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EUSEBIUS

II
EUSEBIUS
THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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PREFACE

The purpose of this preface is to express my warm thanks to Professor Oultons 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.

KIRSOOP 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.
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§

I. Ῥως δὲ καὶ Σευήρος διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἑκατοκτησιῶν ἐκλήσιών ἐκίνει, λαμπρὰ μὲν τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀθλητῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπων ἀπετελεῖτο μαρτύρια, μάλιστα δ’ ἐπλήθυνεν ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας, τῶν ἀπὸ Λιγύπτου καὶ Θηβαίδος ἀπάσης αὐτόθι ὀσπερ ἔπει ἀνέμιστον ἀθλητῶν θεοῦ παραπεμπομένων στάδιων διὰ καρποκτώτης τε ποικίλων βασάνων καὶ θανάτου τροπίων ὑπομονῆς τοὺς παρὰ θεῶν στεφάνους ἀναδουμένων. ἐν οἷς καὶ Λεωνίδης, ὁ λεγόμενος Ὀργάνεος πατήρ, τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτιμήθεις, νέων κομμαδίας καταλείπει τὸν παῖδα. ὡς δὴ ὑποῖας ἐξ ἐκείνου περὶ τὸν θειὸν λόγον προαιρέσεως ἴνα, οὐκ ἄκαιρον διὰ βραχέων διελθεῖν τῷ μάλιστα πολὺν εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ βεβοημένον λόγον. II. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἃν τις εἶποι τὸν βίον τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐν σχολῇ παραδοῦναι διὰ γραφῆς πειράματος, δέσιτο δ’ ἂν καὶ ἰδίας ὑποθέσεως ἡ περὶ αὐτοῦ σύνταξι, ὃμως δ’ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐπιτεμόμενοι τὰ πλεῖστα διὰ βραχέων ὡς οἶνον τε, ὀλίγα ἄττα τῶν
I. 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. 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,
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περὶ αὐτὸν διελευσόμεθα, ἐκ τινῶν ἐπιστολῶν καὶ ἱστορίας τῶν καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς τῷ βίῳ πεφυλαγμένων αὐτοῦ γνωρίμων τὰ δηλούμενα φέροντες.

Ὡριγένους καὶ τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν σπαργάνων αξιομηνημόνευτα μοι εἶναι δοκεῖ. δέκατον μὲν γὰρ ἐπείχε Σενήρος τῆς βασιλείας ἔτος, ἤγειτο δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρείας καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς Αἰγύπτου Λαῖτος, τῶν δ’ αὐτοῦ παροικίων την ἐπισκοπὴν νεωστὶ τότε μετὰ Ἰουλιανον Δημήτριος ὑπειλήφει. εἰς μέγα δὴ ὁ ὁνὸ τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαίας ἀφθείσης καὶ μυρίων ὀσων τοὺς κατὰ τὸ μαρτύριον ἀναδομένων στεφάνους, ἔρως τοσοῦτος μαρτυρίου τὴν Ὡριγένους, ἔτι κομίδῃ παιδὸς ὑπάρχουτος, κατείχε ψυχῆν, ὡς ὁμόσε τοὺς κινδύνους χωρεῖν προπηδᾶν τε καὶ ὀρμᾶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα προθύμως ἔχειν. ἦδη γέ τοι σμικρὸν ὅσον αὐτῷ καὶ τά τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου ἀπαλλαγῆς οὐ πόρρω καθίστατο, μή οὐχὶ τῆς θείας καὶ οὐρανίου προνοίας εἰς τὴν πλείστων ὑφέλεων διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρὸς ἐμποδῶν αὐτῶ τῆς προθυμίας ἐνστάσης. αὐτὴ γοῦν τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λόγοι ἵκετεύουσα, τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ μητρικῆς διαθέσεως φειδὼ λαβεῖν παρεκάλει, σφοδρότερον δ’ ἐπιτείνατα θεασαμένη, ὅτε γνούς ἀλώντα τὸν πατέρα δεσμωτηρίω φυλάττεσθαι ὅλος ἐγίνετο τῆς περὶ τὸ μαρτύριον ὀρμῆς, τῆν πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ ἀποκρυψαμένη ἐσθῆτα οἰκοῦ μένεις ἀνάγκην ἐπήγγειν δ’ ὅ, ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλο πράττειν αὐτῷ παρῆν, τῆς προθυμίας ύπὲρ τῆς ἡλικίαν ἐπιτευνομένης οὐχ οἶδα τα ὁν ἦρεμεῖν, διαπέμπεται τῷ πατρὶ προτρπτικωτάτην περὶ μαρτυρίου ἐπιστολῆν, ἐν ἦ κατὰ λέξιν αὐτῷ παρανεῖ λέγων "ἐπεχε μὴ δι"
gathering what we set forth from certain letters and information derived from pupils of his, whose lives have been preserved even to our day.

In the case of Origen I think that even the facts from his very cradle,\textsuperscript{1} so to speak, are worthy of mention. For Severus was in the tenth year of his reign,\textsuperscript{2} 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. 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. 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. 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. 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

\textsuperscript{1} Lit. "swaddling-clothes." 
\textsuperscript{2} A.D. 203.
ήμας ἀλλο τι φρονήσης." τοῦτο πρώτον τῆς Ὀριγένους παιδικῆς ἀγχορίας καὶ περὶ τὴν θεοσέβειαν γνησιωτάτης διαθέσεως ἀνάγραπτον ἐστὶ τεκμήριον. καὶ γὰρ ἦδη καὶ τῶν τῆς πίστεως λόγων οὐ σμικρᾶς ἄφορμᾶς καταβέβλητο, ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς εἰς ἐπὶ παιδῶς ἐνησκημένον· οὐ μετρίως γοῦν καὶ περὶ ταύτας πεπόνητο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν πρὸς τῇ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων παιδείας καὶ τοῦτων οὐ κατὰ πάρεργον τὴν φροντίδα πεποιημένον. εἳ ἀπαντος γοῦν αὐτῶν πρὸ τῆς τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν μαθημάτων μελέτης ἐνήγης τοὺς ἔρωτι ἐνασκεῖσθαι παιδεύμασιν, ἐκμαθησῖες καὶ ἀπαγγέλια ἡμέρας ἐκάστης αὐτῶν εἰσπραττόμενος· οὐκ ἀποφαινόμεν ἡ ταύτ' ἐγίνετο τῷ παιδί, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν προθυμότατα περὶ ταύτα ποιοῦντι, ὡς μηδ' ἔχαρκεῖν αὐτῶ τᾶς ἀπλὰς καὶ προχειροὺς τῶν ἔρωτι λόγων ἐντεύξεις, ζητεῖν δὲ τὶ πλέον καὶ βαθυτέρας ἦδη εἰς ἐκείνου πολυπραγμονεῖν θεωρίας, ὡστε καὶ πράγματα παρέχειν τῷ πατρί, τῷ ἄρα ἐθέλοι δηλοῦν τὸ τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς ἀναπτυξάμενον βούλημα. ἐκείνος δὲ τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπέπληττεν αὐτῶ, μηδὲν ύπέρ ἡλικίας μηδὲ τής προφανοῦς διανοίας περατέρω τῷ ἦτειν παρανῶν, ἱδίως δὲ παρ᾽ ἐαυτῷ τὰ μεγάλα γεγονοῦς τὴν μεγίστην ὁμολογεῖ τῷ πάντων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶ θεῷ χάριν, ὅτι δὴ αὐτῶν τοιοῦτο πατέρα γενέσθαι παιδὸς ἦξισθεν. ἐπιστάντα δὲ ἦδη πολλάκις καθεύδοντι τῷ παιδί γυμνῶσαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰ στέρνα φασίν, ὥστερ δὲ θείου πνεύματος ἐνδον ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀφιερωμένου, φιλήσαι τε σέβασμις καὶ τῆς εὐτεκνίας μακάριον.
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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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 godly offspring.

1 Ἐλληνικῶν, "pagan"; cf. the use of the word in 2 Macc. iv. 10.
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ἐαυτὸν ἧγησασθαι. ταῦτα καὶ άτερα τούτως συγγενῆ περὶ παιδα ὡντα τὸν 'Ωριγένην γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν.

Ὡς δὲ ἦδη αὐτῷ ὁ πατὴρ μαρτυρῶν τετελείωτο, ἐρήμος ἀμα μητρὶ καὶ βραχυτέροις ἀδελφοῖς τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐξ, ἐπτακαϊδέκατον οὐ πλῆρει ἐτος ἄγων, καταλείπεται τῆς γε μὴν τοῦ πατρὸς περιουσίας τοῖς βασιλικοῖς ταμείοις ἀναληφθείσης, ἐν σπάνιο
τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον χρεῶν σὺν τοῖς προσήκουσιν καταστάς, οἰκονομίας τῆς ἓκ θεοῦ καταξιοῦται καὶ τυγχάνει δεξιώσεως ὀμοῦ καὶ ἀναπαύσεως παρά τινι πλουσιωτάτη τίν οὐν βιόν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα 
περιφανεστάτη γνωαίκη, διαβόητον γε μὴν ἄδρα περιπούση τῶν τότε ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αλεξανδρείας αἴρεσιωτῶν τὸ γένος ἡν ὀντὸς 'Αντιοχεύς, θετὸν ὁ νῦν αὐτῶν ἔχειν τε σὺν ἑαυτῇ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα 
περιείπεν ἡ δεδηλωμένη. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε ἐπι-
ἀναγκεῖ τὸ 'Ωριγένης σωμῶν, τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνου περὶ 
τὴν πίστιν ὀρθοδοξίας ἐναργῆ παρεῖχετο δείγματα, ὅτι δὴ μυρίου πλῆθους διὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἱκανὸν ἐν 
λόγῳ τοῦ Παύλου (τοῦτο γὰρ ἡν ὀνομα τῶ ἀνδρὸς) 
συναγομένου παρ' αὐτῶ οὐ μόνον αἰρετικῶν, ἀλλὰ 
καὶ ἡμετέρων, οὐδεπώποτε προντάτη κατὰ τὴν 
ἐνυχὴν αὐτῶν συντήραι, φυλάττων ἐξ ἐτοι παιδος 
κανόνα ἐκκλησίας βδελυγμότερον τε, ὡς αὐτῶ 
ῥήματι φησίν ποι αὐτῶς, τὰς τῶν αἱρετῶν διδα-
σκαλίας. προαχθεῖς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν τοῖς 
'Ελλήνων μαθήμασι έκθεμοτέρον τε [καὶ] μετὰ 
τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν τῆ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἁσκήσει 
ἀλὸν ἐπιδοὺς ἑαυτόν, ὡς καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐπὶ τὰ 
γραμματικὰ μετρίαν ἔχειν, μετ' οὐ πολὺ τῆς τοῦ 
πατρὸς τελευσεως, τοῦτοις ἐπιδεδωκὼς ἑαυτῶν,
These are the stories, and others akin to these, that they tell about Origen's boyhood.

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. 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. 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. 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
Εὐσεβίους

εὑπόρει τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ὡς ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, δαιμόλως.

III. Σχολάζοντι δὲ τῇ διατριβῇ, ὡς ποὺ καὶ 1 αὐτὸς ἐγγράφως ἱστορεῖ, μηδενὸς τε ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρείας τῷ κατηχεῖν ἀνακεμένου, πάντων δὲ ἀπεληλαμένων ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπελῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ, προσήχεον αὐτῷ τινες ἀπὸ τῶν ἔθνων ἀκουσόμενοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ· διὸ πρῶτον ἐπισημαίνεται γεγο- 2 νέαν Πλούταρχον, ὃς μετὰ τὸ βιῶναν καλῶς καὶ μαρτυρῶ θείῳ κατεκοσμήθη, δεύτερον Ἡρακλᾶν, τοῦ Πλούταρχου ἀδελφόν, ὃς δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς παρ’ αὐτῷ πλείστην βίου φιλοσόφου καὶ ἀσκήσεως ἀπόδειξιν παρασχὼν, τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρεών μετὰ Δημήτριου ἐπισκοπῆς ἄξιοῦται. ἔτος δ’ ἦγεν 3 ὁκτωκαῖδεκατὸν καθ’ ὅ τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως προέστη διδασκαλεῖον· ἐν δὲ καὶ προκόπτει ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ Ἐκύλαν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρείας ήγουμενὸν διωγμῶν, ὥστε καὶ μάλιστα διαβόητον ἐκτῆσατο παρὰ πᾶσιν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πίστεως ὄρισμον δινόμενοι όνομα δι’ ἦν ἐνεδείκνυτο πρὸς ἀπαντας τοὺς ἀγίους ἀγνώτας τε καὶ γνωρίμους μάρτυρας δεξιώσιν τε καὶ προθυμίαν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ ἐν δεσμοῖς 4 τυγχάνουσιν, οὐδὲ μέχρις ὑστάτης ἀποφάσεως ἀνακρινομένως συνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ταύτην ἀπαγομένων τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ τοὺς ἀγίους μάρτυρας, πολλὴ τῇ παρρησίᾳ ἡρόμενος καὶ ἀμόσε τοῖς κινδύνοις χωρῶν ὥστε ὡδὴ αὐτὸν προσιόντα θαρσαλέως καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας φιλήματι προσαγορεύοντα πολλάκις ἐπιμανεῖς ὃ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ἔθνων δήμος μικρὸν δεῖν κατέλευσεν, εἰ μὴ τῆς θείας δεξιάς βοήθου

1 Α.Δ. 204. 2 He was in office in Α.Δ. 206.
studies, he was abundantly supplied, for a person of his years, with the necessaries of life.

III. 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. 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, Heracles, 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. Origen was in his eighteenth year ¹ 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.² 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. 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

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καθάπαξ τυγχάνων παραδόξως διεδιδρασκεν, ἡ ἀυτὴ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἄλλοτε πάλιν καὶ πάλιν καὶ οὐδ’ ἕστιν διάκις εἰπεῖν, τῆς ἀγαν περὶ τὸν Χριστοῦ λόγον προθυμίας τε καὶ παρηχησίας ἐνεκεν την καύτα ἐπιβουλεύουμεν αὐτόν διεφύλαττεν. τοσοῦτος δ’ ἦν ἀρα τῶν ἀπίστων ὅ πρὸς αὐτὸν πόλεμος, ὡς καὶ συντροφὰς ποιησαμένους, στρατιώτας αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν οἶκον, ἔνθα κατέμενεν, ἐπιστήσας διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς πίστεως κατηχουμένων παρ’ αὐτῷ. οὕτω δὲ ὁσιμέραι ὁ κατ’ αὐτοῦ διωγμὸς ἐξεκάετο, ὥς μηκέτι χωρεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν πάσαν πόλιν, οἰκους μὲν ἐξ οἰκῶν ἀμείβοντα, πανταγόθεν δὲ ἐλαυνόμενον, τῆς πληθύος ἐνεκεν τῶν δι’ αὐτοῦ τῇ θείᾳ προσοντων διδασκαλίᾳ. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ κατὰ πράξιν ἕργα αὐτῷ γνησιωτάτης φιλοσοφίας κατορθώματα εὐ μάλα θαυμαστὰ περιεῖχεν (‟οἰν γοῦν τὸν λόγον, τούτων‟, φασίν, „τὸν τρόπον‟ καὶ „οἰν νὸν τὸν τρόπον, τούτων‟ τὸν λόγον‟ ἐπεδείκνυτο), δι’ ἃ δὴ μάλιστα, συναιρομένης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως θείας, μνείους ἐνήγεν ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον.

‟Επειδὴ δὲ ἐώρα φοιτητὰς ἦδη πλεῖως προσιόντας, αὐτῷ μόνῳ τῆς τοῦ κατηχεῖν διατριβῆς ὑπὸ Δημητρίου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας προεστῶτος ἐπιτετραμένης, ἁσμάφωνον ἡγησάμενος τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διδασκαλίαν τῇ πρὸς τὰ θεῖα παιδεύματα ἀσκήσει, μὴ μελλήσας ἀπορρήγγυσων ἀτε ἀνωφελῆ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθήμασιν ἐναντίαν τὴν τῶν γραμματικῶν λόγων διατριβῆς, εἰτα λογισμῷ καθήκοντι, ὡς ἕν μὴ γένοιτο τῆς παρ’ ἐτέρων ἐπικουρίας ἐνδεῖς, ὁσαπερ ἥν αὐτῷ πρό-
escaped marvellously; 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. 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 (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.

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, 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

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1 Or “with a view to capturing him.”
2 Cf. Plato, Repub. 400 d.
3 Or “literature.”
εὐσεβίους

tερον λόγων ἀρχαίων συγγράμματα φιλοκάλως ἐσπουδασμένα, μεταδούσ, ὑπὸ τοῦ ταῦτα ἐωνημένου φερομένου αὐτῷ τέσσαρον ὁβολοῖς τῆς ἡμέρας ἦρκειτο. πλείστους τε ἔτεσιν τοῦτον φιλοσοφῶν διετέλει τὸν τρόπον, πάσας ὑλὰς νεωτερικῶν ἐπιθυμίων ἐαυτοῦ περιαρούμενος, καὶ διὰ πάσης μὲν ἡμέρας ὁμορρούν ἀσκήσεως καμάτους ἀναπήλπαν, καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς δὲ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον ταῖς τῶν θείων γραφῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἀνατιθείσων μελέταις, βίω τε ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα ἐγκαρτερῶν φιλοσοφώσκτως, τοτέ μὲν τοῖς ἐν ἀστίαις γυμνασίωις, τοτέ δὲ μεμετρημένους τοῖς κατὰ τὸν ὕπυκνον καιρὸις, σὺ μεταλαμβάνεις οὐδὲ ὅλως ἐπὶ στρωμνῆς, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος διὰ σπουδῆς ἐποιεῖτο· πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς τοῦ σωτῆρος φωνὰς φυλακτέας ὦτο ἐναι δεῖν τὰς τε περὶ τοῦ μὴ δύο χιτώνας μηδὲ ὑποδήμασιν ἥρησαν παραινούσας μηδὲ μὴν ταῖς περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος χρόνου φροντίσιον κατατρίβεσθαι· ἀλλὰ καὶ μείζον τῆς ἡλικίας προθυμία χρώμενος, ἐν ψύχει καὶ γυμνότητι διακαρτερῶν εἰς ἀκρον τε ύπερβαλλούσης ἀκτημοσύνης ἔλαιών, τοὺς ἀμφοτέρους εἰς τὰ μᾶλλα κατέπληττεν, μυριῶς μὲν λυπῶν εὐχομένους αὐτῷ κοινωνεῖν τῶν ἅπαρχοντων δι' οὗς ἑώρων αὐτὸν εἰσφέροντα περὶ τὴν θείαν διδασκαλίαν καμάτους, οὐ μὴν αὐτὸς γε ἐνδιόδους ταῖς καρτερίας. λέγεται γοῦν καὶ πλείονων ἑτῶν γῆν πεπαθηκέναι μηδενὶ μηδαμῶς κεχρημένος ὑποδήματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐνο χρῆσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παρὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφὴν πλείστους ἔτεσιν ἀπεσχημένος, ὡστε ἤδη εἰς κίνδυνον ἀνατροπῆς καὶ διαφθορᾶς τοῦ θώρακος περιπεσεῖν. 20
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. 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. 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. 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.¹

¹ So the translation of Rufinus; but no exact parallel can be adduced for the meaning here given to ὑφαγέ.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Τοιαύτα δὴ φιλοσόφου βίου τοῖς θεωμένοις παρέχων υποδείγματα, εἰκότως ἐπὶ τὸν ὄμοιον αὐτῶς ζήλον πλείους παρώρα τῶν φοιτητῶν, ὡστε ἱδή καὶ τῶν ἀπήστων ἐθνών τῶν τε ἀπὸ παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ἅπ-άγεσθαι τῇ δὲ αὐτοῦ διδασκαλίᾳ: οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς γνησίως ἐν βάθει ψυχῆς τῆν εἰς τὸν θεόν λόγον πίστιν δὲ αὐτοῦ παραδεχόμενοι, διαπρέπει συν-έβαινεν κατὰ τὸν τότε τοῦ διωγμοῦ καρόν, ὡς καὶ τυχα αὐτῶν ἄλογας μαρτυρίων τελειωθῆναι.


1 3. 2. 2 Cf. 3. 4, 5.
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. 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. 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. 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.
EUSEBIUS

V. "Εβδομος ἐν τούτοις ἀριθμεῖσθω Βασιλείδης, τὴν περιβόητον Ποταμίαναν ἀπαγαγόν, περὶ ἡς πολὺς ὁ λόγος εἷς ἐτὶ νῦν παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίους ἁδεῖα, μυρία μὲν υπὲρ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀγνείας τε καὶ παρθενίας, ἐν ἦ διέπρεψεν, πρὸς ἐραστὰς ἀγωνισμάνησις (καὶ γὰρ οὖν αὐτῇ ἀκμαίον πρὸς τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ τοῦ σώματος όραίον ἐπῆνθε) μυρία δὲ ἀνατλάσῃς καὶ τέλος μετὰ δεινᾶς καὶ φρυκτᾶς εἰπεῖν βασάνους ἀμα μητρὶ Μαρκέλλῃ διὰ πυρὸς τελειωθείσης. φασί γέ τοι τὸν δικαστὴν (Ἀκύλας 2 ἦν τούτω ὄνομα) χαλεπὰς ἐπιθέντα αὐτῇ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος αἰκίας, τέλος ἐφ’ ὑβρεὶ τοῦ σώματος μονομάχους αὐτῆν ἀπειλήσαι παραδοῦναι τὴν δὲ βραχὺ τι πρὸς ἑαυτῆν ἐπισκεψαμένην ἁρωτηθείσαιν ὁ κρίνειν, τοιαύτην δοῦνα ἀπόκρισιν ὑπ’ ἐς ἐδόκει νεομισμένον τι αὐτοῖς ἁσθεὶς ἀποφθέγμασθαι. ἀμα δὲ λόγῳ τοῦ τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὁρον καταδεξαμένην ὁ Βασιλείδης, εἰς τις ὅν τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀναφερομένων, ἀπάγει παραλαβῶν τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. ὡς δὲ τὸ πλῆθος ἐνοχλεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀκολάστοις ἐνυβρίζειν ῥήμασιν ἐπειράτο, ὁ μὲν ἀνείργην ἀποσοβῶν τοὺς ἐνυβρίζοντας, πλεῖστον ἐλεον καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐνδεικνύμενοι, ἢ δὲ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν συμπαθείας ἀποδεξαμένη τὸν ἄνδρα θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται. ἐξαιτήσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀπελθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἑαυτῆς κυρίου καὶ ὡς μακρὸν τῶν εἰς αὐτῆν πεπραγμένων τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποτίσεων αὐτῷ. ταύτα δ’ εἰποῦσαν 4 γενναῖως τὴν ἔξοδον ὑποστήναι, πίττῃς ἐμπύρου κατὰ διάφορα μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀπ’ ἄκρων ποδῶν καὶ μέχρι κορυφῆς ἠρέμα καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ περιχυθείσῃς αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀοιδίμου κόρης 5 24
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V. 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, 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. 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. 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. Such was the contest waged by this maiden celebrated in
τοιοῦτος κατηγώνιστο ἄθλος· οὐ μακρὸν δὲ χρόνον
dιαλιπὼν ὁ Βασιλείδης ὤρκον διὰ τινα αὐτίναν πρὸς
tῶν συπραττυωτῶν αὐτηθείς, μὴ ἔξειναι αὐτῷ τὸ
παράπαν ὁμοῦνα διεθεβαιοῦτο. Χριστιανὸν γὰρ
ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῦτο ἐμφανῶς ὀμολογεῖν. παίζειν
μὲν οὖν ἐνομίζετο τέως τὰ πρῶτα, ώς δ' ἑπιμόνως
ἀπισχυρίζετο, ἀγεταὶ ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστήν· ἐφ' οὐ τὴν
ἔνστασιν ὀμολογήσας, δεσμοῖς παραδίδοταί
tῶν δὲ κατὰ θεόν ἄδελφῶν ὡς αὐτῶν ἀφικνομένων
καὶ τὴν αὐτίνα τῆς ἄθροίας καὶ παραδόξου ταύτης
ὅμης πυρθανομένων, λέγεται εἰπέν ὡς ἀρα
Ποταμίαια τρισὶ υστερον ἡμέρας τοῦ μαρτυρίου
νῦκτωρ ἐπιστᾶσα, στέφανον αὐτοῦ τῇ κεφαλῇ
περιθέεσα εἰς φαῖη τε παρακεκληκέναι χαρὰν αὐτοῦ
tῶν κύριον καὶ τῆς ἄξιόωσεως τετυχηκέναι ὡς εἰς
μακρὸν τε αὐτῶν παραλῆψεσθαι. ἐπὶ τούτων τῶν
ἀδελφῶν τῆς ἐν κυρίω σφραγίδος μεταδότων
αὐτῶ, τῇ μετέπειτα ἡμέρα τῷ τοῦ κυρίου διαπρέπας
μαρτυρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμεναι. καὶ ἄλλου
dὲ πλείους τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἄθροίς τῷ
Χριστῷ λόγῳ προσελθείν κατὰ τοὺς δηλουμένους
ἰστοροῦντα, ὡς δὴ καθ' ὑπνοὺς τῆς Ποταμίαινης
ἐπιφανειός καὶ προσκεκλημένης αὐτοῦς. ἀλλὰ
tαύτα μὲν ὅδε ἑκέτων.

VI. Πάνταυνον δὲ Κλήμης διαδεξάμενος, τῆς
κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν κατηχήσεως εἰς ἐκείνω τοῦ
καρόμα ἑνεγείτο, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ὀριγένην τῶν
φοιτητῶν γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ. τὴν γε τοῦ τῶν Στρω-
ματέων πραγματείαν ὁ Κλήμης ὑπομηματιζό-
μενος, κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον σύγγραμμα χρονικὴν
ἐκθέμενος γραφῆ, εἰς τὴν Κομόδου τελευτήν περι-
γράφει τοὺς χρόνους, ὡς εἰναι σαφὲς ὅτι κατὰ
26
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 steadfastly to affirm it, they brought him to the judge. 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. 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. 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

1 Clem. *Strom.* i. 21 (139, 140, 144).
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

Σενήρον αυτῶ πεπόνητο τα σπουδάσματα, οὐ τοὺς χρόνους ὁ παρῶν ἱστορεῖ λόγος.

VII. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰουδᾶς, συγγραφέων ἐτερος, ἐστὶς τὰς παρὰ τῷ Δανυῆλ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐβδομάδας ἐγγράφως διαλεχθεῖς, ἐπὶ τὸ δέκατον τῆς Σενήρου βασιλείας ἵστησιν τὴν χρονογραφίαν· ὅσοι καὶ τὴν θρυλομένην τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου παρουσίαν ἦδη τότε πλησιάζειν ἤστο· οὕτω σφοδρῶς ἢ τοῦ καθ᾽ ἦμῶν τότε διωγμοῖς κίνησις τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἀνατεταράχει διανοιάς.

VIII. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας τούργον ἐπιτελοῦντι τῷ Ὁμιγένει πράγμα τι πεπρακται φρενὸς μὲν ἄτελοὺς καὶ νεανικῆς, πίστεως γε μὴν ὀμοῦ καὶ σωφροσύνης μέγιστον δείγμα περιέχον· τὸ γὰρ „εἰςιν εὐνοῦχοι οὕτως εὐνοῦχοι ἐκαύτοις διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν ὦρανῶν“, ἀπλοῦστερον καὶ νεανικότερον ἐκλαβῶν, ὀμοὶ μὲν σωτηρίων φωνῆι ἀποπληρῶν οἰόμενος, ὀμοὶ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ νέον τὴν ἥλικιαν ὄντα μὴ ἀνδράσι μόνον, καὶ γυναιξὶ δὲ τὰ θεία προσομπειν, ὡς αν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοὺς ἀπίστους αἰσχρὰς διαβολῆς ὑπόνοιαν ἀποκλείσειες, τὴν σωτηρίων φωνῆι ἔργοις ἐπιτελεῖσαι ὑμηθη, τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἄμφοτεροι γνωρίμων διαλαθεὶς φροντίσας. οὐκ ἢν δὲ ᾧα δυνατόν αὐτῷ καὶ πολυμενῶς τοσοῦτον ἔργον ἐπικρύφασθαι. γνοὺς δῆτα ὑστερον ὁ Δημήτριος, ἄτε τῆς αὐτῶν παρουσίας προσητώς, εἰ μάλα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀποθαναμάξει τοῦ τολμήματος, τὴν δὲ γε προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ γνήσιον αὐτῷ τῆς πίστεως ἀποδεξάμενος, θαρρεῖν παρακελεύεται, καὶ νῦν μάλλον ἔχεσθαι αὐτὸν τοῦ τῆς κατηχήσεως ἔργου παρομμὴ. 28
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under Severus, whose time this present account is describing.

VII. 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. 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. 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. 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.
'Αλλὰ τότε μὲν οὖτος τοιούτος τις ἦν· οὗ μακροῖς δὲ χρόνοις ύστερον ὁ αὐτὸς ὅρῳν εὑ πράττοντα μέγαν τε καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ παρὰ πάσιν ὄντα βε- 
βομένου, ἀνθρώπινον τι πεπονθός τοῖς ἀνά τὴν 
οἴκουμένην ἐπισκόπους καταγράφειν ὡς ἀτοπω- 
τάτον τοῦ πραξθέντος ἐπειρᾶτο, ὅτε τῶν κατὰ 
Παλαιστίνην οἱ μάλιστα δόκιμοι καὶ διαπρέποντες 
Καισαρείας τε καὶ Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοποι πρεσ- 
βείων τὸν Ὀριγένην καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ τιμής ἄξιον 
ἐναι δοκιμάσαντες, χείρας ἐἰς πρεσβυτέριον αὐτῷ 
tεθείκασιν. τηνικαύτα ἦν οὐ εἰς μέγα δόξης 
προελθόντος ὄνομα τε παρὰ τοῖς πανταχῆ πάσῳ 
ἀνθρώποις καὶ κλέος ἀρετῆς καὶ σοφίας οὐ σιμικρὸν 
kτησμαμένου, μηδεμιάς ἀλλης εὑπορῶν ὃ Δημήτριος 
cαθηγορίας, τῆς πάλαι ἐν παιδί γεγονότια αὐτῷ 
πράξεως δεινῆς ποιεῖται διαβολῆν, συμπεριλαβεῖν 
tολμήσας ταῖς καθηγορίαις τούς ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσ-
βυτέριον αὐτὸν προδάγαντας.

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν μικρὸν ἐπταύχθη ὕστερον· τότε 
γε μὴν ὁ Ὀριγένης ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλέξανδρείας τὸ τῆς 
θείας διδασκαλίας ἐργον εἰς ἀπαντασ ἀφυλάκτως 
tοὺς προσιόντας νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐπετελεῖ, 
tοῖς θείοις ἀόκνως μαθήμασιν καὶ τοῖς ὡς αὐτῶν 
φοιτῶσιν τὴν πάσαν ἀνατιθεῖσ σχολὴν.

'Επὶ δέκα δὲ καὶ ὅκτω ἔστειν τὴν ἄρχην ἐπι-
kρατήσαντα Σενὴρον Ἀντωνίνος ὁ παῖς διαδέχεται. 
ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἀνδρισμαμένων 
καὶ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν ὑμολογίαις ἀγώνας διὰ προνοιάς 
θεοῦ πεφυλαγμένων εἰς τις ἐν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃν 
ἀρτίως ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας 
ἐδηλώσαμεν, οὐ ταῖς ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ διαπρέπας

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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, deem Origen worthy of privilege and the highest honour, ordained him to the presbyterate by laying on of hands. 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.

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.

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

1 *i.e.* Theoctistus and Alexander: cf. 19. 17; 27.
2 See 23. 4.
3 A.D. 211.
4 § 4.
διμολογίας, τῆς δηλωθείσης ἐπισκοπῆς ἀξιώτατα, ἐτὶ Νάρκισσου, ὅσ ἦν αὐτὸν πρότερος, περιόντος τῷ βίῳ.

IX. Πολλά μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα παράδοξα οἱ τῆς παρουκίας πολῖται ὡς ἐκ παραδόσεως τῶν κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἄδελφῶν τοῦ Νάρκισσου μνημονεύουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι θαῦμα δι’ αὐτοῦ γεγονός ἑστεροῦσιν. κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην ποτὲ τοῦ πᾶσχα διανυκτέρευσιν τούλαθιον φασιν τοῖς διακόνοις ἐπιλιπέιν· ἐφ’ ὦ τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος δεινῆς ἀθυμίας διαλαβούσης, τὸν Νάρκισσον τοῖς τὰ φῶτα παρασκευάζοντων ἐπιτάξαι ὑδρῷ ἀναμήνεται ὡς αὐτὸν κομμιεῖσθαι. τοῦτον δὲ ἀμα λόγῳ πραχθέντος, ἐπευξάμενον τῷ ὑδατὶ, ἔγχεια κατὰ τῶν λύχνων πίστει τῇ εἰς τὸν κύριον γνησίᾳ παρακελεύσασθαι· ποιησάντων δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, παρά πάντα λόγον δυνάμει παραδόξω καὶ θείᾳ μεταβαλεῖν ἐξ ὑδατος εἰς ἑλαίου ποιότητα τὴν φύσιν, παρά τε πλείστοις τῶν αὐτῶθι ἄδελφῶν ἐπὶ μήκιστον ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς βραχύ τι δεύγμα τοῦ τότε θαύματος φυλαχθῆναι.

"Αλλα τε πλείστα περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνήμης ἄξια καταλέγουσιν, ἐν οἷς καὶ τοιόνδε τι. τὸ εὐτονον αὐτοῦ καὶ στερρὸν τοῦ βίου φαύλοι τινες ἀνθρωπίςκοι μὴ ὡσὶ τε φέρειν, δὲ εἰ τοῦ μὴ δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἀλόντας, διὰ τὸ μυρίᾳ κακὰ ἑαυτοῖς συνεγνωκέναι, συσκεύην κατ’ αὐτοῦ προλαβόντες συνράπτουσι καὶ τινα δεινην καταχέουσιν αὐτὸν διαβολῆν. εἰτα πιστούμενοι τοὺς ἀκρωμένους, ὅρκοις ἐβεβαιώσαν τὰς κατηγορίας, καὶ ὁ μὲν, ἢ μὴν ἀπόλοιπον πυρί, ὡμνυεῖν, ὁ δὲ, ὡς ἡ μὴν σκαῖρα νόσῳ δαπανηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα, ὁ δὲ τρίτος,
as he was for his confessions on behalf of Christ; Narcissus his predecessor being still alive.¹

IX. 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. 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; 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.

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. 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

¹ For the reason of this see c. 11.
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ἡ μὴν τὰς ὁράσεις πηρωθείη· ἀλλ' οὐδ' οὔτως αὐτοῖς, καίπερ ὁμώνυσαν, τῶν πιστῶν τις προσεῖχε τὸν νοῦν διὰ τὴν εἰς πάντας λάμπουσαν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς σωφροσύνην τε καὶ πανάρετον ἀγωγὴν τοῦ Ναρκίσσου. αὐτὸς γε μὴν τὴν τῶν εἰρημένων μηδαιμῶς ὑπομένων μοχθηρίαν καὶ ἄλλως ἐκ μακροὺ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἀσπαζόμενος βίον, διαδρᾶς πάν τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πλῆθος, ἐν ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀφανέσιν ἄγροις λανθάνων πλείστοις ἔτεσιν δι- ἐτριβεν. ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ δ’ ἡς δίκης μέγας ὀφθαλμὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἥρεμει, μετήει δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς ἀσεβείς αἰς καθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἐπιορκοῦντες κατεδήσαντο ἄραις. ὁ μὲν οὖν πρῶτος, ἐκ μηδεμίας προφάσεως ἀπλῶς οὔτως, μικροῦ διαπεσόντος ἑφ’ ἣς κατέμενεν οἰκίας σπινθήρος, νύκτωρ ὑφ- αθείως ἀπάσης, παγγενεί καταφλέγεται. ὁ δὲ ἄθροῶς τὸ σῶμα ἔξ ἀκρων ποδῶν ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἡς ἑαυτὸς προσεμήσει ἑαυτῷ νόσου πίμπλαται ὁ δὲ τρίτος τὰς τῶν προτέρων συνιδών ἐκβάσεις καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἐφόρου θεοῦ τρέσας τὴν ἀδια- δραστον δίκην, ὀμολογεῖ μὲν τοῖς πᾶσιν τὰ κοινὴ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσκευωρημένα, τοσαύταις δὲ κατ- ετρύχετο μεταμελόμενος οἰμώγαις δακρύων τε ἐς τοσοῦτον οὐκ ἀπέλιπεν, ἐως ἁμφος διεφθάρη τὰς ὁψεῖς.

Καὶ οἶδε μὲν τῆς ψευδολογίας τοιαύτας ύπέσχον τιμωρίας. Χ. τοῦ δὲ Ναρκίσσου ἀνακεχωρηκότος καὶ μηδαιμῶς ὅτι ὃν τυγχάνοι, γυνωσκομένου, δόξαν τοῖς τῶν ὁμόρων ἐκκλησίων προεστῶσιν, ἐφ’ ἐτέρου μετίασιν ἐπισκόπου χειροτονίαν. Δίος τούτω ὁνομα ἦν· δι’ οὖ πολὺν προστάντα ἐχθρόνον Γερμανίων διαδέχεται, καὶ τούτον Γόρδιος· καθ’
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. 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. 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; 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. 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.
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dn ὤσπερ εξ ἀναβιώσεως ἀναφανεῖς ποθεν ὁ Νάρκισσος αὐθις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπὶ τὴν προ-
στασίαν παρακαλεῖται, μειξόνος ἐτι μᾶλλον τῶν
πάντων ἀγαθείνων αὐτοῦ τῆς τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως
ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας καὶ ἔφ’ ἀπασιν δι’ ἣν
παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατηξίωτο ἐκδίκησιν.

XI. Καὶ ἐς μηκέθ’ οἶον τε ὄντος λειτουργεῖν
διὰ λιπαρὸν γῆρας, τὸν εἰρημένον Ἀλέξανδρον,
ἐπίσκοπον ἐτέρας ὑπάρχοντα παρουσίας, οἰκονομία
θεοῦ ἐπὶ τὴν ἁμα τῷ Ναρκίσσῳ λειτουργίαν ἐκάλει
κατὰ ἀποκάλυψιν νῦκτωρ αὐτῷ δι’ ὀράματος
φανείσαν. ταύτη δ’ οὖν, ὡς κατὰ τι θεοπρόπιον,
ἐκ τῆς Καππαδοκῶν γῆς, ένθα τὸ πρῶτον τῆς
ἐπισκοπῆς ἠξίωτο, τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τα Ἱεροσόλυμα
εὐχῆς καὶ τῶν τόπων ἱστορίας ἐνεκεν πεποιημένον
φιλοφρονεότατα οἱ τῆς ὑπολαβόντες οὐκέτ’ οὐκαδὲ
αὐτῷ παλινοστεῖν ἐπιτρέπουσιν καθ’ ἐτέραν ἀπο-
κάλυψιν καὶ αὐτοῖς νῦκτωρ ὀφθέισαν μίαν τε
φωνήν σαφεστάτην τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν σπουδαίωσ
χρήσαντεν. ἐδήλου γαρ προελθόντας ἐξω πυλῶν
tῶν ἐκ θεοῦ προωρισμένον αὐτοῖς ἐπίσκοπον
ὑποδέξασθαι. τούτῳ δὲ πράξαντες, μετὰ κοινῆς
tῶν ἐπισκόπων, οἱ τὰς πέριξ διείτον ἐκκλησίας,
γνώμης ἐπάναγκες αὐτὸν παραμένειν βιάζονται.
μνημονεύει γέ τοι καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν
ἰδίαις ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς πρὸς Ἀντινοῦτας, εἰς ἐτι νῦν
παρ’ ἡμῖν σωζομέναι, τῆς Ναρκίσσου σὺν αὐτῷ
προεδρίας, ταῦτα κατὰ λέξιν ἐπὶ τέλει γράφοιν

1 8. 7.
2 The community at Antinoë, or Antinoöpolis, a city on
the eastern bank of the Nile, founded by Hadrian in A.D. 122
in honour of Antinous. See iv. 8. 2.
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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. 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. 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. 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,
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τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, "ἀστάζεται ὑμᾶς Νάρκισσος ὁ ἤμων διέπων τὸν τόπον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τοῦ ἐνθάδε καὶ νῦν συνεξεταζόμενος μοι διὰ τῶν εὐχῶν, πρὶς ἥτη ἡνυκώς, παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ ὁμοφρονήσαι.

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως εἶχεν τῆς δὲ κατ᾽ Ἀντίοχειαν ἐκκλησίας, Σεραπίωνος ἀναπαυσαμένου, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διαδέχεται Ἀσκληπιάδης, ἐν ταῖς κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ὁμολογίαις διαπρέσας καὶ αὐτοῦς μέμνηται καὶ τῆς τούτου καταστάσεως Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀντιοχείου γράφων ὁδεῖ: "Ἀλέξανδρος, δοῦλός καὶ δέσμιος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῇ μακαρίᾳ Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησία ἐν κυρίῳ χαίρειν. ἐλαφρὰ μοι καὶ κοῦφα τὰ δεσμὰ ὁ κύριος ἐποίησεν, κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εἴρητης πυθομένῳ τῆς ἀγίας ὑμῶν τῶν Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν θείαν πρόνοιαν Ἀσκληπιάδην τὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον κατ’ ἀξίαν τὴν πίστιν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγκεκεχειρισμένων.

Ταῦτην δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν σημαίνει διὰ Κλήμεντος ἀπεσταλκέναι, πρὸς τῷ τέλει τούτων γράφων τοῦ τρόπον: "ταῦτα δὲ ὑμῖν, κύριοι μου ἀδελφοί, τὰ γράμματα ἀπέστειλα διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ μακαρίου πρεσβυτέρου, ἀνδρὸς ἐναρέτου καὶ δοκίμου, οὐ γιντε καὶ ὑμεῖς καὶ ἐπιγνώσησθε: ὅσα καὶ ἐνθάδε παρὸν κατὰ τὴν πρόνοιαν καὶ ἐπισκοπὴν τοῦ δεσπότου ἐπεστήριζεν τε καὶ ἡξῆσεν τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἐκκλησίαν.

XII. Τοῦ μὲν οὖν Σεραπίωνος τῆς περὶ λόγους ἀσκήσεως καὶ ἄλλα μὲν εἰκὸς σοφὲσθαι παρ’ ἔτεροις ὑπομνήματα, εἰς ἡμᾶς δὲ μόνα κατῆλθεν τὰ Πρὸς Δόμνουν, ἐκπεπτωκότα τινὰ παρὰ τῶν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καιρὸν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰς Χριστὸν πίστεως.
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."

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. 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."

This epistle he indicates had been sent by the hand of Clement, writing at the close in this manner: "But his 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. Now it is likely, indeed, that other memoirs also, the fruit of Serapion's literary studies, are reserved 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

1 *i.e.* Clement of Alexandria.
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Cf. Col. 2, 23 ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαϊκὴν ἑθελοθρησκείαν, καὶ τὰ Πρὸς Πόντιον καὶ Καρικόν, ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς ἄνδρας, καὶ ἄλλα πρὸς ἐτέρους ἐπιστολαὶ, ἐτερός τε συντεταγμένος αὐτῶ λόγος Περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ὃν πεποίηται ἀπελέγχων τὰ ψευδῶς ἐν αὐτῶ εἰρήμενα διὰ τινας ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ῥωσσόν παροικία προφάσει τῆς εἰρήμενης γραφῆς εἰς ἐτεροδόξους διδασκαλίας ἀποκείλαντας. ἃς οὖ εὐλογον βραχείας παραθέσθαι λέξεις, δι’ ἦν ἥν εἶχεν περὶ τοῦ βιβλίου γνώμην προτίθησιν, οὕτω γράφων: "ἡμεῖς γὰρ, ἄδελφοι, καὶ Πέτρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποστόλους ἀποδεχόμεθα ὡς Χριστόν, τὰ δὲ ὄνοματι αὐτῶν ψευδεπίγραφα ὡς ἐμπειρο παραιτούμεθα, γινώσκοντες ὅτι τὰ τοιαύτα οὐ παρελάβομεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ γενόμενος παρ’ ὑμῖν, ὑπενόουν τοὺς πάντας ὀρθῆ πίστει προσφέρεσθαι, καὶ μὴ διελθὼν τὸ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν προφερόμενον ὀνόματι Πέτρου εὐαγγελίου, εἶπον ὅτι εἰ τούτο ἐστιν μόνον τὸ δοκοῦν ὑμῖν παρέχειν μικροψυχίαν, ἀναγνωσκέσθων: νῦν δὲ μαθῶν ὅτι αἱρέσει τινὶ ὁ νοὺς αὐτῶν ἐφώλευεν, ἐκ τῶν λεχθέντων μοι. ἕποιδασῳ πάλιν γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὥστε ἄδελφοι, προσδοκᾶτε με ἐν τάχει. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἄδελφοι, καταλαβόμενοι ὑποίας ἢν αἱρέσεις Μαρκιανὸς, ἃς καὶ ἕαυτῷ ἐναντιοῦτο, μὴ νοῶι

1 A large fragment of this Gospel was discovered at Akhmim in 1886, which agrees exactly with the description given above by Serapion, and is manifestly docetic in its conception of Christ. Scholars are not unanimous about the
time of the persecution, to Jewish will-worship; and those To Pontius and Caricus, churchmen, and other letters to other persons; and another book has been composed by him Concerning what is known as the Gospel of Peter,¹ 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: “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. 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,² I shall give diligence to come again to you; wherefore, brethren, expect me quickly. But we, brethren, gathering to what kind of heresy Marcianus³ belonged (who⁴ used to contradict himself, not knowing what he was saying, as ye will learn
date of this Gospel: Swete put it at A.D. 165, others forty or even more years earlier.

¹ Schwartz supposes that Serapion wrote: “was halting by reason of some heresy,” reading ἐνωκλεευέτο.
² The Armenian version has Marcion. But the person here mentioned was probably not the well-known heretic of Pontus, but a leader of the Docetae at Rhossus.
³ Reading ὅς, with Schwartz.
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ἀ ἐλάλει, ἃ μαθήσεσθε ἐξ ὧν ὑμῖν ἐγράφη, ἐδυνήθη· μεν [γάρ] παρ' ἄλλων τῶν ἀσκησάντων ναυτὸ τούτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, τούτ' ἐστὶν παρὰ τῶν διαδόχων τῶν καταρχαμένων αὐτοῦ, οὐς Δοκητὰς καλοῦμεν (τὰ γάρ πλείονα φρονήματα ἔκειν ἐστὶν τῆς διδασκαλίας), χρησάμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν διελθεῖσιν καὶ εὑρεῖν τὰ μὲν πλείονα τοῦ ὀρθοῦ λόγου τοῦ σωτήρος, τινὰ δὲ προσδιεσταμένα, ἃ καὶ ὑπετάξαμεν ὑμῖν." XIII. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ Σεραπιώνος.

Τοῦ δὲ Κλήμεντος Στρωματεῖς, οἱ πάντες δ' ὀκτώ, παρ' ἡμῖν σῶζονται, οὓς καὶ τοιαύτης ἦξίωσεν προγραφῆς "Τίτου Φλαύου Κλήμεντος τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀληθὴ φιλοσοφίαν γνωστικῶν ὑπομηνμάτων στρωματεῖς," ἰσάριθμοὶ τε τούτοις εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ὕποτυπώσεων αὐτοῦ λόγοι, ἐν οἷς οὖνομαστὶ ὡς διδασκάλον τοῦ Πανταῖου μνημονεύει ἕκδοχάς τε αὐτοῦ γραφῶν καὶ παραδόσεις ἐκτέθειται ἐστὶν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Ἐλλήνας λόγον ὁ Προτρηπτικὸς τρεῖς τε οἱ τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου Παιδαγωγοῦ καὶ "Τίς ὁ σωζόμενος πλοῦσιος" οὕτως ἐπιγραφεῖς ἐτερος αὐτοῦ λόγος τὸ τε Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα σύγγραμμα καὶ διαλέξεις Περὶ νηστείας καὶ Περὶ καταλαλιᾶς καὶ ὁ Προτρηπτικὸς εἰς ὑπομονὴν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς νεωστὶ βεβαπτισμένοι καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος Κανῶν ἐκκλησιαστικὸς ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίζοντας, ἐν Ἄλεξάνδρῳ τῷ διδηλωμένῳ ἑπισκόπῳ ἀνατέθεικεν.

1 Omitting γάρ, with Schwartz.
2 This word (derived from δοκεῖν, “to seem”) was in common use as indicating persons or sects who denied the reality of our Lord’s body or of His sufferings.
3 In late Greek στρωματεῖς came to have the meaning of στρωματόδεσσιος, i.e. the striped bag in which slaves rolled up
from what has been written to you), were enabled\(^1\) by others who studied this very Gospel, that is, by the successors of those who began it, whom we call Docetae\(^2\) (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.

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\(^3\) of Gnostic Memoirs according to the True Philosophy”; and of equal number with these are his books entitled Hypotyposeis,\(^4\) in which he mentions Pantaenus by name as his teacher, and has set forth his interpretations of the Scriptures and his traditions. There is also a book of his, the Exhortation to the Greeks,\(^5\) and the three books of the work entitled Paedagogus, and Who is the Rich Man that is being Saved?\(^5\) (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,\(^6\) and the [book] entitled the Ecclesiastical Canon, or Against the Judaizers,\(^6\) which he has dedicated to Alexander, the bishop mentioned above.\(^7\)

the bedclothes. Hence works of a miscellaneous character were thus entitled, not only by Clement, but also by Plutarch and Origen (see 24. 3).

\(^1\) i.e. “Sketches.”

\(^2\) Translated in Loeb Classical Library, vol. 92.

\(^3\) Or “To the Judaizers.”

\(^7\) 8. 7; 11.
Εὔσεβιος

'Εν μὲν οὖν τοῖς Στρωματεύσον οὐ μόνον τὴς θείας κατάστρωσιν πεποίηται γραφῆς, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παρ' Ἑλλησιν, εἰ τι ἄρα ὠφέλιμον ἐδόκει καὶ αὐτοῖς εἰρήσθαι, μνημονεύει τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς δογμάτων, τὰ Ἑλληνῶν ὂμοι καὶ τὰ βαρβάρων ἀναπτύσσον καὶ ἐτι τὰς τῶν αἱρετικῶν ψευδοδοξίας εὐθύνων, ἱστορίαν τε πολλὴν ἐξαπλοῖ, ὑπόθεσιν ἡμῶν πολυμαθῶς παρέχων παιδείας. τούτοις ἀπασιν καταμίγνυσι καὶ τὰ φιλοσόφων δόγματα, ὅθεν εἰκότως κατάληλον τῇ ὑποθέσει καὶ τὴν προγραφήν τῶν Στρωματέων πεποίηται. κέχρηται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀντι-ελεγμένων γραφῶν μαρτυρίαις, τῆς τε λεγομένης Σολωμῶνος Σοφίας καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ Σιρᾶχ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἔπιστολῆς τῆς τε Βαρναβᾶ καὶ Κλήμεντος καὶ Ἰουδᾶ, μνημονεύει τε τοῦ πρὸς τ' Ἑλληνας Τατιανοῦ λόγου καὶ Κασσιανοῦ ὡς καὶ αὐτοῦ χρονογραφίαν πεποιημένου, ἔτι μὴν Φίλωνος καὶ Ἀριστοβούλου Ἰωσήφου τε καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ Εὐτολέμου, Ἰουδαίων συγγραφέων, ὡς ἄν τούτων ἀπάντων ἐγγράφως πρεσβύτερου τῆς παρ' Ἑλλησι πορχαιογονιᾶς Μωυσέα τε καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀποδειξάτων, καὶ ἔλλης δ' ἐπίστης χρηστομαθείας ἐμπληκεῖ δέ ἐν τοῖς ἑν τῶ ἀνδρός λόγων ὅπι τὰ τῆς πρώτως περὶ ἐαυτοῦ δηλοὶ ὡς ἔγγιστα τῆς τῶν ἀποστόλων γενομένου διδαχῆς, ὑπεικυνεῖται δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν ὑπομνηματιεῖσθαι.

Καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ τῷ Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα ἐκβιασθῆναι ὁμολογεῖ πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων ὡς ἐτυχεῖν

1 Clem. Strom. i. 21 (101. 2).
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VI. xiii. 4–9

Now in the Stromateis he has composed a patchwork, 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, 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. 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, 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,¹ 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.² 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 Apostles³; and he promises in them also to write a commentary on Genesis.⁴

And in his book On the Pascha he professes that he was compelled by his companions to commit to

² Ibid. 15 (72. 4), 22 (150. 1), 21 (147. 2; 141. 1 ff.), 23 (153. 4).
³ Lit. “the succession from the apostles.” Ibid. 1 (11. 3), quoted v. 11. 5.
⁴ Clem. Strom. iii. 14 (95. 2); iv. 1 (3. 3); vi. 18 (168. 4).
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παρὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων πρεσβυτέρων ἀκηκοῦσα παραδόσεις γραφῆς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα παραδοῦναι, μέμνηται δ’ ἐν αὐτῷ Μελίτωνος καὶ Εἰρηναίου καὶ τινῶν ἑτέρων, ὃν καὶ τὰς διηγήσεις τέθειται. 

XIV. Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὑποτυπώσεσιν ξυνελόντα μεταποίησιν καὶ ἐίπειν πάσης τῆς ἐνδιαθήκης γραφῆς ἐπιτετμημένα πεποίηται διηγήσεις, μηδὲ τὰς ἀντιλεγόμενας παρελθόντων, τὴν Ἰουδαία λέγω καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς καθολικὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὴν ταῖς Βαρναβά, καὶ τὴν Πέτρου λεγομένην Ἀποκάλυψιν. καὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἐβραίους δὲ ἐπιστολὴν Παῦλου μὲν ἐναὶ φήσων, γεγράφθαι δὲ Ἐβραίοις Ἐβραίκη φωνῇ, Δουκάν δὲ φιλοτίμως αὐτὴν μεθερμηνεύσαντα ἐκδοῦναι τοῖς Ἑλλησπον, ὅθεν τὸν αὐτὸν χρώτα εὐρίσκεσθαι κατ’ τὴν ἐρμηνείαν ταύτης τε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς καὶ τῶν Πράξεων: μή προγεγράφθαι δὲ τὸ “Παῦλος ἀπόστολος” εἰκοτῶς. “Ἑβραίοις γάρ,” φησίν, “ἐπιστέλλων πρόληψιν εἰληφθῶς κατ’ αὐτὸν καὶ ὑποπτεύοσιν αὐτὸν, συνετῶς πάνυ οὐκ ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπέτρεψεν αὐτοὺς, τὸ ὄνομα θεὶς.”

Ἑτα ὑποβασ ἐπιλέγει, “ἡδη δὲ, ὡς ὁ μακάριος ἐλεγεν πρεσβύτερος, ἔπει ὁ κύριος, ἀπόστολος ὑν τοῦ παντοκράτορος, ἀπεστάλη πρὸς Ἐβραίους, διὰ μετρίωτητα ὁ Παῦλος, ὡς ἂν εἰς τὰ ἐθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, οὐκ ἐγγράφει ἑαυτὸν Ἐβραίων ἀπόστολον διὰ τε τὴν πρὸς τῶν κύριων τιμὴν διὰ τε το ἑκ περιουσίας καὶ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπιστέλλεις, ἐθνῶν κήρυκα ὄντα καὶ ἀπόστολον.”

Αὕθεις δ’ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ Κλήμης βιβλίως περὶ τῆς τάξεως τῶν εὐαγγελίων παράδοσιν τῶν ἀνέκαθεν πρεσβύτερων τέθειται, τούτων ἕχοσαν τὸν τρόπον. προγεγράφθαι ἐλεγεν τῶν εὐαγγελίων 46
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. And in the Hypotyposeis, 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. 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. 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."

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."

