented by us, but were established, we may say, by the Deity in the natural dictates of pious men of old, from the very origin of our race; an assertion which we shall endeavour to prove, in the following manner.

That the nation of the Hebrews is not new, but honoured among all for its antiquity, is well known. The writings and literature of this nation concern ancient men, rare and few in number, but yet excelling in piety, righteousness, and every virtue. And, indeed, even before the flood, there were some who were distinguished for their virtue; and after this others, both of the sons and posterity of Noah, among whom we would mention Abraham, celebrated by the Hebrews as the founder and progenitor of their nation. Should any one, beginning from Abraham, and going back to the first man, pronounce those who have had the testimony of righteousness, Christians in fact, though not in name, he would not be far from the truth. For as the name Christians is intended to indicate this very idea, that a man, by the knowledge and doctrine of Christ, is distinguished by modesty and justice, by patience and a virtuous fortitude, and by a profession of piety towards the one and only true and supreme God; all this was no less studiously cultivated by them than by us. They did not, therefore, regard circumcision, nor observe the Sabbath, nor do we; neither do we abstain from certain foods, nor regard other injunctions, which Moses subsequently delivered to be observed in types and symbols, because such things as these do not belong to Christians. But they obviously knew the Christ of God, as he appeared to Abraham, communed with Isaac, spoke to Jacob; and that he communed with Moses and the prophets after him, has already been shown.

Hence you will find, also, these pious persons honoured with the name of Christ, as in the following expression: "Touch not my anointed ones (my Christs), and do my prophets no harm." Whence we should plainly suppose, that the first and most ancient religion known, that of those pious men that were connected with Abraham, is the very religion lately announced to all in the

doctrines of Christ. Abraham is said to have received the command of circumcision, and yet, long before this, was proved to have received the testimony of righteousness through faith. "Abraham," the Scriptures say, "believed, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness." And, indeed, the divine communication was given to him from God, who appeared to him when he bore this character before circumcision. And this was Christ himself, the word of God, announcing that all who should come in future times should be justified in a similar way; saying, "And in thee shall be blessed all the nations of the earth." And again, "When he shall become a great and mighty nation, in him all the nations of the earth shall be blessed." We may obviously understand this by its fulfilment in us; for he indeed was justified by his faith in Christ, the Word of God, that appeared to him; and, having renounced the superstition of his fathers and the former errors of his life, confessed the one supreme God, and served him by deeds of virtue, and not by the service subsequently enjoined in the law of Moses.

To him, then, being such, it was declared that all the tribes and all the nations of the earth should be blessed in him. But the course of piety which was pursued by Abraham has appeared thus far cultivated only by Christians, and that too by works more efficacious than words. What, then, should prevent us henceforth from acknowledging that there is one and the same principle of life and conduct, the same course of piety common to us who have come after Christ, with those pious men who lived in times long before? Whence it is evident that the religion delivered to us in the doctrine of Christ is not a new nor a strange doctrine; but, if the truth must be spoken, it is the first and only true religion. Thus much may suffice on this point.



# CHAPTER V

## THE TIMES OF OUR SAVIOUR'S MANIFESTATION AMONG MEN

AFTER the necessary preliminary to the Ecclesiastical History which we have proposed to write, it now remains that we commence our course, invoking God, the Father of the Word, and Jesus Christ himself, our revealed Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Word of God, as our aid and fellow-labourer in the narration of the truth. It was the forty-second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth from the subjugation of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra, which terminated the dynasty of the Ptolemies, when, according to prophetic prediction, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was born in Bethlehem of Judea; the same year when the first census was taken, and Quirinius was governor of Syria. This census is mentioned by Flavius Josephus, the distinguished historian among the Hebrews, who also adds another account respecting the sect of the Galileans, which arose about the same time, of which also mention is made by our Luke in his book of Acts, in the following words: "After this man arose Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing (assessment), and drew away much people after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed" (Acts 5:37). The aforesaid author agreeing with this statement in the 18th book of his Antiquities, adds the following: "But Quirinius, who belonged to the senate, and, having held other offices, advanced through all the grades of office to the consulship, a man also of great dignity in other respects, by the appointment of Cæsar, came to Syria, with a small force, and with judicial power over the people, to take a valuation of their property." A little after he says: "But Judas, the Gaulonite, sprung from the town called Gamala, together with Sadducus, a Pharisee, headed a revolt of the people, saying that

the assessment had nothing else in view but manifest slavery; and they exhorted the people to assert their liberty.” He also, writes in the second book of the history of the Jewish War, concerning the same man, “About this time a certain Judas of Galilee stimulated the inhabitants to revolt, urging it as a reproach, that they endured paying tribute, and that they who had God for their master, suffered mortals to usurp the sovereignty over them.” Thus far Josephus.



## CHAPTER VI

ABOUT THE TIME OF OUR LORD,  
AGREEABLY TO PROPHECY, THOSE  
RULERS CEASED THAT HAD  
FORMERLY GOVERNED THE NATION  
OF THE JEWS BY REGULAR  
SUCCESSION, AND HEROD WAS  
THE FIRST FOREIGNER THAT  
REIGNED OVER THEM

AT the time that Herod was king, who was the first foreigner that reigned over the Jewish people, the prophecy recorded by Moses received its fulfilment, viz. "That a prince should not fail of Judah, nor a ruler from his loins, until he should come for whom it is reserved: the expectation of nations." The prediction was evidently not accomplished as long as they were at liberty to have their own native rulers, which continued from the time of Moses down to the reign of Augustus. Under him Herod was the first foreigner that obtained the government of the Jews; since, as Josephus has written, he was an Idumean by the father's side, and an Arabian by the mother's. But, as Africanus, who is also no common writer, says, "They who have written more accurately respecting him, say that he was the son of Antipater, and that the latter was the son of a certain Herod of Ascalon, one of those called the ministers of the temple of Apollo, in that city." This Antipater, when a boy, having been taken prisoner by some Idumean robbers, lived with them, because his father, being a poor man, was unable to pay his ransom. Thus growing up in their practices, he was afterwards befriended by Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews. His son was

that Herod who flourished in the times of our Saviour. The government of the Jews, therefore, having devolved on such a man, the expectation of the nations was now at hand, according to prophecy, because with him terminated the regular succession of governors and princes, from the time of Moses. For before their captivity and their transfer to Babylon, they were first governed by Saul and David as their kings; and before the kings, the government was administered by magistrates called judges, who came after Moses and his successor Joshua. After the return from the captivity of Babylon, they continued to retain the aristocratical form of government, together with an oligarchy. The high priests had then the direction of affairs, until Pompey, the proconsular general of the Romans, took Jerusalem by force of arms, and denied the sacred places, entering the sanctuary of the temple. Aristobulus, who had been both king and high priest by regular succession until then, was sent with his children in chains to Rome, and the priesthood was given to his brother Hyrcanus, whilst the whole nation of the Jews was made tributary to the Romans from that time.

But Hyrcanus, who was the last of the high priests by succession, having been soon after taken prisoner by the Parthians, Herod, as I said before, had the government of the Jews conferred upon him by the senate of Rome and the emperor Augustus. About this time, the advent of Christ being nigh at hand, the expected salvation of the nations received its fulfilment, and was followed by the calling of the Gentiles, according to prophetic declarations. From this time also, the princes and rulers of Judah, i. e. of the Jewish nation, ceasing, by a natural consequence, the priesthood, which had descended from a series of ancestors in the closest succession of kindred, was immediately thrown into confusion. Of this you have the evidence of Josephus; who shows that when Herod was appointed king by the Romans, he no longer nominated the chief priests from the ancient lineage, but conferred the honour upon certain obscure individuals. A course similar to that of Herod in the appointment of the high priest, was pursued by Archelaus, his son; and next by the Romans, who, after him, took the government of the Jews into their own hands. The same Josephus shows that Herod was the first that locked up the sacred



vesture of the high priest, and having secured it under his own private seal, no longer permitted the high priests to have it at their disposal. The same thing was done by Archelaus his successor, as also by the Romans. It may suffice, then, to have said thus much, in proof of another prophecy, which has terminated in the appearance of our Saviour Jesus Christ. Most clearly indeed does the book of Daniel, expressly embracing a number of certain weeks until the government of Christ, concerning which we have treated in another work, predict that after the termination of these, the sacred unction amongst the Jews should be totally abolished. And this is evidently proved to have been fulfilled at the time of our Saviour's birth. Let this be sufficient, however, as a necessary preliminary, to establish the truth in reference to the times.



## CHAPTER VII

# ON THE DISCREPANCY WHICH IS SUPPOSED TO EXIST IN THE GOSPELS, RESPECTING THE GENEALOGY OF CHRIST

AS the genealogy of Christ is differently given to us by Matthew and Luke, and they are supposed by the generality to disagree in their statements; and as every believer, for want of knowing the truth, has been led to apply some investigation to explain the passages, we may also subjoin the account which has come down to us. We refer to the history which has been handed down on these passages by Africanus, in an epistle to Aristides, respecting the harmony of the genealogy of the gospels. After having refuted the opinions of others as forced and fictitious, he sets forth the account that he had ascertained himself, in the following words. "It was customary in Israel to calculate the names of the generations, either according to nature, or according to the law; according to nature, by the succession of legitimate offspring; according to the law, when another raised children to the name of a brother who had died childless. For as the hope of a resurrection was not yet clearly given, they imitated the promise which was to take place by a kind of mortal resurrection, with a view to perpetuate the name of the person who had died. Since, then, there are some of those who are inserted in this genealogical table, that succeed each other in the natural order of father and son, some again being born of certain persons, and ascribed to others by name, both the real and reputed fathers have been recorded. Thus, neither of the gospels has made a false statement, whether calculating in the order of nature, or according to law. For the families descended from Solomon, and those from Nathan, were

so intermingled, by substitutions in the place of those who had died childless by second marriages and the raising up of seed, that the same persons are justly considered, as in one respect belonging to the one of these, and in another respect belonging to others. Hence it is that, both of these accounts being true, viz. of those who were reputed fathers, and those who really were fathers, they come down to Joseph, with considerable intricacy, it is true, but with great accuracy. That this, however, may be made evident, I will state the series of generations. If (in the genealogy of Matthew) you reckon the generations from David through Solomon, Matthan, who begat Jacob the father of Joseph, is found to be the third from the end. But if, with Luke, you reckon from Nathan the son of David, in like manner, Melchi, whose son was Eli, the father of Joseph, will be found to be the third. As Joseph, then, is our proposed object, we are to show how it happened that each is recorded as his father, both Jacob, as deduced from Solomon, and Eli, from Nathan; also how it happened that these two, Jacob and Eli, were brothers; and moreover, how the fathers of these, Matthan and Melchi, being of different families, are proved to be the grandfathers of Joseph.

“Matthan and Melchi, having married in succession the same woman, had children, who were brothers by the same mother, as the law did not prohibit a widow, whether she became such by divorce, or by the death of her husband, to marry again. Matthan, therefore, who traces his lineage from Solomon, first had Jacob, by Estha, for this is her name as handed down by tradition. Matthan dying, and Melchi, who traces descent from Nathan, though he was of the same tribe, but of another family, having, as before said, married her, had a son, Eli. Thus, then, we shall find the two of different families, Jacob and Eli, brothers by the same mother. Of these, the one Jacob, on the death of the brother, marrying his widow, became the father of a third, viz. Joseph; his son both by nature and calculation. Wherefore it is written, ‘Jacob begat Joseph.’ But according to the law, lie was the son of Eli, for Jacob, being his brother, raised up seed to him. Wherefore, the genealogy traced also through him, will not be rendered void, which, according to Matthew, is given thus—‘but Jacob begat Joseph.’ But Luke, on the other hand, says, ‘who was the son, as

was supposed, (for this he also adds,) the son of Joseph, the son of Eli, the son of Melchi.' For it was not possible to express the legal genealogy more distinctly, so that he entirely omits the expression, 'he begat,' in a generation like this, until the end; having traced it back as far as Adam, 'who was the son of God,' he resolves the whole series by referring back to God. Neither is this incapable of proof, nor is it an idle conjecture. For the relatives of our Lord, according to the flesh, whether to display their own illustrious origin, or simply to show the fact, but at any rate adhering strictly to the truth, have also handed down the following accounts: That robbers of Idumea, attacking Ascalon, a city of Palestine, led Antipater away captive, together with other booty, from the temple of Apollo, which was built close to the walls. He was the son of one Herod, a minister of the temple. The priest, however, not being able to pay the ransom for his son, Antipater was trained up in the practices of the Idumeans, and afterwards in great favour with Hyrcanus the high priest of Judea. He was subsequently sent by Hyrcanus on an embassy to Pompey, and having restored the kingdom to him, which had been invaded by Aristobulus, the brother of the latter, Antipater himself had the good fortune to be nominated the procurator of Palestine. Antipater, however, having been treacherously slain by those who envied his good fortune, was succeeded by his son Herod. He was afterwards, by a decree of the senate, appointed king of the Jews, under Antony and Augustus. His sons were Herod and the other tetrarchs. These accounts of the Jews also coincide with those of the Greeks. But, as the genealogies of the Hebrews had been regularly kept in the archives until then, and also of those who referred back as far as the ancient proselytes; as for instance, to Achior the Ammonite, and Ruth the Moabitess, and to those that were intermixed with the Israelites at their departure from Egypt; and as the lineage of the Israelites contributed nothing to Herod's advantage, he was goaded by the consciousness of his ignoble extraction, and committed all these records of their families to the flames: thinking that himself might appear of noble origin, by the fact that no one else would be able to trace his pedigree by the public records, back to patriarchs or proselytes, and to those strangers that were called georœ. A few however of

the careful, either remembering the names, or having it in their power in some other way, by means of copies, to have private records of their own, gloried in the idea of preserving the memory of their noble extraction. Of these were the above-mentioned persons, called desposyni, on account of their affinity to the family of our Saviour. These coming from Nazara and Cochaba, villages of Judea, to the other parts of the world, explained the aforesaid genealogy from the book of daily records, as faithfully as possible. Whether, then, the matter be thus or otherwise, as far as I and every impartial judge would say, no one certainly could discover a more obvious interpretation. And this, then, may suffice on the subject; for, although it be not supported by testimony, we have nothing to advance, either better or more consistent with truth. The gospel, altogether, states the truth." At the close of the same epistle, this writer (Africanus) adds the following: "Matthan, whose descent is traced to Solomon, begat Jacob; Matthan dying, Melchi, whose lineage is from Nathan, by marrying the widow of the former, had Eli. Hence, Eli and Jacob were brothers by the same mother. Eli dying childless, Jacob raised up seed to him, having Joseph, according to nature belonging to himself, but by the law to Eli. Thus, Joseph was the son of both." So far Africanus; and the lineage of Joseph thus being traced, Mary, also, at the same time, as far as can be, is evinced to be of the same tribe, since, by the Mosaic law, intermarriages among different tribes were not permitted. For the injunction is, to marry one of the same kindred and the same family, so that the inheritance may not be transferred from tribe to tribe. And this may suffice, also, on the present point.



## CHAPTER VIII

# HEROD'S CRUELTY AGAINST THE INFANTS, AND HIS WRETCHED END

CHRIST, then, having been born, according to the prophecies, in Bethlehem of Judea, about the times that had been revealed, Herod was not a little alarmed at the intelligence. Having ascertained, on the inquiry of the eastern Magi, where the king of the Jews should be born, as they had seen his star, and this had been the cause of so long a journey to them, glowing with zeal to worship the infant as God, he was under great apprehensions, as supposing his own kingdom to be in danger. Having, therefore, inquired of the doctors of the law in the nation, where they expected Christ should be born, and ascertained the prophecy of Micah, announcing that it would be in Bethlehem, in a single edict he orders the male infants from two years and below to be slain, both in Bethlehem and all its parts, according to the time that he had accurately ascertained from the Magi, thinking at all events, as seemed very probable, that he would carry off Jesus also, in the same destruction with those of his own age. The child, however, anticipated the snare, being carried into Egypt by his parents, who had been informed by the appearance of an angel of what was about to happen. These same facts are also stated in the sacred text of the gospel.

It is also worth while to observe the reward which Herod received for his criminal audacity against Christ and the infants; how, without the least delay, the Divine justice immediately overtook him; and, even before his death, exhibited the prelude to those punishments that awaited him after death. It is not possible for me here, to relate in what ways he tarnished what was supposed to be the felicity of his reign, by the successive calamities of his family, the slaughter of his wife and children, and



the rest of his kindred, allied to him in the closest and most tender bonds. The whole subject of these particulars, which casts all the representations of tragedy into the shade, has been handled to its full extent in the histories written by Josephus. But, to understand in what manner also the chastisement of Heaven scourged him onwards to the period of death, it may not be less proper to hear the words of the same author, describing the end of his life, in the seventeenth book of his Antiquities, as follows: "But the disease of Herod became daily more virulent, God inflicting punishment for his crimes. For it was a slow fire, not only exhibiting to those who touched him a heat in proportion to the internal wasting of his body, but there was also an excessive desire and craving after food, whilst no one dared to refuse. This was attended with swellings of the intestines, and especially excessive pains of the colon. A moist and transparent humour also covered his feet. Similar also was the disease about the ventricle, so that the corruption causing worms in the lower part of the abdomen, there was an increased violence of breathing which of itself was very offensive; both on account of the disagreeable effluvia, and the rapidity of the respiration. He was also convulsed in every part of his body, with a violence that could not be repressed. It was said, therefore, by those who are conversant with divine things, and to whose wisdom it appertained to declare such things, that God inflicted this punishment upon the king on account of his great impiety."

These are the particulars which are stated by the aforesaid writer, in the book mentioned; and in the second book of his history he gives very much the same account concerning him, in the following words: "Then the disease, pervading his whole body, distracted it by various torments. For the fever became more intense, the itching of the whole surface was insupportable, and the pains of the lower abdomen were incessant. On his feet were swellings, as of one labouring with the dropsy. There was also an inflammation of the ventricle, and a putrefaction that generated worms. Beside this, a more violent breathing, and difficult respiration, and convulsions of all the limbs; so that they who referred to a divine agency, said that this disease was a punishment. But, though struggling with so many sufferings, he

nevertheless clung to life, and did not relinquish the hope of deliverance, but was ever devising new remedies. Crossing the Jordan, therefore, he used the warm baths near Callirhoë. These flow into the lake Asphaltites (Dead Sea), but, by reason of their sweetness, they are also potable. As the physicians here deemed it necessary to use some soothing application, his whole body was bathed in tepid oil, in a bathing tub filled with oil for that purpose, when he was so overcome that his eyes began to break, and turn up like one dead. His servants then being alarmed and raising an outcry, he came to himself at the noise; but after that, despairing of recovery, he ordered about fifty drachms to be distributed to the soldiers, and considerable sums to be given to his generals and friends. He returned to Jericho; where, being seized with despair, and now threatened with instant death, he proceeded to a crowning act of the most horrid character. He collected the distinguished men of every village from the whole of Judea, and commanded them to be shut up in what was called the Hippodrome. He then sent for Salome, his sister, and her husband Alexander. 'I know,' said he, 'that the Jews will rejoice at my death; but I may be lamented by means of others, and have splendid funeral rites, if you are willing to perform my commands. As soon as I have expired, surround these men that are now under guard with soldiers, as soon as possible, and slay them, that all Judea and every house, though against their will, may be compelled to weep at my death.' " And soon after, he adds, "Again he was so tortured, partly by the want of food and by a convulsive cough, that, overpowered by his pains, he contemplated anticipating his fate. Having taken an apple, he also asked for a knife, for he was accustomed to use one in eating apples. Then, looking around, lest there should be any person to hinder him, he raised his right arm as if to strike himself." The same author, in addition to these, says, "that he slew another of his own sons before his death, being the third that had already been slain by his orders, and that, immediately after this, he breathed out his life, not without excessive torture."

Such, then, was the end of Herod, who thus suffered the just punishment for the crimes that he committed in the murder of the children of Bethlehem, when he designed the destruction of our

Saviour. After this, an angel appearing in a dream to Joseph, who was then in Egypt, directed him to return with the child and his mother, revealing to him that they were dead who had sought the life of the infant. To this account the Evangelist adds: "But he, hearing that Archelaus reigned in Judea, in the place of Herod, his father, was afraid to go thither, and being warned in a dream, he retired into the parts of Galilee."



# CHAPTER IX

## OF THE TIMES OF PILATE

THE same historian also agrees with the statements respecting the government of Archelaus after Herod's death; and relates in what manner he succeeded to the kingdom of the Jews, by the will of Herod, his father, and the confirmation of it by Cæsar Augustus; as also, that he having lost his kingdom after ten years, his brothers Philip and Herod the younger, together with Lysanias, received their respective tetrarchies. The same author, in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, says, "that about the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius (for he succeeded to the empire after Augustus, who had reigned fifty-seven years), Pontius Pilate was appointed over Judea, and remained there ten years, almost to the death of Tiberius. Hence the fraud of those persons is plainly proved, who lately, and at other times, have given currency to certain spurious acts against our Saviour. In which the very time of the date proves the falsehood of the inventors. For in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which was in the seventh year of his reign, those things are said to have occurred which they have dared to say respecting his salutary suffering. At which time, indeed, it is plain, that Pilate was not yet appointed over Judea, if Josephus is to be credited, who plainly says, in the work already cited, that Pilate was appointed procurator of Judea, by Tiberius, in the twelfth year of his reign.



# CHAPTER X

## THE HIGH PRIESTS OF THE JEWS, UNDER WHOM CHRIST PROMULGATED HIS DOCTRINES

IT was about the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, according to the Evangelist, in the fourth year of Pilate's procuratorship, Herod, Lysanias, and Philip, as tetrarchs, holding the government of the rest of Judea, when our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was in his thirtieth year, that he came to the baptism of John, and then began to promulgate his gospel. The holy Scriptures, moreover, relate that he passed the whole time of his public ministry under the high priests Annas and Caiaphas; intimating that during the years of their priesthood, the whole time of his ministry was terminated. For, beginning with the pontificate of Annas, and continuing after that of Caiaphas, the whole of this interval does not even give us four years. The rites, indeed, of the law, having been already abolished since that period, with it were also annulled the privileges of the priesthood, viz., of continuing it for life, and of hereditary descent. And under the Roman governors, different persons at different times were appointed as high priests, who did not continue in office more than a year. Josephus, indeed, relates that there were four high priests in succession from Annas to Caiaphas. Thus, in his book of Antiquities, he writes in the following manner: "Valerius Gratus, having put a period to the priesthood of Annas, promoted Ishmael, the son of Baphi, to the office; and, removing him also, not long after, he appointed Eleazar, the son of Annas, who had been high priest, to the office. After the lapse of a year, removing also him, he transfers the priesthood to Simon, the son of Camithus. And he, also, did not continue to hold the honour longer than a year, when he was succeeded by Josephus, surnamed Caiaphas." Hence, the whole

time of our Saviour's ministry is proved not to embrace four entire years, there being four high priests for four years, from Annas to the appointment of Caiaphas, each of which held the office a year respectively. Caiaphas, indeed, is justly shown, by the gospel narrative, to have been high priest in that year in which our Saviour's sufferings were finished. With which observation, the time of Christ's ministry is also proved to agree. Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, not very long after the commencement of his public ministry, elected the twelve, whom he called Apostles, by way of eminence over the rest of his disciples. He also appointed seventy others beside these, whom he sent, two and two, before him into every place and city whither he himself was about to go.





# CHAPTER XI

## THE TESTIMONIES RESPECTING JOHN THE BAPTIST AND CHRIST

AS it was not long before this that John the Baptist was beheaded by Herod the younger, the holy Scriptures record the fact, which is also confirmed by Josephus, who has expressly made mention of Herodias by name, and the circumstance of her being married to Herod, though she was the wife of his brother, Herod having first divorced his former lawful wife. She was a daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia Petræa. But having forced Herodias from her husband while living, on whose account also he slew John, he was involved in a war with Aretas for the disgrace inflicted on his daughter; in which war it is related that, when coming to battle, the army of Herod was completely destroyed, and that he suffered all this on account of the crime that he committed against John. But the same Josephus, in this account, in which he confesses that John was a most righteous man, also bears testimony to what is recorded of him in the narratives of the gospels. He relates, also, that Herod lost his kingdom on account of the same Herodias, and that he was driven into exile with her, and condemned to dwell at Vienna, a city of Gaul. These facts are stated by him in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, where, in the same paragraphs, he also writes thus concerning John: To some of the Jews the army of Herod seemed to have been destroyed by God; who thus, with signal justice, avenged John, called the Baptist. For Herod slew him, a good man, and one who exhorted the Jews to the practice of virtue, and with the pursuit of righteousness and piety towards God, to receive baptism. For this baptism appeared to have been imparted to him for this object, not with the view to avoid a few trifling sins, but for the purification of the body, as far as the mind had been first purified by righteousness.

“And when many others flocked to him, for they were also much delighted with listening to his discourses, Herod, dreading the great confidence of men in him, lest, perhaps, he might stimulate them to a revolt (for they seemed disposed to do any thing at his suggestion), considered it much better, before any change should be attempted by him, to anticipate it by destroying him, than after a revolution, when involved in difficulties, to repent when it was too late. In consequence of Herod’s suspicions, therefore, he was sent in bonds to the aforesaid prison of Machærus, and there slain.” After relating these things concerning John, Josephus, in the same work, also makes mention of our Saviour in the following manner: “About the same time, there was a certain Jesus, a wise man, if indeed it is proper to call him a man. For he performed extraordinary deeds; was a teacher of men, who received his doctrine with delight; and attached to himself many of the Jews, and many of the Greeks. This was Christ. Pilate having inflicted the punishment of the cross upon him, on the accusation of our principal men, those who had been attached to him before, did not, however, afterwards cease to love him: for he appeared to them alive again on the third day, according to the holy prophets, who had declared these and innumerable other wonderful things respecting him. The race of the Christians, who derive their name from him, likewise still continues.” When such testimony as this is transmitted to us by an historian who sprung from the Hebrews themselves, both respecting John the Baptist and our Saviour, what subterfuge can be left, to prevent those from being convicted as shameless deceivers, who have forged the acts against them? This, however, may suffice on this subject.



# CHAPTER XII

## OF THE DISCIPLES OF OUR LORD

THE names of our Saviour's apostles are sufficiently known to every one, from his gospels; but of the seventy disciples, no catalogue is given any where. Barnabas, indeed, is said to have been one of them, of whom there is distinguished notice in the Acts of the Apostles; and also in St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians. Sosthenes, who at the same time with Paul sent letters to the Corinthians, is said to have been one of these. Clement, in the fifth of his Hypotyposes or Institutions—in which he also mentions Cephas, of whom Paul also says, that he came to Antioch, and "that he withstood him to his face;"—says, that one who had the same name with Peter the Apostle, was one of the seventy; and that Matthias, who was numbered with the apostles in place of Judas, and he who had been honoured to be a candidate with him, are also said to have been deemed worthy of the same calling with the seventy. They also say that Thaddeus was one of them; concerning whom I shall presently relate a narrative that has come down to us. Moreover, if any one observe with attention, he will find more disciples of our Saviour than the seventy, on the testimony of Paul, who says, that "he appeared after his resurrection, first to Cephas, then to the twelve, and after these to five hundred brethren at once." Of whom, he says, "some are fallen asleep," but the greater part were living at the time he wrote. Afterwards, he says, he appeared to James; he however was not merely one of these disciples of our Saviour, but he was one of his brethren. Lastly, when, beside these, there still was a considerable number who were apostles in imitation of the twelve, such as Paul himself, he adds, saying, "afterwards he appeared to all the apostles."

This account may suffice respecting these apostles; but the history of Thaddeus, already mentioned by us, was as follows.



# CHAPTER XIII

## NARRATIVE RESPECTING THE PRINCE OF EDESSA

THE divinity of our Lord and Saviour Christ being proclaimed abroad among all men, in consequence of his wonder-working power, attracted immense numbers, both from abroad and from the remotest parts of Judea, with the hope of being cured of their diseases and various afflictions. Agbarus, therefore, who reigned over the nations beyond the Euphrates with great glory, and who had been wasted away with a disease, both dreadful and incurable by human means, when he heard the name of Jesus frequently mentioned, and his miracles unanimously attested by all, sent a suppliant message to him, by a letter-carrier, entreating a deliverance from his disease. But, though he did not yield to his call at that time, he nevertheless condescended to write him a private letter, and to send one of his disciples to heal his disorder; at the same time promising salvation to him and all his relatives. And it was not long before the promise was fulfilled. After the resurrection, however, and his return to heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, by a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus, who was also one of the seventy disciples, to Edessa, as a herald and evangelist of the doctrines of Christ. And by his agency all the promises of our Saviour were fulfilled. Of this, also, we have the evidence, in a written answer, taken from the public records of the city of Edessa, then under the government of the king. For in the public registers there, which embrace the ancient history and the transactions of Agbarus, these circumstances respecting him are found still preserved down to the present day. There is nothing, however, like hearing the epistles themselves, taken by us from the archives, and the style of it, as it has been literally translated by us, from the Syriac language:

Copy of the letter written by King Agbarus to Jesus, and sent to him, at Jerusalem, by Ananias, the courier

“AGBARUS, prince of Edessa, sends greeting to Jesus the excellent Saviour, who has appeared in the borders of Jerusalem. I have heard the reports respecting thee and thy cures, as performed by thee without medicines and without the use of herbs. For, as it is said, thou causest the blind to see again, the lame to walk, and thou cleanseest the lepers, and thou castest out impure spirits and demons, and thou healest those that are tormented by long disease, and thou raisest the dead. And hearing all these things of thee, I concluded in my mind one of two things: either that thou art God, and, having descended from heaven, doest these things, or else, doing them, thou art the Son of God. Therefore, now I have written and besought thee to visit me, and to heal the disease with which I am afflicted. I have also heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and are plotting to injure thee; I have, however, a very small but noble state, which is sufficient for us both.”

This epistle he thus wrote, whilst yet somewhat enlightened by the rays of divine truth. It is, also, worth the time to learn the epistle sent to him from Jesus, by the same bearer, which, though very brief, is yet full of power, written in the following style:

The answer of Jesus to king Agbarus, by the courier, Ananias

“Blessed art thou, O Agbarus, who, without seeing, hast believed in me. For it is written concerning me, that they who have seen me, will not believe, that they who have not seen, may believe and live. But in regard to what thou hast written, that I should come to thee, it is necessary that I should fulfil all things here, for which I have been sent. And after this fulfilment, thus to be received again by Him that sent me. And after I have been received up, I will send to thee a certain one of my disciples, that he may heal thy affliction, and give life to thee and to those who are with thee.”

To these letters there was, also, subjoined in the Syriac language

After the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who is also called Thomas, sent him Thaddeus, the apostle, one of the seventy; who, when he came, remained at the house of Tobias, the son of



Tobias. When the report was circulated concerning his arrival, and he became publicly known by the miracles which he performed, it was communicated to Agbarus, that an apostle of Jesus had come thither, as he had written. Thaddeus, therefore, began in the power of God to heal every kind of disease and infirmity; so that all were amazed. But when Agbarus heard the great deeds and miracles which he performed, and how he healed men in the name and power of Jesus Christ, he began to suspect that this was the very person concerning whom Jesus had written, saying, After I have been received up again, I will send to thee one of my disciples, who shall heal thy affliction. Having, therefore, sent for Tobias, with whom he staid, I have heard, said he, that a certain powerful man, who hath come from Jerusalem, is staying at thy house, and is performing many cures in the name of Jesus. He answered, Yea, my lord, a certain stranger has come, who hath lodged with me, and is performing many wonders. And he replied, Bring him to me. Tobias, then, returning to Thaddeus, said to him, Agbarus the king having sent for me, has told me to conduct thee to him, that thou mayest heal his disorder. And Thaddeus replied, I will go, since I have been sent with power, to him. Tobias, therefore, arose early the next day, and taking Thaddeus with him, came to Agbarus. When he came, his nobles were present, and stood around. Immediately on his entrance, something extraordinary appeared to Agbarus, in the countenance of the apostle Thaddeus; which Agbarus observing, paid him reverence. But all around were amazed; for they did not perceive the vision which appeared to Agbarus alone: he then asked Thaddeus whether he were truly a disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who had said to him, I will send one of my disciples to thee, who will heal thy sickness, and will give life to thee and to all thy connexions. And Thaddeus answered, Since thou hast had great confidence in the Lord Jesus, who hath sent me, therefore I am sent to thee. And, moreover, if thou believest in him, with increasing faith, the petitions of thy heart shall be granted thee, as thou believest. And Agbarus replied, So much did I believe in him, that I had formed the resolution to take forces, in order to destroy those Jews who had crucified him, had I not been deterred from my purpose by a regard for the Roman empire. Thaddeus replied, Our Lord and

God, Jesus the Christ, hath fulfilled the will of his Father, and having fulfilled it, was taken up again to his Father. Agbarus saith to him, I have believed both in him and in his Father. Then said Thaddeus, Therefore I place my hand upon thee in the name of the same Lord Jesus. And this being done, he was immediately healed of the sickness and sufferings with which he was afflicted. And Agbarus was amazed, that just as he had heard respecting Jesus, so in very deed he received it through his disciple and apostle Thaddeus, who had healed him without any medicine and herbs, and not only him but Abdas also, the son of Abdas, who was afflicted with the podagra. He also, approaching, fell down at his feet, and received his benediction, with the imposition of his hand, and was healed. Many of the same city were also healed by the same apostle, who performed wonderful and great deeds, and proclaimed the word of God. After this, said Agbarus, Thaddeus, thou doest these things by the power of God, and we are filled with wonder. But, beside these things, I request thee, also, to inform me respecting the coming of Jesus, how he was born, and as to the power with which he performed these things which we have heard. And Thaddeus answered, Now, indeed, I will not tell thee, since I have been sent to proclaim the word abroad; but tomorrow assemble all thy citizens, and before them I will proclaim the word of God, and will sow among them the word of life, both respecting the coming of Jesus, as he was, and respecting his mission, and for what purpose he was sent by the Father; also, concerning the power of his works, and the mysteries which he declared in the world; by what power, also, he did these things, concerning his new mode of preaching, his lowly and abject condition, his humiliation in his external appearance, how he humbled himself, and died, and lowered his divinity; what things, also, he suffered from the Jews; how he was crucified, and descended into hell (hades), and burst the bars which had never yet been broken, and rose again, and also raised with himself the dead that had slept for ages. And how he descended alone, but ascended with a great multitude to his Father. And how he sitteth at the right hand of God and the Father, with glory, in the heavens; and how he is about to come again with glory and power, to judge the living and dead.—Agbarus, therefore, commanded his

subjects to be called early in the morning, and to hear the annunciation of Thaddeus; and after this, he commanded gold and silver to be given him; but he would not receive it, saying, If we have left our own, how shall we take what belongs to others?

These things were done in the three hundred and fortieth year. Which also, we have literally translated from the Syriac language, opportunely as we hope, and not without profit.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK II



# PREFACE TO THE SECOND BOOK

WHATSOEVER particulars it was necessary for us to premise in this Ecclesiastical History, both respecting the divinity of the saving Word and the antiquity of the doctrines which we teach, as also of the antiquity of that evangelical life which Christians lead, these particulars we have already discussed, together with the leading circumstances of his late appearance among men, of his sufferings, of the election of his apostles, and have exhibited the proofs in the condensed subjects of the preceding book. Let us now, also, examine the circumstances that followed his ascension, presenting some from the divine Scriptures, and others from such other documents to which we shall have occasion to refer.



# CHAPTER I

## THE COURSE PURSUED BY THE APOSTLES AFTER THE ASCENSION OF CHRIST

FIRST, then, in the place of Judas the traitor, Matthias was chosen by lot, who, as was shown above, was also one of the disciples of the Lord. There were appointed also, with prayer and the imposition of hands, by the apostles, approved men, unto the office of deacons, for the public service; these were those seven of whom Stephen was one. He was the first, also, after our Lord, who at the time of ordination, as if ordained to this very purpose, was stoned to death by the murderers of the Lord. And thus he first received the crown, answering to his name, of the victorious martyrs of Christ. Then also James, called the brother of our Lord, because he is also called the son of Joseph. For Joseph was esteemed the father of Christ, because the Virgin being betrothed to him, "she was found with child by the Holy Ghost before they came together," as the narrative of the holy gospels shows. This James, therefore, whom the ancients, on account of the excellence of his virtue, surnamed the Just, was the first that received the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem. But Clement, in the sixth book of his Institutions, represents it thus: "Peter, and James, and John, after the ascension of our Saviour, though they had been preferred by our Lord, did not contend for the honour, but chose James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem." And the same author, in the seventh book of the same work, writes also thus: "The Lord imparted the gift of knowledge to James the Just, to John and Peter after his resurrection, these delivered it to the rest of the apostles, and they to the seventy, of whom Barnabas was one." There were, however, two Jameses; one called the Just, who was thrown from a wing of the temple, and beaten to death



with a fuller's club, and another, who was beheaded. Paul also makes mention of the Just in his epistles. "But other of the apostles," says he, "saw I none, save James the brother of our Lord." About this time also, the circumstances of our Saviour's promise, in reference to the king of the Osrhoenians, took place. For Thomas, under a divine impulse, sent Thaddeus as herald and evangelist, to proclaim the doctrine of Christ, as we have shown from the public documents found there.

When he came to these places, he both healed Agbarus by the word of Christ, and astonished all there with the extraordinary miracles he performed. After having sufficiently disposed them by his works, and led them to adore the power of Christ, he made them disciples of the Saviour's doctrine. And even to this day, the whole city of Edessa is devoted to the name of Christ; exhibiting no common evidence of the beneficence of our Saviour likewise to them. And let this suffice, as taken from the accounts given in ancient documents. Let us now pass again to the Holy Scriptures. As the first and greatest persecution arose among the Jews after the martyrdom of Stephen, against the church of Jerusalem, and all the disciples except the twelve were scattered throughout Judea and Samaria; some, as the Holy Scriptures say, coming as far as Phœnice, and Cyprus, and Antioch, they were not yet in a situation to venture to impart the faith to the nations, and therefore only announced it to the Jews. During this time, Paul also was yet laying waste the church, entering the houses of the believers, dragging away men and women, and delivering them over to prison. Philip, also, one of those who had been ordained to the office of deacons, being among those scattered abroad, went down to Samaria. Filled with divine power, he first proclaimed the divine word to the inhabitants of that place. But so greatly did the divine grace co-operate with him, that even Simon Magus, with a great number of other men, were attracted by his discourses. Simon had become so celebrated at that time, and had such influence with those that were deceived by his impostures, that they considered him the great power of God. This same Simon, also, astonished at the extraordinary miracles performed by Philip through the power of God, artfully assumed, and even pretended faith in Christ, so far as to be baptized; and what is surprising, the

same thing is done even to this day, by those who adopt this most foul heresy. These, after the manner of their founder, insinuating themselves into the church, like a pestilential and leprous disease, infected those with the greatest corruption, into whom they were able to infuse their secret, irremediable, and destructive poison. Many of these, indeed, have already been expelled, when they were caught in their wickedness; as Simon himself, when detected by Peter, suffered his deserved punishment. For as the annunciation of the Saviour's gospel was daily advancing, by a certain divine providence, a prince of the queen of the Ethiopians, as it is a custom that still prevails there to be governed by a female, was brought thither, and was the first of the Gentiles that received of the mysteries of the divine word from Philip. The apostle, led by a vision, thus instructed him; and he becoming the first fruits of believers throughout the world, is said to have been the first, on returning to his country, that proclaimed the knowledge of God, and the salutary abode of our Saviour among men. So that, in fact, the prophecy obtained its fulfilment through him: "Ethiopia stretched forth her hands unto God." After this, Paul, that chosen vessel, not of men, nor through men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ himself, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead, is appointed an apostle, being honoured with the call by a vision and voice of revelation from heaven.



## CHAPTER II

# HOW TIBERIUS WAS AFFECTED, WHEN INFORMED BY PILATE RESPECTING CHRIST

THE fame of our Lord's remarkable resurrection and ascension being now spread abroad, according to an ancient custom prevalent among the rulers of the nations, to communicate novel occurrences to the emperor, that nothing might escape him, Pontius Pilate transmits to Tiberius an account of the circumstances concerning the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, the report of which had already been spread throughout all Palestine. In this account, he also intimated that he ascertained other miracles respecting him, and that having now risen from the dead, he was believed to be a God by the great mass of the people. Tiberius referred the matter to the senate, but it is said they rejected the proposition, apparently because they had not examined into this subject first, according to an ancient law among the Romans, that no one should be ranked among the gods unless by a vote and decree of the senate in reality, however, because the salutary doctrine of the gospel needs no confirmation and co-operation of men.

The senate of the Romans, therefore, having thus rejected the doctrine of our Saviour as it was announced, and Tiberius still continuing to hold the opinion he had before cherished, formed no unreasonable projects against the doctrine of Christ. This is the testimony of Tertullian, a man who made himself accurately acquainted with the laws of the Romans, and, besides his eminence in other respects, was particularly distinguished among the eminent men of Rome, and in his apology for the Christians in the Roman tongue, which is also translated into the Greek, to give his own words, writes after the following manner. "In order to give

also an account of these laws from their origin, it was an ancient decree, that no one should be consecrated a god by the emperor, before it had been approved by the senate. Marcus Aurelius has done this, in reference to a certain idol, Alburnus, so that this evidence has been given in favour of our doctrine, that divine dignity is conferred among you by the decrees of men. Unless a god pleases men he is not made a god; and thus, according to this procedure, it is necessary that man should be propitious to the god. Tiberius, therefore, under whom the name of Christ was spread throughout the world, when this doctrine was announced to him from Palestine, where it first began, communicated with the senate, being obviously pleased with the doctrine; but the senate, as they had not proposed the measure, rejected it. But he continued in his opinion, threatening death to the accusers of the Christians; a divine providence infusing this into his mind, that the gospel, having freer scope in its commencement, might spread every where over the world.”



## CHAPTER III

# HOW THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE SOON SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE WORLD

THUS, then, under a celestial influence and co-operation, the doctrine of the Saviour, like the rays of the sun, quickly irradiated the whole world. Presently, in accordance with divine prophecy, the sound of his inspired evangelists and apostles had gone throughout all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world. Throughout every city and village, like a replenished barn floor, churches were rapidly found abounding, and filled with members from every people. Those who, in consequence of the delusions that had descended to them from their ancestors, had been fettered by the ancient disease of idolatrous superstition, were now liberated, by the power of Christ, through the teaching and miracles of his messengers. And, as if delivered from dreadful masters, and emancipated from the most cruel bondage, on the one hand renounced the whole multitude of gods and demons, and on the other, confessed that there was only one true God, the Creator of all things. This same God they now also honoured with the rites of a true piety, under the influence of that inspired and reasonable worship which had been planted among men by our Saviour. But the gratuitous benevolence of God being now poured out also upon the rest of the nations, Cornelius was the first of Cæsarea in Palestine, who, with his whole house, received the faith in Christ, through a divine vision and the agency of Peter; as did also a great number of Greeks at Antioch, to whom the gospel had been preached by those who were scattered by the persecution of Stephen.

The church at Antioch, also, now flourishing and abounding in members, and the greatest number of teachers coming hither from

Jerusalem, with whom were Barnabas and Paul, and many other brethren with them, the epithet of Christians first sprung up at that place, as from a grateful and productive soil. Agabus, also, one of the assembled prophets, uttered a prediction respecting the impending famine, and Paul and Barnabas were delegated to proceed to the relief of the necessities of the brethren.





## CHAPTER IV

# CAIUS (CALIGULA) AFTER THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS, APPOINTS AGRIPPA KING OF THE JEWS, AFTER PUNISHING HEROD WITH PERPETUAL EXILE

TIBERIUS died after having reigned about twenty-two years, and Caius, receiving the empire next, immediately conferred the Jewish government on Agrippa, appointing him king over the tetrarchy both of Philip and Lysanias. To these, not long after, he adds also the tetrarchy of Herod, after having inflicted the punishment of perpetual exile upon Herod, together with his wife Herodias, for their numerous crimes. This was the Herod who was concerned in the passion of our Saviour. Josephus bears testimony to these facts. During the reign of this emperor, Philo became noted, a man most distinguished for his learning, not only among very many of our own, but of those that came from abroad. As to his origin, he was a descendant of the Hebrews, inferior to none at Alexandria in point of dignity of family and birth. As to the divine Scriptures, and the learning of his country, how greatly and extensively he laboured, his work speaks for itself. And how well skilled in philosophy and the liberal studies of foreign countries, there is no necessity to say, since, as he was a zealous follower of the sect of Plato and Pythagoras, he is said to have surpassed all of his contemporaries.



# CHAPTER V

## PHILO WAS SENT ON AN EMBASSY TO CAIUS, IN BEHALF OF THE JEWS

THIS author has given us an account of the sufferings of the Jews in the reign of Caius, in five books. He there also relates the madness of Caius, who called himself a god, and was guilty of innumerable oppressions in the exercise of his power. He mentions the miseries of the Jews under him, and the embassy which he himself performed when sent to the city of Rome, in behalf of his countrymen at Alexandria; how that when he pleaded before Caius, for the laws and institutions of his ancestors, he received nothing but laughter and derision in return, and had well nigh incurred the risk of his life. Josephus also mentions these things in the eighteenth book of his Antiquities, in these words:

“A sedition having also arisen between the Jews dwelling at Alexandria and the Greeks, three chosen deputies were sent from each of the factions, and these appeared before Caius. One of the Alexandrian deputies was Apion, who uttered many slanders against the Jews; among other things, saying, that they treated the honours of Cæsar with contempt, that whilst all others, as many as were subject to the Roman empire, erected altars and temples to Caius, and in other respects regarded him as a god, they alone considered it disgraceful to raise statues to his honour, and to swear by his name. Apion having thus uttered many and severe charges, by which he hoped that Caius would be roused, as was very probable, Philo, the chief of the Jewish embassy, a man illustrious in every respect, being the brother of Alexander, the Alabarch, and not unskilled in philosophy, was well prepared to enter upon a defence against these charges. But he was precluded from this by Caius, who ordered him straightway to be gone, and, as he was very much incensed, it was very evident that

he was meditating some great evil against them. Philo departed, covered with insult, and told the Jews that were with him, they had good reason to console themselves, that although Caius was enraged at them, he was already in fact challenging God against himself." Thus far Josephus. And Philo himself, in the embassy which he describes, details the particulars of what was then done to him, with great accuracy. Passing by the greatest part of these, I shall only state those by which it will be made manifest to the reader, that these things happened to the Jews forthwith, and at no distant period, on account of that which they dared to perpetrate against Christ. First, then, he relates, that in the reign of Tiberius, at Rome, Sejanus, who was then in great favour with Tiberius, had made every effort utterly to destroy the whole nation of the Jews, and that in Judea Pontius Pilate, under whom the crimes were committed against our Saviour, having attempted something contrary to what was lawful among the Jews respecting the temple at Jerusalem, which was then yet standing, excited them to the greatest tumults.



# CHAPTER VI

## WHAT EVILS OVERWHELMED THE JEWS AFTER THEIR PRESUMPTION AGAINST CHRIST

AFTER the death of Tiberius, Caius having received the government, besides many other innumerable acts of tyranny against many, did not a little afflict the whole nation of the Jews particularly. We may soon learn this, from the declaration of the same author, in which he writes as follows: "So great was the caprice of Caius in his conduct towards all, but especially towards the nation of the Jews. As he was excessively hostile to these, he appropriated their places of worship to himself in all the cities, beginning with those at Alexandria, filling them with his images and statues. For having permitted it when others erected them of their own accord, he now began to erect them by absolute command. But the temple in the holy city, which had been left untouched as yet, and been endowed with privileges as an inviolable asylum, he changed and transformed into a temple of his own, that it should be publicly called the temple of Caius the younger, the visible Jupiter" (ἐπιφανους Διος). Many other and almost indescribable calamities, the same author relates, as happening to the Jews of Alexandria, during the reign of the aforesaid emperor, in his second book, to which he gave the title, 'On the Virtues.' Josephus also agrees with him, who likewise intimates that the calamities of the whole nation took their rise from the times of Pilate, and the crimes against our Saviour. Let us hear, then, what he also says in the second book of the Jewish War. "Pilate being sent by Tiberius as procurator of Judea, at night carried the covered images of Cæsar into the temple; these are called ensigns. The following day, this excited the greatest disturbance among the Jews. For they that were near, were

confounded at the sight, as a contemptuous prostitution of their legal institutions; for they do not allow any image to be set up in their city.” Comparing these accounts with the writings of the evangelists, you will perceive, that it was not long before that exclamation came upon them, which they uttered under the same Pilate, and by which they cried again and again that they had no other king but Cæsar. After this, the same historian records, that forthwith another calamity overtook them, in these words: “But after these things, he (i.e. Pilate) excited another tumult, by expending the public treasure which is called Corban, in the construction of an aqueduct. This extended nearly three hundred stadia (furlongs, i.e. from the city). The multitude were sorely grieved at it; and when Pilate came to Jerusalem, they surrounded the tribunal, and began to cry out against him. But having anticipated a tumult, he had placed his armed soldiers amongst the multitude, disguised under the same dress with the rest of the people, and having commanded them not to use their swords, but to strike the turbulent with clubs, he gave them a signal from the tribunal. The Jews being thus beaten, many of them perished in consequence of the blows, many also in their flight were trodden to death by their own countrymen. The multitude thus overawed by the misfortune of the slain, held their peace.” The same writer mentions innumerable other commotions that were raised in Jerusalem beside these; showing that from that time tumults, and wars, and plots of mischief, one after another, never ceased in the city and all Judea, until, last of all, the siege of Vespasian overwhelmed them. Thus, then, the divine justice overtook the Jews in this way, for their crimes against Christ.





# CHAPTER VII

## HOW PILATE DESTROYED HIMSELF

IT is proper, also, to observe, how it is asserted that this same Pilate, who was governor at our Saviour's crucifixion, in the reign of Caius, whose times we are recording, fell into such calamities that he was forced to become his own murderer, and the avenger of his own wickedness. Divine justice, it seems, did not long protract his punishment. This is stated by those Greek historians who have recorded the Olympiads in order, together with the transactions of the times.



## CHAPTER VIII

# THE FAMINE THAT HAPPENED IN THE REIGN OF CLAUDIUS

CAIUS, however, had not reigned four years, when he was succeeded by Claudius, in the sovereignty of the empire. In his reign there was a famine that prevailed over the whole world; an event, indeed, which has been handed down by historians far removed from our sentiments; and by which the prediction of the prophet Agabus, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, respecting the impending famine over the whole world, received its fulfilment. Luke, however, in the Acts, after stating the famine in the time of Claudius, and after recording how, by means of Paul and Barnabas, the brethren at Antioch had sent to those of Judea, according to the ability of each one, also adds the following.



# CHAPTER IX

## THE MARTYRDOM OF THE APOSTLE JAMES

“ABOUT this time (it is manifest he means the reign of Claudius), Herod the king prepared to afflict some of the church. But he slew James, the brother of John, with the sword.” Of this James, Clement adds a narrative worthy of note, in the seventh book of his Institutions, evidently recording it according to the tradition which he had received from his ancestors. He says, that the man who led him to the judgment seat, seeing him bearing his testimony to the faith, and moved by the fact, confessed himself a Christian. Both, therefore, says he, were led away to die. On their way, he entreated James to forgive him, and James, considering a little, replied, “Peace be to thee,” and kissed him; and then both were beheaded at the same time. Then also, as the Scriptures say, Herod, at the death of James, seeing that the deed gave pleasure to the Jews, also attacked Peter, and having committed him to prison, had well nigh executed the same murderous intention against him, had he not been wonderfully delivered from his prison by an angel appearing to him at night, and thus liberated to proclaim the Gospel. Such was the providence of God in behalf of Peter.



# CHAPTER X

## HEROD AGRIPPA PERSECUTING THE APOSTLES, IMMEDIATELY EXPERIENCED THE DIVINE JUDGMENT

THE consequences, however, of the king's attempts against the apostles, were not long deferred, but the avenging minister of divine justice soon overtook him after his plots against the apostles. As it is also recorded in the book of Acts, he proceeded to Cæsarea, and there on a noted festival, being clad in a splendid and royal dress, he harangued the people from an elevation before the tribunal. The whole people applauding him for his harangue, as if it were the voice of a god, and not of man, the Scriptures relate, "that the angel of the Lord immediately smote him, and being consumed by worms, he gave up the ghost." It is wonderful to observe, likewise, in this singular event, the coincidence of the history given by Josephus, with that of the sacred Scriptures. In this he plainly adds his testimony to the truth, in the nineteenth book of his Antiquities, where he relates the miracles in the following words: "But he (i. e. Herod) had completed the third year of his reign over all Judea, and he came to the city of Cæsarea, which was formerly called the tower of Strato. There he exhibited public shows in honour of Cæsar, knowing it to be a kind of festival for his safety. At this festival was collected a great number of those who were the first in power and dignity throughout the province. On the second day of the shows, being clad in a robe all wrought with silver, of a wonderful texture, he proceeded to the theatre at break of day. There, the silver irradiated with the reflection of the earliest sunbeams, wonderfully glittered, inspiring admiration and awe in the beholders. Presently



the flatterers raised their shouts in different ways; such, however, as were not for his good, calling him a god, and imploring his clemency in such language as this: 'We have feared thee thus far as man, but henceforth we confess thee to be superior to the nature of mortals.' The king did not either chide them or disclaim the impious flattery. After a little while, raising himself, he saw an angel sitting above his head. This he immediately perceived was the sign of evil, as it had once been the sign of good. And he felt a pain through his heart, and a sudden pang seize his bowels, which began to torment him with great violence. Turning, then, to his friends, he said, 'I, your god, am now commanded to depart this life, and fate will soon disprove your false assertions respecting me. He whom you have called an immortal, is now compelled to die, but we must receive our destiny as it is determined by God. Neither have we passed our life ingloriously, but in that splendour which is so much extolled.' Saying this, he laboured much with the increase of pain. He was then carried with great haste into the palace, while the report spread throughout the people, that the king at all events would soon die. But the multitude with their wives and children, after their country's custom, sitting in sackcloth, implored God in behalf of the king; all places were filled with lamentation and weeping. But the king, as he lay reclining in an elevated chamber, and looking down upon them falling prostrate to the ground, could not refrain from tears himself. At length, overpowered by the pain of his bowels, for four days in succession, he ended his life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age and seventh of his reign. He reigned, therefore, for four years under Cains Cæsar, had the tetrarchy of Philip three years, and received that of Herod in the fourth year, reigning subsequently three years under Claudius Cæsar." Thus far Josephus: in which statement, as in others, so in this, I cannot but admire his agreement with the divine Scriptures. But if he should appear to any to differ, in regard to the epithet of the king; yet the time and the fact show that it was the same individual, whether it happened by an error in writing that the name was changed, or in consequence of a double name applied to him; such as was the case with many.



# CHAPTER XI

## CONCERNING THE IMPOSTOR THEUDAS AND HIS FOLLOWERS

AS Luke in the Acts, also introduces Gamaliel in the consultation respecting the apostles, saying, that at this time “arose Theudas, who gave out that he was some one, but who was destroyed, and all that obeyed him were dispersed,” let us now, also, add the written testimony of Josephus respecting the same circumstance. He relates, in the book already quoted, the following particulars. “While Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain impostor called Theudas persuaded the multitude to take their possessions with them, and follow him to the river Jordan. For he said he was a prophet, and that the Jordan should be divided at his command, and afford them an easy passage through it. And with such promises he deceived many. But Fadus did not suffer them to enjoy their folly, but sent a troop of horsemen against them, who, falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many and took many alive; but having taken Theudas himself captive, they cut off his head and carried it to Jerusalem.” Besides this, he also mentions the famine that took place under Claudius, as follows.



## CHAPTER XII

# HELEN, QUEEN OF THE OSRHOENIANS

ABOUT this time it happened that the great famine took place in Judea, in which also queen Helen having purchased grain from Egypt, with large sums, distributed to the needy. You will also find this statement in accordance with that in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, that according to the ability of the disciples at Antioch, they determined, each one, to send to the assistance of those in Judea. Which also they did, sending to the elders by the hands of Barnabas and Paul. Of this same Helen, mentioned by the historian, splendid monuments are still to be seen in the suburbs of the city (Jerusalem) now called Ælia. But she is said to have been queen of the Adiabeni.



# CHAPTER XIII

## SIMON MAGUS

THE faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, having now been diffused abroad among all men, the enemy of salvation devising some scheme of seizing upon the imperial city for himself, brought thither Simon, whom we mentioned before. Coming to the aid of his insidious artifices, he attached many of the inhabitants of Rome to himself, in order to deceive them. This is attested by Justin, who was one of our distinguished writers, not long after the times of the apostles, concerning whom I shall say what is necessary in the proper place. The reader may see for himself, in the first defence of our religion, addressed to Antonine, where he writes thus: "And after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, certain men were suborned by demons as their agents, who said that they were gods. These were not only suffered to pass without persecution, but were even deemed worthy of honours by you. Simon, a certain Samaritan of the village called Githon, was one of the number, who, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, performed many magic rites by the operation of demons, was considered a god, in your imperial city of Rome, and was honoured by you with a statue as a god, in the river Tiber (on an island), between the two bridges, having the superscription in Latin, *Simoni Deo Sancto*, which is, To Simon the Holy God. And nearly all the Samaritans, with a few also of other nations, worship him, confessing him as the Supreme God, and a certain Helen also, who had before been a public prostitute in Tyre of Phœnicia, but now attached herself to Simon, they called 'the first intelligence' that proceeded from him." Such is the testimony of Justin, with which also Irenæus coincides in his first book against Heresies, where he also subjoins an account of the impiety and corrupt doctrine of the man, which it would be superfluous for us to detail; as it is in the power of those who wish, to learn the origin, and the

lives, and the false doctrines, not only of this one, but likewise of all the heresiarchs respectively, as also of the institutions and principles of all of them, as treated at large in the above-mentioned book of Irenæus. Simon, however, we have understood to have taken the lead in all heresy; from whom also, down to the present time, those that followed him still affected the modest philosophy of the Christians, so celebrated for purity of life among all. From this, however, they appeared again to depart, and again to embrace the superstitions of idols, falling down before the pictures and statues of this selfsame Simon, and the aforesaid Helen with him; venturing to offer them worship by incense, and sacrifices, and libations. Those matters which are kept more secret by them than these, at the first mention of which they say one would be astonished, and to use an oracular phrase with them, would be confounded, happen in truth to be so full of amazement, and folly, and madness, such as they are, that it is not only impossible to commit them to writing, but even to utter them with the lips to modest men, on account of their excessive baseness and obscenity. For every vile corruption that could either be done or devised, is practised by this most abominable heresy, of a sect that ensnare those wretched females who are literally overwhelmed with every kind of vice.





# CHAPTER XIV

## THE PREACHING OF PETER IN THE CITY OF ROME

SUCH was the wickedness of which that malignant power, the enemy of all good, and the waylayer of human salvation, constituted Simon the father and author at this time, as if with a view to make him a great and powerful antagonist to the divine purposes of our Saviour and his apostles. Nevertheless, that divine and celestial grace which co-operates with its servants, by their appearance and presence, soon extinguished the flame that had been kindled by the wicked one, humbling and casting down through them, "every height that elevated itself against the knowledge of God." Wherefore, neither the conspiracy of Simon, nor that of any other one then existing, was able to effect any thing against those apostolic times. For the declaration of the truth prevailed and overpowered all, and the divine word itself, now shining from heaven upon men, and flourishing upon earth, and dwelling with his apostles, prevailed and overpowered every opposition. The mental eye of the sorcerer being smitten by a divine and wonderful radiance, when in Judea, he was convicted of his wickedness by the apostle Peter; he undertook a great journey from the east across the sea, and fled to the west, thinking that this was the only way for him to live according to his mind. Entering the city of Rome, by the co-operation of that malignant spirit which had fixed its seat there, his attempts were soon so far successful, as to be honoured as a god, with the erection of a statue by the inhabitants of that city. This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, Peter, that powerful and great apostle, who by his courage took the lead of all the rest, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble

commander of God, fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandize of the revealed light from the east to those in the west, announcing the light itself, and salutary doctrine of the soul, the proclamation of the kingdom of God.



# CHAPTER XV

## THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO MARK

THE divine word having thus been established among the Romans, the power of Simon was soon extinguished and destroyed together with the man. So greatly, however, did the splendour of piety enlighten the minds of Peter's hearers, that it was not sufficient to hear but once, nor to receive the unwritten doctrine of the gospel of God, but they persevered with various entreaties, to solicit Mark, as the companion of Peter, and whose gospel we have, that he should leave them a monument of the doctrine thus orally communicated, in writing. Nor did they cease their solicitations until they had prevailed with the man, and thus become the means of that history which is called the Gospel according to Mark. They say also, that the apostle (Peter) having ascertained what was done by the revelation of the Spirit, was delighted with the zealous ardour expressed by these men, and that the history obtained his authority for the purpose of being read in the churches. This account is given by Clement, in the sixth book of his Institutions, whose testimony is corroborated also by that of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis. But Peter makes mention of Mark in the first epistle, which he is also said to have composed at the same city of Rome, and that he shows this fact, by calling the city by an unusual trope, Babylon; thus, "The church at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, as also my son Marcus" (1 Pet. 5:13).



## CHAPTER XVI

# MARK FIRST PROCLAIMED CHRISTIANITY TO THE INHABITANTS OF EGYPT

THE same Mark, they also say, being the first that was sent to Egypt, proclaimed the gospel there which he had written, and first established churches at the city of Alexandria. And so great a multitude of believers, both of men and women, were collected there at the very outset, that in consequence of their extreme philosophical discipline and austerity, Philo has considered their pursuits, their assemblies, and entertainments, and in short their whole manner of life, as deserving a place in his descriptions.





## CHAPTER XVII

# THE ACCOUNT GIVEN BY PHILO RESPECTING THE ASCETICS OF EGYPT

THE same author, in the reign of Claudius, is also said to have had familiar conversation with Peter at Rome, whilst he was proclaiming the gospel to the inhabitants of that city. Now is this at all improbable; since the work of which we now speak, and which was subsequently composed by him at a late period, evidently comprehends the regulations that are still observed in our churches, even to the present time; but at the same time that he describes, with the greatest accuracy, the lives of our ascetics, he evidently shows that he not only knew, but approved, whilst he extolled and revered the apostolic men of his day, who were sprung probably from the Hebrews; and hence, still continuing to observe their most ancient customs, rather after the Jewish manner. In the book that he wrote, "On a Contemplative Life, or those who lead a Life of Prayer," he avers indeed, that he would add nothing contrary to the truth, or of his own invention, in the history that he was about to write, where he says, that these persons are called Therapeutæ, and the women Therapeutrides.

Subjoining the reasons of such an appellation, he refers its origin either to the fact, that like physicians, by removing the evil affections, they healed and cured the minds of those that joined them, or to their pure and sincere mode of serving and worshipping the Deity. Whether Philo himself attached this name to them of his own accord, giving an epithet well suited to the manners of the people, or whether the founders really called themselves so from the beginning, as the name of Christians was not yet spread to every place, are points that need not be so accurately determined. He bears witness, however, that they

renounced their property, saying, that “as soon as they commenced a philosophical life, they divested themselves of their property, giving it up to their relatives; then laying aside all the cares of life, they abandon the city and take up their abode in solitary fields and gardens, well knowing that the intercourse with persons of a different character is not only unprofitable but injurious.” There were at this time, in all probability, persons who, under the influence of an inspired and ardent faith, instituted this mode of life in imitation of the ancient prophets. Wherefore, as it is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, a book well authenticated, that all the associates of the apostles, after selling their possessions and substance, distributed to all according to the necessity of each one, so that there was none in want among them. “For as many as had lands and houses,” as this account says, “selling them, brought the value of the property sold, and laid it at the apostles’ feet, so as to distribute to each one according to his necessity.” Philo giving his testimony to facts very much like these, in the same description superadds the following statement. This kind of men is every where scattered over the world, for both Greeks and barbarians should share in so permanent a benefit. They abound, however, in Egypt, in each of its districts, and particularly about Alexandria.

“But the principal men among them from every quarter emigrate to a place situated on a moderate elevation of land beyond the lake Maria, very advantageously located both for safety and temperature of the air, as if it were the native country of the Therapeutæ.” After thus describing what kind of habitations they have, he speaks thus of the churches in the place. “In every house there is a sacred apartment which they call the Semnæum, or Monasterium, where, retired from men, they perform the mysteries of a pious life. Hither they bring nothing with them, neither drink nor food, nor any thing else requisite to the necessities of the body; they only bring the law and the inspired declarations of the prophets, and hymns, and such things, by which knowledge and piety may be augmented and perfected.” After other matters, he adds: “The whole time between the morning and evening, is a constant exercise; for as they are engaged with the sacred Scriptures, they reason and comment upon them, explaining the

philosophy of their country in an allegorical manner. For they consider the verbal interpretation as signs indicative of a secret sense communicated in obscure intimations. They have also commentaries of ancient men, who, as the founders of the sect, have left many monuments of their doctrine in allegorical representations, which they use as certain models, imitating the manner of the original institution." These facts appear to have been stated by a man, who, at least, has paid attention to those that have expounded the sacred writings. But it is highly probable, that the ancient commentaries which he says they have, are the very gospels and writings of the apostles, and probably some expositions of the ancient prophets, such as are contained in the epistle to the Hebrews and many others of St. Paul's epistles. Afterwards again, concerning the new psalms which they composed, he thus writes, "Thus they not only pass their time in meditation, but compose songs and hymns unto God, noting them of necessity with measure uncommonly serious, through every variety of metres and tunes." Many other things concerning these persons he writes in the same book; but these it appeared necessary to select, in order to present the peculiarities of their ecclesiastical discipline. But, if what has been said does not appear to any one to belong to the discipline of the gospel, but that it can also be applied to others besides those mentioned, let him at least be convinced by the subsequent declarations of the author, in which, if he is at all impartial, he adduces an irrefragable testimony on the same subject. For thus he writes: "But laying down temperance first as a kind of foundation in their minds, upon this they build the other virtues. For none of them is to bring food or drink before the setting of the sun, since they judge that philosophical exercises should be prosecuted in the light, but the necessities of the body in the dark; whence they assign the one to the day, and to the other a small portion of the night. But some of them do not remember their food for three days, when influenced by an uncommon desire of knowledge. And some are so delighted, and feast so luxuriously on the doctrines so richly and profusely furnished by wisdom, that they forbear even twice this time, and are scarcely induced to take necessary food even for six days." These declarations of Philo respecting those of our

communion, we deem obvious and indisputable. But, should any one still be so hardy as to contradict, let him at least abandon his incredulity, by yielding to the more powerful demonstrations, which are to be found among none but in the religion of Christians, according to the gospel. Our author also says, that "there were also females that meet with those of whom we speak, of whom the most are aged maidens, preserving their purity, not by necessity, as some of the priestesses among the Greeks, but rather by a voluntary determination, in consequence of that zealous desire of wisdom, in the earnest prosecution of which, they disregard the pleasures of the body; as they are desirous not of a mortal progeny but an immortal, which the heavenly mind alone is able to produce of itself." After a little, he also adds the following, with still greater stress. "But they expound the sacred writings by obscure, allegorical, and figurative expressions. For the whole law appears to these persons like an animal, of which the literal expressions are the body, but the invisible sense that lies enveloped in the expressions, the soul. This sense was first pre-eminently studied by this sect, discerning as through a mirror of names, the admirable beauties of the thoughts reflected." Why should we add to these their meetings, and the separate abodes of the men and the women in these meetings, and the exercises performed by them, which are still in vogue among us at the present day, and which, especially at the festival of our Saviour's passion, we are accustomed to pass in fasting and watching, and in the study of the divine word? All these the above-mentioned author has accurately described and stated in his writings, and are the same customs that are observed by us alone, at the present day, particularly the vigils of the great festival, and the exercises in them, and the hymns that are commonly recited among us. He states that whilst one sings gracefully with a certain measure, the others, listening in silence, join in singing the final clauses of the hymns; also, that on the above mentioned days, they lie on straw spread on the ground, and to use his own words, "they abstain altogether from wine, and taste no flesh. Water is their only drink, and the relish of their bread, salt and hyssop." Besides this, he describes the grades of dignity among those who administer the ecclesiastical services committed to them, those of the deacons

and the presidencies of the episcopate as the highest. But, whosoever desires to have a more accurate knowledge of these things, may learn them from the history already cited; but that Philo, when he wrote these statements, had in view the first heralds of the gospel, and the original practices handed down from the apostles, must be obvious to all.



# CHAPTER XVIII

## THE BOOKS OF PHILO THAT HAVE COME DOWN TO US

THIS author, who was copious in language, comprehensive in thought, sublime and elevated in his views of the sacred Scriptures, has made his exposition of the sacred books equally distinguished for variety of matter and manner. On the one hand he expounds the history of Genesis, in the books that he calls "Allegories of the Divine Laws," following the order of the book; and on the other, he forms particular divisions of the chapters, according to the subject of the Scriptures, with the objections and solutions; in which same books also he prefixes the tables of the questions and solutions both in Genesis and Exodus respectively. There are also, besides these, treatises on certain problems particularly discussed, such as two "On Agriculture," and two "On Drunkenness," and some others distinguished by a different and peculiar title; such as "On the things that a Sober Mind earnestly desires, and those which it execrates;" also, "On the Confusion of Tongues," and the treatise "On Flight and Discovery," and that "On Literary Convention," and "On the question, 'Who is Heir to things Divine?'" or, "On the Division of Things into equal and unequal." Moreover, the treatise on the three virtues, which Moses records with others. Beside these, there is one "On those whose Names are changed, and wherefore their Names have been changed;" in which he says, that he wrote also on the first and second covenant. There is also a work of the same author, "On Emigration, and on the Life of the Wise Man perfect in Righteousness;" or, "On the Unwritten Laws." Also, "On Giants," or, "On the Immutability of God." And also, "On the Proposition, that Dreams, according to Moses, are sent by God"—five books. These are the books that have come down to us on Genesis, but

on Exodus we are acquainted with the first five books of Questions and Solutions; also, that "On the Tabernacle," that also "On the Ten Commandments;" also, the first four treatises on the laws referring particularly to the summary heads of the ten commandments. Also, the treatise "On the Sacrifice of Animals, and the Forms of Sacrifices;" that also, "On the Rewards proposed in the Law to Good Men, and the Punishments and Curses to the Wicked." Besides all these, there are single books extant of the same author, as the treatises "On Providence," and the book composed by him "On the Jews," and "The Statesman." To this may be added "Alexander," or "On Irrational Animals evincing Reason." Beside these, "On the Proposition that a Wicked Man is a Slave;" to this is subjoined the book, "That every Good Man is free." After which he added the book "On a Contemplative Life, or the Devout," from which we have related the circumstances respecting the life of the apostolical men. Also, the interpretations of the Hebrew names in the law and prophets, is said to be the result of his industry. The same author, in the reign of Caius, coming to Rome, is said to have recited before the whole senate, in the reign of Claudius, what he wrote on the impiety of Caius, to which he humourously prefixed the title "On the Virtues;" and the discourses were so much admired as to be deemed worthy of a place in the libraries. During this time also, Paul finishing his journey from Jerusalem, and thence round to Illyricum, Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome, at which time Aquila and Priscilla, with the other Jews that left Rome, went over into Asia. There they abode with the apostle, who was confirming those among whom churches had been already established by him. Of these facts we are also informed in the sacred book of the Acts.





## CHAPTER XIX

# THE CALAMITY WHICH BEFEL THE JEWS AT JERUSALEM ON THE DAY OF THE PASSOVER

WHILST Claudius held the government of the empire, it happened about the festival of the passover, that so great a sedition and disturbance took place at Jerusalem, that thirty thousand Jews perished of those alone who were crowded out of the gates of the temple, and thus trodden to death by one another. Thus the festival became a season of mourning and weeping to the whole nation and every family. This is almost literally the account given by Josephus. But Claudius appointed Agrippa, the son of Agrippa, king of the Jews, having deputed Felix procurator of all Samaria and Galilee, and also of the region situated beyond Jordan. He died after a reign of thirteen years and eight months, leaving Nero as his successor in the empire.



## CHAPTER XX

# THE DEEDS DONE AT JERUSALEM IN THE REIGN OF NERO

JOSEPHUS, in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, relates the sedition of the priests, which happened whilst Felix was governor of Judea, under the reign of Nero, in the following words:—"There arose also a sedition between the chief priests on the one hand, and the priests and the leaders of the people at Jerusalem on the other. Each one of them forming collections of the most daring and disaffected, became a leader, and when these met they encountered each other with invectives and stones. Amid these disturbances there was no one that would interpose to rebuke them, but all was done with the greatest licentiousness, as in a state destitute of a ruler. So great also, was the shamelessness and audacity of the chief priests, that they dared to send forth their servants to the barns, to seize the tithes due to the priests; and thus it happened that those of the priests that were destitute, saw themselves perishing for want. Thus did the violence of the factions prevail over all manner of justice." The same author again relates, that about the same time there sprung up a certain species of robbers at Jerusalem, "who," says he, "in broad daylight, and in the midst of the city, slew those whom they met; but particularly at festivals, mixed with the multitude, and with short swords concealed under their garments, stabbed the more distinguished of the people. When these fell, the very murderers themselves took part in expressing their indignation with the bystanders, and thus by the credit which they had with all, they were not detected." And first, he says, that the high priest Jonathan was slaughtered by them; and after him, many were slain from day to day, so that the alarm itself was more oppressive than the very evils with which they were assailed; whilst every one

was in expectation of death, as in the midst of battle.



# CHAPTER XXI

## THE EGYPTIAN MENTIONED IN THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES

NEXT in order, after other matters, he proceeds in his narration. "But the Jews were afflicted with an evil greater than these, by the Egyptian impostor. Having come into the country, and assuming the authority of a prophet, he collected about thirty thousand that were seduced by him. He then led them forth from the desert to the Mount of Olives, determining to enter Jerusalem by force, and after subduing the Roman garrison, to seize the government of the people, using his followers as body guards. But Felix anticipated his attack by going out to meet him with the Roman military, and all the people joined in the defence; so that when the battle was fought, the Egyptian fled with a few, and the most of his followers were either destroyed or captured." This account is likewise given by Josephus in the second book of his history; and it is worth while to subjoin to this account respecting the Egyptian, that which is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. It was there said to Paul, by the centurion under Felix, when the multitude of the Jews raised a sedition against the apostle, "Art thou not indeed that selfsame Egyptian that excited and led away the thirty thousand assassins into the desert?" Such were the events that happened under Felix.





## CHAPTER XXII

# PAUL, BEING SENT PRISONER FROM JUDEA TO ROME, AFTER HIS DEFENCE, WAS ABSOLVED FROM ALL CRIME

FESTUS was sent by Nero as successor to Felix. Under him, Paul, after having pleaded his cause, was sent a prisoner to Rome. But Aristarchus was his companion, whom he also somewhere in his epistles calls his fellow-prisoner; and here Luke, that wrote the Acts of the Apostles, after showing that Paul passed two whole years at Rome as a prisoner at large, and that he preached the gospel without restraint, brings his history to a close. After pleading his cause, he is said to have been sent again upon the ministry of preaching, and after a second visit to the city, that he finished his life with martyrdom. Whilst he was a prisoner, he wrote his second epistle to Timothy, in which he both mentions his first defence and his impending death. Hear, on these points, his own testimony respecting himself. "In my former defence no one was present with me, but all deserted me. May it not be laid to their charge. But the Lord was with me, and strengthened me, that through me the preaching of the gospel might be fulfilled, and all the nations might hear it. And I was rescued out of the lion's mouth." He plainly intimates in these words, "On the former occasion he was rescued from the lion's mouth, that the preaching of the gospel might be accomplished," that it was Nero to which he referred by this expression, as is probable on account of his cruelty. Therefore he did not subsequently subjoin any such expression as, "he will rescue me from the lion's mouth," for he saw in spirit how near his approaching death was. Hence, after the expression, "and I was rescued from the lion's mouth," this

also, “the Lord will rescue me from every evil work, and will save me unto his heavenly kingdom,” indicating the martyrdom that he would soon suffer; which he more clearly expresses in the same epistle, “for I am already poured out, and the time of my departure is at hand.” And indeed, in this second epistle to Timothy, he shows that Luke alone was with him when he wrote, but at his former defence not even he. Whence, it is probable, that Luke wrote his Acts of the Apostles about that time, continuing his history down to the time that he was with Paul. Thus much we have said, to show that the martyrdom of the apostle did not take place at that period of his stay at Rome when Luke wrote his history. It is indeed probable, that as Nero was more disposed to mildness in the beginning, the defence of the apostle’s doctrine would by him be more easily received; but as he advanced to such criminal excesses as to disregard all right, the apostles also, with others, experienced the effects of the measures pursued against them.



## CHAPTER XXIII

# THE MARTYRDOM OF JAMES, WHO WAS CALLED THE BROTHER OF THE LORD

THE Jews, after Paul had appealed to Cæsar, and had been sent by Festus to Rome, frustrated in their hope of entrapping him by the snares they had laid, turned themselves against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the episcopal seat at Jerusalem was committed by the apostles. The following were their nefarious measures also against him. Conducting him into a public place, they demanded that he should renounce the faith of Christ before all the people; but contrary to the sentiments of all, with a firm voice, and much beyond their expectation, he declared himself fully before the whole multitude, and confessed that Jesus Christ was the Son of God, our Saviour and Lord. Unable to bear any longer the testimony of the man, who, on account of his elevated virtue and piety was deemed the most just of men, they seized the opportunity of licentiousness afforded by the prevailing anarchy, and slew him. For as Festus died about this time in Judea, the province was without a governor and head. But, as to the manner of James's death, it has been already stated in the words of Clement, that he was thrown from a wing of the temple, and beaten to death with a club. Hegesippus, also, who flourished nearest the days of the apostles, in the fifth book of his Commentaries gives the most accurate account of him, thus: "But James, the brother of the Lord, who, as there were many of this name, was surnamed the Just by all, from the days of our Lord until now, received the government of the church with the apostles. This apostle was consecrated from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor fermented liquors, and abstained from animal food. A razor never came upon his head, he never

anointed with oil, and never used a bath. He alone was allowed to enter the sanctuary. He never wore woollen, but linen garments. He was in the habit of entering the temple alone, and was often found upon his bended knees, and interceding for the forgiveness of the people; so that his knees became as hard as camels', in consequence of his habitual supplication and kneeling before God. And indeed, on account of his exceeding great piety, he was called the Just, and Oblias (or Zaddick and Ozleam), which signifies justice and protection of the people; as the prophets declare concerning him. Some of the seven sects, therefore, of the people, mentioned by me above in my Commentaries, asked him what was the door to Jesus? and he answered, 'that he was the Saviour.' From which some believed that Jesus is the Christ. But the aforesaid sects did not believe either a resurrection, or that he was coming to give to every one according to his works; as many however, as did believe, did so on account of James. As there were many therefore of the rulers that believed, there arose a tumult among the Jews, Scribes, and Pharisees, saying that there was danger that the people would now expect Jesus as the Messiah. They came therefore together, and said to James, 'We entreat thee, restrain the people, who are led astray after Jesus, as if he were the Christ. We entreat thee to persuade all that are coming to the feast of the passover rightly concerning Jesus; for we all have confidence in thee. For we and all the people bear thee testimony that thou art just, and thou respectest not persons. Persuade therefore the people not to be led astray by Jesus, for we and all the people have great confidence in thee. Stand therefore upon a wing of the temple, that thou mayest be conspicuous on high, and thy words may be easily heard by all the people; for all the tribes have come together on account of the passover, with some of the Gentiles also.' The aforesaid Scribes and Pharisees, therefore, placed James upon a wing of the temple, and cried out to him, 'O thou just man, whom we ought all to believe, since the people are led astray after Jesus that was crucified, declare to us what is the door to Jesus that was crucified.' And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do ye ask me respecting Jesus the Son of Man? He is now sitting in the heavens, on the right hand of great Power, and is about to come

on the clouds of heaven.' And as many were confirmed, and glorified in this testimony of James, and said, Hosanna to the son of David, these same priests and Pharisees said to one another, 'We have done badly in affording such testimony to Jesus, but let us go up and cast him down, that they may dread to believe in him.' And they cried out, 'Oh, oh, Justus himself is deceived,' and they fulfilled that which is written in Isaiah, 'Let us take away the just, because he is offensive to us; wherefore they shall eat the fruit of their doings' (Isaiah 3). Going up therefore, they cast down the just man, saying to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just.' And they began to stone him, as he did not die immediately when cast down; but turning round, he knelt down saying, 'I entreat thee, O Lord God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' Thus they were stoning him, when one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, a son of the Rechabites, spoken of by Jeremiah the prophet, cried out saying, 'Cease, what are you doing? Justus is praying for you.' And one of them, a fuller, beat out the brains of Justus with the club that he used to beat out clothes. Thus he suffered martyrdom, and they buried him on the spot, where his tombstone is still remaining by the temple. He became a faithful witness, both to Jews and Greeks, that Jesus is Christ. Immediately after this, Vespasian invaded and took Judea." Such is the more ample testimony of Hegesippus, in which he fully coincides with Clement. So admirable a man indeed was James, and so celebrated among all for his justice, that even the wiser part of the Jews were of opinion that this was the cause of the immediate siege of Jerusalem, which happened to them for no other reason than the crime against him. Josephus also has not hesitated to superadd this testimony in his works. "These things," says he, "happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was the brother of him that is called Christ, and whom the Jews had slain, notwithstanding his pre-eminent justice." The same writer also relates his death, in the twentieth book of his Antiquities, in the following words: "But Cæsar having learned the death of Festus, sends Albinus as governor of Judea. But the younger Ananus, whom we mentioned before as obtaining the priesthood, was particularly rash and daring in his disposition. He was also of the sect of the Sadducees, which are the most

unmerciful of all the Jews in the execution of judgment, as we have already shown. Ananus, therefore, being of this character, and supposing that he had a suitable opportunity, in consequence of the death of Festus, and Albinus being yet on the way, calls an assembly of the judges; and bringing thither the brother of Jesus who is called Christ, whose name was James, with some others, he presented an accusation against them, as if they had violated the law, and committed them to be stoned as criminals. But those of the city that seemed most moderate and most accurate in observing the law, were greatly offended at this, and secretly sent to the king, entreating him to send to Ananus with the request not to do these things, saying that he had not acted legally even before. Some also went out to meet him as he came from Alexandria, and inform him that it was not lawful for Ananus to summon the Sanhedrim without his knowledge. Albinus, induced by this account, writes to Ananus in a rage, and threatening that he would call him to an account. But king Agrippa, for the same reason, took from him the priesthood, after he had held it three months, and appointed Jesus the son of Dammæus his successor." These accounts are given respecting James, who is said to have written the First of the epistles general (catholic); but it is to be observed that it is considered spurious. Not many indeed of the ancients have mentioned it, and not even that called the epistle of Jude, which is also one of the seven called catholic epistles. Nevertheless we know, that these, with the rest, are publicly used in most of the churches.





## CHAPTER XXIV

# ANNIANUS WAS APPOINTED THE FIRST BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA, AFTER MARK

NERO was now in the eighth year of his reign, when Annianus succeeded the apostle and evangelist Mark in the administration of the church at Alexandria. He was a man distinguished for his piety, and admirable in every respect.



# CHAPTER XXV

## THE PERSECUTION UNDER NERO, IN WHICH PAUL AND PETER WERE HONOURED WITH MARTYRDOM IN THE CAUSE OF RELIGION AT ROME

NERO now having the government firmly established under him, and henceforth plunging into nefarious projects, began to take up arms against that very religion which acknowledges the one Supreme God. To describe, indeed, the greatness of this man's wickedness, is not compatible with our present object; and as there are many that have given his history in the most accurate narratives, every one may, at his pleasure, in these contemplate the grossness of his extraordinary madness. Under the influence of this, he did not proceed to destroy so many thousands with any calculation, but with such indiscriminate murder as not even to refrain from his nearest and dearest friends. His own mother and wife, with many others that were his near relatives, he killed like strangers and enemies, with various kinds of death. And, indeed, in addition to all his other crimes, this too was yet wanting to complete the catalogue, that he was the first of the emperors that displayed himself an enemy of piety towards the Deity. This fact is recorded by the Roman Tertullian, in language like the following: "Examine your records. There you will find that Nero was the first that persecuted this doctrine, particularly then when after subduing all the east, he exercised his cruelty against all at Rome. Such is the man of whom we boast, as the leader in our punishment. For he that knows who he was, may know also that there could scarcely be any thing but what was great and good, condemned by Nero." Thus Nero publicly announcing himself as the chief enemy of God, was led on in his fury to slaughter the

apostles. Paul is therefore said to have been beheaded at Rome, and Peter to have been crucified under him. And this account is confirmed by the fact, that the names of Peter and Paul still remain in the cemeteries of that city even to this day. But likewise, a certain ecclesiastical writer, Caius by name, who was born about the time of Zephyrinus bishop of Rome, disputing with Proclus the leader of the Phrygian sect, gives the following statement respecting the places where the earthly tabernacles of the aforesaid apostles are laid. "But I can show," says he, "the trophies of the apostles: for if you will go to the Vatican, or to the Ostian road, you will find the trophies of those who have laid the foundation of this church, and that both suffered martyrdom about the same time. Dionysius bishop of Corinth bears the following testimony, in his discourse addressed to the Romans. 'Thus, likewise you, by means of this admonition, have mingled the flourishing seed that had been planted by Peter and Paul at Rome and Corinth. For both of these having planted us at Corinth, likewise instructed us; and having in like manner taught in Italy, they suffered martyrdom about the same time.' " This testimony I have superadded, in order that the truth of the history might be still more confirmed.



## CHAPTER XXVI

# THE JEWS WERE AFFLICTED WITH INNUMERABLE EVILS, AND FINALLY COMMENCED A WAR WITH THE ROMANS

JOSEPHUS in his account of the great distresses that seized the Jewish nation, relates also, in his writings, that beside many others, vast numbers also of those that were of the first rank among the Jews, were scourged with rods, and nailed upon the cross at Jerusalem, by Florus. For he, happened to be procurator of Judea at the commencement of the war, in the twelfth year of Nero's reign. "Then," says he, "throughout all Syria a tremendous commotion seized upon the inhabitants, in consequence of the revolt of the Jews. Every where did the inhabitants of the cities destroy the Jews without mercy. So that you could see the cities filled with unburied corpses, and the dead bodies of the aged mixed with those of children, and women not even having the necessary covering of their bodies. The whole province, indeed, was filled with indescribable distresses. But greater still than the crimes already endured, was the anticipation of those that threatened." Such is the statement of Josephus, and such was the condition of the Jews at this time.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK III





# CHAPTER I

## THE PARTS OF THE WORLD WHERE CHRIST WAS PREACHED BY THE APOSTLES

SUCH, then, was the state of the Jews at this time. But the holy apostles and disciples of our Saviour, being scattered over the whole world, Thomas, according to tradition, received Parthia as his allotted region; Andrew received Scythia, and John, Asia; where, after continuing for some time, he died at Ephesus. Peter appears to have preached through Pontus, Galatia, Bithynia, Cappadocia and Asia, to the Jews that were scattered abroad; who also, finally coming to Rome, was crucified with his head downward, having requested of himself to suffer in this way. Why should we speak of Paul, spreading the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyricum, and finally suffering martyrdom at Rome, under Nero? This account is given by Origen, in the third book of his exposition of Genesis.



## CHAPTER II

# THE FIRST THAT PRESIDED OVER THE CHURCH AT ROME

AFTER the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first that received the episcopate at Rome. Paul makes mention of him in his epistle from Rome to Timothy, in the address at the close of the epistle, saying, "Eubulus and Pudens, and Linus, and Claudia, salute thee."



# CHAPTER III

## OF THE EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLES

AS to the writings of Peter, one of his epistles, called the first, is acknowledged as genuine. For this was anciently used by the ancient fathers in their writings, as an undoubted work of the apostle. But that which is called the second, we have not, indeed, understood to be embodied with the sacred books (ενδιαθηκον), yet as it appeared useful to many, it was studiously read with the other Scriptures. As to that work, however, which is ascribed to him, called "The Acts," and the "Gospel according to Peter," and that called "The Preaching and the Revelations of Peter," we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings. Since neither among the ancient nor the ecclesiastical writers of our own day, has there been one that has appealed to testimony taken from them. But as I proceed in my history, I shall carefully show with the successions of the apostles, what ecclesiastical writers in their times respectively made use of any of the disputed writings, and what opinions they have expressed, both respecting the incorporated (ενδιαθηκοι) and acknowledged writings, and also respecting those that were not of this description. These are called Peter's epistles, of which I have understood only one epistle to be genuine and admitted by the ancient fathers. The epistles of Paul are fourteen, all well known and beyond doubt. It should not, however, be concealed, that some have set aside the Epistle to the Hebrews, saying, that it was disputed, as not being one of St. Paul's epistles; but we shall in the proper place, also subjoin what has been said by those before our time respecting this epistle. As to what are called his Acts, I do not regard them among the works of undisputed authority. But as the same apostle in the addresses at the close of the Epistle to the Romans, has among others made

mention also of Hermas, of whom they say we have the book called Pastor, it should be observed, that this too is disputed by some, on account of whom it is not placed among those of acknowledged authority (ὁμολογουμενοι). By others, however, it is judged most necessary, especially to those who need an elementary introduction. Hence we know that it has been already in public use in our churches, and I have also understood by tradition, that some of the most ancient writers have made use of it. Let this suffice for the present, to show what books were disputed, what admitted by all in the sacred Scriptures.



# CHAPTER IV

## THE FIRST SUCCESSORS OF THE APOSTLES

THAT Paul preached to the Gentiles, and established churches from Jerusalem and around as far as Illyricum, is evident both from his own expressions, and from the testimony of Luke in the book of Acts. And in what provinces Peter also proclaimed the doctrine of Christ, the doctrine of the New Covenant, appears from his own writings, and may be seen from that epistle we have mentioned as admitted in the canon, and which he addressed to the Hebrews in the dispersion throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia. But how many and which of these, actuated by a genuine zeal, were judged suitable to feed the churches established by these apostles, it is not easy to say, any farther than may be gathered from the writings of Paul. For he, indeed, had innumerable fellow-labourers, or as he himself calls them, fellow-soldiers in the church. Of these, the greater part are honoured with an indelible remembrance by him in his epistles, where he gives a lasting testimony concerning them. Luke also, in his Acts, speaking of his friends, mentions them by name. Timothy, indeed, is recorded as having first received the episcopate at Ephesus (εν Epheso παροικιας), as Titus, also, was appointed over the churches in Crete. But Luke, who was born at Antioch, and by profession a physician, being for the most part connected with Paul, and familiarly acquainted with the rest of the apostles, has left us in two inspired books, the institutes of that spiritual healing art which he obtained from them. One of these is his gospel, in which he testifies that he has recorded, "as those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses, and ministers of the word," delivered to him, whom also, he says, he has in all things followed. The other is his Acts of the Apostles, which he



composed, not from what he had heard from others, but from what he had seen himself. It is also said, that Paul usually referred to his gospel, whenever in his epistles he spoke of some particular gospel of his own, saying, "according to my gospel." But of the rest that accompanied Paul, Crescens is mentioned by him as sent to Gaul. Linus, whom he has mentioned in his Second Epistle to Timothy as his companion at Rome, has been before shown to have been the first after Peter, that obtained the episcopate at Rome. Clement also, who was appointed the third bishop of this church, is proved by him to have been a fellow-labourer and fellow-soldier with him. Beside, the Areopagite, called Dionysius, whom Luke has recorded in his Acts, after Paul's address to the Athenians, in the Areopagus, as the first that believed, is mentioned by Dionysius, another of the ancients, and pastor of the church at Corinth, as the first bishop of the church at Athens. But the manner and times of the apostolic succession shall be mentioned by us as we proceed in our course. Now let us pursue the order of our history.



# CHAPTER V

## THE LAST SIEGE OF THE JEWS AFTER CHRIST

AFTER Nero had held the government about thirteen years, Galba and Otho reigned about a year and six months. Vespasian, who had become illustrious in the campaign against the Jews, was then proclaimed sovereign in Judea, receiving the title of emperor from the armies there. Directing his course, therefore, immediately to Rome, he commits the care of the war against the Jews, into the hands of his son Titus; for after the ascension of our Saviour, the Jews, in addition to their wickedness against him, were now incessantly plotting mischief against his apostles. First, they slew Stephen by stoning him, next James the son of Zebedee, and the brother of John, by beheading, and finally James, who first obtained the episcopal seat at Jerusalem after the ascension of our Saviour, and was slain in the manner before related. But the rest of the apostles, who were harassed in innumerable ways, with a view to destroy them, and driven from the land of Judea, had gone forth to preach the gospel to all nations, relying upon the aid of Christ, when he said, "Go ye, teach all nations in my name." The whole body, however, of the church at Jerusalem, having been commanded by a divine revelation, given to men of approved piety there before the war, removed from the city, and dwelt at a certain town beyond the Jordan, called Pella. Here, those that believed in Christ, having removed from Jerusalem, as if holy men had entirely abandoned the royal city itself, and the whole land of Judea: the divine justice, for their crimes against Christ and his apostles, finally overtook them, totally destroying the whole generation of these evil-doers from the earth. But the number of calamities which then overwhelmed the whole nation; the extreme misery to which particularly the inhabitants of Judea

were reduced; the vast numbers of men, with women and children that fell by the sword and famine, and innumerable other forms of death; the numerous and great cities of Judea that were besieged, as also the great and incredible distresses that they experienced who took refuge at Jerusalem, as a place of perfect security; these facts, as well as the whole tenor of the war, and each particular of its progress, when, finally, the abomination of desolation, according to the prophetic declaration, stood in the very temple of God, so celebrated of old, but which now was approaching its total downfall and final destruction by fire; all this, I say, any one that wishes may see accurately stated in the history written by Josephus. It may, however, be necessary to state, in the very words of this writer, how about three hundred thousand that flocked from all parts of Judea at the time of the passover, were shut up in Jerusalem as in a prison. For it was indeed just, that in those very days in which they had inflicted sufferings upon the Saviour and Benefactor of all men, the Christ of God, destruction should overtake them, thus shut up as in a prison, as an exhibition of the divine justice. Passing by, then, the particular calamities which befel them, such as they suffered from the sword, and other means employed against them, I may deem it sufficient only to subjoin the calamities they endured from the famine. So that they who peruse the present history may know, in some measure, that the divine vengeance did not long delay to visit them for their iniquity against the Christ of God.



## CHAPTER VI

# THE FAMINE WHICH OPPRESSED THE JEWS

LET us, then, with the fifth book of Josephus's history again in our hands, go through the tragedy of events which then occurred. "It was equally dangerous," says he, "for the more wealthy to remain. For under the pretext of desertion, a man was slain for his wealth. But the madness of the rioters increased with the famine, and both kinds of misery were inflamed from day to day. Provisions were plainly nowhere to be had. Hence they burst into houses to search for food, and if they found any, they would scourge the owners as if they intended to deny they had it; but if they found none, they tortured them as if they had carefully concealed it. The bodies of the poor wretches, however, were evidence enough whether they had or had not. Some of them, therefore, that were yet sound in health, they supposed to have an abundance of food, but those that were wan and pallid they passed by; for it seemed absurd to kill men that were soon likely to die for want. Many secretly exchanged their property for a single measure of wheat, if they happened to be the more wealthy; of barley, if they were of the poorer sort. Then locking themselves in the most retired parts of their houses, some, from excessive hunger, ate the grain unprepared; others, however, baked it according as necessity or fear directed. As to a table, there was none set any where; but taking the food from the fire, they tore it asunder yet crude and raw. Wretched indeed was the fare, and a lamentable sight it was, where the most powerful grasped after all, and the weaker were constrained to mourn. For famine surpasses all other evils, but it destroys nothing so effectually as shame; for that which would otherwise demand some regard is contemned in this. Thus wives tore away the food from the very mouths of their husbands,

children from their parents, and what was most wretched of all, mothers from their infants; so that whilst their dearest children lay wasting in their arms, there was not shame enough to prevent them taking away the very drops that supported life. And even in doing this, they did not remain undiscovered; for whenever they saw a door locked, this was a sign that those within were taking food, and then immediately bursting open the doors they rushed in, and choked them, almost forcing the morsels out of their very throats. Old men were beaten that held back their food, and women were torn by the hair, if they concealed what they had in their hands. Nor was there any pity for gray hairs or for infants; but taking up the infants while clinging to the morsels, dashed them to the ground. But they were much more cruel to those who anticipated their entrance, and were devouring what they wished to seize, just as if they had been wronged by them. They also devised terrible modes of torture, to discover where there was any food. For by cruel devices to prevent every relief of nature, they caused the unhappy individual to suffer such torment, that the very recital makes one shudder at what he would endure, before he confessed that he had one loaf of bread, or that he had a single handful of wheat concealed. The tormentors themselves, however, suffered no want; for it might have been some palliation, if necessity had compelled them thus. But they did it with the view to exercise their ferocity and to provide for themselves for the following days. When any crept forth at night to the outposts of the Romans, for the purpose of collecting wild herbs and grass, these tormentors would go out to meet them, and when they seemed just to have escaped the hands of the enemy, the oppressors robbed them of whatever they brought. And very often, though they entreated them, and conjured them by the most awful name of God, to give them some part of that for which they had risked their lives, they notwithstanding gave them nothing. It was a happy circumstance yet, if, in addition to robbery, they were not also slain." This same author, after a few particulars, also says: "But with the hope of egress was cut off all hope of safety to the Jews, and the famine now penetrating deeply, was consuming the people by houses and families. The houses were filled with women and children that had thus perished; the byways with the

dead bodies of old men. But the boys and young men, swelling up, tottered and reeled like shadows through the markets, and then falling down, lay wheresoever the malady had overtaken them. The sick were not even able to bury their dead, and those yet in health and strength were loth to do it, both on account of the number of the dead, and the uncertainty of their own fate. Many, indeed, fell down and died upon those they were burying; many went to the sepulchres, even before they were overtaken by the struggles of death. There was, however, neither weeping nor lamentation, for the famine prevailed over all affection. With tearless eyes did they who were yet struggling with death, look on those that had gone to rest before them. A deep silence and deadly gloom pervaded the city. But more oppressive than all these, were the robbers that broke into the houses, now mere sepulchres, and spoiling the dead, and tearing off the garments of their bodies, went off with a laugh. They would also try the points of their swords in the dead bodies, and some of those that were lying yet alive, they thrust through, in order to try the edge of their weapons. But those that prayed them the relief of their arm and sword, they contemptuously left to be destroyed by the famine; whilst those expiring died with their eyes fixed upon the temple, and left the factious to survive them. These, at first, not bearing the effluvia from the dead bodies, ordered them to be buried out of the public treasury; afterwards, when they were not able to continue this, they threw the bodies from the walls into the ditches below. As Titus went around these, and saw them filled with the dead, and the deep gore flowing around the putrid bodies, he groaned heavily, and raising his hands, called God to witness that it was none of his work." After some additional remarks, Josephus proceeds: "I cannot hesitate to declare what my feelings demand. I think that had the Romans lingered to proceed against these guilty wretches, the city would either have been swallowed up by the opening earth, or overwhelmed with a flood, or, like Sodom, been struck with the lightning. For it bore a much more impious race than those who once endured such visitations. Thus, by the madness of these wretches, the whole people perished." In the sixth book, he also writes thus: "Of those that perished by the famine in the city, there fell an infinite number. The miseries that



befel them were indescribable; for at every house, wherever there was a shadow of food, there was war. The nearest relatives contended with one another, to seize the wretched supports of life. There was no belief that hunger was the cause, even when they saw the dying; but the robbers would search them whilst yet breathing, lest any one should pretend that he was dying, whilst he concealed food in his bosom. But the robbers themselves, with their mouths wide open for want of food, roved and straggled hither and thither, like mad dogs, beating the doors as if they were drunk; and for want of counsel, rushing twice or thrice an hour into the same houses. Indeed, necessity forced them to apply their teeth to every thing, and gathering what was no food, even for the filthiest of irrational animals, they devoured it, and did not abstain at last even from belts and shoes. They took off the hides from their shields and devoured them, and some used even the remnants of old straw as food; others gathered the stubble, and sold a very small weight of it for four Attic drachms. And why should we speak of the excessive severity of the famine as displayed by eating such inanimate objects? I am going to relate a piece of wickedness, such as is not recorded either by Greeks or barbarians. It is horrid to relate, and incredible to hear. And indeed, lest I should appear to deal in marvellous stories, I would cheerfully pass by this occurrence, if I had not innumerable witnesses still living. I should also deserve but cold thanks from my country, if I should pass by in carelessness what she in reality did suffer. A woman that dwelt beyond the Jordan, named Maria, the daughter of Eleazar, of the village Bathezor, signifying 'the home of hyssop,' distinguished for her family and wealth, having taken refuge at Jerusalem among the rest of the multitude, was shut up in the city with them. The tyrants had already robbed her of all her other possessions, as much as she had collected, and brought with her from beyond the river into the city. But as to the relics of her property, and whatever food she provided, the ruffians daily rushing in, seized and bore it away. A dreadful indignation overpowered the woman, and frequently reviling and cursing the robbers, she endeavoured by these means to irritate them against herself. But as no one either through resentment or pity would slay her, and she was weary of providing food for others,

and there was now no probability of finding it any where; the famine now penetrated the very bowels and marrow, and resentment raged more violently than the famine. Urged by frenzy and necessity as her councillors, she proceeded against nature herself. Seizing her little son, who was yet at her breast, she said, 'Wretched child! in the midst of war, famine, and faction, for what do I preserve thee? Our condition among the Romans, though we might live, is slavery. But even slavery is anticipated by famine, and the assassins are more cruel than either—come, be thou food to me, Fury to the assassins, and a tale for men, the only one yet wanting to complete the miseries of the Jews.' As she said this, she slew her son; then, roasting him, she ate one half herself, and covering over the rest, she kept it. It was not long before the murderers came in, and perceiving the fumes of the execrable food, they threatened immediately to slay her if she did not produce what she had prepared. She answered she had reserved a fine portion of it for them, and then uncovered the relics of her son. Horror and amazement immediately seized them. They stood mute with the sight. 'This is my own son,' said she, 'and the deed is mine. Eat, for I too have eaten, be not more delicate than a woman, nor more tender than a mother; but if you are so pious, and reject my offering, I have already eaten half, and let the rest remain for me.' After this, they indeed went trembling away, cowardly at least in this one instance, and yet scarcely yielding to the mother even this kind of food. Forthwith the whole city was filled with the dreadful crime, and every one placing the wickedness before his eyes, was struck with a horror as if it had been perpetrated by himself. Thenceforth the wretched people, overcome with hunger, only strove to hasten death; and it was a happiness yet for those who died before they heard and saw miseries like these." Such, then, was the vengeance that followed the guilt and impiety of the Jews against the Christ of God.



# CHAPTER VII

## THE PREDICTIONS OF CHRIST

TO these accounts it may be proper to add the sure prediction of our Saviour, in which he foretold these very events as follows: "But woe to them that are with child and those that give suck in those days; but pray that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath. But there shall be then great distress, such as has not been from the beginning of the world until now, neither may be." The historian, adding up the whole number of those slain, says, that eleven hundred thousand perished by famine and the sword, and that the rest, the factious and robbers, mutually informing against each other, after the capture, were put to death. Of the young men, the tallest, and those that were distinguished for beauty, were preserved for the triumph. Of the remaining multitude, those above seventeen were sent prisoners to labour at the mines in Egypt. But great numbers were distributed to the provinces, to be destroyed by the sword or wild beasts in the theatres. Those under seventeen were carried away to be sold as slaves. Of these alone, there were upwards of ninety thousand. All this occurred in this manner, in the second year of the reign of Vespasian, according to the predictions of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by his divine power foresaw all these things, as if already present at the time, who wept and mourned indeed at the prospect, as the holy evangelists show in their writings. These give us the very words that he uttered, when he said to this same Jerusalem, "If thou didst know, even thou, in this thy day, the things that belong to thy peace, but now they are hidden from thy eyes. For the days will come upon thee, and thy enemies shall cast a trench around thee, and shall encompass thee around, and shall every where shut thee in, and they shall level thee and thy children with the ground." Afterwards he speaks as if of the people: "For there shall be great distress upon earth, and wrath

upon this people, and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and they shall be carried away captive to all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the nations, until the times of the nations shall be fulfilled.” And again, “When ye shall see Jerusalem surrounded by armies, then know that her desolation has drawn near.”

On comparing the declarations of our Saviour with the other parts of the historian’s work, where he describes the whole war, how can one fail to acknowledge and wonder at the truly divine and extraordinary foreknowledge and prediction of our Saviour? Concerning the events, then, that befel the Jews after our Saviour’s passion, and those outcries in which the multitude of the Jews refused the condemnation of a robber and murderer, but entreated that the Prince of Life should be destroyed, it is superfluous to add to the statement of the historian. Yet it may be proper to mention, also, what things occurred that show the benignity of that all-gracious Providence that had deferred, their destruction for forty years after their crimes against Christ. During which time the greater part of the apostles and disciples, James himself, the first bishop there, usually called the brother of our Lord, still surviving, and still remaining at Jerusalem, continued the strongest bulwark of the place. Divine Providence yet bearing them with long-suffering, to see whether by repentance for what they had done, they might obtain pardon and salvation; and beside this long-suffering, it also presented wonderful prodigies of what was about to happen to those that did not repent; all which having been recorded by the historian already cited, it well deserved to be submitted to the view of our readers.



# CHAPTER VIII

## THE SIGNS THAT PRECEDED THE WAR

TAKING, then, the work of this author, read for yourself the account given by him in the sixth book of his history. "The wretched people," says he, "at this time were readily persuaded to give credit to the impostors and liars against God, but they neither believed nor paid regard to the significant and wonderful events that prognosticated the approaching desolation. On the contrary, as if struck with stupidity, and as if they had neither eyes nor understanding, they slighted the declarations of God. At one time, when a star very like a sword stood above the city, as also a comet that continued to be seen a whole year; at another, when before the rebellion and the commotions that preceded the war, whilst the people were collected at the feast of unleavened bread, on the eighth of the month of April, about the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone around the altar and the temple, as to seem a bright day. And this continued for half an hour. To the ignorant this appeared a good omen, but by the scribes it was immediately judged to refer to the events that took place at the issue. At the same festival also, a cow struck by the priest for sacrifice, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple. The eastern gate also of the inner temple, which was of brass and immense weight, and which at evening was scarcely shut by twenty men, and resting on iron-bound hinges, and secured with bolts very deeply sunk in the ground, was seen in the sixth hour of the night to open of itself. But not many days alter the feast, on the twenty-first of the month of Artimisinm (May), a wonderful spectre was seen, which surpasses all belief. And indeed, that which I am about to tell would appear a prodigy, were it not related by those who had seen it, and unless the subsequent miseries had

corresponded to the signs. For before the setting of the sun there were seen chariots and armed troops on high, wheeling through the clouds around the whole region, and surrounding the cities. And at the festival called Pentecost, the priests entering the temple at night, according to their custom, to perform the service, said they first perceived a motion and noise, and after this a confused voice, saying, 'let us go hence.' But what follows is still more awful.

“One Jesus, the son of Ananias, a common and ignorant rustic, four years before the war, when the city was most at peace and well regulated, coming to the festival, at which it was customary for all to make tabernacles at the temple, to the honour of God, suddenly began to cry out, ‘A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all people.’ This man went about crying through all the lanes, night and day. But some of the more distinguished citizens, being offended at the ominous cry, and enraged at the man, seized him, and scourged him with many and severe lashes. But without uttering a word for himself or privately to those present, he still persisted in the cries he had before uttered. The magistrates therefore, judging what it really was, a more than ordinary divine movement in the man, conducted him to the Roman governor. Then, though he was scourged to the bone, he neither entreated nor shed a tear. But, lowering his voice in as mournful a tone as was possible, he answered to every blow, ‘Alas, alas, for Jerusalem.’ ” The same historian relates a fact still more remarkable. He says, “that an oracular passage was found in the sacred writings, declaring that about this time a certain one proceeding from that region would obtain the sovereignty of the world.” This prediction, he supposed, was fulfilled in Vespasian. He, however, did not obtain the sovereignty over the whole world, but only over the Romans. More justly, therefore, would it be referred to Christ, to whom it was said by the Father, “Ask of me, and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.” Of whom, indeed, at this very time, “the sound of the holy apostles went throughout all the earth, and their words to the ends of the world.”





# CHAPTER IX

## OF JOSEPHUS, AND THE WORKS HE HAS LEFT

SINCE we have referred to his writings, it may be proper also to notice Josephus himself, who has contributed so much to the history in hand, whence and from what family he sprung. He shows this, indeed, in his own works, as follows. "Josephus, the son of Mattathias, a priest of Jerusalem, who at first himself fought against the Romans, and at whose affairs he was afterward of necessity present," was a man most distinguished, not only among 'his own countrymen, the Jews, but also among the Romans; so that they honoured him with the erection of a statue at Rome, and the books that he composed, with a place in the public library. He wrote the whole Antiquities of the Jews, in twenty books, and his history of the Jewish war in seven books, which he says were not only written in Greek, but also translated by him into his native tongue; in all which he is worthy of credit as well as in other matters. There are also two books of his which deserve to be read, on "The Antiquity of the Jews." In these he makes his reply to Apion, the grammarian, who had then written against the Jews; they contain also a refutation of others, who attempted to vilify the national peculiarities of the Jewish people. In the first book he gives us the number of the canonical writings called the Old Testament, such as are of undoubted authority among the Hebrews, setting them forth, as handed down by ancient tradition, in the following words.



# CHAPTER X

## THE MANNER IN WHICH JOSEPHUS MENTIONS THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

“WE have not therefore among us innumerable books that disagree and contradict each other, but only two and twenty, embracing the record of all history, and which are justly considered divine compositions. Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprehending both the laws and the tradition respecting the origin of man, down to his own death. This time comprehends a space of nearly three thousand years. But from Moses until the death of Artaxerxes, who reigned after Xerxes king of Persia, the prophets after Moses wrote the events of their day in thirteen books. The remaining four, comprehend hymns to the praise of God, and precepts for the regulation of human life. From Artaxerxes until our own times, the events are all recorded, but they are not deemed of authority equal with those before them, because that there was not an exact succession of the prophets. But it is evident from the thing itself, how we regard these books of ours. For in the lapse of so many ages, no one has dared either to add to them, or to take from them, or to change them, but it has been implanted in all Jews, from the very origin of the nation, to consider them as the doctrines of God, and to abide by them, and cheerfully to die for them, if necessary.” These declarations of this historian, I thought might be properly here subjoined. There is also another work, of no mean execution, by the same writer, “On the Supremacy of Reason,” which, indeed, is entitled by some Maccabaicum, because it contains the conflicts of those Hebrews that contended manfully for the true religion, as is related in the books called Maccabees. And at the end of the twentieth book of his Antiquities, the same author intimates, that he had purposed to write four books on God, and his existence, according to the

peculiar opinions of the Jewish nation; also on the laws, wherefore it is permitted by them to do some things, whilst others are forbidden. Other subjects, he says, are also discussed by him in his works. In addition to these, it seems proper to subjoin also the expressions that he uses at the close of his Antiquities, in confirmation of the testimony that we have taken from him. For when he accuses Justus of Tiberias, who, like himself, attempted the history of his own times, and convicts him of not writing according to truth, after upbraiding him with many other misdemeanours, he also adds the following language: "I am not, however, afraid respecting my writings, as you are; but have presented them to the emperors themselves, as the facts occurred almost under their eyes. For I was conscious of adhering closely to the truth in my narration, and hence was not disappointed in expecting to receive their testimony. To many others, also, did I hand my history, some of whom were present at the war, as king Agrippa and some of his relatives. For the emperor Titus desired so much that the knowledge of these events should be communicated to the world, that with his own hand he authorized their publication." And king Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters bearing testimony to their truth, of which Josephus subjoined two. But this may suffice respecting him. Let us now proceed to what follows in order.



# CHAPTER XI

## SIMEON RULED THE CHURCH OF JERUSALEM AFTER JAMES

AFTER the martyrdom of James, and the capture of Jerusalem, which immediately followed, it is reported, that those of the apostles and the disciples of our Lord, that were yet surviving, came together from all parts with those that were related to our Lord according to the flesh. For the greater part of them were yet living. These consulted together, to determine whom it was proper to pronounce worthy of being the successor of James. They all unanimously declared Simeon the son of Cleophas, of whom mention is made in the sacred volume, as worthy of the episcopal seat there. They say he was the cousin german of our Saviour, for Hegesippus asserts that Cleophas was the brother of Joseph.





## CHAPTER XII

# VESPASIAN COMMANDS THE DESCENDANTS OF DAVID TO BE SOUGHT

IT was also said that Vespasian, after the capture of Jerusalem, commanded all of the family of David to be sought, that no one might be left among the Jews who was of the royal stock, and that in consequence another very violent persecution was raised against the Jews.



## CHAPTER XIII

# ANENCLETUS, THE SECOND BISHOP OF ROME

AFTER Vespasian had reigned about ten years, he was succeeded by his son Titus; in the second year of whose reign, Linus, bishop of the church at Rome, who had held the office about twelve years, transferred it to Anencletus. But Titus was succeeded by Domitian, his brother, after he had reigned two years and as many months.



## CHAPTER XIV

# AVILIUS, THE SECOND BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

IN the fourth year of Domitian, Annianus, who was the first bishop of Alexandria, died, after having filled the office twenty-two years. He was succeeded by Avilius, who was the second bishop of that city.



## CHAPTER XV

# CLEMENT, THE THIRD BISHOP OF ROME

IN the twelfth year of the same reign, after Anencletus had been bishop of Rome twelve years, he was succeeded by Clement, who, the apostle, in his Epistle to the Philippians, shows had been his fellow-labourer, in these words: "With Clement and the rest of my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life."





# CHAPTER XVI

## THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT

OF this Clement there is one epistle extant, acknowledged as genuine, of considerable length, and of great merit, which he wrote in the name of the church at Rome, to that of Corinth, at the time when there was a dissension in the latter. This we know to have been publicly read for common benefit, in most of the churches, both in former times and in our own; and that at the time mentioned a sedition did take place at Corinth, is abundantly attested by Hegeſippus.



# CHAPTER XVII

## THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHRISTIANS UNDER DOMITIAN

DOMITIAN, having exercised his cruelty against many, and unjustly slain no small number of noble and illustrious men at Rome, and having, without cause, punished vast numbers of honourable men with exile and the confiscation of their property, at length established himself as the successor of Nero, in his hatred and hostility to God. He was the second that raised a persecution against us, although his father Vespasian had attempted nothing to our prejudice.



# CHAPTER XVIII

## OF JOHN THE APOSTLE, AND THE REVELATION

IN this persecution, it is handed down by tradition, that the apostle and evangelist John, who was yet living, in consequence of his testimony to the divine word, was condemned to dwell on the island of Patmos. Irenæus, indeed, in his fifth book against the heresies, where he speaks of the calculation formed on the epithet of Antichrist, in the above-mentioned revelation of John, speaks in the following manner respecting him. "If, however, it were necessary to proclaim his name (i. e. Antichrist) openly at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the revelation, for it is not long since it was seen, but almost in our own times, at the close of Domitian's reign." To such a degree, indeed, did the doctrine which we profess, flourish, that even historians that are very far from befriending our religion, have not hesitated to record the persecution and martyrdoms in their histories. These, also, have accurately noted the time, for it happened, according to them, in the fifteenth year of Domitian. At the same time, for professing Christ, Flavia Domitilla, the niece of Flavius Clemens, one of the consuls of Rome at that time, was transported with many others, as a punishment, to the island of Pontia.



# CHAPTER XIX

## DOMITIAN COMMANDS THE POSTERITY OF DAVID TO BE SLAIN

WHEN the same Domitian had issued his orders that the descendants of David should be slain; according to an ancient tradition, some of the heretics accused the descendants of Judas, as the brother of our Saviour, according to the flesh, because they were of the family of David, and as such, also, were related to Christ. This is declared by Hegesippus as follows.





# CHAPTER XX

## OF THE RELATIVES OF OUR LORD

“THERE were yet living of the family of our Lord, the grandchildren of Judas, called the brother of our Lord, according to the flesh. These were reported as being of the family of David, and were brought to Domitian, by the Evocatus. For this emperor was as much alarmed at the appearance of Christ as Herod. He put the question, whether they were of David’s race, and they confessed that they were. He then asked them what property they had, and how much money they owed. And both of them answered, that they had between them only nine thousand denarii, and this they had not in silver, but in the value of a piece of land containing only thirty-nine acres; from which they raised their taxes and supported themselves by their own labour. Then they also began to show their hands, exhibiting the hardness of their bodies, and the callosity formed by incessant labour on their hands, as evidence of their own labour. When asked also, respecting Christ and his kingdom, what was its nature, and when and where it was to appear, they replied, ‘that it was not a temporal nor an earthly kingdom, but celestial and angelic; that it would appear at the end of the world, when coming in glory he would judge the quick and dead, and give to every one according to his works.’ Upon which, Domitian despising them, made no reply; but treating them with contempt, as simpletons, commanded them to be dismissed, and by a decree ordered the persecution to cease. Thus delivered, they ruled the churches, both as witnesses and relatives of the Lord. When peace was established, they continued living even to the times of Trajan.” Such is the statement of Hegesippus. Tertullian also has mentioned Domitian thus: “Domitian had also once attempted the same against him, who was, in fact, a limb of Nero for cruelty; but I think, because he had yet some remains of reason, he very soon suppressed the persecution, even recalling

those whom he had exiled. But after Domitian had reigned fifteen years, and Nerva succeeded to the government, the Roman senate decreed, that the honours of Domitian should be revoked, and that those who had been unjustly expelled, should return to their homes, and have their goods restored.” This is the statement of the historians of the day. It was then also, that the apostle John returned from his banishment at Patmos, and took up his abode at Ephesus, according to an ancient tradition of the church.



## CHAPTER XXI

# CERDON, THE THIRD BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA

AFTER Nerva had reigned a little more than a year, he was succeeded by Trajan. It was in the first year of his reign, that Cerdon succeeded Avilius in the church of Alexandria, after the latter had governed it thirteen years. He was the third that held the episcopate there since Annianus. During this time, Clement was yet bishop of the Romans, who was also the third that held the episcopate there after Paul and Peter; Linus being the first, and Aneneletus next in order.



## CHAPTER XXII

# IGNATIUS, THE SECOND BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

ON the death of Evodius, who was the first bishop of Antioch, Ignatius was appointed the second. Simeon also was the second after the brother of our Lord, that had charge of the church at Jerusalem about this time.



# CHAPTER XXIII

## NARRATIVE RESPECTING THE APOSTLE JOHN

ABOUT this time also, the beloved disciple of Jesus, John the apostle and evangelist, still surviving, governed the churches in Asia, after his return from exile on the island, and the death of Domitian. That he was living until this time, it may suffice to prove, by the testimony of two witnesses. These, as maintaining sound doctrine in the church, may surely be regarded as worthy of all credit: and such were Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria. Of these, the former, in the second book against heresies, writes in the following manner: "And all the presbyters of Asia, that had conferred with John the disciple of our Lord, testify that John had delivered it to them; for he continued with them until the times of Trajan." And in the third book of the same work, he shows the same thing in the following words: "The church in Ephesus also, which had been founded by Paul, and where John continued to abide until the times of Trajan, is a faithful witness of the apostolic tradition." Clement also, indicating the time, subjoins a narrative most acceptable to those who delight to hear what is excellent and profitable, in that discourse to which he gave the title, "What Rich Man is saved?" Taking therefore the book, read it where it contains a narrative like the following: "Listen to a story that is no fiction, but a real history, handed down and carefully preserved, respecting the apostle John. For after the tyrant was dead, coming from the isle of Patmos to Ephesus, he went also, when called, to the neighbouring regions of the Gentiles; in some to appoint bishops, in some to institute entire new churches, in others to appoint to the ministry some one of those that were pointed out by the Holy Ghost. When he came, therefore, to one of those cities, at no great distance, of which some also give the name, and had



in other respects consoled his brethren, he at last turned towards the bishop ordained (appointed), and seeing a youth of fine stature, graceful countenance, and ardent mind, he said, 'Him I commend to you with all earnestness, in the presence of the church and of Christ.' The bishop having taken him and promised all, he repeated and testified the same thing, and then returned to Ephesus. The presbyter taking the youth home that was committed to him, educated, restrained, and cherished him, and at length baptized him. After this, he relaxed exercising his former care and vigilance, as if he had now committed him to a perfect safeguard in the seal of the Lord. But certain idle, dissolute fellows, familiar with every kind of wickedness, unhappily attached themselves to him, thus prematurely freed from restraint. At first they led him on by expensive entertainments. Then going out at night to plunder, they took him with them. Next, they encouraged him to something greater, and gradually becoming accustomed to their ways in his enterprising spirit, like an unbridled and powerful steed that has struck out of the right way, biting the curb, he rushed with so much the greater impetuosity towards the precipice. At length, renouncing the salvation of God, he contemplated no trifling offence, but having committed some great crime, since he was now once ruined, he expected to suffer equally with the rest. Taking, therefore, these same associates, and forming them into a band of robbers, he became their captain, surpassing them all in violence, blood, and cruelty. Time elapsed, and on a certain occasion they sent for John. The apostle, after appointing those other matters for which he came, said, 'Come, bishop, return me my deposit, which I and Christ committed to thee, in the presence of the church over which thou dost preside.' The bishop, at first, indeed was confounded, thinking that he was insidiously charged for money which he had not received; and yet he could neither give credit respecting that which he had not, nor yet disbelieve John. But when he said, 'I demand the young man, and the soul of a brother,' the old man, groaning heavily and also weeping, said, 'He is dead.' 'How, and what death?' 'He is dead to God,' said he. 'He has turned out wicked and abandoned, and at last a robber; and now, instead of the church, he has beset the mountain with a band like himself.' The apostle, on hearing this,

tore his garment, and beating his head, with great lamentation said, 'I left a fine keeper of a brother's soul! But let a horse now be got ready, and some one to guide me on my way.' He rode as he was, away from the church, and coming to the country, was taken prisoner by the outguard of the banditti. He neither attempted, however, to flee, nor refused to be taken; but cried out, 'For this very purpose am I come; conduct me to your captain.' He, in the mean time, stood waiting, armed as he was. But as he recognised John advancing towards him, overcome with shame he turned about to flee. The apostle, however, pursued him with all his might, forgetful of his age, and crying out, 'Why dost thou fly, my son, from me, thy father; thy defenceless, aged father? Have compassion on me, my son; fear not. Thou still hast hope of life. I will intercede with Christ for thee. Should it be necessary, I will cheerfully suffer death for thee, as Christ for us. I will give my life for thine. Stay; believe Christ hath sent me.' Hearing this, he at first stopped with downcast looks; then threw away his arms; then trembling lamented bitterly, and embracing the old man as he came up, attempted to plead for himself with his lamentations, as much as he was able; as if baptised a second time with his own tears, and only concealing his right hand. But the apostle pledging himself, and solemnly assuring him, that he had found pardon for him in his prayers at the hands of Christ, praying on his bended knees, and kissing his right hand as cleansed from all iniquity, conducted him back again to the church. Then supplicating with frequent prayers, contending with constant fastings, and softening down his mind with various consolatory declarations, he did not leave him, as it is said, until he had restored him to the church; affording a powerful example of true repentance, and a great evidence of a regeneration, a trophy of a visible resurrection."



# CHAPTER XXIV

## THE ORDER OF THE GOSPELS

THESE extracts from Clement may here suffice, both for the sake of the history and the benefit of the readers. Let us now also show the undisputed writings of the same apostle [John]. And of these, his Gospel, so well known in the churches throughout the world, must first of all be acknowledged as genuine. That it is, however, with good reason, placed the fourth in order by the ancients, may be made evident in the following manner. Those inspired and truly pious men, the apostles of our Saviour, as they were most pure in their life, and adorned with every kind of virtue in their minds, but common in their language, relying upon the divine and wonderful energy granted them; neither knew how, nor attempted, to propound the doctrines of their Master, with the art and refinement of composition. But employing only the demonstration of the divine Spirit, working with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ, displayed through them, they proclaimed the knowledge of the kingdom of heaven throughout the world. They bestowed but little care upon the study of style, and this they did, because they were aided by a co-operation greater than that of men. Paul, indeed, who was the most able of all in the preparations of style, and who was most powerful in sentiments, committed nothing more to writing than a few very short epistles. And this, too, although he had innumerable mysterious matters that he might have communicated, as he had attained even to the view of the third heavens, had been taken up to the very paradise of God, and had been honoured to hear the unutterable words there. The other followers of our Lord were also not ignorant of such things, as the twelve Apostles, and the seventy, together with many others; yet of all the disciples, Matthew and John are the only ones that have left us recorded comments, and even they, tradition says, undertook it from necessity. Matthew also having first proclaimed

the gospel in Hebrew, when on the point of going also to other nations, committed it to writing in his native tongue, and thus supplied the want of his presence to them, by his writings. After Mark and Luke had already published their gospels, they say that John, who during all this time was proclaiming the gospel without writing, at length proceeded to write it on the following occasion. The three gospels previously written, having been distributed among all, and also handed to him, they say that he admitted them, giving his testimony to their truth; but that there was only wanting in the narrative the account of the things done by Christ, among the first of his deeds, and at the commencement of the gospel. And this was the truth. For it is evident that the other three evangelists only wrote the deeds of our Lord for one year after the imprisonment of John the Baptist, and intimated this in the very beginning of their history. For after the fasting of forty days, and the consequent temptation, Matthew indeed specifies the time of his history, in these words: "But hearing that John was delivered up, he returned from Judea into Galilee." Mark in like manner writes: "After John was delivered up, Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, before he commenced the deeds of Jesus, in much the same way designates the time, saying, "Herod thus added yet this wickedness above all he had committed, and that he shut up John in prison." For these reasons the apostle John, it is said, being entreated to undertake it, wrote the account of the time not recorded by the former evangelists, and the deeds done by our Saviour, which they have passed by (for these were the events that occurred before the imprisonment of John), and this very fact is intimated by him, when he says, "this beginning of miracles Jesus made;" and then proceeds to make mention of the Baptist, in the midst of our Lord's deeds, as John was at that time "baptizing at Ænon near Salim." He plainly also shows this in the words "John was not yet cast into prison." The apostle, therefore, in his gospel, gives the deeds of Jesus before the Baptist was cast into prison, but the other three evangelists mention the circumstances after that event. One who attends to these circumstances, can no longer entertain the opinion that the gospels are at variance with each other, as the gospel of John comprehends the first events of Christ, but the others, the history

that took place at the latter part of the time. It is probable, therefore, that for these reasons John has passed by in silence the genealogy of our Lord, because it was written by Matthew and Luke, but that he commenced with the doctrine of the divinity, as a part reserved for him by the divine Spirit, as if for a superior. Let this suffice to be said respecting the gospel of John. The causes that induced Mark to write his, have already been stated. Luke also, in the commencement of his narrative, premises the cause which led him to write; showing that since many others had rashly undertaken to compose a narration of matters that he had already completely ascertained; in order to free us from their uncertain suppositions, he delivered in his own gospel the certain account of those things which he himself had fully received from his intimacy with Paul, and also, his intercourse with the other apostles. This may suffice respecting these. At a more proper time we shall endeavour also to state, by a reference to some of the ancient writers, what others have said respecting the sacred books. Besides the gospel of John, his first epistle is acknowledged without dispute, both by those of the present day, and also by the ancients. The other two epistles, however, are disputed. The opinions respecting the Revelation are still greatly divided. But we shall, in due time, give a judgment on this point, also from the testimony of the ancients.



# CHAPTER XXV

## THE SACRED SCRIPTURES ACKNOWLEDGED AS GENUINE, AND THOSE THAT ARE NOT

THIS appears also to be the proper place to give a summary statement of the books of the New Testament already mentioned. And here, among the first, must be placed the holy quaternion of the Gospels; these are followed by "The book of the Acts of the Apostles;" after this must be mentioned the epistles of Paul, which are followed by the acknowledged first Epistle of John, as also the first of Peter, to be admitted in like manner. After these, are to be placed, if proper, the Revelation of John, concerning which we shall offer the different opinions in due time. These, then, are acknowledged as genuine. Among the disputed books, although they are well known and approved by many, is reputed, that called the Epistle of James and Jude. Also the "Second Epistle of Peter," and those called "The Second and Third of John," whether they are of the evangelist or of some other of the same name. Among the spurious must be numbered, both the books called "The Acts of Paul," and that called "Pastor," and "The Revelation of Peter." Beside these, the books called "The Epistle of Barnabas," and what are called "The Institutions of the Apostles." Moreover, as I said before, if it should appear right, "The Revelation of John," which some, as before said, reject, but others rank among the genuine. But there are also some who number among these, the gospel according to the Hebrews, with which those of the Hebrews that have received Christ are particularly delighted. These may be said to be all concerning which there is any dispute. We have, however, necessarily subjoined here a catalogue of these also, in order to distinguish those that are true, genuine, and well authenticated writings, from those others which



are not only not embodied in the canon, but likewise disputed, notwithstanding that they are recognized by most ecclesiastical writers. Thus we may have it in our power to know both these books, and those that are adduced by the heretics under the name of the apostles, such, viz., as compose the gospels of Peter, Thomas, and Matthew, and others beside them, or such as contain the Acts of the Apostles, by Andrew, and John, and others, of which no one of those writers in the ecclesiastical succession has condescended to make any mention in his works; and indeed, the character of the style itself is very different from that of the apostles, and the sentiments, and the purport of those things that are advanced in them, deviating as far as possible from sound orthodoxy, evidently proves they are the fictions of heretical men; whence they are to be ranked not only among the spurious writings, but are to be rejected as altogether absurd and impious. Let us now proceed to the continuation of our history.



# CHAPTER XXVI

## MENANDER THE IMPOSTOR

MENANDER, who succeeded Simon Magus, exhibited himself in his conduct an instrument of diabolical wickedness, not inferior to the former. He, also, was a Samaritan, and having made no less progress in his impostures than his master, revelled in still more arrogant pretensions to miracles; saying that he was in truth the Saviour, once sent from the invisible worlds for the salvation of men; teaching also, that no one could overcome those angels who were the makers of the world, in any other way, than by being first initiated into the magic discipline imparted by him, and by the baptism conferred by him for this purpose. Of which, those who were deemed worthy would obtain perpetual immortality in this life; and being no more subject to death, but continuing here the same, would be exempt from old age, and be in fact immortal. This account may be easily confirmed from Irenæus; but Justin, in the same place where he mentions Simon, also adds the narrative respecting him as follows: “But we know that Menander, who was a Samaritan of the village Caparattæa, becoming a disciple of Simon, and likewise stimulated by the demons, came to Antioch, and deceived many by his magic arts. He persuaded those that followed him, that they should never die. And there are now some of his followers that make a profession of the same thing. It was indeed a diabolical artifice, by means of such impostors assuming the title of Christians, to evince so much zeal in defaming the great mystery of piety by magic arts; and to rend asunder by these means the doctrines of the church respecting the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the dead. Those, however, who called these their saviours, fell away from solid hope.”



# CHAPTER XXVII

## THE HERESY OF THE EBIONITES

THE spirit of wickedness, however, being unable to shake some in their love of Christ, and yet finding them susceptible of his impressions in other respects, brought them over to his purposes. These are properly called Ebionites by the ancients, as those who cherished low and mean opinions of Christ. For they considered him a plain and common man, and justified only by his exalted virtue, and that he was born of the Virgin Mary by natural generation. With them the observance of the law was altogether necessary; as if they could not be saved only by faith in Christ and a corresponding life. Others, however, besides these, but of the same name, avoided the absurdity of the opinions maintained by the former; not denying that the Lord was born of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost; and yet in like manner, not acknowledging his pre-existence, though he was GOD, the word and wisdom, they turned aside into the same irreligion; and evinced, as well as the former, great zeal in the observance of the ritual service of the law. They thought that all the epistles of the apostle (Paul) ought to be rejected; calling him an apostate from the law; and only using the gospel according to the Hebrews; they esteemed the others as of but little value. They also observe the Sabbath and other rites of the Jews, just like them, but on the other hand, they also celebrate the Lord's days very much like us, in commemoration of his resurrection. Whence, in consequence of such a course, they have also received their epithet, the name of Ebionites, exhibiting the poverty of their intellect. For it is thus that the Hebrews call a poor man.



# CHAPTER XXVIII

## CERINTHUS THE HERESIARCH

ABOUT the same time, we have understood, appeared Cerinthus, the leader of another heresy. Caius, whose words we quoted above, in "The Disputation," attributed to him, writes thus respecting him: "But Cerinthus, by means of revelations, which he pretended were written by a great apostle, also falsely pretended to wonderful things, as if they were showed him by angels, asserting, that after the resurrection there would be an earthly kingdom of Christ, and that the flesh, i. e. men, again inhabiting Jerusalem, would be subject to desires and pleasures." Being also an enemy to the divine Scriptures, with a view to deceive men, he said "that there would be a space of a thousand years for celebrating nuptial festivals." Dionysius also, who obtained the episcopate of Alexandria in our day, in the second book "On Promises," where he says some things as if received by ancient tradition, makes mention of the same man, in these words: "But it is highly probable that Cerinthus, the same that established the heresy that bears his name, designedly affixed the name (of John) to his own forgery. For one of the doctrines that he taught was, that Christ would have an earthly kingdom. And as he was a voluptuary, and altogether sensual, he conjectured that it would consist in those things that he craved in the gratification of appetite and lust; i. e. in eating, drinking, and marrying, or in such things whereby he supposed these sensual pleasures might be presented in more decent expressions; viz. in festivals, sacrifices, and the slaying of victims." Thus far Dionysius. But Irenæus, in his first book against heresies, adds certain false doctrines of the man, though kept more secret, and gives a history in his third book, that deserves to be recorded, as received by tradition from Polycarp. He says that John the apostle once entered a bath to wash; but ascertaining Cerinthus was within, he leaped out of the

place, and fled from the door, not enduring to enter under the same roof with him, and exhorted those with him to do the same, saying, "Let us flee, lest the bath fall in, as long as Cerinthus, that enemy of the truth, is within."





# CHAPTER XXIX

## NICOLAUS AND HIS FOLLOWERS

ABOUT this time also, for a very short time, arose the heresy of those called Nicolaites, of which also mention is made in the Revelation of John. These boasted of Nicolaus as their founder, one of those deacons who with Stephen were appointed by the apostles to minister unto the poor. Clement of Alexandria, in the third book of his Stromata, relates the following respecting him, "Having a beautiful wife, and being reproached, after the ascension of our Lord, with jealousy by the apostles, he conducted her into the midst of them, and permitted any one that wished to marry her. This they say was perfectly consistent with that expression of his, 'that every one ought to abuse his own flesh.' And thus those that adopted his heresy, following both this example and expression literally, rush headlong into fornication without shame. I have ascertained, however, that Nicolaus lived with no other woman than the one to whom he was married, but that his daughters continued in the state of virginity to advanced life; that his son also remained uncorrupt. It would appear, therefore, from these facts, that the introduction of his wife into the midst of the apostles, on account of jealousy, was rather the suppression of passion; and, therefore, abstinence from those pleasures that are so eagerly pursued, was inculcated by the expression, 'we ought to abuse the flesh.' For I do not think that, according to the saying of our Lord, he wished to serve two masters, the flesh and the Lord. They indeed say that Matthew thus taught to fight against and to abuse the flesh, not to give way to any thing for the sake of pleasure, and to cultivate the Spirit by faith and knowledge." But it may suffice to have said thus much concerning those who have attempted to mutilate the truth, and which again became extinct, sooner than said.



# CHAPTER XXX

## THE APOSTLES THAT LIVED IN MARRIAGE

CLEMENT indeed, whose words we have just cited, after the above-mentioned facts, next gives a statement of those apostles that continued in the marriage state, on account of those who set marriage aside. “And will they,” says he, “reject even the apostles? Peter and Philip, indeed, had children; Philip also gave his daughters in marriage to husbands, and Paul does not demur in a certain epistle to mention his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, in order to expedite his ministry the better.” Since, however, we have mentioned these, we shall not regret to subjoin another history worthy of record, from the same author, continued in the seventh book of the same work, Stromateus. “They relate,” says he, “that the blessed Peter, seeing his own wife led away to execution, was delighted, on account of her calling and return to her country, and that he cried to her in a consolatory and encouraging voice, addressing her by name: ‘Oh thou, remember the Lord!’ ” Such was the marriage of these blessed ones, and such was their perfect affection towards their dearest friends; and this account we have given in its proper place, as well adapted to the subject.



# CHAPTER XXXI

## THE DEATH OF JOHN AND PHILIP

THE time and manner of the death of Paul and Peter, and also the place where their bodies were interred after their departure from this life, has already been stated by us. The time when John died, has also, in some measure, been mentioned, but the place of his burial is shown from the epistle of Polycrates, who was bishop of the church of Ephesus, which epistle he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome, and at the same time makes mention of him (John) and the apostle Philip, and his daughters, thus: "For in Asia, also, mighty luminaries have fallen asleep, which shall rise again at the last day, at the appearance of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven, and shall gather again all the saints. Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters,—and another of his daughters, who lived in the Holy Spirit, rests at Ephesus. Moreover, John, that rested on the bosom of our Lord, who was a priest that bore the sacerdotal plate, and martyr and teacher, he also rests at Ephesus." This may suffice as to their death; and in the dialogue of Caius, which we mentioned a little before, Proclus, against whom he wrote his disputation, coinciding with what we have already advanced concerning the death of Philip and his daughters, speaks thus: "After this there were four prophetesses, the daughters of Philip at Hierapolis in Asia, whose tomb, and that of their father, are to be seen there." Such is his statement; but Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, mentions the daughters of Philip, tarrying in Cæsarea of Judea, and as endued with the gift of prophecy, in these words: "We came to Cæsarea, and having entered the house of Philip the evangelist, one of the seven, we abode with him. Now he had four virgin-daughters that prophesied." As we have thus set forth what has come to our knowledge respecting the apostles and the apostolical times, as also respecting the sacred books that they

have left us, both the disputed writings, though publicly used by many in most of the churches, and those that are altogether spurious, and far removed from the correct doctrine of the apostles, let us now proceed to our history in order.





# CHAPTER XXXII

## THE MARTYRDOM OF SIMEON, BISHOP OF JERUSALEM

AFTER Nero and Domitian, we have also been informed, that in the reign of the emperor whose times we are now recording, there was a partial persecution excited throughout the cities, in consequence of a popular insurrection. In this we have understood, also, that Simeon died as a martyr, who, we have shown, was appointed the second bishop of the church at Jerusalem. To this the same Hegesippus bears testimony, whose words we have already so often quoted. This author, speaking of certain heretics, superadds, that Simeon indeed, about this time having borne the accusation of Christian, although he was tortured for several days, and astonished both the judge and his attendants in the highest degree, terminated his life with sufferings like those of our Lord. But it is best to hear the writer himself, who gives the account as follows: "Of these heretics," says he, "some reported Simeon the son of Cleophas, as a descendant of David, and a Christian; and thus he suffered as a martyr, when he was a hundred and twenty years old, in the reign of the emperor Trajan, and the presidency of the consular Atticus." The same author says, "that as search was made for the Jews that were of the tribe of David, his accusers, as if they were descended from this family, were taken in custody." One might reasonably assert that this Simeon was among the witnesses that bore testimony to what they had both heard and seen of our Lord, if we are to judge by the length of his life, and the fact that the gospels make mention of Mary the daughter of Cleophas, whose son Simeon was, as we have already shown. But the same historian says, that there were others, the offspring of one of those considered brothers of the Lord, whose name was Judas, and that these lived until the same

reign after their profession of Christ, and the testimony under Domitian before-mentioned. He writes thus: "There are also those that take the lead of the whole church as martyrs, even the kindred of our Lord; and when profound peace was established throughout the church, they continued to the days of the emperor Trajan, until the time that the above-mentioned Simeon, the relative of our Lord, being the son of Cleophas, was waylaid by the heretics, and also himself accused for the same cause, under Atticus, who was of similar dignity. After he was tormented many days, he died a martyr, with such firmness, that all were amazed, even the president himself, that a man of a hundred and twenty years should bear such tortures. He was at last ordered to be crucified." The same author, relating the events of the times, also says, that the church continued until then as a pure and uncorrupt virgin; whilst if there were any at all, that attempted to pervert the sound doctrine of the saving gospel, they were yet skulking in dark retreats: but when the sacred choir of apostles became extinct, and the generation of those that had been privileged to hear their inspired wisdom had passed away, then also the combinations of impious error arose by the fraud and delusion of false teachers. These also, as there were none of the apostles left, henceforth attempted, without shame, to preach their false doctrine against the gospel of truth. Such is the statement of Hegesippus. Let us, however, proceed in our history.



## CHAPTER XXXIII

# TRAJAN FORBIDS THE CHRISTIANS TO BE SOUGHT AFTER

SO great a persecution was then commenced against our faith, in most places, that Plinius Secundus, one of the most distinguished governors, moved by the number of martyrs, communicated with the emperor respecting the multitudes that were put to death for their faith. At the same time he informed him, that as far as he had ascertained, they did nothing wicked or contrary to the laws; except that they rose with the morning sun, and sang a hymn to Christ as to a god; but that adultery, and murder, and criminal excesses like these, were totally abhorred by them: and that in all things they acted according to the laws. To this Trajan, in reply, issued a decree, the purport of which was, that no search should be made after those that were Christians, but when they presented themselves they should be punished. On this, the persecution in some measure seemed abated, in its extreme violence, but there were no less pretexts left for those that wished to harass us. Sometimes the people, sometimes the rulers of different places, would waylay us to ensnare us; so that without an open persecution, there were partial persecutions in the provinces, and many of the faithful endured martyrdoms of various kinds. We have taken the account from the Apology of Tertullian, in Latin, mentioned above, of which the translation is as follows: "And indeed," says he, "we have found that the inquisition against us is prohibited. For Plinius Secundus, who was governor of the province, having condemned certain Christians, and deprived them of their dignity, was confounded by the great number, and in doubt what course he should pursue. He communicated, therefore, the fact to Trajan the emperor, saying, that with the exception of their not being willing to sacrifice, he found nothing

criminal in them. He stated also this, that the Christians arose with the sun, and sang to Christ as to a god; and that for the purpose of maintaining their discipline, they prohibited adultery, murder, over-reaching, fraud, and all crimes like them. To this Trajan wrote in reply, that the Christians should not be inquired after, but when they presented themselves they should be punished.” And such were the circumstances attending these events.



## CHAPTER XXXIV

# EVARESTUS, THE FOURTH BISHOP OF THE CHURCH AT ROME

IN the third year of the above-mentioned reign, Clement, bishop of Rome, committed the episcopal charge to Evarestus, and departed this life, after superintending the preaching of the divine word nine years.





## CHAPTER XXXV

# JUSTUS, THE THIRD BISHOP OF JERUSALEM

SIMEON also having died in the manner shown above, a certain Jew named Justus succeeded him in the episcopate of Jerusalem; as there were great numbers from the circumcision, that came over to the Christian faith at that time, of whom Justus was one.



# CHAPTER XXXVI

## THE EPISTLES OF IGNATIUS

ABOUT this time flourished Polycarp in Asia, an intimate disciple of the apostles, who received the episcopate of the church at Smyrna, at the hands of the eye-witnesses and servants of the Lord. At this time, also, Papias was well known as bishop of the church at Hierapolis, a man well skilled in all manner of learning, and well acquainted with the Scriptures. Ignatius, also, who is celebrated by many even to this day, as the successor of Peter at Antioch, was the second that obtained the episcopal office there. Tradition says that he was sent away from Syria to Rome, and was cast as food to wild beasts, on account of his testimony to Christ; and that being carried through Asia under a most rigid custody, he fortified the different churches in the cities where he tarried, by his discourses and exhortations, particularly cautioning them against the heresies which even then were springing up and prevailing. He exhorted them to adhere firmly to the tradition of the apostles; which, for the sake of greater security, he deemed it necessary to attest by committing it to writing. When, therefore, he came to Smyrna, where Polycarp was, he wrote one epistle, viz. that to the church of Ephesus, in which he mentions its pastor Onesimus; another, also, to the church in Magnesia, which is situated on the Meander, in which again he makes mention of Damas the bishop; another, also, to the church of the Trallians, of which he states that Polybius was then bishop. To these must be added, the epistle to the church at Rome, which also contains an exhortation, not to disappoint him in his ardent hope, by refusing to endure martyrdom. Of these, it is worth while also to subjoin very short extracts, by way of specimen. He writes, therefore, in the following manner: "From Syria, to Rome, I am contending with wild beasts by land and sea, by night and day, being tied to ten leopards, the number of the military band, who, even when treated

with kindness, only behave with greater ferocity. But in the midst of these iniquities, I am learning. Yet I am not justified on this account. May I be benefited by those beasts that are in readiness for me, which I also pray may be quickly found for me, which also I shall entice and flatter to devour me quickly, and not to be afraid of me, as of some whom they did not touch. But should they perchance be unwilling, I will force them. Pardon me; I know what advantage it will confer. Now I begin to be a disciple. Nothing, whether of things visible or invisible, excites my ambition, as long as I can gain Christ. Whether fire, or the cross, the assault of wild beasts, the tearing asunder of my bones, the breaking of my limbs, the bruising of my whole body, let the tortures of the devil all assail me, if I do but gain Christ Jesus.” This he wrote from the above-mentioned city to the aforesaid churches. But after he had left Smyrna, he wrote an exhortation from Troas to those in Philadelphia, and particularly to Polycarp, who was bishop there; he designates him an apostolical man, and a good and faithful shepherd, and commends the flock of Antioch to him, requesting him to exercise a diligent oversight of the church. Writing to the Smyrnians, he has also employed words respecting Jesus (I know not whence they are taken), to the following effect. “But I know and believe that he was seen after the resurrection, and that he said to those that came to Peter, ‘take, handle me, and see that I am not an incorporeal spirit;’ and they immediately touched him and believed.” Irenæus, also, knew his martyrdom, and makes mention of his epistles, as follows: “As some one of our faith has said, who was condemned to the wild beasts, ‘I am the food of God, and am ground by the teeth of wild beasts, that I may be found pure bread.’ ” Polycarp also makes mention of these same epistles, in the Epistle to the Philippians that bears his name, in the following words: “I exhort you, therefore, all to yield obedience, and to exercise all the patience which you see with your own eyes, not only in the blessed martyrs Ignatius and Rufus, and Zosimus, but likewise in others of your fellow-citizens, as also in Paul and the other apostles, being persuaded that all these did not run in vain, but in faith and righteousness, and that they are gone to the place destined for them by the Lord, for whom also they suffered. For they did not love the world that now is, but him that

died for us, and that was raised again by God.” And afterwards he writes: “You have also written to me, both you and Ignatius, that if any one is going to Syria, he should carry your letters thither, which shall be done if I find a suitable opportunity, either by me or the one that I send on this errand to you. The epistles of Ignatius that were sent to us by him, I have sent you at your request, and they are appended to this epistle, from which you will be able to derive great benefit: for they contain faith, and patience, and all edification pertaining to our Lord.” Thus much respecting Ignatius. But he was succeeded in the episcopal office at Antioch by Heros.



# CHAPTER XXXVII

## THE PREACHING EVANGELISTS THAT WERE YET LIVING IN THAT AGE

OF those that flourished in these times, Quadratus is said to have been distinguished for his prophetic gifts. There were many others, also, noted in these times, who held the first rank in the apostolic succession. These, as the holy disciples of such men, also built up the churches where foundations had been previously laid in every place by the apostles. They augmented the means of promulgating the gospel more and more, and spread the seeds of salvation and of the heavenly kingdom throughout the world far and wide. For the most of the disciples at that time, animated with a more ardent love of the divine word, had first fulfilled the Saviour's precept by distributing their substance to the needy: afterwards leaving their country, they performed the office of evangelists to those who had not yet heard the faith, whilst, with a noble ambition to proclaim Christ, they also delivered to them the books of the holy gospels. After laying the foundation of the faith in foreign parts as the particular object of their mission, and after appointing others as shepherds of the flocks, and committing to these the care of those that had been recently introduced, they went again to other regions and nations, with the grace and co-operation of God. The Holy Spirit also still wrought many wonders through them, so that as soon as the gospel was heard, men voluntarily, in crowds, and eagerly, embraced the true faith with their whole minds. As it is impossible for us to give the numbers of the individuals that became pastors or evangelists, during the first immediate succession from the apostles in the churches throughout the world, we have only recorded those by name in our history, of whom we have received the traditional account, as it is

delivered in the various comments on the apostolic doctrine still extant.





# CHAPTER XXXVIII

## THE EPISTLE OF CLEMENT, AND THOSE THAT ARE FALSELY ASCIBED TO HIM

WE may mention as an instance what Ignatius has said in the epistles we have cited, and Clement in that universally received by all, which he wrote in the name of the church at Rome to that of Corinth, in which, after giving many sentiments taken from the epistle to the Hebrews, and also literally quoting the words, he most clearly shows that this work is by no means a late production; whence it is probable that this was also numbered with the other writings of the apostles; for as Paul had addressed the Hebrews in the language of his country, some say that the evangelist Luke, others that Clement, translated the epistle: which also appears more like the truth, as the epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews preserve the same features of style and phraseology, and because the sentiments in both these works are not very different. It should also be observed, that there is a second epistle ascribed to Clement: but we know not that this is as highly approved as the former, and know not that it has been in use with the ancients. There are also other writings reported to be his, verbose and of great length. Lately, and some time ago, those were produced that contain the dialogues of Peter and Apion, of which, however, not a syllable is recorded by the primitive church, for they do not preserve the pure impress of apostolic orthodoxy. The epistle, therefore, of Clement, that is acknowledged as genuine, is evident. But sufficient has been said on the writings of Ignatius and Polycarp.



# CHAPTER XXXIX

## THE WRITINGS OF PAPIAS

THERE are said to be five books of Papias, which bear the title "Interpretation of our Lord's Declarations." Irenæus, also, makes mention of these as the only works written by him, in the following terms: "These things are attested by Papias, who was John's hearer and the associate of Polycarp, an ancient writer, who mentions them in the fourth book of his works; for he has written a work in five books." So far Irenæus. But Papias himself, in the preface to his discourses, by no means asserts that he was a hearer and an eye-witness of the holy apostles, but informs us that he received the doctrines of faith from their intimate friends, which he states in the following words: "But I shall not regret to subjoin to my interpretations, also for your benefit, whatsoever I have at any time accurately ascertained and treasured up in my memory, as I have received it from the elders, and have recorded it in order to give additional confirmation to the truth, by my testimony. For I have never, like many, delighted to hear those that tell many things, but those that teach the truth, neither those that record foreign precepts, but those that are given from the Lord, to our faith, and that came from the truth itself. But if I met with any one who had been a follower of the elders any where, I made it a point to inquire what were the declarations of the elders; what was said by Andrew, Peter or Philip; what by Thomas, James, John, Matthew, or any other of the disciples of our Lord; what was said by Aristion, and the presbyter John, disciples of the Lord; for I do not think that I derived so much benefit from books as from the living voice of those that are still surviving." Where it is also proper to observe the name of John is twice mentioned, the former of which he mentions with Peter and James and Matthew, and the other apostles; evidently meaning the evangelist. But in a separate point of his discourse he ranks the other John, with the

rest not included in the number of apostles, placing Aristion before him: he distinguishes him plainly by the name of presbyter. So that it is here proved that the statement of those is true, who assert there were two of the same name in Asia, that there were also two tombs in Ephesus, and that both are called John even to this day; which it is particularly necessary to observe. For it is probable that the second, if it be not allowed that it was the first, saw the revelation ascribed to John. And the same Papias, of whom we now speak, professes to have received the declarations of the apostles from those that were in company with them, and says also that he was a hearer of Aristion and the presbyter John. For as he has often mentioned them by name, he also gives their statements in his own works. These matters, I trust, have not been uselessly adduced. But it may be important also to subjoin other declarations to these passages from Papias, in which he gives certain wonderful accounts, together with other matters that he seems to have received by tradition. That the apostle Philip continued at Hierapolis, with his daughters, has been already stated above; but we must now show how Papias, coming to them, received a wonderful account from the daughters of Philip; for he writes that in his time there was one raised from the dead. Another wonderful event happened respecting Justus, surnamed Barsabas, who, though he drank a deadly poison, experienced nothing injurious, through the grace of the Lord. This same Justus is mentioned in the book of Acts, after the resurrection, as the one over whom, together with Matthias, the holy apostles prayed, in order to fill up their number, by casting lots, to supply the place of Judas the traitor. The passage is as follows: "And they placed two, Joseph, called Barsabas, who was surnamed Justus, and Matthias. And having prayed, they said." The same historian also gives other accounts, which he says he adds as received by him from unwritten tradition, likewise certain strange parables of our Lord and of his doctrine, and some other matters rather too fabulous. In these he says there would be a certain millennium after the resurrection, and that there would be a corporeal reign of Christ on this very earth; which things he appears to have imagined, as if they were authorized by the apostolic narrations, not understanding correctly those matters which they propounded

mystically in their representations. For he was very limited in his comprehension, as is evident from his discourses, yet he was the cause why most of the ecclesiastical writers, urging the antiquity of the man, were carried away by a similar opinion; as, for instance, Irenæus, or any other that adopted such sentiments. He has also inserted in his work other accounts given by the above-mentioned Aristion, respecting our Lord, as also the traditions of the presbyter John, to which referring those that are desirous of learning them, we shall now subjoin to the extracts from him already given, a tradition which he sets forth concerning Mark, who wrote the gospel, in the following words: "And John the presbyter also said this: Mark being the interpreter of Peter, whatsoever he recorded he wrote with great accuracy, but not, however, in the order in which it was spoken or done by our Lord, for he neither heard nor followed our Lord, but as before said, he was in company with Peter, who gave him such instruction as was necessary, but not to give a history of our Lord's discourses: wherefore Mark has not erred in any thing, by writing some things as he has recorded them; for he was carefully attentive to one thing, not to pass by any thing that he heard, or to state any thing falsely in these accounts." Such is the account of Papias, respecting Mark. Of Matthew he has stated as follows: "Matthew composed his history in the Hebrew dialect, and every one translated it as he was able." The same author (Papias) made use of testimonies from the first epistle of John, and likewise from that of Peter. He also gives another history of a woman, who had been accused of many sins before the Lord, which is also contained in the gospel according to the Hebrews. And this may be noted as a necessary addition to what we have before stated.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK IV





# CHAPTER I

## THE BISHOPS OF ROME AND ALEXANDRIA, IN THE REIGN OF TRAJAN

ABOUT the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan, the bishop of the church of Alexandria, who was mentioned by us a little before, departed this life. Primus was the fourth from the apostles to whom the functions of the office were there allotted. At the same time also, after Euarestus had completed the eighth year as bishop of Rome, he was succeeded in the episcopal office by Alexander, the fifth in the succession from Peter and Paul.