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
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tὰ περιέχοντα τὰς γενεαλογίας, τὸ δὲ κατὰ Μάρκον τὴν ηὐσχηκέναι τὴν οἰκονομίαν. τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσία ἐν Ὁρώμη κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον καὶ πνεύματι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐξειποῦντος, τοὺς παρόντας, πολλοὺς ὄντας, παρακάλεσα τὸν Μάρκον, ὡς ἂν ἀκολουθήσαντα αὐτῷ πόρρωθεν καὶ μεμνημένον τῶν λεχθέντων, ἀναγράψαι τὰ εἰρημένα. ποιῆσαντα δὲ, τὸ εὐαγγέλιον μεταδόθη φύτε τῶν δεομένων αὐτοῦ ὁπερ ἐπιγνώντα τὸν Πέτρον προτρεπτικῶς μήτε τοῖς κωλύσαι μήτε προτρέψασθαι. τὸν μὲν τοῦ Ἰωάννην ἐσχατον, συνιδόντα ὅτι τὰ σωματικά ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις δεδήλωται, προτραπέντα ὑπὸ τῶν γνωρίμων, πνεύματι θεοφορηθέντα πνευματικὸν ποιῆσαι εὐαγγέλιον. τοσαῦτα ὁ Κλήμης.

Πάλιν δ’ ὁ δηλωθεὶς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῦ Κλήμεντος, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πανταίνου ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ὀριγένην ἐπιστολῆς μνημονεύει, ὡς δὴ γνωρίμων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γράφει δὲ οὕτως: "τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ θέλημα θεοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, γέγονεν ἵνα ἢ ἀπὸ προγόνων ἡμῖν φιλία μένῃ ἀσύλους, μᾶλλον δὲ θερμοτέρα ἢ καὶ βεβαιότερα. πατέρας γὰρ ἵσμεν τοὺς μακαρίους ἐκεῖνους τοὺς προδεύσαστας, πρὸς οὓς μετ’ ὀλίγον ἑσόμεθα, Πάνταινον, τὸν μακάριον ἄληθῶς καὶ κύριον, καὶ τὸν ἱερὸν Κλήμεντα, κύριον μου γενόμενον καὶ ὑφελήσαντά με, καὶ εἰ τις ἔτερος τοιοῦτος· δι’ ὅν σὲ ἐγνώρισα, τὸν κατὰ πάντα ἁριστόν καὶ κύριον μου καὶ ἀδελφόν.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα.

"Ὁ γε τοῦ Ἀδαμάντιος (καὶ τοῦτο γὰρ ἢν τῷ Ὀριγένει ὄνομα), Ζεφυρίνου κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς

1 Lit. “had this dispensation.”

48
Gospels were first written which include the genealogies, but that the Gospel according to Mark came into being in this manner¹: 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. 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 outward² 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.

And again Alexander, of whom we spoke before,³ 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. 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.

Now Adamantius (for this also was Origen’s name), when Zephyrinus was at that time ruling the church

¹ Lit. “bodily.”
² c. 11, etc.
χρόνους τῆς Ἦρωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἡγουμένου, ἐπιδημήσαι τῇ Ἃρμη καὶ αὐτὸς ποὺ γράφει, λέγων "εὐξαμενος τὴν ἀρχαιότατην Ἦρωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν"· ἐνθα οὐ πολὺ διατρύμασ, ἐπάνεισιν εἰς τὴν Ἁλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ δὴ τὰ συνήθη τῆς κατηχήσεως ἐνταῦθα μετὰ πάσης ἐπιλήρου σπουδῆς, Δημητρίου τῶν τῇ δὲ ἐπισκόπου ἐτὶ τότε παρομώντος αὐτῶν καὶ μόνου οὐχὶ ἀντιβολοῦντος ἀόκως τὴν εἰς τοὺς ἄδελφους ὁφέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι. ΧV. δὲ _WS ἐαυτὸν 1 ἐώρα μὴ ἐπαρκοῦντα τῇ τῶν θείων βαθυτέρα σχολῆ τῇ τε ἐξετάσει καὶ ἐρμηνείᾳ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων καὶ προσέτι τῇ τῶν προσώπων κατ- ἡχήσει μηδὲ ἀναπνεύσασι συγχωροῦντων αὐτῶν, ἐτέ- ροις ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἐξ ἐω καὶ μέχρις ἐσπέρας ἐπὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν διδασκαλεῖον φοιτώντων, διανείμασι τὰ πλήθη, τῶν Ἡρακλᾶν τῶν γνωρίμων προκρίνας, ἐν τε τοῖς θείοις σπουδαῖοι καὶ ἄλλος ὄντα λογιώτατον ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἀμοιρον, κοινωνὸν καθίστη τῆς κατηχήσεως, τῷ μὲν τὴν πρώτην τῶν ἀρτὶ στοιχειομένων εἰσαγωγὴν ἐπιτρέψας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν τῶν ἐν ἐξει φυλάξας ἀκρόασιν.

ΧV. Τοσαῦτη δὲ εἰσήγητο τῷ Ὑριγένει τῶν Ἰ θείων λόγων ἀπηκριβωμένη ἐξέτασις, ὡς καὶ τὴν Ἐβραίδα γλώτταν ἐκμαθεῖν τάς τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φερομένας πρωτοτύπους αὐτοῖς Ἐβραίων στοιχείοις γραφάς κτήμα ὑδων ποιήσασθαι ἀν- χενείσαι τε τάς τῶν ἐτέρων παρὰ τοὺς ἐβδομήκοντα τάς ἱερὰς γραφάς ἐρμηνευκότων ἐκδόσεις καὶ τινὰς ἐτέρας παρὰ τάς κατηχησεμένας ἐρμηνείας ἐναλ- λαττούσας, τῇ Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεό- δοτίων, ἐφευρεῖν, ἃς οὐκ οἶδ' ὦθεν ἐκ τινῶν 50
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."

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. 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. 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
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μυχῶν τὸν πάλαι λανθανούσας χρόνον ἀνιχνεύσας προήγαγεν εἰς φῶς· ἐφʼ ὅν διὰ τὴν ἄδηλότητα, τίνος ἀρʼ εἶην οὐκ εἰδῶς, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ἐπισημήνατο ὡς ἀρὰ τὴν μὲν εὐροὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀκτίους Νικοπόλει, τὴν δὲ ἐν έτέρῳ τοῦδε τόπῳ. 3 ἐν γε μὴν τοῖς 'Εξαπλοῖσ τῶν Ἡλιμῶν μετὰ τὰς ἐπισημοὺς τέσσαρας ἐκδόσεις οὐ μόνον πέμπτην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκτὴν καὶ ἐβδόμην παραθέσεις ἐρμηνεύαν, ὡς εἰ μᾶς αὖθις σηκυνήσαται ὡς ἐν Ἰεριχοΐ εὐρήμενης ἐν πίθῳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Ἀντωνίου τοῦ νῦν Σευήρου. ταύτας δὲ ἀπάσας ἐπὶ ταὐτὸν συναγαγὼν διελὼν τε πρὸς κόλον καὶ ἀντιπαραθεῖς ἀλλήλαις μετὰ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Ἐβραίων σηκυνώσεως τὰ τῶν λεγομένων Ἐξαπλών ἡμῖν ἀντίγραφα καταλέλυσεν, ἵδιως τὴν Ἀκύλου καὶ Συμμάχου καὶ Θεοδοτίων ἐκδόσειν ἀμα τῇ τῶν ἐβδομῆκοντα ἐν τοῖς Τετρασσοῖς ἐπισκευάσας.

XVII. Τῶν γε μὴν ἐρμηνευτῶν αὐτῶν δὴ τούτων ἱστεόν Ἐβρωναῖων τὸν Σύμμαχον γεγονέναι· αἱρεσις δὲ ἐς τῶν Ἐβρωναίων οὕτω καλομενή τῶν τῶν Χριστὸν ἐς Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας γεγονέναι φασκόντων ψιλόν τε ἀνθρωπον ὑπειληφότων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν νόμον χρηναι Ἰουδαϊκῶτερον φυλάττεν ἀπισχυρομένων, ὅσ ποὺ καὶ ἐκ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἐγνωμεν. καὶ ὑπομμῆματα δὲ τοῦ Συμμάχου εἰς ἔτι νῦν φέρεται, ἐν οἷς δοκεῖ πρὸς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίου ἀποτεινόμενος εὐαγγελίων τῇ δεδηλωμένῃ ἁἱρεσιν κρατύνειν. ταύτα δὲ ὁ Ὀριγενῆς μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων εἰς τὰς γραφὰς.

1 The Hexapla is the great critical work of Origen, so called because it was arranged in six main columns, in the following order from left to right: (1) Hebrew, (2) transliteration of 52
in turn, which, after lying hidden for a long time, 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: that the one he found at Nicopolis, near Actium, and the other in such another place. At any rate, in the Hexapla\(^1\) 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; and in the ease 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.\(^2\)

XVII. 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.\(^3\) 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 the Hebrew into Greek letters, (3) Aquila, (4) Symmachus, (5) Septuagint, (6) Theodotion.

\(^2\) \(i.e.\) the Hexapla with columns (1) and (2) omitted.

\(^3\) iii. 27. 2.
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ἐρμηνευῶν τοῦ Συμμάχου σημαίνει παρὰ Ἰουλιανῆς τινος εξήλθεναι, ἣν καὶ φησιν παρ’ αὐτοῦ Συμμάχου τὰς βιβλίους διαδέχασθαι.

XVIII. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἁμβρόσιος τὰ τῆς 1 Ὀυαλεντίνου φρονῶν αἰρέσεως, πρὸς τῆς ὑπὸ Ὄργενους προσβευομένης ἀληθείας ἐλεγχθέοις καὶ ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ φωτὸς καταγασθεῖς τὴν διάνοιαν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προστίθεται λόγῳ. καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πλείους τῶν ἀπὸ παιδείας, τῆς περὶ 2 τὸν Ὄργενῆν φήμης πανταχόσε βοωμένης, ἤσαν ὡς αὐτῶν, πέραν τῆς ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις ἴκανότητος τάνδρος ληψόμενοι· μνημονεύς δὲ τῶν αἱρετικῶν φιλοσόφων τε τῶν μάλιστα ἐπιφανῶν οὐκ ὀλύγοι διὰ σπουδῆς αὐτῶν προσείχον, μόνον οὐχὶ πρὸς τοῖς θείοις καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐξωθεῖν φιλοσοφίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ παιδευόμενοι. εἰσῆγεν τε γὰρ ὅσους εὐφυῶς 3 ἔχοντας ἑώρα, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα, γεωμετρίαν καὶ ἀριθμητικήν καὶ τάλλα προ- παιδεύματα παραδίδοντες εἰς τὰς αἰρέσεις τὰς παρὰ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις προάγων καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτους συγγράμματα διηγούμενος ὑπομνηματικό- μενός τε καὶ θεωρῶν εἰς ἕκαστα, ὥστε μέγαν καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦς Ἔλληνων φιλόσοφον τὸν ἄνδρα κηρύτ- τεσθαι· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἱδιωτικωτέρων ἐνήγεν 4 ἐπὶ τὰ ἐγκύκλια γράμματα, οὐ μικρὰν αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι φάσκων ἡ ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδειότητα εἰς τὴν τῶν θείων γραφῶν θεωρίαν [τε] καὶ παρασκευὴν, δὴν μάλιστα καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἀναγκαίαν ἡγήσατο τὴν περὶ τὰ κοσμικὰ καὶ φιλόσοφα μαθήματα ἀσκησιν.

XIX. Μάρτυρες δὲ καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ 1 κατορθώσεως αὐτῶν Ἔλληνων οἱ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἡμικότες φιλόσοφοι, ὥν ἐν συγγράμμασιν πολλῆν 54
Symmachus, Origen indicates that he had received from a certain Juliana, who, he says, inherited in her turn the books from Symmachus himself.

XVIII. 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. 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. 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. 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. Now, as witnesses also to his achievements in this direction, we have the Greek philosophers themselves who flourished in his day, in whose treatises

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1 A Gnostic of the 2nd century: see iv. 11. 1.
µνήμην εὑρομεν τοῦ ἀνδρός, τοτὲ µὲν αὐτῷ προσ-φωνούντων τοὺς ἑαυτῶν λόγους, τοτὲ δὲ ὡς διδασκάλω εἰς ἑπίκρισιν τοὺς ἑδίους ἀναφερόντων πόνους. τί δεί ταύτα λέγειν, ὅτε καὶ ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς 2 ἐν Σικελία καταστὰς Πορφύριος συγγράμματα καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐνστησάμενος καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν τὰς θείας γραφὰς διαβάλλειν πεπειραμένος τῶν τε εἰς αὐτὰς ἐξηγησάμενων µυθοςυνασ, µηδὲν µηδαµῶς φαύλον ἐγκλήµα τοῖς δόγµασιν ἐπικαλεῖν δυνῆθεις, ἀπορία λόγων ἐπὶ τὸ λοιδορεῖν τρέπεται καὶ τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐνδιαβάλλειν, ὅν µάλιστα τῶν Ὄργιαν ὅν κατὰ τὴν νέαν ἡλικίαν ἐγνωκέασν φήσας, δια-βάλλειν µὲν πειρᾶται, συνιστῶν δὲ ἅρα τὸν ἄνδρα ἐλάνθανεν, τὰ µὲν ἐπαληθεύων, ἐν οἷς οὐδ’ ἐτέρως αὐτῷ λέγειν ἢν δυνατόν, τὰ δὲ καὶ ψευδόμενος, ἐν οἷς λήσεσθαι ἐνόµιζεν, καὶ τοτὲ µὲν ὃς Χριστιανοῦ κατηγορῶν, τοτὲ δὲ τὴν περὶ τὰ φιλόσοφα µαθη-µατα ἐπίδοσιν αὐτοῦ διαγράφων.

"Ἄκουε δ’ οὖν ἃ φησιν κατὰ λέξιν: "τῆς δὴ 4 µοιχηρίας τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν γραφῶν οὐκ ἀπόστασιν, λύσων δὲ τινες εὐρεῖν προθυμηθέντες, ἐπ’ ἐξήγησεις ἐτράποντο ἀσυγκλώστους καὶ ἀναρµόστους τοῖς γεγραµµένοις, οὐκ ἀπολογίαν µᾶλλον ὑπέρ τῶν ὀθνείων, παραδοχὴν δὲ καὶ ἐπαίνων τοῖς οἰκείοις φεροῦσας. αἰνίγµατα γὰρ τὰ φανερῶς παρὰ Μωσεὶ λεγόµενα εἶναι κοµπάσαντες καὶ ἐπιθειάσαντες ως θεσπίζουσα πλήρη κρυφῶν µυστηρίων διὰ τε τοῦ τύφου τὸ κριτικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς καταγοητεύσαντες, ἐπάγουσιν ἐξήγησεις."

Εἶτα µεθ’ ἑτερά φησιν: "ὅ δὲ τρόπος τῆς µ

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1 A philosopher of the Neoplatonist school, born in A.D. 233,
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. But why need one say this, when even Porphyry,¹ 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. 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.

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."

Then, after other remarks, he says: "But this who composed a lengthy treatise against Christianity, which was answered by Eusebius himself.
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άτοπιας εξ ἀνδρὸς ὁ καγὼ κομιδῇ νέος ὑν ἐτὶ ἐντετύχηκα, σφόδρα εὐδοκιμῆσαντός καὶ ετὶ δὲ ὁν καταλέλοιπεν συγγραμμάτων εὐδοκιμοῦντος, παρειλήφθω, Ὀργένοις, οὔ κλέος παρὰ τοῖς διδασκάλοις τούτων τῶν λόγων μέγα διαδέδοται. ἀκροατής γὰρ οὗτος Ἀμμονίου τοῦ πλεῖστην ἐν 6 τοῖς καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνοις ἐπίδοσιν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ ἐσχηκότος γεγονός, εἰς μὲν τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐμπερίαν πολλὴν παρὰ τοῦ διδασκάλου τὴν ὁφέλειαν ἐκτήσατο, εἰς δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔκεινῳ πορείαν ἐποιήσατο. Ἀμμώνιος μὲν γὰρ Χριστιανὸς ἐν Χρι-7 στιανοῖς ἀνατραφεῖς τοῖς γονεύσων, ὅτε τοῦ φρονεῖν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἡματο, εὐθὺς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ νόμους πολιτείαν μετεβάλετο, Ὀργένης δὲ Ἐλλην-ἐν Ἐλλησι παιδευθεῖς λόγοις, πρὸς τὸ βάρβαρον ἔξωκειλεν τόλμημα: ὃ δὴ φέρων αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐξω ἐκατηλευσεν, κατὰ μὲν τὸν βίον Χριστιανῶς ξών καὶ παρανόμως, κατὰ δὲ τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ θείου δόξας ἐλληνίζων τε καὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων τοῖς ὀθνείοις ὑποβαλλόμενος μύθοις. συνήν τε γὰρ ἀεὶ τῷ Πλάτωνι, τοῖς τε 8 Νουμηνίου καὶ Κρονίου Ἀπολλοφάνους τε καὶ Λογινοῦ καὶ Μοδεράτου Νικομάχου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις εἰλογίμων ἀνδρῶν ὁμίλης συγγράμμασιν, ἔχρητο δὲ καὶ Χαιρήμνους τοῦ Στουίκου Κορνούτου τε ταῖς βίβλοις, παρ’ ὁν τὸν μεταληπτικοῦ τῶν παρ’ Ἐλλησι μυστηρίων γνώς τρόπον ταῖς Ἰουδαϊκαῖς προσήψεν γραφαῖς.

Τάδη τῷ Πορφυρίῳ κατὰ τὸ τρίτον σύγγραμμα 9 τῶν γραφέντων αὐτῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν εἶρηται, ἐπαληθεύοντι μὲν περὶ τῆς τάνδρος ἀσκήσεως 58
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. For this man was a hearer of Ammonius,\textsuperscript{1} 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. 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 consortin with Plato, and was conversant with the writings of Numenius and Cronius, Apollonipes 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."

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

\textsuperscript{1} Ammonius Saccas, an Alexandrian philosopher, the teacher of Longinus and Plotinus, who is said to have died in A.D. 243.

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καὶ πολυμαθείας, ψευσαμένω δὲ σαφῶς (τί γὰρ
οὐκ ἔμελλεν ὁ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν;)· ἐν ὦς αὐτῶν
μὲν φήσων ἔξ Ἐλλήνων μετατεθείσαι, τὸν δ' Ἀμμώνιον ἐκ βίου τοῦ κατὰ θεοσέβειαν ἐπὶ τὸν ἑθνικὸν τρόπον ἐκπεσεῖν. τῷ τε γὰρ Ὄργενει 1
tὰ τῆς κατὰ Χριστὸν διδασκαλίας ἐκ προγόνων ἐσώζετο, ὡς καὶ τὰ τῆς πρόσθεν ἱστορίας ἐδήλοι, τῷ τε Ἀμμώνιῳ τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου φιλοσοφίας ἀκέραια καὶ ἀδιάπτωτα καὶ μέχρι ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου δι-
έμενεν τελευτῆς, ὡς που καὶ οἱ τῶν ὀδοὺς εἰς ἐς
νῦν μαρτυροῦσι πόνοι, δὴ ἂν κατέληπε συγγραμ-
μάτων παρὰ τοὺς πλείστοις εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ὥσπερ
οὖν καὶ ὁ ἐπιγεγραμμένος Περὶ τῆς Μουσέως καὶ
Ἱησοῦ συμφωνίας καὶ ὁσοὶ ἄλλοι παρὰ τῶν
φιλοκάλοις εὑρηται.
Ταύτα μὲν οὖν εἰς παράστασιν ἐκκείσθω τῆς τε
τοῦ ψευδηγόρου συκοφαντίας καὶ τῆς Ὄργενεως
καὶ περὶ τὰ Ἕλληνων μαθηματὰ πολυπειρίας,
περὶ ἡς πρὸς τους μεμβαμένους αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν
περὶ ἐκείνα στουδὴν ἀπολογούμενοι, ἐν ἐπιστολῇ
των ταύτα γράφει· "ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνακειμένω μοι τῷ
λόγῳ, τῆς φήμης διατρεχούσης περὶ τῆς ἐξεως
ημῶν, προσήκεσαν ὅτε μὲν αἱρετικοί, ὅτε δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ
tῶν Ἕλληνικῶν μαθημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν
φιλοσοφία, ἐδοξεῖν ἐξετάσαι τὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν
dόγματα καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων περὶ ἀλήθειας
λέγειν ἐπαγγελλόμενα. τοῦτο δὲ πεποιήκαμεν μμη-
1
σάμενοι τε τὸν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλοὺς ὁφελήσαντα
Πάνταυνον, οὐκ ὀλίγην ἐν ἐκείνοις ἐσχηκότα παρα-
σκευήν, καὶ τὸν νῦν ἐν τῷ προσβυτερίῳ καθ-
exómeon Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἡρακλᾶν, ὄντων εὐρόν παρὰ

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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. For Origen kept safely the Christian teaching which he had from his parents, as the history above made clear 1; and Ammonius maintained his inspired philosophy pure and unshaken right up to the very end of his life. 2 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.

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: “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. 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

1 2. 7 ff.
2 Eusebius is mistaken here. Ammonius Saccas was certainly not a Christian in later life.
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τῷ διδασκάλῳ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν μαθημάτων, ἣν πέντε ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ προσκαρτερήσαντα πρὸν ἡ ἐμὴ ἀρξασθαί ἀκούειν ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων· δι' ὅν καὶ πρῶτον κοινὴ ἐσθήτη χρώμενος ἀποδυσάμενος καὶ φιλόσοφον ἀναλαβὼν σχῆμα μέχρι τοῦ δεύρου τηρεῖ βιβλία τε Ἑλλήνων κατὰ δύναμιν ὑπὸ παύσται φιλολογῶν·

Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀσκήσεως ἀπολογουμένως ἐρηται· κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἐπὶ Ἄλεξανδρείας αὐτῷ τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενω ἐπιστάς τις τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀνεδίου γράμματα Δημητρίῳ τῷ τῆς παροικίας ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τῷ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπάρχῳ παρὰ τοῦτ Ἰραβίας ἠγομένου, ὥς ἂν μετὰ σπουδῆς ἀπάσης τοῦ Ὀργήνην πέμψοιει κοινωνήσοντα λόγων αὐτῷ· καὶ δὴ ἀφικνεῖται ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰραβίαν· οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀφίξεως εἰς πέρας ἀγαγών, αὖθις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπανήγει· χρόνου δὲ ἡμεταξύ διαγενομένου, οὐ σμικρὸν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀναρρυπανθέντος πολέμου, ὑπεξελθὼν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, ἤμεν ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης, ἐν Κασπαρείᾳ δὲ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο· ἔνθα καὶ διαλέγεσθαι τὰς τῶν θείας ἐρμηνεύειν γραφὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἑκκλησίας οἱ τῆς ἐπίσκοποι, κατοι τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου χειροτονίας οὐδέπω τετυχηκότα, αὐτῶν ἡξίων· ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ γένοιτ' ἂν ἔκδηλον ἀφὶ ἀν περὶ τοῦ Δημητρίου γράφοντες Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Ἰεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος καὶ Θεόκτιστος ὁ Κασπαρείας ὡδὲ πως ἀπολογοῦνται· "προσ- ἐθηκεν δὲ τοῖς γράμμασιν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐδέποτε ἱκουσθῇ οὔδὲ νῦν γεγένηται, τὸ παρόντων ἐπισκόπων λαϊκοὺς ὀμιλεῖν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως προφανῶς ἔνα

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found with the teacher of philosophy, and who had remained five years with him before I began to attend his lectures. And though he formerly wore ordinary dress, on his teacher’s account he put it off and assumed a philosophic garb,¹ which he keeps to this day, all the while studying Greek books as much as possible."

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. But after the lapse of some time no small warfare² 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. 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

¹ The reference is to the distinctive mantle of the Greek philosophers, called in Latin pallium. Cf. iv. 11. 8.

² This was no doubt the massacre of the inhabitants of Alexandria by Caracalla in A.D. 215.
οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγων. ὅπως γοῦν εὐρίσκονται οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι πρὸς τὸ ἀφελεῖν τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς, καὶ παρακαλοῦνται τῷ λαῷ προσομιλεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἐπισκόπων, ὥσπερ ἐν Δαράνδους Ἕβελτις ὑπὸ Νέωνος καὶ ἐν 'Ικονίῳ Παύλινος ὑπὸ Κέλσου καὶ ἐν Συνάδους Θεόδωρος ὑπὸ Ἀττικοῦ, τῶν μακαρίων ἄδελφῶν. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις τόποις τούτο γίνεσθαι, ἡμᾶς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι.

Τούτων καὶ ἔτι νέος ὁ δηλούμενος ἀνὴρ οὗ πρὸς μόνων τῶν συνῆθων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐπισκόπων ἐτματό τὸν τρόπον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ αὐθις τοῦ Δημητρίου διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἀνακαλέσαντος δι’ ἀνδρῶν τε διακόνων τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπιστεύσαντος ἐπανελθεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ἀφικόμενος τὰς συνήθεις ἀπετέλει σπουδᾶς.

XX. Ἡκμαζόν δὲ κατὰ τοῦτο πλεῖον λόγιον καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ἄνδρες, ὃν καὶ ἐπιστολάς, ἀς πρὸς ἄλληλους διεχάραττον, ἐτι νῦν σῳζομένας εὑρεῖν εὐποροῦν· αἱ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐφυλάχθησαν ἐν τῇ κατὰ Αἰλίαν βιβλιοθήκῃ, πρὸς τοῦ τχνικάδε τὴν αὐτοθι διεποντος ἐκκλησίαν Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπισκευασθείση, ἀφ’ ἡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰς ὑλὰς τῆς μετὰ χείρας ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ταύτων συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα.

Τούτων Βήρυλλος σὺν ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ συγ- γραμμάτων διαφόροις φιλοκαλίας καταλέλοιπεν, ἐπι- σκόπος δ’ οὕτως ἦν τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν 'Αράβων· ὦσαύτως δὲ καὶ Ἰππόλυτος, ἐτέρας ποὺ καὶ αὐτὸς προεστῶς ἐκκλησίας.

*Ἡλθεν δὲ εἰς ἡμᾶς καὶ Γαῖον, λογιωτάτου

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1 Jerusalem. See iv. 6. 4.
2 See e. 22, below. Very little is known about this man,
say what is evidently not true. 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 Neo, 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. 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. 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,¹ 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.

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,² who also presided over another church somewhere.

And there has reached us also a Dialogue of Gaius, who was the greatest scholar of the Western Church in the first three centuries, although conjecture and controversy regarding him have been rise in modern times. His dates are c. a.d. 160 to c. 235.

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Ανδρός, διάλογος, ἔπι γρώμης κατὰ Ζεφυρίνον πρὸς Πρόκλον τῆς κατὰ Φρύγας αἱρέσεως ὑπερμαχοῦτα κεκινημένος· ἐν δὲ τῶν διὰ ἐναντίας τήν περὶ τὸ συντάττει καναὶς γραφάς προπετειαν τε καὶ τόλμαν ἐπιστομίζων, τῶν τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀποστόλου δεκατριῶν μόνων ἐπιστολῶν μνημονεύει, τὴν πρὸς 'Ἐβραίονς μὴ συναιριθμῆσας ταῖς λοιπαῖς, ἐπεὶ καὶ εἰς δεύρο παρὰ 'Ρωμαίων τισιν οὐ νομίζεται τοῦ ἀποστόλου τυγχάνειν.

XXI. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Ἀντωνίνων ἐτὶ βασιλεύσαντα ἑπτά καὶ μῆνας ἔς Μακρίνως διαδέχεται· τούτων δὲ ἐπὶ ἐναυτοῦ διαγενομένου, αὕτης ἔτερος Ἀντωνίνος τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἱγεμονίαν παραλαμβάνει· οὗ κατὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἐπίσκοπος Ζεφυρίνος μεταλάττει τὸν βίον, ὅλοις ὁκτωκαίδεκα διακατασχῶν ἔτεσιν τῆν λειτουργίαν· μεθ' δὲν Κάλλιστος τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἐγχειρίζεται, ὡς ἐπιβιώσας ἔτεσιν πέντε, Ὁυρβανῷ τῇ λειτουργίᾳ καταλείπει.

Ἀυτοκράτωρ Ἀλεξάνδρος ἔπι τούτωι διαδέχεται τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν, ἔπι τετταρων μόνως ἔτεσιν Ἀντωνίνου διαγενομένου. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἔπι τῆς Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίας Ἄσκληπιάδην Φιλητὸς διαδέχεται.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοκράτορος μήτηρ, Μαμαία τούνομα, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεοσεβεστάτη γυνῆ, τῆς Ὀριγένους πανταχόσε χωμήν, φήμης, ἐς καὶ μέχρι τῶν αὐτῆς ἔλθειν ἄκοιν, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖται τῆς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θέας αξιωθῆναι καὶ τῆς ύπὸ πάντων θαυμαζομένης περὶ τα θεῖα συνέσεως αὐτοῦ πείραν λαβεῖν. ἔπ' Ἀντιοχείας δητὰ διατρίβουσα, μετὰ στρατιωτικῆς δορυφορίας αὐτὸν ἀνακαλεῖται· παρ' ἐν
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. 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, Zephrinus, the bishop of the Romans, departed this life, having held the ministry for eighteen entire years. 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.

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. She was then staying at Antioch, and summoned him to her presence with a military escort.

1 See ii. 25. 6, and note.
2 A.D. 217.
3 Generally known as Elagabalus.
4 A.D. 222.
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hydrate διατρίβας πλείστα τε ὡσα εἰς τὴν τοῦ κυρίου δόξαν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θείου διδασκαλεῖοι ἀρετῆς εἰπεδεξάμενος, ἐπὶ τὰς συνήθεις ἔσπευδεν διατριβάς.

XXII. Τότε δήτα καὶ Ἰππόλυτος συντάττων μετὰ πλείστων ἀλλων ὑπομνημάτων καὶ τὸ Πέρι τοῦ πάσχα πεποίηται σύγγραμμα, ἐν ὧ τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφῆν ἐκθέμενος καὶ των κανόνων ἐκκαθεδεκαετηρίδος περὶ τοῦ πάσχα προθείς, ἐπὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἐτος αὐτοκράτορος Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς χρόνους περιγράφη: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν αὐτοῦ συγγραμμάτων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλθόντα ἐστὶν τάδε: Εἰς τὴν Ἑξαήμερον, Εἰς τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἑξαήμερον. Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα, Εἰς τὸ Ἀισμα, Εἰς μέρη τοῦ Ἱεζεκιήλ, Περὶ τοῦ πάσχα, Πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς αἱρέσεις, πλείστα τε ἅλλα καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς εὑροῦμαι σωζόμενα.

XXIII. Ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ καὶ Ὀριγένει τῶν εἰς τὰς θείας γραφὰς ὑπομνημάτων ἐγίνετο ἀρχὴ Ἀμβροσίου παραρτόντος αὐτοῦ μυρίας ὁσαί πρὸς προτροπαῖς ταῖς διὰ λόγων καὶ παρακλήσεως αὐτοῦ μόνων, ἅλλα καὶ ἀφθονωτάταις τῶν ἐπιτηδείως χρησιμών. ταχυγράφῳ τε γὰρ αὐτῷ πλείους ἢ ἑπτὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν παρῆσαν ὑπαγορευόντι, χρόνους τεταγμένους ἀλλήλους ἁμείβοντες, βιβλιογράφῳ τε οὐχ ἤττους ἁμα καὶ κόραις ἐπὶ τὸ καλλιγραφεῖ ἡσκημέναι· ὁν ἀπάντων τὴν δέουσαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀφθονον περιουσιαν ὁ Ἀμβροσίους παρεστήσατο· ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἐν τῇ περὶ τὰ θεία λόγῳ ἀσκήσει τε καὶ σπουδῇ προθυμίαν ἄφατον αὐτῇ συνεισέφερεν, ἢ καὶ μᾶλιστα αὐτὸν προὕτρεπει ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ὑπομνημάτων σύνταξιν.

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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. 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*,¹ *On what followed the Hexaëmeron*, Against Marcion, *On the Song*, *On Parts of Ezekiel*, *On the Pascha*, Against All the Heresies; and very many others also might be found preserved by many people.

XXIII. 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. 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.

¹ *i.e.* the Six Days of Creation.
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Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντων, Ὄυρβανὸν ἐπι-
σκοπεύοντα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἔτεως ὀκτὼ
διαδέχεται Ποντιανός, τῆς δ’ Ἀντιοχείων μετὰ
Φιλητοῦ Ζεβεννοῦ. καθ’ οὖς Ὄμιγγης, ἔπειγούσης
χρείας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἕνεκα πραγμάτων ἐπὶ τὴν
Εὐλάδα στειλάμενος τὴν διὰ Παλαιστίνης, πρε-
σβείου χειροθείαν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ πρὸς τῶν τῆς
ἐπισκόπων ἀναλαμβάνει. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ
περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκινημένα τὰ τε ἐπὶ τοῖς κυνηθεῖσι
δεδογμένα τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστῶσιν ὅσα
τε ἀλλὰ ἀκμάζων περὶ τὸν θείον εἰσενήκεται
λόγον, ἵδιας δεόμενα συντάξεως, μετρίως ἐν τῷ
dευτέρῳ ἴσῃ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιήμεθα ἀπολογίας
ἀνεγράψαμεν.

XXIV. Ταῦτα δ’ ἐκείνους δεῖ ἂν ἐπιθέωμαι
ὡς ἐν μὲν τῶ ἔκτω τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην
Ἑλεγηνητικῶν σημαίνει τὰ πρότερα πέντε ἐπὶ Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας ἔτ’ ἐντα αὐτοῦ συντάξας, τῆς δ’ εἰς τὸ
πᾶν εὐαγγελιόν αὐτοῦ δὴ τούτο πραγματείας μόνου
δύο καὶ ἐκκοσι εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθον τόμοι κατὰ δὲ
τὸ ἐνατὸν τῶν Εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν (διῶδε δ’ ἐστὶν
τὰ πάντα) οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρὸ τοῦ ἐνατοῦ δηλοῖ
ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ὑπεμνηματίσθαι, καὶ εἰς
τοὺς πρῶτους δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐκκοσι Ψαλμοὺς ἔτε
τὰ εἰς τοὺς Θρήνους, Ὦν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐληλύθασιν
tόμοι πέντε, ἐν οἷς μέμνηται καὶ τῶν Περὶ ἀνα-
stάσεως: δύο δ’ ἐστὶν καὶ ταῦτα. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’
καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἄρχῳν πρὸ τῆς ἀπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας
μεταναστάσεως γράφει, καὶ τοὺς ἐπιγραμμένους
Στρωματεῖς, ὅντας τῶν ἁριθμόν δέκα, ἐπὶ τῆς
αὐτῆς πόλεως κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου συντάττε
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. 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. 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. 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. 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
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βασιλείας, ὡς καὶ τούτο ὁ λόγοφοι δηλούσω αὐτοῦ πρὸ τῶν τόμων ἐπισημειώσεις.

XXV. Τὸν μὲν γε πρῶτον ἐξηγούμενος Ψαλ-

μόν, ἔκθεσιν πεποίηται τοῦ τῶν ἱερῶν γράφων

τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης καταλόγου, ὥδε πως γράφων

κατὰ λέξιν: "οὐκ ἁγιοτέτοι δ' εἶναι τὰς ἐνδια-

θήκους βίβλους, ὡς Ἑβραίοι παραδιδόσαν, δύο

καὶ εἰκοσι, ὁσοὶ ἄριθμοι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς στοι-

χείων ἐστίν."

Εἴτε μετά τινα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "εἰσίν δὲ αἱ

εἰκοσι δύο βίβλοι καθ' Ἑβραίους αἰδε: ἡ παρ'

ἡμῖν Γένεσις ἐπιγεγραμμένη, παρὰ δ' Ἑβραίοις

ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς βίβλου Βρησιθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν

ἐν ἀρχῇ. "Ἑξοδος, Οὐσελεσμωθ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν

ταῦτα τὰ ὅνωματα. Λευτικόν, Οὐκρα, ' καὶ

ἐκάλεσεν τ' Ἀριθμοί, Ἀμμεσφεκώδεις. Δευτερονο-

μον, Ἐλλεαιδβαρειμ, 'οὐτοὶ οἱ λόγοι. 'Ἰησοῦς

νεῖς Ναυῆ, Ἰωσουβεβηνου. Κριταί, 'Ῥοῦθ, παρ'

αὐτοῖς ἐν ἐνί, Σωφτειμ. Βασιλείων α' β', παρ'

αὐτοῖς ἐν, Σαμουηλ, 'ὁ θεόκλητος. Βασιλείων

γ' δ' ἐν ἐνί, Ὀυαμμελχδαιδ, ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'Βασιλεία

Δανίδ. 'Παραλειπομένων α' β' ἐν ἐνι, Δαβρηίαμει

ὅπερ ἐστὶν 'λόγοι ἡμερῶν. "Ἑξρασ α' β' ἐν ἐνι,

Ἑξρα, ο' ἐστιν 'βοηθός. βιβλος Ψαλμων,

Σφαιρελειμ. Σολομῶν παρομίαι, Μελωθ'.

'Εκκλησιαστῆς, Κωελθ. 'Αἰσιμα ἀσμάτων (οὐ

γάρ, ὡς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν τινῖς, 'Αἰσιματα ἀσμά-

των), Σιρασιρειμ. 'Ἡσαῖας, Ιεσσια. 'Ιερεμίας

σὺν Θρήνου καὶ τῇ 'Ἐπιστολή ἐν ἐνι, Ιερεμία

Δανιῆλ, Δανιηλ. 'Ἰεζκεὴλ, Ιεζκεὴλ. 'Ιωβ, Ιωβ.
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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, Ouïkra, 'And he called.' Numbers, Ammes phekōdeim.1 Deuteronomy, Elle addebareim, 'These are the words.' Jesus the son of Nave, Iōsoue ben noun. Judges, Ruth, with them in one book, Sōphteim.2 Of Kingdoms i, ii, with them one, Samuel, 'The called of God.' Of Kingdoms iii, iv, in one, Ouammelch david, that is, 'The kingdom of David.' Chronicles i, ii, in one, Dabrē iamein, that is, 'Words of days.' Esdras i, ii, in one, Ezra, that is, 'Helper.' Book of Psalms, Sphar thelleim. Proverbs of Solomon, Melōth. Ecclesiastes, Köelth. Song of Songs (not, as some suppose, Songs of Songs), Sir assireim. Esaias, Iessia. Jeremiah with Lamentations and the Letter, in one, Jeremia. Daniel, Daniël. Ezekiel, Ezekiel. Job, Jōb. Esther, Esthēr. And outside

1 i.e. "fifth (book) of the precepts" or "of the mustered men."
2 A transliteration of the Hebrew word meaning "judges."
'Εσθήρ, Εσθηρ. ἐξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά, ἀπερ ἐπιγέγραπται Σαρβηθσαβαναιελ.’

Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ τίθησι συγγράμματι. ἐν δὲ τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίον, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν φυλάττων κανόνα, μόνα τέσσαρα εἰδέναι εὐαγγέλια μαρτύρεται, ἀδὲ πως γράφων ἦς ἐν παραδόσει μαθῶν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγέλιων, ἀν καὶ μόνα ἀναντίρρητα ἔστω ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανον ἐκκλησία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι πρώτον μὲν γεγραπται τὸ κατὰ τὸν ποτε τελῶνην, ὑστερον δὲ ἀπόστολον Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ματθαίον, ἐκδεδωκότα αὐτὸ τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαίσμου πιστεύσασιν, γράμμασιν Ἐβραϊκοῖς συντεταγμένον. δεύτερον δὲ τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον, ὡς Πέτρος ὑφηγήσατο αὐτῶ, ποιήσαντα, ὅν καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐπιστολῇ διὰ τῶν ὁμολογησεν φάσκων ἀσπάζεται ὡς ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνεκλεκτῇ καὶ Μάρκος ὡς νῦσιν καὶ τρίτον τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν, τὸ ὑπὸ Παύλου ἐπαινοῦμενον εὐαγγέλιον τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν πεποιηκότα· ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην.’

Καὶ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἑξηγητικῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ταύτα περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τῶν ἀποστόλων φησιν. ὡς δὲ ἰκανωθείς διάκονος γενέσθαι τῆς κανής διαθήκης, οὐ γράμματος, ἀλλὰ πνεύματος, Παύλος, ὁ πεπληρωκὼς τὸ εὐαγγελιον ἀπὸ Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ κύκλω μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ, οὐδὲ πάσαις ἐγραφεν αἰς ἐδίδαξεν ἐκκλησίαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰς ἐγραφεν, ὀλίγους στί-

1 This name is interesting as evidence of the existence in the third century of the Hebrew original of 1 Maccabees, but its meaning is obscure. Possibly a φ has dropped out 74
these there are the Maccabees, which are entitled Sar bēth sabanai el." ¹

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, 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, 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.' 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."

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 of the first word in the text, and so it would represent "The history of the house of the warriors."
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Matt. 16, 18 ὁν ἐπέστειλεν. Πέτρος δέ, ἐφ' ὥς οὐκοδομεῖται ἢ Ἑρωδιακή, ὅς πύλαι "Αἰωνίων οὐ κατισχύσουσιν, μιᾶν ἐπιστολήν ὁμολογούμενην καταλέουσιν, ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν. ἀμφιβάλλεται γὰρ. τί δὲι περὶ τοῦ ἀναπεσόντος ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος 9 λέγειν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, Ἰωάννου, ὃς εὐαγγέλιον ἐν καταλέουσιν, ὁμολογῶν δύνασθαι τοσαῦτα ποιήσαν δὲν ἄ ουδ' ὁ κόσμος χωρήσαι ἐδύνατο, ἔγραφεν δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν, κελευσθεὶς σιωπῆσαι καὶ μὴ γράψαι τὰς τῶν ἔπτα βροντῶν φωνὰς; καταλέουσιν καὶ ἐπιστολὴν πάνω ὁλίγων στίχων, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην· ἔπει οὐ πάντες φασὶν γνησίους εἶναι ταῦτας· πλὴν οὐκ ἐσών στίχων ἀμφότεραι ἐκατόν."

"Ετι πρὸς τούτους περὶ τῆς Πρὸς Ἐβραίων 11 ἐπιστολῆς ἐν ταῖς εἰς αὐτὴν Ὁμιλίαις ταῦτα διαλαμβάνει: "ὅτι ὁ χαράκτηρ τῆς λέξεως τῆς Πρὸς Ἐβραίων ἐπιγραμμένης ἐπιστολῆς οὐκ ἔχει τὸ ἐν λόγῳ ἰδιωτικὸν τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὁμολογήσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἰδιωτὴν εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ, τούτ' ἐστὶν τῇ φράσει, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ συνθέσει τῆς λέξεως Εὔλημενοι, πᾶς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι κρίνειν 12 φράσεων διαφορὰς ὁμολογήσαι ἂν. πάλιν τε αὖ ὅτι τὰ νοῦματα τῆς ἐπιστολῆς θαυμάσια ἐστὶν καὶ οὐ δεύτερα τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ὁμολογομένων γραμμάτων, καὶ τούτο ἄν συμφῆσαι εἶναι ἀληθὲς πᾶς οἱ προσέχων τῇ ἀναγνώσει τῇ ἀποστολικῇ." Τούτους μεθ' ἔτερα ἐπιθέρει λέγων: "ἐγὼ δὲ 13 ἀποφανώμενος εἴποιμ' ἂν ὅτι τὰ μὲν νοῆματα τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἐστίν, ἡ δὲ φράσις καὶ ἡ σύνθεσις ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικὰ καὶ ὥσπερ σχελιογραφήσαντός τινος τὰ εἴρημένα ὑπὸ 76
lines. 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. 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; 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."

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. 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."

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,
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tou didaskalou. eit' tis ouv ekklhsiia exe tautnh
tin epistolen ws Paulo, aut' eudokimeitw kai
epi tou tw o y gar eikhi o arxaiou andres ws
Paulo aut'nh para dedwka tw. tis de o grafias
tin epistolen, to mewn altheis theos oiden, h de eis
emias thasasa istoria upo tivwn mewn legon twon
ohtiki Klhmis, o gennomenos epitkopos 'Rwmaiwn,
graphein tin epistolen, upo tivwn de oti Loukas,
0 grafias to evagheilon kai tas Praxeis'.

XXVI. 'Alla tausta men wde exehtw. eitos de
0n touto dekatan tis dhloumenhs eheimonias, kath'
o tin apo 'Alxeandrei, metanastasin epin tin
Kaisareian o 'Oriygenhs pousamenos, 'Hrakla
0 tis kathkhesew tw'n autotih didaskaleioin
kataleiphei' ouk eis makron de kai Dmptwros o
tis 'Alxeandrewn ekklhsiias epitkopos telleuta,
ef' olous thesai troi kai teosa raktwa tih
ti leitourgia diarkesas' diadiechetai de auton o 'Hrakla.

XXVII. Di'prpev ou an toutw Fimylianvs, K
Kaisareias tis Kappadokwn epitkopos, tosaun
episagni perin twn 'Oriygenhs spoudhin, ws toto men
auton amphi ta kat' auton klimalata eis tihn twn
ekklhsiwn ofeleian ekkalisedha, toto de ws
auton epin tihn Ioudaian stelleisai kai twnas autw'
sundiatrizein chronous tihn eis tia theia velitwsews
eneka. ou mhnh alla kai o tihn 'Ierosolymwn
proestos 'Alxeandros Theoktistos te o kata
Kaisareian ton pant' chronon prosonexontes autw,
oi didaskalw monw, tis tihn thewn grafon
erpmeneias kai tis loipat to ev ekklhsiastiko
prattew synexworon.

XXVIII. Ton ge mh 'Rwmaiwn autokratora
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. 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. But this must suffice on these matters. Now it was in the tenth year of the above-mentioned reign\(^1\) 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. 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. But to resume. When Alexander the

\(^1\) A.D. 232.
'Αλέξανδρον τρισὶν ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν διανύσαντα Μαξιμῖνος Καύσαρ διαδέχεται· ὅσ δὴ κατὰ κότον τὸν πρὸς τὸν 'Αλέξανδρον οἶκον, ἐκ πλείονων πιστῶν συνεστώτα, διωγμὸν ἐγείρας, τοὺς τῶν ἔκκλησιῶν ἁρχοντας μόνους ως αἰτίους τῆς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον διδασκαλίας ἀναφεύγοντος προστάτες. τότε καὶ Ὀργένης τὸν Περὶ μαρτυρίου συντάττει, 'Αμβροσίῳ καὶ Πρωτοκτῆτῳ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ παροικίᾳ ἀναθεῖς τὸ σύγγραμμα, ὅτι δὴ ἁμφῶν περίστασις οὐχ ἢ τυχόνσα ἐν τῷ διωγμῷ κατειλήφη· ἐν ᾧ καὶ διαπρέπει κατέχει λόγος ἐν ὁμολογίᾳ τοὺς ἀνδρας, οὐ πλείονος ἢ τριετοὺς χρόνου τῶν Μαξιμίνῳ διαγενομένου. σεσημεῖωνται δὲ τούτοι τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τε τῷ δευτέρῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ τῶν εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Ἐξηγητικῶν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις ἐπιστολαῖς Ὀργένης.

XXIX. Γορδιανοῦ δὲ μετὰ Μαξιμίνου τὴν ἓν 'Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν διαδεξαμένου, τῆς κατὰ 'Ρώμην ἐκκλησίας Ποντιανῶν ἔτεσιν ἐξ ἐπισκοπεύ- σαντα διαδέχεται Ἀντέρως καὶ τοῦτον Φαβιανός, ἐπὶ μὴν τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διακονησάμενον. ἐξ ἀγροῦ 2 φασιν τὸν Φαβιανὸν μετὰ τὴν Ἀντέρωτος τελευτὴν ἃμ' ἐτέρως συνελθόντα ἐπιχωριάζειν τῇ 'Ρώμη, ἐνθα παραδοξῶτα πρὸς τῆς θείας καὶ οὐρανίου χάρμος ἐπὶ τῶν κλήρων παρεληλθέναι. τῶν γὰρ ἅμι λελυγάνων ἀπάντων χειροτονίας ἐνεκεν τῆς τοῦ μέλλοντος διαδέξασθαι τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν συγκεκριτη- μένων πλείστων τε ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐν ὑπονοίᾳ ὑπαρχόντων, δ' Φαβιανὸς παρὼν οὐδενὸς μὲν ἀνδρῶπων εἰς διάνοιαν ἥπει, ὡμώς δ' οὖν ἀθρώπως ἐκ μετεώρου περιστερὰν κατα- 80
Emperor of the Romans had brought his principate to
an end after thirteen years, he was succeeded by
Maximin Caesar.\textsuperscript{1} 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 \textit{On Martyrdom},
dedicating the treatise to Ambrose and Protoctetus, 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 \textit{Expositions of the Gospel according to
John}, and in various letters.

XXIX. Gordian having succeeded to the Roman
government after Maximin,\textsuperscript{2} 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. 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.
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

\textsuperscript{1} A.D. 235. \textsuperscript{2} A.D. 238.
πτάσαν ἐπικαθεσθῆναι τῇ αὐτοῦ κεφαλῇ μνημονεύονσιν, μίμημα ἐνδεικνυμένην τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν σωτηρά τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἐν εἴδει περιστερᾶς καθόδου· ἐφ’ ὦ τῶν πάντα λαόν, ἀσπερ ὑφ’ ἐνὸς πνεύματος ἄθείον κυνηθέντα, προθυμία πάση καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ ἄξιον ἐπιβοήσαι καὶ ἀμελλήτως ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λαβόντας αὐτῶν ἐπιθέναι.

Τότε δὴ καὶ τοῦ κατ’ Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπισκόπου Ζεβέννου τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, Βαβυλῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται, ἐν τε Ἀλεξανδρεία μετὰ Δημήτριον Ἡρακλᾶ τὴν λειτουργίαν παρειληφότος, τῆς τῶν αὐτοῦ κατηχήσεως τῆς διατριβῆς διαδέχεται Διονύσιος, εἴς καὶ οὕτος τῶν Ὡριγένους γενόμενος φοιτητῶν.

XXX. Τῷ δὲ Ὡριγένει ἐπὶ τῆς Καισαρείας τὰ τὰ συνήθη πράττοντι πολλοὶ προσήχοντας οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς μυρίοι φοιτηταὶ τὰς πατρίδας ἀπολιπόντες· οὐν ἐπισήμους μᾶλιστα ἐγνώμεν Θεόδωρων, ὅς ἦν αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐπισκόπων διαβόητος Γρηγόριος, τὸν τε τοῦτον ἀδελφὸν Ἀθηνόδωρον, οὗς ἀμφὶ τὰ Ἐλλήνων καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων μαθῆμα δεινῶς ἐπτομένους, φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῖς ἐνείς ἔρωτα, τῆς προτέρας σπουδῆς τὴν θείαν ἄσκησιν ἀντικατ- ἀλλάξασθαι προντρέψατο· πέντε δὲ ὅλους ἔτεσιν αὐτῷ συγγενόμενοι, τοσαύτῃ ἀπηνέγκαντο περὶ τὰ θεία βελτίωσιν, ὡς ἐπὶ νέους ἅμφοτε ἐπισκοπῆς τῶν κατὰ Πόντων ἐκκλησίαν ἄξιοθῆναι.

XXXI. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἄφρικανὸς ὁ τῶν ἐπι- γεγραμμένων Κεστῶν συγγραφεὺς ἐγνωρίζετο. ἐπιστολὴ τοῦτον Ὡριγένει γραφείσα φέρεται, ἀποροῦντος ὡς νόθον καὶ πεπλασμένης οὐσίας τῆς.
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, 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. 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.¹ 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. At that time Africanus also, the author of the books entitled Cesti,² 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

¹ Gregory, Pan. vi. 78, 83, 84.
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ἐν τῷ Δανιὴλ κατὰ Σουσάνναν ἱστορίας, πρὸς ἡν ὤριγένης ἀντιγράφει πληρέστατα. τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἀριθμῶν πέντε Χρονογραφίων ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἀκριβές πεπονημένα σπουδάσματα. εν οἷς φήσιν εαυτῶν πορείαν στείλασθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν διὰ πολλῆν τοῦ Ἡρακλῆ φήμην, ὥν ἐπὶ λόγους φιλοσόφους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνων μαθήμασιν εὐ μᾶλα διαπρέψαντα, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας ἐγχειρισθῆναι ἐδηλώσαμεν. καὶ ἐτέρα δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ φέρεται ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς Ἀριστείδην, περὶ τῆς νομιζομένης διαφωνιᾶς τῶν παρὰ Μαθαίῳ τε καὶ Λουκᾶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαλογῶν. ἐν ἣ σαφέστατα τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν παρίστησιν εἰς ἱστορίας εἰς αὐτὸν κατελθοῦσης, ἦν κατὰ καίρον ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῆς μετὰ χείρας ὑποθέσεως προλαβὼν ἐξεθέμην.

XXXII. Καὶ ὤριγένει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἡσαίαν, ἐν ταύτῳ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ συνετάττετο: ὅν εἰς μὲν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τοῦ Ἡσαίου μέχρι τῆς ὀράσεως τῶν τετραποῦν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ τράκοντα εἰς ἡμᾶς περιήλθον τόμοι, εἰς δὲ τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, οὕς καὶ μόνους εἰς τὸν πάντα πεποίηται προφητήν. γενόμενος δὲ τηνικάδε ἐν Ἀθήναις, περαίνει μὲν τὰ εἰς τὸν Ἰεζεκιήλ, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸ Ἀσσυρίων ἀσμάτων ἄρχεται, καὶ πρόεισιν γε αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ πέμπτου συγγράμματος ἐπαινελθὼν δ' ἐπὶ τὴν Καυσάρειαν καὶ ταύτα εἰς πέρας, δέκα οὖν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀγεί. τί δεῖ τῶν λόγων τάνδρος ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τὸν ἀκριβῆ κατάλογον ποιεῖσθαι, ἵδιας δεόμενον σχολῆς; διὶ καὶ ἀν-

Is. 30. 6
(I.XX).
Daniel were a spurious forgery. Origen makes a very full reply to it. And of the same Africanus there have reached us as well five books of Chronography, 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. 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. 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. 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. 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

1 3. 2; 15; 19. 13 f.; 26.

2 i. 7.
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eγράψαμεν ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ Παμφίλου βίου τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἱεροῦ μάρτυρος ἀναγραφής, ἐν ἂν τὴν περὶ τὰ θεία σπουδὴν τοῦ Παμφίλου ὑπόση τις γεγονοί, παριστάντες, τῆς συναχθείσης αὐτῶ τῶν τε Ὁριγένους καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐκκλησιαστικών συγγραφέων βιβλιοθήκης τοὺς πίνακας παρεθέμην, ἡς ὅπου ὅσον φίλον, πάρεστιν ἐντελέστατα τῶν Ὁριγένους πόνων τὰ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἑλθόντα διαγνώσκει. νῦν δὲ πορευέσθων ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἱστορίας ἀκολουθήσαι.

XXXIII. Βηρύλλος ὁ μικρῶς πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένος Βόστρων τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν παρεκτρέπων κανόνα, ξένα τινὰ τῆς πίστεως παρεισφέρειν ἐπειράτο, τὸν σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἡμῶν λέγειν τομέων μὴ προφεστάναι κατ’ ἰδίαν οὐσίας περιγραφὴν πρὸ τῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιδημίας μηδὲ μὴν θεότητα ἰδίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλ’ ἐμπολυτευομένην αὐτῶ μόνην τὴν πατρικήν. ἐπὶ τούτῳ πλείστων ἐπισκόπων ζητήσεις καὶ διαλόγους πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα πεποιημένων, μεθ’ ἐτέρων παρακληθεῖς Ὁριγένης κάτευσι γένοι τοῖς ἐνὶ ὀμπλίαν τὰ πρώτα τῶν ἄνδρων, τινὰ νοῦν ἔχοι, ἀποπειρώμενος, ὥστε ἔγγρον τὸ τι καὶ λέγοι, εὐθύνας μὴν ὀρθοδοξοῦντα λογισμῷ τε πείσας, τῇ περὶ τοῦ δόγματος ἐφίστησον ἀληθεία ἐπὶ τῇ προτέραν ὑψηλώδεις ἀποκαθίστην. καὶ φέρεται γε εἰς ἔτι νῦν ἔγγραφα τοῦ τε Βηρύλλου καὶ τῆς δι’ αὐτῶν γενομένης συνόδου, ὅμοι τῶν Ὁριγένους πρὸς αὐτῶν ζητήσεις καὶ τὰς λεικείαις ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῶν παρουκίας διαλέξεις ἐκαστὰ τε τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων περιέχοντα. καὶ ἄλλα μὲν οὖν μυρία Ὁριγένους περὶ μνήμην παραδιδόσαν τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, ὁ καὶ παρῆσεν μοι δοκῶ, 86
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. Beryllus, who, as we have mentioned a little above,¹ 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. 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. 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. And a great many other things about Origen have been handed down to memory by the older men of our day, which

¹ 20. 2.
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οὐ τῆς ἐνεστώτης ἐχόμενα πραγματείας· ὅσα δὲ ἀναγκαία τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ διαγνώσω ἢ, ταῦτα καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεποιημένης ἢμῶν τε καὶ τῶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἱερῷ μάρτυρι Παμφίλῳ ἀπολογίας πάρεστιν ἀναλέξασθαι, ἢν τῶν φιλαθλῶν ἑνεκα συμπονήσαντες ἀλλήλοις διὰ σπουδῆς πεποιήμεθα.

XXXIV. Ἐτεσιω δὲ ὅλοις ἐξ Γορδιανοῦ τὴν Ὀρμαίων διανύσαντος ἠγεμονίαν, Φιλίππος ἄμα παιδὶ Φιλίππῳ τὴν ἀρχὴν διαδέχεται. τούτον κατέχει λόγος Χριστιανὸν ὃντα ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τῆς ὑστάτης τοῦ πάσχα παννυχίδος τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εὐχῶν τῷ πλήθει μετασχεῖν ἐθελήσαι, οὐ πρότερον δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τημικάδε προεστῶτος ἐπιτραπῆναι εἰσβαλεῖν, ἢ ἐξομολογήσασθαι καὶ τῶς ἐν παραπτώμασιν ἐξεταξομένοις μετανοίας τε χώραν ἱσχούσιν ἐαυτόν καταλέξαι· ἄλλως γὰρ μὴ ἂν ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ, μὴ οὐχὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντα, διὰ πολλὰς τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν αἰτίας παραδεχθῆναι. καὶ πειθαρχῆσαι γε προθύμως λέγεται, τὸ γνῶσιν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τῆς περὶ τὸν θείον φόβον διαθέσεως ἔργοις ἐπιδεικημένοιν.

XXXV. Τρίτον δὲ τούτω ἔτος ἦν, καθ' ὁ μετὰ αλλάξαντος Ἡρακλᾶ τῶν βίων ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξ ἔτεσιν τῆς προστασίας τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐκκλησίων, τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Διονύσιος ὑπολαμβάνει.

XXXVI. Τότε δὴ, οἶα καὶ εἰκὸς ἦν, πληθυνούσης τῆς πίστεως πεπαρρησιασμένου τε τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς παρὰ πᾶσιν λόγῳ, ὑπὲρ τὰ ἐξήκοντά φασιν ἄτη τὸν Ὀργεύειν γενόμενον, ὁτε δὴ μεγίστην ἡ συλλεξάμενον ἐκ τῆς μακρὰς παρασκευής ἔξω, τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λεγομένας αὐτῷ διαλέξεις

1 A.D. 244.  
2 A.D. 247.
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. 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. 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. 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 dis-

3 Gregory, Pan. ii. 10.
ταχυγράφοις μεταλαβεῖν ἐπιτρέπειας, οὐ πρῶτον ποτὲ τότῳ γενέσθαι συγκεκριμένα.

"Εν τούτῳ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν ἐπιγεγραμμένον καθ' ἡμῶν Κέλσου τοῦ Ἑπικουρείου Ἀληθῆ λόγον οὐκ ὁ τῶν ἀριθμῶν συγγράμματα συντάττει καὶ τοὺς εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ματθαίων εὐαγγέλιων εἶκοσι πέντε τόμους τοὺς τε εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα προφήτας, ἀδ’ ὅν μόνον εὑρομεν πέντε καὶ εἶκοσι. φέρεται 3 δὲ αὐτοὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν βασιλέα Φίλιππον ἐπιστολή καὶ ἄλλη πρὸς τὴν τούτου γαμετὴν Σενήραν διάφοροι τε ἄλλαι πρὸς διαφόρους· ἢν ὁπόσα σποράδην παρὰ διαφόροις σωθεῖσας συναγαγεῖν δεδυνήμεθα, ἐν Ἰδίαις τῶν περιγραφαῖς, ὡς ἂν μηκέτι διαρρήπτοντο, κατελέξαμεν, τὸν ἑκατὸν ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβανοῦσας. γράφει δὲ καὶ Φαβιανῷ τῷ κατὰ ’Ῥώμην ἐπισκόπῳ ἐτέρους τε πλείστοις ἀρχουσιν ἐκκλησίων περὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν ὀρθοδοξίας· ἐχεις καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀποδείξεις ἐν ἑκτῷ τῆς γραφείας ἡμῖν περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἀπολογίας.

XXXVII. "Ἀλλοι δ’ αὖ πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατὰ τὸν δηλούμενον ἐπιφύστοι χρόνον δόγματος ἀλλοτρίου τῆς ἄληθείας εἰσηγηταὶ, οἱ ἔλεγον τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν τέως μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα καιρὸν ἀμα τῇ τελευτῇ συναποθέσεως τοῖς σώμασι καὶ συνδιαφθείρεσθαι, αὖθις δὲ ποτὲ κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀναστάσεως καιρὸν σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀναβιώσεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸτε συγκροτηθεῖσας οὐ σμικρὰς συνόδου, πάλιν Ὀργένης παρακληθεῖς καὶ ἑνταῦθα κινήσας τε λόγους ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἐξουμένου, οὕτως ἤνεχθη ὡς μετατεθήκει τὰς τῶν πρότερον ἐσφαλμένων διανοιάς.

XXXVIII. Τότε δὲ καὶ ἄλλης διαστροφῆς κατ-
courses delivered by him in public, a thing that he had never before allowed.

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. 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. 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. 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. At that time also another perverse
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άρχεται ἡ τῶν Ἑλκεσαίτῶν λεγομένη αἵρεσις, ἡ καὶ ἀμα τῷ ἀρξάσθαι ἀπέσβη. μνημονεύει δ’ αὐτῆς ὀμιλῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ εἰς τὸν πῦρ ψαλμόν ὁ Ὄριγένης, ὦδὲ πῶς λέγων· “ἐλήλυθεν τις ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μέγα φρονῶν ἐπὶ τῷ δύνασθαι προσβεβεύειν γνώμης ἀθέου καὶ ἁσβεστάτης, καλομένης Ἑλκεσαίτων, νεωστὶ ἐπανωταμένης ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. ἐκεῖνη ἡ γνώμη οὐ λέγει κακά, παραθήσομαι ὑμῖν, ίνα μὴ συναρπάζῃσθε. ἀθέτει τινα ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς, κέχρηται ῥητοῖς πάλιν ἀπὸ πάσης παλαιᾶς τε καὶ εὐαγγελικῆς, τὸν ἀπόστολον τέλεον ἀθέτει. φησὶν δὲ ὅτι τὸ ἀρνήσασθαι ἁδιάφορόν ἐστιν καὶ ὁ μὲν νοῦς τῷ μὲν στόματι ἐν ἀνάγκαις ἀρνήσεται, τῇ δὲ καρδίᾳ οὐχὶ. καὶ βίβλον τινὰ φέρουσιν, ἢν λέγουσιν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἀκηκοάς ἐκεῖνης καὶ πιστεύοντα ἀφεσιν λήψεσθαι τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, ἄλλην ἀφεσιν παρ’ ἦν Χριστὸς Ἱησοῦς ἀφήκεν.”

XXXIX. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Φίλιππον ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ 1 βασιλεύσαντα διαδέχεται Δέκιος· ὅσ δὴ τοῦ πρὸς Φίλιππον ἔχθους ἐνεκα διωγμὸν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἐγείρει, ἐν δὲ Φαβιανοῦ ἐπὶ Ὁμήρους μαρτυρίως τελεωθέντος, Κορνήλιος τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ διαδέχεται.

’Επὶ δὲ Παλαιστίνης Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος αὐθεὶς διὰ Χριστὸν ἐν τῇ Καισαρείᾳ ἤγεμονικοῖς παραστὰς δικαστηρίους καὶ ἐπὶ δευτέρα διαπρέψας ὁμολογία, δεσμωτηρίου περαται, λιπαρῷ γήρει καὶ σεμνῇ πολίᾳ κατεστεμμένος. τοῦτον δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἤγεμονικοῖς 3

1 A.D. 249.
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. 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.

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. And when after the splendid and manifest
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dικαστηρίους λαμπράν καὶ περιφανῆ μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς κοιμηθέντος, Μαξαβάνης διάδοχος τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωι ἐπισκοπῆς ἀναδείκνυται.
Τῷ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παραπλησίως ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ 4
τοῦ Βαβυλῶν μετὰ ὁμολογιῶν ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ
μεταλάξαντος, Φάβιος τῆς αὐτῶθι προϊσταται ἐκκλησίας.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν Ὀριγένει κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν συμβάντα 5
οὰ καὶ ὀσα, καὶ ὅποιας ἔτυχεν τελευτής, τοῦ
πονηροῦ δαίμονος ἐφαμίλλων τάνδρι πανστρατιᾶ
παραταξαμένου πάσῃ τε μηχανῇ καὶ δυνάμει κατ'
αὐτοῦ στρατηγήσαντος παρὰ πάντας τε τοὺς
τηνικάδε πολεμηθέντας διαφερόντως ἐπισκήψαντος
αὐτῷ, οὰ τε καὶ ὀσα διὰ τὸν Χριστὸν λόγον ὃ
ἀνήρ ὑπέμενεν, δεσμὰ καὶ βασάνους τὰς κατὰ
τὸν σώματος τὰς τε ὑπὸ σοφῆρος καὶ μυχοὶ
eἰρκτῆς τυμωρίας, καὶ ὅς ἐπὶ πλείσταις ἐμέραις
τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τέσσαρα τοῦ κολαστηρίου ξύλου
παραταθεῖς διαστήματα, πυρὸς τε ἀπείλας καὶ
ὅσα ἄλλα πρὸς τῶν ἔχθρων ἐπενεχθέντα καρτερῶς
ὑμεγκεν, οἶον τε τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἔτυχεν τέλους,
μηδαιμὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν παντὶ οἴνει τοῦ δυκαστοῦ
φιλονείκως ἐνστάντος, ὅποιας τε μετὰ ταῦτα
καταλείπει φωνᾶς καὶ αὐτὰς πλήρεις τοῖς ἀνα-
λήψεως δεομένοις ὕφελείς, πλεῖσται ὅσα τάνδρος
ἐπιστολαὶ τάληθες ὁμοῖοι καὶ ἀκριβὲς περιέχουσιν.

XL. Τὰ γέ τοῦ κατὰ Διονύσιον ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Β
Γερμανοῦ ἐπιστολῆς αὐτοῦ παραθήκομαι, ἐνθα
tουτον περὶ ἐαυτοῦ λέγων ἱστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον·
"ἂν Ὡ θέω καὶ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ λαλῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς
οἴδει εἰ ψεύδομαι· οὐδεμιᾶν ἐπὶ ἐμαυτοῦ βαλλό-
μενος οὐδὲ ἀθεει πεποίημαι τὴν φυγήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
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testimony that he gave in the governor's courts he fell asleep in prison, Mazabanés was proclaimed as his successor in the episcopate at Jerusalem.

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.

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. 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
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πρότερον, τοῦ κατὰ Δέκιον προτεθέντος διωγμοῦ, Σαβίνος αὐτής ὥρας φροιμεντάριον ἐπέμηνεν εἰς ἀναξιητήσιν μου, καὶ γὰρ μὲν τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἐμείνα, τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ φροιμενταρίου προσδοκῶν, ὁ δὲ πάντα μὲν περιήλθεν ἀνερευνῶν, τὰς ὅδους τοὺς ποταμοὺς τοὺς ἄγρους, ἐνθα κρύπτεσθαί με ἡ βαδίζειν ὑπενόησεν, ἀορασία δὲ εἰχετο μὴ εὐρίσκων τὴν οἰκίαν ὦ γὰρ ἐπίστευεν οἶκοι μὲ διωκόμενον μένειν. καὶ μόλις, μετὰ τὴν τετάρτην ἡμέραν, κελεύσαντός μοι μεταστήναι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παραδόξως ὀδοποιήσαντος, ἐγώ τε καὶ οἱ παίδες καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἄδελφῶν ἀμα συνεξήλθομεν. καὶ ὃτι τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοιάς έργων ἐκείνο γέγονεν, τὰ έξής ἐδήλωσεν, ἐν οἷς τάχα των γεγόναμεν χρήσαμοι.

Εἰτά τυν μεταξὺ εἰπὼν, τὰ μετὰ τὴν φυγήν αὐτῶς συμβεβηκότα δήλοί, ταῦτα ἐπιφέρων. "Ἔγὼ μὲν γὰρ περὶ ἡλίου δυσμᾶς ἀμα τοῖς σὺν ἐμοὶ γενόμενος ὑπὸ τοῖς στρατιῶταις, εἰς Ταπόσερων ἤχθην, ὁ δὲ Τιμόθεος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐναφεῖ μὴ παρὼν μηδὲ καταληφθεῖς, ἔλθων δὲ ύστερον εὗρεν τὸν οἶκον έρημον καὶ φρουροῦντας αὐτὸν ὑπηρέτας, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐξηνυμβοσιμένους." 

Καὶ μεθ’ ἐτερά φησιν. "καὶ τίς ὁ τῆς θαυμασίας οἰκονομίας αὐτοῦ πρότος; τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λεχθῆσεται. ἀπήντετό τις τῶν χωρίτων ὑποφεύγουτι τῷ Τιμοθέῳ καὶ τεταραγμένω, καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν τῆς ἐπείξεως ἐπύθετο. ὁ δὲ τάληθες ἐξείπεν, κὰ κείνοις

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1 The frumentarii, otherwise called milites peregrini (soldiers from abroad), were a body consisting of centurions of the legions in the provinces. As the name implies, they
occasion also, when the persecution under Decius was publicly proclaimed, that selfsame hour Sabinus sent a frumentarius\(^1\) 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. And after the fourth day, when God bade me depart, and miraculously made a way, with difficulty did I and the boys\(^2\) 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.”

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,\(^3\) 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.”

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 had to do with the commissariat, but they also acted as couriers, and were employed on police work.

\(^1\) These may be either the sons or the pupils or the servants of Dionysius.

\(^2\) Near the coast, about thirty miles S.W. of Alexandria.

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άκούσας (ἀπήει δ' εὐωχησόμενος γάμους, διαπαν-
νυχίζειν γάρ αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνόδοις
ἔθος) εἰσελθὼν ἀπήγγειλεν τοὺς κατακεμένους·
οὗ δὲ ὁμῆ μιᾶ, καθάπερ ὑπὸ συνθήματι, πάντες
ἐξανέστησαν, καὶ ὁ ῤόμυο φερόμενοι τάχιστα ἢκον,
ἐπεισπεσόντες τε ἦμιν ἠλάλαξαν, καὶ φυγῆς εὐθέως
τῶν φρονουρτών ἡμᾶς στρατιωτῶν γενομένης,
ἐπέστησαν ἦμῖν, ὡς εἰχομεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀστρώτων
σκιμπόδων κατακεμένου. καγὼ μὲν, οἱ δὲν ἔ
θεοι ὡς ληστᾶς εἶναι πρότερον ἣγουμενος ἐπὶ
σύλησιν καὶ ἄρπαγήν ἀφικομένους, μέων ἐπὶ τῆς
eὐνής, ἦμην γυμνὸς ἐν τῷ λινῷ ἔσθήματι, τὴν δὲ
λοιπὴν ἐσθήτα παρακεμένην αὐτοῖς ὤρεγον· οὐ
δὲ ἐξανιστασθαί τε ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν ταχίστην
ἐξιέναι. καὶ τότε συνεῖς ἐφ' ὠ παρῆσαν, ἀνέκραγον
δέμυνος αὐτῶν καὶ ἰκετεύων ἀπίεναι καὶ ἡμᾶς
ἐὰν, εἰ δὲ βουλοῦντι τι χρηστὸν ἐργασασθαί, τοὺς
ἀπάγοντας με φθάσαι καὶ τὴν κεφαλῆν αὐτοὺς τὴν
ἐμὴν ἀποτεμένη ἦξίον. καὶ τοιαῦτα βοῶντος, ὡς
ἔσασιν οἱ κοινωνοὶ μου καὶ μέτοχοι πάντων γενο-
μενοι, ἀνίστασαν πρὸς βίαν. καγὼ μὲν παρῆκα
ἐμαυτὸν ὑπίστου εἰς τοῦδαφος, οὐ δὲ διαλάβοντες
χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν σύροντες εξῆγαγον, ἐπικολούθουν
dὲ μοι οἱ τούτων πάντων μάρτυρες, Γάιος Φαύστος
Πέτρος Παύλος· οἱ καὶ ὑπολαβόντες με φοράδῃ
ἐξῆγαγον τοῦ πολιχνίου καὶ ὅνῳ γυμνῶ ἐπιβιβάσαν-
tες ἀπήγαγον." ταῦτα περὶ ἔαυτον ὁ Διονύσιος.

XLI. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς Φάβιον
Ἀντιοχέων ἐπίσκοπον, τῶν κατὰ Δέκιον μαρτυ-
ρησάντων ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τους ἀγῶνας τούτοι
ἐστορεῖ τὸν τρόπον· "οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ
προστάγματος ὁ διωγμὸς παρ' ἦμιν ἦρξατο, ἀλλ'
in a marriage-feast, 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. 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; 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. 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. 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
γὰρ ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν προύλαβεν, καὶ φθάσας ὁ κακῶς τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ μάντις καὶ ποιητής, ὅστις ἐκείνος ἦν, ἐκύησεν καὶ παρώρμησεν καθ’ ἡμῶν τὰ πλῆθη τῶν ἑθῶν, εἰς τὴν ἐπιχώριον αὐτοῦ δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀναρριπῶς· οἱ δ’ ἐρεθισθέντες ύπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάσης ἐξουσίας εἰς ἀνοικουργίαν λαβόμενοι, μόνη εὐσέβειαν τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν δαμόνων ταύτην ὑπὲρ ἑλαβον, τὸ καθ’ ἡμῶν φονᾶν.

"Πρῶτον οὖν πρεσβύτην, Μητρὰν ὄνοματι, συναρπάσαντες καὶ κελεύσαντες ἢδεα λέγειν ῥήματα, μικρὸς στόμου, ἐξοίλωσε τις παίσκετε τὸ σῶμα καὶ καλὸμενον ὄξεσιν τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοὺς οἴκους κεντοῦντες ἀγαγόντες εἰς τὸ προάστεον, κατελυθοβόλησαν.

"Εἴτε πιστὴν γυναῖκα, Κοῦταν καλουμένην, ἐπὶ τὸ εἴδωλειν ἅγαλόντες, ἡμάγαλον προσκυνεῖν ἀποστραφομένην δὲ καὶ βδελυγμένην ἐκδόουσε τῶν ποδῶν διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως κατὰ τοῦ τραχέος λιθοστρώτου σύροντες προσκύνασαμένην τοῖς μυλαιοῖς λίθοις, ἄμα καὶ μαστογοῦντες, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἅγαλόντες κατέλυεσαν τόπον. εἰθ’ ὁμοθυμαδῶν ἀπαντεὶ ὄρμησαν ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν θεοσεβῶν οἰκίας, καὶ οἷς ἐγνώριζον ἐκαστὸν γειτνῶντας ἐπεισοδότας ἴγον ἐσύλων τε καὶ διήρπαζον, τοὺς τιμωτέρας τῶν κειμηλίων νοσφιξόμενοι, τὸ δὲ εὐτελέστερα καὶ ὁσα ἐκ ἐξοίλων ἐπεπούλτη διαρριπτοῦντες καὶ κατακάνοντες ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐνδοκυκίας ὑπὸ πολεμίων πόλεως παρεῖχον θέαν ἐξέκλινον δὲ καὶ ὑπανεχώρουν οἱ ἁδελφοί καὶ τῇ ἅρπαγῇ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ῥομαῖοι ἑκεῖνοι οἷς καὶ Παύλος ἐμαρτύρησεν, μετὰ χαρᾶς προσεδέχατο καὶ οὐκ ἥδ’ εἰ τις, πλὴν εἰ μή ποῦ τις εἰς ἐμπεσώμενον μέχρι γε τοῦτον τῶν κύριων ἠρνήσατο.
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. 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.

"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.

"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. 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. 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.
"Αλλὰ καὶ τὴν θαυμασιωτάτην τότε παρθένον πρεσβύτην Ἀπολλωνίαν διαλαβόντες, τοὺς μὲν ὀδόντας ἀπαντας κόπτοντες τὰς σιαγόνας ἐξῆλασαν, πυρὰν δὲ νῆσαντες πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ζώσαν ἦπειλον κατακαύσεων, εἰ μὴ συνεκφωνήσειν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀσβεσίας κηρύγματα. ἢ δὲ ὑποπαρατησαμένη βραχὺ καὶ ἀνεθείσα, συντόνως ἐπῆδησεν εἰς τὸ πῦρ, καὶ καταπέφλεκται.

"Σεραπίων τε καταλαβόντες ἐφέστην, σκληραῖς βασάνοις αἰκισάμενοι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄρθρα διακλάσαντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπερφόνου πρήνη κατέρρυμαν.

"Οὐδεμία δὲ ὡδός, οὐ λεωφόρος, οὐ στενωπὸς ἤμιν βάσιμος ἢν, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ' ἡμέραν, αἰὲ καὶ πανταχοῦ πάντων κεκραγότων, εἰ μὴ τὰ δύσφημα τις ἀνυμνοῖς ρήματα, τούτων εὐθέως δεῖν σύρεσθαι τε καὶ πήμπρασθαι. καὶ τάῦτα ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν τούτων ἢκμασεν τὸν τρόπον, διαδεξαμένη δὲ τοὺς ἄθλιοις ἡ στάσις καὶ πόλεμος ἐμφύλιος τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν ὑμότητα πρὸς ἀλλήλους αὐτῶν ἐτρεψεν, καὶ συμπροὰ μὲν προσανεπνεύσαμεν, ἀσχολίαν τοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς θυμοῦ λαβόντων, εὐθέως δὲ ἡ τῆς βασιλείας ἑκείνης τῆς εὐμενεστέρας ἡμῶν μεταβολὴ δυήγχεται, καὶ πολὺς ὁ τῆς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀπειλής φόβος ἀνετείνετο. καὶ δὴ καὶ παρὴν τὸ πρόσταγμα, αὐτὸ σχεδὸν ἑκείνο οἶον τὸ προρρηθὲν υπὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν παρὰ βραχὺ τὸ φοβερώτατον, ὡς, εἰ δυνατῶν, σκανδαλίζαι καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς. πλὴν πάντες γε κατεπτήχεσαν καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν εὐθέως τῶν περιφανεστέρων, οἱ μὲν ἀπήντων δεδίστε, οἱ δὲ δημοσιεύσοντες υπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἡγούτο, οἱ

1 Or "eagerly."
2 i.e. the rule of Philip.
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.

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. 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. 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. 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

δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμφ’ αὐτοῖς ἐφείλκοντο· ὀνομαστὶ τε καλοῦμενοι ταῖς ἀνάγνοις καὶ ἀνιέροις θυσίαις προσήσαν, οἱ μὲν ὁχυρῶντες καὶ τρέμοντες, ὡσπερ οὐ θύσιντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ θύματα καὶ σφάγια τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἐσόμενοι, ὡς ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιεστῶτος δήμου χλευὴν αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρεσθαι καὶ δήλους μὲν εἶναι πρὸς πάντα δειλοὺς ὑπάρχοντας, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεθνάναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θῦσαι· οἱ δὲ τινὲς ἐτοιμότερον τοῖς βωμοῖς προσέτρεχον, ἵσχυρὶς ἐμοίῇ τῇ θρασύτητι τὸ μηδὲ πρότερον. Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι, περὶ ὅν ἦ τοῦ κυρίου πρόρρησις ἄληστετήτη ὅτι δυσκόλως σωθήσονται. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν οἱ μὲν ἔποντο τοῦτοι ἐκατέρους, οἱ δὲ ἐφευγόν· οἱ δὲ ἡλίσκοντο, καὶ τούτων οἱ μὲν ἄχρι δεσμῶν καὶ φυλακῆς χωρῆσαντες, καὶ τινές καὶ πλείονες ἡμέρας καθειρχθέντες, εἶτα καὶ πρὶν ἐπὶ δικαστήριον ἐλθεῖν, ἐξωμόσαντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ βασάνοις ἐπὶ ποσόν ἐγκαρτερήσαντες, πρὸς τὸ ἔξης ἀπείπον.

"Οἱ δὲ στερροὶ καὶ μακάριοι στύλοι τοῦ κυρίου κρατασθέντες ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἱσχυρᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς πίστεως ἄξιαν καὶ ἀνάλογον δύναμιν καὶ καρτέριαν λαβόντες, θαυμαστοὶ γεγόνασιν αὐτοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μάρτυρες· ὅν πρῶτος Ἰουλιανός, ἀνθρώπος ποδαγρός, μὴ στήναι, μὴ βαδίσαι δυνάμενος, σὺν ἐτέρους δύο τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτοῦ προσήχθη· ὅν οἱ μὲν ἐτέρος εὐθὺς ἐγρήγορος, ο δ’ ἐτέρος, Κρονίων ὅν ομάτι, ἐπίκλην δε Ἐυνους, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ πρεσβύτης Ἰουλιανὸς ὀμολογήσαντες τὸν κυρίον, διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως, μεγίστης οὐσίας ὑς ὡς ὁστε, καμήλους ἐποχούμενοι καὶ μετέωροι μαστιγούμενοι, τέλος ἀσβέστω, περικεκυμένου τοῦ δήμου παντός, κατ-
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. 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. ¹ 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.

"But the firm and blessed pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by Him, and receiving power and stedfastness in due measure according to the mighty faith that was in them, proved themselves admirable martyrs of His kingdom. 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

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ετάκησαν. ὁ στρατιωτής τε αὐτοῖς ἀπαγορεύοις παραστάς καὶ τοῖς ἐφυβριζοῦσιν ἐναντιωθεῖς, ἐκβοησάντων ἐκείνων προσαχθεῖς ὁ ἀνδρειότατος ὀπλομάχος τοῦ θεοῦ Βησάς καὶ τῷ μεγάλῳ πολέμῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀριστευόσας, ἀπετμήθη τὴν κεφαλὴν. καὶ τις ἔτερος, τὸ μὲν γένος Λίβυς, τὴν δὲ προσηγορίαν ἀμα καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἀληθῆς Μάκαρ, προτροπῆς αὐτῷ πολλῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἀρνησιν γενομένης, οὐχ ὑπαχθεῖς ζῶν καταπέλκεται. Ἐπίμαχος τε μετ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος μετὰ πολῶν ὃν ἔμειναν δεσμῶται χρόνον, μυρίας διενεχόντες ἀλγηδόνας ἔστριψες μάστιγας, [πυρὶ] ἀσβέστω καὶ οὕτω διεύθησαν.

"Καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες τέσσαρες, Ἀμμωνάριον ἔν τε ἁγία παρθένοι, πάνω φιλονεῖκως αὕτην ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ δικαστοῦ βασανίσαντος, ἀτε προσποθησάρεσσα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν, ἀπήχθη· αἰ δὲ λοιπαὶ, ἡ σεμνότατη πρεσβύτες Μερκούρια καὶ ἡ πολύπασσα μὲν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τὸν κύριον ἐν γαπήσασα τὰ τέκνα Διονυσία, καταδειχθέντος εἰς ἀνήσυχον ἐτὶ βασανίζει καὶ ὑπὸ γυναικῶν ἡττᾶσθαι τοῦ ἡγεμόνος, συνήρῳ τεθνάσων, μηκέτι βασάνων πείραν λαβοῦσαι τὰς γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάσων ἡ πρόμαχος Ἀμμωνάριον ἀνεδεδεκτο.

"Ἡρων δὲ καὶ Ἀτήρ καὶ Ἰσίδωρος Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς παιδάριον ὡς πεντεκαϊδεκάετης ὁ Διώσκορος παρεδόθησαν· καὶ πρῶτον τὸ μειράκιον λόγοις τε ἀπατῶν ὡς εὐπαράγων καὶ βασάνοις καταναγκάζεις ὡς εὐνόδοτον πειρωμένου, οὔτε ἐπείσθη οὔτε εἶξεν ὁ Διώσκορος· τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς 2
people, burnt in quicklime. 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. And another, a Libyan by race, Macar,¹ 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.

"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.

"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; but Dioscorus neither obeyed nor

¹ "Blessed."
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ἀγριώτατα καταξήνας, ἐγκαρτερήσαντας πυρὶ καὶ τοῦτοις ἐδωκεν. τὸν δὲ Διόσκορον ἐλλαμπρώναμενὸν τε δημοσίᾳ καὶ σοφώτατα πρὸς τὰς ἁδίας πεύσεις ἀποκρινάμενον θαυμάσας, παρῆκεν, ὑπερθεσών φήσας εἰς μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν ἁλκίαν ἐπιμετέρων καὶ νῦν ὁ θεοπρεπέστατος σὺν ἡμῖν ἐστὶν Διόσκορος, εἰς μακρότερον τὸν ἁγώνα καὶ διαρκέστερον μείνας τῶν ἄθλων.

"Νεμεσίων δέ τις, κάκεινος Ἀιγύπτιως, ἐσυκο-2

φαντήθη μὲν ὡς δὴ σύνοικοι ληστῶν, ἀπολυσάμενος δὲ ταύτην παρὰ τῷ ἐκατοντάρχῳ τὴν ἀλλοτρωτάτην διαβολήν, καταμηνυθεὶς ὡς Χριστιανὸς ἦκεν δεσμώτης ἐπὶ τὸν ἱγούμενον· ὁ δὲ ἀδικώτατος διπλαῖς αὐτῶν ἡ τους ληστὰς ταῖς βασάνοις καὶ ταῖς μάστιξιν λυμηνάμενος, μεταξύ τῶν ληστῶν κατέφλεξεν τιμηθέντα τὸν μακάριον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παραδείγματι.

"Ἄθροιν δὲ τι σύνταγμα στρατιωτικόν, Ἀμμων 2:

καὶ Ζήνων καὶ Πτολεμαῖος καὶ Ἰγγένης καὶ σὺν αὐτῶς πρεσβύτης Θεόφιλος, εἰστήκεισαν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· κρυνομένοι δὴ τινος ὡς Χριστιανὸ καὶ πρὸς ἄρνησιν ἰδὴ ῥέποντος, ἐπριόντο οὕτω παρεστηκότες, καὶ τοῖς τε προσώποις ἐνένευν καὶ ταῖς χείρας ἀνέτευν καὶ συνεσχημάτιζοντο τοῖς σώμασιν. ἐπιστροφῆς δὲ πάντων πρὸς αὐτοὺς γενομένης, πρὸν τινας αὐτῶν ἀλλὰς λαβέσθαι, φθάσαντες ἐπὶ τὸ βάθρον ἀνέδραμον, εἶναὶ Χριστιανοὶ λέγοντες, ὡς τὸν τε ἡγεμόνα καὶ τοὺς συνέδρους ἐμφόβους γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν κρυνομένους εὐθαρσεστάτους ἐρ' οίς πείσονται, φαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας ἀποδειλιᾶν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἐκ δικαστηρίων ἐνεπόμπευσαν καὶ ἡγαλλιάσαντο τῇ 108
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.

"A certain Nemesion, he also an Egyptian, was falsely accused of conspiring 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.

"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. 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 pro-
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2 Cor. 2, 14 μαρτυρίας, θριαμβεύοντος αὐτοὺς ἐνδόξως τοῦ θεοῦ.

XLII. " Άλλοι δὲ πλεῖστοι κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κώμας ὑπὸ τῶν ἔθνων διεσπάσθησαν, ὥς ἐνὸς παραδείγματος ἐνεκεν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. Ἅσχυρίων ἐπετρόπευν τινὶ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἐπὶ μισθῷ. τούτοις δὲ μισθοδότης ἐκέλευσεν θύσαι, μὴ πείθωμεν ὑβρίζειν, ἐμμένουτα προεπιλάκιζεν, υφισταμένου μεγίστην λαβὼν διὰ τῶν ἐντέρων καὶ τῶν ὁπλάγχων διώσας, ἀπέκτενεν.

"Τί δεὶ λέγειν τοῖς πλῆθοις τῶν ἐν ἐρμίαις καὶ ὅρεσιν πλανηθέντων, ὑπὸ λίμοι καὶ δίψας καὶ κρύους καὶ νόσους καὶ ληστῶν καὶ θηρίων δυσθαρμένων; ἃν οἱ περιγενόμενοι τῆς ἐκείνων εἰς ἐκλογῆς καὶ νίκης μάρτυρες, ἵνα δὲ καὶ τούτων εἰς δήλωσιν ἔργον παραθήσομαι. Χαρῆμων ἤν υπέρ-γηρως τῆς Νείλου καλουμένης πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος. οὗτος εἰς τὸ Ἄραβιον ὄρος ἄμα τῇ συμβίῳ έαυτοῦ φυγῶν, οὐκ ἐπανελήλυθεν, οὔτε ἐδυνάθησαν ἰδεῖν οὐκέτι, καίτοι πολλὰ διερευνησάμενοι, οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οὔτε αὐτοὺς οὔτε τὰ σώματα. πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ Ἄραβικον ὄρος ἐξανδραποδισθέντες ὑπὸ βαρβάρων Σαρακηνῶν· ὅν οἱ μὲν μόλις ἐπὶ πολλοῖς χρήσαι οὐλτρόθησαν, οἱ δὲ μέχρι νῦν οὐδέπω.

"Καὶ ταῦτα διεξῆλθον οὐ μάτην, ἀδελφὲ, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδής ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκια δεινὰ παρ' ἡμῖν συνέβη· ὅν οἱ μᾶλλον πεπεραμένοι πλεόνα ἀν ἐιδεῖν." Εἶτα τούτωι ἐπιφερεῖ μετά βραχέα λέγων· "αὐτοὶ τούνιν οἱ θεῖοι μάρτυρες παρ' ἡμῖν, οἱ νῦν τοῦ Χριστοῦ πάρεδροι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ

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1 A free reference to Heb. xi. 38.
2 σύμβιος is a common word for husband or wife in later Greek.

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cession, exulting in their witness, God spreading abroad their fame gloriously.

XLII. "And many others throughout the cities and villages were torn in pieces by the heathen, of whom I shall mention one as an example. Ischyrion 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.

"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; 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. 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.

"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
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κοινωνοὶ καὶ μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ καὶ
συνδικάζοντες αὐτῷ, τῶν παραπεπτωκότων ἀδελ-
ףων τινας ὑπευθύνους τοῖς τῶν θυσιῶν ἐγκλήμασιν
γενομένωσι προσελάβοντο, καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφήν
καὶ μετάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἰδόντες δεκτὴν τε γενέσθαι
dυναμένην τῷ μὴ βουλομένῳ καθόλου τὸν θάνατον
tοῦ ἀμαρτωλοῦ ώς τὴν μετάνοιαν δοκιμάσαντες,
eἰσεδέξαντο καὶ συνήγαγον καὶ συνέστησαν καὶ
προσευχῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐστιάσεων ἐκοινώνησαν.
tί οὖν ἡμῖν, ἄδελφοι, περὶ τούτων συμβουλεύετε;
tί ήμῖν πρακτεῖons; σύμβουλοι καὶ ὁμογνώμονες
ἀυτοῖς καταστῶμεν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν
χάριν φυλάξωμεν καὶ τοῖς ἐλεηθείσων ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
χρηστευσόμεθα, ἢ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν ἁδικον
ποιησῶμεθα καὶ δοκιμαστάς αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐκείνων
γνώμης ἐπιστῆσωμεν καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα λυπή-
σωμεν καὶ τὴν τάξιν ἀνασκευάσωμεν;

Ταῦτα δ’ εἰκότως ὁ Διονύσιος παρατέθεται,
tὸν περὶ τῶν ἐξηθενηκότων κατὰ τὸν τὸν διωγμὸν
καὶ τὸν ἀνακινών όνομαν, XLIII. ἐπειδὴ ἡ τῇ 1
κατὰ τούτων ἀρθεῖς ὑπερηφανία Νεονάτος, τῆς
Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρεσβύτερος, ὡς μηκέτ’
οὐσις αὐτοῖς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδος μηδ’ εἰ πάντα τὰ
eἰς ἐπιστροφῆς γνησίων καὶ καθαρῶν ἐξομολόγησιν
ἐπιτελοῦν, ἵδιας αἱρέσεως τῶν κατὰ λογισμὸν
φυσίσων Καθαροὺς ἐαυτοῦ ἀποφημάντων ἄρχηγοὺς
καθίσταται: ἐφ’ ὡς συνόδου μεγίστης ἐπὶ Ῥώμης
συγκροτηθεῖσις ἐξήκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπι-
σκόπων, πλειόνων δ’ ἐτί μᾶλλον πρεσβυτέρων τε

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1 συνήγαγον; cf. vii. 7. 4.
2 The consistentes, or bystanders, were the highest order

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VI. xlii. 5—xliii. 2

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\(^1\) as \textit{consistentes},\(^2\) and gave them fellowship in their prayers and feasts. 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?\(^3\)

Now these words Dionysius added suitably, raising the question about those who had proved weak in the time of persecution, xliii. since Novatus,\(^3\) 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. Whereupon a very large synod was assembled at Rome, of sixty bishops and a still greater number of presbyters of penitents. They were admitted to the eucharistic prayers, but debarred from communion.

\(^{3}\) This person, the founder of the Novatianist sect, is called by Eusebius, and subsequent Greek writers, Novatus, but by the Westerns (no doubt rightly) Novatianus. \textit{Cf.} the letters of Dionysius in c. 45 and vii. 8.
καὶ διακόνων, ἵδιως τε κατὰ τὰς λοιπὰς ἐπαρχίας τῶν κατὰ χώραν ποιμένων περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διασκεψαμένων, δόγμα παρίσταται τοῖς πᾶσιν, τῶν μὲν Νοοῦτον ἁμα τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ συνεπαρθείσιν τοὺς τε συνευδοκεῖν τῇ μισαδέλφῳ καὶ ἀπανθρωποτάτῃ γνώμῃ τάνδρος προαιρουμένους ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἤγειθαι, τοὺς δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς περιπετειωκότας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἱάσθαι καὶ θεραπευέν τοῖς τῆς μετανοιαῖς φαρμάκοις.

'Ἡλθοῦ δ' ὁν εἰς ἧμας ἐπιστολαὶ Κορνηλίου: ὉΡωμαίων ἐπισκόπου πρὸς τὸν τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐκκλησίας Φάβιον, δηλοῦσαι τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων συνόδου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Ἀφρικήν καὶ τὰς αὐτόθι χώρας, καὶ ἄλλαι πάλιν, Ῥωμαικὴ φωνὴ συντεταγμέναι, Κυπριανοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀμ' αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικήν, δι' ὃν τὸ καὶ αὐτοῦ συνευδοκεῖν τῷ δεῖν τυγχάνειν ἐπικουρίας τοὺς πεπειρασμένους ἐνεφαίνετο καὶ τῷ χρήναι εὐλόγως τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκκήρυκτον ποιήσασθαί τὸν τῆς αἱρέσεως ἄρχηγον πάντας τε όμοίως τοὺς συναπαγομένους αὐτῷ. ταύταις ἄλλη τὰς ἐπιστολὴς συνήπτῳ τοῦ Κορνηλίου περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν σύνοδον ἀρεσάντων καὶ πάλιν ἐτέρα περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νοοῦτον πραχθέντων· ἀφ' ἑς καὶ μέρη παραδέσθαι οὐδὲν ἂν κωλύοι, ὅπως εἰδεῖεν τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς οἱ τῇς ἐντυγχάνοντες τῆς γραφῆς τὸν δὴ οὖν Φάβιον ἀναδιδάσκων ὅποιος τὰς τὸν Νοοῦτος γεγονοὺς τὸν τρόπον, αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα γράφει ὁ Κορνηλίος τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὁ θαυμάσιος οὗτος καὶ κρύπτων ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν προπετὴ ταύτην αὐτοῦ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐλάβανεν, ἐπικαλύμματι τῆς αὐτοῦ

1 Tim. 3, 1

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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.

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. 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. 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
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ἀπονοίας τῷ κατ’ ἀρχάς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς ὁμολογητὰς ἐσχηκέναι χρώμενος, εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. Μάξιμος πρεσβύτερος τῶν παρ’ ἠμῶν καὶ Οὐρβανός, διὸ τῆν ἐξ ὁμολογίας δόξαν ἄριστην καρπωσάμενοι, Σιδώνιος τε καὶ Κελερίνος, ἀνὴρ ὁς πάσας βασάνους διὰ τὸν θεοῦ ἔλεον καρτερικώτατα διενέγκας καὶ τῇ ρώμῃ τῆς αὐτοῦ πίστεως τὸ ἀσθενὲς τῆς σαρκὸς ἐπιρρώσας, κατὰ κράτος νενίκηκεν τῶν ἀντικείμενον, οὗτοι δὴ οὗν οἱ ἄνδρες κατανοήσαντες αὐτόν καὶ καταφωράσαντες τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πανουργίαν τε καὶ παλιμβολίαν τὰς τε ἐπιρρής αἰνά τὰς ψευδολογίας καὶ τὴν ἁκουστὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ λυκοφιλίαν, ἐπανήλθον εἰς τὴν ἄγιαν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἀπευρά αὐτοῦ τὰ τεχνάσματα καὶ πονηρέματα, ἄ εκ πολλῶν ἕχων ἐν εαυτῷ ὑπεστήλλετο, παρόντων ἰκανῶν τούτο μὲν ἔπισκόπων τοῦτο δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ λαϊκῶν ἄνδρῶν παμπόλλων, ἐξήγγειλα, ἀποδινόμενοι καὶ μεταγινώσκοντες ἐφ’ οίς πεισθέντες τῷ δολερῷ καὶ κακοθείς θηρίῳ πρὸς ὅλῳν χρόνον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελειφθήσαν.

Εἶτα μετὰ βραχέα φησὶν ἦν ἀμήχανον ὅσην, ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφὲ, τροπῆ ὑπὸ μεταβολήν ἐν βραχεί καιρῷ ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένην. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ λαμπρότατος καὶ δι’ ὅρκων φοβερῶν τυνων πιστούμενος τὸ μηδ’ ὅλως ἐπισκοπῆς ὀρέγεσθαι, αἱφνίδιων ἐπίσκοπος ὡσπερ ἐκ μαγγάνου των εἰς τὸ μέσον ῥίφεις ἀναφάνεται. οὕτος γὰρ τοι ὁ δογματιστὴς, ὁ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπερασπιστής, ὅποικα παρασπᾶσθαι τε καὶ ὑφαρπάζειν τὴν μὴ δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ἀνωθεν ἐπισκοπήν ἐπεχείρει, δύο εαυτῷ κοινωνοὺς, ἀπεγνωκότας τῆς
as a veil for his insane folly the fact that he had the confessors with him from the beginning, I wish to speak. 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 dispersed 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.”

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.\(^1\) 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 com-

\(^1\) \textit{μαγγάνου}: the reference is probably to the method of raising, by means of pulleys, cages containing wild beasts to the level of the arena.
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ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐπελέξατο, ὡς ἂν εἰς βραχὺ τι μέρος καὶ ἐλάχιστον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀποστείλῃ κάκειθεν ἐπισκόπους τρεῖς, ἀνθρώπους ἀγροίκους καὶ ἀπλουστάτους, πλαστῇ τινὶ ἐπιχειρήσει ἐξαιπατήσῃ, διαβεβαιωμένοις καὶ δισχυριζόμενοις δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν τάχει παραγενέσθαι εἰς Ἡρώμην, ὡς δήθεν πᾶσα ἤτις δήποτε ὁμ ἰδιοστασία γεγονυῖα σὺν καὶ ἐτέρως ἐπισκόπους καὶ αὐτῶν μεσιτεύοντων διαλυθῇ· οὕς παραγενομένους, ἀτε δὴ, ὡς ἐφθημεν ἰλέγοντες, ἀνθρώπους ἀπλουστέρους περὶ τὰς τῶν πονηρῶν μηχανάς τε καὶ ῥαδιουργίας, συγκλεισθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῶ τεταραγμένων ἀνθρώπων, ὡρὰ δεκάτη, μεθύοντας καὶ κραυ- 

παλῶντας, μετὰ βίας ἢνάγκασεν εἰκονικῆ τινὶ καὶ ματαία χειρεπιθεσία ἐπισκόπην αὐτῶ δοῦναι, ἢν ἐνέδρα καὶ πανουργία, μὴ ἐπιβάλλουσαν αὐτῷ, ἐκδικεῖ· εἰς ὁμιλεῖς μετ’ οὐ πολὺ ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἀποδυνόμενος καὶ ἐξομολογούμενος τὸ ἐαυτοῦ ἀμάρτημα, ὥς καὶ ἐκουσώσαμεν λαϊκῶς, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεηθέντος παντὸς τοῦ παρόντος λαοῦ· καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν δὲ ἐπισκόπων διαδόχους εἰς τοὺς τόπους, ἐν οἷς ἦσαν, χειροτονήσαντες ἀπεστάλκαμεν.

"Τοῦ ἐκδικηθῆς οὖν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὐκ ἦπίστατο οἰκονομός ἐν ἀποπερατωμένω, εν οἷς ἦν ἀγάπη, πῶς γάρ; προσβυτέρους εἰςη 

τεσσαράκοντα ἐξ, διακόνους ἑπτά, ὑποδιακόνους ἑπτά, ἀκολούθους δύο καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, ἐξορκιστὰς δὲ καὶ ἀναγνώστας ἀμα 

πυλωροῖς δύο καὶ πνεύκοντα, χήρας σὺν θλιβομένοις ὑπὲρ τὰς χιλίας πεντακοσίας, ὅπως πάντας ἤ τοῦ δεσπότου χάρις καὶ φιλανθρωπία διατρέφεις ὑπὸ ὄνοις τοιούτοι πλήθος καὶ οὕτως ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησία, διὰ
panions 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. 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. 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.

"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. But not even did this great multitude, so
τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας πλούσιός τε καὶ πληθύνων ἄρθμός μετὰ μεγίστου καὶ ἀναρθμήτου λαοῦ, ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀπογνώσεως τε καὶ ἀπαγορεύσεως ἐνέτρεψεν τε καὶ ἀνεκαλέσατο εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.”

Καὶ αὕθια μεθ’ ἑτέρα τούτους προστίθησαν ταῦτα. ἂν ἐφέρε δή, ἐξῆς εἰπωμεν τίσιν ἐργος ἢ τίσιν πολιτείαις τεθαρρηκώς ἀντεποίηθη τῆς ἐπίσκοπής. ἀρά γε διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνεστράφθαι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγώνας ύπὲρ αὕτης ἤγωνισθαι καὶ ἐν κινδύνοις πολλοῖς τε καὶ μεγάλοις ἑνεκα τῆς θεσσεβείας γεγονέναι; ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστιν· ὦ γε ἀφορμή τοῦ πιστεύσαν γέγονεν ὁ σατανᾶς, φοιτήσαι εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ οἰκήσατε ἐν αὐτῷ χρόνον ἰκανὸν· ὃς βοηθοῦμεν υπὸ τῶν ἐπορκιστῶν νόσω περιπεσῶν χαλεπῇ καὶ ἀποθανεῖθαι ὅσον οὐδέπω νομιζόμενος, ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ, οὗ ἔκειτο, περιχυθεὶς ἔλαβεν, εἰ γε χρή λέγειν τὸν τοιοῦτον εἰληφέναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔτυχεν, διαφωνῶ τῆς νόσου, ὃν χρὴ μεταλαμβάνειν κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κανόνα, τὸν τε σφραγισθῆναι υπὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου· τούτων dε μὴ τυχόν, πῶς ἃν τοῦ ἀγίου πνεύματος ἔτυχεν;”

Καὶ πάλιν μετὰ βραχέα φησίν· “ὁ διὰ δειλίαν καὶ φιλοξείαν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῆς διώξεως πρεσβύτερον εἶναι ἕαυτὸν ἄρνησάμενος. ἀξιοῦμενος γὰρ καὶ παρακαλοῦμενος υπὸ τῶν διακόνων, ἢν εἴσελθων τοῦ οἰκίσκου, ἐν τῇ καθείρξει ἑαυτῶν, βοηθήσῃ τοῖς ἀδέλφοις ὧσα θέμις καὶ ὧσα δυνατῶν πρεσβύτερῳ κινδυνεύσωσιν ἀδελφοῖς καὶ ἐπικουρίας δεομένους βοηθεῖν, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχεν τῷ πειθαρχῆσαι παρακαλοῦσι τοῖς διακόνοις, ώς καὶ χαλεπαίνοντα 120
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.”

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. 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, 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?”

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
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ἀπεναι καὶ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ ἔτι βούλεσθαι πρεσβύτερος εἶναι ἐφή, ἐτέρας γὰρ εἶναι φιλοσοφίας ἑραστής." 17

'Ὑπερβάς δ' ὅλιγα, τούτων πάλιν ἐπιφέρει λέγων: "καταληπτῶν γὰρ ὁ λαμπρὸς οὕτως τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐν ἡ πιστεύσας κατηξιώθη τοῦ πρεσβυτερίου κατὰ χάριν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τοῦ ἐπιθέντος αὐτῷ χείρα εἰς πρεσβυτερίου κλήρον, ὅσ διακολυμμενὸς υπὸ παντὸς τοῦ κλήρου, ἀλλὰ καὶ λαϊκῶν πολλῶν, ἔπει μὴ ἐξὸν ἦν τὸν ἐν κλή ἰδιὰ νόσον περικυβέντα, ὠσπερ καὶ οὕτως, εἰς κλήρον τινα γενέσθαι, ἥξιωσεν συγχωρηθῆναι αὐτῷ τοῦτον μόνον χειροτονήσαι."

Εἰτ' ἀλλ' τι τούτων χείριστον προστίθησιν τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀτοπημάτων, λέγων· οὕτως "ποιήσας γὰρ τὰς προσφορὰς καὶ διανέμων ἐκάστως τὸ μέρος καὶ ἐπιδίδους τοῦτο, ὁμώνυμως ἀνεί τοῦ εὐλογεῖν τοὺς ταλαμώτας ἄνθρωπος ἀναγκάζει, κατέχουν ἁμφότεραις ταῖς χεραῖς τὰς τοῦ λαβόντος καὶ μὴ ἀφιεῖς, ἔστε ἄν ὀμνύοντες εἰπὼσιν ταῦτα (τοῖς γὰρ ἐκείνου χρήσομαι λόγους). 'ὁμοσῶν μοι κατὰ τοῦ αἵματος καὶ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ μηδέποτε με καταληπτεῖν καὶ ἐπιστρέψαι πρὸς Κορνήλιον.' καὶ ὁ ἄθλιος ἄνθρωπος οὐ πρότερον γένεται, εἰ μὴ πρότερον αὐτῷ καταράσαιτο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰπεῖν λαμβάνοντα τὸν ἄρτον ἐκείνου τὸ ἁμὴν, 'οὐκ ἐπανήξω πρὸς Κορνήλιον' λέγει."

Καὶ μεθ' ἔτερα πάλιν ταὐτά φησιν· "ἡδη δὲ ὁ ζῆθι γεγυμνοῦσθαι καὶ ἔρημον γεγονόντα, καταληπτονότων αὐτῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστῃ τῶν ἄδελφων καὶ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανερχομένων· ὅν καὶ

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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."

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 affusion¹ 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). . . ."

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,² 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.' 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.'"

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

¹ i.e. by pouring water, not by immersion.
² i.e. of the Sacrament.
Μωσῆς, ὁ μακάριος μάρτυς, ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐναγχος μαρτυρήσας καλὴν τυνα καὶ θαυμαστὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἐτι ὃν ἐν κόσμῳ, κατιδὼν αὐτοῦ τὴν θρασύτητα καὶ τὴν ἀπόνοιαν, ἀκοινώνητον ἐποίησεν σὺν τοῖς πέντε πρεσβυτέροις τοῖς ἀμα αὐτῶ ἀποσχίσασιν ἐαυτοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.’

Καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης παραγενομένων ἐπισκότων τῆς τοῦ Νουατοῦ κατεγειρότων ἀβελτηρίας κατάλογον πεποίηται, ὥμοι τὰ τοῦ θὸν καὶ ἡ ὁ καθεῖς αὐτῶν προηγεῖτο παροικίας, ἐπισημανόμενος, τῶν τε μὴ παραγενομένων μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ρώμης, συνεν- δοκησάντων δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τῶν προειρ- μένων ψῆφῳ τὰς προσηγορίας ὥμοι καὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅθεν ἐκαστός ὁμοίων ἐπέστελλεν, μηνυμονεύει. ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Κορνήλιος Φαβίων Ἀντιοχείας ἐπισκότω ὅλων ἐγράφεν.

XI.ΙV. Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ τούτῳ Φαβίῳ, ὅποκατα-1 κλινομένῳ πως τῷ σχίσματι, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπιστείλας πολλὰ τε καὶ ἄλλα περὶ μετανοίας ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν γράμμασιν διελθὼν τῶν τε κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐναγχος τότε μαρτυρησάντων τοὺς ἀγῶνας διών, μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης ἱστορίας πράγμα τι μεστὸν θαμάσας διηγεῖται, ὅ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῇδε παραδοούναι τῇ γραφῇ, οὕτως ἔχον: “ἐν δὲ σοι τούτῳ παρά-2 δειγμα παρ' ἡμῖν συμβεβηκὸς ἐκθήσομαι. Σερα-πίων τις ἢν παρ' ἡμῖν, πιστὸς γέρων, ἀμέμπτως μὲν τὸν πολὺν διαβιώσας χρόνον, ἐν δὲ τῷ πειρασμῷ πεσὼν. οὗτος πολλάκις ἔδειτο, καὶ οὐδεὶς προσ-εἰχεν αὐτῶ· καὶ γὰρ ἐτεθύκει. ἐν νόσῳ δὲ γενό-μενος, τριῶν ἐξῆς ἠμερῶν ἀφωνος καὶ ἀναισθητος 124
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."

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; 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. 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: "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
διετέλεσεν, βραχὺ δὲ ἀνασφήλας τῇ τετάρτῃ προσ- ἐκαλέσατο τὸν θυγατριδοῦν, καὶ μέχρι μὲ τύνος
φησὶν ὥ τέκνου, κατέχετε; δέομαι, σπεύσατε,
kαὶ με θάττων ἀπολύσατε, τῶν πρεσβύτερων μοι
tινα κάλεσον.' καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν, πάλιν ἦν ἄφωνος. 4 ἔδραμεν ὁ παῖς ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβύτερων νῦς δὲ ἦν,
kάκείνος ἡσθένει. ἀφικέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἐδυνήθη,
ἐντολῆς δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δεδομένης τοὺς ἀπαλλαττο-
μένους τοῦ βίου, εἰ δεόντο, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ καὶ
πρότερον ἰκετεύσαντες τύχοιεν, ἀφίεσθαι, ἵν' εὐ-
ἐλπίδες ἀπαλλάττωνται, βραχὺ τῆς εὐχαριστίας
ἐδωκεν τῷ παιδαρίῳ, ἀποβρέζαι κελεύσας καὶ τῷ
πρεσβύτη κατὰ τοῦ στόματος ἐπιστάξαι. ἐπανήκεν 5
ὁ παῖς φέρων, ἐγγὺς τε γενομένου, πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν,
ἀνενέγκας πάλιν ὁ Σεραπίων ἥκες ἑφῆ 'τέκνου;
kαὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος ἐλθεῖν οὐκ ἡδυνήθη, σὺ
δὲ ποίησον ταχέως τὸ προσταχθὲν καὶ ἀπάλλαττέ
με.' ἀπέβρεζεν ὁ παῖς καὶ άμα τε ἐνέχεεν τῷ
στόματι καὶ μικρὸν ἐκεῖνος καταβροχθίσας εὐθέως
ἀπέδωκεν τὸ πνεῦμα. ἀρ' οὐκ ἐναργῶς διετηρήθη 6
καὶ παρέμενεν, ἔως λυθῆ καὶ τῆς άμαρτίας ἐξαλε-
φθείσης ἑπὶ πολλοῖς οἷς ἐπραξεν καλοῖς ὀμολογη-
θῆναι δυνήθη;''

XLV. Ταῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος. ἰδωμεν δ' ὁ αὐτὸς 1
ὀποῖα καὶ τῷ Νουνάτῳ διεχάραξεν, ταράττοντι
τὴν καὶ τὴν Ρωμαίον ἀδελφότητα· ἐπειδὴ οὖν
tῆς ἀπουσίας καὶ τοῦ σχῆματος πρόφασιν
ἐποιεῖτο τῶν ἀδελφῶν τινας, ὡς δὴ πρὸς αὐτῶν
ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἐλθεῖν ἐκβεβιασμένος, ὅρα τίνα τρόπον
αὐτῷ γράφει· "Διονύσιος Νουσατιανῷ ἀδελφῷ

1 This was done in the sick man's house. The "Eucharist"
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he rallied a little, and calling his grandson to him, he said: '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.' 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. 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. 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. 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 must therefore have been soaked in water, or unconsecrated wine—a very early instance of communion in one kind.