## CHAPTER II

# THE CALAMITIES OF THE JEWS ABOUT THIS TIME

THE doctrines of our Saviour, and the church flourishing from day to day, continued to receive constant accessions; but the calamities of the Jews also continued to grow with one accumulation of evil upon another. The emperor was now advancing into the eighteenth year of his reign, and another commotion of the Jews being raised, he destroyed a very great number of them. For in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and also in Cyrene, as if actuated by some terrible and tempestuous spirit, they rushed upon seditious measures against the Greeks of the same place. Having increased the insurrection to a great extent, they excited no inconsiderable war the following year, when Lupus was governor of all Egypt. And in the first conflict, indeed, it happened that they prevailed over the Greeks; who, retreating into Alexandria, took and destroyed the Jews that were found in the city. But the Jews of Cyrene, being deprived of their assistance, after laying waste the country of Egypt, also proceeded to destroy its districts, under their leader Lucuas. Against these the emperor sent Marcius Turbo, with foot and naval forces, besides cavalry. He, however, protracting the war a long time against them in many battles, slew many thousand Jews, not only of Cyrene, but also of Egypt that, had joined them, together with their leader Lucuas. But the emperor suspecting that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also make an attack upon those there, ordered Lucius Quietus to clear the province of them, who also led an army against them, and slew a great multitude of them. Upon which victory, he was appointed governor of Judea by the emperor. These things are recorded by the Greek writers of the day, in nearly the same words.



## CHAPTER III

# THE AUTHORS THAT WROTE IN THE DEFENCE OF THE FAITH, IN THE REIGN OF ADRIAN

TRAJAN having held the sovereignty for twenty years, wanting six months, was succeeded in the imperial office by Ælius Adrian. To him, Quadratus addressed a discourse, as an apology for the religion that we profess; because certain malicious persons attempted to harass our brethren. The work is still in the hands of some of the brethren, as also in our own, from which any one may see evident proof, both of the understanding of the man, and of his apostolic faith.

This writer shows the antiquity of the age in which he lived, in these passages: "The deeds of our Saviour," says he, "were always before you, for they were true miracles; those that were healed, those that were raised from the dead, who were seen, not only when healed, and when raised, but were always present. They remained living a long time, not only whilst our Lord was on earth, but likewise when he had left the earth: so that some of them have also lived to our own times." Such was Quadratus. Aristides, also, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, like Quadratus, has left to posterity a defence of the faith, addressed to Adrian. This work is also preserved by a great number, even to the present day.



## CHAPTER IV

# THE BISHOPS OF ALEXANDRIA AND ROME, UNDER THE SAME EMPEROR

IN the third year of the same reign, Alexander, bishop of Rome, died, having completed the tenth year of his ministrations. Xystus was his successor; and about the same time Primus dying, in the twelfth year of the episcopate, was succeeded by Justus.





# CHAPTER V

## THE BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM FROM THE PERIOD OF OUR SAVIOUR UNTIL THESE TIMES

WE have not ascertained in any way, that the times of the bishops in Jerusalem have been regularly preserved on record, for tradition says that they all lived but a very short period. Thus much, however, I have learned from writers, that down to the invasion of the Jews under Adrian, there were fifteen successions of bishops in that church, all of whom, they say, were Hebrews, and received the knowledge of Christ pure and unadulterated; so that, in the estimation of those who were able to judge, they were well approved, and worthy of the episcopal office. For at that time, the whole church under them consisted of faithful Hebrews, who continued from the time of the apostles, until the siege that then took place. The Jews then again revolting from the Romans, were subdued and captured, after very severe conflicts. In the mean time, as the bishops from the circumcision failed, it may be necessary now to recount them in order, from the first. The first, then, was James, called the brother of our Lord; after whom, the second was Simeon, the third Justus, the fourth Zaccheus, the fifth Tobias, the sixth Benjamin, the seventh John, the eighth Matthew, the ninth Philip, the tenth Seneca, the eleventh Justus, the twelfth Levi, the thirteenth Ephres, the fourteenth Joseph, and finally, the fifteenth Judas. These are all the bishops of Jerusalem that filled up the time from the apostles until the above-mentioned period, all of whom were of the circumcision. And Adrian being now in the twelfth year of his reign, Xystus, who had now completed the tenth year of his episcopate, was succeeded by Telesphorus, the seventh in succession from the apostles. In the mean time, however, after the lapse of a year and some months,

Eumenes succeeded, the sixth in order, in the episcopate of Alexandria, his predecessor having filled the office eleven years.



# CHAPTER VI

## THE LAST SIEGE OF THE JEWS UNDER ADRIAN

AS the revolt of the Jews again proceeded to many and great excesses, Rufus, who was lieutenant-governor of Judea, having received an augmentation of forces from the emperor, and using the madness of the people as a pretext, destroyed, without mercy, myriads of men, women, and children in crowds; and by the laws of war, reduced their country to a state of absolute subjection. The Jews were then led on by one Barchochebas, signifying a star, but who was in other respects a murderer and robber. But by means of his assumed title, among a degraded race, now reduced to the condition of slaves, he pretended to many miracles, as if he were a light descending from heaven, whose object was to cheer them in their oppression. But in the eighteenth year of the reign of Adrian, when the war had reached its height at the city of Bitthera, a very strong fortress, not very far from Jerusalem, the siege was continued for some time, and the revolted were driven to the last extreme by hunger and famine. The author of their madness had also suffered his just punishment, and the whole nation from that time were totally prohibited, by the decree and commands of Adrian, from even entering the country about Jerusalem, so that they could not behold the soil of their fathers even at a distance. Such is the statement of Aristo of Pella. The city of the Jews being thus reduced to a state of abandonment for them, and totally stripped of its ancient inhabitants, and also inhabited by strangers; the Roman city which subsequently arose, changing its name, was called *Ælia*, in honour of the emperor *Ælius Adrian*; and when the church of the Gentiles was collected there, the first bishop after those of the circumcision was Marcus.



## CHAPTER VII

# THOSE WHO WERE CONSIDERED LEADERS IN FALSE DOCTRINE AT THIS TIME

AS the churches now were reflecting the light like splendid luminaries throughout the world, and the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ was spreading so as to embrace the whole human race, the malignant spirit of iniquity, as the enemy of all truth, and always the most violent enemy to the salvation of men, was now devising every species of machination against the church, as he had already armed himself against it by former persecutions. When, however, cut off from these, he then waged a war by other methods, in which he employed the agency of wicked impostors as certain abandoned instruments and minions of destruction. Intent upon every course, he instigated these insidious impostors and deceivers, by assuming the same name with us (Christians), to lead those believers whom they happened to seduce to the depths of destruction, and by their presumption, also to turn those that were ignorant of the faith, from the path that led to the saving truth of God. Hence a certain double-headed and double-tongued serpentine power, proceeding from that Menander whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Simon, produced two leaders of different heresies; Saturninus, a native of Antioch, and Basilides, of Alexandria. The former of these established schools of impious heresy in Syria, the latter in Egypt. Irenæus, indeed, states, that in most respects Saturninus held the same false doctrines with Menander, but that Basilides, under the pretext of matters too deep to be divulged, stretched his inventions to a boundless extent, in his astonishing fictions of impious heresy. But as there were at the time many ecclesiastical writers, who contended for the truth, and defended the doctrine of

the apostles and the church, with more than common learning, so there were also some who, by publishing their writings, furnished preventives by the way against these heresies. Of these, the best refutation of Basilides that has come down to us, is that of Agrippa Castor, one of the most distinguished writers of that day. In his refutation he fully exposes the dreadful imposture of the man, and reveals his pretended mysteries. He says, that he composed twenty-four books upon the gospels, and that he mentions Barcabbas, and Barcoph, as prophets, and invents others for himself that never existed. That he also gave them certain barbarous names, in order to astonish those the more who are easily ensnared by such things as these. That he taught also, it was indifferent for those that tasted of things sacrificed to idols, and were betrayed unwarily, to abjure the faith, in times of persecution. Like Pythagoras, he enjoined, also, upon his followers, a silence of five years. Other accounts, similar to these, are given by the above-mentioned author, respecting Basilides, in which he ably exposes the fallacy of his heresy. Irenæus also writes, that Carpocrates was contemporary with these, who was also the father of another heresy, called the heresy of the Gnostics.

These did not, like the former, wish to retain the magic arts of Simon in secret, but thought that they should be made public. So that, as if it were something great and glorious, they boasted of preparations of love potions, and of tutelary and dream-exciting demons, and other similar magic rites.

In accordance with these things, they also taught, that the basest deeds should be perpetrated by those that would arrive at perfection in the mysteries, or rather that would reach the extent of their abominations. So that, as they were accustomed to speak, one could in no other way escape the rulers of the world, unless by performing his part of obscenity to all. By the aid of such coadjutors, it happened, that the spirit of wickedness enslaved those that were led astray by them to their own destruction; whilst to the unbelieving Gentiles, they afforded abundant scope to slander the truth of God, as the report proceeding from them extended with its infamy to the whole body of Christians. In this way it happened, therefore, for the most part, that a certain

impious and most absurd suspicion was spread abroad among the unbelievers respecting us, as of those who had unlawful commerce with mothers and sisters, and made use of execrable food. These artifices, however, did not continue to advance far, as the truth nevertheless established itself, and in process of time shed abroad its own light more and more. Indeed, the machinations of its enemies were almost immediately extinguished by the power of truth; one sect rising after another, the first always passing away, and one in one way, and another in another, evaporating into speculations of many modes, and as many forms. But the splendour of the universal and only true church constantly advanced in greatness and glory, always the same in all matters under the same circumstances, and reflected its dignity, its sincerity, its freedom, and the modesty and purity of that divine life and temper which it inculcates, to all nations, both Greeks and barbarians. At the same time with the above heresy, the aspersions upon our religion were suppressed. For the doctrine that we hold has alone survived, has prevailed over all, and been universally acknowledged as surpassing all in dignity and gravity, in divine truths that evince a genuine and sound philosophy. So that no one, down to the present time, has dared to affix any calumny upon our faith, nor any such slander, such as was formerly so eagerly applied by those that rose up against us. Nevertheless, in those times the truth presented many champions that undertook its defence, not only by unwritten argumentations, but, also, by their written demonstrations against the prevailing heretical impieties.





# CHAPTER VIII

## THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS THEN FLOURISHING

AMONG these, Hegesippus holds a distinguished rank, many of whose writings we have already quoted, where we have given some things as he has delivered them from apostolic tradition. This author compiled, in five books, the plain tradition of the apostolic doctrine, in a most simple style of composition, and clearly shows the time in which he lived, where he writes respecting those that began to erect idols, as follows: "To whom they made cenotaphs and temples, as we see to this day. Among whom was Antinous, the slave of Adrian the emperor, to whose honour likewise games are celebrated, which has been done in our own days. For he (Adrian) also built a city, called after Antinous, and instituted prophets." At this time also, Justin, a true lover of sound philosophy, whilst he yet continued exercising himself in the literature of the Greeks, likewise shows this very time in his Apology to Antonine, as follows: "I do not think it out of place here, to mention Antinous of our own day, whom all, notwithstanding they knew who and whence he was, yet affected to worship as a god." The same author adds this remark, speaking of the Jewish war: "And, indeed, in the Jewish war which has happened in our times, Barchochebas, the leader of the Jewish revolt, commanded the Christians alone to be led to severe and dreadful tortures, unless they would deny and blaspheme Christ Jesus." In the same work, also, showing his own conversion from the Greek philosophy to religion to be the effect of cool deliberation and judgment, and not without good reason, writes as follows: "For whilst I was delighted with the doctrines of Plato, and heard the Christians calumniated, but at the same time saw them intrepid at the prospect of death, and every thing deemed terrific, I

reflected that it' was impossible they should live devoted to vice and voluptuousness. For what lover of pleasure, or intemperate man, or what man deeming human flesh a delicacy, could embrace death in order to be deprived of the objects of his own desires; and would not rather strive to live always to escape the eye of the magistrate, and not inform against himself, in the expectation of certain death?" The same author, moreover, relates, that Adrian, having received letters from Serenius Granianus, the most illustrious proconsul, respecting the Christians, in which he states, that it did not appear just to put the Christians to death without a regular accusation and trial, merely to gratify the outcries of the populace; wrote back to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, enjoining upon him to put no one to death, without an indictment and lawful accusation. Of this epistle, also, he (Justin) adds a copy in the Latin tongue, in which it was written. He also premises the following explanation. "Although we have good cause, from the epistle of your most illustrious father, the emperor Adrian, to request of you as we requested of him, that the Christians should be regularly tried; this we have requested, not so much because it was ordered by Adrian, as because we know that the object of our request is just. We have also subjoined a copy of Adrian's epistle, that you may know we declare the truth likewise in this. And here it follows." To this, the author adds the copy of the epistle, in the Latin tongue; and we have translated it into the Greek, according to the best of our abilities, as follows:



# CHAPTER IX

## THE EPISTLE OF ADRIAN, FORBIDDING THE CHRISTIANS TO BE PUNISHED WITHOUT TRIAL

“TO Minucius Fundanus. I have received an epistle, written to me by the most illustrious Serenius Granianus, whom you have succeeded. I do not wish, therefore, that the matter should be passed by Without examination, so that these men may neither be harassed, nor opportunity of malicious proceedings be offered to informers. If, therefore, the provincials can clearly evince their charges against the Christians, so as to answer before the tribunal, let them pursue this course only, but not by mere petitions, and mere outcries against the Christians. For it is far more proper, if any one would bring an accusation, that you should examine it. If any one, therefore, bring an accusation, and can show that they have done any tiling contrary to the laws, determine it thus according to the heinousness of the crime; and if any one should propose this with a view to slander, investigate it according to its criminality, and see to it that you inflict the punishment.” Such, then, is the copy of Adrian’s letter.



# CHAPTER X

## THE BISHOPS OF ROME AND ALEXANDRIA, IN THE REIGN OF ANTONINE

THIS emperor, (Adrian,) having finished his mortal career, after the twenty-first year of his reign, is succeeded by Antonine, called the Pious, in the government of the Romans. In the first year of this reign, and in the eleventh year of his episcopate, Telesphorus departed this life, and was succeeded in the charge of the Roman church by Hyginus. Irenæus, indeed, relates that Telesphorus was rendered illustrious by martyrdom; showing, at the same time, that under the above-mentioned Roman bishop Hyginus, Valentinus the founder of a peculiar heresy, and Cerdon the leader in the errors propagated by Marcion, were both notorious at Rome. His statement is as follows:





# CHAPTER XI

## THE HERESIARCHS OF THESE TIMES

“VALENTINE came to Rome under Hyginus, was in his prime under Pius, and lived until the time of Anicetus. But Cerdon, who preceded Marcion, and flourished under the episcopate of Hyginus, the ninth in succession, coming to the church, and acknowledging his error, continued in this way; at one time secretly teaching his doctrines, at another renouncing them again; and sometimes also, convicted of his perverse doctrines, prevented from assembling with the brethren.” Such is the account of Irenæus in the third book against the heresies. In the first, however, he relates the following respecting Cerdon: “A certain man, however, by name Cerdon, who derived his first impulse from the followers of Simon, and who made some stay at Rome, under Hyginus, the ninth that held the episcopate in succession from the apostles; taught that the God who had been proclaimed by the law and prophets, was not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the latter was revealed, the other was unknown; the former, also, was just, but the other was good. Marcion, who was from Pontus, having succeeded Cerdon, augmented his school by uttering his blasphemies without a blush. But the same Irenæus, having most dexterously unravelled the bottomless abyss of the errors enveloped in the Valentinian heresy, laid bare the wickedness concealed in it, like a serpent lurking in his nest.” Besides these, he says there was another (Marcus was his name), about the same time, who was a most perfect adept in magical illusions; and he describes also, their profane rites of initiation, and their abominable mysteries, in the following language: “Some of them,” says he, “prepare a nuptial bed, and perform the mystery of initiation with certain forms addressed to

the initiated. This, they say, is the spiritual marriage that has taken place with them, bearing form and resemblance to the marriages in heaven. Some conduct them to water, and baptizing them, repeat these words, 'into the name of the unknown Father of the universe, into the truth, the mother of all, into Jesus, into him that descended.' Others, again, repeated Hebrew names in order the better to confound the initiated." But Hyginus dying after the fourth year of his office, Pius received the episcopate, but at Alexandria Marcus was appointed the pastor, after Eumenes had filled the office thirteen years in all. Marcus also dying, after ten years of his ministrations, Celadin had charge of the church of Alexandria, and Pius dying at Rome in the fifteenth year of his episcopate, the church there was governed by Anicetus. At this time Hegesippus writes that he was at Rome, and continued there until the episcopate of Eleutherus. But Justin was the most noted of those that flourished in those times, who, in the guise of a philosopher, preached the truth of God, and contended for the faith, also, in his writings. In a work that he wrote against Marcion, he mentions, that at the time he wrote, the man was yet living. He states that there Was a certain Marcion from Pontus, still teaching those that believed him, to think that there is another God greater than God the creator; that the same person by the assistance of demons, persuaded many throughout the whole world, to utter blasphemy, and to deny that the Creator of all things was the Father of Christ; and that another who was greater than He, was the creator. But, as we said before, all the followers of these were called Christians, just as the name of philosophy is applied to philosophers, although they may have no opinions in common. To these he adds: "We have also written a work against all the heresies that have arisen, which we will give you to peruse if you wish." But this same Justin, after having contended with great success against the Greeks, addressed also other works, containing a defence of our faith, to the emperor Antonine, surnamed the Pious, and to the senate of Rome. He also had his residence at Rome, but he shows who and whence he was in the following extracts in his Apology.



## CHAPTER XII

# THE APOLOGY OF JUSTIN ADDRESSED TO ANTONINUS

“TO the emperor Titus Ælius Adrian Antoninus Pius Cæsar Augustus, and to Onesimus his son the philosopher, and to Lucius the natural son of Cæsar the philosopher, and the adopted son of Pius, a votary of learning; also, to the sacred senate and the whole Roman people, in behalf of those who of all nations are now unjustly hated and aspersed; I, Justin, the son of Priscus, the grandson of Bacchius of Flavia, the new city of Palestine, Syria, being one of their number, present this volume and address.” The same emperor was also addressed by others when the brethren in Asia were suffering under every kind of injury from the provincials, and honoured the people of Asia with an ordinance like the following:



# CHAPTER XIII

## THE EPISTLE OF ANTONINE, TO THE ASSEMBLY OF ASIA, RESPECTING OUR DOCTRINE

THE emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune of the people XV. Consul III. sends greeting, to the Assembly of Asia: "I know, indeed, that the gods themselves will take care that such men as these shall not escape detection. For it would more properly belong to them to punish those that will not worship them, than to you. And whilst you drive them into a tumult, you only confirm them the more in their mind, by accusing them as impious. And thus, to them it would be more desirable when arraigned, to appear to die for their God, than to live. Whence also, they may come off in triumph, when they yield up their lives in preference to a conformity with those things which you exact of them. But as to those earthquakes which have taken place and still continue; it is not out of place to admonish you who are cast down whenever these happen, to compare your own deportment with theirs. They, indeed, become on these occasions so much the more cheerful towards God, but you, the whole of this time in which you seem not to have correct knowledge, neglect both the gods and other duties, especially the worship of the Immortal. But the Christians who worship Him, you expel and persecute to death. Respecting these, however, many of the governors of the provinces also wrote to our most divine father. To whom, also, he wrote in reply, not to trouble them at all, unless they appeared to make attempts against the Roman government. Many also have sent communications to me respecting them, to whom also I wrote in reply, following the course pursued by my father. But if any still persevere in creating difficulties to any one of these because he is of this description, (i.

e. a Christian,) let him that is thus arraigned be absolved from crime, although he should appear to be such, but let the accuser be held guilty." This was published at Ephesus in the public convention of Asia. To these events Melito bears testimony, who was then bishop of Sardis, and well known at that time. This is clear from what he has said in that most excellent defence of our faith which he wrote and addressed to the emperor Verus.





## CHAPTER XIV

# CIRCUMSTANCES RELATED OF POLYCARP, AN APOSTOLIC MAN

ABOUT this time, when Anicetus was at the head of the Roman church, Irenæus says that Polycarp was yet living, and coming to Rome, had a conference with Anicetus, on a question respecting the day of the passover. He also gives another account of Polycarp, which should be added to what is already related respecting him. The story is taken from the third book of Irenæus against the heresies, and is as follows: "And Polycarp, a man who had been instructed by the apostles, and had familiar intercourse with many that had seen Christ, and had also been appointed bishop by the apostles in Asia, in the church at Smyrna; whom we also have seen in our youth, for he lived a long time, and to a very advanced age; after a glorious and most distinguished martyrdom, departed this life. He always taught what he had learned from the apostles, what the church had handed down, and what is the only true doctrine. All the churches bear witness to these things, and those that have succeeded Polycarp, to the present time, testify that he was a witness of the truth much more worthy of credit and much more certain than either Valentine or Marcion, or the rest of those perverse teachers. The same Polycarp, coming to Rome under the episcopate of Anicetus, turned many from the aforesaid heretics to the church of God, proclaiming the one and only true faith, that he had received from the apostles, viz., that which was delivered by the church. And there are those still living who heard him relate, that John the disciple of the Lord went into a bath at Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus within, ran out without bathing, and exclaimed, 'Let us flee lest the bath should fall in, as long as Cerinthus, that enemy of truth, is in it.' And the same Polycarp, once coming and meeting Marcion, who said, 'Acknowledge us,'

replied, 'I acknowledge the first-born of Satan.' Such caution did the apostles and their disciples use, so as not even to have any communion, even in word, with any of those that thus mutilated the truth, according to the declaration of Paul: 'An heretical man after the first and second admonition avoid, knowing that such an one is perverse, and that he sins, bringing condemnation upon himself.' There is, also, an excellent epistle of Polycarp to the Philippians, from which those that wish, and that have any concern for their salvation, may perceive both the character of his faith, and the doctrine of the truth." Such is the account of Irenæus. But Polycarp, in the epistle to the Philippians, still extant, has made use of certain testimonies taken from the first epistle of Peter. About this time Antonine, surnamed the Pious, having completed the twenty-second year of his, reign, was succeeded by his son Marcus Aurelius Verus, also called Antoninus, together with his brother Lucius.



## CHAPTER XV

# THE MARTYRDOM OF POLYCARP, IN THE REIGN OF VERUS, WITH OTHERS AT SMYRNA

AT this time, as there were the greatest persecutions excited in Asia, Polycarp ended his life by martyrdom. But I consider it all-important also to record his end in this history, as it is handed down in writings still extant. There is, however, an epistle of the church which he superintended, to the churches of Pontus, which shows what befel him, in the following words: "The church of God at Smyrna, to that of Philomelius, and to all parts of the holy universal church, every where, mercy, peace, and the love of God the Father, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied. We have written to you, brethren, the circumstances respecting the martyrs, and the blessed Polycarp, who, as if sealing it with his martyrdom, has also put a stop to the persecution." After these, before the account of Polycarp's death, they give the account of the other martyrs, and show what firmness they evinced against the tortures they endured. "For," say they, "those standing around, were struck with amazement, at seeing them lacerated with scourges, to their very blood and arteries, so that now the flesh concealed in the very inmost parts of the body, and the bowels themselves, were exposed to view. Then they were laid upon conch shells from the sea, and on sharp heads and points of spears on the ground, and after passing through every kind of punishment and torment, were at last thrown as food to wild beasts." But they relate that Germanicus, a most noble youth, was particularly eminent as a martyr; who, strengthened by divine grace, overcame the natural dread of death implanted in us; although the proconsul was desirous of persuading him, and urged him from considerations of his youth, and entreated him, that as he was so very young and

blooming he should take compassion on himself. He, however, hesitated not, but eagerly irritated the wild beast against him, all but forcing and stimulating him, that he might the sooner be freed from this unjust and lawless generation. On the glorious death of this one, the whole multitude, amazed at the courage of the pious martyr, and at the fortitude of the whole race of Christians, began to cry out, "Away with these wicked fellows, let Polycarp be sought." A very great tumult arising in consequence of these outcries, a certain Phrygian, Quintus by name, who had recently come from Phrygia, seeing the beasts and the additional tortures threatened, was so overcome by fear and shaken in his resolution, that he finally desired to save his life. The contents of the aforesaid epistle, show that this man had forwardly rushed forward to the tribunal with others, and not in a modest, retiring manner; and yet, when seized, he gave a manifest proof to all, that it is not proper for those in this situation to brave danger by rushing blindly and rashly upon it. Thus far, however, respecting these: but the admirable Polycarp hearing these things, continued unmoved, preserving his firm and unshaken mind, and, at first, had determined to remain there in the city; but persuaded by the entreaties of those around him, and exhorting him to leave the city secretly, he went forth to a farm not far from it. There he staid with a few friends, night and day engaged in nothing but constant prayer to the Lord, and imploring peace for all the churches throughout the world; for this had always been his practice. In this situation, three days before he was seized, in a vision at night, and during prayer, the pillow under his head seemed to him suddenly to take fire, and thus to be consumed. On this, waking out of sleep, he immediately began to interpret the vision to those present, almost foretelling the event that was about to take place, and plainly declaring to those around him, that it would be necessary for him to give up his life in the flames for Christ's sake. Those, however, that were in search of him, making every effort to discover him, he was again constrained by the affection and love of the brethren, to go away to another part of the country. Thither the pursuers came upon him, not long after, and caught two boys there, one of which they scourged in order to direct them to the retreat of Polycarp. Entering upon him at a late hour of the day,

they found him, indeed, resting in an upper room, whence, although he might easily have escaped to another house, he would not, saying: "The Lord's will be done;" and having understood also that they were come, as it is said, he descended and addressed the men with a very cheerful and mild countenance, so that those who did not know him before, thought they beheld a miracle, as they beheld the advanced age of the man, the gravity and firmness of his countenance; and were surprised that so much zeal should be exercised to seize a venerable old man like this. He, however, without hesitation, ordered a table to be immediately prepared for the men; then requested them to partake of food largely, and begged of them only one hour, that he might pray undisturbed. As they gave him permission, he arose and prayed, so full of the grace of the Lord, that those present who heard him were amazed, and many of them now repented, that so venerable and pious a man should be put to death. Beside these things, the above-mentioned epistle respecting him pursues the narrative as follows:

"After he had ended praying, and had in this remembered all that had ever been connected with him, small and great, noble and obscure, and the whole universal church throughout the world, when the hour came for him to go, they placed him upon an ass and conducted him to the city, it being a great Sabbath-day. He was met by Herod, who was the irenarch, and his father Nicetes; who, taking him into their vehicle, persuaded him to take a seat with them, and said, 'For what harm is there in saying Lord Cæsar, and to sacrifice, and thus save your life?' He, however, did not at first make any reply; but as they persevered, he said, 'I shall not do what you advise me.' Failing, therefore, to persuade him, they uttered dreadful language, and thrust him down from the car with great vehemence, so that as he descended from the car he sprained his thigh. But not at all moved from his purpose, as if nothing had happened, he eagerly went on, and was conducted to the stadium. But as there was so great an uproar in the place that not many could hear, a voice came from heaven to Polycarp as he entered the stadium: 'Be strong, Polycarp, and contend manfully.' No one saw who it was that spoke; but the voice itself was heard by many of our brethren. When he was led forward, however, a

great tumult arose among those that heard Polycarp was taken. At length, as he advanced, the proconsul asked him whether he was Polycarp, and he answering that he was—he persuaded him to renounce Christ, saying, ‘Have a regard for your age,’ and adding similar expressions, such as is usual for them to employ; he said, ‘Swear by the genius of Cæsar. Repent; say, Away with those that deny the gods.’ But Polycarp, with a countenance grave and serious, and contemplating the whole multitude that were collected in the stadium, beckoned with his hand to them, and with a sigh looked up to heaven, and said, ‘Away with the impious.’ As the governor, however, continued to urge him, and said, ‘Swear, and I will dismiss you. ‘Reville Christ!’ Polycarp replied; ‘Eighty and six years have I served him, and he never did me wrong; and how can I now blaspheme my King that has saved me?’ The governor still continuing to urge him, and again saying, ‘Swear by the genius of Cæsar,’ Polycarp replied, ‘If you are so vain as to think that I should swear by the genius of Cæsar, as you say, pretending not to know who I am, hear my free confession. I am a Christian. But if you wish to learn what the doctrine of Christianity is, grant me a day and listen to me.’ The proconsul said, ‘Persuade the people.’ Polycarp replied, ‘I have thought proper to give you a reason; for we have been taught to give magistrates and powers appointed by God, the honour that is due to them, as far as it does not injure us; but I do not consider those the proper ones before whom I should deliver my defence.’ The proconsul said, ‘I have wild beasts at hand, I will cast you to these unless you change your mind.’ He answered, ‘Call them. For we have no reason to repent from the better to the worse, but it is good to change from wickedness to virtue.’ He again urged him: ‘I will cause you to be consumed by fire, should you despise the beasts, and not change your mind.’ Polycarp answered, ‘You threaten fire that burns for a moment, and is soon extinguished, for you know nothing of the judgment to come, and the fire of eternal punishment reserved for the wicked. But why do you delay? Bring what you wish.’ Making these, and many other similar declarations, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his countenance was brightened with grace; so that he not only continued undismayed at what was said to him, but on the

contrary, the governor, astonished, sent the herald to proclaim in the middle of the stadium, 'Polycarp confesses that he is a Christian.' When this was declared by the herald, all the multitude, Gentiles and Jews dwelling at Smyrna, cried out, 'This is that teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our gods; he that teaches multitudes not to sacrifice, not to worship. Saying this, they cried out, and asked Philip the Asiarch, to let loose a lion upon Polycarp. But he replied, that he was not permitted, as he had already completed the exhibition of the chase in the amphitheatre. They all cried out together, that Polycarp should be burnt alive. For it seemed necessary that the vision which he saw on his pillow should be fulfilled; when seeing it on fire whilst he prayed, he turned to those few faithful friends with him, and said prophetically, 'I must be burnt alive.' These things were executed, however, with such haste that they were no sooner said than done. The crowd, however, forthwith collected wood and straw from the shops and baths; and the Jews, as usual, most freely offered their services for this purpose. But when the pile was prepared, laying aside all his clothes, and loosing his girdle, he attempted also to take off his shoes, which he had not been in the habit of doing before, as he always had some one of the brethren, that were soon at his side, and rivalled each other in their services to him; for he had always been treated with great respect on account of his exemplary life, even before his gray hairs. Immediately he was surrounded by the instruments of death prepared for the funeral pyre. As they were on the point of securing him with spikes, he said, 'Let me be thus. For he that gives me strength to bear the fire, will also give me power without being secured by you with these spikes, to remain unmoved on the pyre.' They, therefore, did not nail him, but merely bound him to the stake. But he, closing his hands behind him, and bound to the stake as a noble victim selected from the great flock, an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God, said: 'Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received the knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and all creation, and of all the family of the righteous, that live before thee, I bless thee that thou hast thought me worthy of the present day and hour, to have a share in the number of the



martyrs and in the cup of Christ, unto the resurrection of eternal life, both of the soul and body, in the incorruptible felicity of the Holy Spirit; among whom may I be received in thy sight, this day, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as thou the faithful and true God hast prepared, hast revealed and fulfilled. Wherefore, on this account, and for all things I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee, through the eternal high priest, Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son; through whom glory be to thee with him in the Holy Ghost, both now and for ever. Amen.'

"After he had repeated Amen, and had finished his prayer, the executioners kindled the fire. And when it arose in great flames, we saw a miracle, those of us who were privileged to see it, and who, therefore, were preserved to declare the facts to others. For the flames presented an appearance like an oven, as when the sail of a vessel is filled with the wind; and thus formed a wall around the body of the martyr. And he was in the midst not like burning flesh, but like gold and silver purified in the furnace. We also perceived a fragrant odour, like the fumes of incense, or some other precious aromatic drugs. At length the wicked persecutors, seeing that the body could not be consumed by fire, commanded the executioner to draw near to him and to plunge his sword into him, and when he had done this, such a quantity of blood gushed forth that the fire was extinguished; so that the whole multitude were astonished that such a difference should be made between the unbelievers and the elect, of whom this one, bishop of the catholic church in Smyrna, was the most admirable, apostolical, and prophetic teacher of our times; for every word that he uttered, was either fulfilled or will yet be fulfilled. But that envious and malignant adversary, that wicked enemy of all the righteous, seeing the lustre of his martyrdom, his uniform walk and conversation, and now his crown of immortality, and his indisputable prize, had provided that not even his corpse could be obtained by us, though many of us eagerly wished it, so as to have communion with the sacred body. Some, therefore, secretly engaged Nicetas, the father of Herod and brother of Dalee, to go to the governor, so as not to give the body, lest, said they, abandoning him that was crucified, they should begin to worship Polycarp. And this they said on the suggestion and urging of the

Jews, who were also watching and looking out whilst we were preparing to take him from the fire; not knowing, however, that we can never abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all who are saved out of the whole world; nor ever worship any other. For him we worship as the Son of God; but the martyrs we deservedly love as the disciples and imitators of our Lord, on account of their exceeding love to their king and master, of whom may we only become true associates and fellow-disciples. The centurion then seeing the contention of the Jews, placed the body in the midst of the fire, and burnt it according to the custom of the Gentiles. Thus, at last, taking up his bones, more valuable than precious stones, and more tried than gold, we deposited them where it was proper they should be. There, also, as far as we can, the Lord will grant us to collect and celebrate the natal day of his martyrdom in joy and gladness, both in commemoration of those who finished their contest before, and to exercise and prepare those that shall hereafter." Such is the account respecting the blessed Polycarp, who, together with the twelve from Philadelphia, was crowned a martyr; he, however, is chiefly remembered by all, insomuch that he is spoken of by the Gentiles in every place.

Of such an end, then, was the admirable and apostolic Polycarp deemed worthy, according to the account which the brethren in Smyrna recorded in the epistle that we have quoted. In this same epistle, respecting him, other martyrdoms are also recorded, which took place in the same city, and about the time of Polycarp's death. Among these, also, was Metrodorus, a follower of Marcion's error, but who appears to have been a presbyter, and who was committed to the flames. A very celebrated martyr of those times was Pionius. Those who feel inclined to be informed respecting him, we refer to that epistle that has been embodied in the work on the ancient martyrs collected by us, in which is given a very full account of his particular confessions, of the freedom with which he spoke, and of his defence of the faith before the people and rulers. Also his instructive exhortations; moreover his strong invitations to those that fell away under the temptation of persecution, the consolations which he presented to the brethren that came into him in prison, what excruciating tortures he also endured besides, when lie was secured with spikes, his firmness

on the pile, and after all his extraordinary sufferings, his death. There are also, records extant of others that suffered martyrdom in Pergamus, a city of Asia. Of these we mention only Carpus and Papyrus, and a woman named Agathonice; who, after many illustrious testimonies given by them, gloriously finished their course.



## CHAPTER XVI

# HOW JUSTIN, THE PHILOSOPHER, SUFFERED MARTYRDOM, ASSERTING THE DOCTRINE OF CHRIST.

ABOUT this time, the same Justin who was mentioned by us a little before, after having given a second defence of our doctrines to the above-mentioned rulers, was crowned with divine martyrdom, at the insidious instigation of Crescens the philosopher, who was called a cynic, and emulated the life and manners indicated by the name he bore. After having frequently refuted him in discussion, in the presence of many hearers, he at length also bore away the palm of victory, in the truth which he asserted, by his own martyrdom. It is also plainly stated by the same excellent and most learned author, in the Apology already quoted, that he predicted the issue just as it was about to happen in reference to himself, in the following words: "I also expect to be waylaid by some one of those whom I have named, and to be put to the rack, even by Crescens himself, that unphilosophical and vain-glorious opponent. For it seems not proper to call a man a philosopher, who publicly attempts to contend against matters that he does not understand, as if Christians were infidels and wicked characters, merely for the purpose of captivating and gratifying the multitude. He has done all this under a strong delusion. For if he counteract us without having read the doctrines of Christ, he is most iniquitous in his conduct, and much worse than common men, who for the most part are cautious in speaking and bearing a false testimony in matters with which they are not acquainted: and if when happening to rend, he does not understand the sublimity of them, or if understanding, he does those things that may lead

one to suspect he is not one of them, (i. e.) that he is no Christian, he is so much the more base and nefarious, inasmuch as he is enslaved to vulgar applause and an absurd fear. And, indeed, when I proposed certain questions to him, in order to ascertain and convince him that he really was ignorant, I assure you that I found this to be the case. And that you may know all that I here say is true, if these discussions have not yet reached you, I am prepared to repeat these interrogations in your presence. Nor would this be unworthy your Imperial Majesties. But if these questions of mine, and his answers, are known to you, it is obvious to you, that he knows nothing of our doctrines, or if he knows, he does not declare them on account of his hearers; so that, as I before said, he proves himself to be not a true lover of wisdom, but a lover of vain-glory. He, indeed, does not even regard that excellent saying of Socrates, viz. 'that no one is to be preferred to truth.' " Thus far Justin; but that in consequence of his freedom towards Crescens, he was brought to his end, is shown by Tatian, a man who at first, as a sophist, taught the various branches of literature among the Greeks, and obtained no small celebrity in them, and who left numerous monuments of his attainments in his works. This he relates in the book against the Greeks: "And that most excellent Justin, justly declared, that the aforesaid persons were like robbers." Then after some comments on these philosophers, he adds the following: "Crescens, indeed, who had nestled in the great city (Rome), surpassed all in his unnatural lust (παιδεραστια) and was also wholly enslaved to the love of money. And he who advised others to despise death, was himself so much in dread of it, that he procured it for Justin as though it had been a great evil; because when proclaiming the truth, he proved the philosophers gluttons and impostors." And such was the cause that produced the martyrdom of Justin.



# CHAPTER XVII

## THE MARTYRS MENTIONED BY JUSTIN IN HIS BOOKS

THE same author before his conflict makes mention in his first Apology, of others that suffered martyrdom before him, in which he fitly introduces the following statement: "A certain woman," says he, "had a husband that was intemperate. She herself had also previously led a dissolute life; but after she was made acquainted with the doctrines of Christ, she became modest, and endeavoured to persuade her husband also to lead a virtuous life, presenting to his mind the doctrines of Christianity, and the punishment of eternal fire awaiting those that would not live virtuously, and according to right reason; but he still continuing in the same lascivious habits, wholly alienated his wife's affections by his practices. Finally, the woman considering it wicked to live with one who, contrary to the law of nature and propriety, was intent upon every course to gratify his lusts, contemplated a divorce. But when she was advised by her friends to remain with him, in hope of his reformation, she did violence to herself, and remained. Afterwards, however, her husband, who had gone to Alexandria, was reported to be acting much worse. Fearing, therefore, lest she should become a sharer in his unrighteousness and impieties, if she continued united to him, and should be his companion, she sent him what is called the bill of divorce, and was separated. This good and excellent husband, however, who ought to have rejoiced that his wife, who had formerly delighted in debauchery and all manner of vice, had now ceased from those deeds in which she had formerly been wantonly engaged with servants and hirelings, and that she now wished him, also, to cease from doing the same things, would not do thus, when she left him, but he brought an accusation against her, asserting that



she was a Christian. And she delivered to you, the Emperor, a petition, requesting that she might first be permitted to regulate her domestic affairs, and then, after the regulation of her affairs, she would make her defence in reference to the accusation. And this you granted. But he, who had formerly been the husband of the woman, not being able to say any thing against her now, turned upon a certain Ptolemy, whom Urbicius had punished, and who had become her instructor in the principles of Christianity, in the following manner:

“He had persuaded the centurion to seize Ptolemy his friend, and cast him in prison, and to ask him only this, whether he was a Christian? Ptolemy, who was a lover of truth, and averse to all deceit and falsehood, confessed himself a Christian; in consequence of which he was cast into prison, and punished by the centurion in this way for a long time. At last, when the man came before Urbicius in like manner, only this one thing was asked, whether he was a Christian? And as he was conscious of deriving every happiness and blessing from the doctrine of Christ, he again professed the principles of celestial virtue: for he that denies that he is a Christian, either denies because he despises, or because he is conscious that he is unworthy of this religion, and a stranger to its excellency; and thus avoids the confession. Neither of these things can apply to the true Christian. Urbicius, however, having commanded him to be led forth, a certain Lucius, who was also a Christian, seeing the judgment so unjustly passed, says to Urbicius, ‘What charge is this, that you should punish one who is neither an adulterer, nor fornicator, nor a murderer, nor a thief, nor a robber; nor convicted, indeed, of any crime, but simply confessing the name of a Christian? O Urbicius, you do not judge what becomes our pious emperor, nor the philosophic son of Cæsar, nor the sacred senate.’ But without any other reply, he said to Lucius, ‘Thou appearest also to be one such as these,’ and as Lucius answered, ‘By all means,’ he in like manner commanded him to be led forth. But he (Lucius) said, he thanked him; ‘for now,’ he added, ‘he was liberated from wicked masters, and was going to the good Father and King, even GOD.’ And a second and third coming up, were punished in the same way.” To these Justin, next in order, adds the passages that we quoted

above, where he says: "But I am now waiting to be waylaid by a certain one of those called philosophers," etc.



# CHAPTER XVIII

## THE BOOKS OF JUSTIN THAT HAVE COME DOWN TO US

THIS Justin has left us many monuments of a mind well stored with learning, and devoted to sacred things, replete with matter profitable in every respect. To these we shall refer our studious readers, only indicating as we proceed, those that have come to our knowledge. There is a discourse of his, addressed to Antonine, surnamed the Pious, and his sons and the Roman senate, in defence of our doctrines. Another work, comprising a defence of our faith, which he addressed to the emperor of the same name, Antoninus Verus, the successor of the preceding, the circumstances of whose times we are now recording. Also, another book, against the Greeks, in which, dilating upon most of the questions agitated between us and the Greek philosophers, he also discusses the nature of dæmons; of which it is not necessary to add anything here. There is also another work against the Gentiles, that has reached us, to which he gave the title, "Refutation." Besides these, also another, "On the Sovereignty of God," which he establishes not only by the holy Scriptures, but also by references to the works of the Greeks. Moreover, he wrote a work called Psaltes, (the psalmist,) another also, consisting of Remarks on the Soul, in which, after proposing various questions on the subject, he adds the opinions that prevailed among the Greek philosophers, which he also promises to disprove, and to give his own opinion in a separate work. He also wrote a dialogue against the Jews, which he held at Ephesus with Tryphon, the most distinguished among the Hebrews of the day. In this he shows how the Divine grace stimulated him to this discourse on the faith, what zeal also he had before evinced in the studies of philosophy, and what indefatigable research he had applied in the

discovery of the truth. In this also he states respecting the Jews, how insidiously they plotted against the doctrine of Christ, and addresses the following words to Tryphon: "But you do not only continue impenitent for your evil deeds, but selecting chosen men, you sent them from Jerusalem to all the world, declaring that the infidel sect of Christians had made its appearance, and uttering all those falsehoods against us which those that know us are not accustomed to repeat. Thus you are the causes of iniquity, not only to yourselves but to all others also." He writes also, that even down to his time, gifts of prophecy shone forth in the church; he mentions also the Revelation of John, plainly calling it the work of the apostle, and records certain prophetic declarations in his discussion with Tryphon, showing that the Jews had expunged them from the Scriptures. There are also many other works of his in the hands of many of our brethren. So valuable and worthy of study were these works esteemed by the ancients, that Irenæus quotes him often. This he does in the fourth book against heresies, adding the words: "And well does Justin, in his work against Marcion, say: 'I would not even believe the Lord himself, if he were to announce any other God but the Creator.'" And in the fifth book he says: "And well did Justin say, that before the appearance of our Lord, Satan never ventured to blaspheme God, because he did not yet know his own condemnation." These we deemed necessary to state, in order to stimulate the studious likewise to the diligent perusal of these books. This will suffice respecting Justin.



## CHAPTER XIX

# THOSE THAT PRESIDED OVER THE CHURCHES OF ROME AND ALEXANDRIA, IN THE REIGN OF VERUS

IT was in the eighth year of the above-mentioned reign, viz., that of Verus, that Anicetus, who had held the episcopate of Rome for eleven years, was succeeded by Soter; but at Alexandria, Celadion, who had presided over the church fourteen years, was succeeded by Agrippinus.





# CHAPTER XX

## THE BISHOPS OF ANTIOCH

AT this time, also, Theophilus in the church of Antioch, was well known as the sixth in succession from the apostles. As Cornelius, who succeeded Heron, had been the fourth of those that presided there, and after him Eros, the fifth in order that held the episcopate.



# CHAPTER XXI

## THE ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS THAT FLOURISHED IN THESE TIMES

ABOUT this time flourished Hegesippus, whom we quoted above. Also Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, and Pinytus bishop of Crete. Moreover, Philip and Apollinaris and Melito. Musanus, also, and Modestus, and lastly Irenæus, whose correct views of the sound faith have descended to us in the works written by them, as they received it from apostolic tradition.



## CHAPTER XXII

# OF HEGESIPPUS, AND THOSE WHOM HE MENTIONS

HEGESIPPUS, indeed, in the five books of commentaries that have come down to us, has left a most complete record of his own views. In these he states that he conversed with most of the bishops when he travelled to Rome, and that he received the same doctrine from all. We may also add what he says, after some observations on the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians: "And the church of Corinth," says he, "continued in the true faith, until Primus was bishop there; with whom I had familiar conversation (as I passed many days at Corinth) when I was on the point of sailing to Rome, during which time also we were mutually refreshed in the true doctrine. After coming to Rome, I made my stay with Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus. After Anicetus, Soter succeeded, and after him Eleutherus. In every succession, however, and in every city, the doctrine prevails according to what is declared by the law and the prophets and the Lord." The same author also treats of the beginnings of the heresies that arose about his time, in the following words: "But after James the Just had suffered martyrdom, as our Lord had for the same reason, Simeon, the son of Cleophas, our Lord's uncle, was appointed the second bishop, whom all proposed, as the cousin of our Lord. Hence they called the church as yet a virgin, for it was not yet corrupted by vain discourses. Thebuthis made a beginning secretly to corrupt it, on account of his not being made bishop. He was one of those seven sects among the Jewish people. Of these, also, was Simeon, whence sprung the sect of Simonians; also, Cleobius, from whom came the Cleobians; also, Dositheus, the founder of the Dositheans. From these also sprung the Gorthœonians, from Gorthœus, and the Masbothoeans, from

Masbothœus. Hence, also, the Menandrians, and Marcionists, and Carpocratians, and Valentinians, and Basilidians, and the Saturnilians, every one introducing his own peculiar opinions, each differing from the other. From these sprung the false Christs and false prophets and false apostles, who divided the unity of the church, by the introduction of corrupt doctrines against God and against his Christ." The same author also mentions in his history, the ancient heresies prevalent among the Jews, as follows: "There were also different opinions in the circumcision among the children of Israel, against the tribe of Judah and the Messiah, viz., the Essenes, the Galileans, Hemerobaptists, the Masbothœans, the Samaritans, the Sadducees and Pharisees." He also speaks of many other matters, which we have in part already quoted, and introduced in their appropriate places. He also states some particulars from the gospel of the Hebrews and from the Syriac, and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he himself was a convert from the Hebrews. Other matters he also records as taken from the unwritten tradition of the Jews. And not only he, but Irenæus also, and the whole body of the ancients, called the Proverbs of Solomon "Wisdom, comprehending every virtue." Also in discoursing on the books called Apocrypha, he relates that some of them were forged in his day, by some of the heretics. But it is now time to proceed to another.



# CHAPTER XXIII

## OF DIONYSIUS, BISHOP OF CORINTH, AND HIS EPISTLES

AND first we must speak of Dionysius, who was appointed over the church at Corinth, and imparted freely, not only to his own people, but to others abroad also, the blessings of his divine labours. But he was most useful to all in the catholic epistles that he addressed to the churches; one of which is addressed to the Lacedæmonians, and contains instructions in the true religion, and inculcates peace and unity. One also to the Athenians, exciting them to the faith, and the life prescribed by the gospel, from which he shows that they had swerved, so that they had nearly fallen from the truth, since the martyrdom of Publius, then bishop, which happened in the persecutions of those times. He also makes mention of Quadratus, who was bishop after the martyrdom of Publius, bearing witness also that the church was again collected, and the faith of the people revived by his exertions. He states, moreover, that Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted to the faith by Paul the apostle, according to the statement in the Acts of the Apostles, first obtained the episcopate of the church at Athens. There is also another epistle of his extant, addressed to the Nicomedians, in which he refutes the heresy of Marcion, and adheres closely to the rule of faith. In an epistle to the church of Gortyna, and to the other churches in Crete, he commends their bishop Philip, for the numerous instances of fortitude that the church evinced under him, according to the testimony of all, whilst he cautions them against the perversions of the heretics. He also wrote to the church at Amastris, together with those at Pontus, in which he makes mention of Bacchylides and Elpistus, as those who urged him to write. He also adds some expositions of the sacred writings, where he intimates that Palmas was then bishop.



He also recommends many things in regard to marriage, and the purity to be observed by those who enter this state, and enjoins upon the church to receive kindly all that return again from their backslidings, whether heresy or delinquency. Among them is also inserted an epistle to the Gnoossians, in which he admonishes Pinytus, the bishop of the church, not to impose upon the brethren without necessity, a burden in regard to purity too great to be borne, but to pay regard to the infirmity of the great mass. To which Pinytus, writing in reply, admires and applauds Dionysius, but exhorts him at the same time to impart some time or other stronger food, and to feed the people under him with writings abounding in more perfect doctrine when he wrote again, so that they might not remain constantly nurtured with milk, and imperceptibly grow old, under a discipline calculated only for children. In which epistle, also, the correct views which Pinytus cherished, his solicitude respecting the welfare of those that were committed to his care, and his learning and intelligence in divine matters, are exhibited as in a most perfect image. There is yet another epistle, to the Romans, ascribed to Dionysius, and addressed to Soter the bishop of that city, from which we may also subjoin some extracts, from that part where he commends a practice of the Romans retained even to the persecution in our day. He writes as follows: "For this practice has prevailed with you from the very beginning, to do good to all the brethren in every way, and to send contributions to many churches in every city. Thus refreshing the needy in their want, and furnishing to the brethren condemned to the mines, what was necessary; by these contributions which ye have been accustomed to send from the beginning, you preserve, as Romans, the practices of your ancestors. Which was not only observed by your bishop Soter, but also increased, as he not only furnished great supplies to the saints, but also encouraged the brethren that came from abroad, as a loving father his children, with consolatory words." In this same letter he mentions that of Clement to the Corinthians, showing that it was the practice to read in the churches, even from the earliest times. "To-day," says he, "we have passed the Lord's holy-day, in which we have read your epistle; in reading which we shall always have our minds stored with admonition, as we shall,

also, from that written to us before by Clement.” Besides this, the same author writes respecting his own epistles as having been corrupted: “As the brethren,” says he, “desired me to write epistles, I wrote them, and these the apostles of the devil have filled with tares, exchanging some things, and adding others, for whom there is a woe reserved. It is not, therefore, matter of wonder, if some have also attempted to adulterate the sacred writings of the Lord, since they have attempted the same in other works that are not to be compared with these.” There is also another epistle attributed to this Dionysius, addressed to his most faithful sister Chrysophora, in which he writes what was suitable to her, and imparts also to her the proper spiritual food. And thus much respecting Dionysius.



# CHAPTER XXIV

## OF THEOPHILUS, BISHOP OF ANTIOCH

THERE are three books containing the elements of the faith, addressed to Autolytus, which are ascribed to Theophilus, whom we have mentioned as bishop of Antioch; another, also, which has the title, "Against the heresy of Hermogenis;" in which he makes use of testimony from the Revelation of John, besides certain other catechetical works. And as the heretics, then, no less than at other times, were like tares destroying the pure seed of the apostolical doctrines, the pastors of the churches every where hastened to restrain them, as wild beasts, from the fold of Christ. Sometimes they did it by their exhortations and admonitions to the brethren, sometimes more openly contending with the heretics themselves, by oral discussions and refutations; and then again confuting their opinions, by the most rigid proofs in their written works.

Theophilus, therefore, with others, also contended against these, as is manifest from a work of no mean character, written by him against Marcion, which, together with others that we have mentioned, is still preserved. He was succeeded by Maximinus, the seventh from the apostles in the church of Antioch.



# CHAPTER XXV

## OF PHILIP AND MODESTUS

PHILIP, also, who we have seen from the words of Dionysius, was bishop of the church at Gortyna, has written a very elaborate work against Marcion. Irenæus, also, and Modestus, the last of whom beyond all others, have detected the error of the man, and exposed it to the view of all. Many others have also written, whose labours are carefully preserved by the brethren even to this day.



# CHAPTER XXVI

## OF MELITO, AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES HE RECORDS

IN these times, also, flourished Melito, bishop of the church in Sardis, and Apollinaris, the bishop of Hierapolis. Each of these separately addressed discourses as apologies for the faith, to the existing emperor of the Romans already mentioned. Of these, the following have come to our knowledge. Of Melito, two works "On the Passover," and "On the Conduct of Life, and the Prophets." One, "On the Church," and another discourse "On the Lord's-day." One, also, "On the Nature of Man," and another, "On his Formation." A work "On the Subjection of the Senses to Faith." Besides these, a treatise "On the Soul, the Body, and the Mind." A dissertation also, "On Baptism;" one also "On Truth, and Faith, and the Generation of Christ." A discourse "On Prophecy," and "On Hospitality." Treatises entitled "The Key," "On the Devil," "The Revelation of John," "On the Incarnate God." And last of all, the discourse addressed to Antonine. In the work on the passover, he shows the time in which he wrote it, beginning with these words: "When Servilius Paulus was proconsul of Asia, at which time Sagaris suffered martyrdom, there was much discussion in Laodicea, respecting the passover, which occurred at that time in its proper season, and in which, also, these works were written." This work is also mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, in his own work on the passover, which, he says, he wrote on occasion of Melito's work. But in the book addressed to the emperor, he relates the following transactions against those of our faith, under this emperor. "What, indeed," says he, "never before happened, the race of the pious is now persecuted, driven about in Asia, by new and strange decrees. For the shameless informers, and those that crave the property of others, taking occasion from the edicts



of the emperors, openly perpetrate robbery; night and day plundering those who are guilty of no crime.” And afterwards, he says, “If these things are done by your orders, let them be done at least in a proper way. For a just ruler should never form unjust decrees. We, indeed, cheerfully bear the reward of such a death, but we only urge upon you this request, that you yourself would first take cognizance of these plotters of mischief, and justly judge, whether they deserve death and punishment, or safety and security. But if this decree, and this unheard of ordinance, which ought not to be tolerated even against barbarous enemies, have not proceeded from you, so much the more do we entreat you not to overlook us in the midst of this lawless plunder of the populace.” After a few other remarks, he adds, “The philosophy which we profess, first, indeed, flourished among the barbarians, but afterwards, when it grew up also among the nations under your government, under the glorious reign of Augustus your ancestor, it became, to your administration, an auspicious blessing. For since that time, the Roman power has grown in greatness and splendour. Whose desired successor you have become, and will be, together with your son, if you preserve that philosophy which has been nurtured with the empire, which commenced its existence with Augustus, and which also your ancestors did honour, with other religions; and one of the greatest evidences that our doctrine flourished, to the advantage of a reign so happily begun, is this, that nothing disastrous has occurred to the empire, since the reign of Augustus; on the contrary, all things have proceeded splendidly and gloriously according to the wishes of all. Nero and Domitian, alone, stimulated by certain malicious persons, showed a disposition to slander our faith. From whom it has happened also, that this falsehood respecting Christians has been propagated by an absurd practice of waylaying and informing. But your pious fathers corrected what was done through such ignorance, by frequently reprovng in writing, as many as dared to attempt any opposition against those of our religion. Your grandfather Adrian evidently wrote, among others, to Fundanus the proconsul of Asia. But your father, also, when you held the government with him, wrote to the cities, forbidding any strange movements against us. Among these were the

ordinances to the Larissæans, to the Thessalonians, and Athenians, and all the Greeks. But as you cherish the same opinion on these matters, and, indeed, have still more benevolent and more philosophical views, we are so much the more confident you will do what we entreat." This passage is given in the discourse before mentioned. But in the selections made by him, the same writer in the beginning of his preface, gives a catalogue of the books of the Old Testament acknowledged as canonical. This we have thought necessary to give here, literally, as follows:

"Melito sends greeting to his brother Onesimus. As you have frequently desired in your zeal for the Scriptures, that I should make selections for you, both from the law and the prophets, respecting our Saviour, and our whole faith; and you were, moreover, desirous of having an exact statement of the Old Testament, how many in number, and in what order the books were written, I have endeavoured to perform this. For I know your zeal in the faith, and your great desire to acquire knowledge, and that especially by the love of God, you prefer these matters to all others, thus striving to gain eternal life. When, therefore, I went to the east, and came as far as the place where these things were proclaimed and done, I accurately ascertained the books of the Old Testament, and send them to you here below. The names are as follows: Of Moses, five books, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy. Jesus Nave, Judges, Ruth. Four of Kings. Two of Paralipomena, (Chronicles,) Psalms of David, Proverbs of Solomon, which is also called Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Job. Of prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah. Of the twelve prophets, one book. Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras. From these I have, therefore, made the selections which I have divided into six books." Thus much of Melito's writings.



# CHAPTER XXVII

## OF APOLLINARIS, BISHOP OF HIERAPOLIS

ALTHOUGH there are several works of Apollinaris preserved by many, those that have reached us are the following: An Apology, addressed to the above-mentioned emperor, and five books against the Greeks. Two books on Truth, two also against the Jews, and those that he afterwards wrote against the Heresy of the Phrygians, which was revived not long after. Then, indeed, also began as it were to spring up, the sect of Montanus, who, with his false prophetesses, laid the foundation of their errors. Thus much, however, may suffice, also, concerning this author.



# CHAPTER XXVIII

## OF MUSANUS AND HIS WORKS

MUSANUS, also, whom we have mentioned among the foregoing authors, is said to have written a very elegant work addressed to certain brethren, who had swerved from the truth to the heresy of the Encratites, which had even then made its appearance, and which introduced a singular and pernicious error into the world. The founder of this singularity is said to have been Tatianus.



# CHAPTER XXIX

## THE HERESY OF TATIANUS

HE is the same whose words we adduced before in reference to the excellent Justin, mentioning that he was also the disciple of that martyr. This is shown by Irenæus, in the first book against heresies, where he writes both respecting the man and against his heresy: "Those," says he, "that sprung from Saturninus and Marcion, called the Encratites, taught abstinence from marriage, setting aside the original design of God, and tacitly censuring him that made male and female for the propagation of the human race. They also introduced abstinence from animal food, displaying ingratitude to God, who made all things. They also deny the salvation of our first parents. And this has been but lately discovered by them, a certain Tatian being the first that taught the horrible doctrine. This man, who had been a hearer of Justin, as long as he was in company with him, exhibited nothing like this; but after the death of that martyr, having apostatised from the church, and being elated with the conceit of a teacher, and vainly puffed up as if he surpassed all others, he established a peculiar characteristic of his own doctrine, by inventing certain invisible Æons, similar to those of Valentinus. Marriage, also, he asserted, with Marcion and Saturninus, was only corruption and fornication. And he also devised arguments of his own against the salvation of Adam." Thus far Irenæus then. A little after, however, a certain man by the name of Severus, having strengthened the above-mentioned heresy, became the cause of another sect, called after himself, the Severians. These, indeed, make use of the law and prophets and gospels, giving a peculiar interpretation to the passages of the sacred writings, but abuse Paul the apostle, and set aside his epistles; neither do they receive the Acts of the Apostles. But their chief and founder Tatianus, having formed a certain body and collection of gospels, I know not how, has given



this the title Diatessaron, that is the gospel by the four, or the gospel formed of the four; which is in the possession of some even now. It is also said that he dared to alter certain expressions of the apostles, in order to correct the composition. He has also left a great multitude of writings, of which the most noted among all, is that work against the Greeks, in which, as he records ancient times, he proves Moses and the prophets are more ancient than all the celebrated writers among the Greeks. This book, indeed, appears to be the most elegant and profitable of all his works. And so much for these.



## CHAPTER XXX

# OF BARDESANES, THE SYRIAN, AND THE WORKS OF HIS EXTANT

UNDER the same reign, Bardesanes lived, who dwelt in (Mesopotamia) the land between the rivers, where heresies abounded; a man of very great abilities, and a powerful disputant in the Syriac tongue. He composed dialogues against Marcion, and certain others of different opinions, and committed them to writing in his native language, together with many other works. These were translated, from the Syriac into the Greek, by his friends; for as a powerful assertor of the gospel, he had many followers. Among these there is a most able dialogue on Fate, addressed to Antonine. Many others also he is said to have written on occasion of the persecution which then arose, He was at first indeed a disciple of Valentine, but afterwards, rejecting his doctrine, and having refuted most of his fictions, he appeared to himself to have returned again to orthodox opinions. But he did not entirely wipe away the impurity of his old heresy. About this time, also, died Soter, bishop of the church at Rome.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK V



# PREFACE TO THE FIFTH BOOK

SOTER, bishop of Rome, died, after having held the episcopate eight years. He was succeeded by Elcutherus, the twelfth in order from the apostles. It was in the seventeenth year of the reign of the emperor Antoninus Verus, when a more violent persecution having broken out against our brethren, in certain parts, occasioned by insurrections in the cities, that it seems, from the events that happened in a single province, innumerable martyrs obtained the crown. These, as worthy of imperishable remembrance, were also handed down to posterity in historical records. The full account of these is given in our history of martyrs, comprising both historical narrative and that which may contribute to edification; but whatsoever may have a reference to our present purpose, I shall select for insertion here. Others, indeed, that compose historical narratives, would record nothing but victories in battle, the trophies of enemies, the war-like achievements of generals, the bravery of soldiers, sullied with blood and innumerable murders, for the sake of children and country and property; but our narrative embraces that conversation and conduct which is acceptable to God,—the wars and conflicts of a most pacific character, whose ultimate tendency is to establish the peace of the soul: those, also, that have manfully contended for the truth, rather than for their country, and who have struggled for piety rather than their dearest friends. Such as these our narrative would engrave on imperishable monuments. The firmness of the champions for the true religion, their fortitude in the endurance of innumerable trials, their trophies erected over dæmoniacal agency, and their victories over their invisible antagonists, and the crowns that have been placed upon all these, we would proclaim and perpetuate by an everlasting remembrance.



# CHAPTER I

## THE NUMBER AND SUFFERINGS OF THOSE THAT SUFFERED FOR THE FAITH IN GAUL

GAUL was the place where the arena was prepared for the above-mentioned conflict. Here two chief cities are celebrated as surpassing all the rest, viz., Lyons and Vienna. Through both of these the river Rhone passes, traversing the whole region with its mighty stream. The account of the martyrs was sent to Asia and Phrygia by these most illustrious churches there, who relate the events that took place among them in the following manner—I will subjoin their own declarations: “The servants of Christ dwelling at Lyons and Vienna, in Gaul, to those brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope with us, peace and grace and glory from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord.” Then, premising some other matters, they commence their subject in the following words:

“The greatness, indeed, of the tribulation, and the extent of the madness exhibited by the heathen against the saints, and the sufferings which the martyrs endured in this country, we are not able fully to declare, nor is it, indeed, possible to describe them; for the adversary assailed us with his whole strength, giving us a prelude, how unbridled his future movements among us would be. And, indeed, he resorted to every means, to accustom and exercise his own servants against those of God, so that we should not only be excluded from houses, and baths, and markets; but every thing belonging to us was prohibited from appearing in any place whatever. But the grace of God contended for us and rescued the weak, and prepared those who, like firm pillars, were able, through patience, to sustain the whole weight of the enemy’s violence against them. These coming in close conflict, endured



every species of reproach and torture. Esteeming what was deemed great, but little, they hastened to Christ, showing in reality, 'that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed in us.' And first, they nobly sustained all the evils that were heaped upon them by the populace, clamours, and blows, plundering and robberies, stonings and imprisonments, and whatsoever a savage people delight to inflict upon enemies. After this they were led to the forum, and when they had been interrogated by the tribune, and the authorities of the city, in the presence of the multitude, they were shut up in prison until the arrival of the governor. Afterwards they were led away to be judged by him, from whom we endured all manner of cruelty. Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren who abounded in the fulness of the love of God and man, and whose walk and conversation had been so unexceptionable though he was only young, shared in the same testimony with the elder Zacharias. He had walked in all the commandments and righteousness of the Lord blameless, full of love to God and his neighbour. As he was of this high character, he could not bear to see a judgment so unjustly passed against us, but gave vent to his indignation, and requested also, that he should be heard in defence of his brethren, whilst he ventured to assert that there was nothing either at variance with religion or piety among us. At this, those around the tribunal cried out against him, for he was a man of eminent standing. Nor did the governor allow a request so just and so properly made, but only asked whether he also were a Christian? He confessed in as clear a voice as possible, and he, too, was transferred to the number of martyrs, being publicly called the advocate of the Christians. But he had the Paraclete within him, viz., the Spirit, more abundantly than Zacharias, which, indeed, he displayed by the fulness of his love; glorying in the defence of his brethren, and to expose his own life for theirs. He was, indeed, a genuine disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. Then the rest were proved. The first martyrs were evidently ready. Those who were established finished cheerfully the confession of martyrdom. And those who were unprepared and inexperienced, and so weak as to be incapable of bearing the intensity of the mighty contest, were

made apparent. Of these indeed, about ten fell away, causing great sorrow and excessive grief to our brethren, and damping the ardour of those who had not yet been taken. These, however, although they endured all manner of affliction, nevertheless were always present with the martyrs, and never left them. Then, indeed, we were all struck with great fear, on account of the uncertainty of their holding out in the profession, not indeed dreading the tortures inflicted, but looking at the end, and trembling lest they should apostatize. Those indeed that were worthy to fill up the number of the martyrs, were seized from day to day, so that all the zealous members of the two churches, and those by whose exertions the church had been there established, were collected. Some domestics that were heathen, belonging to our brethren, were also seized, as the governor had publicly commanded search to be made for all of us. But these, at the instigation of Satan, through fear of the tortures which they saw the saints endure, and in consequence of the solicitation of the soldiers, charged us with feasts of Thyestes, and the incests of Œdipus, and such crimes as are neither lawful for us to mention nor imagine; and such, indeed, as we do not even believe were committed by men. These things being spread abroad among the people, all were so savage in their treatment of us, that, if before some had restrained themselves on account of being relatives or friends, they now carried their cruelty and rage against us to a great excess. Then was fulfilled the declaration of our Lord, 'that the day would come when every one that slayeth you will think he is doing God a service.' The holy martyrs, after this, firmly endured tortures beyond all description; Satan striving with all his power, that some blasphemy might be uttered by them. Most violently did the collective madness of the mob, the governor and the soldiers, rage against the holy deacon of Vienna, and against Maturus, who though a new convert, was a noble champion of the faith. Also, against Attalus, a native of Pergamus, who was a pillar and foundation of the church there. Against Blandina, also, in whom Christ made manifest, that the things that appear mean and deformed and contemptible among men, are most esteemed by God; on account of her cherishing that love to him, which evinces itself by fortitude, and does not boast of mere profession. For

whilst we were all trembling, and her earthly mistress, who was herself one of the contending martyrs, was apprehensive lest, through the weakness of the flesh, she should not be able to make a bold confession, Blandina was filled with such power, that her ingenious tormentors who relieved and succeeded each other from morning till night, confessed that they were overcome, and had nothing more that they could inflict upon her. Only amazed that she still continued to breathe after her whole body was torn asunder and pierced, they gave their testimony that one single kind of the torture inflicted was of itself sufficient to destroy life, without resorting to so many and such excruciating sufferings as these.

“But this blessed saint, as a noble wrestler, in the midst of her confession itself renewed her strength; and to repeat, ‘I am a Christian, no wickedness is carried on by us,’ was to her, rest, refreshment and relief from pain. And Sanctus himself, also nobly sustaining beyond all measure and human power, the various torments devised by men, whilst the wicked tormentors hoped that by the continuance and the greatness of the tortures, they would get to hear something from him that he ought not to say, withstood them with so much firmness, that he did not even declare his name, nor that of his nation, nor the city whence he was, nor whether he was a slave or a freeman, but to all the questions that were proposed, he answered in the Roman tongue. ‘I am a Christian.’ For this he confessed instead of his name, his city, his race, and instead of every thing. No other expression did the heathen hear from him. Whence, also, an ambitious struggle in torturing arose between the governor and the tormentors against him; so that when they had nothing further that they could inflict, they at last fastened red hot plates of brass to the most tender parts of his body. But he continued unsubdued and unshaken, firm in his confession, refreshed and strengthened by the celestial fountain of living water that flows from Christ. But the corpse itself was evidence of his sufferings, as it was one continued wound, mangled and shrivelled, that had entirely lost the form of man to the external eye. Christ suffering in him exhibited wonders; defeating the adversary, and presenting a kind of model to the rest, that there is nothing terrific where the love of the Father,

nothing painful where the glory of Christ prevails. For when the lawless tormentors tortured the martyr again during the day, and supposed that whilst the wounds were swollen and inflamed, if they applied the same torments, they would subdue him, as if he would not then be able to bear even the touch of the hand, or else, that dying under his tortures he would strike a terror into the rest, not only was there no appearance like this, but, beyond all human expectation, the body raised itself, and stood erect amid the torments afterwards inflicted, and recovered the former shape and habit of the limbs; so that his second tortures became, through the grace of Christ, not his torment, but his cure. But the devil also led forth a certain Biblias to punishment, who was one of those that had renounced the faith: thinking that he had already swallowed her, he was anxious to increase her condemnation by blasphemy, and constraining her as a frail and timid character, easily overpowered, to utter impieties against us. But in the midst of the torture she repented and recovered herself, and as if awakening out of a deep sleep, was reminded by the punishment before her, of the eternal punishment in hell. And accordingly she contradicted the blasphemers in her declarations. 'How,' said she, 'could such as these devour children, who considered it unlawful even to taste the blood of irrational animals?' After that, she professed herself a Christian, and was added to the number of martyrs. But as all the tortures of the tyrants were defeated by Christ, through the patience of the martyrs, the devil devised other machinations; among these were their confinement in prison, in a dark and most dismal place; their feet also stretched in the stocks, and extended to the fifth hole, and other torments, which the enraged minions of wickedness, especially when stimulated by the influence of Satan, are accustomed to inflict upon the prisoners. Numbers of them were, therefore, suffocated in prison, as many as the Lord would have to depart, thus showing forth his glory. Some of them, indeed, had been cruelly tormented, so that it appeared they could scarcely live, though every means were applied to recover them. Though confined in prison, devoid of all human aid, they were strengthened by the Lord, and filled with power from him both in body and mind; and they even stimulated and encouraged the rest. But the new converts and those that

were recently taken, whose bodies were not exercised in trials, did not bear the oppression of incarceration, but died within the prison.

“The blessed Pothinus, who had faithfully performed the ministrations of the episcopate at Lyons, and was past his ninetieth year, was very infirm in body; indeed, he scarcely drew his breath, so weak was he at the time; yet in the ardour of his soul, and his eager desire for martyrdom, he roused his remaining strength, and was himself also dragged to the tribunal. Though his body, indeed, was already nearly dissolved, partly by age and partly by disease, yet he still retained his life in him, that Christ might triumph by it. When carried by the soldiers to the tribunal, whither the public magistrates accompanied him, as if he were Christ himself, and when all the mob raised every outcry against him, he gave a noble testimony. When interrogated by the governor, who was the God of the Christians, he said, ‘If thou art worthy, thou shalt know.’ After this he was unmercifully dragged away and endured many stripes, whilst those that were near abused him with their hands and feet in every possible way, not even regarding his age. But those at a distance, whatsoever they had at hand, every one hurled at him, all thinking it would be a great sin and impiety if they fell short of wanton abuse against him. For they supposed they would thus avenge their own gods. Thus, scarcely drawing breath, he was thrown into prison, and after two days he there expired. A wonderful interposition of God was then exhibited, and the boundless mercy of Christ clearly displayed a thing that had rarely happened among brethren, but by no means beyond the reach of the skill of Christ. For those that had fallen from the faith on the first seizure, were also themselves imprisoned, and shared in the sufferings of the rest. Their renunciation did them no good at this time, but those that confessed what they really were, were imprisoned as Christians; no other charge being alleged against them. But these, at last, were confined as murderers and guilty culprits, and were punished with twice the severity of the rest. The former, indeed, were refreshed by the joy of martyrdom, the hope of the promises, the love of Christ, and the Spirit of the Father; but the latter were sadly tormented by their own conscience. So that the difference was

obvious to all in their very countenances, when they were led forth. For the one went on joyfully, much glory and grace being mixed in their faces, so that their bonds seemed to form noble ornaments, and, like those of a bride, adorned with various golden bracelets, and impregnated with the sweet odour of Christ, they appeared to some anointed with earthly perfumes; but the others, with downcast look, dejected, sad, and covered with every kind of shame, in addition to this, were reproached by the heathen as mean and cowardly, bearing the charge of murderers, and losing the honourable, glorious, and life-giving appellation of Christians. The rest, however, seeing these effects, were so much the more confirmed, and those that were taken immediately confessed, not even admitting the thought suggested by diabolical objections." Introducing some further remarks, they again proceed: "After these things their martyrdom was finally distributed into various kinds; for plating and constituting one crown of various colours and all kinds of flowers, they offered it to the Father. It was right, indeed, that these noble wrestlers, who had sustained a diversified contest, and had come off with a glorious victory, should bear away the great crown of immortality. Maturus, therefore, and Sanctus, and Blandina, and Attalus, were led into the amphitheatre to the wild beasts, and to the common spectacle of heathenish inhumanity, the day for exhibiting the fight with wild beasts being designedly appointed on our account. Maturus, however, and Sanctus, again passed through all the tortures in the amphitheatre, just as if they had suffered nothing at all before, or rather as those who in many trials before had defeated the adversary, and now contending for the crown itself, again as they passed, bore the strokes of the scourge usually inflicted there, the draggings and lacerations from the beasts, and all that the madness of the people, one here and another there, cried for and demanded; and last of all the iron chair, upon which their bodies were roasted, whilst the fumes of their own flesh ascended to annoy them. The tormentors did not cease even then, but continued to rage so much the more, intending if possible to conquer their perseverance. They could not, however, elicit or hear anything from Sanctus, besides that confession which he had uttered from the beginning.

“These two, therefore, in whom life for the most part had remained through the mighty conflict, were at last despatched. On that day they were made an exhibition to the world, in place of the variety of gladiatorial combats. Blandina, however, was bound and suspended on a stake, and thus exposed as food to the assaults of wild beasts, and as she thus appeared to hang after the manner of the cross, by her earnest prayers she infused much alacrity into the contending martyrs. For as they saw her in the contest, with the external eyes, through their sister they contemplated Him that was crucified for them, to persuade those that believe in him, that every one who suffers for Christ, will for ever enjoy communion with the living God. But as none of the beasts then touched her, she was taken down from the stake, and remanded back again to prison to be reserved for another contest; so that by gaining the victory in many conflicts, she might render the condemnation of the wily serpent irrefragable, and though small and weak and contemptible, but yet clothed with the mighty and invincible wrestler Christ Jesus, might also encourage her brethren. Thus she overcame the enemy in many trials, and in the conflict received the crown of immortality. But Attalus himself, being vehemently demanded by the populace, as he was a distinguished character, came well prepared for the conflict, conscious as he was of no evil done by him, and as one who had been truly exercised in Christian discipline, and had always been a witness of the truth with us. When led about in the theatre, with a tablet before him, on which was written in Latin, ‘This is Attalus the Christian,’ and the people were violently incensed against him, the governor learning that he was a Roman, ordered him to be remanded back again to prison with the rest, concerning whom he had written to Cæsar, and was now awaiting his determination. But he (Attalus) in the mean time was neither idle nor unprofitable to them, and, by their patient endurance, the immeasurable mercy of Christ was manifested. For by means of those that were yet living, were things dead made to live. And the martyrs conferred benefits upon those that were no martyrs (i. e. upon those that had fallen away). Much joy was also created in the virgin mother, (the church,) for those whom she had brought forth as dead she recovered again as living. For by means of these the greater part

of those that fell away, again retraced their steps, were again conceived, were again endued with vital heat, and learned to make the confession of their faith. And now living again, and strengthened in their faith, they approached the tribunal, where that God that willeth not the death of the sinner, but inviteth all to repentance, sweetly regarding them, they were interrogated by the governor. For as Cæsar had written that they should be beheaded, but if any renounced the faith these should be dismissed; at the commencement of the fair which is held here, which indeed is attended by an immense concourse of people from all nations, the governor led forth the martyrs, exhibiting them as a show and public spectacle to the crowd. Wherefore, he also examined them again, and as many as appeared to have the Roman citizenship, these he beheaded. The rest he sent away to the wild beasts. But Christ was wonderfully glorified in those that had before renounced him, as they then, contrary to all suspicion on the part of the Gentiles, confessed. And these, indeed, were separately examined, as if they were soon to be dismissed; but as they confessed, they were added to the number of the martyrs. Those, however, who had never any traces of the faith, nor any conception of the marriage garment, nor any thought of the fear of God, remained without, who, as the sons of perdition, blasphemed the way by their apostasy. All the rest, however, were attached to the church, of whom, when examined, a certain Alexander was found to be one, a Phrygian by birth, and physician by profession. Having passed many years in Gaul, and being well known for his love of God and his freedom in declaring the truth, for he was not destitute of apostolical grace, he stood before the tribunal, and by signs encouraged them to a good confession, appearing to those around the tribunal as one in the pains of childbirth. The mob, however, chagrined that those who had before renounced the faith were again confessing, cried out against Alexander, as if he had been the cause of this. And when the governor urged and asked him who he was, and he replied that he was a Christian, in his rage he condemned him to the wild beasts, and accordingly, on the following day he entered the arena with Attalus. For the governor, to gratify the people, also gave up Attalus a second time to the beasts.



“Thus, enduring all the torments that were invented as punishment in the amphitheatre, and after sustaining the arduous conflict, these were likewise finally despatched. As to Alexander, he neither uttered a groan nor any moaning sound at all, but in his heart communed with God; and Attalus, when placed upon the iron chair, and the fumes from his roasting body arose upon him, said to the multitude in Latin: ‘Lo, this is to devour men, and you are doing it. But as to us, we neither devour men nor commit any other evil.’ And when asked what was the name of God, he answered, God has no name like a man. After all these, on the last day of the shows of gladiators, Blandina was again brought forth, together with Ponticus, a youth about fifteen years old. These were brought in every day to see the tortures of the rest. Force was also used to make them swear by the idols; and when they continued firm, and denied their pretended divinity, the multitude became outrageous at them, so that they neither compassionated the youth of the boy nor regarded the sex of the woman. Hence they subjected them to every horrible suffering, and led them through the whole round of torture, ever and anon striving to force them to swear, but were unable to effect it. Ponticus, indeed, encouraged by his sister, so that the heathen could see that she was encouraging and confirming him, nobly bore the whole of these sufferings, and gave up his life. But the blessed Blandina, last of all, as a noble mother that had animated her children, and sent them as victors to the great King, herself retracing the ground of all the conflicts her children had endured, hastened at last, with joy and exultation at the issue, to them, as if she were invited to a marriage feast, and not to be cast to wild beasts. And thus, after scourging, after exposure to the beasts, after roasting, she was finally thrown into a net and cast before a bull, and when she had been well tossed by the animal, and had now no longer any sense of what was done to her by reason of her firm hope, confidence, faith, and communion with Christ, she too was despatched. Even the Gentiles confessed, that no woman among them had ever endured sufferings as many and great as these. But not even then was their madness and cruelty to the saints satisfied; for these fierce and barbarous people, stimulated by the savage beast Satan, were in a fury not easy to be

assuaged, so that their abuse of the bodies assumed another novel and singular aspect. Not abashed when overcome by the martyrs, but evidently destitute of all reason, the madness both of the governor and the people, as of some savage beast, blazed forth so much the more, to exhibit the same unjust hostility against us. That the Scriptures might be fulfilled, 'He that is unjust let him be unjust still, and he that is righteous let him be righteous still' (Rev. 22:11). For those that were suffocating in the prison, they cast to the dogs, carefully watching them night and day, lest any should be buried by us, and then also cast away the remains left by the beasts and the fire, howsoever they had either been mangled or burned. They also guarded the heads of the others, together with the trunks of their bodies, with military watches, for many days in succession, in order to prevent them from being buried. Some, indeed, raged and gnashed their teeth against them, anxious to find out some better way of punishment. Others, again, laughed at and insulted them, extolling their idols, and imputing to them the punishment of the martyrs. But others, more moderate, and who in some measure appeared to sympathize, frequently upbraided them, saying, 'Where is their God, and what benefit has their religion been to them, which they preferred to their own life?' such was the variety of disposition among the Gentiles, but among our brethren, matters were in great affliction for want of liberty to commit the bodies to the earth. For neither did the night avail us for this purpose, nor had money any effect to persuade, nor could any prayers or entreaties move them. But they guarded them in every possible way, as if it were a great gain to prevent them from burial." To these, they afterwards add other accounts, saying: "The bodies of the martyrs, after being abused in every possible manner, and thus exposed to the open air for six days, were at length burned and reduced to ashes by the wretches, and finally cast into the Rhone that flows near at hand, that there might not be a vestige of them remaining on the land. These things they did as if they were able to overcome God, and destroy their resurrection, as they themselves gave out, 'that they might not have any hope of rising again, in the belief of which, they have introduced a new and strange religion, and contemn the most dreadful punishments, and are prepared to meet death even

with joy. Now we shall see, whether they will rise again; and whether their God is able to help them, and rescue them out of our hands.' ”



## CHAPTER II

# THOSE THAT HAD FALLEN AWAY, KINDLY RESTORED BY THE PIOUS MARTYRS

SUCH were the occurrences that befel the churches of Christ under the above-mentioned emperor, from which it is easy to conjecture what was the probable course of things in the other provinces. It may be well here to add to these accounts, other extracts from the same epistle, in which the moderation and benevolence of these martyrs whom we have mentioned, is recorded in the following words: "They were also so zealous in their imitation of Christ, who, though in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, that though they were esteemed in the same light, and had neither once nor twice, but frequently, endured martyrdom, and had been again taken away from the beasts to prison, and had brands, and scars, and wounds spread over them, they did not proclaim themselves martyrs, for it did not become us to apply this name to them; and if any one of us, either by letter or in conversation, called them martyrs, they seriously reprov'd us. For they cheerfully yielded the title of martyr to Christ, the true and faithful Martyr (witness), the First-begotten from the dead, the Prince of divine life." They also made mention of those martyrs that had already departed, and said: "They now are martyrs whom Christ has thought worthy to be received in their confession, setting the seal to their martyrdom by the issue. But we are but indifferent and mean confessors, and with tears did they intreat the brethren, that they should offer up incessant prayers, that they might be made perfect. They exhibited, indeed, the power of martyrdom in fact, exercising much freedom in declaring themselves to all people, and manifested their noble patience and fearless intrepidity; but the name of martyrs they

declined receiving from the brethren, filled as they were with the fear of God.” Again, after a little, they said, “They humbled themselves under the mighty hand by which they were now highly exalted. Then, they defended themselves before all, they accused none, they loosed all, they bound none. They prayed for those that were so bitter in their hostility, like Stephen, the perfect martyr. ‘Lord, impute not this sin to them.’ And if he prayed for those that stoned him, how much more should they pray for the brethren!” And again they say, after mentioning other matters, “That their greatest conflict against Satan was on account of the sincerity of their love, that the beast being strangled, might be forced to restore alive those whom he thought he had already devoured. For they did not arrogate any superiority over the backsliders: but in those things wherein they themselves abounded, in this they supplied those that were deficient, exercising the compassion of mothers, and pouring forth many prayers to the Father on their account. They implored life, and he gave it to them, which they also shared with their neighbours; coming off victorious over all, to God: always lovers of peace, they always recommended peace, and with peace they departed to God; not leaving grief to their mother (the church), or discord or dissensions to the brethren, but joy and peace, unanimity and love. This account may be profitably added, respecting the love of those blessed brethren towards those that fell away, on account of those also, who, after these events, unsparingly exercised an inhuman and merciless disposition towards the members of Christ.”



## CHAPTER III

# THE VISION THAT APPEARED TO ATTALUS THE MARTYR, IN A DREAM

THE same epistle of the above-mentioned martyrs also contains another account worthy of record, which no one could regret to be presented to the knowledge of our readers. It is as follows: "A certain Alcibiades, who was one of these, (martyrs,) and who had led a hard and rough kind of life, partook of no food usually eaten, but merely bread and water. When cast into prison, and he attempted to lead the same kind of life, it was revealed to Attalus, after the first conflict which he finished in the amphitheatre, that Alcibiades did not do well in not making use of the creatures of God, and affording an example of offence to others. Alcibiades, therefore, in obedience to this, partook of all kinds of food, and gave thanks to God; for neither were they destitute of divine grace, but the Divine Spirit was their counsellor." But let this suffice concerning these. Now as Montanus and Alcibiades, and Theodotus, in Phrygia, then first began to be esteemed by many for their gifts, (as there were many other wonderful powers of divine grace, yet exhibited even at that time in different churches,) they created the belief with many, that they also were endued with prophecy. And as there was a dissension in consequence of these men, the brethren in Gaul again presented their own pious and correct judgment also concerning these, and published several letters of the martyrs that had been put to death among them. These they had written whilst yet in prison, and addressed to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia. And not only to these but likewise to Eleutherus, who was then bishop of Rome, negotiating as it were for the peace of the churches.





## CHAPTER IV

# THE MARTYRS COMMEND IRENÆUS IN THEIR EPISTLE

THESE same martyrs recommending also Irenæus, who was then a presbyter of the church at Lyons, to the bishop of Rome before mentioned, bear abundant testimony in his favour, as the following extracts show: "We pray and desire, father Eleutherus, that you may rejoice in God in all things and always. We have requested our brother and companion Irenæus to carry this epistle to you, and we exhort you to consider him as commended to you as a zealous follower of the testament (covenant) of Christ. For if we knew that any place could confer righteousness upon any one, we would certainly commend him among the first as a presbyter of the church, the station that he holds." Why should we here transcribe the list of those martyrs given in the above-mentioned epistle, of whom some were made perfect by decapitation, some cast to be devoured by wild beasts, and others again fell asleep in prison? Why repeat the number of confessors still living? For whoever wishes to learn these, can more easily obtain the fullest account by consulting the epistle itself, which, as I said, has been inserted by us in our collection of martyrs. Such were the events that happened under Antonine.



## CHAPTER V

# GOD SENT RAIN FROM HEAVEN TO MARCUS AURELIUS, THE EMPEROR, AT THE PRAYERS OF OUR BRETHREN

IT is said that when Marcus Aurelius Cæsar, the brother of the former, was about to engage in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, he and his army were suffering with thirst, and were greatly at a loss on this account. When those soldiers that belonged to the Melitine legion, as it was called, by a faith which has continued from that time to this, bending their knees upon the earth whilst drawn up in battle array against the enemy, according to our peculiar custom of praying, engaged in prayer to God. And as this was a singular spectacle to the enemy, a still more singular circumstance is reported to have happened immediately; the lightning drove the enemy into flight and destruction, while a shower came down and refreshed the army of those that then called upon God, the whole of which was on the point of perishing with thirst. This history is related by historians who are strangers to our doctrine, who, however, took an interest in the writings of those whom we have mentioned; and it is also stated by our own writers, whilst the wonderful event is also added by historians who differ from our faith, but who do not admit that this happened at the prayers of our brethren. But the fact is handed down on record by our brethren, as lovers of truth, in a plain and undisguised manner. Of these we might mention Apollinaris, who says that from that time, the legion, at whose prayers the wonder took place, received an appellation appropriate to the event, from the emperor, being called the fulminea, or thundering legion. Tertullian also might be cited as a suitable witness of these things, in the

Apology that he addressed to the Roman senate for the faith, the work which has been already mentioned by us, in which he confirms the history with greater and more powerful proof, where he writes as follows: "There are epistles of the most learned emperor Marcus still extant, in which he himself bears testimony, that when his army was ready to perish for want of water, it was saved by the prayers of the Christians." He says also, "that the same emperor threatened death to those that attempted to accuse us." To which he also adds, "What kind of laws are those which the wicked, unjust, and cruel put in force against us alone? which neither Vespasian observed, although he conquered the Jews; which Trajan in part annulled, forbidding that the Christians should be hunted up; which not even Adrian, though very inquisitive in all matters, nor he that was surnamed the Pious, confirmed." But every one may place these to what account he pleases. Let us proceed to the order of our history. Pothinus having died with the other martyrs of Gaul, in the ninetieth year of his age, he was succeeded by Irenæus in the episcopate of the church at Lyons. We have understood he was a hearer of Polycarp in his youth. This writer has inserted the succession of the bishops in his third book against the heresies, where he reviews the catalogue down to Eleutherus, whose times we are now examining, as he laboured with him in the production of this work, writing as follows.



# CHAPTER VI

## CATALOGUE OF THE BISHOPS OF ROME

“THE blessed apostles having founded and established the church, transmitted the office of the episcopate to Linus. Of this Linus, Paul makes mention in his Epistles to Timothy. He was succeeded by Anencletus, and after him Clement held the episcopate, the third from the apostles. Who, as he had seen the blessed apostles, and had been connected with them, might be said to have the doctrine of the apostles still sounding in his ears, and what they delivered before his eyes. And not only he, but many others were still left, who had been taught by the apostles. In the times of this Clement, there was no little dissension among the brethren at Corinth, on occasion of which the church at Rome wrote a considerable Epistle to the Corinthians, confirming them in peace, and renewing their faith and the doctrine they had lately received from the apostles.” After a little, he subjoins: “But this Clement was succeeded by Evarestus, and Evarestus by Alexander. Xystus followed as the sixth from the apostles, after whom was Telesphorus, who also illustriously suffered martyrdom, then came Hyginus, and after him Pius. He was followed by Anicetus, and as he was succeeded by Soter, the twelfth from the apostles in the episcopate now is Eleutherus, in the same order and the same doctrine (or succession in which the tradition of the apostles in the church and the promulgation of the truth has descended to us.”





## CHAPTER VII

# MIRACLES WERE PERFORMED IN THOSE TIMES BY THE BELIEVERS

THESE accounts are given by Irenæus in those five books of his, to which he gave the title of "Refutation and Overthrow of False Doctrine." In the second book of the same work, he also shows that even down to his times, instances of divine and miraculous power were remaining in some churches. "Far are they," says he, "from raising the dead, in the manner the Lord and his apostles did by prayer, yet even among the brethren, frequently in a case of necessity, when a whole church has united in much fasting and prayer, the spirit has returned to the exanimated body, and the man has been granted to the prayers of the saints." And again, he says, after other observations: "But if they say that our Lord also did these things only in appearance, we shall refer them back to the prophetic declarations, and shall show from them that all those things were strictly foretold, and were done by him, and that he alone is the Son of God. Wherefore, also, those that were truly his disciples, receiving grace from him, in his name performed these things for the benefit of the rest of men, as every one received the free gift from Him. Some, indeed, most certainly and truly cast out demons, so that frequently those persons themselves that were cleansed from wicked spirits, believed and were received into the church. Others have the knowledge of things to come, as also visions and prophetic communications; others heal the sick by the imposition of hands, and restore them to health. And, moreover, as we said above, even the dead have been raised and continued with us many years. And why should we say more? It is impossible to tell the number of the gifts which the church throughout the world received from God, and the deeds performed in the name of Jesus Christ, that was crucified under Pontius

Pilate, and this too every day for the benefit of the heathen, without deceiving any, or exacting their money. For as she has received freely from God, she also freely ministers.” In another place the same author writes: “As we hear many of the brethren in the church who have prophetic gifts, and who speak in all tongues through the Spirit, and who also bring to light the secret things of men for their benefit, and who expound the mysteries of God.” These gifts of different kinds also continued with those that were worthy until the times mentioned.



# CHAPTER VIII

## THE STATEMENT OF IRENÆUS RESPECTING THE SACRED SCRIPTURES

SINCE we have promised in the outset of our work to give extracts occasionally when we refer to the declarations of the ancient presbyters and historians of the church, in which they have transmitted the traditions that have descended to us respecting the sacred Scriptures; among whom Irenæus was one; let us now give his words, and first of all what he has said of the holy gospels: "Matthew produced his gospel written among the Hebrews in their own dialect, whilst Peter and Paul proclaimed the gospel and founded the church at Rome. After the departure of these, Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, also transmitted to us in writing what had been preached by him. And Luke, the companion of Paul, committed to writing the gospel preached by him. Afterwards John, the disciple of our Lord, the same that lay upon his bosom, also published the gospel, whilst he was yet at Ephesus in Asia." This is what this author says in the third book of the work already mentioned; and in the fifth, he thus descants on the Revelation of John and the calculation of antichrist's name: "As matters are thus, and the number is thus found in all the genuine and ancient copies, and as they who saw John attest; reason itself shows that the number of the name of the beast is indicated by the Greek letters which it contains." And a little further on he speaks of the same John: "We, therefore," says he, "do not venture to affirm any thing with certainty respecting the name of antichrist. For were it necessary that his name should be clearly announced to the present age, it would have been declared by him who saw the revelation. For it has not been long since it was seen, but almost in our own generation, about the end of

Domitian's reign." These are what he states respecting the Revelation. He also mentions the First Epistle of John, extracting many testimonies from it: he also mentions the First Epistle of Peter. And he not only knew, but also admitted the book called Pastor, in these words: "Well is it said in that work which declares, 'First of all believe that there is one God, who created and arranged all things,' " &c.

He also quotes some expressions from the Wisdom of Solomon, almost in these words: "The vision of God is productive of immortality, but immortality makes us to be next to God." He also mentions the commentaries of a certain apostolical presbyter, whose name he has passed by in silence; he also adds his expositions of the sacred Scriptures. He moreover makes mention of Justin Martyr and Ignatius, taking some testimony also from the works written by these. He also promises in a separate work to refute some of the writings of Marcion. Hear also what he has written respecting the translation of the holy Scriptures by the seventy. "God," says he, "became man, and the Lord himself saved us, giving us the sign of the virgin. But not as some say, that now presume to interpret the Scriptures: 'Behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son,' as Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus have translated, both of them Jewish proselytes. Whom the Ebionites following, assert that Jesus was begotten of Joseph." After a little he adds: "For before the Romans established their empire, whilst yet the Macedonians had possession of Asia, Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, being ambitious to adorn the library established by him in Alexandria, with the works of all men, as many as were worthy of being studied, requested of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have their works translated into the Greek; but as they were yet subject to the Macedonians, they sent seventy of their elders that were best skilled in the Scriptures, and in both languages, to Ptolemy, and thus Providence favoured his design. But as he wished them to make the attempt separately, and apprehensive, lest by concert they might conceal the truth of the Scriptures by their interpretation, therefore separating them from one another, he commanded all to write the same translation. And this he did in all the books. Assembling therefore in the same place, in the presence of Ptolemy, and each of them comparing

their respective versions, God was glorified, and the Scriptures were recognised as truly divine, as all of them rendered the same things, in the very same expressions, and the same words, from the beginning to the end. So that the Gentiles present knew that the Scriptures were translated by a Divine inspiration. Neither was it any thing extraordinary that God should have done this, who, indeed, in the captivity of the people under Nebuchadnezzar, when the Scriptures had been destroyed, and the Jews returned to their country after seventy years, subsequently in the times of Artaxerxes king of the Persians, inspired Esdras the priest, of the tribe of Levi, to compose anew all the discourses of the ancient prophets, and to restore to the people the laws given by Moses." Thus far Irenæus.



# CHAPTER IX

## THE BISHOPS UNDER COMMODUS

ANTONINUS having held the empire nineteen years, Commodus received the government. In his first year Julian undertook the superintendence of the churches of Alexandria, after Agrippinus had filled the office twelve years.





# CHAPTER X

## OF PANTÆNUS THE PHILOSOPHER

ABOUT the same time, the school of the faithful was governed by a man most distinguished for his learning, whose name was Pantænus; as there had been a school of sacred literature established there from ancient times, which has continued down to our own, and which we have understood was conducted by men distinguished for eloquence, and the study of divine things. For the tradition is, that this philosopher was then in great eminence, as he had been first disciplined in the philosophical principles of those called stoics. But he is said to have displayed such ardour, and so zealous a disposition, respecting the divine word, that he was constituted a herald of the gospel of Christ to the nations of the east, and advanced even as far as India. There were even there yet many evangelists who were ardently striving to employ their inspired zeal after the apostolic example, to increase and build up the divine word. Of these Pantænus is said to have been one, and to have come as far as the Indies. And the report is, that he there found his own arrival anticipated by some who there were acquainted with the gospel of Matthew, to whom Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached, and had left them the same gospel in the Hebrew, which was also preserved until this time. Pantænus, after many praiseworthy deeds, was finally at the head of the Alexandrian school, commenting on the treasures of divine truth, both orally and in his writings.



# CHAPTER XI

## CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

AT this time, also, flourished Clement at Alexandria, of the same name with him who anciently presided over the church of Rome, and who was a disciple of the apostles. This Clement was devoted to the study of some Scriptures with Pantænus, and in his Institutions expressly mentions the latter by name as his teacher. He also appears to me to designate this same one in the first book of his Stromata, when he points out the most distinguished of the apostolic succession, which he had received from tradition, in the following words: "These books," says he, "were not fabricated as a work of ostentation, but they are treasured up by me as a kind of commentaries for my old age, and an antidote to forgetfulness, as a natural image and sketch of those efficacious and inspired doctrines which I was honoured to receive from those blessed and truly excellent men. Of these, the one was Ironicus in Greece, but the other in Magna Græcia; the one of them being a Syrian, the other a native of Egypt. Others, however, there were, living in the east; and of these, one was from Assyria, another of Palestine, a Hebrew by descent. The last that I met with was the first in excellence. Him I found concealed in Egypt; and, meeting him there, I ceased to extend my search beyond him, as one who had no superior in abilities. These, indeed, preserved the true tradition of the salutary doctrine, which, as given by Peter and James, John and Paul, had descended from father to son. Though there are few like their fathers, they have, by the favour of God, also come down to us to plant that ancient and apostolic seed likewise in our minds."



# CHAPTER XII

## THE BISHOPS OF JERUSALEM

AT this time, also, Narcissus, who is celebrated among many even at this day, was noted as bishop of Jerusalem, being the fifteenth in succession since the invasion of the Jews under Hadrian. Since this event, we have shown that the church there consisted of Gentiles after those of the circumcision, and that Marcus was the first bishop of the Gentiles that presided there. After him, Cassianus held the episcopal office; after him followed Publius, then Maximus; these were followed by Julian, then Caius; after him Symmachus, and another Caius; and then another Julian, who was followed by Capito, and Valens and Dolichianus. Last of all Narcissus, the thirtieth in regular succession from the apostles.



## CHAPTER XIII

# OF RHODON, AND THE DISSENSION OCCASIONED BY MARCION, WHICH HE RECORDS

ABOUT this time, also, Rhodon, a native of Asia, being instructed, as himself says, by Tatian, with whom we have already become acquainted, and having written various other books, among the rest also combated the heresy of Marcion. This, he says, was split into various opinions in his time; and describing those that occasioned the division, he also accurately refutes the perverse doctrines devised by each of them. Hear him in his own words: "Hence," says he, "they are also divided among themselves, as they maintain a doctrine that cannot stand. For from this herd arose Apelles, who assuming a gravity of deportment, and presuming upon his age, professed to believe but one principle, and that the prophetic declarations proceeded from an adverse spirit. He was deluded, however, by the responsive oracular answers of a certain virgin under demoniacal influence, and whose name was Philumena. But others, as the Mariner Marcion himself, introduced two principles, to which sect belong Potitus and Basilicus. These following that wolf of Pontus (Marcion), and, like the former, unable to find the division of things, sunk into licentiousness, and roundly asserted, without any proof, that there were two principles. Others, again, declining from them to a still greater error, established not only two but three natures." Of these, the chief and leader was Syneros, as those that established his school say. But the same author writes, that he also had some conference with Apelles. "For," says he, "the old man Apelles, when he came into conversation with us, was refuted in many of his false assertions. Hence, he also said, that one ought not to examine doctrine, but that each one should continue as he



believed. For he asserted, that those who trusted in him that was crucified would be saved, if they were only found engaged in good works. But he asserted, that the most obscure of all things was, as we before said, the question respecting the Deity.” He said there was one principle, as our doctrine asserts: then, after advancing the whole of his opinion, he subjoins the following: “When I said to him, ‘How do you prove this? or how can you say there is one principle? I wish you to explain;’ he said, ‘that the prophecies refuted themselves, because they uttered nothing that was true, for they are inconsistent and false, and contradict themselves; but said, that he did not, however, know there was only one principle, he was only moved to adopt this opinion.’ Then conjuring him to speak the truth, he swore that he did speak the truth, and said he did not understand how there could be a God without being produced, but that he believed it. On learning this, I laughed, and reproved him; because whilst he asserted that he was a teacher, he knew not how to establish that which he taught.”

In the same work which he addressed to Callistion, he confesses that he himself was taught by Tatian at Rome, and says, also, that a book of questions had been written by Tatian, in which he professes to explain what was hidden and obscure in the sacred writings: Rhodon promises that he would give solutions to these questions in a work of his own. There is also a commentary of his extant, on the Hexæmeron. But this same Apelles uttered innumerable impieties against the law of Moses, and in many works he reviled the sacred Scriptures, using no small exertions, as it seems, to refute and overturn them. Thus far, however, respecting these.



## CHAPTER XIV

# THE FALSE PROPHETS OF THE PHRYGIANS

As the enemy of the church of God is the great adversary of all goodness, and the promoter of evil, and since he omits no method of plotting against men, he was active again in causing new heresies to spring up against the church. Some like venomous reptiles crept over Asia and Phrygia, pretending that Montanus was the Paraclete, but that the two women who followed him, Priscilla and Maximilla, were prophetesses of Montanus.



# CHAPTER XV

## OF THE SCHISM OF BLASTUS, AT ROME

OTHERS there were that flourished at Rome, at the head of whom was Florinus, who lost his office as a presbyter of the church, and Blastus was very nearly involved in the same fall with him. These, also, drawing away many of the church, seduced them into their opinions, each one endeavouring separately to introduce his own innovations upon the truth.



# CHAPTER XVI

## THE AFFAIRS OF MONTANUS, AND HIS FALSE PROPHETS

AGAINST the above-mentioned heresy of the Phrygians, that power which is the defender of the truth, raised up a powerful weapon and antagonist in Apollinaris of Hierapolis, whom we mentioned before, and in many other eloquent men with him; of whom, also, most abundant matter has been left us for our history. One of them, in the very beginning of his work against them, first intimates that he would meet and refute them by open argument. For thus he commences his work: "As for a long and very considerable time, O beloved Avircius Marcellus, I have been urged by thee to write a discourse against the heresy which is called after Miltiades, I have been somewhat in doubt until now, not indeed for want of argument to refute the false doctrine, or to bear witness to the truth, but because fearful and apprehensive, lest I should appear to give any new injunctions, or to add any thing to the doctrine of the New Testament, which it is impossible that any resolved to live according to the gospel, should add to or diminish. Lately, however, having been at Ancyra, a city of Galatia, and having understood that the church in Pontus was very much agitated by this new prophecy, as they call it, but which, as shall be shown, with divine assistance, deserves rather the name of false prophecy, I discoursed many days in the church, both respecting these matters and others that were proposed; so that the church, indeed, rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth; but the adversaries were put to flight, and the opponents were cast down. But as the presbyters of the place requested that we should leave some account of those things that we said, in opposition to the enemies of the truth, Zoticus Otrenus also being present, who was our fellow-presbyter; this, indeed, I did not

perform, but I promised writing thither, and to send it as soon as possible, if the Lord permitted." This, and other matters, he states in the beginning of his work, premising the cause of the mentioned heresy, as follows: "Their combination, therefore, and recent heretical severance from the church, had for its origin the following cause:—There is said to be a certain village of Mysia in Phrygia, called Ardaba. There, they say, during the proconsulship of Cratus in Asia, one of those who was but a recent convert, Montanus by name, in the excessive desire of his soul to take the lead, gave the adversary occasion against himself, so that he was carried away in spirit, and wrought up into a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving, and speaking, and uttering strange things, and proclaiming what was contrary to the institutions that had prevailed in the church, as handed down and preserved in succession from the earliest times. But of those that happened then to be present, and to hear these spurious oracles, some being indignant, rebuked him as one under the influence of demons and the spirit of delusion, and only exciting disturbances among the multitude. These bore in mind the distinction and the warning given by our Lord, when he cautioned them to be vigilantly on their guard against false prophets. Others again, elated as if by the Holy Spirit, and the prophetic gift, and not a little puffed up; and forgetting the caution given by our Lord; challenged this insidious, flattering, and seducing spirit, and were themselves captivated and seduced by his influence, so that they were no longer able to silence him. Thus, by an artifice, or rather by a certain crafty process, the devil having devised destruction against those that disobeyed the truth, and thus excessively honoured by them, secretly stimulated and fired their understandings, already wrapt in insensibility, and wandering away from the truth. He also excited two others, females, and filled them with the spirit of delusion, so that they spake like the former, in a kind of frenzy, out of all propriety, and in a manner strange and novel. They rejoiced and gloried in the spirit who thus pronounced them happy and puffed them up by the greatness of his promises. Sometimes also he pointedly and deservedly condemned them, so that he might seem a chastising spirit. Those few that were deceived were Phrygians; and the same arrogant spirit taught them to revile the



whole church under heaven, because it gave neither access nor honour to this false spirit of prophecy. The faithful, therefore, held frequent conferences in many places throughout Asia on this account, and having examined these novel doctrines, pronounced them vain, rejected them as heresy, and expelled and prohibited from communion with the church those who held them." After relating these facts in the beginning of his work, and introducing the refutation of it throughout, he adds the following remarks in the second book, respecting the end of those just described. "Therefore," says he, "since they call us slayers of the prophets, because we did not promptly receive these talkative teachers, pretending that they were those whom the Lord promised to send to his people, let them tell us in the name of God, O friends, which of these who began prating from Montanus and his women, is there that suffered persecution, or was slain by the impious? None. Not even one of them has been seized and crucified for the name (of Christ). None at all. Not one of their women was ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews, or stoned. No, never.

"Montanus and Maximilla, indeed, are said to have died another death than this, for at the instigation of that mischievous spirit, the report is, that both of them hung themselves, not, indeed, at the same time, but at the particular time of each one's death, as the general report is; and thus they died and terminated their life like the traitor Judas. Thus, also, the general opinion is, that Theodotus, one of the first that was carried away by their prophecy, as it was called, and who became a kind of patron of the delusion, as if he should at some time be taken up and received into the heavens, and who falling into trances, gave himself up to the spirit of deception, was finally tossed by him like a quoit in the air, and thus miserably perished. They say this happened as we have stated. But, my friend, we do not presume to know anything certain of these matters, unless we had seen them. For perhaps both Montanus and Theodotus, and the above-mentioned woman, may have died in this way, or they may not." He mentions also in the same book, that the holy bishops of that time attempted to refute the spirit in Maximilla, but were prevented by others who manifestly co-operated with the spirit. His statement is as follows: "And let not, as is said in the same work of Asterius

Urbanus, let not the spirit of Maximilla say, 'I am chased like a wolf from the flock; I am no wolf. I am utterance, spirit, and power.' But let him show the power in the spirit effectually, and prove it. And let him by the spirit face those that were present at the time, to examine and argue with the babbling spirit, men who were eminent, and bishops of the church, Zoticus of Comana, Julian of Apamea, whose tongues the followers of Themison bridled, and prevented them from refuting the false and seducing spirit."

In the same work, after stating other matters in refutation of the false predictions of Maximilla, he likewise indicates the time that he wrote this, and mentions also, her declarations in which she foretold that there would be wars and political convulsions. The falsity of which is evinced by him as follows: "And has not," says he, "the falsehood of this been made obvious? For it is now more than thirteen years since the woman died, and neither has there been a partial nor a general war, but rather, by the mercy of God, continued peace to the Christians." This he writes in the second book. I shall also subjoin some extracts from the third book, in which he speaks as follows, against those who boasted that there were many of their number that had suffered martyrdom: "But," says he, "since they are at a loss what to reply to the refutation of their errors, they fly for refuge to their martyrs, saying they have many martyrs, and that this is one sure evidence of the power of that spirit which they call prophetic. But this, as it appears, is not the more true on that account. For some of the other heresies also have a vast number of martyrs, but neither do we the more on that account agree with them, nor acknowledge that they have truth on their side. Indeed, they who are called Marcionites, say that they had vast numbers that were martyrs for Christ. But they do not confess Christ in truth." And a little after he adds: "Hence, whenever those that are called martyrs by the church, on account of enduring martyrdom for the true faith, happen to fall in with those called martyrs of the Phrygian heresy, they always separate from them and undergo death, having no communion with them, because they do not assent to the spirit of Montanus and the women; and that all this is true, and happened in our own times at Apamea on the Menander, is manifest from those who suffered martyrdom with Caius and Alexander of Eumenia."



# CHAPTER XVII

## OF MILTIADES AND HIS WORKS

IN the same work he also makes mention of the historian Miltiades, who also wrote a book against the same heresy. After quoting some passages from it, he adds: "As I found these statements in one of their works against another work written by our brother Alcibiades, in which he demonstrates the impropriety of a prophet's speaking in ecstasy; this work I have abridged." After stating other matters, he enumerates those who had prophesied under the New Testament. Among these he mentions one Ammias and Quadratus. "But the false prophet," says he, "is carried away by a vehement ecstasy, accompanied by want of all shame and fear; beginning, indeed, with a designed ignorance, and terminating, as beforesaid, in involuntary madness. They will never be able to show that any in the Old or New Testament were thus violently agitated and carried away in spirit. Neither will they be able to boast that Agabus, or Judas, or Silas, or the daughters of Philip, or Ammias in Philadelphia, or Quadratus, or others that do not belong to them, ever acted in this way." Again, after a little, he says, "If after Quadratus and Ammias in Philadelphia, the women that followed Montanus succeeded in the gift of prophecy, let them show us what women among them succeeded Montanus and his women. For the apostle shows that the gift of prophecy should be in all the church until the coming of the Lord, but they can by no means show any one at this time, the fourteenth year from the death of Maximilla." Thus far this author. But the Miltiades mentioned by him has left other monuments of his study in the holy Scriptures, both in the works that he wrote against the Greeks and those against the Jews. Both treatises are written in two separate volumes. He has, moreover, written a work against the philosophers of the age, in favour of the philosophy which he embraced.



## CHAPTER XVIII

# APOLLONIUS ALSO REFUTES THE PHRYGIAN HERESY, AND THOSE WHOM HE HAS MENTIONED

THE heresy of the Phrygians, as it was called, still continuing to prevail in Phrygia, Apollonius undertook to refute it in a particular work which he wrote; on the one hand correcting their false predictions in reference to what they said, and on the other describing the life of those who were its founders. Hear him in his own words respecting Montanus: "But who," says he, "is this new teacher? His works and his doctrines sufficiently show it. This is he that taught the dissolutions of marriage, he that imposed laws of fasting, that called Pepuza and Tymium, little places in Phrygia, a Jerusalem, in order to collect men from every quarter thither; who established exactors of money, and under the name of offerings, devised the artifice to procure presents; who provided salaries for those that preached his doctrine, that it might grow strong by gormandizing and gluttony." Thus far concerning Montanus; and further on he writes concerning his prophetesses: "We show, therefore," says he, "that these same leading prophetesses, as soon as they were filled with the spirit, abandoned their husbands. How then can they utter this falsehood, who call Prisca a virgin?" He afterwards proceeds again: "Does it not appear to you that the Scripture forbids any prophet to receive gifts and money? When, therefore, I see a prophetess receiving both gold and silver, and precious garments, how can fail to reject her?" Again, further on, respecting a certain one of their confessors, he says: "Moreover, Themison, who was completely clad in a most plausible covetousness, could not bear the great characteristic of confession, but threw aside bonds and imprisonment for the abundance of wealth, and though it became

him to walk humbly, boasted as a martyr, and dared to imitate the apostles by drawing up a certain catholic epistle, to instruct those who had a better faith than himself, to contend for doctrines of empty sound, and to utter impieties against the Lord and his apostles and the holy church.” Again, speaking of others that are honoured among them as martyrs, he writes thus: “But not to speak of many, let the prophetess tell us the circumstances of Alexander, who called himself a martyr, with whom she feasted, the same too that is adored by numbers; whose robberies and other crimes, for which he was punished, it is not for us to tell, but which are preserved in the public records. Which of them forgives another his sins? Does the prophetess forgive the martyr his robberies? or the martyr forgive the prophetess her avarice? Although the Lord has said, ‘Lay not up for yourselves gold or silver, nor two coats,’ these, in direct opposition, have committed great crimes in regard to the possession of things thus prohibited. For we shall show, that those that are called martyrs and prophets among them, have derived pecuniary gain, not only from the wealthy, but from the poor, and from widows and orphans, and if they have any confidence (of innocence) in this, let them stand and settle these matters with us; so that, if they are convicted, they may abandon their misdemeanours hereafter.

“The fruits of a prophet must be examined; for by its fruits the tree is known. But that those who wish may understand the circumstances respecting this Alexander, he was tried by Æmilius Frontinus, the proconsul (of Asia) at Ephesus, not for the name (of Christian) but for the robberies which he dared to commit, as he had already been a transgressor. Then, however, pretending to the name of the Lord, he was liberated, after he had spread his errors among the faithful there. But the church of the place whence he sprung would not receive him, because he was a robber. Those, however, that wish to learn his history, can consult the public archives of Asia. And yet the prophet pretends to be ignorant of this man, with whom he lived many years. By refuting him, we also overturn the pretensions of the prophet. The same thing could be shown in many others, and if they have the courage let them undergo the test of argument.” In another part of the same work, he adds the following, respecting their boasted

prophets: "If," says he, "they deny that their prophets took presents, let them at least acknowledge, that, if they should be proved to have received them, they are no prophets. And of these matters we will furnish a thousand proofs. But it is necessary that all the fruits of a prophet should be examined. Tell me, does a prophet dye (his hair)? Does a prophet stain (his eyelids)? Does a prophet delight in ornament? Does a prophet play with tablets and dice? Does he take usury? Let them first acknowledge these things, whether they are right or not; and I will show that they have been done by them."

This same Apollonius relates in the same work, that it was forty years from the time that Montanus undertook his pretended prophecy down to the period when he wrote his work. And again he says, that Zoticus, who was also mentioned by the former historian, when Maximilla was pretending to utter prophecies at Pepuza, attempted to interfere and reason with the spirit by which she was stimulated, but was hindered by those that followed her opinions. He mentions, also, a certain Thraseas among the martyrs of the times, and also that it was handed down by tradition, that our Saviour commanded his disciples not to depart from Jerusalem for twelve years. He quotes, also, the Revelations of John as testimony; and relates, also, that a dead man was raised by the divine power, through the same John, at Ephesus. Many other matters he also states; by which he abundantly refutes the error of the above-mentioned heresy. These are the matters stated by Apollonius.





# CHAPTER XIX

## THE OPINION OF SERAPION RESPECTING THE HERESY OF THE PHRYGIANS

SERAPION, who is said about this time to have been the bishop of the church of Antioch, after Maximums, has also made mention of the writings of Apollinaris against the same heresy. In a private letter, which he wrote to Caricus and Ponticus, he mentions him, and also refutes his heresy in the following words: "But that you may also see, that the influence of this lying party of a new prophecy, as it is called, is abominated by all the brethren in the world, I have also sent you the epistle of Claudius Apollinaris, that most blessed bishop of Hierapolis in Asia." In this same epistle of Serapion are also given the subscriptions of several bishops, of whom one wrote as follows: "I, Aurelius Cyrenius, a witness, wish you health." Another, as follows: "Ælius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thrace, as sure as God lives in the heavens, the blessed Sotas, in Anchialus, wished to cast out the demon from Priscilla, and the hypocrites would not suffer him." The signatures of many other bishops who bear witness to the facts, are given in their own hand in this epistle. And such are the statements referring to these.



# CHAPTER XX

## THE WRITINGS OF IRENÆUS AGAINST THE SCHISMATICS AT ROME

IRENÆUS composed various epistles in opposition to those that attempted to disfigure the sound institutions of the church at Rome. One addressed to Blastus, On Schism. One to Florinus, On Sovereignty, or, On the truth that God is not the author of evil: for the latter appeared to maintain this opinion; on whose account, as he was again on the point of being carried away by the Valentinian delusion, Irenæus also wrote the treatise on the Ogdoad, or the number eight; in which book he also shows that he was the first that received the original succession from the apostles. There, also, at the close of the work, we found a most delightful remark of his, which we shall deem incumbent on us also, to add to the present work. It is as follows: "I adjure thee, whoever thou art, that transcribest this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious appearance, when he shall come to judge the quick and dead, to compare what thou hast copied, and to correct it by this original manuscript, from which thou hast carefully transcribed; and that thou also copy this adjuration, and insert it in the copy." These things may be profitably read in his works, and we hope with equal profit have been related by us, that we may have these ancient and truly holy men, as the noblest examples before us. In that epistle, indeed, which we have already mentioned, and which Irenæus addressed to Florinus, he again speaks of his intimacy with Polycarp. "These doctrines," says he, "O Florinus, to say the least, are not of a sound understanding. These doctrines are inconsistent with the church, and calculated to thrust those that follow them into the greatest impiety. These doctrines, not even the heretics out of the church

ever attempted to assert. These doctrines were never delivered to thee by the presbyters before us, those who also were the immediate disciples of the apostles. For I saw thee when I was yet a boy in the lower Asia with Polycarp, moving in great splendour at court, and endeavouring by all means to gain his esteem. I remember the events of those times much better than those of more recent occurrence. As the studies of our youth, growing with our minds, unite with them so firmly that I can tell also the very place where the blessed Polycarp was accustomed to sit and discourse; and also his entrances, his walks, his manner of life, the form of his body, his conversations with the people, and his familiar intercourse with John, as he was accustomed to tell, as also his familiarity with those that had seen the Lord. How also he used to relate their discourses, and what things he had heard from them concerning the Lord. Also concerning his miracles, his doctrine, all these were told by Polycarp, in consistency with the holy Scriptures, as he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the doctrine of salvation. These things, by the mercy of God, and the opportunity then afforded me, I attentively heard, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart; and these same facts I am always in the habit, by the grace of God, of recalling faithfully to mind. And I can bear witness in the sight of God, that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard any such thing as this, he would have exclaimed and stopped his ears, and according to his custom, would have said: 'O good God, unto what times hast thou reserved me, that I should tolerate these things!' He would have fled from the place in which he had sat or stood, hearing doctrines like these. From his epistles, also, which he wrote to the neighbouring churches, in order to confirm them, or to some of the brethren in order to admonish or to exhort them, the same thing may be clearly shown." Thus far Irenæus.



# CHAPTER XXI

## THE MARTYRDOM OF APOLLONIUS, AT ROME

ABOUT the same period, in the reign of Commodus, our circumstances were changed to a milder aspect, as there was peace by the grace of God prevailing in the churches throughout the whole world. Then also the salutary doctrine brought the minds of men from every race on earth, to the devout veneration of the supreme God, so that now, many of those eminent at Rome for their wealth and kindred, with their whole house and family, yielded to their salvation. But this was not to be easily borne by the adversary of all good, that demon who in his own nature is envy itself: for he again prepared for action, and commenced plotting various devices against us. He led to the tribunal Apollonius, one of the faithful at that day, renowned for his learning and wisdom, by stimulating a certain man, well calculated to be his minister for such a purpose, to bring accusation against him. But this miserable instrument, entering upon the charge out of season, when such informers were not suffered to live according to the imperial edict, his limbs were immediately broken, after Perennis the judge had pronounced the sentence. But this most approved and divinely favoured martyr, as the judge earnestly desired and entreated him to give an account of himself before the senate, delivered a most eloquent defence of the faith for which he was suffering, in the presence of all, and terminated his life, by decapitation, according to the decree of the senate; as there was a law of long standing with them, that those who had been once led to trial, and that would by no means change their purpose, should not be dismissed. But the declarations of this martyr before the judge, and the answers that he gave to the questions of Perennis, and his whole defence before the senate,

whoever wishes to know, may learn from the narratives of ancient martyrs collected by us.





## CHAPTER XXII

### THE BISHOPS THAT FLOURISHED AT THIS TIME

IN the tenth year of the reign of Commodus, Eleutherus, who had held the episcopate for thirteen years, was succeeded by Victor. In this year, also, Julianus, who had the episcopal charge of the churches at Alexandria ten years, was succeeded by Demetrius. At this time, also, was yet living the above-mentioned Serapion, bishop of Antioch, and the eighth in succession from the apostles. At Cæsarea, in Palestine, Theophilus presided; and Narcissus, who was mentioned before, had still at the same time the administration of the church in Jerusalem. Baechyllus was then also bishop of Corinth, in Greece, and Polycrates of the church at Ephesus, and many others besides these, as is probable, were prominent. We have only given the names of those whose orthodoxy has been left on record.



## CHAPTER XXIII

# THE QUESTION THEN AGITATED RESPECTING THE PASSOVER

THERE was a considerable discussion raised about this time, in consequence of a difference of opinion respecting the observance of the paschal season. The churches of all Asia, guided by a remoter tradition, supposed that they ought to keep the fourteenth day of the moon for the festival of the Saviour's passover, in which day the Jews were commanded to kill the paschal lamb; and it was incumbent on them, at all times, to make an end of the fast on this day, on whatever day of the week it should happen to fall. But as it was not the custom to celebrate it in this manner in the churches throughout the rest of the world, who observe the practice that has prevailed from apostolic tradition until the present tune, so that it would not be proper to terminate our fast on any other but the day of the resurrection of our Saviour. Hence there were synods and convocations of the bishops on this question; and all unanimously drew up an ecclesiastical decree, which they communicated to all the churches in all places, that the mystery of our Lord's resurrection should be celebrated on no other day than the Lord's day; and that on this day alone we should observe the close of the paschal fasts. There is an epistle extant even now, of those who were assembled at the time; among whom presided Theophilus, bishop of the church in Cæsarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem. There is also another epistle extant on the same question, bearing the name of Victor. An epistle, also, of the bishops in Pontus, among whom Palmas, as the most ancient, presided; also, of the churches of Gaul, over whom Irenæus presided. Moreover, one from those in Osrhoene, and the cities there. A particular epistle from Bacchyllus, bishop of the Corinthians; and epistles from many others, who, advancing one

and the same doctrine, also passed the same vote. And this, their unanimous determination, was the one already mentioned.



# CHAPTER XXIV

## CONTROVERSY ABOUT EASTER

THE bishops, however, of Asia, persevering in observing the custom handed down to them from their fathers, were headed by Polycrates. He, indeed, had also set forth the tradition handed down to them, in a letter which he addressed to Victor and the church of Rome. "We," said he, "therefore, observe the genuine day; neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom. For in Asia great lights have fallen asleep, which shall rise again in the day of the Lord's appearing, in which he will come with glory from heaven, and will raise up all the saints; Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps in Hierapolis, and his two aged virgin daughters. His other daughter, also, who having lived under the influence of the Holy Ghost, now likewise rests in Ephesus. Moreover, John, who rested upon the bosom of our Lord, who also was a priest, and bore the sacerdotal plate (πεταλον), both a martyr and teacher. And is buried in Ephesus; also Polycarp of Smyrna, both bishop and martyr. Thraseus, also, bishop and martyr of Eumenia, who is buried at Smyrna. Why should I mention Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who rests at Laodicea? Moreover, the blessed Papius; and Melito, the eunuch, whose walk and conversation was altogether under the influence of the Holy Spirit, who now rests at Sardis, awaiting the episcopate from heaven, when he shall rise from the dead. All these observed the fourteenth day of the passover according to the gospel, deviating in no respect, but following the rule of faith. Moreover, I, Polycrates, who am the least of all of you, according to the tradition of my relatives, some of whom I have followed. For there were seven of my relatives bishops, and I am the eighth; and my relatives always observed the day when the people (i. e. the Jews) threw away the leaven. I, therefore, brethren, am now sixty-five years in the Lord, who having conferred with the brethren throughout the world, and

having studied the whole of the sacred Scriptures, am not at all alarmed at those things with which I am threatened, to intimidate me. For they who are greater than I, have said, 'We ought to obey God rather than men.' " After this, he also proceeds to write concerning all the bishops that were present, and thought the same with himself: "I could also mention," says he, "the bishops that were present, whom you requested to be summoned by me, and whom I did call. Whose names, did I write them, would present a great number. Who, however, seeing my slender body, consented to the epistle, well knowing that I did not bear my gray hairs for nought, but that I did at all times regulate my life in the Lord Jesus." Upon this, Victor, the bishop of the church of Rome, forthwith endeavoured to cut off the churches of all Asia, together with the neighbouring churches, as heterodox, from the common unity; and he published abroad by letters, and proclaimed, that all the brethren there were wholly excommunicated. But this was not the opinion of all the bishops. They immediately exhorted him, on the contrary, to contemplate that course that was calculated to promote peace, unity, and love to one another.

There are also extant, the expressions they used, who pressed upon Victor with much severity. Among these also was Irenæus, who, in the name of those brethren in Gaul over whom he presided, wrote an epistle, in which he maintains the duty of celebrating the mystery of the resurrection of our Lord, only on the day of the Lord. He becomingly also admonishes Victor, not to cut off whole churches of God, who observed the tradition of an ancient custom. After many other matters urged by him, he also adds the following: "For not only is the dispute respecting the day, but also respecting the manner of fasting. For some think, they ought to fast only one day, some two, some more days; some compute their day as consisting of forty hours night and day; and this diversity existing among those that observe it, is not a matter that has just sprung up in our times, but long ago among those before us, who perhaps not having ruled with sufficient strictness, established the practice that arose from their simplicity and inexperience, and yet with all these maintained peace, and we have maintained peace with one another; and the very difference in our fasting establishes the unanimity in our faith." To these he



also adds a narrative, which I may here appropriately insert. It is as follows: "And those presbyters who governed the church before Soter, and over which you now preside, I mean Anicetus and Pius, Hyginus with Telesphorus and Xystus, neither did themselves observe, nor did they permit those after them to observe it. And yet, though they themselves did not keep it, they were not the less in peace with those who came from other churches where it was kept; although to keep it then was so much the more in opposition to those who did not. Neither at any time did they cast off any merely for the sake of the form. Those very presbyters before thee, who did not observe it, sent the eucharist to those who did. And when the blessed Polycarp went to Rome, in the time of Anicetus, and they had a little difference among themselves likewise respecting other matters, they immediately were reconciled, not disputing much with one another on this head. For neither could Anicetus persuade Polycarp not to observe it, because he had always observed it with John the disciple of our Lord, and the rest of the apostles, with whom he associated; and neither did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, who said that he was bound to maintain the practice of the presbyters before him. Which things being so, they communed with each other; and in the church, Anicetus yielded to Polycarp, out of respect no doubt, the office of consecrating, and they separated from each other in peace, all the church being at peace; both those that observed and those that did not observe, maintaining peace." And this same Irenæus, as one whose character answered well to his name, being in this way a peace-maker, exhorted and negotiated such matters as these for the peace of the churches. And not only to Victor, but likewise to the most of the other rulers of the churches, he sent letters of exhortation on the agitated question.



# CHAPTER XXV

## ALL AGREE TO ONE OPINION RESPECTING THE PASSOVER

THE bishops indeed of Palestine, whom we have just mentioned, Narcissus and Theophilus, and Cassius with them, the bishop of the church at Tyre, and Clarus of Ptolemais, and those that came together with them, having advanced many things respecting the tradition that had been handed down to them by succession from the apostles, regarding the passover, at the close of the epistle, use these words: "Endeavour to send copies of the epistle through all the church, that we may not give occasion to those whose minds are easily led astray. But we inform you also, that they observe the same day at Alexandria, which we also do; for letters have been sent by us to them, and from them to us, so that we celebrate the holy season with one mind and at one time."



# CHAPTER XXVI

## THE ELEGANT WORKS OF IRENÆUS THAT HAVE COME DOWN TO US

BESIDES the works and epistles of Irenæus above-mentioned, there is a certain very brief and most important discourse by him On Knowledge, against the Greeks; another also, which he dedicated to his brother, named Marcion, as a proof of the apostolic preaching: a book also of various disputes, in which he mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews and the book called the Wisdom of Solomon, quoting certain passages from them. These are the works of Irenæus that have come down to us. After Commodus had ended his reign in the thirteenth year, and Pertinax had held the government not quite six months, Severus was created emperor, and ruled the state.



# CHAPTER XXVII

## THE WORKS OF OTHERS THAT FLOURISHED AT THE TIME

NUMEROUS works, indeed, of ancient ecclesiastical writers are still preserved by many, the monuments of a virtuous industry. Those which we would select of them, might be the commentaries of Heraclitus "On the Apostle;" the works of Maximus, also, on that question so much agitated among the heretics, The Origin of Evil; also, On the Creation of Matter. Also, the works of Candidus, On the Hexaemeron. And Apion's work on the same subject. Sextus, also, On the Resurrection, and a certain other treatise of Arabianus, with many others, of whom, as we have no data, we can neither insert the times nor any extracts in our history. Many others there also are, that have come down to us, even the names of whom it would be impossible to give. All of these were orthodox and ecclesiastical writers, as the interpretation which each gives of the sacred Scriptures shows; yet they are not known to us, because the works themselves do not give their authors.





## CHAPTER XXVIII

# THOSE THAT FOLLOWED THE HERESY OF ARTEMON, IN THE BEGINNING. THEIR CHARACTER AND CONDUCT; AND THEIR ATTEMPT AT CORRUPTING THE SCRIPTURES

IN a work written by a certain one of these authors against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata again attempted to revive among us, there is a narrative well adapted to the history we are now investigating. This writer, not long since, in refuting the heresy mentioned, which asserts that Christ is a mere man, since its leaders wish to boast as if it were the ancient doctrine, besides many other arguments that he adduces in refutation of their impious falsehood, gives the following account: "For they assert," says he, "that all those primitive men and the apostles themselves both received and taught these things as they are now taught by them, and that the truth of the gospel was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop of Rome from Peter, and that from his successor Zephyrinus, the truth was mutilated. And perchance what they say might be credible, were it not that the holy Scriptures contradict them; and then, also, there are works of certain brethren older than Victor's times, which they wrote in defence of the truth, and against the heresies then prevailing. I speak of Justus and Miltiades, and Tatian and Clement, and many others, in all which the divinity of Christ is asserted. For who knows not the works of Irenæus and Melito, and the rest, in which Christ is announced as God and man? Whatever psalms and hymns were written by the brethren from

the beginning, celebrate Christ the Word of God, by asserting his Divinity. How then could it happen, that since the doctrine of the church has been proclaimed for so many years, that those until the times of Victor, preached the gospel after this manner? And how are they so devoid of shame to utter these falsehoods against Victor, well knowing that Victor excommunicated that carrier Theodotus, the leader and father of this God-denying apostasy, as the first one that asserted Christ was a mere man. For had Victor entertained the sentiments which their impious doctrine promulgates, how could he have expelled Theodotus, the inventor of this heresy?" Thus much with respect to Victor. After this author had superintended the church, Zephyrinus was appointed his successor about the ninth year of the reign of Severus. The same author that composed the book already mentioned respecting the founder of this heresy, also adds an account of another event that occurred in the times of Zephyrinus, in these words: "I shall remind many of the brethren of a fact," says he, "that happened in our days, which, had it happened in Sodom, I think would have led them to reflection. There was a certain Natalius, who lived not in remote times, but in our own. This man was seduced on a certain occasion by Asclepiodotus, and another Theodotus, a money-changer. Both of these were disciples of Theodotus the carrier, the first that had been excommunicated by Victor, then bishop as before said, on account of this opinion, or rather insanity. Natalius was persuaded by them to be created a bishop of this heresy, with a salary from them of one hundred and fifty denarii a month. Being connected, therefore, with them, he was frequently brought to reflection by the Lord in his dreams. For the merciful God and our Lord Jesus Christ, would not that he who had been a witness of his own sufferings, should perish, though lie was out of the church. But as he paid little attention to these visions, being ensnared both by the desire of presiding among them, and that foul gain which destroys so many, he was finally lashed by holy angels, through the whole night, and was thus most severely punished; so that he arose early in the morning, and putting on sackcloth and covered with ashes, in great haste, and bathed in tears, he fell down before Zephyrinus the bishop, rolling at the feet not only of the clergy but even of the laity, and thus moved the

compassionate church of Christ with his tears. And, although he implored their clemency with much earnestness, and pointed to the strokes of the lashes he had received, he was at last scarcely admitted to communion.” To this, we will also add other extracts from the same writer respecting this sect: “The sacred Scriptures,” says he, “have been boldly perverted by them; the rule of the ancient faith they have set aside, Christ they have renounced, not inquiring what the holy Scriptures declared, but zealously labouring what form of reasoning may be devised to establish their impiety. And should any one present a passage of divine truth, they examined, first, whether a connected or disjointed form of syllogism can be formed from it. But they abandon the holy Scriptures for the study of geometry, as being of the earth they talk of the earth, and know not him that cometh from above. Euclid, therefore, is industriously measured by them. Aristotle and Theophrastus are also admired, and as to Galen he is even perhaps worshipped by some. But as to these men who abuse the acts of the unbelievers, to their own heretical views, and who adulterate the simplicity of that faith contained in the holy Scriptures, by the wily arts of impious men: where is the necessity of asserting that they are not right in the faith? For this purpose they fearlessly lay their hands upon the holy Scriptures, saying that they have corrected them. And that I do not say this against them without foundation, whoever wishes may learn; for should any one collect and compare their copies one with another, he would find them greatly at variance among themselves. For the copies of Asclepiodotus will be found to differ from those of Theodotus. Copies of many you may find in abundance, altered, by the eagerness of their disciples to insert each one his own corrections, as they call them, i. e. their corruptions. Again, the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these, for those of Apollonius are not consistent with themselves. For one may compare those which were prepared before by them, with those which they afterwards perverted for their own objects, and you will find them widely differing. But what a stretch of audacity this aberration indicates, it is hardly probable themselves can be ignorant. For either they do not believe that the holy Scriptures were uttered by the Holy Spirit, and they are thus infidels, or they

deem themselves wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what alternative is there but to pronounce them demoniacs? For neither can they deny that they have been guilty of the daring act, when the copies were written with their own hand, nor did they receive such Scriptures from those by whom they were instructed in the elements of the faith: nor can they show copies from which they were transcribed. But some of them did not even deign, or think it worth while, to mutilate the Scriptures, but directly denying the law and the prophets by their lawless and impious doctrine, under the pretext of grace, they sunk down to the lowest depths of perdition.” But let this suffice on this subject.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK VI



# CHAPTER I

## THE PERSECUTION UNDER SEVERUS

WHEN Severus raised a persecution against the churches, there were illustrious testimonies given by the combatants of religion in all the churches every where. They particularly abounded in Alexandria, whilst the heroic wrestlers from Egypt and Thebais were escorted thither as to a mighty theatre of God, where, by their invincible patience under various tortures and modes of death, they were adorned with crowns from heaven. Among these was Leonides, said to be the father of Origen, who was beheaded, and left his son very young. His early predilection for the divine word, as instructed by his father, it is not out of place here briefly to state, so much the more especially as his fame is celebrated by many.





## CHAPTER II

# THE EDUCATION OF ORIGEN, FROM HIS EARLIEST YOUTH

ONE might, indeed, say much in attempting to write the life of the man at school, for the subject respecting him would require a particular and separate work. Nevertheless, for the present, we shall endeavour by abridging the most of the materials, as briefly as possible to relate some few events respecting him, and adduce the facts from certain epistles and histories which have come down to our own day, by those of his familiar friends who are yet living. The life of Origen, indeed, appears to me worthy of being recorded, even from his tender infancy. It was in the tenth year of the reign of Severus, when Alexandria and the rest of Egypt were under the government of his viceroy Lætus, and the churches there were under the episcopal administration of Demetrius, the successor of Julian, that the kindled flame of persecution blazed forth mightily, and many thousands were crowned with martyrdom.

It was then, too, that the love of martyrdom so powerfully seized the soul of Origen, though yet an almost infant boy, that he advanced so close to encounter danger, and was eager to leap forward and rush upon the conflict. And, indeed, there had been now but little wanting, and the termination of his life had not been far off, unless the heavenly providence of God for the benefit of vast numbers, had, by means of his mother, interposed an impediment to his eager desire. She, indeed, at first, implored and entreated him to spare a mother's tenderness regarding him, but seeing him only the more vehemently bent upon it, as he understood that his father was taken and kept a prisoner, and he was wholly borne away by the desire of becoming a martyr, his mother concealed his clothes in order to compel him to remain at home. When he saw that there was no other course for him to

pursue, as his great zeal was far beyond his years, he could not remain inactive, but sent to his father a most encouraging letter on martyrdom, in which he encourages him, saying, "Take heed (father) not to change thy mind on account of us." This may serve as the first specimen of Origen's intelligence, and his genuine devotedness to piety, for he had even then made no little progress in the doctrine of faith, as he had been conversant with the holy Scriptures even when a child. He had been considerably trained in them by his father, who, besides the study of the liberal sciences, had also carefully stored his mind with these. First of all, therefore, before he studied the Grecian literature, he led him to frequent exercise in the study of sacred things, appointing him to commit and repeat some passages every day; and these things were not unwillingly done by the child, but studies most cheerfully performed with great diligence. So that it was not sufficient for him merely to read what was simple and obvious in the sacred books, but he sought also what was beyond this, into the deeper senses of the text, and was busily employed in such speculations even at that age; so that he gave his father trouble, by his questions relative to the meaning of passages in the inspired Scriptures. He, indeed, to appearance, rebuked him to his face, telling him not to inquire into things beyond his age, nor to search beyond the obvious meaning of Scriptures; but he, greatly delighted in his own mind, gave most hearty thanks to Almighty God, the author of all good, that he had honoured him to be the father of such a child. And they say, that, frequently, when standing over his sleeping boy, he would uncover his breast, and as a shrine consecrated by the divine Spirit, reverently kissed it and congratulated himself upon his favoured offspring. These and other similar circumstances are related of Origen when yet a boy. But now, as his father had ended his days a martyr, he was left in this bereaved condition with his mother and younger brothers, in number six, when he was yet in his seventeenth year. And as his father's property was forfeited to the imperial treasury, he was reduced with his relatives to great straits for the necessaries of life. But he was honoured with a provision from God, for he found a kind reception and retreat with a certain lady of great wealth and distinction, who at the same time patronised a certain celebrated

man who was an advocate of the heretics then existing in Alexandria. This man was a native of Antioch, and was taken home by the lady as an adopted son, and was treated with the greatest kindness by her. But as Origen thus necessarily associated with him, he thenceforth gave him strong indications of his orthodox faith. As great numbers not only of heretics but ours also, induced by the apparent eloquence of the man, collected to hear this Paul, for that was his name, he could never be induced to join with him in prayer, observing even from a boy that rule of the church, and as he himself says, somewhere, abominating the inculcation of heretical doctrines. But as he had been instructed by his father in Greek literature, and after his death devoted himself more ardently to the sole study of literature, so that he acquired a tolerable acquaintance with philology, he devoted himself not long after his father's death to this study, and young as he was, he thus acquired sufficient to supply his necessary wants in abundance.



## CHAPTER III

# WHEN A VERY YOUNG MAN HE PREACHED THE GOSPEL

WHILST he was thus engaged with his school where he abode, as he somewhere states, and there was no one at Alexandria that applied himself to give instruction in the principles of the faith, all being driven away by the threatening aspect of persecution, some of the Gentiles came to him with a mind to hear the word of God; the first of whom, he states, was Plutarch; who, after a life of piety, was also crowned with divine martyrdom. The second was Heraclas, the brother of Plutarch, who, indeed, having given abundant proof of a life of retired contemplation and discipline, was deemed worthy of the episcopate of Alexandria after Demetrius. But he was in his eighteenth year when he conducted the school for elementary instruction in the faith, in which also he made great proficiency under the persecutions of Aquila, governor of Alexandria; where, also, he obtained a celebrated name with all the believers, on account of that cordiality and promptness which he exhibited to all the martyrs, whether known to him or not; for not only was he with them when in bonds, nor only until the last of their trial at the tribunal, but even after this, when led away to die, he conversed freely with these holy martyrs, and advanced in the face of danger, so that, as he boldly proceeded, and with great freedom saluted the brethren with a kiss, the infuriate multitude who stood around had more than once almost overwhelmed him (with stones), had he not this once experienced the helping hand of God, and wonderfully escaped. But this same celestial grace, at one time and another, again and again, and indeed no one can tell how often, in consequence of his great zeal for the doctrine of Christ, and his fearlessness, as often protected him in danger. So great, indeed, was the hostility of the unbelievers to him, that they

formed themselves into companies, to station soldiers about the house where he abode, on account of the numbers that were instructed by him in the principles of the faith. But the persecution against him daily blazed forth with such virulence, that the whole city of Alexandria could no longer contain him, as he removed from house to house, driven about in every direction, on account of the great number of those that had been brought over by him to the true faith, since also his daily actions afforded admirable specimens of a conduct resulting from a sound philosophy. For, "as his doctrine," say they, "so was his life; and as his life, so also was his doctrine." "Wherefore, also, with the divine assistance, he induced numbers to imitate him. But when he saw a greater number of pupils coming, the instruction of them having been committed to him entirely by Demetrius the bishop of the church, he thought that to teach literature exclusively was inconsistent with the study of divine truth, and without delay abandoned the school of philosophy, as useless, and an obstruction to his sacred studies. Then, also, with a becoming consideration that he might not stand in need of aid from others, he disposed of whatsoever works he had formerly written on ancient works, and composed with great elegance and taste, and was content with receiving four oboli the day from the purchaser. Many years he continued to lead this life of philosophy, completely removing all the incentives to youthful passions from him, during the whole day undergoing no trifling amount of laborious exercise, and at night devoting himself the most of the time to the study of the holy Scriptures, and restraining himself, as far as possible, by a most rigid and philosophical life. Sometimes he was exercised in the discipline of fasting; then again, at night, he limited his times for sleep, which, in consequence of his great zeal, he never enjoyed on his bed, but upon the bare ground. But, most of all, he thought that the evangelical precepts of our Saviour should be observed, in which he exhorts that we should not have two coats, nor make use of shoes, nor pass our time in cares for the future. Indulging, also, an ardour greater than his years, he persevered in cold and nakedness; and advancing to the greatest extremes of poverty, astonished, most of all, his nearest friends. Many, indeed, that wished to impart to him some of their means, were grieved on

account of the laborious toil that he endured for the sake of inspired truth. He did not, however, relax in his perseverance. He is said, indeed, to have walked the ground for many years without any shoes; and also to have abstained from the use of wine and other food not necessary for sustenance, many years, so that now he was greatly in danger of subverting and destroying his constitution. But in presenting such specimens of his ascetic life to the beholders, he naturally induced many of his visitors to pursue the same course; so that now many, both of the unbelieving heathen, and some of the learned, and even philosophers of no mean account, were prevailed upon to adopt his doctrine. Some of these, also, having been deeply imbued by him, with the sound faith in Christ deeply implanted in the soul, were also eminent in the midst of the persecution then prevailing; so that some were taken, and finished their course by martyrdom.





## CHAPTER IV

# THE NUMBER OF HIS CATECHUMENS THAT SUFFERED MARTYRDOM

OF these, then, the first was that Plutarch, mentioned above, at whose martyrdom, when led away to die, the same Origen of whom we are now speaking, being present with him to the last of his life, was nearly slain by his own countrymen, as if he were the cause of his death. But the providence of God preserved him likewise then. But after Plutarch, the second of Origen's disciples that was selected, was Severus, who presented, in the fire, a proof of that unshaken faith which he had received. The third that appeared as martyr from the same school, was Heraclides; and the fourth after him, was Heron: both of these were beheaded. Besides these, the fifth of this school that was announced a champion for religion, was another Severus, who, after a long series of tortures, is said to have been beheaded. Of women, also, Herais, who was yet a catechumen, and, as Origen himself expresses it, after receiving her baptism by fire, departed this life.



# CHAPTER V

## THE EXECUTION OF POTAMIÆNA

AMONG these, Basilides must be numbered the seventh; he who led away the celebrated Potamiæna to execution, concerning whom many traditions are still circulated abroad among the inhabitants of the place, of the innumerable conflicts she endured for the preservation of her purity and chastity, in which indeed she was eminent; for, besides the perfections of her mind, she was blooming also in the maturity of personal attractions. Many things are also related of her fortitude in suffering for faith in Christ; and, at length, after horrible tortures and pains, the very relation of which makes one shudder, she was, with her mother Macella, committed to the flames. It is said, indeed, that the judge, Aquila by name, after having applied the severest tortures to her on every part of her body, at last threatened that he would give her body to be abused by the gladiators; but that she, having considered the matter a little, after being asked what she would determine, made such a reply as made it appear that she uttered something deemed impious with them. Immediately, therefore, receiving the sentence of condemnation, she was led away to die by Basilides, one of the officers in the army. But when the multitude attempted to assault and insult her with abusive language; he, by keeping off, restrained their insolence; exhibiting the greatest compassion and kindness to her. Perceiving the man's sympathy, she exhorts him to be of good cheer, for that after she was gone she would intercede for him with her Lord, and it would not be long before she would reward him for his kind deeds towards her. Saying this, she nobly sustained the issue; having boiling pitch poured over different parts of her body, gradually by little and little, from her feet up to the crown of her head. And such, then, was the conflict which this noble virgin endured. Not long after, Basilides being urged to swear, on a

certain occasion, by his fellow-soldiers, declared that it was not lawful for him to swear at all; for he was a Christian, and this he plainly professed. At first, indeed, they thought that he was thus far only jesting; but as he constantly persevered in the assertion, he was conducted to the judge, before whom, confessing his determination, he was committed to prison. When some of the brethren came to see him, and inquired the cause of this sudden and singular resolve, he is said to have declared, that Potamiæna, indeed, for the three days after her martyrdom, standing before him at night, placed a crown upon his head, and said that she had entreated the Lord on his account, and she had obtained her prayer, and that ere long she would take him with her. On this, the brethren gave him the seal in the Lord; and he, bearing a distinguished testimony to the Lord, was beheaded. Many others, also, of those at Alexandria, are recorded as having promptly attached themselves to the doctrine of Christ in these times; and this by reason of Potamiæna, who appeared in dreams, and exhorted many to embrace the divine word. Of these let this suffice.



# CHAPTER VI

## CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA

CLEMENT having succeeded Pantænus in the office of elementary instruction, had charge of it until this time; so that Origen, whilst yet a boy, was one of his pupils. Clement, in the first book of the work that he wrote, called Stromata, gives us a chronological deduction of events down to the death of Commodus. So that it is evident these works were written in the reign of Severus, whose times we are now recording.



# CHAPTER VII

## THE HISTORIAN JUDAS

AT this time, also, another historian, discoursing on the seventy weeks of Daniel, extends his chronology down to the tenth year of the reign of Severus, who also thought that the appearance of antichrist, so much in the mouths of men, was now fully at hand, so mightily did the agitation of persecution, then prevailing, shake the minds of many.





# CHAPTER VIII

## THE RESOLUTE ACT OF ORIGEN

WHILST at this time Origen was performing the office of an elementary instructor at Alexandria, he also carried a deed into effect, which would seem, indeed, rather to proceed from a youthful understanding not yet matured; at the same time, however, exhibiting the strongest proof of his faith and continence. For understanding this expression, "There are eunuchs who have made themselves such (who have acted the eunuch) for the sake of the kingdom of heaven," in too literal and puerile a sense, and at the same time thinking that he would fulfil the words of our Saviour, whilst he also wished to preclude the unbelievers from all occasions of foul slander, it being necessary for him, young as he was, to converse on divine truth not only with men but with females also, he was led on to fulfil the words of our Saviour by his deeds, expecting that it would not be known to the most of his friends. But it was impossible for him, much as he wished it, to conceal such an act. And when it was at last ascertained by Demetrius, the bishop of the church there, well did he admire the courage of the deed; and perceiving the ardour, and the soundness of his faith, he immediately exhorted him to cherish confidence; and at this time, indeed, urged him the more to continue in his work of instruction. Such, indeed, was his conduct then. But not long after this, the same Demetrius, seeing him doing well, great and illustrious, and celebrated among all, was overcome by human infirmity, and wrote against him to the bishops throughout the world, and attempted to traduce what he had done as a most absurd act. Then, as the most distinguished bishops of Palestine, and those of Cæsarea and Jerusalem, judged Origen worthy of the first and highest honour, they ordained him to the presbytery by the imposition of hands. He advanced, therefore, at this time, to great reputation, and obtained

a celebrity among all men, and no little renown for his virtue and wisdom; but Demetrius, though he had no other charge to urge than that act which was formerly done by him when but a boy, raised a violent accusation against him. He attempted, also, to involve those in his accusations who had elevated him to the presbytery. These things were done a long time after. But Origen performed, without fear, his labours of instruction at Alexandria, night and day, to all that came; devoting the whole of his leisure incessantly to the study of divine things, and to those that frequented his school. In the mean while, Severus, having held the government about eighteen years, was succeeded by his son Antoninus. At this time, one of those that had courageously endured the persecution, and who, by the providence of God, had been preserved after the persecution, was Alexander, who we have already shown was bishop of the church at Jerusalem, and had been deemed worthy of this episcopate, on account of his distinguished firmness in his confession of Christ during the persecution. This happened whilst Narcissus was yet living.



# CHAPTER IX

## THE MIRACLE OF NARCISSUS

MANY miracles are attributed to Narcissus by his countrymen, as they received the tradition handed down from the brethren. Among these they relate a wonderful event like the following. About the great watch of the passover, they say, that whilst the deacons were keeping the vigils the oil failed them; upon which all the people being very much dejected, Narcissus commanded the men that managed the lights to draw water from a neighbouring well, and to bring it to him. They having done it as soon as said, Narcissus prayed over the water, and then commanded them in a firm faith in Christ, to pour it into the lamps. When they had also done this, contrary to all natural expectation, by an extraordinary and divine influence, the nature of the water was changed into the quality of oil, and by most of the brethren a small quantity was preserved from that time until our own, as a specimen of the wonder then performed. They relate also many other matters worthy of note respecting the life of this man. Among these, such as the following. Certain fellows not being able to endure the firm and constant character of his life, fearing also lest they should be taken and punished for the numerous crimes of which they were conscious, endeavoured to anticipate him, by plotting an artifice against him. They gave currency therefore to a foul slander against him. Then, in order to make the hearers believe, they confirmed their accusations with oaths; and one of them prayed that he might perish with fire; another that his body might be wasted with a miserable and foul disease; a third that he should be deprived of his eyes; but notwithstanding their oaths, none of the faithful heeded them, on account of the well-known continent and virtuous life which Narcissus had always led. Unable, however, to endure the wickedness of these men, and having besides already long before embraced a life of contemplation, he

ran away from the body of the church, and continued many years concealed in deserts and trackless wilds. But the omnipotent eye of justice did not remain inactive in the midst of these things; but soon descended with his judgments upon the impious wretches, and bound them with the curses they had invoked. The first, indeed, in consequence of a light spark falling upon his habitation without any apparent cause, was burnt with his whole family. The next was forthwith covered with the disease which he had imprecated upon himself, from the extremity of his feet to the top of his head. The third, perceiving the events of the former two, and dreading the inevitable judgment of the all-seeing God, confessed, indeed, to all the slander which had been concocted in common among them. But he was so wasted with excessive grieving, and so incessantly diffused with tears, that at last both his eyes were destroyed. And these suffered the punishment due to their calumnies.



# CHAPTER X

## THE BISHOPS IN JERUSALEM

NARCISSUS having retired from the world, and no one knowing whither he had gone, it seemed proper to the bishops of the neighbouring churches, to proceed to the ordination of another bishop. Dius was his name, who, after presiding over the church a short time, was succeeded by Germanio, and he by Gordius, in whose times Narcissus appearing again as one raised from the dead, was entreated by the brethren to undertake the episcopate again; all admiring him still more, both for his retired life, and his philosophy, and above all on account of the punishment inflicted by God upon his slanderers.





# CHAPTER XI

## OF ALEXANDER

As on account of his extreme age, he was now no longer able to perform the duties of his office, by a divine dispensation revealed in a dream at night, the above-mentioned Alexander, who was bishop of another church, was called to the office at the same time with Narcissus. Influenced by this, as if an oracle from God had commanded him, he performed a journey from Cappadocia, where he was first made bishop, to Jerusalem, in consequence of a vow and the celebrity of the place. Whilst he was there, most cordially entertained by the brethren, who would not suffer him to return home, another revelation also appeared to them at night, and uttered a most distinct communication to those that were eminent for a devoted life. This communication was, that by going forth beyond the gates, they should receive the bishop pointed out to them by God. Having done this, with the common consent of the bishops of the neighbouring churches, they constrain him to stay among them. Alexander, indeed, himself, in his particular epistles to the Antinoites, which are still preserved among us, makes mention of the episcopal office as shared by himself with Narcissus, in the following words, at the end of the epistle: "Narcissus salutes you, the same who before me held the episcopate here, and is now collocated with me in prayers, being now advanced to his hundred and tenth year, and who with me exhorts you to be of one mind." Such, then, were these events. But Serapion dying at Antioch, he was succeeded by Asclepiades; he, also, was distinguished among the confessions in the persecution. His consecration is also mentioned by Alexander, who writes to the inhabitants of Antioch thus: "Alexander, a servant and prisoner of Jesus Christ, sends, greeting, in the Lord, to the blessed church at Antioch in the Lord. The Lord has made my bonds easy and light during the time of my imprisonment,

since I have ascertained, that by divine providence, Asclepiades, who in regard to his faith is most happily qualified, has undertaken the trust of the episcopate of your holy church.” This same epistle intimates, that he sent it by Clement, writing at the end of it as follows: “This epistle, my brethren, I have sent to you by Clement, the blessed presbyter, a man endued with all virtue, and well approved, whom you already know, and will like still more to know; who, also, coming hither, by the providence and superintendence of the Lord, has confirmed and increased the church of God.”



## CHAPTER XII

# SERAPION, AND THE WRITINGS ASCIBED TO HIM

SERAPION, however, it is probable, has left many monuments of his application to learning, which are preserved by others; but only those have come down to us, which were written to Domninus, one of those that had fallen away from the faith, at the time of the persecution, and relapsed into Jewish superstition; the epistles, also, that he addressed to Pontus and Caricus, ecclesiastical writers, and many others to others. There is also another work composed by him on the gospel of Peter, as it is called; which, indeed, he wrote to refute the false assertions which it contains, on account of some in the church of Rhosse, who by this work were led astray to perverted doctrines. From which it may be well to add some brief extracts, by which it may be seen what he thought of the book:

“We, brethren,” says he, “receive Peter and the other apostles as Christ himself. But those writings which falsely go under their name, as we are well acquainted with them, we reject, and know also, that we have not received such handed down to us. But when I came to you, I had supposed that all held to the true faith; and as I had not perused the gospel presented by them under the name of Peter, I said, ‘If this be the only thing that creates difference among you, let it be read;’ but now having understood, from what was said to me, that their minds were enveloped in some heresy, I will make haste to come to you again; therefore, brethren, expect me soon. But as we perceived what was the heresy of Marcianus, we plainly saw that he ignorantly contradicted himself, which things you may learn from what has been written to you. For we have borrowed this gospel from others, who have studied it, that is, from the successors of those

who led the way before him, whom we call Docetæ (for most opinions have sprung from this sect). And in this we have discovered many thing's, superadded to the sound faith of our Saviour; some also attached that are foreign to it, and which we have also subjoined for your sake." Thus far of the works of Serapion.