2 See note on 43. 1.
χαίρειν. εἰ ἄκων, ὡς φῆς, ἡχθῆς, δείξεις ἀναιχωρήσας ἐκών. ἔδει μὲν γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ὦτι ὁδὸν παθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διακόψαι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἢν οὐκ ἀδοξότερα τῆς ἐνεκεν τοῦ μὴ εἰδώλολατρῆσαι γυνομένης ἢ ἐνεκεν τοῦ μὴ σχίσαι μαρτυρία, κατ᾽ ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ μεῖξων. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ μᾶς τῆς ἐαυτοῦ ψυχῆς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὑπὲρ ὅλης τῆς ἐκκλησίας μαρτυρεῖ. καὶ νῦν δὲ εἰ πείσας ἢ βιάσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς εἰς ὁμονοιαν ἔλθειν, μεῖξον ἔσται σοι τοῦ σφάλματος τὸ κατ-όρθωμα, καὶ τὸ μὲν οὐ λογισθῆσαι, τὸ δὲ ἔπαινεθῆσαι. εἰ δὲ ἀπειθοῦντων ἀδυνατοῖς, σώζων σῷζε τὴν σεαυτοῦ ψυχήν. ἔρρωθαι σε, ἐχόμενον τῆς εἰρήνης ἐν κυρίῳ, εὑχομαι."

XLVI. Ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Νουνάτον γράφει δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ᾽ Άγγυπτον ἐπιστολὴν περὶ μετανοίας ἐν ῥ ἀνόητα αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν ὑποπεπτωκότων παρατεθεισί, τάξεις παραπτωμάτων διαγράφας καὶ πρὸς Κόλωνα (τῆς Ἐρμουπολιτῶν δὲ παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἢν οὗτος) ἱδία τις περὶ μετανοίας αὐτοῦ μέρος γραφῇ καὶ ἀληθῆ ἐπιστρεπτὴκη πρὸς τὸ κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν αὐτοῦ ποίμνων. ἐν τούτοις ἔστω καὶ ἡ περὶ μαρτυρίου πρὸς τὸν Ὀριγένην γραφείσα καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Δαοδίκειαν ἀδελφοῖς, ὁποὶ προῖστατο Θηλυμίδρος ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ τοῖς κατὰ Ἀρμενίαν ὑσαύτως περὶ μετανοίας ἐπιστέλλει, ὡς ἐπεισόδευεν Μερουζάνης. πρὸς ἄπασι τούτους καὶ Κορνήλιῳ τῷ κατὰ Ρώμην γράφει, δεξάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν κατὰ τὸν Νουνάτον ἐπιστολὴν, ὃ καὶ πράγματες δήλων ἐαυτῶν παρακεκλήσθαι ὑπὸ τὴν Ἐλένου τοῦ ἐν Ταρσῷ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ.
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. 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. 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. 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,

1 See note on 43. 1.
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Φυμμιλιανοῦ τε τοῦ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην Θεοκτίστου, ὡς ἄν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀπαντήσου τήν κατὰ Ἀντίόχειαν, ἔνθα τοῦ Νουνᾶτοι κρατῶνει τινὲς ἐνεχείρουν τὸ σχίσμα. πρὸς τούτοις ἐπιστέλλει μηνυθήναι αὐτῷ Φάβιον μὲν κεκομημέναι, Δημητριανῶν δὲ διάδοχον ἐκεῖνον τῆς κατ᾽ Ἀντίόχειαν ἐπισκόπησις καθεστάναι· γράφει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἐν Ιεροσολύμωι αὐτοῖς ῥήμασιν φάσκων· "ὁ μὲν γὰρ θαυμάσιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν φρουρᾷ γενόμενος, μακαρίως ἀνεπαύσατο."

'Εξής ταύτῃ καὶ ἑτέρα τις ἐπιστολὴ τοῖς ἐν Ρώμῃ τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρεται διακοινη διὰ 'Ιππολύτου· τοῖς αὐτοῖς δὲ ἄλλην περὶ εἰρήνης διατυπώτατι, καὶ ωσαύτως περὶ μετανοιᾶς, καὶ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἄλλην τοῖς ἐκείσε ὀμολογηταίς, ἐτι τῇ τοῦ Νουνᾶτου συμφερομένους γνώμης· τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἑτέρας δύο, μεταθεμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐπιστέλλει. καὶ ἄλλος δὲ πλείστων ὀμοίως διὰ γραμμάτων ὀμιλήσας, ποικίλας τοῖς ἐτὶ νῦν σπουδὴν περὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῖς ποιομένους καταλέλοιπεν ὡφελείας.

1 The meaning of διακοινή is uncertain. Perhaps Archbishop Benson’s rendering, “serviceable,” is the best of many
namely Firmilian in Cappadocia and Theoctistus in Palestine, to attend the synod at Antioch, where certain were attempting to strengthen the schism of Novatus. 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."

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.

guesses. Hippolytus, who seems to have been the bearer of the letter, cannot be identified.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ ἐβδόμη περιέχει βιβλίος τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἑστορίας

Α Περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ Γάλλου κακοτροπίας.
Β Οἱ κατὰ τοὺς Ἄρωμαίων ἐπίσκοποι.
Γ Ὅπως Κυπριανὸς ἂμα τοῖς κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόποις τοὺς ἐξ αἱρετικῆς πλάνης ἐπιστρέφοντας λουτρῷ δεῖν καθαίρειν πρῶτος ἐδογμάτισεν.
Δ Ὅποσας περὶ τούτου Διονύσιος συνέταξεν ἐπιστολάς.
Ε Περὶ τῆς μετὰ τῶν διωγμῶν εἰρήνης.
Σ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Σαβέλλιον αἱρέσεως.
Ζ Περὶ τῆς τῶν αἱρετικῶν παμμιάρου πλάνης καὶ τῆς θεοπόμπου ὀράσεως Διονυσίου ὁ δὲ παρείληφεν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν κανόνος.
Η Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Νοουάτον ἑτεροδοξίας.
Θ Περὶ τοῦ τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἀθέου βαπτίσματος.
Ι Περὶ Οὐαλεριανοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν διωγμοῦ.
ΙΑ Περὶ τῶν τότε Διονυσίω καὶ τοῖς κατ’ Ἀγυπτοῦ συμβάντων.
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.
X. On Valerian and the persecution in his day.
XI. On the things that then happened to Dionysius and those in Egypt.
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ΤΕ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης μαρτυρησάντων.

ΙΓ Περὶ τῆς κατὰ Γαλλιήνων εἰρήνης.

ΙΔ Οἵ κατ’ ἐκεῖνο συνηκικακότες ἐπίσκοποι.

ΙΕ Ὅπως κατὰ Καισάρειαν Μαρίνος ἐμαρτύρησεν.

ΙΣ Ἡ κατὰ Ἀστυρίων ἱστορία.

ΙΖ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Πανεάδα σημείων τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν μεγαλούργιας.

ΙΗ Περὶ τοῦ θρόνου Ἰακώβου.

ΙΘ Περὶ τῶν ἐορταστικῶν Διονυσίου ἐπιστολῶν, ἐνθα καὶ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα κανονίζει.

Κ Περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ συμβάντων.

ΚΑ Περὶ τῆς ἐπισκηψάσης νόσου.

ΚΒ Περὶ τῆς Γαλλιῆνος βασιλείας.

ΚΓ Περὶ Νέπωτος καὶ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν σχίσματος.

ΚΔ Περὶ τῆς Ίωάννου ἀποκαλύψεως.

ΚΕ Περὶ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν Διονυσίου.

ΚΣ Περὶ Παύλου τοῦ Σαμοσατέως καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ συστάσης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ αἰρέσεως.

ΚΖ Περὶ τῶν τότε γνωριζομένων διαφανῶν ἐπισκόπων.

ΚΗ Ὅπως ὁ Παῦλος ἀπελεγχθεῖς ἐξεκηρύχθη.

ΚΘ Περὶ τῆς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἐτεροδόξου διαστροφῆς ἀρτε τότε ἀρξαμένης.

Α Περὶ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοῦ διαπρεπάντων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀνδρῶν τίνες τε αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πολυρκίας διἐμειναν.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. CONTENTS

XII. On those who were martyred at Caesarea in Palestine.

XIII. On the peace under Gallienus.

XIV. The bishops who flourished at that time.

XV. How Marinus was martyred at Caesarea.

XVI. The story of Astyrius.

XVII. On the signs at Paneas of the mighty working of our Saviour.

XVIII. On the throne of James.

XIX. On the festal letters of Dionysius, where also he draws up a canon concerning the Pascha.

XX. On the happenings at Alexandria.

XXI. On the disease that visited it.

XXII. On the reign of Gallienus.

XXIII. On Nepos and his schism.

XXIV. On the Apocalypse of John.

XXV. On the letters of Dionysius.

XXVI. On Paul of Samosata and the heresy put together by him at Antioch.

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.\footnote{This Table of Contents does not tally with the new universally adopted division of Book VII. into thirty-two chapters.}
Τὸν ἑβδομὸν τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἀθίσι ὁ μέγας ἡμῖν Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐπίσκοπος Διονύσιος ἱδίας φωναῖς συνεκπονήσει, τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν πεπραγμένων ἐκαστα ἐν μέρει δι’ ὅν καταλέλοιπεν ἐπιστολῶν ύφηγούμενος· ἐμοὶ δ’ ὁ λόγος ἐντεύθεν ποιήσεται τὴν ἀρχήν.

I. Δέκιον οὐδ’ ὅλον ἐπικρατήσαντα δυνῶν ἔτουν χρόνου αὐτίκα τε ἀμα τοῖς παισὶν κατασφαγέντα Γάλλος διαδέχεται. Ὄργυγης ἐν τούτῳ ἐνὸς δέοντα τῆς ἐσὼμ ἑβδομήκοντα ἀποπλήσας ἐτη, τελευτᾶ. γράφων γε τοι ὁ Διονύσιος Ἐρμάμμων, περὶ τοῦ Γάλλου ταῦτα φάσκει: “ἀλλ’ οὖδέ Γάλλος ἐγνω τὸ Δεκίου κακῶν οὐδε προσκόπησεν τί ποτ’ ἐκεῖνον ἐσφηλεν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν αὐτόν πρὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ γενόμενον ἐπτάσεις λίθον· ὅσ εὐ φερομένης αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ κατὰ νοῦν χωροῦντων τῶν πραγμάτων, τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀνδρας, τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ὑγιείας προσβεύοντας πρὸς τὸν θεόν, ἡλασεν. οὐκοῦν σὺν ἐκεῖνοις ἐδίωξεν καὶ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προσευχὰς.”

II. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦ ἄγω κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ὑπαρμαίων πόλιν Κορνηλίου ἔτεσιν ἀμβί τὰ τρία

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1 vi. 35. 2 A.D. 251.
BOOK VII

In the composition of the seventh book of the Ecclesiastical History Dionysius, the great bishop of the Alexandrians,¹ 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.² At this time ³ 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. So much, then, concerning him. But in the city of the Romans, when Cornelius brought his

³ A vague date: Origen died apparently in 255, in the reign of Valerian.

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tὴν ἐπισκοπὴν διανύσαντος, Λούκιος κατέστη διάδοχος, μησίν δ’ οὐδ’ ὥλος οὔτος ὅκτω τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διακοινησάμενος, Στεφάνω τελευτῶν μεταδίδωσι τὸν κλήρον. τούτῳ τῇ πρώτῃ ὁ Διονύσιος τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολῶν διατυποῦται, ἕητήματος οὐ σμικροῦ τηνικάδε ἀνακυνθέντος, εἰ δέοι τοὺς εἶ οἰσας δ’ οὖν αἱρέσεως ἐπιστρέφοντας διὰ λουτρὸν καθαίρειν. παλαιὸ γέ τοι κεκρατηκότος ἔθους ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων μόνη χρῆσθαι τῇ διὰ χειρῶν ἐπιθέσεως εὐχή, III. πρῶτος τῶν τότε Κυπριανὸς, τῆς κατὰ Καρχηδόνα παροικίας ποιμήν, οὐδ’ ἄλλως ἡ διὰ λουτρὸν πρότερον τῆς πλάνης ἀποκαθηραμένους προσίεσθαι δεὶν ἥγειτο. ἀλλ’ ὁ γε Στέφανος μὴ δεῖν τι νεώτερον παρὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν ἀρχήθειν παράδοσιν ἐπικαινιστομεῖν οἰόμενος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ διηγανάκτευ· IV. πλείστα δή οὖν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου διὰ γραμμάτων ὁ Διονύσιος ὁμιλήσας, τελευτῶν δηλοῖ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ διωγμοῦ λελωφηκότος αἱ πανταχόσε ἐκκλησίαι τὴν κατὰ Νουσάτον ἀποστραφεῖσαι νεωτεροποιοῦν, εἰρήνην πρὸς ἑαυτὰς ἀνειλήφεσαν· γράφει δὲ ὁδὸ. V. ἴσθι δὲ νῦν, ἁδελφε, ὅτι ἶναντία πᾶσαι αἱ πρότερον διεσχισμέναι κατὰ τῇ ἀνατολὴν ἐκκλησίαι καὶ ἐτὶ προσωτέρων, καὶ πάντες εἰσὶν ὀμόφρονες οἱ πανταχόῳ προεστῶτες, χαίροντες καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν ἐπὶ τῇ παρὰ προσδοκίαν εἰρήνη γενομένη, Δημητριανὸς ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, Θεόκτιστος ἐν Κασαρείᾳ, Μαζαβάνης ἐν Αἰλίᾳ, Μαρίνος ἐν Τύρῳ κοιμηθέντος Ἀλεξάνδρου, Ἡλίοδωρος ἐν Λαοδίκειᾳ ἀναπαυσαμένου Ὀηλυμίδρου, Ἐλευσ ἐν Ταρσῷ καὶ πᾶσαι αἱ τῆς Κιλικίας ἐκκλησίαι, Φιμυλιανὸς καὶ πᾶσα Καππαδοκία.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. ii. 1—v. 1

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. 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. 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. "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.
τοὺς γὰρ περιφανεστέρους μόνους τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἀνόμασα, ἵνα μὴτε μῆκος τῇ ἐπιστολῇ μὴτε βάρος προσάψω τῷ λόγῳ. αἱ μὲντοι Συρίαι ὀλαὶ καὶ Λατινοὶ Αραβία, οῖς ἐπαρκεῖτε ἐκάστοτε καὶ οῖς νῦν ἐπεστείλατε, ἥ τε Μεσοποταμία Πόντος τε καὶ Βιθυνία καὶ, συνελάτη ἐντεὶς, ἀγαλλίοις πάντες πανταχοῦ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ φιλαδελφίᾳ, δοξάζοντες τὸν θεόν."

Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος· Στέφανον δὲ ἐπὶ δυοὺς ἀποπλήσαντα τὴν λειτουργίαν ἔτεσιν, Ξύστος διαδέχεται. τούτω δευτέραν ὁ Διονύσιος περὶ βαπτίσματος χαράξας ἐπιστολὴν, ὁμοίῳ τὴν Στεφάνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων γνώμην τε καὶ κρίσιν δηλοὶ, περὶ τοῦ Στεφάνου λέγων ταῦτα: "ἐπεστάλκει μὲν οὖν πρότερον καὶ περὶ 'Ελένου καὶ περὶ Φιμυλιανοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν τε Ἀπὸ Κλικίας καὶ Καππαδοκίας καὶ δῆλον ὅτι Γαλατίας καὶ πάντων τῶν ἔξης ὁμορούντων ἐθνῶν, ὡς οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνος κουνωνήσων διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην αἰτίαν, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς αἱρετικοὺς, φησίν, ἀναβαπτιζοῦσιν. καὶ σκόπει τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πράγματος. ὅτως γὰρ ἐδόγματα περὶ τούτου γέγονεν ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν ἐπισκόπων συνόδοις, ὡς πυθάνομαι, ὅστε τοὺς προσόντας ἀπὸ αἱρέσεων προκατηχήθέντας εἶναι ἀπολούσθαι καὶ ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὸν τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ ἀκαθάρτου ζύμης ρύπον. καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πάντων δεόμενοι ἐπέστειλα."

Καὶ μὲθ' ἐτερά φησίν. "καὶ τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς δὲ τὸ ἵμιον καὶ συμπρεσβυτέρους Διονυσίων καὶ Φιλήμονι, συμψήφους πρότερον Στεφάνω γενομένους καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν μοι γράφοντων, πρότερον μὲν ὀλίγα, καὶ νῦν δὲ διὰ πλειόνων ἐπέστειλα."
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. v. 1–6

For I name only the more eminent bishops, to avoid making my letter long and my discourse tedious. 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.”

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: “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. 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.”

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.”
'Αλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦ δηλουμένου ζητήματος. VI. σημαίνων δὲ ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ Σαβέλλιον αἱρετικῶν ως καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπιπολαζόντων, ταῦτα φησιν. "περὶ γὰρ τοῦ νῦν κυνηγέντος ἐν τῇ Πτολεμαΐδι τῆς Πενταπόλεως δόγματος, οἷν ἄσεβοι καὶ βλασφημίαν πολλήν ἐχοντος περὶ τοῦ παντοκράτορος θεοῦ πατρός τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπιστιάν τε πολλήν περὶ τοῦ μονογενοῦς παιδός αὐτοῦ, τοῦ πρωτοτόκου πάσης κτίσεως, τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος λόγου, ἀναισθησίαν δὲ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἐλθόντων ἐκατέρωθεν πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ προγραμμάτων καὶ τῶν διαλεξομένων ἄδελφων, ἐπέστειλά τινα, ὡς ἐνυήθην, παρασχόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, διδασκαλικότερον ψηφιούσειν, ὅν τὰ ἀντίγραφα ἐπεμψάν σοι.

VII. Καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος, ἦν Φιλήμον τῷ κατὰ 'Ρώμην πρεσβυτέρῳ ὁ αὐτὸς γράφει Διονύσιος, ταῦτα παρατίθεται: "ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῖς συντάγμασι καὶ ταῖς παραδόσεσι τῶν αἱρετικῶν ἐνέτυχον, χραίνων μὲν μου πρὸς ὀλιγον τὴν ψυχὴν ταῖς παμμάριοις αὐτῶν ἐνθυμήσεσιν, ὄνησι δ' οὖν ἀπ' αὐτῶν ταύτην λαμβάνων, τὸ ἐξελέγχειν αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐμαυτῷ καὶ πολὺ πλεόν βδελυγμένα. καὶ δὴ τινος ἄδελφος τῶν πρεσβυτέρων με ἀπείροντος καὶ διδασκαλίαν συμφύρεσθαι τῷ τῆς πονηρίας αὐτῶν βορβόρως, λυμανεῖσθαι γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ, καὶ ἀληθὴ γε λέγοντος, ὡς ἡσθόμεν ὄραμα θεόπεμπτον προσελθον ἐπέρρωσέν με, καὶ λόγος πρὸς με γενόμενος προσέταξεν, διαρρήθην λέγων: 'πάσων ἐντύγχανεν

1 Sabellius held that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit were
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. v. 6—vii. 3

So much with regard to the question of which I am speaking. VI. But when indicating in the same letter, with reference to the followers of the Sabellian heresy,¹ 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. 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. 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. 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

only πρόσωπα or characters by which God is revealed to men: the Trinity being one of revelation, not of essence. See 26. 1.

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Cf. 1 Thess. 5, 21

οἵς ἀν εἰς χεῖρας λάβοις· διευθύνειν γὰρ ἑκαστὰ καὶ δοκιμάζειν ίκανὸς εἰ, καὶ σοι γέγονεν τούτο ἔξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς πίστεως αὐτίον. ἀπεδεξάμην τὸ ὄραμα, ὡς ἀποστολικῇ φωνῇ συντρέχον τῇ λεγούσῃ πρὸς τοὺς δυνατωτέρους 'γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζίται.'"

Εἰς ταύ περὶ πασῶν εἰπὼν τῶν αἱρέσεων, 4 ἐπιφέρει λέγων: "τούτον ἔγω τῶν κανόνα καὶ τῶν τύπον παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα ἡμῶν Ἡρακλῆ παρέλαβον. τοὺς γὰρ προσιόντας ἀπὸ τῶν αἱρέσεων, καίτοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάντας, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ἀποστάντας, ἀλλὰ συνάγεσθαι μὲν δοκοῦντας, καταμηνυθέντας δὲ ὡς προσφοιτώντας τινὶ τῶν ἐτεροδδασκαλοῦντων, ἀπειλάς τῆς ἐκκλησίας, δεομένους οὐ προσήκατο, ἐως δημοσίᾳ πάντα ὡσ ἀκηκόασιν παρὰ τοῖς ἀντιδιατιθεμένοις ἐξέφρασαν, καὶ τότε συνήγαγεν αὐτοὺς, οὐ δεηθεὶς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ἔτερου βαπτίσματος· τοῦ γὰρ ἁγίου πρότερον παρ’ αὐτοῦ τετυχήκεσαν.”

Πάλιν δὲ ἐπὶ πολὺ γυμνάσας τὸ πρόβλημα, ταῦτ’ 5 ἐπιλέγει: "μεμάθηκα καὶ τούτο ὅτι μὴ νῦν ὦ ἔν Ἀφρική μόνον τούτο παρεισῆγαγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ πολλοῦ κατὰ τοὺς πρὸ ἡμῶν ἐπισκόπους ἐν ταῖς πολυανθρωπόταται ἐκκλησίαις καὶ ταῖς συνόδοις τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ἐν Ἰκονίῳ καὶ Σινάδοις καὶ παρὰ πολλοῖς, τούτῳ ἐδοξεῖν· ὃν τὰς βουλὰς ἀνατρέπων εἰς ἔριν αὐτοὺς καὶ φιλονεκίαις ἐμβαλεῖν οὐχ ὑπομένω. 'ο γὰρ μετακινήσεις, φησίν, ἀριστεύων τοῦ πλησίον σου, ἀ ἐθεύτῳ οἱ πατέρες σου.'"

"Η τετάρτῃ αὐτοῦ τῶν περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπι-

1 This saying is quoted by many earlier writers, and is usually cited as a saying of Christ. But cf. 1 Thess. v. 21.

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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.’”

Then, making certain remarks about all the heresies, he goes on to say: “This rule and pattern I myself received from our blessed pope ² 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.”

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 neighbour’s landmarks, which thy fathers placed.’”

The fourth of his letters on baptism was written to

² πάπα: this is the earliest known occasion on which an Alexandrian bishop is entitled “pope,” though later on there are several instances of the practice.
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στολῶν πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ἐρωμην ἐγράφη Διονύσιον, τότε μὲν πρεσβείου ἥξιωμένου, οὔκ εἰς μακρὸν δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐκείσε παρεληφότα· εἰς ἃς γνώναι πάρεστιν ὅπως καὶ αὐτὸς οὕτος λόγιος τε καὶ θαυμάσιος πρὸς τοῦ κατ’ Ἀλεξανδρείαν Διονύσιον μεμαρτύρηται. γράφει δὲ αὐτῶ· μεθ’ ἑτέρα τῶν κατὰ Νουσάτον μημονεύων ἐν τούτοις. VIII. "Νουσατιανῷ μὲν γὰρ ευλόγως ἀπεκθανόμεθα, διακόναντι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἄδελφῶν εἰς ἀσεβείας καὶ βλασφημίας ἐλκύσαντι καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἀνθρωπότητι ἐπεισοδοκλήσαντι καὶ τῶν χρηστότατον κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὁς ἀνηλεύσει συκοφαντοῦντι, ἔπι πάσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ λουτρὸν ἀθέτοντι τὸ ἄγιον καὶ τὴν τε πρὸ αὐτοῦ πίστιν καὶ ὁμολογίαν ἀνατρέποντι τὸ τε πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον εἰς αὐτῶν, εἰ καὶ τῆς ἠλπίς τοῦ παραμεῖναι ἡ καὶ ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, παντελῶς συγκαταλέγοντι." 

IX. Καὶ ἡ πέμπτη δὲ αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸν Ἐρωμην ἐπίσκοπον Ἐκστον γέγραπτο· εν ἡ πολλὰ κατὰ τῶν αἱρετικῶν εἰπὼν, τοιοῦτον τι γεγονός κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐκτίθεται, λέγων· "καὶ γὰρ ὅπως, ἄδελφε, καὶ συμβουλὴς δέομαι καὶ γνώμην αὐτῶ παρὰ σοῦ, τοιοῦτον τιώς μοι προσελθόντος πράγματος, δεδώσε μὴ ἁρα σφάλλομαι. τῶν γὰρ συνεννομεῶν ἄδελφῶν πιστῶς νομιζόμενοι ἀρχαῖος καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐμῆς χειροτονίας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Ἡρακλᾶ καταστάσεως, τῆς συναγωγῆς μετασχήματι, τοῖς ὑπόγυον βαπτιζομένους παρατυχῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπερωτήσεως καὶ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐπακούσας, προσῆλθέν μοι κλαίων καὶ καταθητηνῶν ἐαυτὸν καὶ πίπτειν πρὸ τῶν ποδῶν
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. vii. 6—IX. 2

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. "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. 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. 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

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μου, ἐξομολογούμενος μὲν καὶ ἐξομνύμενος τὸ βάπτισμα, ὁ παρὰ τοὺς αἱρετικὸς βεβάπτιστο, μὴ τούτο εἶναι μὴδὲ ὅλως ἔχειν τινὰ πρὸς τοῦτο κοινωνίαν, ἀσεβείας γὰρ ἐκεῖνο καὶ βλασφημῶν πεπληρώθαι, λέγων δὲ πάνυ τι τὴν ψυχὴν νῦν 3 κατανενύχθαι καὶ μηδὲ παρρησίαν ἔχειν ἐπάραι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνοσίων ἐκεῖνων ῥημάτων καὶ πραγμάτων ὀρμώμενος, καὶ διὰ τούτο δεόμενος τῆς εἰλικρινείατῆς ταύτης καθάρσεως καὶ παραδοχῆς καὶ χάριτος τυχεῖν· ὅπερ ἔγω μὲν οὐκ ἔτολμησα ποιῆσαι, φήσας αὐτῷ 4 ἀρκῇ τὴν πολυχρόνιον αὐτῷ κοινωνίαν εἰς τοῦτο γεγονέναι. εὐχαριστίας γὰρ ἐπακούσαντα καὶ συνεπιφθεγξάμενον τὸ ἁμὴν καὶ τραπέζῃ παραστάντα καὶ χεῖρας εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς ἀγίας τροφῆς προτείναντα καὶ ταύτην καταδεξάμενον καὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν μετασχόντα ἰκανῷ χρόνῳ, οὐκ ἃν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνασκευάζειν ἑτὶ τολμήσαμι· θαρσεῖν δὲ ἐκέλευν καὶ μετὰ βεβαιὰς πίστεως καὶ ἀγαθῆς ἐλπίδος τῇ μετοχῇ τῶν ἀγίων προσιέναι. ὁ δὲ οὕτω πενθῶν παύεται 5 πέφρικεν τε τῇ τραπέζῃ προσιέναι καὶ μόλις παρακαλοῦμενος συνεστάναι ταῖς προσευχαῖς ἀνέχεται.”

Ἐπὶ ταῖς προειρημέναις φέρεται τις καὶ ἄλλη τοῦ 6 αὐτοῦ περὶ βαπτίσματος ἐπιστολή, ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤ γειτὸ παροικίας Ξύστω καὶ τῇ κατὰ Ἔρωμην ἐκκλησία προσπεφωνεμένη, ἐν ἣ διὰ μακρὰς ἀποστείξεως τὸν περὶ τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ἥστηματος παρατείνει λόγον. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τις αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταύτας φέρεται πρὸς τὸν κατὰ Ἔρωμην Διονύσιον, ἢ περὶ Λουκιανοῦ. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων τοσαῦτα.

Χ. Οἱ γε μὴν ἀμφὶ τὸν Γάλλον οὖν ὅλους ἔστεσιν 1

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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. 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. 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 partici-
pation of the holy things with firm faith and good
hope. But he never ceases his lament, and shudders
to approach the Table, and scarcely, though invited,
does he dare to take his stand with the consistentes
at the prayers.¹"

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. But to resume. Gallus and his associates held

¹ συνεστάναι ταῖς προσευχαῖς: see vi. 42. 5.
δύο τὴν ἀρχὴν ἑπικατασχόντες, ἐκποδῶν μεθ- ἱστανται, Οὐαλεριανὸς δ' ἀμα παιδὶ Γαλλήνων δια- δέχεται τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. αὕτης δὴ οὖν ὁ Διονύσιος 2 οίκα καὶ περὶ τούτου διέξεισιν, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἐρμάμ- μωνα ἐπιστολῆς μαθεῖν ἔστων, εἰ τίς πρὸς Ἐρμάμουνα ἐπιστολῆς μαθεῖν ἔστων, εἰ τίς πρὸς Τούτον· "καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ δὲ ὁμοίως ἀπο- καλύπτεται· 'καὶ ἔδοθη γὰρ αὐτῷ, φησίν, 'τούτων λαλοῦν μεγάλα καὶ βλασφημίαν, καὶ ἔδοθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ μῆνες τεσσαράκοντα δύο.' ἀμφότερα 3 δὲ ἔστων ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριανὸν θαυμάσαι καὶ τούτων μάλιστα τὰ πρῶτα ὡς οὕτως ἔσχεν, συνιοῦν ὡς μὲν ἡπίως καὶ φιλόφρων ἡν πρὸς τοὺς ἀν- θρώπους τοῦ θεοῦ· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλος τις οὕτως πρὸς αὐτοῦ βασιλέως εὐμενῶς καὶ δεξιῶς πρὸς αὐτοῦς διετέθη, οὐδ' οἱ λεγόμενοι ἀναφαντοῦν. Χριστιανοὶ γεγονέναι, ὡς ἐκεῖνος οἰκεῖος ἡν ἀρχῇ καὶ προσφυγίστατα φανερὸς ἡν αὐτοῖς ἀπο- δεχόμενος, καὶ πᾶς τε ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ θεοσεβῶν πεπλήρωτο καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία θεοῦ· ἀποσκευάζασθαι 4 δὲ παρέπεισεν αὐτὸν ὁ διδάσκαλος καὶ τῶν ἀπ' Ἀδυντοῦ μάγων ἀρχισυνάγωγος, τοὺς μὲν καθα- ροὺς καὶ διὰ τὸν ἄνδρας κτείνωσθαι καὶ διώκεσθαι κελεύσων ὡς ἀντιπάλους καὶ κωλυτὶς τῶν παμ- μάρως καὶ βδελυκτῶν ἔπαιδων ὑπάρχοντας (καὶ γὰρ εἰ σάν καὶ ἓσαι ἰκανοὶ, παρόντες καὶ ὅρωμενοι καὶ μύνου ἐμπνέοντες καὶ φθεγγόμενοι διασκεδάζεις τὰς τῶν ἀληθινῶν δαμόνων ἐπιβουλάς), τελετὰς δὲ ἀνάγνους καὶ μαγγανείας ἐξαγίστους καὶ ἱε- 

1 Rev. xiii. 5. (The text differs somewhat from that of A.V. and R.V.)
2 Apparently, in the preceding context, Dionysius had quoted a passage of Scripture, not from the Apocalypse, 150
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VII. x. 1-4

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. 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,' 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. 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- which predicted Valerian, and (as we may suppose) depicted him as favourable to the Church. The word "both" (ἀμφότερα) refers to it and Rev. xiii. 5.

3 Reading τὰ πρῶτα, with three mss., in place of τὰ πρὸ ἀντοῦ. 4 i.e. Macrianus (see § 5).
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ρουργίας ἀκαλλερήτους ἐπιτελεῖν ὑποτιθέμενος, παὶδας ἄθλους ἀποσφάττειν καὶ τέκνα δυστήνων πατέρων καταθεῖν καὶ σπλάγχνα νεογενῆ διαμεῖν καὶ τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διακόπτειν καὶ καταχορδεῖν πλάσματα, ὡς ἕκ τούτων εὐδαμονήσοντας.

Καὶ τοῦτοι γε ἐπιφέρει λέγων: "καλὰ γοῦν 5 αὐτοῖς Μακριανὸς τῆς ἐλπιζομένης βασιλείας προσήνεγκεν χαριστήρια. ὦς πρότερον μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων λεγόμενος εἶναι βασιλέως, οὐδὲν εὐλογον οὐδὲ καθολικὸν ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ὑποπέπτωκεν ἀρὰ προφητικῇ τῇ λεγουσίῃ 'οναὶ τοῖς προφητεύονσιν ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ καθόλου μὴ βλέπονσιν'. οὐ γὰρ συνῆκεν τὴν 6 καθόλου πρόνοιαν, οὐδὲ τὴν κρίσιν ὑπείδετο τοῦ πρὸ πάντων καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, δι' ὁ καὶ τῆς μὲν καθολικῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας γέγονεν πολέμος, ἡλλοτρίωσεν δὲ καὶ ἀπεξένωσεν ἑαυτὸν τοῦ ἐλέους τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πορρωτάτω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἐφυγάδευσεν, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ὦδιον ἐπαληθεύων ὄνομα.'

Καὶ πάλιν μεθ' ἐτερὰ φησιν: "ο μὲν γὰρ Οὐα-7 λειοιανὸς εἰς ταῦτα ὑπὸ τούτοις προαχθεῖς, εἰς ὑβρεῖς καὶ ὀνειδισμοὺς ἐκδοθεῖς, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆθεν πρὸς Ἡσαίαν. 'καὶ οὗτοι ἐξελέξαντο τὰς ὀδοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ βδελύγματα αὐτῶν, ἡ ψυχὴ αὐτῶν ἤθελησεν, καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκλέξομαι τὰ ἐμπαίγματα αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἀνταποδώσω αὐτοῖς'. οὗτος δὲ τῇ βασιλείᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιμανεῖς 8

1 Obscure: probably the meaning is that Macrianius propitiated them (sc. the demons) in order to gain his ambitious ends. A double play on words follows, which cannot be reproduced in English, between λόγων ("accounts") and
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."

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, 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."  

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.' Now this man, in his mad desire for the

εἰλογον ("reasonable"), and also between καθόλου and καθολικών; and, in order to maintain this latter play, Dionysius, in his quotation of Ezek. xiii. 3 (lxx), takes τό καθόλου as the object of the sentence ("the whole") instead of adverbially ("not at all").

2 Another play upon words: Macrianus and μακρός ("far off").  

3 i.e. Macrianus; he was lame.
καὶ τὸν βασίλειον ὑποδύναι κόσμον ἀδινατῶν ἀναπήρω τῷ σώματι, τοὺς δύο παιδας τὰς πατρίως ἀναδεξαμένους ἀμαρτίας προεστήσατο. ἔναργης γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτων ἡ πρόρρησις ἦν εἰπέν ὁ θεός· ἀποδιδοὺς ἀμαρτίας πατέρων ἐπὶ τέκνα ἐως τρίτης καὶ τετάρτης γενεάς τοὺς μισοῦσιν με· τὰς γὰρ ἱδίας πονηρὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἢν ἦτοι, ταῖς τῶν νεόων κεφαλαίς ἐπιβαλὼν, εἰς ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν μίσος ἐξ-ωμόρξατο."

Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Οὐαλεριανοῦ τοσαῦτα ὁ Διονύσιος· XI. περὶ δὲ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὸν διωγμοῦ 1 σφοδρότατα πνεύσαντος οἴα σὺν ἐτέρους ὁ αὐτὸς διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεόν ευσέβειαν ὑπέστη, δηλώσουσιν αἱ αὐτοῦ φωναὶ ἃς πρὸς Γερμανον τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπων κακῶς ἀγορεύειν αὐτὸν πειρᾶμεν ἀποτεινόμενος, τοῦτον παρατίθεται τὸν τρόπον· "εἰς ἀφροσύνην δὲ κινδυνεύω πολλὴν 2 καὶ ἀνασθησάν ὄντως ἐμπεσεῖν, εἰς ἀνάγκην συμβιβαζόμενος τοῦ διηγείσθαι τὴν θαυμαστὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς οἰκονομίαν τοῦ θεοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ 'μυστήριον, φησίν, 'βασιλέως κρύψιν καλὸν, τὰ δὲ ἔργα τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλυπτεῖν ἐνδοξον', ὁμός χωρήσω τῇ Γερμανοῦ βίᾳ. ἦκον πρὸς Αἰμιλιανόν, οὗ μόνον, 3 ἡκολούθησαν δὲ μοι συμπρεσβύτερος τε μοι Μάξιμος καὶ διάκονοι Φαύνος Εὐσέβιος Χαρῆμος, καὶ τις τῶν ἀπὸ 'Ρώμης παρόντων ἀδελφῶν ἡμῖν συνεισήλθεν. Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ οὐκ εἶπέν μοι προ-γγυμένος 'μὴ σύναγε· περιττὸν γὰρ τούτο ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον, ἐπὶ τὸ πρώτον ἀνα- τρέχοντι· οὐ γὰρ περὶ τοῦ μὴ συνάγειν ἐτέρους ὁ

1 Deputy-prefect of Egypt in 258.
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 spoke: 'Visiting the sins of fathers upon
children, until the third and fourth generation in
them that hate me.' For his own evil desires, in
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. 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: "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 con-
cerning us. But since 'it is good,' he says, 'to keep
close the secret of a king, but glorious to reveal the
works of God,' I will join issue with the violence of
Germanus. I came before Aemilianus,⁴ 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.'
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
λόγος ἤν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ μηδ’ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς εἶναι Χριστιανούς, καὶ τούτου προσέταττεν πεπαύσθαι, εἰ μεταβαλοῖμην ἐγώ, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξεσθαί μοι νομίζων. ἀπεκρινάμην δὲ οὐκ ἀπ’ ευκότως οὐδὲ μακρὰν τοῦ ‘πειθαρχεῖν δεῖ θεῶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀνθρώποις,’ ἀλλ’ ἀντικρύς διεμαρτυράμην ὅτι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὄντα μόνον καὶ οὐδένα ἔτερον σέβω οὐδ’ ἂν μεταθείμην οὐδὲ παυσάμην ποτὲ Χριστιανὸς ὄν. ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκέλευσεν ἡμᾶς ἀπελθείν εἰς κώμην πλησίον τῆς ἐρήμου καλουμένην Κεδρώ.

"Αὐτῶν δὲ ἐπακούσατε τῶν ὑπ’ ἀμφότερων λεχθέντων ὡς ὑπεμνηματίσθη, εἰσαχθέντων Διονυσίου καὶ Φαύστου καὶ Μαξίμου καὶ Μαρκέλλου καὶ Χαρῆμονος Αἰμιλιανοῦ διέπων τῆν ἡγεμονίαν εἶπεν· καὶ ἀγράφων ἕνων διελέχθην περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν ἢ περὶ ἕμᾶς κέχρηκαν· δεδώκασιν γὰρ ἐξουσίαν ἕμων σωτηρίας, εἰ βούλοισθε ἐπὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τρέπεσθαι καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς σκότωνας αὐτῶν τὴν βασιλείαν προσκυνεῖν, ἐπιλαβέσθαι δὲ τῶν παρὰ φύσιν. τὴν φατὲ πρὸς ταῦτα; οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀχαρίστους ἕμᾶς ἔσεσθαι περὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῶν προσδοκῶ, ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίων ἕμᾶς προτρέπονται.'

"Διονυσίος ἀπεκρίνατο· 'οὐ πάντες πάντας προσκυνοῦσι θεοὺς, ἀλλ’ ἐκαστοι τωσάς, οὐς νομίζουσιν. ἡμεῖς τῶν τῶν ἐνα θεῶν καὶ δημουργον τῶν ἀπάντων, τὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα τοῖς θεοφιλεστάτοις Ὀμαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλληνῷ Σεβαστῷ, τούτου καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν, καὶ τούτω διηνεκῶς ὑπὲρ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν, ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμείνῃ, προσευχόμεθα.'

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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. 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 Cephiro.

"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\(^1\) 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, 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.'

"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.'

\(^1\) i.e. Valerian and Gallienus.
"Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἔτερον προσκυνοῦμεν.'

"Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἔτερον προσκυνοῦμεν.'

"Αἰμιλιανὸς διέπων τὴν ἰγεμονίαν αὐτοῖς εἶπεν: τὸς γὰρ ὡμᾶς κωλύει καὶ τοῦτον, εἶπερ ἐστὶν θεός, μετὰ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν θεῶν προσκυνεῖν; θεοὺς γὰρ σέβειν ἐκελεύσθητε. καὶ θεοὺς οὐς πάντες ἰσασίν.

"Διονύσιος ἀπεκρίνατο: 'ἡμεῖς οὐδένα ἔτερον προσκυνοῦμεν.'

"Καὶ νοσοῦντα δὲ με κατῆπεξεν, οὐδὲ μᾶς ὑπέρθεσον δοὺς ἢμέρας. ποίαν οὖν ἔτι τοῦ συνάγειν ἡ μη συνάγειν εἶχον σχολήν;

Ἑτα μεθ᾽ ἐτερά φήσειν: 'ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῆς αἰσθητής ἰμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου συναγωγῆς ἀπέστημεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει σπουδαίτερον συνεκρότουν ὡς συνών, 'ἀπών μὲν τῷ σώματι, ὡς εἶπεν, 'παρὼν δὲ τῷ πνεύματι,' ἐν δὲ τῇ Κεφροὶ καὶ πολλῇ συνεπεδήμησεν ἡμῖν ἐκκλησία, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀδελφῶν ἐπομένων, τῶν δὲ συνιόντων ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου. κακεί θύραν ἡμῖν ὅ
"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.'

"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 Ceprho. 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, 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?"

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 Ceprho a large church also sojourned with us, some brethren following us from the city, others joining us from Egypt. And

1 It was felt to be dangerous to allow Christians to assemble at the grave of martyrs: cf. ix. 2.  
2 i.e. St. Paul.
θεός ἀνέωξεν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδώχθημεν, ἐλπιδοβολήθημεν, ύστερον δὲ τινες οὐκ ὅληοι τῶν ἑθνῶν τὰ ἐδώλα καταληύντες, ἐπέστρεψαν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν· οὐ πρότερον δὲ παραδεξαμένοις αὐτοῖς τότε πρῶτον δι' ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος ἐπεστάρη, καὶ ύστερ ποῦτον ἔνεκεν ἀπαγωγῶν ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς, ἐπεὶ τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην ἐπληρώσαμεν, πάλιν ἀπαγόρευς.

"Ο γὰρ Αἰμιλιανὸς εἰς τραχυτέρους μὲν, ὡς ἐδόκει, καὶ λιβυκωτέρους ἡμᾶς μεταστῆσαι τόπους ἐθυμήθη, καὶ τοὺς πανταχόσε εἰς τὸν Μαρεώτην ἐκέλευσεν συρρεῖν, κόμας ἐκάστως τῶν κατὰ χώραν ἀφορίσας, ἡμᾶς δὲ μᾶλλον ἐν ὅδῷ καὶ πρῶτους καταληφθησομένους ἐταξεν. ὁμονόμει γὰρ δὴ λοι ὁτι καὶ παρεσκεύαζεν ἵνα ὅποταν βουληθεὶν συλλαβεῖν, πάντας εὐαλώτους ἔχοι. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτε μὲν εἰς Κεφρώ κεκελεύσμην ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ τὸν τόπον ἡγνόουν ὅτι ποτὲ οὕτως ἐστιν, οὐδὲ τὸ ὅνομα σχεδόν πρότερον ἀκηκοῦσι, καὶ ὃμως εὐθύμως καὶ ἀπαράξως ἀπήεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μετασκηνώσειν εἰς τὰ Κολλοῦθον ἀπηγγέλη μοι, ἤσασιν οἱ παρόντες ὅπως διετέθην (ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐμαυτοῦ κατηγορήσω), τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡχότε- σθην καὶ λιαν ἐχαλέπηνα· καὶ γὰρ εἰ γνωριμώτεροι καὶ συνθέστεροι ἐτύγχανον ἡμῖν οἱ τόποι, ἀλλ' ἔρημον μὲν ἀδελφῶν καὶ σπουδαίως ἄνθρωπον ἔφασκον εἶναι τὸ χωρίον, ταῖς δὲ τῶν ὅδοι-ποροῦντο ἐνοχλήσεις καὶ ληστῶν καταδρομαίς ἐκκείμενον· ἐτυχον δὲ παραμυθίας, ὑπομνημάτων μὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὅτι γειτνιάζει μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει καὶ ἦ μὲν Κεφρώ πολλῆς ἡμῖν ἦγεν ἀδελφῶν τῶν

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there God opened unto us a door for the word. 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. 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, 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): 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. But I found encouragement when the brethren reminded me that it was nearer the city,¹ and that, while Cephro used to bring us much intercourse with

¹ i.e. Alexandria.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἐπιμεξίαν, ὡς πλατύτερον ἐκλησιαζέων δύνασθαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ, πλησιαίτερον οὕσης τῆς πόλεως, συνεχέστερον τῆς τῶν ὄντως ἀγαπητῶν καὶ οἰκειοτάτων καὶ φιλτάτων ὅψεως ἀπολαύσομεν· ἀφίξονται γὰρ καὶ ἀναπαύονται καὶ ὡς ἐν προοστείοις πορρωτέρω κειμένοις κατὰ μέρος ἔσονται συναγωγαί. καὶ οὕτως ἐγένετο.

Καὶ μεθ’ ἑτερα περὶ τῶν συμβεβηκότων αὐτῷ αὖθις ταῦτα γράφει· “πολλαῖς γε ταῖς ὁμολογίαις Γερμανὸς σεμνύνεται, πολλά γε εἶπεῖν ἔχει καὶ ἐαυτοῦ γενόμεναι· ὅσα ἀριθμήσαι δύναται περὶ ἡμῶν ἁποφάσεις, δημεύσεις, προγραφάς, ὑπο- αρχόντων ἄρταγάς, ἀξιωμάτων ἁποθέσεις, δόξης κοσμικῆς ὁλιγωρίας, ἐπαινῶν ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ βουλευτικῶν καταφρονήσεις καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἀπείλων καὶ καταβοήσεων καὶ κυιδύνων καὶ διωγμῶν καὶ πλάνης καὶ στενοχωρίας καὶ ποικίλης ὅπλως ὑπομονήν, οία τὰ ἑπὶ Δεκίου καὶ Σαβίνου συμβάντα μοι, οία μέχρι νῦν Αἰμιλιανοῦ. ποῦ δὲ Γερμανὸς ἐφάνη; τίς δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγος; ἀλλὰ τῆς πολλῆς ἀφροσύνης, εἰς ἑν ἐμπίπτω διὰ Γερ- μανόν, ύφειμαι, δι’ δὲ καὶ τὴν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τῶν γενομένων διήγησιν παρίημι τοῖς εἰδόσων ἀδελφοῖς λέγειν.”

Ὁ δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Δομέτιον καὶ Δίδυμον ἐπιστολή τῶν ἀμφὶ τῶν διωγμῶν αὖθις μνημονεύει ἐν τούτοις· “τοὺς δὲ ἡμετέρους πολλοὺς τε ὄντας καὶ ἀγνώτας ὑμῖν, περισσόν ὁμομαστὶ καταλέγειν, πλὴν ἵστε ὅτι ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες, καὶ νεοὶ καὶ γέροντες, καὶ κόραι καὶ πρεσβύτιδες, καὶ στρατιώται καὶ ἰδιώται, καὶ πᾶν γένος καὶ πᾶσα ἡλικία, οἱ μὲν διὰ μαστίγων καὶ πυρὸς, οἱ δὲ διὰ σιδήρου τὸν

Πεβ. 10, 34

Cf. Rom. 8, 35

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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."

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, 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."

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,
ἀγώνα νικήσαντες, τοὺς στεφάνους ἀπειλήφασιν·
τοῖς δὲ οὐ πάμπολυς αὐτάρκης ἀπέβη χρόνος εἰς
τὸ φανῆναι δεκτοὺς τῷ κυρίῳ, ὦστερ οὖν ἐοικεν
μηδὲ ἐμοὶ μέχρι νῦν, διότερ εἰς ὃν οἴδεν αὐτὸς
ἐπιτίθειν καιρὸν ὑπέρεθετο με ὁ λέγων 'καιρὸς
dεκτὸ ἐπήκουσά σου, καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ σωτηρίας
ἐβοήθησά σοι.' τὰ γὰρ καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς ἐπειδὴ πω
θάνεσθε καὶ βουλεύθη δηλωθήναι ὡμῖν ὅπως δι
ἀγομεν, ἠκούσατε μὲν πάντως ὅπως ἡμᾶς δεσμώ
τας ἀγομένως ὑπὸ ἐκατοντάρχου καὶ στρατηγῶν
καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς στρατιωτῶν καὶ υπηρετῶν,
ἐμὲ τε καὶ Γαῖον καὶ Φαύστον καὶ Πέτρον καὶ
Παῦλον, ἐπελθόντες τινὲς τῶν Μαρεωτῶν, ἀκοντας
καὶ μηδὲ ἐπομένους, βία τε καὶ σύροντες, ἀφ
ήρπασαν· ἐγὼ δὲ νῦν καὶ Γαῖος καὶ Πέτρος μόνοι,
tῶν ἀλλων ἄδελφων ἀπορφανισθέντες, ἐν ἑρήμω
καὶ αὐχμηρῷ τῆς Λιβύης τόπῳ κατακεκλείσμεθα,
τρών ὅδον ἡμερῶν τοῦ Παραϊτοῦν διεστηκότες."

Καὶ υποκαταβάς φησιν· "ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει κατα-
δεδύκασιν ἀφανῶς ἐπισκεπτόμενοι τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς,
πρεσβύτεροι μὲν Μάξιμος Διόσκορος Δημήτριος
Λούκιος· οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προφανέστεροι
Φαυστίνος καὶ Ἀκύλας ἐν Λιγύπτῳ πλανώνται·
διάκονοι δὲ οἱ μετὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τελευτήσαντας
ὑπολείψαντες Φαύστος Εὐσέβιος Χαιρήμων
Εὐσέβιος, ὃν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὦ θέος ἐνεδυνάμωσεν καὶ
παρεσκεύασεν τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τῶν ἐν ταῖς φυλακαῖς
γενομένων ὁμολογητῶν ἐναγωνίως ἀποπληροῦν
καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων περιστολάς τῶν τελείων
καὶ μακράν μαρτύρων οὐκ ἀκυνδύνως ἐκτελεῖν·
καὶ γὰρ μέχρι νῦν οὐκ ἀνήστην ὁ ἡγούμενος τοὺς
μὲν ἀναιρῶν, òς προείποι, ὦμοις τῶν προσ-
others the sword, conquered in the fight and have received their crowns. 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: '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. 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."

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, some of those who are brought before

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αγομένων, τούς δὲ βασάνους καταξαίνων, τούς δὲ φυλακαίς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐκτήκων προστάσσων τε μηδένα τούτοις προσέναι καὶ ἀνερευνῶν μὴ τις φανείη, καὶ ὅμως ὁ θεὸς τῆς προθυμίας καὶ λιπαρία τῶν ἄδελφῶν διαναπαύει τοὺς πεπυπεμένους.”

Καὶ τοσαύτα μὲν ὁ Διονύσιος. Ἰστέον δὲ ὦ δ σὲ μὲν ἶ.

Ἐυσέβιος, ὃν διακονον προσείπεν, σμικρὸν ὑστερον ἐπίσκοπος τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν Δαοδικείας καθ- ἱσταται, ὁ δὲ Μάξιμος, ὃν τότε προσβύτερον εὑρηκεν, μετ’ αὐτὸν Διονύσιον τὴν λειτουργίαν τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἄδελφῶν διαδέχεται, Φαύστος δὲ, ὁ σὺν αὐτῷ την κάδε διαπρέπας ἐν τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ, μέχρι τοῦ καθ’ ὑμᾶς διωγμοῦ φυλακθεῖς, γηραιὸς κοµιδῆ καὶ πλήρης ἥμερων καθ’ ἥμας αὐτοῦς μαρτυρίῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτμηθεῖς τελειοῦται.

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τῷ Διονυσίῳ συμβάντα τοιαύτα. XII. κατὰ δὲ τὸν δηλούμενον Οὐαλεριανὸν διωγμὸν τρεῖς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαι- στίνης τῇ κατὰ Χριστὸν διαλάµβαντες ὁμολογία, θείω κατεσκοπήθησαν μαρτυρίῳ, θηρίων γενόμενοι βορά τούτων ὁ μὲν Πρίσκος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ Μάλχος, τῷ δὲ τρίτῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὄνομα ἦν. τούτους φασὶν κατ’ ἄγρον οἰκοῦντας, πρότερον μὲν ἑαυτούς ὡς ἀμελεῖς καὶ ῥαθύμους κακίσαι, ὦτι δὴ βραβεῖων, τοῦ καιροῦ τοῖς πόθον γλυκομένους οὐρανίου διανέμοντος, ὀλιγωροῦν αὐτοί, μὴ οὐχὶ προ- αρπάζοντες τὸν τοῦ μαρτυρίου στέφανον· ταύτῃ δὲ βουλευσαμένους, ὄρμησαι ἐπὶ τὴν Καισάρειαν ὁμόσε τε χωρῆσαι ἐπὶ τὸν δικαστὴν καὶ τυχεῖν.
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.”

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, 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
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tοῦ προδεδηλωμένου τέλους. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις γύναιον τι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν διωγμὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει τὸν ὦμοιον ἱστοροῦσιν ἁγώνα διηθληκέναι· τῆς δὲ Μαρκίωνος αὐτὴν αἴρέσεως γενέσθαι κατέχει λόγος.

Χ. Άλλ' οὖκ εἰς μακρὸν δουλείαν τὴν παρὰ βαρβάρους υπομείναντος Οὐαλεριανοῦ, μοναρχήσας ὁ παις σωφρονέστερον τὴν ἁρχὴν διατίθεται, ἀνίσης τε αὐτικα διὰ προγραμμάτων τὸν καθήμων διωγμόν, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίας τοῖς τοῦ λόγου προεστῶσιν τὰ ἐξ ἔθους ἐπιτελεῖν δι' ἀντιγραφῆς προστάξεις, ἢτις τούτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον. "Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Πούπλιος Λικίνιος Γαλληνός Εὔσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστὸς Διονυσίω καὶ Πίνακα καὶ Δημητρίῳ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς ἔπισκοποῖς. τὴν εὑρεγεσίαν τῆς ἐμῆς δωρεᾶς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου ἐκβιβασθῆναι προσέταξα, ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων τῶν θρησκευόμενων ἀποχωρήσωσιν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ύμεῖς τῆς ἀντιγραφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς τῷ τύπῳ χρῆσθαι δύνασθε, ὥστε μηδένα ὑμῶν ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὅπερ κατὰ τὸ ἐξὸν δύναται ύπ' ὑμῶν ἀναπληροῦσθαι, ἢδη πρὸ πολλοῦ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συν-κεχωρῆται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Αὐρήλιος Κυρίνος, ὃ τοῦ μεγίστου πράγματος προστατεύων, τῶν τύπων τὸν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δοθέντα διαφυλάξει." Ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ σαφέστερον ἐκ τῆς 'Ρωμαίων ἔρμηνευόμενα γλώττης ἐγκείσθω. καὶ ἄλλη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ διάταξις φέρεται, ἢν πρὸς ἔτερους

1 The Persian King, Sapor I., invading the eastern provinces of the Empire, took Antioch, and made the emperor Valerian a prisoner.