# CHAPTER XIII

## THE WORKS OF CLEMENT

OF Clement there are, in all, eight books extant, called Stromata, to which he has prefixed the following title: "Stromata of Commentaries, by Titus Flavius Clement, on the Knowledge of the True Philosophy."

Equal in number to these, are the books that go under the title of Hypotyposes, or Institutions. In these, he also mentions Pantænus by name, as his teacher, giving the opinions that he expressed, and traditions that he had received from him. There is also a book of exhortation, addressed by him to the Greeks. Also, one entitled the Pedagogue, and another with the title, "What Rich Man may be saved?" A work also on the Passover. Discussions also on Fasting and Detraction. An Exhortation, also, to Patience, or an Address to the New Converts (Neophytes). A work also, with the title, Ecclesiastical Canon, or an Address to the Judaizing (Christians), which he dedicated to the above-mentioned bishop Alexander. In these Stromata, he has not only spread out the divine Scriptures (made a spreading), but he also quotes from the Gentiles where he finds any useful remark with them, elucidating many opinions held by the multitude both among the Greeks and barbarians. Moreover, he refutes the false opinions of the heresiarchs. He also reviews a great point of history, in which he presents materials of great variety of learning. With all these he intermixes the opinions of philosophers; whence, in all probability, he took the title of Stromata, as corresponding to the materials (of his book). In these he also makes use of testimony from the Antilegomenoi, the disputed Scriptures; also from that book called the Wisdom of Solomon, and that of Jesus the son of Sirach; also the Epistle to the Hebrews, that of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude. He mentions also the work of Tatian against the Greeks; Cassian, also, who wrote a history of the times in chronological



order. Moreover, he mentions the Jewish authors Philo, and Aristobulus, Josephus, and Demetrius, and Eupolemus, as all of these in their works prove, that Moses and the Jewish nation are much older than the earliest origin of the Greeks. The works of this writer here mentioned, also abound in a great variety of other learning. In the first of these he speaks of himself as being the next that succeeded the Apostles, and he promises in his works, also, to write a commentary on Genesis; also in his treatise on the Passover, he acknowledges that for the benefit of posterity, he was urged by his friends to commit to writing those traditions that he had heard from the ancient presbyters. He mentions, also, Melito and Irenæus, and others, some of whose narratives he also gives.



# CHAPTER XIV

## THE BOOKS THAT CLEMENT MENTIONS

IN the work called Hypotyposes, to sum up the matter briefly, he has given us abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed, (The Antilegomenoi), I mean the book of Jude, and the other general epistles. Also the epistle of Barnabas, and that called the revelation of Peter. But the Epistle to the Hebrews he asserts was written by Paul, to the Hebrews, in the Hebrew tongue; but that it was carefully translated by Luke, and published among the Greeks. Whence, also, one finds the same character of style and of phraseology in the epistle, as in the Acts. "But it is probable that the title Paul the apostle was not prefixed to it; for as he wrote to the Hebrews, who had imbibed prejudices against him, and suspected him, he wisely guards against diverting them from the perusal by giving his name." A little after this he observes: "But now, as the blessed presbyter used to say, 'since the Lord, who was the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul by reason of his inferiority, as if sent to the Gentiles, did not subscribe himself an apostle of the Hebrews; both out of reverence for the Lord, and because he wrote of his abundance to the Hebrews, as a herald and apostle of the Gentiles.' " Again, in the same work, Clement also gives the tradition respecting the order of the gospels, as derived from the oldest presbyters, as follows: "He says that those which contain the genealogies were written first; but that the gospel of Mark was occasioned in the following manner: 'When Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome, and declared the gospel under the influence of the Spirit; as there was a great number present, they requested Mark, who had followed him from afar, and remembered well what he had said, to reduce these things to

writing, and that after composing the gospel he gave it to those who requested it of him. Which, when Peter understood, he directly neither hindered nor encouraged it. But John, last of all, perceiving that what had reference to the body in the gospel of our Saviour, was sufficiently detailed, and being encouraged by his familiar friends, and urged by the Spirit, he wrote a spiritual gospel." Thus far Clement. But again, the above-mentioned Alexander mentions both Clement and Pantænus, in a certain epistle to Origen, as men with whom he was familiarly acquainted. Thus he writes: "For this thou knowest was the divine will, that the friendship which has existed between us from our ancestors, should remain unshaken, rather, that it should grow warmer and firmer. For we well know those blessed fathers, that have trod the path before us, and to whom we ere long shall go. Pantænus, that truly blessed man, my master, also the holy Clement, who was both my master and benefactor, and whoever there may be like them, by whom I have become acquainted with thee, my lord and brother surpassing all." Such is the complexion of these matters. But Adamantius, for this too was Origen's name, whilst Zephyrinus, at this time, was bishop of the church of Rome, says that he also came to Rome, being desirous of seeing the very ancient church of Rome. After no long stay, he returned to Alexandria, and there fulfilled the duties of an instructor, with the greatest diligence, in which he was also encouraged by Demetrius, who was then bishop, and who earnestly counselled him to labour cheerfully for the benefit of the brethren.



# CHAPTER XV

## OF HERACLAS

WHEN he saw that he was not adequate at the same time to the more intense study of divine things, and to the interpretation of the Scriptures, and in addition to the instruction of the catechumens, who scarcely allowed him even to draw breath, one coming after another from morning till night, to be taught by him; he divided the multitude, and selected Heraclas, one of his friends, who was devoted to the study of the Scriptures, and in other respects also a most learned man, not unacquainted with philosophy, and associated him with himself in the office of instruction. To him, therefore, he committed the elementary initiation of those that were yet to be taught the first beginning, or rudiments, but reserved for himself lecturing to those that were more familiar with the subject.



# CHAPTER XVI

## THE GREAT STUDY WHICH ORIGEN DEVOTED TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

SO great was the research which Origen applied in the investigation of the holy Scriptures, that he also studied the Hebrew language; and those original works written in the Hebrew and in the hands of the Jews, he procured as his own. He also investigated the editions of others, who, besides the seventy, had published translations of the Scriptures, and some different from the well-known translations of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion, which he searched up, and traced to I know not what ancient lurking places, where they had lain concealed from remote times, and brought them to the light. In which, when it was doubtful to him from what author they came, he only added the remark that he had found this translation at Nicopolis near Actium, and that translation in such a place. In the Hexapla, indeed, of the Psalms, after those four noted editions, he adds, not only a fifth, but a sixth, and seventh translation, and in one it is remarked that it was discovered at Jericho, in a tub, in the times of Antonine the son of Severus. Having collected all these versions, and divided them by punctuation into their proper members, and arranged them opposite one another in parallel columns, together with the Hebrew texts, he left us those copies of the Hexapla which we now have. In a separate work he also prepared an edition of Aquila and Symmachus, and Theodotion, together with the Septuagint, in what is called the Tetrapla.





## CHAPTER XVII

# OF THE TRANSLATOR SYMMACHUS

OF these translators it should be observed that Symmachus was an Ebionite. The heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called, asserts that Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, and supposes him to be a mere man, and insists upon an observance of the law too much after the manner of the Jews, as we have already seen in a previous part of our history. There are also commentaries of Symmachus still extant, in which he appears to direct his remarks against the gospel of Matthew, in order to establish this heresy. But Origen remarks that he received these with interpretations of others, from one Juliana, who, he also said, derived them by inheritance, from Symmachus himself.



# CHAPTER XVIII

## OF AMBROSE

ABOUT this time also, Ambrose, who had favoured the heresy of Valentinus, being convinced by the truth as maintained by Origen, and as if illuminated by a light beaming on his mind, became attached to the sound doctrine of the church. Many others, also, induced by the celebrity of Origen's learning, came to him from all parts, to make trial of the man's skill in sacred literature. Many also of the heretics, and of distinguished philosophers not a few, were among his diligent hearers, deriving instructions from him, not only in divine things but also in those which belonged to foreign philosophy. As many as he saw endowed with abilities, he also taught the philosophical branches, such as geometry, arithmetic, and other preparatory studies; and then introducing them to the opinions in vogue among the philosophers, and explaining their writings, he commented and speculated upon each, so that he was celebrated as a great philosopher even among the Greeks. He also instructed many of the more common people in the liberal studies, asserting frequently that they would receive no small advantage from these in understanding the holy Scriptures; whence also he considered the studies of political and philosophical matters particularly necessary for himself.



# CHAPTER XIX

## THE ACCOUNTS GIVEN OF ORIGEN BY OTHERS

THE Gentile philosophers, themselves, among the Greeks who flourished in the age of Origen, bear witness to his proficiency in these studies, in whose works we find frequent mention made of the man; at one time quoting his own words, at another referring their own labours to his judgment as to a master. Why should we say this, when even Porphyry, who was our contemporary, who wrote books against us, and attempted to slander the sacred writings; when he mentioned those that had expounded them, and, unable to urge any opprobrious censure against the doctrines, for want of argument, turned to reviling, and to slander especially the commentators, is particularly fierce against Origen, saying that he knew him when he was a young man? But, in fact, without knowing it, he commends the man, saying some things in confirmation of the truth when he could not do otherwise, and in other matters uttering falsehoods where he thought he would not be detected. Sometimes he accuses him as a Christian, and sometimes he admires and describes his proficiency in the branches of philosophy. Hear his own words: "But some," says he, "ambitious rather to find a solution of the absurdities of the Jewish writings than to abandon them, have turned their minds to expositions, inconsistent with themselves, and inapplicable to the writings; which, instead of furnishing a defence of these foreigners, only give us encomiums and remarks in their praise. For boasting of what Moses says plainly in his writings, as if they were dark and intricate propositions, and attaching to them divine influence, as if they were oracles replete with hidden mysteries; and in their vanity pretending to great discrimination of mind, the thus produce their expositions."

Then, again, he says: "But let us take an example of this absurdity, from the very man whom I happened to meet when I was very young, and who was very celebrated, and is still celebrated by the writings that he has left; I mean Origen, whose glory is very great with the teachers of these doctrines. For this man having been a hearer of Ammonius, who had made the greatest proficiency in philosophy among those of our day, as to knowledge, derived great benefit from his master, but with regard to a correct purpose of life, he pursued a course directly opposite. For Ammonius, being a Christian, had been educated among Christians, by his parents, and when he began to exercise his own understanding, and apply himself to philosophy, he immediately changed his views, and lived according to the laws. But Origen, as a Greek, being educated in Greek literature, declined to this barbarian impudence; to which, also, betaking himself, he both consigned himself and his attainments in learning, living like a Christian, and swerving from the laws; but in regard to his opinions, both of things and the Deity, acting the Greek, and intermingling Greek literature with these foreign fictions. For he was always in company with Plato, and had the works also of Numenius and Cranius, of Apollophanes and Longinus, of Moderatus and Nicomachus, and others whose writings are valued, in his hands. He also read the works of Chæremon, the stoic, and those of Cornutus. From these he derived the allegorical mode of interpretation usual in the mysteries of the Greeks, and applied it to the Jewish Scriptures."

Such are the assertions made by Porphyry, in the third book of his works, against the Christians, in which he asserts the truth respecting the study and great learning of the man, but also plainly asserts a falsehood (for what would not a man do writing against Christians?) when he says that he went over from the Greeks to the Christians, and that Ammonius apostatised from a life of piety to live like the heathen. For the doctrine of Origen, and his Christian instruction, he derived from his ancestors, as our history has already shown; and Ammonius continued to adhere unshaken, to the end of his days, to the unadulterated principles of the inspired philosophy. This is evident from the labours of the man that are extant, in his written works, which establish his

reputation with most men, even at the present day. As, for instance, that work with the title, "The Harmony of Moses and Jesus," and whatsoever others are found among the learned Let these, therefore, suffice to evince both the calumnies of the false accuser, and also the great proficiency of Origen in the branches of Grecian literature. Respecting this, he defends himself, in an epistle, against the allegations of some who censured him for devoting so much study to them, writing as follows: "But," says he, "when I had devoted myself wholly to the word, and a fame went abroad concerning my proficiency, as I was sometimes visited by heretics, sometimes by those who were conversant with the studies of the Greeks, especially those that were pursuing philosophy, I was resolved to examine both the opinions of the heretics, and those works of the philosophers which pretend to speak of truth. This we have also done in imitation of Pantænus, by whom so many have been benefited before us, and who was not meanly furnished with erudition like this. In this I have also followed the example of Heraclas, who has now a seat in the presbytery of Alexandria, who I have found persevered five years with a teacher of philosophy before I began to attend to these studies. Wherefore, also, as he had before used a common dress, he threw it aside, and assuming the habit of philosophers, retains it even until now. He also still continues to criticise the works of the Greeks with great diligence." These remarks were made by Origen, when he defended himself for his application to the study of the Greeks.

About the same time, also, whilst he was staying at Alexandria, a soldier arriving, handed a letter both to Demetrius, the bishop of the place, and to the prefect of Egypt, from the governor of Arabia; the purport of which was that he should send Origen to him, in all haste, in order to communicate to him his doctrine. Wherefore he was sent by them. But, ere long, having finished the objects of his visit, he again returned to Alexandria. Some time after, however, when a considerable war broke out in the city, he made his escape; and not thinking it would be safe to stay in Egypt, came to Palestine, and took up his abode in Cæsarea. There he was also requested by the bishops to expound the sacred Scriptures publicly in the church, although he had not yet obtained the



priesthood by the imposition of hands. This might also be shown, from what was written to Demetrius respecting him, by Alexander bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus bishop of Cæsarea, who defended him in the following manner:— “He has added (i. e. Demetrius) to his letter, that this was never before either heard or done, that laymen should deliver discourses in the presence of the bishops. I know not how it happens that he is here evidently so far from the truth. For, indeed, wheresoever there are found those qualified to benefit the brethren, these are exhorted by the holy bishops to address the people. Thus at Laranda, Euelpis was exhorted by Neon, and at Iconium, Paulinus by Celsus, and at Synada, Theodore by Atticus, our blessed brethren. It is also probable, that this has happened in other places, but we know not that it has.” In this way the selfsame Origen was honoured, when yet a young man, not only by his own familiar friends, but also by bishops abroad. But Demetrius, recalling him by letter, and urging his return to Alexandria, by sending members and deacons of the church, he returned and pursued the accustomed duties of his occupation.



# CHAPTER XX

## THE WORKS OF THE WRITERS OF THE DAY STILL EXTANT

MANY learned men of the church also flourished in these times, of whom we may easily find epistles, which they wrote to one another, still extant. These have been also preserved for us in the library of Ælia, which was built by Alexander, who was bishop there. From this we have also been able to collect materials for our present work. Of these Beryllus has left us, together with epistles and treatises, also different kinds of works written with elegance and taste. He was bishop of Bostra, in Arabia. Hippolytus, also, who was bishop of another church, has left us some works. There is besides, a discussion that has come down to us, of Caius, a most learned man, held at Rome in the times of Zephyrinus, against Proclus, who contended for the Phrygian heresy; in which, whilst he silences the rashness and daring of his opponents in composing new books (i. e. of Scripture), he makes mention of only thirteen epistles, not reckoning that to the Hebrews with the rest; as there are, even to this day, some of the Romans who do not consider it to be the work of the apostles.



# CHAPTER XXI

## THE BISHOPS THAT WERE NOTED AT THIS TIME

ANTONINE reigned seven years and six months, and was succeeded by Macrinus; and he, after the lapse of a year, was succeeded by another Antonine, in the sovereignty of Rome. In the first year of the latter, Zephyrinus the bishop of Rome, departed this life, after having charge of the church eighteen years. He was succeeded in the episcopate by Callisthus, who survived him five years, and left the church to Urbanus, After these the government of Rome was held by the emperor Alexander, Antonine having lived only four years from the commencement of his reign. At this time, also, Philetas succeeds Asclepiades in the church of Antioch. But Mamæa, the emperor's mother, a woman distinguished for her piety and religion, when the fame of Origen had now been every where spread abroad, so that it also reached her ears, was very eager both to be honoured with a sight of the man, and to make trial of his skill in divine things, so greatly extolled. Therefore, whilst staying at Alexandria, she sent for him by a military escort. With her he staid some time, exhibiting innumerable matters calculated to promote the glory of the Lord, and to evince the excellence of divine instruction, after which he hastened back again to his accustomed engagements.



## CHAPTER XXII

# THE WORKS OF HIPPOLYTUS, THAT HAVE REACHED US

AT the same time, Hippolytus, who composed many other treatises, also wrote a work on the Passover. In this he traces back the series of times, and presents a certain canon comprising a period of sixteen years, on the Passover, limiting his computation of the times to the first year of the emperor Alexander. But the remaining works written by him, that have come down to us, are the following: On the Hexaameron, On the Works after the Hexaameron, To Marcion, On the Canticles, On parts of Ezekiel, On the Passover, Against all the Heresies. You will also find many others still preserved by many.





## CHAPTER XXIII

# ORIGEN'S ZEAL, AND HIS ELEVATION TO THE PRIESTHOOD

FROM this time, however, Origen began his Commentaries on the sacred Scriptures, to which he was particularly urged by Ambrose, who presented innumerable incentives, not only by verbal exhortation, but by furnishing the most ample supplies of all necessary means; for he had more than seven amanuenses, when he dictated, who relieved each other at appointed times. He had not fewer copyists, as also girls, who were well exercised in more elegant writing, for all which, Ambrose furnished an abundant supply of all the necessary expense. And indeed, he, for his own part, evinced an inexpressible zeal in the study of the sacred Scriptures, by which also he particularly stimulated Origen to write his Commentaries. Whilst this was the state of things, Urban, who had been bishop of Rome eight years, was succeeded by Pontianus. At Antioch, Philetas was succeeded by Zebinus. At this time Origen, being compelled by some necessary affairs of the church, went to Greece by way of Palestine, where he received the ordination to the priesthood, at Cæsarea, from the bishops of that country. The matters that were agitated upon this in reference to him, and the decisions of the bishops of the churches, in consequence of these movements, and whatsoever other works he wrote in the prime of his life, to advance the divine word, as it demands a separate treatise, we have sufficiently stated in the second book of the work we have written in his defence.



# CHAPTER XXIV

## THE EXPOSITIONS HE GAVE AT ALEXANDRIA

TO these it might be necessary, perhaps, to add, that in the sixth book of his exegetical works on the gospel of John, he shows that the first five were composed by him whilst yet at Alexandria. Of the whole work on this gospel, only twenty-two books have come down to us. But in the ninth book on Genesis, for there are twelve in all, he not only shows that the eight preceding ones were written at Alexandria, but also his commentaries on the first five and twenty Psalms. Moreover, those on Lamentations, of which five books have reached us, in which he also makes mention of his books on the resurrection. These are two in number. Likewise, the works *On the Principles* were written before his removal from Alexandria, and also those entitled *Stromata*, in number ten, he composed in the same city during the reign of the emperor Alexander, as is shown by his own notes, fully written out before the books.



# CHAPTER XXV

## HIS REVIEW OF THE COLLECTIVE SCRIPTURES

IN his exposition of the first Psalm, he has given a catalogue of the books in the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, as follows: "It should be observed that the collective books, as handed down by the Hebrews, are twenty-two, according to the number of letters in their alphabet." After some further remarks, he subjoins, "These twenty-two books, according to the Hebrews, are as follows: That which is called Genesis, but by the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, Bresith, which means, 'in the beginning.' Exodus, Walesmoth, which means, 'these are the names.' Leviticus, Waikra, 'and he called.' Numbers, Anmesphekodlim. Deuteronomy, Elle haddabarim, that is, 'these are the words.' Jesus the son of Nave, in Hebrew, Joshue ben Nun. Judges and Ruth, in one book, with the Hebrews, which they call Sophetim. Of Kings, the first and second, one book, with them called Samuel, 'the called of God.' The third and fourth of Kings, also in one book with them, and called, Wahammelech Dabid, which means, 'and king David.' The first and second book of the Paralipomena, contained in one volume with them, and called Dibre Hamaim, which means the words, i. e. 'the records of days.' The first and second of Esdras, in one, called Ezra, i. e. 'an assistant.' The book of Psalms, Sepher Thehillim. The Proverbs of Solomon, Misloth. Ecclesiastes, Coheleth. The Song of Songs, Sir Hasirim. Isaiah, Iesaia. Jeremiah, with the Lamentations, and his Epistle, in one, Jeremiah. Daniel, Daniel. Ezekiel, Jeezkel. Job, Job. Esther, also with the Hebrews, Esther. Besides these, there are, also, the Maccabees, which are inscribed Sarbeth sarbane el."

These, then, are the books that he mentions in the work noticed

above. But in the first book of his commentaries on the gospel of Matthew, following the Ecclesiastical Canon, he attests that he knows of only four gospels, as follows: "As I have understood from tradition, respecting the four gospels, which are the only undisputed ones in the whole church of God throughout the world. The first is written according to Matthew, the same that was once a publican, but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who having published it for the Jewish converts, wrote it in the Hebrew. The second is according to Mark, who composed it, as Peter explained to him, whom he also acknowledges as his son in his general Epistle, saying, 'The elect church in Babylon salutes you, as also Mark my son.' And the third, according to Luke, the gospel commended by Paul, which was written for the converts from the Gentiles; and last of all the gospel according to John." And in the fifth book of his Commentaries on John, the same author writes as follows: "But he being well fitted to be a minister of the New Testament, Paul, I mean, a minister not of the letter but of the spirit; who, after spreading the gospel from Jerusalem and the country around as far as Illyricum, did not even write to all the churches to which he preached; and even to those to whom he wrote he only sent a few lines. Peter, upon whom the church of Christ is built, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, has left one epistle undisputed. It may be also a second, but on this there is some doubt. What shall we say of him who reclined upon the breast of Jesus, I mean John? who has left one gospel, in which he confesses that he could write so many that the whole world could not contain them. He also wrote the Apocalypse, commanded as he was, to conceal, and not to write the voices of the seven thunders. He has also left an epistle consisting of very few lines; it may be, also, a second and third is from him, but not all agree that they are genuine, but both together do not contain a hundred lines." To these remarks he also adds the following observation on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in His homilies on the same: "The Epistle with the title, 'To the Hebrews,' has not that peculiar style which belongs to the apostle, who confesses that he is but common in speech, that is in his phraseology. But that this epistle is more pure Greek in the composition of its phrases, every one will confess who is able to discern the difference of style.

Again, it will be obvious that the ideas of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to any of the books acknowledged to be apostolic. Every one will confess the truth of this, who attentively reads the apostle's writings." To these he afterwards again adds: "I would say, that the thoughts are the apostle's, but the diction and phraseology belong to some one who has recorded what the apostle said, and as one who noted down at his leisure what his master dictated. If, then, any church considers this epistle as coming from Paul, let it be commended for this, for neither did those ancient men deliver it as such without cause. But who it was that really wrote the epistle, God only knows. The account, however, that has been current before us is, according to some, that Clement, who was bishop of Rome, wrote the epistle; according to others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote the gospel and the Acts." But let this suffice on these subjects.





## CHAPTER XXVI

### HERACLAS SUCCEEDS TO THE EPISCOPATE OF ALEXANDRIA

BUT this was the tenth year of the above-mentioned reign (of Alexander), in which Origen, after removing from Alexandria to Cæsarea, left his school for catechetical instruction there in the charge of Heraclas. But ere long Demetrius, the bishop of the church of Alexandria, died, having performed the duties of the office, upon the whole, forty-three years. He was succeeded by Heraclas. About this time also flourished Firmilianus bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia.



## CHAPTER XXVII

### HOW THE BISHOPS REGARDED HIM

THIS bishop was so favourably disposed towards Origen, that he then called him to the regions in which he dwelt, to benefit the churches; at another time he went to visit him in Judea, and passed some time with him there, for the sake of improvement in divine things. Moreover Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, attending him the whole time nearly like pupils their master, allowed him alone to perform the duties of expounding the sacred Scriptures, and other matters that pertain to the doctrines of the church.



# CHAPTER XXVIII

## THE PERSECUTION UNDER MAXIMINUS

BUT the emperor Alexander being carried off after a reign of thirteen years, was succeeded by Maximinus, who, inflamed with hatred against the house of Alexander, consisting of many believers, raised a persecution, and commanded at first only the heads of the churches to be slain, as the abettors and agents of evangelical truth. It was then that Origen wrote his book on Martyrdom, which he dedicated to Ambrose, and Protocletus a presbyter of the church at Cæsarea, because both of these encountered no common danger in the persecution. In which also it is said that these men were pre-eminent for (persevering in) their confession, as Maximinus did not reign longer than three years. Origen has assigned the time of this persecution, both in the twenty-second book of his Commentaries on John, and in different epistles.



# CHAPTER XXIX

## OF FABIANUS, WHO WAS REMARKABLY APPOINTED BISHOP OF ROME, BY A DIVINE COMMUNICATION

GORDIAN succeeded Maximinus in the sovereignty of Rome, when Pontianus, who had held the episcopate six years, was succeeded by Anteros in the church of Rome; he also was succeeded by Fabianus, after having been engaged in the service about a month. It is said that Fabianus had come to Rome with some others from the country, and staying there, in the most remarkable manner, by divine and celestial grace, was advanced to be one of the candidates for the office. When all the brethren had assembled in the church, for the purpose of ordaining him that should succeed in the episcopate, though there were very many eminent and illustrious men in the estimation of many, Fabianus being present, no one thought of any other man. They relate, further, that a dove suddenly flying down from on high, sat upon his head, exhibiting a scene like that of the holy Spirit descending upon our Saviour in the form of a dove. Upon this the whole body exclaimed, with all eagerness and with one voice, as if moved by the one Spirit of God, that he was worthy; and without delay they took and placed him upon the episcopal throne. At the same time Zebinus, bishop of Antioch, dying, was succeeded in the government (of the church) by Babylas, and at Alexandria, Demetrius held the episcopate forty-three years, and was succeeded in the office by Heraclas. But in the catechetical school there, he was succeeded by Dionysius, who was also one of Origen's pupils.





# CHAPTER XXX

## THE PUPILS OF ORIGEN

WHILST Origen was attending to his accustomed duties at Cæsarea, many frequented his school, not only of the residents of the place, but also innumerable others from abroad, who left their country in order to attend his lectures. Of these the most noted whom we know is Theodorus, known also by the name of Gregory, and so celebrated among the bishops of our day; also his brother Athenodorus. Origen, seeing them excessively wrapt in the prosecution of the studies of the Greeks and Romans, infused into them the love of philosophy, and induced them to exchange their former zeal for the study of divine things. But after being with him five years, they made such improvement in the study of divine oracles, that both, though very young, were honoured with the episcopate in the churches of Pontus.



# CHAPTER XXXI

## OF AFRICANUS

AT this time, also, flourished Africanus, who wrote the books with the title Cesti. There is an epistle of his extant, addressed to Origen, in which he intimates his doubts on the history of Susannah, in Daniel, as if it were a spurious and fictitious composition; to which Origen wrote a very full answer. Other works of the same Africanus that have reached us, are his five books of Chronography, a most accurate and laboured performance. In these, he says that he had gone to Alexandria, on account of the great celebrity of Heraclas; the same that we have already shown was advanced to the episcopate there, and who was, also, very eminent for his skill in philosophical studies, and the other sciences of the Greeks. Another epistle of the same Africanus is also extant, addressed to Aristides, on the supposed discrepancy between Matthew and Luke in the genealogy of Christ. In this he most clearly establishes the consistency of the two evangelists, from an account which had been handed down from his ancestors, which, in its proper place, we have already anticipated in the first book of the work we have in hand.



## CHAPTER XXXII

# THE COMMENTARIES THAT ORIGEN WROTE IN PALESTINE

ABOUT this time, also, Origen composed his Commentaries on Isaiah, as also on Ezekiel. Of the former, the third part of Isaiah, as far as the vision of the beast in the desert, have come down to us, consisting of thirty sections. On Ezekiel there are twenty-five sections, which are all that he wrote upon this prophet. When he came to Athens, he finished his Commentaries on Ezekiel, and also commenced his Notes on the Song of Solomon, and advanced there as far as the fifth book. But on his return to Cæsarea, he also brought these to a close, in number ten. Why should we, however, give a minute statement of the man's labours, a performance, in itself, that would require a separate and distinct work? And, indeed, this has already been done by us in our life of Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, in which, after exhibiting the great zeal of Pamphilus, we also subjoin the catalogues of the library collected by him, of the works written by Origen and other ecclesiastical writers; by which any one that wishes may most satisfactorily learn what works of Origen have come down to us.



# CHAPTER XXXIII

## THE ERROR OF BERYLLUS

BERYLLUS, who was mentioned a little before, as bishop of Bostra in Arabia, perverting the doctrine of the church, attempted to introduce certain opinions that are foreign to Christian faith, daring to assert that our Lord and Saviour did not exist in the proper sense of existence, before his dwelling among men; and that neither had he a proper divinity, but only that divinity which dwelt in him from the Father. As the bishops had many examinations and discussions on this point with the man, Origen, who was also invited together with the rest, at first entered into conversation with him, in order to ascertain what opinion the man held. But when he understood what he advanced, after correcting his error, by reasoning and demonstration, he convinced him, and thus recovered him to the truth in doctrine, and brought him back again to the former sound opinion. There are also works still extant, both of Beryllus and the synod that was held on his account, containing the questions put to him by Origen, and the discussions held in his church, together with all that was done there. Innumerable other facts are reported by our elder brethren, which I have thought proper to pass by, as having no reference to the objects of the present work; but whatsoever it was necessary to select of matters concerning him, these may be collected from that defence of him which we and Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our times, have Written, which work we performed jointly, in order to obviate the malevolence of some.





# CHAPTER XXXIV

## OF PHILIP CÆSAR

GORDIANUS had held the government of Rome six years, when he was succeeded by Philip, together with his son Philip. It is said that, as a Christian, on the day of the last vigil of the passover, he wished to share with the multitude in the prayers of the church, but was not permitted by the existing bishop to enter before he had confessed his sins, and placed himself among the order of penitents. For otherwise he would never be received by him, unless he first did this, on account of the many crimes which he had committed. The emperor is said to have obeyed cheerfully, and exhibited a genuine and religious disposition in regard to his fear of God.



## CHAPTER XXXV

# DIONYSIUS SUCCEEDS HERACLAS IN THE EPISCOPATE

IN the third year of this reign also, Heraclas dying, after an episcopate of sixteen years, was succeeded by Dionysius in the supervision of the church of Alexandria.



# CHAPTER XXXVI

## OTHER WORKS WRITTEN BY ORIGEN

THEN also, as was to be expected, our religion spreading more and more, and our brethren beginning to converse more freely with all, Origen, who they say was now more than sixty years of age, and who, from long practice, had acquired the greatest facility in discoursing, permitted his discourses to be taken down by ready writers, a thing which he had never allowed before. At this time, also, he composed, in eight books, a reply to that work written against us by Celsus the Epicurean, bearing the title, "The True Doctrine," and the twenty-five books on Matthew's gospel, those, also, on the twelve apostles, of which we have founds only twenty-five. There is also an epistle of his extant, addressed to the emperor Philip, and another to his wife Severa; several others also to different persons. Of these as many as we have been able to collect, scattered in the hands of different individuals, we have reduced to certain distinct books, in number exceeding one hundred. He also wrote to Fabianus, bishop of Rome, and to many others of the bishops of churches, respecting his orthodoxy; and of these you have the proofs in the sixth book of our Apology for the man.



## CHAPTER XXXVII

# THE DISSENSIONS OF THE ARABIANS

BUT about this time, also, other men sprung up in Arabia as the propagators of false opinions. These asserted, that the human soul, as long as the present state of the world existed, perished at death and died with the body, but that it would be raised again with the body at the time of the resurrection. And as a considerable council was held on account of this, Origen being again requested, likewise here discussed the point in question with so much force, that those who had been before led astray, completely changed their opinions.





# CHAPTER XXXVIII

## THE HERESY OF THE HELCESAITES

ANOTHER error also sprung up about this time, called the heresy of the Helcesaites, which, however, was almost stifled in its birth. It is mentioned by Origen, in his public lecture on the eighty-second Psalm: "A certain one," says he, "came recently with a great opinion of his abilities, to maintain that ungodly and wicked error of the Helcesaites, which has but lately appeared in the churches. The mischievous assertions of this heresy, I will give you, that you may not be carried away with it. It sets aside certain parts of the collective Scriptures, and it makes use of passages from the Old Testament, and from the gospels. It rejects the apostles altogether. It asserts, also, that to deny (Christ) is indifferent, and that he who is prudent, in case of necessity, will deny with his mouth, but not in his heart. They also produce a certain book, which they say fell from heaven: and that whoever has heard and believed this, will receive remission of sins; a remission different from that given by Christ." And such is the account respecting these.



# CHAPTER XXXIX

## THE PERSECUTION OF DECIUS

PHILIP, after a reign of seven years, was succeeded by Decius, who, in consequence of his hatred to Philip, raised a persecution against the church, in which Fabianus suffered martyrdom, and was succeeded as bishop of Rome by Cornelius. In Palestine, however, Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, was again brought before the tribunal of the governor, at Cæsarea, and after an eminent perseverance in his profession, though crowned with the hoary locks of venerable age, he was cast into prison. After giving a splendid and illustrious testimony at the governor's tribunal, and expiring in prison, he was succeeded by Mazabanes as bishop of Jerusalem. But Babylas, like Alexander, dying in prison at Antioch, after his confession, the church there was governed by Fabius. But the number and greatness of Origen's sufferings there during the persecution, and the nature of his death, when the spirit of darkness drew up his forces, and waged a war with all his arts and powers against the man, and assailed him particularly beyond all that were then assaulted by him; the nature and number of bonds which he endured on account of the doctrine of Christ, and all his torments of body, the sufferings also which he endured under an iron collar, and in the deepest recesses of the prison, when for many days he was extended and stretched to the distance of four holes on the rack; besides the threats of fire, and whatsoever other sufferings inflicted by his enemies he nobly bore, and finally the issue of these sufferings, when the judge eagerly strove with all his might to protract his life (in order to prolong his sufferings), and what expressions after these he left behind, replete with benefit to those needing consolation, all this, his many epistles detail with no less truth than accuracy.



# CHAPTER XL

## WHAT HAPPENED TO DIONYSIUS

I SHALL now subjoin the occurrences that befel Dionysius, from his epistle to Germanus, where, speaking of himself, he gives the following account: "But I speak before God, and he knows that I lie not; it was never by my own counsel, nor without divine intimation, that I projected my flight: but before the persecution of Decius, Sabinus, at the very hour, sent Frumentarius to search for me. And I, indeed, staid at home about four days, expecting the arrival of Frumentarius. But he went about examining all places, the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected that I would go or lie concealed. But he was smitten with blindness, not being able to find the house, for he could not believe that I would remain at home when persecuted. Four days had scarcely elapsed when God ordered me to remove, and opened the way for me in a most remarkable manner. I and my domestics, and many of my brethren, went forth together. And that this happened by the providence of God, was shown by what followed, and in which, perhaps, we were not unprofitable to some." After this, he shows the events that befel him after his flight, adding the following: "About sunset, being seized, together with my compairy, by the soldiers, I was led to Taposiris. Timothy, by the providence of God, happened not to be present, nor even seized; and coming afterwards, he found the house deserted, and servants guarding it, and us he found reduced to slavery." After other remarks, he observes: "And what was the manner of this divine interposition of his? For the truth shall be told. A certain man of the country met Timothy flying, and much disturbed, and when he was asked the cause of his haste, he declared the truth. When he heard it, he went his way, for he was going to a marriage festival, (as it is the custom with them on these occasions to keep the whole night,) and when he entered he told it to those that were present at the

feast. These, forthwith, with a single impulse, as if by agreement, all arose, and came as quick as possible in a rush upon us, and as they rushed they raised a shout. The soldiers that guarded us immediately took to flight, and they came upon us, lying as we were upon the bare bedsteads. I, indeed, as God knows, supposed them at first to be robbers, who had come to plunder and pillage. Remaining, therefore, on my bed, naked as I was, only covered with a linen garment, the rest of my dress I offered them as it lay beside me. But they commanded me to rise and to depart as quick as possible. Then, understanding for what purpose they had come, I began to cry out, beseeching and praying them to go away and to let us alone, but if they wished to do us any good, to anticipate those that had led me away, and to cut off my head. When I thus cried out, as my companions and partners in all my distresses well know, they attempted to raise me by force. I then cast myself on my back upon the ground. But they seized me by the hands and feet, and dragged me away, whilst those who were witnesses of all these things, Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul, followed on. These, also, taking me up, bore me away from the town, and carried me off on an unsaddled ass." Such is the account of Dionysius respecting himself.



# CHAPTER XLI

## OF THOSE WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM AT ALEXANDRIA

THE same writer, in the epistle which he addressed to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, relates the conflicts of those who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria in the following manner: "The persecution with us did not begin with the imperial edict, but preceded it a whole year. And a certain prophet and poet, inauspicious to the city, whoever he was, excited the mass of the heathen against us, stirring them up to their native superstition. Stimulated by him, and taking full liberty to exercise any kind of wickedness, they considered this the only piety, and the worship of their demons, viz., to slay us. First then, seizing a certain aged man named Metra, they called upon him to utter impious expressions, and as he did not obey, they beat his body with clubs, and pricked his face and eyes; after which they led him away to the suburbs, where they stoned him. Next they led a woman called Quinta, who was a believer, to the temple of an idol, and attempted to force her to worship; but when she turned away in disgust, they tied her by the feet, and dragged her through the whole city, over the rough stones of the paved streets, dashing her against the millstones, and scourging her at the same time, until they brought her to the same place, where they stoned her. Then, with one accord, all rushed upon the houses of the pious, and whomsoever of their neighbours they knew, they drove thither in all haste, and despoiled and plundered them, setting apart the more valuable of the articles for themselves; but the more common and wooden furniture they threw about and burnt in the roads, presenting a scene like a city taken by the enemy.

"The brethren retired, and gave way, and like those to whom Paul bears witness, they also regarded the plunder of their goods



with joy. And I know not whether any, besides one who fell into their hands, has thus far denied the Lord. They also seized that admirable virgin, Apollonia, then in advanced age, and beating her jaws, they broke out all her teeth, and kindling a fire before the city, threatened to burn her alive, unless she would repeat their impious expressions. She appeared at first to shrink a little, but when suffered to go, she suddenly sprang into the fire and was consumed. They also seized a certain Serapion in his own house, and after torturing him with the severest cruelties, and breaking all his limbs, threw him headlong from an upper story. And further, there was no way, no public road, no lane, where we could walk, whether by day or night, as they, at all times and places, cried out, whoever would refuse to repeat those impious expressions, that he should be immediately dragged forth and burnt.

“These things continued to prevail for the most part after this manner. But as the sedition and a civil war overtook the wretches, their cruelty was diverted from us to one another. We then drew a little breath, whilst their rage against us was abated. But soon, a change in the government toward us was announced, and great danger threatened us. The decree had arrived, very much like that which was foretold by our Lord, exhibiting the most dreadful aspect; so that, if it were possible, the very elect would stumble. All, indeed, were greatly alarmed, and many of the more eminent immediately gave way; others were tempted by the public offices they sustained; others were brought by their acquaintance, and when called by name, approached the impure and unholy sacrifices. Yet, pale and trembling, as if they were not to sacrifice, but themselves to be the victims and the sacrifices to the idols, they were jeered by many of the surrounding multitude, and were obviously equally afraid to die and to offer the sacrifice. But some advanced with greater readiness to the altars, and boldly asserted that they had never before been Christians; concerning whom the declaration of our Lord is most true, that they will scarcely be saved. Of the rest, some followed the one or the other of the preceding; some fled, others were taken, and of these some held out as far as the prison and bonds, and some after a few days’ imprisonment abjured (Christianity) before they entered the tribunal. But some, also, after enduring the torture for a time, at

last renounced. Others, however, firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, confirmed by the Lord himself, and receiving in themselves strength and power suited and proportioned to their faith, became admirable witnesses of his kingdom.

“The first of these was Julian, a man afflicted with the gout, neither able to walk nor stand, who, with two others that carried him, was arraigned. Of these, the one immediately denied, but the other, named Cronion, surnamed Eunus, and the aged Julian himself, having confessed the Lord, were carried on camels throughout the whole city, a very large one as you know, and in this elevation were scourged, and finally consumed in an immense fire, surrounded by the thronging crowds of spectators. But a soldier, whose name was Besas, standing near them, who had opposed the insolence of the multitude, whilst they were led away to execution, was himself assailed with their loud vociferations, and thus this brave soldier of God, after he had excelled in the great conflict of piety, was beheaded. Another, who was a Lybian by birth, but both in name and blessedness a Macar (blessed), after much solicitation from the judge to have him renounce, still remaining inflexible, was burnt alive. After these, Epimachus and Alexander, who had continued for a long time in prison, enduring innumerable sufferings from his scourges and scrapers, were also destroyed in an immense fire. With these there were also four women; Ammonarium, a holy virgin, who was ingeniously tortured for a very long time by the judge, because she had plainly declared she would utter none of those expressions which he dictated; and having made good her promise, she was led away. The others were the venerable and aged Mercuria; Dionysia, also, who was the mother of many children, but did not love them more than the Lord. These, after the governor became ashamed to torture them to no purpose, and thus to be defeated by women, all died by the sword, without the trial by tortures. But as to Ammonarium, she, like a chief combatant, received the greatest tortures of all. Heron and Ater and Isidorus, who were Egyptians, and with them a youth named Dioscorus, about the age of fifteen, were delivered up. At first he attempted to deceive the youth with fair words, as if he could be easily brought over, and to force him by tortures, as if he would readily yield. Dioscorus, however, was

neither persuaded by words, nor constrained by tortures.

“After scourging the rest in a most savage manner, and seeing them persevere, he also delivered these to the fire. But Dioscorus was dismissed by the judge, who admired the great wisdom of his answers to the questions proposed to him, and was also illustrious in the eyes of the people, with the view, as he said, to give him further time for repentance on account of his age. And now this most godly Dioscorus is among us, expecting a longer and a more severe conflict. A certain Nemesion, also an Egyptian, was first indeed accused as a companion of thieves; but when he had repelled this charge before the centurion, as a slander against him, in which there was no truth, being reported as a Christian, he was brought as a prisoner before the governor. He, a most unrighteous judge, inflicted a punishment more than double that of robbers, both scourges and tortures, and then committed him to the flames between thieves; thus honouring the blessed martyr after the example of Christ. But there was a band of soldiers, standing in a dense body before the tribunal, who were Ammon, and Zeno, and Ptolemy, and Ingenuus, together with the aged Theophilus. A certain one being brought and tried as a Christian, and already inclining to deny, they stood near, gnashed with their teeth, and beckoned to him with their faces, and stretched out their hands, and made gestures with their bodies. And whilst all were directing their eyes upon them, before they were seized by any one else, they ran up to the tribunal and declared that they were Christians; so that the governor and his associates themselves were greatly intimidated, whilst those who were condemned were most cheerful at the prospect of what they were to suffer; but their judges trembled. And these, therefore, retired from the tribunals, and rejoiced in their testimony, in which God had enabled them to triumph gloriously.



## CHAPTER XLII

### OTHER ACCOUNTS GIVEN BY DIONYSIUS

“BUT many others were also torn asunder in cities and villages, of which I shall mention one as an example. Ischyron was hired by one of the rulers in the capacity of a steward. This man was ordered by his employer to sacrifice, but as he did not obey, he was abused by him. Persevering in his purpose, he was treated with contumely, and as he still continued to bear with all, his employer seized a long pole and slew him, by thrusting it through his bowels. Why should I mention the multitudes that wandered about in deserts and mountains, that perished by hunger and thirst, arid frost and diseases, and robbers and wild beasts? The survivors of whom are the witnesses both of their election and victory. But I will add one fact to illustrate this: Chæremon was a very aged bishop of the city called Nile. He fleeing into the Arabian mountain, with his partner, did not return again, nor could the brethren learn any thing of him any more, though frequent search was made for him. They neither found them nor their bodies, and many were carried off as slaves by the barbarous Saracens, to the same mountains. Some of these were ransomed with great difficulty, others not even to the present day. And these facts I have stated, brethren, not without an object, but that thou mayest see how great and terrible distresses have befallen us, of which indeed, they who have been most tried, also understand the most.” Then, after a few remarks, he observes: “But these same martyrs, who are now sitting with Christ, and are the sharers in his kingdom, and the partners in his judgment, and who are now judging with him, received those of the brethren that fell away, and had been convicted of sacrificing (to idols), and when they saw their conversion and repentance, and that it might be acceptable

to Him who doth not by any means wish the death of the sinner so much as their repentance, and having proved them (as sincere), they received and assembled with them. They also communicated with them in prayer and at their feasts. What then, brethren, do ye advise concerning these? What should we do? Let us join in our sentiments with them, and let us observe their judgment and their charity; and let us kindly receive those who were treated with such compassion by them. Or should we rather pronounce their judgment unjust, and set ourselves up as the judges of their opinion, and thus grieve the spirit of mildness, and overturn established order?" These remarks were probably added by Dionysius when he spoke of those that had fallen away through weakness during the persecution.



# CHAPTER XLIII

## OF NOVATUS, HIS MANNERS AND HABITS, AND HIS HERESY

ABOUT this time appeared Novatus, a presbyter of the church of Rome, and a man elevated with haughtiness against these (that had fallen), as if there was no room for them to hope salvation, not even if they performed every thing for a genuine and pure confession. He thus became the leader of the peculiar heresy of those who, in the pomp of their imaginations, called themselves Cathari. A very large council being held on account of this, at which sixty of the bishops, but a still greater number of presbyters and deacons were present, the pastors of the remaining provinces, according to their places, deliberated separately what should be done; this decree was passed by all: "That Novatus, indeed, and those who so arrogantly united with him, and those that had determined to adopt his uncharitable and most inhuman opinion, these they considered among those that were alienated from the church; but that brethren who had incurred any calamity should be treated and healed with the remedies of repentance."

There are also epistles of Cornelius, bishop of Rome, addressed to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, which show the transactions of the council of Rome, as also, the opinions of all those in Italy and Africa, and the regions there. Others there are also, written in the Roman tongue, from Cyprian, and the bishops with him in Africa. In these, it is shown that they also agree in the necessity of relieving those who had fallen under severe temptations, and also in the propriety of excommunicating the author of the heresy, and all that were of his party. To these is attached also an epistle from Cornelius on the decrees of the council, besides others on the deeds of Novatus, from which we may add extracts, that those who read the present work may know



the circumstances respecting him. What kind of a character Novatus was, Cornelius informs Fabius, writing as follows: "But that you may know," says he, "how this singular man, who formerly aspired to the episcopate, secretly concealed within himself this precipitate ambition, and made use of those confessors that adhered to him from the beginning, as a cloak for his own folly, I will proceed to relate: Maximus' a presbyter of our church, and Urbanus, twice obtained the highest reputation for their confessions. Sidonius, also, and Celerinus, a man who, by the mercy of God, bore every kind of torture in the most heroic manner, and by the firmness of his own faith strengthened the weakness of the flesh, completely worsted the adversary. These men, therefore, as they knew him, and had well sounded his artifice and duplicity, as also his perjuries and falsehoods, his dissocial and savage character, returned to the holy church, and announced all his devices and wickedness, which he had for a long time dissembled within himself, and this too in the presence of many bishops; and the same also, in the presence of many presbyters, and a great number of laymen, at the same time lamenting and sorrowing that they had been seduced, and had abandoned the church for a short time, through the agency of that artful and malicious beast." After a little, he further says: "We have seen, beloved brother, within a short time, an extraordinary conversion and change in him. For this most illustrious man, and he who affirmed with the most dreadful oaths, that he never aspired to the episcopate, has suddenly appeared a bishop, as thrown among us by some machine. For this dogmatist, this (pretended) champion of ecclesiastical discipline, when he attempted to seize and usurp the episcopate not given him from above, selected two desperate characters as his associates, to send them to some small, and that the smallest, part of Italy, and from thence, by some fictitious plea, to impose upon three bishops there, men altogether ignorant and simple, affirming and declaring, that it was necessary for them to come to Rome in all haste, that all the dissension which had there arisen might be removed through their mediation, in conjunction with the other bishops. When these men had come, being, as before observed, but simple and inexperienced in discerning the artifices and villany

of the wicked, they were shut up with men of the same stamp with himself, and at the tenth hour, heated with wine and surfeiting, they forced them, by a kind of shadowy and empty imposition of hands, to confer the episcopate upon him; which, though by no means suited to him, he claims by fraud and treachery. One of these, not long after, returned to his church, mourning and confessing his error, with whom also we communed as a layman, as all the people present interceded for him, and we sent successors to the other bishops, ordaining them in the place where they were. This assertor of the gospel then did not know that there should be but one bishop in a catholic church (εν καθολικη εκκλησια). In which, however, he well knew (for how could he be ignorant?) that there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acoluthi (clerks), exorcists, readers, and janitors, in all fifty-two: widows, with the afflicted and needy, more than fifteen hundred; all which the goodness and love of God doth support and nourish. But neither this great number, so necessary in the church, nor those that by the providence of God were wealthy and opulent, together with the innumerable multitude of the people, were able to recall him and turn him from such a desperate and presumptuous course."

And, again, after these, he subjoins the following: "Now let us also tell by what means and conduct he had the assurance to claim the episcopate. Whether, indeed, it was because he was engaged in the church from the beginning, and endured many conflicts for her, and encountered many and great dangers in the cause of true religion? None of all this. To him, indeed, the author and instigator of his faith was Satan, who entered into and dwelt in him a long time; who, aided by the exorcists, when attacked with an obstinate disease, and being supposed at the point of death, was baptized by aspersion, in the bed on which he lay; if, indeed, it be proper to speak of such being received. But neither when he recovered from disease, did he partake of other things, which the rules of the church prescribe as duty, nor was he sealed (in confirmation) by the bishop. But as he did not obtain this, how could he obtain the Holy Spirit?" And, again, soon after, he says: "He denied he was a presbyter, through cowardice and the love of life, in the time of persecution. For when requested and exhorted

by the deacons, that he should go forth from his retreat in which he had imprisoned himself, and should come to the relief of the brethren, as far as was proper and in the power of a presbyter to assist brethren requiring relief, he was so far from yielding to any exhortation of the deacons, that he went away offended and left them. For he said that he wished to be a presbyter no longer, for he was an admirer of a different philosophy.”

Passing over some other matters, our author again adds: —“This illustrious character abandoned the church of God, in which, when he was converted, he was honoured with the presbytery, and that by the favour of the bishop placing his hands upon him (ordaining him), to the order of bishops; and as all the clergy and many of the laity resisted it, since it was not lawful that one baptised in his sick bed by aspersion as he had been, should be promoted to any order of the clergy, the bishop requested that it should be, granted him to ordain only this one.” After this, he adds another deed, the worst of all the man’s absurdities, thus: “For having made the oblation, and distributed a part to each one, whilst giving this, instead of blessing them, he compelled the unhappy men to swear; holding the hands of the one receiving, with both his own, and not letting them go until he had sworn in these words (for I shall repeat the very words): ‘Swear to me, by the body and blood of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, that you will never desert me, nor turn to Cornelius.’ And the unhappy man was then not suffered to taste until he had first cursed himself; and instead of saying Amen after he had taken the bread, he said, ‘I will never return to Cornelius.’ ” And, after other matters, he again proceeds, as follows: “Now, you must know, that he was stripped and abandoned, the brethren leaving him every day and returning to the church. He was also excommunicated by Moses, that blessed witness, who but lately endured a glorious and wonderful martyrdom, and who, whilst yet among the living, seeing the audacity and the folly of the man, excluded him from the communion, together with the five presbyters that had cut themselves off from the church.”

At the close of the epistle he gives a list of the bishops who had come to Rome, and had discarded the incorrigible disposition of Novatus; at the same time adding the names, together with the

churches governed by each. He also mentions those that were not present at Rome, but who, by letter, assented to the decision of the former, adding also the names and the particular cities whence each one had written. Such is the account written by Cornelius to Fabius bishop of Antioch.



# CHAPTER XLIV

## DIONYSIUS'S ACCOUNT OF SERAPION

IN a letter to this same Fabius, who in some measure seemed to incline to this schism, Dionysius of Alexandria, amongst many other matters that he wrote to him on repentance, and in which he describes the conflicts which the martyrs had recently endured at Alexandria, with other accounts, relates one fact wonderful indeed. This we deem belonging to our history, and is as follows: "But I will give you one example that occurred with us. There was a certain Serapion, an aged believer, who had passed his long life irreproachably, but as he had sacrificed during the persecution, though he frequently begged, no one would listen to him. He was taken sick, and continued three days in succession speechless and senseless. On the fourth day, recovering a little, he called his grandchild to him and said, 'O son, how long do you detain me? I beseech you hasten, and quickly absolve me. Call one of the presbyters to me.' Saying this, he again became speechless. The boy ran to the presbyter. But it was night, and the presbyter was sick. As I had, however, before issued an injunction, that those at the point of death, if they desired it, and especially if they entreated for it before, should receive absolution, that they might depart from life in comfortable hope, I gave the boy a small portion of the eucharist, telling him to dip it in water, and to drop it into the mouth of the old man. The boy returned with the morsel. When he came near, before he entered, Serapion having again recovered himself, said, 'Thou hast come, my son, but the presbyter could not come. But do thou quickly perform what thou art commanded, and dismiss me.' The boy moistened it, and at the same time dropped it into the old man's mouth. And he, having swallowed a little, immediately expired. Was he not, then, evidently preserved,

and did he not continue living until he was absolved; and his sins being wiped away, he could be acknowledged as a believer for the many good acts that he had done?" Thus far Dionysius.





# CHAPTER XLV

## THE EPISTLE OF DIONYSIUS TO NOVATUS

LET us also see what kind of epistle the same writer addressed to Novatus, who was then disturbing the brethren at Rome; since he pretended that certain brethren were the cause of his apostasy and schism, because he had been forced by them to proceed thus far. Observe the manner in which he writes to him: "Dionysius sends greeting to his brother Novatus. If, as you say, you were forced against your will, you will show it by retiring voluntarily. For it was a duty to suffer any thing rather than to afflict the church of God; and, indeed, it would not be more inglorious to suffer even martyrdom for its sake, than to sacrifice; and in my opinion it would have been a greater glory. For there, in the one case, the individual gives a testimony for his own soul, but in the other he bears witness for the whole church. And now, if thou persuade or constrain the brethren to return to unanimity, thy uprightness will be greater than thy delusion, and the latter will not be laid to thy charge, but the other will be applauded; but if thou art unable to prevail with thy friends, save thy own soul. With the hope that thou art desirous of peace in the Lord, I bid thee farewell." Such was the epistle of Dionysius to Novatus.



# CHAPTER XLVI

## OTHER EPISTLES OF DIONYSIUS

HE wrote, also, an epistle to the brethren in Egypt, On Repentance, in which he gives his opinion respecting those who had fallen, and in which he also gives the degrees of faults. There is also a separate work of his extant, On Repentance, addressed to Conon bishop of Hermopolis; and also another epistle of reproof to his flock at Alexandria. Among these, is also the work addressed to Origen, On Martyrdom; also, an epistle to the brethren of Laodicea, where Thelymidres was bishop. He wrote in like manner to the Armenians, On Repentance, where Meruzanes was bishop. Besides all these, he wrote to Cornelius at Rome in answer to an epistle from him, against Novatus; in which answer he shows that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and the rest that were collected with him, viz. Firmilianus, bishop in Cappadocia, and Theoctistus of Palestine, that he should meet them at the council of Antioch, where certain persons were trying to establish the schism of Novatus. Besides this, he wrote that he had been informed Fabius was dead, but that Demetrianus was appointed his successor in the episcopate of the church at Antioch. He also writes respecting the bishop of Jerusalem, in these words: "As to the blessed Alexander, he was cast into prison, and departed happily." Next to this, there is also another epistle of Dionysius to the Romans, On the Office of Deacons, sent by Hippolytus. To the same people he also wrote another epistle, On Peace; also, On Repentance; and another, again, to the confessors there, who were yet affected with the opinions of Novatus. To these same he wrote two others, after they had returned to the church. To many others, also, he addressed letters of admonition and exhortation, calculated to afford various advantage, even now, to those who wish to study his writings.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK VII



# PREFACE TO THE SEVENTH BOOK

THAT great bishop of Alexandria, DIONYSIUS shall aid us also in the omposition of the seventh book of our history, by extracting from his works whatsoever particulars of his clay he has separately detailed in the epistles that he has left us. With these, at least, we shall commence our account.



# CHAPTER I

## THE GREAT WICKEDNESS OF DECIUS AND GALLUS

DECIUS had scarcely reigned two years, when he, with his children, was slain. GALLUS was his successor. Origen died at this time, in the seventieth year of his age. Dionysius, in an epistle to Hermamon, makes the following remarks on Gallus: "But neither did Gallus understand the wickedness of Decius, nor did he foresee what it was That had destroyed him, but he stumbled at the same stone lying before his eyes. For when his reign was advancing prosperously, and his affairs succeeding according to his wishes, he persecuted those holy men, who interceded with God both for his peace and safety. Hence, together with them, he also persecuted the very prayers that were offered up in his behalf." Thus much he has said respecting him.





## CHAPTER II

# THE BISHOPS OF ROME AT THIS TIME

AFTER Cornelius had held the episcopal office at Rome about three years, he was succeeded by Lucius, but the latter did not hold the office quite eight months, when dying he transferred it to Stephen. To this Stephen, Dionysius wrote the first of his epistles on baptism, as there was no little controversy, whether those turning from any heresy whatever, should be purified by baptism; as the ancient practice prevailed with regard to such, that they should only have imposition of hands with prayer.



## CHAPTER III

# CYPRIAN AND THE BISHOPS CONNECTED WITH HIM, MAINTAINED, THAT THOSE WHO HAD TURNED FROM HERETICAL ERROR, SHOULD BE BAPTISED AGAIN

CYPRINA, who was bishop (ποιμην) of the church of Carthage, was of opinion, that they should be admitted on no conditions, before they were first purified from their error by baptism. But Stephen, who thought that no innovations should be made contrary to traditions that had prevailed from ancient times, was greatly offended at this.



## CHAPTER IV

# THE EPISTLE THAT DIONYSIUS WROTE ON THIS SUBJECT

DIONYSIUS therefore, after addressing to him many arguments by letter, on this subject, finally showed, that as the persecution had abated, the churches, every where averse to the innovations of Novatus, had peace among themselves. But he writes as follows:



# CHAPTER V

## THE PEACE AFTER THE PERSECUTION

“NOW I wish you to understand, my brother, that all the churches throughout the east, and farther, that were formerly divided, have been united again. All the bishops, also, are every where in harmony, rejoicing exceedingly at the peace which has been established beyond all expectation. These are, Demetrianus of Antioch, Theoctistus of Cæsarea, Mazabanus of Ælia after the death of Alexander, Marinus of Tyre, Heliodorus of Laodicea after the decease of Thelymidres, Helenus of Tarsus, and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilianus, and all Cappadocia; for I have mentioned only the more distinguished of the bishops by name, that neither the length of my letter, nor the burden of my words, may offend you. All the provinces of Syria and Arabia, which at different times you supplied with necessaries, and to whom you have now written, Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Bithynia, and to comprehend them in a word, all are rejoicing every where at the unanimity and brotherly love now prevailing, and are glorifying God for the same.” Such are the words of Dionysius.

But after Stephen had held the episcopal office two years, he was succeeded by Xystus, and Dionysius having addressed a second letter to him on baptism, at the same time showing the opinion and decision passed by Stephen and the rest of the bishops, makes the following remarks on Stephen: “He had written before respecting Helenus and Firmilianus and all those from Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and Galatia, and all the nations adjoining, that he would not have communion with them on this account, because they, said he, re-baptized the heretics. And behold, I pray you, the importance of the matter. For in reality, as I have ascertained, decrees have been passed in the greatest councils of



the bishops, that those who come from the heretics are first to be instructed, and then are to be washed and purified from the filth of their old and impure leaven. And respecting all these things, I have sent letters entreating them.” After stating other matters, he proceeds: “But I have also written to our beloved and fellow-presbyters Dionysius and Philemon, who agreed before with Stephen in sentiment, and wrote to me on these matters; before, indeed, I wrote briefly, but now more fully.” Such were the accounts respecting the controversy mentioned.



# CHAPTER VI

## THE HERESY OF SABELLIUS

SPEAKING of the heresy of Sabellius, that arose about this time, and that was then increasing, he writes as follows: "But as to the opinion which is now agitated at Ptolemais of Pentapolis, it is impious, and replete with blasphemy towards Almighty God and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and abounds also in much infidelity in regard to his only begotten Son, and the first born of all creation, the incarnate Word; it abounds also in irreverence to the Holy Spirit. But as the brethren came to me from both sides, both before the letters were received and the question was discussed, I drew up a more regular treatise on the subject, as far as I was enabled under God; copies of which I have sent to thee."



## CHAPTER VII

# THE EXECRABLE ERROR OF THE HERETICS, THE DIVINE VISION OF DIONYSIUS, AND THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANON GIVEN TO HIM

IN the third epistle on baptism, which Dionysius wrote to Philemon, a presbyter of Rome, he relates the following circumstances: "I perused," says he, "the works and traditions of the heretics, defiling my mind for a little with their execrable sentiments; but I have also derived this benefit from them, viz., to refute them in my own mind, and to feel the greater disgust at them. And when a certain brother of the presbyters attempted to restrain me, and was much in dread lest I should be carried away by this sink of iniquity, saying, that my mind would be corrupted, in which he spoke the truth, as I thought, I was confirmed in my purpose by a vision sent me from heaven, when a voice came to me and commanded me in words as follows: 'Read all that thou takest in hand, for thou art qualified to correct and prove all, and this very thing has been the cause of thy faith in Christ from the beginning.' I received the vision, as coinciding with the apostolic declaration, which says to the more competent, 'Be ye skilful money-changers.' "

Then, after some remarks on all the heresies, he adds:

"This rule and form I have received from our father (παπα) the blessed Heraclas, that those who come from the heretics (although they had apostatized from the church, or rather had not apostatized, but, seeming to have communion with the brethren, had been reported as frequenting some one of those who taught

strange doctrines), after they had been expelled from the church, were not admitted again by him, though they entreated much, until they had publicly declared all that they had heard from their adversaries; and then indeed he admitted them to commune, without deeming another baptism necessary for them. For they had already before received the Holy Spirit from him." But after agitating the question again considerably, he adds: "I have also understood, not only that this practice was introduced by those of Africa, but that long since, during the times of those bishops before us, in the most populous churches, the same thing was decreed by the councils of the brethren at Iconium and Synada. To overturn their determinations, and to drive them into contention and strife, I cannot endure, for thou shalt not remove, as it is said, the landmarks of thy neighbour, which thy fathers have placed." His fourth epistle, On Baptism, was written to Dionysius at Rome, who was then a presbyter, but ere long was ordained bishop of that church. From this it is evident, that this same Dionysius of Rome was a learned and excellent man, as it is proved by the Dionysius of Alexandria. He wrote to him, among other matters, respecting the affairs of novatus, as follows.



# CHAPTER VIII

## THE HETERODOXY OF NOVATUS

“WE justly cherish an aversion to the Novation,” says he, “by whom the church is split asunder; and some of the brethren have been drawn into impiety and blasphemy; and most nefarious doctrine has been introduced respecting; God; and our most gracious Lord and Saviour Christ has been calumniated as devoid of compassion; which also, beside all this, sets aside the holy baptism, and overturns the faith and confession that precede it, and totally drives away the Holy Spirit from themselves, should there happen to be any hope yet, that he would remain or return to them.”





# CHAPTER IX

## THE UNGODLY BAPTISM OF HERETICS

THERE was also a fifth epistle written by him to Xystus, bishop of Rome, in which, stating many things against the heretics, he relates that some occurrence like the following took place in his times. "Really, brother," says he, "I need your counsel, and I beg your opinion, on an affair that has presented itself to me, and in which, indeed, I am afraid I may be deceived. One of the brethren that collected with us, who was considered a believer long since, even before my ordination, and who I think assembled with us before the appointment (consecration) of the blessed Heraclas; this man happening to be present with those that were immediately baptized, and listening to the questions and answers, came to me weeping and bewailing himself, casting himself also at my feet; he began to acknowledge and abjure his baptism by the heretics, because their baptism was nothing like this, nor indeed, had any thing in common with it, for it was filled with impiety and blasphemies. He said also, that his soul now was wholly pierced, and he had not confidence enough to raise his eyes to God, coming from those execrable words and deeds. Hence he prayed that he might have the benefit of this most perfect cleansing, reception and grace, which indeed I did not dare to do, saying, that his long: communion was sufficient for this. For one who had been in the habit of hearing thanksgiving, and repeating the Amen, and standing at the table, and extending his hand to receive the sacred elements, and after receiving and becoming a partaker of the body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Christ for a long time, I would not dare to renew again any further. I exhorted him, therefore, to take courage, and with a firm faith and good conscience to approach and take part with the

saints in the solemnity of the holy supper. But he did not cease lamenting. He shuddered to approach the table, and scarcely could endure it, even when exhorted to be present at prayers.”

There is beside the above epistles, also, one and another of the same on baptism, from him and his church, addressed to Xystus and the church of Rome. In this he extends his discourse to a great length of argument on the question there discussed. There is also a certain other epistle of his besides these, addressed to Dionysius of Rome, concerning Lucianus. But thus much respecting these.



# CHAPTER X

## VALERIAN, AND THE PERSECUTION RAISED BY HIM

GALLUS had not held the government quite two years when he was removed, and Valerian, with his son Gallienus, succeeded in his place. What Dionysius has said respecting him also, may be learned from his epistle to Hermamon, in which he gives the following account: "In like manner it was revealed to John, and there was," saith he, "a mouth given, him, speaking great things, and blasphemy; and power was given to him (to continue), forty-two months." It is wonderful that both these things were fulfilled in Valerian, and especially if we consider the behaviour of the man before this, how kind and friendly he was towards the pious. For never had any of the emperors before him been so favourably and benevolently disposed toward them; not even those who were openly said to be Christians, had treated them with such excessive civility and friendship as he did at the commencement of his reign. All his house was likewise filled with pious persons, and was, indeed, a congregation (ἐκκλησια) of the Lord. But the master and chief ruler of the Egyptian magi (Macrianus), persuaded him to abandon this course, exhorting him to persecute and slay these pure and holy men, as enemies and obstacles to their wicked and detestable incantations. For they were and still are, men who, by their very presence—their aspect—their breath—their voice, are able to dissipate the artifices of wicked demons. He suggested to him to study the rites of initiation, and abominable arts of sorcery, to perform execrable sacrifices, to slay unhappy infants, and to sacrifice the children of wretched fathers, and to search the bowels of new-born babes, and to mutilate and dismember the creatures of God, as if by doing this they should obtain great felicity." To this account he also subjoins the

following: "Macrianus, therefore, presented (to the demons) thank-offerings for his desired accession to the government, who before was generally called the emperor's steward and receiver-general, yet did nothing that could be pronounced for the public good, or even reasonable; but subjected himself to the prophetic malediction which says, 'Woe to those that prophesy according to their own hearts, and do not see to the public good;' for neither did he perceive that Providence that regulates the whole; and neither did he regard the judgment of Him that is before all, and through all, and over all. Hence, he became an enemy to the universal church. He also estranged and excluded himself from the mercy of God, and fled as far as possible from His salvation. In this, indeed, he really expressed the peculiarity of his name." Again, he says: "Valerian was thus urged by this man to these measures, whilst he exposed himself to insults and reproaches, according to what Isaias has said: 'And these have chosen their own ways, and their own abominations, which their soul hath desired. And I will choose their derisions, and will repay them their sins.' But the latter (viz. Macrianus), anxious without any merit to have the government, and yet unable to assume the imperial garb, from the feebleness of his body, appointed his two sons to take upon them, as it were, their father's crimes. For the declaration of God respecting such, proved its truth when he said, 'visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children, to the third and fourth generations of them that hate me.' For heaping his own wicked passions, in the gratification of which he did not succeed, upon the heads of his children, he swept off upon them his own wickedness and hatred of God." And such is the account which Dionysius has given of Valerian.



# CHAPTER XI

## THE SUFFERINGS OF DIONYSIUS, AND THOSE IN EGYPT

As to the persecutions that raged so violently under him, and what sufferings he with others endured for their piety towards the Supreme God, his own words shall declare, which he addressed to Germanus, one of the contemporary bishops that attempted to slander him. His words are as follows: "I apprehend that as I am forced to relate the wonderful providence of God respecting us, I shall be liable to much folly and insensibility. But, as it is said, it is honourable to conceal the secret of the king, and glorious to make manifest the works of God, I will face the violence of Germanus. I came to Æmilianus not alone, but in company with my fellow-presbyter Maximus, and the deacons Faustus, Eusebius, and Chæremon, together with a certain one of the brethren who had come from Rome. Æmilianus, however, did not at first say to me, Hold no assemblies, as this was superfluous, and was the last thing to one who was aiming at what was the first in importance; for he was not concerned about my collecting others, but that we should not be Christians, and from this he commanded me to desist, thinking, no doubt, that if I changed, others would follow my example. But I answered him not without good reason, and without many words, 'We must obey God rather than man.' I directly bore witness, that I could neither renounce the exclusive worship of the only true God, nor ever cease to be a Christian. Upon this he commanded us to go away to a neighbouring village of the desert, called Cephro.

"But hear the words that were uttered by both of us, as they were recorded. Dionysius and Faustus, Maximus, Marcellus, and Chæremon, being arraigned, Æmilianus, the prefect, said: 'I have even personally reasoned with you on the clemency of our



sovereigns, which you have also experienced. For they have given you the chance of saving yourselves, if you are disposed to turn to the course of nature, and worship the gods that have preserved them in their government, and to forget those practices which are so unnatural (των παρα φυσιν). What, then, say ye to these things? For neither do I expect that you will be ungrateful for their kindness, since they would dispose you to a better cause.’ Dionysius answered, ‘All the gods are not worshipped by all, but each worships those whom he thinks to be gods. We, therefore, worship the one God and Creator of all things, and the very same that has committed the government to their most excellent and sacred majesties, Valerian and Gallienus. Him we worship and adore, and to Him we incessantly pray that their reign may continue firm and unshaken.’ Æmilianus, the prefect, again replied: ‘But who prevents you from worshipping this one God, if He be a god, together with those that are the natural gods? For you are commanded to worship the gods, and those gods which all know to be such.’ Dionysius answered: ‘We worship no other one.’ Æmilianus, the prefect, said, ‘I perceive that you are at the same time ungrateful, and insensible to the clemency of our Cæsars. Therefore you shall not remain in this city, but you shall be sent to the parts of Lybia, to a place called Cephro. For this place I have selected according to the orders of our Cæsars. But neither you, nor any others, shall in any wise be permitted, either to hold conventions, or to enter what you call your cemeteries. But if any one appear not to have gone to the place which I have commanded, or if he shall be found in any assembly, he will do it at his peril. For the necessary punishment will not fail. Remove, therefore, whither ye are commanded.’ Thus he compelled me, sick as I was, nor did he grant me a day’s respite. What leisure, then, had I to hold assemblies, or not to hold them?”

After other matters, he says again, “Neither did we keep aloof from assembling ourselves by divine assistance; but so much the more diligently did I gather those that were in the city, as if I were in their midst: absent, indeed, in the body, as I said, but present in spirit. In Cephro a large congregation collected with us, partly of the brethren that accompanied us from the city, partly of those that joined us from Egypt; and thus God opened a door for the word

likewise there. And at first, indeed, we were persecuted, we were stoned; but, at last, not a few of the heathen, abandoning the idols, turned to God, for the word was then first sown among them, as they had never before heard it. And thus, as if God had conducted us for this cause to them, after we had fulfilled this ministry, we were again transferred to another part. For Æmilianus designed to transport us, as it seemed, to places more rough, and more replete with Lybian horrors (more Lybian-like), and he commanded those in the Mareotic district every where to collect, appointing them separate villages throughout the country. But our party, together with those that should be first taken, he commanded to be left on the way. For, no doubt, it was among his plans and preparations, that whenever he wished to seize us he might easily take us captive. And when I was first ordered to go away to Cephro, though I knew not the place where it was, having scarcely even heard the name before, yet I nevertheless went away cheerfully and calmly. But when it was told me to remove to the parts of Colluthion, those present know how I was affected. For here I shall accuse myself. At first, indeed, I was afflicted, and bore it hard. For though these places happened to be more known and familiar to me, yet they said that it was a region destitute of brethren and good men, and exposed to the insolence of travellers, and the incursions of robbers. However, I received comfort from the brethren, who reminded me that it was nearer to the city, and although Cephro brought us a great number of brethren promiscuously from Egypt, so that we could hold larger assemblies, yet there, as the city was nearer, we should more frequently enjoy the sight of those that were really beloved and most dear to us. For they would come, and would tarry, and, as if in the more remote suburbs, there would be still meetings in part. And so it was.”

After these, and other remarks, he proceeds to tell what happened to him again: “Germanus, indeed, may glory in his many confessions; he may have much to say of what happened to him: but how many sentences of condemnation against us may he enumerate; how many confiscations, proscriptions, spoliations of goods, loss of dignities, contempt of worldly honour, contempt of praise from the prefects or from counsellors, and the endurance of

the opposite threats of outcries; what dangers, persecutions, exile, great trouble and various kinds of affliction, such as happened to me under Decius and Sabinus, such as I have suffered until the present persecution of Æmilianus. But where in the world was Germanus? What is said of him? But I will abstain from the great folly into which I have fallen on account of Germanus. And hence, also, I shall dismiss giving a particular account of what happened to the brethren, who already know the facts.”

The same writer, also, in the epistle to Domitius and Didymus, again makes mention of some particulars, in reference to the persecution, as follows: “It is superfluous for me to recount to you our brethren by name, as they are both numerous and unknown to you. But you must know that they are men and women, young and old, young virgins and aged matrons, soldiers and private men, every class and every age, some that obtained the crown of victory under stripes and in the flames, some by the edge of the sword. As to many, however, the lapse of a very long time was not sufficient to render them acceptable to God. And in my case it has not been sufficient, neither is it now. Therefore, I have been reserved for a time which he knows most suitable, who has said, ‘In the accepted time I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have assisted thee.’ But since you have inquired, and wish to be informed of all concerning us, you have fully heard how we fare; how we, that is, myself and Caius, Faustus, Peter and Paul were led away as prisoners by the centurion and magistrates, and the soldiers and officers that were with them, when a party came from Mareotis and took us away, and, as we were unwilling, dragged us by force. Now Caius and Peter, with myself, solitary and deprived of the rest of our brethren, are shut up in a wild and desert place of Lybia, three days’ journey distant from Parætonium.”

After some further remarks, he proceeds: “In the city some concealed themselves, secretly visiting the brethren; presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, and Lucius. For Faustinus and Aquila, being more eminent in the world, are wandering about in Egypt. But of those that died of the sickness, the surviving deacons are Faustus, Eusebius, Chæremon. Eusebius, who was strengthened by the Lord from the beginning, and who was well

qualified to fulfil the arduous and necessary duties to those confessors that were in prison, and to perform the dangerous office of burying those perfected and blessed men who suffered martyrdom. For, to the present day, the governor does not cease killing them, as I before said, in a most cruel manner, whenever they are arraigned, torturing some with scourging, wasting others with imprisonment and bonds, and commanding that no one shall go nigh them, and examining whether any is seen to do so. And yet God, by the alacrity and kindness of the brethren, has afforded some relief to the afflicted." Such is the statement of Dionysius in this epistle.

Now it should be observed, that this Eusebius, whom he called a deacon, was not long after appointed bishop of Laodicea, in Syria; and Maximus, whom he called a presbyter, at that time succeeded Dionysius as bishop of the church at Alexandria. But Faustus, who was at that time greatly distinguished for his confession, being reserved until the persecution of our times, in a very advanced age, and full of days, was made perfect as a martyr, and was beheaded. Such were the events that happened to Dionysius at this time.



## CHAPTER XII

# THE MARTYRS AT CÆSAREA OF PALESTINE

IN the persecution of Valerian, mentioned above, three men of Cæsarea in Palestine, who shone gloriously in their confession of Christ, were honoured with divine martyrdom by becoming the food of wild beasts. Of these, one was called Priscus, another Malchus, the third was named Alexander. These, it is said, living in the country, blamed themselves for being careless and indolent, because when the occasion presented illustrious rewards to those who were panting with the desire of heaven, they were negligent, and did not seize the martyr's crown. But revolving these things in their mind, they afterwards hastened to Cæsarea, and advanced to the judge, and obtained the sentence we have mentioned. It is also said, that a certain female endured a similar conflict in the same persecution and city, who is said to have been of the sect of Marcion.



# CHAPTER XIII

## THE PEACE AFTER GALLIENUS

As it was not long before Valerian was taken captive, and reduced to slavery by the barbarians, his son Gallienus, obtaining the sole command, was disposed to use more clemency in the exercise of his power. He, therefore, immediately restrained the persecution against us, by sending edicts, in which he commanded that the ministers of the word might perform the customary duties of their office with freedom, the copy of which was as follows: "The emperor Cæsar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus, to Dionysius, Pinna, Demetrius, and the other bishops. The benefit of the privilege granted by me I have ordered to be issued throughout the whole world, that all may depart from their religious retreats; and therefore you may make use of this copy of my edict, that no one may molest you. And this liberty indeed, which you are now permitted to have, has been long since granted by me. Aurelius Cyrenius, therefore, who has the chief administration of affairs, will keep the copy here given by me." This, that it may be the better understood, we have here presented to our readers, in a translation from the Latin tongue. There is also another ordinance from him, which he addressed to other bishops, in which he grants permission to recover what are called the cemeteries.





## CHAPTER XIV

# THE BISHOPS THAT FLOURISHED AT THIS TIME

AT this time the episcopate in the Roman church was still held by Xystus; in the church of Antioch, after Fabius, by Demetrianus; of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, by Firmilianus; of the churches in Pontus, by Gregory, and his brother Athenodorus, both of them familiar friends of Origen. At Cæsarea of Palestine, after the death of Theoctistus, the episcopal office was conferred on Domnus, and he not surviving long, was succeeded by Theotecnus our contemporary, who was of the school of Origen. In Jerusalem, after the decease of Mazabanus, Hymenæus followed as his successor in the episcopal seat, the same that has been eminent in many respects in the present day.



## CHAPTER XV

# THE MARTYRDOM OF MARINUS AT CÆSAREA

ABOUT this time, as peace was every where restored to the churches, Marinus of Cæsarea in Palestine, who was one of the army, distinguished for his military honours, and illustrious for his family and wealth, was beheaded for his confession of Christ on the following account: There is a certain honour among the Romans, called the vine, and they who obtain it are called centurions. A place becoming vacant, Marinus, by the order of succession, was called to this promotion; but when he was on the point of obtaining this, another advancing to the tribunal began to make opposition, saying, that according to the ancient institutions it was not lawful for him to share in the Roman honours, as he was a Christian, and refused to sacrifice to the emperors; and that the office devolved on himself. The judge, whose name was Achæus, roused at this, first began to ask what the opinions of Marinus were; and when he saw him constantly affirming that he was a Christian, he granted him three hours for reflection. But as soon as he came out of the pætorium, or judgment hall, Theotecnus, the bishop of the place, coming to him, drew him aside in conversation, and taking him by the hand, conducted him to the church; and having placed him within by the altar, he raised his cloak a little, and pointing to the sword that was attached to his side, at the same time presenting before him the book of the holy gospels, told him to choose either of the two according to his wish. Without hesitation he extended his hand and took the book. "Hold fast, then, hold fast to God," said Theotecnus, "and strengthened by Him, mayest thou obtain what thou hast chosen—go in peace." Immediately upon his return from thence, a crier began to proclaim before the prætorium, for the appointed time had already

passed away; and being thus arraigned, after exhibiting a still greater ardour in his faith, he was forthwith led away as he was, and made perfect by martyrdom.



# CHAPTER XVI

## SOME ACCOUNT OF ASTYRIUS

MENTION is also made in these times of the pious confidence of Astyrius, a man who was a Roman of senatorial rank, in great favour with the emperors, and well known to all for his noble birth and his wealth. As he was present at the death of the above-mentioned martyr, taking up the corpse, he bore him on his shoulder in a splendid and costly dress, and covering it in a magnificent manner, committed it to a decent burial. Many other facts are stated of the man by his friends, who have lived to the present times.





## CHAPTER XVII

# THE MIRACLES OF OUR SAVIOUR AT PANEAS

AMONG these there was the following remarkable occurrence. At Cæsarea Philippi, which is called Paneas by the Phœnicians, they say there are springs that are shown there, at the foot of the mountain called Panius, from which the Jordan rises; and that on a certain festival day there was usually a victim thrown into these, and that this, by the power of the demon, in some wonderful manner entirely disappeared. The thing was a famous wonder to all that were there to see it. Astyrius happening to be once present at these rites, and seeing the multitude astonished at the affair, pitied their delusion. Then raising his eyes to heaven, he implored the God over all through Christ, to refute this seducing demon, and to restrain the delusion of the people. As soon as he prayed, it is said that the victim floated on the stream, and that thus this miracle vanished, no wonder ever more occurring in this place



## CHAPTER XVIII

# THE STATUE ERECTED BY THE WOMAN HAVING AN HEMORRHAGE

BUT as we have mentioned this city, I do not think it right to pass by a narrative that deserves to be recorded for posterity. They say that the woman who had an issue of blood, mentioned by the evangelists, and who obtained deliverance from her affliction by our Saviour, was a native of this place, and that her house is shown in the city, and the wonderful monuments of our Saviour's benefit to her are still remaining. At the gates of her house, on an elevated stone, stands a brazen image of a woman on her bended knee, with her hands stretched out before her like one entreating. Opposite to this there is another image of a man erect, of the same materials, decently clad in a mantle (διπλοιδα), and stretching out his hand to the woman. Before her feet, and on the same pedestal, there is a certain strange plant growing, which, rising as high as the hem of the brazen garment, is a kind of antidote to all kinds of diseases. This statue, they say, is a statue of Jesus Christ, and it has remained even until our times; so that we ourselves saw it whilst tarrying in that city. Nor is it to be wondered at, that those of the Gentiles who were anciently benefited by our Saviour, should have done these things, since we have also seen representations of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of Christ himself, still preserved in paintings; as it is probable that, according to a practice among the Gentiles, the ancients were accustomed to pay this kind of honour indiscriminately to those who were saviours to them.



# CHAPTER XIX

## THE EPISCOPAL SEAT OF JAMES

JAMES being the first that received the dignity of the episcopate at Jerusalem, from our Saviour himself, as the sacred Scriptures show that he was generally called the brother of Christ; this See, which has been preserved until the present times, has ever been held in veneration by the brethren that have followed in the succession there, in which they have sufficiently shown what reverence both the ancients and those of our own times exhibited, and still exhibit, towards holy men on account of their piety. But enough of this.



## CHAPTER XX

### THE EPISTLES OF DIONYSIUS, ON FESTIVALS, IN WHICH HE GIVES THE CANON ON THE PASSOVER

BESIDES these epistles, the same Dionysius, about this time, also composed others, called his Festival Epistles, in which he discourses much in praise of the festival of the Passover. One of these he addressed to Flavius, another to Domitius and Didymus, in which also he gives the canon for eight years, showing that it is not proper to observe the paschal festival before the vernal equinox was past. Beside these, he composed another epistle, addressed to his compresbyters at Alexandria. Also to several others, and these during the prevalence of the persecution.





# CHAPTER XXI

## THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AT ALEXANDRIA

PEACE having been scarcely established, he returned, indeed, to Alexandria; but as sedition and war again broke out, so that it was impossible for him to superintend all the brethren then divided into different parties, he again addressed them by letter at the passover, as if he were still an exile from Alexandria. He also wrote, after this, another paschal letter to Hierax, a bishop of Egypt, in which he makes mention of the sedition then prevailing at Alexandria, as follows: "But what cause of wonder is there, if it be difficult for me also to address epistles to those that are so very remote, when I am at a loss to consult for my own life, or to reason with myself. For, indeed, I have great need to send epistolary addresses to those who are as my own bowels, my associates and dearest brethren and members of the same church. But how I shall send these I cannot devise. For it would be more easy for any one, I would not say to go beyond the limits of the province, but even to travel from east to west, than to go from Alexandria to Alexandria itself. For the very heart of the city is more desolate and impassable than that vast and trackless desert which the Israelites traversed in two generations, and our smooth and tranquil harbours have become like that sea which opened and arose like walls on both sides, enabling them to drive through, and in whose highway the Egyptians were overwhelmed. For often they appear like the Red Sea, from the frequent slaughters committed in them; but the river which washes the city, has sometimes appeared more dry than the parched desert, and more exhausting than that in which Israel was so overcome with thirst on their journey that they exclaimed against Moses, and the water flowed for them from the broken rock, by the power of Him who

alone doeth wondrous works. Sometimes, also, it has so overflowed, that it has inundated all the country round; the roads and the fields, seeming to threaten that flood of waters which happened in the days of Noah. It also flows always polluted with blood and slaughter, and the constant drowning of men, such as it formerly was, when, before Pharaoh, it was changed by Moses into blood and putrid matter. And what other purification could be applied to water, which itself purifies all? Could that vast and impassable ocean ever wash away this bitter sea? or could that great river itself, which flowed from Eden, though it poured the four heads into which it was divided, into one Gihon, wash away this filth? When will this air, corrupted as it is by the noxious exhalations every where rising, become pure and serene? For there are such vapours from the earth, and such storms from the sea-breezes, from the rivers and mists coming from the harbours, that make it appear as if we should have for dew, the gore of those dead bodies that are putrefying in all the elements around us.

“Then, and notwithstanding all this, men wonder, and are at a loss to know whence come the constant plagues; whence these malignant diseases; whence those varied infections; whence all that immense destruction of human lives; and wherefore it is, that this mighty city no longer cherishes within it such a number of inhabitants, from speechless children, to the aged and decrepid, as it formerly had of those whom it could pronounce firm and vigorous in years. Those of forty years and up to seventy, were so much the more numerous once, that their number cannot now be made up, if even those from fourteen to eighty were inserted and enrolled among the receivers of the public grain. And those who in appearance are but the youngest, are now as of an age with those formerly the oldest. And yet, though they constantly see the human race diminishing, and constantly wasting away, in the very midst of this increasing destruction, and this annihilation, they are not alarmed.”



# CHAPTER XXII

## THE PESTILENCE WHICH THEN PREVAILED

THE pestilence, after these things, succeeding the war, and the festival being at hand, he again addresses the brethren in epistles; in which he shows the great calamities attending this affliction, as follows: "To other men, indeed, the present would not appear a fit season for a festival. Neither is this, nor any other time a festival for them to speak of sorrowful times, but even of those which a cheerful person might deem joyous. Now all things are filled with tears, all are mourning, and by reason of the multitudes already dead, and still dying, groans are daily resounding throughout the city. For as it is written respecting the firstborn of Egypt, thus now, also, a great lamentation has arisen, for there is not a house in which there is not one dead. And I wish this were all. Many and horrible calamities have preceded this. First they expelled us from the city, but we, in exile and persecuted, still celebrated the festival; and every place, marked by some particular affliction, was still a spot distinguished by our solemnities; the open field, the desert, the ship, the inn, the prison. But the most joyous festival of all was celebrated by those perfect martyrs who are now feasting in the heavens.

"After this, war and famine succeeded, which indeed we endured with the heathen, but beside bearing alone those miseries with which they afflicted us, we also experienced the effects of those which they inflicted on themselves. Again we rejoiced in the peace of Christ, which He gave to us alone, and when both we and they obtained a very short respite, then we were assailed by this pestilence, a calamity more terrific to them than any other terror, and more afflictive than any other affliction, and which, as one of their own historians has said, was of itself

alone beyond all hope. To us, however, it did not wear this character, but no less than other events was a school for discipline and probation. It did not keep aloof from us, although it chiefly assailed the heathen." To this he afterwards adds: "Many of our brethren, through their exceeding great love and brotherly affection, neglecting themselves, and befriending one another, constantly superintending the sick, ministering to their wants without fear and without cessation, and healing them in Christ, have died most willingly with them. Filled with disease from others, catching disorders from their neighbours, they expressed the pain from them and infused it into themselves. Many also, who had healed and strengthened others, themselves died, thus transferring death, and so exemplifying in the fact, that common phrase, which seemed before an idle one, 'the offscouring of all' (περιψημα παντων). The best of our brethren, indeed, have departed life in this way, some presbyters, some deacons, and of the people those that were exceedingly commended. So that this very form of death, with the piety and ardent faith which attended it, appeared to be but little inferior to martyrdom itself. They took up the bodies of the saints with their open hands and on their bosoms, cleaned their eyes and closed their mouths, carried them on their shoulders, and composed their limbs, embraced, clung to them, and prepared them decently, washing and wrapping them up, and ere long they themselves shared in receiving the same offices; those that survived always following those before them. Among the heathen it was the direct reverse. They repelled those who began to be sick, and avoided their dearest friends. They would cast them out into the roads half dead, or throw them when dead without burial, striving to shun any communication and participation in death, which it was impossible to avoid by every precaution and care." After this epistle, when the city was at peace, he addressed another paschal epistle to the brethren in Egypt, and wrote many others besides. There is one of his extant, On the Sabbath, another On Exercise. He also addressed one to Hermammon, and to the brethren in Egypt. Many other facts, after describing the wickedness of Decius and his successors, he states, and also mentions the peace of Gallienus.



# CHAPTER XXIII

## THE REIGN OF GALLIENUS

IT is best to hear his own words, as follows: "He indeed, viz., Macrianus, having betrayed the one, and waged war with the other emperor, suddenly perished with his whole family. Gallienus was proclaimed and universally acknowledged emperor, and emperor at once new and old, having been before them, and now surviving them. For as it is said by the prophet Isaiah, "Those things that were from the first, lo they have come, and those are new which shall now arise." As the cloud rising before the sun, obscuring it by its shadow and appearing in its place, afterwards passes away and is dissipated, and the sun which had arisen before, seems to rise again, so Macrianus, who had aspired to the very power of Gallienus, is now no more, indeed never was; but the latter, as he was previously, is now again, and his government, as if it had lost the feebleness of age, and had become purified of its former baseness, now arose and assumed a more flourishing aspect; and is seen and heard and diffuses itself every where. After this he also indicates the time when he wrote this. "And it occurs to me again, to survey the days of our emperor's reign. For I see, that those most impious men, once honoured and famous, ere long became obscure. But the more holy and pious emperor, surviving the seventh year, is now in the ninth, in which we are about to celebrate the festival."





# CHAPTER XXIV

## OF NEPOS AND HIS SCHISM

BESIDES these, there are two works of his On the Promises. The occasion of his writing this arose from Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, having taught, that the promises given to holy men in the Scriptures, should be understood more as the Jews understood them, and supposed that there would be a certain millennium of sensual luxury on this earth. Thinking, therefore, that he could establish his own opinion by the Revelation of John, he composed a book on this subject, with the title, Refutation of the Allegorists. This, therefore, was warmly opposed by Dionysius, in his work On the Promises. In the former, indeed, he gives his own opinion on the subject; in the other he enters into a discussion on the Revelation of John, where, in the introduction, he makes mention of Nepos, as follows: "But they produce a certain work of Nepos, upon which they lay great stress, as if he advanced things that are irrefragable when he asserts that there will be an earthly reign of Christ. In many other respects I accord with and greatly love Nepos, both on account of his faith and industry, and his great study in the Scriptures; as also for his great attention to psalmody, by which many are still delighted. I greatly reverence the man also, for the manner in which he has departed this life. But the truth is to be loved and honoured before all. It is just, indeed, that we should applaud and approve whatever is said aright, but it is also a duty to examine and correct whatever may not appear to be written with sufficient soundness. If, indeed, he were present, and were advancing his sentiments orally, it would be sufficient to discuss the subject without writing, and to convince and confute the opponents by question and answer. But as the work is published, and, as it appears to some, is calculated to convince, and there are some teachers who say that the law and prophets are of no value, and who give up following the gospels, and who

depreciate the epistles of the apostles, and who at the same time announced the doctrine of this work as a great and hidden mystery, and who also do not allow that our brethren have any sublime and great conception, either of the glorious and truly divine appearance of our Lord nor of our own resurrection, and our being gathered, and assimilated to him, but persuade them to expect what is little and perishable, and such a state of things as now exists in the kingdom of God; it becomes necessary for us also, to reason with our brother Nepos as if he were present.” To these he adds, after other remarks: “When I was at Arsinoe, where, as you know, long since, this doctrine was afloat, so that schisms and apostasies of whole churches followed, after I had called the presbyters and teachers of the brethren in the villages, when those brethren had come who wished to be present, I exhorted them to examine the doctrine publicly. When they had produced this book as a kind of armour and impregnable fortress, I sat with them for three days, from morning till evening, attempting to refute what it contained. Then, also, I was greatly pleased to observe the constancy, the sincerity, the docility, and intelligence of the brethren, so moderately and methodically did we propose our questions and doubts and concessions, for we carefully and studiously avoided, in every possible way, insisting upon those opinions [which might be offensive] though they might once be maintained by us and seem correct. Nor did we attempt to evade objections, but endeavoured as far as possible to keep to our subject, and to confirm these. Nor ashamed, if reason prevailed, to change opinions, and to acknowledge the truth; but rather received with a good conscience and sincerity, and with single hearts, before God, whatever was established by the proofs and doctrines of the holy Scriptures. At length Coracio, who was the founder and leader of this doctrine, in the hearing of all the brethren present, confessed and avowed to us, that he would no longer adhere to it, nor discuss it, that he would neither mention nor teach it, as he had been fully convinced by the opposite arguments. The other brethren present rejoiced also at this conference, and at the conciliatory spirit and unanimity exhibited by all.”



# CHAPTER XXV

## THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN

AFTER this he proceeds further to speak of the Revelation of John, as follows: "Some, indeed, before us, have set aside, and have attempted to refute the whole book, criticising every chapter, and pronouncing it without sense and without reason. They say it has a false title, for it is not of John. Nay, that it is not even a revelation, as it is covered with such a dense and thick veil of ignorance, that not one of the apostles, and not one of the holy men, or those of the church, could be its author, but that Cerinthus, the founder of the sect of Cerinthians, so called from him, wishing to have reputable authority for his own fiction, prefixed the title. For this is the doctrine of Cerinthus, that there will be an earthly reign of Christ; and as he was a lover of the body, and altogether sensual in those things which he so eagerly craved, he dreamed that he would revel in the gratification of the sensual appetite, i. e. in eating and drinking, and marrying; and, to give the things a milder aspect and expression, in festivals and sacrifices, and the slaying of victims. For my part I would not venture to set this book aside, as there are many brethren that value it much; but having formed a conception of its subject as exceeding my capacity, I consider it also containing a certain concealed and wonderful intimation in each particular. For, though I do not understand, yet I suspect that some deeper sense is enveloped in the words, and these I do not measure and judge by my private reason; but allowing more to faith, I have regarded them as too lofty to be comprehended by me, and those things which I do not understand, I do not reject, but I wonder the more that I cannot comprehend."

After this, he examines the whole book of the Revelation, and after proving that it is impossible that it should be understood according to the obvious and literal sense, he proceeds: "The

prophet, as I said, having completed the whole prophecy, he pronounces those blessed that should observe it, as also himself. 'For blessed,' says he, 'is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I, John, who have seen and heard these things.' I do not, therefore, deny that he was called John, and that this was the writing of one John. And I agree that it was the work, also, of some holy and inspired man. But I would not easily agree that this was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, who is the author of the gospel, and the general (catholic) epistle that bears his name. But I conjecture, both from the general tenor of both, and the form and complexion of the composition, and the execution of the whole book, that it is not from him; for the evangelist never prefixes his name, never proclaims himself, either in the gospel or in his epistle."

A little farther, he adds: "But John never speaks as of himself (in the first person), nor yet (in the third) as if speaking of another, but he that wrote the Apocalypse declares himself immediately in the beginning: 'The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave to him to shew to his servants quickly. And he sent and signified it by his angel, to his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and of his testimony (of Jesus Christ), and of all things that he saw.'

"Besides this, he wrote an epistle: 'John to the seven churches of Asia, grace and peace to you.' But the evangelist does not prefix his name even to his general epistle; but, without any introduction or circumlocution, begins from the very mystery of the divine revelation: 'That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes;' for upon such a revelation as this Peter was blessed by our Lord: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father in heaven.' But neither in the second nor third epistle ascribed to John (the apostle), though they are very brief, is the name of John presented. But anonymously it is written, the presbyter. But the other did not consider it sufficient to name himself but once, and then to proceed in his narration, but afterwards again resumes, 'I, John, your brother and partner in tribulation, and the kingdom and patience of Jesus, was on the island called Patmos, on account of the word of God, and the

testimony of Jesus.’ And, likewise, at the end (of the book) he says: ‘Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I am John that saw and heard these things.’

“That it is a John who wrote these things we must believe, as he says it; but what John it is, is uncertain. For he has not said that he was, as he often does in the gospel, the beloved disciple of the Lord, neither the one leaning on his bosom, nor the brother of James, nor he that himself saw and heard what the Lord did and said; for he certainly would have mentioned one of these particulars, if he wished to make himself clearly known. But of all this there is nothing; he only calls himself our brother and companion, and the witness of Jesus, and blessed on account of seeing and hearing these revelations. I am of opinion there were many of the same name with John the apostle, who, for their love and admiration and emulation of him, and their desire at the same time, like him, to be beloved of the Lord, adopted the same epithet, just as we find the name of Paul and of Peter to be adopted by many among the faithful.

“There is also another John, surnamed Mark, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Paul and Barnabas took in company with them. Of whom it is again said: ‘But they had John as their minister’ (Acts 13:5). But whether this is the one that wrote the Apocalypse, I could not say. For it is not written that he came with them to Asia. But he says: ‘When Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia, but John, departing from them, returned to Jerusalem.’ I think, therefore, that it was another one of those in Asia. For they say that there are two monuments at Ephesus, and that each bears the name of John; and from the sentiments and the expressions, as also their composition, it might be very reasonably conjectured that this one is different from that. The gospel and epistle mutually agree. They commence in the same way; for the one says, ‘In the beginning was the Word;’ the other, ‘That which was from the beginning.’ The one says, ‘And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt (tabernacled) among us, and we saw his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father.’ The other says the same things, a little altered: ‘That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, that which we have seen and our hands have handled of

the Word of life, and the life was manifested.' These things, therefore, are premised, alluding, as he has shown in the subsequent parts, to those who say that the Lord did not come into the flesh. Wherefore, also, he has designedly subjoined: 'What we have seen we testify, and we declare to you that eternal life, which was with the Father, and was made manifest to us; what we have seen and heard we declare to you.' He keeps to the point, and does not depart from his subjects, but goes through all in the same chapters and names, some of which we shall briefly notice.

"The attentive reader will find the expressions, the life, the light, frequently occurring in both; also the expressions, fleeing from darkness, the truth, grace, joy, the flesh and blood of the Lord, the judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God to us, the commandment given us of love to one another, that we ought to keep all the commandments, the conviction of the world, the devil, of antichrist, the promise of the Holy Spirit, the adoption of God, (i. e. the adoption made by God,) the faith to be exhibited by us in all matters, the Father and the Son. And altogether throughout, to attentive observers, it will be obvious that there is one and the same complexion and character in the gospel and epistle. Very different and remote from all this, is the Apocalypse; not even touching, or even bordering upon them in the least, I might say; not even containing a syllable in common with them. The epistle, to say nothing of the gospel, has not made any mention, or given any intimation of the Apocalypse, nor does the Apocalypse mention the Epistle. Whereas, Paul indicates something of his revelations in his epistles; which, however, he never recorded in writing.

"We may, also, notice how the phraseology of the gospel and the epistle differs from the Apocalypse; for the former are written not only irreprehensibly, as it regards the Greek language, but are most elegant in diction in the arguments and the whole structure of the style. It would require much to discover any barbarism or solecism, or any odd peculiarity of expression at all in them. As is to be presumed, he was endued with all the requisites for his discourse; the Lord having granted him both that of knowledge and that of expression and style. That the latter,

however, saw a revelation, and received knowledge and prophecy, I do not deny. But I perceive that his dialect and language is not very accurate Greek; but that he uses barbarous idioms, and in some places solecisms, which it is now unnecessary to select; for neither would I have any one suppose that I am saying these things by way of derision, but only with the view to point out the great difference between the writings of these men.”





# CHAPTER XXVI

## THE EPISTLES OF DIONYSIUS

BESIDES these, there are many other epistles of Dionysius extant, as those to Ammon, bishop of the church at Bernice, against Sabellius; another to Telesphorus, and one to Euphranor; another to Ammon and Euporus. He wrote also four books on the same subject, which he addressed to his namesake Dionysius at Rome. There are also many other epistles besides these written by him, together with longer treatises in the form of epistles, as those addressed to the youth Timothy, and that On Temptations, which he dedicated to Euphranor. He also says, in a letter to Basilides, bishop (of the churches) of Pentapolis, that he had written a commentary on the beginning of Ecclesiastes. He has also left us several epistles addressed to the same Basilides. These are the works of Dionysius. Having given this account, let us now proceed to inform posterity of the nature and character of our own age.



## CHAPTER XXVII

# PAUL OF SAMOSATA, AND THE HERESY INTRODUCED BY HIM AT ANTIOCH

XYSTUS had been bishop of Rome eleven years, when he was succeeded by Dionysius, the namesake of the bishop of Alexandria. At this time also, Demetrianus dying at Antioch, the episcopate was conferred on Paul of Samosata. As he entertained low and degrading notions of Christ, contrary to the doctrine of the church, and taught that he was in nature but a common man, Dionysius of Alexandria being invited to attend a council, (on the subject,) urged his age and the infirmity of his body, as his reason for deferring his attendance, but gave his sentiments upon the subject before them in an epistle. The other heads of churches assembled in all haste from different parts, at Antioch, as against one who was committing depredations on the flock of Christ.



## CHAPTER XXVIII

# THE DIFFERENT BISHOPS THEN DISTINGUISHED

AMONG these, the most eminent were Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, Gregory and Athenodorus, brothers and pastors of the churches in Pontus; also Helenus, bishop of the church at Tarsus, and Nicomas, of Iconium; besides Hymenæus, of the church at Jerusalem, and Theotecnus, of the adjacent church at Cæsarea: moreover, Maximinus, who governed the brethren at Bostra with great celebrity. The vast number of others, both presbyters and deacons, that assembled in the said city, for the same cause, one could hardly number, but these were the most distinguished; all, therefore, having convened at different times and frequently, various subjects and questions were agitated at every meeting; the adherents of the Samosatians attempting to conceal and cover over their heterodoxy, but at the same time those on the other side used every effort to unmask and bring to light the heresy, and the blasphemy, of the men against Christ. In the mean time Dionysius died, in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having presided over the church of Alexandria seventeen years. He was succeeded by Maximinus. But Gallienus reigned fifteen years in all, when he was succeeded by Claudius, who, after the lapse of two years, transferred the government to Aurelian.



## CHAPTER XXIX

### PAUL, REFUTED BY A CERTAIN MALCHION, ONE OF THE PRESBYTERS WHO HAD BEEN A SOPHIST, WAS DEPOSED

IT was in the reign of this emperor, when a final council was convened, in which a great number of bishops was present, that this arch-heretic at Antioch being detected, and now evidently discarded by all, was excommunicated from the whole catholic church under heaven. He was refuted, and argued out of his lurking-place, chiefly by Malchion, a man well versed in other departments of learning, who had been at the head of the sophist's Greek school of sciences at Antioch; and who also, on account of his great and sincere faith in Christ, was honoured with the office of presbyter in that church. He was the only one who, after commencing the discussion with him, which, as there were ready writers that took down the whole, we know to be now extant, was able to ferret out the sly and deceitful sentiments of the man.





# CHAPTER XXX

## THE EPISTLE OF THE COUNCIL AGAINST PAUL

THE pastors, therefore, who had been convened, having drawn up an epistle, by common consent addressed it to Dionysius bishop of Rome, and to Maximus of Alexandria, and sent to all the provinces. In this, they set forth their own zeal to all, and the perverse doctrine of Paul, together with the arguments and discussions which they had had with him; stating at the same time, the whole life and conduct of the man, from whose statement it may be well perhaps to give the following extracts for the present. The epistle: "To Dionysius and Maximus, and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, the bishops and presbyters and deacons, and to the whole catholic church throughout the world under heaven: Helenus, Hymenæus, and Theophilus, and Theotecnus, and Maximus, Proculus, Nicomas, and Ælianus, Paul, and Bolanus, and Protogenes, Hierax, and Euty chius, and Theodorus, and Malchion, and Lucius, and all the rest; who are bishops, presbyters, or deacons, dwelling with us, in the neighbouring cities and nations, together with the churches of God, wish joy to the beloved brethren in the Lord." After a short preliminary, the following is subjoined: "We have addressed epistles, and at the same time have exhorted many of the bishops at a distance, to come to our relief from this destructive doctrine; among these to Dionysius the bishop of Alexandria, and Firmilianus of Cappadocia, those holy men, of whom the former wrote to Antioch, not even deigning to honour the leader in this delusion with an address, nor writing to him in his name, but to the whole church, of which epistle we have also added a copy. And Firmilianus, who came twice to Antioch, despised his new fangled doctrines, as we who were present, and many others besides, well

know, and can attest. But as he promised to change his mind, he believed him, and hoped that, without any reproach upon the word, the matter would be settled in a proper manner. He deferred it therefore; in which, however, he was deceived by this denier of his God and Lord, and this deserter of his former faith. Firmilianus was now on his way to Antioch, and had come as far as Tarsus, because he had before made trial of his infidel wickedness; but whilst we were thus collecting and requesting him to come, and awaiting his arrival, he departed this life.”

After these, and other matters, they also describe what kind of a life the man led, as follows: “Since, abandoning the rule of faith, he went over to spurious and corrupt doctrines, there is no necessity to speak of his conduct, he being as one ‘without,’ nor of his poverty and beggary; nor to state that he who had received neither wealth from his fathers, nor obtained possessions by any art, or any trade or business, has now arrived at excessive wealth, by his iniquities and sacrileges, and by those various means which he employed to exact and extort from the brethren, depressing the injured, and promising to aid them for a reward; nor yet how he deceived them, and, without doing them any good, took advantage of the readiness of those who were in difficulties, to make them give any thing in order to be freed from their oppressors. Nor need we speak of his making merchandise of piety (1 Tim. 6); and how he affected lofty things, and assumed with great haughtiness worldly dignities, wishing rather to be called a magistrate (ducenarius) than a bishop, strutting through the forum, and reading letters, and repeating them as he walked in public; and how he was escorted by multitudes going before and following after him; how he, also, brought envy and odium upon the faith, by his pomp and the haughtiness of his heart. Nor need we mention the vanity and pretensions with which he contrived, in our ecclesiastical assemblies, to catch at glory and empty shadows, and to confound the minds of the more simple, with such things as these. He prepared himself a tribunal and throne, not as a disciple of Christ, but having, like the rulers of this world, a secretum, and calling it by this name. He smote his thigh and stamped on the tribunal with his feet, and reproved and insulted those that did not applaud nor clap as in the theatres, nor exclaim

and leap about at these things with his partisans, men and women around him, who were the indecent listeners to these things. He reproved those (I say) that were modestly and orderly hearing as in the house of God. He was harsh in his invectives, in the congregation, against the expounders of the word who had departed this life, and magnified himself, not as a bishop, but as a sophist and juggler. Besides this, he stopped the psalms that were sung in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the late compositions of modern men, but in honour of himself he had prepared women to sing at the great festival in the midst of the church, which one might shudder to hear. He suborned, also, those bishops and presbyters of the neighbouring districts and cities of his party, to advance the same things in their addresses to the people. And if we may here anticipate something of what we intend to write below, he did not wish to confess with us that the Son of God descended from heaven. And this we do not merely assert, it is proved abundantly from those records that we have sent you, and from that not the least, where he says that Jesus is from below. They who sing to his praise, and extol him among the people, say that he has descended as an angel from heaven. And these things he by no means prohibits, but the haughty mortal is even present when they are said. And as to the women, these adopted sisters as the inhabitants of Antioch call them, which belong to him, and the presbyters and deacons about him, whose incurable sins, in this and other respects, he conceals with them: though he is conscious of the facts, and has convicted them, he dissembles, in order to have them subservient to his purposes; so that, fearing for themselves, they dare not venture to accuse him in regard to his impious conduct and doctrine. Besides this, he has made them rich, for which he is both beloved and admired by those who covet these things. But why should we write these things? For, beloved, we know that the bishop and all the clergy ought to be an example to the people of all good works. Nor are we ignorant how many, by the introduction of such females, have fallen, or have incurred suspicion. So that, should any one even grant that nothing disgraceful has been done by him, yet it was a duty to avoid, at least, the suspicion growing out of the matter; so that no one might take offence, nor any be induced to imitate him. For how

could any one reprove or admonish another to beware of yielding too much to this familiarity with a woman, lest perchance, he should slip, as it is written; especially, when, after having already dismissed one, he retains two others with him, blooming in age and eminent for beauty, and takes them with him wherever he goes; and all this, too, indulging in luxury and surfeiting, on account of which things all around them are groaning and lamenting. But they are so much afraid of his tyranny and power, that they do not venture to accuse him. And these matters, indeed, one might perhaps correct, in a man who was of the catholic faith, and associated with us; but as to one who has trifled away the sacred mystery (of religion), and who parades with the execrable heresy of Artemas, (for why should we not mention his father?) we deem it unnecessary to exact of him a reason for all these things.”

After this, at the close of the epistle, they add the following. “This man, who sets himself up in opposition to God, and is unwilling to yield, we have been compelled therefore to excommunicate, and to appoint another bishop in his place over the catholic church, we trust, by Divine providence of God, namely, Domnus the son of Demetrianus, of blessed memory, and who before this presided with much honour over the same church, a man we believe fully endowed with all the excellent qualities of a bishop. We have also communicated this to you, that you may write, and receive letters of communion from him. But the other may write to Artemas if he pleases, and those that think with Artemas may have communion with him.” And this may suffice in this place. Paul, therefore, having thus fallen from the episcopate, and the true faith, as already said, Domnus succeeded in the administration of the church at Antioch. Paul being unwilling to leave the building of the church, an appeal was made to the emperor Aurelian, who decided most equitably on the business, ordering the building to be given up to those whom the Christian bishops of Italy and Rome should appoint. Thus, then, this man was driven out of the church with extreme disgrace, by the temporal power itself. Such was the disposition of Aurelian at this time; but in the progress of his reign, he began to cherish different sentiments with regard to us, and then proceeded, influenced by

certain advisers, to raise a persecution against us. The rumour of this was now every where abroad. But whilst he was already on the point, and so to say, in the very act of subscribing the decrees, the Divine vengeance overtook him, all but, as we might say, restraining him from his design at the very elbow, and illustriously proving to all, that there can be no privilege granted the rulers of the world against the churches of Christ, unless by the sovereign hand of God, and the decree of heaven permitting it to be done for our correction and amendment, and in those times and seasons that he may approve. Aurelian, therefore, after a reign of six years, was succeeded by Probus. He held the government the same number of years, when he was succeeded by Carus, together with Carianus and Numerianus. These again did not continue three full years, when the government devolved on Diocletian, and those subsequently associated with him. In their times the persecution of our own day was begun, and the destruction of the churches at the same time; but a little before this, Dionysius, who had been bishop of Rome for nine years, was succeeded by Felix.



# CHAPTER XXXI

## THE ERROR OF THE MANICHEES, WHICH COMMENCED AT THIS TIME

IN the mean time, also, that madman (μανεις τας φρενας) Manes, as he was called, well agreeing with his name, for his demoniacal heresy, armed himself by the perversion of his reason, and at the instigation of Satan, to the destruction of many. He was a barbarian in his life, both in speech and conduct, and in his nature was as one possessed and insane. Accordingly, he attempted to form himself into a Christ, and then also proclaimed himself to be the very Paraclete and the Holy Spirit, and with all this was greatly puffed up with his madness. Then, as if he were Christ, he selected twelve disciples, the partners of his new religion, and after patching together false and ungodly doctrines, collected from a thousand heresies long since extinct, he swept them off like a deadly poison, from Persia, upon this part of the world. Hence the impious name of the Manichees spread among many, even to the present day. Such was the occasion of this knowledge, as it was falsely called, that sprung up in these times.





# CHAPTER XXXII

## OF THOSE DISTINGUISHED ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS OF OUR OWN DAY, AND WHICH OF THEM SURVIVED UNTIL THE DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCHES

AT this time Felix, having held the episcopate at Rome five years, was succeeded by Eutychianus; he did not hold the office quite ten months, when he left his place to be occupied by Caius of our own day. Caius, also, presided about fifteen years, when he was succeeded by Marcellinus. He was overtaken by the persecution, and in these times, also, Timæus, after Domnus, governed the church of Antioch, who was succeeded by our contemporary Cyrillus, under whom we have known Dorotheus, a learned man, who was honoured with the rank of presbyter of Antioch at that time. He was a man of fine taste in sacred literature, and was much devoted to the study of the Hebrew language, so that he read the Hebrew Scriptures with great facility. He, also, was of a very liberal mind, and not unacquainted with the preparatory studies pursued among the Greeks, but in other respects a eunuch by nature, having been such from his birth; so that the emperor, on this account, as if it were a great miracle, received him into his house and family, and honoured him with an appointment over the purple dye establishment of Tyre. Him we have heard in the church expounding the Scriptures with great judgment; after Cyrillus, the duties of the episcopal office in the church of Antioch were administered by his successor Tyrannus, under whom the destruction of the churches took place. At Laodicea, the church was governed by Eusebius, the successor of

Socrates, who was sprung from an Alexandrian family. The occasion of his removal was the affair respecting Paul of Samosata, on which account having come to Syria, he was prevented from returning home by those who took great interest in the Scriptures there. He was also an amiable instance of religion among our contemporaries, as may be readily seen in those extracts from Dionysius, which we have inserted above. Anatolius was appointed his successor, a good man, as they say, in the place of the good. He, too, was an Alexandrian. For his learning and skill in the Greek philosophy, he was superior to any of the most distinguished men of our day, as he had attained to the highest eminence in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, besides his proficiency in dialectics, physics, and rhetoric. On this account it is said, that he was requested by the Alexandrians to establish a school there of the succession (or order) of Aristotle. They relate innumerable achievements of his at the siege of the Bruchium, at Alexandria, as he was honoured by all in office, with extraordinary distinction; as a specimen, we shall only mention this.—When the bread, as they say, failed in the siege, so that they were better able to sustain their enemies from without than the famine within, Anatolius being present, devised a project like the following. As the other part of the city was in alliance with the Roman army, and therefore happened not to be besieged, he sent to inform Eusebius, who was among those not besieged, for he was yet there before his removal to Syria, and was very celebrated, and in high repute even with the Roman general, to inform him of the siege and those perishing with famine. On learning this he begged of the Roman general to grant safety to those who would desert from the enemy, as the greatest favour he could grant him. Obtaining his request, he immediately communicated it to Anatolius. The latter receiving the promise, collected the senate of Alexandria, and at first began to propose that they should come to a reconciliation with the Romans. But as he perceived that they were incensed at the suggestion, he said, I do not think you will oppose me, if I should advise you to send forth the superfluous number, and those that are of no use to us, the old women and children, and old men, and let them go where they wish. For why should we keep those with us, who will ere long at any rate die to

no purpose? and why should we destroy with famine those that are already bereft of sight and mutilated in body? We ought to feed only men and youth, and furnish the necessary provisions to those that are necessary for the defence of the city. With such reasoning, having persuaded the senate, he was the first that rose and proposed the resolution, that the whole multitude whether of men or women, that were not needed for the army, should be dismissed from the city, because there would be no hope of safety at all for them, who, at any rate, were about to perish with the famine, if they continued and lingered in the city until the state of affairs was desperate. All the rest of the senate agreeing to this decree, he nearly saved the whole of the besieged; among the first providing, that those of the church, then those of every age in the town, should make their escape, and among these not only those that were included in the decree, but taking the opportunity, many others, secretly clad in women's clothes, went out of the city by his management at night, and proceeded to the Roman camp. There Eusebius receiving them all, like a father and physician, recovered them, wasted away by a protracted siege, with every kind of attention to their wants. With two such pastors in succession, was the church of Laodicea honoured by the Divine interposition, who after the termination of the war mentioned had left the city of Alexandria, and came to these parts. Not many books were written by Anatolius; as many, however, have come down to us, as shew his eloquence and erudition. In these he sets forth his opinions on the Passover, from which it may be proper to extract the following: Extracts from the Canons of Anatolius 'On the Paschal Festival.' "You have, therefore, in the first year, the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of every cycle of nineteen years, on the twenty-sixth of the Egyptian month Phamenoth, according to the months of the Macedonians, the twenty-second of Dystrus; and as the Romans would say, before the eleventh of the calends of April. The sun is found on the said twenty-sixth of the month Phamenoth, not only as entering the first segment (of the zodiac), but on the fourth day is already found passing through it. This segment they generally call the first dodecatomorium, and the equinox, and the beginning of the months, and the head of the cycle, and the head of the planetary

course. That (segment) before this, they call the last of the months, the twelfth segment, and the last dodecatomorum, and the end of the planetary revolution. Hence, also, those that place the first month in it, and that fix the fourteenth of the month by it, commit, as we think, no little and no common blunder. But neither is this our opinion only, but it was also known to the Jews anciently, and before Christ, and was chiefly observed by them, as we may learn from Philo, Josephus, and Musæus; and not only from these, but also from those still more ancient, i. e. the two Agathobuli, commonly called the masters, and of Aristobulus, that most distinguished scholar, who was one of the seventy that translated the holy Scriptures from the Hebrew for Ptolemy Philadelphus, and his father, and dedicated his exposition of the law of Moses to the same kings. These, when they resolve inquiries on Exodus, say that all ought to sacrifice the passover alike after the vernal equinox, in the middle of the first month. This is found to be when the sun passes through the first segment of the solar, or, as some call it, the zodiacal circle. Aristobulus also adds, it was requisite that not only the sun should have passed the equinoctial segment for the feast of the passover, but the moon also. For as there are two equinoctial segments, the vernal and the autumnal, diametrically opposite to each other, and since the day of the passover is given on the fourteenth of the month at the evening, the moon will stand diametrically opposite to the sun, as may be seen in full moons. Thus the sun will be at the vernal equinox; the moon, on the contrary, at the autumnal equinox.

“Many other matters, I know, have been discussed by him; some of them with great probability, others established with the most certain demonstrations, in which he attempts to show that the festival of the passover, and of unleavened bread, ought to be observed altogether after the equinox; but I shall omit demanding such full demonstrations of matters from which the veil of the Mosaic law has been removed; and it now remains for us, in this uncovered surface, to contemplate, as in a mirror, the reflected doctrines and sufferings of Christ. That the first month of the Hebrews is about the equinox, may be gathered from the book of Enoch.”

The same author has also left an elementary work, On

Calculation, ten books in all; and other proofs of his great study and proficiency in sacred literature. Theotecnus, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, was the first that laid his hands upon him in his ordination to the episcopate, designing to constitute him his successor in his own church after his death; and, indeed, both of them presided for a short time over the same church. But when the synod at Antioch called him to Antioch against Paul, as he passed through the city of Laodicea, Eusebius, the bishop of that place, being dead, he was constrained by the brethren to remain. And Anatolius also dying, Stephen was made bishop of that church, the last bishop before the persecution; a man greatly admired for his knowledge of philosophy, and other branches of Greek learning. But he was not equally disposed towards the divine faith, as the progress of the persecution evinced; in which he was proved to be timid and cowardly, rather than a sound philosopher. The affairs of the church, however, were not likely to be ruined by this, for these were corrected and restored by Theodotus, who, under a special providence of God, the Saviour of all, was ordained bishop of the church there: and by his deeds proved the reality of his name (given of God), and of his office as bishop; for he excelled in his knowledge of the medical art, as applied to the body, and was skilled in that healing art which is applied to the soul. No one was ever his equal in kindness, sincerity, sympathy, and a zeal to benefit those that needed his aid. He was, also, much exercised in the study of divine things. Such was he.

At Cæsarea in Palestine, Theotecnus, after a most diligent and active episcopate, was succeeded at his death by Agapius. Him we know to have laboured much, and to have kept a most thorough oversight in superintending the people, and with his liberal hand to have paid regard especially to the poor. In his time, we were acquainted with that most eloquent man, and truly practical philosopher, who was honoured with the rank of presbyter in that church; I mean Pamphilus, whose character and greatness would be no trifling subject to elucidate. But we have dwelt in a separate work on the particulars of his life, and the school which he established, as also the trials which he endured amid the persecution in the different confessions, and besides

this, the death of martyrdom with which he was crowned. He, indeed, was the most admirable of all here. Among the very eminent men that have flourished near our own times, of presbyters we have known Pierius of Alexandria; Melchius also, bishop of the churches in Pontus. The former was greatly celebrated for his voluntary poverty, and his philosophical knowledge, and was abundantly exercised in expositions of the Scriptures, and the discourses in the public assemblies of the church. Melchius was called by the learned, the honey (μέλι) of Attica, and was the most perfect original of learned men that could be described. It is impossible to admire sufficiently the superiority of his eloquence; it might be said perhaps that he derived this from nature, but who is there that could excel him in the excellence of his skill and erudition? for in all the sciences that require the exercise of argumentation, if you were to make trial, you would readily say that he was a most subtle and acute reasoner. The virtues of his life were also a parallel to these. We have had the opportunity of observing him during the persecution, escaping its fury for seven years, in the regions of Palestine. The church of Jerusalem, after Hymenæus, was under the episcopal care of Zambdas, and he not long after dying, Hermon was the last before the persecution of our day; the same that now holds the apostolic chair preserved there to the present. At Alexandria, however, Maximus, who held the episcopal office eighteen years after the death of Dionysius, was succeeded by Theonas. In his time Achillas, who had been honoured with the order of presbyter, was of note at Alexandria, having entrusted to him the school for religious instruction. In his life and actions he exhibited a most rare instance of sound wisdom, and a genuine specimen of evangelical deportment. After Theonas had discharged the duties of the office nineteen years, he was succeeded in the episcopate of Alexandria by Peter, who was also very eminent, and held the office twelve years; nearly three of which he governed the church, before the persecution; during the rest of his life he subjected himself to a more rigid course of discipline, but still continued to manifest great interest in advancing the welfare of the church. Hence, in the ninth year of the persecution he was beheaded, and thus obtained the crown of martyrdom. But after giving in our

history an account of the successors, since the birth of our Saviour until the demolition of the churches, embracing a period of three hundred and five years, now let us here attempt to give the conflicts which have been endured in the cause of religion, in our own times, in all their extent and magnitude, that it may be on record for the benefit of posterity.



# THE HISTORY—BOOK VIII



# PREFACE TO THE EIGHTH BOOK

HAVING already related the successions of the apostles in seven books, in this eighth we consider it necessary to record, for the benefit of posterity, the events of our own times that deserve a more than superficial narration. And our account, therefore, shall begin with these:—



# CHAPTER I

## THE EVENTS THAT PRECEDED THE PERSECUTION IN OUR TIMES

To give a satisfactory account of the extent, and the nature of that glory and liberty, with which the doctrine of piety towards the supreme God, as announced to the world through Christ, was honoured among all, both Greeks and barbarians, before the persecution in our day, this, we say, were an undertaking beyond our power. As a proof, we might refer to the clemency of the Emperors toward our brethren, to whom they even entrusted the government of provinces, exonerating them from all anxiety as it regarded sacrificing, on account of that singular good will that they entertained toward the doctrine. Why should we speak of those in the imperial palaces, and the sovereigns themselves, who granted their domestics the liberty of declaring themselves freely, in word and deed, on religion, and I would say almost the liberty of boasting of their freedom in the practice of the faith? These, indeed, they eminently valued, and considered them as more acceptable than their associates in the imperial service.

Such was that Dorotheus, the most devoted and most faithful of all to them, and, on this account, exceedingly honoured beyond all those that had the charge of government, and the most honourable stations in the provinces. We may also add Gorgonius, equally celebrated with him; and so many others that were honoured with the same distinction as these on account of the divine word. The same privileges one could observe conferred on the rulers in every church, who were courted and honoured with the greatest subserviency by all the rulers and governors. Who could describe those vast collections of men that flocked to the religion of Christ, and those multitudes crowding in from every city, and the illustrious concourse in the houses of worship? On

whose account, not content with the ancient buildings, they erected spacious churches from the foundation in all the cities. These, advancing in the lapse of time, and daily increasing in magnitude and improvement, were not restrained by any odium or hostility; nor was any malignant demon able to infatuate, nor human machinations prevent them, as long as the providential hand of God superintended and guarded his people as the worthy objects of his care. But when, by reason of excessive liberty, we sunk into negligence and sloth, one envying and reviling another in different ways, and we were almost, as it were, on the point of taking up arms against each other, and were assailing each other with words as with darts and spears, prelates inveighing against prelates, and people rising up against people, and hypocrisy and dissimulation had arisen to the greatest height of malignity, then the divine judgment, which usually proceeds with a lenient hand, whilst the multitudes were yet crowding into the church, with gentle and mild visitations began to afflict its episcopacy; the persecution having begun with those brethren that were in the army; and, as if destitute of all sensibility, we were not prompt in measures to appease and propitiate the Deity; some, indeed, like atheists, regarding our situation as unheeded and unobserved by providence, added one wickedness and misery to another. Some that appeared to be our pastors, deserting the law of piety, were inflamed against each other with mutual strifes, only accumulating quarrels and threats, rivalry, hostility, and hatred to each other, only anxious to assert the government as a kind of sovereignty for themselves. Then, as Jeremiah says, “the Lord in his anger darkened the daughter of Sion, and hurled from heaven to earth the glory of Israel. Neither did he remember his footstool in the day of his wrath. But the Lord also overwhelmed all the beauty of Israel, and tore down all his walls.” And, as it is predicted in the Psalms, “He overturned the covenant of his servant, and he prostrated his sanctuary to the earth,” by the demolition of the churches. “He has destroyed all his walls, and has made all his bulwarks fear. All the multitudes that pass through have ravaged him, and hence he has become a reproach to his neighbours. For he has exalted the right arm of his enemies, and has turned away the help of his sword, nor aided him in war. He has also deprived

him of his purification, and his throne he has cast to the ground. He has shortened the days of his time, and has poured upon him all his disgrace.”





## CHAPTER II

# THE DEMOLITION OF THE CHURCHES

ALL this has been fulfilled in our day, when we saw, with our own eyes, our houses of worship thrown down from their elevation, the sacred Scriptures of inspiration committed to the flames in the midst of the markets, the shepherds of the people basely concealed here and there, some of them ignominiously captured, and the sport of their enemies; when, also, according to another prophetic declaration, "contempt was poured out upon their rulers, and he has made them to err in a trackless bypath, and where there is no road."

But it is not for me to describe fully the sorrowful calamities which they endured, since neither does it belong to me to record the dissensions and follies which they exercised against each other before the persecution. Hence, also, we have purposed not to extend our narration beyond the events in which we perceive the just judgment of God. Hence, also, we shall not make mention of those that were shaken by the persecution, nor of those that suffered shipwreck in their salvation, and of their own accord were sunk into the depths of the watery gulph. But we shall only, upon the whole, introduce those events in our history that may be profitable first to us of the present day, and hereafter to posterity. Now let us proceed to describe, in a condensed account, the holy conflicts of the witnesses of divine truth.

It was the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, and the month of Dystrus, called by the Romans March, in which the festival of our Saviour's passion was at hand, when the imperial edicts were every where published, to tear down the churches to the foundation, and to destroy the sacred Scriptures by fire, and which commanded, also, that those who were in honourable

stations should be degraded, but those who were freedmen should be deprived of their liberty, if they persevered in their adherence to Christianity. The first edict against us was of this nature; but it was not long before other edicts were also issued, in which it was ordered that all the prelates in every place, should first be committed to prison, and then, by every artifice, constrained to offer sacrifice to the gods.



## CHAPTER III

# THE NATURE OF THE CONFLICTS ENDURED BY THE MARTYRS, IN THE PERSECUTION

THEN, indeed, vast numbers of the prelates of the church endured with a noble resolution the most appalling trials, and exhibited instances of illustrious conflicts for the faith. Vast numbers, however, of others, broken and relaxed in spirit, by timidity before the contest, voluntarily yielded at the first onset. But of the rest, each encountered various kinds of torments. Here was one that was scourged with rods, there another tormented with the rack and excruciating scrapings, in which some at the time endured the most terrible death; others again passed through other torments in the struggle. Here one, whilst some forced him to the impure and detestable sacrifices, was again dismissed, as if he had sacrificed, although this was not the case. There another, though he had not in the least approached the altar, not even touched the unholy thing, yet when others said that he had sacrificed, went away, bearing the calumny in silence. Here one, again taken up when half dead, was thrown out as if he were already dead; there another, again lying upon the ground, was dragged a long distance by the feet, and numbered among those that had sacrificed. One, however, would cry out, and with a loud voice, declared his abhorrence of the sacrifice. Another exclaimed that he was a Christian, furnishing, by confession, an illustrious example of this salutary name. Another asserted that he neither had sacrificed nor intended to sacrifice; but these were forced to silence by numerous bands of soldiers, prepared for this purpose, by whom they were struck on the face and cheeks, and violently driven away. Thus the enemies of religion, upon the whole, deemed it a great matter even to appear to have gained some

advantage. But these things did not avail them much against the saints, to give an exact account of whom no description could suffice.



## CHAPTER IV

# THE ILLUSTRIOUS MARTYRS OF GOD, WHO FILLED EVERY PLACE WITH THE CELEBRITY OF THEIR NAME, AND OBTAINED VARIOUS CROWNS OF MARTYRDOM FOR THEIR PIETY

MANY instances might be related of those who exhibited noble alacrity in the cause of that religion which acknowledges only the one Supreme God, and that not only from the time that the general persecution was raised, but also long before, when all was yet in a state of peace. Then, when he who had received such power, was first roused as from a deep slumber, and had, secretly and unobserved, been plotting, after the times of Decius and Valerian, how to assault the churches; he did not all at once, nor in a mass, wage an open war against us, but as yet only made trial of those that were in the armies. For in this way he supposed that the rest could easily be taken, if he could first succeed in subduing these. Then one could see great numbers of the military, most cheerfully embracing a private life, so as not to renounce their reverence for the Supreme Creator of the universe. For when the general, whoever he was, first undertook the persecution against the soldiers, he began by a review and lustration of those that were enrolled in the army, and gave them their choice, either to enjoy the honour conferred upon them if they obeyed, or on the contrary to be deprived of it, if they disobeyed. Very many who were soldiers in the kingdom of Christ, without hesitating, preferred the confession of His name to that apparent glory and comfort which they enjoyed, and of these a few here and there

exchanged their honours, not only for degradation, but even for death, for their perseverance in religion. These last, however, were not many, as the great instigator of these violent measures had, as yet, but moderately proceeded, and ventured only so far as to shed the blood of some only. The great number of the believers probably deterred and caused him to shrink from a general attack upon all: but when he began to arm more openly, it is impossible to tell how many and how eminent those were that presented themselves in every place and city and country, as martyrs in the cause of Christ.





# CHAPTER V

## THE AFFAIRS OF NICOMEDIA

IMMEDIATELY on the first promulgation of the edict, a certain man of no mean origin, and highly esteemed for his temporal dignities, as soon as the decree was published against the churches in Nicomedia, stimulated by a divine zeal, and excited by an ardent faith, took it as it was openly placed and posted up for public inspection, and tore it to pieces as a most profane and wicked act. This was done when two of the CÆSARS were in the city, the first of whom was the eldest and chief of all; and the other held the fourth grade of the imperial dignity after him. This man, as the first that was distinguished there in this manner, after enduring what was likely to follow an act so daring, preserved his mind calm and serene until the moment when his spirit fled.



# CHAPTER VI

## THOSE THAT WERE IN THE PALACE

OF all those that were celebrated, or admired for their courage, whether among Greeks or barbarians, these times produced noble and illustrious martyrs, in the case of Dorotheus and his associates, domestics in the imperial palace. These, though honoured with the highest dignity by their masters, and treated by them with not less affection than their own children, esteemed the reproaches and trials in the cause of religion, as of much more real value than the glory and luxuries of life; and even the various kinds of death that were invented against them were preferred to these, when they came into competition with religion. We shall give an account of the end of one, leaving it for our readers to conjecture what must have been the character of the sufferings inflicted on the others. He was led into the middle of the aforesaid city, before those emperors already mentioned. He was then commanded to sacrifice, but as he refused, he was ordered to be stripped and lifted on high, and to be scourged with rods over his whole body, until he should be subdued in his resolution, and forced to do what he was commanded. As he was unmoveable amid all these sufferings, his bones already appearing bared of the flesh, they mixed vinegar with salt, and poured it upon the mangled parts of the body. As he bore these tortures, a gridiron and fire were produced, and the remnants of his body, like pieces of meat for roasting and eating, were placed in the fire, not at once, so that he might not expire soon, but taken by little and little, whilst his torturers were not permitted to let him alone, unless after these sufferings he breathed his last before they had completed their task. He, however, persevered in his purpose, and gave up his life victorious in the midst of his tortures. Such was the martyrdom of one of the imperial domestics, worthy in reality of his name, for he was called Peter. But we shall perceive in the course

of our narration, in which we shall study brevity, that the martyrdoms of the rest were in no respect inferior to this. We shall only state of Dorotheus, and Gorgonius, with many others of the imperial freedmen, that after various sufferings, they were destroyed by the halter, and bore away the prize of a heavenly victory. At this time also, Anthimus, then bishop of the church of Nicomedia, was beheaded for his confession of Christ, and to him were added a multitude of believers that thronged around him.

I know not how it happened, but there was a fire that broke out in the imperial palace at Nicomedia, in these days, which by a false suspicion reported abroad, was attributed to our brethren as the authors of it; in consequence of which, whole families of the pious were slain in masses at the imperial command, some with the sword, some also with fire. Then it is said that men and women, with a certain divine and inexpressible alacrity, rushed into the fire, and the populace binding others upon planks, threw them into the depths of the sea. The imperial domestics, also, who after death had been committed to the earth with proper burial, their legal masters thought necessary to have dug up again from their sepulchres, and cast into the sea, lest any, reasoning like themselves, should worship them in their graves, as if they were gods. Such, then, was the complexion of things in the commencement of the persecution at Nicomedia.

But, ere long, as there were some in the region called Melitina, and others, again, in Syria, that attempted to usurp the government, it was commanded, by an imperial edict, that the heads of the churches every where should be thrust into prison and bonds. And the spectacle of affairs after these events exceeds all description. Innumerable multitudes were imprisoned in every place, and the dungeons, formerly destined for murderers and the vilest criminals, were then filled with bishops, and presbyters, and deacons, readers and exorcists, so that there was no room left for those condemned for crime. When the former edict was followed by another, in which it was ordered that the prisoners should be permitted to have their liberty if they sacrificed, but, persisting, should be punished with the most excruciating tortures,—who could tell the number of those martyrs in every province, and particularly in Mauritania, Thebais, and

Egypt, that suffered death for their religion? From the last place, especially, many went to other cities and provinces, and became illustrious for their martyrdom.



## CHAPTER VII

# THE EGYPTIANS THAT SUFFERED IN PHOENICE

WE are already acquainted with those of them that shone conspicuous in Palestine, and know also those in Tyre and Phœnice; and at the sight of whom, who would not himself be struck with astonishment at the numberless blows inflicted, and the perseverance of those truly admirable wrestlers for the true religion? Who can behold, without amazement, all this: their conflicts, after scourging, with bloody beasts of prey, when they were cast as food to leopards and bears, wild boars and bulls, goaded with fire, and branded with glowing iron against them? And in each of these who can fail to admire the wonderful patience of these noble martyrs? At these scenes we have been present ourselves, when we also observed the divine power of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ himself present, and effectually displayed in them; when, for a long time, the devouring wild beasts would not dare either to touch or to approach the bodies of these pious men, but directed their violence against others that were any where stimulating them from without. They would not touch the holy wrestlers standing naked and striking at them with their hands, as they were commanded, in order to irritate the beasts against them. Sometimes, indeed, they would rush upon them, but as if repulsed by some divine power, again retreated.

This continuing for a long time, created no little wonder to the spectators; so that now again, on account of the failure in the first instance, they were obliged to let loose the beast a second and a third time upon one and the same martyr. One could not help being astonished at the intrepid perseverance of these holy men, and the firm and invincible mind of those, also, whose bodies were but young and tender. For you could have seen a youth of



scarcely twenty years, standing unbound, with his arms extended, like a cross, with an intrepid and fearless earnestness, intensely engaged in prayer to God, neither removing nor declining from the spot where he stood, whilst bears and leopards breathed rage and death, and almost touched his very flesh, and yet, I know not how, by a divine and inscrutable power, they had their mouths in a manner bridled, and again retreated in haste. And such was he of whom we now speak.

Again, you might have seen others, for they were five in all, cast before a wild bull, who indeed seized others, that approached from without, with his horns, and tossed them in the air, leaving them to be taken up half dead, but only rushing upon the saints with rage and menaces; for the beast was not able even to approach them, but beating the earth with his feet, and pushing with his horns hither and thither, and from the irritation excited by the brands of glowing iron, he breathed madness and death, yet was drawn back again by a divine interposition. So that as he did not even injure them in the least, they let loose other beasts upon them. At length, however, after these various and terrible assaults, all of them were despatched with the sword, and instead of an interment and sepulchre, they were committed to the waves of the sea.



# CHAPTER VIII

## THOSE WHO SUFFERED IN EGYPT

AND such, too, was the severity of the struggle which was endured by the Egyptians, who wrestled gloriously for the faith at Tyre. But one cannot but admire those that suffered also in their native land, where thousands, both men, women, and children, despising the present life for the sake of our Saviour's doctrine, submitted to death in various shapes. Some, after being tortured with scrapings and the rack, and the most dreadful scourgings, and other innumerable agonies, which one might shudder to hear, were finally committed to the flames; some plunged and drowned in the sea, others voluntarily offering their own heads to the executioners, others dying in the midst of their torments, some wasted away by famine, and others again fixed to the cross. Some, indeed, were executed as malefactors usually were; others more cruelly, were nailed with the head downwards, and kept alive until they were destroyed by starving on the cross itself.



# CHAPTER IX

## OF THOSE IN THEBAIS

IT would exceed all power of detail to give an idea of the suffering and tortures which the martyrs of Thebais endured. These, instead of hooks, had their bodies scraped with shells, and were mangled in this way until they died. Women tied by one foot, and then raised on high in the air by certain machines, with their naked bodies and wholly uncovered, presented this most foul, cruel, and inhuman spectacle to all beholders; others again, perished, bound to trees and branches. For, drawing the stoutest of the branches together by machines for this purpose, and binding the limbs of the martyrs to each of these, they then let loose the boughs to resume their natural position, designing thus to produce a violent action, to tear asunder the limbs of those whom they thus treated. And all these things were doing not only for a few days or some time, but for a series of whole years. At one time, ten or more, at another, more than twenty, at another time not less than thirty, and even sixty, and again, at another time, a hundred men with their wives and little children were slain in one day, whilst they were condemned to various and varied punishments. We ourselves have observed, when on the spot, many crowded together in one day, some suffering decapitation, some the torments of flames; so that the murderous weapon was completely blunted, and having lost its edge, broke to pieces; and the executioners themselves, wearied with slaughter, were obliged to relieve one another. Then, also, we were witnesses to the most admirable ardour of mind, and the truly divine energy and alacrity of those that believed in the Christ of God. For as soon as the sentence was pronounced against the first, others rushed forward from other parts to the tribunal before the judge, confessing they were Christians, most indifferent to the dreadful and multiform tortures that awaited them, but declaring themselves fully and in

the most undaunted manner on the religion which acknowledges only one Supreme God. They received, indeed, the final sentence of death with gladness and exultation, so far as even to sing and send up hymns of praise and thanksgiving, until they breathed their last. Admirable, indeed, were these, but eminently wonderful were also those, who, though they were distinguished for wealth and noble birth and great reputation, and excelled in philosophy and learning, still regarded all as but secondary to the true religion and faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Such was Philoromus, who held no mean office in the imperial district of Alexandria, and who, according to his rank and Roman dignity, was attended by a military guard, when administering justice every day. Phileas, also, bishop of the churches of Thmuis, a man eminent for his conduct and the services rendered to his country, as well as in the different branches of philosophy. These, although urged by innumerable relatives and other friends, and though many eminent persons and the judge himself entreated them, that they should take compassion on themselves, and have mercy upon their children and wives, were nevertheless not in the least induced by these things to prefer life, when it stood in competition with the command that regarded the confession or the denial of our Saviour. And thus, with a manly and philosophical mind, rather let me say, with a mind devoted to God and his religion, persevering in opposition to all the threats and the insults of the judge, both of them were condemned to lose their heads.



# CHAPTER X

## THE WRITINGS OF PHILEAS, WHICH GIVE AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRS OF ALEXANDRIA

BUT since we have mentioned Phileas, as highly estimable for his great proficiency in foreign literature and science, we will let him bear witness for himself, whilst he may also show us who he was, and also what martyrdoms happened at Alexandria, all which he can state more accurately than ourselves, in the extract we here present.

From the epistle of Phileas to the inhabitants of Thmuis. "As all these signs, examples, and noble precepts are presented to us in the Holy Scriptures, those holy martyrs with us did not hesitate, whilst they sincerely directed their mental eye to that God who rules over all, and in their minds preferred death for their religion, and firmly adhered to their vocation. They had well understood that our Lord Jesus Christ became man for us, that he might remove all sin, and furnish us with the means of entering into eternal life. For he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but humbled himself, taking upon him the form of a servant, and being found in the fashion of man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross." Hence, also, these Christ-bearing martyrs, zealously strove to attain unto better gifts, and endured every kind of trial, every series of tortures, not merely once, but once and again, the second time; and though the guards assailed them with every kind of threat, not merely in words, but vied with one another in violent acts, they did not surrender their faith, because 'perfect love casteth out fear.' And what language would suffice to recount their virtues, and their fortitude under every trial? For as every one had the liberty to abuse them, some beat them with clubs, some with rods, some with scourges, others again with



thongs, others with ropes. And the sight of these torments was varied and multiplied, exhibiting excessive malignity. For some had their hands tied behind them, and were suspended on the rack, and every limb was stretched on machines. Then the torturers, according to their orders, applied the pincers to the whole body, not merely, as in the case of murderers, to the sides, but also to the stomach and knees and cheeks. Some, indeed, were suspended on high by one hand, from the portico, whose sufferings by reason of the distension of their joints and limbs, were more dreadful than any. Others were bound face to face to pillars, not resting upon their feet, but forced down by the weight of the body, whilst the pressure of their weight also increased the tension of their cords. And this they endured, not merely as long as the governor spoke to them, or as long merely as he had leisure to hear, but nearly the whole day; for when he passed on to others, he left some of his subordinate officers to attend to the former, to observe whether any of them seemed so overcome by the torments as to surrender. He also gave orders to proceed without sparing, to bind with bonds, and afterwards, when they had breathed out their life, to drag them on the ground, for they said that there should not the least regard be paid to us, but that they should think and act with us as if we were nothing at all.

Our enemies, therefore, had devised this second torture beside the scourging. But there were some, also, after the tortures, placed in the stocks, stretched by both feet to the fourth hole, so that they were of necessity obliged to keep in a lying posture on their back, not being able to have any command of their mangled bodies, in consequence of the blows and scourges they had received. Others, again, being cast on the ground, lay prostrated by the accumulated tortures which they had endured, exhibiting a still more dreadful spectacle in that condition than when under the actual infliction of the torture, and bearing on their bodies the various and multiplied proofs of the ingenuity of their torturers.

Whilst these things were doing, some indeed died under their torments, covering their enemies with shame by their perseverance. Others, again, almost dead, were thrust into prison, and before many days ended their life through incessant pain. The rest, however, somewhat recovering by the application of

remedies, by time and their long detention in prison, became more confident. Thus, then, when ordered to take their choice, either, by touching the unholy sacrifice, to remain without further molestation, and to obtain the execrable sentence of liberation from them, or else, without sacrificing, to expect the sentence of death, they without delay cheerfully embraced the latter. They well knew what had been anciently prescribed in the sacred Scriptures: "For he that offereth sacrifice to other gods," saith the Scriptures, "shall be destroyed." And, again, "Thou shalt have none other gods but me." These are the expressions of a martyr, who was at once a sound philosopher and one devoted to God. These he addressed, before the final sentence, whilst yet in prison, to the brethren of his church, at the same time representing his own condition, and exhorting them to adhere firmly, even after his death, which was close at hand, to the Christian religion. But why should we say much, and add one new species of struggle after another, as they were endured by these pious martyrs throughout the world; especially when they were no longer assailed in a common way, but regularly invaded as in war?



# CHAPTER XI

## THE DESTRUCTIVE EVENTS IN PHRYGIA

INDEED the armed soldiery surrounded a certain Christian town in Phrygia, together with the garrison, and hurling fire into it burned them, together with women and children, calling upon Christ the God of all. And this, because all the inhabitants of this town, even the very governor and magistrate, with all the men of rank, and the whole people, confessed themselves Christians, and would not obey, in any degree, those that commanded them to offer sacrifices.

Another one, also, of Roman dignity, Adanctus by name, of a noble Italian family, a man that had been advanced through every grade of dignity by the emperors, and had reputably filled the offices of general administrator, called by them the master of the revenue, and prime minister; with all this was pre-eminent, also, for his pious acts, and his profession of Christ, and was nobly crowned with martyrdom; nobly enduring the conflict in the cause of piety whilst he was yet clad with the office of prime minister.



## CHAPTER XII

# OF THE SHOCKING SUFFERINGS OF MANY OTHERS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, IN VARIOUS PLACES

WHY should I now mention the names of others, or number the multitude of men, or picture the various torments of the admirable martyrs of Christ; some of whom were slain with the axe, as in Arabia; some had their limbs fractured, as in Cappadocia; and some suspended by the feet, and a little raised from the ground, with their heads downward, were suffocated with the ascending smoke of a gentle fire kindled below, as was done to those in Mesopotamia; some were mutilated by having their noses, ears, and hands cut off, and the rest of their limbs, and parts of their body cut to pieces, as was the case at Alexandria? Why should we revive the recollection of those at Antioch, who were roasted on grates of life, not to kill immediately, but to torture them with a lingering punishment? Others, again, rather resolved to thrust their arm into the fire, than touch the unholy sacrifice; some shrinking from the trial, sooner than be taken and fall into the hands of their enemies, cast themselves headlong from the lofty houses, considering death an advantage compared with the malignity of these impious persecutors. A certain holy and admirable female, admirable for her virtue, and illustrious above all at Antioch, for her wealth, family, and reputation, had educated her two daughters, now in the bloom of life, noted for their beauty, in the principles of piety. As they had excited great envy among many, every measure was tried to trace them to their concealment; and when it was discovered that they were abroad, they were, with a deep-laid scheme, called to Antioch. They were now caught in the toils of the soldiery. The mother, being at a loss for herself and daughters, knowing what dreadful outrages they would suffer from

the men, represented their situation to them, and above all, the threatened violation of their chastity, an evil more to be dreaded than any other, to which neither she nor they should even listen for a moment; at the same time declaring, that to surrender their souls to the slavery of demons was worse than death and destruction. From all these, she suggested there was only one way to be delivered, to betake themselves to the aid of Christ. After this, all agreeing to the same thing, and having requested the guards a little time to retire on the way, they decently adjusted their garments, and cast themselves into the flowing river. These, then, thus destroyed themselves.

Two other virgins at this same Antioch, distinguished for piety, and truly sisters in all respects, illustrious in family, wealth, youth, and beauty, but not less so for their serious minds, their pious deportment, and their admirable zeal, as if the earth could not bear such excellence, were ordered by the worshippers of demons to be thrown into the sea. Such were the facts that occurred at Antioch. Others at Pontus, endured torments that are too horrible to relate. Some had their fingers pierced with sharp reeds thrust under their nails; others having masses of melted lead, bubbling and boiling with heat, poured down their backs, and being roasted, especially in the most sensitive parts of the body. Others, also, endured insufferable torments on their bowels and other parts, such as decency forbids to describe, which those generous and equitable judges, with a view to display their own cruelty, devised as some pre-eminence in wisdom worthy their ambition. Thus constantly inventing new tortures, they vied with one another, as if there were prizes proposed in the contest, who should invent the greatest cruelties. As to the last of these calamities, when the judges now had despaired of inventing any thing more effectual, and were weary with slaughter, and had surfeited themselves with shedding of blood, they then applied themselves to what they considered kindness and humanity, so that they seemed disposed to exercise no further cruelty against us. For, said they, the cities should not be polluted with blood any more, and the government of the sovereigns, which was so kind and merciful toward all, should not be defamed for excessive cruelty: it was more proper that the benefits afforded by their

humane and imperial majesties, should be extended to all, and that we should no longer be punished with death. For we were liberated from this punishment by the great clemency of the emperors. After, this, therefore, they were ordered only to tear out our eyes, or to deprive us of one of our legs. Such was their kindness, and such the lightest kind of punishment against us; so that in consequence of this humanity of theirs it was impossible to tell the great and incalculable number of those that had their right eye dug out with the sword first, and after this seared with a red hot iron; those, too, whose left foot was maimed with a searing iron; after them, those who in different provinces were condemned to the copper-mines, not so much for the service as for the contumely and misery they should endure. Many, also, endured conflicts of other kinds, which it would be impossible to detail; their noble fortitude surpasses all power of description. In this the magnanimous confessors of Christ that shone conspicuous throughout the whole world, every where struck the beholders with astonishment, and presented the obvious proofs of our Saviour's divine interposition in their own persons. To mention each by name, would be at least a long and tedious work, not to say impossible.





## CHAPTER XIII

# THOSE PRELATES THAT EVINCED THE REALITY OF THE RELIGION THEY PROCLAIMED WITH THEIR BLOOD

OF those prelates of the church, however, who suffered martyrdom in the most celebrated cities, the first of which we shall mention, recorded by the pious as a witness of the kingdom of Christ, is Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, who was beheaded. Of the martyrs at Antioch, we also name Lucian, that presbyter of this church, who during all his life was pre-eminent for his excellent character and piety. He had before, at Nicomedia, and in the presence of the emperor, proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ, in the defence that he delivered, and afterwards bore testimony to its truth in his actions. Among the martyrs at Phœnice, the most noted of all were those pious and devoted pastors of the spiritual flocks of Christ, Tyrannio, bishop of the church at Tyre, Zenobius of Sidon, and Silvanus bishop of Emisa. The last of these was cast as food to wild beasts at Emisa, and thus ranked in the number of martyrs, and each of the former glorified the doctrine of God, by suffering with patience until death. The one, the bishop, was committed to the depths of the sea; Zenobius, the other, a most excellent physician, died with great fortitude under the tortures applied to his sides. Among the martyrs at Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Gaza, was beheaded with thirty-nine others at the copper-mines of Phœno. Also, those of Egypt there, Peleus, and Nilus, who were bishops, suffered death by the flames. Among these must be mentioned the presbyter Pamphilus, a most admirable man of our times, and the glory of the church at Cæsarea, whose illustrious

deeds we have set forth in its proper place. Of those that were prominent as martyrs at Alexandria, all Egypt and Thebais, the first whom we shall mention is Peter, bishop of Alexandria, a man wonderful as a teacher of the Christian faith, and the presbyters with him, Faustus, and Dius, and Ammonius, perfect witnesses of Christ. Phileas, Pochumius, Hesychius and Theodorus, bishops of churches in Egypt, with many others, are also mentioned as distinguished martyrs, by the churches in those places and regions. To give a minute description of the conflict which they endured in the cause of piety, throughout the whole world, and to give a full account of the circumstances respecting each, could not be expected in the present work. This would rather belong to those who were eye-witnesses of the facts. Those, indeed, at which I myself was present, I shall publish for the benefit of posterity in another work.

In the present work, however, I shall, to the above-mentioned facts, add the revocation issued by our persecutors, as also those events that occurred at the beginning of the persecution, believing that they will be read not without profit. To tell the state of the Roman empire before the war was waged against us, how long the emperors continued friendly and peaceable towards us, and how great was the abundance and prosperity of the empire, what description would suffice? Then, indeed, those who held the supreme command, who had been at the head of government ten and twenty, years, passed their time in festivities and shows, and joyous feasts and entertainments in peace and tranquillity. And in this state of uninterrupted and increasing prosperity and power, they suddenly changed our peaceful condition, and excited against us a most unjust and nefarious war. Scarcely had the second year of this war been passed, when a revolution taking place in the whole government, it was completely overturned. A disease of a most obstinate nature attacked the chief of the above-mentioned emperors, by which he was reduced to a state of insanity, together with him that was honoured with the second rank, and thus betook himself to a private life. These things had scarcely happened, when the whole empire was divided, a circumstance which, in the annals of history, never happened before, any where. It was not long before the emperor

Constantius, who was all his life most kindly and favourably disposed towards his subjects, and also most favourably disposed toward the divine word, departed this life, leaving his son Constantine, a true copy of himself, as emperor and Augustus, his successor. He was the first of these emperors that was ranked among the gods by them, having every honour conferred upon him, after death, that was due to an emperor. He was the kindest and mildest of the emperors, and indeed the only one of them in our times, that passed his life consistently with the imperial dignity, and who likewise in all other respects exhibited the greatest condescension and benevolence to all, and had no share in the hostility raised against us, but even preserved and protected those pious persons under him free from harm and calumny. Neither did he demolish the churches, nor devise any other mischief against us, and at length he enjoyed a most happy and blessed death, being the only one who, at his decease, did peaceably and gloriously leave the government to his own son, as his successor; a prince who in all respects was endowed with the greatest moderation and piety. His son Constantine, therefore, in the very commencement, being proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus by the soldiers, and much longer before this, by the universal sovereign God, resolved to tread in the footsteps of his father, with respect to our faith. And such, indeed, was he. But Licinius after this was appointed emperor and Augustus, by a common vote of the emperors. Maximums was greatly offended at this, since he had yet received only the title of Cæsar from all. He, therefore, being particularly of a tyrannical temper, arrogating to himself the dignity, was created Augustus by himself. In the mean time, being detected in a conspiracy against the life of Constantine, the same (Maximian) that we have mentioned as having resumed the imperial dignity after his resignation, was carried off by a most disgraceful death. And he was the first of these emperors whose statues and public monuments were demolished as commemorative of an impious and execrable man.