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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. But not long afterwards Valerian underwent slavery at the hands of the barbarians,¹ and his son, succeeding to the sole power,² 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,³ 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,

¹ Gallienus, who had been associated in rule with his father Valerian since A.D. 253, became sole Augustus in 260 or 261.
² i.e. that the heathen should depart from them, and give them up to the Christians.
ΕUSEBIUS

ἐπισκόπους πεποίηται, τὰ τῶν καλουμένων κομητηρίων ἀπολαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπων χωρία.

ΧΙΧ. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας εἰς ἐτι τότε καθηγεῖτο Ξύστος, τῆς δὲ ἔπε Ἀντιω-
χείας μετὰ Φάβιον Δημητριανός, Φιρμιλιανὸς δὲ Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκῶν, καὶ ἔπει τούτων τῶν
κατὰ Πόντου ἐκκλησίων Γρηγόριος καὶ ο τούτου ἄδελφος Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ὀριγένους γνώριμοι τῆς
d' ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνης Καισαρείας, Θεοκτίστου μεταβαλλόμενοι, διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν Δόμνου,
βραχεὶ δὲ χρόνῳ τούτου διαγενομένου, Θεότεκνος, ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς, διάδοχος καθίσταται, τῆς δ' Ὀρι-
γένους διατριβῆς καὶ οὕτως ἡν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἀναπαυσαμένου Μαζαβάνου, τὸν
θρόνον Ἰρύμναιος, ὁ καὶ οὕτως ἐπὶ πλείστους τοῖς
cαθ' ἡμᾶς διαπρέψας ἔτεσιν, διεδέχατο.

ΧΙΧ. Κατὰ τούτους εἰρήνης ἀπανταχοῦ τῶν ἐκκλησίων οὐσίας, ἐν Καισαρείᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης
Μαρίνος τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀξιώμασι τετειμημένων
gένει τε καὶ πλούτῳ περιφανῆς ἀνήρ, διὰ τὴν
Χριστοῦ μαρτυρίαν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτείνεται,
tοιαύτες ἐνεκεν αὐτίας. τιμὴ τίς ἐστὶ παρὰ Ῥω-
μαίων τὸ κλῆμα, οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας φασίν ἐκατοντ-
άρχους γίνεσθαι. τόπου σχολάζοντος, ἐπὶ τούτῳ
προκοπῆς τὸν Μαρίνον ἢ τοῦ βαθμοῦ τάξις ἐκάλει,
ηδὴ τε μέλλοντα τῆς τιμῆς ἔχεσθαι παρελθὼν
ἀλλος πρὸ τοῦ βήματος, μὴ ἐξεῖναι μὲν ἐκεῖνῳ
τῆς Ῥωμαίων μετέχειν ἀξιᾶς κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς
νόμους, Χριστιανῶ γε ὄντι καὶ τοῖς βασιλεύσι μὴ
θύοντι, κατηγόρει, αὐτῷ δ' ἐπιβάλλειν τὸν κλήρον·
ἐφ' ὡς κυνηγόντα τὸν δικαστὴν (Ἀραίως οὕτος ἡν)

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giving them permission to recover the sites of the cemeteries, as they are called.

XIV. 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. 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, 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, and first

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πρώτον μὲν ἐρέσθαι ποιάς ὁ Μαρίνος εἶν γνώμης, ὥσ δ’ ὁμολογοῦντα Χριστιανὸν ἐπιμόνως ἔωρα, τριῶν ὤρῶν ἐπιδοῦναι αὐτῷ εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν διάστημα.

'Εκτὸς δὴ τα γενόμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ δικαστηρίου Θεότεκνος ὁ τῇ δε ἐπίσκοπος ἀφελκεῖ, προσελθὼν δι’ ὀμιλίας, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς λαβῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν προάγει, εἰσώ τε πρὸς αὐτῷ στῆσας τῷ ἀγίασματι, μικρὸν τι παραναστεῖλας αὐτοῦ τῆς χλαμύδος καὶ τὸ προσηρτημένον αὐτῷ ξύφος ἐπιδείξας ἀμα τὰ ἀντιπαρατίθημα προσαγαγὼν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων γραφήν, κελεύσας τῶν δυεῖν ἐλέσθαι τὸ κατὰ γνώμην.

'Ως δ’ ἁμελήτη τὴν δείξαν προτείνας ἐδέξατο τὴν θείαν γραφήν, "'έχου τοίνυν, 'έχου," φησίν πρὸς αὐτόν ὁ Θεότεκνος, "τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ τῷ οὐν ἐξου ἐξου, πρὸς αὐτοῦ δυναμούμενος, καὶ βαδίζε μετ’ εἰρήνης." εὐθὺς ἐκείθεν ἐπανελθόντα αὐτὸν κῆρυξ ἐβόα καλῶν πρὸ τοῦ δικαστηρίου· καὶ γὰρ ἡδὴ τὰ τῆς προθεσμίας τοῦ χρόνου πεπλήρωτο· καὶ δὴ παραστάς τῷ δικαστῇ καὶ μείζονα τῆς πίστεως τὴν προθυμίαν ἐπιδείξας, εὐθὺς ὡς εἰχεν, ἀπαχθεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, τελευτῶτα.

XVI. "Ενθὰ καὶ Ἀστύριος ἐπὶ τῇ θεοφιλεί παρρησία μημονεύεται, ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐπὶ 'Ρώμης συγκλητικῶν γενόμενος βασιλεύσιν τε προσφιλῆς καὶ πάσι γνώριμος εὐγενείας τὲ ἕνεκα καὶ περιουσίας· ὅσ παρὰν τελευτομένῳ τῷ μάρτυρι, τὸν ὥμον ύποθείς, ἐπὶ λαμπρᾶς καὶ πολυτελοῖς ἑσθήτος ἄρα τὸ σχῆνος ἐπιφέρεται, περιστεῖλας τε εὔ μάλα πλουσίως, τῇ προσηκοῦσῃ ταφῇ παραδιδῶσιν.

1 Or "sanctuary": τῷ ἀγίασματι.
of all asked what views Marinus held; and then, when he saw that he was steadfast in confessing himself a Christian, gave him a space of three hours for consideration.

When he came outside the court Theoteenus, 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 Theoteenus to him, "hold fast to God; and, strengthened by Him, mayest thou obtain that thou hast chosen. 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. 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.

\[\text{2 Lit. "tabernacle" (σκηνα).}\]
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Τούτου μυρία μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μνημονεύοντοι οἱ τάνδρος καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς διαμείναντες γνώριμοι, ἀτὰρ καὶ παραδόξων τοιούτων. XVII. ἐπὶ τῆς Φιλίππου ἡ Ἐκκλησία, ἣν Παναδὰ Φοίνικες προσαγωγεύονσιν, φασὶ παρὰ ταῖς αὐτῶθι δεικνυμέναις εὖ ταῖς ὑπωρείαις τοῦ καλουμένου Πανείου ὄρους πηγαίς, εἰς ὅν καὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην προχείσθαι, κατὰ τινὰ ἐορτῆς ἦμέραν σφάγων τι καταβάλλεσθαι καὶ τούτῳ τῇ τοῦ δαίμονος δυνάμει ἄφανες γίνεσθαι παραδόξως θαυμά τε εἶναι περιβόητον τοῖς παρούσι τὸ γνώμενον. παρόντα δὲ ὅν ποτε τοῖς πραττομένοις τοῦ Ἀστύριον καὶ τὸ πράγμα καταπελθηγμένους ἱδόντα τοὺς πολλοὺς, οὐκτείραι τῆς πλάνης, καπεῖτα ἀνανεύσαντα εἰς οὐρανον, ἵκετεύσαι δίὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τόν ἐπὶ πάντων θεον τὸ λαοπλάνον δαίμόνιον ἑλέγξαι καὶ παύσαι τῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπάτης. ταῦτα δὲ φασὶν εὐξαμένου, ἀθρόως τὸ ἑρείων ἐπιπολάσαι ταῖς πηγαίς οὕτω τε αὐτῶς τὸ παράδοξον οἴχεσθαι, μηδὲνὸς μηκέτι θαυμάτως περὶ τῶν τόπων γνωμενόν.

XVIII. Ἀλλ᾿ ἐπειδὴ τῇ ὁδῷ τῆς πόλεως εἰς 1 μνήμην ἔληιυθα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγούμαι παρελθείν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς μεθ᾿ ἡμᾶς μνημονεύοντο άξιαν. τὴν γὰρ αἰμορροοῦσαν, ἢν ἐκ τῶν ἑρώων εὐαγγελίων πρὸς τὸν σωτῆρος ἡμῶν του πάθους ἀπαλαγὴν εὐρασθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐνθὲν στὕλεις ὑμᾶς δείκνυσθαι καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς αὐτήν εὐεργεσίας θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια παραμένειν. ἔσταναι γὰρ ἐφ᾿ ὑψηλοῦ λίθου πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ αὐτῆς οἰκου γυναικὸς ἐκτύπωμα χάλκεον, ἐπὶ γόνων κεκλιμένων καὶ τεταμέναις ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς 2

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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, 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 Pancion, 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. 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, 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
χερσὶν ἰκετευούση ἑοικός, τούτου δὲ ἀντικρὺς ἀλλο τῆς αὐτῆς ὑλῆς, ἀνδρὸς ὁρθὸν σχῆμα, διπλοίδα κοσμίως περιβεβλημένου καὶ τὴν χείρα τῇ γυαλικέ προτείνου, οὗ παρὰ τοῖς ποσίν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ἔσυν τῇ βοτάνῃ εἴδος φύειν, δὲ μέχρι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ διπλοίδος ἀμών, ἀλεξιφάμακον τι παντοῖων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν. τούτου τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰκόνα τοῦ 3 Ἰησοῦ φέρειν ἑλεγον, ἔμενεν δὲ καὶ εἰς ἥμιν, ὡς καὶ ὁμεὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει. καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι εἴς ἐθνῶν 4 εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παῦλον καὶ Πέτρου καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διὰ χρωμάτων· ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν, ὡς εἰκός, τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαρα- φυλάκτως οί σωτῆρας ἑθνικῆς συνθείας παρ’ ἐαυ- τοῖς τούτοις τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον.

XIX. Τὸν γὰρ Ἰακώβου θρόνον, τοῦ πρώτου 1 τῆς Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑποδεξαμένου, ὅν καὶ ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ χρηματίζοι τι θεοὶ λόγοι περεύχουν, εἰς δεύορο πεφυλαγμένον οἱ τῇ διαδοχῇ περιέποντες ἀδελφοί σαφῶς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδείκνυται οἶνον πειρατοὺς ἰγίους ἀνδρας τοῦ θεοφιλοὺς ἐνεκεν τῇ πάλαι καὶ οἱ εἰς ἥμιν ἐσωζόν τε καὶ ἀποστολοῦσα σέβας. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταῦτῃ.

XX. Ὁ γε μὴν Διονύσιος πρὸς ταῖς δηλωθείσας 1 ἐπιστολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἔτι καὶ τὰς φερομένας ἐορτα- στικὰς τὸ τηνικαῦτα συντάττει, πανηγυρικωτέρους.
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. 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, 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. 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. 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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

ἐν αὐταῖς περὶ τῆς τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῆς ἀνακινῶν λόγους. τούτων τὴν μὲν Φλαυίῳ προσφωνεῖ, τὴν δὲ Δομετίῳ καὶ Διδύμῳ, ἐν ἥ καὶ κανόνα ἐκτίθεται ὀκταετηρίδος, ὅτι μὴ ἀλλοτε ἡ μετὰ τὴν ἐαρινῆν ἑσημερίαν προσήκοι τὴν τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτὴν ἐπιτελεῖν, παριστάμενος πρὸς ταύτας καὶ ἀλλήν τοῖς κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν συμπροσβυτέρους ἐπιστολὴν διαχαράττει ἑτέρους τε ὁμοῦ διαφόρως, καὶ ταύτας ἐτι τοῦ διωγμοῦ συνεστῶτος.

XXI. Ἐπιλαβούσης δὲ ὅσον οὐπω τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐπάνεισι μὲν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, πάλιν δὲ ἐνταῦθα στάσεως καὶ πολέμου συνοπτάτος, ὡς οὐχ οἴον τε ἡν αὐτῷ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἀπαντας ἀδελφοὺς, εἰς ἐκάτερον τῆς στάσεως μέρος δηηρημένους, ἑπισκοπεῖν, αὖθις ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα ἐορτῇ, ὥσπερ τις ὑπερόριος, εἶναι αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτοῖς ὁμίλει. καὶ Ἰέρακι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν κατ’ Ἀγγυπτὸν ἐπισκόπῳ ἑτέραν ἐορταστικὴν ἐπιστολὴν γράφων, τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων στάσεως μνημονεύει διὰ τούτων.

"Εμοὶ δὲ, τὶ θαυμαστὸν εἰ πρὸς τοὺς πορρωτέρω παροικοῦντας χαλεπὸν τὸ κἂν δι’ ἐπιστολῶν ὁμιλεῖν, ὅτε καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν αὐτῷ μοι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ψυχῇ συμβουλεύεσθαι καθ’ ἐστηκεν ἀπορον; πρὸς γοῦν τὰ ἐμαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα, τοὺς ὁμοσκήνους καὶ συμψύχους ἀδελφοὺς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πολίτας ἐκκλησίας, ἐπιστολιμαῖων δέομαι γραμμάτων, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὅπως διαπεμψαίμην, ἀμήχανον φαίνεται. ῥάνω γὰρ ἀν τις οὐχ ὅπως εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπ’ ἀνατολῶν ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς.
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. 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. 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? 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
περαιωθείη, ἕ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἃπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας ἐπέλθοι. τῆς γὰρ ἑρήμου τῆς πολλῆς καὶ ἀτριβοῦς ἐκείνης ἦν ἐν δυσώ γενεαῖς διώδευσεν ὁ Ἰσραήλ, ἀπειρος μᾶλλον καὶ ἀβατός έστιν ἡ μεσαντάτη τῆς πόλεως ὁδός· καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν ἐκεῖνοι ραγείσαν καὶ διατείχισθείσαν ἐσχον ἐππήλατον καὶ ἐν τῇ λεωφόρῳ κατεποντίζοντος Αἰγύπτιοι, οἱ γαληνοί καὶ ἀκύμαντοι λιμένες γεγοναυν εἰκών, πολλάκις φανέντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς φόνων οίον ἐρυθρά θάλασσα· ὁ δὲ ἐπιρρέων ποταμὸς τῆς πόλιν ποτὲ μὲν ἑρήμου τῆς ἀνύδρου ἐξηρότερος ἄφθη καὶ μᾶλλον αὐχμώδης ἐκείνης ἦν διαπορευόμενος ὁ Ἰσραήλ οὕτως ἐδύψησεν, ὡς Μωσῆ μὲν καταβαῖν, ρυήναι δ' αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θαυμάσια ποιοῦντος μὸνον ἐκ πέτρας ἀκροτόμου ποτῶν· ποτὲ δὲ τοσοῦτος ἔπλημμυρεν ὡς πᾶσαν τὴν περιχώρων τὰς τε ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄγρους ἐπικλύσαντα, τῆς ἐπὶ Νῶε γενομένης τοῦ ύδατος φορᾶς ἐπαγαγεῖν ἀπειλήν· ἄει δὲ αἰματι καὶ φόνως καὶ καταποντίσμοις κάτεισιν μεμισμένος, οὗτος ὑπὸ Μωσῆ γέγονεν τῷ Φαραώ, μεταβαλὼν εἰς αἷμα καὶ ἐποξέσασας. καὶ ποῦν ἔγενοτ' ἄν τοῦ πάντα καθαίροντος ύδατος ύδωρ ἄλλο καθάρσιον; πῶς ἄν ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀπέραντος ἀνθρώποις ὠκεανὸς ἐπιχυθεὶς τῆν πικρὰν ταύτην ἀποσμῆξαι θάλασσαν; ἡ πῶς ἂν ὁ μέγας ποταμὸς, ὁ ἐκπορευόμενος ἐξ Ἕδεμ, τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχὰς εἰς ἄς ἀφορίζεται, μετοχεύσας εἰς μίαν τοῦ Γηνῶν, ἀποπλύναι τὸν λύθρον; ἡ πότε ὁ τεθολω-8 μένος ὑπὸ τῶν πονηρῶν πανταχόθεν ἀναθυμᾶσεων ἀνε ἐλικρυψης γένοιτο; τοιοῦτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀτμοὶ καὶ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνεμοὶ ποταμῶν τε 180

Deut. 8, 15; Ps. 78, 20
Ps. 136, 4; Wisdom 11, 4
Ex. 7, 20, 21
Gen. 2, 10, 13
West, than to traverse Alexandria from Alexandria itself. 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. 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, 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, 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, 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

1 Omitting ὅν before ἐν τῷ λεωφορῷ, as Schwartz suggests.
XXII. Μετά τά ταύτα λοιμικής τὸν πόλεμον διαλαμβάνεις νόσου τῆς τε ἑορτῆς πλησίασος, αὖθις διὰ γραφῆς τοῖς ἄδελφοις ὀμιλεῖ, τὰ τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐπισημαίνομενος πάθη διὰ τοῦτων.

"Τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπως οὐκ ἂν δοξεῖν 2 καιρὸς ἑορτῆς εἶναι τὰ παρόντα, οὕτω έστιν αὐτοῖς οὗτε οὕτος οὔτε οὕτος τις ἑτέρως, οὐχ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιλύσεων, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ εἰ τοῖς περιχαρῆς, ὃν οὐθεδεῖν μάλιστα. νῦν μὲν γε θρήνοι πάντα, καὶ πενθοῦσιν πάντες,

The pestilence which began in A.D. 250 afflicted the Empire at intervals for twenty years. Alexandria was probably the first city it visited.

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from the rivers and mists from the harbours, that the
dews are discharges from corpses rotting in all their
constituent elements. Yet men marvel and are at a
loss as to whence come the constant plagues,¹ whence
the grievous diseases, whence the various forms of
death, whence the manifold and great human
mortality, why this greatest of cities no longer con-
tains 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-
ration²; and the youngest in appearance have become
of equal age, so to speak, with those who long ago
were the oldest.³ 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. 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:
““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 lamenta-
tion, and all men mourn, and wailings resound

² We have no other evidence, apart from this passage, of
this “dole” or public distribution of a food ration.
³ i.e. the young, by sharing in the dole, were now classed
along with the old.
καὶ περιηχοῦσιν οἴμωγαί τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν τεθνηκότων καὶ τῶν ἀποθησακόντων σομῆρας· ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν πρωτοτόκων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γέ-γραπται, οὕτως καὶ νῦν ἐγενήθη κραυγὴ μεγάλη· οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν οἰκία, ἐν ἣ ὄνω ἐστιν ἐν αὐτῇ τεθνηκός, καὶ ὄφελόν γε εἰς.

"Πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτου συμβεβηκότα· πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς ἠλασαν, καὶ μόνοι πρὸς ἀπάντων διωκόμενοι καὶ θανατούμενοι ἐωρτάσαμεν καὶ τότε, καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῆς καθ' ἐκαστὸν θλίψεως τόπος πανηγυρικὸν ἠμᾶς γέγονε χωρίον, ἀγρός ἐρημία ναῦς πανδοχείου δεσμωτήριον, φαιδρότατη δὲ πασῶν ἠγαγόν ἑρτήν ὁι τέλειοι μάρτυρες, εὐθυχηθέντες ἐν οὐρανῷ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πόλεμος καὶ λιμὸς ἐπέλαβεν, ἀ τοῖς ἔθνεσι συνδιηνέγκαμεν, μόνοι μὲν ὑποστάντες ὅσα ἠμῶν ἔλυμηντο, παραπολαύσαντες δὲ καὶ ὅλης εἰργάσαστό τε καὶ πεπόθασιν, καὶ τῇ Χριστῷ πάλιν ἐνηφράνθημεν εἰρήνη, ἣν μόνοις ἠμῶν δέδωκεν· βραχυτάτης δὲ ἠμῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τευχόντων ἀναπνοής, ἐπικατέσκηψεν ἡ νόσος αὐτῇ, πράγμα φοβοῦν τε παντὸς φοβερότερον ἐκείνοις καὶ συμφορᾶς ἧστασος οὐν σχετιώτερον καὶ ὡς ἰδίος τις αὐτῶν ἀπήγγειλεν συγγραφεῖς, 'πράγμα μόνον δή τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρείσσον γενόμενον,' ἠμῶν δὲ οὔ τοιοῦτο μὲν, γυμνάσον δὲ καὶ δοκίμων οὐδενὸς τῶν ἄλλων ἔλλαττον. ἀπέσχετο μὲν γὰρ οὔδε ἠμῶν, πολλὴ δὲ ἐξῆλθεν εἰς τὰ ἔθνη.'

Τούτως ἔξης ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "οἱ γοῦν πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν δὶ ύπερβάλλουσαν ἀγάπην καὶ φιλαδελφίαν ἀφειδούντες έαυτῶν καὶ ἄλληλων

Ex. 12, 30

Thuc. ii. 64. 1

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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, 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. 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, 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. 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."

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
EUSEBIUS

ἐχόμενοι, ἐπισκοποῦντες ἀφυλάκτως τοὺς νοσοῦντας, λυπαρῶς ὑπηρετοῦμενοι, θεραπεύοντες ἐν Χριστῷ, συναπτήλλαττοντο ἐκεῖνοι ἀσμενέστατα, τοῦ παρ᾽ ἔτερων ἀναπτυπλάμενου πάθους καὶ τὴν νόσον ἐφ᾽ ἐαυτοὺς ἔλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησίων καὶ ἐκόντες ἀναμασσόμενοι τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ πολλοὶ νοσοκομήσαντες καὶ ῥώσαντες ἐτέρους, ἐτελεύτησαν αὐτοί, τὸν ἐκεῖνων θάνατον εἰς ἐαυτοὺς μεταστησάμενοι καὶ τὸ δημῶδες βήμα, μόνης ἀεὶ δοκοῦν φιλοφροσύνης ἔχεσθαι, ἐργῳ δὴ τότε πληροῦντες, ἀπίόντες αὐτῶν περίψημα. οἱ γοῦν ἀριστοὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀδελφῶν τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἐξεχώρησαν τοῦ βίου, πρεσβύτεροι τέ τινες καὶ διάκονοι καὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ, λιῶν ἐπαινοῦμενοι, ὡς καὶ τὸν θανάτου τοῦτο τὸ εἴδος, διὰ πολλὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ πίστιν ἵσχυρὰν γινόμενον, μηδὲν ἀποδεῖν μαρτυρίῳ δοκεῖν. καὶ τὰ σώματα 9 δὲ τῶν ἀγίων ὑπτίαις χερσὶ καὶ κόλποις ὑπολαμβάνοντες καθαίροντές τε ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ στόματα συγκλείοντες ἡμοφοροῦντες τε καὶ διατιθέντες, προσκολλώμενοι, συμπλεκόμενοι, λουτροῖς τε καὶ περιστόλαις κατακομβοῦντες, μετὰ μικρὸν ἐτύγχανον τῶν ἱσων, ἀεὶ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἑφεσιμένων τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν. τὰ δὲ γε ἐθνὴ πᾶν τοῦναντίον καὶ νοσεῖν ἀρχομένους ἀπωθοῦντο καὶ ἀπέφευγον τοὺς φιλτάτους καὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐρρίπτουν ἡμιθνήτας καὶ νεκροὺς ἀτάφους ἀπεσκυβαλίζοντο, τὴν τοῦ θανάτου διάδοσιν καὶ κοινωνιὰν ἑκτρεπό-

1 περίψημα. This word was used of worthless persons whom, in time of plague or some other calamity, the Athenians used to throw into the sea, in the belief that they would wipe off the guilt of the nation. By the third century A.D. 186
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: 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, 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. 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-

\[\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\lambda\nu\mu\alpha\ \sigma\omicron\nu\ \text{had, apparently, become a common expression of formal compliment: "Your humble and devoted servant."}\]
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μενοι, ἥν οὖν ἦν καὶ πολλά μηχανωμένοι εἰκελίναι ράδιον.

Μετὰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν, εἰρήνευς 1 σάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς καὶ Ἀὐγοῦτον ἀδελφοῖς ἐορταστικὴν αἴθια ἐπιστέλλει γραφῆν, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ πάλιν ἄλλας διατυπώτατ' φέρεται δὲ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ σαββάτου καὶ ἄλλη περὶ γυμνασίου.

'Ερμάμμων δὲ πάλιν καὶ τοῖς καὶ Ἀὐγοῦτον ἀδελφοῖς δι' ἐπιστολῆς ὁμιλῶν πολλά τε ἄλλα περὶ τῆς Δεκίου καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ διεξελθῶν κακοτροπίας, τῆς κατὰ τὸν Γαλλῆνων εἰρήνης ἐπιμμηνήσκεται. XXIII. οὐδὲν δὲ οἶνον τὸ καὶ τούτων ὁδὸν ποιόν ἄκουσαί.

'Εκείνος μὲν οὖν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ βασιλεῶν τὸν μὲν προέμενος, τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέμενος, παγγενεῖ ταχεῖς καὶ πρόρρυγος ἐξηφανίσθη, ἀνεδείχθη δὲ καὶ συν-

ανωμολογήθη παρὰ πάντων ὁ Γαλλήνως, παλαιὸς ἀμα βασιλεὺς καὶ νέος, πρῶτος ὁν καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους παρῶν. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ῥηθὲν πρὸς τὸν 2 προφήτην Ἡσαίαν 'τὰ ἀπ' ἄρχης ἱδον ἥκαινι, καὶ καινὰ ὁ νῦν ἀνατελεῖ.' ὁσπερ γὰρ νέος τὰς ἡλικίας ἀκτίνας ὑποδραμὼν καὶ πρὸς ὅλιον ἐπηλυγάσαν ἐσκίασεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ προ-

εφάνη, ἐτὰ παρελθόντας ἡ διατακέντας τοῦ νέος, ἐξεφάνῃ πάλιν ἐπανατελας ὁ προανατελας ἡλιος, οὖτω προστατὰς καὶ προσπελάσας ἑαυτοῦ ὁ Μακρια-

νὸς τῆς ἐφεστώσης Γαλλῆνου βασιλείας, ὁ μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν, ἔπει μηδὲ ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁμοίως ὁσπερ ἦν, καὶ οἶνον ἀποθεμένη τὸ γῆρας ἡ βασιλεία καὶ

1 Macrianus, who incited Valerian to persecute (10. 4) and 188
plague; a thing which, for all their devices, it was not easy for them to escape."

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.

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. But there is nothing like hearing the nature of these happenings also.

"He\(^1\) 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; 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.'\(^2\) 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; and the monarchy has, as it attempted to dethrone Gallienus (10. 8). He and his son were subsequently defeated in battle and slain.

\(^1\) A mixed quotation from Is. xlii. 9 and xliii. 19.
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τὴν προοίμαν ἀνακαθηραμένη κακίαν, ἀκμαϊότερον νῦν ἐπανθεὶ καὶ πορρώτερον ὅρᾶται καὶ ἀκούεται καὶ διαφορά πανταχοῦ."  

Εἴδε ἔξης καὶ τὸν χρόνον, καὶ δὲν ταῦτ' ἔγραφεν, διὰ τούτων σημαίνει: "καὶ μοι πάλιν τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν βασιλικῶν ἔτων ἔπεισι σκοπεῖν. ὡρῶ γάρ, ὡς ὄνομασθέντες μὲν οἱ ἀσεβέστατοι μετ' οὗ πολὺ γεγόνασιν ἀνώνυμοι, δὲ ὀσιώτεροι καὶ φιλοθεώτεροι ὑπερβας τὴν ἔπτασηρίδα, νῦν ἐναυτὸν ἐνατον διανύει, ἐν ὑ ἡμεῖς ἐσορτάσωμεν."

XXIV. Ἐπὶ τούτοις άπασιν ὑπουράζεται αὐτῷ 1 καὶ τὰ Περὶ ἐπαγγελμῶν δύο συγγράμματα, ἡ δ' ὑπόθεσις αὐτῷ Νέπως ἦν, ἐπίσκοπος τῶν κατ' Ἁγιαπτον, Ἰουδαίωτερον τὰς ἐπιγγελμένας τοῖς ἅγιοι ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς ἐπαγγελίας ἀποδοθήσεθαι διδάσκων καὶ τινὰ χυλίδα ἐτῶν τρυφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπὶ τῆς ξηρᾶς ταύτης ἐσεθαι ὑποτιθέμενος. δόξας γοῦν οὗτος ἐκ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως 2 Ἰωάννου τὴν ἱδίαν κρατύνει πόλησιν, Ἐλεγχον ἀληθοριστῶν λόγον τινὰ περὶ τούτου συντάξας ἐπέγραψεν· πρὸς δὲν ο Ἰσουσιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ 3 ἐπαγγελικῶν ἐνισταται, διὰ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἡν εἶχεν περὶ τοῦ δόγματος, παρατιθέμενος, διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου περὶ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως Ἰωάννου διαλαμβάνων· ἐνθα τοῦ Νέπωτος κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν μνημονεύσας, ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γράφει· "ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνταγμα τι προκομίζοισιν 4

1 The seventh year of Gallienus ended towards the close of A.D. 260, apparently a short time before the capture of Valerian. From that time to the destruction of the Macriani

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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."

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, 1 in which let us keep the feast."

XXIV. 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. 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. 2 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 treat of the Apocalypse of John. There, at the beginning, he mentions Nepos, writing as follows about him: "But since they bring forward in his ninth year he was, to use Dionysius's metaphor, "under a cloud."

1 The "Allegorists" were those who, like Dionysius, protested against a literal interpretation of Revelation: see 25. 6.
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Νέπωτος, ὃς λίαν ἐπερείδονται ὡς ἀναντιρρήτως ἀποδεικνύντι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔσσεθαι, ἐν ἀλλοις μὲν πολλοῖς ἀποδέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ Νέπωτα τῆς τε πίστεως καὶ τῆς φιλοπονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς διατριβῆς καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ψαλμωδίας, ἢ μέχρι νῦν πολλοὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐθυμοῦνται, καὶ πάνυ δὲ αἴδοὺς ἀγώ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῦτη μάλλον ἢ προσεπαύσατο· ἀλλὰ φίλη γὰρ καὶ προτιμοτάτη πάντων ἢ ἀλήθεια, ἐπαινεῖ τε χρή καὶ συναινεῖ ἄφθονως, εἰ τι ὀρθῶς λέγοιτο, ἐξετάζει δὲ καὶ διενυθὺνει, εἰ τι μὴ φαίνοιτο υγιῶς ἀναγεγραμμένον. καὶ πρὸς μὲν παρόντα καὶ ψιλὸς λόγῳ δογματίζοντα αὐτάρκης ἢν ἢν ἡ ἀγραφὸς ὁμιλία, δι' ἐρωτήσεως καὶ ἄποκρίσεως πείθουσα καὶ συμβιβάζουσα τοὺς ἀντιδιατιθεμένους· γραφῆς δὲ ἐκκεκεμένης, ὡς δοκεῖ τισιν, πιθανωτάτης καὶ τινῶν διδασκάλων τῶν μὲν νόμον καὶ τοὺς προφήτας τὸ μηδὲν ἡγουμένων καὶ τὸ τοῖς εὐαγγελίοις ἐπεσθαὶ παρέντων καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐπιστολὰς ἐκφανισάντων, τὴν δὲ τοῦ συγγράμματος τοῦτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ὡς μέγα δὴ τι καὶ κεκρυμμένον μυστήριον κατεπαγγελλομένων καὶ τοὺς ἀπλουστέρους ἀδελφοὺς ἡμῶν οὕτων ἐώντων ψηλῶν καὶ μεγαλείων φρονεῖν οὕτε περὶ τῆς ἐνδόξου καὶ ἀληθῶς ἐνθέου τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἐπιφανείας οὕτε τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπισυναγωγῆς καὶ ὁμοιόσεως, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ καὶ θνητὰ καὶ ὅτα τὰ νῦν, ἐλπίζειν ἀναπειθόντων ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς πρὸς παρὸντα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν διαλεχθῆναι Νέπωτα." 

Τοῦτοι μεθ' ἕτερα ἐπιφέρει λέγων· "ἐν μὲν ἔτοις,

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2 Tim. 2, 25

1 Tim. 6, 14

Cf. 2 Thess. 2, 1; 1 John 3, 2
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,¹ and one must give ungrudging praise and assent to whatever is stated rightly, but examine and correct whatever appears to be unsoundly written. 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.'

After other remarks he adds as follows: "Now

οῦν τῷ Ἀρσενοῦτῃ γενόμενος, ἐνθα, ὡς οἶδας, πρὸ
pολλοῦ τούτῳ ἐπεσόλαζεν τὸ δόγμα, ὡς καὶ
σχῶματα καὶ ἀποστασίας ὅλων ἐκκλησιῶν γεγο-
νέαι, συγκαλέσας τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διδα-
σκάλους τῶν ἐν ταῖς κώμαις ἄδελφῶν, παρόντων
καὶ τῶν βουλομένων ἄδελφῶν, δημοσίᾳ τὴν ἔξ-
έτασιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ λόγου προετρεψάμην, καὶ τῷ
tούτῳ μοι προσαγαγόντων τὸ βιβλίον ὡς τι ὄπλον
καὶ τεῖχος ἁμαχόν, συγκαθέσθηντοι αὐτοῖς τριῶν
ἐξής ἡμερῶν ἐξ ἕω μέχρις ἔσπερας, διευθύνειν
ἐπείραθν τὰ γεγραμμένα· ἐνθα καὶ τὸ εὐσταθὲς καὶ
tὸ φιλάληθες καὶ τὸ εὐπαρακολούθητον καὶ
συνετὸν ὑπερηγάσθην τῶν ἄδελφῶν, ὡς ἐν τάξει καὶ
μετ’ ἐπιεικείας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἐπι-
απορήσεις καὶ τὰς συγκαθέσεις ἐποιούμεθα, τὸ
μὲν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καὶ φιλονείκως τῶν ἀπαξ
doξάντων περιέχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ φαύνοιτο ὅρθως
ἐχοντα, παραιτησάμενοι, μήτε δὲ τὰς ἀντιλογιας
ὑποστελλόμενοι, ἀλλ’ ἐσ ὁσον οἶδον τε, τῶν προ-
κειμένων ἐπιβατεύειν καὶ κρατύνειν αὐτὰ πειρώ-
μενοι, μήτε, εἰ λόγοι αἱροῖ, μεταπείθεσθαι καὶ
συνομολογεῖν ἀιδούμενοι, ἀλλ’ εὐσυνειδήτως καὶ
ἀνυποκρίτως καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις πρὸς τὸν θεὸν
ἡπλωμέναι τὰ ταῖς ἁποδείξει καὶ διδασκαλίας
tῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν συνιστάμενα καταδεχόμενοι.
καὶ τέλος ὁ τε τῆς διδαχῆς ταύτης ἀρχηγὸς καὶ
eἰσηγητὴς, ὁ καλούμενος Κορακίων, ἐν ἐπηκώ
πάντων τῶν παρόντων ἄδελφῶν ὡμολόγησεν καὶ
diemartýrato ἡμῖν μηκέτι τούτω προσέξειν μηδὲ
dιαλέξεσθαι περὶ τούτου μηδὲ μεμνήσθαι μηδὲ
dιδάξειν, ὡς ἵκανως ὕπὸ τῶν ἀντιλεξθέντων
ἤρμενος· τῶν τε ἄλλων ἄδελφῶν οἱ μὲν ἔχαριν
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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. 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. 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 pro-
pounded 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 pos-
sible 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. 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


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έπι τῇ κοινολογίᾳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς πάντας συγκαταβάσει καὶ συνδιαθέσει.”

XXV. Εἴθε εἴής υποβάς, περὶ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννου ταύτα φήσων: “τυχεὶς μὲν οὖν τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν θετήσαν καὶ ἀνεσκεύασαν πάντη τὸ βιβλίον, καθ’ ἐκαστὸν κεφάλαιον διευθύνοντες ἁγιωστὸν τε καὶ ἀσυλλόγιστον ἀποφαίνοντες ψευδεσθαί τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν. Ἰωάννου γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι λέγονσιν, ἀλλ’ οὖδ’ ἀποκάλυψιν εἶναι τὴν σφόδρα καὶ παχέω κεκαλυμμένην τῷ τῆς ἀγνοίας παραπτάσματι, καὶ οὔχ ὅπως τῶν ἀποστόλων τινά, ἀλλ’ οὖδ’ ὅλως τῶν ἁγίων ἢ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τούτου γεγονέναι ποιητήν τοῦ γράμματος, Κήρυκθων δὲ τὸν καὶ τὴν ἄπ’ ἐκείνου κληθείσαν Κηρυκθιανήν συντησάμενον αἴρεσιν, ἀξιοπιστον ἐπιφημίσαι θελήσαντα τῷ έαυτοῦ πλάσματι ὁνόμα. τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι τῆς διδασκαλίας αὐτοῦ τὸ δόγμα, ἐπίγειον ἔσεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ βασιλείαν, καὶ ὅν αὐτὸς ὄρεγετο, φιλοσώματος ὅν καὶ πάνυ σαρκικός, ἐν τούτων ὄνειροπολεῖν ἔσεσθαι, γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ γαστέρα πλησιμονίας, τοῦτ’ ἐστὶ σιτίως καὶ ποτός καὶ γάμος καὶ δι’ ὅν εὐφημότερον ταύτα ψήθη ποριεῖσθαι, ἑορταῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ ἱερείων σφαγαῖς. ἦγω δὲ ἀθετήσαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν τολμήσαμι τὸ βιβλίον, πολλῶν αὐτὸ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐχόντων ἀδελφῶν, μείζονα δὲ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ φρονήσεως τὴν ὑπόληψιν τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνων, κεκρυμμένην εἶναι τινα καὶ θαυμασιωτέραν τὴν καθ’ ἐκαστον ἐκδοχῆν ὑπολαμβάνω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ συνήμιμι, ἀλλ’ ὑπονοῶ γε νοῦν των βαθύτερον ἐγκείσθαι τοὺς

1 Cf. Gaius (iii. 28. 2 above).
brethren, some rejoiced at the joint conference, and the mutual deference and unanimity which all displayed. . . .”

XXV. 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, 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 unintelligibility; 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. 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.¹ But for my part I should not dare to reject the book, 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.² For even although I do not understand it, yet I suspect that some deeper meaning underlies the words. For I

¹ i.e. than appears on the surface.

²
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dήμασιν, οὐκ ἴδω ταῦτα μετρῶν καὶ κρίνων λογισμῷ, πίστει δὲ τὸ πλέον νέμαν ὑψηλότερα ἢ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ καταληφθήναι νενόμικα, καὶ οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζῳ ταῦτα ἀ μὴ συνεώρακα, θαυμάζω δὲ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ καὶ εἶδον.

'Επὶ τούτων τὴν δὴν τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως βασανίσας γραφὴν ἀδύνατον τε αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν πρόχειρον ἀποδείξας νοεῖσθαι διάνοιαν, ἐπιφέρει λέγων: "συντελέσας δὴ πᾶσαν ὡς εἴπειν τὴν προφητείαν, μακαρίζει ὁ προφήτης τοὺς τε φυλάσσοντας αὐτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτὸν. 'μακάριος' γὰρ φησιν 'ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου κἀγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ ἱλέπων καὶ ἄκουὼν ταῦτα.' καλεῖσθαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰωάννην καὶ εἶναι τὴν γραφὴν Ἰωάννου ταῦτῃ οὐκ ἀντερῶ, ἀγίον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τίνος καὶ θεοπνεύστου συνανοῦ· οὐ μὴν ῥαδίως ἀν συνθείμην τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἀπόστολον, τὸν νῦν Ζεβεδαίου, τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἰακώβου, οὐ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην ἐπιγεγραμμένον καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἡ καθολική. τεκμαίρομαι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἢθους ἐκατέρω καὶ τοῦ τῶν λόγων εἰδοὺς καὶ τῆς τοῦ βιβλίου διεξαγωγῆς λεγομένης, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐαγγελιστὴς οὐδαμοῦ τὸ ὅνομα αὐτοῦ παρεγγράφει οὐδὲ κηρύσσει ἑαυτὸν οὐτε διὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου οὔτε διὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς.'

Εἶθε ὑποβάς, πάλιν ταῦτα λέγει: "'Ἰωάννης δὲ οὐδαμοῦ, οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ οὐδὲ ὡς περὶ ἑτέρου· δὲ τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν γράφας εὐθύς τε ἐν ἀρχῇ ἑαυτὸν προτάσσει Ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Ἡσυχ Ἑρικαρίου Χριστοῦ, ἦν ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ δείξαι τοῖς δουλοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν τάχει, καὶ ἔσήμανεν ἀποστείλας διὰ τοῦ τῶν Ἡσυχαστῶν εὐγενῆς οὐδαμοῦ.
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.”

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.’ 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, 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.”

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


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Rev. 1, 4

ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννη, δι’ ἐμαρτύρησεν τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν αὐτοῦ, ὥσα εἶδεν· εἶτα καὶ ἐπιστολὴν γράφει· ' Ἰωάννης ταῖς ἐπτὰ ἐκκλησίας ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἑσσίᾳ, χάρις ὑμῖν καὶ εἰρήνη. ὁ δὲ γε εὐαγγελισθῆς οὐδὲ τῆς καθολικῆς ἐπιστολῆς προέγραφεν ἑαυτὸ τὸ ὄνομα, ἀλλὰ ἀπερίττως ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μυστηρίου τῆς θείας ἀποκαλύψεως ἦρξετο· ὅ τιν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὁ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταύτη γὰρ τῇ ἀποκαλύψει καὶ ὁ κύριος τὸν Πέτρον ἐμακάρισεν, εἰπὼν· 'μακάριος εἶ Σίμων βαρ Ἰωνᾶ, ὅτι σάρξ καὶ αἷμα ὑμῖν ἀπεκαλύφθη εἰς, ἀλλ’ ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος. ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ φερομένη Ἰωάννου καὶ τρίτῃ, καὶ τοῖς βαρακείας ο力还是 ἐπιστολαις, ὁ Ἰωάννης ὄνομαστὶ πρόκειται, ἀλλὰ ἀνωνύμους ὁ προσβύτερος γέγραπται. οὕτος δὲ γε οὐδὲ αὐτάρκης ἐνόμισεν, εἰς ἀπας ἑαυτὸν ὄνομας δυνηθος εἰς τῇ πέτρη ἑαυτοῦ ὁ ἄδελφος ὑμῶν καὶ συναυχιώνος ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἐν ὑπομονῇ Ἰησοῦ, ἐγενόμην ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Πάτῳ διὰ τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν μαρτυρίαν Ἰησοῦ καὶ δῆ καὶ πρὸς τῷ τέλει ταῦτα εἶπεν· 'μακάριος ὁ τηρῶν τοὺς λόγους τῆς προφητείας τοῦ βιβλίου τούτου καγὼ Ἰωάννης ὁ βλέπων καὶ ἀκούων ταῦτα.'

"Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Ἰωάννης ἔστιν ὁ ταῦτα γράφων, αὐτῷ λέγοντι πιστευτέον· ποῖος δὲ οὕτως, ἄδηλον: οὐ γὰρ εἴπεν ἑαυτὸν εἰναι, ὡς ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ πολλαχοῦ, τὸν ἡγαπημένον ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου μαθητὴν οὐδὲ τὸν ἀναψεότα ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ τὸν ἄδελφον Ἰακώβου οὐδὲ τὸν αὐτόπτην καὶ αὐτήκονον

Rev. 1, 9

Rev. 22, 7, 8

John 13, 25

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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; 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 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.’

“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
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τοῦ κυρίου γενόμενον. εἶπεν γὰρ ἃν τι τούτων ἡμᾶς καὶ τῶν προδεδηλωμένων, σαφῶς ἐαυτὸν ἐμφανίσας
βούλομενος· ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀδελφὸν δὲ ἠμῶν καὶ συγκοινωνῶν εἶπεν καὶ μάρτυρα Ἰησοῦν
καὶ μακάριον ἐπὶ τῇ θέα καὶ ἀκοῇ τῶν ἀποκαλύφεων. πολλοὶ δὲ ὁμολόγους Ἰωάννη τῷ Ἰησοῦν ἀποστόλῳ νομίζω γεγονέναι, οἱ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἁγάπην καὶ τῷ θαυμάζειν καὶ ξηλοῦν ἀγαπηθῆναι τε ὁμοίως αὐτῷ βούλεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὴν αὐτὴν ἡστάσαντο, ἦσπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς τῶν πιστῶν παιῶν ὄνομαζοντες. ἐστὶν μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐτέρους Ἰωάννης ἐν ταῖς Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Μάρκος, ὃν Βαρναβᾶς καὶ Παῦλος ἐαυτοῖς συμπαρελάβον, περὶ οὗ καὶ πάλιν λέγει ἐλθὼ δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννην ὑπηρέτην. εἰ δὲ οὕτως ὁ γράψας ἐστών, οὐκ ἂν φαίην· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄφιξθαι σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν Ἰσίαν γέγραπται, ἀλλὰ ἀναχθέντες μεν', φησίν, ἀπὸ τῆς Πάφου οὐ περὶ τὸν Παῦλον ἦλθον εἰς Πέργην τῆς Παμφυλίας, Ἰωάννης δὲ ἀποχωρήσας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέστρεψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἄλλου δὲ την οἰκομενικῆς τῶν ἐν Ἰσίᾳ γενόμενων, ἐπει καὶ δύο φασίν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ γενέσθαι μνήματα καὶ ἐκάτερον Ἰωάννου λέγεσθαι.

"Καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν νοημάτων δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥημάτων καὶ τῆς συντάξεως αὐτῶν εἰκότως ἐτέρος οὕτως παρ' ἐκεῖνον ὑπολειφθήσεται. συνέδονσι μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους τὸ εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὁμοίως τε ἄρχονται· τὸ μὲν φησὶν 'ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος,' ἡ δὲ 'ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς' τὸ μὲν φησὶν 'καὶ

1 John 1, 1
hearer of the Lord. 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. 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, 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, since it is said both that there were two tombs at Ephesus, and that each of the two is said to be John's.

"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. The one says: 'In the beginning was the Word'; the other: 'That which was from the begin-
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John 1, 14 ὁ λόγος σάρξ ἐγένετο καὶ ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθεσαμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός, ἣ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ σμικρῶν παρηλλαγμένα ὅ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὁ ἐωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὁ ἔθεσαμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἐφανερώθη. ταῦτα γὰρ προανακρούεται, ἵνα διατεινόμενος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς ἔξης ἐδήλωσαν, πρὸς τοὺς οὐκ ἐν σαρκὶ φάσκοντας ἐληλυθέναι τὸν κύριον· δι’ αὐτὸ καὶ συνήψεν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ὁ ἐωράκαμεν, μαρτυροῦμεν καὶ ἀπαγγέλλομεν ὑμῖν τὴν ζωὴν τὴν αἰώνιον, ἦτος ἣν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐφανερώθη ἡμῖν· ὁ ἐωράκαμεν καὶ ἀκηκόαμεν, ἀπαγγέλλομεν καὶ ὑμῖν. ἔχεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν προθέσεων οὐκ ἀφίσταται, διὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ ὄνοματων πάντα διεξέρχεται· δὲν τι νῦν ἡμεῖς συντόμως ὑπομνήσομεν, δὲ προσεχῶς ἐντυγχάνων εὐρήσει ἐν ἐκατέρω πολλῆς τὴν ζωῆς, πολὺ τὸ φῶς ἀποτροπὴν τοῦ σκότους, συνεχῇ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὴν χάριν τὴν χαρὰν τὴν σάρκα καὶ τὸ αἷμα τοῦ κυρίου τὴν κρίσιν τὴν ἀφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγάπην τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἀγάπης ἐντολήν, ὡς πάσας δεῖ φιλάττειν τὰς ἐντολὰς· ὁ ἐλεγχὸς τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ

1 John i. 1, 2, 3.

2 The text is probably corrupt.

3 John i. 4, and passim; 1 John ii. 25; iii. 14 f., etc.

4 John i.-xii. passim; 1 John i. 5, 7; ii. 8-10.

5 John i. 14, and passim; 1 John i. 8; iii. 19, etc.

6 John i. 14, 16, 17; 2 John 3.

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ning.' 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, 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, 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,' '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

7 John iii. 29, etc.; 1 John i. 4; 2 John 12; 3 John 4 (v.l. "grace").
8 John i. 13, 14; vi. 53, 56, etc.; 1 John iv. 2.
9 John vi. 53-56; xix. 34; 1 John i. 7; v. 6, 8.
10 John iii. 19, etc.; 1 John iv. 17; cf. ii. 18, etc.
11 Cf. John xx. 23: 1 John i. 9; ii. 12; cf. iii. 5.
12 John iii. 16; xiv. 23; xvii. 23; 1 John iii. 1; iv. 11, etc.
13 John xiii. 34; xv. 12, 17; 1 John iii. 23, etc.
14 John xv. 10; 1 John ii. 3; iii. 22 ff., etc.
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diabólon τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ ὀνομασία τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ διὸλον πίστις ἡμῶν ἀπαίτουμενή ὁ πατὴρ καὶ ὁ υἱός, πανταχοῦ καὶ ὅλως διὰ πάντων χαρακτηρίζοντας ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συνορᾶν τοῦ τε εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς χρώτα πρόκειται. ἀλλοφανῆ δὲ καὶ ἕνη παρὰ τάυτα ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, μήτε ἐφαπτομένη μήτε γειτνιῶσα τούτων μηδενὶ, σχεδοῦ, ὡς εἰπεῖν, μηδὲ συλλαβὴν πρὸς αὐτὰ κοινὴν ἔχουσα. ἀλλ' ἕνη παρὰ τάυτα ἐν οἷς συλλαβημένη ὅποι τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῆς Ἀποκάλυψεως ἔχει (ἐὰν γὰρ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) οὔτε τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις, Παῦλου διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὑποφηγναντὸς τι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀποκάλυψεων αὐτοῦ, ὡς οὖν ἐνέγραφεν καθ' αὐτάς.

"Ετι δὲ καὶ διὰ τῆς φράσεως τὴν διαφορὰν 2 ἔστων τεκμήριον τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς πρὸς τὴν Ἀποκάλυψιν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ οὗ ἐπόνυον ἀπταίτως κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνικήν φωνὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λογισταὶ ταῖς λέξεσιν τοῖς συνοικισμοῖς ταῖς συντάξεσιν τῆς ἐρμηνείας γέγραπται, πολλοὶ γε διε βαρβαρῶν τινα φθόγγον ἡ σολοικίσμον ἡ ὅλως ἰδιωτισμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὑρεθήναι ἐκάτερον γὰρ εἶχεν, ὡς οὐκ εἶπεν, τὸν λόγον, ἁμφοτέρως αὐτῷ χαρισματόν τοῦ κυρίου, τὸν τε τῆς γνώσεως τὸν τε τῆς φράσεως. τούτω δὲ ἀποκάλυψεις μὲν 2 ἐωρακέναι καὶ γνώσιν διελθέναι καὶ προφητείαν οὐκ ἀντερῶ, διὰλεκτὸν μέντοι καὶ γλώσσαν οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐλληνικοῦσαν αὐτοῦ βλέπω, ἀλλ' ιδιωμασίων

1 John xvi. 8; 1 John ii. 16 f.
2 1 John iii. 8; cf. ii. 14, etc. 3 1 John ii. 18 f.
4 John xiv. 16, etc.; 1 John iii. 24; iv. 13; cf. ii. 20.
5 John i. 12; xi. 52; 1 John iii. 1, 2, etc.

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world,'1 of 'the devil,'2 of 'the antichrist'3; the promise of the Holy Spirit4; the adoption of the sons of God5; the 'faith'6 that is demanded of us throughout; 'the Father' and 'the Son'7: 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. But the Apocalypse is utterly different from, 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.

"And further, by means of the style one can estimate the difference between the Gospel and Epistle and the Apocalypse. 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; 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

6 John i. 7, etc.; 1 John v. 4.
7 John iii. 36 and passim; 1 John iv. 14, etc.
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τε βαρβαρικός χρώμενον καὶ που καὶ σολοκί-220
ζοντα: ἀπερ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον νῦν ἐκλέγειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπισκόπτων (μὴ τις νομίζῃ) ταῦτα εἶπον, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὴν ἀνομοιότητα διευθύνων τούτων τῶν γραφῶν.”

XXVI. Ἐπὶ ταύτας τοῦ Διονυσίου φέρονται καὶ ἄλλαι πλείους ἐπιστολαί, ὥσπερ αἱ κατὰ Σαβελλίου πρὸς "Ἄμμωνα τῆς κατὰ Βερνίκην ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπον καὶ ἢ πρὸς Τελεσφόρον καὶ ἢ πρὸς Εὐφράνορα καὶ πάλιν "Ἄμμωνα καὶ Εὐροπόν· συντάττει δὲ περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως καὶ ἄλλα τέσσαρα συγγράμματα, ἀ τῷ κατὰ Ῥώμην ὄμωνύμω Διονυσίῳ προσφωνεῖ. καὶ πλείους δὲ παρὰ ταύτας εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ παρ᾿ ἧμῖν ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ δὴ καὶ πολυεπεῖς λόγοι ἐν ἐπιστολῆς χαρακτῆρι γραφέντες, ὡς οἱ περὶ φύσεως, Τιμοθέω τῷ παιδί προσπε-φυνημένοι, καὶ ὁ περὶ πειρασμῶν, ὅν καὶ αὐτοῦ Εὐφράνορο ἀνατέθεικεν. ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ Βασιλείδη τῶν κατὰ τὴν Πεντάπολιν παροικῶν ἐπισκόπων γράφων, φησίν ἐαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξήγησιν πεποιηθοῦ τοῦ Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, διαφόρους δ᾿ ἦμῖν [τε] καὶ πρὸς τούτον καταλέλοιπον ἐπιστολάς.

Τοσαῦτα ο Διονύσιος ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἦδη μετὰ τὴν τούτων ἱστορίαν φέρε, καὶ τὴν καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετέπειτα γνωρίζειν γενεάν ὡς ποία τις ἦν, παρα-δώμεν. XXVII. Ἐνστοι τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐτεσιν ἐνδεκα προστάντα διαδέχεται τῷ κατ᾿ Ἀλεξάνδρειον ὅμωνυμος Διονύσιος. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητριανοῦ κατ᾿ Ἀντίοχειαν τῶν βίων μετα-λάξαντος, τῆν ἐπισκοπῆς Παύλου ὁ ἐκ Σαμοσάτων παραλαμβάνει. τούτου δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ χαμαπεπή 2 περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διδα-σκαλίᾳν φρονήσαντος ὡς κοινοῦ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπου 208
committing downright solemnisms. 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. 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, 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, 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. When Xystus had presided over the church of the Romans for eleven years,¹ 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. As this person espoused low and mean views as to Christ, contrary to the Church’s teaching, namely, that He was in His nature

¹ Xystus II. was bishop from Aug. or Sept. 257 to Aug. 258. Eusebius should have said “eleven months.”
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γενομένου, ὃ μὲν κατ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Διονύσιος παρακληθείς ὃς ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν σύνοδον ἀφίκοιτο, γῆρας ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος αἰτιασάμενος, ἀνατίθεται τῆν παρουσίαν, δι᾽ ἐπιστολῆς τῆν αὐτοῦ γνώμην, ἣν ἔχοι περὶ τοῦ ζητομένου, παραστήσας, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐκκλησίων ποιμένες ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν ὡς ἐπὶ λυμέωνα τῆς Χριστοῦ ποιήμονες συνήσαν, οἱ πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν σπεύδοντες.

XXVIII. Τούτων οἱ μάλιστα διέπρεπον, Φιρ-μυλιανὸς μὲν τῆς Καππαδοκῶν Καίσαρείας ἐπίσκοπος ἦν, Γρηγόριος δὲ καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρος ἄδελφοι τῶν κατὰ Πόντον παροικιῶν ποιμένες καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων Ἐλενος τῆς ἐν Ταρσῷ παροικίας καὶ Νικομᾶς τῆς ἐν Ἰκονίω, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ᾿Ημέναιος τῆς τε ὁμόρου ταύτης Καισαρείας Θεότεκνος, Μάξιμος ἐτί πρὸς τούτως, τῶν κατὰ Βόστραν δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἄδελφον διαπρεπῶς ἤγειτο, μυρίους τε ἄλλους οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσαι τις ἀμα πρεσβυτέρους καὶ διακόνους τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν αὐτίας ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει συγκροτηθέντας ἀπαριθμούμενος, ἀλλὰ τούτων γε οἱ μάλιστα ἔπιφανεῖς οὐδὲ ἴσαν. πάντων οὖν κατὰ 2 καιροὺς διαφόρως καὶ πολλάκις ἐπὶ ταύτων συνάντων, λόγοι καὶ ζητήσεις καθ’ ἐκάστην ἀνεκινούντο σύνοδον, τῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Σαμοσατέα τὰ τῆς ἐτεροδοξίας ἐπικρύπτει ἐτί καὶ παρακαλύπτεσθαι πειρωμένων, τῶν δὲ ἄπογυμνοῖ καὶ εἰς φανερὸν ἄγειν τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν βλασφημίαν αὐτοῦ ἀβδα οπουδῆς ποιομένων.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Διονύσιος τελευτᾷ κατὰ τὸ 3 δωδέκατον τῆς Γαλλικοῦ βασιλείας, προστάς τῆς 210
an ordinary man, Dionysius of Alexandria was invited to attend the synod, but, pleading as his excuse both old age and bodily weakness, he post-posted 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 hasted to Antioch, and assembled as against a spoiler of the flock of Christ.

XXVIII. 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. 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.

At that time Dionysius died in the twelfth year of the reign of Gallienus,¹ having presided in the epis-

¹ A.D. 264-265.
κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπισκοπῆς ἔτεσιν ἐπτακαίδεκα, διαδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν Μάξιμος.

Γαλληνοῦ δ' ἐφ' ὅλως ἐνιαυτοίς πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν ἀρχὴν κεκρατηκότος, Κλαύδιος κατέστη διά-

δοχὸς.

Δεύτερον οὖτος διελθὼν ἔτος Αὐρηλιανῶ μετα-

δίδωσι τὴν ἤγεμονίαν. XXIX. καθ' ὃν τελευταίας συγκροτηθείσης πλείστων ὅσων ἐπισκόπων συν-

όδου, φωραθεὶς καὶ πρὸς ἀπάντων ἢδη σαφῶς καταγνωσθεὶς ἐτεροδοξίαις ὁ τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν

αἱρέσεως ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποκηρύττεται. μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν εὑ-

θύνας ἐπικρυπτόμενον διήλεγξεν Μαλχίων, ἀνήρ

tά τέ ἄλλα λόγια καὶ σοφιστοῦ τῶν ἐπ' Ἀντιο-

χείας Ἑλληνικῶν παιδευτηρίων διατρῆθης προ-

εστῶς, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ δι' ὑπερβάλλουσαν τῆς
eis Χριστοῦ πίστεως γνησιότητα πρεσβυτερίου τῆς

αὐτοῦ παρουκίας ἡξιωμένος· οὐτός γε τοι ἐπι-

σημειουμένων ταχυγράφων ζήτησεν πρὸς αὐτὸν

ἐνστηράμενος, ἢν καὶ εἰς δεύτερο φερομένη ἦς

μόνος θυγατέρας τῶν ἄλλων κρυφίνου ὄντα καὶ

ἀπατηλὸν φωρᾶσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

XXX. Μίαν δὴ οὖν ἐκ κοινῆς γνώμης οἱ ἐπὶ ταύτων συγκεκροτημένων ποιμένεως διαχαράξαντες

ἐπιστολὴν εἰς πρόσωπον τοῦ τε Ῥωμαίων ἐπι-

σκόπου Διονυσίου καὶ Μαξίμου τοῦ κατ' Ἀλεξάν-

δρειαν ἐπὶ πάσας διαπέμπτονται τὰς ἐπαρχίας, τῆς

αὐτῶν τε σπουδὴν τοῖς πᾶσι φανερὰν καθιστάντες

καὶ τοῦ Παύλου τῆς διάστροφον ἐτεροδοξίαν,

ἐλέγχους τε καὶ ἐρωτήσεις ἀς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνα-

κεκυκνησαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων βίων τε καὶ τρόπων

τοῦ ἄνδρος διηγούμενοι· εἰ δὲν μνήμης ἔνεκεν

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copate at Alexandria for seventeen years. He was succeeded by Maximus.

Gallienus having held the principate for fifteen entire years, Claudius was established as his successor.¹ When he had completed his second year, he gave over the government to Aurelian. XXIX. 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, 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. 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

¹ A.D. 270.
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καλῶς ἂν ἔχω ταύτα αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος διελθεῖν τὰς φωνάς.

"Διονυσίω καὶ Μαξίμῳ καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην πάσιν συλλειτουργοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις καὶ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ διακόνοις καὶ πάση τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία "Ελενος καὶ Υμέναιος καὶ Θεόφιλος καὶ Θεότεκνος καὶ Μάξιμος Πρόκλος Νικομᾶς καὶ Αἰλιανός καὶ Παύλος καὶ Βωλανός καὶ Πρωτογένης καὶ Ἰέραξ καὶ Εὐτύχιος καὶ Θεόδωρος καὶ Μαλχίων καὶ Λούκιος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες οἱ σὺν ἡμῖν παρακοῦντες τὰς ἐγγὺς πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη ἐπίσκοποι καὶ πρεσβυτεροὶ καὶ διάκονοι καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαπητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ ἐν κυρίῳ χάρειν."

Τούτους μετὰ βραχέα ἐπιλέγουσιν ταῦτα: "ἐπ-3 εστέλλομεν δὲ ἀμα καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν μακρὰν ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ τὴν θεραπείαν τῆς θανατηφόρου διδασκαλίας, ὥσπερ καὶ Διονύσιον τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Καππαδοκίας, τοὺς μακαρίτας: ὅν δέ μὲν καὶ ἐπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Ἀντίόχειαν, τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς πλάνης οὐδὲ προσρήςεως ἀξιώσας οὐδὲ πρὸς πρόσωπον γράφας αὐτῷ, ἅλλα τῇ παρουκίᾳ πάση, ἢς καὶ τὸ ἀντίγραφον ὑπετάξαμεν: ο ὅ δε Φιρ-4 μιλιανός, καὶ διὸ ἀφικόμενος, κατέγνω μὲν τῶν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου κανονομομενών, ὡς ἴσμεν καὶ μαρτυροῦμεν οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ άλλοι πολλοὶ συνέσιν, ἐπαγγειλαμένοι δὲ μεταθήσεσθαι, πιστεύσας καὶ ἔλπιδος ἀνευ τῶν περὶ τὸν λόγον λοιδορίας τὸ πράγμα εἰς δέον καταστήσεσθαι, ἀνεβάλετο, παρακρούσθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ καὶ τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ κύριον ἀρνομένου καὶ τὴν πίστιν, 

Jude 3. 4

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be well on the present occasion to give an account of these their utterances.

"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 Eutychius 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."

A little further on they proceed thus: "And we wrote¹ 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. 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

¹ The Greek (imperf.) implies a continued correspondence.
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δὴν καὶ αὐτὸς πρότερον εἶχεν, μὴ φυλάξαντος. ἐμελλεν δὲ καὶ νῦν ὁ Φιμυλιανὸς εἰς τὴν Ἀντιό-
χειαν διαβῆσεθαι καὶ μέχρι γε Ταρσῶν ἦκεν,
ἀπε τῆς ἀρνησθέου κακίας αὐτοῦ πείραν εἰληφὼς:
ἀλλὰ γὰρ μεταξὺ, συνελημφότων ἡμῶν καὶ
καλούντων καὶ ἀναμενόντων, ἄχρι ἂν ἔλθῃ, τέλος
ἐσχεν τοῦ βίου.''

Μεθ' ἔτερα δ' αὖθις τὸν βίων τοῦ αὐτοῦ οἶας
ἐτύγχανεν ἀγωγής, διαγράφουσιν ἐν τούτοις:
'ὁποῦ δὲ ἀποστὰς τὸν κανόνος, ἔπι κίβδηλα καὶ
νόθα διάγματα μετελήλυθεν, οὐδὲν δεῖ τοῦ ἐξώ
οντος τὰς πράξεις κρίνειν, οὕτω ὅτι πρότερον πένης
ὡν καὶ πτωχὸς καὶ μήτη παρὰ πατέρων παρα-
λαβὼν μηδεμίαν εὐπορίαν μήτε ἐκ τέχνης ἢ τυχος
ἐπιτηδεύματος κτησάμενος, νῦν εἰς ὑπερβάλλοντα
πλοῦτον ἐλήλυκεν εἰς ἀνομίων καὶ ἱεροσυλίων καὶ
ὡν αἰτεῖ καὶ σεῖε τοὺς ἄδελφους, καταβραβεύων
τοὺς ἀδικομένους καὶ ὑποχνούμενοι βοηθήσεων
μισθού, ψευδόμενος δὲ καὶ τούτως καὶ μάτην
καρπούμενος τὴν τῶν ἐν πρᾶγμασι ὄντων ἐτοι-
μότητα πρὸς τὸ διδόναι ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς τῶν
ἐνοχλοῦντων, πορισμὸν ἡγούμενος τὴν θεοσέβειαν.
οὐτε ἢς ψηλὰ φρονεῖ καὶ ὑπερήρται, κοσμικὰ
ἀξιώματα ὑποδύομενος καὶ δουκηνάριος μᾶλλον
ἡ ἐπίσκοπος θέλων καλεῖσθαι καὶ σοβῆν κατὰ τὰς
ἀγορὰς καὶ ἐπιστολὰς ἀναγινῶσκων καὶ ὑπαγο-
ρεύων ἃμα βαδίζων δημοσία καὶ δορυφορούμενος,
tῶν μὲν προπορευομένων, τῶν δ' ἐφεπομένων,
πολλῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὡς καὶ τὴν πίστιν φθονεῖσθαι

1 A procurator of high rank, so called because he had a
salary of 200 sestertia.

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preserve the faith that he himself formerly held. 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."

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, 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. 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 ¹ rather than bishop, and struts in the market-places,² 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

² Cf. Demosthenes, Kατὰ Μείδιον, 158: τρεῖς ἀκολούθους ἦ τέτταρας αὐτὸς ἔχων διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς σοβεῖ.
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καὶ μυσείσθαι διὰ τὸν ὄγκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ὑπερ-ηφανίαν τῆς καρδίας· οὕτω τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις συνόδους τερατείαν, ὣν μηχανᾶται, δοξοκοπῶν καὶ φαντασιοκοπῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄκεραιοτέρων ψυχὰς τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐκπλήττων, βῆμα μὲν καὶ θρόνον ψηλὸν ἐαυτῷ κατασκευασάμενος, οὗς ὡς Χριστοῦ μαθητής, σήκρητον τε, ἀπέρ οἳ τοῦ κόσμου ἀρχοντες, ἔχων τε καὶ ὄνομάζων, παῖων τε τῆς χειρί τὸν μηρὸν καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἀράττων τοῖς ποσίν καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἑπανοῦσιν μηδὲ ἄσπερ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις κατασκεύων ταῖς ὀθόνιαις μηδὲ ἐκβοῶσιν τε καὶ ἀναπῆδῶσιν κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἁμφ’ αὐτῶν στασιώτασι, ἀνδράσιν τε καὶ γυναικῶς, ἀκόσμως οὕτως ἀκρομένοις, τοῖς δ’ οὖν ὡς ἐν οἰκῳ θεοῦ σεμνοπρεπῶς καὶ εὐτάκτως ἀκούουσιν ἐπιτιμῶν καὶ ἐνυβρίζων καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἀπελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ βίου τοῦτον παροινῶν ἐξηγητὰς τοῦ λόγου φορτικῶς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ μεγαλορημοῦν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, καθάπερ οὐκ ἐπίσκοπος ἀλλὰ σοφιστής καὶ γόνης· ψαλμοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν παύσας ὅσος δὴ νεωτέρους καὶ νεωτέρων ἀνδρῶν συγγράμματα, εἰς ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ μεγάλῃ τοῦ πάσχα ἡμέρα ψαλμῳδέων γυναίκας παρασκευάζων, ὡν καὶ ἀκούσας ἀν τίς φρίζεειν· οἷα καὶ τοὺς θωπεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐπισκόπους τῶν ὁμόρων ἄγρῶν τε καὶ πόλεων καὶ πρεσβυτέρους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν ὡμίλιαις καθίσκουν διαλέγεσθαι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ βούλεται συνομολογεῖν εἶς οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι (τὰ τι 218
that the faith is ill thought of and hated because of his conceit and the overweening pride of his heart. Nor [do we judge] the quackery in church assemblies that he devises, courting popularity and posing for appearance’s 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 secretum¹ 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, 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. For he is not willing to acknowledge with us that the Son of God has come down from heaven

¹ The secretum was the private chamber of a magistrate or judge.
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προλαβόντες τῶν μελλόντων γραφήσεσθαι θώμεν, καὶ τοῦτο οὐ λόγῳ ψιλῷ ῥηθήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐπέμψαμεν ὑπομνημάτων δείκνυται πολλαχόθεν, οὐχ ἣκετα δὲ ὅπου λέγει Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν κἀτωθεν), οἱ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν φάλλοντες καὶ ἐγκωμίζοντες εἰς τῷ λαῷ ἀγγελον τὸν ἀσεβὴ διδάσκαλον ἐαυτῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατεληλυθέναι λέγουσιν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ κωλύει, ἀλλὰ καὶ λεγομένως πάρεστιν ὁ ὑπερήφανος· τὰς δὲ συνεισάκτους αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας, ὡς Ἀντιοχεῖς ὀνομάζουσιν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων, οἷς καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀμαρτήματα ἀνίατα ὄντα συγκρύπτει, συνειδῶς καὶ ἐλέγξας, ὡς ὁπως αὐτοῖς ὑπόχρεως ἔχῃ, περὶ ὧν λόγους καὶ ἔργους ἀδικεῖ, μὴ τολμῶντας κατηγορεῖν τῷ καθ' ἐαυτοὺς φόβῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλουσίους ἀπέφηνεν, ἐφ' ὧ πρὸς τῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔλυόντων φιλεῖται καὶ θαυμάζεται—τὰ ἄπαν ταῦτα γράφομεν; ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ, ἀγαπητοί, ὅτι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ τὸ ἱερατείον ἄπαν παράδειγμα εἶναι δεῖ τῷ πλῆθει πάντων καλῶν ἐργῶν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοοῦμεν ὅσοι ὑπὸ τοῦ συνεισάγειν ἐαυτοῖς γυναῖκας ἐξέπεσον, οἱ δ' ὑπωπτεύθησαν, ὡστε εἰ καὶ δοίη τις αὐτῷ τὸ μηδὲν ἀσελγεῖς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γε ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον πράγματος φυμένην ἔχρην εὐλαβήθηναι, μὴ τις σκανδαλίσῃ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μιμεῖσθαι προτρέψῃ. πώς γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλήξειν ἥ νουθετήσει εἶτερον μὴ συγκαταβαίνειν ἐπὶ πλέον εἰς ταυτὸν γυναικί, μὴ ὀ λόσθη, φυλαττόμενον, ὡς γέγραπται, ὅστις

1 Paul held that Jesus Christ was a mere man, although anointed in a special degree with the Holy Ghost. Hence He had no divine origin from above: He was “from below.”

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(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 1); 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. And as to the subintroductae,2 as the Antiochanes 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, 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, 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

2 i.e. spiritual "sisters."
μίαν μὲν ἀπεστησεν ἥδη, δύο δὲ ἀκμαζούσας καὶ ἐνπρεπεῖς τὴν ὄψιν ἔχει μεθ’ ἑαυτοῦ, κἀν ἀπίη που, συμπεριφέρει, καὶ ταῦτα τρυφῶν καὶ ὑπερεμ- 
πυπλάμενος; ὅν ἔνεκα στενάζωσι μὲν καὶ ὄδυ-
ρονταί πάντες καθ’ ἑαυτούς, οὕτω δὲ τὴν τυραννίδα 
καὶ δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ πεφόβηνται, ὥστε καθηγορεῖν 
μὴ τολμᾶν. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν, ὡς προερήκαμεν, 
εὑθυνεν ἀν τὶς ἄνδρα τὸ γοῦν φρόνημα καθολικὸν 
ἐχοντα καὶ συγκαταριθμοὺμενον ἡμῖν, τὸν δ’ 
ἐξορχησάμενον τὸ μυστήριον καὶ ἐμπεμποῦσαντα 
τῇ μιαρᾷ αἱρέσει τῇ Ἀρτεμᾶ (τί γὰρ οὐ χρή μόλις 
τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ δηλώσαι;) οὐδὲν δεῖν ἡγούμεθα 
τούτων τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἀπαίτειν." 

Εἰτ’ ἐπὶ τέλει τῆς ἐπιστολῆς ταῦτ’ ἐπιλέγουσιν ἡναγκάσθημεν ὦν ἀντιτασσόμενον αὐτοῦ τῷ 
θεῷ καὶ μὴ ἐκοντα ἐκκήρυξαντες, ἔτερον ἀντ’ 
αὐτοῦ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καταστήςα ἐπί-
σκοπον, θεοῦ προνοία ὡς πεπείσμεθα, τὸν τοῦ 
μακαρίου Δημητριανοῦ καὶ ἐπιφανῶς προστάντος 
πρὸ τούτου τῆς αὐτῆς παροικίας υἱὸν Δόμνου, 
ἄπασι τοῖς πρέπουσιν ἐπισκόπω καλοῖς κεκοσμη-
μένον, ἔδηλωσαμεν τε ὑμῖν, ὅπως τούτω γράφητε 
καὶ παρὰ τούτω τὰ κοινωνικὰ δέχῃσθε γράμματα τῷ 
δὲ Ἀρτεμᾶ οὗτος ἐπιστελλέτω καὶ οἱ τὰ 
Ἀρτεμᾶ φρονοῦντες τούτω κοινωνεῖσθωσαν.” 

Τοῦ δὴ οὖν Παύλου σὺν καὶ τῇ τῆς πίστεως ὁ 
ῥθοδοξία τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἀποπεπτωκότος, Δόμνος, 
ὡς εἰρήται, τὴν λειτουργίαν τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν 
ἐκκλησίας διεδέξατο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ μηδαμῶς εἰκοῦμαι τοῦ 
Παύλου τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οίκου θέλοντος,

1 § 6. 2 Cf. v. 28. 1, where he is called Artemon.
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? Where-
fore, 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,¹ 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 bur-
lesqued the mystery, and strutted about in the
abominable heresy of Artemas² (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."

Then at the close of the letter they add as follows:
"We were compelled therefore, as he opposed him-
self 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 com-
munion. But let this fellow write to Artemas, and
let those who side with Artemas hold communion
with him."

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. But as Paul refused on any
account to give up possession of the church-building,
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βασιλεὺς ἐντευχθεὶς Ἀὐρηλιανὸς αἰσιώτατα περὶ τοῦ πρακτέου διείληφεν, τούτως νεῖμαι προστάτων τοῦ οίκου, οἷς ἅν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ τὴν Ῥωμαιών πόλιν ἐπίσκοποι τοῦ δόγματος ἐπιστελλοῖεν. οὕτω δήτα ὁ προδηλωθεὶς ἀνὴρ μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης αἰσχύνης υπὸ τῆς κοσμικῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνεται τῆς ἐκκλησίας.

Τοιούτους μὲν γε τις ἄν τὸ την κάδε περὶ ἡμᾶς ὁ Ἀὐρηλιανὸς, προϊόσχης δ' αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀλλοίων τι περὶ ἡμῶν φρονήσας, ἵ δη τις βουλαῖς, ὡς ἃν διωγμὸν καθ' ἡμῶν ἐγείρειν, ἀνεκνείτο, πολὺς τε ἦν ὁ παρὰ πᾶσιν περὶ τούτου λόγος, μελλοντα δὲ ἤδη καὶ σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν τοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν γράμμασιν ὑποσημειοῦμεν θεία μέτειον δίκη, μόνον οὐχὶ εἰς ἀγκώνων τῆς ἐγχειρήσεως αὐτὸν ἀποδεσμοῦσα λαμπρῶς τε τοὺς πᾶσιν συνορᾶν παριστῶσα ὡς οὐποτε γένοιτ' ἀν βαστώνῃ τοῖς τοῦ βίου ἄρχοις κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίων, μὴ οὐχὶ τῆς ὑπερμάχου χειρὸς θεία καὶ οὐρανίως κρίσει παιδείας ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς, καθ' οὐς ἢ αὐτῇ δοκιμᾶζοι καιροὺς, τούτ' ἐπιτελεῖσθαι συγχυρώσης. ἔτεσι γοῦν εἰς κρατήσαντα τὸν Ἀὐρηλιανὸν διαδέχεται Πρόβος, καὶ τούτων δέ ποι τοῖς ἵσοις ἐπικατασχόντα Κάρος ἁμα παιοῦν Καρίνῳ καὶ Νομεριανῷ, πάλιν τ' ἀδ καὶ τούτων οὐδ' ἀλοι προὶ πνεύμονει διαγενομένων, μέτειοι τὰ τῆς ἀγεμονίας Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν εἰσποιηθέντας, ἐφ' ὅν ὁ καθ' ἡμᾶς

1 τοῦ δόγματος, i.e. the Christian religion: probably a translation of the actual words used by Aurelian.
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.

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, 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, 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

2 A.D. 270-275.
3 A.D. 276-282, two emperors, Tacitus and Florianus, coming between Aurelian and Probus with short reigns.
4 A.D. 284.
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συντελείται διωγμός καὶ ἡ κατ’ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκ-κλησιῶν καθαίρεσις.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ μικρῷ τοῦτον πρότερον τοῦ ἐπὶ
Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον Διονύσιον ἔτεσιν ἐννέα δι-
ελθόντα τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται Φηλίξ.

XXXI. Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μανεῖς τὰς φρένας
ἐπώνυμός τε τῆς δαμονώσης αἱρέσεως τὴν τοῦ
λογισμοῦ παραπτομὴν καθωπλίζετο, τοῦ δαίμονος,
αὐτὸν δὴ τοῦ θεομάχου σατανᾶ, ἐπὶ λύμη πολλῶν
τῶν ἀνδρα προβεβλημένου. βάρβαρος δὴ τὸν
βίον αὐτῶ λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ τὴν τε φύσιν δαμονικός
τὸν ᾠν καὶ μανιώδης, ἀκόλουθα τοῦτοι ἐγχειρῶν,
Χριστὸν αὐτὸν μορφάζεσθαι ἐπειράτο, τοτε μὲν
τὸν παράκλητον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἄγιον
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακρύπτων καὶ τυφοῦμενὸς γε
ἐπὶ τῇ μανία, τοτε δὲ, οίκα Χριστός, μαθητάς δώ-
δεκα κοινωνοὺς τῆς καινοτομίας αἱροῦμενος· δόγ-
ματὰ γε μὴν ψευδὴ καὶ ἀθέα ἐκ μυρίων τῶν
πρόπαλαι ἀπεσβηκότων ἄθεων αἱρέσεων συμ-
πεφορμένα καττύσας, ἐκ τῆς Περσῶν ἐπὶ τὴν
καθ’ ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην ὡσπερ τινὰ θανατηφόρον
ιὸν ἐξωμόρχαστο, ἀφ’ οὗ δὴ τὸ Μανιχαῖον δυσσεβές
όνομα τοῖς πολλοῖς εἰς ἑτοι νῦν ἐπιπολάζετε. τουαῦτη
μὲν οὖν ἡ καὶ τῆς τῆς ψευδωνύμου γνώσεως ὑπό-
θεσις, κατὰ τοὺς δεδηλωμένους ὑποφυείσθης χρόνους.

XXXII. Καθ’ οὐδὲν Φηλίκα τής Ῥωμαίων προ-
στάντα ἐκκλησίας ἔτεσιν πεντε Εὐντυχαίνον δια-
δέχεται. οὐδ’ ὅλους δὲ μησιν οὔτος δέκα διαγενό-
μενος, Γαῖος τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς καταλείπει τὸν κλήρον
καὶ τούτου δὲ ἄμφι τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἑτη προ-

1 The similarity between Mánnis (Mani) and μανείς, although
accomplished the persecution of our day and the destruction of the churches therein.

But a short time before this, Felix succeeded in the ministry Dionysius, bishop of Rome, who had completed nine years.

XXXI. At that time also the madman,¹ 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. 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 Manichaean 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. 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 the words have no etymological relation to each other, is sufficient to give Eusebius occasion for punning.

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στάντος, Μαρκελλίνος κατέστη διάδοχος, δυ και
αυτόν ὁ διωγμός κατείληφεν.
Κατὰ τούσδε τῆς Ἀντιοχείων ἐπισκοπῆς μετά
Δόμνου ἡγήσατο Τύραννος, δυ ὁ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διεδέξατο
Κύριλλος· καθ’ ὁ Δωρόθεον, πρεσβείου τοῦ κατὰ
Ἀντιόχειαν ἤξιωμένων, λόγιον ἄνδρα ἐγνωμέν.
φιλόκαλος δ’ οὗτος περὶ τὰ θεία γεγονός, καὶ τῆς
Ἐβραίων ἐπεμελήθη γλώττης, ὡς καὶ αὐτάς ταῖς
Ἐβραίκαις γραφαῖς ἐπιστημόνως ἐντυγχάνειν. ἦν
δ’ οὗτος τῶν μάλιστα ἔλευθερῶν προπαίδειας τε
τῆς καθ’ Ἑλληνας οὐκ ἄμοιρος, τὴν φύσιν δὲ
ἄλλως εὐνοῶς, οὗτος περικυκὼς ἐς αὐτῆς γενέσεως,
ὡς καὶ βασιλεὰ διὰ τούτο, οἶον τι παράδοξον,
αὐτὸν οἰκείωσασθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι γε ἐπιτροπῆ γῆς
κατὰ Τύρον ἄλουργοι βαφῆς. τοῦτον μετρίως
τὰς γραφὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διηγομένου κατ-
ηκουόμενεν.
Μετὰ δὲ Κύριλλον Τύραννος τῆς Ἀντιοχείων
παροικίας τὴν ἐπισκοπήν διεδέξατο, καθ’ ὁ
ήκμασθεν ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησίων πολιορκία.
Τῆς δ’ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ παροικίας ἡγήσατο μετὰ
Σωκράτην Εὐσέβιον, ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ὀμη-
θείς πόλεως· αὕται δ’ αὐτῷ τῆς μεταναστάσεως
ὑπήρξεν ἡ κατὰ τῶν Παύλου ὑπόθεσις, δι’ ὁν τῆς
Συρίας ἐπιβάς, πρὸς τῶν τῆς ἐν τὰ θεία
ἐσπονδακότων τῆς οὐκ αὐτοί πορείας εἶργεται, ἐπ-
ἐραστών τι θεοσεβείας χρῆμα τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς γενό-
μενός, ὡς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν προπαραθετευσῶν Διονυσίου
φιλῶν διαγνώναι τοῦ. Ἀνατόλιος αὐτῷ διά-
δοχος, ἀγαθός, φασίν, ἀγαθοῦ, καθίσταται, γένος

1 11. 3, 24.

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for about fifteen years, Marcellinus was appointed his successor, the same whom the persecution has overtaken.

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, 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, 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.

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.¹ Anatolius was appointed his successor, one good man, as they say, following another. He also was by race an
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μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς Ἀλεξάνδρεὺς, λόγων δ' ἐνεκα καὶ παιδείας τῆς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσοφίας τε τὰ πρῶτα τῶν μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς δοκιμωτάτων ἀπεννεγ-μένως, ἀτε ἀριθμητικῆς καὶ γεωμετρίας ἀστρο-νομίας τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης, διαλεκτικῆς εἶτε φυσικῆς, θεωρίας ρητορικῶν τε αὖ μαθημάτων ἐλπιδικῶς εἰς ἀκρον τῶν ἐνεκα καὶ τῆς ἐπ'. Ἀλεξάνδρειας Ἀριστοτέλους διαδοχῆς τὴν διατριβήν λόγων ἔχειν πρὸς τῶν τῆς πολιτῶν συστήσασθαι αὐτῶν ἄξιωθήναι, μυρίας μὲν οὖν τούδε καὶ ἄλλας ἀριστείας ἐν τῇ κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοῦ Πιεροχίου πολιορκία μνημονεύουσιν, ἀτε τῶν ἐν τέλει προ-νομίας ἐξαιρέτου πρὸς ἀπάντων ἡξιωμένου, δείγ-ματος δ' ἐνεκα μόνον τούδε ἐπιμνησθήσομαι. τοῦ πυροῦ, φασίν, τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἐπιλειπότοτος, ἡδὴ τῶν ἐξωθεῖν πολεμίων μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τῶν λιμῶν ἀφόρητον καθεστάναι, παρών δ' ἐννομένοις οἰκονομεῖται τι τοιοῦτον. θατέρου μέρους τῆς πόλεως τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ συμμαχοῦντος στρατῷ ταύτῃ τε τυγχάνοντος ἀπολιορκήτου, τὸν Ἐυσέβιον (ἐτὶ γὰρ εἶναι τότε αὐτοῖ τῆς ἐπί Συρίαν μεταναστάσεως), ἐν τοῖς ἀπολιορκήτοις ὅντα μέγα τε κλέος καὶ διαβόητον οἴνομα μέχρι καὶ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηλάτου κεκτημένων, περὶ τῶν λιμῶν διαφθειρόμενων κατὰ τὴν πολιορκίαν πέμψας ὁ Ἀνατόλιος ἐκδίδασκεν. ὃ δὲ μαθών, σωτηρίαν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτομόλους παρασχεῖν ὡς ἐν μεγίστῃ χάριτι δωρεάς τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν αἰτεῖται, καὶ τῆς ἄξιωσείς γε τυχῶν ἐμφανεῖς τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ καθίστησιν. ὃ δὲ αὐτίκα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν.
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\(^1\) at Alexandria. Now countless other of his deeds of prowess are related during the siege of the Piricheum\(^2\) at Alexandria, 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, 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; and having obtained his request acquainted Anatolius of the fact. The moment Anatolius received the promise, he

\(^1\) Lit. "succession."

\(^2\) The Greek quarter at Alexandria, in which were the most important buildings.
δεξάμενος, βουλήν τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων συναγαγών, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα πάντας ἡξίου φιλικῆν δοῦναι Ῥωμαίοις δεξιάν, ὡς δ' ἀγριαίνοντας ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ συνείδειν, "ἀλλ' οὐ τούτω γε," φησίν, "ἀντιλέξειν ποθ' ὑμᾶς οἴομαι, εἰ τοὺς περιττοὺς καὶ ἦμων αὐτοῖς οὔδαμῇ χρησίμους, γραφές καὶ νήπια καὶ πρεσβύτας, ἐκδοῦναι πυλῶν ἐξω βαδίζειν ὅποι καὶ βούλωνται, συμβουλεύσαμι. τί γὰρ δὴ τούτους εἰς μάτην, ὅσον οὔτω τεθηκόμενοι, παρ' ἐαυτοῖς ἐχομεν; τί δὲ τοὺς ἀναπήρους καὶ τὰ σώματα λευκωθημένους τῷ λιμῷ κατατρύχομεν, τρέφειν δὲν μόνος ἄνδρας καὶ νεανίας καὶ τὸν ἀναγκαίον πυρὸν τοὺς ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτηδείους ταμιεύσει;" τοιοῦτοι τισὶν λογισμοῖς πείσας τὸ συνέδριον, ψήφουν πρῶτος ἀναστὰς ἐκφέρει πάν τὸ τῇ στρατείᾳ μη ἐπιτηδειον εἰτε ἄνδρῶν εἰτὲ γυναικῶν γένος ἀπολύειν τῆς πόλεως, ὅτι μηδὲ καταμένουσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς ἀχρηστόν ἐν τῇ πόλει διατρίβουσιν ἐλπὶς ἂν γένοιτο σωτηρίας, πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ διαφθαρησμένους. ταῦτη δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ συγκαταθημένων μικρῶν δεῖν τοὺς πάντας τῶν πολιορκουμένων διεσώσατο, ἐν πρῶτος μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν ἥλικίαν διαδιδάσκειν προμηθοῦμενος, οὐ μόνον τῶν κατὰ τὴν ψήφων δεδογμένων, τῇ δὲ τούτων προφάσει καὶ μυρίους ἄλλους, λεληθότως γυναικεῖαν στολήν ἀμπισχομένους νύκτωρ τῇ ἐκείνου φροντίδι τῶν πυλῶν ἐξιόντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶν ὀρμώντας. ἔνθα τοὺς πάντας ὑποδεχόμενοι ὁ Εὐσέβιος πατρὸς καὶ ἱατρὸς δίκην κεκακωμένους ἐκ τῆς μακρᾶς πολιορκίας διὰ πάσης προνοίας καὶ
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?" 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. 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
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θεραπείας ἀνεκτάτο. τοιούτων ἢ κατὰ Δαοδίκειαν 1, ἐκκλησία δύο ἐφεξῆς κατὰ διαδοχὴν ἡξιώθη ποι-μένων, σὺν θεία προμηθεία μετὰ τὸν δηλωθέντα πόλεμον ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς μετεληθότων. οὐμενοῦ ἐσπουδάσθη πλείστα τῷ Ἀνατολίῳ συγγράμματα, τοσάτα δ’ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθεν, δι’ ὅτι αὐτοῦ καταμαθεῖν δυνατὸν ὁμοί τὸ τε λόγιον καὶ πολυμαθές· εὖν ὦς μάλιστα τὰ περὶ τοῦ πάσχα δόξαντα παρίστησιν, ἀφ’ ὅν ἀναγκαῖον ἄν εἰη τοὺτων ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μνημονεύσαι.

ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΤ ΠΑΣΧΑ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΟΤ ΚΑΝΟΝΩΝ

“Ἐχει τούτων ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ἐτεί τὴν νομηνίαν 1 ἐτος πρώτος μηνός, ἢτις ἀπάσης ἐστίν ἄρχη τῆς ἐννεακαϊδεκατετράδος, τὴν κατ’ Ἁγιοπτίον μὲν Φαμενῳθ ἐστιν, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνων μῆνας Δύστρου κβ, ὡς δ’ ἂν εἴποιεν Ἡρωμαιο, πρὸ ὑπὸ Ἐλανδῶν Ἁπριλίων. εὐρίσκεται δὲ ἦλιος ἐν τῇ προκειμένῃ Φαμενῳθ ἐστι οὕτως ἐπιβᾶς τοῦ πρώτου μηνάτῳ, ἀλλ’ ἦδη καὶ τετάρτην ἥμεραν ἐν αὐτῷ διαπερουμένος. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ μηνᾷ πρώτῳ δωδεκατημόριον καὶ ἰσημερινὸν καὶ μηνὸν ἄρχην καὶ κεφαλὴν τοῦ κύκλου καὶ ἄφεσιν τοῦ τῶν πλανητῶν δρόμου καλεῖν εἰσόδασιν, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου μηνῶν ἔσχατον καὶ τοῦ ἵμμα δωδεκατον καὶ τελευταῖον δωδεκατημόριον καὶ τέλος τῆς τῶν πλανητῶν περιόδου. δι’ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τιθεμέ- νους τὸν πρώτον μήνα καὶ τὴν τεσσαρεςκαϊδεκάτην τοῦ πάσχα κατ’ αὐτὴν λαμβάνοντας οὐ μικρῶς οὐδ’ ὥς ἔτυχεν ἀμαρτάνειν φαμεν. ἐστιν δ’ οὐχ ἔτην οὐχ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος μνημονεύσαι.

1 See note, p. 244.
attention. 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. 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.*

"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, 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, are guilty of no small or ordinary mistake.

2 The Greek (κατ' αὐτήν) is unintelligible; we give the general sense.
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ήμετερος οὗτος ὁ λόγος, Ἰουδαίοις δὲ ἐγνώσκετο
toῖς πάλαι καὶ πρὸ Χριστοῦ ἐφιλάττετο τε πρὸς
αὐτῶν μάλιστα· μαθεῖν δὲ ἔστω ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ
Φίλωνος Ἰωσήφου Μουσαίου λεγομένων, καὶ οὐ
μόνων τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔτι παλαιοτέρων
ἀμφοτέρων Ἀγαθοβούλων, τῶν ἐπίκλην διδα-
σκάλων Ἀριστοβουλοῦ τοῦ πάνω, ὃς ἐν τοῖς ὁ
κατελεγμένοις τοῖς τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ θείας Ἑβραίων
ἐρμηνεύσας γραφὰς Πτολεμαῖος τῷ Φιλαδέλφῳ
καὶ τῷ τούτῳ πατρί, καὶ βιβλίους ἔξηγητικὰς τοῦ
Μωυσέως νόμου τοῖς αὐτοῖς προσεφώνησεν βασι-
λεύσι. οὗτοι τὰ ἥττουμενα κατὰ τὴν "Εξοδον
ἐπιλύοντες, φασὶ δεῖν τὰ διαβατήρια θύειν ἐπ'
ίσης ἀπαντᾶς μετὰ ἰσημερίαν ἐαρινῆν, μεσοῦντος
tοῦ πρώτου μηνὸς· τοῦτο δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι, τὸ
πρῶτον τμῆμα τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ, ἢ ὅσ τινες αὐτῶν
ἀνόμασαν, ζωοφόρον κύκλον διεξόντος ἡλίου.
ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοβουλος προστίθησον ὡς εἰπὲ εἰς ἀνάγκης
τη τῶν διαβατηρίων ἑορτή μὴ μόνον τὸν ἡλίων
ἰσημερινὸν διαπορεύεσθαι τμῆμα, καὶ τὴν σελήνην
dε. τῶν γὰρ ἰσημερινῶν τιμημάτων ὄντων δύο,
tοῦ μὲν ἡρινοῦ, τοῦ δὲ μετωπωρινοῦ, καὶ δια-
μετροῦντων ἀλληλα δοθείσης τε τῆς τῶν δια-
βατηρίων ἤμερας τῇ τεσσαρακοιδεκάτῃ τοῦ μηνὸς
μεθ᾽ ἑσπέραν, ἑννηπετίται μὲν ἡ σελήνη τὴν ἔνα
τίαν καὶ διάμετρον τῶ ἡλίῳ στάσιν, ὡσπερ οὖν
ἐξεστὶν ἐν ταῖς πανσελήνοις ὅραι, ἔσονται δὲ ὁ
μὲν κατὰ τὸ ἡρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν, ὁ ἡλίους, τρύμα,
ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀνάγκης κατὰ τὸ φθινωπωρινὸν ἰσημερινὸν,
ἡ σελήνη. οἶδα πλείστα καὶ ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτῶν
λεγόμενα, τοῦτο μὲν πιθανά, τοῦτο δὲ κατὰ τὰς
κυριακὰς ἀποδείξεις προϊόντα, διὸ ὑπὸ παριστάνειν
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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, 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, 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, some of them probable, others advanced as absolute proofs,¹ by which they attempt to establish that the Feast of

¹ The translation is uncertain.
πειρώνται τήν τοῦ πάσχα καὶ τῶν ἀξύμων ἐορτῆν
dein pántos met' ἵσημερίαν ἀγεσθαι· παρῆμι δὲ
tas toiautás tón ápodeíxewn ὦλας ἀπαίτων ὅν
περιήρηται μὲν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Μωυσεῖ τοῖς νόμων κάλυμμα,
ἀνακεκαλυμμένω δὲ τῷ προσώπῳ λοιπῶν ἡδὴ
Χριστοῦ καὶ τὰ Χριστοῦ ἀεὶ κατοπτρίζονται
μαθήματα καὶ καὶ παθήματα. τοῦ δὲ τὸν πρώτον
παρ' Ἑβραίους μήνα περὶ ἱσημερίαν εἶναι παρα-
στατικά καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἐνώχ μαθήματα."
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.\(^1\) But that the first month with the Hebrews lies around the equinox is shown also by the teachings in the Book of Enoch.” \(^2\)

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. 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.

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

\(^1\) \(\mu\alpha\theta'\hmu\alpha\tau\alpha\theta'\hmu\alpha\tau\a\), Herod. i. 207; cf. Heb. v. 8.

\(^2\) Enoch lxxii. 6, 9, 31, 32.
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tά τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀνορθοῦται δ' αὕτα πρὸς αὐτοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων σωτήρος αὐτίκα τῆς αὐτοθεί
παροικίας ἐπίσκοπος ἀναδειχθεῖς Θεόδωτος, πράγ-
μασιν αὐτοῖς ἀνήρ καὶ τὸ κύριον ὄνομα καὶ τὸ ἐπίσκοπον ἐπαληθεύσας. ἰατρικῆς μὲν γὰρ σω-
μάτων ἀπεφέρετο τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιστήμης, ψυχῶν δὲ θεραπευτικῆς οἰος οὐδὲ ἀλλος ἀνθρώπων
ἔτύγχανεν φιλανθρωπίας γνησίστητος συμπαθείας
σπουδῆς τῶν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένων ὠφελείας
ἐνεκεν, πολὺ δὲ ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ θεῖα μαθή-
ματα συνησκημένον. οὕτος μὲν δὴ τοιούτος ἦν.

Ἐν Καισαρείᾳ δὲ τῆς Παλαιστίνης Θεότεκνον 2
σπουδαιότατα τῆν ἐπισκοπὴν διελθόντα Ἀγάπιος
diadéxetai· οὐ καὶ πολλὰ καμεῖν γνησιωτάτην τε
πρόνοιαν τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ προστασίας ὅσον πεποιή-
ménon πλούσια τε χειρὶ πάντων μάλιστα πενήτων
ἐπιμεμελημένον. κατὰ τοῦτον ἐλλογιμώτατον αὐτῶ
2
tε βίῳ φιλόσοφον ἀληθῆ προσβείον τῆς αὐτοῦ
παροικίας ἧξιωμένον Πάμφιλον ἐγνωμεν· ὃν ὅποιός
τις ἦν καὶ θεῖον ὅρμωμενος, οὐ σιμκρᾶς ἂν γένοιτο
dηλοῦν ὑποθέσεως· ἐκαστὰ δὲ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν βίου
καὶ ἡ συνεστήσατο διατριβῆς, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὸν
διωγμὸν ἐν διαφόροις ὁμολογίαις ἁγῶνας αὐτοῦ
καὶ ὃν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀνεδήσατο τοῦ μαρτυρίου στε-
φανον, ἐν ἰδίᾳ τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦ διειλήφαμεν ὑποθέσει.
ἄλλ' οὖτος μὲν τῶν τῆς θαυμασιώτατος· ἐν δὲ 2
τοῖς μάλιστα καθ' ἡμᾶς σπανιωτάτους γενομένους
ὑσμὲν τῶν μὲν ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρειας πρεσβυτέρων
Πιερίων, Μελέτιον δὲ τῶν κατὰ Πόντον ἐκκλησιῶν
ἐπίσκοπον. ἄλλ' δ' μὲν ἄκρως ἀκτήμονι βίῳ καὶ 2
because of him; 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.

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, 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; 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
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μαθήμασιν φιλοσόφου δεδοκίμαστο, ταῖς περὶ τὰ θεία θεωρίαις καὶ εξηγήσεσιν καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διαλέξεσιν ὑπερφυῶς ἐξηγηκημένος. Ὡ δὲ Μελέτιος (τὸ μελὶ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐκάλουν αὐτὸν οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας) τουτοῦτος ἦν οἶον ἂν γράψειεν τις τὸν κατὰ πάντα λόγων ἔνεκα τελεώτατον. ῥητορικῆς μὲν γε τῆν ἀρετὴν οὐδὲν οἶον τε θαυμάζειν ἔταξισώς, ἀλλὰ τούτο μὲν εἶναι αὐτῷ φαίη ἂν τις τὸ κατὰ φύσιν. τῆς δὲ ἄλλης πολυπειρίας τέ καὶ πολυμαθείας τίς ἂν τῆν ἀρετὴν ὑπερβάλλοιτο, ὅτι δὴ ἐπὶ πάσαις λογικαῖς ἐπὶ-20 στήμαις τὸν τεχνικῶτατον καὶ λογιώτατον, καὶ μόνον πείραν αὐτοῦ λαβῶν, ἐίπες ἂν; ἔφαιμιλλα δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς παρῆν τοῦ βίου. τοῦτον κατὰ τὸν τοῦ διωγμοῦ καυρὸν τοῖς κατὰ Παλαιστίνην κλίμασιν διαδιδράσκοντα ἐφ' ὅλως ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ κατενοήσαμεν.

Τῆς δὲ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐκκλησίας μετὰ τὸν 20 μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεδηλωμένων ἐπίσκοπον 'Ὑμέναιον Ζαβδᾶς τὴν λειτουργίαν παραλαμβάνει· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τούτου κεκοιμημένου, Ἡρμῶν ὅστις τῶν μέχρι τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ τὸν εἰς ἐπὶ νῦν ἐκεῖσε πεφυλαγμένον ἀποστολικὸν διαδέχεται θρόνον.

Καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἔτεσιν μετὰ τὴν Διονυσίου τελευτήν ἐπισκοπεύ-20 σαντα Θεουνᾶς διαδέχεται· καθ' δὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλε-ξανδρείας ἐπὶ ταῦταν τῷ Πιερίῳ πρεσβυτερίου ἡξιωμένος Ἀχιλλᾶς ἐγνωρίζετο, τῆς ἑρᾶς πίστεως τὸ διδασκαλεῖον ἐγκεχειρισμένος, οὐδενὸς ἦττον σπανώτατον φιλοσοφίας ἔργον καὶ πολιτείας.
poverty and for his learning in philosophy. 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. Meletius¹ (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, 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.

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.²

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 Achillas, 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

¹ His sobriquet "the honey (μέλι) of Attica" is a pun on his name.  
² See c. 19 of this book.
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eυαγγελικής τρόπων γνήσιων ἐπιδεδειγμένος. μετὰ 3
dε Θεονάν ἐννεακαίδεκα έτεσιν ἐξυππηρετησάμενον
διαδέχεται τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν τῶν ἐπ' Ἀλεξανδρείας
Πέτρος, ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸς διαπρέπας ἐφ'
όλοις δυοκαίδεκα ἐνιαυτοῖς, ὅπερ τοῦ διωγμοῦ
τριῶν οὖρ' ὀλοὶς ἐτεσιν ἰγνόσαμενος τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
tὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον εὐτονωτέρα τῇ συν-
ασκήσει έαυτὸν τε ἦγεν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν ἐκ-
κλησιῶν ὕφελείας οὐκ ἄφανός ἐπεμέλετο. ταύτη
δ' οὖν ένατῷ έτει τοῦ διωγμοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν
ἀποτμηθείς τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου κατεκοσμήθη στε-
φάνω.

'Εν τούτοις τὴν τῶν διαδοχῶν περιγράφαντες 33
ὑπόθεσιν, ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν γενέσεως
ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν προσευκτηρίων καθαίρεσιν εἰς ἕτη
συντείνουσαν πέντε καὶ τριακόσια, φέρε, ἐξῆς τούς
καθ' ἡμᾶς τῶν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἄνθρωπομένων
ἀγώνας, ὅσοι τε καὶ ὑπηλίκοι γεγόνασιν, καὶ τοῖς
μεθ' ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι διὰ γραφῆς καταλείψωμεν.

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

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truly in accordance with the Gospel. 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.

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.

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.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ ὄγδος περιέχει βιβλιον τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Ἀ Περὶ τῶν πρὸ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διωγμοῦ.
Β Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαρέσεως.
Γ Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν ἡγωνισμένων.
Δ Περὶ τῶν ἁωδίμων τοῦ θεοῦ μαρτύρων, ὡς πάντα τόπον ἐπλησαν τῆς ἑαυτῶν μνήμης, ποικίλουσ τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἀναδησάμενοι στεφάνους.
Ε Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Νικομήδειαν.
Ζ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς οἶκους.
Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φοινίκην Αἰγυπτίων.
Ι Περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτίου.
Θ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Θηβαϊδα.
Ι Φιλέου μάρτυρος περὶ τῶν κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν πεπραγμένων ἐγγραφοὶ διδασκαλίαι.
IA Περὶ τῶν κατὰ Φρυγίαν.
IB Περὶ πλείστων ἐτέρων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν διαφόρως ἡγωνισμένων.

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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.
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(Il) Περὶ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας προέδρων τῶν τὸ γνησίων ἢς ἐπρέσβευον εὐσεβείας διὰ τοῦ σφῶν αἷματος ἐπιδειγμένων.

(Id) Περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἐχθρῶν.

(Ie) Περὶ τῶν τοῖς ἐκτὸς συμβεβηκότων.

(Is) Περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολῆς.

(Iz) Περὶ τῆς τῶν κρατοῦντων παλινωδίας.
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.

XVII. On the recantation of the rulers.
Την τῶν ἀποστόλων διαδοχὴν ἐν ὅλοις ἐπτὰ περιγράφαντες βιβλίοις, ἐν ὁγδὸν τοῦτω συγγράμματα τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐ τῆς τυχούσης ἁξία ὡντα γραφῆς, ἐν τι τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων ἡγούμεθα δεῖν εἰς γνωσιν καὶ τῶν μεθ’ ἡμᾶς παραδοῦναι, καὶ ἄρξεται γε ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐντεῦθεν.

I. Ὁσαὶ μὲν καὶ ὅποιας πρὸ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμᾶς διωγμοῖ δόξης ὁμοῦ καὶ παρρησίας ὁ διὰ Χριστοῦ τῶ βίῳ κατηγγελμένος τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ εὐσεβείας λόγος παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ἑλλησί τε καὶ βαρβάρους, ἥξιωτο, μείζον ἡ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐπαξίωσ διηγήσασθαι: τεκμήρια δ’ ἄν γένοιτο τῶν κρατοῦντων αἱ περὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους δεξιώσεις, οἷς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἑθῶν ἐνεχείριζον ἡγεμονίας, τῆς περὶ τὸ θύειν ἁγιωτίας κατὰ πολλὴν ἑν ἀπεσώζουν περὶ τὸ δόγμα φιλίαν αὐτοὺς ἀπαλλάττοντες. τῷ δὲ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς λέγειν οἰκους καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀρχόντων; οἱ τῶν οἰκείων εἰς πρόσωπον ἐπὶ τῷ θείῳ παρρησιαζομένους λόγῳ τε καὶ βίῳ συνεχώρουν, γαμεταῖς καὶ παισὶ καὶ οἰκείας, μόνον ὑμῖ ν καὶ ἐγκαυχάσθαι ἐπὶ τῇ παρρησίᾳ τῆς πίστεως ἐπιτρέπουντες· οὐς ἔξοχος καὶ μάλλον τῶν συνθετικόντων ἀποδεκτοὺς ἡγοῦντο 250
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. 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. 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, 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
οιος ἐκεῖνος ἦν Δωρόθεος, πάντων αὐτοῖς εὐνοῦστάτος τε καὶ πιστόστατος καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα διαφερόντως παρὰ τοὺς ἐν ἄρχαῖς καὶ ἣγεμονίαις ἐντμόστατος, ὃ τε σὺν αὐτῷ περιβόητος Γοργόνως καὶ ὅσοι τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοίως τούτους ἥξιώντο διὰ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον τιμῆς. οἷας τε καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐκκλησίαν ἄρχοντας παρὰ πᾶσιν ἐπιτρόπους καὶ ἢγεμόσιν ἀποδοχῆς ἢν ὀρᾶν ἄξιομένους. πῶς δ' ἂν τις διαγράφωσεν τὰς μυριάνδρους ἑκείνας ἐπισυναγωγὰς καὶ τὰ πλῆθη τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἄθροισμάτων τὰς τε ἐπισύμνους ἐν τοῖς προσευκτηρίοις συνδρομάς; ἄν δὴ ἐνεκα μηδαμῶς ἐτί τοῖς πάλαι οἰκοδομήμασιν ἄρκούμενοι, εὐρέιας εἰς πλάτος ἀνὰ πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις ἐκ θεμελίων ἀνίστων ἐκκλησίας. ταύτα δὲ τοῖς 6 χρόνοις προϊόντα ὁσμέραι τε εἰς αὐξήσαν καὶ μέγεθος ἐπιδιόντα οὐδεὶς ἀνεύργης φθόνος οὐδὲ τις δαίμων πονηρὸς οἶος τε ἦν βασκαίνειν οὐδ' ἄνθρωπων ἐπιβουλαίσ κωλύειν, ἐς ὅσον ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χείρ ἐσκεπῆν τε καὶ ἐφροῦρει, οἷα δὴ ἀξιον ὑντα, τοὺς ἐαυτὴς λαόν.

'Ως δ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐλευθερίας ἐπὶ χαυνότητα 7 καὶ νωθρίαν τὰ καθ' ἦμᾶς μεταλλάττετο, ἀλλων ἄλλως διαφθονούμεναι καὶ διαλοιδορομένων καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ ἦμῶν αὐτῶν ἐαυτοῖς προσπολεμοῦντων ὅπλοις, εἰ οὕτω τύχοι, καὶ δόρασιν τοῖς διὰ λόγων ἄρχοντων τε ἄρχοντι προσηγγιστὼν καὶ λαῶν ἐπὶ λαοὺς καταστασιαζόντων τῆς τε ὑποκρίσεως ἄφατον καὶ τῆς εἰρωνείας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὅσον κακίας προϊούσης, ἡ μὲν δὴ θεία κρίσις, οἷα φῖλον αὐτῇ, πεφευσμένως, τῶν ἄθροισμάτων ἐτί συγκροτοῦν.
favourably than their fellow-servants. 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 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, 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.

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),
μένων, ἡρέμα καὶ μετρίως τὴν αὐτῆς ἑπισκοπῆς ἀνεκίνει, ἐκ τῶν ἐν στρατείαις ἀδελφῶν καταρχομένου τοῦ διωγμοῦ· ὥς δ’ ἀνεπαισθῆτος ἔχοντες οὐχ ὅπως εἰμικεῖ καὶ ἱλεος καταστήσεσθαι τὸ θείον προθυμούμεθα, οί δὲ τινες ἀθεοὶ ἀφρόντιστα καὶ ἀνεπίσκοπα τὰ καθ’ ἥμας ἤγομενοι ἄλλας ἐπ’ ἄλλαις προσετίθεμεν κακίας οἱ τε δοκοῦντες ἥμων ποιμένες τὸν τῆς θεοσθείας θεσμὸν παρωσάμενοι ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνεφλέγοντο φιλονεικίαις, αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα μόνα, τὰς ἔριδας καὶ τὰς ἁπειλὰς τὸν τε ζῆλον καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος τε καὶ μῖσος ἐπαύξοντες οί τε τυραννίδας τὰς φιλαρχίας ἐκθύμως διεκδικοῦντες, τότε δὴ, τότε κατὰ τὴν φάσκουσαν τοῦ Ἰερεμίου φωνὴν ἐγνόφωσεν ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ κύριος τὴν θυγατέρα Σιών καὶ κατέρρυψεν ἐξ οὕρανος δόξασμα Ἰσραήλ οὐκ ἐμνήσθη τε ὑποποδίου ποδῶν αὐτοῦ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ· ἄλλα καὶ κατεπόντισεν κύριος πάντα τὰ ὑπάρξα Ἰσραήλ καὶ καθείλεν πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ, κατὰ τε τὰ ἐν Ψαλμοῖς προ-θεσπισθέντα κατέστρεψεν τὴν διαθήκην τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐβεβήλωσεν εἰς γῆν διὰ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν καθαρέσεως τὸ ἀγίασμα αὐτοῦ καὶ καθείλεν πάντας τοὺς φραγμοὺς αὐτοῦ, ἔθετο τὰ ὄχυρωματα αὐτοῦ δελλαν· διήρπασάν τε τὰ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διοδεύοντες ὅδον, καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁνειδος ἐγενῆθη τοῖς γείτοσιν αὐτοῦ. ὑψώσεν γὰρ τὴν δεξιὰν τῶν ἐχθρῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν τὴν βοήθειαν τῆς βομβαίας αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀντελάβετο αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἄλλα καὶ κατέλυσεν ἀπὸ καθαρισμοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν κατέρραξεν ἐσμίκρυνεν τε τὰς 254.
quietly and moderately began to exercise its oversight, the persecution commencing with the brethren in the army. 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. 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
Ημέρας τοῦ χρόνου αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν κατέχειν αὐτοῦ αἰσχύνην.