# CHAPTER XIV

## THE MORALS OF THE PERSECUTORS

MAXENTIUS, the son of Maximian, who had established his government at Rome, in the commencement, pretended indeed, by a species of accommodation and flattery towards the Romans, that he was of our faith. He, therefore, commanded his subjects to desist from persecuting the Christians, pretending to piety with a view to appear much more mild and merciful than the former rulers. But he by no means proved to be in his actions such as he was expected. He sunk into every kind of wickedness, leaving no impurity or licentiousness untouched; committing every species of adultery and fornication, separating wives from their lawful husbands, and after abusing these, sending them thus most shamefully violated back again to their husbands. And these things he perpetrated not upon mean and obscure individuals, but insulting more particularly the most prominent of those that were most distinguished in the senate. Whilst he was thus dreaded by all, both people and magistrates, high and low were galled with a most grievous oppression; and though they bore this severe tyranny quietly, and without rebellion, it produced no relief from his murderous cruelty. On a certain very slight occasion, he gave up the people to be slaughtered by the prætorian guards, and thus multitudes of the Roman people were slain in the very heart of the city, not with the arrows and spears of the Scythians or barbarians, but of their own fellow-citizens. It would be impossible to tell what slaughter was made of the senators merely for the sake of their wealth, thousands being destroyed on a variety of pretexts and fictitious crimes. But when these evils had reached their greatest height, the tyrant was induced to resort to the mummery of magic. At one time he would cut open pregnant

females; at another he would examine the bowels of new-born babes; sometimes he was slaughtering lions and performing every kind of execrable acts, to invoke the demons, and to avert the impending war. For all his hope now was that victory would be secured to him by these means. It is impossible then to say, in what different ways this cruel tyrant oppressed his subjects, so that they were already reduced to such extreme want and scarcity, such as they say has never happened at Rome, or elsewhere in our time. But Maximums, who was sovereign of the east, as he had secretly formed an alliance with Maxentius, his true brother in wickedness at Rome, designed to conceal his designs as long as possible. But being at length detected, he suffered the deserved punishment. It was wonderful how nearly allied, and similar, rather how vastly beyond the tyranny of the Roman, were the cruelties and crimes of this tyrant. The first of impostors and jugglers were honoured by him with the highest rank. He became so extremely timorous and superstitious, and valued the delusion and supposed influence of demons above all, so that he was hardly able to move his finger, one might say, or undertake any thing without soothsayers and oracles. Hence, also, he assailed us with a more violent and incessant persecution than those before him. He ordered temples to be erected in every city, and those that had been demolished by time, he commanded in his zeal to be renewed. Priests of the idols he established in every place and city; and over these a high priest in every province, some one of those who had been particularly distinguished for his skill in the management of political affairs, adding a military guard. He granted to all his jugglers the same reverence as if they were the most pious and acceptable to the gods, freely bestowing on them governments, and the greatest privileges.

And from this time forth he began to vex, not merely a single city or region, but all the provinces under him, by exactions of silver and gold and money, by the most oppressive seizures and confiscations of property, in different ways and on various pretexts. Despoiling the wealthy of the substance inherited from their fathers, he bestowed vast wealth and heaps of money upon the flatterers around him. And he had now advanced to such a pitch of rashness, and was so addicted to intoxication, that, in his

drunken frolics he was frequently deranged and deprived of his reason, like a madman; so that what he commanded when he was intoxicated, he afterwards regretted when he became sober. But determined to leave no one his superior in surfeiting and gluttony, he presented himself a fit master of iniquity to the rulers and subjects around him; initiating the soldiers, by luxury and intemperance, into every species of dissipation and revelling, encouraging the governors and generals, by rapacity and avarice, to proceed with their oppressions against their subjects, with almost the power of associate tyrants. Why should I mention the degrading and foul lust of the man? Or why mention his innumerable adulteries? There was not a city that he passed through in which he did not commit violence upon females. And in these he succeeded against all but the Christians. For they, despising death, valued his power but little.

The men bore fire, sword, and crucifixions, savage beasts, and the depths of the sea, the maiming of limbs, and searing with red hot iron, pricking and digging out the eyes, and the mutilations of the whole body. Also hunger, and mines, and prisons; and after all they chose these sufferings for the sake of religion, rather than transfer that veneration and worship to idols which is due to God only. The females, also, no less than the men, were strengthened by the doctrine of the divine word; so that some endured the same trials as the men, and bore away the same prizes of excellence. Some, when forced away, yielded up their lives rather than submit to the violation of their bodies.

The tyrant having fully gratified his lust on others at Alexandria, his unbridled passion was defeated by the heroic firmness of one female only, who was one of the most distinguished and illustrious at Alexandria, and she was a Christian. She was in other respects distinguished both for her wealth, and family, and condition, but esteemed all as inferior to modesty. Having frequently made attempts to bring her over to his purposes, though she was prepared to die, he could not destroy her, as his passion was stronger than his anger; but, punishing her with exile, he took away all her wealth. Many others, also, unable to bear even the threats of violation from the rulers of the heathen, submitted to every kind of torture, the rack and deadly punishment. Admirable,



indeed, were all these; but far above all most admirable, was that lady who was one of the most noble and modest of those whom Maxentius, in all respects like Maximinus, attempted to violate. For when she understood that the minions of the tyrant in such matters, had burst into the house (for she was also a Christian), and that her husband, who was the prefect of Rome, had suffered them, to carry her off, she requested but a little time, as if now for the purpose of adorning her body: she then entered her chamber, and when alone thrust a sword into her breast. Thus, dying immediately, she indeed left her body to the conductors; but in her deeds, more effectually than any language, she proclaimed to all who are now and will be hereafter, that virtue, which prevails among Christians, is the only invincible and imperishable possession. Such, then, was the flood of iniquity which rushed on at one and the same time, and which was wrought by the two tyrants that swayed the east and the west. And who can inquire into the cause of such evils, and hesitate to affirm that the persecution against us was the fountain of them all? especially as the confusion of the empire, which prevailed to a great extent, did not cease before the Christians received full liberty of conscience to profess their religion.



# CHAPTER XV

## THE EVENTS THAT HAPPENED TO THE HEATHEN

DURING the whole ten years of the persecution, there was no cessation of plots and civil wars among the persecutors themselves. For the sea indeed was impassable to the mariner, nor could any set sail from any port, without being exposed to every kind of torment, either scourged, or racked in their limbs, or lacerated and galled with torturing instruments in their sides, to ascertain whether they had come from the enemy of the opposite party, and at last were subjected either to the punishment of the cross or of fire. Besides these things, one saw every where shields and coats of mail preparing, darts and javelins and other implements of war; and in every place also, were collections of galleys and naval armour; neither was there any thing expected any where but the attacks of enemies from day to day. Besides this, famine and pestilence were superadded, of which we shall relate what is most important in its proper place.



# CHAPTER XVI

## THE CHANGE OF AFFAIRS FOR THE BETTER

SUCH was the state of things throughout the whole period of the persecution. This, by the goodness of God, had entirely ceased in the tenth year, although it had begun to relax after the eighth. For when the kindness of God's providence regarded us again with a gracious and merciful eye, then indeed our rulers, and those very persons who were formerly the principal agents of the persecutions, most remarkably changed in their sentiments, began to recant, and attempted to extinguish the blaze of persecution kindled against us by mild proclamations and ordinances. But this was not done by any mere human agency, nor was it, as might perhaps be supposed, by the compassion or the humanity of our rulers; for, so far from this, they were daily devising more and severer measures against us from the beginning of the persecution until then, constantly inventing new tortures from time to time by an increasing variety of machinery and instruments for this purpose. But the evident superintendence of divine Providence, on the one hand, being reconciled to his people, and on the other assailing the author of these miseries, exhibited his anger against him as the ringleader in the horrors of the whole persecution. Though it had been necessary that these things should occur by some divine judgment, yet it is declared, "Woe to him through whom the offence cometh." Hence he was visited by a judgment sent from God, which beginning in his flesh proceeded to his very soul. For a sudden tumour appeared about the middle of the body, then a spongy fistula in these parts, which continued to extend and penetrate with its ulcerations to the inmost parts of the bowels. Hence sprung an immense multitude of worms, hence also an insufferable death-like effluvia exhaled,

as his whole body before his disease, by reason of his gluttony, had been changed into an excessive mass of fat, which then becoming putrid, exhibited a dreadful and intolerable spectacle to those that drew near. Some, indeed, of the physicians, totally unable to endure the excessively offensive smell, were slain; others again, as the swelling had penetrated every where, being unable to give any relief, despaired of safety, and were put to death without mercy.



# CHAPTER XVII

## THE REVOCATION OF THE EMPERORS

THUS struggling with so many miseries, he had some compunctions for the crimes that he had committed against the pious. Turning, therefore, his reflections upon himself, first of all he confessed his sin to the supreme God; then summoning his officers, he immediately ordered that, without delay, they should stop the persecution against the Christians, and by an imperial ordinance and decree, commanded that they should hasten to rebuild the churches, that they might perform their accustomed devotions, and offer up prayers for the emperor's safety. This decree was immediately followed by its effects; the imperial decrees were published in the cities, embracing the following revocation with regard to us.

EMPEROR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAICUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS, the fifth time, PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS, the second time, ARMENIACUS MAXIMUS, the sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX. EMPEROR XIX. CONSUL VIII. FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: and, EMPEROR CÆSAR FLAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS; PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: also, EMPEROR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS; PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL; TO their subjects in the Provinces send greeting:



“AMONG other matters which we have devised for the benefit and common advantage of our people, we have first determined to restore all things according to the ancient laws, and the public institutions, of the Romans. And to make provision for this, that also the Christians, who have left the religion of their fathers, should return again to a good purpose and resolution. For by some means, such arrogance had overtaken and such stupidity had beset them, that they would not follow the principles anciently prescribed to them, which in all probability their ancestors had established, but they began to make and follow laws, each one according to his own purpose and his own will, and thus different multitudes assembled with different opinions and of different sects. Hence, when a Decree of this kind was issued by us, that they should return again to the established usages of their forefathers, vast numbers were subjected to danger, and many, when threatened, endured various kinds of death. But though we saw the great mass still persevering in their folly, and that they neither gave the honour that was due to the immortal gods, nor heeded that of the Christians, still having a regard to our clemency and our invariable practice, according to which we are wont to grant pardon to all, we most cheerfully have resolved to extend our indulgence in this matter also: that there may be Christians again, and that they may restore their houses in which they were accustomed to assemble, so that nothing be done by them contrary to their profession. In another epistle we shall point out to the judges, what they will be required to observe; whence, according to this condescension of ours, they are obligated to implore their God for our safety, as well as that of the people and their own. That in every place the public welfare may be preserved, and they may live unmolested in their respective homes and hearths.”

Such was the purport of this ordinance, which, according to our ability, we have translated from the Latin into the Greek. But the affairs after this we are now farther to consider.

A fragment appended in some copies to the Eighth Book.

THE author of this edict after this acknowledgment soon after was liberated from his pains, and terminated his life. It is agreed he was the original cause of the miseries of the persecution, as he

had, long before the movements of the other emperors, attempted to seduce the Christian soldiers of his own house from their faith, degrading some from their military rank, and insulting others in the most abusive manner, even punishing them with death, and at last exciting his associate emperors to a general persecution against all. Nor have I thought proper, that the death of these emperors should be passed over in silence. As there were four, therefore, that held the sovereignty divided among them, those that were advanced in years and honours, after nearly two years from the persecution, abdicated the government, as we have already shown; and thus passing their days in common and retired life, ended their life in the following manner. The one, indeed, who preceded the others in honour and age, was at length overpowered by a long and distressing disease, but the next to him in dignity destroyed himself by strangling, suffering thus according to certain demoniacal prognostics, on account of the innumerable crimes that he had committed. Of the two after these, the last, whom we have mentioned as the leader of the whole persecution, suffered such things as we have already stated. But he that surpassed them all in kindness and condescension, the emperor Constantius, who had conducted his government the whole time consistently with the imperial dignity, and who exhibited himself a most gracious and benevolent prince in other respects, also, had no hand in raising the persecution against us, but even protected and patronised those pious persons that were under him. He neither demolished the buildings of the churches, nor devised any thing in opposition to us; and finally enjoyed a death really happy and blessed, being the only one of the four that in the midst of a tranquil and glorious reign, at his death, transmitted the government to his own son as his successor, a prince most eminent in all respects for his wisdom and piety. He, at the very beginning, was proclaimed supreme emperor and Augustus, by the armies, and exhibited himself a generous rival of his father's piety, with regard to us. Such, then, was the issue of the life of the four emperors, at different times. Of these the only one that yet left the above-mentioned confession, was he whom we mentioned above, together with those whom he had afterwards associated with him in the government, which

confession also, he sent abroad in his proclamation to all.



# THE BOOK OF THE MARTYRS OF PALESTINE

IT was in the ninth year of the reign of Diocletian, in the month of Xanthicus, which one would call April according to the Romans, about the time when the paschal festival of our Saviour took place, when Flavianus was governor of Palestine, that suddenly edicts were published—every where to raze the churches to the ground,—to destroy the Sacred Scriptures by fire,—to deprive of their dignities those that were in honour,—and to strip the freedmen of their liberty if any persisted in the Christian profession. Such was the first violence of this edict against us; but it was not long before other mandates were issued, in which it was ordered that the prelates of the churches should first be cast into prison every where, and then compelled by every artifice to offer sacrifice.



# CHAPTER I

## PROCOPIUS, ALPHEUS, AND ZACCHEUS

THE first of the martyrs of Palestine was Procopius, who, before he was tried by imprisonment, was immediately at the beginning arraigned before the tribunal of the governor. When commanded to sacrifice to those called gods, he declared that he knew but ONE, to whom it was proper to sacrifice, as He himself had commanded; and when he was ordered to make libations to the four emperors, he uttered a sentence which did not please them, and was immediately beheaded. The sentence was from the poet: "A plurality of sovereigns is not good; let there be but one prince and one sovereign Lord." This happened on the eighth of the month Desius, or as one would say with the Romans, the seventh before the Ides of June, the fourth day of the week. This was the first signal of persecution that was given at Cæsarea in Palestine. After him many bishops in the same city, of the provincial churches, cheerfully struggled with dreadful tortures, and exhibited noble specimens of mighty conflicts. Some indeed, from excessive dread, broken down and overpowered by their terrors, sunk and gave way immediately at the first onset, but each of the rest experienced various kinds of torture. Some were scourged with innumerable strokes of the lash, others racked in their limbs and galled in their sides with torturing instruments, some with intolerable fetters, by which the joints of their hands were dislocated. Nevertheless they bore this, as regulated by the secret determinations of God. One was seized by the hands, and led to the altar by others who were thrusting the polluted and unhallowed victim into his right hand, and then suffered to go again as if he had sacrificed. Another, though he had not even touched, when others said that he had sacrificed, went away in silence. Another

was taken up half dead, and cast out as already dead, and was released from his bonds, and ranked among the sacrificers. Another crying out, and asserting that he did not assent to these things, was struck on the mouth; and, thus silenced by the many blows of those that were suborned for this purpose, was thrust away by violence, although he had never sacrificed. So much was it valued by them, for one upon the whole only to appear to have performed their desire. Of these, therefore, so many in number, only Alpheus and Zaccheus were honoured with the crown of the holy martyrs, who after scourging and scraping with iron hooks, and severe bonds, and the tortures consequent on these, and other different tortures on the rack, having their feet stretched a night and a day, to the fourth hole of the stocks, were at length beheaded on the seventeenth day of the month Dius, the same that is called the fifteenth of the Calends of December. Thus, for confessing the only God and Jesus Christ the only king, they suffered martyrdom with the former martyr, just as if they had uttered some dreadful blasphemy.





## CHAPTER II

### THE MARTYR ROMANUS

WORTHY of record, also, are the circumstances respecting Romanus, which occurred on the same day at Antioch. He was a native of Palestine, a deacon and exorcist of the church at Cæsarea, and was present at the demolition of the churches there; and as he saw many men with women and children approaching the idols in masses, and sacrificing, considering the sight intolerable, and stimulated by a zeal for religion, he cried out with a loud voice, and reproved them. But he was immediately seized for his boldness, and proved to be a most noble witness of the truth. When the judge had informed him that he was to die by the flames, with a cheerful countenance and a most ardent mind he received the sentence, and was led away. He was then tied to the stake, and when the wood was heaped up around him, and they were about kindling the pile, only awaiting the word from the expected emperor, he exclaimed, "Where then is the fire?" Saying this, he was summoned again before the emperor, to be subjected to new tortures, and therefore had his tongue cut out, which he bore with the greatest fortitude, as he proved in his actions to all, showing that the power of God is always present to the aid of those who are obliged to bear any hardship for the sake of religion, to lighten their labours, and to strengthen their ardour. When, therefore, he learned the novel mode of punishment, the heroic man, by no means alarmed, readily thrust out his tongue, and offered it with the greatest alacrity to those who cut it out. After this he was cast into bonds, and having suffered there a very long time, at length when the twentieth anniversary of the emperor was at hand, according to an established usage of granting liberty every where to those that were kept in prison, he alone had his feet stretched to the fifth hole in the stocks, and lying upon the very wood with a halter round his neck, was adorned with

martyrdom, according to his earnest desire. This one, though he did not suffer in his own country, yet as a native of Palestine deserves to be ranked among the martyrs of Palestine. Such were the events of this description that occurred in the first year of the persecution, as it was then excited only against the prelates of the church.



## CHAPTER III

# TIMOTHEUS, AGAPIUS, THECLA, AND EIGHT OTHERS

IN the course of the second year, when the war was blazing more violently against us, when Urbanus had the government of the province, imperial edicts were first issued to him, in which it was ordered, by a general command, that all persons of every people and city should sacrifice and make libations to the idols. Timotheus, at Gaza, a city of Palestine, endured a multitude of tortures, and, after the rest, was condemned to be consumed by a slow and gentle fire, exhibiting in all his sufferings a most indubitable proof of his sincere devotedness to God, thus bearing away the crown of those holy wrestlers who triumphed in the cause of piety. At the same time with him were condemned to be cast to the wild beasts, Agapius, who displayed the noblest firmness in his confession, and Thecla, our contemporary. And who could help being struck with admiration and astonishment at the sight, or even at the very recital of those things that then occurred? For, as the heathen in every place were on the point of celebrating their accustomed games and festivals, it was much noised abroad, that besides the other exhibitions with which they were so greatly captivated, those that were just condemned to the wild beasts would exhibit a combat. This report being increased, and spreading among all, there were six young men, who, first binding their hands, hastened with all speed to Urbanus, to prove their great alacrity to endure martyrdom, who was then going to the amphitheatre, and declared themselves Christians. The names of these were Timolaus, a native of Pontus, Dionysius of Tripolis in Phœnice, Romulus, a subdeacon of the church at Diospolis, Paesis and Alexander, both Egyptians; another Alexander, from Gaza. These, by their great promptness in the

face of all terrors, proved that they gloried in the worship of the true God, and were not alarmed at the assaults of beasts of prey; and, indeed, both the governor and those around him were amazed. They were, however, immediately committed to prison. Not many days after, two others were added to their number, of whom one had already before sustained the conflict of confession several times, under a variety of dreadful torments; he was, also, called Agapius, but the other, who supplied them with the necessaries of life, was named Dionysius. All these, eight in number, were beheaded in one day at Cæsarea, on the twenty-third day of the month Dystrus, that is, the ninth of the Calends of April. In the mean time, a certain change took place with the emperors, the first and the second in the imperial dignity retiring to private life, and public affairs began to wear a troubled aspect. Shortly after, the Roman empire was divided, and a dreadful civil war arose among the Romans themselves; nor did the schism cease, and the consequent commotions become finally settled, before peace was proclaimed toward us throughout the whole Roman world. For as soon as this arose like a light upon all, springing up from the densest and most gloomy night, the government was again restored to firmness, tranquillity, and peace, and they resumed that benevolent disposition towards one another, which they had derived from their ancestors. But of these matters we shall give a more full account in its proper place. Now let us pursue the thread of our narrative in due order.



# CHAPTER IV

## THE MARTYR APPHIANUS

MAXIMINUS CÆSAR, who was afterwards raised to the government, as if to exhibit the evidences of his innate hatred to God and his aversion to piety, armed himself to persecute with greater violence than those before him. Hence, as there was no little confusion raised among all, some scattered here and others there, and endeavouring by all means to escape the danger; and as there was the greatest tumult throughout the empire, what description would suffice to give a faithful account of that divine love and that freedom of confession, that distinguished the martyr Apphianus, that blessed and truly innocent lamb? He was scarcely twenty years old, when he presented a wonderful instance of solid piety toward the one only God, as a kind of spectacle to all before the gates of Cæsarea. And first, when, for the purpose of pursuing Greek literature, as he was of a very wealthy family, he passed the most of his time at Berytus, it is wonderful to tell how, in the midst of such a city, notwithstanding the enticements of youthful passions, he was superior to all, and was neither corrupted in his morals by the vigour of his body, nor his association with young men, but embraced a modest and sober life, walking honestly and piously, and regulating his conversation as one who had embraced the Christian faith. Were it necessary to mention his country, and thus to celebrate the place that gave birth to so noble a wrestler in the cause of religion, we could cheerfully do it. Pagas, a city of Lycia, of no mean account, and which may be known to some of my readers, was the place whence this youth derived his origin. After his return from his studies at Berytus, though his father held the first rank in his country, being unable to bear residing with him and the rest of his kindred, because they did not approve of living according to the laws of piety, as if impelled by the divine Spirit and by a kind of natural, rather say an



inspired and genuine philosophy, deeming it better than what is considered glory in life, and despising the soft pleasures of the body, he secretly fled from his friends. And without any concern for his daily expenses, in his trust and faith in God, he was conducted as if led by the Holy Spirit, to the city of Cæsarea, where was prepared for him the crown of martyrdom, for his piety. Having associated with us there, and having studied the holy Scriptures as much as could be for a short time, and having prepared himself most cheerfully by the proper exercises and discipline, he finally made so illustrious an end, as could not be witnessed again without amazement.

Who could listen without wonder to the freedom with which he spoke, behold his firmness, and before this, the courage and the energy of this youth, who gave evidence of a zeal for piety and a spirit more than human? For when a second excitement was raised against us by Maximinus, in the third year of the persecution, and the edicts of the tyrant to this effect were first issued, that all persons every where should publicly offer sacrifices, and that the rulers of the cities should see to this with all care and diligence, when the heralds also were proclaiming throughout all Cæsarea, that men, women, and children, should come to the temples of the idols, at the command of the governor; and, moreover, the military tribunes were calling upon each one by name, from a list, and the heathen were rushing in an immense crowd from every quarter, this youth fearlessly and without imparting his purpose to any, stealing away from us who dwelt in the same house, and unobserved by the military band around the governor, approached Urbanus, who happened then to be making libations. Fearlessly seizing his right hand, he suddenly interrupted him in the act of sacrificing. Then he counselled and exhorted him in a solemn and serious tone to abandon his error, saying it was not right that we should desert the one only and true God, to sacrifice to idols and demons. This was done by the youth, as is very probable, under the impulse of a divine power, which by this deed gave a kind of audible testimony, that the Christians, those to wit that were really such, were so far from abandoning the religion which they had once embraced, that they were not only superior to all the threatened dangers, and the

punishments consequent on these; but, over and above this, acted with still greater freedom, and declared themselves with a noble and fearless utterance, and were it possible that their persecutors could be delivered from their ignorance, even exhorted them to acknowledge the one only and true God. After this, he of whom we are now speaking, as might be expected in the case of an act so daring, was immediately seized and torn by the soldiers, like ravenous beasts, and after suffering most heroically innumerable stripes on his whole body, was cast into prison until further orders. There, being stretched by the tormentor with both feet a night and a day, on the rack, he was the next day brought to the judge, and when force was applied to make him sacrifice, he exhibited an invincible fortitude in bearing pain and horrid tortures. His sides were not only once or twice, but often furrowed and scraped to the very bones and bowels, and at the same time he was beaten with so many blows on the face and neck, that by reason of his bruised and swollen face, he was no more recognised by those who had known him well. But as he did not yield even to this, they covered his feet with linen steeped in oil, and at the command of the governor the tormentors applied fire to these. The suffering which this blessed youth then endured, seems to me to exceed all power of description. The fire, after consuming his flesh, penetrated to the bones, so that the humours of the body, liquefied like wax, fell in drops; but as he did not yield even to this, his antagonists being defeated, and now only at a loss to account for his more than human perseverance, he was again committed to prison. At last he was summoned the third day before the judge again, and still declaring his fixed purpose in the profession of Christ, already half dead, he was thrown into the sea and drowned.

What happened immediately after this, would scarcely be credited by any who had not seen with his own eyes; but notwithstanding this, we cannot but record the events. As we may say, all the inhabitants of Cæsarea were witnesses of the fact. There was no age that was not present at this wonderful sight. As soon as this really blessed and holy youth was cast into the deepest parts of the sea, suddenly a roaring and uncommon crashing sound, pervaded not only the sea, but the whole

surrounding heavens, so that the earth and the whole city was shaken by it; and at the same time with this wonderful and sudden shaking, the body of the divine martyr was cast by the sea before the gates of the city, as if unable to bear it. And such was the martyrdom of the excellent Apphianus, on the second day of the month Xanthicus, or, Roman style, the fourth of the Nones of April, on the day of the preparation, or Friday.



# CHAPTER V

## THE MARTYRS ULPIAN AND ÆDESIUS

ABOUT the same time, and in those very days, there was also a young man named Ulpianus, at the city of Tyre, who, after dreadful torments, and the most severe scourgings, was sowed in a raw bull's hide, together with a dog and poisonous asp, and thrown into the sea. Hence, he appears deservedly to claim a place among the martyrdoms noticed with Apphianus. A short time after, very much the same sufferings were endured by Ædesius, who was the own brother of Apphianus, not only in the flesh, but in God, after innumerable confessions, and protracted torments in bonds, after being repeatedly condemned by the judges to the mines in Palestine, and after a life and conversation, in which, amid all these circumstances, his garb and deportment were those of a philosopher. He had enjoyed an education still more finished than his brother, and had studied the different branches of philosophy. When he saw the judge at Alexandria condemning the Christians there, and rioting beyond all bounds, sometimes insulting grave and decent men in various ways, sometimes consigning females of the greatest modesty, and virgins who had devoted themselves to the duties of religion, to panders, to endure every kind of abuse and obscenity, he made an attempt similar to that of his brother. As these things appeared insufferable, he drew near with determined resolution to the judge, and with his words and acts covered him with shame. For this he courageously endured multiplied forms of torment, and was finally honoured with his brother's death, and cast into the sea a short time after his brother's martyrdom.



# CHAPTER VI

## THE MARTYR AGAPIUS

IN the fourth year of the persecution, on the twelfth of the calends of December, which would be on the twentieth of the month of Dius, on the day before the Sabbath, Friday, in the same city of Cæsarea, occurred what was eminently worthy of record. This happened in the presence of the tyrant Maximinus, who was gratifying the multitudes with public shows, on the day that was called his birthday. As it was an ancient practice, when the emperors were present, to exhibit splendid shows then, if at any time, and for the greater amusement of the spectators, to collect new and strange sights, in place of those which were customary; either animals from some parts of India, Ethiopia, or elsewhere; or men who, by dexterity of the body, exhibited singular specimens of adroitness, and to complete the whole, as it was an emperor that exhibited the spectacles at this time, it was necessary to have something more than common in the preparation of these games; (and what then should this be?) one of our martyrs, therefore, was led forth into the arena to endure the contest for the one and only true religion. This was Agapius, who we have already said had been thrown, together with Thecla, to the wild beasts. After being paraded with malefactors, from the prison to the stadium, a third time and often, and after various threats from the judges, whether through compassion, or out of hope of changing his purpose, he had been deferred from time to time for other contests; at length, when the emperor was present he was led forth; as if he had been designedly reserved for that time, and that also the declaration of our Saviour might be fulfilled, which he declared to his disciples in his divine foreknowledge, that they would be led before kings, for the sake of confessing Him. He was brought, therefore, into the stadium, with a certain criminal, who they said was charged with killing his master. This latter one, the murderer, when cast to the

beasts, was honoured with clemency and mercy, not unlike the manner in which Barabbas was in our Saviour's time. Hence the whole theatre resounded with applauses, that the blood-stained homicide was so humanely saved by the emperor, and was moreover honoured with liberty and dignity. But this wrestler of piety was first summoned by the tyrant, then demanded to renounce his purpose with the promise of liberty. With a loud voice he declared, that he would cheerfully and with pleasure sustain whatever he might inflict on him; not indeed, for any wickedness, but for his veneration of the God of the universe. Saying this, he combined actions with his words, and rushing against a bear let loose upon him, he most readily offered himself to be devoured by the beast, after which he was taken up yet breathing, and carried to prison. Surviving yet one day, he had stones bound to his feet, and thus was plunged into the midst of the sea. Such was the martyrdom of Agapius.





## CHAPTER VII

### THE MARTYRS THEODOSIA, DOMNINUS, AND AUXENTIUS

THE persecution had now been extended to the fifth year, when on the second of the month Xanthicus, that is the fourth of the Nones of April, on the very day of our Lord's resurrection again, at Cæsarea, a virgin of Tyre, Theodosia by name, not yet eighteen years old, but distinguished for her faith and virtue, approached some prisoners, confessors of the kingdom of Christ, seated before the judgment-seat, with a view to salute them, and, as is probable, with a view to entreat them to remember her when they should come before the Lord. Whilst she was doing this, as if it were some impious and atrocious deed, she was seized by the soldiers, and led away to the commander. Presently, merciless and savage as he was, he had her tortured with dreadful and horrific cruelties, furrowing her sides and breasts with instruments even to the very bones, and whilst yet breathing, and withal exhibiting a cheerful and joyous countenance, he orders her to be cast into the sea. Proceeding next from her to the other confessors, he consigned them all to the mines at Phœno in Palestine. After this, on the fifth of the month Dius, on the Nones of November, Roman style, in the same city, Silvanus, who was yet a presbyter, became a confessor, and not long after he was both honoured with the episcopate, and finally crowned with martyrdom. The same judge condemned those who exhibited the noblest firmness in the cause of piety, to labour in the same mines, having first ordered their ancles to be disabled by searing with red hot irons. At the same time that this sentence was passed, he ordered one who had rendered himself illustrious on innumerable occasions of confession, to be committed to the flames. This was Dominus, well known to all in Palestine, for his

great boldness. After which, this judge, who was a terrible inventor of miseries, and particularly ingenious in new devices against the doctrine of Christ, planned torments against the Christians, such as had never before been heard of. He condemned three to pugilistic combat; but Auxentius, a grave and holy presbyter, he ordered to be cast to the beasts; others who had reached the age of maturity, he made eunuchs, and condemned them to the mines; others again, after dreadful tortures, he cast into prison. Among these was Pamphilus, that dearest of my friends and associates, a man who for every virtue was the most illustrious martyr of our times. Urbanus having first made trial of his skill in the art of rhetoric, and the studies of philosophy, after this attempted to force him to offer sacrifice. When he saw him refusing, and not even regarding his threats, at last becoming transported with rage, he orders him to be tortured with more excruciating pains. Then this monster in cruelty, obstinately and incessantly applied the instruments, to furrow and lacerate his sides, all but entering and feeding upon his very flesh, and yet after all, defeated and covered with shame, he committed him to those confessors in prison. But what kind of return this tormentor will receive at the hands of divine justice, for his cruelties against the saints, and after rioting to such extent against the confessors of Christ, is easy to conjecture from the preludes to these judgments here. For immediately after his crimes against Pamphilus, whilst he held the government, the divine justice suddenly overtook him. That man whom we but yesterday saw judging on a lofty seat, and surrounded by a guard of soldiers, and ruling over all Palestine,—the associate, and favourite, and guest of the tyrant,—stripped in a single night, divested of all his honours, and covered with disgrace and ignominy, before those who had courted him as the emperor himself, him we saw, timid and cowardly, uttering cries and entreaties like a woman, before all the people whom he had ruled. The same just providence also made that very Maximums upon whom he so boastingly relied, as if he loved him exceedingly for his dreadful deeds against us; him I say, in the same city, the justice of God raised into a most relentless and cruel judge, who pronounced sentence of death against him, after the numerous crimes of which he was convicted. But let this account of him

suffice, by the way. Perhaps a suitable occasion may offer, in which we shall also relate the end of those wicked men that were principally concerned in waging war against us, and also of Maximums himself, together with those of his ministers in this work.



## CHAPTER VIII

### OTHER CONFESSORS; ALSO VALENTINA AND PAULUS

WHEN the storm had incessantly raged against us till the sixth year, there had been before this a vast number of confessors of true religion in what is called the Porphyry quarry, from the name of the stone which is found in Thebais. Of these, one hundred, wanting three, men, women, and young infants, were sent to the governor of Palestine, who, for confessing the supreme God and Christ, had the ancles and sinews of their left legs seared off with a red hot iron. Besides this they had their right eyes first cut out, together with the lids and pupils, and then seared with red hot iron, so as to destroy the eye to the very roots. All this was done by the order of Firmilianus, who was sent thither as successor to Urbanus, and acted in obedience to the imperial command. After this he committed them to the mines in Palestine, to drag out a miserable existence in constant toil and oppressive labour.

Nor was it enough, that those who endured such miseries were deprived of their eyes, but those natives of Palestine, also, whom we have already mentioned as condemned to pugilistic combats, as they neither would suffer themselves to be supported from the imperial treasury, nor undergo the exercises preparatory to the combat, hence they were now brought, not only before the governors, but before Maximinus himself, where, displaying the noblest firmness in their confessions, by enduring hunger and stripes, they suffered finally the same that the former did, beside other confessors from the same city. Immediately after these, others were seized, who had assembled in the city of Gaza to hear the holy Scriptures read, some of whom suffered the same mutilations in their eyes and feet; others were obliged to endure still greater sufferings, by having their sides furrowed and scraped

in the most dreadful manner. Of these, one who was a female in sex, but a man in firmness, not enduring the threat of violation, and having used a certain expression against the tyrant, for committing the government to such cruel judges, she was first scourged, then raised on high on the rack, and lacerated and galled in the sides. But notwithstanding those who were appointed incessantly and vehemently applied the tortures according to the orders of the judge, another woman, who, like the former, had contemplated a life of perpetual virginity, though ordinary in bodily form, and common in appearance, yet possessing a mind otherwise firm, and an understanding superior to her sex, was unable to bear the merciless, cruel, and inhuman scene before her, and with a courage exceeding all the farfamed combatants among the Greeks for their liberty. she exclaimed against the judge, from the midst of the crowd, "And how long, then, will you thus cruelly torture my sister?" He, the more bitterly incensed by this, ordered the woman immediately to be seized. She was then dragged into the midst, and after she had called herself by the august name of our Saviour, attempts were first made to bring her over to sacrifice by persuasion. But when she refused, she was dragged to the altar by force. Her sister remaining the same, and still adhering to her purpose, with a resolute, intrepid step, kicked the altar, and overturned all on it, together with the fire. Upon this, the judge, exasperated, like a savage beast, applied tortures beyond all that he had done before, all but glutting himself with her very flesh, by the wounds and lacerations of her body. But when his madness was gratified to satiety, he bound her and the former, whom she called sister, together, and condemned them to the flames. The former of these was said to be of Gaza, but the other, Valentina by name, was a native of Cæsarea, and well known to many. But how could I sufficiently describe the martyrdom that followed this, and with which the most blessed Paulus was crowned, who, indeed, was condemned at the same time with these, under one and the same sentence of death? About the time of his execution, he requested of the executioner, who was on the point of cutting off his head, to allow him a short space of time, which being granted, with a loud and clear voice, he first interceded with God in his prayers, imploring pardon for his fellow-

christians, and earnestly entreating that peace and liberty might be soon granted them. Then he prayed for the conversion of the Jews to God through Christ. Then he proceeded, in order, imploring the same things for the Samaritans, and those Gentiles who were in error and ignorance of God, that they might come to his knowledge, and be led to adopt the true religion, not omitting, or neglecting, to include the mixed multitude that stood around. After all these, oh, the great and inexpressible forbearance! he prayed for the judge that condemned him to death, for the imperial rulers themselves, and for him, too, that was about to sever his head from his body, in the hearing of him and all present, supplicating the supreme God, not to impute to them their sin against him.

Praying thus, with a loud voice, and moving almost all to compassion and tears, as one unjustly slain, yet composing himself, and submitting his bare neck to the stroke of the sword, he was crowned with a divine martyrdom on the twenty-fifth of the month Penemus, which would be the eighth of the calends of August. Such was the end of these. And after the lapse of no long time, one hundred and thirty other noble wrestlers of the Christian faith, undergoing the same mutilations of eyes and feet with the former in Egypt, by the order of Maximinus were condemned and sent away, some to the mines in Palestine, others to those in Cilicia.





# CHAPTER IX

## THE RENEWAL OF THE PERSECUTION WITH GREATER VIOLENCE. ANTONINUS, ZEBINA, GERMANUS, AND OTHERS

AFTER the flame of persecution had relaxed its violence amid such heroic achievements of the noble martyrs of Christ, and had been almost extinguished with the blood of holy men, and now some relief and liberty had been granted to those condemned to labour in the mines for Christ's sake, and we began to breathe an air somewhat purer, I know not how, he that had received the power to persecute, was again roused by a new impulse against the Christians. Immediately, therefore, edicts were issued against us from Maximinus, every where in the provinces. Governors and the prætorian prefect, in proclamations and edicts, and public ordinances, urged the magistrates and generals, and notaries in every city, to execute the imperial mandate, which ordained, that with all speed the decayed temples of the idols should be rebuilt, and that, all people, men, women, domestics, and even infants at the breast, should sacrifice and make libations, and that they should be diligently made to taste of the execrable sacrifices, that the things for sale in the markets should be defiled with the libations of victims, and that before the baths, guards should be stationed, who should pollute those that had been cleansed in them, with their execrable sacrifices. These things being thus performed, and our brethren, as was natural, being from the beginning most concerned, and the heathen themselves, censuring the severity and absurdity of the measure, as superfluous at best, for these measures appeared overbearing and oppressive even to them, and as there was a mighty storm

gathering every where upon them; again the divine power of our Saviour infused such courage and confidence into his wrestlers, that without being drawn or even impelled by any one, they voluntarily trampled upon the threats of such opponents. Three, therefore, of the believers joining together, rushed upon the governor, offering sacrifice, and called upon him to desist from his error, for there was no other God but the Supreme Creator and maker of the universe. Then being asked who they were, they boldly confessed they were Christians. On this, Firmilianus, in a rage, and without inflicting tortures, condemned them to capital punishment. Of these, one named Antoninus was a presbyter, another named Zebina, was a native of Eleutheropolis, the third was named Germanus. They were executed on the thirteenth of the month Dius, on the ides of November. On the same day Ennathas, a woman of Scythopolis, ennobled also by the virgin's fillet, was added as an associate to them. She had not, indeed, done what the former had, but was dragged by force, and brought before the judge; she was scourged, and endured dreadful abuses which were heaped upon her by Maxys, the tribune of the neighbouring district, and that without authority from a higher power, a man who was by no means as his name, a sanguinary character, exceedingly harsh and inflexible, and in his whole manner so really fierce and violent that he was in bad repute with all that knew him. This man, having stripped the blessed virgin of all her clothes, so as to leave only her body covered from her loins to her feet, the rest being bare, led her about the whole city of Cæsarea, considering it a great feat that he caused her to be driven about the markets and beaten with thongs of hide. After all these cruelties, which she bore with the greatest firmness, she exhibited the same most cheerful alacrity, before the tribunal of the judge himself, when she was there condemned to the flames. Whilst aiming his cruelty and madness against the worshippers of the true God, he also went beyond all the dictates of nature, not even ashamed to deny the lifeless bodies of these holy men a burial. Night and day he ordered the dead bodies to be carefully watched, as they lay exposed in the open air, the food of beasts, and there was no small number of men present several days, of such as attended to this savage and barbarous decree, and some,

indeed, were looking out from their posts of observation, as if it were something worthy of their zeal to see that the dead bodies should not be stolen. But wild beasts, and dogs, and carnivorous birds of prey, scattered the human limbs here and there in all directions, and the whole city around was spread with the entrails and bones of men, so that nothing appeared more dreadful or horrific, even to those who before had been most hostile to us; they did not indeed so much lament the calamity of those against whom these things were done, as the nuisance against themselves, and the abuse heaped upon our common nature.

For at the very gates of the city there was an exhibition presented dreadful beyond all description and tragic recital, human flesh devoured not in one place only, but scattered over every place; for it was said that limbs and masses of flesh, and parts of entrails, were to be seen even within the gates. Which things continuing to occur for many days, strange event, like the following, took place. The air happened to be clear and bright, and the aspect of the whole heavens was most serene. Then, suddenly, from the greater part of the columns that supported the public porticoes, issued drops like tears, and the market places and streets, though there was no moisture from the air, I know not whence it came, were sprinkled with water, and became wet: so that it was immediately spread abroad among all, that in an unaccountable manner the earth wept, not being able to endure the extreme impiety of these deeds, and to address a reproof to men of a relentless and callous nature, the very stones and senseless matter could bewail these facts. I well know that this account may, perhaps, appear an idle tale and fable to posterity, but it was not so to those who had its truth confirmed by their presence at the time.



# CHAPTER X

## PETRUS ASCETES, ASCLEPIUS THE MARCIONITE, AND OTHER MARTYRS

ON the fourteenth of the following month Apellæus, i. e. the nineteenth of the calends of January, there were some from Egypt seized by the spies appointed to observe those going out of the gates. They had been sent for the purpose of ministering to the necessities of the confessors in Cilicia. These experienced the same lot with those they came to serve, and were mutilated in their eyes and feet. Three of them, however, exhibited a wonderful fortitude at Ascalon, where they were imprisoned, and bore away different prizes of martyrdom. One of them, named Ares, was committed to the flames, the others, Promus and Elias, were beheaded. On the eleventh of the month Audynæus, i. e. on the third of the ides of January, in the same city of Cæsarea, Petrus Ascetes, also called Apselamus, from the village of Anea, on the borders of Eleutheropolis, like the purest gold, with a noble resolution, gave the proof of his faith in the Christ of God. Disregarding both the judge and those around him, that besought him in many ways, only to have compassion on himself, and to spare his youth and blooming years, he preferred his hope in the supreme God to all, and even to life itself.

With him, also, was said to be a certain bishop, named Asclepius, a follower of Marcion's error, with a zeal for piety, as he supposed, but not according to knowledge. He departed this life on the same funeral pile.



# CHAPTER XI

## PAMPHILUS AND OTHERS

THE time is now come to relate, also, that great and celebrated spectacle exhibited by those who, in martyrdom, were associated with Pamphilus, a name thrice dear to me. These were twelve, who were distinguished by a prophetic and apostolic grace, as well as number. Of these, the leader, and the only one among them with the dignity of presbyter at Cæsarea, was Pamphilus; a man who excelled in every virtue through his whole life, whether by a renunciation and contempt of the world, by distributing his substance among the needy, or by a disregard of worldly expectations, and by a philosophic deportment and self-denial. But he was chiefly distinguished above the rest of us, by his sincere devotedness to the sacred Scriptures, and by an indefatigable industry in what he proposed to accomplish, by his great kindness and alacrity to serve all his relatives, and all that approached him. The other features of his excellence, which deserve a more full account, we have already given in a separate work on his life, consisting of three books. Referring those that have a taste for these things and who wish to know them, to this work, let us now prosecute the history of the martyrs in order.

The second after Pamphilus, that entered the contest, was Valens, deacon of the church of Ælia, a man dignified by his venerable and hoary locks, most august by the very aspect of his great age, and well versed in the sacred Scriptures, in which he had no superior. For he had so much of them treasured up in his memory, that he did not require to read them, if he undertook at any time to repeat any parts of the Scriptures.

The third that was most illustrious among them, was Paul, of the city of Jamna, a man most fervent in zeal, and ardent in the spirit, who before his martyrdom had passed through the conflict of a confession for the faith, by enduring the tortures of searing



with red hot iron. After these had been two whole years in prison, the occasion of their death was a second arrival of brethren from Egypt, who suffered martyrdom with them. These had accompanied the confessors in Cilicia to the mines, and were returning to their homes, when, like the former, at the entrance of the city of Cæsarea, being questioned by the guards stationed at the gates, men of barbarous character, as they did not conceal the truth, they were immediately seized as malefactors caught in the very act, and taken in custody. There were five in number. When brought before the tyrant, they declared themselves freely before him. and were immediately committed to prison. On the next day, being the sixteenth of the month Peritisis, and the fourteenth of the Calends of March, Roman style, these, according to the decree, together with the associates of Pamphilus, were conducted before the judge. He first made trial of the invincible firmness of the Egyptians by every kind of torture, and by new and various machinery invented for the purpose. And first he asked the chief of them, after he had practised these cruelties upon him, who he was; when, instead of his proper name, he heard him repeat some name of the prophets, which was clone by them, if they happened to have had names given them by their parents from some of the names of the idols, in which case you would hear them calling themselves Elias, and Jeremiah, and Isaiah, Samuel and Daniel; thus exhibiting the true and genuine Israel of God, as belonging to those who are the real Jews (spoken of by the apostle), not only in their works, but also in their proper names.

When Firmilianus had heard some name like this of the martyr, and yet did not understand the force or import of the name, he next asked him what was his country? He gave an answer allied to the former, saying that Jerusalem was his country, referring to that city of which Paul speaks, "but the Jerusalem above is free, which is the mother of us all;" also again: "And ye have come to mount Sion, and to the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem," and it was this that the martyr meant to signify. But the judge, fixed in thought and cast down in his mind, anxiously inquired what country, and in what part of the world it was? Then he also applied tortures to make him confess the truth. But he,

with his hands twisted behind his back, and his feet thrust into certain new machines, persevered in asserting that he had said the truth. Then, again, being frequently asked what and where that city was that he had mentioned, he said it was the city of the pious only, for none but these were admitted to it; That it lay to the east and the rising sun. And here, again, the martyr in this way philosophised according to his own sense, paying no regard to the tortures with which he was surrounded; and as if he were without flesh and blood, did not even appear to be sensible of his pains. But the judge at a loss, and greatly perplexed in mind, thinking that the Christians were collectively about establishing a city somewhere in opposition and hostile to the Romans, frequently inquired where this city was, and examined where the country lay towards the east. After he had sufficiently tortured the young man with scourging, and lacerated him with many and various tortures, perceiving his mind unchangeably fixed in his former purpose and declarations, he passed the sentence of death against him. Such was the scene exhibited in the martyrdom of this one. The rest he exercised with trials of a similar kind, and finally destroyed in a similar manner. Wearied at last, and perceiving that it was all in vain to punish the men, and having fully satiated his curiosity, he proceeded against Pamphilus and his associates. As he had learned that they had already displayed an unchangeable alacrity in the confession of religion under torture, and also asked them whether they were yet disposed to obey, and received only the same answer, the last confession of every one in martyrdom, he inflicted upon them the same punishment with the former. These things done, a young man, who had belonged to the family of Pamphilus, as one who had dwelt with and enjoyed the excellent education and instruction of such a man, as soon as he learned the sentence passed upon his master, cried out from the midst of the people, requesting that the body at least should be interred. But the judge, more brute than man, and if any thing worse than brute, making no allowance for the young man's age, only inquired this one thing, and heard him confess himself a Christian. On this, as if he were wounded by a dart, swelling with rage, he ordered the tormentors to exercise all their force against him. When he saw him refusing to sacrifice according to his orders, he

commanded that they should scrape and mutilate him, not as the flesh of a human being, but as stones and wood, or any other lifeless object, to the very bones, and the inmost parts and recesses of the bowels. This being continued for a long time, he at length perceived that he was labouring in vain, as he continued without uttering a sound or evincing any feeling, almost totally lifeless, his body was so dreadfully mangled with tortures. But as the judge was inflexible in cruelty and inhumanity, he condemned him in this condition to be committed to a slow fire; and thus the youth, although he had entered upon the combat last, yet received his dismissal from this life before the decease of his master in the flesh, whilst those that rivalled the first were yet lingering on the way. One could then see Porphyry, for that was his name, with the courage of one who had already triumphed in every species of combat, his body covered with dust, yet his countenance bright and cheerful, and after this, with a courageous and exulting mind advancing on his way to death. Truly filled with the divine Spirit, and covered only with his philosophical garb thrown around him like a cloak, and with a calm and composed mind giving exhortations and beckoning to his acquaintance and friends, he preserved a cheerful countenance at the very stake. When the fire was kindled which was at some distance around him, he attracted and inhaled the flame in his mouth, and then most nobly persevering in silence, until his last breath, he uttered not another word after that which he uttered as soon as the flame reached him, calling upon Christ the Son of God, his helper. Such a wrestler then was Porphyry. Seleucus, one of the confessors of the army, brought the intelligence of his martyrdom to Pamphilus; and he, as the bearer of such intelligence, was immediately honoured with the same lot. For as soon as he had announced the end of Porphyry, and had saluted one of the martyrs with a kiss, some of the soldiers seized him and led him to the governor, who, as if to urge him to attach himself to the former, as his companion on the way to heaven, commanded him immediately to be put to death. He was from Cappadocia, but among the chosen band of Roman soldiers, and one who had obtained no small share of honours.

In the vigour of age, strength, size, and firmness of body, he

was greatly superior to his fellow-soldiers, so that he was noted among all for his appearance, and admired for the grandeur and the comeliness of his whole form. At the beginning of the persecution, he was prominent in the trials of the confessors, by his patient endurance of the scourge, and after his renunciation of military life, he exhibited himself a zealous follower of those who led a life devoted to the exercises of piety, in which, like a provident father, he proved himself a kind of overseer (ἐπισκοπος), and protector of destitute orphans and helpless widows, and of all those that were prostrated in poverty and sickness. Hence, also, he was honoured by that God who is better pleased with such charities than the fume and blood of sacrifices, to receive an extraordinary call to martyrdom. He was the tenth after those wrestlers mentioned that were perfected in one and the same day, on which, as is probable, the mighty portals of eternal life were opened to Pamphilus, in a manner worthy of the man, and presented to him and to others a ready entrance into the kingdom of heaven. Immediately after Seleueus, came the aged Theodulus, a grave and pious man who was of the governor's family, and who on account of his age had been treated with more regard by Firmilianus than any of his domestics, as also, because he was now a father of the third generation, and had always evinced great fidelity and attachment to himself and family. He, pursuing the same course as Seleueus, when arraigned before his master, incensed him yet more than the former, and was condemned to endure the same martyrdom as our Saviour on the cross. One now remaining of those who constituted the number twelve, already mentioned; Julianus, after all the rest, came to complete it. He had just come from abroad, and had not yet even entered the city, when learning the death of the martyrs on the road, just as he was, he immediately hastened to the sight. There, when he saw the earthly tabernacles of the holy men lying on the ground, filled with joy, he embraced every one, and kissed them all. Upon this he was immediately seized by the ministers of death, and conducted to Firmilianus, who consistently with his character, consigned him to a slow and lingering fire. Then Julianus, also, leaping and exulting with joy, gave thanks to God with a loud voice, who had honoured him with a martyrdom such

as these endured, and was crowned with the martyr's death. He also was a native of Cappadocia, but in his manner he was most religious, and eminent for the sincerity and soundness of his faith. He was a devoted man in other respects, and animated by the Holy Spirit himself. Such was the band and the company that met with Pamphilus, and were honoured to encounter martyrdom with him. The sacred and holy bodies of these men, by the order of the cruel and impious governor, were kept and guarded for four days and nights to feed the wild beasts. But as, contrary to expectation, nothing would approach them, neither beast nor bird of prey, nor dog, by a divine providence they were again taken up uninjured, and obtaining a decent burial, were interred according to the accustomed mode. But when the cruelty exercised against these was noised abroad among all, Adrianus, and Eubulus, from the region called Manganæa, came to the other confessors as far as Cæsarea, and were also asked the cause of their coming at the gate of the city. They confessed the truth, and were brought before Firmilianus. He, as usual, without delay, after many tortures which he inflicted, by scourging and lacerating their sides, then condemned them to be devoured by the beasts. After the lapse of two days, on the fifth of the month Dystrus, the third of the nones of March, the day that was considered the birthday of the tutelary divinity of Cæsarea, he was cast before a lion, and afterwards slain with a sword. As to Eubulus, after another day and a half, on the very nones of March, which would be the seventh of Dystrus, when the judge had urged him much to enjoy that which was considered liberty among them, by offering the sacrifice, he preferred a glorious death in the cause of religion, and after being cast to the beasts like the former, was the last to close the list of the martyrs that wrestled for the faith at Cæsarea. It is also worth while here to state, how at length the providence of God overtook the wicked governors themselves, together with the tyrants. For the same Firmilianus that raged with such violence against the martyrs of Christ, after receiving with the others the most signal punishment inflicted on him, at length ended his life by the sword. And such, then, were the martyrdoms endured at Cæsarea, during the whole period of the persecution.



## CHAPTER XII

# THE PRELATES OF THE CHURCH

BUT the events that occurred in the intermediate time, besides those already related, I have thought proper to pass by; I mean particularly the circumstances of the different heads of the churches, who from being shepherds of the reasonable flocks of Christ that did not govern in a lawful and becoming manner, were condemned, by divine justice, as unworthy of such a charge, to be the keepers of the unreasonable camel, an animal deformed in the very structure of its body, and condemned further to be the keepers of the imperial horses; also, the number and severity of the burdens and oppressions they bore for the sake of the sacred vessels and property of the churches, from the imperial rulers and governors at the time, in the midst of insult, injury, and torment; moreover, the ambitions aspirings of many to office, and the injudicious and unlawful ordinations that took place, the divisions among the confessors themselves, the great schisms and difficulties industriously fomented by the factious among the new members, against the relics of the church, devising one innovation after another, and unmercifully thrusting them into the midst of all these calamities, heaping up affliction upon affliction; all this, I say, I have resolved to pass by, judging it foreign to my purpose, wishing, as I said in the beginning, to shun and avoid giving an account of them. But whatsoever things are serious and commendable according to the Scriptures—"if there be any virtue, if there be any praise," deeming it most proper to tell and to describe these, and present them to the attention of the faithful, in a history of the admirable martyrs, as also, most consistent with that peace which has recently shone upon us from heaven, I shall consider myself as most likely to decorate the close of my work, if I present to the attention of the faithful an account of these.





## CHAPTER XIII

# SILVANUS AND JOHN, AND THIRTY MORE OTHER MARTYRS

THE seventh year of the conflict against us was verging to its close, and the measures against us had gently and imperceptibly received a less afflictive aspect, and had now continued until the eighth year, when there was no small number of confessors collected in the copper mines of Palestine, and these were enjoying considerable freedom, so far as even to build houses for assembling together; then the governor of the province, a savage and wicked man, such, indeed, as his acts against the martyrs proved him to be, came thither, and ascertaining the state of things, and the manner of those that lived there, communicated the whole to the emperor, and wrote against them whatever slanders he thought proper. After this, being appointed as superintendent of the mines, he divided, as if by imperial orders, the multitude of confessors into different bodies, and sent some to inhabit Cyprus, some to Libanus. Others he 'scattered into several parts of Palestine, and commanded, them all to labour in different works. Then selecting those that appeared to be pre-eminent among them, he sent them away to the commander of the forces there. Of these, two were Egyptians, bishops Peleus and Nilus, another was a presbyter, and a fourth added to these named Patermuthius, well known to all for his great benevolence towards all. These the commander, after demanding a renunciation of their religion, and not succeeding, committed to be consumed by the flames. Others, again, had their lot east there, in a separate place by themselves, as many of the confessors as, whether from age, or blindness, or other infirmities of body, were exempt from performing labour. Of these, the chief was Sylvanus, a bishop from Gaza, who presented a venerable example of genuine

Christianity. This man, one might say, was eminent for his confessions, from the very first day of the persecution, through the whole time in a variety of conflicts, and was reserved until that time, that this might be as the last seal of the whole conflict in Palestine. With him were associated many from Egypt, among whom also was John, who in the excellence of his memory surpassed all of our time. He, indeed, had already before been deprived of his eyes, and had his foot destroyed with burning irons, like the others, on account of his confessions, yet although his sight was already destroyed he had the red hot iron nevertheless applied to him; the butchers aiming at every display of cruelty and inhumanity, and whatever was savage and brutal. And as this man was such, one has no cause to wonder at his philosophical life and habits, as he appeared not so wonderful on this account as from the excellence of his memory. He had whole books of the sacred Scriptures written, as the apostle says, not on tables of stone, neither on skins of animals, nor papers destroyed by moths and time, but on the tables of flesh in the heart, in an enlightened soul, and the pure eye of the mind. So that whenever he wished to produce any passage, whether from the law, or the prophets, or the apostles, the historical parts or the gospels, he could repeat and produce it as from a treasury of learning, whenever he pleased. I confess that I myself was astonished when I first saw the man standing in the midst of a large multitude, and repeating certain parts of the holy Scriptures. For as far as I had opportunity only to hear his voice, I thought that he was reading, as is usual in the congregations, but when I came near and saw the fact, all the others standing around, with their sound eyes, and him alone raising his mind and pronouncing without any artificial means, as a kind of prophet, and far surpassing those who were robust in body—I could not but glorify and praise God. And, indeed, I seemed to behold an evident and solid proof in facts, that not he who appears in the external form is the real man, but in truth that which is in the soul and mind. For he, though mutilated in body, exhibited the greater excellence of power and virtue. But as to those already mentioned, who were living in a separate place, and were engaged in performing their accustomed duties, in prayer and fasting, and other exercises, God himself

condescended to grant them a salutary issue, by extending his right arm to help them.

The enemy, no longer able to bear them, armed with constant prayer to God, prepared to destroy and remove them from the earth, as troublesome to him. God granted him, also, power to do this, that at the same time he might not be restrained in his determined wickedness, and they might now receive the prizes of their varied conflicts. Thus, then, the thirty-nine, at the command of the most execrable Maximums, were beheaded in one day. And these were the martyrdoms exhibited in Palestine in the space of eight years, and such was the persecution in our day. It began, indeed, with the demolition of the churches, and grew to a great height during the insurrections from time to time under the rulers. In these, many and various were the contests of the noble wrestlers in the cause of piety, who presented an innumerable multitude of martyrs through the whole province, among those from Lybia, and through all Egypt, Syria, and those of the east, round as far as those of the region of Illyricum. For the countries beyond these, all Italy and Sicily, Gaul, and whatever parts extend towards the west, Spain, Mauritania, and Africa, as they did not experience the hostility of the persecution quite two years, very soon were blessed with the interposition and peace of God, as if his providence spared the simplicity and faith of these men. For that, indeed, which was never before recorded in the annals of the Romans, this first obtained in our day, contrary to all expectation. The empire was divided into two parts during this persecution. Those in the one part enjoyed peace, whilst those brethren that inhabited the other, endured innumerable trials one after another. But as soon as the divine favour prepared to display to us his kind and gracious care, then at length, also, our rulers themselves, through whom these wars were formerly waged against us, changing their mind in a most extraordinary manner, sounded a retreat, and extinguished the flame of persecution by kind ordinances and milder edicts. But we must not omit the recantation.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK IX



# CHAPTER I

## THE PRETENDED RELAXATION

THE revocation of the imperial edict that had been issued, was published every where, and in all places throughout Asia, and its provinces. This being done, accordingly, in this way, Maximums, the tyrant of the east, the most impious of men, and most hostile to the religion which acknowledges only the supreme God, by no means satisfied with these mandates, instead of issuing an edict, gave verbal commands to the rulers under him, to relax the war against us. For as he had no power to oppose or to pursue a different course, and place himself in opposition to the judgment of his superiors, he suppressed the edict; and designing that it should not be made public in his province, he gives orders, without writing to his governors, to relax the persecution against us. These communicated the mandate to one another by letters. Sabinus, who held the highest rank and power among the provincial rulers, communicated the imperial will to the respective governors of the provinces, in a Latin letter, the translation of which is as follows:

“With a most persevering and devoted earnestness, their majesties, our sovereigns and most august emperors, had formerly directed the minds of all men to live and conduct themselves according to the true and holy way, that even those who appeared to pursue practices foreign to the Roman, should exhibit the proper worship to the immortal gods. But the obstinacy and most unconquerable determination of some, rose to such a pitch, that they could neither be induced to recede from their own purpose by a due regard to the imperial command, nor be deterred by the impending punishment inflicted. Since, then, it has happened that many incurred danger from a practice like this, their majesties our sovereigns, the most powerful emperors, in their peculiar and exalted piety deeming it foreign to the purpose of

their majesties, that men should be thrust into so great danger for such a cause, have commanded (me in) my devotedness to address (you in) your wisdom, that if any of the Christians be found to observe the worship of their people, that you should abstain from molesting or endangering them, nor determine that anyone should be punished on such a pretext; as it has been made to appear by the lapse of so long a time, that it has been impossible to induce them in any manner to abandon their obstinate course. It is incumbent, therefore, on your attentive care, to write to the governors and magistrates, and to the prefects of the districts of every city, that they may know that it is not necessary for them to pay any further regard to this edict (or business).”

After this, the rulers of the provinces thinking that the resolution contained in these writings, was truly set forth to them, communicate by letter the imperial will to the controllers, magistrates, and prefects of the different districts. Nor did they urge these things only by writing, but much more by their acts, to execute the imperial mandate; conducting those forth who had been imprisoned by them on account of their faith, they set them at liberty, and dismissing those who had been consigned as a punishment to the mines. For this in mistake they supposed to be the true intention of the emperor. When these things had thus been executed, all on a sudden, like a flash of light blazing from dense darkness, in every city, one could see congregations collected, assemblies thronged, and the accustomed meeting held in the same places. Every one of the heathen was not a little astonished at these appearances, both amazed at the singular change of affairs, and exclaiming that the God of the Christians was the only great and true God. Those of our brethren who had faithfully and manfully passed through the conflict of persecution, also again obtained great privileges with all. And those who had deserted their faith, and had been shaken in their souls by the tempest, eagerly hastened to their remedy, supplicating and entreating the strong to give them the right hand of safety, and imploring God to be merciful unto them. Then, also, these noble wrestlers of religion, liberated from the hardships of labouring in the mines, were dismissed every one to his own country. Joyous

and cheerful they proceeded through every city, filled with an inexpressible pleasure and a confidence which language is inadequate to explain. Numerous bodies thus pursued their journey through the public highways and markets, celebrating the praises of God in songs and psalms. And they who a little before had been driven in bonds under a most merciless punishment, from their respective countries, you could now see regaining their homes and firehearths, with bright and exhilarated countenances; so that even they who before had exclaimed against us, seeing the wonder beyond all expectation, congratulated us on these events.





## CHAPTER II

### THE SUBSEQUENT REVERSE

BUT the tyrant, unable to bear this state of things, an enemy of goodness, and as far as possible of good men, who we have already said was the sovereign of the parts in the east, did not suffer this course to continue quite six months. And thus, whilst he was devising schemes in every possible way to destroy the peace, he first attempted to restrain us by a kind of pretext from assembling in the cemeteries. Then he sent delegates to himself against us, through the agency of some abandoned characters, stimulating the inhabitants of Antioch to request of him, as a very great favour, by no means to permit any of the Christians to dwell at Antioch, and suborned others to do the same thing. Of all which things, Theotecnus was the cause and prime mover at Antioch, a man of a violent, artful, and wicked character, altogether the reverse of the name he bore. But he appears to have been the controller of that city.



## CHAPTER III

# THE NEW STATUE ERECTED AT ANTIOCH

AFTER he had thus waged war against us by every means, and had caused our brethren with all diligence and care to be hunted up in their retreats, as thieves and malefactors, and had plotted against us by slander and accusation, and been the cause of death to vast numbers, he finally erected a certain statue of Jupiter Philius, with a variety of mummery and magic rites. And after reciting forms of initiation, and pronouncing dire inauspicious mysteries before it, and inventing execrable modes of expiation, he even went so far as to exhibit his impostures to the emperor, by the oracles which he pretended to utter. Thus, by a flattery grateful to the emperor, he roused the demon against the Christians, and said that God had commanded to expel the Christians as his enemies, beyond the limits of the city and the adjacent territory.



# CHAPTER IV

## THE DECREES AGAINST US

As this man, who took the lead in this matter, had thus succeeded, all the rest in office that inhabited cities under the same government (of Maximinus), proceeded to issue a similar decree; and the governors of provinces perceiving that it would be acceptable to the emperor also, suggested to their subjects to do the same thing. To these decrees the emperor himself most readily assenting, the persecution that raged at first was again kindled against us. Hence, in every city priests were appointed for the images, and high-priests over these, by Maximinus himself; these were from among those who had been most distinguished for their public life, and had gained celebrity in the different stations they had tilled; who were also fired with great zeal for those objects that they worshipped. In short, the absurd superstition of the emperor led on the rulers under him, as well as his subjects, to do all things against us in order to gratify him; supposing this was the greatest proof of gratitude they could give for the kindness they had received from him, if they only exhibited slaughter, and constantly devised new plots and modes of mischief against us.



# CHAPTER V

## THE FALSE ACTS

HAVING forged, therefore, certain acts of Pilate, respecting our Saviour, full of every kind of blasphemy against Christ, these, with the consent of the emperor, they sent through the whole of the empire subject to him, commanding at the same time by ordinances in every place and city, and the adjacent districts, to publish these to all persons, and to give them to the school-masters to hand to their pupils to study and commit to memory, as exercises for declamation. Whilst these things were doing, another commander, whom the Romans call Dux, in Damascus, a city of Phœnicia, caused certain infamous females to be seized from the forum, and threatening to inflict torture upon them, he forced them to make a formal declaration, taken down on record, that they had once been Christians, and that they were privy to the criminal acts among them; that in their very churches, they committed licentious deeds, and innumerable other slanders, which he wished them to utter against our religion; which declarations he inserted in the acts, and communicated to the emperor, who immediately commanded that these documents should be published in every city and place.





# CHAPTER VI

## THOSE WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM AT THIS TIME

THIS commander, however, ere long, laid violent hands upon himself, and thus suffered punishment for his wickedness. But exiles and severe persecutions in the mean time were again renewed against us, and the rulers of the provinces were every where again stirred up against us, insomuch that some who were more distinguished for their skill in the divine word, when taken, received the sentence of death without mercy. Three of these in the city of Emesa in Phœnicia, professing themselves Christians, were thrown to be devoured by the wild beasts. Among these was Silvanus, a very venerable and superannuated bishop, who had been engaged in the ministry forty years. At the same time also, Peter, who presided over the churches of Alexandria with great reputation, an admirable instance of a bishop, both for the excellence of his life and his study of the sacred Scriptures. He was seized for no reason whatever, and beheaded, beyond all expectation so suddenly, and without any cause assigned, as if by the orders of Maximinus. With him also many other bishops of Egypt suffered the same punishment. Lucianus, a man in all respects most excellent, temperate in his life, and conspicuous for his proficiency in sacred literature, was presbyter of the church at Antioch, and when brought to Nicomedia, where the emperor happened to be staying, he delivered a defence of his doctrine before the governor, when he was committed to prison and slain. Such were the preparations made against us in so short a time, by the malicious Maximums, so that it would appear this persecution now raising against us, was more severe than the former.



## CHAPTER VII

# THE MEASURES DECREED AGAINST US, AND ENGRAVED ON PILLARS

THE measures and the decrees of the cities against us, and copies of the imperial edicts appended to these, were engraved and erected on brazen tablets, a course never before adopted against us any where. The boys also in the schools had the names of Jesus and Pilate, and the acts forged in derision, in their mouths the whole day. And here appears to me the proper place to insert the epistle of Maximums, engraved on brass, that at the same time the boasting and haughty arrogance of the man's hatred of God, and also God's just and ever vigilant hatred of iniquity against the wicked may appear, which soon overtook him, and by which he was urged onwards; so that he did not long devise hostilities, and form decrees against us. The decree was as follows:—

Copy of the translated epistle of Maximinus, in answer to the ordinances (of the cities) against us, taken from the brazen tablet at Tyre

“Now at length the feeble powers of the human mind have prevailed so far as to shake off and to scatter the mists of every error, and dissipate the clouds of delusion, which before this had beset the senses of those who were more miserable than profane, and enveloped them in a destructive darkness and ignorance; thus leading us to acknowledge that it is regulated and strengthened by the good providence of the immortal gods: which things it is incredible to say how grateful, how delightful and pleasing it is to us, how powerful an evidence it has furnished of your pious resolutions, since before this it could be unknown to none, how much regard and reverence you cherished towards the immortal gods, to whom faith is exhibited not by mere empty

words, but by a constant and eminent display of illustrious deeds. Wherefore, deservedly, may your city be called the seat and habitation of the immortal gods, for by many evidences it does appear most clearly that it flourishes by the presence and residence of the celestial gods. So then, your city, regardless of all local interest and advantage, and omitting the petitions formerly presented to us, for its own political affairs, when it perceived the votaries of an execrable vanity again insinuating themselves, and as a funeral pile long disregarded and smothered, again rising in mighty flames and rekindling the extinguished brands, immediately without delay it took refuge in our piety, as the metropolis of all religion, entreating some remedy and relief; which salutary mind it is evident the immortal gods have imparted to you on account of your faith and piety. Wherefore, that supreme and mighty Jove, he who presides over your most illustrious city, who has rescued your country's gods, and wives, and children, and houses, and homes, from every destructive pest, has infused into you the happy counsel, showing and proving to you how excellent, and noble, and profitable it is to observe the worship, and the sacred rites of the immortal gods with becoming reverence. For who can be so bereft of understanding, and all sense, as not to perceive, that it has happened by the gracious benevolence of the gods, that neither the earth has refused the seed committed to it, and disappointed the hope of the husbandman with vain expectation; nor the presence of impious war has been inevitably fixed on earth, and under a corrupt atmosphere wasting bodies have been dragged and weighed down to death; nor the ocean swelling and rising on high, with the raging blasts of intemperate storms, nor unexpected tempests have burst and spread destruction around. Moreover, that neither the parent and nurturing earth has risen in dreadful tremblings, from its lowest depths, nor the superincumbent hills and mountains have sunk into its opening jaws. All which calamities, and worse than these, have, as we all know, frequently occurred. And all this in consequence of the destructive error of this hollow delusion of lawless men, when it began to take root in their minds, and we may say covered nearly all the world with infamy." A little after he adds the following:

“Let them look at the flourishing crops in the wide extended fields waving with the loaded ears, and the meadows glittering with plants and flowers, from the seasonable showers, and the temperature of the air restored to a mild and placid state. Then let all rejoice, that by your piety, and sacrifices, and veneration of the gods, the divinity of omnipotent and mighty Mars has been propitiated, and hence let them enjoy tranquillity and solid peace, be filled with pleasure and joy; and as many as have abandoned that blind delusion and perplexing error, whoever they may be” and have returned to the right and sound mind, let these rejoice still more, as those who have been rescued from an unexpected storm or severe disease, and let them enjoy the delightful fruits the rest of their life. But should they still adhere to their execrable folly, let them be driven out and separated far from your city and territory, as you have desired. That thus agreeably to your zeal, so praiseworthy in this respect, your city, separated from all pollution and impiety, may attend to the sacred rites of the immortal gods, according to its natural disposition, with due veneration. That ye may also know how acceptable this request of yours respecting this matter has been, and how very prompt our mind is to confer benefits of our own voluntary kindness: Without decrees and without petitions, we grant to your devotedness to desire any privilege you please for this your pious purpose of mind. Present now your petitions to have this done and to receive it, for you shall obtain without delay. Which, indeed, when granted to your city, will be an evidence for ever of your devoted piety to the immortal gods, as also of the fact that you obtained by our kindness, merited prizes for this your purpose of life; an evidence which will be exhibited to your children and posterity.”

Such were the letters that were sent abroad against us in all the provinces, cutting us off from every hope of good, at least from men; so that, according to the holy Scriptures themselves, if it were possible, “the very elect would take offence.” And now, indeed, when the hope of most of us was almost extinct, all on a sudden, almost whilst the agents of this decree against us were in some places yet on the way to carry it into effect, that God, who is the defender of his church, all but stopping the pomp and boasting of the tyrant’s mouth, exhibited his heavenly interposition in our

behalft.





# CHAPTER VIII

## THE EVENTS THAT OCCURRED AFTER THESE; FAMINE, PESTILENCE, AND WAR

RAINS and showers, which usually fell in the winter season, now withheld their accustomed contribution upon the earth. An unexpected famine came on, and pestilence after this. Another kind of sickness also followed, which was a species of ulcer called by the name of carbuncle, on account of its inflammatory appearance. This spreading over the whole body, greatly endangered the lives of those afflicted with it, and as it prevailed mostly about the eyes, it deprived great numbers of men, women, and children of their sight. In addition to these calamities, the war with the Armenians threatened the tyrant. These men had been the friends and allies of the Romans from ancient times, and as they were Christians, and greatly valued piety toward the Deity, and as the profane and impious tyrant had attempted to force them to sacrifice to idols and demons, he made them enemies instead of friends, and belligerent foes instead of allies. And all these troubles suddenly concurring at one and the same time, refuted the tyrant's boasting and blustering audacity against God; when, indeed, in his great zeal for idols, and his hostility to us, he boasted that neither famine nor pestilence nor war had happened in his times. All these coming upon him at once, presented the preludes to his own death.

He, together with his army, was defeated in the war with the Armenians; and the rest of the inhabitants of cities under him were dreadfully afflicted both by famine and pestilence, so that a single measure of wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred Attic drachms. Immense numbers were dying in the cities, still more in the country and villages, so that now the vast population in the

interior was almost entirely swept away; nearly all being suddenly destroyed by want of food and by pestilential disease. Many were anxious to sell their most valuable effects to those better supplied, for the smallest quantity of food. Others, gradually spending all their possessions, were reduced to the last extreme of want. And some even chewing remnants of hay, and others eating without distinction certain noxious herbs, miserably destroyed the constitution of the body. Also, some of the more honourable females throughout the cities, constrained by want to throw aside all shame, went into the public markets to beg, indicating the evidences of their former liberal education, by the modesty of their countenances and the decency of their apparel. Some indeed, wasted away to mere skeletons, stumbled hither and thither like dead shadows, trembling and tottering, from excessive weakness and inability to stand; they fell down in the midst of the streets, where they lay stretched out, and only earnestly begged some one to hand them a little morsel of bread, then drawing in their breath, with the last gasp they cried out, Hunger! having only strength sufficient for this most painful cry. Some, however, of those that appeared better supplied, astonished at the great multitude of those begging, after giving vast quantities away, afterwards yielded to a harsh and inflexible disposition, expecting that they would soon suffer the same things with those begging of them. So that now in the midst of the streets and lanes, the dead and naked bodies, cast out and lying for many days, presented a most painful spectacle to the beholders. Some, indeed, were already the food of dogs, on which account, the survivors began to slay the dogs, lest growing mad they should devour men. The pestilence, in the mean time, did not the less prey upon every house and family, particularly those whom the famine from their abundance of food could not destroy; the wealthy, the rulers, generals, and vast numbers in office, who, as if they had been designedly left by the famine to the pestilence, were overtaken by a sudden, violent, and rapid death. All places, therefore, were filled with lamentation, in all streets, lanes, market places, and highways. Nothing was to be seen but tears, with the accustomed flutes, and funeral dirge. In this manner death waged a desolating war with these two weapons, famine and pestilence, destroying

whole families in a short time, so that one now could see two or three dead bodies carried out at once. Such were the rewards of the pompous boasting of Maximinus, and of his edicts throughout the city against us. Then, also, the evidences of the zeal and piety of the Christians became manifest and obvious to all, for they were the only persons in the midst of such distressing circumstances, that exhibited sympathy and humanity in their conduct. They continued the whole day, some in the care and burial of the dead, for numberless were they for whom there was none to care; others collecting the multitude of those wasted by the famine throughout the city, distributing bread among all; so that the fact was cried abroad, and men glorified the God of the Christians, constrained as they were, by the facts, to acknowledge that these were the only really pious and the only real worshippers of God. Whilst these things were being done, God, the great and celestial defender of the Christians, who exhibited his indignation and anger against men by these calamities, on account of the excesses committed against us, restored the benign and smiling brightness of his providence towards us, so that by a most wonderful concurrence of events, the light of his peace again began to shine upon us as from the midst of the densest darkness; showing plainly to all that God himself had been the ruler of our affairs at all times; who sometimes, indeed, chastens and visits his people by various trials, from time to time, but after he has sufficiently chastened, again exhibits his mercy and kindness to those that trust in him.



# CHAPTER IX

## THE DEATH OF THE TYRANTS, AND THEIR EXPRESSIONS BEFORE THEIR END

CONSTANTINE, whom we have already mentioned as an emperor born of an emperor, the pious son of a most pious and virtuous father, and Licinius next to him, were both in great esteem for their moderation and piety. These two pious rulers had been excited by God, the universal sovereign, against the two most profane tyrants, and engaging in battle, in an extraordinary manner, Maxentius fell under Constantine. But the other (Maximinus) did not long survive him, being himself put to a most ignominious death, by Licinius, who had not yet at that time evinced his insanity. But Constantine (who was first both in dignity and imperial rank, and first took compassion upon those who were oppressed at Rome), invoking the God of heaven, and his Son and Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour of all, as his aid, advanced with his whole army, purporting to restore the Romans to that liberty which they had derived from their ancestors. Maxentius, however, relying more upon the arts of juggling than the affection of his subjects, did not venture to advance beyond the gates of the city, but fortified every place and region and city, with vast numbers of soldiers and innumerable bands and garrisons in all places of Rome and Italy that were enslaved by him. But the emperor (Constantine), stimulated by the divine assistance, proceeded against the tyrant, and defeating him without difficulty in the first, second, and third engagements, he advanced through the greatest part of Italy, and came almost to the very gates of Rome. Then, however, that he might not be forced to wage war with the Romans for the sake of the tyrant, God himself drew the tyrant, as if bound in fetters, to a

considerable distance from the gates; and here he confirmed those miraculous events performed of old against the wicked, and which have been discredited by so many, as if belonging to fiction and fable, but which have been established in the sacred volume, as credible to the believer. He confirmed them, I say, as true, by an immediate interposition of his power, addressed alike I may say to the eyes of believers and unbelievers. As, therefore, anciently in the days of Moses, and the religious people of the Hebrews, the chariots of Pharaoh and his forces were cast into the Red Sea; and his chosen triple combatants were overwhelmed in it; thus also Maxentius, and his combatants and guards about him, sunk into the depths like a stone, when he fled before the power of God that was with Constantine, and passed through the river in his way, over which he had formed a bridge by joining boats, and thus prepared the means of his own destruction. Here one might say, "he digged a pit and opened it, and he fell into the ditch that he made. His mischief shall fall upon his own head, and his iniquity descend upon his own pate." Thus, then, the bridge of boats over the river being broken, the crossing began to cease, and immediately the vessels with the men sunk, and were destroyed, the most impious tyrant himself first of all,—then the guards that he had around him, just as the divine oracles declare, sunk like lead in the swelling floods: so that justly might those who obtained the victory from God, if not in word, at least in deeds similar to those whom that great servant of God, Moses, led on, sing and say the same that they sang against that impious tyrant of old. "Let ussing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously. The horse and his rider he hath cast into the sea: the Lord is my helper and defender, and he is become my salvation. Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods; who is like unto thee, glorious in holiness, fearful in praises, doing wonders?"

Such, and the like expressions, did Constantine sing to God, the universal sovereign and author of the victory, by his deeds, as he entered Rome in triumph. All the senate and others of illustrious rank, together with their wives and infant children, with the whole Roman people, received him as their deliverer, their saviour, and benefactor, with cheerful countenances and hearts, with blessings and unbounded joy. But he, according to the piety

deeply implanted in him, neither exulting in the shouts that were raised, nor elated by the plaudits bestowed upon him, well perceiving the assistance which he had received from God, immediately commanded a trophy of the Saviour's passion to be placed in the hand of his own statue. And when they had erected his statue, thus holding the salutary sign of the cross in his right hand, in the most public place at Rome, he commanded the following inscription to be written in the Roman tongue, as follows:

“By this salutary sign, the true ornament of bravery, I have saved your city, liberated from the yoke of the tyrant. Moreover, I have restored both the Senate and the Roman people to their ancient dignity and splendour.” After this, Constantine himself, and his imperial colleague Licinius, who had not then yet been perverted into that madness which he afterwards evinced, both celebrating and praising God, as the author of all their successes, with one consent and resolve drew up a full and most comprehensive decree respecting the Christians; and sent an account of the wonderful things done for them by God, the victory they had obtained over the tyrant, and the law itself to Maximinus, who was still sovereign of the east, and pretended friendship toward them. But he, tyrant as he was, was greatly troubled at what he learned. Then, in order not to seem disposed to yield to others, nor to suppress what was commanded, for fear of those who had commanded, as if he acted on his own authority, he of necessity addressed the following decree, first to the governors under him, respecting the Christians, falsely and fictitiously alleging against himself what had never been done by him.

Copy of the translated epistle of the tyrant Maximinus

“JOVIUS MAXIMINUS AUGUSTUS, to Sabinus: I trust that it is obvious to your gravity and to all men, that our sovereigns and parents, Diocletian and Maximian, when they saw almost all men abandoning the worship of the gods, and attaching themselves to the people of the Christians, rightly ordained that all men that swerved from the worship of the same immortal gods should be reclaimed, by the infliction of punishment and pain, to the worship of the gods. At the time, however, when I first came to the east, under favourable auspices, and ascertained that great numbers of men, capable of rendering service to the republic, were banished

by the judges for the said reason, I issued orders to each of the judges, that in future none of these should behave with severity to the provincials, but rather reclaim them to the worship of the gods by exhortation and flattery. Then, therefore, whilst, agreeably to my orders, the injunctions were observed by the judges, it happened that no one of the countries in the east was either banished or insulted, but rather that they were reclaimed to the worship of the gods, from the fact that nothing severe was done against them. After this, however, when a year had passed away, and I arrived in fortunate circumstances at Nicomedia, and made my stay there, the citizens of that place came to me with the statues of the gods, greatly entreating me, that by all means this people should not be suffered to dwell in their country. But when I ascertained that many men of the same religion dwelt in these parts, I gave them this answer: That, indeed, I cheerfully thanked them for this petition, but perceived this was not alike requested by all. If, however, there were some that persevered in this superstition, each one had the option to live as he pleased; even if they wished to adopt the worship of the gods. Nevertheless I deemed it necessary to give a friendly answer both to the inhabitants of Nicomedia and the other cities, which had so earnestly and zealously presented the same petition, viz., that not one of the Christians should be permitted to dwell in their cities, because this same course was observed by all the ancient emperors, and was acceptable to the immortal gods, by whom all men and the whole administration of the republic subsists, and also, that I would confirm this same petition which they had presented for the worship of the immortal gods. Wherefore, although there have been, before this, letters sent to your devotedness, and it has in like manner been ordered that the rulers should attempt nothing harsh against those provincials that are desirous of observing this course, but that they should deal mildly and moderately with them, nevertheless that they may suffer neither blows nor injuries from the beneficiaries or the other common soldiers, I deemed it consistent to remind your gravity by these letters, that you should cause our provincials to cultivate their regard for the gods, rather by exhortations and mild measures. Whence if any one should determine to adopt the



worship of the gods, of his own accord, it is proper that these should be readily received; but if any wish to follow their own worship, you may leave these to have their liberty. Wherefore, it is incumbent on your devoted zeal to observe what is committed to you, and that liberty be granted to no one, to oppress our provincial subjects with violence and insult; whereas, as I wrote before, it is more becoming to reclaim our provincials, by encouraging and inviting measures, to the worship of the gods. But that this our will may come to the knowledge of all our subjects, it is incumbent on you to communicate the mandate by a proclamation issued by you.” When he had thus commanded these matters, he was neither sincere nor credited by any, but was evidently forced by necessity, and did not act according to his real sentiments, as was obvious from his duplicity and perfidy, after the former similar grant. No one therefore of our brethren, ventured to hold meetings, nor even to appear in public, because neither was this the import of the writing, only enjoining to beware of harassing us; but not commanding that we might hold meetings, or build houses of worship, or perform any of those things customary with us. And with all this, those advocates of peace and piety, Constantine and Licinius, had written to him to permit this, and had granted it to all those under them in their edicts and ordinances. But this most impious ruler did not choose yielding to this course; until, driven by the justice of God, he was at last compelled, though unwillingly, to adopt it.



# CHAPTER X

## THE VICTORY OF THE PIOUS EMPERORS

SUCH causes and circumstances beset him on all sides. Unable as he was to sustain the magnitude of the government so undeservedly conferred upon him, in consequence of his own incapacity and deficiency in the qualities of a prudent and imperial mind, he administered his affairs in a foolish and disreputable manner, and yet foolishly elated in all, with a fulsome arrogance and haughtiness, even toward those who participated in the government with him, and who were his superiors both in birth and education, dignity and intelligence, and in that wisdom and that true piety which is the crown of all, he yet dared to boast and proclaim himself the first of all in dignity and honours. Proceeding at length to that degree of madness in his vanity and haughtiness, he broke the league that he had made with Licinius, and undertook an execrable war. After this he soon threw all into confusion; alarming every city, and collecting innumerable armies, he went forth to give him battle, elated with his trust in demons, whom he supposed to be gods, and the vast multitudes of his soldiers. Thus engaging in battle, he was deprived of the interposition and aid of God; the victory being decreed in favour of the emperor Licinius, by the one only and supreme God. And first, he lost the soldiery upon whom he relied so much, and as the guards about him all abandoned and left him destitute, and deserted to the emperor Licinius, he secretly stripped himself as quickly as possible of the imperial robes, which, indeed, he had never deserved, in a cowardly, abject, and effeminate manner, and mingled with the crowd. Then he made his escape, lying concealed in the fields and villages, and with all this caution and vigilance for safety, scarcely escaped the hands of the enemy.

Thus showing in facts the reality and truth of the divine oracles, in which it is said: "A king is not saved by the multitude of an host, nor shall a giant in the Greatness of his strength; a horse is a vain thing for safety, and in the greatness of his strength he shall not be saved. Behold, the eyes of the Lord are upon those that fear him, those that trust in his mercy, to rescue their soul from death."

Thus the tyrant, loaded with disgrace, returned to his own parts; and first, in the rage of his mind, he slew many priests and prophets of those gods whom he admired, and by whose oracles he had been induced to undertake the war; these he slew, as jugglers and impostors, and above all as the betrayers of his own safety. Then, at length giving glory to the God of the Christians, he immediately enacted a full and final decree for their liberty. But, being seized with a violent disease, he died very soon after it was issued. The law enacted was as follows:—

Copy of the tyrant's ordinance, in regard to the Christians, translated from the Latin into the Greek

"THE Emperor Cæsar Caius Valerius Maximinus Germanicus Sarmaticus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus,—That it behoves us by all means, and with constant endeavours, to promote the good of our provincial subjects, and to wish to bestow upon them such things as are best calculated to establish the advantage of all, and whatever may contribute to their common benefit and utility; also, whatever is adapted to the public advantage and is agreeable to the views and wishes of all; of this no one can be ignorant; and, moreover, we believe every one can refer to past events and know and convince himself of it. When, therefore, before this it was obvious to our mind, that by reason of the law which was enacted under our most sacred parents, Diocletian and Maximian, that the assemblies of the Christians should be abolished, many oppressions and spoliations were made by those in office, and that this evil advanced daily to a great height, to the injury of those of our provincials for whom we are particularly anxious to make the necessary provision; as their property and possessions were thus destroyed on this pretext, letters were given to the respective rulers of the provinces the past year, in which it was enacted, that if any one wished to follow this practice, or this observance of the same religion, that he was at liberty to pursue this his purpose

without hindrance, and without obstruction or molestation from any one; and also, that they had full liberty to do, without fear or suspicion, what each one preferred. But even now we could not but perceive that some of our judges have mistaken our injunctions, and caused our subjects to be in doubt as to our ordinances, and have caused them to proceed with too great reluctance to the performance of those religious observances which they prefer. Now, therefore, that all suspicion of duplicity and fear may be removed, we have decreed that this ordinance should be published, that all may clearly understand, whosoever wish to adopt this sect and worship are at liberty to do so, by this privilege granted by us, so that as each one wishes, or as may be agreeable to him, he may observe that religion to which he has been accustomed. And, moreover, liberty is granted to build their churches. That this indulgence of ours may be the greater, we have also thought proper to make further provision by law, that if any houses and lands happened to be justly the property of the Christians before this, and by order of our parents have been transferred to the treasury, or have been confiscated by any city, or at least have been seized and sold or bestowed as presents to any one, all these possessions we have ordered to be returned again to the former possession and control of the Christians, that all persons may also, in this respect, have knowledge of our piety and foresight.”

These are the declarations of the tyrant, that were issued not quite a year after the ordinances against the Christians had been published by him on brazen tablets, and by the same man to whom but a little before, we appeared impious and abandoned wretches, destructive of all society, so that we were not allowed to dwell in a city, or even the country and the desert; by this same man, ordinances and laws were enacted in favour of the Christians. And they who a little before were destroyed by the tyrants with fire and sword, the food of wild beasts and birds of prey in the very eyes of the tyrant, and sustained every kind of punishment and torture, and the most miserable death as infidels and profane persons, these very same were now acknowledged by him as worshippers having religion, and were allowed to rebuild their churches; the tyrant himself confessing and testifying that

certain rights belong to them. Having made these confessions, as if he had actually obtained some positive benefit, on this very account he suffered less than was properly his due, and being smitten with a sudden visitation of God, he died in the second campaign of the war. His end was not like that of generals and military commanders, who bravely and heroically expose their lives, and encounter a glorious death for glory and their friends; but as one hostile to God and religion. Whilst his army was drawn up for battle in the field, he himself remained at home, concealing himself, and received the punishment that he deserved, being smitten with a sudden judgment of God over his whole body: so that he was harassed by dreadful pains and torments, and prostrated on the ground, was wasted away by hunger, whilst his whole flesh dissolved by an invisible fire and burning sent from God. So that, thus being wasted away, the whole aspect of his former shape was destroyed, and there was only left of him a kind of image, reduced in course of time to a skeleton of dry bones. Indeed, all present could regard his body as nothing but the tomb of his soul, buried in one that was already dead, and completely dissolved. And as the heart began to burn still more violently in the very recesses of his marrow, his eyes burst forth, and falling from their sockets they left him blind. After this he still continued to breathe, acknowledging many things to the Lord, and invoking death. At length, after confessing that he justly suffered these judgments for his wanton excesses against the Christians, he breathed his last.



# CHAPTER XI

## THE TOTAL DESTRUCTION OF THE ENEMIES OF RELIGION

THUS, then, Maximinus, who had proved the worst of all the surviving enemies of religion, by the goodness of God, the omnipotent ruler, being removed out of the way, the renovation of the churches was begun from the very foundations. The doctrine of Christ shining forth to the glory of the supreme God, enjoyed greater privileges than before, whilst the impious and profane were covered with shame and irrecoverable disgrace. First of all, Maximinus himself being publicly denounced by the emperors as the public enemy, was confirmed to be the most impious and detestable, as well as the most hostile to the Deity, by his public edicts. And of the paintings and representations which had been placed in honour of him or his children, in every city, some were forced down from their elevation, and torn to pieces or broken, others were destroyed by having the face daubed with black paint. Whatsoever statues, also, had been erected to his honour were cast down and broken, lying exposed to the laughter and jests of those that were disposed to insult and wantonly abuse them. All the honours of the other enemies of religion were removed. All that favoured the party of Maximinus were slain, especially those that had been distinguished by him with eminent offices, as rulers, for their flattery to him, in their insolent excesses against our faith. Of this number was Peucetius, the most honoured, and revered, and dearest of all his favourites, who had been consul twice and thrice, and had been appointed by him prime minister. Culcianus, also, who had been promoted through every grade of office, and who was also prominent for his many slaughters of the Christians in Egypt. There were also not a few others, by whose agency especially, the tyranny of Maximinus had been augmented and



confirmed. Justice, also, summoned Theotecnus, by no means overlooking the evils he had done against the Christians. Whilst he expected to enjoy himself, after he had erected the statue at Antioch, and was now promoted to the government of a province, Licinius came to the city of Antioch, and making a search for all the impostors, put the prophets and priests of the newly wrought statue to the torture, asking at the same time how they came to concoct such a delusion. And when unable by reason of the tortures to conceal it any longer, they disclosed that the whole secret was a device of Theotecnus. After punishing all according to their deserts, he first condemned Theotecnus, and after him all the partners of his impostures, to death, with the greatest possible torments. To all these were superadded the children of Maximums, whom he had already made sharers in the imperial dignity with his titles and statues. Also, the relatives of the tyrants, who before this were elated and boasting, and exercising their power over all men, had the same punishments, together with the utter disgrace of the others, inflicted upon them; as they would neither receive instruction nor understand the exhortation given in the holy Scriptures: "Trust not in princes, in the children of men, in whom there is no safety. For his breath goeth from him, and he will return to his earth again. In that day all their thoughts shall perish." Thus the impious being cleared away, the government was deservedly preserved secure and without a rival, for the only two, Constantine and Licinius. These, after first removing the hostility to God out of the way, and sensible of the great benefits conferred on them by his goodness, exhibited both their love of virtue and God, as well as their piety and gratitude to him by the laws they enacted in favour of the Christians.

# THE HISTORY—BOOK X



# CHAPTER I

## THE PEACE WHICH WAS GRANTED US BY DIVINE INTERPOSITION

THANKS be to God, the omnipotent and universal Sovereign, thanks also to the Saviour and Redeemer of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom we pray that peace will be preserved to us at all times, firm and unshaken by any temporal molestation from without, and troubles from the mind within. Attended by your prayers, O most holy Paulinus, whilst we add this tenth book to the preceding ones of our Ecclesiastical History, we shall dedicate this to You, announcing you as the seal of the whole work. Justly shall we here subjoin a perfect number, a complete discourse and panegyric on the renovation of the churches yielding to the Spirit of God, inviting us in the following manner: "Sing to the Lord a new song, because he hath done wonderful works. His right hand hath saved him, and his holy right arm. The Lord hath made known his salvation, his righteousness hath he openly showed in the sight of the heathen." Thus, then, as the Scriptures enjoin upon us to sing a new song, we shall accordingly show that after those dreadful and gloomy spectacles and events, we have been privileged to see such things, and to celebrate such things as many of the really pious and martyrs of God before us ardently craved to see, and did not see them, and to hear, and did not hear them. They, indeed, hastening on their course, obtained "what was far, better;" being transferred to the heavens themselves, and to the paradise of celestial pleasures. But we, freely acknowledging this state of things in our day as better than what we could expect, have been beyond measure astonished at the magnitude of the grace manifested by the Author of our mercies, and justly do we admire and adore him with all the powers of our mind, and bear witness to the truth of those declarations recorded,

where it is said, "Come hither and behold the works of God, the wonders that he hath done upon the earth; he removeth wars until the ends of the earth, he breaketh the bow and snappeth the spear asunder, and burneth the shields in fire." Rejoicing in these things, fulfilled in our day, we shall pursue the tenor of our history. All the race of the enemies of God were destroyed in the manner we have stated, and were thus suddenly swept away from the sight of men, as the divine Word again declares: "I saw the wicked lifted up and exalted like cedars of Lebanon, and I passed by, and lo, he was not; and I sought, and his place was not found." And now a bright and splendid day, with no overshadowing cloud, irradiated the churches in the whole world with its celestial light; neither was there any indisposition, even on the part of those who were strangers to our faith, to enjoy with us the same blessings, or of sharing at least in the overflowings of these as they were provided from God.



## CHAPTER II

# THE RESTORATION OF THE CHURCHES

ALL men, then, were liberated from the oppression of the tyrant, and those who had been delivered from the miseries previously existing, acknowledged, one in one way, and another in another, that the only true God was the protector of the pious. To us especially, all whose hopes are suspended on the Christ of God, there was an incessant joy, and there sprung up for all a certain celestial gladness, seeing every place, which but a short time before had been desolated by the impieties of the tyrants, reviving again, and recovering as from a long and deadly distemper,—temples again rising from the soil to a lofty height, and receiving a splendour far exceeding those that had been formerly destroyed. Moreover, those who held the supreme power, confirmed the privileges granted us by the divine beneficence to a still wider and greater extent by their constant decrees in favour of the Christians, and epistles of the emperor were issued, addressed to the bishops, with honours and superadded donations of monies; of which it may not be singular to insert extracts in the proper place in this book, as in a certain sacred tablet, as we have translated them from the Latin into the Greek language, that they may remain recorded for those that come after us.





## CHAPTER III

# THE DEDICATIONS OF THE CHURCHES IN ALL PLACES

AFTER this the sight was afforded us so eagerly desired and prayed for by all, the festivals of dedicating and consecrating the newly erected houses of prayer throughout the cities, and after this the convention of bishops, the concourse of foreigners from abroad, the mutual benevolence of the people, the unity of the members of Christ concurring in one harmonious body. Then was it according to the prophetic declaration, mystically indicating what would take place, "bone was brought to bone, and joint to joint," and whatsoever other matters the divine word faithfully intimated before. There was, also, one energy of the Divine Spirit pervading all the members, and one soul among all, one and the same ardour of faith, and one song of praise to the Deity. Yea, now indeed, complete and perfect solemnities of the prelates and heads of the church, sacred performances of sacred rites, and solemn rituals of the church. Here you might hear the singing of psalms and the other voices given us from God, their divine and sacred mysteries performed. The mystic symbols of our Saviour's passion were celebrated, and at the same time every sex of every age, male and female, with the whole power of the mind, and with a mind and heart rejoicing in prayer and thanksgiving, gave glory to God the author of all good. Every one of the prelates present, also, delivered panegyric discourses, desirous of adding lustre to the assembly according to the ability of each.



# CHAPTER IV

## PANEGYRIC ON THE SPLENDOUR OF OUR AFFAIRS

AND a certain one of those of moderate capacity, who had composed a discourse, advanced in the midst of the assembly where many pastors were present, as in the congregations of churches, and whilst all attended in decency and silence, he addressed himself as follows, to one who was the best and most pious of bishops, and by whose zeal principally the temple in Tyre, by far the most noble in Phœnicia, was built.

Panegyric on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, bishop of Tyre

“FRIENDS, and priest of God, and ye who are clad in the sacred gown, adorned with the celestial crown of glory, the inspired unction and sacerdotal garment of the Holy Spirit. And thou, O excellent ornament of this new and holy temple of God, endowed by him with the wisdom of age, and yet who hast exhibited the precious works and deeds of youthful and vigorous virtue, to whom God himself, who comprehends the universe, has granted the distinguished privilege of rebuilding and renewing it to Christ, his first begotten and only begotten Word, and to his holy and divine spouse; whether one might call thee a new Beseleel, the architect of a divine tabernacle, or a Solomon, the king of a new and better Jerusalem, or a new Zerubbabel, superadding a glory to the temple of God, much greater than the former. You, also, O nurslings of the flock of Christ, the habitation of excellent discourses, school of modesty, and the devout and religious, auditory of piety. Long since, indeed, we were allowed the privilege of raising hymns and songs of praise to God, when we learned, from hearing the sacred Scriptures read, the wonderful deeds of God, and the benefits of the Lord conferred upon men,

and which we were taught to repeat, 'O God, we have heard with our ears, our fathers have told us, the work that thou didst in those days, in the clays of old.' But now as we perceive the lofty arm and the celestial hand of our all-gracious and omnipotent God and King, not only by the hearing and the report of words, but by deeds; and, as we may say, with our own eyes, as we contemplate those faithful and true declarations recorded in times of old, we may raise another song of triumph, and exclaim, and appropriately say, 'as we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God.' And in what city but in this newly built and framed by God? 'which is the church of the living God, the pillar and foundation of the truth;' concerning which another passage of the holy Scriptures thus declares: 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou city of God;' into which the all-gracious God having collected us by the grace of His only begotten, let each one here assembled only sing, cry aloud, and say: 'I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord;' and again, 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.' And not only individually, but altogether with one breath and one soul, let us with veneration exclaim, 'Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill.' For he, indeed, is truly great, and great is his habitation, sublime, and spacious, and comely in beauty beyond the sons of men. 'Great is the Lord, who only doeth wonderful things, and things past finding out, glorious and stupendous things which cannot be numbered. Great is he who changeth the seasons and times, who setteth up and debaseth kings, who raiseth the poor from the ground, and exalteth the beggar from the dunghill. He hath thrust down the mighty from their seats, and hath exalted the humble from the earth. He hath filled the hungry with good things, and hath broken in pieces the arms of the proud.' He has confirmed the record of ancient events, not only to the faithful, but to the unbelievers. 'He that worketh miracles, he that doeth mighty deeds; He, that Lord of the universe, the Creator of the whole world, the omnipotent one and only God.' In obedience to him we 'sing a new song, who alone doeth wonderful things, because his mercy endureth for ever; that smiteth mighty kings and slayeth strong kings, because

his mercy endureth for ever; for the Lord hath remembered us in our humiliation, and hath delivered us from our enemies.' And may we never cease to celebrate the Father of all with these praises. Him, also, we would extol, and bear his name constantly upon our lips, the second cause of our mercies, the instructor in divine knowledge, teacher of true religion, destroyer of the impious, slayer of tyrants, the reformer of the world, and the Saviour of us when our condition was desperate, our Lord Jesus. For he alone, as the only all-gracious Son of the all-gracious Father, according to the purpose of his Father's benevolence, readily and freely assuming the nature of us who lay prostrate in the depths of destruction, like an excellent physician, who, 'for the sake of saving those who are labouring under disease, examines their sufferings, handles their foul ulcers, and from others' miseries produces grief and pains to himself, has saved us, not only struggling with dreadful ulcers, and wounds already putrid, but even lying among the dead, and rescued us to himself from the very jaws of death. For none of those in heaven had such power at command, as to promote the salvation of so many without detriment. But he alone, after having reached the deplorable corruption of our race, he alone taking upon him our labours, and bearing the punishment of our iniquities, recovering us, not merely half dead, but altogether foetid and offensive, in tombs and sepulchres, both of old and new, by his gracious love, saves us still beyond the hope and expectation of others, and even of ourselves, and liberally imparts to us the abundance of his Father's blessings. He, the giver of life and of light, our great Physician, King and Lord, the Christ of God. And then, when the whole human race once lay buried in gloomy night and the depths of darkness, by the delusions of execrable demons, and the machinations and influences of malignant spirits, as soon as he appeared, as the wax melts under the rays of the sun, he dissolved the knotty and entangled bonds of our iniquities, by the rays of his light. But when malignant envy and the mischievous spirit of iniquity, almost bursting asunder at such a display of grace and benevolence, was now arraying all his deadly forces against us, and like a dog in a fit of madness, first gnashing his teeth at the stones cast at him, and pouring his rage, kindled by

his assailants, against inanimate weapons, he levelled his savage ferocity at the stones of the oratories and lifeless materials, to produce, as he supposed, the desolation of the churches. Afterwards, he issued dreadful hissings and serpent-like voices, sometimes by the threats of impious tyrants, sometimes by the blasphemous ordinances of profane governors; and moreover, he himself, pouring forth death, and infecting the souls captured by him with his pestilential and destructive poison, almost destroyed them with the deadly sacrifices to dead idols, and caused every sort of beast in the shape of man, and every savage, to assault us. Then the Angel of the mighty council, the great Captain and Leader of the armies of God, after a sufficient exercise which the greatest of the soldiers of his kingdom had exhibited in their patience and perseverance, again suddenly appeared, destroying what was hostile, and annihilating his foes, so that they scarcely appeared to have had a name. But those that were his friends and of his household, he advanced not only to glory with all men, but now also, with celestial powers, the sun, the moon, and the stars, the whole heavens and the world. So that now, what never happened before, the supreme sovereigns, sensible of the honour conferred upon them by Him, now spit upon the faces of the idols, trample upon the unhallowed rites of demons, ridicule the ancient delusion of their ancestors, and acknowledge only the one and true God, the common benefactor of all and of themselves. They also confess Christ the Son of God, as the universal King of all, and proclaim him the Saviour in their edicts, inscribing his righteous deeds and his victories over the impious, with royal characters on indelible records, and in the midst of that city which holds the sway over the earth; so that our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only one ever acknowledged, by the supreme rulers of the earth, not as a common king among men, but worshipped as the true Son of God, and God himself. And all this justly too. For who of kings at any time has ever advanced to such a height of excellence, as to till the ears and the tongues of all men with his own name? What king ever ordained laws so pious and wise, and extended them so as to be read by all men from the ends of the earth to its remotest borders? Who has ever abrogated the fierce and barbarous customs of fierce and barbarous nations, by his

mild and most beneficent laws? Who is there, when assailed by all for whole ages, that has ever exhibited a virtue far surpassing man, so as to rise and flourish again from day to day, throughout the whole world? Who is there that has ever established a nation never heard of before, not concealed in a corner of the earth, but spread over every part of it under the sun? Who has so fortified his soldiers with the arms of piety, that their souls, more firm than adamant, shine resplendent in the contests against their antagonists? What king ever prevailed to such an extent, as to lead on his armies after death, rear trophies against his enemies, and fill every place and city and region, whether Grecian or barbarian, with his royal palaces and the consecrations of his sacred temples? Witness the splendid ornaments and donations of this very temple, which themselves are noble and truly grand, worthy of admiration and astonishment, and expressive symbols of our Saviour's kingdom. Truly 'he hath spoken, and they were made; he hath commanded, and they were created.' For what was there to resist the beck of the universal King, the universal Prince, and God, the Word himself? It would require a peculiar leisure to survey and explain each particular minutely; and not only this, but to explain how great and powerful the alacrity of those who have laboured in the work, has been judged by him whom we celebrate, who looks into the temple within our souls, and surveys the building of living and moving stones, happily and securely built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone. Whom, indeed, not only those of that ancient building no longer existing, have rejected; but also, those of the building now existing, that vast multitude of men, wretched architects of the wicked as they are. But the Father having proved Him now as well as then, has established him as the head of the corner of this our common church. This, therefore, the living temple of the living God, formed of yourselves, I say, is the greatest and the truly divine sanctuary, whose inmost shrines, though invisible to the multitude, are really holy, a holy of holies. Who, when he has viewed it within, would venture to declare it? But who could ever penetrate its sacred enclosures, save only the great High Priest of all, who alone has the right and power to search out the mysteries of every human and rational soul? Next

to him, however, the second place immediately devolves on one alone of his equals, the presiding prelate and leader of his host, who has been honoured by the first and great High Priest himself with the second rank in his sanctuary, and has been appointed by him as his courtier and interpreter, and the shepherd of your spiritual (divine) flock, obtaining this people of yours as his portion of the judgment and allotment of the Father; a new Aaron or another Melchizedech assimilated to the Son of God, continuing and always preserved by him in accordance with the common wishes and prayers of you all. To him, therefore, alone, let it be granted, if not in the first place, at least in the second, after the first and supreme High Priest, to inspect and superintend the observation and state of your inmost souls. As he by experience and length of time has diligently examined each one, and by his zeal and care has disposed all of you to cultivate the order and doctrine of piety; capable, also, as he is above all, to give reasons adequate to the works which he himself with the divine assistance has framed. Our first and great High Priest, saith the Scripture, 'whatsoever He seeth the Father doing, these things also doeth the Son;' and whatsoever he seeth Him doing, using these things as archetypes and examples, their images and resemblances, he has as far as possible expressed, after the most perfect likeness in his own works. In no respect inferior to that Beseleel, whom the Spirit of God himself filled with wisdom, and understanding, and whatever other knowledge and skill might be necessary, for the building of that temple, appointed and selected as the builder of that edifice of a temple of celestial types, a temple given in symbols and figures. Thus, also, he has framed and fashioned the whole Christ complete, the word, the wisdom, the light, and bearing in his own soul the image of the same, it is impossible to tell with what joy and gladness, with what an abundant and liberal mind, and with what emulation among all of you, and what magnanimity among the contributors, ambitiously striving that none should be behind him in executing the same purpose, he has framed and finished this magnificent and noble temple of God, so similar in its character to the copy of that better temple, the visible of the invisible. And what also deserves first of all to be mentioned, he did not overlook this place, which had been



covered with filth and rubbish, by the artifices of our enemies; but could not think of giving way to the wickedness of those who were the authors of it, though he was at liberty to go to another place, there being innumerable others in the city; and thus to find a diminution of his labour, and to be relieved from trouble. First, he prepared himself for the work. Then, also, after strengthening and animating the people, and forming all into one great body, he performed this, the first of his labours; thinking that the church which had been most assailed by the enemy, she that had first laboured in trials, and that had sustained the same persecutions with us and before us—this church, like a mother bereft of her children, should also enjoy with us the mercies and privileges of the all-gracious Giver. For when the great shepherd had driven away the wild beasts, the wolves, and every fierce and savage race, and, in the language of Scripture, had broken the jaws of the lion, he again condescended to collect her children, and in the most righteous manner he raised the fold of her flock, ‘to shame the enemy and the avenger;’ and to present a refutation against the impious audacity of those that were fighting against God. And now these enemies of God are no more, because they never were. For a short time, indeed, they created alarm, whilst themselves were troubled; then suffering the severe punishment which they owed to divine justice, they overturned themselves, and friends, and habitations to the dust. So that it is confessed those declarations inscribed of old on the sacred tablets, are proved as true by facts, in which the divine word, among others, also asserts the following concerning them: ‘The ungodly have drawn out the sword, they have bent the bow to east down the poor and needy, and to slay such as are of an upright walk. Their sword shall pierce through their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.’ And, again, ‘Their memory is perished with a sound, and their name hast thou blotted out for ever and ever. Because when they were in miseries they cried, and there was none to save, even to the Lord, and he heard them not. They were bound, and fell, and we are raised and stand upright.’

“That, too, which was declared before, in the following words, ‘O Lord, thou shalt annihilate their image in thy city,’ is truly manifested to the eyes of all. But after waging a war against God,

like the giants, they terminated their lives in this manner; whilst she, 'which was desolate, and rejected of men,' has received that consummation that we have seen, for her patient endurance in God, so that the prophecy of Isaiah seemed to utter these things; 'Rejoice, thirsty desert, let the desert exult and blossom as the lily, and the desert places shall flourish and be glad. Be strengthened, ye languid hands, and ye relaxed knees. Be consoled, ye weak-hearted in your minds, be strong and fear not. Behold our God has repaid judgment, and he will repay. He will come and save us. For he says, Water has burst forth in the desert, and a pool in a thirsty land. And the dry land shall become a pool, and a well of water shall be in the thirsty land.' These things, uttered in ancient oracles, have been recorded in the sacred books. But now, these things, themselves, are no longer addressed to us in mere reports, but in facts.

This desert, this dry and thirsty land; this widow and deserted one, whose gates they cut down with axes, as wood in the forest, breaking them clown with the axe and the hatchet, whose books they destroyed, and whose divine sanctuary they burned with fire, whilst they profaned the habitation of his name unto the ground, and all that passed by plucked off her grapes, breaking down her hedges; she, whom the wild boar of the forest has rooted up, and the savage wild beast has devoured, now, by the marvellous power of Christ, as he himself would have it, has blossomed as the lily. But, even then, she was chastened at his nod, as by a provident father: 'For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.' Then, after being chastened in measure, as far as was necessary, she was commanded to rejoice anew; and she now blossoms as the lily, and exhales her divine odour among all men. For it is said, 'Water gushed forth in the desert, the fountain of divine regeneration of the salutary laver. And now she, which a little before was desolate, is changed into pools, and a well of living water has gushed out upon a thirsty land.' The arms formerly languid have become truly strong, and these works are the great and expressive displays of invigorated hands. Those knees, also, that were formerly debilitated and relaxed, now recovering their former firmness, are walking in a straight course on their way, and

hastening on to their proper fold of the all-gracious pastor. And there are also some that were alarmed and overawed by the threats of the tyrants, yet not even these have been overlooked as incurable by the Saviour's word, but he, thoroughly healing them, likewise, raises them to receive consolation, as he says, 'Be ye comforted, ye dejected in mind, be strong, fear not.'

"This our new and excellent Zerubbabel, then, perceiving, by the acute hearing of his mind, the sacred oracles declaring, that she who had been desolate for the sake of her God should now enjoy such things as these, after her severe captivity, and the abomination of desolation, did not neglect this dead carcase. First of all; with prayers and supplications, he propitiated the Father with the common consent and concurrence of you all, and calling upon the only one who can raise the dead, as his aid and ally, he raised her who had fallen, after he had cleansed and healed her from her ills. He cast around her, not the garment of old, but such as he had again learned from the sacred oracles, clearly declaring: 'And the glory of this latter house shall far exceed the former.' Thus, then, embracing a much wider space, he strengthened the outer enclosure with a wall to compass the edifice, that it might be a most secure bulwark to the whole work. Then raising a large and lofty vestibule, he extended it towards the rays of the rising sun; presenting even to those standing without the sanctuary, a full view of those within, all but turning the eyes of those who are strangers to the faith, to contemplate its entrance; so that no one can pass by without being struck in his mind at the recollection of the former desolation, and the present wonderful transformation. By this, indeed, he also hoped that the individual thus smitten would be attracted by the very sight, and induced to enter. And on entering within the gates, he has not permitted you to enter immediately, with impure and unwashed feet, within the sanctuary, but leaving an extensive space between the temple (the nave) and the vestibule, he has decorated and enclosed it with four inclined porticoes around, presenting a quadrangular space, with pillars rising on every side. Between these he carried round the frame latticed railing, rising to a proportioned and suitable height, leaving, however, the middle space open, so that the heavens can be seen, and present the splendid sky irradiated

by the beams of the sun. Here, too, he has placed the symbols of the sacred purification, by providing fountains built opposite the temple (nave), which, by the abundant effusion of its waters, affords the means of cleansing, to those that proceed to the inner parts of the sanctuary. And this is the first place that receives those that enter, and which at the same time presents to those that need the first introduction, both a splendid and convenient station. After passing also this sight, he has made open entrances to the temple, with many other inner vestibules, by placing again three gates on one side towards the rising sun. Of these he constructed the middle one, far exceeding those on each side in height and breadth, embellishing it at the same time with exceedingly splendid brazen plates bound with iron, and decorated with various sculpture, superadding them as guards and attendants to a queen. In the same way, after disposing the number of the vestibules, also with the porticoes on each side of the whole temple, he constructed above these, different openings to the building, for the purpose of admitting more light, and these lights or windows he also decorated with various kinds of ornamental sculpture. But the royal temple itself he has furnished with more splendid and rich materials, applying a generous liberality in his expenses. And here, it appears to me to be superfluous, to describe the dimensions, the length and the breadth of the edifice, the splendid elegance, the grandeur that surpasses description, and the dazzling aspect of works, glittering in the face of the speaker, the heights rising to the heavens, and the costly cedars of Lebanon resting on these, which have not been overlooked by the divine oracles themselves, when they say: 'The forests of the Lord shall rejoice, and the cedars of Lebanon which he planted.' Why should I now detail minutely the skilful architectural arrangement, and the exceeding beauty of each of the parts, when the testimony of the eye precludes the instruction through the ear?

“For when he had thus completed the temple, he also adorned it with lofty thrones, in honour of those who preside, and also with seats decently arranged in order throughout the whole, and at last placed the holy altar in the middle. And that this again might be inaccessible to the multitude, he enclosed it with frame lattice

work, accurately wrought with ingenious sculpture, presenting an admirable sight to the beholders. And not even the pavement was neglected by him, for this too he splendidly adorned with marble, and then proceeded to the rest, and to the parts out of the temple. He provided spacious exhedræ and oëci on each side, united and attached to the cathedral, (palace,) and communicating with the entrance to the middle of the temple. Which buildings were erected by this our most peaceful Solomon, the founder of the temple, for those who require yet the purification and the sprinklings of water and the Holy Spirit. So that the prophecy repeated above, seems to consist no longer in words, but in facts and deeds: 'For the glory of this latter house is truly far beyond the former.'

“For it was just and consistent, that as her (the church) Pastor and Lord had once submitted to death on her account, and after his suffering had changed that vile body, which he assumed for our sake, into a splendid and glorious body, and had conducted the flesh that had been dissolved from corruption into incorruption, that she should likewise enjoy these dispensations of our Saviour; because, having received a promise of far better things from him, the far greater glory of a regeneration, in the resurrection of an incorruptible body, with the choir of the angels of light, in the very celestial palace of God; above all these, she desires also to obtain them with Christ Jesus himself, her all-gracious Benefactor and Saviour hereafter for ever. In the mean time, however, in the present world, she that was formerly a widow and desolate, and now decorated with the flowers of divine grace, has truly become as the lily, as the prophecy declares, and receiving the bridal garment, and covered with the crown of glory, as she is taught to exult and dance by the prophet Isaiah, proclaims her gratitude in joyous language to God her king. Let us hear her own words: 'I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God, for he hath clothed me with the garment of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with jewels. For as the earth bringeth forth her bud, and as the garden causeth the things sown in it to spring forth, so the Lord God will cause righteousness and praise to spring forth before all

the nations.' Thus, singing, she exults and dances.

"In the same words, also, that celestial spouse and word, Jesus Christ, himself answers her. Hear the Lord, saying, 'Fear not because thou wast abased, neither be thou confounded, that thou wast put to shame. For thou shalt forget thy past shame of old, and shalt not remember the shame of thy widowhood any more. The Lord hath not called thee as a woman deserted and dejected, neither as a woman hated from her youth, saith thy God. For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercy will I gather thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee for a moment, but with everlasting kindness will I have mercy on thee, saith the Lord thy Redeemer.' 'Awake, awake, thou that hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury, thou hast drunk the dregs and exhausted them. There was none to console thee of all the sons thou didst bring forth, neither was there any to take thee by the hand. Behold, I have taken out of thine hand the cup of stumbling, the cup of my fury, and thou shalt no more drink it again. But I will put it into the hand of them that afflict thee, and that have humbled thee.' 'Awake, awake, put on thy strength, put on thy glory, shake off the dust, and arise and sit down, loose thyself from the bands of thy neck. Lift up thine eyes round about thee, and behold thy children are gathered together. Behold they are gathered and come to thee. As I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt clothe thyself with them all as with an ornament, and thou shalt bind them on thee as ornaments on a bride. For thy waste and desolate places, and the land of thy destruction, shall now be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants, and they that would swallow thee up shall be far away. The children which thou hast lost shall say in thine ears: The place is narrow for me, give place to me that I may dwell. Then shalt thou say in thine heart, Who hath begotten me these? seeing I have lost my children and am a widow? and who hath brought up these? Behold, I was left alone. But these, where had they been?'

"Such were the oracles uttered before by Isaiah. These were the declarations respecting us anciently, recorded in the holy Scriptures. It was just, therefore, that we should at some time receive their truth in the facts themselves. Since then the Spouse and Word addressed such language as this to the holy church

before; justly, therefore, as this our bride-man (bride-dresser,) raised her lying desolate, and as a dead carcass, hopeless in the sight of men, with the common prayers of you all, stretched out his hands, raised her up, and at the command of God, the sovereign King, and in the manifestation of the powers of Christ Jesus, caused her to stand upright. And when thus raised, he so ordered and established her, as he had learned from the description given by the sacred oracles. Wonderful and mighty, therefore, and beyond all admiration is this work, especially to those who attend only to the external appearance. But more wonderful than wonders are those archetypes, the mental prototypes and divine exemplars, the renewals of the divine and spiritual buildings in our souls, which he, the Son of God himself, framed and fashioned according to his own image, and to which every where and in all respects he imparted the likeness of God. An incorruptible nature, incorporeal, reasonable, separate from all earthly mixture and matter, an intelligent existence. And having once created her and brought her into being from that which was not, he also wrought her into a holy spouse, a completely sacred and holy temple, for himself and the Father; which, indeed, himself plainly declares and professes in the following words: 'I will dwell in them and walk in them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people.' And such, indeed, is the perfect and purified mind, having been made such from the beginning as to bear the image of the celestial Word. By the envy and jealousy of the malignant demon, however, she began to be fond of pleasures and fond of evil by her own voluntary choice, and then the Divinity retiring from her, as one destitute of her protector, she became an easy captive, and easily exposed to the insidious plots of those who had long envied her felicity. And thus assailed by the batteries and machines of her invisible and spiritual enemies, she fell a hideous carcass. So that there was not one stone of her virtue that remained standing, and she lay completely and entirely dead upon the earth, totally stripped and destitute of her usual and natural ideas of God. But as she thus lay fallen and prostrate, she that had been made after the image of God, it was not that wild boar of the forest that we see, but some destructive demon and spiritual wild beast that laid her waste. These, inflaming her with passions, as with the burning

darts of their own iniquity, set fire to the really divine sanctuary of God, and profaned the tabernacle of his name to the ground. Then burying the unhappy one with heaps of earth, they totally destroyed every hope of her deliverance. But the divine and saving Word, who cared for her, after she had endured the deserved punishment for her sins, again recovered and restored her to the full confidence of the all-gracious mercy of the Father. First, then, she gained the favour of the supreme imperial rulers themselves, and, with the whole world, was delivered from the impious tyrants, those destructive and tremendous enemies of all, by the intervention of those most excellent and divinely favoured princes. Then also, the men who were his (Christ's) familiar friends, those formerly consecrated to him for life, and who, concealed as in a storm of afflictions, had nevertheless been secretly protected by their God; these were led forth by him to the light, and honoured deservedly by the munificence of his Spirit. Again, then, by means of these he cleansed and removed the filth of the souls who a little before had been polluted, and with the spades and mattocks, the reprovng doctrines of the divine Word, he removed all the accumulated matter of impious commands. And thus when he had made the ground of your mind clear and bright, then he committed it for the future to this most wise and divinely favoured guide. He, as in other respects, endowed with singular judgment and prudence, well capable of discriminating and discerning the minds of those committed to his charge, from the first day that he began to build, as I may say, has not ceased to the present. In one place he applied the splendid gold, in another, the refined and pure silver, and the valuable and precious stones among all, so that a sacred and mystic prophecy is again fulfilled by facts displayed in you, when it is said, 'Behold, I will lay thy stones with fair carbuncles, and lay thy foundations with sapphires, and thy bulwarks of jasper stone, and thy gates with crystal, and thy walls with chosen stones, and all thy children shall be taught of the Lord, and great shall be the peace of thy children, and thou shalt be built in righteousness.'

"Building, therefore, in righteousness, he divided the strength and means of the whole people, according to a due estimate. With some, indeed, he surrounded only the exterior enclosure, walling it



up with an unwavering faith. For such is the great multitude and mass of the people, that they are incapable of bearing any superior structure. But allowing others the entrance into the edifice, he directs them to stand at the doors, and to conduct those that are entering, who not improperly are compared to the vestibules of the temple. Others, however, he has supported by the first pillars which are placed without, around the quadrangular hall, by initiating them in the first elements of the literal sense of the four gospels. Then he also stations around, on both sides of the royal temple, those who are yet catechumens, and that are yet making progress and improvement, though not very far separated from the inmost view of divine things, enjoyed by the faithful. Receiving from among these, the souls that are cleansed like gold, by the divine washing he likewise supports and strengthens these, with columns far better than those external ones, viz. by the inner mysteries and hidden doctrines of the Scriptures. He also illuminates them by the openings, to admit the light, adorning the whole temple with one grand vestibule of adoration to the one only God, the universal Sovereign. Exhibiting, however, as the second splendour, the light of Christ, and the Holy Spirit on each side of the Father's authority, and displaying in the rest throughout the whole of the building, the abundance and the exceeding great excellence of the clearness and the brilliancy of truth in every part. Having also selected every where, and from every quarter, the living and moving, and well prepared stones of the mind, he has built a grand and truly royal edifice of all, splendid and filled with light within and without. For it is resplendent not only in soul and mind, but the body also is brilliant with the blooming ornaments of chastity and modesty. But in this temple there are also thrones, many seats also, and benches, in all the souls in which the gifts of the Holy Spirit reside, such as anciently were seen in the holy apostles and their followers, to whom cloven tongues, as of fire, appeared and sat upon each one of them. But in the chief of all, Christ himself perhaps resides in his fulness. In those that rank next to him each one shares proportionately in the distribution of the power of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit. There may also be seats for angels in the souls of some who are committed to the instruction and care of each. Noble and grand also, and unique, is

the altar, such as should be at least, that sincerity and Holy of Holies, of the mind and spirit of the priest of the whole congregation. That great High Priest of the universe, Jesus, the only begotten Son of God, himself standing at the right, receives the sweet incense from all, and the bloodless and immaterial sacrifices of prayer, with a bright and benign eye; and with extended hands, bears them to the Father of heaven and God over all. He himself, first adoring him, and the only one that gives to the Father the worship that is his due, and then interceding with him for us, that he may always continue propitious and favourable to us all.

“Such is the character of this great temple, which the great creative Word hath established, throughout the whole world, constituting this again a kind of intellectual image on earth of those things beyond the vault of heaven. So that, in all his creation, and through all his intelligent creatures on earth, the Father should be honoured and adored. But those regions beyond the heavens, are also displays of what are here, and that Jerusalem above, and that heavenly Sion, and that city of the living God beyond our earth, in which are the innumerable choirs of angels and the assembly of the first-born written in heaven, extol their Maker and the universal Sovereign of all, with praises and hymns inexpressible. These surpass our comprehension, neither would any mortal tongue be adequate to declare that glory. ‘For eye hath not seen, and ear hath not heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive those things which God hath prepared for them that love him.’ Of which things, as we are already made partakers in part, let us never cease, men, women, and children, small and great, all collectively at once, and with one breath, and one mind, to proclaim and to celebrate the Author of such great mercies to us, ‘Who forgiveth all our sins, and healeth all our infirmities, who redeemeth our life from destruction and crowneth us with loving-kindness, who filleth our souls with good things. For he hath not dealt with us according to our sins, nor rewarded us according to our iniquities. For as far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our iniquities from us. As a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.’ Rekindling such views now, and for all future times, in our minds,

and beside the present festivity, and this illustrious and most glorious day, contemplating God us its author, and the universal author of all festivity, night and day, in every hour and with every breath that we draw, let us love and adore Him with all the powers of the soul. And now rising, with the most earnest expression of our love and devotion, let us beseech Him, that he would continue to shelter and save us as those of his flock until the end, and grant us his peace for ever, inviolate and immovable in Jesus Christ our Saviour, through whom the glory be to him through all ages. Amen.”



# CHAPTER V

## COPIES OF THE IMPERIAL DECREES

Now let us, also, subjoin translations from the Latin, of the imperial ordinances of Constantine and Licinius.

Copy of the imperial ordinances, translated from the Latin language

“As we long since perceived that religious liberty should not be denied, but that it should be granted to the opinion and wishes of each one to perform divine duties according to his own determination, we had given orders, that each one, and the Christians among the rest, have the liberty to observe the religion of his choice, and his peculiar mode of worship. And as there plainly appeared to be many and different sects added in that edict, in which this privilege was granted them, some of them, perhaps, after a little while, on this account shrunk from this kind of attention and observance. Wherefore, as I, Constantine and Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favourable auspices to Milan, and took under consideration all affairs that pertained to the public benefit and welfare, these things among the rest appeared to us to be most advantageous and profitable to all. We have resolved among the first things to ordain those matters by which reverence and worship to the Deity might be exhibited; that is, how we may grant likewise to the Christians, and to all, the free choice to follow that mode of worship which they may wish, that whatsoever divinity and celestial power may exist may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government. Therefore, we have decreed the following ordinance, as our will, with a salutary and most correct intention, that no freedom at all shall be refused to Christians, to follow or to keep their observances or worship; but that to each one power be granted to devote his mind to that worship which he may think adapted to himself, that the Deity may in all things exhibit to us his

accustomed favour and kindness. It was just and consistent that we should write that this was our pleasure, that all exceptions respecting the Christians being completely removed, which were contained in the former epistle that we sent to your fidelity, and whatever measures were wholly sinister and foreign to our mildness, that these should be altogether annulled; and now that each one of the Christians may freely and without molestation, pursue and follow that course of worship which he has proposed to himself: which indeed, we have resolved to communicate most fully to your care and diligence, that you may know we have granted liberty and full freedom to the Christians, to observe their own mode of worship; which as your fidelity understands absolutely granted to them by us, the privilege is also granted to others to pursue that worship and religion they wish, which it is obvious is consistent with the peace and tranquillity of our times; that each may have the privilege to select and to worship whatsoever divinity he pleases. But this has been done by us, that we might not appear in any manner to detract any thing from any manner of religion, or any mode of worship. And this we further decree, with respect to the Christians, that the places in which they were formerly accustomed to assemble, concerning which we also formerly wrote to your fidelity, in a different form, that if any persons have purchased these, either from our treasury or from any other one, these shall restore them to the Christians, without money and without demanding any price, without any superadded value, or augmentation, without delay or hesitancy. And if any have happened to receive these places as presents, that they shall restore them as soon as possible to the Christians, so that if either those that purchased or those that received them as presents, have any thing to request of our munificence, they may go to the provincial governor, as the judge, that provision may also be made for them by our clemency; all which, it will be necessary to be delivered up to the body of Christians, by your care, without any delay. And since the Christians themselves are known to have had not only those places where they were accustomed to meet, but other places also, belonging not to individuals among them, but to the right of the whole body of Christians, you will also command all these, by virtue of the law before mentioned, without

any hesitancy, to be restored to these same Christians, that is to their body, and to each conventicle respectively; the aforesaid consideration, to wit, being observed; namely, that they who as we have said restore them without valuation and price, may expect their indemnity from our munificence and liberality. In all which it will be incumbent on you, to manifest your exertions, as much as possible, to the aforesaid body of Christians, that our orders may be most speedily accomplished, that likewise in this provision may be made by our clemency, for the preservation of the common and public tranquillity. For by these means, as beforesaid, the divine favour with regard to us, which we have already experienced in many affairs, will continue firm and permanent at all times. But that the purpose of this our ordinance and liberality may be extended to the knowledge of all, it is expected that these things written by us should be proposed and published to the knowledge of all, that this act of our liberality and kindness may remain unknown to none.”

Copy of another Ordinance which was issued by the Emperors, indicating that the benefit was conferred solely on the catholic (universal) church

“HAIL, our most esteemed Anulinus. This is the course of our benevolence; that we wish those things that belong justly to others, should not only remain unmolested, but should also when necessary be restored, most esteemed Anulinus. Whence it is our will, that when thou shalt receive this epistle, if any of those things belonging to the catholic church of the Christians in the several cities or other places, are now possessed either by the decurions, or any others, these thou shalt cause immediately to be restored to their churches. Since we have previously determined, that whatsoever these same churches before possessed, shall be restored to their right. When, therefore, your fidelity has understood this decree of our orders to be most evident and plain, make all haste to restore, as soon as possible, all that belongs to the churches, whether gardens or houses, or any thing else, that we may learn thou hast attended to, and most carefully observed this our decree. Farewell, most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.”

Copy of the Emperor’s Epistle, in which he ordains a council of bishops to be held at Rome, for the unity and peace of the church

“CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to Miltiades bishop of Rome, and to Marcus. As many communications of this kind have been sent to me from Anulinus, the most illustrious proconsul of Africa, in which it is contained that Cæcilianus, the bishop of Carthage, was accused, in many respects, by his colleagues in Africa; and as this appears to be grievous, that in those provinces which Divine Providence has freely entrusted to my fidelity, and in which there is a vast population, the multitude are found inclining to deteriorate, and in a manner divided into two parties, and among others, that the bishops were at variance; I have resolved that the same Cæcilianus, together with ten bishops, who appear to accuse him, and ten others, whom he himself may consider necessary for his cause, shall sail to Rome; that you, being present there, as also Reticus, Maternus, and Marinus, your colleagues, whom I have commanded to hasten to Rome for this purpose, may be heard, as you may understand most consistent with the most sacred law. And, that you may have the most perfect knowledge of these matters, I have subjoined to my own epistle copies of the writings sent to me by Anulinus, and sent them to your aforesaid colleagues; in which your gravity will read and consider in what way the aforesaid cause may be most accurately investigated and justly decided; since it neither escapes your diligence, that I show such regard for the holy catholic church, that I wish you, upon the whole, to leave no room for schism or division. May the power of the great God preserve you many years, most esteemed.”

Copy of the Epistle in which the Emperor commanded another council to be held, for the purpose of removing all the dissensions of the bishops

“CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to Chrestus bishop of Syracuse. As there were some before who perversely and wickedly began to waver in the holy religion and celestial virtue, and to abandon the doctrine of the catholic (universal) church, desirous, therefore, of preventing such disputes among them, I had thus written, that this subject, which appeared to be agitated among them, might be rectified, by delegating certain bishops from Gaul, and summoning others of the opposite parties from Africa, who are pertinaciously and incessantly contending with one another, that by a careful



examination of the matter in their presence, it might thus be decided. But since, as it happens, some, forgetful of their own salvation, and the reverence due to our most holy religion, even now do not cease to protract their own enmity, being unwilling to conform to the decision already promulgated, and asserting that they were very few that advanced their sentiments and opinions, or else that all points which ought to have been first fully discussed not being first examined, they proceeded with too much haste and precipitancy to give publicity to the decision. Hence it has happened, that those very persons who ought to exhibit a brotherly and peaceful unanimity, are disgracefully and detestably at variance with one another, and thus give this occasion of derision to those that are without, and whose minds are averse to our most holy religion. Hence it has appeared necessary to me to provide that this matter, which ought to have ceased after the decision was issued by their own voluntary agreement, now, at length, should be fully terminated by the intervention of many.

“Since, therefore, we have commanded many bishops to meet together from different and remote places, in the city of Aries, towards the Calends of August, I have also thought proper to write to thee, that taking a public vehicle from the most illustrious Latronianus, corrector of Sicily, and taking with thee two others of the second rank, which thou mayest select, also three servants to afford you services on the way; I would have you meet them within the same day at the aforesaid place. That by the weight of your authority, and the prudence and unanimity of the rest that assemble, this dispute, which has disgracefully continued until the present time, in consequence of certain disgraceful contentions, may be discussed, by hearing all that shall be alleged by those who are now at variance, whom we have also commanded to be present, and thus the controversy be reduced, though slowly, to that faith, and observance of religion, and fraternal concord, which ought to prevail. May Almighty God preserve thee in safety many years.”



# CHAPTER VI

## OF THE PROPERTY BELONGING TO THE CHRISTIANS

Copy of an Epistle in which the Emperor grants money to the churches

“CONSTANTINE AUGUSTUS to Cæcilianus bishop of Carthage. As we have determined, that in all the provinces of Africa, Numidia, and Mauritania, something should be granted to certain ministers of the legitimate and most holy catholic (universal) religion, to defray their expenses, I have given letters to Ursus, the most illustrious lieutenant-governor of Africa, and have communicated to him, that he shall provide, to pay to your authority, three thousand folles.

“After you shall have obtained this sum you are to order these monies to be distributed among the aforesaid ministers, according to the abstract addressed to thee from Hosius. But if thou shalt learn, perhaps, that any thing shall be wanting to complete this my purpose with regard to all, thou art authorised, without delay, to make demands for whatever thou mayest ascertain to be necessary, from Heraclides, the procurator of our possessions. And I have also commanded him when present, that if thy authority should demand any monies of him, he should see that it should be paid without delay. And as I ascertained that some men, who are of no settled mind, wish to divert the people from the most holy catholic (universal) church, by a certain pernicious adulteration, I wish thee to understand that I have given, both to the proconsul Anulinus and to Patricius, vicar-general of the præfects, when present, the following injunctions; that, among all the rest, they should particularly pay the necessary attention to this, nor should by any means tolerate that this should be overlooked. Wherefore, if thou seest any of these men

persevering in this madness, thou shalt, without any hesitancy, proceed to the aforesaid judges, and report it to them, that they may animadvert upon them, as I commanded them, when present. May the power of the great God preserve thee many years.”



# CHAPTER VII

## THE PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF THE CLERGY

Copy of an Epistle in which the Emperor commands that the prelates of the churches should be exempt from performing service in political matters

“HEALTH to thee, most esteemed Anulinus. As it appears from many circumstances, that when the religion was despised, in which the highest reverence of the heavenly majesty is observed, that our public affairs were beset with great dangers, and that this religion, when legally adopted and observed, afforded the greatest prosperity to the Roman name, and distinguished felicity to all men, as it has been granted by the divine beneficence, we have resolved that those men who gave their services with becoming sanctity, and the observance of this law, to the performance of divine worship, should receive the recompence for their labours, O most esteemed Anulinus; wherefore it is my will that these men, within the province entrusted to thee, in the catholic church, over which Cæcilianus presides, who give their services to this holy religion, and whom they commonly call clergy, shall be held totally free, and exempt from all public offices, to the end that they may not by any error or sacrilegious deviation be drawn away from the service due to the Divinity, but rather may devote themselves to their proper law without any molestation. So that, whilst they exhibit the greatest possible reverence to the Deity, it appears the greatest good will be conferred on the state. Farewell, most esteemed and beloved Anulinus.”



## CHAPTER VIII

# THE WICKEDNESS WHICH LICINIUS AFTERWARDS EXHIBITED, AND HIS DEATH

SUCH, then, was the divine and celestial grace, exhibited by the interposition of our Saviour. And such too the abundant blessings imparted to us by the peace, and in this manner our affairs were finally crowned with gladness and festivity. But malignant envy, and the demon of iniquity, were not able to endure the exhibition of this spectacle.

When, therefore, the events that befel the aforesaid tyrants were not sufficient to bring Licinius to sound reason, who as long as his government was prosperous, being honoured with the second rank after the emperor, Constantine the great, and also by intermarriage and affinity of the highest order, nevertheless abandoned imitating a good example, and on the contrary rivalled the wickedness of the impious tyrants. And thus, although he had seen their end with his own eyes, he was resolved to follow their counsels rather than remain faithful to a better disposition and friendship. Stimulated, therefore, by envy, he waged a most oppressive and nefarious war against the common benefactor of all, not regarding the laws of nature, nor leagues, nor consanguinity, nor paying any regard to covenants. For Constantine, as a most gracious emperor, exhibiting the evidences of a true benevolence, had not refused affinity with him, and had not denied him the illustrious marriage with his sister, and had honoured him as a sharer in that eminent nobility of the imperial family, which he derived from his fathers, and had shared with him the government of the whole empire, as his kinsman and partner, granting him the power to rule and govern no less a part of the empire than himself. But he, on the contrary, pursued a



course directly opposite to this, by plotting every kind of mischief against his superior, and inventing all manner of artifices, as if to return the kindness of his benefactor with evils. And first, he attempted to conceal his preparations, and pretended to be his friend, and having frequently waylaid him with treachery and deceit, hoped that he would very easily gain his object. But God was the friend and the vigilant protector and guardian of the emperor (Constantine), who bringing these plots formed in darkness and secrecy to light, foiled them. So much excellence has that powerful armour of piety, to repel our enemies and to preserve our own safety. Our most divinely favoured emperor, fortified by this, escaped the multifarious and complicated plots of the iniquitous man. But the other, when he saw that his secret preparations by no means succeeded according to his wish, as God detected every artifice and villainy to his favoured prince, no longer able to conceal himself, commenced an open war. And in thus declaring war against Constantine, he now also proceeded to array himself against that supreme God, whom he knew him to worship. Afterwards he began gradually and imperceptibly to assail those pious subjects under him, who had never at any time troubled his government. This too, he did, violently urged on by the innate propensity of his malice, that overclouded and darkened his understanding. He did not bear in mind those that had persecuted the Christians before him, nor those whose destroyer and punisher he himself had been appointed, for their wickedness. But departing from sound reason, and as one might say, seized with insanity, he had determined to wage war against God himself, the protector and aid of Constantine, in place of the one whom he assisted. And first, indeed, he drove away all the Christians from his house; the wretch thus divesting himself of those prayers to God for his safety, which they are taught to offer up for all men. After this he ordered the soldiers in the cities to be cashiered and to be stripped of military honours, unless they chose to sacrifice to demons.

But these were small matters compared with the subsequent greater ones that were superadded. Why should we here relate particularly and minutely the deeds perpetrated by this enemy of God? how, as a violator of all law, he also devised illegal laws?

For he enacted that no one should exercise humanity towards the unhappy individuals in prison, by imparting food, and no one compassionate those perishing with hunger, in bonds, so that there should be no good man tolerated, or any good thing done, and that too, even when nature herself powerfully attracts our sympathy towards our fellow-men. Indeed, this was a most shameless and inhuman law, calculated to expel every sense of humanity implanted by nature. Beside this, the punishment was attached to those who exercised commiseration, that they should be made to suffer the same things with those they commiserated; and that those who had performed the offices of humanity should be thrust into prisons and bonds, to sustain the same punishment with the worst malefactors. Such were the ordinances of Licinius. Why should we, moreover, recount his innovations in marriage, or his novelties in regard to the dying? by means of which he dared to restrict the ancient and wisely established institutions of the Romans, and to introduce as a substitute certain barbarous, savage, unlawful, and truly lawless laws. He also invented innumerable pretexts of exaction against the people subject to him, and every variety of method to extort silver and gold, new measurements of lands, and means of gain by way of penalty,| from those in the country, who were no longer living, but had long since died. Who can tell the expatriations that this enemy of mankind devised besides these, the banishment of nobles and illustrious men, those too, whom he separated from their youthful wives, consigning the latter to be shamefully abused by certain miscreants of his own; with how many females, married and unmarried, he, though in the last stages of advanced age, gratified his unbridled passions? Why, I say, should I stay to recite those things, when the excessive wickedness of his last deeds make the first to appear as trifles, and a mere nothing? He at last proceeded to such an extent of madness, as to attack the bishops; regarding them as the servants of the Supreme God, hostile to his measures; yet not openly, for fear of his superior (Constantine): but commencing his operations in a clandestine and crafty manner, by means of his governors and magistrates, he insidiously destroyed the most distinguished and approved of these. And the manner of the murder itself, perpetrated upon

them, was strange, and such as had never before been heard of; but the excesses perpetrated at Amana, and other cities of Pontus, surpassed all others in savage cruelty. There, some of the churches of God were razed to the ground, some were closed, so that no one accustomed to frequent them could get into them, nor render God the worship that we owe. For he did not suppose that prayers were offered up for him, reasoning thus in his bad conscience, but persuaded himself that we did all and propitiated the Deity only for the divinely-favoured emperor. Hence also he directed the violence of his fury against us, and at the same time when his parasitical governors perceived that they were doing what was gratifying to the execrable tyrant, they subjected some of the bishops to the same punishments as the worst criminal. Those then, who had done no evil, were led away to punishment without any pretext, just like murderers and assassins. Some also endured a novel kind of death, having their bodies cut into many small pieces, and after this savage and horrible spectacle, were thrown as food to the fishes into the depths of the sea. Again the worshippers of God began to flee; again the open fields, the deserts, forests, and mountains, received the servants of Christ. When these things had succeeded with the impious tyrant, after this manner, he finally contemplated to renew the persecution against all. And no doubt he would have prevailed in his determination, and there was nothing to hinder him to proceed in his work, had not God, the defender of his own servants, anticipated him, and led forth Constantine, his servant, with a mighty arm and amid these events, and suddenly, as in the dense and impenetrable darkness of a gloomy night, caused a light and a deliverer to arise to all.



## CHAPTER IX

# THE VICTORY OF CONSTANTINE, AND THE BLESSINGS WHICH UNDER HIM ACCRUED TO THE WHOLE ROMAN WORLD

To him, therefore, the supreme God granted from heaven above, the fruits of his piety, the trophies of victory over the wicked; and that nefarious tyrant, with all his counsellors and adherents, he cast prostrate at the feet of Constantine. For when he proceeded to the extremes of madness, in his movements, the divinely favoured emperor regarded him as no more to be tolerated, but taking his prudent measures, and mingling the firm principles of justice with his humanity, he determined to come to the protection of those who were so miserably oppressed by the tyrant; and in this, by banishing smaller pests, he thus advanced to save vast multitudes of the human race. He had exercised his humanity, in commiserating him before, though Licinius was a man by no means deserving of compassion, but it proved of no avail to him, for he would not renounce his iniquity, but rather increased his madness against the people his subjects. To the oppressed there was no hope of salvation left, in the cruelties they endured from the savage beast. Wherefore also, Constantine the protector of the good, combining his hatred of wickedness with the love of goodness, went forth with his son Crispus, the most benevolent Cæsar, to extend a saving arm to all those that were perishing. Both therefore, the father and son, having as it were God the universal King, and his Son our Saviour, as their leader and aid, drawing up the army on all sides against the enemies of God bore away an easy victory; all things being prospered by God, in the conflict, according to their wishes. Suddenly then, and sooner than

said, those that yesterday breathed threats and destruction were no more, not even leaving the memory of their name. Their paintings (their effigies), their honours, received the deserved contempt and disgrace, and those very events which Licinius had seen occurring to the iniquitous tyrants, these same he experienced himself. As he would neither receive instruction, nor grow wise by the chastisements of his neighbours, he proceeded in the same course of impiety, and was justly hurled down the same precipice with them. He therefore lay prostrated in this way. But the mighty and victorious Constantine, adorned with every virtue of religion, with his most pious son, Crispus Cæsar, resembling in all things his father, recovered the east as his own, and thus restored the Roman empire to its ancient state of one united body; extending their peaceful sway around the world, from the rising sun to the opposite regions, to the north and the south, even to the last borders of the declining day. All fear, therefore, of those who had previously afflicted them, was now wholly removed. They celebrated splendid and festive days with joy and hilarity. All things were filled with light, and all who before were sunk in sorrow beheld each other with smiling and cheerful faces. With choirs and hymns, in the cities and villages, at the same time they celebrated and extolled first of all God the universal King, because they were thus taught, then they also celebrated the praises of the pious emperor, and with him all his divinely favoured children. There was a perfect oblivion of past evils, and past wickedness was buried in forgetfulness. There was nothing but enjoyment of the present blessings, and expectation of those yet to come. Edicts were published and issued by the victorious emperor, full of clemency, and laws were enacted, indicative of munificence and genuine religion.

Thus, then, after all the tyranny had been purged away, the empire was justly reserved, firm and without a rival, to Constantine and his sons; who first, sweeping away that enmity to God, exhibited by the former rulers, sensible of the mercies conferred upon them by God, exhibited also their own love of religion and God, with their piety and gratitude to Him, by those works and operations which they presented to the view of all the world.

With the Divine blessing, the end of the Tenth Book of the

## Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus.





# THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

EUSEBIUS

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# THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY



# PREFACE

THE text of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius in the following pages is that of E. Schwartz in volumes i. and ii. of Part II. of the edition of Eusebius in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der erstern drei Jahrhunderte*, published by the Berlin Academy. Changes have only been introduced in a few very small points, such as the accentuation of the proper names in the genealogy of Christ.

I am most grateful to the Academy for its kindness in allowing me the use of this magnificent example of how a text ought to be edited.

In preparing the English I have in difficult passages frequently consulted the translation of A. C. M'Giffert and have derived much benefit from his notes. I am also greatly indebted to my friends Mrs. Frederick Winslow, Professor Robert P. Blake, who read proof-sheets and suggested many improvements, and Miss Edith Coe, who helped at every stage, and undertook the laborious work of verifying and inserting the references which were taken from Schwartz.

Editorial Note (1974): Occasion to reprint affords an opportunity of noticing that the last fifty years have added much to the scholarly literature which Kirsopp Lake surveyed in his introduction; a convenient guide to this material will be furnished by the bibliographies in the *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 2nd ed. rev. F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, 1974.

With reference to page xxxvii, note and page xl respectively, the works of Josephus (9 vols., 1926–1965) and Philo (12 vols., 1929–1953) are now fully available in the Loeb Classical Library; and the fourth volume of Stählin's *Clement* (cf. page xlvi, line 3) appeared in 1936.

G. P. G.





# PREFACE

THE purpose of this preface is to express my warm thanks to Professor Oulton for relieving me of the heavy burden of an unnecessary task. I was just beginning the translation of Books VI to X of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, which were to be the second volume in the Loeb Classical Library, when the complete translation of the whole was issued by Professors Lawlor and Oulton.

It was at once obvious that to attempt another version parallel to their excellent rendering would be an uncompensated waste of time; and I am most grateful to Professor Oulton for yielding to my urgent request that he take over the preparation of the second volume. His gracious assent has relieved me from much toil and will be a benefit to all who study Eusebius.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

The Editors wish to express their sincere thanks to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge for their kind permission to use the above translation, which is their copyright.



# INTRODUCTION

## I. THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS

No contemporary biography of Eusebius is now extant, for though one was published by Acacius, his successor as bishop of Caesarea, it has been lost, and we are dependent on a few vague statements in later writers and on the evidence of his extant writings.

He was probably born about the year 260. This date is fixed by (1) the fact that he speaks of Dionysius of Alexandria as having been alive in his time: Dionysius was bishop of Alexandria from about 247 to 265. (2) He speaks of Paul of Samosata as a contemporary: Paul was deposed in 270. (3) He speaks of Manes as belonging "to yesterday and our times": Manes lived during the episcopate of Felix at Rome in 270–274. (4) After speaking of Dionysius of Alexandria, who became bishop in 247, and before speaking of Dionysius of Rome (A.D. 259), he seems to draw a chronological line, stating that he now proposes to relate the history of his own generation.

His parentage and the place of his birth are unknown. It is true that Arius in writing to Eusebius of Nicomedia spoke of him as the brother of the latter, but it is probable that this meant no more than "brother bishop." He was sometimes referred to as "the Palestinian," but this again was probably merely to distinguish him from the other Eusebius, and alluded to his Palestinian bishopric. His most usual designation was "Eusebius of Pamphilus." This doubtless means some close relationship, and has been interpreted as son, nephew, friend, or slave of Pamphilus. All these are possible, but none certain, and in the absence of evidence a decision between them cannot be made. Pamphilus was a native of Phoenicia who had studied in Alexandria and settled in Caesarea. He here collected a large library, including some of the works of Origen and the original of the Hexapla. This library and the similar one made by Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem were the main sources from which Eusebius derived

the material for his books.

It is unknown at what time he was ordained deacon or priest, and it has been doubted whether he was in clerical orders at all until his election to the see of Caesarea. He was imprisoned during the persecution at Caesarea under the governor Firmilianus in the year 309 but was neither tortured nor executed. Many years afterwards, at the Council of Tyre (A.D. 335), he was accused by Potammon, the bishop of Heraclea, of having betrayed the faith during the persecution and having thus escaped. But no evidence appears to have been produced that this was so, and in the controversies of that time neither side was unduly reluctant to blacken the character of their opponents; had there been any evidence it would surely have been adduced.

After the end of the persecution in 313 Eusebius was made bishop of Caesarea, but the exact date is doubtful; it must, however, have been before 315, when as bishop of Caesarea he attended the consecration of the church in Tyre. In 325 he was present at the Council of Nicaea, where he held a very prominent place on the right hand of the Emperor Constantine. It has sometimes been stated that he was actually the president of the Council, but this cannot be proved and is even improbable. Both before and after this time he appears to have been the chief theological adviser of Constantine. His general attitude during and after the Council was that of the moderate man. He was not in agreement with the party of Alexander, and appears to have done his best to induce the Council to adopt a less drastic creed. On the whole he probably was more in agreement with Arius and with his namesake, Eusebius of Nicomedia, than with the opposite party, but his policy and that of the Emperor was to seek a formula of comprehension, while Alexander on the one hand and Arius on the other desired formulae which would exclude their opponents. In the end he was obliged to yield to the pressure of numbers and appears to have voted with the majority in the final decision; but he was never really convinced, and for the rest of his life was an opponent of the Athanasian party, and a firm supporter of all attempts to evict its leaders and to modify the creed so as to leave room for more difference of opinion on metaphysical questions.

Six years after the Council of Nicaea he was present at the

Council of Antioch (A.D. 331), which deposed Eustathius, one of the leaders of the anti-Arian party. On this occasion he was offered the bishopric of Antioch, but refused it, nominally at least, because he was unwilling to transgress the ecclesiastical rule that a bishop must not leave one see for another. Three years later (A.D. 334) a proposal was made to depose Athanasius. An attempt was apparently made to hold a council for this purpose at Caesarea, but it was unsuccessful, and the Synod was not actually held till a year later at Tyre (A.D. 335). At this meeting, which Eusebius attended, Athanasius was condemned on evidence which though apparently convincing was, to say the least of it, mostly fraudulent. Athanasius was accused of having cut off the hand of a certain bishop. The hand was actually produced as evidence, but not the bishop, whom Athanasius afterwards discovered and convicted of possessing both hands.

In the same year Eusebius was the leading figure at the Synod of Jerusalem during which was held the consecration of the new church. This Synod was distinctly Arian in tendency as, indeed, were most of the councils of the eastern clergy. It was decided to re-admit Arius, and action was begun against Marcellus of Ancyra. In pursuance of this policy a little later during the same year Eusebius attended a Synod at Constantinople. Arius died on the eve of his restoration, but Marcellus was condemned, and during the proceedings Eusebius was the chosen orator at the famous "tricennalia," the celebration of the thirtieth year of Constantine's reign.

In 337 Constantine died and Eusebius did not long survive him. The day of his death is known with tolerable certainty, but not the year, for the Syriac martyrology of the fourth century, which probably represents the old calendar of Nicomedia, merely says that Eusebius died on May the 30th. Since Socrates, H. E. ii. 4, mentions his death in connexion with events which took place in 339 and 340, and since in 341, at the Synod of Antioch, Acacius, the successor of Eusebius, was present as bishop of Caesarea, the death of Eusebius must have taken place on May the 30th in 339 or 340. A definite choice between these years is impossible, but, as Lightfoot points out, the general impression made by the statements in Socrates and Sozomen is that the death of

Eusebius took place before that of the younger Constantine and the second exile of Athanasius. These events were probably earlier in 340 than May the 30th, so that probability slightly favours 339 rather than 340 as the year of his death.

Important though his ecclesiastical and political career undoubtedly was, his literary achievements are his chief claim to fame. Once more, there is not extant any complete list of his writings. Jerome, Nicephorus Callistus, and Ebed Jesu, the Syriac writer, have given partial lists, and scattered through the writings of Photius are references to other works. These are some help, but Eusebius himself is our chief source of information.

He began to write in the last years of the third century or at the beginning of the fourth. To the earliest period probably belong two books of controversy with heathen writers. One, *Adversus Hieroclem*, was an answer to the Philalethes of Hierocles, who had compared Christ and Apollonius of Tyana. The work of Hierocles is unfortunately lost, but Eusebius's book is extant. It is written in a style rather markedly different from his later works, and he never quotes it. There is, however, scarcely sufficient reason for doubting its authenticity. It was probably a work of his youth. The other book of the same kind was an answer to Porphyry, a heathen controversialist living in Caesarea, who had attacked Origen and other Christians. The text of this book is wholly lost, but a fragment which may belong to it has been published by E. von der Goltz in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xvii. 4. pp. 41 ff. It is also probable that to the same early period should be ascribed a collection of the lives of the early martyrs. This collection, which would be of inestimable value, has unfortunately been lost, but it was used by the Old Syriac martyrology and other traces of it have been found in later collections of the lives of saints. Finally, it is generally thought that a lost work of his, *Περὶ τῆς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀνδρῶν πολυπαιδίας*, quoted by Basil the Great, *De Spiritu Sancto*, cap. 29, and mentioned in Eusebius, *Praeparatio*, vii. 8. 29 and *Demonstratio*, i. 9. 20, may belong to this period.

The next period of his life is the ten years of the Diocletian persecution, 303–313. During this time, and possibly even before it, Eusebius was busy with a great project of connected works

dealing with the history and philosophy of Christianity. Though they have not all been preserved the greater part of these books remain and are the most valuable extant monument of Christianity as it was immediately before the Council of Nicaea. Part of his great claim to distinction is that when writing philosophy he never neglects history, or philosophy when writing history.