II. Συντετέλεσται δὴ τα καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἄπαντα, ὡς ἔδει καὶ ὑπομίκησε συνεκτηρίζων τοὺς οίκους ἐξ ὑψους οἰκετείοις ἀμαλγαματοφύλαξι καταρριπτομένους, τὰς δ’ ἐνθέους καὶ ἡκατέρας ἑρακόπον κατὰ μέσας ἀγοράς πυρὶ παραδικομένας αὐτοῖς ἐπείδομεν ὥστε κακεῖσθε κρυπταζομένους, τοὺς δὲ ἀσχημόνως ἀλισκομένους καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν καταπαταζομένους, οτὲ καὶ κατ’ ἀλλον προφητικὸν λόγον ἑξεχύθη ἐξουδενώσας ἐπὶ ἀρχοντας, καὶ ἐπλάνησαν αὐτοὺς ἐν ἀβάτῳ καὶ οὐχ ὀδῷ. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν οὐχ ἡμέτερον διαγράφειν τὰς ἑπὶ τέλει σκυθρωπὰς συμφορὰς, ἑπεὶ καὶ τὰς πρόσθεν τοῦ διωγμοῦ διαστάσεις τε αὐτῶν εἰς ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀτοπίας οὐχ ἡμῖν οἰκεῖον μνήμη παραδίδουν· διὸ καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ἰστορήσαι περὶ αὐτῶν διέγνωμεν ἢ δι’ ὅν ἂν τὴν θείαν δικαιώσαις κρίσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τῶν πρὸς τοῦ διωγμοῦ πεπειραμένων ἢ τῶν εἰς ἄπαν τῆς σωτηρίας νεανιαγηκότων αὐτῇ τε γνώμη τοῦ τοῦ κλάδωνος ἐναπορρίφειν τοῦ δυθοῖς μνήμην ποιήσασθαι προϊχθημεν, μόνα δ’ ἐκεῖνα τῇ καθόλου προσ theta; εἰστι τῆς, ὑμῶν μὲν ἑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειτα δ’ καὶ τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς γένοιτ’ ἀν πρὸς ὀφελείας. ἦμεν οὖν ἐντεῦθεν ἑδος τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἁγῶνας τῶν τοῦ θείου λόγου μαρτύρων ἐν ἐπιτουμή διαγράφοντες.

"Ετος τούτῳ ἦν ἑννεακαιδέκατον τῆς Δισκληπτικῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς Μάρτιοις κατὰ Ῥωμαίους, ἐν ὁ ἡ τῆς τοῦ

1 A.D. 303.
shortened the days of his time and, last of all, he hath covered him with shame.

II. 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 pourreth contempt upon princes, and causeth them to wander in the waste, where there is no way.

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. 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.

It was the nineteenth year of the reign of Diocletian,¹ and the month Dystrus,² or March, as the Romans would call it, in which, as the festival of the

² The seventh month of the Macedonian year, which began in September.
III. τότε δὴ οὖν, τότε πλείστοι μὲν ὅσοι τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἄρχοντες, δεινῶς αἰκίας προδόμως ἐναθλήσαντες, μεγάλων ἁγώνων ἱστορίας ἐπεδείξαντο, μυρίῳ δὲ ἅλλοι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπὸ δειλίας προναρκήσαντες προχείρως οὐτὸς ἀπὸ πρώτης ἐξησθένησαν προσβολῆς, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν ἐκάστους εἷδη διάφορα βασάνων ἐνήλικεν, δὲ μὲν μάστιγως αἰκίζομενος τὸ σώμα, δὲ στρεβλώσεσιν καὶ ἰσομοίος ἀνυπομονήτως τιμωροῦμενος, ἐφ’ ὃι ἡ ἡ δὴ τινὲς οὐκ ἄσιον ἀπηνέγκαντο τοῦ βίου τέλος. ἅλλοι δὲ αὖ πάλιν ἅλλως τὸν ἁγώνα διεξήσαν. δὲ μὲν γὰρ τις ἀτέρων βία συνῳδοῦντων καὶ ταῖς παμμάρισι καὶ ἀνάγνωσι προσαγόντων θυσίαις ὡς τεθυκὼς ἀπηλλάττετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τεθυκὼς ἤν, ὁ δὲ μηδ’ ὅλως προσπελάσας μηδὲ τινὸς ἐναγοῦς ἐφασάμενος, εἰρηκότων δ’ ἐτέρων ὅτι τεθύκοι, σωτηριοντος τὴν συκοφαντίαν ἀπῆρεν ἅλλος ἠμιθυσὶς αἰρόμενος ὡς ἄν ἡ δὲ νεκρὸς ἐρρίπτετο, καὶ τις αὖ πάλιν ἐπ’ ἐδάφοις κείμενος μακράν

1 i.e. Easter.
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. 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. 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: 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, having been
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έσύρετο τοὺς ποδοῖς, ἐν τεθυκόσων αὐτῶις λελογισμένοι. ὃ δὲ τις ἔβοι καὶ μεγάλη διεμαρτύρητο φωνῇ τῆς θυσίας τῆν ἀρνησιν, καὶ ἄλλος Χριστιανὸς εἶναι ἐκεκράγει, τῇ τοῦ σωτηρίου προσφήματος ὁμολογία λαμπρυνόμενος· ἔτερος τὸ μὴ τεθυκέναι μηδὲ θύσεων ποτὲ διετείνετο. ὦμως ὃ οὖν καὶ οἶδε πολυχειρίᾳ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένης στρατωτικῆς παρατάξεως κατὰ στόματος παίδευμοι καὶ κατασχηγόμενοι κατὰ τε προσώπον καὶ παρειῶν τυπτόμενοι μετὰ βίας ἐξωθοῦντο· οὕτως εξ ἀπαντὸς οἱ τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθροι τὸ δοκεῖν ἡνυκέναι περὶ πολλοῦ ἐτίθεντο.

'Αλλ' οὐ καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀγίων αὐτῶις μαρτύρων ταῦτα προωρεῖ· ὃν εἰς ἀκριβῆ διήγησιν τίς ἄν ἥμιν ἔξαρκέσειν λόγος; IV. μυρίους μὲν γὰρ ἱστορήσαι ἂν τὶς βαυμαστὴν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ἐνδεδειγμένους προθυμιάν, οὐκ εἰς ὅτου ὑπέρ μόνον ὦ κατὰ πάντων ἀνεκκινηθῆ διωγμὸς, πολὺ πρότερον δὲ καθ' ὃν ἦτο τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης συνεκροτεῖτο. ἀρτι γὰρ ἀρτὶ πρῶτον ὠσπέρ ἀπὸ κάρου βαθέος ὑποκινουμένου τοῦ τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰληφότος κρύβην τε ἢτι καὶ ἀφανῶς μετὰ τὸν ἀπὸ Δεκίου καὶ Ὀυαλεριανοῦ μεταζύχου χρόνον τοῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιχειροῦντος οὐκ ἀθρόως τε τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπαποδυμένου πολέμῳ, ἀλλ' ἦτι τῶν κατὰ ταῦτα στρατόπεδα μόνων ἀποπειρωμένου (ταύτῃ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀλώνναι ἀρδίως ἔπετο, εἰ πρότερον ἐκείνων καταγωνισάμενος περιγένειοτο), πλείστους παρὴν τῶν ἐν στρατείας ὀραν ἀσμενότατα τὸν ἰδιωτικὸν προασπαζόμενος βίον, ὡς ἂν μὴ

1 Galerius, or, as some have thought, the Devil. The
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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, 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. 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 ¹ was just now awakening, 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

"profound torpor" is the forty years' peace—the interval between the persecutions of Valerian and Diocletian.
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Εξάρνοι γένοιτο τῆς περὶ τῶν τῶν ὅλων δημιουργῶν εὐσεβείας. ὦς γὰρ ὁ στρατοπεδάρχης, ὥστε ποτέ ἦν ἐκείνος, ἀρτι πρῶτον ἐνεχείρη τῷ κατὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων διωγμῷ, φυλοκριμῶν καὶ διακαθαιρῶν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις ἀναφερομένους αἴρεσιν τε διδοὺς ἢ πειθαρχοῦσιν ἢ μετήν αὐτοῖς ἀπολαύεις τιμῆς ἢ τούναντίων στέρεσθαι ταύτης, εἴ ἀντιτάσσοντο τῷ προστάγματι, πλεῖστοι ὁσοὶ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας στρατιώται τὴν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑμολογίαν, μὴ μελλήσαντες, τῆς δοκούσης δόξης καὶ εὐπραγίας ἢς εἶχοντο, ἀναμφιλόγως προντύμησαν. ἦδη δὲ σπανίως τούτων εἰς ποι καὶ δεύτερος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἄξιας τῆς ἀποβολῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ θάνατον τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ἐνστάσεως ἀντικατηλαττοῦντο, μετρίως πως ἦδη τότε τοῦ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς ἐνεργοῦσι καὶ μέχρις αἵματος ἐπ' ἐνίων φθάνειν ἐπιτολιμίως, τοῦ πλήθους, ὡς ἐοικεν, τῶν πιστῶν δειττομένου τε αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ ἀποκαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀθρόως ἐφορμήσαι πόλεμον. ὡς δὲ καὶ γυμνότερον ἐπαπεδέυετο, οὐδ' ἔστων λόγῳ δυνατὸν ἀφηγησάσθαι ὅσους καὶ ὅποιοις τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυρας οὐθαλμοῖς παρῆν ὅραν τοῖς ἀνὰ πάσας τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας οἰκούσιν.

V. Αὐτίκα γοῦν τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμων τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄγαν κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ νεομομενὰς υπεροχὰς ἐνδοξότατων, ἀμα τῷ τήν κατὰ τῶν ἐκκλησίῶν ἐν τῇ Νικομηδείᾳ προτεθηκαί γραφήν, ξήλω τῷ κατὰ θεοῦ ὑποκυνθεῖς διαπύρῳ τε ἐφορμήσας τῇ πίστει, ἐν προφανεί καὶ δημοσίω κειμένην ὡς ἀνοσίαν καὶ ἀσεβεστάτην ἀνελῶν

1 His name was Veturius, as Eusebius tells us in his 262
renegades in their piety toward the Creator of the universe. For when the supreme commander,\(^1\) 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 steadfastness, 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. To begin with, the moment that the decree against the churches was published at Nicomedia, a certain person\(^2\) 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 Chronicle. The words "whoever he was" are probably contemptuous—he was not worth naming.

\(^1\) Probably Eusebius, who suffered martyrdom at Nicomedia on February 24, the day on which the edict was published. Tradition, however, identified him with St. George of England.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

σπαράττει, δυνεὶν ἐπιπαρόντων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν πόλιν βασιλέως, τοῦ τε πρεσβυτάτου τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ τὸν τέταρτον ἀπὸ τούτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπικρατοῦντος βαθμόν. ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν τῶν την-κάδε πρώτος τούτου διαπρέψας τὸν τρόπον ἄμα τε τοιαῦτα οἶα καὶ εἰκὸς ἢν ὑπομείνας ὦς ἄν ἐτὶ τοιούτω τολμήματι, τὸ ἄλλον καὶ ἄταραχον εἰς αὐτὴν τελευταίαν διετήρησεν ἀναπνοήν.

VI. Πάντων δὲ ὅσοι τῶν πόρωτο ἀνυμοῦνται θαυμάσιοι καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρεία βεβοημένου εἶτε παρ' Ἐλλησομ εἶτε παρὰ βαρβάροις, θείους ἡγεγκεν ὁ καίρος καὶ διαπρεπεῖς μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Δωρόθεου βασιλικοὺς παῖδας, οὐ καὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτων παρὰ τοὺς δεσπόταις ἤξιωμένου τιμῆς γνησίων τε αὐτοῖς διαθέσει τέκνων οὐ λειτύμενοι, μείζονα πλούτον ὡς ἄληθῶς ἠγγυται τῆς τοῦ βίου δόξης καὶ τρυφῆς τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ὑνείδισμούς τε καὶ πόνους καὶ τοὺς κεκαίνουργημένους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πολυτρόπους θανάτους: ὃν ἐνός τινος οὐκέχρηται μην θέντες τῷ τοῦ βίου τέλει, σκοπεῖν εἰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμβεβηκότα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν καταλείψομεν.

'Ἡγετὸ τις εἰς μέσον κατὰ τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν ἔφ᾽ ὧν δεδηλώκαμεν ἀρχόντων. θύειν δὴ ὅν προσταχθεὶς, ὡς ἐνίστατο, γυμνὸς μετάρρυος ἁρθήναι κελεύεται μάστιξιν τε τὸ πάν σώμα κατα-ξαίνεσθαι, εἰς ὅτε ἡττηθεὶς καὶ ἀκών τὸ προστα-τόμενον ποιήσειν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάσχων ἀνιάτρετος ἢν, ἄξος λοιπὸν ἤδη τῶν ὀστέων ὑπο-φαυνομένων αὐτοῦ σὺν καὶ ἀλατὶ φύραντες κατὰ τῶν διασαπέντων τοῦ σώματος μερῶν ἐνέχεον"  

1 i.e. Diocletian. 2 i.e. Galerius.
thing; [and this he did] while two emperors were present in the same city, the senior of them all,¹ and he who held the fourth place in the government after him.² 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. 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.

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, 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
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ός δὲ καὶ ταύτας ἐπάτει τὰς ἀλγηδώνας, ἐσχάρᾳ
tοὐντεύθεν καὶ πῦρ εἰς μέσον εἶλκετο, καὶ κρεών
ἐδωδόμων δίκην τὰ λεύμανα αὐτῷ τοῦ σώματος
ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς ἀθρούν, ὡς ἂν μὴ συντόμως
ἀπαλλαγεῖ, κατὰ βραχὺ δὲ ἀνηλίκετο, οὐ πρό-
tερον ἀνεῖναι τῶν ἐπιτιθέντων αὐτὸν τῇ πυρᾷ
συγχωρουμένων, πρὶν ἂν καὶ μετὰ τοσάττα τοὺς
προστατομένους ἐπινεύσειν. ὁ δὲ ἀπρίξ ἐχόμενος 4
tῆς προδέσεως νικηφόρος ἐν αὐταῖς βασάνοις
παρέδωκε τὴν ψυχήν. τοιοῦτον τῶν βασιλικῶν
ἐνὸς τὸ μαρτύριον παῖδων, ἄξιον ὡς ὄντως καὶ
τῆς προσηγορίας. Πέτρως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο.

Οὐ χείρονα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ τοὺς λοιπούς ὄντα 5
λόγου συμμετρίας παραλείψομεν, τοσοῦ-
tον ἵστορήσαντες ὡς ὁ τε Δωρόθεος καὶ ὁ Γοργόνος
ἐτέροις ἀμα πλείσων τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκετίας μετὰ
tοὺς πολυτρόπους ἀγώνας βρόχῳ τὴν ζωὴν μετ-
αλλάξαντες, τῆς ἐνθέου νίκης ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεῖα.

Ἐν τούτῳ τῆς κατὰ Νικομήδειαν ἐκκλησίας ὁ 6
τηνικαῦτα προεστῶς "Ἀνθίμος διὰ τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν
μαρτυρίαν τὴν κεφαλῆν ἀποτέμεναι· τοῦτῳ δὲ
πλῆθος ἀθροῦν μαρτύρων προστίθεται, οὐκ οἶδ᾿
ὅπως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Νικομήδειαν βασιλείοις
πυρκαῖας ἐν αὐταῖς δὴ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἀφθείσης, ἡ
καθ᾿ ὑπόνοιαν ψευδὴ πρὸς τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπιχειρη-
θήναι λόγου διαδοθέντος, παγγενεῖ σωρηδόν βασι-
λικῷ νεῦματι τῶν τῇ δὲ θεοσεβῶν οἱ μὲν ξίφει
κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διὰ πυρὸς ἐτελεοῦντο, ὅτε
λόγος ἔχει προθυμία θεία τινὶ καὶ ἀρρήτω ἄνδρας
ἀμα γυναιξὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν καθαλέσθαι· δήσαντες
δὲ οἱ δῆμοι ἄλλο τι πλῆθος ἐπὶ σκάφαις τοῖς
θαλασσίοις ἐναπέρριπτον βυθύοις. τοὺς δὲ γε βασι-
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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. 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.

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.

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. As to the imperial
λικοὺς μετὰ θάνατον παῖδας, γῆ μετὰ τῆς προσηκούσης κηδείας παραδοθέντας, αὕτης εὖ υπαρχῆς ἀνορύξαντες ἐναπορρῆμα θαλάττη καὶ αὐτοὺς ὄντος δεῖν οἱ νεομυσμένοι δεσπόται, ὡς ἂν μὴ ἐν μνήμασιν ἀποκεμένους προσκυνοῦντες τώνθε, θεοὺς δὴ αὐτούς, ὡς γε ὄντος, λογιζόμενοι.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείας κατὰ τὴν ἄρχην ἀποτελεσθέντα τοῦ διωγμοῦ τοιαῦτα· οὖκ εἰς 8 μακρὸν δ' ἐτέρων κατὰ τὴν Μελιτηνὴν οὔτω καλουμένην χώραν καὶ αὐτή πάλιν ἄλλων ἀμφὶ τὴν Συρίαν ἐπιφυνόμενα τῇ βασιλείᾳ πεπειραμένων, τοὺς πανταχόσε τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προστάτας ἐφραταῖς καὶ δεσμοῖς ἐνείραι πρόσταγμα ἐφοίτα βασιλικῶν, καὶ ἢν ἡ θέα τῶν ἐπὶ τούτως γινομένων πάσαν 9 διήγησιν ὑπεραίρουσα, μυρίον πλήθους ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καθειργυμένον καὶ τὰ πανταχῆ δεσμωτήρια, ἀνδροφόνως καὶ τυμβορύχους πάλαι πρότερον ἐπεσκευασμένα, τότε πληροῦντων ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἀναγνώστων τε καὶ ἐπορκιστῶν, ὡς μηδὲ χώραν ἔτε τοῖς ἐπὶ κακουργίαις κατακρίτοις αὐτὸθι λείπεσθαι.

Αὕτης δ' ἐτέρων τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα ἐπικατειληφότων, ἐν οἷς τοὺς κατακλείστους θύσαντας μὲν εὖν βαδίζειν ἐπὶ ἑλευθερίας, ἐνοπταμένους δὲ μυρίας καταξάινειν προστέτακτες βασάνους, πῶς ἂν πάλιν ἐνοπάθα τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἑπαρχόν λατρύρων ἀριθμησεῖν τίς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μάλωστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικήν καὶ τὸ Μαύρων ἔθνος Ἐθβαϊδα τε καὶ κατ' Ἀγγυπτον; εὖ ἂς καὶ εἰς

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1 The province of Armenia Minor, of which Melitene was the capital.

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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. But not long afterwards, when some in the district known as Melitene,¹ and again on the other hand when others in Syria, had attempted to take possession of the Empire,² an imperial command went forth that the presidents of the churches everywhere should be thrown into prison and bonds. 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.

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,³ and in Thebais and Egypt? From this last country also some departed into other

² It is quite uncertain to what rising Eusebius here refers.
³ Lit. "the province (ἐδρος) of the Moors."
Εὐσεβίους

ἐτέρας ἦδη προελθόντες πόλεις τε καὶ ἐπαρχίας διέπρεψαν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις.

VII. Ἰσμεν γοῦν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν διαλάμβαντας ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ, Ἰσμενοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν Τύρῳ τῆς Φωινίκης. οὓς τίς ἰδὼν οὐ κατεπλάγη τάς ἀναρίθμους μάστιγας καὶ τάς ἐν τούτοις τῶν ὡς ἄληθῶς παραδόξων τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀθλητῶν ἐνστάσεις τὸν τε παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὰς μάστιγας ἐν θηροῦ ἀνθρωποβόροις ἁγώνα καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτῳ παράδεισεν καὶ διαφόρων ἄρκτων συῶν τε ἀγρίων καὶ πυρὶ καὶ σιδήρῳ κεκαυνηριασμένων βοῶν προσβολὰς καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἐκαστὸν τῶν θηρίων θαυμασίως τῶν γενναίων ὑπομονάς; οἷς γιγνομένοις καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πλείονα χρόνον μὴ προσφαίρειν μηδὲ πλησίαζεν τοὺς τῶν θεοφιλῶν σώμασιν ἐπιτολμώντων, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους, ὁσοὶ δήποτεν ἔξωθεν ἐρεθίσμους παρώρμων αὐτὰ, φερομένων, μόνων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ἁθλητῶν, γυμνῶν ἐστώτων καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν κατασειόντων ἐπὶ τε σφαῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπισπωμένων (τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐκελεύετο πράττειν), μηδ’ ὅλως ἐφαπτομένων, ἀλλ’ ἐσθ’ ὅπῃ μὲν καὶ ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὅρμωντων, οἷα δὲ πρὸς τίνος θειοτέρας δυνάμεως ἀνακρουμένων καὶ αὐτό πάλιν εἰς τούτωσος χωροῦντων. δ’ καὶ εἰς μακρὸν γινόμενον θαύμα παρεῖχεν οὐ σμικρὸν τοῖς θεωμένοις, ὡστε ήδη διὰ τὸ ἀπρακτὸν τοῦ πρῶτον δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον προσαφίεσθαι ἐνί καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μάρτυρι θηρίων.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VIII. vi. 10—vii. 3

cities and provinces and were distinguished in their martyrdoms.

VII. 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? 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. 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.

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ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Καταπλαγήναι δ’ ἦν τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπτόθητον 4 τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων καρτερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν σῶμασι νέοις βεβηκών καὶ ἀδιάτρεπτον ἔνστασιν. ἐώρας γοῦν ἡλικίαν οὐδ’ ὅλων ἐτῶν ἐκείσε δίχα δεσμῶν ἐστῶτος νέον καὶ τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ἐφαπλοῦντος εἰς σταυρὸν τύπον, ἀκαταπλήκτω δὲ καὶ ἀτρέμει διανοία ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σχολαίτατα τεταμένου λυταῖς μηδ’ ὅλως τε μεθισταμένου μηδ’ ἀποκλίνον- τός ποι τοῦ ἐνθα εἰστήκει τόπον, ἀρκτῶν καὶ παρ- δάλεων θυμοῦ καὶ θανάτου πνεύμων σχεδὸν αὐτῆς καθαπτομένων αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅπως θεία καὶ ἀπορρήτω δυνάμει μόνον ὁχί φραττομένων τὸ στόμα καὶ αὕθες παλινδρομοῦντων εἰς τούπισι. καὶ οὕτως μὲν τις τουούτος ἦν 5 πάλιν δ’ ἀν ἐτέρους εἶδες (πέντε γὰρ οἱ πάντες ἐτύγχανον) ἡγισωμένω ταύρῳ παραβληθέντας, ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τῶν ἐξώθην προσιόντων τοῖς κέρασιν εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ῥῖπτων διεσπάραττεν, ἡμιθυνήτας αἵρεσθαι καταλιπτῶν, ἐπὶ μόνους δὲ θυμῶ καὶ ἀπειλή τοὺς ἱεροὺς ὅρμων μάρτυρας οὔδε πλησίαζεν αὐτοῖς οἷός τε ἦν, κυρίττων δὲ τοῖς ποσίν καὶ τοῖς κέρασιν τῇ δὲ κάκεισε χρώμενος καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν καυτήρων ἐρεθισμοὺς θυμοῦ καὶ ἀπειλῆς πνέων εἰς τούπισιν πρὸς τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀνθελκετο προοίμιος, ὡς μηδὲ τούτου μηδεν μηδαμῶς αὐτοὺς ἀδικήσαντος, ἔτερα ἄττα αὐτοῖς ἐπαφίεσθαι θηρία. τέλος δ’ οὖν μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ ποικίλας 6 τούτων προσβολάς ἐξέφει κατασφαγέντες οἱ πάντες ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τάφων τοῖς θαλαττίοις παραδίδονται κύμασιν. VIII. καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ ἁγὸς τῶν 1 κατὰ Τύρον τοὺς ὑπὲρ εὔσεβείας ἄδλους ἐν- δειξαμένων Αἰγυπτίων.

Acts 9, 1

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VIII. vii. 4—viii. 1

One might be astounded at the fearless and valiant bearing of those holy persons in the face of these trials, 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. 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. 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. Such was the contest of the Egyptians who at Tyre displayed their conflicts on behalf of piety.
ΕUSEDIUS

Θαυμάσαει δ' ἂν τις αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας γῆς μαρτυρήσαντας, ἐνθα μυρίοι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ἀνδρεῖς ἄμα γυναιξὶν καὶ παισίν, υπέρ τῆς τοῦ σωτήρος ἦμων διδασκαλίας, τοῦ προσκαίρου ἐως καταφρονήσαντες, διαφόρους ὑπέμειναν θανάτους, οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν μετὰ ἔσευμος καὶ στρεβλώσεις μάστιγας τε χαλεπωτάτας καὶ μυρίας ἄλλας πουκίλας καὶ φρυκτὰς ἀκοῦσαι βασάνους πυρὶ παραδοθέντες, οἱ δὲ πελάγη αὐτοβροχθισθέντες, ἀλλοι δ' εὐθαρσῶς τοὺς ἀποτέμνουσιν τὰς ἕαυτῶν προτείναντες κεφαλάς, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐναποθανόντες ταῖς βασάνοις, ἔτεροι δὲ λιμῷ διαφθαρέντες, καὶ ἀλλοι πάλιν ἀνασκολοπισθέντες, οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὸ σύνθες τοῖς κακούργοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ χειρόνως ἀνάπαυν κάτω κάρα προσηλωθέντες τηροῦμενοι τε ζώντες, εἰς ὅτε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἱκρίων λιμῷ διαφθαρέειν.

IX. Πάντα δ' ὑπεραίρει λόγον καὶ ἂς ὑπέμειναν 1 αἰκίας καὶ ἀληθόντας οἱ κατὰ Θηβαϊδα μάρτυρες, ὀστράκοις ἀντὶ ὅνυχων ὅλον τὸ σῶμα καὶ μέχρις ἀπαλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου καταξιώμενοι, γυναικιά τε τοῦ ποδοῦ εὺς ἐνὸς ἀποδοσμοῦμενα μετέωρα τε καὶ διαέρια κάτω κεφαλῆς μαγγάνοις τοις εἰς ψύχος ἀνέλκομενα γυμνοῖς τε παντελῶς καὶ μηδ' ἐπικεκαλυμμένοι τοῖς σώμασιν θέαν ταύτην αἰσχύνην καὶ πάντων ωμοτάτην καὶ ἀπανθρωπώτατην τοῖς ὄροσιν ἀπασιν παρεσχημένην' ἄλλοι δ' αὖ 2 πάλιν δένδρους καὶ πρέμυνος ἐναπέθυκενοι δεσμούμενοι τοὺς γὰρ μάλιστα στερροτάτους τῶν κλάδων μηχαναῖς τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῳ συνελκοντες εἰς ἐκάτερα τε τούτων τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων ἀποτείνοντες σκέλη, εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἑφίεσαν τοὺς κλάδους 274
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. 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. 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
φέρεσθαι φύσιν, ἂθρον τῶν μελῶν διασπασμὸν καθ’ ὧν ταῦτ’ ἐνεχείρουν ἐπινοοῦντες. καὶ ταῦτα γε πάντα ἐνηργεῖτο οὐκ ἔπ’ ὀλίγας ἥμερας ἡ χρόνον τινὰ βραχύν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ μακρὸν ὅλων ἐτῶν διάστημα, ὅτε μὲν πλειόνων ἡ δέκα, ὅτε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς εἰκοσὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἀναφεύγων, ἄλλοτε δὲ οὐχ ᾨττον καὶ τριάκοντα, ἦδη δ’ ἐγγὺς ποὺ ἔξηκοντα, καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοτε ἐκατόν ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ ἀνδρεῖς ᾗμα κομιδῆ νηπίων καὶ γυναιξίν ἐκτείνοντο, ποικίλαις καὶ ἐναλλαττοῦσαῖς τιμωρίαις κατα-}

dikαζόμενοι.

Ἰστορήσαμεν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων γενό-μενοι πλεῖους ἀθρόως κατὰ μίαν ἠμέραν τοὺς μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποτομῆν ὑπομείναντας, τοὺς δὲ τῆν διὰ πυρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὡς ἀμβλυνεσθαι φονεύοντα τὸν σύδηρον ἄτονον ὑποδῆτα τοιαύτας αὐτοὺς τὰς ἀναρροῦντας ἀποκάμνοντας ἀμοιβαδὸν ἀλλή-λους διαδέχεσθαι. ὅτε καὶ θαυμασιωτάτην ὁρμήν 5 θείαν τε ὣς ἀληθῶς δύναμιν καὶ προθυμίαν τῶν εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστευκότων συν-εωρώμεν. ᾗμα γοῦν τῇ κατὰ τῶν προτέρων ἀποφάσει ἐπεπήδῳ ἀλλοθεν ἄλλου τῷ πρὸ τοῦ δικαστοῦ ψήματι Χριστιανοὺς σφάς ομολογοῦντες, ἀφροντόστως μὲν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν πολυειδῶν βασάνων τρόπους διακείμενοι, ἀκατα-πλήκτως δὲ παρρησιαζόμενοι ἐπὶ τῇ εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεῶν εὐθεβείᾳ μετὰ τὰ χαρᾶς καὶ γέλωτος καὶ εὐθροσύνης τὴν υστάτην ἀπόφασιν τοῦ θανάτου καταδεχόμενοι, ἀπε ὅλλευν καὶ ὦμους καὶ εὐχαριστίας εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεῶν μέχρις αὐτῆς ἐσχάτης ἀναπέμπειν ἀναπνοῆς. θαυμάσιοι μὲν ὁυν καὶ οὕτω, ἐξαιρέτως δ’ ἐκεῖνοι θαυμασιώτεροι

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natural position: thus contriving the rending asunder all at once of the limbs of those who were the objects of this device. 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.

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. 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, those especially were marvellous who were distinguished
οι πλούτως μὲν καὶ ευγενεία καὶ δόξη λόγω τε καὶ
φιλοσοφία διαπρέποντές, πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα
θέμενοι τής ἀλήθος εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν
σωτῆρα καὶ κύριον ἦμων Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν πίστεως,
οίος Φιλόρωμος ὄν, ἄρχην τινα οὐ τὴν τυχόνσαν 1
τῆς κατ’ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλικῆς διοικήσεως ἐγ-
κεχειρισμένος, ὃς μετὰ τοῦ ἀξιώματος καὶ τῆς
Ῥωμαϊκῆς τιμῆς, ὑπὸ ορτανωταίς δορυφοροῦ-
μενος, ἐκάσης ἀνεκρίνετο ἡμέρας, Φιλέας τε τῆς
Θομοῦτῶν ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, διαπρέπασι ἀνήρ
ταῖς κατὰ τὴν πατρίδα πολιτείας τε καὶ λει-
tουργίαις ἐν τε τοῖς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν λόγοις: οἱ 8
καὶ μυρίων ὅσων πρὸς αἰματός τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
φιλων ἀντιβολοῦντων, ἔτι μὴν τῶν ἐπὶ ἀξιὰς
ἀρχόντων, προς δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ δικαστοῦ παρα-
καλοῦντος ὁς ἀν αὐτῶν οἴκτων λάβοιεν φειδῶ τε
παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν ποιήσομετο, οὐδαμῶς πρὸς
τῶν τοσοῦτων ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοζωῆσαι μὲν ἐλέσθαι,
kataφρονήσαι δὲ τῶν περὶ ὁμολογίας καὶ ἀρνήσεως
τοῦ σωτῆρος ἦμων θεσμῶν ὑπήχθησαν, ἀνδρεῖον
δὲ λογισμῷ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ εὑσεβεῖ καὶ
φιλοθέῳ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἀπάσας τοῦ δικαστοῦ τὰς τε
ἀπελάς καὶ τὰς υβρίς ἐνστάντες, ἀμφω τὰς
κεφαλὰς ἀπετμήθησαν.

X. Ἕστε πολλοὶ μαθημάτων ἔνεκα 1
πολλοῦ λόγου ἄξιον γενέσθαι τὸν Φιλέαν ἐφαμεν,
αὐτὸς ἐαυτοῦ παρίστῳ μάρτυς, ἀμα μὲν ἐαυτοῦ
ὀστὶς ποτ' ἦν, ἐπιδειξών, ἀμα δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ'
αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξάνδρεια συμβεβηκότα μαρτύρια
ἀκριβέστερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἡμεῖς ἱστορήσων διὰ
τούτων τῶν λεξεων.
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 en-
trusted with an office of no small importance in the
imperial administration at Alexandria, 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,¹ a man who was distinguished for the
services he rendered to his country in public positions,
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 pres-
sure 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 resolu-
tion, 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. But since we said ² 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 Alex-
andria. Here are his words:

¹ Thmuis was a town in Lower Egypt.
² 9. 7, above.
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ΑΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΕΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΟΜΟΤΙΣΑΣ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩΝ

"Τούτων ἀπάντων ὑποδειγμάτων ἡμῶν καὶ 2 ὑπογραμμῶν καὶ καλῶν γνωρισμάτων ἐν ταῖς θείαις καὶ ἑραῖς γραφαῖς κειμένων, οὐδὲν μελ- λήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι σὺν ἡμῖν μάρτυρες, τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμμα πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν καθαρῶς τείναντες καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ εὐσεβεῖα θανάτου ἐν νῷ λαβώντες, ἀπρὶς τῆς κλήσεως εἰχοντο, τῶν μὲν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εὐρόντες ἐνανθρωπή- σαντα δι' ἡμᾶς, ἵνα πάσαν μὲν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκκόψῃ, ἐφόδια δὲ τῆς εἰς τὴν αἰώνιον ζωὴν εἰσόδου ἡμῶν κατάθηται· οὐ γὰρ ἄρπαγμον ἡγήσατο τὸ εἶναι ἱσα θεῶ, ἀλλ' ἐαυτὸν ἐκένωσεν μορφήν δούλου λαβών, καὶ σχήματι εὐρεθεῖς ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἐαυτὸν ἐταπει- νωσεν ἐως θανάτου, θανάτου δὲ σταυροῦ· δι' ὃ 3 καὶ ζηλώσαντες τὰ μείζονα χαρίσματα οἱ χριστο- φόροι μάρτυρες πάντα μὲν πόνον καὶ παντοίας ἐπινοιών ἀκισμῶν οὐκ εἰς ἀπαξ, ἀλλ' ἡδὴ καὶ δεύτερον τινες ὑπέμειναν, πάσας δὲ ἀπειλᾶς οὐ λόγους μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργους τῶν δορυφόρων κατ' αυτῶν πιλοτιμουμένων, οὐκ ἐνδείδουν τὴν γνώμην διὰ τὸ τὴν τελειὰν ἁγάπην ἐξω βάλλειν τὸν φόβον· διὸ καταλέγειν τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐφ' ἐκάστη 4 βασάνῳ ἀνδρεῖαν τὶς ἀν ἀρκέσειν λόγος; ἀνέσεως γὰρ οὖσας ἀπασὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἐνυβρίζειν, οἱ μὲν ἐξουλοὶ ἐπαινοῦν, ἔτεροι δὲ ράβδοις, ἀλλοι δὲ μάστιξιν, ἔτεροι δὲ πάλιν ἴμασιν, ἀλλοι δὲ σχοινίοις. καὶ ἦν ἢ θέα τῶν αἰκισμῶν ἐνηλλαγμένη καὶ 5 πολλὴν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ κακίαν ἔχονσα. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσω τῷ χείρε δεθέντες περὶ τὸ ξύλον ἐξηρτῶντο

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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VIII. x. 2–5

From the Writings of Phileas to the Thmuites.

"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, 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. 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. Some with both hands bound behind them were suspended upon the gibbet, and with the aid of cer-
καὶ μαγγάνοις τισὶ διετέινοντο πᾶν μέλος, ἐθ’ οὕτως διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἐπήγγον ἐκ κελεύσεως οἱ βασανισταί, οὐ καθάπερ τοῖς φονεῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ κνημῶν καὶ παρειῶν τοῖς ἀμυντηρίοις ἐκόλαξον· ἐτεροὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς στοάς μιᾶς χειρὸς ἐξηρτημένοι αἰωροῦντο, πάσης ἀλγηδόνος δεινοτέραν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄρθρων καὶ μελῶν τάσιν ἔχοντες. ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς κίοσιν ἀντιπρόσωποι ἐδούντο, οὐ βεβηκόσιν τοῖς ποσίν, τῷ δὲ βάρει τοῦ σώματος βιαζομένων μετὰ τάσεως ἀνελκομένων τῶν δεσμῶν. καὶ τοῦθ’ ὑπέμενον, ὅπερ ἐφ’ ὅσον προσδειλέγετο ὁ ὅπο’ αὐτοὶς ἐσχόλαζεν ὁ ἥγεμων, ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐχὶ δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας. οτε γὰρ καὶ ἐφ’ ἔτερους μετέβανεν, τοῖς προτέρους κατελίμπανεν ἐφεδρεύειν τοὺς τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ ὑπηρετομένους, εἰ ποῦ τις ἥττηθεις τῶν βασάνων ἐνιδόναι ἐδόκει, ἀφειδῶς δὲ κελεύων καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς προσιέναι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ψυχορραγοῦντας αὐτοὺς κατατιθεμένους εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐλκεσθαί· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι κἂν 7 μέρος φροντίδος αὐτοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀλλ’ οὕτω καὶ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ πράττειν, ὡς μηκέτ’ ὄντων, ταῦτην δευτέραν βάσανον ἐπὶ ταῖς πληγαῖς τῶν ὑπεναντίων ἐφευρότων. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ καὶ μετὰ τοὺς 8 αἰκίσμους ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔξουλον κείμενοι, διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ὁπῶν διατεταμένου ἄμφω τῷ πόδε, ὡς καὶ κατὰ ἀνάγκην αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἔξουλον ὑπτίους εἶναι, μὴ δυναμένους διὰ τὸ ἐναυλὰ τὰ τραύματα ἀπὸ τῶν πληγῶν καὶ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος ἔχειν· ἐτεροὶ δὲ εἰς τοῦδαφος ῥιφέντες ἔκεντο ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν
tain 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, 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,¹ 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, 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. 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-

¹ The text gives no good sense: perhaps we should read προστίθεναι for προσέπαι: “he bade them actually add to their bonds without mercy.”
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βασάνων ἀθρόας προσβολῆς, δεινοτέραν τὴν ὁψιν
tῆς ἐνεργείας τοῖς ὀρῶσιν παρέχοντες, ποικίλας
καὶ διαφόρας ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν φέροντες τῶν
βασάνων τὰς ἐπινοιας. τούτων ούτως ἔχοντων ἦ
οἱ μὲν ἐναπέθηκεν ταῖς βασάνοις, τῇ καρτερίᾳ
cακασχύναντες τὸν ἀντίπαλον, οἱ δὲ ἤμαθνητε
ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ συγκλείομενοι, μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς
ήμερας ταῖς ἀλγηδόσι συνεχόμενοι ἐτελειώντο,
οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας ἀνακτήσεως
tυχόντες τῷ χρόνῳ καὶ τῇ τῆς φυλακῆς διατριβῇ
θαρσαλεώτεροι ἐγίνοντο. οὔτω γοῦν, ἡνίκα προσ-
etέτακτο αἱρέσεως κεμένης ἢ εφαυξάμενον τῆς
ἐναγούσθ υσίας ἀνενόχλητον εἶναι, τῆς ἐπαρατόν
ἐλευθερίας παρ’ αὐτῶν τυχόντα, ἡ μὴ θύόντα τὴν
ἐπὶ θανάτῳ δίκην ἐκδέχεσθαι, οὐδὲν μελλήσαντες
ἀσμένως ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐχώρον τῇ
ὑδεσαν γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν ἡμῖν προορισθέντα. ὁ γὰρ
θυσιάζων, φησίν, ὅθεος ἐτέροις ἐξολοθρευθήσεται,
kai ὅτι ὅπως ἐσονταί σοι θεοὶ ἐτεροὶ πλὴν ἐμοῦ.’’

Ex. 22, 20
Ibid. 20, 3

Τοιαύτα τοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλοσόφου τε ὁμοῦ 11
καὶ φιλοθέου μάρτυρος αἰ φωναὶ ὑπὸ τελευταίας
ἀποφάσεως, ὑπὸ τὴν δεσμωτηρίκην ἑθ’ ὑπάρχων
tάξιν, τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὸν παρουκίαν ἀδελφοῖς
ἐπεστάλκει, ἀμα μὲν τὰ ἐν ὠς ἦν, ἀνατιθέμενοι,
ἀμα δὲ καὶ παρορμῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπρίξ ἐχεσθαί
καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ ὅσον οὔτω τελειωθησόμενον τῆς
ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας. ἀλλὰ τὴ χρη πολλὰ λέγειν 12
καὶ καινοτέρας ἐπὶ καινοτέραις τῶν ἀνὰ τὴν ὁικο-
μένην θεοπρεπῶν μαρτύρων ἀθλήσεως παρατίθεσθαι,
μάλιστα τῶν οὐκέτι μὲν κοινῷ νόμῳ, πολέμου δὲ
tρόπως πεποιθορκημένων;
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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. 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. 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.'

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, especially of those who were assailed no longer by the common law, but as if they were enemies?
XI. Ἡδὴ γοῦν ὅλην Χριστιανῶν πολίχνην αὐτανδρον ἁμφι τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐν κύκλω περιβαλόντες ὁπλίται πῦρ τε υφάσματες κατέφλεξαν αὐτοῖς ἁμα νηπίοις καὶ γυναιξὶ τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸν ἐπιβοωμένους, ὅτι δὴ πανδημεί πάντες οἱ τὴν πόλιν οἰκονύτες λογισθῆς τε αὐτὸς καὶ στρατηγοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἐν τέλει πάσων καὶ ὅλῳ δήμῳ Χριστιανοὺς σφᾶς ὀμολογοῦντες, οὐδ’ ὀπωσδιοῦν τοῖς προστάττουσιν εἰδωλολατρεῖν ἐπειθάρχουν.

Καὶ τις ἔτερος Ἦρωμαίκης ἄξιας ἐπελημμένος, Ἀδαικτός τούνομα, γένος τῶν παρ᾿ Ἰταλῶς ἐπισήμων, διὰ πάσης προελθὼν ἀνὴρ τῆς παρὰ βασιλεύσι τιμῆς, ὡς καὶ τὰς καθόλου διοικήσεις τῆς παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς καλουμένης μαγιστρότητος τε καὶ καθολικότητος ἀμέμπτως διελθεῖν, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τούτοις διαπρέσας τοῖς ἐν θεοσβείᾳ κατορθώμασιν καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὀμολογίαις, τῷ τοῦ μαρτυρίου διαδῆματι κατεκαμήθη, ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τῆς τοῦ καθολικοῦ πράξεως τὸν ὑπὲρ εὐσβείαις ὑπομείνας ἁγῶνα.

XII. Τί με χρῆ νῦν ἐπ᾿ ὄνοματος τῶν λοιπῶν μνημονεύειν ἢ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἄρθικεν ἢ τὰς πολυτρόπους αἰκίας ἁναζωγραφεῖν τῶν θαυμασίων μαρτύρων, τοτὲ μὲν πέλυξ ἁναίρουμεν, οἰα γέγονεν τοῖς ἐπ᾿ Ἀραβίας, τοτὲ δὲ τὰ σκέλη κατεγνυμένων, οἰα τοῖς ἐν Καππαδοκία συμβεβηκεν, καὶ ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐκ τῶν ποδοῖν ἐῖς ὑψος ἁναρτωμένων καὶ μαλθακοῦ πυρὸς ὑποκαιμενοῦ τῷ παραπεμπομένῳ καπνῷ τῆς φλεγομένης ὑλῆς ἀποτυγχομένων, οἰα τοῖς ἐν.
XI. 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.

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. 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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Μέση τῶν ποταμῶν ἐπήχθη, ποτὲ δὲ ρίνας καὶ ὧτα καὶ χείρας ἀκρωτηριαζομένων τά τε λουτά τοῦ σώματος μέλη τε καὶ μέρη κρεουργομένων, οία τὰ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἦν;

Τί δεῖ τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας ἀναζωπυρεῖν τὴν 2 μνήμην, ἐσχάραις πυρὸς οὐκ εἰς θάνατον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ μακρὰ τιμωρία κατοπτωμένων, ἔτερων τε θάττον τὴν δεξίαν αὐτῶ πυρὶ καθιέντων ὡς τῆς ἔναγος θυσίας ἐφαπτομένων; ὡς τινες τὴν πείραν φεύγοντες, πρὶν ἀλώναι καὶ εἰς χεῖρας τῶν ἐπι- βούλων ἐλθέιν, ἀνωθεν εἰς ψηλῶν δωμάτων ἐαυ- τούς κατεκρήμνισαν, τὸν θάνατον ἀρπαγμα θέμενοι τῆς τῶν δυσσεβῶν μοχθηρίας.

Καί τις ἱερὰ καὶ δαιμοσία τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς 3 ἀρετὴν, τὸ δὲ σῶμα γυνῆ καὶ τὰ ἀλλα τῶν ἐπ᾽ Ἀντιοχείας πλούτῳ καὶ γένει καὶ εὐδοξίᾳ παρά πάσι βεβοημένη, παιδῶν ἐνωρίδα παρθένων τῇ τοῦ σώματος ὁρὰ καὶ ἀκμῆ διαπρεπονυσῶν θεσμοῖς εὐσεβείας ἀναθρηψαμένη, ἐπειδὴ πολὺς ὁ περὶ αὐτὰς κινοῦμενος φθόνος πάντα τρόπον ἀνιχνεύων λαθανούσας περιειργάζετο, εἰτ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοδαπῆς αὐτὰς διατρίβειν μαθῶν πεφροτυσμένως ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐκάλει δικτύων τε ἴδῃ στρατιωτικῶν εἰσὶν περιβέβλητο, ἐν ἀμηχανίας έαυτῆν καὶ τὰς παιδὰς θεαισμένη καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀνέθρωσσων δεινὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραθεῖσα τὸ τε πάντων δεινῶν καὶ ἀφρητότερον, πορνείας ἀπειλῆν, μηδὲ ἄκροις ωσὶν υπομεῖναι δεῖν ἀκούσαι έαυτῆ τε καὶ ταῖς κόραις παρακελευσαμένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ προδούναι

1 We learn from St. Chrysostom that her name was Domnina, and that her daughters were Bernice and Prosdoce. 288
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.

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.

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
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tάς ψυχάς τῇ τῶν δαμόνων δουλεία πάντων ὑπάρχειν θανάτων καὶ πάσης χειρὸν ἀπωλείας φήσασα, μέν τούτων ἀπάντων εἶναι λύσιν ὑπετίθετο τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν κύριον καταφυγήν, κάπετα ὁμοῦ τῇ γνώμῃ συνθέμεναι τὰ τε σώματα περιστέλασα κοσμίως τοῖς περιβλήμασιν, ἐπὶ αὐτῆς μέσης γενόμεναι τῆς ὀδοῦ, βραχὺ τι τοὺς φύλακας εἰς ἀναχώρησιν ὑποπαραίτησόμεναι, ἐπὶ παραρέοντα ποταμὸν ἦκοντισαν.

Αἰδε μὲν οὖν ἐαυτάς· ἀλλην δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἤξυνωρίδα παρθένου τὰ πάντα θεοπρεπῶν καὶ ἄληθως ἀδελφῶν, ἐπιδόξων μὲν τὸ γένος, λαμπρῶν δὲ τὸν βίον, νέων τοὺς χρόνους, ὄραϊν τὸ σώμα, σεμνῶν τὴν ψυχήν, εὐσεβῶν τὸν τρόπον, θαυμαστῶν τὴν σπουδήν, ὥσ ἂν μὴ χεροῦσῃ τῆς γῆς τὰ τοιαῦτα βαστάζειν, θαλάττῃ ὢπτειν ἐκείλευν οἱ τῶν δαμόνων θεραπευταί.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦτοι δὲ ἀκοαις κατὰ τὸν Πόντον ἔπασχον ἔτεροι, καλάμως ὀξέων τῶν χερῶν ἐξ ἀκρων ὄνωχων τοὺς δακτύλους διαπειρόμενοι, καὶ ἄλλοι, πυρὶ μολίβδου διατακέντος, βρασσοῦσῃ καὶ πεπυρακτωμένη τῇ ὕλῃ τὰ νῦν καταχεόμενοι καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀναγκαίωτα τοῦ σώματος κατοπτώμενοι, διὰ τὰ τῶν ἀπορρήτων ἔτεροι μελῶν τε καὶ σπλάγχων αἰσχρὰς καὶ ἀσυμπαθεῖς καὶ οὕδε λόγω ῥήτας ὑπέμενον πᾶθας, ὅς οἱ γενναῖοι καὶ νόμιμοι δυκασται τὴν σφῶν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δεινότητα, ὥσπερ τωά σοφίας ἄρετήν, φιλοτιμότερον ἐπενόουν, αἰεὶ ταῖς καινότεροι ἐφευρισκομέναις αἰκίαις, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγώνοις βραβείοις, ἀλλήλους ὑπερεξάγειν ἀμιλλώμενοι.

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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. 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.

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.

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; 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.
Ευσεβίους

Τὰ δ’ οὖν τῶν συμφορων ἐσχατα, ὅτε δὴ λοιπὸν ἀπειρήκοτες ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν κακῶν ὑπερβολῇ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτείνων ἀποκαμόντες πλησιμονὴν τε καὶ κόρον τῆς τῶν αἰμάτων ἐκχύσεως ἐσχηκότες, ἐπὶ τὸ νομιζόμενον αὐτοῖς χρηστὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐτρέποντο, ὅσο μὴν ἐνε δοκεῖν δεινον καθ᾽ ἡμῶν περιεργάζεσθαι. μὴ γὰρ καθήκειν φασίν αἴμασιν ἐμφυλίας μιαίνειν τὰς πόλεις μηδ’ ἐπ᾽ ὀμότητι τῇ ἀνωτάτῳ διαβάλλειν τῶν κρατοῦντων ἀρχῆν, εὐμενῆ τοῖς πάσιν ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ πραείαν, δειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῆς φιλανθρώπου καὶ βασιλικῆς ἔξουσίας εἰς πάντας ἐκτείνεσθαι τῇ εὐεργεσίᾳ, μηκέτι θανάτῳ κολαξομένους. λειψάθαι γὰρ αὐτῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ταύτην τὴν τιμωρίαν διὰ τὴν τῶν κρατοῦντων φιλανθρωπίαν. τηνικαῦτα ὁθαλόμους ἐξορύττεσθαι καὶ τοῖς σκελοῦν πηροῦσθαι θάτερον προσετάττετο. ταῦτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτοὶ τὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν τιμωρίων τὰ κουφότατα, ὡστε ἡδὴ ταυτης ἐνεκα τῆς τῶν ἄσεβῶν φιλανθρωπίας οὐκετ’ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἐξειπεῖν τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑπὲρ πάντα λόγον τοὺς μὲν δεξίον ὁθαλόμους ἔξεισι πρότερον ἐκκοπτομένων κάπειτα τοὺς πυρὶ καυτήριαζομένων, τοὺς δὲ λαίους πόδας κατὰ τῶν ἁγκυλῶν αὖθις καυτήριον ἄρχειομένων μετὰ τε ταῦτα τοῖς κατ᾽ ἐπαρχίαν χαλκοῦ μετάλλους ὑπηρεσίας τοσοῦτον ὅσον κακώσεως καὶ ταλαιπωρίας ἐνεκεν καταδικαζομένων πρὸς ἀπασί τε τούτους ἄλλων ἄλλοις ἄγωσιν, ὅσ μηδὲ καταλέγειν δυνατόν (νικά γὰρ πάντα λόγον τὰ κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἀνδραγαθήματα), περιπεπτωκότων.

'Ἐν δὲ τούτως ἔφ’ ὅλης τῆς οἰκουμένης διάλαμψαντες οἱ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες 292
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VIII. xii. 8-11

But the end of these calamities came when they were now worn out with their excessive wickedness, 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. 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, 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.

In these conflicts verily the magnificent martyrs of Christ were conspicuous throughout all the world,
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tous men apantaxoi tis andreiass auton epoptas
eikotws kateplhyanzto, tis de toiu swthiros hmyon
theias ws althwos kai aporrihoton dunameos emfanhe
di' eautwn ta tekmhria parpesthantio. ekastou
men ouv en' onomatos mhnomenewn makron an eih,
mh t' i ge tov adunatwn.

XIII. Tov de kata tais epismwous polies mar-
turhason ev ekklhsiaistikwn arxontwn prwtos
hmyin en esebwv stthlais tis Xristou basileias
anhyoreusin marptus episkopos tis Nikomhdeon
polwos, tin kefalhn apotmtheis, "Anbimmo, twn

d' ep' 'Antiocheias marptwn ton pantba biwn
aristos presbiteros tis autou paroukias, Lou-
kinos, en t' Nikomhdeia kai autous basilews
epiparontos ton ouryanov ton Xristou basileian
logw prteron di' apologias, eita de kai ergos
anakhrwgas. twn d' ep' 'Houkikhs marptwn ge-
nwnt an epismwttatoi ta pantata theofileis twn
logikwn Xristou thremmatwn poimenes, Tiranwun
episkopos tis kata Turon ekklhsias presbiteros
tis kata Siothna Zhnobios kai eti Silbanos
twn amphi tin "Emiswv ekklhsian episkopos. all'
optos men thriwn borba mev' eteron ep' auths
'Emisws genvmenos xoroi anelhphe marptwn,
tov d' ep' 'Antiocheias amwv ton tov theou logon
di' tis eis thanaton upomwvy eidoasaatyn, o mev
thalattioi paradotheis vuthois, o episkopos, o de
iatroin aristos Zhnobios taiz kata twn pleurwn
epistheies autw karterwv enapothanov basanois.
twn d' eti Palaiosthns marptwn Silbanos,
episkopos ton amphi tin Gzav ekklhsion, kata
ta en 'Hainoi xalwv metalla swn eterois enos
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and, as was natural, everywhere filled with amaze-
ment 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. 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,
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 com-
munity; 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. 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. The last-named became food for wild beasts,
along with others, at Emesa itself, and so was re-
ceived up into the choirs of martyrs; the other two
glorified the word of God at Antioch by their en-
durance 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 tor-
tures that were applied to his sides. Of the martyrs
in Palestine, Silvanus, bishop of the churches about
Gaza, was beheaded at the copper mines at Phaeno,
δέοντι τῶν ἀριθμῶν τεσσαράκοντα τὴν κεφαλήν ἀποτέμνεται, Ἀιγύπτιοι τε αὐτῶθι Πηλεῦς καὶ Νεῖλος ἐπίσκοποι μεθ’ ἐτέρων τὴν διὰ πυρὸς ὑπέμειναν τελευτήν. καὶ τὸ μέγα δὲ κλέος τῆς Κασαρέων παροικίας ἐν τούτοις ἦμιν μημο- νευέσθω Πάμφιλος πρεσβύτερος, τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς διαμασιώτατος, οὗ τῶν ἄνδραγαθημάτων τὴν ἀρετήν κατὰ τὸν δέονται καιρὸν ἀναγράφομεν. τῶν δ’ ἐπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας καθ’ ὅλης τε Αἰγύπτου καὶ Θηβαῖδος διαπρεπῶς τελειωθέντων πρῶτος Πέτρος, αὐτῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπος, θείον τι χρήμα διδασκάλων τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ θεοσεβείας, ἀναγεγράφθω, καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ πρεσβυτέρων Φαῦστος καὶ Δίος καὶ Ἀμμώνιος, τελείοι Χριστοῦ μάρτυρες, Φιλέας τε καὶ Ἡσύχιος καὶ Παχύμως καὶ Θεόδωρος, τῶν ἁμφὶ τὴν Ἀιγύπτου ἐκκλησίαν ἐπίσκοποι, μυρίοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄλλοι διαφανεῖς, οἳ πρὸς τῶν κατὰ χώραν καὶ τόπον παροικίων μημονεύονται· ὅν ἀνὰ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τὸ θείον εὐσεβείας ἡγωνισμένων γραφῆς παραδίδοναι τοὺς ἁθλοὺς ἐπ’ ἄκριβες τε ἐκαστὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν συμβεβηκτῶν ἱστορεῖν ὁμὶ ἡμέτερον, τῶν δ’ ὄνει τὰ πράγματα παρ- ειληφτῶν ἱδιον ἄν γένοιτο· οΐς γε μὴν αὐτὸς παρεγενόμην, τούτους καὶ τοῖς μεθ’ ἡμᾶς γνωρί- μους δι’ ἐτέρας ποιήσομαι γραφῆς. κατὰ γε μὴν τῶν παρόντα λόγον τὴν παλινωδίαν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς εἰργασμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπισυνάψω τά τε ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ συμβεβηκτοῦ, χρησιμώτατα τυγχανόντα τοῖς ἐνεπεξερόμενοις.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν πολέμου τῆς Ἄρωμαιῶν ἡγεμονίας, ἐν ὅσοις δὴ χρόνοις τὰ τῶν 296
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, 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, 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 work¹ those with whom I was personally conversant. In this present book, however, I shall subjoin to what has been said the recantation² of the things that were wrought concerning us, and all that befell since the beginning of the persecution, most profitable as they are to my readers.