The position of Eusebius is that the Logos existed from the beginning with God the Father. As might be expected from one who wrote earlier than the Council of Nicaea and was afterwards suspected of a tendency to Arianism, he expresses himself with some ambiguity as to whether the Son, or Logos, was created by the Father. The Father was the creator of the universe and all creation within it the work of the Logos. Man, however, was made by the Father, though the Logos shared in the plan of his creation. After the creation it was the Logos who appeared to the righteous; and Eusebius thus explains the visions of Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and Joshua, as well as all references to Wisdom in the sapiential books. He explains that this doctrine of the Logos would have been promulgated long ago, had not men been too wicked to understand it, and that it was actually, though obscurely, contained in the Old Testament, as is shown by passages in the Old Testament which should be regarded as foretelling even the names of Jesus and of Christ. Jesus, according to him, was the incarnate Logos, who came to announce himself and to point out to men the duty of reverencing and worshipping him. Finally, he maintains that the teaching of Christianity was neither new nor strange. What was new was the Church, the race of Christians. Their corporate existence, their general piety, and their increasing influence were indeed new, but their teaching was not. It had been followed centuries before them by Abraham and Moses and the later prophets; and the religion of the patriarchs was identical with that of the Christians. All history was a contest between God, acting through Patriarchs, Prophets, and the Church, on the one hand, and the Devil, instigating Jews, Persecutors, and Heretics, on the other. It is a contest in which the Devil always gets the worst of it in the long run, but the righteous suffer considerably in the process; and part of the plan of Eusebius is to reveal the machinations of the Evil One and his followers, and to show the



catastrophes which befell Persecutors, Jews, and Heretics.

The student of church history will have little difficulty in recognizing that this teaching is in the direct line of Justin Martyr, Aristides, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. In some ways he was the last and the greatest of the Apologists, for after his time, when the Church was accepted within the Empire, there was no reason for anyone to write quite the same argumentative justification of Christian religion as was incumbent upon him. It would be interesting if we could know how far his works, incomparably more logical than those of his predecessors, converted the educated classes in the Empire. Origen, no doubt, and Clement of Alexandria were his superiors as philosophers, but neither of them had the same grasp of history and of historical presentation.

To attempt to arrange in chronological order the books which he wrote during this period is misleading. He was doubtless constantly working on the material used in them all, and although it is possible to make a few statements about their relative chronology, this applies only to the dates at which they were begun or at which they were finally put into writing.

At the head of the series must be placed the *Chronicon*. Eusebius perceived that the foundation of history is accurate chronology and for this purpose, using no doubt as the basis of his work the earlier efforts of Julius Africanus and others, and partly at least controverting their position, he produced a work which is now extant in the form of elaborate tables arranged in parallel columns illustrating the whole history of the world year by year. These form the *Χρονικοὶ κανόνες*, which have been preserved in an Armenian translation and in the Latin version of Jerome. Whether this was the original form of Eusebius's own work is open to question. Possibly it is a later, more precise but less trustworthy recension. To these tables was prefixed as *Χρονογραφία*, or explanation and introduction, which has unfortunately been lost. From references in *Eclogae* i. 1 and i. 8, it would appear that this work was produced before 303, but according to Jerome Eusebius afterwards re-edited it, carrying it down to 325.

During the years of persecution which followed he began two great connected works entitled the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and

the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, dedicated to Theodotus, bishop of Laodicaea. The beginning of these books can be dated as after 303 and before 313, for both *Praeparatio*, xii. 10. 7 and *Demonstratio*, iii. 5. 7 refer to the persecution as still raging. Nevertheless, the *Demonstratio* was not finished until after the peace, to which a reference is made in *Demonstratio*, v. 3. 11.

The *Praeparatio* is fully extant, but of the *Demonstratio*, which originally contained twenty books, only the first ten are preserved. Taken together they constitute a statement of the positive and negative cases for Christianity as Eusebius conceived them. The *Praeparatio* is especially concerned with the treatment of heathenism which it describes and refutes. The *Demonstratio* shows how the prophets foretold Christianity, and how the religion of the Christians was not new but was identical with that which had been followed by the patriarchs and saints of Old Testament days even before the time of Moses. It is thus incidentally an answer to Jewish controverters.

Closely connected with these two books is a third called Ἡ καθόλου στοιχειώδης εἰσαγωγή, or General Elementary Introduction, in ten books, of which four are extant in the form of the Προφητικαὶ ἐκλογαί, commonly quoted as the *Eclogae*, or *Prophetic Extracts*. It is not quite clear what was the relation of this book to the *Εἰσαγωγή*, but apparently it was an extract from the larger work. It must have been begun before 313, as it contains a reference to the persecution as still continuing (*Ecl.* i. 8). It presents another version of the same argument from prophecy as is contained in the *Demonstratio*, and lists of passages are given from the Old Testament, which are held to refer to the person and work of Christ. The first book of the *Eclogae* is devoted to the historical books of the Old Testament, the second to the Psalms, the third to the remaining poetical books and the other prophets, the fourth to Isaiah. The other books of the *Εἰσαγωγή* are lost.

If Photius can be trusted, Eusebius also wrote, possibly at this time, two other books of a similar nature, the *Praeparatio Ecclesiastica*, and the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica*. Both of these have entirely perished, but it is supposed that they dealt with the church in the same way as the *Praeparatio Evangelica* and *Demonstratio Evangelica* dealt with the coming of Christ. Lightfoot

thinks that there is an allusion to the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica* in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, i. 3. 11, where Eusebius says that he had gathered together in a special work the sayings of Christ relative to the foundation of his church and had compared them with the events. Lightfoot also thinks that it is possible that Book IV. of the *Theophania* may have been adapted from the *Demonstratio Ecclesiastica*, just as other parts of the *Theophania* (for instance Book V.) are adapted from the *Demonstratio Evangelica*.

Before Eusebius had finished writing the *Demonstratio Evangelica* the persecution was ended (or at least seemed to be ended) by the Edict of Toleration in 311, and Eusebius seems to have broken off from his dogmatic writings to write a history of the church on the basis of the facts which he had already collected and in part published in the *Chronicon*.

This Church History, translated in the present volumes, passed during the life of Eusebius himself through several stages which may not unfairly be called editions.

1. The first edition consisted of Books I.–VIII. It was planned in 311, for in the preface to the first book Eusebius says that he will describe “the martyrdoms of our own time and the gracious and favouring help of our Saviour in them all,” and in Book viii. 16. 1 he says that the Edict of Tolerance in 311 was “the gracious and favouring interposition of God.” The similarity of phrase suggests that the same event—the Edict of Tolerance—is intended in both passages. This conclusion may be supported by small differences of plan which show that the ninth book was not part of the original scheme, and that the original text of the eighth book has been somewhat modified in the later editions, to which all the extant MSS. belong. The details can best be found in Schwartz’s introduction, page lvi.

2. The second edition added Book IX., which was necessary because the persecution, which seemed to have ceased in 311, was revived by Maximin, and the defeat of Maximin by Licinius appeared the really decisive moment. This second edition was probably produced in 315.

3. The third edition added the tenth book in order to close the story with the dedication of the basilica at Tyre. Eusebius says

that he did this at the request of Paulinus, bishop of Tyre, "adding at this time the tenth book to those that were already completed of the Ecclesiastical History" (H. E. x. 1. 2). Schwartz thinks that he also moved a collection of documents from their original position in Book IX. to the end of Book X., and added a paragraph to the eighth book on the death of the four emperors. This edition would belong to the year 317.

4. The fourth edition came after the fall of Licinius in 323, and consisted in the main of the removal of passages inconsistent with the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Licinius. The evidence for this last edition is in the main textual. The group of manuscripts ATER contain a number of passages omitted in BDM, and a large proportion of them seem to be connected with Licinius. It is thought that though all the existing manuscripts represent the fourth edition, from which these passages had been omitted in accordance with the *Damnatio Memoriae* of Licinius, the group ATER had been corrected from a copy of the third edition, which, of course, contained these passages.

This theory of four editions of the Ecclesiastical History is taken from E. Schwartz's *Prolegomena*, pp. xlvii ff. which should be carefully studied, as they supersede all earlier investigations. It should be noted that the evidence for the 3rd and 4th editions is textual, for the 2nd and 3rd internal and logical.

A rival theory has been propounded by H. J. Lawlor in his *Eusebiana*, pp. 243 ff. He thinks that Eusebius had begun to write his Church History somewhat earlier than the date assigned by Schwartz, and in this agrees with the view stated by Harnack in his *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 111 ff. The theory has the advantage that it gives Eusebius rather more time for completing so large a book; and it necessitates the view, by no means improbable in itself, that he wrote the Introduction in Book I. after he had finished the narrative properly so called. He had, according to Lawlor, nearly completed the Seventh Book of the History, which brought the story down to his own time, when suddenly the Edict of Toleration was issued by Galerius and his colleagues. This event, which appeared to have ushered in a period of peace to the church after a most cruel persecution, was seized upon by him as the natural end of his story. He therefore wrote a sketch of the history of the

persecution as the eighth and last book of his work, and published the whole. A little later he added an abridged form of his *Palestinian Martyrs*, which he had written in the interval as a supplement to the eighth book, and this addition, according to Lawlor, may be regarded as a second edition of the *Church History*. But the persecution was resumed, and when the Edict of Milan once more re-established toleration, Eusebius produced a third edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, revising Book VIII., making a few changes in Book VII. and in the *Palestinian Martyrs*, and adding Book IX., thus bringing the whole to an end with the text of the letter of Licinius dated June the 13th, 313. The date of this edition would therefore be soon after the end of 313. A fourth edition was produced eleven years later, adding the tenth Book, and the whole work in its present form was finished in 324 or a little later.

The weakest spot in this theory seems to be that it attaches too little weight to the statement of Eusebius that he added the tenth book in order to please the bishop of Tyre, which certainly suggests an earlier date than 323, inasmuch as the church at Tyre was dedicated in 317. But Lawlor's suggestion that there was never more than one edition of Book X. is important for textual reasons. It would on the whole tend to give greater value to the ATER group and rather less to the BDM group, which Schwartz on the whole prefers. The opinion of the present editor inclines somewhat to Schwartz's interpretation of the phenomena, but the suggestion that the first edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* was begun rather earlier than Schwartz suggests has many advantages.

It is probable that the *Chronicon*, the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, the *Eclogae Propheticae*, and possibly the *Demonstratio* and *Praeparatio Ecclesiastica*, comprise the whole of the original plan of Eusebius. But the exigencies of events which forced him somewhat to change the plan of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* also led to his writing some subsidiary books during this period.

The most important of these is the *Palestinian Martyrs*, which has, like the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, a complicated textual history. It is known in two forms, the longer found only in Syriac, though

undoubtedly based on a lost Greek original, and the shorter preserved in the group ATER of the manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and inserted immediately after Book VIII. The relation of these two forms to each other and to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* affords a problem which will probably never be solved. Lightfoot and Lawlor believe that the longer form is the earlier; Schwartz thinks that the shorter is Eusebius's original draft, but that he lengthened it himself. All agree that it is extremely probable that both forms are due to Eusebius himself. The relation of the shorter form to the *Historia Ecclesiastica* depends somewhat on the view taken of the textual history of the *Historia*. On Schwartz's view of the manuscript evidence it seems almost certain that the *Palestinian Martyrs* was omitted from the last edition of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but that it probably belonged to the third which influenced the group of manuscripts ATER. Yet it is scarcely probable that it was not inserted before the third edition. Its position between the eighth and the ninth books suggests that it was added by Eusebius to the first edition which ended with Book VIII., and this addition constitutes Lawlor's "second edition." But there can be, from the nature of the case, no certainty on this point. All that is clear is that the book has every claim of internal evidence to be regarded as a true work of Eusebius, and that when the recension ATER was made the scribe had access to another manuscript, not that which he was actually copying, which contained its text after the end of Book VIII. What that manuscript was must remain uncertain, as there is no evidence whatever on the subject. Similarly, it is not likely that complete certainty will ever be attained as to the relation between the two forms of the text; the evidence is too conflicting.

With regard to the whole complicated series of problems afforded by the composition and text of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* and the *Palestinian Martyrs*, it may be said that the wisest method for a student to pursue is to begin by reading the essay of Lightfoot in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, supplementing it by Harnack's treatment in his *Altchristliche Literatur* and in his *Chronologie*, and then, and not till then, to go on to the more detailed, more thorough, but far more difficult books of Schwartz and Lawlor, both of which are quite indispensable to a proper

knowledge of the subject.

During the last years of the persecution, Eusebius collaborated with Pamphilus in writing a Defence of Origen. When Pamphilus was martyred he finished the work by himself, and also wrote the Life of Pamphilus. Both books are unfortunately lost. He also wrote, in two volumes, a work called by Jerome the *De evangeliorum diaphonia*, but in the Greek entitled the *Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὴν γενεαλογίαν τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν πρὸς Στέφανον* and the *Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις εἰς τὴν ἀνάστασιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος πρὸς Μαρίνον*. These are only extant in the form of an epitome, but large fragments of the original have been found. It is possible, but quite uncertain, that there may be some connexion between this book and the system of "Canons" which Eusebius invented to facilitate the comparative study of the Gospels. These canons divide the paragraphs of the Gospels, quoted by the numbers given by Ammonius, into ten groups, according as the material in them is found in all four Gospels, in only one, or in any of the possible combinations of two or three Gospels. Eusebius published this apparatus with an explanation in a "letter to Carpianus," of whom nothing is known. The earliest manuscript of the New Testament which contains this system is the Codex Sinaiticus which may have been written in Caesarea during the life of Eusebius, but more probably is a little later and came from Alexandria.

After Nicaea Eusebius scarcely produced so many books as he did in the time of the persecution and the days immediately succeeding it. This, no doubt, was due to his elevation to the bishopric of Caesarea. He seems to have busied himself with exegetical writing, and there are large fragments extant of a commentary on the Psalms, another on Luke, another on Isaiah, and perhaps another on 1 Corinthians, which probably belong to this period, but none are fully extant and their further recovery depends in the main on the study of catenae.

He also produced four connected works dealing with the geography of the Bible. These comprise a translation into Greek of foreign words found in the Bible, a description of ancient Judaea, a plan of Jerusalem and the temple, and a treatise on the names of the places mentioned in the Bible. The first three have been

lost, but the last was translated by Jerome and is still extant. According to him it was written after the Church History, and from internal evidence it appears to have been published before the death of Paulinus of Tyre in 328. It is usually quoted as the *Τοπικά*, or sometimes as the *Onomasticon*.

Of doubtful authenticity, but sometimes ascribed to Eusebius and to this period, is a little book on the nomenclature of the book of the Prophets containing a short account of the several prophets and their works.

In the last years of his life Eusebius was busy with two main achievements. He regarded Marcellus of Ancyra with somewhat the same feelings as Athanasius regarded Arius, that is to say as the real leader of the attempts to disturb the peace and unity of the church by essentially one-sided and erroneous teaching. He therefore wrote two treatises against Marcellus, one generally known as the *Contra Marcellum*, the other as the *De ecclesiastica theologia*. Both of these were published after 335. He also wrote and published a book on the life of Constantine, which was not so much a full biography as a panegyric, important to us because it contains much information about the Council of Nicaea and the further ecclesiastical activities of the Emperor. With this, or closely connected with it, came also the publication of the speech known as the *De laudibus Constantini*, which Eusebius delivered in honour of Constantine on his thirtieth anniversary, and an edition of the speech which Constantine himself made to the Synod. Finally, it is probable that during his last years he was engaged in writing the volume known as the *Theophania*, which is in the main a repetition of the same arguments as those found in the *Demonstratio*, and in the opening chapters of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* with regard to the appearance of the Logos in the world. It was probably his last work; it is extant only in Syriac, and apparently was never finished, but there is still controversy among critics as to its date and relation to the *Demonstratio*.

## II. THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA

The primary MSS. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* fall into two main groups:



### 1. The group BDMΣL.

B, Codex Parisinus, 1431 (vellum, s. xi–xii), formerly Colbert. 621 and Reg. 2280, called E by Burton. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

D, Codex Parisinus 1433 (vellum, s. xi–xii), called F by Heikel. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

M, Codex Marcianus 338 (vellum, s. xii), called H by Burton. In St. Mark's Library at Venice.

Σ, an ancient Syriac version, probably made early in the fifth century.

L, the translation of Rufinus made in 402.

In this group M most frequently differs from B and D. Generally this seems due to error in M, but sometimes BD have an error in common against M owing to their having been influenced by a later "learned" recension which did not affect M (see p. xxix). The combination MD is usually inferior, so that B is on the whole the best MS. of the group. The decision between B and M can often be made by comparison with the second group of MSS. The Syriac version is far better than Rufinus, who frequently paraphrases and seems to have found Eusebius very difficult to render literally, as, indeed, he is.

### 2. The group ATER:

A, Codex Parisinus 1430 (vellum, s. xi), formerly in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin. Called C by Burton. In the Bibliothèque Nationale.

T, Codex Laurentianus 70, 7 (vellum, s. x–xi), called I by Burton. In the Laurentian library in Florence.

E, Codex Laurentianus 70, 20 (vellum, s. x), called K by Burton. In the Laurentian library in Florence.

R, Codex Mosquensis 50 (vellum, s. xii), called J by Heikel. In Moscow.

In this group A is, generally speaking, the best, though it has many individual errors. TER seem to have a common element, and probably represent a later recension.

Schwartz thinks that BDMΣL represent the text of the 4th edition of Eusebius, with mistakes but no deliberate emendations. ATER represent the same text often corrected by a copy of the third edition. It is, however, often free from the individual errors of

BDMΣL, which it serves to correct.

It can also be shown that there was a later “learned” recension which has affected MSS. of both groups, and is now found in ERBD and in some corrections in T, quoted as T.

From these primary MSS. are derived the secondary MSS. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Schwartz has investigated the text of all of them, and his results can be shown most clearly in the following scheme.

Besides these codices which are unmixed descendants of primary MSS. there are three others in which the text of one of the primary MSS. has been “crossed” with readings found in the others. These are:

(1) Codex Parisinus, 1437 (paper, s. xiv), a descendant of B, crossed with some readings derived from the A-family, probably from Cod. Dresden. 85 (or some similar MS.), rather than A or a. It was the basis of the *editio princeps* of Stephanus (1544), and is quoted by Valesius as Regius, by Burton as A, and by Schwegler as a and q. This double use by Schwegler is due to a curious accident: Burton (following Stroth and Heinichen) referred to this MS. by error as Paris. 1436, but he also possessed a collation of it with the right number, and his posthumous editor, not realizing that this collation referred to Burton’s A, published it in an appendix. Schwegler was misled by this, and thus manufactured two MSS. out of two collations of one MS.

(2) Codex Parisinus, 1434 (paper, s. xvi), a descendant of A crossed with B or a descendant of B. It was occasionally used by Stephanus, and is quoted by Valesius as *Medicaeus*, and by Burton as B.

(3) Codex Arundelianus, 539, in the British Museum (paper, s. xv), a carelessly written descendant of A (not of a) crossed with the B group. Quoted by Burton as G.

### III. THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA

The following independent editions of the Greek text of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* have been published.

(1) Stephanus: Paris, 1544. Reprinted several times; the best of the later editions being at Geneva in 1612. It was based on codd.

Paris. 1437 and 1434.

(2) Valesius: Paris, 1659. This was based on four MSS., the two used by Stephanus which Valesius (Henri de Valois) called *Regius* (cod. Paris. 1437) and *Medicaeus* (cod. Paris. 1434) and two others at Paris, cod. Paris. 1430 (A), which was then in the possession of Cardinal Mazarin, and cod. Paris. 1435, which he called *Fuketianus*. To the text he added many valuable notes which still are indispensable.

The edition of Valesius was reprinted at least three times in the seventeenth century, at Mainz in 1672, at Paris in 1677, and at Amsterdam in 1695. An excellent reprint, containing some more notes of Valesius collected from scattered sources, was issued in 1720 by Reading in Cambridge; this was reprinted in Turin in 1746, and in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca* in Paris in 1857.

(3) Stroth: Halle, 1779. This edition was never completed, nor has it now any value; but it deserves to be mentioned if only for the pious memory of a man whose aims and vision were greater than his means. F. A. Stroth collected much new information as to MSS., but was unable to afford the expense of obtaining collations, so that his real apparatus remained that of Valesius.

(4) Zimmermann: Frankfort, 1822. E. Zimmerman's edition was in the main little more than a reprint of the text of Valesius and added nothing of importance to the material for reconstructing the text.

(5) Heinichen, ed. 1: Leipzig, 1827. Heinichen's edition of Eusebius is a good example of the waste of labour incurred by those who edit texts on the basis of inaccurate collations. His first edition was published in 1827. It did not go much beyond the work of Zimmerman, or, in other words, of Valesius. In 1840 he published a *Supplementa notarum ad Eusebii Historiam Ecclesiasticam*, which contained a statement of the variants found in Burton and of cod. Dresden. 185. Finally in 1868 he published a second edition in which he collected all the information which was to be found in previous editions of Eusebius. Some of the collations for this edition he made himself, or had made for him, but they prove to have been in almost every instance far from satisfactory. Nor did he seem to understand perfectly the collations found in other editions. The result is that his book cannot be

trusted and was never likely to lead to true results.

(6) Burton: Oxford, 1838. This edition, by Edward Burton, building on and adding to the work of Stroth, was unfortunately also based on imperfect collations. But it contained for the first time the readings of ATEBM and of cod. Arundelianus. It was published, after his death, at Oxford in 1838 and reissued in 1845, and again in 1856; it also served as the text of a partial edition by W. Bright, issued in 1872 and 1881.

(7) Schwegler: Tübingen, 1852. This edition was in method a great improvement on its predecessors; but its material was really that of Burton, and Schwegler's results are nullified by the inaccuracy of the collations.

(8) Laemmer: Schaffhausen, 1859–62. This was a thoroughly bad text, being in the main Schwegler's, changed in many places to agree with cod. Marcianus 338 (M), which Laemmer thought was the best MS.

(9) Dindorf: Leipzig, 1871. This is perhaps the best known of all editions of Eusebius, as it was issued in the convenient "Teubner texts," but it is merely an inaccurate reprint of Schwegler.

(10) Schwartz: Leipzig, 1903. This edition has rendered obsolete all except that of Valesius. It is based on new and probably accurate collations of all the known MSS. Its text is followed in the present volumes. It is possible that some future editor may conceivably reopen the question of the merits of the two groups of primary MSS., but he will have to build on Schwartz's work. It is not a commentary, but much of the material on which a commentary could be based is to be found in the references given in its apparatus.

The fullest statement of the printed editions of Eusebius and the manuscripts upon which they are based is to be found in an article by A. C. Headlam in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for October 1902, pp. 93 ff. It is stated at the beginning of this article that it is a draft of prolegomena for a projected edition, but nothing more has yet appeared of this great undertaking.

One other book remains to be mentioned although it is not an edition of the text. The translation of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by A. C. M'Giffert in the *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, vol. i., 1904, is provided with historical notes which furnish

the only valuable continuous supplement to Valesius: no student of Eusebius can afford to neglect them.

#### IV. THE PLAN OF EUSEBIUS IN THE HISTORIA ECCLESIASTICA AND THE SOURCES WHICH HE USED

The general plan of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* is clear and lucid. The chronology adopted is that of the Roman Emperors, and the events are arranged reign by reign. But there is little or no attempt to give any closer dating than this, and the relation between events during the same reign is not indicated. To this there is one exception. The bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem are given, and in the case of Rome and Alexandria the exact dates are given. Where did Eusebius obtain this information? The researches of Lipsius, Lightfoot, and Harnack have shown that he used the chronological material collected by Hippolytus and Africanus, and Lightfoot thought that there was a still earlier list compiled by Hegesippus, but to discuss at due length the problems involved would demand more space than is at present available; since Harnack's *Chronologie* the main contributions have been in reviews and periodicals, the chief English writers being H. J. Lawlor, C. H. Turner, and J. K. Fotheringham.

One further observation is necessary. The object of the whole book was to present the Christian "Succession," which did not merely mean, though it certainly included, the apostolic succession of the bishops of the four great "thrones," but rather the whole intellectual, spiritual, and institutional life of the Church. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that Eusebius, like all early church historians, can be understood only if it be recognized that whereas modern writers try to trace the development, growth, and change of doctrines and institutions, their predecessors were trying to prove that nothing of the kind ever happened. According to them the Church had had one and only one teaching from the beginning; it had been preserved by the "Succession" and heresy was the attempt of the Devil to change it.

In tracing "the succession" Eusebius quotes and refers to many writers. To give any complete description of them would be to

write a handbook to early Christian literature; but it seems desirable to give a short account of the chief writings referred to in the books translated in this volume, book by book, and to indicate the points of interest and difficulty which they present.

BOOK I.—The chief sources drawn on by Eusebius, apart from the New Testament, are Josephus, Africanus, and the Archives of Edessa.

Josephus.—Josephus, the son of Matthias, who took the name of Flavius in honour of the emperors of the Flavian house, was born in A.D. 37 or 38. He belonged to the highest Jewish aristocracy, being descended on his mother's side from Jonathan the Maccabee. After studying all the sects of the Jews he became a Pharisee. He went to Rome when he was twenty-six years old on a political mission, and hereafter he appears to have been quite sincere in his desire, though somewhat shifty in his tactics, to bring about better relations between the Jews and the Romans. During the Jewish war which began in 66 he belonged to the moderate party, and was entrusted with the command of Galilee. His career here was much hindered by the opposition of John of Gischala. He was besieged in Jotatata, and at last was forced to surrender. As he had preferred surrender to death the Jews regarded him as a renegade, and attributed the worst motives to his persistent efforts to secure peace before the inevitable catastrophe which he foresaw. He became friendly with Vespasian and Titus, and when the war ended obtained a grant of lands in Palestine, the privilege of Roman citizenship, and other distinctions. He appears to have lived until after the year 100, as his autobiography was written after the death of Agrippa II., who died in that year.

After the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 he wrote the history of the Jewish war (*Bellum Judaicum*) in seven books. In this the first two books give an introductory history from the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes to the beginning of the war; Books III.—VI. describe the war down to the capture of Jerusalem; and Book VII. describes the last scenes. This work is said to have been accepted and even revised by Vespasian and Titus. Its main object no doubt was to make the Jews and the Romans understand each other better, but a desire that they should appreciate Josephus's own service to

both sides can be clearly seen.

Some years later Josephus supplemented this work by a larger one giving the history of the Jewish people up to the beginning of the war. This was arranged in twenty books and was called the Ἀρχαιολογία Ἰουδαϊκή. This was translated into Latin as the *Antiquitates Iudaeorum*, and it is therefore usually quoted in English as the *Antiquities*. It was probably completed about A.D. 93.

Almost immediately after this Josephus also wrote a work in two books in answer to Apion. This Apion was a famous controversialist who lived in the middle of the first century and wrote a history of Egypt and a book against the Jews. He figures largely in the Clementine homilies. None of his works are extant, but the fragments which remain are collected in Müller, *Fragmenta Hist. Graec.* (See also the article by Lightfoot in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*)

Finally in old age he wrote his autobiography, usually quoted as the *Vita*.

Eusebius makes many quotations from Josephus, which are usually accurate. Only in the account of the death of Agrippa the First is there any serious divergence, and this is probably accidental (see pp. 130 f.).

The best text of Josephus is that of Niese, Berlin, 1887. Niese also published in 1888 a smaller edition omitting the apparatus criticus.

The first translation in English was that of Whiston, which has been often reprinted, and was superficially revised by Shilleto in 1889–90. It is not free from inaccuracies, but Josephus is very difficult to render, as his Greek is bad and his style obscure. Explanation as well as a new translation is desirable, and there are few books more needed by scholars at the present time than an historical commentary on the second half of the *Antiquities* and on the *Jewish War*. At present there is on neither any commentary.

Julius Africanus.—Julius Africanus, sometimes, but probably wrongly, called Sextus or Sextus Julius, is stated by Suidas to have been a Libyan who served in the army of Severus in 195, and afterwards settled in Emmaus (Nicomedia) though he probably

also spent some time in Alexandria. When his home was ruined he went, in 221 or a little later, on an embassy to the Emperor, either Elagabalus or Alexander Severus, and was made the head of a reparation commission which rebuilt the city under the name of Nicopolis. The exact time of his death is unknown, but he was still alive in 240 when he corresponded with Origen. Besides the information given in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Eusebius and in Eusebius, *Chron. ann.* 221, some details are found in Sozomen, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 1; in Jerome, *De viris illustribus*, 63; in George Syncellus, who may have used the lost introduction to the *Chronicon* of Eusebius; in Cedrenus, *Hist. Comp.* 207, and in Moses of Chorene, ii. 27.

He was one of the most learned of the writers in the third century. His chief work was a treatise on chronology in five books on which the *Chronicon* of Eusebius was largely based. This began with the creation and went down at least to the year 221. It appears to have consisted, like most chronological books of the period, of two parts, a "Chronology" and a "Canon." The "Chronology" was an essay, or a series of essays, on critical questions; the "Canon" was a series of tables in which a summary of events was arranged in parallel columns showing how the numbers of years in one system, such as the Greek Olympiads, corresponded to another, such as the years after Christ. He appears to have written in order to prove the "chiliastic" view of history rather than in the interests of pure chronology, and on this point Eusebius was controverting rather than copying him. Apart from this, however, his work was doubtless the source of much of the framework of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* (see especially Schwartz, *Prolegomena*, pp. ccxv ff.).

Besides this great book Africanus wrote a letter to Aristides, whose identity is unknown, on the discrepancies between the genealogies in Matthew and Luke. This is quoted in part by Eusebius, *H. E.* i. 7. And he also wrote a letter to Origen on the authenticity of the book of Susanna. This is referred to by Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 31, and is preserved in several manuscripts of Origen.

The authenticity of these writings is undoubted. There is also ascribed to him a work called *Κεστοί*, which means Girdles. It



apparently consisted of a collection of essays varying in character from Agriculture to the Art of War. A few extracts from this book remain, but not sufficient to prove or disprove its ascription to Africanus.

The most convenient collection of the fragments of Africanus is still that of Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. ii. The most important work on his writing has been done by H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus*, 1880 and 1885, but except for detailed study of the points raised by Gelzer, a sufficient account is provided by the article on Africanus in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and by Harnack, *Chronologie*, ii. pp. 89 ff.

The Archives of Edessa.—According to H. E. i. 12. 3 ff. Eusebius made use of material in the Archives of Edessa. These appear to have consisted of two divisions. There was an ancient royal archive at Edessa and a later ecclesiastical one which was probably not instituted until the beginning of the fourth century. According to Moses of Chorene Julius Africanus made use of all this material, which was also known to the editor of the *Chronicon Edessenum*. It is not certain whether Eusebius had himself seen this archive or made use of it only at secondhand through the writings of Julius Africanus, but in any case there is no reason to doubt the statement that the apocryphal story of Abgar Uchama was found in the archives at Edessa, which is also the probable source—direct or indirect—for most of the information contained in Eusebius as to the history of Christianity outside the Roman Empire in the region of Mesopotamia and such details as the story of Mani. The rather complicated questions concerning the story of this archive can be studied best in Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edess. Chronik* (Texte u. Unters. ix. 1, 1892).

BOOK II.—In the second book Josephus is again used, and extracts are made from Philo, Clement of Alexandria and Hegesippus.

Philo.—Philo was probably born about the year 30 B.C, and lived on until the beginning of the second half of the first century A.D. He belonged to a wealthy and distinguished family in Alexandria. His brother, Alexander, was the Alabarch of the city and had close relations with the imperial family in Rome. Philo was essentially a philosopher, and spent his life endeavouring to

reconcile the Jewish Law with the Platonic Faith. He was also a voluminous writer and his books were treasured by Origen, and so passed into the library at Caesarea and thence into the general tradition of Christian writings.

The statements about Philo's writings in Book II. of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* are so confused that it is desirable to give the facts about them in somewhat clearer form.

Philo wrote three great books on the Pentateuch:

(1) The *Quaestiones et solutiones* (Ζητήματα καὶ λύσεις). How far Philo carried this book, which dealt with the problems of the Pentateuch, is not known, but Eusebius, like ourselves, was unacquainted with any work going beyond Exodus.

(2) The *Legum allegoriae*. This was divided into a number of books of which three are known as *Legum allegoriarum libri i, ii., and iii.*, but the others which follow, each with separate titles, were apparently without numbers. The list of these books is *De cherubim et flammeo gladio* (Gen. 3:24), *De sacrificiis Abelis et Caini* (Gen. 4:2–4), *Quod deterius potiori insidiari soleat* (Gen. 4:8–15), *De posteritate Caini sibi visi sapientis et quo pacta sedem mutat* (Gen. 4:16–25), *De gigantibus* (Gen. 6:1–4), *De agricultura* (Gen. 9:20), *De ebrietate* (Gen. 9:21), *De sobrietate* (Gen. 9:24–27), *De confusione linguarum* (Gen. 11:1–9), *De migrationibus Abrahami* (Gen. 12:1–6), *Quis rerum divinarum haeres sit* (Gen. 15:2–8), *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis causa* (Gen. 16:1–6), *De profugis* (Gen. 16:6–14), *De mutatione nominum* (Gen. 17:1–22), *De somniis liber i.* (Gen. 28:12 ff.).

(3) A Systematic Description of the Mosaic Legislation. It is divided into three parts: The first deals with the creation of the world; this is known as the *De mundi opificio*. In the manuscripts and editions of Philo this work has been placed at the beginning of Philo's works, before the first book of the *Legum allegoriae*, but it probably ought to be put back into the position here claimed for it. The second part deals with the biographies of the virtuous men of the Old Testament, and is known as the *Νόμοι ἄγγραφοί*. Of it are extant the *De Abrahamo*, and the *De Iosepho*, also known as *The Statesman* (ὁ Πολιτικός), because Joseph was treated by Philo as illustrating the virtues of civic life. The third part of the Systematic Description went on to deal with the consideration of the Mosaic

legislation properly so-called, and was divided into two subdivisions, (a) the De Decalogo and (b) the De specialibus legibus or the "consideration of the special laws which follow the Ten Commandments and are connected with them." This was contained in four books. To these were added two appendices, one on three virtues, De fortitudine, De caritate, De poenitentia, with the possible addition of a fourth, De nobilitate, and one on the treatment of the good and evil under the title of De praemiis et poenis and De execrationibus.

Besides these three great books on the Pentateuch Philo also wrote various single works: (1) the Vita Mosis. (2) Quod omnis probus liber, with which went another book now lost, Quod omnis improbus servus. (3) A great work which was apparently intended to do something similar to that which Lactantius did afterwards for the Christians in his book De mortibus persecutorum, and to show that no one persecuted the Jews without suffering from the punishment of God at the end of his life, while the Jews received the rewards of their virtues. Probably he dealt in this way with the careers of Sejanus, Flaccus, Caligula, and Pilate, but it is only the story of Flaccus which is at all fully preserved in the Adversus Flaccum and the Legatio ad Caium. It would appear that there were originally five books in this work of which only the two mentioned have been preserved.

Another work published separately is the De providentia, only found now in Armenian, which is also the case with the De Alexandro ei quod propriam rationem muta animalia habeant.

Finally two books, now only partially preserved, appear to have been entitled the Ὑποθετικά and the Defence of the Jews. Whether these were two or one seems doubtful. To these most critics add a long book, still extant, De vita contemplativa, giving an account of the Therapeutae in Egypt, but there are still a few who think that this is not a genuine work of Philo.

It will be seen by comparing this list of the writings of Philo with the references made in Eusebius ii. 18 that Eusebius has referred to the greater number of writings of Philo which are still extant, but he has confused the order of the books so that if we did not possess other information it would be quite impossible for us to reconstruct the relation of the sub-titles which Eusebius quotes to

the great divisions into which Philo's works really fall. The most probable suggestion is that of Dr. Lawlor, who thinks that Eusebius knew Philo only through volumes of tracts which were preserved in the library at Caesarea, and that he copied out the titles without always recognizing the relation of one tract to another, being misled by the accidents of binding (see Lawlor, *Eusebiana*, pp. 138–145).

The fullest and best sources of information on Philo's writings are E. Schürer, *Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes*, ed. 4, vol. iii. pp. 633–716; the prolegomena of Cohn and Wendland's edition, and the article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The two fullest editions are Mangey, London, 1742, and Cohn and Wendland, Berlin, 1896–1915, which includes everything except the fragments, for which Mangey must still be consulted, and the Armenian texts published by Aucher, *Paralipomena Armena*, 1826. There is also a valuable edition of the *De vita contemplativa* by F. C. Conybeare.

Clement of Alexandria.—Clement of Alexandria was probably born in the middle of the second century. According to Julius Africanus, quoted by Cedrenus, he came into fame in the reign of Commodus (A.D. 180–193) and the *Chronicon* of Eusebius apparently assigns the date 193 to his ordination as presbyter. According to Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, ii. 2. 64, he was converted to Christianity from heathenism and was not born in the church, and according to Epiphanius his birthplace was claimed by Athens as well as by Alexandria. He travelled much in the east, and towards the end of the second century became head of the catechetical school at Alexandria. He appears to have retired from public life in Alexandria during the persecution under Severus, A.D. 202 ff. According to the letter of Alexander, who was bishop of Jerusalem in 212, and, wrote about 211 from prison to the church at Antioch, Clement had been living in the Cappadocian Caesarea and must have been still alive when he wrote, as he was going to carry Alexander's letter. According to a later letter of the same Alexander to Origen Clement died soon after this, for this second letter, which can hardly be later than 217 and may have been earlier, implies that he was dead.

The list of Clement's writings is given by Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 13.

Of those to which he refers the *Προτρεπτικός* or Exhortation to the Greeks, is completely preserved as is also the *Παιδαγωγός*, or Instructor, which is in three books. These two works seem to have been intended as the first two parts of a connected series. The first, the *Προτρεπτικός*, deals with the Logos in relation to the conversion of the heathen; the *Παιδαγωγός* also deals with the Logos but in relation to morality; and the third book was intended to deal with the Logos as the teacher who initiated man into true knowledge. It is possible, but far from certain, that the *Στρωματεῖς* mentioned by Eusebius and still partially preserved represent this third volume.

Of the other works mentioned by Eusebius only fragments are found except the small treatise known as *Quis dives salvetur*. The loss of the *Hypotyposes* is greatly to be regretted, but in addition to the quotations preserved in Eusebius three other fragments have been thought to have originally belonged to them. These are the *Excerpta Theodoti*, the *Eclogae propheticae*, and the *Adumbrationes in epistolas canonicas*. It has, however, been suggested that the *Excerpta Theodoti* really belong to the eighth book of the *Στρωματεῖς*. In any case they are very valuable information as to the teaching of Theodotus, for they seem to represent the notes which Clement had made rather than a finished literary production.

The best edition of Clement is that of Stählin, in *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*, issued by the Berlin Academy. The three volumes containing the text and introduction of this edition are published; the fourth volume, which has not yet appeared, will contain the index and some additional dissertations, but even as it stands Stählin's edition takes the place of all others. For the study of Clement special reference should be made to the writings of de Faye, especially his *Clément d'Alexandrie*, 1898 (see also the article on Clement of Alexandria in Harnack's *Chronologie* vol. ii. pp. 1 ff.).

Hegesippus.—Hegesippus appears to have been of Hebrew birth (Eusebius, *H. E.* iv. 22), but there is no evidence whether he was born a Christian or converted from Judaism. He certainly visited, and perhaps lived in Rome. If Eusebius means in the

passage referred to that he lived until the time of Eleutherus his death must have been between 175 and 189. The book from which Eusebius derived much of his information as to the early church was entitled Πέντε ὑπομνήματα ἐκκλησιατικῶν πραξέων, Five Treatises on the Acts of the Church. Whether this was an ordered history or a collection of miscellaneous observations cannot be proved, but the latter view is more usually held, and the most probable theory is that of Lawlor, who thinks that the ὑπομνήματα were an apologetic work which only contained a few scattered references to history. Some confusion periodically arises from the fact that in a recension of Josephus, of which a Latin version appeared in the fifth century, the name "Josephus" was spelt "Hegesippus."

The extant fragments of the genuine Hegesippus can be found in Routh, *Rel. Sacr.* vol. i. pp. 207–219, but more fully and with more complete reference to the authorities in Lawlor's *Eusebiana*, pp. 98–107, and the problems connected with him may be studied best in that work and in the articles in *Smith's Dictionary of Christian Biography* and in *Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie*.

BOOK III.—In this book Josephus remains the chief source of information about the Jews, while Hegesippus and Clement are drawn on for the history of the Church; but besides them Papias, Caius, Clement of Rome, and Ignatius are quoted or referred to.

Papias.—Papias according to Eusebius (iii. 36) was bishop of Hierapolis, but we do not know the exact chronology of his life. Irenaeus (*Adv. haer.* v. 33. 4) says that he was a companion of Polycarp, and he is quoted by Eusebius (iii. 39. 9) as claiming to have seen the daughters of Philip the Evangelist, so that he can scarcely have been born later than the end of the first century. In one of the fragments of his work preserved by Philip Sidetes (edited by De Boor in *Texte und Untersuchungen*, v. 2) he refers to the belief that those whom Christ raised from the dead lived "until the time of Hadrian," so that he can hardly have written earlier than 140. On the other hand, as Irenaeus regarded him as belonging to a past generation, he can scarcely have written later than 160. Thus the middle of the second century is probably the period at which he wrote. His work, from which Eusebius quotes, was entitled *Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις*. Unfortunately the book is

lost, and no one knows what the title means. Λόγια generally means "oracles," and is frequently used of the Old Testament, but it might be used of the teaching of Jesus. The quotation given by Eusebius iii. 39, which may come from the preface of Papias, suggests, but does not prove, that the title should be translated Oracles of the Lord rather than Oracles about the Lord, Thus it is uncertain whether it was a work on the interpretation of the Old Testament or on the Gospels or on traditions behind the Gospels. There is an enormous literature on the subject, but most of it is in the interests of some theory of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels and is almost worthless. The clearest and best statement of the facts is in Harnack's *Chronologie*, i. pp. 356 ff., and on the interpretation of the quotation in Eusebius, H. E. iii. 39, Dom Chapman's *John the Presbyter* (Oxford, 1910), is peculiarly lucid and thorough.

Clement of Rome and Ignatius.—Both these writers have left extant works which are published in the Loeb Classical Library, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. i.

Caius.—Nothing is known of him except what Eusebius tells us, but his writings and his relation to the Alogi, who rejected the Gospel of John, have been the subject of an extensive literature, to which the latest and most thorough contribution is made by C. Schmidt in an elaborate appendix to his edition of the "*Epistola Apostolorum*" published in 1919 as *Gespräche Jesu in Texte und Untersuchungen* xliii.

BOOK IV.—In the fourth book Eusebius deals with the last rebellion of the Jews, referring to Aristo of Pella, with the Apologists of the time of Hadrian, with the Gnostics of the second century, with Justin Martyr, with Polycarp and other martyrs, and with Tatian. In the 21st chapter he gives a list of the chief Christian writers of the time of Marcus Aurelius.

Aristo of Pella.—In *Hist. Eccl.* iv 6 Eusebius describes the last war of the Jews against the Romans in A.D. 132. He refers to the account given by Aristo of Pella. The natural interpretation is that Aristo had written a history of this time. But nothing is known of him except that in the seventh century Maximus the Confessor says that Aristo wrote the *Dialogue of Jason and Papiscus*, which was mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who seems to have

attributed it to Luke the Evangelist, though the text of this statement may be corrupt. It is therefore possible that Eusebius is merely referring to some reference introduced into this lost Dialogue (see Harnack, *Altchristliche Literatur*, i. pp. 92 ff.).

Quadratus and Aristides.—Eusebius mentions two apologists of the reign of Hadrian—Quadratus and Aristides. The work of Quadratus is lost, but the apology of Aristides has been recently discovered, though in an imperfect condition. A Syriac translation was found by J. Rendel Harris in 1889 on Mount Sinai, and it was then recognized by J. Armitage Robinson as extant in Greek in the speech put into the mouth of the Christian Nachor in the story of Barlaam and Josaphat. The Syriac and the Greek differ widely, and it is disputed which of the two is nearer the original. Both forms are given in Rendel Harris's "The Apology of Aristides" in *Texts and Studies* i. 1. The Syriac, which alone has the title of Apology, suggests that it was addressed to Antoninus Pius rather than to Hadrian, but the text is in any case corrupt and the point is not certain. Harnack's *Altchristliche Literatur* i. pp. 96 ff. and ii. 2. pp. 271 ff. gives the best statement of the facts and references to other books, but to these should be added Geffcken's *Zwei griechische Apologien*.

The Gnostic Writers.—In *Hist. Eccl.* 4:7 and 11 Eusebius mentions the chief Gnostic writers known to him. His information was apparently derived in main from Irenaeus with probably some use of Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, and a lost work (the *Syntagma*) of Justin Martyr. The best modern books introductory to the subject of Gnosticism are those of Lipsius (especially his *Quellen der ältesten Ketzerge-schichten* and his articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*), Harnack's *Quellenkritik der Geschichte des Gnosticismus*, and De Faye's *Gnostiques et Gnosticisme*, but it is probably quicker and certainly better to begin by reading Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and—quite especially—the *Excerpta Theodoti* of Clement of Alexandria.

Justin Martyr.—Justin according to his own account (at the beginning of his dialogue with Trypho) was born in Samaria and became in his youth a zealous but unsuccessful student of philosophy. He was converted to Christianity before A.D. 135 (the time to which the Dialogue refers) and died as a martyr under



Junius Rusticus, who was praetor under Marcus Aurelius between 163 and 167. The *Chronicon Paschale* fixes the year of his martyrdom as 165, and there is no reason why this should not be correct.

According to Eusebius he wrote at least ten books, of which he gives the list in *Hist. Eccl.* iv. 18. 2–9. Of these two are extant (1) The Apology to Antoninus Pius, and (2) The Dialogue with Trypho; but there is a curious literary puzzle in connexion with the Apology. The printed texts of Justin (which represent the Paris manuscript, Paris. 450 of the year 1364, of which all other manuscripts are copies) give two apologies of Justin, and Eusebius also states that he wrote two apologies. It would therefore be natural to conclude that we possess the two which Eusebius had. But except in *Hist. Eccl.* 4:16. 1 ff. which is ambiguous, Eusebius quotes as the first Apology passages from both the printed books. The point has not been completely cleared up, but it seems probable that the printed texts make up the Eusebian first apology and that the second one known to Eusebius has been lost.

Three other works of Justin mentioned by Eusebius purport to be given in the printed texts—the *Oratio contra Graecos*, the *Cohortatio ad Graecos*, and the *De monarchia*—but it is generally held that these texts are spurious, and it is unlikely that they are those to which Eusebius refers.

The best edition of Justin is that of Otto, 3rd edition, 1876. The best statements of the manuscripts and the ecclesiastical tradition are by Harnack in his *Altchristliche literatur* i. pp. 99 ff., and ii. 1 ff., 274 ff., and in the *Texte und Untersuchungen* I. i. 2. The most complete discussion of Justin's teaching is by Goodenough, *Justin Martyr*, 1923, which also contains a very full bibliography.

The Acts of the Martyrs.—Though Eusebius was active in collecting evidence as to the martyrdoms of the earliest Christians, and made a collection of documents describing them (see p. xiv) he has surprisingly little to tell in his history. In the first five books he relates the martyrdom of James and Simeon, the Lord's brothers, but his information is from Hegesippus; he also mentions the martyrdom of Telesphorus, Bishop of Rome, Publius, Bishop of Athens, Ignatius of Antioch, Justin, Ptolemaeus, Lucius, and

Sagaris; but he gives no details and seems to have had no documents about them, though the Acta of Justin are extant in a probably genuine form. He had the Acta of Polycarp, of Pionius, of Carpus, Papyrus and Agathonice, and of Apollonius, all of which are still extant, and the account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, which has disappeared except for his extensive quotations at the beginning of the fifth book.

Tatian.—The only work of Tatian which is extant in its original form is the *Oratio ad Graecos*, which was once preserved in the famous Arethas manuscript Paris. 451 of the year A.D. 914. The pages containing Tatian's work are missing, but several later MSS. are direct or indirect copies.

The Diatessaron of Tatian is not wholly lost. There is an Arabic version, in which, however, the text has been accommodated to the later Syrian text of the Gospels; there is some connexion between it and the Harmony found and edited by Victor of Capua about the year 545; and it is possible that some mediaeval Dutch and German harmonies indicate the existence of an Old Latin harmony based on Tatian's works. Besides these, and in many ways more important than these, are a series of quotations in early Syriac writers and the commentary of Ephraim on the Diatessaron, partially preserved in Armenian.

The best edition of the *Oratio ad Graecos* is that of E. Schwartz, and of the Diatessaron that given in the *Ante-Nicene Church Fathers*. See also especially Zahn's *Forschungen* i. and the treatment of Tatian in his *Geschichte des N.T. Kanon*.

Writers in the time of Marcus Aurelius.—In *Hist. Eccl.* 4:20 f. Eusebius gives a list of the writers of the end of the second century: Theophilus of Antioch, Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, Pinytus of Crete, Philip of Gortyna, Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Melito, Musanus, Modestus, and Irenaeus. In the following chapters he gives a short summary of the writings of each of them with the exception of Irenaeus whom he reserves for the next book. None of these writings are extant except a few fragments of Melito in Syriac, and the three books of Theophilus *Ad Autolyicum*, published in Otto's *Corpus Apologeticum* and in other collections. The first printed edition was issued at Zurich in 1546. The facts relating to Hegesippus have been dealt with above on p. xlvii.

BOOK V.—In this book Eusebius deals first with the persecution of the Christians in the time of Marcus Aurelius, illustrating it by long quotations from the letter of the churches of Lyons and Vienne referred to above (p. lii). He then describes the works of Irenaeus, and Rhodo, and then turns to Montanism, the Paschal controversy, and the heresy of Artemon and the two Theodoti.

Irenaeus.—Irenaeus was probably a native of the province of Asia and in his youth saw Florinus and Polycarp, presumably at Smyrna. Polycarp was put to death in 155, so that Irenaeus can hardly have been born much later than 140. Florinus became a Gnostic about 190; he was probably a little older than Irenaeus, who says that as a boy he had admired his splendid position in the Emperor's court. Therefore, unless Florinus was converted when quite old, Irenaeus cannot have been born much earlier than 140—ten years seems the extreme of possibility, and every year earlier than 140 becomes less and less likely.

It is unknown how or when he left Asia, but it is certain that in 177, the year of the persecution at Lyons and Vienne, he went to Rome with the report of the churches on the martyrdom of some of their members, and he is described as being at that time a presbyter. Shortly after this he became Bishop of Lyons, and supported the Asiatic side in the Paschal controversy with Victor of Rome in 190. Nothing certain is known of his death. Jerome (but no earlier writer) speaks of him as a martyr, and it has been thought that he was put to death in the persecution of Septimius Severus in 202, but this is merely a guess.

Of his many writings mentioned by Eusebius (see especially Hist. Eccl. 4:11, 20, 26) only two are fully extant and neither in the original language. The *Πρὸς Αἱρέσεις* or *Ἐλεγχος καὶ ἀνατροπὴ τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως*, quoted as the *Adversus Haereses*, is found in Latin; the best edition is that of Harvey (Cambridge, 1857). The *Ἀπόδειξις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ κηρύγματος* or *Apostolic Preaching*, a treatise sent by Irenaeus to his friend Marcianus, is found in Armenian and was published in 1907 in the *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xxxi. 1.

Probably the best description of the theology of Irenaeus is not in any book devoted to him, but in W. Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*.

The anti-Montanist Writers.—In the fifth book, after long extracts from the letter of the Churches of Lyons and Vienne about their martyrs, and some extracts from Irenaeus, Eusebius goes on to describe the work of Clement of Alexandria (see above, pp. xlii–xliii) and of Rhodo, of whom nothing more is known, and then turns to a discussion of Montanism, or the Phrygian heresy. For this he makes use of five sources, of which unfortunately nothing more is known beyond what he tells us himself. These are Apollinarius of Hierapolis, Apollonius, Serapion, an anonymous writer who addressed a letter to Abercius, and either Miltiades or Alcibiades. The Abercius addressed by the anonymous writer is the centre of one of the romances of epigraphy. In the *Acta Sanctorum* for October 22 is given a life of Abercius, which has all the marks of lateness, but it contains an epitaph which Lightfoot and others regarded as genuine. Other scholars doubted this, but in 1883 W. M. Ramsay discovered the epitaph in Hieropolis (not Hierapolis). The fifth document to which he refers presents a curious puzzle as to its authorship, for it is impossible to be sure what was the name of the writer, as in the existing manuscripts Eusebius clearly speaks of Miltiades, but the source which he quotes equally clearly speaks of Alcibiades. One name or the other must be wrong, but there is no sufficient evidence for a choice between them (see *Hist. Eccl.* 5:17). For a discussion of these documents and of other evidence relating to Montanism the best modern book is N. Bonwetsch's *Montanisme*.

The Paschal Controversy.—In *Hist. Eccl.* 5:27 Eusebius gives a short list of writers of the beginning of the third century, but none of them have left extant works. He then goes on to discuss the Paschal controversy. This dispute divided the East from the West. The East held that the fast before Easter should end on the 14th of Nisan (hence the name “Quartodecimans”) with the feast of the resurrection following at once independently of the day of the week, while the West followed the present custom of observing the feast of the Resurrection on a Sunday independently of the day of the month, and arranged the end of the fast accordingly. Eusebius quotes Polycrates of Ephesus, whose writings are not now extant, and Irenaeus, and mentions various synods whose

decrees were known to him but have since been lost. For a discussion of the action of Victor of Rome, and of the whole question see Hefele's History of the Councils, preferably in the French translation which has many valuable additional notes.

The Heresy of Artemon.—The last part of the fifth book is largely taken up with an anonymous quotation from a work against the Adoptionist teaching of Artemon and the two Theodoti, whose teaching that Jesus was a man who by the power of God became divine is sometimes described by modern writers as "Dynamic Monarchianism." Theodoret, who also used this writing, says that it was called the "Little Labyrinth," obviously in allusion to the work of Hippolytus against heresy, which is sometimes called "The Labyrinth." Modern scholars generally think that the "Little Labyrinth" was itself the work of Hippolytus but this is by no means certain.

For further information as to these or any other writers mentioned by Eusebius, the best and clearest guides are Harnack's *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Bardenhewer's *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, and the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.



# THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF EUSEBIUS

## CONTENTS OF BOOK I

The first book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following:

- I.           What are the presuppositions of the Promise.
- II.           A summary account of the pre-existence of, and attribution of divinity to, our Saviour and Lord, the Christ of God.
- III.          How both the name of Jesus and even that of Christ itself were known from the first and honoured by the inspired prophets.
- IV.          How there was nothing revolutionary or strange in the character of the religion announced by him to all the nations.
- V.           Concerning the time of his appearance to men.
- VI.          How in his time in agreement with prophecy the previous line of ancestral rulers of the Jewish nation died out, and Herod, the first foreigner, was their king.
- VII.         Concerning the supposed discrepancy in the Gospels on the genealogy as to Christ.
- VIII.        Concerning the plot of Herod against the children and the catastrophe which overtook him in his life.
- IX.          Concerning the times of Pilate.
- X.           Concerning the high priests among the Jews in whose time the Christ gave his teaching.

- XI. The evidence relating to John the Baptist and the Christ.
- XII. Concerning the disciples of our Saviour.
- XIII. A narrative concerning the ruler of the Edessenes.





# BOOK I

I. [1] I HAVE purposed to record in writing the successions of the sacred apostles, covering the period stretching from our Saviour to ourselves; the number and character of the transactions recorded in the history of the Church; the number of those who were distinguished in her government and leadership in the provinces of greatest fame; the number of those who in each generation were the ambassadors of the word of God either by speech or pen; the names, the number and the age of those who, driven by the desire of innovation to an extremity of error, have heralded themselves as the introducers of Knowledge, falsely so-called, ravaging the flock of Christ unsparingly, like grim wolves. [2] To this I will add the fate which has beset the whole nation of the Jews from the moment of their plot against our Saviour; moreover, the number and nature and times of the wars waged by the heathen against the divine word and the character of those who, for its sake, passed from time to time through the contest of blood and torture; furthermore the martyrdoms of our own time, and the gracious and favouring help of our Saviour in them all. My starting-point is therefore no other than the first dispensation of God touching our Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ. [3] Even at that point the project at once demands the lenience of the kindly, for confessedly it is beyond our power to fulfil the promise, complete and perfect, since we are the first to enter on the undertaking, as travellers on some desolate and untrodden way. We pray God to give us his guidance, and that we may have the help of the power of the Lord, for nowhere can we find even the bare footsteps of men who have preceded us in the same path, unless it be those slight indications by which in divers ways they have left to us partial accounts of the times through which they have passed, raising their voices as a man holds up a torch from afar, calling to us from on high as from a distant watch-tower, and telling us how we must walk, and how to guide the course of our work without error or danger. [4] We have therefore collected from

their scattered memoirs all that we think will be useful for the present subject, and have brought together the utterances of the ancient writers themselves that are appropriate to it, culling, as it were, the flowers of intellectual fields. We shall endeavour to give them unity by historical treatment, rejoicing to rescue the successions, if not of all, at least of the most distinguished of the apostles of our Saviour throughout those churches of which the fame is still remembered. [5] To work at this subject I consider especially necessary, because I am not aware that any Christian writer has until now paid attention to this kind of writing; and I hope that its high value will be evident to those who are convinced of the importance of a knowledge of the history. [6] I have already summarized the material in the chronological tables which I have drawn up, but nevertheless in the present work I have undertaken to give the narrative in full detail.

[7] I will begin with what, apprehended in relation to Christ, is beyond man in its height and greatness,—the dispensation of God, and the ascription of divinity. For he who plans to hand on in writing the history of Christian origins is forced to begin from the first dispensation concerning the Christ himself, which is more divine than it seems to most, [8] seeing that from him we claim to derive our very name.

II. [1] Now his nature was twofold; on the one hand like the head of the body, in that he is recognized as God, on the other comparable to the feet, in that he put on for the sake of our own salvation, man of like passions with us. Therefore to make our description of what follows complete we should start the whole narrative concerning him by the most capital and dominant points of the discussion. By this means, moreover, the real antiquity and divine character of Christianity will be equally demonstrated to those who suppose that it is recent and foreign, appearing no earlier than yesterday.

[2] No treatise, indeed, could be sufficient for a statement of the origin and dignity, the very being and nature of the Christ: as indeed the divine spirit says in prophecies, “Who will declare his generation?” seeing that neither does any know the Father save the Son, neither did any ever know the Son properly, save only the Father who begat him. [3] And who except the Father would

ever clearly conceive the ante-mundane light, and that wisdom which was intellectual and real before the ages, the living Logos who was, in the beginning, God by the side of the Father, the first and only offspring of God, before all creation and fabrication, both visible and invisible, the captain of the spiritual and immortal host of heaven, the angel of great counsel, the minister of the ineffable plan of the Father, the fabricator of all things along with the Father, the true and only begotten child of God, the Lord and God and King of all begotten, who has received lordship and might, together with deity itself, and power and honour from the Father, according to the mysterious ascription of divinity to him in the Scriptures, "In the beginning was the Logos and the Logos was with God and the Logos was God, all things were through him, and without him was no single thing"? [4] This, indeed, is also the teaching of the great Moses, as the most ancient of all prophets, when by divine inspiration he described the coming into being, and the ordering of the universe, that the creator and fabricator of all things gave up to the Christ himself, and to no other than his divine and first-born Logos, the making of subordinate things and communed with him concerning the creation of man. "For," he says, "God said, let us make man in our own image and likeness." [5] Another of the prophets confirms this saying, ascribing divinity to him in one place in hymns, "He spake and they were begotten, he commanded and they were created." On the one hand he introduces the Father and Maker as a universal sovereign, commanding by his royal nod, and on the other the divine Logos—no other than him who is proclaimed by us—as secondary to him, and ministering to his Father's commands. [6] Him even from the creation of mankind did all who are said to have been pre-eminent in righteousness and virtuous piety recognize by the contemplation of the pure eyes of the mind, and pay him the reverence due to a child of God; thus did Moses, the great servant, and his fellows, and even before him Abraham, the first, and his children, and all the righteous and prophets who have since appeared; and he himself, never wearying of piety toward the Father, has been a teacher to all men of knowledge of the Father. [7] Thus the Lord God is said to have appeared as an ordinary man to Abraham, while he was seated by the oak of

Mamre. But he fell down immediately, even though he saw him as a man with his eyes, worshipped him as God, besought him as Lord, and confessed that he was not ignorant who he was, saying in his own words, "O Lord, that judgest all the earth, wilt thou not do judgement?" [8] For inasmuch as no reason would allow that the uncreated and unchangeable substance of the Almighty was converted into the form of man, or deceived the eyes of the beholders by the phantasm of anything created, or that the Scripture has falsely invented such a story, who other could be described as God, and as the Lord who judges all the earth and does judgement, appearing in the form of man (seeing that it is improper to call him the first cause of the universe), than his pre-existent Logos alone? And concerning him it was said in the Psalms, "He sent forth his Logos and healed them, and he rescued them from their corruptions." [9] Of him, too, Moses clearly speaks as a second Lord, after the Father, when he says, "The Lord rained on Sodom and Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord." Him the divine Scripture also calls God when he appears in human form to Jacob, saying to Jacob, "Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name because thou hadst power with God." Then, too, "Jacob called the name of the place 'the Vision of God,' saying, 'For I saw God face to face and my life was saved.'" [10] And it cannot be right to suppose that the Theophanies described were the appearances of subordinate angels and ministers of God, for whenever one of these appears to men the Scripture does not conceal it, but says definitely that they are called angels, not God or Lord, as it is easy to prove from countless passages. [11] Him, too, Joshua, the successor of Moses, calls the chief captain of the host of the Lord, as if he were the leader of the heavenly angels and archangels, and the supernal powers, and as if he were of the power and wisdom of the Father, entrusted with the second rank in his universal kingdom and rule, though Joshua, too, saw him in none but human form and shape. [12] It is written at least, "And it came to pass, while Joshua was in Jericho that he looked up and saw a man standing over against him, and his sword was drawn in his hand, and Joshua went to him and said, Art thou for us or for our adversaries? And he said to him, As chief captain of the host of

the Lord am I now come. And Joshua fell on his face on the earth, and said to him, Lord, what dost thou command thy servant? And the chief captain of the Lord said to Joshua, Loose thy shoe from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is a holy place.” [13] Here, too, you will perceive from the words themselves that this is none other than he who spoke also to Moses, for of him also the Scripture uses the same words, “And when the Lord saw that he drew nigh to see, the Lord called him out of the bush saying, Moses, Moses. And he said, What is it? And he said, Do not draw near here. Loose thy shoe from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground. And he said to him, I am the God of thy Father, the God of Abraham, and God of Isaac and God of Jacob.” [14] And that there really is a certain being living and existent before the world, who ministered to the Father and God of the universe for the fabrication of all created things, called the Logos and Wisdom of God, can be learned from the actual person of Wisdom herself, in addition to the preceding proofs, for in one place she tells her own secret very clearly through Solomon,” I, Wisdom, made Counsel my habitation and I invoked Knowledge and Thought; through me kings reign, and the mighty inscribe justice; by me great men are magnified, and sovereigns rule the earth through me.” [15] And to this she adds, “The Lord created me as the beginning of his ways for his works; he established me before the world; in the beginning, before the making of the earth, before the springs of water came forth, before the mountains were founded, and before all hills, he begat me. When he prepared the heaven, I was present with him, and when he made safe the springs which are under heaven, I was with him giving them order. I was she in whom he rejoiced daily and I exulted before him at all times, when he exulted that he had completed the world.” [16] Thus let this be our short proof that the divine Logos pre-existed, and appeared to some, if not to all, men.

[17] It must now be demonstrated why this announcement was not formerly made, long ago, to all men and all nations, as it is now. The life of men in the past was not capable of receiving the complete wisdom and virtue of the teaching of Christ. [18] For at the beginning, after the first life in blessedness, the first man, despising the command of God, fell at once to this mortal and

perishable life, and exchanged the former divine delights for this earth with its curse; and after him those who filled all our world were manifestly much worse, with the exception of one or two, and chose some brutal habit of life, unworthy of the name. [19] They gave no thought to city or state, to art or knowledge, they had not even the name of laws and decrees or virtue and philosophy, but they lived as nomads in the wildernesses like savage and unbridled beings; they destroyed by their excess of self-chosen wickedness the natural reasonings, and the germs of thought and gentleness in the human soul; they gave themselves up completely to all iniquity so that at one time they corrupted one another, at another they murdered one another, at another they were cannibals; they ventured on conflicts with God and on the battles of the giants famous among all men; they thought to wall up the earth to heaven, and in the madness of a perverted mind prepared for war against the supreme God himself. [20] While they were leading this life, God, the guardian of all, pursued them with floods and conflagrations, as though they had been a wild forest scattered throughout the whole earth; he cut them off with perpetual famines and plagues, by wars and by thunderbolts from on high, as if he were restraining by bitter chastisement some terrible and grievous disease of their souls. [21] Then, indeed, when the great flood of evil had come nigh overwhelming all men, like a terrible intoxication overshadowing and darkening the souls of almost all, the first-begotten and first-created Wisdom of God, the pre-existent Logos himself, in his exceeding kindness appeared to his subjects, at one time by a vision of angels, at another personally to one or two of the God-fearing men of old, as a saving power of God, yet in no other form than human, for they could not receive him otherwise.

[22] But when the seeds of true religion had been strewn by them among a multitude of men, and a whole nation, sprung from the Hebrews, existed on earth, cleaving to true religion, he handed on to them, through the prophet Moses, images and symbols of a certain mysterious sabbath and of circumcision and instruction in other spiritual principles, but not unveiled initiation itself, for many of them had still been brought up in the old practices. [23] Their Law became famous and spread among all men like a fragrant

breeze. Beginning with them the minds of most of the heathen were softened by the lawgivers and philosophers who arose everywhere. Savage and unbridled brutality was changed to mildness, so that deep peace, friendship, and mutual intercourse obtained. Then, at last, when all men, even the heathen throughout the world, were now fitted for the benefits prepared for them beforehand, for the reception of knowledge of the Father, then again that same divine and heavenly Logos of God, the teacher of virtues, the minister of the Father in all good things, appeared at the beginning of the Roman Empire through man. In nothing did he change our nature as touching bodily substance; his acts and sufferings were such as were consistent with the prophecies which foretell that man and God shall live together to do marvelous deeds, and to teach to all Gentiles the worship of the Father, and that the marvel of his birth and his new teaching and the wonder of his deeds will be made manifest together with the manner of his death and resurrection from the dead, and, above all, his divine restoration to Heaven. [24] Daniel the prophet, in a moment of inspiration, saw by the divine spirit his final sovereignty, and describes the vision of God in human wise: "For I beheld," he said, "until thrones were set and an Ancient of Days did sit. And his garment was white like snow and the hair of his head was like pure wool; his throne was a flame of fire, his wheels were flaming fire, a river of fire ran before him, thousand thousands ministered unto him and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, the judgement sat, and books were opened." [25] And he goes on to say, "I beheld, and lo, one like to a son of man coming with the clouds of Heaven, and he came to the Ancient of Days and was brought before him. And to him was given the sovereignty and honour and kingdom, and all the people, tribes, and tongues shall serve him. His power is an everlasting power, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom shall not be destroyed." [26] Clearly this would apply to none but our Saviour, the God-Logos who was in the beginning with God, called "son of man" because of his ultimate incarnation. [27] However, since we have collected in special treatises the prophetic utterances concerning our Saviour Jesus Christ, and in others have given a fuller demonstration of our statements



concerning him, we will rest content in the present work with what has now been said.

III. [1] It is now time to demonstrate that the very names “Jesus,” and especially “Christ,” were held in honour by the ancient God-loving prophets themselves. [2] Moses was himself the first to recognize how peculiarly august and glorious is the name of Christ, when he delivered the tradition of the types and symbols of heavenly things, and the mysterious images, in accordance with the oracle which said to him, “See thou shalt make all things according to the type which was shown thee in the mount”; for in describing the High Priest of God as a man of supreme power, he calls him Christ, and, as a mark of honour and glory, surrounds with the name of Christ this rank of the High Priesthood, which with him surpassed all pre-eminence among men. [3] Thus then he knew the divine character of “Christ.” He himself also was inspired very clearly to foresee the title “Jesus,” and it again he endued with special privilege. Though before it was made known to Moses it had never been previously pronounced to men, Moses gave the title, Jesus, to him first, and to him alone, who, once more typically and symbolically, he knew would receive the rule over all after his death. [4] His successor, at any rate, had not previously used the title “Jesus,” but was called by another name, “Auses,” which his parents had given him, and Moses calls him Jesus, as a precious privilege greater than any royal crown, giving to him the name because Jesus the son of Nave himself bore the image of our Saviour who alone, after Moses and the completion of the symbolic worship delivered by Moses, did receive the rule of the true and pure religion. [5] In this way Moses as a mark of the greatest honour surrounds with the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ the two men who in his day excelled all the people in virtue and glory—the High Priest and him who should rule after him. Clearly, too, did the later prophets foretell the Christ by name, giving their testimony beforehand alike to the future intrigue of the people of the Jews against him, and to the calling of the Gentiles through him. [6] At one time Jeremiah says, “The spirit of our face, Christ the Lord was taken in their corruptions, and we said we will live in his shadow among the Gentiles.” At another time David in perplexity says as follows,

“Wherefore did the heathen rage, and the peoples imagine vain things? The kings of the earth stood up, and the rulers were gathered together, against the Lord and against his Christ.” In the following verses he goes on to speak in the person of Christ himself, “The Lord said to me, Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee. Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the uttermost parts of the earth for thy possession.” [7] However it was not only those that were honoured with the High Priesthood, and anointed for the sake of the symbol with prepared oil, that were decorated among the Hebrews with the name “Christ”; but also the kings, for they also, at the bidding of God, were made Christs in a certain symbolism by the prophets who anointed them, inasmuch as they also bore in themselves the types of the royal and sovereign power of the only true Christ, the divine Logos who reigns over all. [8] We have also received the tradition that some of the prophets themselves had by anointing already become Christs in type, seeing that they all refer to the true Christ, the divine and heavenly Logos, of the world the only High Priest, of all creation the only king, of the prophets the only archprophet of the Father. [9] The proof of this is that no one of those symbolically anointed of old, whether priests or kings or prophets, obtained such power of divine virtue as our Saviour and Lord, Jesus, the only real Christ, has exhibited. [10] None indeed of them, though renowned in rank and honour for so many generations among their own people, ever gave the name of Christian to their subjects from the symbolical application to themselves of the name of Christ. The honour of worship was not paid to any of them by their subjects, nor did they hold them in such affection after their death as to be ready to die for him whom they honoured. [11] For none of the men of those days was there such disturbance of all the nations throughout all the world, since the power of the symbol was incapable of producing such an effect among them as the presence of the reality manifested by our Saviour; for he received from none the symbol and types of the High Priesthood, nor did he trace his physical descent from the race of priests, nor was he promoted to a kingdom by the armed force of men, nor did he become a prophet in the same way as those of old, nor did he hold any rank at all or precedence

among the Jews, yet with all these he had been adorned, not in symbols, but in actual reality by the Father. [12] Though he did not obtain the honours of which we have spoken before, he is called Christ more than any of them, and inasmuch as he is himself the only true Christ of God, he filled the whole world with Christians—his truly reverend and sacred name. [13] He no longer gave to his initiates types or images but the uncovered virtues themselves and the heavenly life, in the actual doctrines of truth, and he has received the chrism, not that which is prepared materially but the divine anointing itself with the spirit of God, by sharing in the unbegotten divinity of the Father. Again, Isaiah teaches this very point, for in one place he exclaims as if from Christ himself, “The spirit of the Lord was upon me, wherefore he anointed me: he sent me to preach the gospel to the poor, to announce release to prisoners, and sight to the blind.” [14] And not only Isaiah but also David speaks with reference to him and says, “Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever, a rod of uprightness is the rod of thy kingdom. Thou didst love righteousness and didst hate iniquity. [15] For this cause God, even thy God, anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.” In this the text calls him God in the first verse, and in the second honours him with the royal sceptre, and then goes on, after royal and divine power, to present him in the third place as having become Christ, anointed not with oil made of material substances but with the divine “oil of gladness.” And in addition to this he indicates his peculiar distinction and superiority to those who in the past had been more materially anointed as types. [16] And in another place too the same David explains his position as follows: “The Lord said to my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, until I make thine enemies the footstool of thy feet.” And, “Before the day-star I begat thee from the womb. The Lord swore and will not repent, Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Mel-chisedek.” [17] Now this Melchisedek is introduced in the sacred books as priest of the most high God, without having been so marked out by any material unction, or even as belonging by racial descent to the priesthood of the Hebrews. For this reason our Saviour has been called Christ and priest, on the authority of an oath, according to his order and not according to that of the others who received symbols and types. [18] For this reason, too,

the narrative does not relate that he was anointed physically by the Jews or even that he was of the tribe of those who hold the priesthood, but that he received his being from God himself before the day-star, that is to say, before the construction of the world, and holds his priesthood to boundless eternity, ageless and immortal. [19] A weighty and clear proof of the immaterial and divine anointing effected on him is that he alone, out of all who have ever yet been until now, is called Christ among all men throughout the whole world; that under this title he is confessed and borne witness to by all, and is mentioned thus by Jews, Greeks, and barbarians; that until this present day he is honoured by his worshippers throughout the world as king, wondered at more than a prophet, and glorified as the true and only High Priest of God, and, above all, as the Logos of God, pre-existent, having his being before all ages, and having received the right of reverence from the Father, and that he is worshipped as God. [20] Strangest of all, we, who have been consecrated to him, honour him not only with our voices and with the sound of words, but with the whole disposition of our soul, so as to value testimony to him more than our very life itself.

IV. [1] Let these observations suffice me, as needed before beginning the history, that no one might think of our Saviour and Lord, Jesus Christ, as a novelty because of the date of his ministry in the flesh. But that no one may suppose that his teaching either was new and strange, inasmuch as it was put together by a youth no better than the rest of men, come, let us discuss this point briefly. [2] For when the advent of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, recently shone forth on all men, it was confessedly a new race which has thus appeared in such numbers, in accordance with the ineffable prophecies of the date, and is honoured by all by the name of Christ, but it is not little nor weak, nor founded in some obscure corner of the earth, but the most populous of all nations, and most pious towards God, alike innocent and invincible in that it ever finds help from God. [3] It was at this that one of the prophets was amazed when, by the eye of the divine spirit, he foresaw the future which was to be, so that he exclaimed, "Who heard these things and who spoke thus? Did the earth travail in one day, and was a nation born at once?" And the same writer

also indicates in one place its future title, saying, "And a new name shall be called on those who serve me, which shall be blessed on the earth." [4] But even if we are clearly new, and this really fresh name of Christians is recently known among all nations, nevertheless our life and method of conduct, in accordance with the precepts of religion, has not been recently invented by us, but from the first creation of man, so to speak, has been upheld by the natural concepts of the men of old who were the friends of God, as we will here demonstrate. [5] The race of the Hebrews is not new but is honoured among all men for its antiquity and is itself well known to all. Now, stories and documents belonging to it concern ancient men, few and scarce in number, yet remarkable for piety and righteousness and for all other virtues. Divers of them, indeed, were before the flood, and after it were others, and, (to say nothing of the children and descendants of Noah), especially Abraham, whom the children of the Hebrews boast as their own originator and ancestor. [6] If the line be traced back from Abraham to the first man, anyone who should describe those who have obtained a good testimony for righteousness, as Christians in fact, if not in name, would not shoot wide of the truth. [7] For the name signifies that through the knowledge of Christ and his teaching the Christian man excels in sobriety and righteousness, in control of life and courageous virtue, and in the confession that God over all is but one; and for zeal in all this they were not inferior to us. [8] They had no care for bodily circumcision any more than we, nor for the keeping of Sabbaths any more than we, nor for abstinence from certain foods nor the distinction between others (such as Moses afterwards first began to hand down to their successors) nor for symbolic ceremony any more than Christians care for such things now, but they clearly knew him as the Christ of God, seeing that it has already been demonstrated that he appeared to Abraham, addressed Isaac, spoke to Israel, and conversed with Moses and the later prophets. [9] Whence you would find that those God-loving men obtained even the name of Christ according to the word spoken concerning them, "Touch not my Christs and act not wickedly among my prophets." [10] So that it must clearly be held that the announcement to all the Gentiles, recently made through

the teaching of Christ, is the very first and most ancient and antique discovery of true religion by Abraham and those lovers of God who followed him. [11] And even if they say that Abraham received the command of circumcision long afterwards, it has been related that, before this command, he received a good testimony for righteousness through faith, as the divine word says, "And Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness." [12] And to him, just as he was, before circumcision, was the oracle given by the God who showed himself to him (and this was the Christ himself, the word of God), concerning those who in time to come would be justified in the same manner as himself, in the following promise, "And in thee shall all the tribes of the earth be blessed," and, "It shall be a great and numerous nation, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed in it." [13] Now this is obviously intelligible as fulfilled in us; for it was by faith towards the Logos of God, the Christ who had appeared to him, that he was justified, and gave up the superstition of his fathers, and his former erroneous life, and confessed the God who is over all to be one; and him he served by virtuous deeds, not by the worship of the law of Moses, who came later. [14] To him, just as he was then, was it said that all the tribes of the earth and all the nations will be blessed in him; and more clearly than any words do facts show that at the present moment it is only among Christians throughout the whole world that the manner of religion which was Abraham's can actually be found in practice. [15] What objection then can there be to admitting that the life and pious conduct of us, who belong to Christ, and of the God-loving men of old is one and the same? Thus we have demonstrated that the practice of piety handed down by the teaching of Christ is not new or strange, but, if one must speak truthfully, is primitive, unique, and true. And let this suffice.

V. [1] So then, after the necessary preliminaries to the history of the Church proposed by us, let us begin, as if starting a journey, with the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh, after invoking God, the Father of the Logos, and Jesus Christ himself, our Saviour and Lord, the heavenly Logos of God, to give us help and assistance to truth in the narrative. [2] It was, then, the forty-

second year of the reign of Augustus, and the twenty-eighth year after the submission of Egypt and the death of Antony and Cleopatra (and with her the Egyptian dynasty of the Ptolemies came to an end), when our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with the prophecies concerning him, was born in Bethlehem of Judaea at the time of the census which then first took place, while Quirinius was Governor of Syria. This census in the time of Quirinius, Flavius Josephus, the most famous of the historians among the Hebrews, also mentions, and joins to the narrative another concerning the sect of the Galileans which arose at the same time. [3] Our own Luke has also mentioned this in one place in the Acts, saying "After this man arose Judas the Galilean, in the days of the census, and led away the people after him and he perished and all who obeyed him were scattered." [4] In agreement with this, in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities the writer referred to also gives the following details: "And Quirinius, one of those called to the Senate, who had filled the other offices and passed through all of them to become Consul, and was otherwise of high rank, reached Syria with a small staff, having been sent by Caesar to administer the people and to make a valuation of their property." [5] And a little later he says, "And Judas, the Gaulonite, of the city called Gamala, took with him Zadok, a Pharisee, and instigated a revolt, for they said that the valuation led to nothing but plain slavery, and they called on the people to rally for liberty." And in the second book of the History of the Jewish War he writes concerning the same man, "At this time a Galilean called Judas incited the inhabitants to revolt, calling them cowards to suffer the payment of tribute to the Romans, and after serving God to endure mortal masters." [6] So far Josephus.

VI. [1] Now at this time, when Herod was the first foreigner to hold the sovereignty of the Jewish nation, the prophecy made through Moses that "A ruler shall not fail from Judah nor a leader from his loins until he come for whom it is reserved" began to be fulfilled. Moses also shows that this one will be the "expectation of the Gentiles." [2] Obviously the terms of the prediction were unfulfilled so long as it was possible for the Jews to live under the native rulers of the nation, beginning with Moses himself and lasting down to the reign of Augustus; but in his time the first

foreigner, Herod, was entrusted by the Romans with the government of the Jews. He was, as Josephus relates, an Idumaeon on his father's side and an Arab on his mother's, but according to Africanus (nor was he any ordinary historian) those who give accurate information concerning Herod say that Antipater (he was his father) was the son of a certain Herod of Ascalon, and one of those called hierodouloi in the temple of Apollo. [3] This Antipater was captured as a child by Idumaeon brigands, and stayed with them because his father was unable on account of poverty to pay ransom for him. He was brought up in their customs and later on was befriended by Hyrcanus the high priest of the Jews. [4] His child was the Herod of our Saviour's time. When therefore the kingdom of the Jews came to such a man as this the expectation of the Gentiles, in accordance with the prophecy, was already at the door, inasmuch as the succession from Moses of rulers and governors ceased with him. [5] Before their captivity and removal to Babylon, kings had ruled them, beginning with Saul, the first king, and David; and before the kings, rulers called judges administered them and these began after Moses and his successor, Joshua. [6] After the return from Babylon a constitution of oligarchic aristocracy was continuous (for the priests were at the head of affairs), until Pompey, a Roman general, attacked Jerusalem, besieged it in force, and defiled the holy places by intruding into the secret parts of the temple. He sent to Rome as a prisoner with his children the king and high priest, Aristobulus by name, who had continued the succession of his ancestors until then. To Hyrcanus, the brother of Aristobulus, he handed over the high-priesthood, but made the whole nation of the Jews from that time tributary to the Romans. [7] As soon as Hyrcanus, the last to whom belonged the high-priestly succession, was taken prisoner by the Parthians, Herod, the first foreigner, as I just said, was entrusted with the nation of the Jews by the Senate of the Romans and the Emperor Augustus. [8] The advent of the Christ clearly came in his time, and thus the expected salvation and calling of the Gentiles followed consistently with the prophecy; moreover, from the time when the rulers and governors from Judah, that is to say those of the Jewish race, had ceased, immediate confusion naturally



ensued in the affairs of the priesthood which passed steadily to the nearest heirs from generation to generation from the ancestors. [9] Of this, too, you have Josephus as a valuable witness, for he explains how Herod, when he was entrusted with the kingdom by the Romans, no longer appointed high priests of the ancient race but assigned the honour to certain obscure persons; and that Herod's policy with regard to the appointment of the priests was followed by his son Archelaus, and after him by the Romans, when they took over the government of the Jews. [10] The same writer explains how Herod was the first to lock up and keep under his own seal the sacred robe of the high priest, for he no longer allowed the high priests to keep it in their own charge, and his successor, Archelaus, and after him the Romans, pursued the same policy. [11] These facts may also serve us as proof of the fulfilment of another prophecy on the manifestation of our Saviour Jesus Christ. It is quite obvious that in Daniel the text defines the number of certain weeks, which I have treated of elsewhere, in so many words as "until Christ the ruler," and prophecies that after the accomplishment of these weeks the anointing among the Jews shall be destroyed. The fulfilment of this at the time of the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ is clearly demonstrated. These points must suffice as preliminary observations necessary to establish the truth of the date.

VII. [1] Since Matthew and Luke, having given us different traditions in their gospels concerning the genealogy of Christ, are considered by many to disagree; and since each of the faithful in ignorance of the truth has been zealous in making guesses on these passages, come, let us set out the story that has reached us concerning them, which the Africanus mentioned by us a short time ago narrated in a letter which he wrote to Aristides on the harmony of the genealogies in the Gospels, confuting the opinions of others as forced and fictitious and setting out his own traditions in the following words: [2] "Since the names of the families in Israel were numbered either by nature or by law; by nature, in the succession of legitimate birth; by law, when a man begat children in the name of a brother who had died childless; for because no certain hope of resurrection had as yet been given they portrayed the future promise by a mortal resurrection, in order that the name

of him who had passed away might not fail to remain. [3] Since then by following this kind of genealogy some succeeded in the legitimate order of father and son, but others were reckoned in name to one father though the children of another, the memory of both was retained, both of the actual and of the fictitious parents. [4] Thus neither of the Gospels misstates, reckoning both nature and law. For the two families, the one descended from Solomon and the other from Nathan, were connected with each other by the 'resurrections' of the childless and second marriages and the raising up of seed, so that the same persons could be correctly regarded as the children of different persons at different times, either of their fictitious or of their real fathers. [5] Thus both accounts are strictly true in coming down to Joseph in a manner complicated but accurate. In order that what has been said may be clear I will explain the relation of the families. Reckoning the generations from David through Solomon the third from the end is found to be Matthan who begat Jacob the father of Joseph; but from Nathan, the son of David, according to Luke, the corresponding third from the end is Melchi; for Joseph was a son of Eli the son of Melchi. [6] So then fixing our attention on Joseph, it must be demonstrated how each is called his father, Jacob tracing his family from Solomon and Eli from Nathan, and how first they, that is Jacob and Eli, were two brothers, and, still earlier, how their fathers, Matthan and Melchi, belonging to different families, are represented as the grandfathers of Joseph. [7] Now Matthan and Melchi, inasmuch as they took the same wife, were the fathers of step-brothers, for the law does not prevent a woman who has lost her husband either by her own divorce or by his death from being married to another. [8] Now from Estha, for this is the traditional name of the woman, first Matthan, who reckoned his descent from Solomon, begat Jacob and when Matthan was dead, Melchi, who traced himself by family to Nathan, took his widow, for he was of the same tribe though of another family, as I said before, and had a son, Eli. [9] Thus we shall find that though the two families were different Jacob and Eli were step-brothers of the same mother, and the first of them, Jacob, when his brother Eli died without children, took his wife, and begat of her the third, Joseph, according to nature, for himself (and so also according to

reason, for which cause it is written, 'And Jacob begat Joseph'), but according to law he was the son of Eli, for to him Jacob, being his brother, raised up seed. Wherefore the genealogy concerning him will not be inaccurate. [10] Matthew, the evangelist, reckoned it in this way, saying, 'And Jacob begat Joseph,' but Luke, on the other hand, said, 'Who was, as it was supposed' (for he adds this also), 'the son of Joseph, the son of Eli, the son of Melchi,' for it was impossible to express legal descent more pointedly, and up to the end he suppressed the word 'begat' concerning such raising of children, for he traces the list back to its source with 'Adam the son of God.' [11] This is neither devoid of proof, nor is it conjecture, for the human relatives of the Saviour have handed on this tradition, either from family pride, or merely to give information, but in any case speaking the truth. When Idumaeans attacked the city of Ascalon in Palestine among their other spoils they took away captive from the temple of Apollo, which was built on the walls, Antipater the child of a certain Herod, a hierodoulos, and since the priest was unable to pay ransom for his son, Antipater was brought up in the customs of the Idumaeans and later was befriended by Hyrcanus the high priest of Judaea. [12] When sent on a mission to Pompey on behalf of Hyrcanus he won for him the freedom of the kingdom which had been taken away by his brother Aristobulus, and so was himself fortunate enough to gain the title of overseer of Palestine. Antipater was assassinated from envy of his great good fortune, and succeeded by a son Herod, who later was appointed by Antony and by decree of the august Senate to be king of the Jews. His children were Herod and the other tetrarchs. So much is shared with the histories of the Greeks also. [13] But since the Hebrew families and those traceable to proselytes, such as Achior the Ammonite, and Ruth the Moabitess, and the mixed families which had come out of Egypt, had until then been enrolled in the archives, Herod, because the family of the Israelites contributed nothing to him, and because he was goaded by his own consciousness of his base birth, burned the records of their families, thinking to appear noble if no one else was able by public documents to trace his family to the patriarchs or proselytes, or to the so-called gers of mixed descent. [14] Now a few who were

careful, having private records for themselves, either remembering the names or otherwise deriving them from copies, gloried in the preservation of the memory of their good birth; among these were those mentioned above, called desposyni, because of their relation to the family of the Saviour, and from the Jewish villages of Nazareth and Cochaba they traversed the rest of the land and expounded the preceding genealogy of their descent, and from the book of Chronicles so far as they went. [15] Whether this be so or not no one could give a clearer account, in my opinion and in that of all well-disposed persons, and it may suffice us even though it is not corroborated, since we have nothing better or truer to say: in any case the gospel speaks the truth.” [16] And at the end of the same letter Africanus adds this: “Matthan of the line of Solomon begat Jacob. On the death of Matthan, Melchi of the line of Nathan begat Eli from the same woman. Thus Eli and Jacob were step-brothers with the same mother. When Eli died without children, Jacob raised up seed for him, begetting Joseph as his own natural son but the legal son of Eli. Thus Joseph was son of both.” Thus far Africanus. [17] Now since this was the nature of the genealogy of Joseph, it is potential proof that Mary belonged to the same tribe as he, seeing that according to the law of Moses, it was not lawful for the different tribes to mix, for the command is given to join in marriage with one of the same people and same family, in order that the inheritance of the race might not be changed from tribe to tribe. Thus let this suffice on this point.

VIII. [1] Now when Christ was born, in accordance with the prophecy, at Bethlehem of Judaea at the time mentioned, Herod was asked by the Magi from the East where might he be who was born king of the Jews, for they had seen his star, and this had been the cause of their long journey in their zeal to worship the infant as God. The request caused him to be not a little disturbed at the situation for, as he thought, his sovereignty was in danger. He therefore inquired from the teachers of the Law among the people where they expected the Christ to be born, and when he learnt the prophecy of Micah, foretelling that it should be in Bethlehem, he gave a comprehensive order to put to death all the infants which were being nursed in Bethlehem and the whole neighbourhood, of two years old and less, according to the time

indicated to him by the Magi, supposing, as was natural, that Jesus also would enjoy the same fate as the children of his age. [2] However the child forestalled the plot by being taken to Egypt, as by the manifestation of an angel his parents had learned beforehand what was to happen. [3] This is also taught by the sacred scripture of the Gospel, but it is worth noticing in this connexion the result of the crime of Herod against the Christ and the children of his age; for immediately, without even a short delay, the justice of God overtook him while he was still in life, showing the prelude of what awaited him when he had passed hence. [4] It is not now possible even to give a summary list of the ways by which he darkened what were reckoned the glories of his reign, by the successive misfortunes of his house, by the foul murder of wife and children and of the rest who were closest to him in family and in affection; for the shadows in their story, which Josephus has narrated at length in the history of Herod, are darker than any in tragic drama. [5] But it is well to hear from the words of that writer how, from the moment of the plot against our Saviour and the other innocents, a scourge sent from God seized him and drove him to death. In the seventeenth book of the Jewish Antiquities he writes of the catastrophe of Herod's life in this way: "But in Herod disease kept growing ever more cruel as God exacted punishment for his crimes. [6] For there was a slow fire which did not give much indication to those who touched him of the burning which within was increasing his evil plight, and an awful desire for nourishment, which could not be ministered to, and ulceration of the intestines, and especially awful pain in the colon, and a moist and transparent dropsy in his feet; similar too was an inflammation of the bladder, and even mortification of the genitals breeding worms. [7] There was also a shrill acceleration of his breathing, and this was very offensive from the nature of the discharge and rapidity of his breath. [8] He was convulsed in every part with intolerable severity. Thus it was said by those who looked on, and had the wisdom to pronounce on these things, that God was exacting this penalty from the king for his many impieties."

[9] The writer mentioned above gives this account in the treatise quoted, and in the second book of the Jewish Wars he gives a

similar tradition, writing as follows:

“Then the disease spread through his whole body, and attacked each part with divers sufferings. The fever rose, there was intolerable itching of the whole surface, incessant pain in the colon, his feet were swollen as though with dropsy, there was inflammation of the bladder, and gangrene of the genitals, breeding worms. In addition to this, his breathing was difficult and impossible if he lay down, and there were spasms in every limb, so that the divines said that his illness was a punishment. Yet though he was struggling with such great suffering he still clung to life, hoping for health and thinking of cure. [10] So he crossed the Jordan and took the warm baths at Callirhoë which flow out into the Dead Sea but are sweet and drinkable. [11] There it was decided by his physicians to warm up his whole body with hot oil by letting it down into a tub full of oil, but he collapsed and turned up his eyes as though dying. Disturbance arose among the attendants and he came back to his sufferings, but for the future gave up hope of cure and ordered fifty drachmas each to be distributed to the soldiers and much money to the governors and his friends. [12] He then returned and reached Jericho, full of melancholy and scarcely refraining from the threat of suicide. But he gained strength enough to plan one more execrable crime; for he brought together the notables from every village from all Judaea and commanded them to be shut up in the so-called Hippodrome. [13] He then summoned Salome, his sister, and her husband, Alexas, and said, ‘I know that the Jews will celebrate my death with festivity, but I can be mourned by others and have a splendid funeral if you are willing to administer my commands. Station soldiers around these men who are shut up, and as soon as I expire kill them with all speed, that all Judaea and every house may weep over me even against its will.’ “ After a little Josephus says: “Later on, racked by lack of food and a convulsive cough, the pains he felt urged him to anticipate fate. [14] He took an apple and asked for a knife, for it was his custom to peel it and eat it. Then, having turned round, lest there should be any to prevent him, he raised his right hand as if he were going to stab himself.” [15] Moreover, the same historian relates that he ordered the murder of another legitimate son before the end of his life,

making the third in addition to the two others already put to death, and immediately gave up his life, torn by great agony. [16] Such was the end of Herod: he paid a just penalty for the children that he murdered at Bethlehem for the sake of his plot against our Saviour. After this an angel appeared in a dream to Joseph, who was staying in Egypt, and commanded him to return to Judaea with the child and his mother, and announced that those who sought the life of the little child were dead. The evangelist continues by saying, "Now when he heard that Archelaus was king in the room of Herod his father, he was afraid to depart there, and, being warned in a dream, retired to the districts of Galilee."

IX. [1] The historian already mentioned corroborates the accession to power of Archelaus after Herod, describing both the way in which he succeeded to the kingdom of the Jews by the testaments of Herod his father and the decision of Caesar Augustus, and how, when he fell from power after ten years, his brothers Philip and the younger Herod, together with Lysanias, administered their own tetrarchies.

[2] In the eighteenth book of the Antiquities the same Josephus explains how Pontius Pilate was given the administration of Judaea in the twelfth year of Tiberius (for he had succeeded to universal sovereignty after Augustus had held the government for fifty-seven years), and for ten whole years he remained in office, almost until the death of Tiberius. [3] So that there is clear proof of the forgery of those who recently or formerly have issued a series of Pilate's Reports about our Saviour; for in them the dates mentioned convict the forgers of untruth. [4] They relate that the crime of the Saviour's death fell in the fourth consulship of Tiberius, which was the seventh year of his reign, but at that time it has been shown that Pilate was not yet in charge of Judaea, if Josephus may be used as a witness, for he clearly shows, in the writing quoted from him above, that it was actually in the twelfth year of the reign of Tiberius that Pilate was appointed procurator of Judaea by Tiberius.

X. [1] In the time of these rulers then, according to the evangelist, when Tiberius Caesar was in the fifteenth year of his reign and Pontius Pilate the fourth of his governorship, and Herod, Lysanias, and Philip were tetrarchs of the rest of Judaea, our

Saviour and Lord, Jesus the Christ of God, “beginning to be about thirty years old,” came to the baptism of John and there began the proclamation of the gospel.

[2] The divine Scripture says that he completed the whole time of his teaching while Annas and Caiaphas were high priest, showing that the whole time of his teaching was bounded by the years which cover their administration. Since, then, he began in the high priesthood of Annas and continued to the reign of Caiaphas the intervening time does not extend to a full four years.

[3] For since the regulations of the law were at that time already in process of destruction the rule had been relaxed by which the duties of the service of God were held for life and by inherited succession, and the Roman governors entrusted the high priesthood at different times to different men, who did not hold this office for more than one year. [4] Moreover Josephus relates that four high priests intervened in succession between Annas and Caiaphas, and speaks as follows in the text of the Antiquities:

“Valerius Gratus, having deprived Ananus of the priesthood, appoints as high priest Ishmael the son of Phabi. Him, too, he removes shortly and nominates as high priest Eliezer the son of Ananus the high priest. [5] But when a year was past he removes him also and hands over the high priesthood to Simon the son of Kamithus. But neither did his tenure of office last for more than a year, and Josephus, who is also called Caiaphas, was his successor.” [6] Thus the whole time of the teaching of our Saviour is shown to be not even a full four years; since from Annas to the appointment of Caiaphas in four years four high priests held the yearly office. Naturally, then, the scripture of the gospel has indicated Caiaphas as high priest of the year in which the Saviour’s passion was completed, and from this also the time of the teaching of Christ is shown to be not discordant with the preceding observation. [7] However, our Lord and Saviour called the twelve apostles not long after the beginning of his preaching, and to them alone of all his disciples did he give the name of apostles as a special privilege. Afterwards he appointed seventy others, and them also he sent out in advance of him, two by two, to every place and city where he was to come himself.

XI. [1] The divine scripture of the gospels relates that not long



afterwards John the Baptist was beheaded by Herod the younger, and Josephus confirms the narrative, mentioning Herodias by name, and telling how, though she was his brother's wife, Herod took her in marriage, by putting aside her who had formerly been legally married to him (and she was the daughter of Aretas the king of the Petraeans) and separating Herodias from her husband who was alive. For her sake, too, after killing John, he waged war with Aretas for the dishonour done his daughter; and Josephus says that in a battle in this war the whole army of Herod was destroyed, and that he suffered this because of the plot against John. [2] The same Josephus admits that John was peculiarly righteous, and a baptist, confirming the testimony recorded in the text of the gospels concerning him. [3] He also relates that Herod was deprived of his kingdom for the sake of the same Herodias, and was exiled with her, being condemned to live in Vienne, a city of Gaul. [4] The account of these things is given in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities, where he writes concerning John exactly as follows:

“Now to some of the Jews it seemed that the army of Herod had been destroyed by God and that he was paying a very just penalty for John who was called the Baptist. [5] For Herod killed him, a good man and one who commanded the Jews, training themselves in virtue, to practise righteousness towards one another and piety towards God, and to come together for baptism. For he said that baptism would prove acceptable to him only in those who used it not to escape from any sins but for bodily purity, on condition that the soul also had been previously cleansed thoroughly by righteousness. [6] And when the rest collected, for they were greatly excited at hearing his words, Herod feared his great persuasiveness with men lest it should lead to some rising, for they appeared ready to do everything under his advice. He therefore considered it much better, before a revolt should spring from John, to put him to death in anticipation, rather than be involved in difficulties through the actual revolution and then regret it. And John, through Herod's suspicion, was sent a prisoner to Macherus, the prison mentioned already, and was there put to death.”

[7] After narrating these things about John in the same historical

work he speaks as follows concerning our Saviour:

“At this time arose Jesus, a wise man, if indeed he must be called a man, for he was a doer of marvellous deeds, a teacher of men who received the truth with pleasure, and he led after him many of the Jews and many also of the Gentile population. [8] This was the Christ; and when Pilate had condemned him to the cross at the instigation of the leading men among us, those who had first loved him did not cease to do so, for he appeared to them when three days dead restored to life, and the divine prophets had told these and ten thousand other wonders concerning him. And up till now the tribe of Christians which are named after him has not died out.”

[9] When a writer sprung from the Hebrews themselves handed on in his own writing these details concerning John the Baptist and our Saviour, what alternative is there but to convict of shamelessness those who have concocted the Reports about them? But let this suffice.

XII. [1] Now the names of the apostles of our Saviour are plain to everyone from the gospels, but no list of the Seventy is anywhere extant. It is said, however, that one of them was Barnabas, and of him the Acts of the Apostles has also made special mention, and so also has Paul when writing to the Galatians. And they say that Sosthenes too, who wrote with Paul to the Corinthians, was one of them. [2] And there is the story in Clement, in the fifth book of the Hypotyposes, in which he says that Cephas, concerning whom Paul says “and when Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to the face,” was one of the seventy disciples, who had the same name as the apostle Peter. [3] Tradition also relates that Matthias, who was reckoned with the apostles in the place of Judas, and he who was honoured with him at the same casting of lots had been called among the Seventy. They also say that Thaddaeus was one of them, and I will shortly recount a narrative which has reached us concerning him. [4] And consideration would show you that there were more disciples of the Saviour than the Seventy, if you used Paul as a witness, for he says that after the resurrection from the dead Jesus was seen first by Cephas, afterwards by the twelve, and after these by above five hundred brethren at once; of whom he says that some had

fallen asleep, but the majority remained alive at the time that he composed this account. [5] He says that he was then seen by James, who was one of the alleged brethren of the Saviour, and then, as though in addition to these there had been numberless apostles, on the model of the twelve, like Paul himself, he goes on to say "then he was seen by all the apostles." This then suffices for them.

XIII. [1] The manner of the narrative concerning Thaddaeus is as follows. The divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ became famous among all men because of his wonder-working power, and led to him myriads even of those who in foreign lands were far remote from Judaea, in the hope of healing from diseases and from all kinds of sufferings. [2] In this way King Abgar, the celebrated monarch of the nations beyond the Euphrates, perishing from terrible suffering in his body, beyond human power to heal, when he heard much of the name of Jesus and of the miracles attested unanimously by all men, became his suppliant and sent to him by the bearer of a letter, asking to find relief from his disease. [3] Jesus did not give heed to his request at the time, yet vouchsafed him a letter of his own, promising to send one of his disciples for the cure of his disease, and for the salvation alike of himself and of all his relations. [4] Nor were the terms of his promise long in being fulfilled. After his resurrection from the dead and return into heaven, Thomas, one of the twelve apostles, was divinely moved to send to Edessa Thaddaeus, who was himself reckoned among the number of the Seventy disciples, as herald and evangelist of the teaching about Christ, and through him all the terms of our Saviour's promise received fulfilment. [5] There is also documentary evidence of these things taken from the archives at Edessa which was at that time a capital city. At least, in the public documents there, which contain the things done in antiquity and at the time of Abgar, these things too are found preserved from that time to this; but there is nothing equal to hearing the letters themselves, which we have extracted from the archives, and when translated from the Syriac they are verbally as follows:

A copy of a letter written by Abgar the Toparch to Jesus and sent to him to Jerusalem by the courier Ananias.

[6] “Abgar Uchama, the Toparch, to Jesus the good Saviour who has appeared in the district of Jerusalem, greeting. I have heard concerning you and your cures, how they are accomplished by you without drugs and herbs. For, as the story goes, you make the blind recover their sight, the lame walk, and you cleanse lepers, and cast out unclean spirits and demons, and you cure those who are tortured by long disease and you raise dead men. [7] And when I heard all these things concerning you I decided that it is one of the two, either that you are God, and came down from heaven to do these things, or are a Son of God for doing these things. For this reason I write to beg you to hasten to me and to heal the suffering which I have. [8] Moreover I heard that the Jews are mocking you, and wish to ill-treat you. [9] Now I have a city very small and venerable which is enough for both.”

The reply from Jesus to Abgar, the Toparch, by the courier Ananias.

[10] “Blessed art thou who didst believe in me not having seen me, for it is written concerning me that those who have seen me will not believe on me, and that those who have not seen me will believe and live. Now concerning what you wrote to me, to come to you, I must first complete here all for which I was sent, and after thus completing it be taken up to him who sent me, and when I have been taken up, I will send to you one of my disciples to heal your suffering, and give life to you and those with you.”

[11] To these letters the following is further appended in the Syriac:

“Now after the ascension of Jesus, Judas, who is also Thomas, sent Thaddaeus to him as an apostle, being one of the Seventy, and he came and stayed with Tobias, the son of Tobias. Now when news of him was heard, it was reported to Abgar that an Apostle of Jesus has come here, as he wrote to you. [12] So Thaddaeus began in the power of God to heal every disease and weakness so that all marvelled And when Abgar heard the great and wonderful deeds which he was doing, and how he was working cures, he began to suspect that this was he of whom Jesus had written saying, ‘When I have been taken up, I will send you one of my disciples who will heal your suffering.’ So he summoned Tobias, with whom Thaddaeus was staying, and said,

'I hear that a certain man of power has come and is staying in your house. [13] Bring him to me.' And Tobias came to Thaddaeus and said to him, 'The Toparch, Abgar, summoned me and bade me bring you to him in order to heal him.' And Thaddaeus said, 'I will go up since I have been miraculously sent to him.' [14] So Tobias rose up early the next day and taking Thaddaeus came to Abgar. Now as he went up, while the king's magnates were standing present, as soon as he entered a great vision appeared to Abgar on the face of the Apostle Thaddaeus. And when Abgar saw this, he did reverence to Thaddaeus, and wonder held all who were standing by, for they had not seen the vision, which appeared only to Abgar. [15] And he asked Thaddaeus, 'Are you of a truth a disciple of Jesus, the Son of God, who said to me, "I will send you one of my disciples who will heal you and give you life"?' And Thaddaeus said, 'Since you have had great faith in him who sent me, I was sent to you for this reason. And again, if you believe in him, the request of your heart shall be to you as you believe.' [16] And Abgar said to him, 'I have such belief in him as to have wished to take force and destroy the Jews who crucified him, had I not been prevented from this by the Roman Empire.' And Thaddaeus said, 'Our Lord has fulfilled the will of his Father, and after fulfilling it has been taken up to the Father.' [17] And Abgar said to him, 'I too have believed on him and on his Father.' And Thaddaeus said, 'For this cause I put my hand on you in his name.' And when he did this immediately he was healed from the disease and the sufferings he had. [18] And Abgar wondered that just as he had heard concerning Jesus so he had in fact received through his disciple Thaddaeus, who cured him without drugs and herbs, and not only him but also Abdus the son of Abdus who had the gout; for he too came and fell at his feet, and received his prayer at his hands, and was healed. And the same Thaddaeus healed many others of their fellow-citizens, performing many wonderful deeds and preaching the word of God. And after this Abgar said, 'O Thaddaeus, it is by the power of God that you do these things, and we ourselves have wondered. [19] But in addition to this I beg you, explain to me concerning the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and concerning his power, and by what power he did these things of which I have heard.' [20] And

Thaddaeus said, 'I will now be silent, but since I was sent to preach the word, summon for me to-morrow an assembly of all your citizens, and I will preach before them, and sow in them the word of life, both concerning the coming of Jesus, how it happened, and concerning his mission, and for what reason he was sent by the Father, and concerning his power, and his deeds, and the mysteries which he spoke in the world, and by what power he did these things, and concerning his new preaching, and concerning his lowliness and humiliation, and how he humbled himself, and put aside and made little his divinity, and was crucified, and descended into Hades, and rent the partition which had not been rent from the beginning of the world, and raised the dead, and he went down alone, but with a great multitude did he go up to his Father.' [21] So Abgar commanded his citizens to assemble in the morning and to hear the preaching of Thaddaeus, and after this he ordered him to be given gold and plate, but he did not receive it, saying, 'If we have left our own things, how shall we take those of others?' [22] These things were done in the 340th year."

Let this valuable and literal translation from the Syriac suffice me for the present.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK II

The contents of the second book of the History of the Church is as follows:

- I. On the life of the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.
- II. On the emotion of Tiberius at learning from Pilate the story of Christ.
- III. How in a short time the message concerning Christ ran through the whole world.
- IV. How after Tiberius Caius appointed Agrippa as King of the Jews and punished Herod with perpetual banishment.

- V. How Philo was sent on an embassy to Caius on behalf of the Jews.
- VI. All the evils which accumulated on the Jews after their crime against Christ.
- VII. How Pilate, too, committed suicide.
- VIII. Concerning the famine in the time of Claudius.
- IX. The martyrdom of James the Apostle.
- X. How Agrippa, who was also called Herod, persecuted the Apostles and at once felt the punishment of God.
- XI. On Theudas the magician.
- XII. On Helena the Queen of the Adiabeni.
- XIII. On Simon Magus.
- XIV. On the preaching of Peter the Apostle at Rome.
- XV. On the Gospel according to Mark.
- XVI. How Mark was the first to preach the knowledge of Christ to those in Egypt.
- XVII. The narrative of Philo on the Ascetics in Egypt.
- XVIII. The treatises of Philo which have come down to us.
- XIX. The misfortunes which overtook the Jews in Jerusalem on the day of the Passover.
- XX. What was done at Jerusalem under Nero.
- XXI. On the Egyptian whom the Acts of the Apostles also mentioned.

XXII. How Paul was sent a prisoner to Rome from Judaea and after defending himself was acquitted of all guilt.

XXIII. How James who was called the brother of the Lord suffered martyrdom.

XXIV. How after Mark Annianus was the first to be appointed bishop of the church of the Alexandrians.

XXV. On the persecution under Nero in which Paul and Peter at Rome were adorned with martyrdom for religion's sake.

XXVI. How the Jews were pursued by countless evils and how they began the final war against the Romans.

Our book was compiled from those of Clement, Tertullian, Josephus, and Philo.





# BOOK II

[1] ALL that needed stating by way of preface in the history of the Church—the proof of the divinity of the saving Logos, the ancient history of our teaching, and the antiquity of the dogmas of the Christian life according to the Gospel, particularly all the points concerning his recently fulfilled advent, the events before his Passion, and the story of the choice of the Apostles—all this we traced in the preceding book, summarizing the demonstration. [2] Let us now consider in the present book what followed his Ascension, noting some things from the divine writings, and adding what is taken from other sources from treatises which we will quote from time to time.

I. [1] Matthias was the first to be chosen to the Apostolate instead of the traitor Judas. As has been shown, he had himself been one of the Lord's disciples, For the administration of the common fund tried men, seven in number, led by Stephen, were appointed to the ministry by prayer and the laying on of the Apostles' hands. And Stephen was first after his Lord not only in ordination, but, as though he had been put forward for this very purpose, also in that he was stoned to death by the Lord's murderers, and so was the first to carry off the crown, implied by his name, which was gained by the martyrs of Christ found worthy of victory.

[2] At that same time also James, who was called the brother of the Lord, inasmuch as the latter too was styled the child of Joseph, and Joseph was called the father of Christ, for the Virgin was betrothed to him when, before they came together, she was discovered to have conceived by the Holy Spirit, as the sacred writing of the Gospels teaches—this same James, to whom the men of old had also given the surname of Just for his excellence of virtue, is narrated to have been the first elected to the throne of the bishopric of the Church in Jerusalem. [3] Clement in the sixth book of the Hypotyposes adduces the following: "For," he says, "Peter and James and John after the Ascension of the Saviour did

not struggle for glory, because they had previously been given honour by the Saviour, but chose James the Just as bishop of Jerusalem.” [4] The same writer in the seventh book of the same work says in addition this about him, “After the Resurrection the Lord gave the tradition of knowledge to James the Just and John and Peter, these gave it to the other Apostles and the other Apostles to the seventy, of whom Barnabas also was one. [5] Now there were two Jameses, one James the Just, who was thrown down from the pinnacle of the temple and beaten to death with a fuller’s club, and the other he who was beheaded.” Paul also mentions the same James the Just when he writes, “And I saw none other of the Apostles save James the brother of the Lord.”

[6] At this time too the terms of our Saviour’s promise to the king of the Osroenes were receiving fulfillment. Thomas was divinely moved to send Thaddaeus to Edessa as herald and evangelist of the teaching concerning Christ, as we have shown just previously from the writing preserved there. [7] When he reached the place Thaddaeus healed Abgar by the word of Christ, and amazed all the inhabitants by his strange miracles. By the mighty influence of his deeds he brought them to reverence the power of Christ, and made them disciples of the saving teaching. From that day to this the whole city of the Edessenes has been dedicated to the name of Christ, thus displaying no common proof of the beneficence of our Saviour to them. [8] Let this suffice from the history of the ancients and let us pass again to the divine Scripture.

On the martyrdom of Stephen there arose the first and greatest persecution of the Church in Jerusalem by the Jews. All the disciples, with the single exception of the Twelve, were scattered throughout Judaea and Samaria; some, as the divine Scripture says, traversed as far as Phoenice, Cyprus and Antioch, but they were not yet in a position to venture to transmit the word of faith to Gentiles, and announced it only to Jews. [9] At that time Paul also was still ravaging the Church, entering into the houses of the faithful, dragging out men and women, and handing them over to prison. [10] Philip, however, one of those who with Stephen had been already ordained to the diaconate, was among those who were scattered abroad, and went down to Samaria, where, filled

with divine power, he was the first to preach the word to those there. So great was the grace of God, which worked with him, that even Simon Magus, with countless others, was captivated by his words. [11] At that time Simon had obtained such fame by his magical power over his victims that he was held to be the Great Power of God; but even he was then so overwhelmed by the marvels wrought by Philip by divine power, that he submitted, and feigned faith in Christ even to the point of baptism. [12] It is worthy of wonder that this is still done by those who continue his most unclean heresy to the present day, for following the method of their progenitor they attach themselves to the Church like a pestilential and scurfy disease, and ravage to the utmost all whom they are able to inoculate with the deadly and terrible poison hidden in them. Most of these, however, have already been driven out, as many as have been detected in their wickedness, just as Simon himself, when his real nature was detected by Peter, paid the proper punishment. [13] While the saving preaching was daily progressing and growing, some providence brought from the land of the Ethiopians an officer of the queen of that land, for the nation, following ancestral customs, is still ruled by a woman. Tradition says that he, who was the first of the Gentiles to receive from Philip by revelation the mysteries of the divine word, and was the first-fruits of the faithful throughout the world, was also the first to return to his native land and preach the Gospel of the knowledge of the God of the universe and the sojourn of our Saviour which gives life to men, so that by him was actually fulfilled the prophecy which says, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hand to God." [14] In addition to these Paul, the chosen vessel neither of men nor through men but through revelation of Jesus Christ himself and God the Father who raised him from the dead, was appointed an Apostle, being vouchsafed this calling by a vision and the heavenly voice of revelation.

II. [1] The wonderful resurrection and ascension into heaven of our Saviour was now already generally famous, and in accordance with an ancient custom that those who were ruling over the nations should report to him who held the imperial office any new movement among them, in order that no event might escape his notice, Pilate communicated to the Emperor Tiberius

the story of the resurrection from the dead of our Saviour Jesus as already famous among all throughout all Palestine, together with the information he had gained of his other wonders and how he was already believed by many to be a God, in that after death he had risen from the dead. [2] They say that Tiberius referred the report to the Senate, which rejected it ostensibly because it had not previously tested the matter, for an ancient law prevailed that no one should be held as a God by the Romans except by a vote and decree of the Senate, but in truth because the saving teaching of the divine message needed no ratification and commendation from men. [3] In this way the council of the Romans rejected the report sent to it concerning our Saviour, but Tiberius kept the opinion which he had formerly held and made no wicked plans against the teaching of Christ.

[4] Tertullian, who had an accurate knowledge of Roman law, a man especially famous among those most distinguished in Rome, has noted this in the Apology for the Christians which was written by him in Latin but translated into the Greek language; he tells the story as follows: [5] "But, in order that we may discuss such laws from their origin, there was an ancient decree that none should be consecrated as a god by an Emperor before being approved by the Senate. Marcus Aemilius has acted thus concerning a certain idol Alburnus. And this supports our argument that among you godship has been given by human approval. If a god does not please man, he does not become god, so that, according to this, man must be gracious to God. [6] Tiberius, therefore, in whose time the name of Christian came into the world, when this doctrine was reported to him from Palestine, where it first began, communicated it to the Senate, and made it plain to them that he favoured the doctrine, but the Senate, because it had not itself tested it, rejected it; but he continued in his own opinion and threatened death to the accusers of the Christians." For heavenly providence had designed putting this in his mind in order that the word of the Gospel might have an unimpeded beginning, and traverse the earth in all directions.

III. [1] Thus by the power and assistance of Heaven the saving word began to flood the whole world with light like the rays of the sun. At once, in accordance with the divine Scriptures, the voice of

its inspired evangelists and Apostles “went forth to the whole earth and their words to the end of the world.” [2] In every city and village arose churches crowded with thousands of men, like a teeming threshing-floor. Those who by hereditary succession and original error had their souls bound by the ancient disease of the superstition of idols were set free as if from fierce masters and found release from fearful bondage by the power of Christ through the teaching of his followers and their wonderful deeds. They rejected all the polytheism of the demons, and confessed that there is only one God, the Creator of the universe. Him they honoured with the rites of true piety by the divine and rational worship which was implanted by our Saviour in the life of men. [3] But indeed it was when the grace of God was already being poured out even on the other nations—when faith in Christ had been received, first by Cornelius with all his house in Palestinian Caesarea through divine manifestation and the ministration of Peter, and also by many other Greeks in Antioch, to whom those preached who had been scattered in the persecution about Stephen, and the Church in Antioch was already flourishing and multiplying—it was at that moment and in that place, when so many of the prophets from Jerusalem were also present, and with them Barnabas and Paul, and a number of the other brethren besides them, that the name of Christian was first given, as from a fresh and life-giving fountain. [4] Agabus also, one of the prophets with them, made predictions that there was to be a famine, and Paul and Barnabas were sent to give assistance to the ministry of the brethren.

IV. [1] Tiberius died after reigning about twenty-two years. After him Caius received the sovereignty and at once gave to Agrippa the crown of the rule of the Jews. He made him king of the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and after a short time added to them the tetrarchy of Herod, sentencing Herod (he was the Herod of the Passion of the Saviour) for many offences to perpetual banishment, together with his wife Herodias. Of this too Josephus is witness.

[2] In his reign Philo became generally known as a man of the greatest distinction, not only among our own people but also among those of heathen education. He was a Hebrew by racial

descent but inferior to none of the magnates in authority in Alexandria. [3] The extent and quality of the labour he bestowed on the theological learning of his race is in fact patent to all, and it is not necessary to say anything of his position in philosophy and the liberal studies of the heathen world since he is related to have surpassed all his contemporaries, especially in his zeal for the study of Plato and Pythagoras. V. [1] Now this writer has narrated in five books what happened to the Jews in the time of Caius; he has in this work combined the stories of the insanity of Caius, how he announced himself as a god and perpetrated innumerable acts of insolence during his reign, of the misery of the Jews in his time, of the mission which he was himself entrusted to make to the city of the Romans on behalf of those of his own race in Alexandria, and of how, when he appeared before Caius on behalf of his ancestral laws, he received nothing but laughter and ridicule, and narrowly escaped risking his life.

[2] Josephus also relates these facts and writes as follows in the eighteenth book of the Antiquities: "Now when a disturbance took place in Alexandria between the Jews who lived there and the Greeks, three of each side were chosen to go as representatives to Caius. [3] One of the Alexandrian representatives was Apion, who uttered many calumnies against the Jews, saying especially that they neglected to give honour to Caesar, and that while all who are subject to the rule of the Romans build altars and temples to Caius, and in all other respects receive him as they do the gods, these men alone think it improper to honour him with statues or to swear by his name. [4] Now though Apion had made many serious charges by which he naturally hoped that Caius would be roused, Philo, the chief of the embassy of the Jews, a man of high reputation in every respect, for he was the brother of Alexander the Alabarch and a philosopher of no little skill, was able in his reply to deal with the accusations, but Caius cut him short, bade him get out of the way, and was so enraged that he clearly was on the point of serious measures against them. [5] So Philo went out, deeply insulted, and told the Jews who were with him that they must keep up their courage, for though Caius was enraged against them he was in fact already fighting against God."

[6] So far Josephus. Philo himself in the Embassy which he wrote gives an accurate and detailed account of what he did at the time. I shall pass over the greater part and cite only those points which plainly demonstrate to students the misfortunes which came upon the Jews, all at once and after a short time, in consequence of their crimes against Christ. [7] In the first place he relates that, in the time of Tiberius, in the city of the Romans, Sejanus, the most influential of the Emperor's court at the time, took measures completely to destroy the whole race, and in Judaea Pilate, under whom the crime against the Saviour was perpetrated, made an attempt on the temple, still standing in Jerusalem, contrary to the privileges granted to the Jews, and harassed them to the utmost, (VI.) while after the death of Tiberius Caius received the sovereignty and inflicted many injuries on many, but more than all did the greatest harm to the whole nation of the Jews. [1] This may be learned shortly from his own words, in which he writes exactly as follows: "Now the character of Caius was extremely capricious towards all, but particularly towards the race of Jews. [2] He hated them bitterly; in other cities, beginning with Alexandria, he seized the synagogues and filled them with images and statues of his own form (for by giving permission to others to install them he did in fact put them there), and in Jerusalem the temple, which had hitherto been untouched and held worthy of preservation from all violation, he tried to change and transform to a shrine of his own to be called that of 'Caius the new Zeus manifest.' "

[3] The same writer narrates in a second treatise entitled On the Virtues innumerable other atrocities, beyond all description, perpetrated on Jews in Alexandria in the same reign, and Josephus confirms him, showing in the same way that the universal misfortunes of the nation began with the time of Pilate and the crimes against the Saviour. Listen then to the actual words of his statement in the second book of the Jewish War. "Now Pilate, sent as procurator to Judaea by Tiberius, brought into Jerusalem at night and covered up the images of Caesar which are called ensigns. [4] When day came this roused the greatest commotion among the Jews, for they were horrified at what they saw close by since their laws had been trampled on, for they do



not permit any image to be set up in the city.”

[5] Now comparing this with the writing of the Gospels you will see that it was not long before they were overtaken by the cry which they uttered in the presence of Pilate himself, with which they shouted out that they had no other king than Caesar only. [6] The same writer then goes on to relate another misfortune which overtook them, as follows: “And after this he roused another commotion by expending the sacred treasure, called Corban, for an aqueduct which he brought from a distance of three hundred stadia. [7] Popular indignation was aroused at this, and when Pilate came to Jerusalem the people stood round with howls of execration; but he had foreseen their disturbance and had mixed with the crowd armed soldiers disguised in civilian clothes, with orders not to use their swords but to club those who had shouted. He gave the signal for this from his judgement-seat; and as the Jews were smitten many perished from the blows, many from being trampled upon by their fellows in their flight, and the mob, overcome at the calamity of those who perished, was silent.”

[8] The same writer shows that besides this innumerable other revolts were started in Jerusalem itself, affirming that from that time risings and war and the mutual contrivance of evil never ceased in the city and throughout Judaea, until the time when the siege under Vespasian came upon them as the last scene of all. Thus the penalty of God pursued the Jews for their crimes against Christ.

VII. [1] It is also worthy of notice that tradition relates that that same Pilate, he of the Saviour’s time, in the days of Caius, whose period we have described, fell into such great calamity that he was forced to become his own slayer and to punish himself with his own hand, for the penalty of God, as it seems, followed hard after him. Those who record the Olympiads of the Greeks with the annals of events relate this.

VIII. [1] Caius had not completed four years of sovereignty when Claudius succeeded him as Emperor. In his time famine seized the world (and this also writers with a purpose quite other than ours have recorded in their histories), and so what the prophet Agabus had foretold, according to the Acts of the Apostles, that a famine would be over the whole world, received

fulfilment. [2] Luke in the Acts describes the famine in the time of Claudius and narrates how the Christians at Antioch sent to those in Judaea, each according to his ability, by Paul and Barnabas, and he goes on to say, (IX.) “Now at that time,”—obviously that of Claudius, the king put forth his hand to vex certain of the church and killed James the brother of John with the sword.” [1] Concerning this James, Clement adds in the seventh book of the Hypotyposes a story worth mentioning, apparently from the tradition of his predecessors, to the effect that he who brought him to the court was so moved at seeing him testify as to confess that he also was himself a Christian. [2] “So they were both led away together,” he says, “and on the way he asked for forgiveness for himself from James. And James looked at him for a moment and said, ‘Peace be to you,’ and kissed him. [3] So both were beheaded at the same time.”

[4] At that time, as the divine Scripture says, Herod, seeing that his action in the murder of James had given pleasure to the Jews, turned to Peter also, put him in prison, and would have perpetrated his murder also had it not been for Divine intervention at the last moment, for an angel appeared to him by night and he was miraculously released from his bonds and set free for the ministry of preaching. Such was the dispensation of heaven for Peter.

X. [1] As to the king’s attempt on the Apostles there was no more delay, but the avenging minister of the sentence of God overtook him at once, immediately after his plot against the Apostles, as the Scripture relates in the Acts. He had gone to Caesarea, and there on the set day of the feast, adorned with splendid and royal robes, he addressed the people, standing on high before his judgement-seat. The whole people applauded his address, as though at the voice of a god and not of a man, and the story relates that an angel of the Lord smote him at once, and he was eaten of worms and expired. It is worthy of wonder how in this marvel also the narrative of Josephus agrees with the divine Scripture. [2] He clearly testifies to the truth in the nineteenth book of the Antiquities, where the wonder is related in the following words: [3] “Now the third year of his reign over all Judaea had been finished when he came to the city of Caesarea, which was

formerly called the tower of Strato. There he was celebrating games in honour of Caesar, because he knew that this was a kind of feast for his safety, and at it was assembled a multitude of those in office and of high rank in the province. [4] On the second day of the games he put on a robe made entirely of silver, so that it was a wonderful fabric, and proceeded to the theatre at the beginning of the day. Then when the silver was refulgent with the first glint of the rays of the sun it gleamed marvellously with a peculiar sheen, fearful and terrifying to those who gazed at it. [5] At once the flatterers raised their voices from various quarters—but no good did it do him—and addressed him as a god, saying, 'Be thou propitious! even if until now we feared thee as man, yet from henceforth we confess thee as of more than mortal nature.' The king was not dismayed at these words, nor did he reject the impious flattery.

[6] But after a little looking up he saw an angel seated above his head. This he at once perceived to be the harbinger of evil, as it had formerly been of good; he had pain in his heart, and agony rapidly beginning spread increasingly through his stomach. [7] So he looked up to his friends and said, 'I, who am your god, am now commanded to give up my life, for fate has immediately reprov'd the lying words just uttered about me. I, whom you called immortal, am now being taken off to die. Fate must be accepted as God has willed, yet I have lived no mean life, but in the spaciousness which men deem happy.' [8] While he was saying this, he began to be overwhelmed by the intensity of his pain; he was therefore carried hastily into the palace, and the report was spread among all that he would certainly die shortly. But the multitude seated on sackcloth with their wives and children, according to the law of their fathers, at once began to beseech God for the king and the whole place was filled with wailing and lamentations. The king lying in a room on high, and looking down on them as they fell prostrate, did not remain without tears himself. [9] After being racked by pain in the stomach for five successive days he passed from life in the fifty-fourth year of his age and the seventh of his reign. He had reigned four years in the time of Caius Caesar. For three years he possessed the tetrarchy of Philip, but in the fourth received also that of Herod, and he

continued for three more years in the reign of Claudius Caesar.” I am surprised how in this and other points Josephus confirms the truth of the divine Scriptures. [10] Even if he seem to some to differ as to the name of the king, nevertheless the date and the events show that he is the same, and either that the name has been changed by some clerical error or that there were two names for the same man, as has happened with many

XI. [1] Since Luke in the Acts introduces Gamaliel as saying at the inquiry about the Apostles that at the time indicated Theudas arose, saying that he was somebody, and that he was destroyed and all who obeyed him were scattered; come, let us compare the writing of Josephus with regard to him. In his work lately mentioned he gives the following narrative. [2] “Now when Fadus was procurator of Judaea a certain impostor named Theudas persuaded a great multitude to take their possessions and follow him to the river Jordan, for he said that he was a prophet and undertook to divide the river by his commands and provide an easy crossing for them. [3] By saying this he deceived many; Fadus, however, did not allow them to enjoy their delusion, but sent a squadron of cavalry against them which attacked them unexpectedly, killed many and took many alive, captured Theudas himself, cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem.”

After this he also mentions as follows the famine which took place in the time of Claudius: XII. “At the same time it happened that the great famine took place in Judaea, [1] in which Queen Helena bought corn from Egypt at great expense and distributed it to those who were in need.” [2] You would find that this too agrees with the writing of the Acts of the Apostles, which records how the disciples in Antioch, each according to his several ability, determined to send to the relief of the dwellers in Judaea, which they did, sending it to the elders by the hand of Barnabas and Paul. [3] Splendid monuments of the Helena whom the historian has commemorated are still shown in the suburbs of the present Aelia; she was said to be queen of the nation of Adiabene.

XIII. [1] Seeing that the faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was already being given to all men, the enemy of men’s salvation planned to capture the capital in advance, and sent there Simon, who was mentioned above, and by aiding the fellow’s

tricky sorcery won over to error many of the inhabitants of Rome. This is told by Justin, who was an ornament of our faith not long after the Apostles, and I will set out the necessary information about him in due course. [2] In his first Apology to Antoninus for our opinions he writes as follows: “And after the ascension of the Lord into heaven the demons put forward men who said that they were gods, and they not only escaped persecution by you but were even vouchsafed honours. [3] There was a certain Simon, a Samaritan, from a village called Gittho, who in the time of Claudius Caesar worked miracles by magic through the art of the demons possessing him; he was reckoned as a god in Rome, your capital city, and honoured as a god among you by a statue on the river Tiber between the two bridges, with this inscription in Latin—SIMONI DEO SANCTO,” that is, to Simon a holy god, [4] “and almost all Samaritans and a few in other nations as well, recognize him as the chief god and worship him, and they say that a certain Helena, who travelled about with him at that time but had formerly lived in a house of ill-fame” in Tyre of Phoenicia, “was the first Idea from him.”

[5] This is what Justin says, and Irenaeus agrees with him in the first book against heresies where he collects the stories about Simon and his unholy and foul teaching. It would be superfluous to relate this in the present work since those who desire it can study in detail the origin and life and the false doctrinal principles of the heresiarchs who followed him and the customs introduced by them all, for they are carefully preserved in the above-mentioned book of Irenaeus. Thus we have received the tradition that Simon was the first author of all heresy. [6] From him, and down to the present time, those who have followed, feigning the Christian philosophy, with its sobriety and universal fame for purity of life, have in no way improved on the idolatrous superstition from which they thought to be set free, for they prostrate themselves before pictures and images of Simon himself and of Helena, who was mentioned with him, and undertake to worship them with incense and sacrifices and libations. [7] Their more secret rites, at which they say that he who first hears them will be astonished, and according to a scripture current among them will be “thrown into marvel,” truly are full of marvel and frenzy and madness; for they

are of such a kind that they not merely cannot be related in writing, but are so full of baseness and unspeakable conduct that they cannot even be mentioned by the lips of decent men. [8] For whatever foulness might be conceived beyond all that is base, it is surpassed by the utter foulness of the heresy of these men, who make a mocking sport of wretched women, "weighed down," as is truly said, by every kind of evil. XIV. [1] Of such evil was Simon the father and fabricator, and the Evil Power, which hates that which is good and plots against the salvation of men, raised him up at that time as a great antagonist for the great and inspired Apostles of our Saviour. [2] Nevertheless the grace of God which is from heaven helped its ministers and quickly extinguished the flames of the Evil One by their advent and presence, and through them humbled and cast down "every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God." [3] Wherefore no conspiracy, either of Simon, or of any other of those who arose at that time, succeeded in those Apostolic days; for the light of the truth and the divine Logos himself, which had shone from God upon men by growing up on the earth and dwelling among his own Apostles, was overcoming all things in the might of victory. [4] The aforesaid sorcerer, as though the eyes of his mind had been smitten by the marvellous effulgence of God when he had formerly been detected in his crimes in Judaea by the Apostle Peter, at once undertook a great journey across the sea, and went off in flight from east to west, thinking that only in this way could he live as he wished. [5] He came to the city of the Romans, where the power which obsessed him wrought with him greatly, so that in a short time he achieved such success that he was honoured as a god by the erection of a statue by those who were there. But he did not prosper long. [6] Close after him in the same reign of Claudius the Providence of the universe in its great goodness and love towards men guided to Rome, as against a gigantic pest on life, the great and mighty Peter, who for his virtues was the leader of all the other Apostles. Like a noble captain of God, clad in divine armour, he brought the costly merchandise of the spiritual light from the east to the dwellers in the west, preaching the Gospel of the light itself and the word which saves souls, the proclamation of the Kingdom of Heaven. XV. [1] Thus when the divine word made its

home among them the power of Simon was extinguished and perished immediately, together with the fellow himself.

But a great light of religion shone on the minds of the hearers of Peter, so that they were not satisfied with a single hearing or with the unwritten teaching of the divine proclamation, but with every kind of exhortation besought Mark, whose Gospel is extant, seeing that he was Peter's follower, to leave them a written statement of the teaching given them verbally, nor did they cease until they had persuaded him, and so became the cause of the Scripture called the Gospel according to Mark. [2] And they say that the Apostle, knowing by the revelation of the spirit to him what had been done, was pleased at their zeal, and ratified the scripture for study in the churches. Clement quotes the story in the sixth book of the Hypotyposes, and the bishop of Hierapolis, named Papias, confirms him. He also says that Peter mentions Mark in his first Epistle, and that he composed this in Rome itself, which they say that he himself indicates, referring to the city metaphorically as Babylon, in the words, "the elect one in Babylon greets you, and Marcus my son."

XVI. [1] They say that this Mark was the first to be sent to preach in Egypt the Gospel which he had also put into writing, and was the first to establish churches in Alexandria itself. [2] The number of men and women who were there converted at the first attempt was so great, and their asceticism was so extraordinarily philosophic, that Philo thought it right to describe their conduct and assemblies and meals and all the rest of their manner of life.

XVII. [1] Tradition says that he came to Rome in the time of Claudius to speak to Peter, who was at that time preaching to those there. This would, indeed, be not improbable since the treatise to which we refer, composed by him many years later, obviously contains the rules of the Church which are still observed in our own time. [2] Moreover, from his very accurate description of the life of our ascetics it will be plain that he not only knew but welcomed, revered, and recognized the divine mission of the apostolic men of his day, who were, it appears, of Hebrew origin, and thus still preserved most of the ancient customs in a strictly Jewish manner. [3] In the first place he promises not to go beyond the truth in any detail or to add anything of his own invention to

what he was going to relate in the treatise which he entitled *On the Contemplative Life or Suppliants*. He then says that they and the women with them were called *Therapeutae* and *Therapeutrides*, and enters upon the reason for such a name. It was given either because, like physicians, they relieve from the passions of evil the souls of those who come to them and so cure and heal them, or because of their pure and sincere service and worship of the Divine. [4] Thus it is not necessary to discuss at length whether he gave them this description of himself, naturally adapting the name to their manner of life, or whether the first ones really called themselves this from the beginning, since the title of Christian had not yet become well known everywhere. [5] At any rate he bears witness especially to their abandonment of property, and states that when they begin to follow philosophy they give up their possessions to their relations, and then, having bade farewell to all the cares of life, go outside the walls to make their dwellings in deserts and oases, for they are well aware that intercourse with those of another way is unprofitable and harmful, and it was the practice at that time, so it seems, of those who were thus initiated to emulate the life of the prophets in zealous and warm faith. [6] For even in the canonical Acts of the Apostles it is related that all the acquaintances of the Apostles sold their goods and possessions and divided them to all according as anyone had need so that none was in want among them; and as many as were possessors of lands or houses, so the story says, sold them and brought the price of what had been sold and laid it at the feet of the Apostles, so that it might be divided to each according as any had need.

[7] To practices like those which have been related Philo bears witness and continues in the following words: "The race is found in many places in the world, for it was right that both Greece and barbarism should share in perfect good, but it abounds in Egypt in each of the so-called nomes and especially around Alexandria. [8] The noblest from every region send a colony to a district well suited for their purpose, as though it were the land of the *Therapeutae*. This district is situated above Lake Mareia on a low hill, very convenient for its safety and the temperateness of the climate." [9] He then goes on to describe the nature of their



dwelling, and says this about the churches in various districts: "In each house there is a sacred dwelling which is called 'a sanctuary and monastery,' in which they celebrate in seclusion the mysteries of the sacred life, and bring nothing into it, either drink or food or any of the other things necessary for bodily needs, but law and inspired oracles given by the prophets and hymns and other things by which knowledge and religion are increased and perfected." [10] And further on he says: "The whole period from dawn to eve is for them a religious exercise; they study the sacred scriptures and expound their national philosophy by allegory, for they regard the literal interpretation as symbolic of a concealed reality indicated in what is beneath the surface. [11] They have also some writings of men of old, who were the founders of their sect, who left many memorials of the meaning allegorically expounded, which they use as models and copy their method of treatment.

[12] This seems to have been said by a man who had listened to their expositions of the sacred scriptures, and it is perhaps probable that the writings of men of old, which he says were found among them, were the Gospels, the writings of the Apostles, and some expositions of prophets after the manner of the ancients, such as are in the Epistle to the Hebrews and many other of the epistles of Paul. [13] He then goes on to write thus about their composition of new psalms: "So that they not only contemplate but make songs and hymns to God in all kinds of metres and melodies, though they perforce arrange them in the more sacred measures."

[14] He discusses many other points as well in the same book, but it seemed necessary to enumerate those by which the characteristics of the life of the Church are exhibited; but if anyone doubt that what has been said is peculiar to life according to the Gospel, and think that it can be applied to others besides those indicated, let him be persuaded by the following words of Philo in which he will find, if he be fair, indisputable testimony on this point. [15] He writes thus: "Having laid down for the soul continence as a foundation they build the other virtues on it. [16] None of them would take food or drink before sunset, for they think that philosophy deserves the daylight and the necessities of the body

darkness; for this reason they allot the day to the one, and a small part of the night to the others. [17] Some of them neglect food for three days for the great love of knowledge dwelling in them, and some so delight and luxuriate in the banquet of doctrine, so richly and ungrudgingly presided over by wisdom, that they abstain for twice that time, and are accustomed scarcely to taste necessary food every six days.”

[18] We think that these words of Philo are clear and indisputably refer to our communion. But if after this anyone obstinately deny it let him be converted from his scepticism and be persuaded by clearer indications which cannot be found among any, save only in the worship of Christians according to the Gospel. [19] For Philo says that women belong also to those under discussion and that most of them are aged virgins who kept their chastity from no compulsion, like some of the priestesses among the Greeks, but rather from voluntary opinion, from zeal and yearning for wisdom, with which they desired to live, and paid no attention to bodily pleasures, longing not for mortal but for immortal children, which only the soul that loves God is capable of bearing of itself. [20] He then proceeds to expound this more clearly. “But the interpretations of the sacred scriptures are given them figuratively in allegories, for the whole law seems to these men to be like a living being; for a body it has the spoken precepts, but for a soul the invisible mind underlying the words; and it is this which this sect has begun especially to contemplate, so that in the mirror of the words it sees manifested surpassing beauty of thought.”

[21] What need is there to add to this a description of their meetings, and of how the men live separately and the women separately in the same place, and of the customary exercises which are still celebrated among us, particularly those which we are accustomed to celebrate at the feast of the Passion of the Saviour by abstinence from food and vigils and attention to the word of God? [22] The writer referred to has given in his own writing a description of this, which exactly agrees with the manner which is still observed by us and by us alone; he relates the vigils for the entire night of the great feast, and the exercises during them, and the hymns which we are accustomed to recite, and how

while one sings regularly with cadence, the rest listen in silence and join in singing only the refrain of the hymns, and how on stated days they sleep on the ground on straw, how they completely refrain from wine, as he expressly states, and from all kinds of flesh, drinking only water and using salt and hyssop to season their bread. [23] In addition to this he writes of the order of precedence of those who have been appointed to the service of the Church, both to the diaconate and to the supremacy of the episcopate at the head over all. [24] Anyone who has a love of accurate knowledge of these things can learn from the narrative of the author quoted already, and it is plain to everyone that Philo perceived and described the first heralds of teaching according to the Gospel and the customs handed down from the beginning by the Apostles.

XVIII. [1] Philo was rich in language and broad in thought, sublime and elevated in his views of the divine writings, and had made various and diverse his exposition of the sacred words. He first went through the subject of the events in Genesis in connected sequence, in the books which he entitled "The Allegories of the Sacred Laws." He then made detailed arrangement into chapters of the difficulties in the Scriptures and gave their statement and solution in the books to which he gave the suitable title of "The Problems and Solutions in Genesis and in Exodus." [2] There are, besides this, some specially elaborated treatises of his on certain problems, such as the two books "On Agriculture," and as many "On Drunkenness," and others with various appropriate titles, such as "The Things which the Sober Mind desires and execrates," "On the Confusion of Tongues," "On Flight and Discovery," "On Assembly for Instruction," and "On the Question who is Heir of the Divine Things," or "On the Distinction between Odd and Even," and further "On the three Virtues which Moses describes with others," in addition to this, "On those whose names have been changed and why they were," in which he says that he has also composed Books I. and II. [3] "On the Covenants." [4] There is also a book of his "On Migration and the wise life of the Man initiated into Righteousness, or Unwritten Laws," and also "On Giants or the Immutability of God," and Books I., II., III., IV., V., "On the Divine Origin of Dreams according

to Moses.” These are the books which have come down to us dealing with Genesis. [5] On Exodus we know Books I., II., III., IV., V. of his “Problems and Solutions,” the book “On the Tabernacle,” and that “On the Ten Commandments,” and Books I., II., III., IV., “On the Laws specially referring to the principal divisions of the Ten Commandments,” and the book “On Animals for Sacrifice and the Varieties of Sacrifice,” and “On the Rewards fixed in the Law for the Good and the Penalties and Curses for the Wicked.” [6] In addition to all this there are also some single volumes of his, such as the book “On Providence,” and the treatise composed by him “On the Jews,” and “The Statesman,” moreover “Alexander, or that irrational animals have reason.” In addition to this the “That every wicked man is a slave,” to which is appended the “That every good man is free.” [7] After these he composed the book “On the Contemplative Life, or Suppliants,” from which we have quoted the passages dealing with the life of the men of the Apostolic age, and the interpretations of the Hebrew names in the Law and the Prophets are said to be his work. [8] He came to Rome in the time of Caius, and in the reign of Claudius is said to have read before the whole Senate of the Romans his description of the impiety of Caius, which he entitled, with fitting irony, “Concerning Virtues,” and his words were so much admired as to be granted a place in libraries.

[9] At this time, while Paul was finishing his journey from Jerusalem and round about unto Illyricum, Claudius banished the Jews from Rome, and Aquila and Priscilla, with the other Jews, left Rome and came into Asia, and lived there with Paul the Apostle, while he was strengthening the foundations of the churches there which had recently been laid by him. The sacred Scripture of the Acts teaches this also.

XIX. [1] Now while Claudius was still administering the Empire there was a riot and confusion in Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover so great that, merely among those who were violently crowded together at the ways leading out of the temple, thirty thousand Jews perished by trampling on each other, and the feast was turned into mourning for the whole nation and into lamentation in each house. This too Josephus relates in so many words. [2] Claudius appointed Agrippa, the child of Agrippa, as

king of the Jews, and sent out Felix as Procurator of the whole district of Samaria and Galilee, together with that called Peraea. He had administered the government for thirteen years and eight months when he died and left Nero his successor in the sovereignty.

XX. [1] In the time of Nero, while Felix was Procurator of Judaea, Josephus again relates the quarrel of the priests with one another in the following words in a passage in the twentieth book of the Antiquities: [2] “Now a quarrel arose between the High Priests and the priests and leaders of the people of Jerusalem. Each of them made for himself a band of the boldest revolutionaries, of which he was the leader, and when they met they used to abuse each other and throw stones. [3] There was not a single one to rebuke this, but it was done with licence as though in a city without government. Such shamelessness and audacity seized the High Priests that they ventured to send slaves to the threshing-floors to take the tithes owed to the priests, and it was a common occurrence to see destitute priests perishing of want. Thus the violence of the factions conquered all justice.”

[4] The same writer again relates that at the same time a certain kind of bandits arose in Jerusalem, who, as he says, murdered daily those whom they met, even in the midst of the city. [5] In particular at the feasts they used to mingle with the crowd and concealing short daggers in their clothes used to stab distinguished people with them; then, when they had fallen, the murderers themselves shared in the indignation. In this way they evaded discovery through the confidence generally placed in them. [6] Jonathan the High Priest was the first to be slain by them, but after him many were murdered daily, and fear was worse than the disasters, for as if in war every man was hourly expecting death.

XXI. [1] He continues his narrative after other details as follows: “The Egyptian false prophet afflicted the Jews with a worse scourge than this, for this man appeared in the country as a sorcerer and secured for himself the faith due to a prophet. He assembled about thirty thousand who had been deceived and led them round from the wilderness to the mount called Olivet, where he was in a position to force an entry into Jerusalem and

overpower the Roman garrison and the people by a despotic use of the soldiers who had joined him. [2] But Felix, anticipating his attack, met him with the Roman forces, and all the people agreed in the defence, so that when battle was joined the Egyptian fled with a few men and the greater part of those with him were destroyed or captured.”

[3] Josephus relates this in the second book of the Wars, but it is worth noting what is said about the Egyptian there and in the Acts of the Apostles, where, in the time of Felix, the centurion at Jerusalem said to Paul, when the mob of the Jews was rioting against him, “Art thou not that Egyptian who before these days made an uproar and led out in the wilderness four thousand men of the Sicarii?” Such was the course of events under Felix.

XXII. [1] Festus was sent as his successor by Nero, and Paul was tried before him and taken as a prisoner to Rome; Aristarchus was with him, and he naturally called him his fellow-prisoner in a passage in the Epistles. Luke also, who committed the Acts of the Apostles to writing, finished his narrative at this point by the statement that Paul spent two whole years in Rome in freedom, and preached the word of God without hindrance. [2] Tradition has it that after defending himself the Apostle was again sent on the ministry of preaching, and coming a second time to the same city suffered martyrdom under Nero. During this imprisonment he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, indicating at the same time that his first defence had taken place and that his martyrdom was at hand. [3] Notice his testimony on this point: “At my first defence,” he says, “no man was with me, but all deserted me (may it not be laid to their charge), but the Lord stood by me and strengthened me that the preaching might be fulfilled by me and all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered from the lion’s mouth.” [4] He clearly proves by this that on the first occasion, in order that the preaching which took place through him might be fulfilled, he was delivered from the lion’s mouth, apparently referring to Nero thus for his ferocity. [5] He does not go on to add any such words as “he will deliver me from the lion’s mouth,” for he saw in the spirit that his death was all but at hand, wherefore after the words “And I was delivered from the lion’s mouth,” he goes on to say, “The Lord will deliver me from all evil and save me

for his heavenly kingdom,” indicating his impending martyrdom. And this he foretells even more clearly in the same writing, saying, “For I am already offered up and the time of my release is at hand.” [6] Now in the second Epistle of those to Timothy, he states that only Luke was with him as he wrote, and at his first defence not even he; wherefore Luke probably wrote the Acts of the Apostles at that time, carrying down his narrative until the time when he was with Paul. [7] We have said this to show that Paul’s martyrdom was not accomplished during the sojourn in Rome which Luke describes. [8] Probably at the beginning Nero’s disposition was gentler and it was easier for Paul’s defence on behalf of his views to be received, but as he advanced towards reckless crime the Apostles were attacked along with the rest.

XXIII. [1] When Paul appealed to Caesar and was sent over to Rome by Festus the Jews were disappointed of the hope in which they had laid their plot against him and turned against James, the brother of the Lord, to whom the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem had been allotted by the Apostles. The crime which they committed was as follows. [2] They brought him into the midst and demanded a denial of the faith in Christ before all the people, but when he, contrary to the expectation of all of them, with a loud voice and with more courage than they had expected, confessed before all the people that our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the son of God, they could no longer endure his testimony, since he was by all men believed to be most righteous because of the height which he had reached in a life of philosophy and religion, and killed him, using anarchy as an opportunity for power since at that moment Festus had died in Judaea, leaving the district without government or procurator. [3] The manner of James’s death has been shown by the words of Clement already quoted, narrating that he was thrown from the battlement and beaten to death with a club, but Hegesippus, who belongs to the generation after the Apostles, gives the most accurate account of him speaking as follows in his fifth book: “The charge of the Church passed to James the brother of the Lord, together with the Apostles. [4] He was called the ‘Just’ by all men from the Lord’s time to ours, since many are called James, but he was holy from his mother’s womb. [5] He drank no wine or strong drink, nor did

he eat flesh; no razor went upon his head; he did not anoint himself with oil, and he did not go to the baths. [6] He alone was allowed to enter into the sanctuary, for he did not wear wool but linen, and he used to enter alone into the temple and be found kneeling and praying for forgiveness for the people, so that his knees grew hard like a camel's because of his constant worship of God, kneeling and asking forgiveness for the people. [7] So from his excessive righteousness he was called the Just and Oblias, that is in Greek, 'Rampart of the people and righteousness,' as the prophets declare concerning him. [8] Thus some of the seven sects among the people, who were described before by me (in the Commentaries), inquired of him what was the 'gate of Jesus,' and he said that he was the Saviour. [9] Owing to this some believed that Jesus was the Christ. The sects mentioned above did not believe either in resurrection or in one who shall come to reward each according to his deeds, but as many as believed did so because of James. [10] Now, since many even of the rulers believed, there was a tumult of the Jews and the Scribes and Pharisees saying that the whole people was in danger of looking for Jesus as the Christ. So they assembled and said to James, 'We beseech you to restrain the people since they are straying after Jesus as though he were the Messiah. We beseech you to persuade concerning Jesus all who come for the day of the Passover, for all obey you. For we and the whole people testify to you that you are righteous and do not respect persons. So do you persuade the crowd not to err concerning Jesus, for the whole people and we all obey you. [11] Therefore stand on the battlement of the temple that you may be clearly visible on high, and that your words may be audible to all the people, for because of the Passover all the tribes, with the Gentiles also, have come together.' [12] So the Scribes and Pharisees mentioned before made James stand on the battlement of the temple, and they cried out to him and said, 'Oh, just one, to whom we all owe obedience, since the people are straying after Jesus who was crucified, tell us what is the gate of Jesus? [13] And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do you ask me concerning the Son of Man? He is sitting in heaven on the right hand of the great power, and he will come on the clouds of heaven.' [14] And many were convinced



and confessed at the testimony of James and said, 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' Then again the same Scribes and Pharisees said to one another, 'We did wrong to provide Jesus with such testimony, but let us go up and throw him down that they may be afraid and not believe him.' [15] And they cried out saying, 'Oh, oh, even the just one erred.' And they fulfilled the Scripture written in Isaiah, 'Let us take the just man for he is unprofitable to us. Yet they shall eat the fruit of their works.' [16] So they went up and threw down the Just, and they said to one another, 'Let us stone James the Just,' and they began to stone him since the fall had not killed him, but he turned and knelt saying, 'I beseech thee, O Lord, God and Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' [17] And while they were thus stoning him one of the priests of the sons of Rechab, the son of Rechabim, to whom Jeremiah the prophet bore witness, cried out saying, 'Stop! what are you doing? The Just is praying for you.' And a certain man among them, one of the laundrymen, took the club with which he used to beat out the clothes, and hit the Just on the head, and so he suffered martyrdom. [18] And they buried him on the spot by the temple, and his gravestone still remains by the temple. He became a true witness both to Jews and to Greeks that Jesus is the Christ, and at once Vespasian began to besiege them."

[19] This account is given at length by Hegesippus, but in agreement with Clement. Thus it seems that James was indeed a remarkable man and famous among all for righteousness, so that the wise even of the Jews thought that this was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem immediately after his martyrdom, and that it happened for no other reason than the crime which they had committed against him.

[20] Of course Josephus did not shrink from giving written testimony to this, as follows: "And these things happened to the Jews to avenge James the Just, who was the brother of Jesus the so-called Christ, for the Jews killed him in spite of his great righteousness." The same writer also narrates his death in the twentieth book of the Antiquities as follows: "Now when Caesar heard of the death of Festus he sent Albinus as governor to Judaea, but the younger Ananus, who, as we said, had received the High Priesthood, was bold in temperament and remarkably

daring. [21] He followed the sect of the Sadducees, who are cruel in their judgements beyond all the Jews, as we have already explained. Thus his character led Ananus to think that he had a suitable opportunity through the fact that Festus was dead and Albinus still on his way. [22] He summoned a council of judges, brought before it the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ, whose name was James, and some others, on the accusation of breaking the law and delivered them to be stoned. [23] But all who were reputed the most reasonable of the citizens and strict observers of the law were angered at this and sent secretly to the Emperor, begging him to write to Ananus to give up doing such things, for they said that he had not acted rightly from the very beginning. And some of them also went to meet Albinus as he journeyed from Alexandria, and explained that it was illegal for Ananus to assemble the council without his permission. Albinus was influenced by what was said and wrote angrily to Ananus threatening him with penalties, and for this reason King Agrippa deprived him of the High Priesthood when he had held it for three months, and appointed Jesus the son of Dammaeus.” [24] Such is the story of James, whose is said to be the first of the Epistles called Catholic. [25] It is to be observed that its authenticity is denied, since few of the ancients quote it, as is also the case with the Epistle called Jude’s, which is itself one of the seven called Catholic; nevertheless we know that these letters have been used publicly with the rest in most churches.

XXIV. [1] In the eighth year of the reign of Nero Annianus was the first after Mark the Evangelist to receive charge of the diocese of Alexandria.

XXV. [1] When the rule of Nero was now gathering strength for unholy objects he began to take up arms against the worship of the God of the universe. [2] It is not part of the present work to describe his depravity: many indeed have related his story in accurate narrative, and from them he who wishes can study the perversity of his degenerate madness, which made him compass the unreasonable destruction of so many thousands, until he reached that final guilt of sparing neither his nearest nor dearest, so that in various ways he did to death alike his mother, brothers, and wife, with thousands of others attached to his family, as

though they were enemies and foes. But with all this there was still lacking to him this—that it should be attributed to him that he was the first of the emperors to be pointed out as a foe of divine religion. [3] This again the Latin writer Tertullian mentions in one place as follows: “Look at your records: there you will find that Nero was the first to persecute this belief when, having overcome the whole East, he was specially cruel in Rome against all. [4] We boast that such a man was the author of our chastisement; for he who knows him can understand that nothing would have been condemned by Nero had it not been great and good.”

[5] In this way then was he the first to be heralded as above all a fighter against God, and raised up to slaughter against the Apostles. It is related that in his time Paul was beheaded in Rome itself, and that Peter likewise was crucified, and the title of “Peter and Paul,” which is still given to the cemeteries there, confirms the story, no less than does a writer of the Church named Caius, who lived when Zephyrinus was Bishop of Rome. [6] Caius in a written discussion with Proclus, the leader of the Montanists, speaks as follows of the places where the sacred relics of the Apostles in question are deposited: “But I can point out the trophies of the Apostles, for if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way you will find the trophies of those who founded this Church.” [7] And that they both were martyred at the same time Dionysius, bishop of Corinth, affirms in this passage of his correspondence with the Romans: “By so great an admonition you bound together the foundations of the Romans and Corinthians by Peter and Paul, for both of them taught together in our Corinth and were our founders, and together also taught in Italy in the same place and were martyred at the same time.” [8] And this may serve to confirm still further the facts narrated.

XXVI. [1] Josephus in the course of his extremely detailed description of the catastrophe which overcame the whole Jewish race, in addition to many other things explains exactly how many thousand Jews of high rank in Jerusalem itself were outraged, scourged, and crucified by Florus, and that he was procurator of Judaea when it happened that the beginning of the war blazed up in the twelfth year of the reign of Nero. [2] He next says that throughout Syria terrible disturbances followed the revolt of the

Jews. Everywhere the Gentiles mercilessly attacked the Jews in the cities as though they were foes, so that the cities could be seen full of unburied bodies, thrown out dead, old men and children, and women without covering for their nakedness; the whole province was full of indescribable misery and the strain of the threats for the future was worse than the crimes of the present. This Josephus narrates, and such was the condition of the Jews.

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# BOOK III

I. [1] SUCH was the condition of things among the Jews, but the holy Apostles and disciples of our Saviour were scattered throughout the whole world. [2] Thomas, as tradition relates, obtained by lot Parthia, Andrew Scythia, John Asia (and he stayed there and died in Ephesus), but Peter seems to have preached to the Jews of the Dispersion in Pontus and Galatia and Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Asia, and at the end he came to Rome and was crucified head downwards, for so he had demanded to suffer. [3] What need be said of Paul, who fulfilled the gospel of Christ from Jerusalem to Illyria and afterward was martyred in Rome under Nero? This is stated exactly by Origen in the third volume of his commentary on Genesis.

II. [1] After the martyrdom of Paul and Peter, Linus was the first appointed to the bishopric of the church of Rome. Paul mentions him when writing from Rome to Timothy in the salutation at the end of the Epistle.

III. [1] Of Peter, one epistle, that which is called his first, is admitted, and the ancient presbyters used this in their own writings as unquestioned, but the so-called second Epistle we have not received as canonical, but nevertheless it has appeared useful to many, and has been studied with other Scriptures On the other hand, of the Acts bearing his name, and the Gospel named according to him and Preaching called his and the so-called Revelation, we have no knowledge at all in Catholic tradition, for no orthodox writer of the ancient time or of our own has used their testimonies. [2] As the narrative proceeds I will take pains to indicate successively which of the orthodox writers in each period used any of the doubtful books, and what they said about the canonical and accepted Scriptures and what about those which are not such. [3] Now the above are the books bearing the name of Peter, of which I recognize only one as genuine and admitted by the presbyters of old. [4] And the fourteen letters of Paul are obvious and plain, yet it is not right to ignore that some dispute the



Epistle to the Hebrews, saying that it was rejected by the church of Rome as not being by Paul, and I will expound at the proper time what was said about it by our predecessors. [5] Nor have I received his so-called Acts among undisputed books. [6] But since the same Apostle in the salutations at the end of Romans has mentioned among others Hermas, whose, they say, is the Book of the Shepherd, it should be known that this also is rejected by some, and for their sake should not be placed among accepted books, but by others it has been judged most valuable, especially to those who need elementary instruction. For this reason we know that it has been used in public in churches, and I have found it quoted by some of the most ancient writers. [7] Let this suffice for the establishment of the divine writings which are undisputed, and of those which are not received by all.

IV. [1] Now it would be clear from Paul's own words and from the narrative of Luke in the Acts that Paul, in his preaching to the Gentiles, laid the foundations of the churches from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum. [2] And from the Epistle which we have spoken of as indisputably Peter's, in which he writes to those of the Hebrews in the Dispersion of Pontus and Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, it would be clear from his own words in how many provinces he delivered the word of the New Testament by preaching the Gospel of Christ to those of the circumcision. [3] But it is not easy to say how many of these and which of them were genuinely zealous and proved their ability to be the pastors of the churches founded by the Apostles, except by making a list of those mentioned by Paul. [4] For there were many thousands of his fellow-workers and, as he called them himself, fellow-soldiers, of whom the most were granted by him memorial past forgetting, for he recounts his testimony to them unceasingly in his own letters, and, moreover, Luke also in the Acts gives a list of those known to him and mentions them by name. [5] Thus Timothy is related to have been the first appointed bishop of the diocese of Ephesus, as was Titus of the churches in Crete. [6] Luke, who was by race an Antiochian and a physician by profession, was long a companion of Paul, and had careful conversation with the other Apostles, and in two books left us examples of the medicine for souls which he had gained from them—the Gospel, which he

testifies that he had planned according to the tradition received by him by those who were from the beginning eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, all of whom he says, moreover, he had followed from the beginning, and the Acts of the Apostles which he composed no longer on the evidence of hearing but of his own eyes. [7] And they say that Paul was actually accustomed to quote from Luke's Gospel since when writing of some Gospel as his own he used to say, "According to my Gospel." [8] Of the other followers of Paul there is evidence that Crescens was sent by him to Gaul, and Linus, who is mentioned in the second Epistle to Timothy as present with him in Rome has already been declared to have been the first after Peter to be appointed to the bishopric of the Church in Rome. [9] Of Clement too, who was himself made the third bishop of the church of Rome, it is testified by Paul that he worked and strove in company with him. [10] In addition to these Dionysius, one of the ancients, the pastor of the diocese of the Corinthians, relates that the first bishop of the Church at Athens was that member of the Areopagus, the other Dionysius, whose original conversion after Paul's speech to the Athenians in the Areopagus Luke described in the Acts. [11] Now as we go on our way the chronological details of the succession of the Apostles will be related, but at present let us go on to the next stage of the narrative.

V. [1] After Nero had held the sovereignty for thirteen years the affairs of Galba and Otho occupied a year and six months, and then Vespasian, who had distinguished himself in the operations against the Jews, was proclaimed Imperator by the army there and appointed Emperor in Judaea itself. He at once set off for Rome and entrusted the war against the Jews to his son Titus. Now after the ascension of our Saviour in addition to their crime against him the Jews at once contrived numberless plots against his disciples. [2] Stephen was first stoned to death by them and next after him James, the son of Zebedee and brother of John, was beheaded. In addition to all, James, who was the first after the ascension of our Saviour to be appointed to the throne of the bishopric in Jerusalem, passed away in the manner described above and the other Apostles were driven from the land of Judaea by thousands of deadly plots. They went on their way to all the

heathen teaching their message in the power of Christ for he had said to them, "Go and make disciples of all the heathen in my name." [3] On the other hand, the people of the church in Jerusalem were commanded by an oracle given by revelation before the war to those in the city who were worthy of it to depart and dwell in one of the cities of Perea which they called Pella. To it those who believed on Christ migrated from Jerusalem, that when holy men had altogether deserted the royal capital of the Jews and the whole land of Judaea, the judgement of God might at last overtake them for all their crimes against the Christ and his Apostles, and all that generation of the wicked be utterly blotted out from among men. [4] Those who wish can retrace accurately from the history written by Josephus how many evils at that time overwhelmed the whole nation in every place and especially how the inhabitants of Judaea were driven to the last point of suffering, how many thousands of youths, women, and children perished by the sword, by famine, and by countless other forms of death; they can read how many and what famous Jewish cities were besieged, and finally how terrors and worse than terrors were seen by those who fled to Jerusalem as if to a mighty capital; they can study the nature of the whole war, all the details of what happened in it, and how at the end the abomination of desolation spoken of by the prophets was set up in the very temple of God, for all its ancient fame, and it perished utterly and passed away in flames. [5] But it is necessary to point out how the same writer estimates at three millions the number of those who in the days of the Feast of the Passover thronged Jerusalem from all Judaea and, to use his own words, [6] were shut up as if in prison. It was indeed right that on the same day on which they had perpetrated the passion of the Saviour and benefactor of all men and the Christ of God they should be, as it were, shut up in prison and receive the destruction which pursued them from the sentence of God.

Omitting then the details of their misfortunes from the sword and otherwise, [7] I think it necessary to adduce only their sufferings from famine in order that those who study this work may have some partial knowledge of how the punishment of God followed close after them for their crime against the Christ of God.

VI. [1] Come, then, take up again the fifth book of the history of Josephus and go through the tragedy of what was then done. "For the rich," he says, "to remain was equal to destruction, since for the sake of their property they were murdered on the charge of intended desertion. But the madness of the rebels grew with the famine, and the terror of both blazed more fiercely day by day. No corn was visible anywhere, but they burst into houses and searched them. [2] Then, if they found any, they tormented the inmates for their denying; if not, they tortured them for having hidden it too carefully. The bodies of the miserable creatures were evidence whether they had it or not. Those who were still in health seemed to be provided with food, while those who were already wasted away were passed by, and it seemed unreasonable to kill those who would soon die of need. [3] Many secretly exchanged their property for a single measure of wheat, if they were richer, of barley, if they were poorer. Then, shutting themselves up in the inmost recesses of their houses, some, in the extremity of their want, would eat the grain unprepared, others would cook it as necessity and fear dictated. [4] No table was set anywhere, but snatching it from the fire they tore in pieces the still uncooked food. Their living was pitiable, and their appearance worthy of tears; the strong plundered and the weak wailed. Famine truly surpasses all sufferings, [5] but it destroys nothing so much as shame; for what is at other times worthy of respect is despised in famine; women took the food from the very mouths of their husbands, children from their fathers, and, most piteous of all, mothers from their children, and while their dearest were wasting away before them there was no scruple in taking away the last drop of life. Yet they did not escape detection when they thus ate, [6] but everywhere the rioters arose to rob them even of this; for whenever they saw a house shut up it was a sign that those within had obtained food and at once they tore down the doors, rushed in, and seized the morsels, almost squeezing them out of their throats. Old men were beaten for withholding food, [7] and women were dragged by the hair for concealing it in their hands. There was no pity for grey-headed age or for little children, but they picked up babies clinging to crusts and dashed them on the floor. To those who had anticipated their entry, and had gulped down

their expected prey, they were the more cruel, [8] as though they had been injured by them. For the discovery of food they sought for terrible methods of torture, sewing up their victims and impaling them on sharp stakes. Men suffered things terrible even to hear to secure the confession of a single loaf, and to disclose a single pint of hidden barley. [9] But the torturers suffered no hunger (and indeed their cruelty would have been less had it been from necessity) but there was method in their madness and they provided sustenance for themselves for days to come. [10] When some crept out by night as far as the Roman lines to gather wild herbs and grass, they intercepted them when they thought that they had at last escaped the enemy, plundered them of what they were carrying, and for all their many entreaties and invocations of the awful name of God to give them some share of what they had brought at their own risk, they gave them nothing whatever, and he who was robbed was lucky not to be murdered too.”

[11] After some other details he continues: “Now when all hope of safety was cut off from the Jews by the closing of the exits from the city and famine deepening from house to house and family to family was eating up the people, the rooms were filled with dead women and children and the alley-ways with the corpses of old men. [12] Boys and young men, wandering like ghosts through the market-place, were seized by death and lay each where the blow had stricken him. The sick had no strength to bury their families and the strong hesitated for the number of the dead and their own doubtful fate. Many indeed fell in death on those whom they were burying and many went to their graves before the necessity arose. [13] There was no lamentation or wailing at losses, but famine overcame emotion and those who were dying in misery looked with dry eyes on those who had found rest before them. [14] Deep silence and night pregnant with death encompassed the city. Worse than these were the robbers. Breaking into houses like body-snatchers they robbed the dead, tearing the garments from their bodies, and went out with laughter. They tried the edge of their swords on the corpses, and to prove the steel ran through some of the fallen who were still alive, but those who begged for the kindness of a mortal blow they left in contempt to the famine. These all died with eyes fixed on the temple and left the rebels to

life. [15] At first orders were given to bury the dead at the public expense because of the unbearable stench; then afterwards when this was impracticable they were thrown from the walls into the trenches. When Titus, going round the trenches, saw them full of the dead and the thick gore oozing from the rotting bodies, he groaned, and raising his hands called God to witness that this was not his doing.”

[16] After a little more he goes on: “I cannot refrain from stating what emotion bids me. I think that had the Romans delayed their attack on the scoundrels the city would have been engulfed by the earth opening or overwhelmed by a flood or shared the thunderbolts of Sodom, for it had brought forth a generation far more ungodly than those who thus suffered. It was by their madness that the whole people perished.”

[17] In the sixth book he writes thus: “Of those who perished in the city from the famine the number which fell was countless and their sufferings indescribable. For in each house if there appeared the very shadow of food there was fighting, and the dearest friends wrestled together for it, snatching the miserable sustenance of life. Nor were even the dying believed to be destitute, [18] but while they were still breathing the robbers searched them, lest any should feign death while having food on his person. Others, gaping from lack of food, stumbled and hurried along like mad dogs, beating at the doors like drunken men, and rushing two or three times in a single hour into the same houses from sheer incompetence. [19] Necessity brought all things to men’s teeth and they endured eating a collection of scraps unfit for the filthiest of brute beasts. At the last they abstained not even from belts and shoes and gnawed the hides stripped off their shields. Some fed on wisps of old straw, others collected stubble and sold a tiny portion for four Attic drachmae.

[20] “But what need is there to speak of the shamelessness of the famine towards inanimate things? I purpose to relate a consequence of it such as has been narrated neither by the Greeks nor by the barbarians, horrible to tell, incredible to hear. I myself would have gladly omitted the tragedy to avoid appearing to posterity to fabricate legend had I not had countless witnesses to it in my own generation. Certainly I should render cold comfort

to my country were I to compromise the account of her sufferings. [21] There was a woman among those who lived beyond Jordan named Mary whose father was Eliezer of the village Bathezor (which means "House of Hyssop"). She was famous for her family and wealth, [22] and having fled with the rest of the population to Jerusalem was caught in the siege. The tyrants seized all her other possessions which she had brought from Peraea and carried into the city, and the guards rushed in daily and seized the remnants of her property and any food which they perceived. Fierce indignation seized the woman and by her frequent abuses and curses she tried to irritate the robbers against herself. [23] But when no one killed her either in anger or pity and she wearied of finding food for others, and indeed it was now impossible to do so anywhere, famine entered into her heart and marrow, and rage burnt more fiercely than famine. Anger and necessity were her councillors: she turned against nature and seized her child, a boy whom she was suckling. 'Miserable infant,' she said, 'amid war, [24] famine, and rebellion for what am I keeping you? Slavery among the Romans faces us if they give us our lives; famine is overtaking slavery; the rebels are worse than both. Come, be food for me, an avenging fury to the rebels, and the one story still lacking to the sufferings of the Jews to be told to the world.' [25] With these words she killed her son, and then cooked him, ate half, and covered up and kept the rest. At that moment the rebels came and smelling the horrible savour, threatened to kill her at once if they were not given what she had made ready. She told them that she had kept a good helping for them and uncovered the remains of the child. [26] As for them, horror and amazement seized them at once, and they stood transfixed at the sight, but she said, 'This was my own child and the deed is mine. Eat, for I myself have eaten. Do not be more squeamish than a woman, or compassionate than a mother. But if you have scruples, and turn away from my sacrifice, what I have eaten was your share, let the rest remain for me.' At this they went out trembling, [27] for only this made them cowards, and they scarcely yielded even this food to the mother; but the whole city was at once filled with the horror, and each, holding the tragedy before his eyes, shuddered as if it had been his own crime. [28] And the sufferers from the famine

sought for death and pronounced those blessed whom it had reached before they heard or saw such awful evils.”

VII. [1] Such was the reward of the iniquity of the Jews and of their impiety against the Christ of God, but it is worth appending to it the infallible forecast of our Saviour in which he prophetically expounded these very things,—”Woe unto them that are with child and give suck in those days, but pray that your flight be not in the winter nor on a Sabbath day, for there shall then be great affliction such as was not from the beginning of the world until now, nor shall be.” [2] And the historian, estimating the whole number of those who were destroyed, says that 1,100,000 perished by famine and the sword, and that the rest of the rebels and bandits were pointed out by one another after the capture of the city and killed. The tallest of the youths, and those distinguished for physical beauty, were kept for a triumph, and of the remaining population those above seventeen years old were sent as prisoners to hard labour in Egypt, but more were distributed throughout the provinces to be destroyed in the theatres by the sword and by wild beasts. Those below seventeen years old were sold into slavery and these alone were 90,000.

[3] These things happened in this way in the second year of the reign of Vespasian in accordance with the prophetic utterances of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who foreseeing them by divine power as though already present, shed tears at them and mourned according to the writing of the sacred evangelist, who appends his actual words. For once he said to Jerusalem herself, “If thou hadst known, even thou, [4] in this day the things which belong to thy peace: but now they are hid from thine eyes, for the days will come upon thee when thine enemy shall cast a trench around thee and compass thee round and keep thee in on every side, and shall lay thee and thy children even with the ground.” And at another time, as if concerning the people, [5] “For there shall be great distress on the earth and wrath upon this people, and they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and be sold into slavery to all the Gentiles, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled.” And again, “And when ye see Jerusalem surrounded by armies then know that her desolation is at hand.” [6] If anyone compare the



words of our Saviour with the other narratives of the historian concerning the whole war, how can he avoid surprise and a confession of the truly divine and supernaturally wonderful character both of the foreknowledge and of the foretelling of our Saviour?

[7] There is no necessity to add to the narratives of what happened to the whole nation after the passion of the Saviour and those words in which the multitude of the Jews begged off from death the robber and murderer and besought that the author of Life should be taken from them; [8] but it would be right to add a possible confirmation of the kindness of beneficent Providence. For forty whole years it suspended their destruction, after their crime against the Christ, and during all of them many of the apostles and disciples, and James himself, who is called the Lord's brother, the first bishop of the city, still survived in this world. By their dwelling in Jerusalem, they afforded, as it were, a strong protection to the place; for the government of God had still patience, [9] if haply they might at last by repenting of their deeds, be able to obtain pardon and salvation; and in addition to such great long-suffering it sent wonderful tokens from God of what would happen to them if they did not repent. These things have been thought worthy of mention by the historian already quoted, and there is nothing better than to append them for the readers of this work.

VIII. [1] Take, then, and read what is related in the sixth book of the Jewish War. "Now at that time impostors and lying prophets perverted the miserable people, but they gave neither attention nor credence to the clear marvels which foretold approaching desolation, but as though they had been thunder-struck and had neither eyes nor soul, they neglected the declarations of God. At one time a star stood over the city like a sword, [2] and a comet which lasted for a year. At another time, before the insurrection, and the disturbance which led to the war, when the people were assembled for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth of April, at the ninth hour of the night, a light shone on the altar and on the temple so brightly that it seemed to be full day, and this lasted for half an hour. To the inexperienced this seemed a good sign, but was at once interpreted by the scribes before the events

which actually followed. [3] And at the same feast a cow, which had been led by the high-priest for the sacrifice, gave birth to a lamb in the middle of the temple. [4] And the eastern gate of the inner building, which was of bronze and very massive and was closed at evening time with difficulty by twenty men, and rested on beams bound with iron and had bars sunk deep, was seen at night at the sixth hour to have opened of itself. [5] And after the feast, not many days later, on the twenty-first of May, a demonic phantom appeared of incredible size, and what will be related would have seemed a fairy-tale had it not been told by those who saw it, and been attended by suffering worthy of the portent. For before sunset there appeared in the air over the whole country chariots and armed troops coursing through the clouds and surrounding the cities. And at the feast called Pentecost the priests passed into the temple at night, [6] as was their custom, for their services, and said that they first perceived movement and noise and after that a sudden cry, 'We go hence.' But what was more terrible a man of the people named Jesus, the son of Ananias, [7] a countryman, four years before the war, when the city was in complete peace and prosperity, came to the feast when it was the custom for all to make booths for God, and began suddenly to cry out opposite the temple, 'A voice from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the temple, a voice against bridegrooms and brides, a voice against all the people.' With this cry night and day he passed through all the narrow streets. But some of the notables of the people were annoyed at the ill omen, [8] seized the man and abused him with many stripes. But he uttered no word in his own behalf, nor in private to those present, but went on with the same cry as before. [9] But the rulers thought that the man's action was inspired by some demon, as it indeed was, and brought him to the Roman governor; there, though he was flayed to the bone with scourges, he uttered no plea and shed no tear, but raising his voice with all his power, answered to every blow, 'Woe, woe to Jerusalem.' "

[10] The same writer has a still more remarkable account in which he alleges that an oracle was found in "sacred script" to the effect that at that time one from their country should rule the world

and he himself considered that this was fulfilled by Vespasian. [11] Yet he did not reign over the whole world, but only such part as was subject to the Romans, and it would be more justly referred to Christ, to whom it was said by the Father, "Ask of me and I will give thee the heathen for thine inheritance and the ends of the earth for thy possession." And it was of his holy apostles at that very time that "the sound went forth into all the earth and their words unto the end of the earth."

IX. [1] In addition to all this, it is right not to ignore the date and origin of the Josephus who collected so much material in the work just dealt with. He himself gives this information and says, "Josephus was a son of Matthias, a priest of Jerusalem, and at the beginning he fought against the Romans and was forced to take part in the later events," He was the most famous Jew of that time, [2] not only among his fellow countrymen but also among the Romans, so that he was honoured by the erection of a statue in the city of Rome, [3] and the inclusion of the works composed by him in its library He compiled the whole ancient history of the Jews in twenty volumes, and the history of the Roman War in his own time in seven; he testifies that he committed this not only to Greek but also to his native language, and he is for other reasons worthy of credence. Two other books of his, worthy of notice, are extant, [4] entitled On the ancientness of the Jews. in which he controverts Apion the Scribe, who had composed a treatise against the Jews, and others who had tried to calumniate the ancestral customs of the Jewish nation. [5] In the first of these he gives the number of the canonical scriptures of the so-called Old Testament, and showed as follows which are undisputed among the Hebrews as belonging to ancient tradition.

X. [1] "We have no myriads of discordant and contradictory books, but only two and twenty, containing the narrative of all time, which have been justly believed to be divine. Of these five are those of Moses and contain the Law and the tradition of human history until his death. [2] This period covers almost three thousand years. From the death of Moses to Artaxerxes who succeeded Xerxes, [3] king of the Persians, the prophets after Moses wrote the account of the events contemporary with them in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God

and precepts for the life of men. From the time of Artaxerxes to our own the details have been written, but are not considered worthy of equal credence with the rest because there has not been an accurate succession of prophets. [4] And facts show plainly how we approach our own literature, for though so long a time has elapsed no one has dared to make additions, [5] omissions, or changes, but it is innate in Jews from their very birth to regard them as the decrees of God, to abide in them and, if it need be, to die for them gladly.” This quotation from the author may be usefully appended.

Another work which is not without merit was produced by him on The Supremacy of Reason, [6] which some entitled Maccabees because it contains the conflicts of those Hebrews mentioned in the so-called books of the Maccabees, [7] who strove valiantly for the worship of God. At the end of the twentieth book of the Antiquities the same writer announces that he had planned to compose four books on the ancestral belief of the Jews concerning God and his nature and concerning the Laws, why they allow some actions and forbid others. He also mentions in his own treatises that he had produced other works. Moreover, [8] it is right to mention the words which he appends to the end of the Antiquities to confirm our quotation of the passages taken from him. Accusing of false statements Justus of Tiberias, who had undertaken to write a similar account of the same period, and bringing many other charges against him, he continues as follows: “I had no such fear as you with regard to my own writing, [9] but I gave the books to the Emperors themselves while the events were still almost before their eyes. For I was conscious of having kept the tradition of the truth and I did not fail in my expectation of obtaining their testimony to that effect. I also gave the narrative to many others, of whom some had actually taken part in the war, [10] such as King Agrippa and some of his relations. For the Emperor Titus was pleased that from these books alone should information be given the public as to the events, [11] and, writing with his own hand, he ordered the books to be published, and King Agrippa wrote sixty-two letters testifying that they were handing on the truth.” Of these letters he appends two, but let this suffice on the subject of Josephus and let us proceed.

XI. [1] After the martyrdom of James and the capture of Jerusalem which immediately followed, the story goes that those of the Apostles and of the disciples of the Lord who were still alive came together from every place with those who were, humanly speaking, of the family of the Lord, for many of them were then still alive, and they all took counsel together as to whom they ought to adjudge worthy to succeed James, and all unanimously decided that Simeon the son of Clopas, whom the scripture of the Gospel also mentions, was worthy of the throne of the diocese there. He was, so it is said, a cousin of the Saviour, for Hegesippus relates that Clopas was the brother of Joseph, (XII.) and in addition that Vespasian, after the capture of Jerusalem, [1] ordered a search to be made for all who were of the family of David, that there might be left among the Jews no one of the royal family and, for this reason, a very great persecution was again inflicted on the Jews.

XIII. [1] When Vespasian had reigned for ten years, his son Titus succeeded him as emperor, and in the second year of his reign, Linus, bishop of the church of the Romans, after holding his office for twelve years, handed it on to Anencletus. After Titus had reigned for two years and as many months Domitian, his brother, succeeded him. XIV. Now in the fourth year of Domitian, [1] Annianus, the first of the see of Alexandria, died after completing twenty-two years, and Abilius succeeded him as the second. XV. And in the twelfth year of the same reign, [1] Clement succeeded Anencletus after he had been bishop of the church of the Romans for twelve years. The apostle states that he had been his fellow-worker in his epistle to the Philippians saying, "With Clement and my other fellow-workers whose names are in the book of Life."

XVI. [1] There is one recognized epistle of Clement, long and wonderful, which he drew up for the church of the Corinthians in the name of the church of the Romans when there had been dissension in Corinth. We have ascertained that this letter was publicly read in the common assembly in many churches both in the days of old and in our own time; and that the affairs of Corinth were disturbed by dissension in his day is adequately testified to by Hegesippus.

XVII. [1] When Domitian had given many proofs of his great

cruelty and had put to death without any reasonable trial no small number of men distinguished at Rome by family and career, and had punished without a cause myriads of other notable men by banishment and confiscation of their property, he finally showed himself the successor of Nero's campaign of hostility to God. He was the second to promote persecution against us, though his father, Vespasian, had planned no evil against us.

XVIII. [1] At this time, the story goes, the Apostle and Evangelist John was still alive, and was condemned to live in the island of Patmos for his witness to the divine word. [2] At any rate Irenaeus, writing about the number of the name ascribed to the anti-Christ in the so-called Apocalypse of John, states this about John in so many words in the fifth book against Heresies. [3] "But if it had been necessary to announce his name plainly at the present time, it would have been spoken by him who saw the apocalypse. For it was not seen long ago but almost in our own time, at the end of the reign of Domitian."

[4] The teaching of our faith shone so brilliantly in the days described that even writers foreign to our belief did not hesitate to commit to their narratives the persecutions and the martyrdoms in it, and they even indicated the time accurately, relating that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, who was the niece of Flavius Clemens, one of the consuls at Rome at that time, was banished with many others to the island of Pontia as testimony to Christ.

XIX. [1] The same Domitian gave orders for the execution of those of the family of David and an ancient story goes that some heretics accused the grandsons of Judas (who is said to have been the brother, according to the flesh, of the Saviour) saying that they were of the family of David and related to the Christ himself. Hegesippus relates this exactly as follows. XX. [1] "Now there still survived of the family of the Lord grandsons of Judas, who was said to have been his brother according to the flesh, and they were delated as being of the family of David. These the officer brought to Domitian Caesar, for, like Herod, he was afraid of the coming of the Christ. [2] He asked them if they were of the house of David and they admitted it. Then he asked them how much property they had, or how much money they controlled, and

they said that all they possessed was nine thousand denarii between them, the half belonging to each, and they stated that they did not possess this in money but that it was the valuation of only thirty-nine plethra of ground on which they paid taxes and lived on it by their own work.” They then showed him their hands, [3] adducing as testimony of their labour the hardness of their bodies, and the tough skin which had been embossed on their hands from their incessant work. They were asked concerning the Christ and his kingdom, [4] its nature, origin, and time of appearance, and explained that it was neither of the world nor earthly, but heavenly and angelic, and it would be at the end of the world, when he would come in glory to judge the living and the dead and to reward every man according to his deeds. [5] At this Domitian did not condemn them at all, but despised them as simple folk, released them, and decreed an end to the persecution against the church. But when they were released they were the leaders of the churches, [6] both for their testimony and for their relation to the Lord, and remained alive in the peace which ensued until Trajan. Hegesippus tells this; [7] moreover, Tertullian also has made similar mention of Domitian. “Domitian also once tried to do the same as he, for he was a Nero in cruelty, but, I believe, inasmuch as he had some sense, he stopped at once and recalled those whom he had banished.”

[8] After Domitian had reigned fifteen years, Nerva succeeded. The sentences of Domitian were annulled, and the Roman Senate decreed the return of those who had been unjustly banished and the restoration of their property. Those who committed the story of those times to writing relate it. At that time, [9] too, the story of the ancient Christians relates that the Apostle John, after his banishment to the island, took up his abode at Ephesus.

XXI. [1] After Nerva had reigned a little more than a year he was succeeded by Trajan, in whose first year Abilius, after leading the diocese of Alexandria for thirteen years, was succeeded by Cerdo; he was the third in charge of that see after the first, Annianus. At this time Clement was still governing the Romans and he, also, occupied the third place in the list of bishops in Rome after Paul and Peter; Linus was the first and after him Anencletus. XXII. [1] Moreover, at the time mentioned, Ignatius

was famous as the second bishop at Antioch where Evodius had been the first. Likewise at this time, Simeon was second after the brother of our Saviour to hold the ministry of the church in Jerusalem.

XXIII. [1] At this time that very disciple whom Jesus loved, John, at once Apostle and Evangelist, still remained alive in Asia and administered the churches there, for after the death of Domitian, he had returned from his banishment on the island. [2] And that he remained alive until this time may fully be confirmed by two witnesses, and these ought to be trustworthy for they represent the orthodoxy of the church, no less persons than Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria. [3] The former of these writes in one place in the second of his books Against the Heresies, as follows: "And all the presbyters who had been associated in Asia with John, the disciple of the Lord, bear witness to his tradition, for he remained with them until the times of Trajan." [4] And in the third book of the same work he makes the same statement as follows: "Now the church at Ephesus was founded by Paul, but John stayed there until the times of Trajan, and it is a true witness of the tradition of the Apostles."

[5] Clement indicates the same time, and in the treatise to which he gave the title Who is the rich man that is saved, adds a narrative most acceptable to those who enjoy hearing what is fine and edifying. Take and read here what he wrote. "Listen to a story which is not a story but a true tradition of John the Apostle preserved in memory. [6] For after the death of the tyrant he passed from the island of Patmos to Ephesus, and used also to go, when he was asked, to the neighbouring districts of the heathen, in some places to appoint bishops, in others to reconcile whole churches, and in others to ordain some one of those pointed out by the Spirit. He came to one of the cities which were near by (and some tell even its name), [7] and gave rest in general to the brethren; then, while looking before them all at the bishop who had been appointed, he saw a young man of strong body, beautiful appearance, and warm heart. 'I commend this man,' he said, 'to you with all diligence in the face of the church, and with Christ as my witness.' The bishop received him, and promised everything, and the same conversations and protestations were



used. [8] John then returned to Ephesus and the presbyter took to his house the young man entrusted to him, brought him up, looked after him, and finally baptized him. After this he relaxed his great care and watchfulness, because he had set upon him the seal of the Lord as the perfect safeguard. But some idle and dissolute youths, [9] familiar with evil, corrupted him in his premature freedom. First they led him on by expensive feasts, then they started out at night for robbery and took him with them, then they urged him to greater crimes. He gradually became accustomed to this, [10] and like an unbroken and powerful horse starting from the straight way and tearing at the bit, rushed all the more to the precipice because of his natural vigour. Finally he renounced salvation from God; [11] and now he planned nothing small, but, having perpetrated some great crime, since he was ruined once for all, accepted the same lot as the others. He collected them and formed a band of brigands and was himself a born chief, excelling in violence, in murder, and in cruelty. [12] Time went on and some necessity arose to summon John. When he had arranged the rest of his mission John said, 'Come now, bishop, pay me back the deposit which Christ and I left with you, with the church, over which you preside, as witness.' The bishop was at first amazed, [13] thinking that he was being blackmailed for money which he had not received. He could neither show his faithfulness in what he had never had, nor could he fail John. But when John said, 'I ask back the young man and the soul of the brother,' the old man groaned deeply and shedding tears, said, 'He has died.' 'How and with what death?' 'He has died to God,' he said, 'for he turned out wicked and abandoned and finally a brigand, and now instead of the church he has taken to the mountains with an armed band of men like himself.' [14] Then the apostle rent his garments and beat his head with great lamentation. 'Well,' he said, 'it was a fine guardian whom I left for the soul of our brother. But let me have a horse and some one to show me the way.' So he rode, just as he was, [15] straight from the church. When he came to the place he was seized by the sentinel of the brigands and neither fled nor made excuses, but called out, 'This is why I am come; take me to your leader.' [16] The leader waited for him, armed as he was, but when he recognized John on his approach, he turned and fled in

shame. But John pursued with all his might, forgetting his age and calling out, [17] 'Why do you run away from me, child, your own father, unarmed and old? Pity me, child, do not fear me! You have still hope of life. I will account to Christ for you. If it must be, I will willingly suffer your death, as the Lord suffered for us; for your life, I will give my own. Stay, believe; Christ sent me.' When he heard this he first stood looking down, [18] then he tore off his weapons, then he began to tremble and to weep bitterly. He embraced the old man when he came up, pleading for himself with lamentations as best he could, baptized a second time in his tears, but his right hand he kept back. [19] But John assured him by pledges and protestations that he had found forgiveness for him with the Saviour, led him back, prayed and kneeled and kissed that right hand as though cleansed by his repentance. He brought him to the church, he prayed with many supplications, he joined with him in the struggle of continuous fasting, he worked on his mind by varied addresses and did not leave him, so they say, until he had restored him to the church, and thus gave a great example of true repentance and a great testimony of regeneration, the trophy of a visible resurrection." These remarks of Clement may be quoted both for the sake of the narrative and the edification of those who shall read them.

XXIV. [1] But come, let us indicate the undoubted writings of this Apostle. [2] Let the Gospel according to him be first recognized, for it is read in all the churches under heaven. Moreover, that it was reasonable for the ancients to reckon it in the fourth place after the other three may be explained thus. Those inspired and venerable ancients, [3] I mean Christ's Apostles, had completely purified their life and adorned their souls with every virtue, yet were but simple men in speech. Though they were indeed bold in the divine and wonder-working power given them by the Saviour, they had neither the knowledge nor the desire to represent the teachings of the Master in persuasive or artistic language, but they used only the proof of the Spirit of God which worked with them, and the wonder-working power of Christ which was consummated through them. Thus they announced the knowledge of the Kingdom of Heaven to all the world and cared but little for attention to their style. [4] And this they did inasmuch

as they were serving a greater, superhuman ministry. Thus Paul, the most powerful of all in the preparation of argument and the strongest thinker, committed to writing no more than short epistles, though he had ten thousand ineffable things to say, seeing that he had touched the vision of the third heaven, had been caught up to the divine paradise itself, and was there granted the hearing of ineffable words. [5] Nor were the other pupils of our Saviour without experience of the same things,—the twelve Apostles and the seventy disciples and ten thousand others in addition to them. Yet nevertheless of all those who had been with the Lord only Matthew and John have left us their recollections, and tradition says that they took to writing perforce. Matthew had first preached to Hebrews, [6] and when he was on the point of going to others he transmitted in writing in his native language the Gospel according to himself, and thus supplied by writing the lack of his own presence to those from whom he was sent, and Mark and Luke had already published the Gospels according to them, [7] but John, it is said, used all the time a message which was not written down, and at last took to writing for the following cause. The three gospels which had been written down before were distributed to all including himself; it is said that he welcomed them and testified to their truth but said that there was only lacking to the narrative the account of what was done by Christ at first and at the beginning of the preaching. [8] The story is surely true. It is at least possible to see that the three evangelists related only what the Saviour did during one year after John the Baptist had been put in prison and that they stated this at the beginning of their narrative. [9] At any rate, after the forty days' fast, and the temptation which followed Matthew fixes the time described in his own writing by saying that "hearing that John had been betrayed, [10] he retreated" from Judaea "into Galilee." Similarly Mark says, "and after John was betrayed Jesus came into Galilee." And Luke, too, [11] makes a similar observation before beginning the acts of Jesus saying that Herod added to the evil deeds which he had done by "shutting up John in prison." They say accordingly that for this reason the apostle John was asked to relate in his own gospel the period passed over in silence by the former evangelists and the things done during it by the

Saviour (that is to say, the events before the imprisonment of the Baptist), and that he indicated this at one time by saying, “this beginning of miracles did Jesus,” at another by mentioning the Baptist in the midst of the acts of Jesus as at that time still baptizing at Aenon near Salem, and that he makes this plain by saying, “for John was not yet cast into prison.” Thus John in the course of his gospel relates what Christ did before the Baptist had been thrown into prison, [12] but the other three evangelists narrate the events after the imprisonment of the Baptist. If this be understood the gospels no longer appear to disagree, [13] because that according to John contains the first of the acts of Christ and the others the narrative of what he did at the end of the period, and it will seem probable that John passed over the genealogy of our Saviour according to the flesh, because it had been already written out by Matthew and Luke, and began with the description of his divinity since this had been reserved for him by the Divine Spirit as for one greater than they

[14] The above must suffice us concerning the writing of the Gospel according to John, [15] and the cause for that according to Mark has been explained above. Luke himself at the beginning of his treatise prefixed an account of the cause for which he had made his compilation, explaining that while many others had somewhat rashly attempted to make a narrative of the things of which he had himself full knowledge, he felt obliged to release us from the doubtful propositions of the others and related in his own gospel the accurate account of the things of which he had himself firmly learnt the truth from his profitable intercourse and life with Paul and his conversation with the other apostles. This must suffice us for the present, [16] but at the proper time we will endeavour to explain by citation from the ancients what has been said on the point by others.

[17] Of the writings of John in addition to the gospel the first of his epistles has been accepted without controversy by ancients and moderns alike but the other two are disputed, [18] and as to the Revelation there have been many advocates of either opinion up to the present. This, too, shall be similarly illustrated by quotations from the ancients at the proper time.

XXV. [1] At this point it seems reasonable to summarize the

writings of the New Testament which have been quoted. In the first place should be put the holy tetrad of the Gospels. To them follows the writing of the Acts of the Apostles. [2] After this should be reckoned the Epistles of Paul. Following them the Epistle of John called the first, and in the same way should be recognized the Epistle of Peter. In addition to these should be put, if it seem desirable, [3] the Revelation of John, the arguments concerning which we will expound at the proper time. These belong to the Recognized Books. Of the Disputed Books which are nevertheless known to most are the Epistle called of James, that of Jude, the second Epistle of Peter, and the so-called second and third Epistles of John which may be the work of the evangelist or of some other with the same name. [4] Among the books which are not genuine must be reckoned the Acts of Paul, the work entitled the Shepherd, the Apocalypse of Peter, and in addition to them the letter called of Barnabas and the so-called Teachings of the Apostles. And in addition, as I said, the Revelation of John, if this view prevail. For, [5] as I said, some reject it, but others count it among the Recognized Books. [6] Some have also counted the Gospel according to the Hebrews in which those of the Hebrews who have accepted Christ take a special pleasure. These would all belong to the disputed books, but we have nevertheless been obliged to make a list of them, distinguishing between those writings which, according to the tradition of the Church, are true, genuine, and recognized, and those which differ from them in that they are not canonical but disputed, yet nevertheless are known to most of the writers of the Church, in order that we might know them and the writings which are put forward by heretics under the name of the apostles containing gospels such as those of Peter, and Thomas, and Matthias, and some others besides, or Acts such as those of Andrew and John and the other apostles. To none of these has any who belonged to the succession of the orthodox ever thought it right to refer in his writings. Moreover, the type of phraseology differs from apostolic style, [7] and the opinion and tendency of their contents is widely dissonant from true orthodoxy and clearly shows that they are the forgeries of heretics. They ought, therefore, to be reckoned not even among spurious books but shunned as altogether wicked and impious.

XXVI. [1] Let us now continue the narrative. Menander succeeded Simon Magus and showed himself as a weapon of the devil's power not inferior to his predecessor. He, too, was a Samaritan, progressed to the highest point of sorcery not less than his master, and abounded in greater wonders. He said of himself that he was the saviour who had been sent from above for the salvation of men from invisible aeons and taught that no one, [2] not even of the angels who made the world, could survive unless they were first rescued through the magic art which was transmitted by him and through the baptism which he delivered, for those who were vouchsafed it would obtain a share of eternal immortality in this life itself, no longer mortal but remaining here, destined to everlasting and ageless immortality. This point can also be easily studied from the writings of Irenaeus. [3] Justin, too, in the same way after mentioning Simon continues his account of him by saying, "We also know that a certain Menander, who also was a Samaritan from the village of Caparattaea, became a disciple of Simon and being similarly stimulated by the demons appeared in Antioch and deceived many by magical arts. He persuaded those who followed him that they would not die, and there are still some of his followers who believe this."

[4] It was assuredly at the instigation of the devil that the name of Christian was adopted by such sorcerers to calumniate by magic the great mystery of religion and through them to destroy the teaching of the Church on the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead. Those who termed these Saviours fell from the true hope. XXVII. But others the wicked demon, [1] when he could not alienate them from God's plan in Christ, made his own, when he found them by a different snare. The first Christians gave these the suitable name of Ebionites because they had poor and mean opinions concerning Christ. [2] They held him to be a plain and ordinary man who had achieved righteousness merely by the progress of his character and had been born naturally from Mary and her husband. They insisted on the complete observation of the Law, and did not think that they would be saved by faith in Christ alone and by a life in accordance with it. [3] But there were others besides these who have the same name. These escaped the absurd folly of the first mentioned, and did not deny that the

Lord was born of a Virgin and the Holy Spirit, but nevertheless agreed with them in not confessing his pre-existence as God, being the Logos and Wisdom. Thus they shared in the impiety of the former class, especially in that they were equally zealous to insist on the literal observance of the Law. They thought that the letters of the Apostle ought to be wholly rejected and called him an apostate from the Law. [4] They used only the Gospel called according to the Hebrews and made little account of the rest. Like the former they used to observe the sabbath and the rest of the Jewish ceremonial, [5] but on Sundays celebrated rites like ours in commemoration of the Saviour's resurrection. Wherefore from these practices they have obtained their name, [6] for the name of Ebionites indicates the poverty of their intelligence, for this name means "poor" in Hebrew.

XXVIII. [1] We have received the tradition that at the time under discussion Cerinthus founded another heresy. Gaius, whose words I have quoted before, in the inquiry attributed to him writes as follows about Cerinthus. [2] "Moreover, Cerinthus, who through revelations attributed to the writing of a great apostle, lyingly introduces portents to us as though shown him by angels, and says that after the resurrection the kingdom of Christ will be on earth and that humanity living in Jerusalem will again be the slave of lust and pleasure He is the enemy of the scriptures of God and in his desire to deceive says that the marriage feast will last a thousand years." Dionysius, [3] too, who held the bishopric of the diocese of Alexandria in our time, in the second book of his Promises makes some remarks about the Apocalypse of John as though from ancient tradition and refers to the same Cerinthus in these words, "Cerinthus too, who founded the Cerinthian heresy named after him, [4] wished to attach a name worthy of credit to his own invention, for the doctrine of his teaching was this, that the kingdom of Christ would be on earth, [5] and being fond of his body and very carnal he dreamt of a future according to his own desires, given up to the indulgence of the flesh, that is, eating and drinking and marrying, and to those things which seem a euphemism for these things, feasts and sacrifices and the slaughter of victims."

[6] Dionysius said this and Irenaeus in his first book Against

Heresies quoted some of his more abominable errors, and in the third book has committed to writing a narrative, which deserves not to be forgotten, stating how, according to the tradition of Polycarp, the apostle John once went into a bath-house to wash, but when he knew that Cerinthus was within leapt out of the place and fled from the door, for he did not endure to be even under the same roof with him, and enjoined on those who were with him to do the same, saying, "Let us flee, lest the bath-house fall in, for Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, is within."

XXIX. [1] At this time, too, there existed for a short time the heresy of the Nicolaïtans of which the Apocalypse of John also makes mention. These claimed Nicolas, one of the deacons in the company of Stephen who were appointed by the Apostles for the service of the poor. Clement of Alexandria in the third book of the Stromata gives the following account of him. "He had, they say, a beautiful wife; [2] but after the ascension of the Saviour he was accused of jealousy by the apostles, and brought her forward and commanded her to be mated to anyone who wished. They say that this action was in consequence of the injunction 'it is necessary to abuse the flesh,' and that by following up what had been done and said with simplicity and without perversion those who follow his heresy lead a life of unrestrained license. But I have learned that Nicolas had nothing to do with any other woman beside her whom he married, and that of his children the daughters reached old age as virgins, [3] and that the son remained un-corrupted. Since this is the case it is clear that the exposure of the wife of whom he was jealous in the midst of the disciples was the abandonment of passion, and that teaching the abuse of the flesh was continence from the pleasures which he had sought. For I think that according to the command of the Saviour he did not wish to serve two masters—pleasure and the Lord. [4] They also say that this was the teaching of Matthias, to slight the flesh and abuse it, yielding nothing to it for pleasure, but to make the soul grow through faith and knowledge." Let this suffice concerning the attempts made during this period to triumph against the truth which were, nevertheless, extinguished for ever more quickly than it takes to tell.

XXX. [1] Clement, whose words we cited recently in the context



of the previous quotation, enumerates, on account of those who reject marriage, those of the Apostles who were married, saying, "Or will they disapprove even of the Apostles? For Peter and Philip begat children, and Philip even gave his daughters to husbands, while Paul himself does not hesitate in one of his letters to address his wife whom he did not take about with him in order to facilitate his mission." [2] Since we have made these quotations there is no harm in adducing another memorable narrative of Clement which he wrote down in the seventh book of the Stromata, and narrates as follows: "They say that the blessed Peter when he saw his own wife led out to death rejoiced at her calling and at her return home, and called out to her in true warning and comfort, addressing her by her name, 'Remember the Lord.' Such was the marriage of the blessed and the perfect disposition of those dearest to them." Let this, cognate to the present subject, suffice for the moment.

XXXI. [1] The time and manner of the death of Paul and of Peter, and the place where their corpses were laid after their departure from this life, have been already described by us. [2] The date of the death of John has also been already mentioned, and the place of his body is shown by a letter of Polycrates (he was bishop of the diocese of Ephesus) which he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome. In this he mentions both John, Philip the apostle, and Philip's daughters as follows: "For great luminaries sleep in Asia, and they will rise again at the last day of the advent of the Lord, [3] when he shall come with glory from heaven and call back all the saints, such as was Philip, one of the twelve apostles, who sleeps at Hierapolis with his two daughters who grew old as virgins and his third daughter who lived in the Holy Spirit and rests in Ephesus. And there is also John, who leaned on the Lord's breast, who was a priest wearing the mitre, and martyr and teacher, and he sleeps at Ephesus." So far concerning their deaths. And in the dialogue of Gaius, which we mentioned a little earlier, Proclus, with whom he was disputing, [4] speaks thus about the death of Philip and his daughters and agrees with what has been stated. "After him the four daughters of Philip who were prophetesses were at Hierapolis in Asia. [5] Their grave is there and so is their father's." So he says. And Luke in the Acts of the

Apostles mentions the daughters of Philip who were then living with their father at Caesarea in Judaea and were vouchsafed the gift of prophecy. He says as follows: "We came to Caesarea and entered into the house of Philip the Evangelist, one of the seven, and remained with him. And he had four daughters who were prophetesses."

[6] We have now described the facts which have come to our knowledge concerning the Apostles and their times, the sacred writings which they have left us, those books which are disputed yet nevertheless are used openly by many in most churches, and those which are altogether fictitious and foreign to our historic orthodoxy. Let us now continue the narrative.

XXXII. [1] After Nero and Domitian tradition says that under the Emperor whose times we are now describing persecution was raised against us sporadically, in some cities, from popular risings. We have learnt that in it Symeon, the son of Clopas, whom we showed to have been the second bishop of the church at Jerusalem, [2] ended his life in martyrdom. The witness for this is that same Hegesippus, of whom we have already quoted several passages. After speaking of certain heretics he goes on to explain how Symeon was at this time accused by them and for many days was tortured in various manners for being a Christian, to the great astonishment of the judge and those with him, until he suffered an end like that of the Lord. [3] But there is nothing better than to listen to the historian who tells these facts as follows. "Some of these (that is to say the heretics) accused Simon the son of Clopas of being descended from David and a Christian and thus he suffered martyrdom, being a hundred and twenty years old, [4] when Trajan was emperor and Atticus was Consular." The same writer says that his accusers also suffered arrest for being of the royal house of the Jews when search was made at that time for those of that family. And one would reasonably say that Symeon was one of the eyewitnesses and actual hearers of the Lord on the evidence of the length of his life and the reference in the Gospels to Mary the wife of Clopas whose son the narrative has already shown him to be.

[5] The same writer says that other grandsons of one of the so-called brethren of the Saviour named Judas survived to the same

reign after they had given in the time of Domitian the testimony already recorded of them in behalf of the faith in Christ. He writes thus: [6] "They came therefore and presided over every church as witnesses belonging to the Lord's family, and when there was complete peace in every church they survived until the reign of the Emperor Trajan, until the time when the son of the Lord's uncle, the aforesaid Simon the son of Clopas, was similarly accused by the sects on the same charge before Atticus the Consular. He was tortured for many days and gave his witness, so that all, even the consular, were extremely surprised how, at the age of one hundred and twenty, he endured, and he was commanded to be crucified." Besides this the same writer, [7] explaining the events of these times, adds that until then the church remained a pure and uncorrupted virgin, for those who attempted to corrupt the healthful rule of the Saviour's preaching, if they existed at all, lurked in obscure darkness. [8] But when the sacred band of the Apostles and the generation of those to whom it had been vouchsafed to hear with their own ears the divine wisdom had reached the several ends of their lives, then the federation of godless error took its beginning through the deceit of false teachers who, seeing that none of the Apostles still remained, barefacedly tried against the preaching of the truth the counter-proclamation of "knowledge falsely so-called."

XXXIII. [1] The persecution which at that time was extended against us in many places was so great that Plinius Secundus, one of the most distinguished governors, was disturbed at the number of the martyrs, and reported to the Emperor the number of those being put to death for the faith, and in the same document mentioned that he understood them to do nothing wicked or illegal except that they rose at dawn to sing to Christ as though a God, and that they themselves forbade adultery, murder and similar terrible crimes, and that they did everything in obedience to the law. [2] In answer to this Trajan issued a decree to the effect that the tribe of Christians should not be sought for but punished when it was met with. By this means the imminent threat of persecution was extinguished to some extent, but none the less opportunities remained to those who wished to harm us. Sometimes the populace, sometimes even the local authorities contrived plots

against us, so that with no open persecution partial attacks broke out in various provinces and many of the faithful endured martyrdom in various ways. [3] The narrative has been taken from the Latin apology of Tertullian mentioned above of which the translation is as follows: "Yet we found that this attempt against us was also prevented, for the governor of the province, Pliny Secundus, after condemning certain Christians and depriving them of their rank, was troubled at their number and, not knowing what to do in the future, communicated with the Emperor Trajan, saying that beyond their unwillingness to offer sacrifice to idols, he had found nothing wicked in them. He also mentioned this, that the Christians arose at dawn and sang a hymn to Christ as a God, and in order to preserve their teaching forbade murder, adultery, covetousness, robbery, and suchlike. To this Trajan sent a rescript that the tribe of Christians should not be sought out but punished if met with." Such were the events at that time.

XXXIV. [1] In the third year of the afore-mentioned emperor, Clement handed over the ministry of the bishops of Rome to Evarestos and departed this life, having been in charge of the teaching of the divine word for nine years.

XXXV. [1] Moreover, when Symeon suffered martyrdom in the manner already described a certain Jew named Justus, who was one of the many thousands of the circumcision who by that time had believed on Christ, succeeded to the throne of the bishopric of Jerusalem.

XXXVI. [1] At this time there flourished in Asia Polycarp, the companion of the Apostles, who had been appointed to the bishopric of the church in Smyrna by the eyewitnesses and ministers of the Lord. Distinguished men at the same time were Papias, [2] who was himself bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, and Ignatius, still a name of note to most men, the second after Peter to succeed to the bishopric of Antioch. [3] The story goes that he was sent from Syria to Rome to be eaten by beasts in testimony to Christ. [4] He was taken through Asia under most careful guard, and strengthened by his speech and exhortation the diocese of each city in which he stayed. He particularly warned them to be on their guard against the heresies which then for the first time were beginning to obtain, and exhorted them to hold fast

to the tradition of the Apostles, to which he thought necessary, for safety's sake, to give the form of written testimony. Thus while he was in Smyrna where Polycarp was, he wrote one letter to the church at Ephesus, [5] mentioning their pastor Onesimus, and another to the church at Magnesia on the Meander (and here, too, he mentioned the bishop Damas), and another to the church in Tralles, of which he relates that Polybius was then the ruler. In addition to these he also wrote to the church at Rome, [6] and to it he extended the request that they should not deprive him of the hope for which he longed by begging him off from his martyrdom. It is worth while appending a short extract from this in support of what has been said. He writes as follows: [7] "From Syria to Rome I am fighting with wild beasts, by land and sea, by night and day, bound to ten 'leopards' (that is, a company of soldiers), and they become worse for kind treatment. Now I become the more a disciple for their ill deeds, 'but not by this am I justified.' I long for the beasts that are prepared for me; [8] and I pray that they may be found prompt for me; I will even entice them to devour me promptly; not as has happened to some whom they have not touched from fear; even if they be unwilling of themselves, I will force them to it. [9] Grant me this favour. I know what is expedient for me; now I am beginning to be a disciple. May I envy nothing of things seen or unseen that I may attain to Jesus Christ. Let there come on me fire, and cross, and struggles with wild beasts, cutting, and tearing asunder, rackings of bones, mangling of limbs, crushing of my whole body, cruel tortures of the devil, may I but attain to Jesus Christ!"

[10] This he put into words from the city mentioned to the churches named. When he had already passed beyond Smyrna he also again conversed in writing from Troas with those in Philadelphia and with the church of the Smyrnaeans, and especially with Polycarp who was then the head of this church. He knew well that Polycarp was an apostolic man and like a true and good shepherd commends the flock at Antioch to him, asking him to be zealous in his care for it. [11] He also wrote to the Smyrnaeans quoting words from I know not what source and discoursing thus about Christ: "For I know and believe that he was in the flesh even after the Resurrection And when he came to

those with Peter he said to them: 'Take, handle me and see that I am not a phantom without a body.' And they immediately touched him and believed."

[12] Irenaeus also knew of his martyrdom and quotes his letters saying thus: "As one of the Christians said when he was condemned to the beasts as testimony for God, 'I am the wheat of God and I am ground by the teeth of beasts that I may be found pure bread.' "

[13] Polycarp, too, mentions these same things in the letter to the Philippians bearing his name and says: "Now I beseech you all to obey the word of righteousness, and to practise all the endurance which you also saw before your eyes, not only in the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus, but also in others among yourselves, and in Paul himself, and in the other Apostles; being persuaded that all of these 'ran not in vain,' but in faith and righteousness, and that they are with the Lord in the 'place which is their due,' with whom they also suffered. For they did not 'love this present world' but him who died on our behalf, and was raised by God for our sakes." [14] And he continues later, "Both you and Ignatius wrote to me that if anyone was going to Syria he should also take your letters. I will do this if I have a convenient opportunity, either myself or the man whom I am sending as a representative for you and me. [15] We send you, as you asked, the letters of Ignatius, which were sent to us by him, and others which we had by us. These are subjoined to this letter, and you will be able to benefit greatly from them. For they contain faith, patience, and all the edification which pertains to our Lord." Such is the story concerning Ignatius, and Heros succeeded to the bishopric of Antioch after him.

XXXVII. [1] Among those who were famous at this time was also Quadratus, of whom tradition says that he shared with the daughters of Philip the distinction of a prophetic gift. And many others besides them were well known at this time and take the first rank in the Apostolic succession. These pious disciples of great men built in every place on the foundations of the churches laid by the Apostles. They spread the preaching and scattered the saving seeds of the kingdom of Heaven, sowing them broadcast through the whole world. Many of those then disciples, [2] smitten in the

soul by the divine Logos with an ardent passion for the love of wisdom, first fulfilled the Saviour's command and distributed their property to the needy, then, starting on their journey, took up the work of evangelists and were zealous to preach to all who had not yet heard the word of the faith, and to transmit the writing of the divine Gospels. As soon as they had no more than laid the foundations of the faith in some strange place, [3] they appointed others as shepherds and committed to them the task of tending those who had been just brought in, but they themselves passed on again to other lands and peoples, helped by the grace and co-operation of God, seeing that many strange miracles of the divine spirit were at that time still being wrought by them, so that whole crowds of men at the first hearing eagerly received in their souls the religion of the Creator of the universe.

[4] It is impossible for us to give the number and the names of all who first succeeded the Apostles, and were shepherds or evangelists in the churches throughout the world. It was, therefore, natural for us to record by name the memory only of those of whom the tradition still survives to our time by their treatises on the Apostolic teaching. XXXVIII. Such writings, [1] of course, were the letters of Ignatius of which we gave the list, and the Epistle of Clement which is recognized by all, which he wrote in the name of the church of the Romans to that of the Corinthians. In this he has many thoughts parallel to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and actually makes some verbal quotations from it showing clearly that it was not a recent production, [2] and for this reason, too, it has seemed natural to include it among the other writings of the Apostle. For Paul had spoken in writing to the Hebrews in their native language, and some say that the evangelist Luke, [3] others that this same Clement translated the writing. And the truth of this would be supported by the similarity of style preserved by the Epistle of Clement and that to the Hebrews, and by the little difference between the thoughts in both writings.

[4] It must be known that there is also a second letter ascribed to Clement, but we have not the same knowledge of its recognition as we have of the former, [5] for we do not even know if the primitive writers used it. Some have also quite recently put forward other verbose and long treatises, purporting to be

Clement's, containing dialogues with Peter and Apion, but there is absolutely no mention of them among the ancient writers nor do they preserve the pure type of apostolic orthodoxy.

XXXIX. [1] Thus the recognized writing of Clement is well known and the works of Ignatius and Polycarp have been spoken of, and of Papias five treatises are extant which have also the title of "Interpretation of the Oracles of the Lord." These are also mentioned by Irenaeus as though his only writing, for he says in one place, "To these things also Papias, the hearer of John, who was a companion of Polycarp and one of the ancients, bears witness in writing in the fourth of his books, for five books were composed by him." So says Irenaeus. Yet Papias himself, according to the preface of his treatises, [2] makes plain that he had in no way been a hearer and eye-witness of the sacred Apostles, but teaches that he had received the articles of the faith from those who had known them, [3] for he speaks as follows: "And I shall not hesitate to append to the interpretations all that I ever learnt well from the presbyters and remember well, for of their truth I am confident. For unlike most I did not rejoice in them who say much, but in them who teach the truth, nor in them who recount the commandments of others, but in them who repeated those given to the faith by the Lord and derived from truth itself; [4] but if ever anyone came who had followed the presbyters, I inquired into the words of the presbyters, what Andrew or Peter or Philip or Thomas or James or John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, had said, and what Aristion and the presbyter John, the Lord's disciples, were saying. For I did not suppose that information from books would help me so much as the word of a living and surviving voice."

[5] It is here worth noting that he twice counts the name of John, and reckons the first John with Peter and James and Matthew and the other Apostles, clearly meaning the evangelist, but by changing his statement places the second with the others outside the number of the Apostles, putting Aristion before him and clearly calling him a presbyter. [6] This confirms the truth of the story of those who have said that there were two of the same name in Asia, and that there are two tombs at Ephesus both still called John's. This calls for attention: for it is probable that the



second (unless anyone prefer the former) saw the revelation which passes under the name of John. [7] The Papias whom we are now treating confesses that he had received the words of the Apostles from their followers, but says that he had actually heard Aristion and the presbyter John. He often quotes them by name and gives their traditions in his writings. Let this suffice to good purpose. [8] But it is worth while to add to the words of Papias already given other sayings of his, in which he tells certain marvels and other details which apparently reached him by tradition. It has already been mentioned that Philip the Apostle lived at Hierapolis with his daughters, [9] but it must now be shown how Papias was with them and received a wonderful story from the daughters of Philip; for he relates the resurrection of a corpse in his time and in another place another miracle connected with Justus surnamed Barsabas, for he drank poison but by the Lord's grace suffered no harm. Of this Justus the Acts relates that the sacred Apostles set him up and prayed over him together with Matthias after the ascension of the Lord for the choice of one to fill up their number in place of the traitor Judas, [10] "and they set forth two, Joseph called Barsabas, who was called Justus, and Matthias; and they prayed and said." The same writer adduces other accounts, as though they came to him from unwritten tradition, and some strange parables and teachings of the Saviour, [11] and some other more mythical accounts. [12] Among them he says that there will be a millennium after the resurrection of the dead, when the kingdom of Christ will be set up in material form on this earth. I suppose that he got these notions by a perverse reading of the apostolic accounts, not realizing that they had spoken mystically and symbolically. [13] For he was a man of very little intelligence, as is clear from his books. But he is responsible for the fact that so many Christian writers after him held the same opinion, relying on his antiquity, for instance Irenaeus and whoever else appears to have held the same views.

[14] In the same writing he also quotes other interpretations of the words of the Lord given by the Aristion mentioned above and traditions of John the presbyter. To them we may dismiss the studious; but we are now obliged to append to the words already quoted from him a tradition about the Mark who wrote the Gospel,

which he expounds as follows. [15] “And the Presbyter used to say this, ‘Mark became Peter’s interpreter and wrote accurately all that he remembered, not, indeed, in order, of the things said or done by the Lord. For he had not heard the Lord, nor had he followed him, but later on, as I said, followed Peter, who used to give teaching as necessity demanded but not making, as it were, an arrangement of the Lord’s oracles, so that Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. For to one thing he gave attention, to leave out nothing of what he had heard and to make no false statements in them.’” [16] This is related by Papias about Mark, and about Matthew this was said, “Matthew collected the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each interpreted them as best he could.”

[17] The same writer used quotations from the first Epistle of John, and likewise also from that of Peter, and has expounded another story about a woman who was accused before the Lord of many sins, which the Gospel according to the Hebrews contains. Let this suffice us in addition to the extracts made.

#### CONTENTS OF BOOK IV

The contents of the fourth book of the History of the Church is as follows:

- I. Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Trajan.
- II. What the Jews suffered in his time.
- III. The apologists for Christianity in the time of Hadrian.
- IV. The bishops of Rome and Alexandria in his time.
- V. The bishops of Jerusalem, beginning from the Saviour down to the time mentioned.
- VI. The last siege of the Jews under Hadrian.
- VII. Who were the leaders of Knowledge, falsely

so-called, at that time.

VIII. Who are the writers of the church.

IX. A letter of Hadrian to the effect that we must not be persecuted without being tried.

X. Who were the bishops of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Antoninus.

XI. On the leaders of heresy in their times.

XII. On the apology of Justin to Antoninus.

XIII. A letter of Antoninus to the Council of Asia on our religion.

XIV. The story of Polycarp who had known the apostles.

XV. How in the time of Verus Polycarp with others was martyred in the city of Smyrna.

XVI. How Justin the philosopher was martyred in the city of Rome as an ambassador for the word of Christ.

XVII. On the martyrs whom Justin mentions in his own writings.

XVIII. What writings of Justin have come down to us.

XIX. Who were the leaders of the churches of Rome and Alexandria in the reign of Verus.

XX. Who were the bishops of Antioch.

XXI. On the ecclesiastical writers who were famous in their time.

XXII. On Hegesippus and what he relates.

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the letters which he wrote.

XXIV. On Theophilus, bishop of Antioch.

XXV. On Philip and Modestus.

XXVI. On Melito and the statements which he makes.

XXVII. On Apolinarius.

XXVIII. On Musanus.

XXIX. On the heresy of Tatian.

XXX. On Bardesanes the Syrian and his extant books.



# BOOK IV

I. [1] ABOUT the twelfth year of the reign of Trajan the bishop of the diocese of Alexandria, whom we mentioned a little earlier, passed away, and Primus, the fourth from the Apostles, received the charge of those in that place. At this time, too, at Rome Alexander, when Evarestus had completed his eighth year, was the fifth to succeed Peter and Paul, and took up the bishopric.

II. [1] While the teaching of our Saviour and the church were flourishing daily and moving on to further progress the tragedy of the Jews was reaching the climax of successive woes. In the course of the eighteenth year of the reign of the Emperor a rebellion of the Jews again broke out and destroyed a great multitude of them. [2] For both in Alexandria and in the rest of Egypt and especially in Cyrene, as though they had been seized by some terrible spirit of rebellion, they rushed into sedition against their Greek fellow citizens, and increasing the scope of the rebellion in the following year started a great war while Lupus was governor of all Egypt. [3] In the first engagement they happened to overcome the Greeks, who fled to Alexandria and captured and killed the Jews in the city, but though thus losing the help of the townsmen, the Jews of Cyrene continued to plunder the country of Egypt and to ravage the districts in it under their leader Lucuas. The Emperor sent against them Marcius Turbo with land and sea forces including cavalry. He waged war vigorously against them in many battles for a considerable time and killed many thousands of Jews, [4] not only those of Cyrene but also those of Egypt who had rallied to Lucuas, their king. [5] The Emperor suspected that the Jews in Mesopotamia would also attack the inhabitants and ordered Lusius Quietus to clean them out of the province. He organized a force and murdered a great multitude of the Jews there, and for this reform was appointed governor of Judaea by the Emperor. The Greek authors who chronicle the same period have related this narrative in these very words.

III. [1] When Trajan had reigned for nineteen and a half years

Aelius Hadrian succeeded to the sovereignty. To him Quadratus addressed a treatise, composing a defence for our religion because some wicked men were trying to trouble the Christians. It is still extant among many of the brethren and we have a copy ourselves. From it can be seen the clear proof of his intellect and apostolic orthodoxy. [2] He shows his early date by what he says as follows in his own words: "But the works of our Saviour were always present, for they were true, those who were cured, those who rose from the dead, who not merely appeared as cured and risen, but were constantly present, not only while the Saviour was living, but even for some time after he had gone, so that some of them survived even till our own time." Such was he. [3] Aristides too, a man of faith and devoted to our religion, has, like Quadratus, left behind a defence of the faith addressed to Hadrian. His writing, too, is still preserved by many.

IV. [1] In the third year of the same reign Alexander, the bishop of the Romans, died after completing the tenth year of his ministry; Xystus was his successor. And at the same time, in the diocese of the Alexandrians, Justus succeeded Primus, who died in the twelfth year of his rule.

V. [1] I have not found any written statement of the dates of the bishops in Jerusalem, for tradition says that they were extremely short-lived, [2] but I have gathered from documents this much—that up to the siege of the Jews by Hadrian the successions of bishops were fifteen in number. It is said that they were all Hebrews by origin who had nobly accepted the knowledge of Christ, so that they were counted worthy even of the episcopal ministry by those who had the power to judge such questions. For their whole church at that time consisted of Hebrews who had continued Christian from the Apostles down to the siege at the time when the Jews again rebelled from the Romans and were beaten in a great war. [3] Since the Jewish bishops then ceased, it is now necessary to give their names from the beginning. The first then was James who was called the Lord's brother, and after him Simeon was the second. The third was Justus, Zacchaeus was the fourth, Tobias the fifth, the sixth Benjamin, the seventh John, the eighth Matthias, the ninth Philip, the tenth Seneca, the eleventh Justus, the twelfth Levi, the thirteenth Ephres, the

fourteenth Joseph, and last of all the fifteenth Judas. Such were the bishops in the city of Jerusalem, [4] from the Apostles down to the time mentioned, and they were all Jews. Now during the twelfth year of the reign of Hadrian, Telesphorus, the seventh from the Apostles, [5] succeeded Xystus who had completed ten years in the bishopric of the Romans, and one year and some months later Eumenes succeeded to the government of the diocese of Alexandria as the sixth bishop, when his predecessor had completed eleven years.

VI. [1] The rebellion of the Jews once more progressed in character and extent, and Rufus, the governor of Judaea, when military aid had been sent him by the Emperor, moved out against them, treating their madness without mercy. He destroyed in heaps thousands of men, women, and children, and, under the law of war, enslaved their land. [2] The Jews were at that time led by a certain Bar Chochebas, which means "star," a man who was murderous and a bandit, but relied on his name, as if dealing with slaves, and claimed to be a luminary who had come down to them from heaven and was magically enlightening those who were in misery. [3] The war reached its height in the eighteenth year of the reign of Hadrian in Beththera, which was a strong citadel not very far from Jerusalem; the siege lasted a long time before the rebels were driven to final destruction by famine and thirst and the instigator of their madness paid the penalty he deserved. Hadrian then commanded that by a legal decree and ordinances the whole nation should be absolutely prevented from entering from thenceforth even the district round Jerusalem, so that not even from a distance could it see its ancestral home. Ariston of Pella tells the story. [4] Thus when the city came to be bereft of the nation of the Jews, and its ancient inhabitants had completely perished, it was colonized by foreigners, and the Roman city which afterwards arose changed its name, and in honour of the reigning emperor Aelius Hadrian was called Aelia. The church, too, in it was composed of Gentiles, and after the Jewish bishops the first who was appointed to minister to those there was Marcus.

VII. [1] Like brilliant lamps the churches were now shining throughout the world, and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ was flourishing among all mankind, when the devil who



hates what is good, as the enemy of truth, ever most hostile to man's salvation, turned all his devices against the church. Formerly he had used persecutions from without as his weapon against her, [2] but now that he was excluded from this he employed wicked men and sorcerers, like baleful weapons and ministers of destruction against the soul, and conducted his campaign by other measures, plotting by every means that sorcerers and deceivers might assume the same name as our religion and at one time lead to the depth of destruction those of the faithful whom they caught, and at others, by the deeds which they undertook, might turn away from the path to the saving word those who were ignorant of the faith. Thus from Menander, [3] whom we have already mentioned as the successor of Simon, there proceeded a certain snake-like power with two mouths and double head, and established the leaders of two heresies, Saturninus, an Antiochian by race, and Basilides of Alexandria. The first established schools of impious heresy in Syria, the latter in Egypt. [4] Irenaeus makes it plain that Saturninus uttered for the most part the same falsehoods as Menander, but Basilides, under the pretext of secret doctrine, stretched fancy infinitely far, fabricating monstrous myths for his impious heresy. Now while most of the orthodox at that time were struggling for the truth, [5] and fighting with great eloquence for the glory of the Apostles and of the Church, some also by their writings provided for their successors methods of defence against the heresies which have been mentioned. [6] Of these a most powerful refutation of Basilides has reached us from Agrippa Castor, a most famous writer of that time, [7] revealing the cleverness of the man's deception. In expounding his mysteries he says that he compiled twenty-four books on the gospel, and that he named his own prophets Bar Cabbas and Bar Coph, and that he set up some others for himself who had never existed, but that he invented barbarous names for them to astonish those who were influenced by such things. He taught that there was no harm in eating things offered to idols, or in light-heartedly denying the faith in times of persecution. Like Pythagoras he enjoined those who came to him to keep silence for five years. The same writer tells other similar things about Basilides, and offers a magnificent refutation of the

error of the heresy described. [8] Irenaeus also writes that Carpocrates was a contemporary of these, the father of another heresy which was called that of the Gnostics. [9] These did not, like Basilides, desire to transmit the magic of Simon secretly but openly, as though it was some great thing, speaking almost with awe of their magical ceremonies, of love charms, of the bringers of dreams and familiar spirits, and of other similar performances. In accordance with this they teach that those who purpose coming to initiation in their mysteries, or rather in their obscenities, must perform all the shocking deeds because in no other way can they escape the "rulers of the world," as they would say, except by fulfilling to all of them what was necessary through their mysteries. [10] By using these ministers the demon who rejoices in evil accomplished the piteous enslavement to perdition of those who were thus deceived by them, and brought much weight of discredit upon the divine word among the unbelieving Gentiles, because the report which started from them was scattered calumniously on the whole race of Christians. [11] It was especially in this way that it came to pass that a blasphemous and wicked suspicion concerning us was spread among the heathen of those days, to the effect that we practised unspeakable incest with mothers and sisters and took part in wicked food. [12] Yet this did not long succeed, for the truth vindicated itself and as time went on shone ever more brightly. [13] For by its power the machinations of its enemies were refuted; though new heresies were invented one after another, the earlier ones flowed into strange multiple and multifarious forms and perished in different ways at different times. But the brightness of the universal and only true church proceeded to increase in greatness, for it ever held to the same points in the same way, and radiated forth to all the race of Greeks and barbarians the reverent, sincere, and free nature, and the sobriety and purity of the divine teaching as to conduct and thought. [14] Thus with the lapse of time the calumnies against the whole teaching were extinguished, and our doctrine remained as the only one which had power among all and was admitted to excel in its godliness and sobriety, and its divine and wise doctrines. So that no one has dared to continue the base implications of calumny against our faith, such as those who were

opposed to us were formerly accustomed to use.

[15] Nevertheless, at the time spoken of, the truth again brought forward for itself more champions who campaigned against the godless heresies not only by unwritten arguments but also in written demonstrations. VIII. [1] Among these Hegesippus was famous and of his words we have already made much use, for from his tradition we have quoted details as to the apostolic age. He collected his material in five books, giving in the simplest style of writing the unerring tradition of the apostolic preaching. [2] He indicates the time in which he flourished by writing thus about those who had made idols: "To them they made cenotaphs and shrines until now, and among them is Antinous, a slave of the Emperor Hadrian, in whose honour the Antinoian games are held, though he was our contemporary. For he also built a city called after Antinous, and instituted prophets for him." At the same time too, Justin, a genuine lover of true philosophy, [3] was still continuing to practise the learning of the Greeks. And he also himself indicates this period in his Apology to Antoninus by writing thus, "And we thought it not out of place to mention at this point Antinous of the present day whom all were intimidated to worship as a god, though they knew his nature and origin."

[4] The same writer mentions the war of that time against the Jews and makes this observation, "For in the present Jewish war it was only Christians whom Bar Chocheba, the leader of the rebellion of the Jews, commanded to be punished severely, if they did not deny Jesus as the Messiah and blaspheme him."

[5] In the same book he shows that his conversion from Greek philosophy to true religion did not take place irrationally, but as an act of deliberate judgment; for he writes thus: "For I myself, while I was rejoicing in the teaching of Plato, heard the Christians abused. But I saw that they were afraid neither of death, nor of anything usually thought fearful, and I considered it was impossible that they were living in wickedness and libertinism. For what libertine or incontinent person, or one who finds good in the eating of human flesh, could greet death, that it might take away all his lusts, and would not try to prolong by all means his present life and to avoid the notice of the rulers, and not give himself up to be murdered?"

[6] Moreover, the same writer relates that Hadrian received a dispatch in favour of the Christians from Serennius Granianus, a most distinguished governor, to the effect that it was not just to put them to death, without accusation or trial, to appease popular clamour, and that he wrote an answer to Minucius Fundanus, proconsul of Asia, ordering him to try no one without indictment and reasonable accusation, [7] and Justin appends a copy of the letter, preserving the original Latin as he had it, and prefixing these remarks: "Though we might have begged you to order trials to be held, as we desired, on the strength of a letter from the great and glorious Emperor Hadrian, we preferred to rest our request not on the command of Hadrian but on our knowledge that we are making a righteous request. However, we also append a copy of the letter of Hadrian, that you may know that we are speaking the truth on this point, and here it is."

[8] The author quoted then appends the Latin rescript itself, but we have translated it to the best of our power into Greek as follows:

IX. [1] "To Minucius Fundanus. I received a letter written to me from his Excellency Serennius Granianus, your predecessor. I think that the matter ought not to remain without inquiry, to prevent men from being harassed or helping the rascality of informers. [2] If then the provincials can make out a clear case on these lines against the Christians so as to plead it in open court, let them be influenced by this alone and not by opinions or mere outcries. For it is far more correct if anyone wishes to make an accusation for you to examine this point. If then anyone accuses them, [3] and shows that they are acting illegally, decide the point according to the nature of the offence, but by Hercules, if anyone brings the matter forward for the purpose of blackmail, investigate strenuously and be careful to inflict penalties adequate to the crime." Such was the rescript of Hadrian.

X. [1] After twenty-one years Hadrian paid the debt of nature, and Antoninus, called Pius, received the sovereignty of Rome. In his first year Telesphorus passed away in the eleventh year of his ministry, and Hyginus received the lot of the bishopric of the Romans. Irenaeus relates that Telesphorus gained renown in his death by martyrdom, and states in the same place that in the time

of Hyginus, the aforementioned bishop of Rome, Valentinus, the founder of a special heresy, and Cerdo, the founder of the Marcionite error, were both famous in Rome. He writes thus:

XI. [1] “Valentinus came to Rome in the time of Hyginus, but he flourished under Pius, and remained until Anicetus, and Cerdo, who before the time of Marcion, in the days of Hyginus, the ninth bishop, had come to the church and confessed, went on in the same way, sometimes teaching heresy, sometimes confessing again, and sometimes convicted by his evil teaching and separated from the assembly of the brethren.” [2] This he says in the third book against the heresies. Moreover, in the first book he makes the following statement about Cerdo: “A certain Cerdo had come originally from the circle of Simon and settled in Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the apostolic succession from the apostles. He taught that the God preached by the Law and the Prophets was not the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, for the one was known, the other unknown, the one was righteous and the other good. Marcion of Pontus succeeded him and increased the school, blaspheming unblushingly.”

[3] The same Irenaeus powerfully exposed the bottomless pit of the system of Valentinus with its many errors, and unbared his secret and latent wickedness while he was lurking like a reptile. [4] Furthermore he says that there was in their time another named Marcus, most experienced in the magic arts, and he writes of his initiations, which could not initiate, and of his foul mysteries, expounding them in these words: [5] “Some of them construct a bride-chamber, and celebrate a mystery with certain invocations on their initiate, and say that what they do is a spiritual marriage, according to the likeness of the unions above; others bring them to water and baptize them with this invocation, ‘To the name of the unknown Father of the universe, to Truth, the mother of all things, to him who descended into Jesus,’ and others invoke Hebrew words in order more fully to amaze the initiate.”

[6] After the fourth year of his episcopate Hyginus died and Pius undertook the ministry of Rome. In Alexandria Marcus was appointed after Eumenes had completed thirteen years, and when Marcus rested from the ministry after ten years, Celadion received the ministry of the church of the Alexandrians. [7] In the city of the

Romans Pius passed away in the fifteenth year of his ministry and Anicetus presided over those there. In his time Hegesippus states that he stayed in Rome and remained there until the episcopate of Eleutherus. [8] In their time Justin was at the height of his fame; in the garb of philosopher he served as ambassador of the word of God and contended in his writings for the faith. He wrote a treatise against Marcion and mentions that at the time he was writing the heretic was alive and notorious. [9] He speaks thus: "And there was a certain Marcion of Pontus who even now is still teaching those who believe him to think that there is another God greater than the creator. Throughout the whole race of men by the instigation of demons he has made many to speak blasphemously and to deny that the Maker of this universe is the Father of Christ, and to confess that there is another greater than He. All those who begin from them, as we said, are called Christians just as the name of philosophy is common to philosophers though their doctrines vary." [10] He goes on to say, "And we have a treatise against all the heresies which have arisen which we will give to any who wish to study it."

[11] The same Justin laboured powerfully against the Gentiles, and addressed other arguments, affording a defence for our faith, to the Emperor Antoninus, called Pius, and to the Senate of the Romans, for he was living in Rome. In his Apology he explains his position and origin as follows: XII. "To the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Pius, [1] Caesar Augustus, and to Verissimus, his son the philosopher, and to Lucius, the lover of instruction, the son by nature of the philosopher-emperor, and by adoption of Pius, and to the holy Senate and to the whole people of Rome, on behalf of those men of every race who are unjustly hated and abused, I, Justin, the son of Priscus, the son of Baccheius, of Flavia Neapolis in Palestinian Syria, myself a Christian, offer an address and entreaty."

The same Emperor was entreated by other Asiatic Christians who had suffered all manner of injury from the local population and he thought fit to send the following decree to the Council of Asia. XIII. [1] "The Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribune for the fifteenth time, Consul for the third time, to the Council of Asia, greeting. I

know that the gods also take care that such men should not escape notice, [2] for they would be far more likely to punish those who are unwilling to worship them than you are. [3] But you drive them into tumult, for you confirm them in the opinion which they hold by accusing them as atheists, and they too when so accused might well prefer apparent death rather than life for the sake of their own God. Wherefore they are also conquerors because they sacrifice their lives rather than obey and do what you command. [4] With regard to the earthquakes which have taken place and are still going on it is not out of place to remind you that when they happen you are depressed, [5] and so set up a comparison between our position and theirs. They obtain increased confidence towards God, but you the whole of the time neglect the other gods and the worship of the immortal. But when the Christians worship him you harry and persecute them to death. And many of the provincial governors wrote formerly on behalf of such men to our divine father, [6] and he replied that they were not to be interfered with unless they appeared to be plotting against the Roman government. And to me also many reported about such men, and to them I too replied consistently with my father's opinion. But if anyone persist in taking action against any one of such persons, [7] on the ground that he is so, let that one who is accused be released from the charge, even if it appear that he is such, but the accuser shall be liable to penalty. Published at Ephesus in the Council of Asia."

[8] Further testimony to these events is given by Melito, the famous bishop of the church in Sardis at that time, as is clear from what he says in the Apology which he made to the Emperor Verus on behalf of our faith.

XIV. [1] During the time of the emperors referred to, while Anicetus was ruling the church of Rome, Irenaeus relates that Polycarp was still alive and came to Rome and conversed with Anicetus about some difficulty as to the day of the Passover. [2] The same writer tells another story about Polycarp which it is necessary to add to what has been said about him. It runs as follows:

From the third book of Irenaeus against Heresies

[3] "And Polycarp also was not only instructed by apostles and

conversed with many who had seen the Lord, but was also appointed bishop by apostles in Asia in the church in Smyrna. We also saw him in our childhood, for [4] he lived a long time and in extreme old age passed from life, a splendid and glorious martyr. He constantly taught those things which he had learnt from the apostles, which also are the tradition of the church, [5] which alone are true. To these facts all the churches in Asia bear witness, and the present successors of Polycarp, and he is a far more trustworthy and reliable witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion and the others who hold wrong opinions. In the time of Anicetus he visited Rome and converted many of the above-mentioned heretics to the church of God, preaching that the one and only truth which he had received from the apostles was that which is the tradition of the church. [6] And there are those who heard him tell that John the disciple of the Lord went in Ephesus to bathe and seeing Cerinthus within, sprang out of the baths without bathing calling out, 'Let us fly lest the baths fall in, since Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth, [7] is within.' And Polycarp himself when Marcion once met him and said, 'Recognize us,' answered, 'I do, I recognize the first-born of Satan.' Such care did the apostles and their disciples take not even to join in conversation with any of those who mutilate the truth, as Paul also said, 'A man that is heretical after a first and second exhortation, refuse, knowing such a one is perverted and sinneth, being self-condemned.' There is also a most powerful letter of Polycarp's written to the Philippians, from which those who wish and care for their own salvation can learn both the character of his faith and the preaching of the truth." [8] So says Irenaeus. Moreover, Polycarp, in his above-mentioned letter to the Philippians, [9] which is still extant, has made some quotations from the first Epistle of Peter.

[10] Antoninus, called Pius, held the sovereignty for twenty-two years and was succeeded by Marcus Aurelius Verus, also called Antoninus, his son, together with his brother Lucius. XV. [1] At this time Polycarp was consecrated by martyrdom when great persecutions again disturbed Asia, and I think it most necessary to give in this history the account of his end, which is still extant in writing. [2] The document purports to be from the church of which



he was the leader, and gives to the neighbouring dioceses the following account of what happened to him. [3] “The Church of God which sojourns in Smyrna, to the Church of God which sojourns in Philomelium, and to all the sojournings of the Holy Catholic Church in every place. Mercy, peace, and love of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ be multiplied. We write to you, brethren, the story of the martyrs and of the blessed Polycarp, who put an end to the persecution by his martyrdom as though adding the seal.”

[4] They then go on, before the narrative about Polycarp, to give the story of the other martyrs, describing the constancy which they showed against torture, for they say that those who were standing around were amazed when they saw that at one time they were torn by scourges down to deep-seated veins and arteries, so that the hidden contents of the recesses of their bodies, their entrails and organs, were exposed to sight. At another time they were stretched on seashells and on sharp points, were taken through all kinds of punishment and torture, and finally were given to be eaten by wild beasts. They say that the noble Germanicus was especially distinguished, [5] being strengthened by the grace of God to overcome the natural cowardice of the body for death. Even when the proconsul wished to dissuade him, urging his youth and entreating him as he was still just in the flower of his youth to have pity on himself, he did not hesitate, but took pains to drag the beast to himself, almost forcing him and provoking him in order that he might be the sooner free from an unjust and wicked life. [6] At his glorious death the whole crowd was amazed at the God-loving martyr for his bravery, and at the courage of the whole race of Christians, and began to howl out together, “Kill the atheists! Let Polycarp be sent for.” [7] When a great uproar arose at this cry, a certain native of Phrygia named Quintus, lately arrived from Phrygia, seeing the beasts and the other threats, was overcome in his mind and weakened and finally abandoned his salvation. [8] The narrative of the above-mentioned document shows that this man had rushed to the tribunal with the others in a headstrong but irreligious spirit; but that nevertheless when he was convicted he gave manifest proofs to all that such men ought not to make foolhardy ventures which do not spring from religion.

Such was the fate of these men. [9] Yet the wonderful Polycarp, when he first heard this, remained undisturbed, keeping his mind steadfast and unmoved, and wished to stay there in the city. But the urgency of his friends and their entreaty that he should go out persuaded him, and he departed to a farm not far from the city where he stayed with a few others, and night and day did nothing but persevere in prayers to the Lord. In them he entreated and supplicated for peace, begging that it be given the churches throughout the world, for this was his invariable custom. While he was praying, [10] in a vision at night three days before his capture, he saw the pillow under his head suddenly flaming with fire and so destroyed, and when he woke up at this he at once interpreted what he had seen to those present, all but foretelling the future and clearly announcing to his friends that in fire he must give up his life for Christ's sake. While those who were seeking for him were pressing on with great zeal, [11] he was again constrained by the affection and love of the brethren to move to another farm. Shortly after the pursuers came up and arrested two of the slaves there. They tortured one of them and were brought by him to the abode of Polycarp. They entered in the evening and found him lying in an upper chamber. It was possible for him to have moved thence to another house, [12] but he was not willing and said, "The Lord's will be done." When he heard that they had come, so the story says, [13] he went down and conversed with them with a bright and gentle countenance, so that those who did not know him before thought that they saw a marvel when they regarded his old age and his venerable and steadfast behaviour, and they wondered that there should be such activity for the arrest of an old man of such character. [14] He did not delay but immediately ordered a table to be set for them and invited them to partake of plentiful food, asking from them a single hour that he might pray undisturbed. They gave him leave, and he arose and prayed, filled with the grace of the Lord, so that those who were present were astonished when they heard his prayer, and many of them already began to repent that so venerable and godlike an old man was going to be killed.

[15] After this the document concerning him continues as follows: "Now when he had at last finished his prayer, after

remembering all who had ever even come his way, both small and great, high and low, and the whole Catholic Church throughout the world, the hour came for departure, and they set him on an ass, and led him into the city, on a 'great Sabbath day.' And the police captain Herod and his father Niketas met him and removed him into the wagon, and sat by his side trying to persuade him and saying: 'But what harm is it to say, "Lord Caesar," and to offer sacrifice, and to be saved?' But he at first did not answer them, but when they continued he said: 'I am not going to do what you counsel me.' And they gave up the attempt to persuade him, [16] and began to speak fiercely, and turned him out in such a hurry that in getting down from the wagon he scraped his shin; and without turning round, as though he had suffered nothing, he walked on promptly and quickly, and was taken to the arena, while the uproar in the arena was so great that no one could even be heard. [17] Now when Polycarp entered into the arena there came a voice from heaven: 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man.' And no one saw the speaker, but many of our friends who were there heard the voice. [18] And when he was brought forward, there was a great uproar of those who heard that Polycarp had been arrested. Next when he approached the proconsul asked him if he were Polycarp, and when he admitted it he tried to persuade him to deny, saying: 'Respect your age,' and so forth, as they are accustomed to say: 'Swear by the genius of Caesar, repent, say: "Away with the Atheists" '; [19] but Polycarp, with a stern countenance looked on all the crowd in the arena, and waving his hand at them, he groaned and looked up to heaven and said: 'Away with the Atheists.' But when the Governor pressed him and said: 'Take the oath and I will let you go, [20] revile Christ,' Polycarp said: 'For eighty and six years have I been his servant, and he has done me no wrong, and how can I blaspheme my King who saved me?' But when he persisted again, and said: 'Swear by the genius of Caesar,' [21] he said: 'If you vainly suppose that I will swear by the genius of Caesar, as you say, and pretend that you are ignorant who I am, listen plainly: I am a Christian. And if you wish to learn the doctrine of Christianity fix a day and listen.' The proconsul said: 'Persuade the people.' [22] And Polycarp said: 'You I should have held worthy of discussion, for we have

been taught to render honour, as is meet, if it hurt us not, to princes and authorities appointed by God; but as for those, I do not count them worthy that a defence should be made to them.' And the proconsul said: 'I have wild beasts, I will deliver you to them, unless you change your mind.' [23] And he said: 'Call for them, for change of mind from better to worse is a change we may not make; but it is good to change from evil to righteousness.' [24] And he said again to him: 'I will cause you to be consumed by fire, if you despise the beasts, unless you repent.' But Polycarp said: 'You threaten with the fire that burns for a time, and is quickly quenched, for you do not know the fire which awaits the wicked in the judgement to come and in everlasting punishment. [25] But why are you waiting? Come, do what you will.' And with these and many other words he was filled with courage and joy, and his face was full of grace, so that it not only did not fall with trouble at the things said to him, but that the proconsul, on the other hand, was astounded and sent his herald into the midst of the arena to announce three times: 'Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian.' [26] When this had been said by the herald, all the multitude of heathen and Jews living in Smyrna cried out with uncontrollable wrath and a loud shout: 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the destroyer of our Gods, who teaches many neither to offer sacrifice nor to worship.' And when they said this, [27] they cried out and asked Philip the Asiarch to let loose a lion on Polycarp. But he said he could not legally do this, since he had closed the sports. Then they found it good to cry out with one mind that he should burn Polycarp alive, [28] for the vision which had appeared to him on his pillow must be fulfilled, when he saw it burning, while he was praying and he turned and said prophetically to those of the faithful who were with him, 'I must be burnt alive.' These things then happened with so great speed, [29] quicker than it takes to tell, and the crowd came together immediately, and prepared wood and faggots from the workshops and baths and the Jews were extremely zealous, as is their custom, in assisting at this. Now when the fire was ready he put off all his clothes, [30] and loosened his girdle and tried also to take off his shoes, a thing he was not used to doing, because each of the faithful was always zealous, which of them might the

more quickly touch his flesh. For he had been treated with all respect because of his noble life, even before his old age. [31] Immediately, therefore, he was fastened to the instruments which had been prepared for the fire, but when they were going to nail him as well he said: 'Leave me thus, for He who gives me power to endure the fire, will grant me to remain in the flames unmoved even without the security you will give by the nails.' So they did not nail him, but bound him, [32] and he put his hands behind him and was bound, as a noble ram that is offered out of a great flock as a whole burnt offering acceptable to Almighty God; [33] and he said: 'O Father of thy beloved and blessed Child, Jesus Christ, through whom we have received full knowledge of thee, the God of angels and powers, and of all creation, and of the whole family of the righteous, who live before thee! I bless thee, that Thou hast granted me this day and hour, that I may share, among the number of the martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, for the Resurrection to everlasting life, both of soul and body in the immortality of the Holy Spirit. And may I, [34] to-day, be received among them before Thee, as a rich and acceptable sacrifice, as Thou, the God who lies not and is truth, hast prepared beforehand, and shown forth, and fulfilled. For this reason I also praise Thee for all things, [35] I bless Thee, I glorify Thee through the everlasting and heavenly high, priest, Jesus Christ, thy beloved Child, through whom be glory to Thee with Him and the Holy Spirit, both now and for the ages that are to come, Amen.' [36] Now when he had uttered his Amen and finished his prayer, the men in charge of the fire lit it, and a great flame blazed up and we, to whom it was given to see, saw a marvel. And we have been preserved to report to others what befell. [37] For the fire made the likeness of a room, like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, and surrounded the body of the martyr as with a wall, and he was within it not as burning flesh, but as gold and silver being refined in a furnace. And we perceived such a fragrant smell as the scent of incense or other costly spices. At length the lawless men, [38] seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, commanded an executioner to go up and stab him with a dagger, and when he did this, [39] there came out much blood, so that the fire was quenched, and all the crowd marvelled that there was

such a difference between the unbelievers and the elect. And of the elect was he indeed one, the wonderful martyr, Polycarp, who in our days was an apostolic and prophetic teacher, bishop of the Catholic Church in Smyrna. For every word which he uttered from his mouth both was fulfilled and will be fulfilled.

[40] But the jealous and envious evil one who resists the family of the righteous, when he saw the greatness of his martyrdom, and his blameless career from the beginning, and that he was crowned with the crown of immortality, and had carried off the unspeakable prize, took care that not even his poor body should be taken away by us, though many desired to do so, and to have fellowship with his holy flesh. [41] Therefore he put forward Niketas, the father of Herod, and the brother of Alce, to ask the Governor not to give his body, 'lest,' he said, 'they leave the crucified one and begin to worship this man.' And they said this owing to the suggestions and pressure of the Jews, who also watched when we were going to take it from the fire, for they do not know that we shall not ever be able either to abandon Christ, who suffered for the salvation of those who are being saved in the whole world, or to worship any other. For him we worship as the Son of God, [42] but the martyrs we love as disciples and imitators of the Lord; and rightly, because of their unsurpassable affection toward their own King and Teacher. God grant that we too may be their companions and fellow-disciples. When therefore the centurion saw the contentiousness caused by the Jews, [43] he put the body in the midst, as was their custom, and burnt it. Thus we, at last, took up his bones, more precious than precious stones, and finer than gold, and put them where it was meet. There the Lord will permit us to come together according to our power in gladness and joy, and celebrate the birthday of his martyrdom, [44] both in memory of those who have already contested, and for the practice and training of those whose fate it shall be. Such was the lot of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was, together with those from Philadelphia, [45] the twelfth martyr in Smyrna, is alone especially remembered by all, so that he is spoken of in every place, even by the heathen."

[46] This great end was vouchsafed to the life of the marvellous and apostolic Polycarp, as the Christians of the church at Smyrna

have given the story in their letter which we have quoted. In the same document concerning him other martyrdoms are appended which took place in the same Smyrna at the same time as the martyrdom of Polycarp, and among them Metrodorus, who seems to have been a presbyter of the Marcionite error, was given to the fire and put to death. A famous martyr of those at that time was Pionius. [47] The document concerning him gives a full account of his special confession, his boldness of speech, the instructive apologies for the faith and popular addresses before the people and magistrates, as well as the correction and comfort to those who had succumbed to temptation in the persecution, which he addressed during his imprisonment to the brethren who visited him, in addition to this the tortures which he underwent, added to pain, nailing, the enduring of the flame, and, after all his marvellous deeds, his death; and to it we will refer those interested, for it is included in the martyrdoms of the ancients collected by us. There are also memoirs extant of others who were martyred in the city of Pergamon in Asia, [48] Carpus and Pappylas, and a woman, Agathonice, who died after many glorious confessions.

XVI. [1] In their time too Justin, whom we mentioned a little earlier, after delivering to the rulers mentioned a second book in behalf of our opinions, was adorned with divine martyrdom when the philosopher Crescens, who strove in life and behaviour to justify the name of cynic which he bore, instigated the plot against him, for Justin had often defeated him in debate in the presence of hearers, and finally bound on himself the trophies of victory by his martyrdom for the truth of which he was an ambassador.

[2] This he, who was in truth a supreme philosopher, sets forth in advance, in the above-mentioned Apology, just as clearly as in fact it was almost at once to happen to him, using these words: "I too expect to be plotted against by one of those who have been mentioned, [3] and to be stretched on the rack, or even by Crescens, that lover not of wisdom but of boasting, for the man is not worthy to be called 'philosopher' seeing that he publicly testifies about what he does not know, to the effect that the Christians are atheists and impious, and he does this to gain the grace and pleasure of the many who have been deceived. [4] For

either he controverts us without attending to the teachings of Christ, and is a complete rascal and far worse than the uneducated, who often avoid discussing and giving false testimony on subjects of which they have no knowledge; and if he has studied and does not understand the greatness in them, or though he does understand them is base enough to do what he does to avoid suspicion, he is more ignoble and rascally, [5] for he succumbs to ignorant and unreasonable opinion and fear. For I would have you to know that I put forward and asked him certain questions of this kind in order to find out and prove that he really knows nothing; and to show that I am speaking the truth, in case the information as to the arguments was not brought to you, I am ready to communicate the questions again before you, and this would be a task worthy of an Emperor. [6] But if my questions and his answers are known to you, it is plain to you that he knows nothing of our position, or, if he does know, does not dare say so because of the listeners, and, as I said before, is proved to be a man who loves not wisdom but reputation and does not even honour the saying of Socrates, worthy of affection as it is.”

[7] So says Justin; and that, according to his own prophecy, he was caught by Crescens and suffered martyrdom, Tatian, a man who in early life was trained in the learning of the Greeks and gained great distinction in it and has left many monuments of himself in writing, narrates as follows in his treatise against the Greeks: “And the wonderful Justin rightly exclaimed that those mentioned are like brigands.” Then continuing about the philosophers, [8] he proceeds: “Crescens, who lurked in the great city, surpassed all in unnatural vice and was also wholly devoted to the love of money. He counselled others to despise death but himself was so afraid of it that he intrigued to inflict death on Justin, [9] as though it were a great evil, because Justin by preaching the truth convicted the philosophers as gluttons and impostors.” Such was the cause of the martyrdom of Justin.

XVII. [1] The same writer mentions in his first Apology that before his own contest others had been martyrs before him. He narrates this profitably to our subject and he writes thus: [2] “A certain woman lived with a dissipated husband, and at first she too was dissipated, but when she knew the doctrine of Christ she



reformed, and tried to persuade her husband to reform likewise, relating the doctrine to him, and announcing the punishment in eternal fire which will be the lot of those who do not live soberly and in accordance with right teaching. [3] But he remained in his dissoluteness, and through his acts broke up his marriage, for his wife thought it was wicked to continue consorting with a husband who tried every kind of pleasure contrary to the law of nature and to righteousness, [4] and wished to be separated from wedlock. Owing to the importunity of her family, who counselled her to stay with him because there was always a hope that the husband would change, [5] she constrained herself to stay with him, but when her husband went to Alexandria, and she heard that he was behaving worse, in order not to be a partner of wickedness and impiety by remaining in wedlock and sharing in his board and bed, [6] she gave him what you call a writ of divorce and was separated. But though her noble husband ought to have rejoiced that she, who had formerly light-heartedly engaged with servants and hirelings in drunken pleasure and in all vices, had given up these habits and wished him too to give up following them, [7] he disliked her conversion and brought an accusation alleging that she was a Christian. She filed a petition with you, as Emperor, begging that she be allowed first to settle her affairs and then to answer the accusation after the settlement of her affairs. [8] This you granted. But her former husband being now unable to attack her, turned in the following way against a certain Ptolemy, who had been her teacher in Christian doctrines and was punished by Urbicius. [9] He persuaded a centurion who was a friend of his to arrest Ptolemy, and to ask him this one thing, whether he was a Christian. And Ptolemy, being a lover of the truth, and not deceitful nor of false disposition, confessed that he was a Christian. The centurion caused him to be put in prison and tortured him for a long while in the jail. Finally, when the man was brought before Urbicius he was similarly asked only this same question, whether he was a Christian, and again, conscious of the good which came to him because of the teaching of Christ, [10] he confessed the school of divine virtue. For he who denies anything either condemns the fact and rejects it, or knowing that he is himself unworthy and alien from the fact, [11] avoids confession, and

neither of these is the case with the real Christian, When Urbicius ordered him to be executed, a certain Lucius, who was himself a Christian, seeing the verdict which was thus given contrary to all reason, [12] said to Urbicius, 'What is the reason for punishing this man who has not been convicted of adultery or fornication or murder or theft or robbery or, in a word, of having done anything wrong, but merely confesses that he bears the Christian name? Your judgement, Urbicius, is unworthy of the emperor called Pius, or of Caesar's son, [13] the philosopher, or of the sacred Senate.' And Urbicius made no reply except to say to Lucius, 'You seem to me to be a Christian yourself.' And when Lucius said, 'Certainly,' he ordered him to be executed also. Lucius expressed his gratitude, for he said he was being removed from wicked lords like these and going to God, the good Father and King. A third man, who also came forward, Urbicius commanded to be punished." To this Justin naturally and suitably adds the words which we quoted above, "So I expect myself to suffer a plot from one of those named," etc.

XVIII. [1] Justin has left us treatises of an educated intelligence trained in theology, which are full of helpfulness, and to them we will refer students, indicating what has come usefully to our knowledge. There is a treatise by him, [2] on behalf of our opinions, addressed to Antoninus, surnamed Pius, and his children, and to the Roman Senate another, containing a second Apology for our defence, which he made to the successor and namesake of the above mentioned emperor, Antoninus Verus, whose period we are at present discussing; and another to the Greeks, in which, after a long and expanded argument about very many things inquired into both by Christians and the philosophers of the Greeks, [3] he discourses on the nature of demons, which there is no urgency to quote at present. Again a second treatise against the Greeks has reached us, [4] which he entitled A Confutation, and besides them another about the Sovereignty of God which he compiled not only from our own scriptures but also from the books of the Greeks. Besides these he wrote the book entitled Psaltes and another disputation On the Soul, [5] in which he propounds various questions concerning the problem under discussion and adduces the opinion of the Greek philosophers;

these he promises to refute and to give his own opinion in another book. He also composed a dialogue against the Jews, [6] which he held in the city of Ephesus against Trypho, the most distinguished Jew of the day. In this he explains how the grace of God brought him to the word of the faith, and how he had formerly been zealous for philosophic learning and made deep and enthusiastic inquiry into the truth. [7] In the same book he narrates about the Jews how they plotted against the teaching of Christ, and presses the same point against Trypho. "Not only did you not repent of the evil that you did but you chose out picked men at that time and sent them from Jerusalem to the whole world saying that a seditious sect of Christians had arisen, and uttering the calumnies which all those who do not know us make against us, so that you are not only guilty of unrighteousness against yourselves but also against absolutely all other men."

[8] He also writes that even up to his own time prophetic gifts illuminated the church, and quotes the Apocalypse of John saying clearly that it is the work of the apostle. And he also quotes some texts from the prophets bringing the charge against Trypho that the Jews had cut them out of the Scripture. There are also many works of his extant among many Christians, [9] and thus the books of this writer seemed even to the ancients worthy of study, for Irenaeus quotes his works, doing so in the fourth book Against Heresies in these very words: "And well does Justin say in his treatise against Marcion that he would not have believed the Lord himself had he preached a God other than the Creator." Again, in the fifth book of the same treatise he quotes him as follows: "And well did Justin say that before the coming of the Lord Satan dared not blaspheme God, [10] seeing that he did not yet know his condemnation." These points must serve to encourage students to follow his arguments zealously and such are the facts about him.

XIX. [1] Now when the reign of this emperor was approaching the eighth year Soter succeeded Anicetus in the bishopric of Rome, who had completed eleven years altogether, and when Celadion had presided over the diocese of the Alexandrians for fourteen years, XX. [1] Agrippinus took up the succession, and in the church of the Antiochians, the famous Theophilus was the sixth from the Apostles, the fourth having been Cornelius, who

was appointed after Hero, and after Cornelius Eros had succeeded to the bishopric in the fifth place.

XXI. [1] At this time there flourished in the church Hegesippus, whom we know from former narratives, and Dionysius, bishop of the Corinthians, and Pinytus, another bishop of the Cretans, and Philip, and in addition to them Apolinarius and Melito and Musanus and Modestus and, above all, Irenaeus, and their correct opinions on the sound faith of the apostolic tradition have come down to us in writing.

XXII. [1] Hegesippus has left a complete record of his own opinion in five treatises which have come down to us. In them he explains how when travelling as far as Rome he mingled with many bishops and that he found the same doctrine among them all. But it is well to listen to what he said after some remarks about the epistle of Clement to the Corinthians: [2] “And the church of the Corinthians remained in the true doctrine until Primus was bishop of Corinth, and I conversed with them on my voyage to Rome, and spent some days with the Corinthians during which we were refreshed by the true word. [3] When I was in Rome I recovered the list of the succession until Anicetus, whose deacon was Eleutherus; Soter succeeded Anicetus, and after him came Eleutherus. In each list and in each city things are as the law, the prophets, and the Lord preach.”

[4] The same writer also describes the beginning of the heresies of his time as follows: “After James the Just had suffered martyrdom for the same reason as the Lord, Symeon, his cousin, the son of Clopas was appointed bishop, whom they all proposed because he was another cousin of the Lord. For this cause they called the church virgin, for it had not yet been corrupted by vain messages, [5] but Thebouthis, because he had not been made bishop, begins its corruption by the seven heresies, to which he belonged, among the people. Of these were Simon, whence the Simonians, and Cleobius, whence the Cleobians, and Dositheus, whence the Dositheians, and Gorthaeus, whence the Goratheni and the Masbothei. From these come the Menandrianists and the Marcianists and the Carpocratians and the Valentinians and the Basilidians and Saturnilians; each of these puts forward in its own peculiar way its own opinion, [6] and from them come the false

Christs and false prophets and false apostles who destroy the unity of the church by their poisonous doctrine against God and against his Christ.”

[7] The same writer also described the sects which once existed among the Jews as follows: “Now there were various opinions among the circumcision, among the children of Israel, against the tribe of Judah and the Messiah, as follows: Essenes, Galileans, Hemerobaptists, Masbothei, Samaritans, Sadducees, and Pharisees.”

[8] He also wrote much more, from which we have already made some quotations, arranging the narratives chronologically, and he makes extracts from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and from the Syriac and particularly from the Hebrew language, showing that he had been converted from among the Hebrews, and he mentions points as coming from the unwritten tradition of the Jews. [9] And not only he but also Irenaeus and the whole company of the ancients called the Proverbs the All-virtuous Wisdom. And in discussing the so-called Apocrypha, he relates that some of them were fabricated by certain heretics in his own time. But we must now pass on to another writer.

XXIII. [1] Concerning Dionysius it must first be said that he was appointed to the throne of the episcopate of the diocese of Corinth, and that he communicated his divine industry ungrudgingly not only to those under him but also to those at a distance, rendering himself most useful to all in the general epistles which he drew up for the churches. [2] Among them the letter to the Lacedaemonians is an instruction in orthodoxy on the subject of peace and unity, and the letter to the Athenians is a call to faith and to life according to the gospel, and for despising this he rebukes them as all but apostates from the truth since the martyrdom of Publius, their leader, in the persecution of that time. [3] He mentions that Quadratus was appointed their bishop after the martyrdom of Publius and testifies that through his zeal they had been brought together and received a revival of their faith. Moreover, he mentions that Dionysius the Areopagite was converted by the Apostle Paul to the faith, according to the narrative in the Acts, and was the first to be appointed to the bishopric of the diocese of Athens. [4] There is another extant

letter of his to the Nicomedians in which he combats the heresy of Marcion and compares it with the rule of the truth. [5] He also wrote to the church sojourning in Gortyna together with the other Cretan dioceses, and welcomes their bishop Philip for the reputation of the church in his charge for many noble acts, and he enjoins care against heretical error. [6] He also wrote to the church sojourning in Amastris, together with the churches in Pontus, and mentions that Bacchylides and Elpistus had urged him to write; he adduces interpretations of the divine scriptures, and mentions by name their bishop Palmas. He gave them many exhortations about marriage and chastity, and orders them to receive those who are converted from any backsliding, [7] whether of conduct or heretical error. To this list has been added another epistle to Crossus, in which he exhorts Pinytos, the bishop of the diocese, not to put on the brethren a heavy compulsory burden concerning chastity and to consider the weaknesses of the many. [8] To this Pinytos replied that he admired and welcomed Dionysius, but exhorted him in turn to provide at some time more solid food, and to nourish the people under him with another more advanced letter, so that they might not be fed continually on milky words, and be caught unaware by old age while still treated as children. In this letter the orthodoxy of Pinytos in the faith, his care for those under him, his learning and theological understanding are shown as in a most accurate image.

[9] There is, moreover, extant a letter of Dionysius to the Romans addressed to Soter who was then bishop, and there is nothing better than to quote the words in which he welcomes the custom of the Romans, which was observed down to the persecution in our own times. [10] "This has been your custom from the beginning, to do good in manifold ways to all Christians, and to send contributions to the many churches in every city, in some places relieving the poverty of the needy, and ministering to the Christians in the mines, by the contribution which you have sent from the beginning, preserving the ancestral custom of the Romans, true Romans as you are. Your blessed bishop Soter has not only carried on this habit but has even increased it, by administering the bounty distributed to the saints and by exhorting with his blessed words the brethren who come to Rome, as a

loving father would his children.”

[11] In this same letter he also quotes the letter of Clement to the Corinthians, showing that from the beginning it had been the custom to read it in the church. “To-day we observed the holy day of the Lord, and read out your letter, which we shall continue to read from time to time for our admonition, as we do with that which was formerly sent to us through Clement.”

[12] The same writer speaks as follows about the falsification of his own letters. “When Christians asked me to write letters I wrote them, and the apostles of the devil have filled them with tares, by leaving out some things and putting in others. But woe awaits them. Therefore it is no wonder that some have gone about to falsify even the scriptures of the Lord when they have plotted against writings so inferior.”

[13] Besides these there is extant another letter of Dionysius to Chrysophora, a most faithful Christian, in which he writes to her, suitably imparting to her-the proper spiritual food. Such are the facts about Dionysius.

XXIV. [1] Of Theophilus, whom we have mentioned as bishop of the church of the Antiochians, three elementary treatises are extant, addressed to Autolycus, and another with the title, Against the Heresy of Hermogenes, in which he has quoted the Apocalypse of John, and there are also extant some other books of his on instruction. Heretics were even then no less defiling the pure seed of apostolic teaching like tares, and the shepherds of the churches in every place, as though driving off wild beasts from Christ’s sheep, excluded them at one time by rebukes and exhortations to the brethren, at another by their more complete exposure, by unwritten and personal inquiry and conversation, and ultimately correcting their opinions by accurate arguments in written treatises. It is clear that Theophilus joined with the others in this campaign against them from a noble treatise which he made against Marcion, which has been preserved until now with the others that we have mentioned. His successor in the church of the Antiochians was Maximinus, seventh from the apostles.

XXV. [1] Philip, whom we know from the words of Dionysius as bishop of the diocese in Gortyna, also made a most excellent treatise against Marcion. Irenaeus, likewise, and Modestus, who

excels beyond the rest in exposing to everyone the man's error, did the same, and there are many others, too, whose works are still preserved among many Christians.

XXVI. [1] In their time, too, Melito, bishop of the diocese of Sardis, and Apolinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, were at the height of their fame, and each addressed apologetic arguments of their own to the emperor of the Romans of that day, who has been already mentioned. [2] The following of their works have come to our knowledge. Of Melito two books On the Passover, a treatise On Christian Life and the Prophets, On the Church, and On the Lord's Day; besides these On the Faith of Man, and On Creation, and On the Obedience of Faith, and On the Senses; besides these, On the Soul and Body, and On Baptism and Truth and Faith and Christ's Birth, and a treatise of his prophecy and On Soul and Body, and On Hospitality, and the Key, and the books On the Devil and the Apocalypse of John, and On God Incarnate; above all, the little book To Antoninus.

[3] At the beginning of the book On the Passover he indicates the time at which he was composing it as follows: "In the time of Servilius Paulus, proconsul, of Asia, at the time when Sagaris was martyred, there was a great discussion about the Passover, which fell according to the season in those days, and this was written." [4] Clement of Alexandria quotes this treatise in his own On the Passover, which he says that he compiled in consequence of the writing of Melito. [5] And in the book to the emperor he relates that in his time we were treated as follows: "It has never before happened as it is now that the race of the religious should be persecuted and driven about by new decrees throughout Asia. For shameless informers and lovers of other people's property have taken advantage of the decrees, and pillage us openly, harrying night and day those who have done nothing wrong." And after other points he says: "And if this is done as your command, [6] let it be assumed that it is well done, for no righteous king would ever have an unrighteous policy, and we gladly bear the honour of such death. But we submit to you this single request, that you will first take cognizance yourself of the authors of such strife, and judge righteously whether they are worthy of death and punishment, or of acquittal and immunity. But, if it be not from you



that there comes this counsel and this new decree (and it would be improper even against barbarian enemies), we beseech you all the more not to neglect us in this brigandage by a mob.” He then continues as follows: [7] “Our philosophy first grew up among the barbarians, but its full flower came among your nation in the great reign of your ancestor Augustus, and became an omen of good to your empire, for from that time the power of the Romans became great and splendid. You are now his happy successor, and shall be so along with your son, if you protect the philosophy which grew up with the empire and began with Augustus. Your ancestors nourished it together with the other cults, and the greatest proof that our doctrine flourished for good along with the empire in its noble beginning is the fact that it met no evil in the reign of Augustus, [8] but on the contrary everything splendid and glorious according to the wishes of all men. The only emperors who were ever persuaded by malicious men to slander our teaching were Nero and Domitian, [9] and from them arose the lie, and the unreasonable custom of falsely accusing Christians. But their ignorance was corrected by your pious fathers, who wrote many rebukes to many, whenever any dared to take new measures against Christians. [10] Your grandfather Hadrian shows this in his letters to many, and especially to the proconsul Fundanus, the governor of Asia, and your father, while you were joined with him in the administration of the world, wrote to the cities that no new measures should be taken concerning us. Among these are letters to the Larisians and to the Thessalonians and the Athenians and to all the Greeks. [11] Since you hold the same opinion about them and, indeed, one which is far kinder and more philosophic, we are persuaded of your doing all which we beg of you.”

[12] These words are found in the treatise quoted, but in the Extracts which he wrote the same writer begins in his preface by making a list of the recognized scriptures of the Old Testament, which it is necessary to enumerate here, and he writes as follows: “Melito to Onesimus his brother, [13] greeting. Since you often desired, in your zeal for the true word, to have extracts from the Law and the Prophets concerning the Saviour, and concerning all our faith, and, moreover, since you wished to know the accurate facts about the ancient writings, how many they are in number,

and what is their order, I have taken pains to do thus, for I know your zeal for the faith and interest in the word, and that in your struggle for eternal salvation you esteem these things more highly than all else in your love towards God. Accordingly when I came to the east and reached the place where these things were preached and done, [14] and learnt accurately the books of the Old Testament, I set down the facts and sent them to you. These are their names: five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua the son of Nun, Judges, Ruth, four books of Kingdoms, two books of Chronicles, the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon and his Wisdom, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Job, the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Twelve in a single book. Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezra. From these I have made extracts and compiled them in six books.” Such are the facts about Melito.

XXVII. [1] Of the many writings of Apolinarius which have been widely preserved the following have reached us: A treatise to the above mentioned emperor, five books Against the Greeks, and books one and two On the Truth, one and two Against the Jews, and after this the treatises which he wrote against the heresy of the Phrygians, which had begun its innovations not long before and was then, as it were, beginning to sprout, while Montanus with his false prophetesses was making the beginnings of the error.

XXVIII. [1] And of Musanus, whom we have mentioned in a previous passage, there is extant a certain very eloquent discourse which he wrote to some Christians who had fallen away to the heresy of the so-called Encratites, which was at that time just beginning to sprout and to introduce into life its strange and corrupting false doctrine. XXIX. [1] The story goes that Tatian was the author of this error, whose words we quoted a little above concerning the marvellous Justin, and related that he was a disciple of the martyr. Irenaeus states this in his first book, Against the Heresies, and in the same place writes thus concerning him and his heresy. [2] “The so-called Encratites proceeding from Saturninus and Marcion preached against marriage, annulling the original creation of God, and tacitly condemning him who made male and female. They also introduced abstention from what they called ‘animate’ things in ingratitude to the God who has made all

things, [3] and they deny the salvation of the first created man. This innovation was recently made by them when a certain Tatian first introduced this blasphemy. He had been a hearer of Justin but so long as he was with him, he produced nothing of this kind, but after the martyrdom of Justin he left the church, being exalted by the idea of becoming a teacher and puffed up as superior to others. He established his own type of doctrine, telling stories of invisible Aeons, like the followers of Valentinus, and rejecting marriage as corruption and fornication similarly to Marcion and Saturninus. And as his own contribution he denied the salvation of Adam.” Irenaeus wrote thus at that time. [4] But a little later a certain man named Severus strengthened the above mentioned heresy, and is the reason why those who have sprung from it obtained the name of Severiani from him. These indeed use the Law and the Prophets and the Gospels, [5] though they interpret the facts of the sacred scriptures in their own way, but they blaspheme the Apostle Paul, and reject his epistles and do not receive the Acts of the Apostles. [6] Their former leader Tatian composed in some way a combination and collection of the gospels, and gave this the name of The Diatessaron, and this is still extant in some places. And they say that he ventured to paraphrase some words of the apostle, as though correcting their style. He has left a great number of writings, [7] of which the most famous, quoted by many, is his discourse Against the Greeks. In it he deals with primitive history, and shows that Moses and the prophets of the Hebrews preceded all those who are celebrated among the Greeks. This seems to be the best and most helpful of all his writings. Such are the facts of this period.

XXX. [1] In the same reign heresies increased in Mesopotamia, and Bardesanes, a most able man and skilled in Syriac, composed dialogues against the Marcionites and other leaders of various opinions, and he issued them in his own language and script, together with many other of his writings. Those who knew them, and they were many, for he was a powerful arguer, have translated them from Syriac into Greek. Among them is his very powerful dialogue with Antoninus Concerning Fate, [2] and they say that he wrote many other works in consequence of the persecution of that time. He had been first a member of the

Valentinians, [3] but condemned this school and refuted many of their fables, and himself thought that he had changed to orthodox opinion, but in fact he did not completely clean off the filth of his ancient heresy.

At this time Soter, bishop of Rome, died.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK V

The contents of the fifth book of the History of the Church are as follows:

I. The number and behaviour of those who in the time of Verus underwent in Gaul the struggle for religion.

II. How the martyrs, beloved of God, gave the hand of fellowship and healing to those who had fallen in the persecution.

III. The vision which appeared in a dream to the martyr Attalus.

IV. How the martyrs commended Irenaeus by a letter.

V. How God sent rain from heaven to Marcus Aurelius Caesar in response to the prayers of the Christians.

VI. The list of those who were bishops in Rome.

VII. How even until those times strange miracles were wrought by the faithful.

VIII. How Irenaeus quotes the divine Scriptures.

IX. Those who were bishops under Commodus.

X. On Pantaenus the philosopher.

XI. On Clement of Alexandria.

XII. On the bishops in Jerusalem.

- XIII. On Rhodo and the dissensions which he mentions among the Marcionites.
- XIV. On the Montanist false prophets.
- XV. About the schism at Rome under Blastus.
- XVI. The tradition concerning Montanus and those who were false prophets together with him.
- XVII. On Miltiades and the treatises which he composed.
- XVIII. How Apollonius also refuted the Montanists and the quotations which he made.
- XIX. Of Serapion on Montanism.
- XX. The discussions of Irenaeus in writing with the schismatics at Rome.
- XXI. How Apollonius was martyred in Rome.
- XXII. What bishops were famous in these times.
- XXIII. On the paschal controversy which was then active.
- XXIV. On the division in Asia.
- XXV. How unanimous decision was reached concerning Easter.
- XXVI. How much of the eloquent work of Irenaeus has come down to us.
- XXVII. How much also of the others who flourished with him at that time.
- XXVIII. On those who at the beginning put forward the heresy of Artemon, what manner of men they were, and how they have dared to corrupt the holy Scriptures.



# BOOK V

[1] SOTER, the bishop of the church of Rome, ended his life in the eighth year of his rule. To him succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the apostles, and it was the seventeenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus. In this time the persecution of us in some parts of the world was rekindled more violently by popular violence in the cities, and, to judge from the events in one nation, myriads were distinguished by martyrdom. The story has chanced to be handed down in writing for posterity, and it is truly worthy of unceasing remembrance. Since the whole record of its complete treatment has been embodied in our collection of martyrs, and contains not merely the narrative itself but also an exposition of doctrine, [2] I will at present select and quote merely such points as belong to the present undertaking. Other writers of historical works have confined themselves to the written tradition of victories in wars, of triumphs over enemies, of the exploits of generals and the valour of soldiers, [3] men stained with blood and with countless murders for the sake of children and country and other possessions; [4] but it is wars most peaceful, waged for the very peace of the soul, and men who therein have been valiant for truth rather than for country, and for piety rather than for their dear ones, that our record of those who order their lives according to God will inscribe on everlasting monuments: it is the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour which braved so much, trophies won from demons, and victories against unseen adversaries, and the crowns at the end of all, that it will proclaim for everlasting remembrance.

I. [1] Gaul was the country in which was prepared the stage for these events. Its capital cities, famous and more renowned than the others in the district, were Lyons and Vienne, through both of which passes the river Rhone, [2] flowing in an ample stream through the whole district. The distinguished churches of this country sent the document about the martyrs to the churches in Asia and Phrygia, in this way recording what happened among

them, [3] and I will quote their words: “The servants sojourning in Vienne and Lyons in Gaul to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, who have the same faith and hope of redemption as you. Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father and Jesus Christ, our Lord.”

[4] Then after other prefatory remarks they begin their narrative thus: “The greatness of the persecution here, and the terrible rage of the heathen against the saints, and the suffering of the blessed martyrs, are more than we can narrate accurately, nor can they be put down in writing. For with all his might the adversary attacked us, [5] foreshadowing his coming which is shortly to be, and tried everything, practising his adherents and training them against the servants of God, so that we were not merely excluded from houses and baths and markets, but we were even forbidden to be seen at all in any place whatever. But against them the grace of God did captain us; [6] it rescued the weak, and marshalled against them steadfast pillars of men able by patience to draw to themselves all the attack of the enemy. They came together and endured every kind of abuse and punishment, they counted many things as few in their zeal for Christ, and did indeed prove that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us.

[7] “First they endured nobly all that was heaped upon them by the mob, howls and stripes and dragging about, and rapine and imprisonment and stoning, and all things which are wont to happen at the hands of an infuriated populace against its supposed enemies and foes; [8] then they were dragged into the market place by the tribune and by the chief authorities of the city, were indicted and confessed, and at last they were shut up until the coming of the governor. [9] Then they were brought before the governor, and when he used all his cruelty against them, then intervened Vettius Epagathus, one of the brethren, filled with love towards God and towards his neighbour, the strictness of whose life had gone so far that in spite of his youth his reputation was equal to that of the elder Zacharias. He walked in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless and was unwearied in all ministrations to his neighbours, having much zeal toward God and being fervent in spirit. His character forbade him to endure the unreasonable judgement given against us, and,



overcome with indignation, he asked to be heard himself in defence of the brethren to the effect that there was nothing atheistic or impious among us. He was howled down by those around the judgement-seat, for he was a man of position, [10] and the governor would not tolerate the just requests which he had put forward but merely asked if he were a Christian himself. He then confessed in clear tones and was himself taken into the ranks of the martyrs. He was called the 'Comforter of Christians,' but had the Comforter in himself, the spirit of Zacharias which he had shown by the fullness of his love when he chose to lay down even his own life for the defence of the brethren, for he was and he is a true disciple of Christ, and he follows the Lamb wheresoever he goes.

[11] "The rest were then divided and the first martyrs were obviously ready, and they fulfilled the confession of martyrdom with all readiness, but some others appeared not to be ready, and failed in training and in strength, unable to endure the strain of a great conflict, and about ten in number failed, as those born out of due time. They caused us great grief and immeasurable mourning, and hindered the zeal of the others who had not been arrested. Yet they, although suffering all the terrors, nevertheless remained with the martyrs and did not desert them. [12] But at that point we were all greatly terrified by uncertainty as to their confession, not fearing the threatened punishment but looking towards the end and afraid lest some one should fall away. [13] Yet day by day those who were worthy went on being arrested, completing their number, so as to collect from the two churches all the zealous and those through whom the life of the locality was kept together. [14] There were also arrested certain heathen slaves of our members, since the governor had publicly commanded that we should all be prosecuted, and these by the snare of Satan, fearing the tortures which they saw the saints suffering, when the soldiers urged them, falsely accused us of Thyestean feasts and Oedipodean intercourse, and things which it is not right for us either to speak of or to think of or even to believe that such things could ever happen among men. [15] When this rumour spread all men turned like beasts against us, so that even if any had formerly been lenient for friendship's sake they then

became furious and raged against us, and there was fulfilled that which was spoken by our Lord that 'the time will come when whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service.' [16] Then at last the holy martyrs endured sufferings beyond all description, for Satan was striving to wring some blasphemy even from them, [17] and all the fury of the mob and of the governor and of the soldiers was raised beyond measure against Sanctus, the deacon from Vienne, and against Maturus, who was a novice but a noble contender, and against Attalus, a Pergamene by race, who had always been a pillar and support of the Christians there, and against Blandina, through whom Christ showed that things which are mean and obscure and contemptible among men are vouchsafed great glory with God because of the love towards him shown in power and not boasted of in appearance. [18] For while we were all afraid, and her human mistress, who was herself one of the contenders among the martyrs, was in distress lest she should not be able, through the weakness of her body, to be bold enough even to make confession, Blandina was filled with such power that she was released and rescued from those who took turns in torturing her in every way from morning until evening, and they themselves confessed that they were beaten, for they had nothing left to do to her, and they marvelled that she still remained alive, seeing that her whole body was broken and opened, and they testified that any one of these tortures was sufficient to destroy life, even when they had not been magnified and multiplied. But the blessed woman, like a noble athlete, kept gaining in vigour in her confession, [19] and found comfort and rest and freedom from pain from what was done to her by saying, 'I am a Christian woman and nothing wicked happens among us.'

[20] "Sanctus also himself endured nobly, beyond measure or human power, all the ill-treatment of men, for though the wicked hoped through persistence and the rigour of his tortures to wring from him something wrong, he resisted them with such constancy that he did not even tell his own name, or the race or the city whence he was, nor whether he was slave or free, but to all questions answered in Latin, 'I am a Christian.' This he said for name and city and race and for everything else, and the heathen heard no other sound from him. [21] For this reason the governor

and the torturers were very ambitious to subdue him, so that when they had nothing left at all to do to him at last they fastened plates of heated brass to the tenderest parts of his body. His limbs were burning, but he continued himself unbending and unyielding, [22] firm in his confession, refreshed and strengthened by the heavenly spring of the water of life which proceeds forth from the body of Christ. His body was a witness to his treatment; [23] it was all one wound and bruise, wrenched and torn out of human shape, but Christ suffering in him manifested great glory, overthrowing the adversary and showing for the example of the others how there is nothing fearful where there is the love of the Father nor painful where there is the glory of Christ. [24] For when the wicked after some days again tortured the martyr they thought that they might overcome him now that his body was swollen and inflamed if they applied the same tortures, seeing that he could not even endure to be touched by the hand, or that by dying under torture he would put fear into the rest. Yet not only did nothing of this kind happen, but, beyond all human expectation, he raised himself up and his body was straightened in the subsequent tortures, and he regained his former appearance and the use of his limbs, so that through the grace of Christ the second torturing became not torment but cure.

[25] “Biblis, too, one of those who had denied, did the devil bring to torture (thinking that he had already swallowed her up and wishing to condemn her through blasphemy as well), to force her to say impious things about us, as though she were already broken and weak. [26] But she recovered under torture, and, as it were, woke up out of deep sleep, being reminded through this transitory punishment of the eternal torments in hell, and contradicted the blasphemers, saying, ‘How would such men eat children, when they are not allowed to eat the blood even of irrational animals? ‘And after this she confessed herself a Christian and was added to the ranks of the martyrs.

[27] “But when the tyrant’s torments had been brought to naught by Christ through the endurance of the blessed saints, the devil thought of other devices, imprisonment in the jail in darkness and in the most horrible place, and stretching their feet in the stocks, separated to the fifth hole, and the other outrages which

angry warders filled with the devil are accustomed to inflict on the prisoners. Thus most of them were strangled in the prison, being all those whom the Lord had chosen thus to depart manifesting his glory. [28] Some were tortured so cruelly that it seemed impossible for them to live even if they had had every care, yet survived in the prison, bereft of human attention but strengthened by the Lord and given power in body and soul, and looking after and comforting the rest. But the younger ones, who had lately been arrested, whose bodies had not become accustomed to it, did not endure the burden of confinement but died in prison.

[29] “The blessed Pothinus, who had been entrusted with the ministry of the bishopric at Lyons, was over ninety years old and very weak physically. He was scarcely breathing through the physical weakness which had already come upon him, but was strengthened by zeal of spirit through urgent desire of martyrdom. He was dragged before the judgement-seat, and although his body was weakened by old age and disease, his soul was kept in him in order that through it Christ might triumph. He was brought by soldiers to the judgement-seat; the local authorities accompanied him, [30] and all the populace, uttering all kinds of howls at him as though he was Christ himself, but he gave noble testimony. When asked by the governor, Who was the God of the Christians, [31] he said, ‘If you are worthy, you will know.’ And then he was dragged about without mercy, and suffered many blows; for those who were near ill-treated him with feet and hands and in every way, without respect even for his old age, and those who were at a distance each threw at him whatever he had at hand, and all thought that it would be a great transgression and impiety to omit any abuse against him. For they thought that in this way they would vindicate their gods. And he was thrown into prison scarcely breathing and after two days yielded up the ghost.

[32] “Then a great dispensation of God was given, and the measureless mercy of Jesus was so manifested, as has rarely happened among the brethren, [33] but is not beyond the skill of Christ. For those who at the first arrest had denied were imprisoned themselves and shared in the terrors, for this time not even their denial was any advantage to them; but those who confessed what they were were imprisoned as Christians, no

other accusation being brought against them, the others however were held as murderers and foul persons and punished twice as much as the rest. For the burden of the former was lightened by the joy of martyrdom and the hope of the promises, [34] and by love towards Christ and by the Spirit of the Father; but the latter were greatly punished by their conscience so that they were conspicuous among all the rest by their faces when they were taken out. [35] For the one went forth gladly; glory and great grace were mingled on their faces, so that they wore even their fetters as a becoming ornament, like a bride adorned with golden lace of many patterns, and they were perfumed with the sweet savour of Christ, so that some supposed that they had been anointed with worldly unguents; but the others were depressed and humble and wretched and filled with every kind of unseemliness, and in addition were insulted by the heathen as ignoble and cowardly; they had gained the accusation of murder, but had lost the name which is full of honour and glory and gives life. When the others saw this they were strengthened and those who were arrested confessed without hesitation and gave no thought to the arguments of the devil.”

[36] After a few more sentences they go on again: “After this the testimony of their death fell into every kind of variety. For they wove various colours and all kinds of flowers into one wreath to offer to the Father, and so it was necessary for the noble athletes to undergo a varied contest, and after great victory to receive the great crown of immortality. Maturus and Sanctus and Blandina and Attalus were led forth to the wild beasts, [37] to the public, and to a common exhibition of the inhumanity of the heathen, for the day of fighting with beasts was specially appointed for the Christians. Maturus and Sanctus passed again through all torture in the amphitheatre as though they had suffered nothing before, [38] but rather as though, having conquered the opponent in many bouts, they were now striving for his crown, once more they ran the gauntlet in the accustomed manner, endured the worrying of the wild beasts, and everything which the maddened public, some in one way, some in another, were howling for and commanding, finally, the iron chair on which the roasting of their own bodies clothed them with its reek. Their persecutors did not stop even

here, but went on growing more and more furious, wishing to conquer their endurance, [39] yet gained nothing from Sanctus beyond the sound of the confession which he had been accustomed to make from the beginning.

[40] “Thus after a long time, when their life still remained in them through the great contest, they were at last sacrificed, having been made a spectacle to the world throughout that day as a substitute for all the variations of gladiatorial contests; [41] but Blandina was hung on a stake and offered as a prey to the wild beasts that were let in. She seemed to be hanging in the shape of a cross, and by her continuous prayer gave great zeal to the combatants, while they looked on during the contest, and with their outward eyes saw in the form of their sister him who was crucified for them, to persuade those who believe on him that all who suffer for the glory of Christ have for ever fellowship with the living God. [42] Then when none of the beasts would touch her she was taken down from the stake and brought back into the jail, and was thus preserved for another contest, in order that by winning through more trials she might make irrevocable the condemnation of the crooked serpent, and might encourage the brethren; for small and weak and despised as she was, she had put on the great and invincible athlete, Christ; she had overcome the adversary in many contests, and through the struggle had gained the crown of immortality.

[43] “But Attalus was himself loudly called for by the crowd, for he was well known. He went in, a ready combatant, for his conscience was clear, and he had been nobly trained in Christian discipline and had ever been a witness for truth among us. He was led round the amphitheatre and a placard was carried before him on which was written in Latin, [44] ‘This is Attalus, the Christian.’ The people were very bitter against him, but when the governor learnt that he was a Roman, he commanded him to be put back with the rest, who were in the jail, about whom he had written to the emperor and was waiting for his reply.

[45] “But the intervening time was not idle or fruitless for them but through their endurance was manifested the immeasurable mercy of Christ, for through the living the dead were being quickened and martyrs gave grace to those who had denied. And

there was great joy to the Virgin Mother who had miscarried with them as though dead, and was receiving them back alive. [46] For through them the majority of those who had denied were again brought to birth and again conceived and quickened again, and learned to confess, and now alive and vigorous, made happy by God who wills not the death of the sinner, but is kind towards repentance, went to the judgement-seat, in order that they might again be interrogated by the governor. For Caesar had written that they should be tortured to death, [47] but that if any should recant they should be let go, and at the beginning of the local feast (and this is widely attended by the concourse of all the heathen to it) the governor led them to the judgement-seat, making a show and spectacle of the blessed men to the mob. He accordingly examined them again, beheaded all who appeared to possess Roman citizenship, and sent the rest to the beasts. And Christ was greatly glorified by those who had formerly denied but then confessed contrary to the expectation of the people. [48] For they were examined by themselves with the intention of then letting them go, but confessed and were added to the ranks of the martyrs. Those indeed remained without who had never had any vestige of faith, nor perception of the bridal garment, nor idea of the fear of God, but even through their behaviour blasphemed the Way—they are the sons of perdition—but all the rest were added to the church. [49] When they too were being examined a certain Alexander, a Phrygian by race and a physician by profession, who had lived in Gaul for many years and was known to almost every one for his love toward God and boldness of speech (for he was not without a share of the apostolic gift), stood by the judgement-seat and by signs encouraged them to confession, and seemed to those who were standing by as though he were in travail. [50] But the crowd, angry that those who had formerly denied were confessing again, howled at Alexander as though he were responsible for this. The governor summoned him and asked him who he was, and when he said 'a Christian,' he flew into a rage and condemned him to the beasts. And the next day he went into the arena together with Attalus; [51] for to please the mob the governor had given Attalus back to the beasts. They passed through all the instruments of torture which were prepared in the

amphitheatre, and endured a great contest. Finally they too were sacrificed. Alexander uttered neither groan nor moan at all, [52] but conversed with God in his heart, and Attalus, when he was put on the iron chair and was being burned and the reek arose from his body, said to the crowd in Latin, 'Lo, this which you are doing is to eat men, but we neither eat men nor do anything else wicked.' And when he was asked what name God has, he replied, 'God has not a name as a man has.'

[53] "In addition to all this, on the last day of the gladiatorial sports, Blandina was again brought in with Ponticus, a boy of about fifteen years old, and they had been brought in every day to see the torture of the others, and efforts were made to force them to swear by the idols, and the mob was furious against them because they had remained steadfast and disregarded them, so that there was neither pity for the youth of the boy nor respect for the sex of the woman. [54] They exposed them to all the terrors and put them through every torture in turn, trying to make them swear, but not being able to do so. For Ponticus was encouraged by the Christian sister, so that even the heathen saw that she was exhorting and strengthening him, and after nobly enduring every torture he gave up his spirit. [55] But the blessed Blandina, last of all, like a noble mother who had encouraged her children and sent them forth triumphant to the king, having herself endured all the tortures of the children, hastened to them, rejoicing and glad at her departure as though invited to a marriage feast rather than cast to the beasts. And after scourging, [56] after the beasts, after the gridiron, she was at last put in a net and thrown to a bull. She was tossed about a long time by the beast, having no more feeling for what happened to her through her hope and hold on what had been entrusted to her and her converse with Christ. And so she too was sacrificed, and the heathen themselves confessed that never before among them had a woman suffered so much and so long.

[57] "Not even thus was their madness and cruelty to the saints satisfied, for, incited by a wild beast, wild and barbarous tribes could scarcely stop, and their violence began again in a new way on the bodies; for that they had been conquered did not shame them, [58] because they had no human reason, but it rather



inflamed their wrath as of a wild beast, and the governor and the people showed the like unrighteous hatred against us that the Scripture might be fulfilled, 'Let him that is unlawful be unlawful still, and he that is righteous be righteous still.' For those who had been strangled in the jail they threw to the dogs, [59] and watched carefully night and day that none should be cared for by us. Then they threw out the remains left by the beasts and by the fire, torn and charred, and for many days watched with a military guard the heads of the rest, together with their trunks, all unburied. And some raged and gnashed their teeth at the remains, seeking some further vengeance from them, others laughed and jeered, [60] glorifying their idols and ascribing to them the punishment of the Christians, and the gentler, who seemed to have a little sympathy, mocked greatly, saying, 'Where is their god and what good to them was their worship, which they preferred beyond their lives?' [61] Their conduct thus varied, but in our circle great grief obtained, because we could not bury the bodies in the earth, for night did not avail us for this, nor did money persuade nor entreaty shame, but in every way they watched, as though they would make some great gain, that the bodies should not obtain burial."

[62] Further on they say: "Thus the bodies of the martyrs, after having been exposed and insulted in every way for six days, and afterwards burned and turned to ashes, were swept by the wicked into the river Rhone which flows near by, that not even a relic of them might still appear upon the earth. And this they did as though they could conquer God and take away their rebirth in order, [63] as they said, 'that they might not even have any hope of resurrection, through trusting in which they have brought in strange and new worship and despised terrors, going readily and with joy to death; now let us see if they will rise again, and if their God be able to help them and to take them out of our hands.' "

II. [1] Such things happened to the churches of Christ under the emperor mentioned, and from them it is possible to form a reasonable conclusion as to what was done in the other provinces. It is worth while to add other statements from the same document, in which the gentleness and the kindness of the martyrs already mentioned have been set down in these very words. "And they carried so far their zeal and imitation of Christ,

[2] 'who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God,' that for all their glory, and though they had testified not once or twice but many times, and had been taken back from the beasts and were covered with burns and scars and wounds, they neither proclaimed themselves as martyrs, nor allowed us to address them by this title. But if ever any one of us called them martyrs either in a letter or in speech they rebuked him sharply. For they gladly conceded the title of martyrdom to Christ, [3] the faithful and true martyr and first-born from the dead and author of the life of God. And they reminded us of the martyrs who had already passed away, and said 'they are already martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to be taken up at their confession, and sealed their witness by their departure, but we are lowly and humble confessors.' And they besought the brethren with tears, begging that earnest prayers might be made for their consecration. The power of martyrdom they actually showed, having great boldness towards the heathen, and they made plain their nobleness by endurance and absence of fear or timidity; [4] but the title of martyr they refused from the brethren, for they were filled with the fear of God."

[5] A little further on they say: "They humbled themselves under the mighty hand and by it they have now been greatly exalted. At that time they made defence for all men, against none did they bring accusation; they released all and bound none; and they prayed for those who had inflicted torture, even as did Stephen, the perfect martyr, 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge.' And if he prayed for those who were stoning him, how much more for the brethren?"

[6] And again after other details, they say: "For their greatest contest, through the genuineness of their love, was this, that the beast should be choked into throwing up alive those whom he had at first thought to have swallowed down. For they did not boast over the fallen, but from their own abundance supplied with a mother's love those that needed, and shedding many tears for them to the Father, they prayed for life, [7] and he gave it to them, and they divided it among their neighbours, and then departed to God, having in all things carried off the victory. They ever loved peace; peace they commended to us; and with peace they

departed to God; for their mother they left behind no sorrow, and for the brethren no strife and war, but glory, peace, [8] concord, and love.” Let this profitable extract suffice concerning the love of those blessed ones for their brethren who had fallen, for the sake of the inhuman and merciless disposition of those who after these events acted unsparingly to the members of Christ.

III. [1] The same document of the aforementioned martyrs contains also another story worthy of memory, and none could grudge our bringing it to the knowledge of those who are about to study. It runs thus: [2] There was among them a certain Alcibiades, who was living a very austere life, and at first was not partaking of anything at all, but used merely bread and water and was trying to live thus even in the jail. But it was revealed to Attalus after the first contest which he underwent in the amphitheatre that Alcibiades was not doing well in not making use of the creations of God, and offering an example of offence to others. [3] Alcibiades was persuaded and began to partake of everything without restraint and gave thanks to God; for they were not without help from the grace of God but the Holy Spirit was their counsellor. Let this suffice for this point.

[4] Just at that time the party of Montanus and Alcibiades and Theodotus in Phrygia began first to engender among many their views concerning prophecy (for the many other wonderful works of the grace of God which were still being wrought up to that time in divers churches produced the belief among many that they also were prophets), and when dissension arose about the persons mentioned the brethren in Gaul again formulated their own judgement, pious and most orthodox, concerning them, subjoining various letters from the martyrs who had been consecrated among them, which letters while they were still in prison they had composed for the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, and also for Eleutherus, who was then bishop of the Romans, and so they were ambassadors for the sake of the peace of the churches.

IV. [1] Irenaeus also, who was at that time already a presbyter of the diocese at Lyons, the same martyrs commended to the afore-mentioned bishop of Rome, and gave him much good testimony, as is shown by words to the following effect: [2] “Once more and always, Father Eleutherus, we wish you greeting in

God. We have asked our brother and companion, Irenaeus, to bring this letter to you and we beg you to hold him in esteem, for he is zealous for the covenant of Christ. For had we known that rank can confer righteousness on anyone, we should first of all have recommended him as being a presbyter of the church, for that is his position.”

[3] What need is there to transcribe the list of the martyrs in the above mentioned document, some consecrated by beheading, some cast out to be eaten by the wild beasts, others who fell asleep in the jail, and the number of the confessors which still survived at that time? For whoever wishes can easily read the full account by taking the description which has been included in our collection of martyrs, as I said before. Such were the events which happened under Antoninus.

V. [1] It is said that when his brother, Marcus Aurelius Caesar, was engaging in battle with the Germans and Sarmatians, he was in difficulties, because his army was oppressed by thirst; but the soldiers of the legion which is called after Melitene, knelt on the ground according to our own custom of prayer, in the faith which has sustained them from that time to this in their contests with their enemies, and turned towards supplications to God. [2] Now though this kind of spectacle seemed strange to the enemy, the story goes that another still more marvellous overcame them at once, for lightning drove the enemy to flight and destruction, and a shower falling on the army which had prayed to God, refreshed them all when they were on the point of destruction from thirst

[3] The story is both told among writers who are foreign to our faith who have undertaken to write of the times of the above mentioned emperors, and has also been recorded by Christians. By the heathen writers, inasmuch as they were strangers to the faith, the miracle is related, but it was not confessed that it happened through the prayers of the Christians; but in our own writers, inasmuch as they are the friends of truth, what happened has been described in a simple and harmless fashion. [4] Among these would be also Apolinarius, who states that after that time the legion which had wrought the miracle through prayer had received a name from the emperor appropriate to what had happened, and was called in Latin the “Thundering Legion.” [5] Tertullian is also a

worthy witness of these things, who in addressing in Latin an apology for our faith to the Senate, which we have quoted already, confirmed the story with more and clearer proof. In his writing he says that letters of Marcus, the most prudent emperor, [6] were still extant, in which he testifies himself that when his army was on the point of destruction in Germany from lack of water it had been saved by the prayers of the Christians, and Tertullian says that the emperor also threatened death to those who attempted to accuse us. The author goes on as follows: [7] "What kind of laws are these which wicked, unrighteous, and cruel men use against us alone? Vespasian did not observe them although he conquered the Jews. Trajan partially allowed them, but forbade Christians to be sought out. Neither Hadrian, though busy in all curious matters, nor Pius, as he is called, ratified them." But let these things be as anyone will, we must pass on to the train of further events.

[8] When Pothinus was consecrated with the martyrs in Gaul at the age of full ninety years, Irenaeus received the episcopacy of the diocese in Lyons, of which Pothinus had been the head, and we have been told that he had been a listener to Polycarp in his early youth. [9] In his third book against the heresies he gives the succession of the bishops in Rome as far as Eleutherus, the events of whose days are now being discussed by us, as though his book had been composed at that time, and he gives the list, writing as follows. VI. [1] "Therefore when the blessed apostles had found and built the church they gave the ministry of the episcopate to Linus. Paul mentioned this Linus in his epistle to Timothy. Anencletus succeeded him, [2] and after him Clement obtained the episcopate in the third place from the apostles. He had seen the blessed apostles and conversed with them and the teaching of the apostles still rang in his ears, their tradition was held before his eyes. Nor was he alone in this, for there were still many surviving at that time who had been taught by the apostles. [3] When in the time of this Clement no little dissension arose among the Christians at Corinth, the church in Rome sent a most powerful letter to the Corinthians urging them to peace and renewing their faith and the tradition which they had recently received from the apostles."

[4] And after a little he says: "Evarestus succeeded to this

Clement and Alexander to Evarestus, and then Xystus was appointed as the sixth from the apostles, and after him Telesphorus, who also was martyred gloriously; then Hyginus, then Pius, after him Anicetus. Soter succeeded Anicetus, and now, in the twelfth place from the apostles, Eleutherus holds the lot of the episcopate. [5] The tradition from the apostles in the church and the preaching of the truth have reached us in the same order and the same teaching.”

VII. [1] These things Irenaeus recounts, according to the extracts which we have made already, in the books, five in number, to which he gave the title of Refutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falsely so-called, and in the second book of this work he proves in the following words that manifestations of the divine and marvellous power had remained in some churches even as far as his time: [2] “But they fall so far short of raising the dead, as did the Lord and his apostles through prayer (and often among the brethren, because of necessity and at the request of the whole church in the neighbourhood, with fasting and much supplication, the spirit of him who had died returned, and the man was given to the prayers of the saints).” And again he says after other things: [3] “But if they say that the Lord has done all these things merely in appearance we will take them back to the prophetic writings, and show from them that all these things had been foretold concerning him, and that they certainly happened, and that he alone is the Son of God; for which cause also his true disciples having received grace from him use it in his name for the benefit of the rest of men, even as each has received the gift from him. [4] For some drive out demons with certainty and truth, so that often those who have themselves been cleansed from the evil spirits believe and are in the church, and some have foreknowledge of things to be, and visions and prophetic speech, and others cure the sick by the laying on of hands and make them whole, and even as we have said, the dead have been raised and remained with us for many years. And why should I say more? It is not possible to tell the number of the gifts which the church throughout the whole world, [5] having received them from God in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, uses each day for the benefit of the heathen, deceiving none and making

profit from none. For as it received freely from God, [6] it ministers also freely.” And in another place the same author writes: “Just as also we hear many brethren in the church who have gifts of prophecy, and who speak through the Spirit with all manner of tongues, and who bring the hidden things of men into clearness for the common good and expound the mysteries of God.” So much on the point that variety of gifts remained among the worthy up till the time spoken of.

VIII. [1] At the beginning of this work we made a promise to quote from time to time the sayings of the presbyters and writers of the church of the first period, in which they have delivered the traditions which came down to them about the canonical Scriptures. Now Irenaeus was one of these, so let us quote his words, and in the first place those which refer to the sacred Gospels, as follows: [2] “Now Matthew published among the Hebrews a written gospel also in their own tongue, while Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome and founding the church. But after their death Mark also, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, himself handed down to us in writing the things which were preached by Peter, [3] and Luke also, who was a follower of Paul, put down in a book the gospel which was preached by him. [4] Then John, the disciple of the Lord, who had even rested on his breast, himself also gave forth the gospel, while he was living at Ephesus in Asia.”

[5] These things were said by the writer referred to in the third book of his treatise which has been quoted before, and in the fifth book he discourses thus about the Apocalypse of John and the number of the name of the Antichrist. “Now since this is so, and since this number is found in all the good and ancient copies, and since those who have seen John face to face testify, and reason teaches us that the number of the name of the beast appears according to the numeration of the Greeks by the letters in it ...” And going on later he says concerning the same point, “We therefore will not take the risk of making any positive statement concerning the name of the Antichrist. [6] For if it had been necessary for his name to have been announced clearly at the present time, it would have been spoken by him who also saw the Revelation; for it was not even seen a long time ago, but almost in

our own generation towards the end of the reign of Domitian.”

[7] The author quoted says this about the Apocalypse, and he also mentions the first Epistle of John, making many quotations from it, and likewise the first Epistle of Peter. And he not only knew but also received the writing of the Shepherd, saying, “Well did the Scripture say ‘first of all believe that God is one who created and fitted together all things,’ [8] and so on.” He also made some quotations all but verbally from the Wisdom of Solomon, “And the vision of God produces incorruptibility and incorruptibility brings us near to God.” He also quotes treatises of a certain apostolic presbyter whose name he passes by in silence and gives his interpretation of divine Scripture. [9] Moreover, he has made mention of Justin Martyr and Ignatius, making frequent quotations from their writings, and he promised to give in a special work a refutation of Marcion from his own writings.

[10] Hear also, word for word, what he writes about the interpretation of the inspired Scriptures according to the Septuagint. “So God became man and the Lord himself saved us, giving us the sign of the virgin, but not as some say, who at the present time venture to translate the Scriptures, ‘behold a young woman shall conceive and bear a son,’ as Theodotion the Ephesian translated it and Aquila from Pontus, both of them Jewish proselytes, whom the Ebionites follow and aver that he was begotten by Joseph. After a little he goes on thus: [11] “For before the Romans established their government, while the Macedonians still possessed Asia, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, being very anxious to adorn the library, which he had founded in Alexandria, with all the best extant writings of all men, asked from the inhabitants of Jerusalem to have their Scriptures translated into Greek. They, for they were at that time still subject to the Macedonians, sent to Ptolemy seventy elders, [12] the most experienced they had in the Scriptures and in both languages, and God thus wrought what he willed. [13] But Ptolemy, wishing to make trial of them in his own way, and being afraid lest they should have made some agreement to conceal by their translation the truth in the Scriptures, separated them from one another and commanded them all to write the same translation. [14] And this he did in the case of all the books. But when they came together



to Ptolemy, and compared each his own translation, God was glorified and the Scriptures were recognized as truly divine, for they all rendered the same things in the same words and the same names, from beginning to end, so that even the heathen who were present knew that the Scriptures had been translated by the inspiration of God. [15] And it is no marvel that God did this, for when the Scriptures had been destroyed in the captivity of the people in the days of Nebuchadnezzar, and the Jews had gone back to their country after seventy years, then in the times of Artaxerxes, the king of the Persians, he inspired Ezra, the priest of the tribe of Levi, to restore all the sayings of the prophets who had gone before, and to restore to the people the law given by Moses." So much says Irenaeus.

IX. [1] When Antoninus had held the empire for nineteen years, Commodus received the sovereignty, and in his first year Julian was appointed to the episcopate of the churches in Alexandria when Agrippinus had completed his ministry after twelve years.

X. [1] At that time a man very famous for his learning named Pantaenus had charge of the life of the faithful in Alexandria, for from ancient custom a school of sacred learning existed among them. This school has lasted on to our time, and we have heard that it is managed by men powerful in their learning and zeal for divine things, but tradition says that at that time Pantaenus was especially eminent, and that he had been influenced by the philosophic system of those called Stoics. [2] They say that he showed such zeal in his warm disposition for the divine word that he was appointed as a herald for the gospel of Christ to the heathen in the East, and was sent as far as India. For indeed there were until then many evangelists of the word who had forethought to use inspired zeal on the apostolic model for the increase and the building up of the divine word. One of these was Pantaenus, and it is said that he went to the Indians, [3] and the tradition is that he found there that among some of those there who had known Christ the Gospel according to Matthew had preceded his coming; for Bartholomew, one of the apostles, had preached to them and had left them the writing of Matthew in Hebrew letters, which was preserved until the time mentioned. Pantaenus, [4] after many achievements, was at the head of the

school in Alexandria until his death, and orally and in writing expounded the treasures of the divine doctrine.

XI. [1] In his time Clement, the namesake of the pupil of the apostles who had once ruled the church of Rome, was famous in Alexandria for his study of the Holy Scriptures with Pantaenus. [2] In the Hypotyposes which he composed he mentioned Pantaenus by name as his teacher, and he seems to me to allude to him in the first book of the Stromateis, when he speaks thus in reference to the more distinguished members of the apostolic succession which he had received. [3] "This work is not a writing composed for show, but notes stored up for my old age, a remedy against forgetfulness, an image without art, and a sketch of those clear and vital words which I was privileged to hear, and of blessed and truly notable men. Of these one, the Ionian, was in Greece, [4] another in South Italy, a third in Coele-Syria, another from Egypt, and there were others in the East, one of them an Assyrian, another in Palestine of Hebrew origin. But when I had met the last, and in power he was indeed the first, I hunted him out from his concealment in Egypt and found rest. But these men preserved the true tradition of the blessed teaching directly from Peter and James and John and Paul, [5] the holy apostles, son receiving it from father (but there were few like their fathers), and by the blessing of God they came down to us to deposit those ancestral and apostolic seeds."

XII. [1] In their time there flourished Narcissus, bishop of the church at Jerusalem, who is still widely famous. He held the succession in the fifteenth place after the siege of the Jews under Hadrian, and we have stated already that from that time the church in that city was composed of Gentiles, in succession to the Jewish Christians, and that the first of the Gentile bishops was Marcus. [2] After him the local successions record that Cassian was bishop, and after him Publius, then Maximus, in addition to them Julian, then Gaius, after him Symmachus and Gaius the second, and then another Julian, and Capito, and in addition to them Valens and Dolichianus, and after them all Narcissus, the thirtieth from the apostles according to the regular succession.

XIII. [1] At this time too Rhodo, of Asiatic race, was, as he narrates himself, the pupil at Rome of Tatian, whom we have

mentioned above, and composed various books, among others especially one directed against the heresy of Marcion. He says that it was divided in his time into various opinions, and, describing accurately those who had caused the divergence, he refutes the false teaching devised by each of them. Listen then to him when he writes thus: [2] “Therefore they have ceased to agree among themselves, maintaining inconsistent opinions. One of their herd is Apelles, who is revered for his life and old age. He admits that there is one Principle, but says that the prophecies are of an opposing spirit, and he was persuaded by the utterances of a possessed maiden named Philoumene. [3] But others, such as the captain himself (Marcion), introduced two Principles. [4] To them belong Potitus and Basilicus. These followed the wolf of Pontus, not perceiving the division of things, any more than he, and turning to a simple solution, announced two principles, baldly and without proof. Others again, passing into worse error, supposed that there are not only two but even three Natures. Of them the chief and leader is Syneros, as those state who represent his school.”

[5] The same writer (Rhodo) says that he conversed with Apelles, and states it thus: “For the old man Apelles when he consorted with us, was proved to make many false statements. Hence also he used to say that it is not necessary to investigate the argument fully, but that each should remain in his own belief, for he asserted that those who placed their hope on the Crucified would be saved, if they persisted in good works. But as we have said before, the most obscure part of all the doctrines which he put forward were about God. For he kept on saying that there is only one Principle just as our doctrine states.” [6] Then after expounding all his opinions he goes on as follows: “And when I said to him, ‘Where is this proof of yours, or how can you say that there is one Principle? Tell us,’ he said that the prophecies refute themselves by not having spoken the truth at all, for they are inconsistent and false and contradict themselves, but as to how there is one Principle he said that he did not know it, but merely inclined to that view. [7] Then when I adjured him to speak the truth he swore that he was speaking the truth, when he said that he did not know how the unbegotten God is one but that he

believed it. But I laughed at him and condemned him, because though he called himself a teacher he did not know how to establish what he taught.”

[8] In the same work, speaking to Kallistio, the same writer states that he had been himself a disciple of Tatian at Rome, and he says that Tatian had prepared a book on Problems, in which he undertook to set out what was unclear and hidden in the divine Scriptures, and Rhodo himself in his own work announces that he will set out the answers to Tatian’s Problems. There is also extant a treatise of Rhodo on the Hexaëmeron. Apelles, however, uttered countless impieties against the law of Moses, [9] and in many treatises blasphemed the divine words with no little zeal, as it seemed, for their refutation and overthrow, as he at least thought. So much then concerning these.

XIV. [1] The enemy of the church of God, who hates good and loves deeply all that is wicked, left untried no kind of plot against men and again strove to raise up strange heresies against the church. Of these some like poisonous reptiles crawled over Asia and Phrygia, and boasted that Montanus was the Paraclete and that the women of his sect, Priscilla and Maximilla, were the prophetesses of Montanus. XV. Others flourished in Rome of which Florinus was the leader. He had been turned out of the presbytery of the church and with him was Blastus who had suffered a similar fall. [1] These drew away more of the church and brought them to their own opinion, each trying to introduce innovations about the truth in his own way.

XVI. [1] Against the so-called Cataphrygian heresy the power which champions the truth raised up a powerful and invincible weapon at Hierapolis in Apolinarius, who has already been mentioned in this work, and with him many others of the learned men of that time, from whom abundant material for history has been left to us. One of these at the beginning of his treatise against the Montanists indicates that he had also taken part in oral controversy against them. [2] He writes a preface in this way: “For a long and protracted time, my dear Abercius Marcellus, [3] I have been urged by you to compose a treatise against the sect of those called after Miltiades, but until now I was somewhat reluctant, not from any lack of ability to refute the lie and testify to the truth, but

from timidity and scruples lest I might seem to some to be adding to the writings or injunctions of the word of the new covenant of the gospel, to which no one who has chosen to live according to the gospel itself can add and from which he cannot take away. But when I had just come to Ancyra in Galatia and perceived that the church in that place was torn in two by this new movement which is not, [4] as they call it, prophecy but much rather, as will be shown, false prophecy, I disputed concerning these people themselves and their propositions so far as I could, with the Lord's help, for many days continuously in the church. Thus the church rejoiced and was strengthened in the truth, but our opponents were crushed for the moment and our adversaries were distressed. Therefore the presbyters of the place asked me to leave some note of what had been said against the opponents of the word of the truth, [5] when Zoticus of Otrous, our fellow presbyter, was also present. Though we did not do so, we promised to write from home if the Lord permitted, and to send it to them speedily."

[6] Continuing with other similar remarks at the beginning of his treatise, he proceeds to narrate as follows the cause of the heresy referred to:—"Their opposition and their recent heretical schism from the church had the following origin. In Phrygian Mysia there is said to be a village called Ardabav. [7] There they say that a recent convert called Montanus, when Gratus was proconsul of Asia, in the unbounded lust of his soul for leadership gave access to himself to the adversary, became obsessed, and suddenly fell into frenzy and convulsions. He began to be ecstatic and to speak and to talk strangely, prophesying contrary to the custom which belongs to the tradition and succession of the church from the beginning. Of those who at that time heard these bastard utterances some were vexed, [8] thinking that he was possessed by a devil and by a spirit of error, and was disturbing the populace; they rebuked him, and forbade him to speak, remembering the distinction made by the Lord, and his warning to keep watchful guard against the coming of the false prophets; but others, as though elevated by a holy spirit and a prophetic gift, and not a little conceited, forgot the Lord's distinction, and encouraged the mind-injuring and seducing and people-misleading spirit, being cheated

and deceived by it so that he could not be kept silent. [9] But by some art, or rather by such an evil scheme of artifice, the devil wrought destruction for the disobedient, and receiving unworthy honours from them stimulated and inflamed their understanding which was already dead to the true faith; so that he raised up two more women and filled them with the bastard spirit so that they spoke madly and improperly and strangely, like Montanus. The spirit gave blessings to those who rejoiced and were proud in him, and puffed them up by the greatness of its promises. Yet sometimes it flatly condemned them completely, wisely, and faithfully, that it might seem to be critical, though but few of the Phrygians were deceived. But when the arrogant spirit taught to blaspheme the whole Catholic church throughout the world, because the spirit of false prophecy received from it neither honour nor entrance, for the Christians of Asia after assembling for this purpose many times and in many parts of the province, [10] tested the recent utterances, pronounced them profane, and rejected the heresy,—then at last the Montanists were driven out of the church and excommunicated.”

[11] He tells this story at the beginning, and throughout the book continues the refutation of the error, but in the second book he speaks as follows about the end of the persons referred to: [12] “Since then they called us murderers of the prophets because we did not receive their chattering prophets (for they say that these are those whom the Lord promised to send to the people), let them answer us before God. Is there anyone, good people, of those whose talking began with Montanus and the women, who was persecuted by Jews or killed by the wicked? Not one. Or was there any one of them who was taken and crucified for the name? No, there was not. Or was any one of the women ever scourged in the synagogues of the Jews or stoned? Never anywhere. It was a different death that Montanus and Maximilla are said to have died; [13] for the story goes that each of them was inspired by a mind-destroying spirit to commit suicide, though not together, and there was much gossip at the time of the death of each. But thus it was that they died, and destroyed their lives like the traitor Judas. [14] So also general report says that a certain Theodotus, that remarkable man, the first steward as it were of their alleged

prophecy, was sometimes taken up and raised to Heaven, when he fell into a trance and trusted himself to the spirit of deceit, but was hurled down and died miserably. They say, at least, that this happened thus. But not having seen them ourselves we do not claim to have any knowledge of such things, [15] my friend, for perhaps Montanus and Theodotus and the above mentioned woman died in this way, but perhaps they did not.”

[16] Again in the same book he says that the sacred bishops of that time tried to refute the spirit that was in Maximilla, but were prevented by others who plainly co-operated with the spirit, [17] and he writes thus: “And let not the spirit which speaks through Maximilla say, in the same work according to Asterius Orbanus, ‘I am driven away like a wolf from the sheep. I am not a wolf, I am word and spirit and power.’ But let him show clearly and prove the power in the spirit, and let him through the spirit force to recognize him those who were then present for the purpose of testing and conversing with the spirit as it spoke,—eminent men and bishops, Zoticus from the village Cumane, and Julian from Apamea, whose mouths the party of Themiso muzzled, and did not allow the false spirit which deceived the people to be refuted by them.”

[18] In the same book, again, after other refutations of the false prophecies of Maximilla, in a single passage he both indicates the time at which he wrote this, and quotes her predictions, in which she foretold future wars and revolutions, and he corrects the falsehood of them as follows: “Has it not been made obvious already that this is another lie? For it is more than thirteen years to-day since the woman died, [19] and there has been in the world neither local nor universal war, but rather by the mercy of God continuing peace even for Christians.”

[20] This is from his second book. And from the third I will also quote a few words in which he speaks as follows against those who boasted that they had had more martyrs. “So when they have been refuted in the whole discussion and have nothing to reply, they try to take refuge in martyrs, saying that they have many martyrs and that this is a trustworthy proof of the power of the alleged prophetic spirit among them. But this appears to be actually further from the truth than anything. For some of the other heresies have innumerable martyrs, [21] but I do not suppose that

we shall accept them for that reason, nor admit that they have the truth. In the first place, indeed, the so-called Marcianists of the heresy of Marcion say that they have innumerable martyrs to Christ but nevertheless Christ himself they do not confess according to truth.”

[22] And after a little he goes on as follows: “Wherefore whenever members of the church who have been called to martyrdom for the true faith meet any of the so-called martyrs of the Montanist heresy, they separate from them and die without communicating with them, because they refuse to agree with the spirit in Montanus and the women. And that this, is true, and that it happened in our time in Apamea on the Meander, is shown by the case of those who were martyred with Gaius and Alexander of Eumeneia.”

XVII. [1] And in this work he also quotes Miltiades as a writer who had also himself written a treatise against the heresy mentioned. After quoting some of their sayings he continues as follows: “I have given this abstract of what I found in a work of theirs when they were attacking the work of Alcibiades the Christian in which he shows that a prophet need not to speak in ecstasy.” [2] And he goes on in the same work to give a catalogue of those who have been prophets of the New Testament, and among them he numbers a certain Ammia and Quadratus and says thus: “But the false prophet speaks in ecstasy, after which follow ease and freedom from fear; he begins with voluntary ignorance, [3] but turns to involuntary madness of soul, as has been said before. But they cannot show that any prophet, either of those in the Old Testament or of those in the New, was inspired in this way; they can boast neither of Agabus, nor of Judas, nor of Silas, nor of the daughters of Philip, nor of Ammia in Philadelphia, nor of Quadratus, nor of any others who do not belong to them.” [4] And again after a little he goes on, “For if the Montanist women succeeded to Quadratus and Ammia in Philadelphia in the prophetic gift, let them show who among them succeeded the followers of Montanus and the women, for the apostle grants that the prophetic gift shall be in all the church until the final coming, but this they could not show, seeing that this is already the fourteenth year from the death of Maximilla.”



[5] He, therefore, so writes. But the Miltiades mentioned by him has also left us other monuments of his own zeal for the oracles of God in the treatises which he composed against the Gentiles and against the Jews, treating each subject separately in two treatises, and besides this he wrote an Apology to the secular rulers on behalf of the philosophy which he held.

XVIII. [1] Apollonius also, a writer of the church when the so-called Montanist heresy was still flourishing in Phrygia, composed a refutation and published it as a separate work against them, proving word by word that their alleged prophecies are false and showing the true character of the life of the leaders of the heresy. Listen to the actual words which he uses about Montanus. [2] "But the deeds and the teachings of this recent teacher show his character. It is he who taught the annulment of marriage, who enacted fasts, who gave the name of Jerusalem to Pepuza and Tymion, which are little towns in Phrygia, and wished to hold assemblies there from everywhere, who appointed collectors of money, who organized the receiving of gifts under the name of offerings, who provided salaries for those who preached his doctrine in order that its teaching might prevail through gluttony."

[3] So he says about Montanus. And a little further on he writes thus about the prophetesses. "Thus we prove that these first prophetesses themselves deserted their husbands from the moment that they were filled with the spirit. What a lie it is then for them to call Priscilla a virgin." [4] Then he goes on saying: "Does not all Scripture seem to you to forbid a prophet from receiving gifts and money? Therefore when I see that the prophetess has received gold and silver and expensive clothes, how should I refrain from blaming her?"

[5] Then further on he says this about one of their confessors: "Moreover, Themiso too, who was garbed with specious covetousness, who did not endure the sign of confession but exchanged prison for wealth when he ought to have been humble-minded on this account, and boasted that he was a martyr, dared, in imitation of the apostle, to compose an epistle general, to instruct those whose faith was better than his, and to contend with empty sounding words and to blaspheme against the Lord and the apostles and the holy church." And again he writes thus about

another of those who were honoured among them as martyrs: [6] “But in order that we may not speak about more of them, let the prophetess tell us the story of Alexander, who calls himself a martyr, with whom she joins in revels, to whom many pay reverence. We need not tell of his robberies and the other crimes for which he has been punished, but the record-house has them. Which then forgives the other’s sins? Does the prophet absolve the martyr of robbery or the martyr forgive the prophet for avarice? [7] For the Lord said, ‘Provide neither gold nor silver nor two coats’; but these, doing wholly otherwise, have transgressed by the acquisition of these forbidden things. For we will show that their so-called prophets and martyrs make gain not only from the rich but from the poor and from orphans and widows. And if they have the courage let them stop at this point and discuss these matters in order that if they are convicted they may at least cease transgressing for the future. [8] For it is necessary to test the fruits of the prophet, for from the fruits the tree is known. [9] But, that the story of Alexander may be known to those who wish, he was convicted by Aemilius Pompinus, proconsul in Ephesus, not for being a Christian but for his daring robberies, and he was an old offender. Then, by falsely claiming the name of the Lord he was released, having deceived the Christians there, and his own diocese from which he came would not receive him because he was a robber, and those who wish to learn his story have the public records of Asia at their disposition. The prophet is ignorant about him though he lived with him for many years, [10] but we have exposed him, and through him expose also the nature of the prophet. We can show the same in many instances, and, if they dare, let them stand the test.”

[11] And again in another part of the book he says this about their boasted prophets: “If they deny that their prophets have taken gifts let them admit this, that if they have been convicted, they are not true prophets, and we will give countless proofs of this. But it is necessary to test all the fruits of a prophet. Tell me, does a prophet dye his hair? Does he pencil his eyelids? Does he love ornaments? Does he gamble and dice? Does he lend money? Let them state whether these things are right or not, and I will show that they have been done among them.”

[12] This same Apollonius in the same book says that it was forty years from the time when Montanus plotted his fictitious prophecy, to the time when he wrote his book. And again he says that Zoticus, [13] whom the former writer mentioned, when Maximilla pretended to prophesy in Pepuza had tried in opposition to confute the spirit which worked in her, but was prevented by those who agreed with her. He also mentions a certain Thraseas as one of the martyrs of that time. [14] Moreover, he says, as though from tradition, that the Saviour ordered his apostles not to leave Jerusalem for twelve years. He also makes quotations from the Apocalypse of John and tells how by divine power a dead man was raised by John himself at Ephesus. And he says other things by which he demonstrated powerfully and completely the error of the heresy under discussion. So far says Apollonius.

XIX. [1] Tradition says that Serapion was bishop of Antioch after Maximinus at the time referred to, and he has mentioned the works of Apolinarius against the heresy described. He mentions him in his own letter to Caricus and Pontius, in which he also himself refutes the same heresy, and continues thus: [2] "And in order that you may know this, that the working of the so-called new prophecy of this false order is abominated in the whole of Christendom throughout the world, I have sent you the writings of Claudius Apolinarius, the bishop of Hierapolis in Asia, [3] of blessed memory." And in this letter of Serapion there are preserved the signatures of various bishops, of whom one signed himself "I, Aurelius Cyrenaesus, a martyr, pray for your welfare." Another as follows: "I, Aelius Publius Julius, bishop of Debeltum, a colony of Thrace. As God lives in the heavens the blessed Sotas in Anchialus wished to drive the devil out of Priscilla and the hypocrites would not let him." The autograph signatures of many other bishops who agreed with them are also preserved in the above mentioned writing. [4] So far concerning them.

XX. [1] In opposition to those in Rome who were discarding the sound ordinance of the church, Irenaeus composed various letters. He addressed one to Blastus On Schism, another to Florinus, On the Sole Sovereignty or That God is not the Author of Evil, for Florinus seemed to be defending this opinion. For his sake too, when he was attracted by the Valentinian error, a work

was composed by Irenaeus On the Ogdoad, in which he also indicates that he had himself received the first succession of the apostles, and in it, at the end of the work, we find a most acceptable notice from him which we are obliged to give in this book and it runs as follows: [2] "I adjure thee, who shalt copy out this book, by our Lord Jesus Christ, by his glorious advent when he comes to judge the living and the dead, that thou compare what thou shalt transcribe and correct it with this copy whence thou art transcribing, with all care, and thou shalt likewise transcribe this oath and put it in the copy." [3] May his words be spoken to our profit and be narrated in order that we may keep those primitive and truly sacred men as the best example of the most zealous care.

[4] In the letter to Florinus, which we have spoken of above, Irenaeus again mentions his intercourse with Polycarp, and says: "These opinions, O Florinus, that I may speak sparingly, do not belong to sound doctrine. These opinions are inconsistent with the church, and bring those who believe in them into the greatest impiety. These opinions not even the heretics outside the church ever dared to proclaim. These opinions those who were presbyters before us, they who accompanied the apostles, did not hand on to you. [5] For while I was still a boy I knew you in lower Asia in Polycarp's house when you were a man of rank in the royal hall and endeavouring to stand well with him. I remember the events of those days more clearly than those which happened recently, [6] for what we learn as children grows up with the soul and is united to it, so that I can speak even of the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and disputed, how he came in and went out, the character of his life, the appearance of his body, the discourses which he made to the people, how he reported his intercourse with John and with the others who had seen the Lord, how he remembered their words, and what were the things concerning the Lord which he had heard from them, and about their miracles, and about their teaching, and how Polycarp had received them from the eyewitnesses of the word of life, [7] and reported all things in agreement with the Scriptures. I listened eagerly even then to these things through the mercy of God which was given me, and made notes of them, not on paper but in my

heart, and ever by the grace of God do I truly ruminare on them, and I can bear witness before God that if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard anything of this kind he would have cried out, and shut his ears, and said according to his custom, 'O good God, to what time hast thou preserved me that I should endure this?' He would have fled even from the place in which he was seated or standing when he heard such words. [8] And from his letters which he sent either to the neighbouring churches, strengthening them, or to some of the brethren, exhorting and warning them, this can be made plain." So says Irenaeus.

XXI. [1] And at the same time in the reign of Commodus our treatment was changed to a milder one, and by the grace of God peace came on the churches throughout the whole world. The word of salvation began to lead every soul of every race of men to the pious worship of the God of the universe, so that now many of those who at Rome were famous for wealth and family turned to their own salvation with all their house and with all their kin. This was unendurable to the demon who hates good, [2] envious as he is by nature, and he again stripped for conflict, and prepared various devices against us. In the city of the Romans he brought before the court Apollonius, a man famous among the Christians of that time for his education and philosophy, and raised up to accuse him one of his servants who was suitable for this. [3] But the coward entered the case at a bad time, for according to imperial decree informers on such points were not allowed to live; so they broke his legs at once, for the judge Perennius decreed this sentence against him. [4] But the martyr, beloved of God, when the judge earnestly begged and prayed him to defend himself before the senate, made before every one a most learned defence of the faith for which he was a martyr, and was consecrated by beheading as if by decree of the senate; for an ancient law obtained among them that there should be no other issue for the case of those who once appeared before the court and did not change their opinion. The words of Apollonius before the judge and the answers which he made to the interrogation of Perennius, [5] and all the defence which he made to the senate, can be read by anyone who wishes in the compilation which we have made of the ancient martyrs.

XXII. [1] In the tenth year of the reign of Commodus Victor succeeded Eleutherus who had served in the episcopate thirteen years. In the same year Julian had completed his tenth year, and Demetrius was appointed to the administration of the Alexandrian dioceses, and at the same time the famous Serapion, whom we mentioned before, was bishop of the church of Antioch and the eighth from the apostles. Theophilus ruled Caesarea in Palestine, and Narcissus, whom our work has mentioned before, was still holding the administration of the church at Jerusalem, and at the same time Bacchyllus was bishop of Corinth in Greece and Poly crates of the diocese of Ephesus. There were also, of course, countless other famous men at this time, but we have naturally given the names of those the orthodoxy of whose faith has been preserved to us in writing.

XXIII. [1] At that time no small controversy arose because all the dioceses of Asia thought it right, as though by more ancient tradition, to observe for the feast of the Saviour's passover the fourteenth day of the moon, on which the Jews had been commanded to kill the lamb. Thus it was necessary to finish the fast on that day, whatever day of the week it might be. Yet it was not the custom to celebrate in this manner in the churches throughout the rest of the world, for from apostolic tradition they kept the custom which still exists that it is not right to finish the fast on any day save that of the resurrection of our Saviour. Many meetings and conferences with bishops were held on this point, and all unanimously formulated in their letters the doctrine of the church for those in every country that the mystery of the Lord's resurrection from the dead could be celebrated on no day save Sunday, [2] and that on that day alone we should celebrate the end of the paschal fast. [3] There is still extant a writing of those who were convened in Palestine, over whom presided Theophilus, bishop of the diocese of Caesarea, and Narcissus, bishop of Jerusalem; and there is similarly another from those in Rome on the same controversy, which gives Victor as bishop; and there is one of the bishops of Pontus over whom Palmas presided as the oldest; and of the dioceses of Gaul, [4] of which Irenaeus was bishop; and yet others of those in Osrhoene and the cities there; and particularly of Bacchyllus, the bishop of the church of Corinth;

and of very many more who expressed one and the same opinion and judgement, and gave the same vote.

XXIV. [1] These issued the single definition which was given above; but the bishops in Asia were led by Polycrates in persisting that it was necessary to keep the custom which had been handed down to them of old. Polycrates himself in a document which he addressed to Victor and to the church of Rome, expounds the tradition which had come to him as follows. "Therefore we keep the day undeviatingly, [2] neither adding nor taking away, for in Asia great luminaries sleep, and they will rise on the day of the coming of the Lord, when he shall come with glory from heaven and seek out all the saints. Such were Philip of the twelve apostles, and two of his daughters who grew old as virgins, who sleep in Hierapolis, and another daughter of his, who lived in the Holy Spirit, [3] rests at Ephesus. Moreover, there is also John, who lay on the Lord's breast, who was a priest wearing the breastplate, and a martyr, [4] and teacher. He sleeps at Ephesus. And there is also Polycarp at Smyrna, both bishop and martyr, and Thraseas, both bishop and martyr, [5] from Eumeneae, who sleeps in Smyrna. And why should I speak of Sagaris, bishop and martyr, who sleeps at Laodicea, and Papius, too, the blessed, and Melito the eunuch, who lived entirely in the Holy Spirit, who lies in Sardis, waiting for the visitation from heaven when he will rise from the dead? [6] All these kept the fourteenth day of the passover according to the gospel, never swerving, but following according to the rule of the faith. And I also, Polycrates, the least of you all, live according to the tradition of my kinsmen, and some of them have I followed. For seven of my family were bishops and I am the eighth, and my kinsmen ever kept the day when the people put away the leaven. [7] Therefore, brethren, I who have lived sixty-five years in the Lord and conversed with brethren from every country, and have studied all holy Scripture, am not afraid of threats, for they have said who were greater than I, 'It is better to obey God rather than men.' "

[8] He continues about the bishops who when he wrote were with him and shared his opinion, and says thus: "And I could mention the bishops who are present whom you required me to summon, and I did so. If I should write their names they would be

many multitudes; and they knowing my feeble humanity, agreed with the letter, knowing that not in vain is my head grey, but that I have ever lived in Christ Jesus.”

[9] Upon this Victor, who presided at Rome, immediately tried to cut off from the common unity the dioceses of all Asia, together with the adjacent churches, on the ground of heterodoxy, and he indited letters announcing that all the Christians there were absolutely excommunicated. But by no means all were pleased by this, so they issued counter-requests to him to consider the cause of peace and unity and love towards his neighbours. [10] Their words are extant, sharply rebuking Victor. Among them too Irenaeus, writing in the name of the Christians whose leader he was in Gaul, [11] though he recommends that the mystery of the Lord’s resurrection be observed only on the Lord’s day, yet nevertheless exhorts Victor suitably and at length not to excommunicate whole churches of God for following a tradition of ancient custom, and continues as follows: “For the controversy is not only about the day, but also about the actual character of the fast; for some think that they ought to fast one day, [12] others two, others even more, some count their day as forty hours, day and night. And such variation of observance did not begin in our own time, [13] but much earlier, in the days of our predecessors who, it would appear, disregarding strictness maintained a practice which is simple and yet allows for personal preference, establishing it for the future, and none the less all these lived in peace, and we also live in peace with one another and the disagreement in the fast confirms our agreement in the faith.”

[14] He adds to this a narrative which I may suitably quote, running as follows: “Among these too were the presbyters before Soter, who presided over the church of which you are now the leader, I mean Anicetus and Pius and Telesphorus and Xystus. They did not themselves observe it, nor did they enjoin it on those who followed them, and though they did not keep it they were none the less at peace with those from the dioceses in which it was observed when they came to them, [15] although to observe it was more objectionable to those who did not do so. And no one was ever rejected for this reason, but the presbyters before you who did not observe it sent the Eucharist to those from other



dioceses who did; [16] and when the blessed Polycarp was staying in Rome in the time of Anicetus, though they disagreed a little about some other things as well, they immediately made peace, having no wish for strife between them on this matter. For neither was Anicetus able to persuade Polycarp not to observe it, inasmuch as he had always done so in company with John the disciple of our Lord and the other apostles with whom he had associated; nor did Polycarp persuade Anicetus to observe it, for he said that he ought to keep the custom of those who were presbyters before him. [17] And under these circumstances they communicated with each other, and in the church Anicetus yielded the celebration of the Eucharist to Polycarp, obviously out of respect, and they parted from each other in peace, for the peace of the whole church was kept both by those who observed and by those who did not.”

[18] And Irenaeus, who deserved his name, making an irenicon in this way, gave exhortations of this kind for the peace of the church and served as its ambassador, for in letters he discussed the various views on the issue which had been raised, not only with Victor but also with many other rulers of churches.

XXV. [1] The Palestinians whom we have recently mentioned, that is to say Narcissus and Theophilus, and with them Cassius, the bishop of the church in Tyre, and Clarus, the bishop of the church in Ptolemais, and those who assembled with them, treated at length the tradition concerning the passover which had come down to them from the succession of the apostles, and at the end of their writing they add as follows: “Try to send copies of our letter to every diocese that we may not be guilty towards those who easily deceive their own souls. And we make it plain to you that in Alexandria also they celebrate the same day as do we, for letters have been exchanged between them and us, so that we observe the holy day together and in agreement.”

XXVI. [1] In addition to the published treatises and to the letters of Irenaeus, there is extant a concise and extremely convincing treatise of his against the Greeks, entitled Concerning Knowledge, and another which he has dedicated to a Christian named Marcian on the Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching, and a little book of various discourses in which he mentions the Epistle to the

Hebrews and the so-called Wisdom of Solomon, quoting certain passages from them. Such is the extent of our knowledge of the works of Irenaeus.

When Commodus had finished his reign after thirteen years Severus became emperor not quite six months after the death of Commodus, Pertinax coming in the interval. XXVII. Many works of the virtuous zeal of the ancient members of the church of that time have still been widely preserved until now, [1] and we have read them ourselves. Such are the writings of Heraclitus on the Epistles, and the writings of Maximus on the problem of the source of evil, so much traversed by the heretics, and on whether matter has an origin, the works of Candidus on the Hexaëmeron, and of Apion on the same subject, also of Sextus on the Resurrection, and another treatise of Arabianus, and countless others of which we are unable from lack of evidence to give the date or any accounts of their history. And there are many others also which have reached us, but we cannot even give their names, yet they are orthodox and Christian, as their interpretation of the divine Scripture demonstrates, but the writers are unknown to us because their names are not given in their writings.

XXVIII. [1] In a treatise worked out by one of these against the heresy of Artemon, which Paul of Samosata has tried to renew in our time, there is extant an account which bears on the history which we are examining. [2] For he criticizes the above-mentioned heresy (which claims that the Saviour was a mere man) as a recent innovation, because those who introduced it wished to make it respectable as being ancient. Among many other points adduced in refutation of their blasphemous falsehood, the treatise relates this: [3] "For they say that all who went before and the apostles themselves received and taught what they now say, and that the truth of the teaching was preserved until the times of Victor, who was the thirteenth bishop in Rome after Peter, but that the truth had been corrupted from the time of his successor, Zephyrinus. What they said might perhaps be plausible if in the first place the divine Scriptures were not opposed to them, [4] and there are also writings of certain Christians, older than the time of Victor, which they wrote to the Gentiles on behalf of the truth and against the heresies of their own time. I mean the works of Justin

and Miltiades and Tatian and Clement and many others in all of which Christ is treated as God. [5] For who is ignorant of the books of Irenaeus and Melito and the others who announced Christ as God and man? [6] And all the Psalms and hymns which were written by faithful Christians from the beginning sing of the Christ as the Logos of God and treat him as God. How then is it possible that after the mind of the church had been announced for so many years that the generation before Victor can have preached as these say? Why are they not ashamed of so calumniating Victor when they know quite well that Victor excommunicated Theodotus the cobbler, the founder and father of this insurrection which denies God, when he first said that Christ was a mere man? For if Victor was so minded towards them as their blasphemy teaches, how could he have thrown out Theodotus who invented this heresy?"

[7] Such were the events of the time of Victor. When he had held his office ten years, Zephyrinus was appointed his successor in the ninth year of the reign of Severus. And the author of the book mentioned about the founder of the above-mentioned heresy adds another incident which happened in the time of Zephyrinus and writes as follows: "I will at least remind many of the brethren of an event which happened in our time which I think would have probably been a warning to the men of Sodom had it happened in their city. [8] There was a certain confessor, Natalius, not long ago but in our own time. He was deceived by Asclepiodotus and by a second Theodotus, a banker. These were both disciples of Theodotus the cobbler, [9] who was first excommunicated by Victor, who, as I said, was then bishop, for this way of thinking, [10] or rather of not thinking. Natalius was persuaded by them to be called bishop of this heresy with a salary, so that he was paid a hundred and fifty denarii a month by them. [11] When he was with them he was often warned by the Lord in visions, for our merciful God and Lord, Jesus Christ, did not wish that there should go out of the church and perish one who had been a witness of his own sufferings. But when he paid indifferent attention to the visions, [12] for he was entrapped by his leading rank among them and by that covetousness which ruins so many, he was at last scourged all night long by holy angels, and suffered not a little, so that in the

morning he got up, put on sackcloth, and covered himself with ashes, and went with much haste, and fell down with tears before Zephyrinus the bishop, rolling at the feet not only of the clergy but also of the laity, and moved with his tears the compassionate church of the merciful Christ. But for all his prayers and the exhibition of the weals of the stripes he had received, he was scarcely admitted into communion.”

[13] We would add to this some other words of the same author on the same persons, which run as follows: “They have not feared to corrupt divine Scriptures, they have nullified the rule of ancient faith, they have not known Christ, they do not inquire what the divine Scriptures say, but industriously consider what syllogistic figure may be found for the support of their atheism. If anyone adduced to them a text of divine Scripture they inquire whether it can be put in the form of a conjunctive or a disjunctive syllogism. [14] They abandon the holy Scripture of God and study geometry, for they are of the earth and they speak of the earth and him who comes from above they do not know. Some of them, forsooth, study the geometry of Euclid and admire Aristotle and Theophrastus. [15] Galen perhaps is even worshipped by some of them. When they make a bad use of the arts of unbelievers for the opinions of their heresy, and adulterate the simple faith of the divine scriptures by the cunning of the godless, what need is there to say that they are not even near the faith? For this cause they did not fear to lay hands on the divine scriptures, saying that they had corrected them. And that I do not calumniate them in saying this any who wish can learn, [16] for if any be willing to collect and compare with each other the texts of each of them, he would find them in great discord, for the copies of Asclepiades do not agree with those of Theodotus, [17] and it is possible to obtain many of them because their disciples have diligently written out copies corrected, as they say, but really corrupted by each of them. Again the copies of Hermophilus do not agree with these, the copies of Apolloniades are not even consistent with themselves, for the copies prepared by them at first can be compared with those which later on underwent a second corruption, and they will be found to disagree greatly. [18] The impudence of this sin can scarcely be unknown even to them, for either they do not believe

that the divine scriptures were spoken by the Holy Spirit, and if so they are unbelievers, or they think that they are wiser than the Holy Spirit, and what are they but demoniacs? For they cannot even deny that this crime is theirs, seeing that the copies were written in their own hand, and they did not receive the scriptures in this condition from their teachers, nor can they show originals from which they made their copies. Some of them have not thought it necessary even to emend the text, but simply deny the Law and the Prophets, [19] and thus on the pretence of their wicked and godless teaching have fallen to the lowest destruction of perdition." And let this suffice for these things.

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# BOOK VI

I. [1] Now when Severus also was stirring up persecution against the churches, in every place splendid martyrdoms of the champions of piety were accomplished, but with especial frequency at Alexandria. Thither, as to some great arena, were escorted from Egypt and the whole Thebais God's champions, who, through their most steadfast endurance in divers tortures and modes of death, were wreathed with the crowns laid up with God. Among these was Leonides, known as "the father of Origen," who was beheaded, leaving his son behind him quite young. It will not be out of place to describe briefly how deliberately the boy's mind was set on the Divine Word from that early age, especially as the story about him has received exceedingly widespread notoriety. II. [1] Many things, indeed, would there be to say, if one were to attempt at leisure to hand down in writing the man's life, and the narrative concerning him would require also a work of its own. Nevertheless, on the present occasion abridging most things as briefly as may be, we shall state some few of the facts concerning him, gathering what we set forth from certain letters and information derived from pupils of his, whose lives have been preserved even to our day.

[2] In the case of Origen I think that even the facts from his very cradle, so to speak, are worthy of mention. For Severus was in the tenth year of his reign, and Laetus was governor of Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and Demetrius had just then received the episcopate of the communities there in succession to Julian. [3] When, therefore, the flame of persecution was kindled to a fierce blaze, and countless numbers were being wreathed with the crowns of martyrdom, Origen's soul was possessed with such a passion for martyrdom, while he was still quite a boy, that he was all eagerness to come to close quarters with danger, and to leap forward and rush into the conflict. [4] In fact, it were but a very little step and the end of his life was at hand, had not the divine and heavenly Providence, acting for the general good through his

mother, stood in the way of his zeal. [5] She, at all events, at first had recourse to verbal entreaties, bidding him spare a mother's feelings; then, when he learnt that his father had been captured and was kept in prison, and his whole being was set on the desire for martyrdom, perceiving that his purpose was more resolute than ever, she hid all his clothes, and so laid upon him the necessity of remaining at home. [6] And since nothing else remained for him to do, and a zeal, intense beyond his years, suffered him not to be quiet, he sent to his father a letter on martyrdom most strongly urging him on, in which he advises him in these very words, saying: "Take care not to change thy mind on our account." Let this be recorded as the first proof of Origen's boyish readiness of mind and genuine love of godliness. [7] For indeed in the study of the faith also he had already laid down a good foundation, having been trained in the divine Scriptures from the time that he was still a boy. Certainly it was no ordinary amount of labour that he bestowed on these, since his father, in addition to the customary curriculum, took pains that these also should be for him no secondary matter. [8] On all occasions, for example, he kept urging him before beginning his secular lessons to train himself in the sacred studies, exacting from him each day learning by heart and repetition. [9] And this the boy did with no lack of willingness, nay, he worked with even excessive zeal at these studies, so that he was not satisfied with reading the sacred words in a simple and literal manner, but sought something further, and busied himself, even at that age, with deeper speculations, troubling his father by his questions as to what could be the inner meaning of the inspired Scripture. [10] And his father would rebuke him ostensibly to his face, counselling him to seek nothing beyond his years nor anything further than the manifest meaning; but secretly in himself he rejoiced greatly, and gave profound thanks to God, the Author of all good things, that He had deemed him worthy to be the father of such a boy. [11] And it is said that many a time he would stand over the sleeping boy and uncover his breast, as if a divine spirit were enshrined therein, and kissing it with reverence count himself happy in his goodly offspring. These are the stories, and others akin to these, that they tell about Origen's boyhood.

[12] But when his father had been perfected by martyrdom, he

was left destitute with his mother and six smaller brothers, when he was not quite seventeen. [13] His father's property was confiscated for the imperial treasury, and he found himself, along with his relatives, in want of the necessaries of life. Yet he was deemed worthy of divine aid, and met with both welcome and refreshment from a certain lady, very rich in this world's goods, and otherwise distinguished, who nevertheless was treating with honour a well-known person, one of the heretics at Alexandria at that time. He was an Antiochene by race, but the lady we have mentioned kept him at her house as her adopted son, and treated him with especial honour. [14] But although Origen of necessity had to consort with him, he used to give clear proofs of his orthodoxy, at that age, in the faith. For though very great numbers, not only of heretics but also of our own people, were gathered together with Paul (for that was the man's name), attracted by his apparent skilfulness in speech, Origen could never be persuaded to associate with him in prayer, keeping the rule of the Church, even from boyhood, and "loathing"—the very word he himself uses somewhere—the teachings of the heresies. [15] His father had brought him forward in secular studies, and after his death he applied himself wholly with renewed zeal to a literary training, so that he had a tolerable amount of proficiency in letters; and, not long after his father's perfecting, by dint of application to these studies, he was abundantly supplied, for a person of his years, with the necessaries of life.

III. [1] And while he was devoting himself to teaching, as he himself informs us somewhere in writing, since there was no one at Alexandria set apart for catechetical instruction (for all had been driven away by the threat of the persecution), some of the heathen approached him to hear the word of God. [2] Of these Plutarch is pointed out as being the first, who after a noble life was adorned also with a divine martyrdom; and the second, Heraclas, Plutarch's brother. He also, in his own person, afforded a noteworthy example of a philosophic life and of discipline, and was deemed worthy of the bishopric of the Alexandrians in succession to Demetrius. [3] Origen was in his eighteenth year when he came to preside over the catechetical school, and at this time also he came into prominence when the persecutions were

going on under Aquila, the governor of Alexandria. Then also he won for himself an exceedingly wide reputation among all those who were of the faith, by the kindly help and goodwill that he displayed towards all the holy martyrs, unknown and known alike. [4] For he was present not only with the holy martyrs who were in prison, not only with those who were under examination right up to the final sentence, but also when they were being led away afterwards to their death, using great boldness and coming to close quarters with danger; so that, as he courageously drew near and with great boldness greeted the martyrs with a kiss, many a time the heathen multitude round about in its fury went near to stoning him, but for the fact that time after time he found the divine right hand to help him, and so escaped marvellously; [5] and this same divine and heavenly grace on other occasions again and again—it is impossible to say how often—preserved him safely, when plots were laid against him at that time because of his excessive zeal and boldness for the word of Christ. And so great, then, was the war of unbelievers against him, that soldiers were placed in groups for his protection round the house where he abode, because of the number of those who were receiving instruction from him in the sacred faith. [6] Thus day by day the persecution against him blazed, so that there was no longer any place for him in the whole city; from house to house he passed, but was driven from all sides, on account of the numbers who through him came over to the divine teaching. For in his practical conduct were to be found to a truly marvellous degree the right actions of a most genuine philosophy [7] (for—as the saying goes —“as was his speech, so was the manner of life” that he displayed, and “as his manner of life, so his speech”), and it was especially for this reason that, with the co-operation of the divine power, he brought so very many to share his zeal.

[8] And when he saw still more pupils coming to him (for the task of instruction had been entrusted by Demetrius, the president of the church, to him alone), considering that the teaching of letters was not consonant with training in the divine studies, without more ado he broke off the task of teaching letters, [9] as being unprofitable and opposed to sacred study; and then, for the good reason that he might never be in need of others' assistance,

he disposed of all the volumes of ancient literature which formerly he so fondly cherished, content if he who purchased them brought him four obols a day. For a great number of years he continued to live like a philosopher in this wise, putting aside everything that might lead to youthful lusts; all day long his discipline was to perform labours of no light character, and the greater part of the night he devoted himself to studying the divine Scriptures; and he persevered, as far as possible, in the most philosophic manner of life, at one time disciplining himself by fasting, at another measuring out the time for sleep, which he was careful to take, never on a couch, but on the floor. [10] And above all he considered that those sayings of the Saviour in the Gospel ought to be kept which exhort us not [to provide] two coats nor to use shoes, nor, indeed, to be worn out with thoughts about the future. [11] Yea, he was possessed of a zeal beyond his years, and by persevering in cold and nakedness and going to the extremest limit of poverty, he greatly astounded his followers, causing grief to numbers who besought him to share their goods, when they saw the labour that he bestowed on teaching divine things. But he was not one to slacken endurance. [12] He is said, for example, to have walked for many years without using a shoe of any description, yea more, to have refrained for a great many years from the use of wine and all except necessary food, so that he actually incurred the risk of upsetting and injuring his stomach.

[13] And by displaying proofs such as these of a philosophic life to those who saw him, he naturally stimulated a large number of his pupils to a like zeal, so that, even among the unbelieving Gentiles and those from the ranks of learning and philosophy, some persons of no small account were won by his instruction. By his agency these very persons received the faith of the divine Word truly in the depths of the soul, and were conspicuous at the persecution then taking place; insomuch that even some of them were arrested and perfected by martyrdom.

IV. [1] The first of these, then, was Plutarch, he whom we mentioned a little while ago. As this man was being led on the way to death, he of whom we have been speaking, being present with him to the very end of his life, was again almost killed by his fellow-citizens, as being clearly responsible for his death. [2] But

on that occasion also he was kept by the will of God. And, after Plutarch, Serenus was the second of Origen's pupils to show himself a martyr, having through fire given the proof of the faith he had received. [3] From the same school Heraclides was the third martyr, and after him Hero, the fourth; the former of these was still a catechumen, the latter lately baptized. Both were beheaded. Further, in addition to these, from the same school was proclaimed a fifth champion of piety, one Serenus, a different person from the first-mentioned of that name. It is recorded that after very great endurance of torture his head was taken off. And, among the women, Herais, who was still under instruction for baptism, as Origen himself says somewhere, "received the baptism by fire," and so ended her life.

V. [1] Seventh among them must be numbered Basilides, who led away the famous Potamiaena. The praise of this woman is to this day still loudly sung by her fellow-countrymen, as of one who on behalf of the chastity and virginity of her body, in which she excelled, [2] contended much with lovers (for assuredly her body, as well as her mind, was in the full bloom of its youthful beauty); as of one who endured much, and at the end, after tortures that were terrible and fearful to relate, was perfected by fire, along with her mother Marcella. It is said, in fact, that the judge, whose name was Aquila, after inflicting severe tortures upon her entire body, at last threatened to hand her over to the gladiators for bodily insult, and that, when after a brief period of reflection she was asked what her decision was, she made a reply which involved from their point of view something profane. [3] No sooner had she spoken than she received the sentence, and Basilides, being one of those serving in the army, took her and led her away to death. And as the crowd tried to annoy her, and insult her with shameful words, he kept restraining them and driving away the insulters, displaying the greatest pity and kindness towards her. She on her part accepted his fellow-feeling for her and bade him be of good cheer, for that she would ask him from her Lord, when she departed, and before long would requite him for what he had done for her. [4] Thus speaking [it is said], she right nobly endured the end, boiling pitch being poured slowly and little by little over different parts of her body from head to toe. [5] Such was the contest waged by this

maiden celebrated in song. And not long afterwards, when Basilides was asked by his fellow-soldiers to swear for some reason or other, he stoutly affirmed that swearing was absolutely forbidden in his case, for that he was a Christian and acknowledged it openly. At first, indeed, for a time they thought he was jesting, but when he continued stedfastly to affirm it, they brought him to the judge. [6] And when he admitted the constancy [of his profession] in his presence, he was committed to prison. When his brethren in God came to him and inquired the reason of this sudden and incredible impulse, it is said that he stated that three days after her martyrdom Potamiaena appeared to him by night, wreathing his head with a crown and saying that she had called upon the Lord for him, and obtained what she requested, and that before long she would take him to herself. Thereupon the brethren imparted to him the seal in the Lord, and on the day afterwards he gave notable testimony for the Lord and was beheaded. [7] And it is related that many others of those at Alexandria came over all at once to the word of Christ in the time of the persons mentioned, because Potamiaena appeared to them in dreams and invited them. But this must suffice.

VI. [1] Pantaenus was succeeded by Clement, who directed the instruction at Alexandria up to such a date that Origen also was one of his pupils. In fact Clement, when compiling his *Stromateis*, in the first book displays a chronological table, using the death of Commodus as a terminus in measuring his dates; so that it is clear that the work was composed by him under Severus, whose time this present account is describing.

VII. [1] At this time Judas also, another writer, composed a written discourse on the seventy weeks in the book of Daniel; he stops his record of time at the tenth year of the reign of Severus. He also was of the opinion that the much talked of coming of the antichrist was then already near. So strongly did the persecution which was then stirred up against us disturb the minds of the many.

VIII. [1] At that time, while Origen was performing the work of instruction at Alexandria, he did a thing which gave abundant proof of an immature and youthful mind, yet withal of faith and self-control. [2] For he took the saying, "There are eunuchs which

made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake," in too literal and extreme a sense, and thinking both to fulfil the Saviour's saying, and also that he might prevent all suspicion of shameful slander on the part of unbelievers (for, young as he was, he used to discourse on divine things with women as well as men), he hastened to put into effect the Saviour's saying, taking care to escape the notice of the greater number of his pupils. But, wishful though he might be, it was not possible to hide a deed of this nature. [3] In fact Demetrius got to know of it later, since he was presiding over the community at that place; and while he marvelled exceedingly at him for his rash act, he approved the zeal and the sincerity of his faith, bade him be of good cheer, and urged him to attach himself now all the more to the work of instruction.

[4] Such indeed was his attitude at that time. But not long afterwards, when the same person saw that he was prospering and a great man and distinguished and famous in the sight of all, overcome by a human weakness, he attempted to describe the deed as monstrous to the bishops throughout the world, when the most highly approved and distinguished bishops in Palestine, namely those of Caesarea and Jerusalem, deeming Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained him to the presbyterate by laying on of hands. [5] So, as he had then advanced to a position of great esteem, and had acquired no small reputation and fame for his virtue and wisdom in the eyes of all men everywhere, through lack of any other ground of accusation Demetrius spread grave scandal about the deed that he had committed long ago when a boy, and had the temerity to include in his accusations those who raised him to the presbyterate.

[6] This happened a little while afterwards. At that time, however, Origen was engaged at Alexandria in the work of divine instruction for all, without reserve, who came to him by night and in the course of the day, devoting his whole time untiringly to the divine studies and his pupils.

[7] When Severus had held the principate for eighteen years, he was succeeded by his son Antoninus. At this time Alexander (being one of those who played the man during the persecution



and after contending for the faith by their confessions were preserved by the Providence of God), whom we have mentioned lately as bishop of the church at Jerusalem, was deemed worthy of the said bishopric, distinguished as he was for his confessions on behalf of Christ; Narcissus his predecessor being still alive.

IX. [1] Many other miracles, indeed, of Narcissus do the citizens of the community call to mind, as handed down by the brethren in succession, and among these they relate that the following wonder was performed by him. [2] Once at the great all-night vigil of the Pascha it is said that the oil failed the deacons, and that when deep despondency seized the whole multitude, thereupon Narcissus commanded those who were preparing the lights to draw water and bring it to him; [3] that when this was no sooner said than done, he then prayed over the water, and bade them pour it down into the lamps with unfeigned faith in the Lord. And that when they did this, contrary to all reason by miraculous and divine power its nature was changed in quality from water into oil; and that for a very long time, from that day even to ours, a little was preserved as a proof of that wonder of former days by very many of the brethren there.

[4] And they enumerate a great many other things about the life of this man worthy of mention, among which is the following. Certain miserable creatures, not being able to endure his energy and the firmness of his conduct, and fearing lest they should be taken and put on their trial (for they were conscious of many evil deeds), anticipated the event by devising an intrigue against him and spreading a certain grave slander to his hurt. [5] Then, with a view to securing the belief of their hearers, they strove to confirm their accusations by oaths; one swore, "[if this is not true] may I be destroyed by fire"; another, "may my body be wasted by an untoward disease"; and the third, "may my eyes be blinded." But, swear though they might, none of the faithful gave heed to them, because the fame of Narcissus's sobriety and virtuous manner of life was always well known to all. [6] He, nevertheless, could not brook the wickedness of what had been said, and, besides, had for a long time been pursuing the philosophic life; so he escaped the whole company of the church, and spent many years secretly in deserts and obscure parts of the country. [7] Yet the great eye

of Justice did not remain quiet at these deeds, but with utmost speed visited upon those godless men the curses with which in their perjury they had bound themselves. So the first was burnt to death with all his family, the house in which he was staying being wholly set on fire one night from absolutely no other cause than a small spark which happened to fall on it; as for the second, his body was covered, all at once, from head to toe with the disease that he had assigned to himself as a penalty; [8] and the third, perceiving the hap of the other two, and fearing the inevitable judgement of God who seeth all, made public confession of what they had plotted together in common. Yet, in the act of his repentance, so great were the lamentations by which he was wasted, so many were the tears that he unceasingly poured forth, that both eyes were destroyed.

Such were the punishments that these men suffered for their falsehood. X. [1] But as Narcissus had retired and no one knew where he might be, it seemed good to those presiding over the neighbouring churches to proceed to the appointment of another bishop. His name was Dius. After a brief presidency he was succeeded by Germanion, and he in turn by Gordius. In his day Narcissus appeared from somewhere, as if come to life again, and was once more summoned to the presidency by the brethren, for all admired him to a still greater degree because of his retirement and philosophic life, and especially because of the punishment with which God had deemed it meet to avenge him.

XI. [1] And when he was no longer able to perform the ministry on account of ripe old age, the above-mentioned Alexander, being bishop of another community, was called by a dispensation of God to a joint ministry with Narcissus, by a revelation which appeared to him in a vision at night. [2] Whereupon, as if in obedience to some oracle, he made the journey from the land of the Cappadocians, where he was first deemed worthy of the episcopate, to Jerusalem, for the purpose of prayer and investigation of the [sacred] places. The people there gave him the most cordial welcome, and suffered him not to return home again, in accordance with another revelation which was seen by them also at night, and which vouchsafed an identical utterance of the clearest kind to those of them who were peculiarly zealous.

For it indicated to them to go forth outside the gates and welcome as their bishop him who was fore-ordained of God. And doing this, with the common consent of the bishops who were administering the churches round about, they compelled him of necessity to remain. [3] And in fact Alexander himself in a personal letter to the Antinoites, which is still to this day preserved with us, mentions Narcissus as holding the chief place along with him, writing as follows, in these very words, at the close of the letter: "Narcissus greets you, who before me was holding the position of bishop here, and now is associated with me in the prayers, having completed 116 years; and exhorts you, as I do likewise, to be of one mind."

[4] So was it with these matters. But when Serapion entered upon his rest, Asclepiades succeeded to the bishopric of the church at Antioch, and he was himself distinguished for his confessions in the persecution. [5] Alexander also mentions his appointment, writing thus to the Antiochenes: "Alexander, a slave and prisoner of Jesus Christ, to the blessed church of the Antiochenes, greeting in the Lord. Light and easy did the Lord make my bonds, when I learnt at the time of my imprisonment that by the Divine Providence Asclepiades, whose worthy faith makes him most suitable, had been entrusted with the bishopric of your holy church of the Antiochenes."

[6] This epistle he indicates had been sent by the hand of Clement, writing at the close in this manner: "But this letter I send unto you, my dear brethren, by the hand of Clement the blessed presbyter, a man virtuous and approved, of whom ye yourselves also have heard, and with whom ye will become acquainted; who also, when he was present here in accordance with the providence and overseership of the Master, both stablished and increased the Church of the Lord."

XII. [1] Now it is likely, indeed, that other memoirs also, the fruit of Serapion's literary studies, are preserved by other persons, but there have come down to us only those addressed To Domnus, one who had fallen away from the faith of Christ, at the time of the persecution, to Jewish will-worship; and those To Pontius and Caricus, churchmen, and other letters to other persons; [2] and another book has been composed by him Concerning what is

known as the Gospel of Peter, which he has written refuting the false statements in it, because of certain in the community of Rhossus, who on the ground of the said writing turned aside into heterodox teachings. It will not be unreasonable to quote a short passage from this work, in which he puts forward the view he held about the book, writing as follows: [3] “For our part, brethren, we receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ, but the writings which falsely bear their names we reject, as men of experience, knowing that such were not handed down to us. [4] For I myself, when I came among you, imagined that all of you clung to the true faith; and, without going through the Gospel put forward by them in the name of Peter, I said: If this is the only thing that seemingly causes captious feelings among you, let it be read. But since I have now learnt, from what has been told me, that their mind was lurking in some hole of heresy, I shall give diligence to come again to you; wherefore, brethren, expect me quickly. [5] But we, brethren, gathering to what kind of heresy Marcianus belonged (who used to contradict himself, not knowing what he was saying, as ye will learn from what has been written to you), [6] were enabled by others who studied this very Gospel, that is, by the successors of those who began it, whom we call Docetae (for most of the ideas belong to their teaching)—using [the material supplied] by them, were enabled to go through it and discover that the most part indeed was in accordance with the true teaching of the Saviour, but that some things were added, which also we place below for your benefit.”

XIII. Such are the writings of Serapion.

[1] But of Clement the Stromateis, all the eight books, are preserved with us, upon which he bestowed the following title: “Titus Flavius Clement’s Stromateis of Gnostic Memoirs according to the True Philosophy”; [2] and of equal number with these are his books entitled Hypotyposesis, in which he mentions Pantaenus by name as his teacher, and has set forth his interpretations of the Scriptures and his traditions. [3] There is also a book of his, the Exhortation to the Greeks, and the three books of the work entitled Paedagogus, and Who is the Rick Man that is being Saved? (such is the title of another book of his), and the treatise On the Pascha, and discourses On Fasting and On Slander, and the Exhortation

to Endurance, or To the Recently Baptized, and the [book] entitled the Ecclesiastical Canon, or Against the Judaizers, which he has dedicated to Alexander, the bishop mentioned above.

[4] Now in the Stromateis he has composed a patch-work, not only of the divine Scripture, but of the writings of the Greeks as well, if he thought that they also had said anything useful, [5] and he mentions opinions from many sources, explaining Greek and barbarian alike, and moreover sifts the false opinions of the heresiarchs; and unfolding much history he gives us a work of great erudition. With all these he mingles also the opinions of philosophers, and so he has suitably made the title of the Stromateis to correspond to the work itself. [6] And in them he has also made use of testimonies from the disputed writings, the book known as the Wisdom of Solomon, and the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach, [7] and the Epistle to the Hebrews, and those of Barnabas, and Clement, and Jude; and he mentions Tatian's book Against the Greeks, and Cassian, since he also had composed a chronography, and moreover Philo and Aristobulus and Josephus and Demetrius and Eupolemus, Jewish writers, in that they would show, all of them, in writing, that Moses and the Jewish race went back further in their origins than the Greeks. [8] And the books of Clement, of which we are speaking, are full of much other useful learning. In the first of these he shows with reference to himself that he came very near to the successors of the Apostles; and he promises in them also to write a commentary on Genesis.

[9] And in his book On the Pascha he professes that he was compelled by his companions to commit to writing traditions that he had heard from the elders of olden time, for the benefit of those that should come after; and he mentions in it Melito and Irenaeus and some others, whose accounts also of the matter he has set down.

XIV. [1] And in the Hypotyposes, to speak briefly, he has given concise explanations of all the Canonical Scriptures, not passing over even the disputed writings, I mean the Epistle of Jude and the remaining Catholic Epistles, and the Epistle of Barnabas, and the Apocalypse known as Peter's. [2] And as for the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says indeed that it is Paul's, but that it was written for Hebrews in the Hebrew tongue, and that Luke, having carefully

translated it, published it for the Greeks; hence, as a result of this translation, the same complexion of style is found in this Epistle and in the Acts: but that the [words] "Paul an apostle" were naturally not prefixed. [3] For, says he, "in writing to Hebrews who had conceived a prejudice against him and were suspicious of him, he very wisely did not repel them at the beginning by putting his name."

[4] Then lower down he adds: "But now, as the blessed elder used to say, since the Lord, being the apostle of the Almighty, was sent to the Hebrews, Paul, through modesty, since he had been sent to the Gentiles, does not inscribe himself as an apostle of the Hebrews, both to give due deference to the Lord and because he wrote to the Hebrews also out of his abundance, being a preacher and apostle of the Gentiles."

[5] And again in the same books Clement has inserted a tradition of the primitive elders with regard to the order of the Gospels, as follows. He said that those Gospels were first written which include the genealogies, [6] but that the Gospel according to Mark came into being in this manner: When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, that those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record of what was said; and that he did this, and distributed the Gospel among those that asked him. [7] And that when the matter came to Peter's knowledge he neither strongly forbade it nor urged it forward. But that John, last of all, conscious that the outward facts had been set forth in the Gospels, was urged on by his disciples, and, divinely moved by the Spirit, composed a spiritual Gospel. This is Clement's account.

[8] And again Alexander, of whom we spoke before, mentions Clement, and at the same time also Pantaenus, in a certain letter to Origen, as men who had been known to him. He writes as follows: "For this also has proved to be the will of God, as thou knowest, that the friendship that comes to us from our forefathers should remain unshaken, nay rather grow warmer and more stedfast. [9] For we know as fathers those blessed ones who went before us, with whom we shall be ere long: Pantaenus, truly blessed and my master, and the holy Clement, who was my

master and profited me, and all others like them. Through these I came to know thee, who art the best in all things, and my master and brother." Thus do these matters stand.

[10] Now Adamantius (for this also was Origen's name), when Zephyrinus was at that time ruling the church of the Romans, himself states in writing somewhere that he stayed at Rome. His words are: "Desiring to see the most ancient church of the Romans."

[11] After spending a short time there, he returned to Alexandria, and indeed continued to fulfil in that city his customary work of instruction with all zeal, Demetrius, the bishop of the people there, still exhorting and wellnigh entreating him to ply diligently his task, of usefulness for the brethren. XV. [1] But when he saw that he was becoming unable for the deeper study of divine things, namely, the examination and translation of the sacred writings, and in addition for the instruction of those who were coming to him and did not give him time to breathe (for one batch of pupils after another kept frequenting from morn to night his lecture-room), he made a division of the numbers. Selecting Heraclas from among his pupils, a man who was zealous of divine things, and, as well, a very learned person and no tyro in philosophy, he gave him a share in the task of instruction, assigning to him the preliminary studies of those who were just learning their elements, and reserving for himself the teaching of the experienced pupils.

XVI. [1] And so accurate was the examination that Origen brought to bear upon the divine books, that he even made a thorough study of the Hebrew tongue, and got into his own possession the original writings in the actual Hebrew characters, which were extant among the Jews. Thus, too, he traced the editions of the other translators of the sacred writings besides the Seventy; and besides the beaten track of translations, that of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion, he discovered certain others, which were used in turn, which, after lying hidden for a long time, [2] he traced and brought to light, I know not from what recesses. With regard to these, on account of their obscurity (not knowing whose in the world they were) he merely indicated this: [3] that the one he found at Nicopolis, near Actium, and the other

in such another place. At any rate, in the Hexapla of the Psalms, after the four well-known editions, he placed beside them not only a fifth but also a sixth and a seventh translation; [4] and in the case of one of these he has indicated again that it was found at Jericho in a jar in the time of Antoninus the son of Severus. All these he brought together, dividing them into clauses and placing them one over against the other, together with the actual Hebrew text; and so he has left us the copies of the Hexapla, as it is called. He made a further separate arrangement of the edition of Aquila and Symmachus and Theodotion together with that of the Seventy, in the Tetrapla.

XVII. [1] Now as regards these same translators it is to be noted that Symmachus was an Ebionite. Those who belong to the heresy of the Ebionites, as it is called, affirm that the Christ was born of Joseph and Mary, and suppose Him to be a mere man, and strongly maintain that the law ought to be kept in a more strictly Jewish fashion, as also we saw somewhere from the foregoing history. And memoirs too of Symmachus are still extant, in which, by his opposition to the Gospel according to Matthew, he seems to hold the above-mentioned heresy. These, along with other interpretations of the Scriptures by Symmachus, Origen indicates that he had received from a certain Juliana, who, he says, inherited in her turn the books from Symmachus himself.

XVIII. [1] At this time also Ambrose, who held the views of the heresy of Valentinus, was refuted by the truth as presented by Origen, and, as if his mind were illuminated by light, gave his adhesion to the true doctrine as taught by the Church. [2] And many other cultured persons, since Origen's fame was noised abroad everywhere, came to him to make trial of the man's sufficiency in the sacred books. And numbers of the heretics, and not a few of the most distinguished philosophers, gave earnest heed to him, and, one might almost say, were instructed by him in secular philosophy as well as in divine things. [3] For he used to introduce also to the study of philosophy as many as he saw were naturally gifted, imparting geometry and arithmetic and the other preliminary subjects, and then leading them on to the systems which are found among philosophers, giving a detailed account of their treatises, commenting upon and examining into each, so that



the man was proclaimed as a great philosopher even among the Greeks themselves. [4] And many persons also of a more ignorant character he urged to take up the ordinary elementary studies, declaring that they would derive no small advantage from these when they came to examine and study the divine Scriptures. For this reason he deemed especially necessary even for himself a training in secular and philosophic studies.

XIX. [1] Now, as witnesses also to his achievements in this direction, we have the Greek philosophers themselves who flourished in his day, in whose treatises we find frequent mention of the man. Sometimes they would dedicate their books to him, sometimes submit their own labours to him for judgement, as to a master. [2] But why need one say this, when even Porphyry, who settled in our day in Sicily, issued treatises against us, attempting in them to slander the sacred Scriptures, and mentioned those who had given their interpretations of them? And since he could not by any means bring any base charge against our opinions, for lack of argument he turned to deride and slander their interpreters also, and among these Origen especially. [3] He says that in his early manhood he had known him; and he tries to slander the man, but unknown to himself really commends him, telling the truth in some cases, where he could not speak otherwise, in others telling lies, where he thought he could escape detection; and at one time accusing him as a Christian, at another describing his devotion to the study of philosophy.

[4] But hear the very words that he uses: "Some, in their eagerness to find an explanation of the wickedness of the Jewish writings rather than give them up, had recourse to interpretations that are incompatible and do not harmonize with what has been written, offering not so much a defence of what was outlandish as commendation and praise of their own work. For they boast that the things said plainly by Moses are riddles, treating them as divine oracles full of hidden mysteries, and bewitching the mental judgement by their own pretentious obscurity; and so they put forward their interpretations."

[5] Then, after other remarks, he says: "But this kind of absurdity must be traced to a man whom I met when I was still quite young, who had a great reputation, and still holds it, because

of the writings he has left behind him, I mean Origen, whose fame has been widespread among the teachers of this kind of learning. [6] For this man was a hearer of Ammonius, who had the greatest proficiency in philosophy in our day; and so far as a grasp of knowledge was concerned he owed much to his master, but as regards the right choice in life he took the opposite road to him. [7] For Ammonius was a Christian, brought up in Christian doctrine by his parents, yet, when he began to think and study philosophy, he immediately changed his way of life conformably to the laws; but Origen, a Greek educated in Greek learning, drove headlong towards barbarian recklessness; and making straight for this he hawked himself and his literary skill about; and while his manner of life was Christian and contrary to the law, in his opinions about material things and the Deity he played the Greek, and introduced Greek ideas into foreign fables. For he was always consorting with Plato, and was conversant with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, [8] Apollophanes and Longinus and Moderatus, Nicomachus and the distinguished men among the Pythagoreans; and he used also the books of Chaeremon the Stoic and Cornutus, from whom he learnt the figurative interpretation, as employed in the Greek mysteries, and applied it to the Jewish writings.”

[9] These statements were made by Porphyry in the third treatise of his writings against Christians. And while he tells the truth about the man’s training and erudition, he clearly lies (for what is the opponent of Christians not prepared to do?) where he says that Origen came over from the Greeks, and that Ammonius lapsed from a godly life into paganism. [10] For Origen kept safely the Christian teaching which he had from his parents, as the history above made clear; and Ammonius maintained his inspired philosophy pure and unshaken right up to the very end of his life. To this fact the man’s works witness to the present day, and the widespread fame that he owes to the writings he left behind him, as, for example, that entitled *On the Harmony of Moses and Jesus*, and all the other works that are to be found in the possession of lovers of literature.

[11] Let these things be stated to prove at once the false one’s calumny and Origen’s great knowledge of Greek learning. With

regard to such learning also he writes as follows in a certain epistle, defending himself against those who found fault with him for his zeal in that direction: [12] “But as I was devoted to the word, and the fame of our proficiency was spreading abroad, there approached me sometimes heretics, sometimes those conversant with Greek learning, and especially philosophy, and I thought it right to examine both the opinions of the heretics, and also the claim that the philosophers make to speak concerning truth. [13] And in doing this we followed the example of Pantaenus, who, before us, was of assistance to many, and had acquired no small attainments in these matters, and also Heraclas, who now has a seat in the presbytery of the Alexandrians, whom I found with the teacher of philosophy, and who had remained five years with him before I began to attend his lectures. [14] And though he formerly wore ordinary dress, on his teacher’s account he put it off and assumed a philosophic garb, which he keeps to this day, all the while studying Greek books as much as possible.”

[15] This, indeed, is what he wrote in defence of his Greek training. But at this time, while he was living at Alexandria, one of the military appeared on the scene and delivered letters to Demetrius, the bishop of the community, and to the then governor of the province of Egypt, from the ruler of Arabia, to the intent that he should send Origen with all speed for an interview with him. He duly arrived in Arabia, but soon accomplished the object of his journey thither, and returned again to Alexandria. [16] But after the lapse of some time no small warfare broke out again in the city, and leaving Alexandria secretly he went to Palestine and abode at Caesarea. And although he had not yet received ordination to the presbyterate, the bishops there requested him to discourse and expound the divine Scriptures publicly in the church. [17] That this is so is clear from what Alexander, the bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, the bishop of Caesarea, write with reference to Demetrius. They make their defence somewhat as follows: “And he added to his letter that such a thing had never been heard of, nor taken place hitherto, that laymen should preach in the presence of bishops; though I do not know how he comes to say what is evidently not true. [18] For instance, where there are found persons suited to help the brethren, they also are invited to preach

to the people by the holy bishops, as, for example, in Laranda Euelpis by Neon, and in Iconium Paulinus by Celsus, and in Synnada Theodore by Atticus, our blessed brother bishops. And it is likely that this thing happens in other places also without our knowing it.”

In this way honour was paid to the man of whom we are speaking, while he was still young, not only by his fellow-countrymen but also by the bishops in a foreign land. [19] But since Demetrius once again recalled him by letter, and by men who were deacons of the Church urged him to come back with speed to Alexandria, he returned and continued to labour with his accustomed zeal.

XX. [1] Now there flourished at that time many learned churchmen, and the letters which they penned to one another are still extant and easily accessible. They have been preserved even to our day in the library at Aelia, equipped by Alexander, then ruling the church there; from which also we have been able ourselves to gather together the material for our present work.

[2] Of these Beryllus has left behind him, as well as letters, varied and beautiful compositions. He was bishop of the Arabians at Bostra. And likewise also Hippolytus, who also presided over another church somewhere.

[3] And there has reached us also a Dialogue of Gaius, a very learned person (which was set a-going at Rome in the time of Zephyrinus), with Proclus the champion of the heresy of the Phrygians. In which, when curbing the recklessness and audacity of his opponents in composing new Scriptures, he mentions only thirteen epistles of the holy Apostle, not numbering the Epistle to the Hebrews with the rest; seeing that even to this day among the Romans there are some who do not consider it to be the Apostle's.

XXI. [1] But indeed when Antoninus had reigned for seven years and six months he was succeeded by Macrinus; and when he had continued in office for a year, again another Antoninus received the Roman government. In the first year of the latter, Zephyrinus, the bishop of the Romans, departed this life, having held the ministry for eighteen entire years. [2] After him Callistus was entrusted with the episcopate; he survived five years and

then left the ministry to Urban.

After this the Emperor Alexander succeeded to the principate of the Romans, Antoninus having continued in office for only four years. At this time also Philetus succeeded Asclepiades in the church of the Antiochenes.

[3] Origen's fame was now universal, so as to reach the ears of the Emperor's mother, Mamaea by name, a religious woman if ever there was one. She set great store on securing a sight of the man, and on testing that understanding of divine things which was the wonder of all. [4] She was then staying at Antioch, and summoned him to her presence with a military escort. And when he had stayed with her for some time, and shown her very many things that were for the glory of the Lord and the excellence of the divine teaching, he hastened back to his accustomed duties.

XXII. [1] At that very time also Hippolytus, besides very many other memoirs, composed the treatise On the Pascha, in which he sets forth a register of the times and puts forward a certain canon of a sixteen-years cycle for the Pascha, using the first year of the Emperor Alexander as a terminus in measuring his dates. Of his other treatises the following have reached us: On the Hexaëmeron, On what followed the Hexaëmeron, Against Marcion, On the Song, On Parts of Esekiel, On the Pascha, Against All the Heresies; and very many others also might be found preserved by many people.

XXIII. [1] Starting from that time also Origen's commentaries on the divine Scriptures had their beginning, at the instigation of Ambrose, who not only plied him with innumerable verbal exhortations and encouragements, but also provided him unstintingly with what was necessary. [2] For as he dictated there were ready at hand more than seven shorthand-writers, who relieved each other at fixed times, and as many copyists, as well as girls skilled in penmanship; for all of whom Ambrose supplied without stint the necessary means. Nay further, he contributed to Origen a vast amount of zeal in the earnest study of the divine oracles, a zeal which more than anything else acted as an incentive to him to compose his commentaries.

[3] Such was the state of affairs when Pontianus succeeded Urban, who had been bishop of the church of the Romans for

eight years, and Zebennus came after Philetus as [bishop] of the [church] of the Antiochenes. [4] In their day Origen journeyed to Greece through Palestine because of an urgent necessity in Church matters, and received the laying-on of hands for the presbyterate at Caesarea from the bishops there. The agitation that was set on foot concerning him on this account, and the decisions made by those who presided over the churches on the matters agitated, as well as the other contributions that he made as he was reaching his prime to the study of the divine Word, require a separate composition, and we have given a fairly full account of them in the second [book] of the Apology that we have written on his behalf.

XXIV. [1] But to that information it is necessary to add that in the sixth of his Expositions on the [Gospel] according to John he indicates that he composed the first five while he was still at Alexandria; but of this work on the whole of the selfsame Gospel only twenty-two tomes have come our way. [2] And [we must also state] that in the ninth of those On Genesis (there are twelve in all) he shows that not only were those before the ninth written at Alexandria, but also [his commentary] on the first twenty-five Psalms, and, as well, those on Lamentations, of which there have come to us five tomes. [3] In these he mentions also those On the Resurrection, of which there are two. Moreover he wrote his De Principiis before his removal from Alexandria, and he composed the [books] entitled Stromateis, ten in number, in the same city in the reign of Alexander, as is shown by the annotations in his own hand in front of the tomes.

XXV. Now while expounding the first Psalm he set forth the catalogue of the sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing somewhat as follows in these words: "But it should be known that there are twenty-two canonical books, according to the Hebrew tradition; the same as the number of the letters of their alphabet."

Then further on he adds as follows: "These are the twenty-two books according to the Hebrews: That which is entitled with us Genesis, but with the Hebrews, from the beginning of the book, Brēsith, that is 'In the beginning.' Exodus, Ouelle smōth that is, 'These are the names.' Leviticus, Ouikra, 'And he called.' Numbers, Ammes phekōdeim. Deuteronomy, Elle addebareim,

‘These are the words.’ Jesus the son of Nave, Iōsouē ben noun. Judges, Ruth, with them in one book, Sōphteim. Of Kingdoms 1, 2, with them one, Samuel, ‘The called of God.’ Of Kingdoms 3, 4, in one, Ouammelch David, that is, ‘The kingdom of David.’ Chronicles 1, 2, in one, Dabrē iamein, that is, ‘Words of days’ Esdras 1, 2, in one, Ezra, that is, ‘Helper.’ Book of Psalms, Sphar thelleim. Proverbs of Solomon, Melōth. Ecclesiastes, Kōelth. Song of Songs (not, as some suppose, Songs of Songs), Sir assireim. Esaias, Iessia. Jeremiah with Lamentations and the Letter, in one, Jeremia. Daniel, Daniēl. Ezekiel, Ezeikiēl. Job, Jōb. Esther, Esthēr. And outside these there are the Maccabees, which are entitled Sar bēth sabanai el.”

[3] These things he inserts in the above-mentioned treatise. But in the first of his [Commentaries] on the Gospel according to Matthew, defending the canon of the Church, he gives his testimony that he knows only four Gospels, [4] writing somewhat as follows: “... as having learnt by tradition concerning the four Gospels, which alone are unquestionable in the Church of God under heaven, that first was written that according to Matthew, who was once a tax-collector but afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for those who from Judaism came to believe, composed as it was in the Hebrew language. Secondly, that according to Mark, who wrote it in accordance with Peter’s instructions, [5] whom also Peter acknowledged as his son in the catholic epistle, speaking in these terms: ‘She that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you; and so doth Mark my son.’ [6] And thirdly, that according to Luke, who wrote, for those who from the Gentiles [came to believe], the Gospel that was praised by Paul. After them all, that according to John.”

[7] And in the fifth of his Expositions on the Gospel according to John the same person says this with reference to the epistles of the apostles: “But he who was made sufficient to become a minister of the new covenant, not of the letter but of the spirit, even Paul, who fully preached the Gospel from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum, did not so much as write to all the churches that he taught; and even to those to which he wrote he sent but a few lines. [8] And Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built, against which the gates of Hades shall not prevail, has left

one acknowledged epistle, and, it may be, a second also; for it is doubted. [9] Why need I speak of him who leaned back on Jesus' breast, John, who has left behind one Gospel, confessing that he could write so many that even the world itself could not contain them; [10] and he wrote also the Apocalypse, being ordered to keep silence and not to write the voices of seven thunders? He has left also an epistle of a very few lines, and, it may be, a second and a third; for not all say that these are genuine. Only, the two of them together are not a hundred lines long."

[11] Furthermore, he thus discusses the Epistle to the Hebrews, in his Homilies upon it: "That the character of the diction of the epistle entitled To the Hebrews has not the apostle's rudeness in speech, who confessed himself rude in speech, that is, in style, but that the epistle is better Greek in the framing of its diction, will be admitted by everyone who is able to discern differences of style. [12] But again, on the other hand, that the thoughts of the epistle are admirable, and not inferior to the acknowledged writings of the apostle, to this also everyone will consent as true who has given attention to reading the apostle."

[13] Further on, he adds the following remarks: "But as for myself, if I were to state my own opinion, I should say that the thoughts are the apostle's, but that the style and composition belong to one who called to mind the apostle's teachings and, as it were, made short notes of what his master said. If any church, therefore, holds this epistle as Paul's, let it be commended for this also. [14] For not without reason have the men of old time handed it down as Paul's. But who wrote the epistle, in truth God knows. Yet the account which has reached us [is twofold], some saying that Clement, who was bishop of the Romans, wrote the epistle, others, that it was Luke, he who wrote the Gospel and the Acts."

XXVI. [1] But this must suffice on these matters. Now it was in the tenth year of the above-mentioned reign that Origen removed from Alexandria to Caesarea, leaving to Heraclas the Catechetical School for those in the city. And not long afterwards Demetrius, the bishop of the church of the Alexandrians, died, having continued in the ministry for forty-three entire years. He was succeeded by Heraclas.

XXVII. [1] Now at this time Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in



Cappadocia, was distinguished; he displayed such esteem for Origen, that at one time he would summon him to his own parts for the benefit of the churches; at another, journey himself to Judaea, and spend some time with him for his own betterment in divine things. Nay further, Alexander, who presided over the [church] of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, [who presided] at Caesarea, continued their attendance on him the whole time, as their only teacher, and used to concede to him the task of expounding the divine Scriptures, and the other parts of the Church's instruction.

XXVIII. [1] But to resume. When Alexander the Emperor of the Romans had brought his principate to an end after thirteen years, he was succeeded by Maximin Caesar. He, through ill-will towards the house of Alexander, since it consisted for the most part of believers, raised a persecution, ordering the leaders of the Church alone to be put to death, as being responsible for the teaching of the Gospel. Then also Origen composed his work On Martyrdom, dedicating the treatise to Ambrose and Protocetus, a presbyter of the community at Caesarea; for in the persecution no ordinary distress had befallen them both, in which distress it is recorded that these men were distinguished for the confession they made during the period, not more than three years, that the reign of Maximin lasted. Origen has noted this particular time for the persecution, in the twenty-second of his Expositions of the Gospel according to John, and in various letters.

XXIX. [1] Gordian having succeeded to the Roman government after Maximin, Pontianus, when he had been bishop of the church of Rome for six years, was succeeded by Anteros; who exercised his ministry for a month, and was succeeded by Fabian. [2] It is said that Fabian, after the death of Anteros, came from the country along with others and stayed at Rome, where he came to the office in a most miraculous manner, thanks to the divine and heavenly grace. [3] For when the brethren were all assembled for the purpose of appointing him who should succeed to the episcopate, and very many notable and distinguished persons were in the thoughts of many, Fabian, who was there, came into nobody's mind. But all of a sudden, they relate, a dove flew down from above and settled on his head, in clear imitation of the

descent of the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove upon the Saviour; whereupon the whole people, as if moved by one divine inspiration, [4] with all eagerness and with one soul cried out "worthy," and without more ado took him and placed him on the episcopal throne.

At that very time also Zebennus, bishop of Antioch, departed this life and Babylas succeeded to the rule; and in Alexandria, Heraclas, having received the ministry after Demetrius, was succeeded in the Catechetical School there by Dionysius, who had also been one of Origen's pupils.

XXX. [1] Now while Origen was plying his accustomed tasks at Caesarea, many came to him, not only of the natives, but also numbers of foreign pupils who had left their own countries. Among these as especially distinguished we know to have been Theodore, who was the selfsame person as that renowned bishop in our day, Gregory, and his brother Athenodore. Both of them were strongly enamoured of Greek and Roman studies, but Origen instilled into them a passion for philosophy and urged them to exchange their former love for the study of divine truth. Five whole years they continued with him, and made such progress in divine things that while still young both of them were deemed worthy of the episcopate in the churches of Pontus.

XXXI. [1] At that time Africanus also, the author of the books entitled Cesti, was well known. A letter of his, written to Origen, is extant; he was at a loss as to whether the story of Susanna in the book of Daniel were a spurious forgery. [2] Origen makes a very full reply to it. And of the same Africanus there have reached us as well five books of Chronographies, a monument of labour and accuracy. In these he says that he himself made a journey to Alexandria because of the great fame of Heraclas; who, as we have stated, was greatly distinguished for philosophy and other Greek learning, and was entrusted with the bishopric of the church there. [3] And another letter of the same Africanus is extant, to Aristides, On the supposed discord between the Genealogies of Christ in Matthew and Luke. In it he establishes very clearly the harmony of the evangelists from an account that came down to him, which by anticipation I set forth in the proper place in the first book of the present work.

XXXII. [1] And Origen too at this time was composing his Commentaries on Isaiah, and at the same time those also on Ezekiel. Of the former, thirty tomes have come our way on the third part of Isaiah, up to the vision of the beasts in the desert; and on Ezekiel five and twenty, the only ones that he has written on the whole prophet. [2] And having come at that time to Athens, he finished the commentary on Ezekiel, and began that on the Song of Songs, carrying it forward there up to the fifth book. And returning to Caesarea he brought these also to an end, numbering ten. [3] Why should one draw up the exact catalogue of the man's works here and now, seeing that such would require a special study? And we did record it in our account of the life of Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, in which, in showing the extent of Pamphilus's zeal for divine things, I quoted as evidence the lists in the library that he had brought together of the works of Origen and of other ecclesiastical writers; and from these anyone who pleases can gather the fullest knowledge of the works of Origen that have reached us. But we must now proceed with our history.

XXXIII. [1] Beryllus, who, as we have mentioned a little above, was bishop of Bostra in Arabia, perverting the Church's standard, attempted to introduce things foreign to the faith, daring to say that our Saviour and Lord did not pre-exist in an individual existence of His own before His coming to reside among men, nor had He a divinity of His own, but only the Father's dwelling in Him. [2] Whereupon, after a large number of bishops had held questionings and discussions with the man, Origen, being invited along with others, entered in the first place into conversation with the man to discover what were his opinions, and when he knew what it was that he asserted, he corrected what was unorthodox, and, persuading him by reasoning, established him in the truth as to the doctrine, and restored him to his former sound opinion. [3] And there are still extant to this very day records in writing both of Beryllus and of the synod that was held on his account, which contain at once the questions Origen put to him and the discussions that took place in his own community, and all that was done on that occasion. [4] And a great many other things about Origen have been handed down to memory by the older men of our day, which I think it well to pass over, as they do not concern

the present work. But all that it was necessary to know of his affairs, these also one may gather from the Apology that was written on his behalf by us and Pamphilus, that holy martyr of our day, a work that we were at pains to Compose conjointly because of the fault-finders.

XXXIV. [1] When after six whole years Gordian brought his government of the Romans to an end, Philip along with his son Philip succeeded to the principate. It is recorded that he, being a Christian, wished on the day of the last paschal vigil to share along with the multitude the prayers at the church, but was not permitted to enter by him who was then presiding, until he confessed and numbered himself among those who were reckoned to be in sins and were occupying the place of penitence; for that otherwise, had he not done so, he would never have been received by [the president] on account of the many charges made concerning him. And it is said that he obeyed readily, displaying by his actions how genuine and pious was his disposition towards the fear of God.

XXXV. [1] It was the third year of his reign when Heraclas departed this life, after presiding for sixteen years over the churches at Alexandria; Dionysius took up the episcopal office.

XXXVI. [1] Then indeed, as was fitting, when the faith was increasing and our doctrine was boldly proclaimed in the ears of all, it is said that Origen, who was over sixty years of age, inasmuch as he had now acquired immense facility from long preparation, permitted shorthand-writers to take down the discourses delivered by him in public, a thing that he had never before allowed.

[2] At that time also he composed the treatises, eight in number, in answer to the work against us, entitled True Discourse of Celsus the Epicurean, and his twenty-five tomes on the Gospel according to Matthew, and those on the twelve prophets, of which we found only five and twenty. [3] And there is extant also a letter of his to the Emperor Philip himself, and another to his wife Severa, and various other letters to various persons. As many of these as we have been able to bring together, preserved as they were here and there by various persons, we arranged in separate roll-cases, so that they might no longer be dispersed. These

letters number more than a hundred. [4] And he wrote also to Fabian the bishop of Rome, and to very many other rulers of churches, with reference to his orthodoxy. You will find these facts also established in the sixth book of the Apology we wrote on the man's behalf.

XXXVII. [1] Once more in Arabia at the above-mentioned time other persons sprang up, introducing a doctrine foreign to the truth, and saying that the human soul dies for a while in this present time, along with our bodies, at their death, and with them turns to corruption; but that hereafter, at the time of the resurrection, it will come to life again along with them. Moreover, when a synod of no small dimensions was then assembled together, Origen was again invited, and there opened a discussion in public on the subject in question, with such power that he changed the opinions of those who had formerly been deluded.

XXXVIII. [1] At that time also another perverse opinion had its beginning, the heresy known as that of the Helkesaites, which no sooner began than it was quenched. Origen mentions it in a public address on the eighty-second Psalm, in some such words as these: "There has come just now a certain man who prides himself on being able to champion a godless and very impious opinion, of the Helkesaites, as it is called, which has lately come into opposition with the churches. I shall lay before you the mischievous teachings of that opinion, that you may not be carried away by it. It rejects some things from every Scripture; again, it has made use of texts from every part of the Old Testament and the Gospels; it rejects the Apostle entirely. And it says that to deny is a matter of indifference, and that the discreet man will on occasions of necessity deny with his mouth, but not in his heart. And they produce a certain book of which they say that it has fallen from heaven, and that he who has heard it and believes will receive forgiveness of his sins—a forgiveness other than that which Christ Jesus has bestowed."

XXXIX. [1] But to resume. When Philip had reigned for seven years he was succeeded by Decius. He, on account of his enmity towards Philip, raised a persecution against the churches, in which Fabian was perfected by martyrdom at Rome, and was succeeded in the episcopate by Cornelius.

[2] In Palestine, Alexander, the bishop of the church of Jerusalem, appeared once more for Christ's sake at Caesarea before the governor's courts, and for the second time distinguished himself by the confession he made; he underwent the trial of imprisonment, crowned with the venerable hoary locks of ripe old age. [3] And when after the splendid and manifest testimony that he gave in the governor's courts he fell asleep in prison, Mazabanes was proclaimed as his successor in the episcopate at Jerusalem.

[4] And when at Antioch Babylas, in like manner to Alexander, after confession departed this life in prison, Fabius was made president of the church there.

[5] Now the nature and extent of that which happened to Origen at the time of the persecution, and what was the end thereof; how the evil demon marshalled all his forces in rivalry against the man, how he led them with every device and power, and singled him out, above all others upon whom he made war at that time, for special attack; the nature and extent of that which he endured for the word of Christ, chains and tortures, punishments inflicted on his body, punishments as he lay in iron and in the recesses of his dungeon; and how, when for many days his feet were stretched four spaces in that instrument of torture, the stocks, he bore with a stout heart threats of fire and everything else that was inflicted by his enemies; and the kind of issue he had thereof, the judge eagerly striving with all his might on no account to put him to death; and what sort of sayings he left behind him after this, sayings full of help for those who needed uplifting—[of all these matters] the man's numerous letters contain both a true and accurate account.

XL. [1] As to that which befell Dionysius, I shall quote from a letter of his against Germanus, where, speaking of himself, he gives the following account: "Now I for my part speak also before God, and He knows if I lie. Acting not on my own judgement nor apart from God have I taken flight; but on a former occasion also, [2] when the persecution under Decius was publicly proclaimed, that selfsame hour Sabinus sent a frumentarius to seek me out, and on my part I remained four days at my house, expecting the arrival of the frumentarius; but he went around searching

everything, the roads, the rivers, the fields, where he suspected I was hidden or walking, but was holden with blindness and did not find the house. For he did not believe that, pursued as I was, I was staying at home. [3] And after the fourth day, when God bade me depart, and miraculously made a way, with difficulty did I and the boys and many of the brethren set out together. And that this was the work of the Divine Providence, the sequel showed, in which we proved helpful, it may be, to some.”

[4] Then, after some intervening remarks, he tells what happened to him after the flight, adding as follows: “For I, indeed, falling about sunset into the hands of the soldiers, together with those who were with me, was brought to Taposiris, but Timothy by the Divine Providence happened to be absent and to escape being seized; but coming afterwards he found the house deserted and servants guarding it, and us completely taken captive.”

[5] And further on he says: “And what was the way in which He wonderfully brought it about? For the truth shall be told. One of the country-folk met Timothy fleeing and distraught, and inquired the reason of his haste. And he spoke out the truth, and when the other heard it (now he was off to take part in a marriage-feast, [6] for it is their custom to spend the entire night in such gatherings) he went in and told those who were reclining at table. And they all, with a single impulse, as if at a preconcerted signal, rose up, and came running with all speed; and bursting in upon us they gave a shout, and when the soldiers that were guarding us straightway took to flight, they came up to us, lying as we were on pallets without bedding. [7] And I—God knows that at first I thought they were robbers coming to plunder and steal—stayed on the bed, naked save for my linen shirt, and the rest of my garments that were lying by I held out to them. But they bade me get up and go out with all speed. And then, gathering why they were come, I cried out, begging and beseeching them to go away and leave us alone; [8] and I asked them, if they wished to do me a good turn, to anticipate those who were leading me away and to cut off my head themselves. And while I was thus shouting, as those who were my companions and partakers in everything know, they raised me up forcibly. And I let myself fall on my back on the ground, but they seized me by the hands and feet and dragged

and brought me outside. [9] And there followed me the witnesses of all these things, Gaius, Faustus, Peter and Paul; who also took me up in their arms and brought me out of the little town, and setting me on the bare back of an ass led me away.” Such is the account Dionysius gives concerning himself.

XLI. [1] But the same person in a letter to Fabius, bishop of the Antiochenes, gives the following account of the contests of those who suffered martyrdom at Alexandria under Decius: “It was not with the imperial edict that the persecution began amongst us, but it preceded it by a whole year; and that prophet and creator of evils for this city, whoever he was, was beforehand in stirring and inciting the masses of the heathen against us, fanning anew the flame of their native superstition. [2] Aroused by him and seizing upon all authority for their unholy deeds, they conceived that this kind of worship of their gods—the thirsting for our blood—was the only form of piety.

[3] “First, then, they seized an old man named Metras, and bade him utter blasphemous words; and when he refused to obey they belaboured his body with cudgels, stabbed his face and eyes with sharp reeds, and leading him to the suburbs stoned him.

[4] “Then they led a woman called Quinta, a believer, to the idol temple, and were for forcing her to worship. But when she turned away and showed her disgust, they bound her by the feet and dragged her through the whole city over the rough pavement, so that she was bruised by the big stones, beating her all the while; and bringing her to the same place they stoned her to death. [5] Then with one accord they all rushed to the houses of the godly, and, falling each upon those whom they recognized as neighbours, they harried, spoiled and plundered them, appropriating the more valuable of their treasures, and scattering and burning in the streets the cheaper articles and such as were made of wood, until they gave the city the appearance of having been captured by enemies. [6] But the brethren gave way and gradually retired, and, like those of whom Paul also testified, they took joyfully the spoiling of their possessions. And I know not if there be any—save, it may be, some single one who fell into their hands—who up to the present has denied the Lord.

[7] “Moreover, they seized then that marvellous aged virgin



Apollonia, broke out all her teeth with blows on her jaws, and piling up a pyre before the city threatened to burn her alive, if she refused to recite along with them their blasphemous sayings. But she asked for a brief space, and, being released, without flinching she leaped into the fire and was consumed.

[8] “Serapion they laid hold of at his own home, broke all his limbs by the severe tortures they inflicted, and cast him down head foremost from the upper story.

“Now there was no way, no thoroughfare, no alley by which we could go, either by night or during the day: always and everywhere all were shouting, that he who did not join in the chorus of blasphemy must immediately be dragged off and burnt. [9] And this state of things continued at its height for a long time. But strife and civil war came upon the wretched men, and turned on themselves the fury of which we had been the object; and for a brief space we breathed again, since they had no time to indulge their anger against us. Straightway, however, the news was spread abroad of the change from that rule that had been more kindly to us, and great was the fear of threatened punishment that hung over us. [10] And, what is more, the edict arrived, and it was almost like that which was predicted by our Lord, wellnigh the most terrible of all, so as, if possible, to cause to stumble even the elect. [11] Howsoever that be, all cowered with fear. And of many of the more eminent persons, some came forward immediately through fear, others in public positions were compelled to do so by their business, and others were dragged by those around them. Called by name they approached the impure and unholy sacrifices, some pale and trembling, as if they were not for sacrificing but rather to be themselves the sacrifices and victims to the idols, so that the large crowd that stood around heaped mockery upon them, and it was evident that they were by nature cowards in everything, cowards both to die and to sacrifice. [12] But others ran eagerly towards the altars, affirming by their forwardness that they had not been Christians even formerly; concerning whom the Lord very truly predicted that they shall hardly be saved. [13] Of the rest, some followed one or other of these, others fled; some were captured, and of these some went as far as bonds and imprisonment, and certain, when they had

been shut up for many days, then forswore themselves even before coming into court, while others, who remained firm for a certain time under tortures, subsequently gave in.

[14] “But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by Him, and receiving power and steadfastness in due measure according to the mighty faith that was in them, proved themselves admirable martyrs of His kingdom. [15] Of these the first was Julian, a man who suffered from gout, unable to stand or walk. He was brought up with two others who carried him, of whom the one straightway denied; the other, Cronion by name, but surnamed Eunus, and the old man Julian himself, confessed the Lord, and were carried upon camels through the whole city, very large in extent as ye know, and thus uplifted were beaten, and in the end, surrounded by all the people, burnt in quicklime. [16] A soldier who stood by as they were being led off, opposed those who insulted them; and, when the crowd cried out, Besas, that brave warrior of God, was brought up, and after excelling in the great war of piety was beheaded. [17] And another, a Libyan by race, Macar, true both to his name and the [Lord’s] benediction, though the judge urged him strongly to deny, was not induced, and so was burnt alive. And after these Epimachus and Alexander, when they had remained a long time in prison, enduring to the end countless agonies from scrapers and scourges, were also burnt in quicklime.

[18] “And with them four women: Ammonarion, a holy virgin, though tortured vigorously by the judge for a very long time, inasmuch as she had made it plain beforehand that she would not utter anything of what he bade her, kept true to her promise, and was led away. And as to the rest, Mercuria, an aged woman of reverend mien, and Dionysia, the mother indeed of many children, who yet did not love them above the Lord, when the governor was ashamed to ply continued torture all to no end, and to be worsted by women,—they were put to death by the sword, and so had trial of no further tortures. For these Ammonarion, true champion, had taken upon herself on behalf of all.

[19] “Hero and Ater and Isidore, Egyptians, and with them a young boy of about fifteen named Dioscorus were delivered up. And at first [the governor] tried to wheedle the lad by words, as

one easily led astray, and to compel him by tortures, as one that would easily give in; [20] but Dioscorus neither obeyed nor yielded. The rest he savagely tore in pieces, and, when they endured, committed them also to the flames. But, marvelling at the splendid bearing of Dioscorus in public and the wise answers he made to his questions in private, he let him off, saying that he granted him a period of delay to repent, on account of his youth. And now the most godly Dioscorus is with us, having remained for a still longer contest and a more lasting conflict.

[21] "A certain Nemesion, he also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of consorting with robbers, and when he had cleared himself before the centurion of that charge so foreign to his character, he was informed against as being a Christian, and came bound before the governor. He most unjustly inflicted on him twice as many tortures and scourgings as he did on the robbers, and burnt him between them, thus honouring him, happy man, with a likeness to Christ.

[22] "A whole band of soldiers, Ammon and Zeno and Ptolemy and Ingenuus, and with them an old man Theophilus, had taken their stand before the court. Now a certain man was being tried as a Christian, and at that moment was inclining towards denial, when these men standing by ground their teeth, cast looks at him, stretched out their hands and made gestures with their bodies. [23] And when all turned towards them, before anyone could otherwise seize them, they ran of their own accord to the prisoner's dock, saying that they were Christians; so that both the governor and his assessors were filled with fear, and those who were on their trial showed themselves very courageous in the face of their future sufferings, while the judges were affrighted. So these men marched from the court in proud procession, exulting in their witness, God spreading abroad their fame gloriously.

XLII. [1] "And many others throughout the cities and villages were torn in pieces by the heathen, of whom I shall mention one as an example. Ischyron was acting as the hired steward of one of the rulers. His employer bade him sacrifice; when he refused he insulted him, when he abode by his refusal he abused him foully; and as he still remained firm he took a very large stick, thrust it through his bowels and vital organs, and so killed him.

[2] “What need is there to speak of the multitude of those who wandered in deserts and mountains, and perished by hunger and thirst and frost and diseases and robbers and wild beasts? Such of them as survive bear testimony to their election and victory; [3] but one fact in connexion with these men also I shall adduce as evidence. Chaeremon was bishop of the city called Nilopolis, and of extreme age. He fled to the Arabian mountain with his wife, and never returned, nor could the brethren ever lay eyes again either on them or their bodies, although they made a long and thorough search. [4] But many in that same Arabian mountain were reduced to utter slavery by barbarian Saracens. Of these some were with difficulty ransomed for large sums, others have not yet been, up to this day.

[5] “And I have not given this account, brother, to no purpose, but that you may know all the terrible things that happened with us. Those who have had a larger experience of them would know more examples.”

Then, after a little, he adds as follows: “Therefore the divine martyrs themselves among us, who now are assessors of Christ, and share the fellowship of His kingdom, and take part in His decisions and judge along with Him, have espoused the cause of certain of the fallen brethren who became answerable for the charge of sacrificing; and seeing their conversion and repentance, they judged it had the power to prove acceptable to Him who hath no pleasure at all in the death of the sinner, but rather his repentance; and so they received and admitted them to the worship of the Church as consistentes, and gave them fellowship in their prayers and feasts. [6] What then do ye counsel us, brethren, on these matters? What are we to do? Are we to be of like opinion and mind with them, uphold their decision and concession, and deal kindly with those they pitied? Or shall we esteem their decision unjust, and set ourselves up as critics of their opinion, cause grief to kindness, and do away with their arrangement?”

Now these words Dionysius added suitably, raising the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution, XLIII. [1] since Novatus, a presbyter of the church of the Romans, being lifted up by arrogance against these, as if there was no

longer any hope of salvation for them, not even if they were to perform everything that a genuine conversion and a pure confession demand, became the leader of a separate sect of those who, in their pride of mind, styled themselves Puritans. [2] Whereupon a very large synod was assembled at Rome, of sixty bishops and a still greater number of presbyters and deacons, while in the rest of the provinces the pastors in their several regions individually considered the question as to what was to be done. It was unanimously decreed that Novatus, together with the partners of his arrogance, and those who decided to agree with the man's brother-hating and most inhuman opinion, should be considered as strangers to the Church, but that such of the brethren as had fallen into the misfortune should be treated and restored with the medicines of repentance.

[3] Now there have reached us a letter of Cornelius, bishop of the Romans, to Fabius, bishop of the church of the Antiochenes, telling the facts concerning the Roman Synod, and what was decreed by them of Italy and Africa and the regions thereabout; and, again, another of Cyprian and of those with him in Africa, composed in the Latin language, in which it was made clear that they also agreed that those who had suffered trial should meet with succour, and that in the reason of things it was fitting that the leader of the heresy should be excommunicated from the Catholic Church, and likewise all those who were led away with him. [4] To these was subjoined a certain other letter of Cornelius, on the resolutions of the synod; and, again, another on the doings of Novatus. There is nothing to prevent me from quoting parts of this last, so that those who read this book may know about him. [5] In explaining, then, to Fabius what kind of manner of man Novatus was, Cornelius writes these very words: "But that you may know that for a long time back this marvellous fellow has been seeking the office of a bishop, and has succeeded in concealing in his heart this his violent desire, using as a veil for his insane folly the fact that he had the confessors with him from the beginning, I wish to speak. [6] Maximus, one of our presbyters, and Urban, both of whom twice reaped the highest meed of renown by confession, and Sidonius, and Celerinus, a man who, by the mercy of God, bore with the utmost endurance all kinds of tortures, and by the

strength of his faith strengthened the weakness of his body, and so has mightily overcome the adversary—these men marked him, and detecting the craftiness and duplicity that was in him, his perjuries and falsehoods, his unsociability and wolf-like friendship, returned to the holy Church. And all the knavish tricks and devices that he had long dissembled in his heart, they made known in the presence both of a number of bishops, and also of very many presbyters and laymen, bewailing and repenting of the fact that for a brief space they had left the Church under the persuasion of this treacherous and malicious wild beast.”

[7] Then shortly afterwards he says: “How extraordinary a change and transformation, brother beloved, we have beheld to have taken place in him in a little while! For in sooth this highly distinguished person, who was in the habit of pledging himself by some terrible oaths in no wise to seek the office of a bishop, of a sudden appears as a bishop as if he were cast into our midst by some contrivance. [8] For in sooth this master of doctrine, this champion of the Church’s discipline, when he was attempting to wrest and filch away the episcopate that was not given him from above, chose to himself two companions who had renounced their own salvation, that he might send them to a small and very insignificant part of Italy, and entice thence by some made-up device three bishops, rough and very simple men. He confidently maintained and affirmed the necessity of their coming quickly to Rome, on the pretext that any dissension whatsoever that had arisen might be ended by their activity as mediators, conjointly with other bishops. [9] When they arrived, inasmuch as they were too simple, as we said before, for the unscrupulous devices of the wicked, they were shut up by certain disorderly men like himself, and at the tenth hour, when they were drunk, and sick with the after effects, he forcibly compelled them to give him a bishop’s office by a counterfeit and vain laying on of hands, an office that he assumed by crafty treachery since it did not fall to his lot. [10] One of the bishops not long afterwards returned to the Church, bewailing and confessing his fault; with whom we had communion as a layman, all the laity present interceding for him. And as for the remaining bishops, to these we appointed successors, whom we sent into the places where they were.

[11] “This vindicator, then, of the Gospel did not know that there should be one bishop in a catholic church, in which he was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that there are forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolytes, fifty-two exorcists, readers and door-keepers, above fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress, all of whom are supported by the grace and loving-kindness of the Master. [12] But not even did this great multitude, so necessary in the Church, that number who by God’s providence were rich and multiplying, nor an immense and countless laity, turn him from such a desperate failure and recall him to the Church.”

[13] And again, further on, he adds to these remarks as follows: “But come, let us next say in what deeds or in what kind of conduct he placed his confidence so as to aspire to the episcopate. Was it because from the beginning he had been brought up in the Church, and had fought many conflicts on her behalf, and had been through the midst of dangers, many and great, for the sake of religion? Not so. [14] The occasion of his acceptance of the faith was Satan, who resorted to him and dwelt in him for a long time. While he was being healed by the exorcists he fell into a grievous sickness, and, as he was considered to be all but dead, received baptism by affusion on the very bed in which he lay, if indeed one may say that such a man has received it. Nor yet indeed did he obtain the other things, when he recovered from his sickness, [15] of which one should partake according to the rule of the Church, or the sealing by the bishop. And as he did not obtain these, how could he obtain the Holy Spirit?”

[16] And shortly afterwards he says again: “... he who through cowardice and love of life at the time of persecution denied that he was a presbyter. For when he was requested and exhorted by the deacons to leave the cell in which he shut himself, and bring all the help to the brethren that it is right and possible for a presbyter to bring to brethren who are in danger and in need of succour, so far was he from obeying the deacons’ exhortations, that he even went away and departed in anger. For he said that he no longer wished to be a presbyter, since he was enamoured of a different philosophy.”

[17] Passing over a few things, he again adds as follows: “For when this illustrious person deserted the Church of God, in which, when he came to believe, he was deemed worthy of the presbyterate through the favour of the bishop, who laid his hand on him to confer that order (meeting the opposition of all the clergy and many lay persons as well—since one who has received baptism by affusion on his bed owing to sickness, as Novatus had, might not be ordained to an order—with the request that he should be allowed to ordain this man alone)...”

[18] Then he adds something else, the worst of all the man’s offences, saying thus: “For when he has made the offerings, and is distributing to each his portion, as he gives it [into their hands] he compels the wretched persons to utter an oath instead of the blessing, taking in both his hands those of him who had received, and not letting go until they swear saying thus (for I shall use his very words): ‘Swear to me by the Blood and Body of our Lord Jesus Christ never to forsake me and turn to Cornelius.’ [19] And the miserable person does not taste until he first calls down a curse upon himself, and instead of saying the Amen as he receives that bread, he says, ‘I will not return to Cornelius.’ “

[20] And after other remarks he again says as follows: “But know that now he has become bare and desolate, for every day the brethren desert him and go back to the Church. And Moses, that blessed martyr who just now bore a goodly and marvellous testimony amongst us, while he was still in the world, perceiving his insane arrogance, broke off communion with him and with the five presbyters who, along with him, had separated themselves from the Church.”

[21] And at the close of the letter he has made a catalogue of the bishops present at Rome who condemned the stupidity of Novatus, indicating at once both their names and the name of the community over which each one presided; [22] and of those who were not present, indeed, at Rome, but who signified in writing their assent to the judgement of the aforesaid, he mentions the names and, as well, the city where each lived and from which each wrote. This is what Cornelius wrote for the information of Fabius, bishop of Antioch.

XLIV. [1] But to this same Fabius, when he was inclining



somewhat towards the schism, Dionysius also, he of Alexandria, wrote, making many other remarks with reference to repentance in his letter to him, and describing the conflicts of those lately martyred at Alexandria. In the course of his narrative he tells a certain astonishing tale, which must needs be handed down in this work. It is as follows: [2] "But this one example that happened amongst us I shall set forth for thee. There was a certain Serapion amongst us, an old man and a believer, who lived blamelessly for a long time, but in the trial fell. This man oftentimes besought [absolution], and no one paid him heed. For indeed he had sacrificed. And, falling sick, he continued for three successive days speechless and unconscious; but on the fourth he rallied a little, and calling his grandson to him, he said: [3] 'How long, my child, do ye hold me back? Haste ye, I pray, and grant me a speedy release; do thou summon me one of the presbyters.' [4] And having said this he again became speechless. The boy ran for the presbyter. But it was night, and he was unwell and could not come. Yet since I had given an order that those who were departing this life, if they besought it, and especially if they had made supplication before, should be absolved, that they might depart in hope, he gave the little boy a small portion of the eucharist, bidding him soak it and let it fall in drops down into the old man's mouth. [5] Back came the boy with it, and when he was near, before he entered, Serapion revived again and said, 'Hast thou come, child? The presbyter could not come, but do thou quickly what he bade thee, and let me depart.' The boy soaked it and at the same time poured it into his mouth, and when he had swallowed a little he straightway gave up the ghost. [6] Was it not plain that he was preserved and remained until he obtained release, that, with his sin blotted out, he might be acknowledged for all the good deeds he had done?"

XLV. [1] Such is the account of Dionysius. But let us see the kind of letter that the same person wrote also to Novatus, who was then disturbing the Roman brotherhood. Since, then, he put forward some of the brethren as an excuse for his defection and schism, as having been compelled by them to proceed to this length, see how Dionysius writes to him: "Dionysius to Novatianus a brother, greeting. If thou wast led on unwillingly, as thou sayest,

thou wilt prove it by retiring willingly. For a man ought to suffer anything and everything rather than divide the Church of God, and it were not less glorious to incur martyrdom to avoid schism than to avoid idolatry, nay, in my opinion it were more so. For in the one case a man is a martyr for the sake of his own single soul, but in the other for the sake of the whole Church. And if thou wert even now to persuade or compel the brethren to come to one mind, thy recovery will be greater than thy fall, and the one will not be reckoned, while the other will be praised. But if they obey thee not, and thou hast no power, by all means save thine own soul. I pray that thou mayest fare well and cleave to peace in the Lord.”

XLVI. [1] This also he wrote to Novatus. And he wrote also to the Egyptians a letter On Repentance, in which he has set forth his opinions with reference to those who had fallen, outlining degrees of failures. [2] And to Colon (he was bishop of the community of the Hermopolitans) a personal letter of his is extant On Repentance, and another in the nature of a rebuke to his flock at Alexandria. Among these there is also the letter written to Origen On Martyrdom; and to the brethren at Laodicea over whom Thelymidres presided as bishop; and he wrote to those in Armenia, likewise On Repentance, whose bishop was Meruzanes. [3] In addition to all these he wrote also to Cornelius of Rome, when he received his letter against Novatus, in which also he clearly indicates that he had been invited by Helenus, bishop at Tarsus in Cilicia, and the rest of the bishops with him, namely Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, to attend the synod at Antioch, where certain were attempting to strengthen the schism of Novatus. [4] Moreover he writes that he had received information that Fabius had fallen asleep, and that Demetrian was appointed his successor in the episcopate of Antioch. And he writes also with reference to the bishop of Jerusalem, saying in these very words: “For Alexander, that wonderful man, being put in prison, happily entered into his rest.”

[5] Next to this there is also another extant, a “diaconic” letter of Dionysius to those in Rome through Hippolytus. To the same people he composed another letter On Peace, and likewise On Repentance, and again another to the confessors there while they were still in agreement with the opinion of Novatus. And to these

same persons he wrote two more, after they had returned to the Church. And in his communications with many others, likewise by letter, he has left behind a varied source of profit to those who still to this day set store by his writings.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK VII

The Seventh Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following:

- I. On the evil disposition of Decius and Gallus.
- II. The bishops of Rome in their day.
- III. How Cyprian, along with the bishops on his side, was the first to hold the opinion that those who were turning from heretical error ought to be cleansed by baptism.
- IV. How many letters Dionysius composed on this subject.
- V. On the peace after the persecution.
- VI. On the heresy of Sabellius.
- VII. On the abominable error of the heretics and the God-sent vision of Dionysius, and the rule of the Church which he had received.
- VIII. On the heterodoxy of Novatus.
- IX. On the ungodly baptism of the heretics.
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- XI. On the things that then happened to Dionysius and those in Egypt.
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- XXVII. On the illustrious bishops who were well known at that time.
- XXVIII. How Paul was refuted and excommunicated.
- XXIX. On the perverse heterodoxy of the Manicheans, which began precisely at that time.
- XXX. On the distinguished churchmen of our own day, and which of them remained until the attack upon the churches.



# BOOK VII

[1] IN the composition of the seventh book of the Ecclesiastical History Dionysius, the great bishop of the Alexandrians, will again assist us in our task by his own words, indicating in turn each of the things that were done in his day, by means of the letters he has left behind. From that point of time my record will take its beginning.

I. When Decius had reigned for an entire period of less than two years, he was forthwith murdered along with his sons, and Gallus succeeded him. At this time Origen died, having completed the seventieth year save one of his life. Now when writing to Hermammon, Dionysius speaks as follows, with reference to Gallus: "But not even did Gallus recognize the fault [in the policy] of Decius, nor yet did he look to that which caused his fall, but he stumbled against the same stone that was before his eyes. For when his reign was prospering, and matters were going according to his mind, he drove away the holy men who were supplicating God for his peace and health. Therefore along with them he banished also their prayers on his behalf."

II. [1] So much, then, concerning him. But in the city of the Romans, when Cornelius brought his episcopate to an end after about three years, Lucius was appointed his successor; but he exercised his ministry for less than eight entire months, and dying transmitted his office to Stephen. To him Dionysius indited the first of his letters On Baptism, no small question having then arisen as to whether it were necessary to cleanse by means of baptism those who were turning from any heresy whatsoever. A custom, which was at any rate old, having prevailed in such cases to use only prayer with the laying on of hands, III. [1] Cyprian, pastor of the community at Carthage, was the first of those of his day to consider that they ought not to be admitted otherwise than by having been first cleansed from their error by baptism. But Stephen, thinking that they ought not to make any innovation contrary to the tradition that had prevailed from the beginning, was

full of indignation thereat. IV. [1] Dionysius, therefore, having communicated with him on this point at very great length in a letter, at its close shows that with the abatement of the persecution the churches everywhere, having now rejected the innovation of Novatus, had resumed peace among themselves. He writes thus: V. [1] "But know now, brother, that all the churches in the East and still further away, which were formerly divided, have been united, and all their presidents everywhere are of like mind, rejoicing above measure at the unexpected arrival of peace: Demetrian at Antioch, Theoctistus at Caesarea, Mazabanes at Aelia, Marinus at Tyre (Alexander having fallen asleep), Heliodorus at Laodicea (for Thelymidres has entered into his rest), Helenus at Tarsus and all the churches of Cilicia, Firmilian and all Cappadocia. For I name only the more eminent bishops, to avoid making my letter long and my discourse tedious. [2] Nevertheless, the Syrias as a whole and Arabia, which ye constantly help and to which ye have now written, and Mesopotamia and Pontus and Bithynia, and, in a word, all everywhere rejoice exceedingly in their concord and brotherly love, giving glory to God."

[3] Such is the account of Dionysius. But when Stephen had fulfilled his ministry for two years, he was succeeded by Xystus. To him Dionysius penned a second letter On Baptism, showing the opinion and decision both of Stephen and of the other bishops. About Stephen he speaks thus: [4] "Now he had written formerly with reference both to Helenus and Firmilian and all those from Cilicia and Cappadocia and, in fact, Galatia and all the provinces that border on these, to the effect that he would not hold communion in future with them either, for this same reason; since, says he, they rebaptize heretics. And look thou at the importance of the matter. [5] For decrees on this question have been actually passed in the largest synods of bishops, as I learn, so that those who come over from heresies are first placed under instruction, then washed and purged again from the filth of the old and impure leaven. And I wrote beseeching him on all these matters."

[6] And, after other remarks, he says: "And to our beloved fellow-presbyters also, Dionysius and Philemon, who had formerly been of the same opinion as Stephen and wrote [some letters] to me about the same matters, at first I wrote briefly, but now at

greater length.”

So much with regard to the question of which I am speaking. VI. [1] But when indicating in the same letter, with reference to the followers of the Sabellian heresy, that they were prevalent in his day, he speaks thus: “For as to the doctrine now set on foot at Ptolemais in the Pentapolis, an impious doctrine which contains great blasphemy concerning the Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and great unbelief as to His only-begotten Son, the firstborn of all creation, the Word who was made man, and which is without perception of the Holy Spirit,—when there came to me from both sides both documents and also the brethren who were ready to discuss the question, I wrote some letters, as I was able by the help of God, giving an exposition of the matter in a somewhat didactic manner; of which I send thee the copies.”

VII. [1] And in the third of those On Baptism, which the same Dionysius wrote to Philemon the Roman presbyter, he relates the following: “But as for me, I read both the compositions and the traditions of the heretics, polluting my soul for a little with their abominable thoughts, yet all the while deriving this advantage from them, that I could refute them for myself and loathed them far more. [2] And indeed a certain brother, one of the presbyters, attempted to dissuade and frighten me from becoming involved in the mire of their wickedness, for he said that I should injure my own soul; and said truly, as I perceived. [3] But a vision sent by God came and strengthened me, and a word of command was given me, saying expressly: ‘Read all things that may come to thy hand. For thou art able to sift and prove each matter; which thing was originally the cause of thy faith.’ I accepted the vision, as agreeing with the apostolic saying addressed to the stronger: ‘Show yourselves approved money-changers.’ “

[4] Then, making certain remarks about all the heresies, he goes on to say: “This rule and pattern I myself received from our blessed pope Heraclas. For those who came over from the heresies, although they had departed from the Church (or rather, had not even done that, but, while still reputed members of the congregation, were charged with frequenting some false teacher), he drove from the Church, and refused to listen to their entreaties until they publicly declared all that they had heard from ‘them that



oppose themselves,' and then he admitted them to the congregation, without requiring of them a second baptism. For they had formerly received the holy [baptism] from him."

[5] And again, after a protracted discussion of the question, he adds as follows: "I have learnt this also, that the Africans did not introduce this practice now for the first time, but that long before, in the days of the bishops that were before us, in the most populous churches and the synods of the brethren, in Iconium and Synnada and in many places, this course was adopted. And I do not dare to overturn their decisions and involve them in strife and contention. 'For thou shalt not remove,' he says, 'thy neighbor's landmarks, which thy fathers placed.' "

[6] The fourth of his letters on baptism was written to Dionysius of Rome, who at that time had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate, but not long afterwards received also the episcopate there. From it one may learn how that he too had witness paid him by Dionysius of Alexandria for his learning and admirable qualities. In the course of his letter to him he mentions the affair of Novatus in the following terms: VIII. [1] "For it is with good reason indeed that we feel enmity towards Novatian, who caused a division in the Church and drew away some of the brethren to impieties and blasphemies, and introduced as well most profane teaching about God, and falsely accuses our most compassionate Lord Jesus Christ of being without mercy; and above all this, he sets at naught the holy washing, and overturns the faith and confession that precede it, and entirely banishes the Holy Spirit from them, even though there was some hope of His remaining with or even returning to them."

IX. [1] And his fifth letter was written to Xystus, bishop of the Romans. In it, speaking much against the heretics, he sets forth the following thing that happened in his day, saying: "Of a truth, brother, I have need of counsel, and ask an opinion of thee. The following matter has come before me, and I am fearful lest after all I be mistaken. [2] Of the brethren who meet together for worship there is one, reckoned faithful, of long standing, a member of the congregation before my ordination, and, I think, before the appointment of the blessed Heraclas. Having been present with those who were recently being baptized, and having heard the

questions and answers, he came to me in tears, bewailing himself and falling before my feet; confessing and swearing that the baptism with which he had been baptized by the heretics, was not such as this and had nothing in common with it inasmuch as it had been full of impieties and blasphemies. [3] He said that he was now altogether pricked in heart and had not courage so much as to lift up his eyes to God, after beginning with those unholy words and deeds; and therefore he begged that he might receive this most pure cleansing and reception and grace. This I for my part did not dare to do, saying that his long-standing communion with us had been sufficient for this purpose. [4] For since he had heard the Thanksgiving and joined in saying the Amen, and stood beside the Table and stretched forth his hands to receive the holy food, and had received it and partaken of the Body and Blood of our Lord for a long time, I should not dare to build him up again from the beginning. But I kept exhorting him to be of good courage, and to approach for the participation of the holy things with firm faith and good hope. But he never ceases his lament, and shudders to approach the Table, [5] and scarcely, though invited, does he dare to take his stand with the consistentes at the prayers.”

[6] In addition to the above-mentioned letters, there is extant also another of his On Baptism, addressed by him and the community over which he ruled to Xystus and the church at Rome, in which with a long proof he gives a protracted discussion of the subject in question. And, after these, there is yet another letter of his extant, to Dionysius at Rome, that with reference to Lucian. So much for these matters.

X. [1] But to resume. Gallus and his associates held the principate for less than two entire years, and then were removed out of the way; and Valerian along with his son Gallienus succeeded to the government. [2] Once more we may learn from his letter to Hermammon the description that Dionysius gives of him also; in which he gives an account of the following kind: “And to John also it is likewise revealed: ‘And there was given to him,’ [3] says he, ‘a mouth speaking great things and blasphemy, and there was given to him authority and forty and two months.’ One may wonder at both of these things under Valerian, and of them note especially the nature of his previous conduct, how mild and

friendly he was to the men of God. For not a single one of the emperors before him was so kindly and favourably disposed towards them, not even those who were said to have been openly Christians, as he manifestly was, when he received them at the beginning in the most intimate and friendly manner; indeed all his house had been filled with godly persons, and was a church of God. [4] But the master and ruler of the synagogue of the Egyptian magicians persuaded him to get rid of them, bidding him slay and pursue the pure and holy men, as being rivals and hinderers of his abominable and disgusting incantations (for indeed they are and were capable by their presence and sight, and by merely breathing on them and uttering words, of scattering the designs of the baneful demons). And he advised him to perform unhallowed rites, and abominable juggleries and ill-omened sacrifices, such as cutting the throats of wretched boys and sacrificing children of hapless parents and opening up the entrails of new-born babes, and cutting up and mincing the handywork of God, as if all this would bring them divine favour.”

[5] And in addition he goes on to say: “Goodly at all events were the thank-offerings that Macrianus made to them for the Empire of his hopes. Formerly when he was regarded as minister over the imperial accounts as a whole, he displayed neither a reasonable nor a catholic mind. But he has fallen under the prophetic curse which says: ‘Woe unto them that prophesy from their heart, [6] and see not the whole.’ For he did not understand the universal Providence, nor did he suspect the judgement of Him who is before all and through all and over all. Therefore he has come to be at enmity with His Catholic Church, and so alienated and estranged himself from God’s mercy and banished himself as far as possible from his own salvation, in this proving true his name.”

[7] And again, after other remarks, he says: “For Valerian, being induced by him to this course of action, was given over to insults and reproaches, according to that which was said to Isaiah: ‘And these have chosen their own ways and abominations, in which their soul delighteth, and I will choose their mockings, and their sins I will recompense them.’ [8] Now this man, in his mad desire for the imperial rule of which he was not worthy, and unable to deck his maimed body with the imperial robes, put forward his two

sons, who thus received their father's sins. For in them was clearly fulfilled the prophecy that God spake: 'Visiting the sins of fathers upon children, until the third and fourth generation in them that hate me.' For his own evil desires, in [9] which he failed, he heaped upon the heads of his sons, and so wiped off on them his own wickedness and his hatred toward God."

This is the account given by Dionysius concerning Valerian. XI. [1] But with regard to the storm of persecution that raged fiercely in his day, what the same Dionysius, and others with him, underwent for their piety toward the God of the universe will be made plain by his own words which he wrote at length against Germanus, one of the bishops of his day who was attempting to defame him. He makes his statement in the following manner: [2] "But I am in danger of falling, in truth, into great foolishness and stupidity, being forced to the point of compulsion to recount the wonderful dispensation of God concerning us. But since 'it is good,' he says, 'to keep close the secret of a king, but glorious to reveal the works of God,' [3] I will join issue with the violence of Germanus. I came before Aemilianus, not alone, but there followed me my fellow-presbyter Maximus, and Faustus, Eusebius, Chaeremon, deacons; and one of the brethren who had come from Rome entered in along with us. And Aemilianus did not lead off with the words 'Do not hold assemblies.' [4] For that would have been superfluous for him to say, and the last thing [to be mentioned] by one who was going back to the very beginning. For his discourse was not about not assembling others, but about not being Christians ourselves, and from that he ordered me to desist, thinking that if I were to change, the others also would follow me. [5] But I gave a reply that was not inappropriate, nor far from 'We must obey God rather than men'; yea, I testified outright that I worship the only God and none other, nor would I change or ever cease to be a Christian. Thereupon he bade us depart to a village near the desert, called Cephro.

[6] "But hear the things themselves that were spoken on both sides, as they were placed on record: When Dionysius and Faustus and Maximus and Marcellus and Chaeremon were brought into court, Aemilianus, the deputy-prefect, said, ... And verbally I discoursed with you concerning the kindness that our

lords have displayed on your behalf. For they gave you the opportunity of safety if ye were willing to turn to that which is according to nature and worship the gods which preserve their Empire, [7] and forget those gods which are contrary to nature. What, therefore, say ye to these things? For I do not expect that ye will be ungrateful for their kindness, forasmuch as they urge you on to the better course.'

[8] "Dionysius replied: 'Not all men worship all gods, but each one certain whom he regards as such. We therefore both worship and adore the one God and Maker of all things, who also committed the Empire to the Augusti, most highly favoured of God, Valerian and Gallienus; and to Him we unceasingly pray for their Empire, that it may remain unshaken.'

[9] "Aemilianus, the deputy-prefect, said to them: 'And who prevents you from worshipping this god also, if he be a god, along with the natural gods? For ye were bidden to worship gods, and gods whom all know.'

"Dionysius replied: 'We worship no other God.'

[10] "Aemilianus, the deputy-prefect, said to them: 'I see that ye are at once ungrateful and insensible of the clemency of our Augusti. Wherefore ye shall not be in this city, but ye shall betake yourselves to the parts of Libya and [remain] in a place called Cephro. For this is the place I chose in accordance with the command of our Augusti. And it shall in no wise be permitted either to you or to any others either to hold assemblies or to enter the cemeteries, as they are called. If anyone be proved not to have gone to the place that I commanded, [11] or be found at any assembly, he will bring the peril upon himself, for there shall be no lack of the necessary observation. Be gone therefore whither ye were bidden.'

"And even though I was sick, he hurried me away without granting me a single day's respite. What spare time had I then remaining either for holding or not holding an assembly?"

[12] Then after other remarks he says: "But we did not abstain from even the visible assembling of ourselves with the Lord; nay, I strove the more earnestly to gather together those in the city, as if I were with them, 'being absent in body,' as he said, 'but present in spirit,' and at Cephro a large church also sojourned with us,

some brethren following us from the city, others joining us from Egypt. And there God opened unto us a door for the word. [13] And at first we were pursued, we were stoned, but afterwards not a few of the heathen left their idols and turned to God. Then for the first time was the word sown through our agency among those who had not formerly received it. [14] It was, as it were, for this that God took us away to them, and, when we had fulfilled this ministration, took us away again.

“For Aemilianus wished to remove us to rougher, as he thought, and more Libyan-like places, and he bade those [who were scattered] in every direction to stream together to the Mareotian [nome], assigning separate villages in the district for each party; but us he posted more on the road, so that we should be the first to be arrested. For he evidently was managing and arranging it, that, whenever he wished to seize us, he might find us all easy of capture. As for me, when I had been bidden to depart to Cephro, [15] I did not even know in what direction the place lay, scarcely having heard so much as the name before; nevertheless I departed with a good grace and made no disturbance. But when it was told me that I was to remove to the parts of Colluthion, those who were present know how I was affected (for here I shall be my own accuser): [16] at first I was vexed and exceedingly angry; for although the places happened to be better known and more familiar to us, yet it was affirmed that the district was without brethren or persons of good character, and exposed besides to annoyances of travellers and incursions of robbers. [17] But I found encouragement when the brethren reminded me that it was nearer the city, and that, while Cephro used to bring us much intercourse with brethren from Egypt, so that there was a wider area from which to gather a congregation, yet there, from the nearer position of the city, we should enjoy seeing more constantly those really beloved and most intimate and dear. They would come, they said, and stay the night, and, as in the more remote suburban districts, there would be sectional assemblies. And so it proved.”

[18] And, after other remarks with reference to what happened to him, he writes again as follows: “Many, to be sure, are the confessions on which Germanus prides himself, many the

happenings to his hurt of which he has to tell—even all the things that he can make a list of as regards us: sentences, confiscations, proscriptions, spoiling of possessions, losses of dignities, despisings of worldly glory, disdainings of commendations and the reverse from prefect and council, endurance of threats, outcries, perils, persecutions, wanderings, anguish and divers tribulations, such as happened to me under Decius and Sabinus, [19] up to the present time under Aemilianus. But where did Germanus appear? What talk was there about him? But I must cease from the great folly into which I am falling on account of Germanus; wherefore also I forbear to give in detail to the brethren who know them an account of the events.”

[20] The same Dionysius, in the letter also to Domitius and Didymus, mentions again the happenings of the persecution, as follows: “But it is superfluous to recount by name our people, since they are numerous and unknown to you. Only understand that men and women, both old men and lads, both girls and aged women, both soldiers and civilians, both every race and every age, some enduring scourgings and fire, others the sword, conquered in the fight and have received their crowns. [21] But in the case of some, a very long time was not sufficient to show them acceptable to the Lord, as indeed it is still seemingly not sufficient in my case; wherefore I have been put off, until that suitable time that He knows, by Him that saith: [22] ‘At an acceptable time I hearkened unto thee, and in a day of salvation did I succour thee.’ For since ye make inquiries as to our affairs and desire to be told how we pass our time, ye have heard of course how that when we were being led away prisoners by a centurion and duumvirs with their soldiers and servants—I and Gaius and Faustus and Peter and Paul—certain of the nome of Marea came up, dragged us by force and carried us away, against our will and in the face of our refusal to follow them. [23] And now I and Gaius and Peter only, bereft of the other brethren, have been shut up in a lonely, parched spot in Libya, a three-days journey from Paraetonium.”

[24] And a little further down he says: “But in the city there have concealed themselves, secretly visiting the brethren, of the presbyters Maximus, Dioscorus, Demetrius, Lucius. For those who are better known in the world, Faustinus and Aquila, are

wandering about in Egypt. As to the deacons, they who survived those that died in the island are Faustus, Eusebius, Chaeremon: that Eusebius, whom from the beginning God strengthened and prepared to render with all energy the services to the confessors that were in prison, and at no small risk to perform the task of laying out the corpses of the blessed and perfect martyrs. For even to this day the prefect does not cease from putting to a cruel death, as I have said before, [25] some of those who are brought before him, while others he mutilates with tortures, or allows to pine away in imprisonment and chains, giving his orders that no one is to go near them, and investigating whether any has been found so doing; nevertheless God gives some respite to those who are sorely pressed, through the zeal and steadfastness of the brethren.”

[26] Such is the account given by Dionysius. It should be observed, however, that Eusebius, whom he calls a deacon, shortly afterwards was appointed bishop of Laodicea in Syria; and Maximus, of whom he speaks as a presbyter then, succeeded Dionysius himself in his ministry to the brethren in Alexandria; but that Faustus, who along with him was distinguished at that time for his confession, was preserved until the persecution in our day, and, when quite an old man and full of days, was perfected by martyrdom in our own time, being beheaded.

XII. So it happened to Dionysius at that time. But during the persecution of Valerian, of which we are speaking, [1] three persons at Caesarea in Palestine, conspicuous for their confession of Christ, were adorned with a divine martyrdom, becoming food for wild beasts. Of these one was called Priscus, the second Malchus, and the name of the third was Alexander. It is said that these men, who were living in the country, at first reproached themselves for their carelessness and sloth, because instead of hastening to secure the crown of martyrdom, they were proving contemptuous of prizes, though the present opportunity was bestowing them upon such as yearned with a heavenly desire. But that when they had taken counsel thereon, they started for Caesarea, appeared before the judge and met the above-mentioned end. Moreover they relate that, besides these, a certain woman during the same persecution and in the same city endured



to the end a like conflict. But it is recorded that she belonged to the sect of Marcion.

XIII. [1] But not long afterwards Valerian underwent slavery at the hands of the barbarians, and his son, succeeding to the sole power, conducted the government with more prudence, and immediately by means of edicts put an end to the persecution against us. He granted free power to those who presided over the word to perform their accustomed duties, by a rescript which runs as follows: "The Emperor Caesar Publius Licinius Gallienus Pius Felix Augustus to Dionysius and Pinnas and Demetrius and the other bishops. I have given my order that the benefit of my bounty should be published throughout all the world, to the intent that they should depart from the places of worship, and therefore ye also may use the ordinance contained in my rescript, so that none may molest you. And this thing which it is within your power to accomplish has long since been conceded by me; and therefore Aurelius Quirinius, who is in charge of the Exchequer, will observe the ordinance given by me."

Let this, which for the sake of greater clearness was translated from the Latin, be inserted. And there is also extant another of the same emperor's ordinances, which he addressed to other bishops, giving them permission to recover the sites of the cemeteries, as they are called.

XIV. [1] At that time Xystus was still ruling the church of the Romans, Demetrian, who came after Fabius, the church at Antioch, and Firmilian at Caesarea in Cappadocia; and moreover Gregory and his brother Athenodore were ruling the churches of Pontus, pupils of Origen. As to Caesarea in Palestine, on the death of Theoctistus, Domnus succeeded to the episcopate, but after he had continued in office a short time Theotecnus, our contemporary, was appointed to succeed him. He also was of the school of Origen. But at Jerusalem, when Mazabanes had entered into his rest, Hymenaeus succeeded to the throne, the same who was distinguished for very many years in our day.

XV. [1] In the time of those persons, when the churches everywhere were at peace, a man at Caesarea in Palestine called Marinus, honoured by high rank in the army and distinguished besides by birth and wealth, was beheaded for his testimony to

Christ, [2] on the following account. There is a certain mark of honour among the Romans, the vine-switch, and those that obtain it become, it is said, centurions. A post was vacant, and according to the order of promotion Marinus was being called to this advancement. Indeed he was on the point of receiving the honour, when another stepped forward before the tribunal, and stated that in accordance with the ancient laws Marinus could not share in the rank that belonged to Romans, since he was a Christian and did not sacrifice to the emperors; but that the office fell to himself. And [it is said] that the judge (his name was Achaeus) was moved thereat, [3] and first of all asked what views Marinus held; and then, when he saw that he was stedfast in confessing himself a Christian, gave him a space of three hours for consideration.

[4] When he came outside the court Theotecnus, the bishop there, approached and drew him aside in conversation, and taking him by the hand led him forward to the church. Once inside, he placed him close to the altar itself, and raising his cloak a little, pointed to the sword with which he was girded; at the same time he brought and placed before him the book of the divine Gospels, and bade him choose which of the two he wished.

Without hesitation he stretched forth his right hand and took the divine book. "Hold fast then," said Theotecnus to him, "hold fast to God; and, strengthened by Him, mayest thou obtain that thou hast chosen. [5] Go in peace." As he was returning thence immediately a herald cried aloud, summoning him before the court of justice. For the appointed time was now over. Standing before the judge he displayed still greater zeal for the faith; and straightway, even as he was, was led away to death, and so was perfected.

XVI. [1] In that place Astyrius also is commemorated for the boldness which is dear to God. He was a member of the Roman Senate, a favourite of emperors, and well known to all both for birth and wealth. He was present with the martyr when he was being perfected, and raising the corpse upon his shoulder he placed it upon a splendid and costly robe, and laying it out with great magnificence gave it a fitting burial.

A great many other facts are mentioned about this man by his friends, who have survived to our day, and also the following wonderful event. XVII. At Caesarea Philippi, [1] which Phoenicians

call Paneas, it is said that on a certain festival a victim is thrown down among the springs that are shown there, on the slopes of the mountain called Paneion, from which the Jordan takes its source; and that it becomes invisible in some miraculous way through the demon's power, a circumstance, they say, that is looked upon by those present as a far-famed marvel. Now [the story goes] that once Astyrius was there when this was being done, and when he saw the multitude struck with amazement at the affair, in pity for their error he looked up toward heaven and besought God who is over all, through Christ, to confound the demon who was causing the people to err, and put an end to the deception of these men. And it is said that, when he had thus prayed, of a sudden the sacrifice floated on the surface of the springs; and thus their miracle came to an end, and no further marvel ever took place in connexion with that spot.

XVIII. [1] But since I have come to mention this city, I do not think it right to omit a story that is worthy to be recorded also for those that come after us. For they say that she who had an issue of blood, and who, as we learn from the sacred Gospels, found at the hands of our Saviour relief from her affliction, came from this place, and that her house was pointed out in the city, and that marvellous memorials of the good deed, [2] which the Saviour wrought upon her, still remained. For [they said] that there stood on a lofty stone at the gates of her house a brazen figure in relief of a woman, bending on her knee and stretching forth her hands like a suppliant, while opposite to this there was another of the same material, an upright figure of a man, clothed in comely fashion in a double cloak and stretching out his hand to the woman; at his feet on the monument itself a strange species of herb was growing, which climbed up to the border of the double cloak of brass, and acted as an antidote to all kinds of diseases. This statue, they said, bore the likeness of Jesus. [3] And it was in existence even to our day, so that we saw it with our own eyes when we stayed in the city. And there is nothing wonderful in the fact that those heathen, [4] who long ago had good deeds done to them by our Saviour, should have made these objects, since we saw the likenesses of His apostles also, of Paul and Peter, and indeed of Christ Himself, preserved in pictures painted in colours.

And this is what we should expect, for the ancients were wont, according to their pagan habit, to honour them as saviours, without reservation, in this fashion.

XIX. [1] Now the throne of James, who was the first to receive from the Saviour and the apostles the episcopate of the church at Jerusalem, who also, as the divine books show, was called a brother of Christ, has been preserved to this day; and by the honour that the brethren in succession there pay to it, they show clearly to all the reverence in which the holy men were and still are held by the men of old time and those of our day, because of the love shown them by God. So much for these matters.

XX. [1] But to resume. Dionysius, in addition to the letters of his that were mentioned, composed at that time also the festal letters which are still extant, in which he gives utterance to words specially suited to a solemn occasion with reference to the festival of the Pascha. Of these he addressed one to Flavius, another to Domitius and Didymus in which also he sets forth a canon based on a cycle of eight years, proving that it is not proper to celebrate the festival of the Pascha at any other time than after the vernal equinox. In addition to these he penned also another letter to his fellow-presbyters at Alexandria, and to others at the same time in different places. And these [he wrote] while the persecution was still proceeding.

XXI. [1] Peace had all but arrived, when he returned to Alexandria. But when faction and war broke out there once more, since it was not possible for him to discharge his oversight over all the brethren in the city, separated as they were into one or other part of the faction, he again at the festival of the Pascha communicated with them by letter, as if he were someone in a foreign country, from Alexandria itself. [2] And to Hierax, after this, a bishop of those in Egypt he writes another festal letter, mentioning in the following terms the faction prevailing among the Alexandrians in his day:

“But as for me, what wonder is it if I find it difficult to communicate even by letter with those who live at some distance, seeing that it has become impossible even for myself to converse with myself, or to take counsel with my own soul? [3] Certainly, I have need to write by letter to my very heart, that is, the brethren

that are of the same household and mind with me, and citizens of the same church; and there seems no possible way of getting this correspondence through. For it were easier for a man to pass, I do not say to a foreign country, but even from East to West, than to traverse Alexandria from Alexandria itself. [4] For the street that runs through the very centre of the city is harder to traverse and more impassable than that great and trackless desert through which Israel journeyed for two generations. And our calm and waveless harbours have become an image of the sea, which, split up and made into a wall on either side, they had for a carriage road, and in the highway the Egyptians were drowned; and from the murders that take place in them they oftentimes appeared like a Red Sea. [5] And the river that flows on past the city at one time appeared drier than the waterless desert, and more arid than that in whose crossing Israel so thirsted that Moses cried out, and there flowed to them, from Him who alone doeth wonders, [6] drink out of the rock of flint. At another time it overflowed to such an extent that it submerged the whole neighbourhood, both the roads and the fields, threatening to bring upon us the rush of waters that took place in the days of Noah. And always its course is defiled with blood and murders and drownings, such as it became for Pharaoh by the hand of Moses, [7] when it was turned to blood and stank. And what other water could there be to cleanse the water that cleanses all things? How could the great ocean that men cannot pass, if it were poured upon it, purge this horrid sea? Or how could the great river that goeth out of Eden, if it were to divert the four heads, into which it is parted, into one, [8] the Gihon, wash away the gore? Or when might the air, made foul by the vile exhalations on all sides, become pure? For such are the vapours that are given off from the land, winds from the sea, breezes from the rivers and mists from the harbours, that the dews are discharges from corpses rotting in all their constituent elements. [9] Yet men marvel and are at a loss as to whence come the constant plagues, whence the grievous diseases, whence the various forms of death, whence the manifold and great human mortality, why this greatest of cities no longer contains within it so great a multitude of inhabitants, from infant children up to those extremely advanced in years, as it used

formerly to support of those known as men of green old age! Nay, those of forty years old and up to seventy were then so numerous, that the full total of their number is not to be reached now, when those from fourteen to eighty years have been registered and reckoned together for the public food-ration; and the youngest in appearance have become of equal age, so to speak, with those who long ago were the oldest. [10] And though the human race upon earth is thus ever diminishing and consuming away before their eyes, they do not tremble, as its total disappearance draws nearer and nearer.”

XXII. [1] After this, when the war was followed by a pestilential disease, and the feast was at hand, he communicated once more by letter with the brethren, indicating the sufferings of the calamity, as follows:

[2] “To other men the present would not seem to be a time for festival, nor for them is this or any other time of such a nature; I speak not of times of mourning, but even of any time that might be thought especially joyful. Now indeed all is lamentation, and all men mourn, and wailings resound throughout the city because of the number of dead and of those that are dying day by day. For as it is written of the firstborn of the Egyptians, [3] so also it is now: ‘There was a great cry; for there is not a house where there is not one dead’: and would indeed that it were but one!

“For of a truth many and terrible were the things also that happened to us before this. [4] At first they drove us out, and alone we kept our festival at that time also, persecuted and put to death by all, and every single spot where we were afflicted became for us a place of festive assembly, field, desert, ship, inn, prison; but the brightest of all festivals was kept by the perfect martyrs, [5] when they feasted in heaven. And, after that, war and famine came upon us, which we bore along with the heathen. Alone we endured all the injuries they inflicted upon us, while we had the benefit besides of what they wrought upon each other and what they suffered: and we found our joy once more in the peace of Christ, which He has given to us alone. [6] But when the briefest breathing-space had been granted us and them, there descended upon us this disease, a thing that is to them more fearful than any other object of fear, more cruel than any calamity

whatsoever, and, as one of their own writers declared, 'the only thing of all that proved worse than what was expected.' Yet to us it was not so, but, no less than the other misfortunes, a source of discipline and testing. For indeed it did not leave us untouched, although it attacked the heathen with great strength."

[7] Following these remarks he adds as follows: "The most, at all events, of our brethren in their exceeding love and affection for the brotherhood were unsparing of themselves and clave to one another, visiting the sick without a thought as to the danger, assiduously ministering to them, tending them in Christ, and so most gladly departed this life along with them; being infected with the disease from others, drawing upon themselves the sickness from their neighbours, and willingly taking over their pains. And many, when they had cared for and restored to health others, died themselves, thus transferring their death to themselves, and then in very deed making good the popular saying, that always seems to be merely an expression of courtesy: [8] for 'in departing' they became 'their devoted servants.' In this manner the best at any rate of our brethren departed this life, certain presbyters and deacons and some of the laity, receiving great commendation, so that this form of death seems in no respect to come behind martyrdom, being the outcome of much piety and strong faith. So, too, [9] the bodies of the saints they would take up in their open hands to their bosom, closing their eyes and shutting their mouths, carrying them on their shoulders and laying them out; they would cling to them, embrace them, bathe and adorn them with their burial clothes, and after a little receive the same services themselves, for those that were left behind were ever following those that went before. [10] But the conduct of the heathen was the exact opposite. Even those who were in the first stages of the disease they thrust away, and fled from their dearest. They would even cast them in the roads half-dead, and treat the unburied corpses as vile refuse, in their attempts to avoid the spreading and contagion of the death-plague; a thing which, for all their devices, it was not easy for them to escape."

[11] And also after this letter, when peace reigned in the city, he once more sent a festal letter to the brethren in Egypt, and following this he again indited others. And there is extant, also, a

certain letter of his on the Sabbath, and another on Exercise.

[12] Communicating by a letter again with Hermammon and the brethren in Egypt, he recounts in full many other things about the wickedness of Decius and his successors, and mentions the peace under Gallienus. XXIII. [1] But there is nothing like hearing the nature of these happenings also.

“He then, after inciting one of his emperors and attacking the other, of a sudden disappeared altogether, root and branch with all his family, and Gallienus was proclaimed and acknowledged by all, being at once an old and a new emperor, for he was before and came after them; [2] for in accordance with that which was spoken to the prophet Isaiah: ‘Behold, the former things are come to pass, and new things which shall now spring forth.’ For as when a cloud speeds underneath the rays of the sun, and for a short time screens and darkens it, and appears instead of it, but when the cloud passes by or is melted away, the sun that shone before again shines forth and once more appears; so Macrianus, after coming forward and getting for himself access to the imperial power that belonged to Gallienus, is no more, since indeed he never was, while Gallienus is like as he was before; [3] and the monarchy has, as it were, put aside its old age and cleansed itself from its former wickedness, and now blossoms forth in fuller bloom, is seen and heard more widely and spreads abroad everywhere.”

[4] Then, following on this, he indicates also the time at which he wrote this, in these words: “And it occurs to me once more to observe the days of the imperial years. For I perceive that those wicked persons, though they were named with honour, after a short time have become nameless; while he, who is holier and filled with more love to God, has passed the period of seven years, and is now completing a ninth year, in which let us keep the feast.”

XXIV. [1] Besides all these, the two treatises On Promises were also composed by him. The occasion was supplied him by the teaching of Nepos, a bishop of those in Egypt, that the promises which had been made to the saints in the divine Scriptures should be interpreted after a more Jewish fashion, and his assumption that there will be a kind of millennium on this earth devoted to



bodily indulgence. [2] Thinking, for example, to establish his own peculiar opinion from the Apocalypse of John, he composed a certain book on the subject and entitled it Refutation of the Allegorists. [3] Dionysius attacked him in the books On Promises, in the first of which he sets out the view that he himself held with regard to the doctrine, and in the second treats of the Apocalypse of John. There, at the beginning, he mentions Nepos, writing as follows about him: [4] “But since they bring forward a certain composition of Nepos, on which they rely greatly as proving indisputably that the kingdom of Christ will be on earth, let me say that in many other respects I approve and love Nepos, for his faith and devotion to work, his diligent study of the Scriptures and his abundant psalmody, by which many of the brethren have till this day been cheered; and I am full of respectful regard for the man, all the more for that he has gone to his rest already. But truth is dear and to be honoured above all things, and one must give ungrudging praise and assent to whatever is stated rightly, but examine and correct whatever appears to be unsoundly written. [5] And if he were present and putting forward his opinions merely in words, conversation, without writing, would be sufficient, persuading and instructing by question and answer ‘them that oppose themselves.’ But when a book is published, which some think most convincing, and when certain teachers, who consider the law and the prophets of no value and disregard the following of the Gospels and depreciate the epistles of the apostles, yet make promises concerning the teaching of this treatise as if it were some great and hidden mystery, and do not suffer the simpler of our brethren to have high and noble thoughts, either about the glorious and truly divine appearing of our Lord, or of our resurrection from the dead and our gathering together and being made like unto Him, but persuade them to hope for what is petty and mortal and like the present in the kingdom of God—then we also are compelled to argue with Nepos our brother as if he were present.”

[6] After other remarks he adds as follows: “Now when I came to the nome of Arsinoë, where, as thou knowest, this doctrine had long been prevalent, so that schisms and defections of whole churches had taken place, I called together the presbyters and

teachers of the brethren in the villages (there were present also such of the brethren as wished), and I urged them to hold the examination of the question publicly. [7] And when they brought me this book as some invincible weapon and rampart, I sat with them and for three successive days from morn till night attempted to correct what had been written. [8] On that occasion I conceived the greatest admiration for the brethren, their firmness, love of truth, facility in following an argument, and intelligence, as we propounded in order and with forbearance the questions, the difficulties raised and the points of agreement; on the one hand refusing to cling obstinately and at all costs (even though they were manifestly wrong) to opinions once held; and on the other hand not shirking the counter-arguments, but as far as possible attempting to grapple with the questions in hand and master them. Nor, if convinced by reason, were we ashamed to change our opinions and give our assent; but conscientiously and unfeignedly and with hearts laid open to God we accepted whatever was established by the proofs and teachings of the holy Scriptures. [9] And in the end the leader and introducer of this teaching, Coracion, as he was called, in the hearing of all the brethren present, assented, and testified to us that he would no longer adhere to it, nor discourse upon it, nor mention nor teach it, since he had been sufficiently convinced by the contrary arguments. And as to the rest of the brethren, some rejoiced at the joint conference, and the mutual deference and unanimity which all displayed....”

XXV. [1] Then, in due course, lower down he speaks thus, with reference to the Apocalypse of John: “Some indeed of those before our time rejected and altogether impugned the book, examining it chapter by chapter and declaring it to be unintelligible and illogical, [2] and its title false. For they say that it is not John’s, no, nor yet an apocalypse (unveiling), since it is veiled by its heavy, thick curtain of un-intelligibility; and that the author of this book was not only not one of the apostles, nor even one of the saints or those belonging to the Church, but Cerinthus, the same who created the sect called “Cerinthian” after him, since he desired to affix to his own forgery a name worthy of credit. [3] For that this was the doctrine which he taught, that the kingdom of

Christ would be on earth; and he dreamed that it would consist in those things which formed the object of his own desires (for he was a lover of the body and altogether carnal), in the full satisfaction of the belly and lower lusts, that is, in feasts and carousals and marriages, and (as a means, he thought, of procuring these under a better name) in festivals and sacrifices and slayings of victims. But for my part I should not dare to reject the book, [4] since many brethren hold it in estimation; but, reckoning that my perception is inadequate to form an opinion concerning it, I hold that the interpretation of each several passage is in some way hidden and more wonderful. For even although I do not understand it, yet I suspect that some deeper meaning underlies the words. For I [5] do not measure and judge these things by my own reasoning, but, assigning to faith the greater value, I have come to the conclusion that they are too high for my comprehension, and I do not reject what I have not understood, but I rather wonder that I did not indeed see them.”

[6] Moreover, after closely examining the whole book of the Apocalypse and demonstrating that it cannot be understood in the literal sense, he adds as follows: “After completing the whole, one might say, of his prophecy, the prophet calls those blessed who observe it, and indeed himself also; for he says: ‘Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I John, he that saw and heard these things.’ [7] That, then, he was certainly named John and that this book is by one John, I will not gainsay; for I fully allow that it is the work of some holy and inspired person. But I should not readily agree that he was the apostle, the son of Zebedee, the brother of James, whose are the Gospel entitled According to John and the Catholic Epistle. For I form my judgement from the character of each and from the nature of the language and from what is known as the general construction of the book, [8] that [the John therein mentioned] is not the same. For the evangelist nowhere adds his name, nor yet proclaims himself, throughout either the Gospel or the Epistle.”

[9] Then lower down he again speaks thus: “... But John nowhere, either in the first or the third person. But he who wrote the Apocalypse at the very beginning puts himself forward: ‘The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which he gave him to show unto his

servants quickly, and he sent and signified it by his angel unto his servant John; who bare witness of the word of God and his testimony, even of all things that he saw.' Then he also writes an epistle: 'John to the seven churches which are in Asia; [10] Grace to you and peace.' But the evangelist did not write his name even at the beginning of the Catholic Epistle, but without anything superfluous began with the mystery itself of the divine revelation: 'That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes.' It was in respect of this revelation that the Lord also called Peter blessed, saying: 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jonah: for [11] flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my heavenly Father.' Nay, not even in the second or third extant epistles of John, although they are short, is John set forth by name; but he has written 'the elder,' without giving his name. But this writer did not even consider it sufficient, having once mentioned his name, to narrate what follows, but he takes up his name again: 'I John, your brother and partaker with you in the tribulation and kingdom and in the patience of Jesus, was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus.' Moreover at the close he speaks thus: 'Blessed is he that keepeth the words of the prophecy of this book, and I John, he that saw and heard these things.'

[12] "That the writer of these words, therefore, was John, one must believe, since he says it. But what John, is not clear. For he did not say that he was, as is frequently said in the Gospel, the disciple loved by the Lord, nor he which leaned back on His breast, nor the brother of James, nor the eye-witness and hearer of the Lord. [13] For he would have mentioned some one of these aforesaid epithets, had he wished to make himself clearly known. Yet he makes use of none of them, but speaks of himself as our brother and partaker with us, and a witness of Jesus, and blessed in seeing and hearing the revelations. [14] I hold that there have been many persons of the same name as John the apostle, who for the love they bore him, and because they admired and esteemed him and wished to be loved, as he was, of the Lord, were glad to take also the same name after him; just as Paul, [15] and for that matter Peter too, is a common name among boys of

believing parents. So then, there is also another John in the Acts of the Apostles, whose surname was Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul took with themselves, concerning whom also the Scripture says again: 'And they had also John as their attendant.' But as to whether it were he who was the writer, I should say No. For it is written that he did not arrive in Asia along with them, but 'having set sail, the Scripture says, from Paphos Paul and his company came to Perga in Pamphylia; and John departed from them and returned to Jerusalem.' But I think that there was a certain other [John] among those that were in Asia, [16] since it is said both that there were two tombs at Ephesus, and that each of the two is said to be John's.

[17] "And from the conceptions too, and from the terms and their arrangement, one might naturally assume that this writer was a different person from the other. For there is indeed a mutual agreement between the Gospel and the Epistle, and they begin alike. [18] The one says: 'In the beginning was the Word'; the other: 'That which was from the beginning.' The one says: 'And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only-begotten from the Father)'; the other, the same words slightly changed: 'That which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life; and the life was manifested.' For these words he employs as a prelude, since he is aiming, [19] as he shows in what follows, at those who were asserting that the Lord had not come in the flesh. Therefore he was careful also to add: 'And that which we have seen, we bear witness, and declare unto you the life, the eternal life, which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us; that which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you also.' He is consistent with himself and does not depart from what he has proposed, [20] but proceeds throughout under the same heads and expressions, certain of which we shall mention concisely. But the attentive reader will find frequently in one and the other 'the life,' [21] 'the light,' 'turning from darkness'; continually 'the truth,' 'the grace,' 'the joy' 'the flesh and blood of the Lord,' 'the judgement,' 'the forgiveness of sins,' 'the love of God toward us,' the 'commandment' that we should 'love one another,' that we should

'keep all the commandments'; the 'conviction' of 'the world,' of 'the devil,' of 'the antichrist'; the promise of the Holy Spirit; the adoption of the sons of God; the 'faith' that is demanded of us throughout; 'the Father' and 'the Son': these are to be found everywhere. In a word, it is obvious that those who observe their character throughout will see at a glance that the Gospel and Epistle have one and the same complexion. [22] But the Apocalypse is utterly different from, [23] and foreign to, these writings; it has no connexion, no affinity, in any way with them; it scarcely, so to speak, has even a syllable in common with them. Nay more, neither does the Epistle (not to speak of the Gospel) contain any mention or thought of the Apocalypse, nor the Apocalypse of the Epistle, whereas Paul in his epistles gave us a little light also on his revelations, which he did not record separately.

[24] "And further, by means of the style one can estimate the difference between the Gospel and Epistle and the Apocalypse. [25] For the former are not only written in faultless Greek, but also show the greatest literary skill in their diction, their reasonings, and the constructions in which they are expressed. There is a complete absence of any barbarous word, or solecism, or any vulgarism whatever. For their author had, as it seems, both kinds of word, by the free gift of the Lord, the word of knowledge and the word of speech. But I will not deny that the other writer had seen revelations and received knowledge and prophecy; [26] nevertheless I observe his style and that his use of the Greek language is not accurate, but that he employs barbarous idioms, in some places committing downright solecisms. [27] These there is no necessity to single out now. For I have not said these things in mockery (let no one think it), but merely to establish the dissimilarity of these writings."

XXVI. [1] In addition to these letters of Dionysius there are extant also many others, as for example those against Sabellius to Ammon bishop of the church at Bernice, and that to Telesphorus, and that to Euphranor and Ammon again and Euporus. And he composed on the same subject also four other treatises, which he addressed to his namesake at Rome, Dionysius. And we have many letters of his besides these, [2] and moreover lengthy books

written in epistolary form, such as those on Nature, addressed to Timothy his boy, and that on Temptations, which also he dedicated to Euphranor. In addition to these, in writing also to Basilides, bishop of the communities in the Pentapolis, [3] he says that he himself had written an exposition of the beginning of Ecclesiastes; and he has left behind for our benefit various other letters addressed to this person.

So much for Dionysius. But come now, after recording these things, let us hand down for the information of posterity the character of our own generation. XXVII. [1] When Xystus had presided over the church of the Romans for eleven years, he was succeeded by Dionysius, namesake of him of Alexandria. At this time also, when Demetrian had departed this life at Antioch, Paul of Samosata received the episcopate. [2] As this person espoused low and mean views as to Christ, contrary to the Church's teaching, namely, that He was in His nature an ordinary man, Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to attend the synod, but, pleading as his excuse both old age and bodily weakness, he postponed his coming, and furnished by letter the opinion that he held on the subject in question. But the rest of the pastors of the churches, from various quarters, all hastened to Antioch, and assembled as against a spoiler of the flock of Christ.

XXVIII. [1] Among those who were the most distinguished were Firmilian, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; the brothers Gregory and Athenodore, pastors of the communities in Pontus; and in addition to these, Helenus, [bishop] of the community at Tarsus, and Nicomas, of the community at Iconium; nor must we omit Hymenaeus, of the church at Jerusalem, and Theotecnus, of this neighbouring church of Caesarea; and moreover there was Maximus also, who was ruling with distinction the brethren at Bostra; and one would not be at a loss to reckon up countless others, together with presbyters and deacons, who were gathered together in the above-mentioned city for the same cause. But these were the most famous among them. [2] When all, then, were coming together frequently on different occasions, arguments and questions were mooted at each meeting, the Samosatene and his party attempting to keep still concealed and to cloak what was heterodox, while the others were earnestly

engaged in laying bare and bringing into the open his heresy and blasphemy against Christ.

[3] At that time Dionysius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus, having presided in the episcopate at Alexandria for seventeen years. He was succeeded by Maximus.

[4] Gallienus having held the principate for fifteen entire years, Claudius was established as his successor.

When he had completed his second year, he gave over the government to Aurelian. XXIX. [1] In Aurelian's day a final synod of an exceedingly large number of bishops was assembled, and the leader of the heresy at Antioch, being unmasked and now clearly condemned of heterodoxy by all, was excommunicated from the Catholic Church under heaven. The person foremost in calling him to account and in utterly refuting his attempts at concealment was Malchion, [2] a learned man, who also was head of a school of rhetoric, one of the Greek educational establishments at Antioch; and, moreover, for the surpassing sincerity of his faith in Christ he had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate of that community. In fact, this man had stenographers to take notes as he held a disputation with Paul, which we know to be extant even to this day; and he, alone of them all, was able to unmask that crafty and deceitful person.

XXX. [1] The pastors, then, who had been assembled together, indited unanimously a single letter personally to Dionysius, bishop of Rome, and Maximus, of Alexandria, and sent it throughout all the provinces. In it they make manifest to all their zeal, and also the perverse heterodoxy of Paul, as well as the arguments and questions that they addressed to him; and moreover they describe the man's whole life and conduct. From which, by way of memorial, it may be well on the present occasion to give an account of these their utterances.

[2] "To Dionysius and Maximus and to all our fellow-ministers throughout the world, bishops, presbyters and deacons, and to the whole Catholic Church under heaven, Helenus and Hymenaeus and Theophilus and Theotecnus and Maximus, Proclus, Nicomas and Aelianus and Paul and Bolanus and Protogenes and Hierax and Euty chius and Theodore and Malchion and Lucius and all the others who, with us, sojourn in the adjacent cities and provinces,



bishops and presbyters and deacons and the churches of God, as to brethren beloved in the Lord send greeting.”

[3] A little further on they proceed thus: “And we wrote inviting many even of the bishops at a distance to come and heal this deadly doctrine, as for example, both Dionysius at Alexandria and Firmilian of Cappadocia, those blessed men. The former of these wrote to Antioch, [not to the bishop,] neither deeming the leader of the heresy worthy of being addressed nor writing to him personally, but to the whole community; of which letter also we subjoin a copy. [4] Firmilian, on the other hand, even came twice, and condemned Paul’s new-fangled ideas, as we who were present know and bear witness, and many others know as well; but, on his promising to change, he adjourned the [proceedings], hoping and believing that the matter would be fittingly concluded without any reproach to the Word; for he was deceived by him who both denied his God and Lord, and also did not preserve the faith that he himself formerly held. [5] And Firmilian was now again on his way to cross over to Antioch, and had got as far as Tarsus, for he had had experience of the villainy of this denier of God. But while we had come together and were actually calling him and awaiting his arrival, in the midst of it all he reached life’s end.”

[6] Again, after other remarks they describe the manner of his life, in the following terms: “But whereas he departed from the canon [of truth], and has turned aside to spurious and bastard doctrines, we are under no obligation to judge the actions of him that is without, [7] not even because, though he was formerly poor and penniless, neither having received a livelihood from his fathers nor having got it from a trade or any occupation, he has now come to possess abundant wealth, as a result of lawless deeds and sacrilegious plunderings and extortions exacted from the brethren by threats; for he deprives the injured of their rights, and promises to help them for money, yet breaks his word with these also, and with a light heart makes his harvest out of the readiness of persons engaged in lawsuits to make an offer, for the sake of being rid of those that trouble them; seeing that he considers that godliness is a way of gain. [8] Neither [do we judge him] because he sets his mind on high things and is lifted up, clothing himself with wordly honours and wishing to be called

ducenarius rather than bishop, and struts in the market-places, reading and dictating letters as he walks in public, and attended by a bodyguard, some preceding, some following, and that too in numbers: with the result that the faith is ill thought of and hated because of his conceit and the overweening pride of his heart. [9] Nor [do we judge] the quackery in church assemblies that he devises, courting popularity and posing for appearance' sake, and thus astonishing the minds of the simpler folk, with the tribunal and lofty throne that he prepared for himself, not befitting a disciple of Christ, and the secretum which, in imitation of the rulers of the world, he has and so styles. Also, he smites his hand on his thigh and stamps the tribunal with his feet; and those who do not applaud or wave their handkerchiefs, as in a theatre, or shout out and jump up in the same way as do the men and wretched women who are his partizans and hearken in this disorderly fashion, but who listen, as in God's house, with orderly and becoming reverence,—these he rebukes and insults. And towards the interpreters of the Word who have departed this life he behaves in an insolent and ill-bred fashion in the common assembly, and brags about himself as though he were not a bishop but a sophist and charlatan. And as to psalms, he put a stop to those addressed to our Lord Jesus Christ, [10] on the ground that they are modern and the compositions of modern men, but he trains women to sing hymns to himself in the middle of the church on the great day of the Pascha, which would make one shudder to hear. Such also is the kind of discourse that he permits the bishops of the neighbouring country and towns, who fawn upon him, and the presbyters as well, to deliver in their sermons to the people. [11] For he is not willing to acknowledge with us that the Son of God has come down from heaven (to anticipate something of what we are about to write; and this will not be merely asserted, but is proved from many passages of the notes that we send, and not least where he says that Jesus Christ is from below); while they who sing psalms to him and utter his praises in the congregation say that their impious teacher has come down an angel from heaven. And he does not prevent this, but is even present when such things are said, arrogant fellow that he is. [12] And as to the subintroductae, as the Antiochenes call them, his own and those

of the presbyters and deacons in his company, with whom he joins in concealing both this and the other incurable sins (though he knows of, and has convicted, them), that he may have them under obligation to him, and that they may not dare, through fear for themselves, to accuse him of his misdemeanours in word and deed; yea, he has even made them rich, [13] for which cause he is the beloved and admired of those who affect such conduct—why should we write of these things? But we know, beloved, that the bishop and the priesthood as a whole should be a pattern to the people of all good works; and we are not ignorant of this: how many have fallen through procuring subintroductae for themselves, while others are under suspicion; so that even if it be granted that he does nothing licentious, yet he ought at least to guard against the suspicion that arises from such a practice, lest he cause someone to stumble, and induce others also to imitate him. For how could he rebuke another, [14] or counsel him not to consort any further with a woman and so guard against a slip, as it is written, seeing that he has sent one away already, and has two in his company in the flower of youth and beauty, and even if he go away anywhere, he brings them around with him, living all the while in luxury and surfeiting? [15] Wherefore, though all groan and lament in private, so fearful have they become of his tyranny and power, that they dare not accuse him. Yet, as we have said before, [16] one might call to account for these matters a man who has at any rate a catholic mind and is numbered along with us; but as for one who burlesqued the mystery, and strutted about in the abominable heresy of Artemas (for why should we not bring ourselves to declare his father?)—from such a one we think that we are under no obligation to demand a reckoning for these things.”

[17] Then at the close of the letter they add as follows: “We were compelled therefore, as he opposed himself to God and refused to yield, to excommunicate him, and appoint another bishop in his stead for the Catholic Church [choosing] by the providence of God, as we are persuaded, Domnus the son of the blessed Demetrian, who formerly presided with distinction over the same community; he is adorned with all the noble qualities suitable for a bishop, and we notify [this his appointment] unto you

that ye may write to him, and from him receive letters of communion. But let this fellow write to Artemas, and let those who side with Artemas hold communion with him.”

[18] When Paul, then, had fallen from the episcopate as well as from his orthodoxy in the faith, Domnus, as has been said, succeeded to the ministry of the church at Antioch. [19] But as Paul refused on any account to give up possession of the church-building, the emperor Aurelian, on being petitioned, gave an extremely just decision regarding the matter, ordering the assignment of the building to those with whom the bishops of the doctrine in Italy and Rome should communicate in writing. Thus, then, was the aforesaid man driven with the utmost indignity from the church by the ruler of this world.

[20] Such indeed was the disposition of Aurelian towards us at that time. But as his reign advanced, he changed his mind with regard to us, and was now being moved by certain counsels to stir up persecution against us; and there was great talk about this on all sides. But as he was just on the point of so doing and was putting, [21] one might almost say, his signature to the decrees against us, the divine Justice visited him, and pinioned his arms, so to speak, to prevent his undertaking. Thus it was clearly shown for all to see that the rulers of this world would never find it easy to proceed against the churches of Christ, unless the hand which champions us were to permit this to be done, as a divine and heavenly judgement to chasten and turn us, at whatsoever times it should approve. At all events, when Aurelian had reigned for six years, [22] he was succeeded by Probus. He held the government for something like the same number of years, and Carus with his sons Carinus and Numerianus succeeded him; and when they in their turn had remained in office for not three entire years, the government devolved on Diocletian and on those who were brought in after him; and under them was accomplished the persecution of our day and the destruction of the churches therein.

[23] But a short time before this, Felix succeeded in the ministry Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who had completed nine years.

XXXI. [1] At that time also the madman, named after his devil-possessed heresy, was taking as his armour mental delusion; for the devil, that is Satan himself, the adversary of God, had put the

man forward for the destruction of many. His very speech and manners proclaimed him a barbarian in mode of life, and, being by nature devilish and insane, he suited his endeavours thereto and attempted to pose as Christ: at one time giving out that he was the Paraclete and the Holy Spirit Himself, conceited fool that he was, as well as mad; at another time choosing, as Christ did, twelve disciples as associates in his new-fangled system. [2] In short, he stitched together false and godless doctrines that he had collected from the countless, long-extinct, godless heresies, and infected our empire with, as it were, a deadly poison that came from the land of the Persians; and from him the profane name of Manichaeism is still commonly on men's lips to this day. Such, then, was the foundation on which rested this knowledge which is falsely so called, which sprang up at the time we have mentioned.

XXXII. [1] At that time Felix, who had presided over the church of the Romans for five years, was succeeded by Eutychianus. This person did not survive for even ten entire months; he left the office to Gaius our contemporary. And when he had presided for about fifteen years, Marcellinus was appointed his successor, the same whom the persecution has overtaken.

[2] In the time of these persons, in succession to Domnus, Timaeus was in charge of the episcopate of Antioch, whom our contemporary Cyril succeeded. During Cyril's episcopate we came to know Dorotheus, a learned man, who had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate at Antioch. In his zeal for all that is beautiful in divine things, [3] he made so careful a study of the Hebrew tongue that he read with understanding the original Hebrew Scriptures. And he was by no means unacquainted with the most liberal studies and Greek primary education; but withal he was by nature a eunuch, having been so from his very birth, so that even the emperor, accounting this as a sort of miracle, [4] took him into his friendship and honoured him with the charge of the purple dye-works at Tyre. We heard him giving a measured exposition of the Scriptures in the church.

After Cyril, Tyrannus succeeded to the episcopate of the community of the Antiochenes, in whose day the attack upon the churches was at its height.

[5] After Socrates as head of the community at Laodicea came

Eusebius, being a native of the city of Alexandria. The reason of his migration was the affair of Paul. For when he had come to Syria on business connected with Paul, he was prevented from returning home by those who had divine things at heart. He was a goodly example of piety among our contemporaries, as it will be easy to discover from the expressions of Dionysius quoted above. Anatolius was appointed his successor, [6] one good man, as they say, following another. He also was by race an Alexandrian, who for his learning, secular education and philosophy had attained the first place among our most illustrious contemporaries; inasmuch as in arithmetic and geometry, in astronomy and other sciences, whether of logic or of physics, and in the arts of rhetoric as well, he had reached the pinnacle. It is recorded that because of these attainments the citizens there deemed him worthy to establish the school of the Aristotelian tradition at Alexandria. Now countless other of his deeds of prowess are related during the siege of the Piruceum at Alexandria, [7] seeing that he was deemed worthy by all of an extraordinary privilege among the officials; but as an example I shall make mention of the following one only. It is said that when the wheat failed the besieged, [8] so that hunger was now a more intolerable thing than their enemies without, the person of whom we are speaking, being present, adopted the following device. The other part of the city was fighting in alliance with the Roman army, and thus was not besieged. Among these latter was Eusebius (for it is said that he was still there at that time before his migration to Syria), who had won so great fame and so widespread a reputation that it reached the ears even of the Roman general. To him Anatolius sent, and informed him as to those that were perishing of hunger in the siege. When he learnt it, he asked the Roman commander as a very great favour to grant safety to deserters from the enemy; [9] and having obtained his request acquainted Anatolius of the fact. The moment Anatolius received the promise, he assembled a council of the Alexandrians, and at first requested all to extend the right hand of fellowship to the Romans. But when he perceived that they were getting angry at the proposal, "At any rate," said he, "I do not think you would contradict me if I were to counsel that those who were superfluous and in no wise useful to us ourselves, old women and

young children and old men, should be permitted to go outside the gates whithersoever they wish. Why keep we these persons with us to no purpose, seeing they are all but on the point of death? Why destroy we with hunger the maimed and crippled in body, when we should support only men and youths, and husband the necessary wheat for such as are required to guard the city?" [10] With some such arguments he persuaded the assembly, and was the first to rise and give his vote that the whole body of those who were not required for the army, whether men or women, should depart from the city, because were they to remain and uselessly stay therein, there would be no hope of safety for them, since they would perish with hunger. [11] And when all the rest of those in the assembly assented to this proposal, he went within a little of saving the whole of them that were besieged; he took care that first of all those belonging to the Church, and then the rest remaining in the city, of all ages, should escape, not only those who came under the terms of the vote, but also great numbers of others, passing themselves off as such, who secretly donned women's attire, and by his management left the gates by night and hastened to the Roman army. Eusebius was there to receive them all, and, like a father and physician, restore them, in evil plight after their long siege, with every kind of forethought and attention. [12] Such were the two pastors that the church of Laodicea was deemed worthy to have successively, who by divine providence, after the above-mentioned war, had left the city of the Alexandrians to come there. [13] Not a very great many works, indeed, were composed by Anatolius, but enough have reached us to enable us to perceive both his eloquence and his great erudition. In these works he especially presents his opinions with reference to the Pascha; from which it may be necessary on the present occasion to give the following passage.

From the Canons of Anatolius on the Pascha.

[14] "It has therefore in the first year the new moon of the first month, which is the beginning of the whole nineteen-year cycle, on the 26th of Phamenoth according to the Egyptians, but according to the months of the Macedonians the 22nd of Dystrus, or, [15] as the Romans would say, the 11th before the Kalends of April. The sun is found on the aforesaid 26th of Phamenoth not

only to have arrived at the first sign of the zodiac, but already to be passing through the fourth day within it. This sign is commonly called the first of the twelve divisions and the equinoctial [sign] and the beginning of months and head of the cycle and the starting-point of the planetary course. But the preceding sign is the last of the months and the twelfth sign and the last of the twelve divisions and the end of the planetary circuit. Therefore we say that they who place the first month in it, and determine the fourteenth day of the Pascha accordingly, [16] are guilty of no small or ordinary mistake. And this is not our own statement, but the fact was known to the Jews, those of old time even before Christ, and it was carefully observed by them. One may learn it from what is said by Philo, Josephus and Musaeus, and not only by them but also by those of still more ancient date, the two Agathobuli, surnamed the Masters of Aristobulus the Great. He was reckoned among the Seventy who translated the sacred and divine Hebrew Scriptures for Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father; and he dedicated books exegetical of the Law of Moses to the same kings. These writers, when they resolve the questions relative to the Exodus, [17] say that all equally ought to sacrifice the passover after the vernal equinox, at the middle of the first month; and that this is found to occur when the sun is passing through the first sign of the solar, or, as some have named it, the zodiacal cycle. And Aristobulus adds that at the feast of the passover it is necessary that not only the sun should be passing through an equinoctial sign, but the moon also. For as the equinoctial signs are two, the one vernal, [18] the other autumnal, diametrically opposite each to other, and as the fourteenth of the month, at evening, is assigned as the day of the passover, the moon will have its place in the station that is diametrically opposed to the sun, as may be seen in full moons; and the one, the sun, will be in the sign of the vernal equinox, while the other, the moon, will of necessity be in that of the autumnal. I know many other statements of theirs, [19] some of them probable, others advanced as absolute proofs, by which they attempt to establish that the Feast of the Passover and of unleavened bread ought without exception to be held after the equinox. But I refrain from demanding proofs thus composed from those for whom the veil



upon the law of Moses has been taken away, and for whom it now remains with unveiled face ever to behold as in a mirror Christ and the things of Christ, both what He learned and what He suffered. But that the first month with the Hebrews lies around the equinox is shown also by the teachings in the Book of Enoch.”

[20] And the same person has left behind an Introduction to Arithmetic also in ten complete treatises, and, as well, evidences of his study and deep knowledge of divine things. [21] Theotecnus, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, first had ordained him to the episcopate, seeking to procure him as his successor in his own community after his death, and indeed for some short time both presided over the same church. But, the synod with reference to Paul summoning him to Antioch, as he was passing by the city of the Laodiceans he was retained there by the brethren, Eusebius having fallen asleep.

[22] And when Anatolius also departed this life, Stephen was appointed over the community there, the last bishop before the persecution. He won widespread admiration for his knowledge of philosophy and other secular learning, but he was not similarly disposed towards the divine faith, as the progress of the persecution clearly proved, demonstrating that the man was more of a dissembler, more of a craven and coward, than a true philosopher. But indeed the church and her affairs were not destined to perish because of him; [23] they were set to rights by one who was immediately proclaimed bishop of that community by God Himself, the Saviour of all, even Theodotus, a man whose deeds themselves proved true his title to his own name and that of a bishop. He had reached, indeed, the first rank in the science of healing bodies, but in that of curing souls he was second to none among men, because of his benevolence, sincerity, fellow-feeling and zeal towards those that sought his aid; and he was also greatly devoted to the study of divinity. Such a one was he.

[24] But at Caesarea in Palestine Theotecnus, after exercising his episcopal office in the most zealous fashion, was succeeded by Agapius, whom also we know to have laboured much, displaying a most genuine regard for the government of his people, [25] and with a liberal hand caring especially for all the poor. In his day we came to know Pamphilus, a most eloquent

man and a true philosopher in his mode of life, who had been deemed worthy of the presbyterate of that community. It would be no small undertaking to show the kind of man he was and whence he came. But of each particular of his life and of the school that he established, as well as his contest in various confessions during the persecution, and the crown of martyrdom with which he was wreathed at the end of all, we have treated separately in a special work concerning him. Truly he was the most admirable of those of that city; [26] but as men possessed of especially rare qualities in our day we know Pierius, one of the presbyters at Alexandria, and Meletius, bishop of the churches in Pontus. The former of these had been noted for his life of extreme poverty and for his learning in philosophy. [27] He was exceedingly well practised in the deeper study of divine things and in expositions thereof, as well as in his public discourses in church. Meletius (educated persons used to call him the honey of Attica) was such as one would describe as a most accomplished scholar in all respects. It is impossible to admire sufficiently his skill in oratory, yet this might be said to be his by a natural gift. But who could surpass the excellence of his great experience and erudition as well, because you would say, even on a single trial, [28] that he was the most skilful and learned man in all branches of literature? Equally, too, was his life distinguished for its virtues. We took note of him during the period of the persecution, as for seven whole years he was fleeing in the regions of Palestine.

[29] In the church at Jerusalem, after the bishop Hymenaeus mentioned shortly before, Zabdas received the ministry. After no great time he fell asleep, and Hermo, the last of the bishops up to the persecution in our day, succeeded to the apostolic throne that has still been preserved there to the present day.

[30] And at Alexandria too, Maximus, who had held the episcopate for eighteen years after the death of Dionysius, was succeeded by Theonas. In his day at Alexandria Achilles, deemed worthy of the presbyterate along with Pierius, was well known; he had been entrusted with the school of the sacred faith, having displayed a wealth of philosophy most rare and inferior to none, and a manner of life that was truly in accordance with the Gospel. [31] After Theonas had given his utmost service for nineteen

years, Peter succeeded to the episcopate of the Alexandrians, and he too was especially prominent for twelve entire years; he ruled the church for less than three entire years before the persecution, and for the remainder of his days practised a life of severer discipline, and cared in no hidden manner for the general good of the churches. For this reason, therefore, in the ninth year of the persecution he was beheaded, and so adorned with the crown of martyrdom.

[32] In these books having concluded the subject of the successions, from the birth of our Saviour to the destruction of the places of prayer—a subject that extends over three hundred and five years—come, let us next leave in writing, for the information of those also that come after us, what the extent and nature have been of the conflicts in our own day of those who manfully contended for piety.

NOTE ON THE PASCHAL CANONS OF ANATOLIUS (ch. xxxii. 14–19)

The Paschal Table of Anatolius is based on the supposition that after the lapse of every cycle of nineteen years the full moons recur on the same days of the month, and at the same hours. This method of calculation, although not strictly accurate, was an advance on the eight-year cycle employed by Hippolytus (vi. 22) and Dionysius of Alexandria (vii. 20). Anatolius reckons as the first year of his cycle that upon which “the new moon of the first month” (i.e. the Jewish Nisan or Abib, corresponding to our March–April) falls upon March 22: he is, however, in error about the vernal equinox, which he places on March 19 (§ 15, where March 22 is “the fourth day”) instead of March 21. He rightly insists (as did also Dionysius) that the paschal full moon must fall after the equinox, as opposed to those, whom he mentions at the close of § 15, who regarded the full moon (“the fourteenth day”), if it fell on the day before the equinox, as the paschal moon.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK VIII

The Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following:

- I. On the events before the persecution in our

day.

- II. On the destruction of the churches.
- III. On the nature of the conflicts endured in the persecution.
- IV. On the famed martyrs of God, how they filled every place with their memory, being wreathed with varied crowns for piety.
- V. On those in Nicomedia.
- VI. On those in the imperial palaces.
- VII. On the Egyptians in Phoenicia.
- VIII. On those in Egypt.
- IX. On those in the Thebais.
- X. Accounts in writing of Phileas the martyr concerning what had taken place at Alexandria.
- XI. On the martyrs in Phrygia.
- XII. On very many others, both men and women, who endured various conflicts.
- XIII. On the presidents of the Church who displayed in their own blood the genuineness of the piety of which they were ambassadors.
- XIV. On the character of the enemies of piety.
- XV. On the events which happened to those without [the Church].
- XVI. On the change of affairs for the better.
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# BOOK VIII

HAVING concluded the succession from the apostles in seven entire books, in this eighth treatise we regard it as one of our most urgent duties to hand down, for the knowledge of those that come after us, the events of our own day, which are worthy of no casual record; and from this point our account will take its beginning.

I. [1] It is beyond our powers to describe in a worthy manner the measure and nature of that honour as well as freedom which was accorded by all men, both Greeks and barbarians, before the persecution in our day, to that word of piety toward the God of the universe which had been proclaimed through Christ to the world. [2] Yet proofs might be forthcoming in the favours granted by the rulers to our people; to whom they would even entrust the government of the provinces, freeing them from agony of mind as regards sacrificing, [3] because of the great friendliness that they used to entertain for their doctrine. Why need one speak of those in the imperial palaces and of the supreme rulers, who allowed the members of their households—wives, children and servants—to practise openly to their face the divine word and conduct, and—one might say—permitted them even to boast of the freedom accorded to the faith? And these they used to regard with especial esteem and more favourably than their fellow-servants. [4] Such a one was the famous Dorotheus, who surpassed all in his devotion and faithfulness to them, and for this reason was more highly honoured than men who held positions as rulers or governors. With him was the [5] celebrated Gorgonius and all those who, like them, had been deemed worthy of the same honour because of the word of God. With what favour one might note that the rulers in every church were honoured by all procurators and governors! And how could one fully describe those assemblies thronged with countless men, and the multitudes that gathered together in every city, and the famed concourses in the places of prayer; by reason of which they were no longer satisfied with the buildings of olden time, [6] and would erect from the foundations churches of

spacious dimensions throughout all the cities? And as these things went forward with the times, and day by day increasingly grew mightier, no envy could stop them, nor was any evil spirit able to cast its spell or hinder them by human devices, so long as the divine and heavenly hand was sheltering and guarding, as a worthy object, its own people.

[7] But when, as the result of greater freedom, a change to pride and sloth came over our affairs, we fell to envy and fierce railing against one another, warring upon ourselves, so to speak, as occasion offered, with weapons and spears formed of words; and rulers attacked rulers and laity formed factions against laity, while unspeakable hypocrisy and pretence pursued their evil course to the furthest end: until the divine judgement with a sparing hand, as is its wont (for the assemblies were still crowded), quietly and moderately began to exercise its over-sight, the persecution commencing with the brethren in the army. [8] But when in our blindness we took not the least care to secure the goodwill and propitious favour of the Deity, but, like some kind of atheists, imagined that our affairs escaped all heed and oversight, we went on adding one wickedness to another; and those accounted our pastors, casting aside the sanctions of the fear of God, were enflamed with mutual contentions, and did nothing else but add to the strifes and threats, the jealousy, enmity and hatred that they used one to another, claiming with all vehemence the objects of their ambition as if they were a despot's spoils; then indeed, then according to the word spoken by Jeremiah, the Lord hath darkened the daughter of Zion in his anger, and hath cast down from heaven the glory of Israel; he hath not remembered his footstool in the day of his anger; but the Lord hath also swallowed up all the beauty of Israel and hath broken down all his hedges. [9] And according to what has been foretold in the Psalms, He hath overturned the covenant of his servant and hath profaned to the ground, through the destruction of the churches, his sanctuary and hath broken down all his hedges, he hath made his strongholds cowardice. All that pass by the way have spoiled the multitudes of the people, yea more, he hath become a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his adversaries, and hath turned back the help of his sword and hath not taken his

part in the battle. But he hath also made his purification to cease, and hath cast his throne down to the ground, and hath shortened the days of his time and, last of all, he hath covered him with shame.

II. [1] All things in truth were fulfilled in our day, when we saw with our very eyes the houses of prayer cast down to their foundations from top to bottom, and the inspired and sacred Scriptures committed to the flames in the midst of the market-places, and the pastors of the churches, some shamefully hiding themselves here and there, while others were ignominiously captured and made a mockery by their enemies; when also, according to another prophetic word, He poureth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the waste, where there is no way.

[2] But as to these, it is not our part to describe their melancholy misfortunes in the issue, even as we do not think it proper to hand down to memory their dissensions and unnatural conduct to one another before the persecution. Therefore we resolved to place on record nothing more about them than what would justify the divine judgement. [3] Accordingly, we determined not even to mention those who have been tried by the persecution, or have made utter shipwreck of their salvation, and of their own free will were plunged in the depths of the billows; but we shall add to the general history only such things as may be profitable, first to ourselves, and then to those that come after us. Let us proceed, therefore, from this point to give a summary description of the sacred conflicts of the martyrs of the divine Word.

[4] It was the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian, and the month Dystrus, or March, as the Romans would call it, in which, as the festival of the Saviour's Passion was coming on, an imperial letter was everywhere promulgated, ordering the razing of the churches to the ground and the destruction by fire of the Scriptures, and proclaiming that those who held high positions would lose all civil rights, while those in households, if they persisted in their profession of Christianity, would be deprived of their liberty. [5] Such was the first document against us. But not long afterwards we were further visited with other letters, and in them the order was given that the presidents of the churches



should all, in every place, be first committed to prison, and then afterwards compelled by every kind of device to sacrifice. III. [1] Then indeed, then very many rulers of the churches contended with a stout heart under terrible torments, and displayed spectacles of mighty conflicts; while countless others, whose souls cowardice had numbed beforehand, readily proved weak at the first assault; while of the rest, each underwent a series of varied forms of torture: one would have his body maltreated by scourgings; another would be punished with the rack and torn to an unbearable degree, whereat some met a miserable end to their life. But others, again, emerged from the conflict otherwise: [2] one man was brought to the abominable and unholy sacrifices by the violence of others who pressed round him, and dismissed as if he had sacrificed, even though he had not; another who did not so much as approach or touch any accursed thing, when others had said that he had sacrificed, went away bearing the false accusation in silence. A third was taken up half-dead and cast aside as if he were a corpse already; and, again, a certain person lying on the ground was dragged a long distance by the feet, [3] having been reckoned among those who had voluntarily sacrificed. One cried out and with a loud voice attested his refusal to sacrifice, and another shouted aloud that he was a Christian, glorying in his confession of the saving Name. Another stoutly maintained that he had not sacrificed, [4] and never would. Nevertheless these also were struck on the mouth and silenced by a large band of soldiers drawn up for that purpose, and with blows on their face and cheeks driven forcibly away. So great store did the enemies of godliness set on seeming by any means to have accomplished their purpose.

But even such methods did not avail them against the holy martyrs. What word of ours could suffice for an accurate description of these? IV. [1] For one might tell of countless numbers who displayed a marvellous zeal for piety to the God of the universe; not only from what time the persecution was stirred up against all, but long before, during the period when peace was still firmly established. For when he who had received the authority was just now awakening, [2] as it were, from profound torpor, though he was in a secret and hidden manner already

making attempts against the churches during the time that came after Decius and Valerian, and did not get himself in readiness for the war against us all at once, but as yet made an attempt only upon those in the camps (for in this way he thought that the rest also could easily be taken, if first of all he were to get the better in the conflict with these): then one could see great numbers of those in the army most gladly embracing civil life, so that they might not prove renegades in their piety toward the Creator of the universe. [3] For when the supreme commander, whoever he was, was just making his first attempt at persecuting the soldiers—separating into classes and thoroughly sifting out those serving in the camps, giving them a choice whether they would obey and enjoy the rank they held, or else be deprived of it, if they continued to disobey the commandment—a great many soldiers of Christ’s kingdom, without hesitation, unquestionably preferred to confess Him than retain the seeming glory and prosperity that they possessed. And already in rare cases one or two of these were receiving not only loss of honour but even death in exchange for their godly stedfastness, [4] for as yet the instigator of the plot was working with a certain moderation and daring to proceed unto blood only in some instances; fearing, presumably, the multitude of believers, and hesitating to plunge into the war against us all at once. But when he prepared himself still further for battle, it is quite impossible to recount the number or the splendour of God’s martyrs that it was given to the inhabitants throughout all the cities and country parts to see.

V. [1] To begin with, the moment that the decree against the churches was published at Nicomedia, a certain person by no means obscure, but most highly honoured as the world counts pre-eminence, moved by zeal toward God and carried away by his burning faith, seized and tore it to pieces, when posted up in an open and public place, as an unholy and profane thing; [and this he did] while two emperors were present in the same city, the senior of them all, and he who held the fourth place in the government after him. But this man was the first of those at that time who thus distinguished himself; and, at the same time, in his endurance of such results as naturally followed a daring act of this kind, he maintained an untroubled and undisturbed demeanour to

his very last breath.

VI. [1] But among all those whose praises have ever yet been sung as worthy of admiration and famed for courage, whether by Greeks or barbarians, this occasion produced those divine and outstanding martyrs Dorotheus and the imperial servants that were with him. These persons had been deemed worthy of the highest honour by their masters, who loved them no less than their own children; but they accounted the reproaches and sufferings for piety and the many forms of death that were newly devised against them, as truly greater riches than the fair fame and luxury of this life. We shall mention the kind of death that one of them met, and leave our readers to gather from that instance what happened to the others.

[2] A certain man was publicly brought forward in the city of which we have spoken above, under the rulers we have mentioned. He was ordered to sacrifice; and, as he refused, the command was given that he should be raised on high naked, and have his whole body torn with scourges, [3] until he should give in, and even against his will do what was bidden him. But when he remained unmoved even under these sufferings, they proceeded to mix vinegar and salt together and pour them into the mangled parts of his body, where the bones were already showing. And as he despised these pains also, a gridiron and fire were then produced, and the remnants of his body, just as if it were flesh for eating, were consumed by the fire, not all at once, in case he might find immediate release, but little by little; nor were those who placed him on the pyre allowed to desist, until, after such sufferings, he should signify his assent to what was commanded. [4] But he clung fixedly to his purpose, and triumphantly gave up the ghost in the midst of his tortures. Such was the martyrdom of one of the imperial servants, who truly was worthy of his name. For he was called Peter.

[5] But we shall pass by the martyrdoms of the rest, though they were not inferior, having regard to the due proportions of the book; only placing it on record that Dorotheus and Gorgonius, together with many others of the imperial household, after conflicts of various kinds, departed this life by strangling, and so carried off the prizes of the God-given victory.

[6] At that time Anthimus, who then presided over the church at Nicomedia, was beheaded for his witness to Christ. And with him was associated a large number of martyrs all together; for, I know not how, in the palace at Nicomedia a fire broke out in those very days, and through a false suspicion the rumour went around that it was the work of our people: and by the imperial command the God-fearing persons there, whole families and in heaps, were in some cases butchered with the sword; while others were perfected by fire, when it is recorded that men and women leaped upon the pyre with a divine and unspeakable eagerness. The executioners bound a multitude of others, and [placing them] on boats threw them into the depths of the sea. [7] As to the imperial servants, whose bodies after death had been committed to the ground with fitting honours, their reputed masters, starting afresh, deemed it necessary to exhume them and cast them also into the sea, lest any, regarding them as actually gods (so at least they imagined), should worship them as they lay in their tombs.

Such were the things that were done in Nicomedia at the beginning of the persecution. [8] But not long afterwards, when some in the district known as Melitene, and again on the other hand when others in Syria, had attempted to take possession of the Empire, an imperial command went forth that the presidents of the churches everywhere should be thrown into prison and bonds. [9] And the spectacle of what followed surpasses all description; for in every place a countless number were shut up, and everywhere the prisons, that long ago had been prepared for murderers and grave-robbers, were then filled with bishops and presbyters and deacons, readers and exorcists, so that there was no longer any room left there for those condemned for wrongdoing.

[10] Moreover, the first letter was followed by others, wherein the order had been given that those in prison should be allowed to go in liberty if they sacrificed, but if they refused, should be mutilated by countless tortures. And then, once more, how could one here number the multitude of the martyrs in each province, and especially of those in Africa and Mauretania, and in Thebais and Egypt? From this last country also some departed into other cities and provinces and were distinguished in their martyrdoms.

VII. [1] We know at any rate those of them who were conspicuous in Palestine, and we know also those at Tyre in Phoenicia. Who that saw them was not struck with amazement at the numberless lashes and the steadfastness displayed under them by these truly marvellous champions of godliness; at the conflict with man-eating wild beasts that followed immediately on the lashes; the attacks that then took place of leopards and different kinds of bears, of wild boars and bulls goaded with hot iron; and the marvellous endurance of these noble persons when opposed to each of the wild beasts? [2] We ourselves were present when these things were happening, what time we beheld the present, divine power of our Saviour, Jesus Christ Himself, the Object of their witness, and the clear manifestation of that power to the martyrs. The man-eating beasts for a considerable time did not dare to touch or even approach the bodies of those who were dear to God, but made their attacks on the others who presumably were provoking and urging them on from the outside; while the holy champions were the only persons they did not reach at all, though they stood naked, waving their hands to draw them on to themselves (for this they were commanded to do); and sometimes, when the beasts would make a rush at them, they would be checked by, as it were, some divine power and once again retreat to the rear. [3] And when this happened for a long time, it occasioned no small astonishment among the spectators, so that, as the first beast did nothing, a second and a third were let loose against one and the same martyr.

One might be astounded at the fearless and valiant bearing of those holy persons in the face of these trials, [4] and the steady, inflexible endurance to be found in young bodies. For example, you might have seen a youth, not twenty years old in all, standing unbound, his hands spread in the form of a cross, and, with a mind undismayed and unmoved, most leisurely engaged in earnest prayer to the Deity; never a whit changing his ground or retreating from the place where he had taken his stand, while bears and leopards, breathing anger and death, almost touched his very flesh. And yet, by a divine and mysterious power I cannot explain, their mouths were muzzled, so to speak, and they ran back again to the rear. [5] Such a one was he. Again you might

have seen others (for they were five in all) thrown to a maddened bull, who, when others approached from the outside, tossed them into the air with his horns and mangled them, leaving them to be taken up half-dead; but when he rushed in threatening anger at the holy martyrs as they stood unprotected, he was unable even to approach them, though he pawed with his feet and pushed with his horns this way and that; and though the goading irons provoked him to breathe anger and threatening he was dragged away backwards by Divine Providence; so that other wild beasts were let loose against them, since the bull in no way did them the slightest injury. [6] Then at last, after the terrible and varied assaults of these beasts, they were all butchered with the sword, and instead of being buried in the earth were committed to the waves of the sea. VIII. [1] Such was the contest of the Egyptians who at Tyre displayed their conflicts on behalf of piety.

But one must admire those of them also that were martyred in their own land, where countless numbers, men, women and children, despising this passing life, endured various forms of death for the sake of our Saviour's teaching. Some of them were committed to the flames after being torn and racked and grievously scourged, and suffering other manifold torments terrible to hear, while some were engulfed in the sea; others with a good courage stretched forth their heads to them that cut them off, or died in the midst of their tortures, or perished of hunger; and others again were crucified, some as malefactors usually are, and some, even more brutally, were nailed in the opposite manner, head-downwards, and kept alive until they should perish of hunger on the gibbet.

IX. [1] But it surpasses all description what the martyrs in the Thebais endured as regards both outrages and agonies. They had the entire body torn to pieces with sharp sherds instead of claws, even until life was extinct. Women were fastened by one foot and swung aloft through the air, head-downwards, to a height by certain machines, their bodies completely naked with not even a covering; and thus they presented this most disgraceful, cruel and inhuman of all spectacles to the whole company of onlookers. [2] Others, again, were fastened to trees and trunks, and so died. For they drew together by certain machines the very strongest of the

branches, to each of which they fastened one of the martyr's legs, and then released the branches to take up their natural position: thus contriving the rending asunder all at once of the limbs of those who were the objects of this device. [3] And indeed all these things were done, not for a few days or for some brief space, but for a long period extending over whole years—sometimes more than ten, at other times above twenty persons being put to death; and at others not less than thirty, now nearer sixty, and again at other times a hundred men would be slain in a single day, along with quite young children and women, being condemned to manifold punishments which followed one on the other.

[4] And we ourselves also beheld, when we were at these places, many all at once in a single day, some of whom suffered decapitation, others the punishment of fire; so that the murderous axe was dulled and, worn out, was broken in pieces, while the executioners themselves grew utterly weary and took it in turns to succeed one another. [5] It was then that we observed a most marvellous eagerness and a truly divine power and zeal in those who had placed their faith in the Christ of God. Thus, as soon as sentence was given against the first, some from one quarter and others from another would leap up to the tribunal before the judge and confess themselves Christians; paying no heed when faced with terrors and the varied forms of tortures, but undismayedly and boldly speaking of the piety towards the God of the universe, and with joy and laughter and gladness receiving the final sentence of death; so that they sang and sent up hymns and thanksgivings to the God of the universe even to the very last breath. And while these indeed were marvellous, [6] those especially were marvellous who were distinguished for wealth, birth and reputation, as also for learning and philosophy, and yet put everything second to true piety and faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ. Such was Philoromus; who had been entrusted with an office of no small importance in the imperial administration at Alexandria, [7] and who, in connexion with the dignity and rank that he had from the Romans, used to conduct judicial inquiries every day, attended by a bodyguard of soldiers. Such also was Phileas, bishop of the church of the Thmuites, a man who was distinguished for the services he rendered to his country in public

positions, [8] and also for his skill in philosophy. And though great numbers of relatives and other friends besought them, as well as many officials of high rank, and though the judge himself exhorted them to take pity on themselves and spare their children and wives, they could in no wise be induced by this strong pressure to decide in favour of love of life and despise the ordinances of our Saviour as to confessing and denying; but with a brave and philosophic resolution, nay rather, with a pious and godly soul, they stood firm against all the threats and insults of the judge, and both were beheaded.

X. [1] But since we said that Phileas deserved a high reputation for his secular learning as well, let him appear as his own witness, to show us who he was, and at the same time to relate, more accurately than we could, the martyrdoms that took place at Alexandria. Here are his words:

From the Writings of Phileas to the Thmuites

[2] "Since all these examples and patterns and goodly tokens are placed before us in the divine and sacred Scriptures, the blessed martyrs with us did not hesitate, but directed the eye of the soul sincerely toward the God who is over all, and with a mind resolved on death for piety they clung fast to their calling, finding that our Lord Jesus Christ became man for our sakes, that He might destroy every kind of sin, and provide us with the means of entering into eternal life. For He counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant; and being found in fashion as a man, He humbled Himself unto death, yea, the death of the cross. Wherefore also, [3] desiring earnestly the greater gifts, the Christ-bearing martyrs endured every kind of suffering and all manner of devices of torture, not once, but even a second time in some cases; and though their guards vied in all kinds of threats against them, not only in word but also in deed, they refused to give up their resolution, because perfect love casteth out fear. [4] What account would suffice to reckon up their bravery and courage under each torture? For when all who wished were given a free hand to insult them, some smote them with cudgels, others with rods, others with scourges; others, again, with straps, and others with ropes. And the spectacle of their tortures was a varied one with no lack of



wickedness therein. [5] Some with both hands bound behind them were suspended upon the gibbet, and with the aid of certain machines stretched out in every limb; then, as they lay in this plight, the torturers acting on orders began to lay on over their whole body, not only, as in the case of murderers, punishing their sides with the instruments of torture, but also their belly, legs and cheeks. Others were suspended from the porch by one hand and raised aloft; and in the tension of their joints and limbs experienced unequalled agony. Others were bound with their face towards pillars, their feet not touching the ground, and thus their bonds were drawn tight by the pressure upon them of the weight of the body. And this they would endure, not while the governor conversed or was engaged with them, [6] but almost throughout the entire day. For when he went away to others, he would leave the agents of his authority to watch the first, if perchance anyone should be overcome by the tortures and seem to give in; and he bade them approach mercilessly with bonds also, and, when they were at the last gasp after all this, take them down to the ground and drag them off. For [he said] that they were not to have the least particle of regard for us, [7] but to be so disposed and act as if we were no longer of any account. Such was the second torture that our enemies devised in addition to the stripes. [8] And some, even after the tortures, were placed in the stocks, and had both feet stretched out to the fourth hole, so that they were compelled to lie on their back therein, being unable [to sit upright] because of the recent wounds they had from the stripes over the whole body. Others were thrown to the ground and lay there, by reason of the whole sale application of the tortures; presenting to those who saw them a sight more terrible than did the actual punishment, in that they bore on their bodies marks of the manifold and varied tortures that were devised. [9] In this condition of affairs, some died under their tortures, having shamed the adversary by their endurance; while others were shut up half dead in prison, and after not many days perfected by reason of their agonies; the remainder recovered under treatment, and as the result of time and their stay in prison gained confidence. [10] So then, when the order was given and the choice held out, either to touch the abominable sacrifice and be unmolested, receiving from them the

accursed freedom; or not to sacrifice and be punished with death: without hesitation they gladly went to their death. For they knew what had been prescribed for us by the sacred Scriptures. For he says, 'He that sacrificeth unto other gods shall be utterly destroyed'; and, 'Thou shalt have none other gods but me.'

[11] Such are the words of the martyr, true lover both of wisdom and of God, which he sent to the brethren in his community before the final sentence, when he was still in a state of imprisonment, at one and the same time showing the conditions in which he was living, and also stirring them up to hold fast to the fear of God in Christ, even after his death who was just about to be perfected. But why need one make a long story and add fresh instance upon instance of the conflicts of the godly martyrs throughout the world, [12] especially of those who were assailed no longer by the common law, but as if they were enemies?

XI. [1] For instance, at this time armed soldiers surrounded a little town in Phrygia, of which the inhabitants were all Christians, every man of them, and setting fire to it burnt them, along with young children and women as they were calling upon the God who is over all. The reason of this was, that all the inhabitants of the town to a man, the curator himself and the duumvirs with all the officials and the whole assembly, confessed themselves Christians and refused to give the least heed to those who bade them commit idolatry.

[2] And there was a certain other person who had attained to a high position under the Romans, Adauctus by name, a man of illustrious Italian birth; who had advanced through every grade of honour under the emperors, so as to pass blamelessly through the general administration of what they call the magistracy and ministry of finance. And besides all this, having distinguished himself by his noble deeds of godliness and his confessions of the Christ of God, he was adorned with the crown of martyrdom, enduring the conflict for piety while actually engaged as finance minister.

XII. [1] Why need I now mention the rest by name, or number the multitude of the men, or picture the varied tortures inflicted upon the wonderful martyrs? Sometimes they were slain with the axe, as was the case with those in Arabia; at other times they had

their legs broken, as happened to those in Cappadocia; on some occasions they were suspended on high by the feet, head-downwards, while a slow fire was kindled beneath, so that when the wood was alight they were choked by the rising smoke—a treatment meted out to those in Mesopotamia; on others, the noses, ears and hands were mutilated, and the remaining limbs and parts of the body cut up, as was done at Alexandria.

[2] Why need one rekindle the memory of those at Antioch, who were roasted on heated gridirons, not unto death, but with a view to lengthy torture; and of others who put their right hand into the very fire sooner than touch the accursed sacrifice? Some of them, to escape such trials, before they were caught and fell into the hands of those that plotted against them, threw themselves down from the tops of lofty houses, regarding death as a prize snatched from the wickedness of evil men.

[3] And a certain holy person, admirable for strength of soul yet in body a woman, and famed as well by all that were at Antioch for wealth, birth and sound judgement, had brought up in the precepts of piety her two unmarried daughters, distinguished for the full bloom of their youthful beauty. Much envy was stirred up on their account, and busied itself in tracing in every manner possible where they lay concealed; and when it discovered that they were staying in a foreign country, of set purpose it recalled them to Antioch. Thus they fell into the soldiers' toils. When, therefore, the woman saw that herself and her daughters were in desperate straits, she placed before them in conversation the terrible things that awaited them from human hands, and the most intolerable thing of all these terrors—the threat of fornication. She exhorted both herself and her girls that they ought not to submit to listen to even the least whisper of such a thing, and said that to surrender their souls to the slavery of demons was worse than all kinds of death and every form of destruction. So she submitted that to flee to the Lord was the only way of escape from it all. [4] And when they had both agreed to her opinion, and had arranged their garments suitably around them, on coming to the middle of their journey they quietly requested the guards to allow them a little time for retirement, and threw themselves into the river that flowed by.

[5] Thus were these their own executioners. But another pair of maidens, also at Antioch, godly in every respect and true sisters, famous by birth, distinguished for their manner of life, young in years, in the bloom of beauty, grave of soul, pious in their deportment, admirable in their zeal, the worshippers of demons commanded to be cast into the sea, as if the earth could not endure to bear such excellence.

[6] Thus it happened with these martyrs. And others in Pontus suffered things terrible to hear: sharp reeds were driven through their fingers under the tips of the nails; in the case of others, lead was melted down by fire, and the boiling, burning stuff poured down their backs, roasting the most essential parts of their body; [7] others endured in their privy parts and bowels sufferings that were disgraceful, pitiless, unmentionable, which the noble and law-abiding judges devised with more than usual eagerness, displaying their cruelty as if it were some great stroke of wisdom; striving to outdo one another by ever inventing novel tortures, as if contending for prizes in a contest.

But the end of these calamities came when they were now worn out with their excessive wickedness, [8] and were utterly weary of killing and surfeited and sated with shedding blood, and so turned to what they considered merciful and humane conduct; so that they no longer thought that they were doing any harm to us. [9] For it was not fitting, they said, to pollute the cities with the blood of their own people, or to involve in a charge of cruelty the supreme government of the rulers, a government that was well-disposed and mild towards all; but rather that the beneficence of the humane and imperial authority should be extended to all, and the death penalty no longer inflicted. For [they declared] that this their punishment of us had been stopped, [10] thanks to the humanity of the rulers. Then orders were given that their eyes should be gouged out and one of their legs maimed. For this was in their opinion humanity and the lightest of punishments inflicted upon us. Hence, because of this humanity on the part of godless men, it is now no longer possible to tell the incalculable number of those who had their right eye first cut out with a sword and then cauterized with fire, and the left foot rendered useless by the further application of branding irons to the joints, and who after

this were condemned to the provincial copper mines, not so much for service as for ill-usage and hardship, and withal fell in with various other trials, which it is not possible even to recount; for their brave and good deeds surpass all reckoning.

[11] In these conflicts verily the magnificent martyrs of Christ were conspicuous throughout all the world, and, as was natural, everywhere filled with amazement the eye-witnesses of their bravery; while in their own persons they furnished a clear proof that the power of our Saviour is truly divine and inexpressible. To mention, indeed, each by name would be a long task, not to say an impossibility.

XIII. [1] Of those rulers of the churches who were martyred in well-known cities, the first name that we must record on the monuments to holy men, as a martyr of the kingdom of Christ, is that of Anthimus, [2] bishop of the city of the Nicomedians, who was beheaded. Of the martyrs at Antioch the best in his entire life was Lucian, a presbyter of that community; the same who in Nicomedia, where the emperor was, proclaimed the heavenly kingdom of Christ, first by word of mouth in an Apology, and afterwards also by deeds. [3] Of the martyrs in Phoenicia the most famous would be the pastors of the spiritual flocks of Christ, beloved of God in all things, Tyrannion, bishop of the church at Tyre, and Zenobius, presbyter of the church at Sidon, and, moreover, Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Emesa. [4] The last-named became food for wild beasts, along with others, at Emesa itself, and so was received up into the choirs of martyrs; the other two glorified the word of God at Antioch by their endurance unto death; one of them, the bishop, being committed to the depths of the sea, while that best of physicians, Zenobius, died bravely under the tortures that were applied to his sides. [5] Of the martyrs in Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches about Gaza, was beheaded at the copper mines at Phaeno, with others, in number forty save one; and Egyptians there, Peleus and Nilus, bishops, together with others, endured death by fire. And among these we must mention the great glory of the community of Caesarea, [6] Pamphilus, a presbyter, the most marvellous man of our day; the merit of whose brave and good deeds we shall record at the proper time. Of those at Alexandria and throughout all Egypt

and the Thebais who were perfected gloriously, [7] the first that must be recorded is Peter, bishop of Alexandria itself, a divine example of the teachers of godliness in Christ; and of the presbyters with him Faustus, Dius and Ammonius, perfect martyrs of Christ; and Phileas, Hesychius, Pachymius and Theodore, bishops of the churches in Egypt; and countless other famous persons as well, who are commemorated by the communities in their own district and locality. It is not our part to commit to writing the conflicts of those who fought throughout the world on behalf of piety toward the Deity, and to record in detail each of their happenings; but that would be the especial task of those who witnessed the events. Yet I shall make known to posterity in another work those with whom I was personally conversant. In this present book, however, I shall subjoin to what has been said the recantation of the things that were wrought concerning us, [8] and all that befell since the beginning of the persecution, most profitable as they are to my readers.

[9] Now as concerns the state of the Roman government before the war against us, during all the periods that the rulers were friendly and peaceably disposed toward us, no words could sufficiently describe how bountiful and plenteous was its harvest of good things; when also those who held the chiefest places in a world-empire completed the decennalia and vicennalia of their principate, and used to pass their days in festivals and public games, in the most joyous feasts and gaieties, possessing complete, well-established peace.

[10] But as their authority thus increased without let or hindrance and day by day waxed greater, all at once they departed from their peaceful attitude towards us and stirred up a relentless war. And the second year of this kind of movement on their part had not fully expired, when a sort of revolution affecting the entire principate took place and threw the whole of public life into confusion. [11] For a fateful disease fell upon him who stood first among those of whom we spoke, which caused his mind to become deranged; and, along with him who had been honoured with the second place after him, he resumed the ordinary life of a private citizen. And this had not yet taken place, when the whole principate was rent in twain, a thing that had never even been

recorded as having happened at any time in days gone by.

[12] But after no very great interval of time the Emperor Constantius, who all his life long was most mildly and favourably disposed toward his subjects, and most friendly towards the divine word, died according to the common law of nature, leaving his lawful son Constantine Emperor and Augustus in his stead; and was the first [of the new tetrarchy] to be proclaimed among the gods by them, being deemed worthy of every honour after death that might be due to an emperor, kindest and mildest of emperors that he was. [13] He indeed was the only one of our contemporaries who passed the whole period of his principate in a manner worthy of his high office; and in other respects displayed himself in a most favourable and beneficent light toward all; and he took no part in the war against us, but even preserved the God-fearing persons among his subjects from injury and harsh treatment; neither did he pull down the church-buildings nor employ any other new device against us. So he has had as his reward a happy and thrice-blessed issue of his life; for he alone enjoyed a favourable and glorious end while he was still emperor, with a lawful son, in all respects most prudent and godly, to succeed him.

[14] His son Constantine from the very first was proclaimed by the armies most perfect Emperor and Augustus, and, long before them, by God Himself, the King Supreme; and he set himself to be an emulator of his father's piety toward our doctrine.

Such was he. And afterwards Licinius was declared Emperor and Augustus by a common vote of the rulers. These things caused great vexation to Maximin, since up to that time he was still entitled only Caesar by all. [15] Therefore, being above all things a tyrant, he fraudulently seized the honour for himself, and became Augustus, appointed such by himself. At this time he who had resumed office again after his abdication, as we have shown, was discovered devising a plot to secure the death of Constantine, and died a most shameful death. He was the first [emperor] whose honorific inscriptions and statues and all such things as it has been customary to set up publicly they threw down, as belonging to an infamous and utterly godless person.

XIV. [1] His son Maxentius, who secured for himself the tyranny

at Rome, at the beginning counterfeited our faith in order to please and fawn upon the Roman populace; and for this reason ordered his subjects to give over the persecution against Christians; for he was feigning piety and endeavouring to appear favourable and very mild above his predecessors. [2] Yet his deeds have not shown him to be such as it was hoped he would be. On the contrary, he drove headlong into every form of wickedness, and there is not a single abominable and dissolute act that he has left undone, committing adulteries and all kinds of rape. In fact he used to separate from their husbands lawfully married women, insult them with the utmost dishonour, and send them back again to their husbands; and he made it his business thus to assail persons neither undistinguished nor obscure, but the most eminent of those who had attained the highest rank in the assembly of the Roman Senate were the very and especial objects of his offensive behaviour. [3] All cowered before him, people and rulers, famous and obscure, and were worn out by his terrible tyranny; and even though they remained quiet and endured the bitter servitude, still there was no escape from the tyrant's murderous cruelty. Once, for example, on a small pretence he gave the people over to his bodyguard to be slaughtered, and immense numbers of the Roman people were killed, in the midst of the city, by the spears and arms, not of Scythians nor even of barbarians, but of their very fellow-citizens. [4] Of a truth it would not even be possible to reckon how many senators were slaughtered because of designs on their wealth, for countless numbers were done away with for feigned reasons, varying according to circumstances. [5] But the finishing touch of all the tyrant's evil deeds was when he resorted to witchcraft: bent upon magic, at one time he would rip up pregnant women, at another explore the entrails of the new-born babes, slaughter lions, and invent certain abominable actions to invoke demons, and as a sacrifice to avert war. For all his hope lay in these means of securing victory.

[6] Indeed, one cannot even mention the kind of things that this tyrant at Rome did to enslave his subjects; so that they were actually reduced to such extreme scarcity and lack of even necessary food, as has never been known, according to our



contemporaries, either at Rome or elsewhere.

[7] But the tyrant in the East, Maximin, secretly forming a friendly alliance with the tyrant at Rome, as with a brother in wickedness, for a very long time thought that it was unknown. As a matter of fact, afterwards he was detected and paid the just penalty. [8] It was marvellous how he acquired a family likeness and kinship with the villainy of the tyrant at Rome, nay rather, carried off the first prize for wickedness and the reward of victory over him. For it was the principal charlatans and magicians who were deemed worthy by him of the highest honour; he became exceedingly frightened at every noise and superstitious, and attached great importance to error with regard to idols and demons. For instance, without divinations and oracles he could not dare to move even a nail's breadth, [9] if I may say so. Accordingly, he applied himself to the persecution against us with more energy and persistence than those before him, ordering temples to be erected in every city and the sacred groves that had been destroyed through long lapse of time to be restored with all diligence; and he appointed idol priests in every locality and city, and over them as high priest of each province one of those engaged in statecraft, who was the most manifestly distinguished in every branch of the public service, with an escort and bodyguard soldiers; and he recklessly bestowed governments and the greatest privileges on all charlatans, [10] as if they were pious and dear to the gods. Henceforward he vexed and oppressed, not a single city nor even district, but the provinces under him completely and as a whole, by exactions of gold and silver and unspeakably large amounts of goods, and by the heaviest assessments and varied fines. Taking away from the wealthy the possessions they had gotten from their ancestors, [11] he bestowed upon his train of flatterers riches and heaps of goods in a single gift. In truth he carried his drunken excesses to such a point that he became mad and deranged in his cups, and when drunk would give such orders as he would repent of next day when he was sober. In debauchery and riotous living he suffered none to surpass him, but appointed himself instructor in villainy to those around him, rulers and ruled alike. He induced the army to become enervated as a result of every kind of wanton excess;

encouraging governors and commanders to proceed against their subjects with rapacity and extortion, almost as if they were his fellow-tyrants. [12] Why need one recall the man's disgraceful deeds of passion or reckon up the multitude of those whom he debauched? In fact, he could not pass by a city without continually ravishing women and abducting virgins. [13] And in this he was successful with all, save only with Christians. Despising death they set at naught this his fierce tyranny. For the men endured fire and sword and nailings; wild beasts and engulfing in the sea: cutting off and burning of limbs, stabbing and digging out of eyes, and mutilation of the whole body; and, in addition to these, hunger and mines and bonds: thus showing on all occasions that they preferred to endure for the sake of piety rather than transfer to idols the honour due to God. And the women, on the other hand, showed themselves no less manly than the men, inspired by the teaching of the divine Word: [14] some, undergoing the same contests as the men, won equal rewards for their valour; and others, when they were being dragged away to dishonour, yielded up their souls to death rather than their bodies to seduction. [15] A certain Christian lady, for example, most famous and distinguished among those at Alexandria, alone of those whom the tyrant ravished conquered the lustful and licentious soul of Maximin by her brave spirit. Renowned though she was for wealth, birth and education, she had put everything second to modest behaviour. Many a time he importuned her, yet was unable to put her to death though willing to die, for his lust overmastered his anger; but punishing her with exile he possessed himself of all her property. [16] A great number of others, unable even to listen to a threat of fornication, underwent every form of torture and racking and mortal punishment at the hands of the provincial governors.

These indeed were wonderful, yet most surpassingly wonderful was that woman at Rome, truly the most noble and chaste of all those towards whom the tyrant there, Maxentius, in conduct like Maximin, [17] attempted to act offensively. For when she learnt that at her house were those who ministered to the tyrant in such deeds (and she also was a Christian), and that her husband, and he too a prefect of the Romans, through fear had permitted them

to take and lead her off, she begged to be excused for a brief space, as if forsooth to adorn her person, entered her chamber, and when alone transfixed herself with a sword. And straightway dying she left her corpse to her procurers; but by deeds that themselves were more eloquent than any words she made it known to all men, both those present and those to come hereafter, that a Christian's virtue is the only possession that cannot be conquered or destroyed. [18] To such an extent, in truth, did the two tyrants, who had divided among them East and West, carry the wickedness that they wrought at one and the same time. But who is there, in search for the reason of such evils, who would be at a loss to find it in the persecution against us? Especially as there was no cessation of this great state of confusion until Christians recovered their rights of freedom.

XV. [1] In fact, during the whole period of ten years of persecution there was no respite in their plotting and warfare against each other. The seas were unnavigable, and none, no matter whence they sailed, could escape being subjected to all kinds of torments: stretched on the rack and having their sides torn, and being examined under all sorts of tortures in case they should possibly be coming from the enemy of the contrary part, and in the end subjected to crucifixion or punishment by fire. Moreover, every place was busy with the preparation of shields and armour, [2] the getting ready of darts and spears and other warlike accoutrements, and of triremes and naval gear; and no one expected anything but an enemy attack all day long. And subsequently the famine and pestilence broke out among them, about which we shall recount what is necessary at the proper time.

XVI. [1] Such was the state of affairs that continued throughout the whole persecution; which came completely to an end, by the grace of God, in the tenth year, though indeed it began to abate after the eighth year. For when the divine and heavenly grace showed that it watched over us with kindly and propitious regard, then indeed our rulers also, those very persons who had long time committed acts of war against us, changed their mind in the most marvellous manner, and gave utterance to a recantation, quenching the fire of persecution that had blazed so furiously, by

means of merciful edicts and the most humane ordinances. But this was not due to any human agency nor to the pity, [2] as one might say, or humanity of the rulers. Far from it. For from the beginning up to that time they were daily plotting further and severer measures against us; from time to time they were inventing fresh assaults upon us by means of still more varied devices. But it was due to the manifestation of the Divine Providence itself, which, while it became reconciled to the people, attacked the perpetrator of these evils, and was wroth with him as the chief author of the wickedness of the persecution as a whole. [3] For verily, though it was destined that these things should come to pass as a divine judgement, yet the Scripture says, "Woe, through whomsoever the offence cometh." A divinely-sent punishment, I say, executed vengeance upon him, beginning at his very flesh and proceeding to the soul. [4] For all at once an abscess appeared in the midst of his privy parts, then a deeply-seated fistular ulcer; which could not be cured and ate their way into the very midst of his entrails. Hence there sprang an innumerable multitude of worms, and a deadly stench was given off, since the entire bulk of his members had, through gluttony, even before the disease, been changed into an excessive quantity of soft fat, which then became putrid and presented an intolerable and most fearful sight to those that came near it. As for the physicians, [5] some of them were wholly unable to endure the exceeding and unearthly stench, and were butchered; others, who could not be of any assistance since the whole mass had swollen and reached a point where there was no hope of recovery, were put to death without mercy.

XVII. [1] And wrestling with such terrible misfortunes he was conscience-stricken for the cruel deeds he had perpetrated against the godly. Collecting, therefore, his thoughts, he first openly confessed to the God of the universe; then he called those around him, and commanded them without delay to cause the persecution against Christians to cease, and by an imperial law and decree to urge them to build their churches and to perform their accustomed rites, offering prayers on the Emperor's behalf. [2] Action immediately followed his word, and imperial ordinances were promulgated in each city, containing the recantation of the

[persecution edicts] of our time, after this manner: [3] “The Emperor Caesar Galerius Valerius Maximianus Invictus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Germanicus Maximus, Aegyptiacus Maximus, Thebaicus Maximus, Sarmaticus Maximus five times, Persicus Maximus twice, Carpicus Maximus six times, Armeniacus Maximus, Medicus Maximus, Adiabenicus Maximus, holding the Tribunician Power for the twentieth time, Emperor for the nineteenth time, Consul for the eighth, Father of his country, Proconsul: ... And the Emperor Caesar Flavius Valerius Constantinus Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, [4] Pontifex Maximus, holding the Tribunician Power, Emperor for the fifth time, Consul, Father of his country, [5] Proconsul: [And the Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the Tribunician Power for the fourth time, Emperor for the third time, Consul, Father of his country, Proconsul: to the people of their provinces, greeting.]

[6] “Among the other measures that we frame for the use and profit of the state, it had been our own wish formerly that all things should be set to rights in accordance with the ancient laws and public order of the Romans; and to make provision for this, namely, that the Christians also, such as had abandoned the persuasion of their own ancestors, should return to a sound mind; seeing that through some reasoning they had been possessed of such self-will and seized with such folly that, [7] instead of following the institutions of the ancients, which perchance their own forefathers had formerly established, they made for themselves, and were observing, laws merely in accordance with their own disposition and as each one wished, and were assembling various multitudes in divers places: Therefore when a command of ours soon followed to the intent that they should betake themselves to the institutions of the ancients, [8] very many indeed were subjected to peril, while very many were harassed and endured all kinds of death; And since the majority held to the same folly, and we perceived that they were neither paying the worship due to the gods of heaven nor honouring the god of the Christians; [9] having regard to our clemency and the invariable custom by which we are wont to accord pardon to all men, we thought it right in this case also to extend most willingly

our indulgence: That Christians may exist again and build the houses in which they used to assemble, always provided that they do nothing contrary to order. In another letter we shall indicate to the judges how they should proceed. [10] Wherefore, in accordance with this our indulgence, they will be bound to beseech their own god for our welfare, and that of the state, and their own; that in every way both the well being of the state may be secured, and they may be enabled to live free from care in their own homes.”

[11] Such is the character of this edict in the Latin tongue, translated into Greek as well as may be. Now it is time to consider carefully what happened subsequently.

## THE APPENDIX TO BOOK VIII

(found in codd. AER).

[1] BUT the author of the edict, after such a confession, was immediately, though not for long, released from his pains, and so departed this life. It is recorded that this same person was the prime author of the calamity of the persecution; since long before the movement of the other emperors he had used force to turn aside [from the faith] the Christians in the army—and, first of all, those in his own house—degrading some from their military rank, and heaping the most shameful insults on others; and since he was already threatening others even with death, and, finally, had stirred up his partners in the principate to the general persecution. It is not possible to pass over the ends of these same emperors in silence. [2] Four, then, had divided the supreme power between them. Those who were the more advanced in age and honour retired from the principate not two whole years after the persecution began, as we have already stated, and passed the remainder of their existence like ordinary, private citizens. The end of their lives fell out thus. [3] The one who had attained the chief place in honour and age fell a victim to a prolonged and most painful infirmity of the body; while he who held the second place to him ended his life by strangling: suffering this fate, in accordance with a certain demoniacal prediction, [4] for the numerous crimes he had perpetrated. Of those after them, he who held the last

place—the same who was the originator, as we stated, of the whole persecution—suffered the fate which we have mentioned above; but he who ranked next before him, that kindest and mildest of emperors, Constantius, passed the whole period of his principate in a manner worthy of his high office, and in other respects displayed himself in a most beneficent and favourable light to all; yea, and he held himself aloof from the war against us, and carefully preserved his God-fearing subjects from injury and harsh treatment; neither did he pull down the church-buildings nor employ any other additional new device against us at all. So he has had as his reward a truly happy and thrice-blessed issue of his life; for he alone met with a favourable and glorious end while he was still emperor, with a lawful son, [5] in all respects most prudent and godly, to succeed him in the office. He from the very first was proclaimed by the armies most perfect Emperor and Augustus; and he set himself to be an emulator of his father's piety towards our doctrine. Such was the issue which befell, at different times, the lives of the four men of whom we have written above. [6] Of these same persons, he of whom we spoke a little while ago alone still remained, and, in conjunction with those who subsequently were admitted to the principate, openly placed before all the aforesaid confession in the document which was set out above.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK IX

The Ninth Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following:

- I. On the feigned relaxation.
- II. On the change for the worse that ensued.
- III. On the new-made idol at Antioch.
- IV. On the petitions against us.
- V. On the forged memoirs.
- VI. On those who were martyred at this time.

VII. On the document against us set up on tablets.

VIII. On the subsequent events, the famine and pestilence and wars.

IX. On the close of the tyrants' lives, and what expressions they made use of before the end.

X. On the victory of the God-beloved Emperors.

XI. On the final destruction of the enemies of godliness.





# BOOK IX

I. [1] THE recantation of the imperial will set forth above was promulgated broadcast throughout Asia and in the neighbouring provinces. After this had thus been done, Maximin, the tyrant of the East, a monster of impiety if ever there was one, who had been the bitterest enemy of piety toward the God of the universe, was by no means pleased with what was written, and instead of making known the letter set forth above gave verbal commands to the rulers under him to relax the war against us. For since he might not otherwise gainsay the judgement of his superiors, he put in a corner the law set forth above; and, taking measures how it might never see the light of day in the districts under him, by an oral direction he commanded the rulers under him to relax the persecution against us. And they intimated to each other in writing the terms of the order. [2] Sabinus, for instance, whom they had honoured with the rank of most excellent prefect, made known the Emperor's decision to the provincial governors in a Latin epistle. The translation of the same runs as follows:

[3] "With a most earnest and devoted zeal the Divinity of our most divine masters, the Emperors, has for a long time determined to lead all men's thoughts into the holy and right path of life, so that those also who seemed to follow customs foreign to the Romans should perform the acts of worship due to the immortal gods. But the obstinacy and most unyielding determination of some was carried to such a length, [4] that neither could they be turned back from their own purpose by just reasoning embodied in the order, nor did they fear the punishment that threatened. [5] Since therefore it has come about that many by such conduct endanger themselves, in accordance with the noble piety that is theirs, the Divinity of our masters, the most mighty Emperors, deeming it foreign to their divine purpose that for such a reason they should so greatly endanger these men, gave commandment through my Devotedness to write to thy Intelligence, that if any of the Christians be found following the

religion of his nation, thou shouldest set him free from molestation directed against him and from danger, nor shouldest thou deem anyone punishable on this charge, since so long a passage of time has proved that they can in no wise be persuaded to abandon such obstinate conduct. Let it be thy Solicitude's duty, therefore, to write to the curators and the duumvirs and the magistrates of the district of every city, [6] that they may know that it is not beseeming for them to take any further notice of that letter."

[7] Whereupon the rulers of the provinces, having concluded that the purport of what had been written to them was a genuine expression, made known by means of letters the imperial resolve to curators, duumvirs and rural magistrates. And not only did they further these measures by writing, but also much more so by action. With a view to carrying out the imperial will, as many as they kept shut up in prisons for their confession of the Deity they brought into the light of day and set free, releasing such of these same persons as were consigned to the mines for punishment. For this, in truth, they mistakenly conceived to be the Emperor's wish. [8] And when these things had thus been carried into effect, as though some light shined forth all at once out of a gloomy night, one might see churches thronged in every city, and crowded assemblies, and the rites performed thereat in the customary manner. And every single one of the unbelieving heathen was in no small degree amazed at these happenings, marvelling at the miracle of so great a change, and extolling the Christians' God as alone great and true. [9] Of our own people, those who had faithfully and bravely contended throughout the conflict of persecutions once more resumed their confident bearing in the sight of all; but those whose faith had been diseased and souls storm-tost eagerly strove for their own healing, beseeching and begging the strong for the right hand of safety, and supplicating God to be merciful to them. And then also the noble champions of godliness, [10] freed from their evil plight in the mines, returned to their own homes. Proudly and joyously they went through every city, full of unspeakable mirth and a boldness that cannot even be expressed in words. [11] Yea, thronging crowds of men went on their journey, praising God in the midst of thoroughfares and

market-places with songs and psalms; and you might see those who shortly before had been prisoners undergoing the harshest punishment and driven from their native lands, now regaining with gay and joyful countenances their own hearths so that even those who formerly were thirsting for our blood, seeing the wondrous thing contrary to all expectation, rejoiced with us at what had happened.

II. [1] This the tyrant could no longer endure, hater as he was of that which is good, and plotter against every virtuous man (he was the ruler, as we said, of the eastern parts); nor did he suffer matters thus to be carried on for six entire months. Numerous, therefore, were his devices to overturn the peace: at first he attempted on some pretext to shut us out from assembling in the cemeteries, then through the medium of certain evil men he sent embassies to himself against us, having urged the citizens of Antioch to ask that they might obtain from him, as a very great boon, that he should in no wise permit any of the Christians to inhabit their land, and to contrive that others should make the same suggestion. The originator of all this sprang up at Antioch itself in the person of Theotecnus, a clever cheat and an evil man, and quite unlike his name. He was accounted to hold the post of curator in the city.

III. [1] This man, then, many times took the field against us; and, having been at pains by every method to hunt our people out of hiding-places as if they were unholy thieves, having employed every device to slander and accuse us, having been the cause even of death to countless numbers, he ended by erecting a statue of Zeus the Befriender with certain juggleries and sorceries, and having devised unhallowed rites for it and ill-omened initiations and abominable purifications, he exhibited his wonderworking by what oracles he pleased, even in the Emperor's presence. And moreover this fellow, in order to flatter and please him who was ruling, stirred up the demon against the Christians, and said that the god, forsooth, had given orders that the Christians should be driven away beyond the borders of the city and country round about, since they were his enemies.

IV. [1] This man was the first to act thus of set purpose, and all the other officials who lived in the cities under the same rule

hastened to make a like decision, the provincial governors having seen at a glance that it was pleasing to the Emperor, and having suggested to their subjects to do the very same thing. And when the tyrant had given a most willing assent to their petitions by a rescript, [2] once more the persecution against us was rekindled.

Maximin himself appointed as priests of the images in each city and, moreover, as high priests, those who were especially distinguished in the public services and had made their mark in the entire course thereof. These persons brought great zeal to bear on the worship of the gods whom they served. [3] Certainly, the outlandish superstition of the ruler was inducing, in a word, all under him, both governors and governed, to do everything against us in order to secure his favour; in return for the benefits which they thought to secure from him, they bestowed upon him this greatest of boons, namely, to thirst for our blood and to display some more novel tokens of malice toward us.

V. [1] Having forged, to be sure, Memoirs of Pilate and our Saviour, full of every kind of blasphemy against Christ, with the approval of their chief they sent them round to every part of his dominions, with edicts that they should be exhibited openly for everyone to see in every place, both town and country, and that the primary teachers should give them to the children, instead of lessons, for study and committal to memory.

[2] While this was thus being carried out, another person, a commander, whom the Romans style *dux*, caused certain infamous women to be abducted from the market-place at Damascus in Phoenicia, and, by continually threatening them with the infliction of tortures, compelled them to state in writing that they were once actually Christians, and privy to their unhallowed deeds, and that the Christians practised in the very churches lewdness and everything else that he wished these women to say in defamation of our faith. He also made a memorandum of their words and communicated it to the Emperor, and moreover at his command published this document also in every place and city.

VI. [1] But not long afterwards he, that is to say, the commander, died by his own hand, and thus paid the penalty for his wickedness.

But as for us, banishments and severe persecutions were again

renewed, and the rulers in every province once more rose up cruelly against us, with the result that some of those eminent in the divine Word were taken, and received the sentence of death without mercy.

Of these, three in Emesa, a city of Phoenicia, were consigned to wild beasts as food, having declared themselves Christians. Among them was a bishop, Silvanus, exceedingly advanced in age, who had exercised his ministry for forty entire years.

[2] At the same time Peter also, who presided with the greatest distinction over the communities at Alexandria—a truly divine example of a bishop on account of his virtuous life and his earnest study of the holy Scriptures—was seized for no reason at all and quite unexpectedly; and then immediately and unaccountably beheaded, as if by the command of Maximin. And along with him many others of the Egyptian bishops endured the same penalty.

[3] Lucian, a most excellent man in every respect, of temperate life and well versed in sacred learning, a presbyter of the community at Antioch, was brought to the city of Nicomedia, where the Emperor was then staying; and, having made his defence before the ruler on behalf of the doctrine which he professed, he was committed to prison and put to death.

[4] So mightily, indeed, did that hater of the good, Maximin, contrive against us in a short space, that this persecution which he had stirred up seemed to us much more severe than the former one. VII. [1] In fact, in the midst of the cities—a thing that had never happened before—petitions presented against us by cities, and rescripts containing imperial ordinances in reply, were set up, engraved on brazen tablets; while the children in the schools had every day on their lips the names of Jesus and Pilate and the Memoirs forged to insult us.

[2] At this point I think it necessary to insert this same document of Maximin that was set up on tablets, so as to make manifest at once the boastful, overweening arrogance of this hater of God, and the divine Justice that followed close upon his heels with its sleepless hatred of the evil in wicked men. It was this which smote him; and not long afterwards he reversed his policy with regard to us, and made a decree by laws in writing.

Copy of a Translation of the Rescript of Maximin in answer to

the Petitions against us, taken from the Tablet at Tyre.

[3] "Now at length, the feeble boldness of the human mind has shaken off and dispersed all blinding mists of error, that error which hitherto was attacking the senses of men not so much wicked as wretched, and was wrapping them in the baneful darkness of ignorance; and it has been enabled to recognize that it is governed and established by the benevolent providence of the immortal gods. [4] It passes belief to say how grateful, how exceeding pleasant and agreeable, it has proved to us that you have given a very great proof of your godly disposition; since even before this none could be ignorant what regard and piety you were displaying towards the immortal gods, in whom is manifested a faith, not of bare and empty words, [5] but constant and admirable in its noble deeds. Wherefore your city might worthily be called a temple and dwelling-place of the immortal gods. Certainly, by many signs it appears that it flourishes because there the immortal gods sojourn. [6] Behold therefore, your city put away all thought for its own private advantage and neglected former requests for its own affairs, when once again it perceived that the followers of that accursed folly were beginning to spread, as a neglected and smouldering pyre which, when its fires are rekindled into flame, forms once more a mighty conflagration. Then immediately and without any delay it had recourse to our piety, as to a metropolis of all religious feeling, requesting some healing and help. [7] It is evident that the gods have placed in your heart this saving thought on account of your faith and godly fear. Accordingly it was he, the most exalted and mighty, even Zeus, he who presides over your far-famed city, he who protects your ancestral gods and women and children and hearth and home from all destruction, who inspired your hearts with this saving purpose; it was he who plainly showed how excellent and splendid and saving a thing it is to draw nigh to the worship and sacred rites of the immortal gods with due reverence. [8] For who can be found so senseless or bereft of all intelligence as not to perceive that it is by the benevolent care of the gods that the earth does not refuse the seeds committed to it, and thus disappoint the husbandmen of their hope with vain expectation? Or, again, that the spectre of unholy war does not plant itself without opposition upon the earth,

so that squalid bodies are dragged off to death, while the wholesome air of heaven is polluted? Or, indeed, that the sea does not toss and swell under the blasts of immoderate winds? Or that hurricanes do not burst without warning and stir up a death-dealing tempest? Or, still further, that the earth, the nurse and mother of all, does not sink from its deepest hollows with fearful tremor, and the mountains that lie upon it crash into the resulting chasms? For all these evils, and evils even more terrible, [9] have happened many a time before this, as everyone knows. And all these things happened at once because of the baneful error and vain folly of those unhallowed men, when that error took possession of their souls, and, one might almost say, oppressed the whole world everywhere with its deeds of shame.”

[10] After other remarks he adds: “Let them behold in the broad plains the crops already ripe with waving ears of corn, the meadows, thanks to opportune rains, brilliant with plants and flowers, and the weather that has been granted us temperate and very mild; further, let all rejoice since through our piety, [11] through the sacrifices and veneration we have rendered, the most powerful and intractable air has been propitiated, and let them take pleasure in that they therefore enjoy the most serene peace securely and in quiet. And let as many as have been wholly rescued from that blind folly and error and returned to a right and goodly frame of mind rejoice indeed the more, as if they were delivered from an unexpected hurricane or severe illness and were reaping life’s sweet enjoyment for the future. [12] But if they persist in their accursed folly, let them be separated and driven far away from your city and neighbourhood, even as you requested; that so, in accordance with your praiseworthy zeal in this respect, your city may be separated from all pollution and impiety, and, following its natural desire, may respond with due reverence to the worship of the immortal gods.

[13] “And that you may know how pleasing this your request has been to us, and how fully disposed to benevolence our soul is, of its own accord apart from petitions and entreaties: we permit your Devotedness to ask whatsoever bounty you wish, in return for this your godly intent. [14] And now let it be your resolve so to do and receive. For you will obtain your bounty without delay, the



granting of which to your city will furnish a testimony for evermore of our godly piety towards the immortal gods, and a proof to your sons and descendants that you have met with the due meed of reward from our benevolence on account of these your principles of conduct.”

[15] This was emblazoned against us in every province, excluding every ray of hope from our condition, at least as far as human help is concerned; so that, in accordance with the divine oracle itself, if possible even the elect themselves should be caused to stumble at these things. [16] In truth, expectation was already almost failing in very many souls, when all at once, while those serving the writ set forth against us were on their way and had not yet finished their journey in some districts, the Champion of His own Church, even God, stopping, as it were, the proud boasting of the tyrant against us, displayed His heavenly aid on our behalf.

VIII. [1] The customary rains, indeed, and showers of the then prevailing winter season were withholding their usual downpour upon the earth, and we were visited with an unexpected famine, and on top of this a plague and an outbreak of another kind of disease. This latter was an ulcer, which on account of its fiery character was called an anthrax. Spreading as it did over the entire body it used to endanger greatly its victims; but it was the eyes that it marked out for special attack, and so it was the means of blinding numbers of men as well as women and children.

[2] In addition to this, the tyrant had the further trouble of the war against the Armenians, men who from ancient times had been friends and allies of the Romans; but as they were Christians and exceedingly earnest in their piety towards the Deity, this hater of God, by attempting to compel them to sacrifice to idols and demons, made of them foes instead of friends, and enemies instead of allies.

[3] The fact that all these things came together all at once, at one and the same time, served to refute utterly the tyrant's insolent boasting against the Deity; for he used to affirm insolently that, on account of his zeal for the idols and his attack upon us, neither famine nor pestilence nor even war took place in his time. These things, then, coming upon him together and at the same

time had constituted the prelude of his overthrow. He himself, therefore, [4] was worn out along with his commanders in the Armenian war; while the rest of the inhabitants of the cities under his rule were so terribly wasted by both the famine and the pestilence, that two thousand five hundred Attic drachmas were given for a single measure of wheat. Countless was the number of those who were dying in the cities, [5] and still larger of those in the country parts and villages, with the result that the registers, which formerly contained the names of a numerous rural population, were now all but entirely wiped out; for one might almost say that the entire population perished all at once through lack of food and through plague. [6] Some, indeed, did not hesitate to barter their dearest possessions for the scantiest supply of food with those better provided; others sold off their goods little by little and were driven to the last extremity of want; and others again injured their bodily health, and died from chewing small wisps of hay and recklessly eating certain pernicious herbs. [7] And as for the women, some well-born ladies in cities were driven by their want to shameless necessity, and went forth to beg in the market-places, displaying a proof of their noble upbringing in their shamefacedness and the decency of their apparel. [8] And some, wasted away like ghosts of the departed, and at the last gasp, stumbled and tottered here and there from inability to stand, and fell down; then, stretched out prone in the midst of the streets they would beg for a small morsel of bread to be handed them, and with the last breath in their body cry out that they were hungry, finding strength for this most anguished of cries alone. [9] Others, such as were regarded as belonging to the wealthier classes, amazed at the multitude of beggars, after giving countless doles, henceforth adopted a hard and pitiless frame of mind, since they expected that before very long they would be suffering the same misery as the beggars; so that in the midst of market-places and alleys dead and naked bodies lay scattered here and there unburied for many days, presenting a most piteous spectacle to those who saw them. [10] Some actually became food even for dogs; and chiefly for this reason those who were alive turned to killing dogs, for fear lest they might become mad and turn to devouring men. But worst of

all, the pestilence also batted upon every house, [11] especially those whom the famine could not completely destroy because they were well provided with food. Men, for example, in affluent circumstances, rulers and governors and numbers of officials, who had been left, as it were, of set purpose by the famine for the benefit of the plague, endured a sharp and very speedy death. So every place was full of lamentations; in every alley and market-place and street there was nothing to be seen but funeral dirges, together with the flutes and noises [12] that accompany them. Thus waging war with the aforesaid two weapons, pestilence and famine, death devoured whole families in a short time, so that one might actually see the bodies of two or three dead persons carried out for burial in a single funeral train.

[13] Such were the wages received for the proud boasting of Maximin and for the petitions presented by the cities against us; while the proofs of the Christians' zeal and piety in every respect were manifest to all the heathen. [14] For example, they alone in such an evil state of affairs gave practical evidence of their sympathy and humanity: all day long some of them would diligently persevere in performing the last offices for the dying and burying them (for there were countless numbers, and no one to look after them); while others would gather together in a single assemblage the multitude of those who all throughout the city were wasted with the famine, and distribute bread to them all, so that their action was on all men's lips, and they glorified the God of the Christians, and, convinced by the deeds themselves, acknowledged that they alone were truly pious and God-fearing.

[15] After these things were thus accomplished, God, the great and heavenly Champion of the Christians, when He had displayed His threatening and wrath against all men by the aforesaid means, in return for their exceeding great attacks against us, once again restored to us the bright and kindly radiance of His providential care for us. Most marvellously, as in a thick darkness, He caused the light of peace to shine upon us from Himself, and made it manifest to all that God Himself had been watching over our affairs continually, at times scourging and in due season correcting His people by means of misfortunes, and again on the other hand after sufficient chastisement showing mercy and

goodwill to those who fix their hopes on Him.

IX. [1] Thus in truth Constantine, who, as aforesaid, was Emperor and sprung from an Emperor, pious and sprung from a most pious and in every respect most prudent father, and Licinius, who ranked next to him—both honoured for their understanding and piety—were stirred up by the King of kings, God of the universe and Saviour, two men beloved of God, against the two most impious tyrants; and when war was formally engaged, God proved their ally in the most wonderful manner, and Maxentius fell at Rome at the hands of Constantine; while he of the East did not long survive him, for he too perished by a most disgraceful death at the hands of Licinius, who had not yet become mad.

[2] But to resume. Constantine, the superior of the Emperors in rank and dignity, was the first to take pity on those subjected to tyranny at Rome; and, calling in prayer upon God who is in heaven, and His Word, even Jesus Christ the Saviour of all, as his ally, he advanced in full force, seeking to secure for the Romans their ancestral liberty. Maxentius, to be sure, put his trust rather in devices of magic than in the goodwill of his subjects, [3] and in truth did not dare to advance even beyond the city's gates, but with an innumerable multitude of heavy-armed soldiers and countless bodies of legionaries secured every place and district and city that had been reduced to slavery by him in the environs of Rome and in all Italy. The Emperor, closely relying on the help that comes from God, attacked the first, second and third of the tyrant's armies, and capturing them all with ease advanced over a large part of Italy, actually coming very near to Rome itself. Then, [4] that he might not be compelled because of the tyrant to fight against Romans, God Himself as if with chains dragged the tyrant far away from the gates; and those things which were inscribed long ago in the sacred books against wicked men—to which as a myth very many gave no faith, yet were they worthy of faith to the faithful—now by their very clearness found faith, in a word, with all, faithful and faithless, [5] who had the miracle before their eyes. As, for example, in the days of Moses himself and the ancient and godly race of the Hebrews, "Pharaoh's chariots and his host hath he cast into the sea, his chosen horsemen, even captains, they were sunk in the Red Sea, the deep covered them"; in the same

way also Maxentius and the armed soldiers and guards around him “went down into the depths like a stone,” when he turned his back before the God-sent power that was with Constantine, and was crossing the river that lay in his path, which he himself had bridged right well by joining of boats, [6] and so formed into an engine of destruction against himself. Wherefore one might say: “He hath made a pit, and digged it, and shall fall into the ditch which he made. His work shall return upon his own head, and his wickedness shall come down upon his own pate.”

[7] Thus verily, through the breaking of the bridge over the river, the passage across collapsed, and down went the boats all at once, men and all, into the deep; and first of all he himself, that most wicked of men, and then also the shield-bearers around him, as the divine oracles foretell, sank as lead in the mighty waters. [8] So that suitably, if not in words, at least in deeds, like the followers of the great servant Moses, those who had won the victory by the help of God might in some sort hymn the very same words which were uttered against the wicked tyrant of old, and say: “Let us sing unto the Lord, for gloriously hath he been glorified: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and protector, he is become my salvation”; [9] and “Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods? who is like thee, glorified in saints, marvellous in praises, doing wonders?” These things, and such as are akin and similar to them, Constantine by his very deeds sang to God the Ruler of all and Author of the victory; then he entered Rome with hymns of triumph, and all the senators and other persons of great note, together with women and quite young children and all the Roman people, received him in a body with beaming countenances to their very heart as a ransom, saviour and benefactor, with praises and insatiable joy. [10] But he, as one possessed of natural piety towards God, was by no means stirred by their shouts nor uplifted by their praises, for well he knew that his help was from God; and straightway he gave orders that a memorial of the Saviour’s Passion should be set up in the hand of his own statue; and indeed when they set him in the most public place in Rome holding the Saviour’s sign in his right hand, he bade them engrave this very inscription in these words in the Latin tongue: [11] “By this salutary sign, the true proof of bravery, I

saved and delivered your city from the yoke of the tyrant; and moreover I freed and restored to their ancient fame and splendour both the senate and the people of the Romans.”

[12] And after this Constantine himself, and with him the emperor Licinius, whose mind was not yet deranged by the madness into which he afterwards fell, having propitiated God as the Author of all their good fortune, both with one will and purpose drew up a most perfect law in the fullest terms on behalf of the Christians; and to Maximin, who was still ruler of the provinces of the East and playing at being their friend, they sent on an account of the marvellous things that God had done for them, as well as of their victory over the tyrant, and the law itself. [13] And he, tyrant that he was, was greatly troubled at the intelligence; but, not wishing to seem to yield to others, nor yet to suppress the command through fear of those who had enjoined it, as if of his own motion he penned perforce this first letter on behalf of the Christians to the governors under him; in which he belies himself, and feigns that he had done things he never had.

#### Copy of a Translation of the Epistle of the Tyrant

[1] “Jovius Maximinus Augustus to Sabinus. I am persuaded that it is manifest both to thy Firmness and to all men that our masters Diocletian and Maximian, our fathers, when they perceived that almost all men had abandoned the worship of the gods and associated themselves with the nation of the Christians, rightly gave orders that all men who deserted the worship of their gods, the immortal gods, should be recalled to the worship of the gods by open correction and punishment. But when under happy auspices I came for the first time to the East, [2] and learnt that in certain places very many persons who were able to serve the public good were being banished by the judges for the aforesaid reason, I gave orders to each of the judges that none of them in future was to deal harshly with the provincials, but rather by persuasive words and exhortations to recall them to the worship of the gods. [3] It came to pass at that time, therefore, when in accordance with my injunction the judges observed what was commanded, that no one in the eastern provinces was either banished or suffered insult, but rather was recalled to the worship of the gods, because no severe measures were employed against

them. [4] But afterwards, when last year under happy auspices I had gone to Nicomedia and was staying there, there came to me citizens of the same city with images of the gods, earnestly requesting that on no account should such a nation be permitted to dwell in their city. [5] But when I learnt that very many of the same religion dwelt in those very parts, I thus made them reply: That I was gratified, and thanked them for their request, but I perceived that this request did not come from all. If, then, there were some that persevered in the same superstition, let each one keep thus his resolve according as he personally wished; and if they so desired it, let them acknowledge the worship of the gods. [6] Nevertheless to these same Nicomedians and the rest of the cities, who themselves have so very earnestly addressed me a similar request, namely, that no Christian should inhabit their cities, I was compelled to reply in a friendly manner, because the Emperors of old time had carefully observed this very thing, and it was pleasing to the gods themselves, by whom all men and the government itself of the state subsist, that I should confirm such a request as they were making on behalf of the worship of their Deity.

[7] "Therefore, although special letters have been written to thy Devotedness before this time, and likewise it has been laid down by ordinances that no harsh measures should be adopted against provincials who have a mind to persevere in such a custom, but that men should deal with them in a long-suffering and adaptable spirit: nevertheless that they may not suffer insults or extortions at the hands of the beneficiarii or any others whatsoever, I think it right by this letter also to put thy Firmness in mind that thou shouldest cause our provincials to recognize the attention they owe to the gods rather by persuasive words and exhortations. [8] Wherefore if any should make it his resolve that the worship of the gods should be recognized, it is fitting to welcome such persons; but if some desire to follow their own worship, thou shouldest leave it in their own power. [9] For this reason it behoves thy Devotedness to observe carefully that which is commanded thee, and that authority be given to none to afflict our provincials with insults and extortions, since, as we wrote above, it is fitting to recall our provincials to the worship of the gods rather by

exhortations and persuasive words. And that this our injunction may come to the knowledge of all our provincials, it behoves thee to make known that which has been enjoined in an ordinance put forth by thyself.”

[10] Since he issued these commands under the compulsion of necessity and not of his own free will, no one any longer regarded him as truthful or even trustworthy, because after a similar concession he had already on a former occasion showed himself to be changeable and false of disposition. [11] None of our people therefore dared to convene an assembly or to present himself in public, because the letter did not allow him even this. This alone it laid down, that we should be kept from harsh treatment, but it gave no orders about holding meetings or erecting church-buildings or practising any of our customary acts. [12] And yet the advocates of peace and piety, [Constantine and Licinius], had written to him to allow this, and had conceded it to all their subjects by means of edicts and laws. In truth, this monster of iniquity had resolved not to give in as regards this matter; until he was smitten by the divine Justice, and at the last against his will forced to do so.

X. [1] The following were the circumstances that hemmed him in. He was unable to carry on the vast government with which he had been undeservedly entrusted; but, lacking a prudent and imperial mind, he managed his affairs tactlessly; and, above all, his soul was uplifted in an absurd manner by an overweening arrogance, actually against his colleagues in the Empire, men who were in every way his superiors in birth and upbringing and education, in worth and intelligence, and—what is most important of all—in sobriety and piety towards the true God. So he began to venture to act with insolence, and publicly to style himself first in rank. Then he pushed his madness to the length of insanity, and, breaking the treaty he had made with Licinius, [2] raised an internecine war. Next, in a short time he threw everything into confusion, greatly disturbed every city, and, gathering together all the army, an innumerable multitude of men, went forth to fight him in battle-array, his soul uplifted by the hopes he placed in demons, whom, forsooth, he regarded as gods, and in his myriads of armed soldiers.



[3] But when he joined battle, he found himself bereft of divine Providence, for, by the direction of Him who is the one and only God of all, [4] the victory was given to Licinius who was then ruling. First of all, the armed soldiers in whom he had trusted were destroyed; and when his bodyguard had left him defenceless and wholly deserted, and had gone over to him who was ruling, the wretched man divested himself with all speed of the imperial insignia that ill became him, and in a cowardly, base and unmanly way quietly slipt into the crowd. Then he ran about here and there, hiding himself in the fields and villages; and for all his courting of safety he escaped with difficulty the hands of his enemies, [5] his deeds themselves proclaiming how very trustworthy and true are the divine oracles, in which it has been said: "There is no king saved by much power, and a giant will not be saved by his great strength. A horse is a vain thing for safety, and will not be saved by his great power. Behold, the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his mercy; [6] to deliver their souls from death." Thus, then, did the tyrant, filled with shame, come to his own territory. And first in his mad fury he put to death many priests and prophets of those gods who had formerly been his admiration, and whose oracles had incited him to begin the war, on the ground that they were charlatans and deceivers and, above all, betrayers of his safety. Next, he gave glory to the Christians' God, and drew up a law on behalf of their liberty in the most complete and fullest manner. Then straightway, no respite being granted him, he ended his life by a miserable death.

Now the law issued by him was as follows:

Copy of a Translation of the Ordinance of the Tyrant on behalf of the Christians, made from the Latin tongue into the Greek.

[7] "The Emperor Caesar Gaius Valerius Maximinus Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Pius Felix Invictus Augustus. We believe that no one is ignorant, nay that every man who has recourse to the facts knows and is conscious that it is manifest, that in every way we take unceasing thought for the good of our provincials, and desire to grant them such things as are best calculated to secure the advantage of all, and whatsoever things are advantageous and useful to their common weal, and such as are suitable to the public advantage and agreeable to every mind.

[8] Since, therefore, before this it has been evident to our knowledge that, on the plea that the most divine Diocletian and Maximian, our fathers, had given orders for the abolishment of the Christian assemblies, many extortions and robberies have been practised by the officials, and that this increased as time went on to the detriment of our provincials (for whose good it is our especial desire that there should be due thought), and that their own personal possessions were being destroyed: we addressed a letter to the governors in each province last year, laying it down that if any should wish to follow such a custom or the same religious observances, such a one should adhere to his purpose without hindrance, and be hindered or prevented by no one; and that they should have a free hand, without fear and suspicion, [9] to do whatsoever each one pleases. But it cannot escape our notice even now that some of the judges misinterpreted our injunctions, and caused our people to have doubts with regard to our commands, and made them somewhat backward in joining in those religious observances that were pleasing to them.

[10] “That, therefore, for the future allsuspicion or doubt arising from fear may be removed, we have decreed that this ordinance be published, so that it may be plain to all that those who desire to follow this sect and religious observance are permitted, in accordance with this our bounty, as each one wishes or finds it pleasing, to join in that religious observance which from choice he was wont to practise. And permission has also been granted them to build the Lord’s houses. [11] Nevertheless, that our bounty may be even greater, we have decided to decree this also: that if any houses or lands, which used formerly to belong by right to the Christians, have by the injunction of our parents passed into the right of the public treasury or have been seized by any city—whether a sale of these has taken place, or they have been handed over to anyone as a gift—we have given orders that all these be restored to the Christians as their original right, so that in this also all may perceive our piety and solicitude.”

[12] These are the words of the tyrant that came less than a whole year after the ordinances against the Christians, set up by him on tablets; and he who a short while previously looked upon us as impious and godless and the pests of society, so that we

were not permitted to dwell in, I will not say, a city, but even a spot in the country or a desert—this same person drew up ordinances and legislation on behalf of the Christians; and those who shortly before were being destroyed by fire and sword and given to wild beasts and birds for food before his eyes, and were enduring every kind of chastisement and punishment and loss of life in the most pitiable manner, as if they were godless and wicked, these he now allows both to observe their form of worship and to build churches; and the tyrant himself confesses that they possess certain rights!

[13] And when he had made these confessions, as if meeting with some kind of reward on this very account—that is, suffering less, to be sure, than it behoved him to suffer—he was smitten all at once by a stroke of God, [14] and perished in the second encounter of the war. But the circumstances of his death were not such as fall to the lot of generals on a campaign, who time after time contend bravely on behalf of virtue and friends, and with a good courage meet a glorious end in battle; but he suffered his due punishment like an impious enemy of God, skulking at home while his army was still stationed in battle-array on the field. All at once he was smitten by a stroke of God over his whole body, with the result that he fell prone under the onslaught of terrible pains and agonies; he was wasted by hunger, and his flesh entirely consumed by an invisible, divinely-sent fire; the form which his body once possessed wasted away and vanished, and there remained only a form of dry bones, like some phantom shape long since reduced to a skeleton, so that those present could not but think that his body had become the tomb of his soul, which had been buried in what was now a corpse and completely wasted away. [15] And as the heat consumed him still more fiercely in the very depths of his marrow, his eyes projected, and falling from their sockets left him blind. Yet he still breathed in this condition, and making confession to the Lord invoked death. So with his last breath he acknowledged that he suffered thus justly because of his violence against Christ; and then gave up the ghost.

XI. [1] When Maximin was thus removed—he who was the only one left of the enemies of godliness, and showed himself the worst of all—by the grace of Almighty God the renewal of the

churches from the foundation was set on foot, and the word of Christ received a due increase upon its former freedom, and was clearly heard to the glory of the God of the universe; while the impiety of the enemies of godliness was covered with the most abject shame and dishonour. [2] For Maximin himself was the first to be proclaimed by the rulers as a common enemy of all, and posted in public edicts on tablets as a most impious, most hateful and God-hating tyrant. As to the portraits which were set up in every city to his honour and that of his children, some were hurled from a height to the ground and smashed to pieces, others had their faces blackened over with dark-coloured paint and so rendered useless; the statues likewise, as many as had been set up in his honour, were cast down and broken in the same manner, and lay as an object of merriment and sport to those who wished to insult or abuse them.

[3] Next, all the honours of the other enemies of godliness also were taken away, and all who were of the party of Maximin were slain, especially those in high government positions who had been honoured by him, and who indulged in violent abuse against our doctrine in order to fawn upon him. Such was Peucetius, [4] a man whom he honoured and respected above all, the truest of his friends, consul a second and a third time, and appointed by him general finance minister; such likewise was Culcianus, who had gone through every grade of office in the government, the same person who gloried in the murder of countless Christians in Egypt; and in addition to these not a few others, who were the chief means of confirming and increasing Maximin's tyranny.

[5] So it was that Theotecnus also was summoned by Justice, who in no wise consigned to oblivion what he did against the Christians. For after he had set up the idol at Antioch, he seemed to be prospering, [6] and had actually been deemed worthy of a governorship by Maximin; but when Licinius came to the city of the Antiochenes, he made a search for charlatans, and plied with tortures the prophets and priests of the new-made idol, to find out by what contrivance they were practising this deceit. And when the infliction of the tortures made concealment impossible for them, and they revealed that the whole mystery was a deceit manufactured by the art of Theotecnus, he inflicted a just

punishment upon them all, putting to death, after a long series of tortures, first Theotecnus himself, and then also the partners in his charlatany.

[7] To all these were added the sons of Maximin, whom he had already caused to share the imperial dignity and to be set up in paintings and pictures. And those who formerly boasted kinship with the tyrant and were moved by pride to lord it over all men underwent the same sufferings, accompanied by the most abject disgrace, as those mentioned above; for they received not correction, nor did they know or understand the exhortation in the sacred books which says: [8] "Put not your trust in princes, in the sons of men, in whom there is no help. His breath shall go forth and he shall return to his earth. In that day all his thoughts shall perish." Thus verily when the impious ones had been purged away, the kingdom that belonged to them was preserved steadfast and undisputed for Constantine and Licinius alone; who, when they had made it their very first action to purge the world of enmity against God, conscious of the good things that He had bestowed upon them, displayed their love of virtue and of God, their piety and gratitude towards the Deity, by their enactment on behalf of the Christians.

## CONTENTS OF BOOK X

The Tenth Book of the Ecclesiastical History contains the following:

- I. On the peace vouchsafed to us from God.
- II. On the restoration of the churches.
- III. On the dedications in every place.
- IV. Panegyric on the joyful condition of affairs.
- V. Copies of imperial laws having reference to the Christians.
- VI. On the exemption from public service granted to the clerics.

VII. On the subsequent wickedness of Licinius and his tragic end.

VIII. On the victory of Constantine and the blessings which he was the means of procuring for the subjects of the Roman Empire.



# BOOK X

I. [1] THANKS be to God, the Almighty and King of the universe, for all things; and abundant thanks be also to the Saviour and Redeemer of our souls, Jesus Christ, through whom we pray continually that peace from troubles without and troubles in the heart may be preserved for us stedfast and undisturbed.

[2] And having now added, while we pray, the tenth tome also of the Ecclesiastical History to those which preceded it, we shall dedicate this tome to thee, my most holy Paulinus, invoking thee as the seal of the whole work; [3] and fitly in a perfect number we shall here place the perfect and panegyric discourse on the restoration of the churches, in obedience to the divine Spirit who thus exhorts us: "O sing unto the Lord a new song; for he hath done marvellous things: His right hand, and His holy arm, hath wrought salvation for him. The Lord hath made known his salvation: His righteousness hath He revealed in the sight of the heathen."

[4] And verily, in accordance with the oracle, which thus bids us, let us now cry aloud the new song, since, after those terrible and gloomy spectacles and narratives, we were accounted worthy now to behold and to celebrate in panegyric such things as of a truth many righteous men and martyrs of God before us desired to see upon earth and saw them not, and to hear, [5] and heard them not. But they indeed, hasting with all speed, obtained far better things in the heavens themselves and were caught up into a paradise of divine pleasure; while we, acknowledging that even these present things are beyond our deserts, have been utterly astounded at the munificence of the bounty of which He is the Author, and with our whole soul's might fittingly render Him our awe and worship, attesting the truth of the written predictions, wherein it is said: "Come and behold the works of the Lord, what wonders He hath made in the earth, [6] making wars to cease unto the ends of the earth. He will break the bow and shatter the armour, and the shields he will burn with fire." Rejoicing that these



things have been clearly fulfilled to us-ward, let us proceed to take up our narrative.

[7] The whole race of God's enemies had verily been removed even as we have stated, and in a moment blotted out of men's sight; so that once more a divine saying hath fulfilment, that which says: "I have seen the wicked in great power, and lifted up like the cedars of Lebanon. And I passed by, and, lo, he was not: [8] and I sought his place, and it was not found." And now henceforth a day bright and radiant with rays of heavenly light, overshadowed by never a cloud, shone down upon the churches of Christ throughout the whole world; nor were even those outside our society grudged, if not the equal enjoyment of our divinely-sent blessings, at any rate a share in their effluence and a participation thereof.

II. [1] So the whole human race was freed from the oppression of the tyrants. And, delivered from his former ills, each one after his own fashion acknowledged as the only true God Him who was the Champion of the pious. But we especially, who had fixed our hopes upon the Christ of God, had gladness unspeakable, and a divine joy blossomed in the hearts of us all as we beheld every place, which a short time before had been laid in ruins by the tyrants' evil deeds, now reviving as if after a long and deadly destruction, and temples rising once more from their foundations to a boundless height, and receiving in far greater measure the magnificence of those that formerly had been destroyed.

[2] Yea, and Emperors, the most exalted, by successive enactments on behalf of the Christians, confirmed still further and more widely God's bounty towards us; and bishops constantly received even personal letters from the Emperor, and honours and gifts of money. It may not be unfitting at the proper place in this work, as on a sacred monument, to insert in this book the text of these documents, translated from Latin into Greek, so that they may also be preserved in remembrance by all those who come after us.

III. [1] After this there was brought about that spectacle for which we all prayed and longed: festivals of dedication in the cities and consecrations of the newly-built houses of prayer, assemblages of bishops, comings together of those from far off

foreign lands, kindly acts on the part of laity towards laity, union between the members of Christ's body [2] as they met together in complete harmony. Certainly, in accordance with a prophetic prediction that mystically signified beforehand what was for to come, there came together bone to bone and joint to joint, [3] and all that the oracular utterance in dark speech truly foretold. One was the power of the divine Spirit that spread through all the members; all were of one soul, and displayed the same zeal for the faith; one hymn of praise to God came from the lips of all. Yea verily, our leaders conducted perfect ceremonies, and the consecrated priests performed the sacred rites and stately ordinances of the Church, here with psalmody and recitation of such other words as have been given us from God, there with the ministering of divine and mystic services; [4] and the ineffable symbols of the Saviour's Passion were present. And all together, of every age, male and female, with the whole power of their mind gave honour to God the Author of their good fortune, in prayer and thanksgiving with joyful heart and soul.

Moreover every one of the Church's rulers that were present, according to his ability, delivered panegyric orations, inspiring the assembly. IV. [1] And a certain one of moderate parts advanced into the midst, having composed a discourse; and, in the presence of very many pastors who gave it a quiet and orderly hearing as in a church assembly, he delivered the following oration, addressed personally to a single bishop who was in every respect most excellent and beloved of God, by whose zeal and enthusiasm the temple in Tyre, surpassing in splendour all others in Phoenicia, had been erected:

Panegyric on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, bishop of the Tyrians:

[2] "O friends of God and priests who are clothed with the holy robe and the celestial crown of glory, the divine unction and the priestly garb of the Holy Spirit; and thou, O youthful pride of God's holy temple, honoured indeed by God with revered wisdom, yet noted for the choice deeds and acts of a youthful virtue that cometh to its prime, upon whom He who compasseth the whole world hath bestowed the especial honour of building His house upon earth, and restoring it for Christ His only-begotten and

firstborn Word and for Christ's holy and reverend Bride—whether one should call thee a new Bezalel the architect of a divine tabernacle, [3] or Solomon the king of a new and far goodlier Jerusalem, or even a new Zerubbabel who bestowed upon the temple of God that glory which greatly exceeded the former; [4] and you also, ye nurslings of the sacred flock of Christ, dwelling-place of goodly words, school of sobriety, auditory of godliness grave and dear to God. [5] Long ago, as we listened to the reading aloud of those passages of Holy Writ which told of the miraculous signs that God gave and the wondrous deeds that the Lord wrought for the service of men, we could raise hymns and songs to God and say, even as we were taught: 'We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us, what work thou didst in their days, in the days of old.' [6] But now indeed no longer by hearing or by report do we learn of the stretched out arm and the heavenly right hand of our all-gracious God and universal King; nay, by deeds, as one might say, and with our very eyes do we behold that those things committed to memory long ago are faithful and true; and so we can sing a second hymn of victory, and raise our voices aloud and say: 'As we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God.' [7] And in what city, if it be not the new-made city that God hath builded, which is the church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth; of which also another divine oracle speaketh good tidings, somewhat on this manner: 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God'? To which city since the all-gracious God hath gathered us, through the grace of His Only-begotten, let each of the guests sing, yea all but shout, and say 'I was glad when they said unto me, we will go unto the house of the Lord'; and 'Lord, [8] I have loved the beauty of thy house, and the place where thy glory dwelleth.' And let not only each one by himself, but also all together with one spirit and one soul, give honour and praise, saying: 'Great is the Lord, and highly to be praised, in the city of our God, in his holy mountain.' Yea verily, He is truly great, and great is His house, lofty and large; and more lovely in beauty than the sons of men. Great is the Lord who only doeth wondrous things. Great is He who doeth great things and past finding out; yea, glorious and marvellous things of which there is no number.

Great is He who changeth the times and the seasons, removing kings and setting them up, raising up the poor from the ground, and from the dunghill setting up the needy. He hath put down princes from their thrones, and hath exalted them of low degree from the ground. The hungry he hath filled with good things, [9] and he hath broken the arms of the proud. Since, therefore, He hath confirmed not only for the faithful but also for the faithless the record of the ancient narratives, even He, the Doer of wonders, the Doer of great things, the Lord of the universe, the Maker of the whole world, the Almighty, the All-gracious, the one and only God—let us sing to Him the new song, supplying in thought this also: ‘To him who alone doeth great wonders: for his mercy endureth for ever ... to him which smote great kings, ... and slew mighty kings; for his mercy endureth for ever ... for he remembered us in our low estate, ... and hath delivered us from our adversaries.’

[10] “And may we never cease to praise aloud in these words the Father of the universe. But as for Him who is the second cause of our good things, who brought men to the knowledge of God, the Teacher of true piety, the Destroyer of the wicked, the Slayer of tyrants, the Emender of human life, our Saviour when we were in despair, even Jesus, let us honour His name upon our lips; [11] for He alone, as being the one only, all-gracious Son of an all-gracious Father, since the Father in His love for man so ordained it, right willingly put on the nature of us, even of those who anywhere lay low in corruption. And like some excellent physician, who, to save those who are sick, ‘though he sees the ills yet touches the foul spots, and for another’s misfortunes reaps suffering for himself,’ so He by Himself saved from the very abyss of death us, who were not merely sick or oppressed by grievous sores and wounds already putrifying, but even lying among the dead; for none other in heaven possessed such strength as to minister unscathed for the salvation of so many. [12] He, then, it was who alone laid hold upon the grievous suffering of our corruption, alone endured our sorrows, alone took upon Himself the penalty for our wickednesses; and when we were, I will not say, half dead, but even by this time altogether foul and stinking in tombs and graves, He raised us up, and saveth us now as in the days of old, in His earnest love for man, beyond the hope of

anyone, even of ourselves, and of the good things of His Father imparteth to us freely a share—He who is the Giver of life, the Enlightener, our great Physician and King and Lord, the Christ of God. [13] Yea at that time, when He beheld the whole human race lying sunk in gloomy night and darkness profound through the deceit of baneful demons and the operations of God-hating spirits, by naught save His appearing He broke asunder once for all the many-fettered chains of our wickednesses, as wax is melted by the rays of His light.

[14] “And when at this great grace and benefaction the envy that hateth the good, even the demon that loveth the evil, was torn asunder with wrath, so to speak, and was marshalling all his death-dealing forces against us, at first raging like a dog which gnaweth with his teeth at the stones hurled at him and venteth on the lifeless missiles his fury against those who would drive him away, he directed his ferocious madness against the stones of the houses of prayer and the lifeless materials of which the buildings were composed, to work (as at least he thought within himself) the ruin of the churches; then he emitted his dread hissings and serpent-like sounds, at one time by the threats of wicked tyrants, at another by blasphemous ordinances of impious rulers; yea further, he vomited forth the death that was his, and bewitched the souls he captured by his baneful and soul-destroying poisons, all but causing their death by his death-fraught sacrifices to dead idols, and secretly stirring up every wild beast in shape of man, and every kind of savage thing, against us. But now, [15] now again once more the Angel of mighty counsel, the great Captain of the host of God, after that the greatest soldiers in His kingdom had given sufficient proof of their full training by their endurance and stedfastness in all things, by naught save His sudden appearing caused to vanish into nothingness whatsoever was adverse and hostile, so that it seemed never to have had even a name; howbeit, whatsoever was friendly and dear to Him, that He advanced beyond all glory in the sight of all, not only of men, but even also of the powers of heaven, the sun and moon and stars, and of the whole heaven and earth; [16] so that now—a thing unknown heretofore—the most exalted Emperors of all, conscious of the honour which they have received from Him, spit upon the

faces of dead idols, trample upon the unhallowed rites of demons, and laugh at the old deceits they inherited from their fathers: but Him who is the common Benefactor of all and of themselves they recognize as the one and only God, and confess that Christ the Son of God is sovereign King of the universe, and style Him as Saviour on monuments, inscribing in an imperishable record His righteous acts and His victories over the impious ones, in imperial characters in the midst of the city that is Empress among the cities of the world. Thus Jesus Christ our Saviour, alone of those who have ever been, is acknowledged, even by the most exalted on the earth, not as an ordinary king taken from among men, but is worshipped as the very Son of the God of the universe, and as Himself God.

[17] "And rightly so. For what king ever attained to so much virtue as to fill the ears and tongues of all mankind upon earth with his name? What king, when he had laid down laws so good and wise, was powerful enough to cause them to be published from the ends of the earth and to the bounds of the whole world in the hearing of all mankind? [18] Who abolished the barbarous and uncivilized customs of uncivilized nations by his civilized and most humane laws? Who, when warred on by all men for whole ages, gave such proof of superhuman might as to flourish daily and remain young throughout his entire life? [19] Who established a nation never even heard of since time began, which now lieth not hidden in some obscure corner of the earth but extendeth wherever the sun shineth? Who so defended his soldiers with the weapons of piety that their souls proved harder than adamant when they contended with their adversaries? [20] Which of the kings exerciseth so great a sway, taketh the field after death, triumpheth over enemies, and filleth every place and district and city, both Greek and barbarian, with votive offerings of his royal houses and divine temples, such as the fair ornaments and offerings that we see in this temple? Truly venerable and great are these same things, worthy of amazement and wonder, and in themselves clear proofs of the sovereignty of our Saviour: for even now He spake, and they were made; He commanded, and they were created: for what could resist the will of the universal King and Euler and the Word of God Himself? [21] Such things would

require a discourse of their own, were one carefully to examine and expound them at leisure. Yet indeed the zeal of those who have laboured is not so great or so noble in the judgement of Him whom we address as God, when He looketh into the lively temple which we all compose, and vieweth the house formed of living and firmly set stones, well and securely grounded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; which stone the master-builders rejected, not only of that old building which is no more, but also of that building which compriseth the more part of mankind to the present day, evil workmen as they were of evil things; but the Father approved it, and then and now builded it into the head of the corner of this our common Church. This living temple, then, of a living God formed out of ourselves, I mean the greatest sanctuary and truly reverend, [22] whose innermost shrine may not be seen by the common eye, for verily holy it is and a holy of holies—who that viewed it would dare to describe? Who is able even to peer into the temple buildings that surround it, save only the great High Priest of the universe, to whom alone it is permitted to search the hidden mysteries of every rational soul? But perchance it is possible for another also, [23] and for one alone among equals, to take the second place after Him, namely, for the commander who presideth over this army, whom the first and great High Priest Himself hath honoured with the second place in the priestly ministries of this place, the pastor of your divine flock who was allotted and adjudged your people by the Father, as if He Himself had appointed him His attendant and interpreter, the new Aaron or Melchizedek, made like unto the Son of God, abiding and kept by Him continually by the common prayers of you all. To him, therefore, [24] let it be permitted alone, after the first and greatest High Priest, if not in the first at any rate in the second place, to behold and inspect the inmost recesses of your souls; since through experience and length of time he hath proved each one accurately, and by his zealous care he hath disposed you all in a godly order and doctrine; and he best of all is able to give such an account as will match his deeds, of those things that he himself hath wrought by the power of God.

[25] “Now our first and great High Priest saith that whatsoever

things he seeth the Father doing, these the Son also doeth in like manner. And this one also, looking unto the first as unto a master with the pure eyes of the mind, whatsoever he seeth Him doing, these he useth as patterns and archetypes, and by his workmanship hath wrought their images, as far as in him lieth, into the closest likeness; thus in no wise doth he come behind that Bezalel, whom God Himself filled with the spirit of wisdom and understanding and with the knowledge as well of crafts and sciences, [26] and called him to be the workman that should construct the temple of heavenly types in symbolic fashion. After this manner, then, this man also, bearing in his own soul the image of Christ entire, the Word, the Wisdom, the Light, hath formed this magnificent temple of God most high, answering in its nature to the pattern of that which is better, even as the visible answereth to the invisible; nor could one describe with what noble-mindedness, with what a liberal hand—whose will to give was insatiable—and with what emulation on the part of you all, ye nobly vied with one another by the large-heartedness of your contributions in no respect to come behind him in this selfsame purpose. And this place—which thing also is worthy to be mentioned first of all—which by the evil designs of our enemies had been covered with all kinds of vile rubbish, he did not overlook nor surrender to the malice of those who did this, though he might have lighted upon another spot (for the city supplied countless other sites), and thus found relief from toil and freedom from trouble. Nay, he first of all aroused himself to the work; then by his zeal he strengthened the whole people, [27] and gathering together all into one great body, entered upon the first contest; for he deemed that she especially who had been destroyed by the enemy, she who had been aforetime afflicted and had endured the same persecutions as we and before us, even the church who like a mother had been bereft of her children, should have her share in the enjoyment of the bounty of the all-gracious God. For since once more the great shepherd, [28] having driven away the wild beasts and the wolves and every kind of cruel and savage creature, and having broken the great teeth of the lions, as the divine oracles say, once more had vouchsafed to bring His sons together, it was most meet that he should also set up the fold of



the flock, that he might put to shame the enemy and the avenger, and openly rebuke the evil deeds of impious men fighting against God. [29] And now these men, the haters of God, are no more, for they never were; but after troubling and being troubled for a little while, then they paid to Justice no contemptible penalty, accomplishing the utter overthrow of themselves, their friends and houses; so that the predictions which long ago had been inscribed on sacred records are confessedly proved trustworthy by the facts, [30] in which, among other true things that the divine word speaketh, this also it declareth concerning them: 'The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow; to cast down the poor and needy, to slay the upright in heart: may their sword enter into their own hearts, and may their bows be broken'; and again: 'Their memorial is perished with a sound,' and 'Their name hath been blotted out for ever and for ever and ever'; for verily when they also were in trouble 'They cried, and there was none to save: unto the Lord, and he did not hear them'; yea, they indeed 'had their feet bound together and fell, but we rose and stood upright'; and that which was predicted in these words, 'Lord, in thy city thou shalt set at naught their image,' hath been shown to be true before the eyes of all.

[31] "But they verily, engaging like giants in battle against God, have thus brought their lives to a miserable end; while the issue of that godly endurance on the part of her who was deserted and rejected by men was such as we have seen; so that the prophecy of Isaiah calleth aloud unto her in these words: [32] 'Be glad, O thirsty desert; let the desert rejoice and blossom as a lily; and the desert places shall blossom forth and rejoice.... Be strong, ye hands that hang down, and ye palsied knees. Be of good courage, ye feeble-hearted, be strong, fear not; behold, our God recompenseth judgement, and will recompense; he will come and save you.... For,' saith he, 'water broke out in the desert, and a stream in thirsty ground. And the waterless place shall become marsh-meadows, and upon the thirsty ground shall be a fountain of water.'

[33] "Now these things, foretold long ago, had been recorded in the sacred books in words; howbeit the deeds have come down to us no longer by hearsay, but in actual fact. This desert, this

waterless place, this widowed and defenceless one, whose gates they cut down with axes as in a thicket of trees; whom together with hatchet and hammer they brake down; whose books also they destroyed and set on fire the sanctuary of God; they profaned the dwelling-place of His name to the ground; whom all they which pass by the way did pluck, having before broken down her fences, whom the boar out of the wood did ravage and on whom the solitary wild beast did feed: now by the miraculous power of Christ, when He willeth it, hath become as a lily. For at that time also by His command, as of a careful father, she was chastened. For whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom He receiveth. So then, after being corrected in due measure, [34] once more again she is bidden anew to rejoice, and she blossoms forth as a lily and breathes upon all men of her divine, sweet odour; for, saith he, water broke out in the desert, the streams of the divine regeneration that the washing of salvation bestoweth; and that which a short time before was desert hath now become marsh-meadows, and a fountain of living water hath burst forth upon the thirsty ground; and in very truth hands that before hung down have become strong, of the strength of which hands these great and manifest works are tokens. Yea, and the knees that long ago were diseased and relaxed have recovered their natural movement, and go straight forward upon the way of the knowledge of God, hasting to the flock of the all-gracious Shepherd, [35] their true home. But if through the threats of the tyrants the souls of some have waxed numb, not even these doth the saving Word pass by as incurable, [36] but right well He healeth them also and urgeth them on towards the divine encouragement, saying: 'Be of good courage, ye feeble-hearted, be strong, fear not.'

"The word which prophesied that she whom God had made desert was to enjoy these blessings, this our new and goodly Zerubbabel heard with the sharp hearing of his mind, after that bitter captivity and the abomination of desolation; nor did he pass by the corpse as dead, but first of all with entreaties and prayer he propitiated the Father with the common consent of you all; and taking as his Ally and Fellow-worker Him who alone can quicken the dead, he raised up her that had fallen, having first cleansed

and healed her of her ills; and he clothed her with a garment, not the old one that she had from the beginning, but with such a one as he was once more instructed by the divine oracles, which thus clearly say: 'And the latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former.'

[37] "Thus, then, the whole area that he enclosed was much larger. The outer enclosure he made strong with the wall surrounding the whole, [38] so that it might be a most secure defence thereof; while he spread out a porch, great and raised aloft, towards the rays of the rising sun, and even to those standing far outside the sacred precincts supplied no scanty view of that which is within; thus, one might say, turning the gaze, even of strangers to the faith, towards the first entrances, so that none might hastily pass by without first having his soul mightily struck by the memory of the former desolation and the wondrous miracle of to-day; struck by which he hoped that perchance such a one would also be impelled, and have his steps turned forwards by the bare sight, [39] towards the entrance. Now he hath not permitted him that passeth inside the gates to tread forthwith with unhallowed and unwashed feet upon the holy places within; but hath left a space exceeding large between the temple and the first entrances, and adorned it all around with four transverse colonnades, fencing the place into a kind of quadrangular figure, with pillars raised on every side, and filling the spaces between them with wooden barriers of lattice-work rising to a convenient height; and in the midst thereof he hath left an open space where men can see the sky, thus providing it with air bright and open to the rays of light. [40] And here he hath placed symbols of sacred purifications, by erecting fountains right opposite the temple, whose copious streams of flowing water supply cleansing to those who are advancing within the sacred precincts. And this is the first stopping-place for those that enter; supplying at once adornment and splendour to the whole, and a place of sojourn suited to such as are still in need of their first instructions.

[41] "But verily, passing by this spectacle, he hath thrown open passages to the temple by means of innermost porches in still greater numbers, once again under the rays of the sun placing three gates on one side, upon the middle one of which he hath

bestowed a height and size that far surpasseth the two on either side, and hath singled it out for special adornment with bronze fastenings bound with iron and varied embossed work, making the others a bodyguard, as it were, beneath it as their queen. [42] And after the same manner he hath also ordered the number of the porches for the colonnades on either side of the entire temple; and above them hath devised as well separate openings into the building to give still further light; and for these also he hath wrought a varied adornment with delicately-carved wood.

“Now as to the royal house, he hath builded it of abundant and still richer materials, [43] eagerly desiring to spare no expenses. I deem it superfluous for me to describe here the length and breadth of the edifice, to recount in full the brilliant beauty, the magnitude no words can express, and the dazzling appearance of the workmanship, yea, and the loftiness that reacheth heaven, and the costly cedars of Lebanon that are placed above; the mention of which even the divine oracle doth not pass over in silence, saying: ‘The trees of the Lord shall be glad, even the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.’

[44] “Why need I now speak more particularly of the perfect wisdom and art with which the building hath been ordered, and the surpassing beauty of every part, when the witness of the eyes leaveth no place for the instruction that cometh through the ears? Nevertheless, having thus completed the temple he adorned it with thrones, very lofty, to do honour unto the presidents, and likewise with benches arranged in order throughout in a convenient manner; and after all these he hath placed in the midst the holy of holies even the altar, and again surrounded this part also, that the multitude might not tread thereon, with a fence of wooden lattice-work, delicately wrought with the craftsman’s utmost skill, so as to present a marvellous spectacle to those that see it.

[45] “Nor did even the pavement, as one might suppose, escape his care. This also, for example, he hath made exceeding brilliant with every kind of fair marble; and then, finally, passing on outside the temple as well, he hath constructed chambers and buildings on either side, very large, the which he hath skilfully joined together to the sides of the royal house, and united with the

openings into the central building. These also were wrought by our most peaceful Solomon, who builded the temple of God, for those who still have need of cleansing and sprinkling with water and the Holy Spirit, insomuch that the aforesaid prophecy is no longer a word only, [46] but is become a fact. For the latter glory of this house hath become, and in truth even now is, greater than the former.

“For it was meet and right that, as her Shepherd and Lord had suffered once for all death on her behalf, and after the Passion had changed the foul body with which He had clothed Himself for her sake into His splendid and glorious body, and brought the very flesh that was dissolved from corruption into incorruption, she also likewise should enjoy the fruits of the dispensations of the Saviour. For verily having received from Him a promise of much better things than even these, she longeth to receive as her due, lastingly and for the ages that are to come, the much greater glory of the new birth in the resurrection of an incorruptible body, in the company of the choir of the angels of light in the kingdoms of God beyond the heavens, with Christ Jesus Himself her supreme Benefactor and Saviour. [47] But meanwhile in the present time she who hath long been a widow and deserted hath been robed by the grace of God with these blossoms, and is become in truth as a lily, as saith the prophecy; and having received again the garb of a bride and put on the garland of beauty, she is taught by Isaiah to dance, as it were, presenting her thank-offering to the glory of God the King in words of praise. Let us listen to her as she saith: [48] ‘Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for he hath clothed me with the garment of salvation and the cloke of gladness, he hath put a chaplet upon me as a bridegroom, and hath adorned me with adornment as a bride. And as the earth that maketh her flower to grow, and as the garden causeth the things that are sown in it to spring forth; so the Lord, the Lord, will cause righteousness and rejoicing to spring forth before all the nations.’

[49] “With these words, then, she danceth. But with what words the Bridegroom also, even the heavenly Word, Jesus Christ Himself, answereth her, hear the Lord as He saith: ‘Fear not for that thou hast been put to shame; neither dread for that thou hast been put to reproach: for thou shalt forget thy everlasting shame,

and the reproach of thy widowhood shalt thou remember no more. ... Not as a wife forsaken and faint-hearted hath the Lord called thee, nor as a wife hated from her youth, saith thy God. For a little time I forsook thee; and with great mercy I will have mercy on thee. In a little wrath I hid my face from thee, and with everlasting mercy I will have mercy on thee, saith the Lord who delivered thee. [50] Awake, awake, ... thou who hast drunk at the hand of the Lord the cup of his fury; for the cup of staggering, the bowl of fury, thou hast drunk and drained it. And there was none to comfort thee among all thy sons whom thou hast brought forth; and there was none to take thee by the hand.... Behold I have taken out of thine hand the cup of staggering, the bowl of my fury; and thou shalt no more drink it again: and I will put it into the hands of them that did thee wrong and of them that humbled thee. ... [51] Awake, awake, put on strength, ... put on thy glory.... Shake off the dust and arise. Sit thee down ... loose the band from thy neck. Lift up thine eyes round about, and behold thy children gathered together. Behold they were gathered together and came to thee. As I live, saith the Lord, thou shalt clothe thee with them all as with an ornament, and gird thyself with them as with the ornament of a bride. [52] For thy desolate and destroyed and ruined places shall now be too strait by reason of them that inhabit thee, and they that swallow thee up shall be far away from thee. For thy sons whom thou hast lost shall say in thy ears, 'the place is too strait for me: give place to me that I may dwell.' And thou shalt say in thine heart, 'who hath begotten me these? I am childless and a widow, but as for these, who hath brought me them up? I was left alone, but these, where had I them?'

[53] "These things Isaiah prophesied, these things had of old been recorded concerning us in sacred books; but it was necessary that somehow we should come to learn their truthfulness at some time by facts. [54] Moreover, since the Bridegroom, even the Word, thus addresseth His Bride, the sacred and Holy Church, fittingly did this paranymphestress stretch out your hands in the common prayers of you all, and awake and raise up her who was desolate, who lay like a corpse, of whom men despaired, by the will of God the universal King and the manifestation of the power of Jesus Christ; and having raised he

restored her to be such as he learnt from the record of the sacred oracles.

[55] “A mighty wonder truly is this, and surpassing all amazement, especially in the eyes of such as take heed only to the appearance of outward things. But more wonderful than wonders are the archetypes, the rational prototypes of these things, and their divine models, I mean the renewal of the God-given, [56] spiritual edifice in our souls. This edifice the Son of God Himself created in His own image, and everywhere and in all things hath bestowed upon it the divine likeness, an incorruptible nature, an essence incorporeal, spiritual, a stranger to all earthly matter and endowed with intelligence of its own; once for all at the first He formed it into being from that which was not, and hath made it a holy bride and an all-sacred temple for Himself and the Father. And this also He Himself clearly showeth, when He thus confesseth: ‘I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.’ Such then, is the perfect and purified soul, thus begotten from the beginning so as to bear the image of the heavenly Word.

[57] “But when through the envy and jealousy of the demon which loveth evil she became of her own free choice a lover of that which is sensual and evil, and the Deity departed from her, leaving her bereft of a protector, she fell an easy capture and prey to the snares of those who long had envied her; and, laid low by the engines and machines of her invisible enemies and spiritual foes, she fell a tremendous fall, so that not even one stone upon another of her virtue remained standing in her; nay, she lay her full length upon the ground, absolutely dead, [58] altogether deprived of her inborn thoughts concerning God. Yea, verily, as she lay fallen there, she who was made in the image of God, it was not that boar out of the wood which we can see that ravaged her, but some death-dealing demon and spiritual wild beasts, who also have inflamed her with their passions as with fiery darts of their own wickedness, and have set the truly divine sanctuary of God on fire, and have profaned the dwelling-place of His name to the ground; then they buried the hapless one in a great heap of earth, and brought her to a state bereft of all hope of salvation.

[59] “But her Guardian, the Word, the divinely-bright and saving

One, when she had paid the just penalty for her sins, once more again restored her, [60] hearkening to the loving-kindness of an all-gracious Father. First, then, choosing unto Himself the souls of the supreme Emperors, by means of these men most dearly beloved of God He cleansed the whole world of all the wicked and baneful persons and of the cruel God-hating tyrants themselves. And then those men that were His disciples, who all their life long had been consecrated to Him, yet secretly concealed, as in a storm of evils, by His sheltering care, these He brought out openly and honoured worthily with the great gifts of His Father's bounty. And by their means He once more purified and cleansed with pickaxes and mattocks, namely, the penetrating teachings of His instruction, those souls which a short time before had been befouled and overlaid with every sort of matter and rubbish contained in impious decrees; [61] and when He had made bright and clear the place of the understanding of all of you, He then for the future consigned it to this all-wise and God-beloved ruler. He, discerning and prudent as he is in all else, distinguisheth also and discerneth the understanding of the souls committed to his charge; and from the first day, so to speak, even unto now he hath never ceased to build, and among you all to fit into its place, at one time the radiant gold, at another the approved and purified silver and the precious and costly stones; [62] so as once more to fulfil in his deeds to you-ward the sacred and mystic prophecy, in which it hath been said: 'Behold I prepare for thee thy stone of carbuncle, and thy foundations of sapphire, and thy battlements of jasper, and thy gates of crystals, and thy wall of choice stones, and all thy sons taught of God, and in great peace thy children: and in righteousness shalt thou be built.'

[63] "Building verily in righteousness, he duly divided the whole people according to their several abilities; with some he fenced the outer enclosure and this alone, surrounding it with a wall of unerring faith (and this was the great multitude of the people who were unable to support a mightier structure); to others he entrusted the entrances to the house, setting them to haunt the doors and guide the steps of those entering, wherefore they have not unnaturally been reckoned as gateways of the temple; others he supported with the first outer pillars that are about the



quadrangular courtyard, bringing them to their first acquaintance with the letter of the four Gospels. Others he joineth closely to the royal house on either side, still indeed under instruction and in the stage of progressing and advancing, yet not far off nor greatly separated from the faithful who possess the divine vision of that which is innermost. [64] Taking from the number of these last the pure souls that have been cleansed like gold by the divine washing, he then supporteth some of them with pillars much greater than the outermost, from the innermost mystic teachings of the Scriptures, [65] while others he illumineth with apertures towards the light. The whole temple he adorneth with a single, mighty gateway, even the praise of the one and only God, the universal King; and on either side of the Father's sovereign power he provideth the secondary beams of the light of Christ and the Holy Spirit. As to the rest, throughout the whole house he showeth in an abundant and much varied manner the clearness and splendour of the truth that is in each one, in that everywhere and from every source he hath included the living and firmly set and well-wrought stones of men's souls. Thus he hath builded the great and royal house composed of all, bright and full of light both within and without; for not alone soul and mind, but even their body had been made glorious with the many-blossomed adornment of chastity and sobriety.

[66] "Now there are also in this fane thrones and countless benches and seats, as many as are the souls on which the gifts of the divine Spirit find their resting-place; such as long ago appeared to the sacred Apostles and those that were with them, to whom there were manifested tongues parting asunder, [67] like as of fire; and it sat upon each one of them. But while in the ruler of all, as is right, the entire Christ hath taken His seat, in those who have the second place after him [this bounty] is proportioned to each one's capacity, by gifts of the power of Christ and of the Holy Ghost. And the souls of some might be the seats even of angels, [68] of those to whom the instruction and guarding of each several person hath been committed. But as to the reverend, mighty and unique altar, what might it be save the spotless holy of holies of the common priest of all? Standing beside it on the right hand the great High Priest of the universe, even Jesus, the only-begotten of

God, receiveth with joyful countenance and upturned hands the sweet-smelling incense from all, and the bloodless and immaterial sacrifices offered in prayer, and sendeth them on their way to the heavenly Father and God of the universe; whom He Himself first adareth and alone rendereth to His Father the honour that is due; after which He also beseecheth Him to remain favourable and propitious toward us all for ever.

[69] "Such is the great temple which the Word, the great Creator of the universe, hath builded throughout the whole world beneath the sun, forming again this spiritual image upon earth of those vaults beyond the vaults of heaven; so that by the whole creation and by the rational, [70] living creatures upon earth His Father might be honoured and revered. But as for the region above the heavens and the models there of things on this earth, and the Jerusalem that is above, as it is called, and the mount Zion the heavenly mount, and the supramundane city of the living God, in which innumerable hosts of angels in general assembly and the church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven honour their Maker and the Sovereign of the universe, proclaiming His praises in unutterable words of which we cannot conceive: these no mortal man can worthily hymn, for in truth eye saw not, [71] and ear heard not, nor did there enter into the heart of man those same things which God prepared for them that love Him. Of these things now in part deemed worthy, let us all together, men with women and children, small and great, with one spirit and one soul, never cease to praise and acclaim Him who is the Author of so great blessings to us; who is very merciful to all our iniquities, who healeth all our diseases, who redeemeth our life from destruction, who crowneth us with mercy and pities, who satisfieth our desire with good things; for He hath not dealt with us after our sins, nor rewarded us after our iniquities; for as far as the east is from the west, so far hath He removed our iniquities from us. Like as a father pitieth his sons, so the Lord pitied them that fear Him.

[72] "Let us rekindle the memories of these things both now and for all time hereafter; yea, and let us keep before our minds night and day, through every hour and, one might say, in every breath, the Author of the present assembly, and this happy and most glorious day, even the Ruler of the assembly Himself; let us

cherish and revere Him with the whole power of our soul; and now let us rise and beseech Him in loud accents, as befitteth our earnest desire, that He would shelter and preserve us to the end in His fold, and award us that eternal peace, unbroken and undisturbed, which cometh from Him, in Christ Jesus our Saviour, through whom to Him be glory for ever and ever. Amen.”

V. [1] But come, let us now quote also the translations made from the Latin of the imperial ordinances of Constantine and Licinius.

Copy of Imperial Ordinances translated from the Latin tongue.

[2] In our watchfulness in days gone by that freedom of worship should not be denied, but that each one according to his mind and purpose should have authority given him to care for divine things in the way that pleased him best, [3] we had given orders that both to the Christians [and to all others liberty should be allowed] to keep to the faith of their own sect and worship. But inasmuch as many and various conditions seemed clearly to have been added in that rescript, in which such rights were conceded to the same persons, it may be that perchance some of them were shortly afterwards repelled from such observance.

[4] “When I Constantine Augustus and I Licinius Augustus had come under happy auspices to Milan, and discussed all matters that concerned the public advantage and good, among the other things that seemed to be of benefit to the many,—or rather, first and foremost—we resolved to make such decrees as should secure respect and reverence for the Deity; namely, to grant both to the Christians and to all the free choice of following whatever form of worship they pleased, to the intent that all the divine and heavenly powers that be might be favourable to us and all those living under our authority. [5] Therefore with sound and most upright reasoning we resolved on this counsel: that authority be refused to no one whomsoever to follow and choose the observance or form of worship that Christians use, and that authority be granted to each one to give his mind to that form of worship which he deems suitable to himself, to the intent that the Divinity ... may in all things afford us his wonted care and generosity. [6] It was fitting to send a rescript that this is our pleasure, in order that when those conditions had altogether been

removed, which were contained in our former letters sent to thy Devotedness, concerning the Christians, those things also which seemed to be wholly unfortunate and foreign to our clemency might be removed, and that now each one of those who were possessed of the same purpose—namely, to observe the Christians' form of worship—should observe this very thing, freely and simply, without any hindrance. Which things we have resolved, [7] to signify in the fullest manner to thy Carefulness, to the intent that thou mayest know that we have granted to these same Christians free and unrestricted authority to observe their own form of worship. [8] And when thou perceivest that this has been granted unrestrictedly to them by us, thy Devotedness will understand that authority has been given to others also, who wish to follow their own observance and form of worship—a thing clearly suited to the peacefulness of our times—so that each one may have authority to choose and observe whatever form he pleases. This has been done by us, to the intent that we should not seem to have detracted in any way from any rite or form of worship.

[9] “And this, moreover, with special regard to the Christians, we resolve: That their places, at which it was their former wont to assemble, concerning which also in the former letter dispatched to thy Devotedness a definite ordinance had been formerly laid down, if any should appear to have bought them either from our treasury or from any other source—that these they should restore to these same Christians without payment or any demand for compensation, setting aside all negligence and doubtfulness; and if any chance to have received them by gift, that they should restore them with all speed to these same Christians: provided that if either those who have purchased these same places or those who have received them by gift request aught of our generosity, [10] let them approach the prefect of the district, to the intent that through our kindness thought may be taken for them also. All which things must be handed over to the corporation of the Christians by thy zealous care immediately and without delay.

[11] “And inasmuch as these same Christians had not only those places at which it was their wont to assemble, but also are known to have had others, belonging not to individuals among

them, but to the lawful property of their corporation, that is, of the Christians, all these, under the provisions of the law set forth above, thou wilt give orders to be restored without any question whatsoever to these same Christians, that is, to their corporation and assembly; provided always, of course, as aforesaid, that those persons who restore the same without compensation, as we have mentioned above, may look for indemnification, as far as they are concerned, from our generosity.

[12] "In all these things thou shouldest use all the diligence in thy power for the above-mentioned corporation of the Christians, that this our command may be fulfilled with all speed, so that in this also, through our kindness, [13] thought may be taken for the common and public peace. For by this method, as we have also said before, the divine care for us, which we have already experienced in many matters, [14] will remain steadfast ... continually. And that the form which this our enactment and generosity takes may be brought to the knowledge of all, it is fitting that this which we have written be set forth by thy order and published everywhere, and brought to the knowledge of all, to the intent that the enactment which embodies this our generosity may escape the notice of no one."

[15] Copy of another Imperial Ordinance which he also made, indicating that the bounty had been granted to the Catholic Church alone.

"Greeting, Anulinus, our most honoured Sir. It is the custom of our benevolence, that we will that whatsoever appertains by right to another should not only not suffer harm, but even be restored, [16] most honoured Anulinus. Wherefore we will that, when thou receivest this letter, if aught of those things that belonged to the Catholic Church of the Christians in any city, or even in other places, be now in the possession either of citizens or of any others: these thou shouldest cause to be restored forthwith to these same churches, inasmuch as it has been our determination that those things which these same churches possessed formerly should be restored to them as their right. [17] Since, therefore, thy Devotedness perceives that the order of this our command is most explicit, do thy diligence that all things, whether gardens or buildings or whatsoever belonged to these same churches by

right, be restored to them with all speed; so that we may learn that thou hast yielded the most careful obedience to this our order. Fare thee well, Anulinus, our most honoured and esteemed Sir.”

[18] Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he commands the holding of a Synod of bishops at Rome on behalf of the union and concord of the churches.

“Constantine Augustus to Miltiades bishop of the Romans, and to Mark. Inasmuch as documents of such a nature have been sent to me in numbers by Anulinus, the right honourable proconsul of Africa, from which it appears that Caecilian, the bishop of the city of the Carthaginians, is called to account on many charges by some of his colleagues in Africa; and inasmuch as it seems to me to be a very serious matter that in those provinces, which Divine Providence has chosen to entrust to my Devotedness, and where there is a great number of people, the multitude should be found pursuing the worse course of action, splitting up, as it were, and the bishops at variance among themselves: [19] it seemed good to me that Caecilian himself, with ten bishops, who seem to call him to account, and such ten others as he may deem necessary to his suit, should set sail for Rome, that there a hearing may be granted him in the presence of yourselves, and moreover of Reticus and Maternus and Marinus also, your colleagues [20] (whom I have ordered to hasten to Rome for this purpose), in such a manner as ye may perceive to be in accordance with the most sacred law. Nevertheless, that ye may have the fullest knowledge of all these same matters, I have subjoined to my letter copies of the documents that were sent to me by Anulinus, and have dispatched them to your aforesaid colleagues. Which when your Firmness reads, he will gauge by what method the most careful investigation can be made of the above-mentioned suit, and a just decision arrived at; since it does not escape the notice of your Carefulness that the respect which I pay to the lawful Catholic Church is so great, that it is my wish that ye should leave no schism whatsoever or division in any place. May the divinity of the great God preserve you safely for many years, most honoured Sirs.”

[21] Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he gives order for the holding of a second Synod for the purpose of removing all division

among the bishops.

“Constantine Augustus to Chrestus bishop of the Syracusans. Already on a former occasion, when some in a base and perverse manner began to create divisions with regard to the worship of the holy and heavenly Power and the Catholic religion, in my desire to cut short such dissensions among them, I had given orders to the effect that certain bishops should be sent from Gaul, nay further, that the opposing parties, who were contending stubbornly and persistently together, should be summoned from Africa; that so, in the presence also of the bishop of Rome, this question which appeared to have been raised might through their coming receive a right solution by means of a careful examination in every particular. [22] But since, as it happens, some, forgetful both of their own salvation and the reverence they owe to their most holy religion, even now do not cease to perpetuate their private enmities, being unwilling to conform to the judgement already passed, and affirming that after all it was a few persons who gave their opinions and decisions, or that they were in a hurry to pass judgement very speedily and sharply without having first accurately examined all those matters that ought to have been investigated; and since, as a result of all this, it has come to pass that even those very persons, who ought to be of one mind in brotherly concord, are separate from each other in a disgraceful, nay rather in an abominable, fashion, and give to those men whose souls are strangers to this most holy religion to scoff—wherefore it became incumbent upon me to provide that that which ought to have ceased by voluntary agreement, after the judgement already passed, may even now, if possible, be ended by the presence of many persons. [23] Inasmuch, therefore, as we have commanded that very many bishops from various and numberless places should assemble at the city of Aries by the Kalends of August, we have thought it good to write to thee also, that thou shouldest procure from the right honourable Latronianus, the “corrector” of Sicily, a public vehicle, and joining to thy company two others of those of the second rank, whomsoever thou thyself mayest decide to choose, and, moreover, taking with you three servants who shall be able to attend upon you on the way, [24] do thou be present at the above-mentioned place by that

same day; so that both by thy Firmness and by the unanimous wisdom of the others assembled, this quarrel also (which hitherto, by reason of certain disgraceful contentions, has maintained a miserable existence), when all has been heard that will be said by those who are now at variance among themselves, whom likewise we have commanded to be present, may, if only tardily, give place to a due state of religion and faith and brotherly concord. May the Almighty God preserve thee in good health for many years.”

VI. [1] Copy of an Imperial Letter in which grants of money are made to the churches.

“Constantine Augustus to Caecilian bishop of Carthage. Forasmuch as it has been our pleasure in all provinces, namely the African, the Numidian and the Mauretanian, that somewhat be contributed for expenses to certain specified ministers of the lawful and most holy Catholic religion, I have dispatched a letter to Ursus, the most distinguished finance minister of Africa, and have notified to him that he be careful to pay over to thy Firmness three thousand folles. Do thou therefore, [2] when thou shalt secure delivery of the aforesaid sum of money, give orders that this money be distributed among all the above-mentioned persons in accordance with the schedule sent to thee by Hosius. But if, after all, [3] thou shalt find that there is aught lacking for the fulfilment of this my purpose in respect of them all, thou shouldest ask without doubting whatsoever thou findest to be necessary from Heraclides our procurator fiscal. For indeed when he was here I gave him orders that if thy Firmness should ask any money from him, he should be careful to pay it over without any scruple. [4] And since I have learnt that certain persons of unstable mind are desirous of turning aside the laity of the most holy and Catholic Church by some vile method of seduction, know that I have given such commands to Anulinus, the proconsul, and moreover to Patricius, the Vicar of the Prefects, when they were here, that they should give due attention in all other matters and especially in this, and not suffer such an occurrence to be overlooked; therefore if thou observest any such men continuing in this madness, [5] do not thou hesitate to go to the above-mentioned judges and bring this matter before them, so that (as I commanded them when they were here) they may turn these people from their error. May the



divinity of the great God preserve thee for many years.”

VII. [1] Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he gives orders that the presidents of the churches be released from all public offices.

“Greeting, Anulinus, our most honoured Sir. Since from many facts it appears that the setting at naught of divine worship, by which the highest reverence for the most holy and heavenly [Power] is preserved, has brought great dangers upon public affairs, and that its lawful restoration and preservation have bestowed the greatest good fortune on the Roman name and singular prosperity on all the affairs of mankind (for it is the Divine Providence which bestows these blessings): it has seemed good that those men who, with due holiness and constant observance of this law, bestow their services on the performance of divine worship, should receive the rewards of their own labours, most honoured Anulinus. [2] Wherefore it is my wish that those persons who, within the province committed to thee, in the Catholic Church over which Caecilian presides, bestow their service on this holy worship—those whom they are accustomed to call clerics—should once for all be kept absolutely free from all the public offices, that they be not drawn away by any error or sacrilegious fault from the worship which they owe to the Divinity, but rather without any hindrance serve to the utmost their own law. For when they render supreme service to the Deity, it seems that they confer incalculable benefit on the affairs of the State. Fare thee well, Anulinus, our most honoured and esteemed Sir.”

VIII. [1] Such then were the gifts that the divine and heavenly grace of our Saviour bestowed upon us by His appearing, and such was the abundance of good things that the peace which came to us procured for all mankind. [2] And thus our happy state was celebrated with rejoicings and festive assemblies. Nevertheless the envy that hates the good, even the demon who loves the evil, could not endure the sight of what he beheld; as indeed that which had happened to the above-mentioned tyrants was not sufficient even for Licinius, to bring him to sound reason. He who had been deemed worthy of the principate in a state of prosperity, of second rank after the great Emperor Constantine, of a connexion by marriage and the most exalted kinship with him, ceased from the following of good men

and zealously affected the evil manners and wickedness of the impious tyrants; and he preferred to follow the judgement of those whose end he had seen with his very eyes, [3] rather than continue on terms of friendship and love with his superior. Filled, in fact, with envy of the common benefactor, he waged an impious and most terrible war against him, [4] neither giving respect to the laws of nature nor bestowing a thought on sworn treaties or ties of blood or agreements. For Constantine, all-gracious Emperor that he was, furnished him with the tokens of genuine goodwill, did not grudge him kinship with himself, and did not refuse him the enjoyment of an illustrious union in the person of his sister. Nay further, he deemed him worthy to partake of his ancestral nobility and his imperial blood and origin, and bestowed on him, as a brother-in-law and joint-emperor, the right to a share in the supreme government: for of his bounty he gave him the ruling and administration of no inferior part of the peoples under the Roman sway. [5] But Licinius pursued an exactly opposite line of conduct: he was daily contriving all kinds of devices against his superior, and inventing all manner of plans to reward his benefactor with evil. At first, indeed, he attempted to conceal the intrigue, and feigned friendliness, hoping that frequent recourse to guile and deceit would most easily secure his expectations. But God proved to be Constantine's Friend and Protector and Guardian, [6] who brought to light the plots that were devised secretly and in darkness, and confounded them. Such power is there in the great weapon of godliness to ward off the enemy and to preserve its own in safety. Fenced verily with this, our Emperor, most dear to God, escaped the plots of this ill-famed master of intrigue. [7] And he, when he saw that his covert design was by no means going according to his wish (for God disclosed every guile and wickedness to the Emperor whom He loved), since he was no longer able to conceal himself, raised an open warfare. And, to be sure, [8] in his decision to make war at close quarters upon Constantine, he was already hastening to battle also against the God of the universe, whom, as he knew, Constantine worshipped; and so he designed an attack, quietly and silently at first, upon his godly subjects, who had never at any time done any harm at all to his rule. And this he did, because his innate wickedness had

perforce brought upon him terrible blindness. [9] Thus he neither kept before his eyes the memory of those who had persecuted Christians before him, nor of those whom he himself destroyed and punished for the evil deeds they had pursued. But he turned aside from the path of sound reason, and becoming altogether mad, decided to make war on God Himself, as the Protector of Constantine, instead of on him who was being protected.

[10] First, he drove away every Christian from his palace; thus by his own act depriving himself, wretched man, of the prayers to God on his behalf, which after the custom of their fathers they are taught to make for all men. Then he gave orders that the soldiers in cities were to be singled out and deprived of honourable rank, unless they chose to sacrifice to demons.

[11] And, moreover, these were but small matters when judged by comparison with graver measures. What need is there to mention singly and successively the things done by this hater of God: how, to wit, this most lawless of men invented lawless laws? In fact, with regard to those who were suffering under imprisonment, he laid down a law that no one should treat them humanely by distributing food, or have pity on those who were perishing of hunger in bonds; and that no one should be kindly at all, or do any kindly action, even when they were moved by mere natural feeling to sympathize with their neighbours. And of his laws this one at least was quite openly shameless and the harshest of all, in its putting aside of every civilized, natural feeling, by which also it was enacted as a punishment that those who showed pity should suffer the same as those whom they pitied, and that those who humanely ministered should endure the same punishment as those who were undergoing it, and be consigned to bonds and imprisonment. [12] Such were the ordinances of Licinius. Why should one recount his innovations with regard to marriage, or his revolutionary changes in respect of those who were departing this life, wherein he dared to annul the ancient laws of the Romans well and wisely laid down, and in their stead brought in certain that were barbarous and uncivilized, that truly were lawless and contrary to law; or the countless assessments that he devised to the detriment of his subject peoples, and the manifold exactions of gold and silver, the

reevaluations of land, [13] and the lucrative fines of men in the country parts no longer alive but long since departed? And, moreover, as to the banishments that this hater of mankind inflicted upon those who had done no wrong, the arrests of noble and highly-esteemed men, whose wedded wives he separated from them and consigned to certain abominable members of his household for disgraceful insult; as to the many married women and unwedded girls with whom this drunken old dotard satisfied his soul's unbridled lust—why should one enlarge on these things, when the outrageous character of his last deeds show the first to be small and of no account?

[14] For example, in the final stage of his madness he proceeded against the bishops, and deeming them opposed to his doings, as being the servants of the supreme God, forthwith plotted against them, not openly as yet (for he feared his superior), but once more with secrecy and guile; and the most highly respected of these, by the contrivance of the governors, he put to death. And the manner in which they were murdered was strange and hitherto unheard of. [15] For instance, the things that were done at Amasea and the other cities of Pontus outdid every excess of cruelty. There some of the churches of God were again thrown down from the top to the bottom; others they shut up, so that none of the accustomed worshippers might assemble or pay to God the service due to Him. [16] For he did not think that the prayers were offered on his behalf—such was the reckoning of an evil conscience—but had been persuaded that we did everything and supplicated God on behalf of the Emperor whom He loved. [17] Hence he hastened to vent his wrath on us. And in truth the sycophants among the governors, persuaded that they were doing what pleased the impious man, plied some of the bishops with penalties suitable for malefactors, and those who had done no wrong were led away and punished, without a pretext, like murderers. And some endured at that time a more novel form of death: their bodies were cut with a sword into many pieces, and after this cruel and most fearful sight they were cast into the depths of the sea as food for fishes. Thereupon the men of God began again to flee, [18] and once more the fields, once more the deserts, glens and mountains received the servants of Christ. And

when the impious man was thus successful in these measures also, he then conceived the idea of stirring up anew the persecution against all. [19] He had power to accomplish his purpose, and there was nothing to hinder him carrying it into effect, had not God, the Champion of the souls that are His own, foreseeing with all speed what would come to pass, caused to shine forth all at once, as it were out of deep darkness and most murky night, a great luminary and saviour of them all, leading thither with a lofty arm his servant Constantine. IX. [1] To him, then, as the worthy fruit of piety did God vouchsafe from heaven above the trophies of victory over the wicked men; as for the guilty one, He laid him low, with all his counsellors and friends, prone beneath the feet of Constantine.

[2] For when Licinius had carried his madness to the uttermost, the Emperor, the friend of God, reckoning that he was no longer to be endured, summoned his sound powers of reason, and tempering the stern qualities of justice with humanity determined to succour those who were being evil intreated under the tyrant's power; and hastened, by putting a few spoilers out of the way, to rescue the greater part of the human race. [3] For hitherto, when he employed humanity alone and showed mercy to him who was undeserving of sympathy, there was no improvement in Licinius: he did not give over his wickedness, but rather increased his mad fury against his subject peoples; while as for those who were ill-treated, no nope of salvation was left for them, ground down as they were by a terrible wild beast. [4] Wherefore, mingling a hatred of evil with a love of goodness, the defender of the good went forth, with that most humane Emperor, his son Crispus, stretching out the right hand of salvation to all who were perishing. Then, inasmuch as they had God the universal King and Son of God, the Saviour of all, as their Guide and Ally, the father and son both together divided their battle-array against the haters of God on all sides and easily won the victory; for everything in the encounter was made smooth for them by God according to His purpose. [5] Yea verily, all at once and in less time than it takes to say it, those who the other day were breathing death and threatening were no more, nor was even so much as their name remembered; their pictures and honours received a well-deserved disgrace; and the

things that Licinius had seen with his own eyes happen to the impious tyrants of days gone by, these he himself also likewise suffered; for neither did he receive correction nor did he learn wisdom from the strokes that fell upon his neighbours, but pursued the same path of iniquity as they did, and justly reeled over the same precipice.

[6] Thus was Licinius cast down prostrate. But Constantine the most mighty Victor, resplendent with every virtue that godliness bestows, together with his son Crispus, an Emperor most dear to God and in all respects like unto his father, recovered the East that belonged to them, and formed the Roman Empire, as in the days of old, into a single united whole, bringing under their peaceful rule all of it, from the rising sun round about in the two directions, north as well as south, even to the uttermost limits of the declining day. [7] So then, there was taken away from men all fear of those who formerly oppressed them; they celebrated brilliant festivals; all things were filled with light, and men, formerly downcast, looked at each other with smiling countenances and beaming eyes; with dancing and hymns in city and country alike they gave honour first of all to God the universal King, for this they had been instructed to do, and then to the pious Emperor with his sons beloved of God; [8] old ills were forgotten and oblivion cast on every deed of impiety; present good things were enjoyed, with the further hope of those which were yet for to come. And, in short, there were promulgated in every place ordinances of the victorious Emperor full of love for humanity, and laws that betokened munificence and true piety. Thus verily, [9] when all tyranny had been purged away, the kingdom that belonged to them was preserved steadfast and undisputed for Constantine and his sons alone; who, when they had made it their very first action to cleanse the world from hatred of God, conscious of the good things that He had bestowed upon them, displayed their love of virtue and of God, their piety and gratitude towards the Deity, by their manifest deeds in the sight of all men.