Now as concerns the state of the Roman government before the war against us, during all the periods

¹ The reference is probably to the account of Pamphilus given in the Martyrs of Palestine. Eusebius’s Life of Pamphilus was, apparently, already written.
² See c. 17. 3-10.
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ἀρχόντων φίλια τε ἦν ἡμῖν καὶ εἰρήναι, ὅπως ἀγαθῶν εὐφορίας καὶ εὐετηρίας ἦξειτο, τίς ἄν ἐξαρκέσειν λόγος διηγήσασθαι; ὅτε καὶ οἱ μάλιστα τῆς καθόλου κρατοῦντες ἄρχης δεκαετηρίδας καὶ εἰκοσαετηρίδας ἐκπλήσσαντες, ἐν ἐορταῖς καὶ πανηγύρεσιν φαινοτάταις τε θαλάσσις καὶ εὐφροσύναις μετὰ πάσης εὐσταθοῦς διετέλουν εἰρήνης.

Ὅτω δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπαραποδίστως αὐξοῦσις καὶ 10 ἐπὶ μέγα δοσιμέραι προϊόντας τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἀθρόως τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνης μεταθέμενοι, πόλεμον ἀσπονδόν ἐγείρουσιν. οὕτω δ’ αὐτοῖς τῆς τοιᾶσις κυνήσεως δεύτερον ἔτος πεπλήρωτο, καὶ τί περὶ τῆν ὁλήν ἄρχης νεώτερον γεγονός τὰ πάντα πράγματα ἀνατρέπει. νόσου γὰρ οὐκ αἰσθά 11 τῶν πρωτοστάτη τῶν εἰρημένων ἐπισκηπτόσης, ὥσ’ ἦσ’ ἡδὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς διανοίας εἰς ἐκστάσιν αὐτῷ παρῆγετο, σὺν τῷ μετ’ αὐτῶν δευτερείοις τετμημένῳ τὸν δημώδη καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν ἀπολαμβάνει βίον. οὕτω δὲ ταύθ’ οὕτω πέπρακτο, καὶ δικῇ τὰ πάντα τῆς ἄρχης διαιρεῖται, πράγμα μηδ’ ἄλλοτε πω πάλαι γεγονός μνήμη παραδεδομένων.

Χρόνου δ’ οὖ πλείουσιν μεταξὺ γενομένου βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος τὸν πάντα βίον πραότατα καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις εὐνοικώτατα τῷ τε θείῳ λόγῳ προσφιλέστατα διαθέμενος, παῖδα γνήσιον Κωνσταντῖνον αὐτοκράτορα καὶ Σεβαστὸν ἄνθ’ ἑαυτοῦ

1 Festivals at the beginning of the tenth and of the twentieth year of a reign.
2 A.D. 305.
3 i.e. Diocletian.
4 i.e. Maximinian.
5 The meaning of this sentence is that the Empire was 298
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\(^1\) 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.

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\(^2\) 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. For a fateful disease fell upon him who stood first among those of whom we spoke,\(^3\) which caused his mind to become deranged; and, along with him who had been honoured with the second place after him,\(^4\) 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.\(^5\)

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\(^6\) according to the common law of nature, leaving his lawful son Constantine Emperor and Augustus in his

divided in respect of its treatment of Christians: persecution continued in the East, while it ceased in the West.

\(^6\) A.D. 306.
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καταλιπών, κοινῷ φύσεως νόμω τελευτά τὸν βίον, πρῶτος τε ἐν θεοῖς ἄνηγορεύετο παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀπάσης μετὰ θάνατον, ὅση βασιλεῖ τις ἂν ωφείλετο, τιμῆς ήξιωμένος, χρηστότατος καὶ ἱππώτατος βασιλέων· ὡς δὴ καὶ μόνος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπαξίως ἡ τῆς ἥγεμονίας τὸν πάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διατελέσας χρόνον καὶ τάλλα τοῖς πάσι δεξιώτατον καὶ εὐεργετικώτατον παρασχὼν ἕαυτὸν τοῦ τε καθ' ἡμῶν πολέμου μηδαμῶς ἐπικοινωνήσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτὸν θεοσεβεῖς ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους φυλάξας καὶ μῆτε τῶν ἐκκλησίων τοὺς οἶκους καθελὼν μὴθ' ἔτερον τι καθ' ἡμῶν καινοουργῆσας, τέλος εὐδαιμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ἀπειληφέν τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας εὐμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐπὶ διαδόχῳ γνησίῳ παιδὶ πάντα σωφρονεστάτω τε καὶ εὐσεβεστάτω τελευτήσας.

Τούτου παῖς Κωνσταντῖνος εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ Σεβαστὸς πρὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τούτων πρότερον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ ἀναγορευθεὶς, ξηλώτην ἐαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τῶν ἡμέτερον λόγον εὐσεβείας κατεστήσατο.

Καὶ οὗτος μὲν τοιοῦτος· Λικίνινος δ' ἐπὶ τούτους ὕπο κοινῆς ψήφου τῶν κρατούντων αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ Σεβαστὸς ἀναπέφηγεν. ταῦτα Μαξιμῖνον δει-δυνῶς ἐλύσει, μόνον Καίσαρα παρὰ πάντας εἰς ἐτὸς χρηματιζόντα· ὡς δὴ οὗ τὰ μάλιστα τυραννικὸς ὦν, παραρπάσας ἕαυτῷ τήν ἀξίαν, Σεβαστὸς

1 Not, of course, the first emperor to receive divine honours, but the first of the four rulers who at that time divided the Empire between them.

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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. 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 favour-able 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.

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. Therefore, being above all things a tyrant, he fraudulently seized the honour for himself, and became Augustus, appointed such by him-

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2 The reference seems to be to the Congress of Carnuntum, Nov. 307, when Licinius, who appears to have been already Caesar, was given the title of Augustus.
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ήν, αὐτὸς υφ’ ἕαυτος γεγονὼς. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Κωνσταντῖνῳ μηχανὴν θανάτου συρράπτων ἄλοις ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἀπόθεσιν ἐπανηρήσθαι δεδηλωμένος αἰσχίστω καταστρέφει θανάτω. πρῶτον δὲ τούτου τὰς ἐπὶ τιμὴ γραφὰς ἀνδριάντας τε καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐπ’ ἀναβέσει νενόμισται, ὡς ἀνοσίαν καὶ δυσσεβεστάτου καθήρουν.

XIV. Τούτου παῖς Μαξέντιος, ὁ τὴν ἐπὶ 1 'Ρώμης τυραννίδα συστησάμενος, ἀρχόμενος μὲν τὴν καθ’ ἡμᾶς πίστων ἐπ’ ἀρεσκεία καὶ κολακεία τοῦ δήμου 'Ῥωμαίων καθυπεκρίνατο ταῦτη τε τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀνεών προστάτεται διωγμόν, εὐσέβειαν ἐπιμορφάζων καὶ ὡς ἄν δεξίος καὶ πολὺ πράος παρὰ τοὺς προτέρους φανεῖν· οὐ 2 μὴν οίος ἔσεσθαι ἡλπίσθη, τοιοῦτος ἔργους ἀναπέφησεν, εἰς πάσας δ’ ἀνοσιοργίας ὁκείλας, οὐδὲν ὁ τι μαρίας ἄργον καὶ ἀκολογίας παραλέλοιπεν, μοιχείας καὶ παντοτας ἐπιτελῶν φθοράς. διαζευγνύος γε τοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰς κατὰ νόμον γαμετάς, ταύτας ἐνυβρίζων ἀτιμῶτα, τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὕτης ἀπέπεμπεν, καὶ ταῦτ’ οὐκ ἀσήμιος οὐδ’ ἀφανέσων ἐγχειρῶν ἐπετήδευεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν ὁ μάλιστα τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τῆς 'Ῥωμαίων συγκλήτου βουλῆς ἀπενηγεμένων ἐμπαρούν τοῖς ἐξοχωτάτοις. οἱ πάντες δ’ αὐτῶν ὑποπεπτηχότες, 3 δήμοι καὶ ἄρχοντες, ἐνδοξοὶ τε καὶ ἀδοξοί, δεινὴ κατετρύχοντο τυραννίδι, καὶ οὐδ’ ἢρεμοῦντων καὶ τὴν πικρὰν φερόντων δουλείαν ἀπαλλαγὴ τις ὁμος ἡν τῆς τοῦ τυράννου φονώσης ὑμότητος. ἐπὶ σμικρὰ γοῦν ἡδη ποτὲ προφάσει τὸν δήμον εἰς

1 i.e. Maximian: see § 11 above.
self. 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. 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. 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. 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
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φόνον τοὺς ἅμφ' αὐτὸν δορυφόροι ἐκδίδοσιν, καὶ ἐκτείνετο μυρία τοῦ δήμου Ὁρμαῖων πλήθη, ἔπι μέσης τῆς πόλεως, οὐ Σκυθῶν οὐδὲ βαρβάρων ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκείων δόρασι καὶ πανοπλίαις· συγκλητικῶν γε μὴν φόνος ὅπόσος δι' ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνηργεῖτο τῆς οὐσίας, οὔτ' ἐξαριθμήσασθαι δυνατόν, ἄλλοτε ἄλλας πεπλασμέναις αἰτίαις μυρίων ἀναιρομένων. ἢ δὲ τῶν κακῶν τῷ τυράννῳ 5 κορώνις ἐπὶ γοητείαν ἤλαυνεν, μαγικάς ἐπινοίαις τοτε μὲν γυναῖκας ἐγκύμονας ἀνασχίζοντος, τοτε δὲ νεογνῶν σπλάγχνα βρεφῶν διερευνωμένου λέοντάς τε κατασφάττοντος καὶ τινὰς ἀρρητοποιώς ἐπὶ δαιμόνων προκλήσεις καὶ ἀποτροπιασμὸν τοῦ πολέμου συνισταμένου· διὰ τούτων γὰρ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς νίκης κατορθωθήσεσθαι ἢ πᾶσα ἐτύγχανεν ἐλπίς.

Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης τυραννῶν οὖδ' ἐστιν 6 εἰπεῖν οἷα δρῶν τοὺς ὑπηκόους κατεδουλώτο, ὡς ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τροφῶν εὖ ἐσχάτη στάντε καὶ ἀπορία καταστάναι, ὅσην ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης οὐδ' ἄλλοτε οἱ καθ' ἥμασ γενέσθαι μνημονεύουσιν.

Ὁ δ' ἐπὶ ἀνατολής τύραννος Μαξιμῖνος, ὡς ἂν 7 πρὸς ἀδελφὸν τὴν κακίαν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης φιλίαν κρύβην σπενδόμενος, ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον λαυθάνειν ἐφρόντιζεν· φωραθεὶς γέ τοι ὑστερον δίκην τίνυσι τὴν ἄξιαν. ἢν δὲ θαυμάσαι ὅπως 8 καὶ οὗτος τὰ συγγενῆ καὶ ἀδελφὰ, μᾶλλον δὲ κακίας τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια τῆς τοῦ κατὰ 'Ῥώμην τυράννου κακοτροπίας ἀπεννηγεμένος· γοήτων τε γὰρ καὶ μάγων οὶ πρῶτοι τῆς ἀνωτάτω

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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. 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. 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.

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.

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\(^1\) and paid the just penalty. 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

\(^1\) When Constantine entered Rome after the battle of the Milvian Bridge (ix. 9. 2-7).
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παρ' αυτῷ τιμῆς ἥξιωντο, ψοφοδεσθε ἐς τὰ μάλιστα καὶ δεισδαμονεστάτου καθεστώτος τὴν τε περὶ τὰ εἰδώλα καὶ τοὺς δαιμόνας περὶ πολλοῦ τιθεμένου πλάνην· μαντείων γοῦν δίχα καὶ χρησμῶν οὐδὲ μέχρις ὄνυχος ὡς εἰπεῖν τολμᾶν τι κινεῖν οἷος τε ἢν· ὃν χάριν καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν σφοδρότερον ἢ οἱ 9 πρόσθεν καὶ πυκνότερον ἐπετίθετο διωγμῷ, νεὼς κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἐγείρεων καὶ τὰ χρόνου μήκει καθηρημένα τεμένη διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνανεώσαντα προστάτων ἔρεας τε εἰδῶλων κατὰ πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας ἀρχιερεία τῶν ἐν πολιτείαις ἐνα γε τις τῶν μάλιστα ἐμφανῶς διὰ πάσης ἐμπρέψαντα λειτουργίας μετὰ στρατιωτικοῦ στίφους καὶ δορυφορίας ἐκ- τάσσουν ἀνέδην τε πᾶσιν γόνης, ὡς ἂν εὔσεβεσσιν καὶ θεῶν προσφιλέσω, ἤγεμονίας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας προνομίας δωρούμενος. ἐκ δὴ τούτων ὅρμομενος, 10 πόλιν μὲν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ χώραν, ἀλὰς δὲ ἄρδην τὰς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπαρχίας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ χρημάτων ἀμυθήτων εἰσπράξεσιν ἐπισκήψεσθιν τε βαρυτάταις καὶ ἄλλως ἄλλας καταδίκαις ἡνία καὶ κατεπιεῖξεν. τῶν γε μὴν εὐτόροις τὰς ἐκ προγόνων περιποιηθείσας ωσὶς ἀφαιρούμενος, πλούτους ἀθρώσες καὶ σωροὺς χρημάτων τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν κόλαξιν ἐδωρεῖτο. παροινίας γε μὴν καὶ μέθης ἐς τοσαύτην ἴνεχθη φοράν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πότωι παρακόπτειν καὶ τῶν φρενῶν παρεξίστασθαι τοιαύτα τε μεθύοντα προστάτευν, οία ἀνανήφαντα αὐτῶν τῇ υστεραίᾳ εἰς μετάμελον ἄγειν· κραυγάλης δὲ καὶ ἀσωτίας μηδενὶ καταλιπῶν ὑπερβολῆν, κακίας διδάσκαλον τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἄρχουσί τε καὶ ἀρχομένοις ἐαυτῶν καθίστη, θρύπτεσθαι μὲν τὸ 306
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, 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, 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, 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
στρατιωτικόν διὰ πάσης τρυφῆς τε καὶ ἀκολασίας ἐνάγων, ἤγεμόνας δὲ καὶ στρατοπεδάρχας δι' ἀρπαγών καὶ πλεονεξίας χωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων μόνον οὐχὶ συντυπανοῦντας αὐτῷ προκαλοῦμενος. τί δέι τάς ἐμπαθείς τάνδρος ἀσχορυγίας μνη-μονεύειν ἢ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοῦ μεμοιχευμένων ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι τὴν πληθύν; οὐκ ἦν γέ τοι πόλιν αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν μὴ οὐχὶ ἐκ παντὸς φθορᾶς γυναικῶν παρθένων τὰ ἀρπαγάς εἰργασμένων. κατὰ πάντων 15 γέ τοι αὐτῷ ταῦτα προσψκόρει, μὴ ὅτι μόνων Ἀριστιανῶν: οἱ θανάτοι καταφρονήσαντες παρ' οὕθεν αὐτοῦ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐθέντο τυραννίδα. οἱ λέγει γὰρ ἀνδρεῖς ἀνατλάντες πῦρ καὶ σίδηρον καὶ προσπλῶσεις θηρᾶς τε ἀγρίως καὶ θαλάττης βυθοῦς ἀποτομᾶς τε μελῶν καὶ καυτῆρας καὶ ὀφθαλμῶν κεντήσεις τε καὶ ἔξωρύξεις καὶ τοῦ παντὸς σώματος ἀκρωτηριασμοῦς λιμῶν τε ἐπὶ τοῦτος καὶ μέταλλα καὶ δεσμά, ἐπὶ πάντων μᾶλλον ὑπομονὴν τὴν ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐνεδείξαντο ἢ τὸ σέβας τὸ εἰς θεὸν εἰδώλους ἀντικατηλλάξαντο, αἱ δ' αὐ γυναῖκες οὐχ ἦττον τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς 14 τοῦ θείου λόγου διδασκαλίας ἠρρενομέναι, αἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀνδραῖς ἀγῶνας ὑποστᾶσαι ἵσα τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπηνέγκαντο βραβεία, αἱ δὲ ἐπὶ φθορὰν ἑλκόμεναι θάττον τὴν ψυχὴν θανάτῳ ἢ τὸ σῶμα τῇ φθορᾷ παραδεδώκασιν. μόνη γοῦν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ 16 τυράννου μεμοιχευμένων Χριστιανῆ τῶν ἑπ’ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐξωισμοτάτη τε καὶ λαμπροτάτη τὴν ἐμπαθὴ καὶ ἀκόλαστον Μαξιμίνου ψυχὴν δι’ ἀνδρειοτάτου παραστήματος ἐξενίκησεν, ἐνδοξὸς μὲν τὰ ἄλλα πλοῦτω τε καὶ γενεὶ καὶ παιδεία, πάντα γε μὴν δεύτερα σωφροσύνης τεθειμένη· ἦν 308
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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. 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. 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: 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. A certain Christian lady,¹ 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 im-

¹ Rufinus informs us that her name was Dorothea.
καὶ πολλὰ λυπαρήσας, κτεῖναι μὲν ἑτοίμως θυμίσκειν ἔχουσαν οὐχ οἰός τε ἢν, τῆς ἐπιθυμίας μᾶλλον τοῦ θυμοῦ κατακρατοῦσης αὐτοῦ, φυγὴ δὲ ἐξημώσας πάσης ἀφειλετο τῆς οὐσίας. μυρίαι δὲ ἄλλαι πρὸς τῶν κατ’ ἔθνος ἀρχόντων, πορνεῖας ἀπελήνυ μηδ’ ἀκούσαι δεδυνημέναι, πᾶν εἴδος βασάνων καὶ στρεβλώσεων καὶ θηβανηφόρου κολάσεως ὑπέστησαν.

Θαυμαστάι μὲν οὖν καὶ αὐταῖ, ὑπερφυὸς γε μὴν θαυμασιωτάτη ἢ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης εὐγενεστάτη τῷ ὄντι καὶ σωφρονιστάτη γυναὶ πασῶν αἰς ἐμπαρούν τὸ ἐκεῖσε τῦραννος Μαξέντιος, τὰ ὅμως Μαξιμίνων δρῶν, ἐπειράτο. ὦ γὰρ ἐπιστάντας τῷ οἴκῳ τούς τὰ τοιαύτα τῷ τυράννῳ διακονουμένους ἐπύθετο (Χριστιανὴ δὲ καὶ αὐτή ἢν), τὸν τε ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, καὶ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ὄντα ἔπαρχον, τοῦ δέοις ἔνεκα λαβόντας ἁγείν αὐτὴν ἐπιτρέπαντα, ἐσ βραχὺ ὑποπαραίτησαμένη, ὡς ἂν δὴ κατακοσμηθεῖν τὸ σῶμα, εἴσεισαν ἐπὶ τοῦ ταμείου καὶ μονωθεῖσα ξίφος καθ’ ἑαυτῆς πήγνυσιν, θανοῦσα τε παραχρῆμα, τὸν μὲν νεκρὸν τοῖς προαιγνωσίς καταλιμπάνει, ἔργους δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπάσης φωνῆς γεγωνοτέροις, ὅτι μόνον χρημάτων ἀήττητον τε καὶ ἁνώλεθρον ἡ παρὰ Χριστιανοὶ ἀρετὴ πέφυκεν, εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους τοὺς τε νῦν ὄντας καὶ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα γενησομένους ἐξέφηνεν. τοσαῦτῆ δὴ τὰ 18 κακίας φορὰ υφ’ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν συννέχθη καὶρὸν πρὸς τῶν δύο τυράννων ἀνατολὴν καὶ δύσων διειληφότων κατεργασθείσα· τίς δ’ ἄν τὴν τῶν τοσοῦτων διερευνώμενος αἰτίαν διστάζαι μὴ συχί τὸν καθ’ ἥμοι διωγμὸν ἀποφήγνασθαι; ὅτε γε μάλιστα οὐ πρότερον τὰ τῆς τοσῆδε πέπαυτο

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portuned 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. 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,¹ truly the most noble and chaste of all those towards whom the tyrant there, Maxentius, in conduct like Maximin, 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. 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

¹ Sophronia, according to Rufinus.
συγχύσεως ἡ Χριστιανοὺς τὰ τῆς παρρησίας ἀπολαβεῖν.

XV. Διὰ παντὸς γέ τοι τοῦ κατὰ τὸν διωγμὸν 1
dekaέτους χρόνου τῶν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν καὶ πόλεμον
tὸν κατ’ ἄλληλων οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς διαλέοιτον.
ἀπλωτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ θάλατταν ἢν οὐδ’ ἔξην ποθὲν
καταπλεύσαντας μὴ οὐχὶ πάσαις αἰκίαις ὑπάγεσθαι
στρεβλουμένους καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς καταξανομένους
βασάνους τε παντοῖς, μὴ ἄρα παρὰ τῶν δι’
ἐναντίας ἐχθρῶν ἦκοιεν, ἀνακρινομένους καὶ τέλος
σταυροῦ ἡ τῇ διὰ πυρὸς ὑπαγομένους κολάσει,
ἀσπίδων ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ θωρῆκων παρασκευαί 2
βελῶν τε καὶ δοράτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πολεμικῆς
παρατάξεως ἐτοιμασία προήρων τε καὶ τῶν κατὰ
ναυμαχίαν ὅπλων κατὰ πάντα συνεκροτοῦντο
τόπων οὐδ’ ἦν ἄλλο τι παντὶ των προσδοκάν ἢ
πολέμων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἔφοδον ἡμέραν. τούτους
καὶ ὦ μέτα ταῦτα λιμὸς τε καὶ λομὸς ἐγκατα-
σκήπτει, περὶ ὅν κατὰ καιρὸν ἱστορήσομεν τὰ
δέοντα.

XVI. Τοιαῦτ’ ἢν τὰ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ διωγμοῦ 1
παρατετακότα, δεκάτω μὲν ἔτει σὺν θεοῦ χάριτι
παντελῶς πεπαυμένου, λωφᾶν γε μὴν μετ’ ὀγδοοῦ
ἔτος ἐναρξαμένου. ὡς γὰρ τὴν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπισκοπὴν
eὔμενη καὶ ἒλεος ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος χάρις ἐν-
εδεϊκνυτο, τότε δήτα καὶ οἱ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἄρχοντες,
αὐτοὶ δὴ ἐκεῖνοι δι’ ὅν πάλας τὰ τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς
ἐνηργείτο πολέμων, παραδοξότατα μεταθέμενοι τῇ
γνώμῃ, παλινωδίαν ἰδον χρηστοῖς περὶ ἡμῶν
προγράμμασιν καὶ διατάγμασιν ἡμερωτάτους τῆν
ἐπὶ μέγα ἀφθείσαν τοῦ διωγμοῦ πυρκαίαν σβεν-
νύντες. οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον δὲ τι τούτου κατέστη 2

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great state of confusion until Christians recovered
their rights of freedom.

XV. 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 un-
navigable, 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, 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 pesti-
ulence broke out among them, about which we shall
recount what is necessary at the proper time.

XVI. 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,\(^1\) 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, as one

\(^1\) A.D. 313.
αἵτινον οὐδ' ὁκτος, ὃς ἂν φαίη τις, ἡ φιλανθρωπία τῶν ἀρχόντων· πολλοῦ δεῖ· πλείω γὰρ ὁσιμέραι καὶ χαλεπώτερα ἀρχηθεὶν καὶ εἰς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ καυροῦ τὰ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπενοεῖτο, ποικιλωτέραις μηχαναῖς ἄλλοτε ἄλλως τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν αἰκίας ἐπικαινουργοῦντων· ἀλλ' αὐτῆς γε τῆς θείας προνοίας ἐμφανῆς ἐπίσκεψις, τῷ μὲν αὐτῆς κατ- 
αλλαττομένης λαῷ, τῷ δ' αὐθέντῃ τῶν κακῶν ἐπεξιούσης καὶ πρωτοστάτῃ τῆς τοῦ παντός δι-
ωγμοῦ κακίας ἐπιχολομένης. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τι 3 
ταῦτ' ἔχρην κατὰ θείαν γενέσθαι κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ 
"οὐαί," φησίν ὁ λόγος, "δι' οὐ δ' ἂν τὸ σκάνδαλον ἔρχηται." 
μέτεισιν δ' οὖν αὐτὸν θεήλατος κόλα-
σις, ἐξ αὐτῆς αὐτοῦ καταρξαμένη σαρκὸς καὶ 
μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς προελθοῦσα. ἀθρόα μὲν γὰρ 4 
περὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ἀπορρήτων τοῦ σώματος ἀπό-
στασις αὐτῷ γίνεται, εἷδ' ἔλκος ἐν βάθει συρυ-
γώδες καὶ τούτων ἄνιατος νομὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐν-
δοτάτω σπλάγχνων· ἀφ' ὧν ἄλεκτόν τι πλῆθος σκωλήκων βρύειν θανατώδη τε ὁδηγὴν ἀποπνεῖν, 
τοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου τῶν σωμάτων ἐκ πολυτροφίας 
αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸ τῆς νόσου εἰς ύπερβολὴν πλήθους 
πυμελῆς μεταβεβληκότος, ἢν τότε κατασπεὶσάν 
ἀφόρητον καὶ φρικτοτάτην τοῖς πλησιάζουσι 
pαρέχειν τὴν θέαν. ἱατρῶν δ' οὖν οἱ μὲν οὐδ' 5 
όλως ὑπομείναι τὴν τοῦ δυσώδους ύπερβάλλουσαν 
ἀτοπίαν οἶοι τε, κατεσφάττοντο, οἱ δὲ διωδηκότος 
tοῦ παντὸς ὄγκου καὶ εἰς ἀνέλπιστον σωτηρίας 
ἀποπεπτωκότος μηδὲν ἐπικουρεῖν δυνάμενοι, ἀ-
νηλεώς ἐκτείνοντο.

1 Galeriius.
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,\(^1\) and was wroth with him as the chief author of the wickedness of the persecution as a whole. 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.\(^2\) A divinely-sent punishment, I say, executed vengeance upon him, beginning at his very flesh and proceeding to the soul. 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, 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.

\(^2\) Luke xvii. 1 (inexact quotation). The words, "and was wroth . . . cometh" are omitted in several important mss.
EUSEBIUS

XVII. Καὶ δὴ τοσοῦτοι παλαιῶν κακοὶς συν-ι
αίσθησιν τῶν κατὰ τῶν θεοσεβῶν αὐτῶ τετολ-
μημένων ἂσχει, συναγαγών δὲ οὖν εἰς ἑαυτὸν τὴν
διάνοιαν, πρῶτα μὲν ἀνθρομολογεῖται τῷ τῶν ὅλων
θεῶ, εἰτὰ τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτῶν ἀνακαλέσας, μηδὲν
ὑπερθεμένους τὸν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἀποπαύσαι
διωγμὸν νόμως τε καὶ δόγματι βασιλικῷ τὰς
ἐκκλησίας αὐτῶν οἰκοδομεῖν ἐπισπέρχει καὶ τὰ
συνήθη διαπράττεσθαι, εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλείου
ποιομένους, προστάτει. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἐργοῦ τῷ
λόγῳ παρηκολοουθηκότος, ἢπλωτο κατὰ πόλεις
βασιλικὰ διατάγματα, τὴν παλινιδίαν τῶν καθ'
ήμᾶς τούτων περιέχοντα τὸν τρόπον.

"Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γαλέριος Οὐαλέριος
Μαξιμανὸς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέ-
γιστος, Γερμανίκους μέγιστος, Αἰγυπτιακῆς μέγι-
στος, Θρακίκους μέγιστος, Σαρματικῆς μέγιστος
πεντάκις, Περσῶν μέγιστος δίς, Κάρπων μέγιστος
ἐξάκις, Ἀρμενίων μέγιστος, Μῆδων μέγιστος,
Ἀδιαβροῦν μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ
eἰκοστὸν, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ἐννεακαιδέκατον, ὑπατος
tὸ ὀγδοον, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος: καὶ
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Φλαύιος Οὐαλέριος
Κων-
σταντῖνος εὐσεβῆς εὐτυχῆς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστός,
ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτο-
κράτωρ τὸ πέμπτον, ὑπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος,
ἀνθύπατος. [καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Οὐαλέριος
Λικίνιανὸς Λικίνιος εὐσεβῆς εὐτυχῆς ἀνίκητος
Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς ἑξ-

1 i.e. hailed as Imperator by the army after some notable victory.
2 Laetantius states that the edict was issued in the name of all four emperors (cf. also 16. 1), so that Maximin's
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ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, VIII. xvii. 1-5

XVII. 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. 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: “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, Pontifex Maximus, holding the Tribunician Power, Emperor for the fifth time, Consul, Father of his country, Proconsul: [And the Emperor Caesar Valerius Licinianus Licinius Pius Felix Invictus Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, holding the Tribunician names and titles, here omitted, must have appeared in the original where the lacuna is indicated. Similarly, some mss. omit the reference to Licinius, which is here placed in brackets. Both Maximin and Licinius persecuted the Christians subsequently, and this fact may have led to the omission of their names.
ουσίας τὸ τέταρτον, αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ τρίτον, ὕπατος, πατὴρ πατρίδος, ἀνθύπατος, ἐπαρχιώταῖς ἰδίως χαίρειν.]

"Μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀπερ ύπερ τοῦ χρησίμου καὶ λυσιτελοὺς τοῖς δημοσίοις διατυπούμεθα, ἦμεις μὲν βεβουλήμεθα πρῶτερον κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους νόμους καὶ τὴν δημοσίαν ἐπιστήμην τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἄπαντα ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ τούτου πρόνοιαν ποιῆσασθαι ἵνα καὶ οἱ Χριστιανοὶ, οὕτως τῶν γονέων τῶν ἐαυτῶν καταλειπάσαν τὴν αἰρέσιν, εἰς ἁγαθὴν πρόθεσιν ἐπανέλθωσιν· ἐπείπερ τινὶ λογισμῷ τοσαύτῃ αὐτοὺς πλεονεξία 7 κατεσχήκει καὶ ἀνοιὰ κατειλήφει ὡς μὴ ἐπεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι καταδείχθεισιν, ἀπερ ἵνας πρῶτερον καὶ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἢσαν καταστήσαντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν πρόθεσιν καὶ ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἐβουλέτο, οὕτως ἐαυτοῖς καὶ νόμους ποιῆσαι καὶ τούτους παραφυλάσσειν καὶ ἐν διαφόροις διάφορα πλήθη συνάγειν. τοιγαροῦν τοιοῦτον ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν 8 προστάγματος παρακολουθήσαντος ὥστε ἐπὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων καταστάθεντα ἐαυτοὺς μετα- στήσαιεν, πλείστοι μὲν κινδύνω ὑποβληθέντες, πλείστοι δὲ ταραξθέντες παντοίους θανάτους ὑπε- έφερον· καὶ ἐπείδὴ τῶν πολλῶν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀπονοίᾳ 9 διαμενόντων ἐωρώμεν μήτε τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ἐπι- ουρανίοις τὴν ὀφειλομένην θρησκείαν προσάγειν αὐτοὺς μήτε τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσέχειν, ἀφοροῦντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν καὶ τὴν διηνεκὴ συνήθειαν δι᾽ ἐς ἐιώθαμεν ἄπασιν ἀνθρώπους συγγνώμην ἀπονέμειν, προθυμότατα

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Power for the fourth time, Emperor for the third time, Consul, Father of his country, Proconsul: to the people of their provinces, greeting.]

"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 order¹ 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 ² that, 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, 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; 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

¹ ἐπιστήμη is the usual translation of disciplina (the word in the original in this place) in documents of this kind. The same word and translation occur again in § 9.

² The words, "and . . . folly" are omitted in some important mss. of Eusebius, but are in the original Latin, as given by Lactantius.
EUSEBIUS

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τὴν συγχώρησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐπεκτείναι δεῖν ἐνομίσαμεν, ἵνα αὕτης ὦσιν Χριστιανοὶ καὶ τοὺς οἶκους ἐν οἷς συνήγοντο, συνθάσων ὦστε μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῆς ἐπιστήμης αὐτοῦς πράττειν. δι' ἐτέρας δὲ ἐπιστολῆς τοῖς δικασταῖς δηλώσομεν τί αὐτοὺς παραφυλάξασθαι δεῖσθαι: οὔθεν κατὰ ταύτην τὴν συγχώρησιν τὴν ἡμετέραν ὀφείλουσιν τὸν ἑαυτῶν θεὸν ἴκετεύειν περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας καὶ τῶν δημοσίων καὶ τῆς ἑαυτῶν, ὡς κατὰ πάντα τρόπον καὶ τὰ δημόσια παρασχεθῇ ύγιῆ καὶ ἀμέριμνοι ζῆν ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐστία δυνηθῶσι." Ταῦτα κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλώτταν κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν μεταληφθέντα, τοῦτον ἐχεῖν τὸν τρόπον. τί δὴ οὖν ἐπὶ τούτως γίνεται, ἐπιθεωρῆσαι καιρός.
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. 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."

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.
Ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τῆς γραφῆς αὐτίως μετὰ τὴν τοιάνδε ὁμολογίαν αὐτίκα καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τῶν ἀληθινῶν ἀπαλλαγεὶς μεταλλάττει τὸν βίον. τοῦτον δὴ λόγος ἔχει πρῶτον αὐτίως τῆς τοῦ διωγμοῦ καταστήναι συμφορᾶς, ἐτί πάλαι πρὸ τῆς τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων κινήσεως τοὺς ἐν στρατείαις Χριστιανοὺς καὶ πρῶτον γε ἀπάντων τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ ἴδιον οἶκον παρατρέπειν ἐκβεβαιασμένον καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς στρατιωτικῆς ἀξίας ἀποκυνοῦντα, τοὺς δὲ ἀτιμότατα καθυβρίζοντα, ἥδη δὲ καὶ θάνατον ἐτέρως ἐπαρτόντα καὶ τοῦχατόν γε τοὺς τῆς βασιλείας κοινωνοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀνακεκινηκότα διωγμόν· δὲν καὶ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀξίον τὸ τοῦ βίου τέλος παραδοῦναι σιωπῆ. τεττάρων δὲν τὴν κατὰ πάντων διεληκτών ἀρχὴν, οὐ μὲν χρόνῳ καὶ τιμῇ προηγούμενοι οὐδὲ ὅλος δυνεῖν ἔτεσιν ἐπιγενόμενοι τῷ διωγμῷ μεθιστανται τῆς βασιλείας, ἢ καὶ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν δεδήλωται, καὶ δὴ τὸν ἐπίλοιπον τοῦ βίου χρόνου δημώδει καὶ ἰδιωτικῷ τρόπῳ διαγενόμενοι τέλος τοιόνδε τῆς ζωῆς εἰλήξασιν, ὅ μὲν τιμῆ τε καὶ χρόνῳ τῶν πρώτειν ἡξιωμένοις μακρὰ καὶ ἐπιλυπώσας τῇ τοῦ σώματος ἀσθενεῖα ἐπεργασθεῖς, ὅ δὲ τὰ δεύτερα αὐτοῦ φέρων ἀγχώνῃ τὴν ζωῆν ἀπορρήξας, κατὰ

1 For an account of the mss. of the Ecclesiastical History see Vol. I. pp. xxvii-xxix.

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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. Four, then, had divided the supreme power between them. Those who were the more advanced in age and honour ² 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. The one who had attained the chief place in honour and age ³ fell a victim to a prolonged and most painful infirmity of the body; while he who held the second place to him ⁴ ended his life by

² Diocletian and Maximinian (viii. 13. 10, 11).
³ Diocletian.
⁴ Maximinian.
τινα δαμονίαν προσημείωσων τούτο παθὼν διὰ πλείστας αὐτῶ τετολμημένας ῥαδιουργίας. τῶν δὲ μετὰ τούτους ὁ μὲν ὕστατος, ὡν δὴ καὶ ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ παντὸς ἐφαμεν γεγονέναι διωγμοῦ, τοιαύτα οἷα καὶ προδεδηλώκαμεν πέπονθεν, ὁ δὲ τούτων προάγων χρηστότατος καὶ ἦπιώτατος βασιλεὺς Κωνστάντιος, ἐπαξίως τῆς ἠγεμονίας τὸν ἀπάντα τῆς ἀρχῆς διατελέσας χρόνον [ἀλλὰ] καὶ τάλλα τοῖς πάσι δεξιώτατον καὶ ἐνεργετικώτατον παρα- σχῶν ἐαυτὸν, ἀτὰρ καὶ τοῦ καθ’ ἡμῶν πολέμου ἔξω γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν θεοσθένεις ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους διαφυλάξας καὶ μήτε τοὺς οἴκους τῶν ἐκκλησίων καθελὼν μὴθ’ ἐτερόν τι μηδ’ ὅλως καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπικανονυργήσας, τέλος εὐδαίμον καὶ τρισμακάριον ὄντως ἀπείληφεν τοῦ βίου, μόνος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας εὐμενῶς καὶ ἐπιδόξως ἐπὶ διαδόξω τῆς βασιλείας γνησίω παιδι τὰ πάντα σωφρονεστάτω καὶ ἐυσεβεστάτω τελευτήσας: ὅς εὐθὺς ἀρχόμενος βασιλεὺς τελεώτατος καὶ Σεβαστὸς πρὸς τῶν στρατοπέδων ἀναγορευθεῖς, ξηλωτὴν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πατρικῆς περὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον εὐσεβείας κατεστήσατο. τοιαύτῃ τῶν προ- αναγεγραμμένων τεττάρων ἡ τοῦ βίου ἐκβασίς, κατὰ παρηλλαγμένους χρόνους γεγενημένη. τούτων δὴ μόνος ἐτὶ λιπών ὁ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῶν εἰρημένος σύν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰσποιηθείς τὴν προδεδηλωμένην ἐξομολόγησιν διὰ τοῦ προεκτεθέντος ἐγγράφου λόγον τοῖς πάσι φανε- ρῶν κατεστήσαντο.

1 Galerius.  2 § 1.
strangling: suffering this fate, in accordance with a
certain demoniacal prediction, for the numerous
crimes he had perpetrated. Of those after them, he ¹
who held the last place—the same who was the
originator, as we stated, ² of the whole persecution—
suffered the fate which we have mentioned above ²;
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, 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. Of
these same persons, he of whom we spoke a little
while ago alone still remained, ³ and, in conjunction
with those who subsequently were admitted to the
principate, ⁴ openly placed before all the aforesaid
confession in the document which was set out above.

³ ἐτὸς λατρείας: but we should require λευτέρομενος to give the
above sense.
⁴ Constantine, Licinius, and Maximin.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ ἐνάτη περιέχει βιβλίον τῆς Ἑκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Ἀ Περὶ τῆς ἐπιπλάστου ἀνέσεως.
Β Περὶ τῆς μετέπειτα διαστροφῆς.
Γ Περὶ τοῦ κατὰ 'Αντιόχειαν νεοπαγοῦς ἔοινον.
Δ Περὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν ψηφισμάτων.
Ε Περὶ τῶν ἐπιπλάστων ὑπομνημάτων.
Σ Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ δε τῷ χρόνῳ μεμαρτυρηκότων.
Ζ Περὶ τῆς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθείσης γραφῆς.
Ἡ Περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβεβηκότων ἐν λυμῷ καὶ λοιμῷ καὶ πολέμοις.
Θ Περὶ τῆς τῶν τυράννων καταστροφῆς τοῦ βίου, καὶ οὕτως ἔχρησαντο πρὸ τῆς τελευτῆς φωναῖς.
[II] Περὶ τῆς τῶν θεοφιλῶν βασιλέων νίκης].
[IIΛ] Περὶ τῆς υστάτης ἀπωλείας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἐχθρῶν.
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.
Θ

I. Τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς παλινωδίας τοῦ προτεθέντος βασιλικοῦ νεύματος ἦπλωτο τῆς Ἀσίας πάντη καὶ πανταχοῦ κατὰ τε τὰς ἀμφὶ ταύτην ἐπαρχίας· ὃν τούτον ἐπιτελεσθέντων τὸν τρόπον Μαξιμίνος, ὁ ἐπ’ ἀνατολῆς τύραννος, δυσσεβέστατος εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, καὶ τῆς εἰς τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεὸν εὐσεβείας πολεμιώτατος γεγονός, οὐδαμῶς τοῖς γραφεῖσι ἀρεσθείς, ἀντὶ τοῦ προτεθέντος γράμματος λόγω προστάττει τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἄρχουσιν τὸν καθ’ ἴμων ἀνέναι πόλεμον, ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐξῆν ἄλλως τῇ τῶν κρειττῶν ἀντιλέγειν κρίσει, τὸν προεκτεθέντα νῦμον ἐν παραβύστῳ θείς καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν μέρεσιν μὴ εἰς προοπτὸν ἀχθείη, φροντίσας, ἀγράφῳ προστάγματι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἄρχουσιν τὸν καθ’ ἴμων διωγμὸν ἀνέναι προστάττει· οἱ δὲ τὰ τῆς παρακελεύσεως ἀλλήλοις διὰ γραφῆς ὑποσημαίνουσιν. ὁ γοῦν παρ’ αὐτοῖς 2 τῷ τῶν ἐξοχωτάτων ἐπάρχων ἀξιώματι τετίμημένος Σαβίνος πρὸς τοὺς κατ’ ἔθνος ἡγουμένους τὴν βασιλείας ἐμφαίνει γνώμην διὰ Ρωμαϊκῆς ἐπιστολῆς· ἦδ’ καὶ αὐτῆς ἡ ἐρμηνεία τούτων περιέχει τὸν τρόπον·

‘Αυταρωτάτη καὶ καθωσιωμένη σπουδὴ ἡ 3 θειότης τῶν δεσποτῶν ἴμων θειοτάτων αὐτο- κρατόρων πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰς διανοίας
BOOK IX

I. The recantation of the imperial will set forth above\(^1\) 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. 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:

"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

\(^1\) viii. 17.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥ

πρὸς τὴν ὁσίαν καὶ ὀρθὴν τοῦ ζῆν ὁδὸν περι-
αγαγεῖν ἔτι πάλαι ὄρισεν, ὅπως καὶ οἱ ἀλλοτρία
Ῥωμαιῶν συνηθεῖα ἀκολουθεῖν δοκοῦντες τὰς
ὄφειλομένας θρησκείας τοὺς ἄθανάτους θεοὺς ἐπι-
τελοῖν ἀλλ’ ἡ τυφών ἐνστασις καὶ τραχυτάτη 4
βούλη εἰς τοσούτον περίεστη ὃς μῆτε λογισμῷ
δικαῖος κελεύσεως δύνασθαι ἐκ τῆς ἴδιας
προθέσεως ἀναχωρεῖν μῆτε τὴν ἐπικεμένην τιμω-
ρίαν αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβεῖν. ἔπειδη τούνων συνέβαινεν 5
ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τρόπου πολλοὺς εἰς κήδουν
ἀνατίθες περιβάλλειν, κατὰ τὴν προσούσαν εὐγένειαν
τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ θειότητις τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν τῶν
δυνατωτῶν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀλλότριον εἶναι τῆς
προθέσεως τῆς θειότατος τῆς ἴδιας δοκιμάζουσα
τὸ ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης αἰτίας εἰς τοσούτον κήδουν
tὸς ἄνθρωπος περιβάλλειν, ἐκέλευσεν διὰ τῆς
εἰμῆς καθοσιώσεως τῇ σῇ ἀγχυνοία διαχαράξαι ὡς
εἰ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοῦ ἴδιου ἔθνους τὴν
θρησκείαν μετώπων εὐρεθείη, τῆς καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν-
οχλήσεως καὶ τοῦ κηδεῖν αὐτῶν ἀποστήσειας καὶ
μὴ τινα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως τιμωρία
κολαστέον νομίσειας, ὥστε τῇ τοῦ τοσοῦτον
χρόνου συνελεύσεις συνεστή πολλοὺς μηδεὶς τρόπῳ
πεπείθθαι δεδομενες ὅπως ἀπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων
ἐνστάσεων ἀναχωρήσαμεν. γράψαι τοιγαροῦν πρὸς
τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ τοὺς
πραποιούσας τοῦ πάγου ἑκάστης πόλεως ἢ σῇ
ἐπιστρέφεια ὦ τίνα γνωρίαν περατέρω αὐτοῖς
τούτων τοῦ γράμματος φροντίδα ποιεῖσθαι μὴ
προσήκειν.’’

’Επὶ τούτους οἱ καὶ ἐπαρχίαν τῆς τῶν 7
γραφέντων αὐτοῖς ἐπαληθεύειν προαίρεσιν νεο-
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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, 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. 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, that they may know that it is not beseeing for them to take any further notice of that letter."  

Whereupon the rulers of the provinces, having concluded that the purport of what had been written

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1 If the Greek here is a correct translation of the Latin original, the words "that letter" must refer to some previous document ordering the persecution of Christians.
ζητούσιν καί στρατηγοίς καί τοῖς κατ’ ἀγροὺς ἐπιτεταγμένους τὴν βασιλικὴν διὰ γραμμάτων ἐμφανῆ καθιστῶσι γνώμην· οὐ μόνον δ’ αὐτοῖς διὰ γραφῆς ταύτα προούρει, καί ἔργους δὲ πολὺ πρότερον, ὡς ἂν νεῖμα βασιλικῶν εἰς πέρας ἄγοντες, ὥσπερ εἶχον δεσμωτηρίους καθειρμένους διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὁμολογίαν, εἰς φανερὸν προάγοντες ἡλευθέρουν, ἀνέντες τούτων δὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν μετάλλοις ἐπὶ τιμωρία δεδομένους· τούτο γὰρ ἐπ’ ἀληθείας βασιλεῖ δοκεῖν ὑπειλήφασιν ἡπατημένου. καὶ δὴ τούτων οὕτως ἐπιτελεσθέν·

2 Cor. 4, 6 των, ἀθρόως οἴον τι φῶς ἐκ ζωφερᾶς νυκτὸς ἐκλάμψαν, κατὰ πᾶσαν πόλιν συγκροτουμένας παρῆν ορᾶν ἐκκλησίας συνόδους τε παμπληθεῖς καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τούτων ἔξ ἔθους ἐπιτελουμένας ἀγωγὰς· καταπέπληκτο δ’ οὐ σμικρὸς ἐπὶ τούτος πᾶς τῶν ἀπίστων θυνῶν, τῆς τοσιμμής μεταβολῆς τὸ παράδοξον ἀποθαυμάζων μέγαν τε καὶ μόνον ἀληθῆ τὸν Χριστιανῶν θεοῦ ἐπιβοῶμενοι. τῶν 9 δ’ ἠμετέρων οἷς μὲν τῶν διωγμῶν ἀγῶνα πιστῶς καὶ ἀνδρίκως διηθληκότες τὴν πρὸς ἀπαντας αὕτης ἀπελάμβανον παρρησίαν, ὃσοι δὲ τὰ τῆς πίστεως νεονησικότας τὰς ψυχὰς ἔτυγχανον κεχειμασμένοι, ἀσμένως περὶ τὴν ὁφῶν θεραπεῖαν ἐσπευδὸν, ἀντιβολοῦντες καὶ σωτηρίας δεξιὰν τοὺς ἐρρωμένους αὐτούμενοι τὸν τε θεοῦ ὕλεως αὐτοῖς γενέσθαι καθικετεύοντες· εἰτα δὲ καὶ οἱ γενναίοι τῆς θεο- 10 σεβείας ἀθληταὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ μετάλλα κακοπαθείας ἡλευθερούμενοι ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐστέλλοντο, γαῦροι καὶ φαιδροὶ διὰ πάσης ἱόντως πόλεως εὐφροσύνης τε ἀλέκτου καὶ ἤν οὐδὲ λόγῳ δυνατὸν ἐρμηνεύσαι παρρησίας ἐμπλεον. στίφη δ’ οὖν πολυάνθρωπα 11

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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. 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. 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, 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. Yea, thronging crowds of men
κατὰ μέσας λεωφόρους καὶ ἀγορὰς ὁδαῖς καὶ
φαλμοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀνυμνοῦντα τὰ τῆς πορείας
ήνευν, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ τιμωρίας ἀπηνεστάτης
μικρῷ πρόσθεν δεσμίως τῶν πατρίδων ἀπεληλα-
μένους εἰδὲς ἂν ἰλαροῖς καὶ γεγηθόσι προσώποις
tὰς αὐτῶν ἑστίας ἀπολαμβάνοντας, ὡς καὶ τοὺς
πρότερον καθ’ ἡμῶν φοινώτας τὸ θαῦμα παρὰ
πάσαι ὀρώντας ἐλπίδα, συγχαίρειν τοῖς γεγενη-
μένοις.

II. Ταῦτα δ’ οὐκέθ’ οἶδ’ τε φέρειν ὁ τύραννος
μισόκαλος καὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἐπίβουλος ὑπάρχων,
ὅν ἐφαμεν τῶν ἐπ’ ἀνατολῆς ἄρχειν μερῶν, οὐδ’
όλους ἐπὶ μήνας ἔξ τοῦτον ἐπιτελείσθαι τὸν τρόπον
ήνέσχετο. ὧσα δ’ οὖν πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν τῆς εἰρήνης
μηχανώμενον πρῶτον μὲν εἰργεῖν ἡμᾶς τῆς ἐν τοῖς
κοιμητήριοις συνόδου διὰ προφάσεως πειρᾶται,
eἰτα διὰ τυχῶν πονηρῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ καθ’
ἡμῶν πρεσβεύεται, τοὺς Ἀντιοχέων πολίτας παρ-
ορμήσας ἐπὶ τὸ μηδαμῶς τινα Χριστιανῶν τὴν
αὐτῶν οἰκεῖν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι πατρίδα ὡς ἐν μεγίστῃ
dωρεᾷ παρ’ αὐτοῦ τυχεῖν ἀξιώσαι, καὶ ἐτέρους δὲ
ταὐτῶν ὑποβαλεῖν διαπράξασθαι. ὃν πάντων ἄρχη-
γος ἐπ’ αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας ἐπιφύτευε Ἰωάννης,
δεινός καὶ γύρις καὶ πονηρὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς προσ-
ωνυμίας ἀλλότριος· ἐδοκεῖ δὲ λογιστεῖν τὰ κατὰ
τὴν πόλιν.

III. Πλεῖστα δ’ οὖν οὕτως καθ’ ἡμῶν στρα-
1 τευσόμενος καὶ πάντα τρόπον τοὺς ἡμετέρους
ὡς τινὰς φώρας ἀνοσίους ἐκ μυχῶν θηρεύσαι
dιὰ σπουδῆς πεποιημένον πάντα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῆ
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. 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,¹ 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,² 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.³ He was accounted to hold the post of curator ⁴ in the city.

III. 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

¹ 1. 1. ² Cf. vii. 11. 10, note. ³ Theotecnus means Child of God. ⁴ The chief finance officer of a municipality.
καὶ κατηγορία τῇ καθ’ ἡμῶν μεμηχανημένος, καὶ θανάτου δὲ αὐτῶς μυρίως ὅσοις γεγονός, τελευτῶν έἰδωλόν τι Δίως Φιλίου μαγγανείας τοιὸν καὶ γοητείας ἱδρύεται, τελετᾶς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῶ καὶ μυήσεις ἀκαλλιερήτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμοὺς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατείαν δι’ ὄν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ δὴ καὶ οὗτος κολακεία τῇ καθ’ ἡδονὴν τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἐπεγείρει κατὰ Χριστιανῶν τὸν δαίμονα καὶ τὸν θεὸν δὴ κελεύσας φησιν ὑπερορίους τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄγρων ὡς ἂν ἔχθροις αὐτῶν Χριστιανοὺς ἀπελάσαι.

IV. Τούτῳ δὲ πρῶτῳ κατὰ γνώμην πράξαντι πάντες οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει τάς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῆν ἀρχὴν πόλεις οἰκούντες τὴν ὁμοίαν ὁρμῶνται ψήφον ποιήσασθαι, προσφίλεις εἶναι τούτο βασιλεὶ τῶν κατ’ ἐπαρχίαν ἤγεμόνων συνεωρακότων καὶ τούτ’ αὐτὸ διαπράξασθαι τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὑποβεβληκότων· ὃν δὴ καὶ αὐτῶν τοὺς ψηφίσμασιν δι’ ἀντιγραφῆς ἀσμενέστατα ἐπινεύσαντος τοῦ τυράννου, ἀδείας ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ὁ καθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνεφλέγετο διωγμός.

'Ιερεῖς δὴ τα κατὰ πόλιν τῶν ξοάνων καὶ ἐπὶ τούτους ἀρχιερεῖς πρὸς αὐτῶν Μαξιμίνου οἱ μάλιστα ταῖς πολιτείαις διαπρέβαντες καὶ διὰ πασῶν ἐνδοξοὶ γενόμενοι καθίσταντο, οἰς καὶ πολλῆ τις εἰσήγητο σπουδὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν θεραπευμένων πρὸς αὐτῶν θρησκείαν. ἡ γοῦν ἐκτοποὶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος δεσιδαιμονία, συνελόντι φάναι, πάντας τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀρχωντᾶς τε καὶ ἀρχωμένους εἰς 336
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,¹ 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. 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 ² by a rescript, 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. Certainly, the outlandish superstition of the ruler was inducing, in a word, all under him, both governors and governed,

¹ Eusebius here borrows some phrases from Dion. Alex. (vii. 10. 4 above).
² We have thus translated ψηφίσματα ("decisions") here and wherever it occurs in this book, inasmuch as these "decisions" were "petitions" against Christians.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν πάντα πράττειν καθ’ ἣμῶν ἐνήγειν, ταύτην αὐτῶ χάριν μεγίστην ἀνθ’ ἄν ἐνόμιζον πρὸς αὐτοῦ τεῦξεσθαι ἐνεργεῖσιν, ἀντι-δωρουμένων, τὸ καθ’ ἣμῶν φονᾶν καὶ τινὰς εἰς ἦμᾶς κανονείας κακοπηθεῖας ἐνδεικνυθαι.

V. Πλασάμενοι δὴτα Πιλάτου καὶ τοῦ σωτῆρος, ἡμῶν ὑπομνήματα πάσης ἐμπλεα κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ βλασφημίας, γνώμη τοῦ μείζονος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν διαπέμπουσαι τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἁρχὴν διὰ προγραμμάτων παρακελευόμενοι κατὰ πάντα τόπων, ἀγροὺς τε καὶ πόλεις, ἐν ἐκφανεὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐκθέναι τοῖς τε παισὶ τούς γραμματοδιδασκάλους ἀντὶ μαθημάτων ταῦτα μελετάν καὶ διὰ μνήμης κατέχειν παραδιδόναι.

Ὡς τούτων ἐπιτελουμένων τὸν τρόπον, ἔτερος 2 στρατοπεδάρχης, ὁν δοῦκα Ἦρωμαι τοῖς προσαγορεύον-σιν, ἀνὰ τὴν Δαμασκοῦ τῆς Φωνίκης ἐπηρρήτα των γυναικάρια ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀνάρταστα ποιήσας, βασά-

νοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιθήσεως ἦττείς, λέγειν ἐγγράφως ἐπαναγιάζων, ὡς δὴ ἑιδάν ποτε Χριστιαναίς

συνειδεῖν τε αὐτοῖς ἀθεμοτουργίας ἐν αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς κυριακοῖς πράττειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα λέγειν αὐτάς ἐπὶ διαβολὴ τοῦ δόγματος ἥθελεν· ὃν καὶ ὅτος ἐν ὑπομνήμασιν τὰς φωνὰς ἐντεθείσαις βασιλεῖ κοινοῦται, καὶ δὴ προσ-

τάξαντος εἰς πάντα τόπον καὶ πόλιν καὶ ταῦτα δημοσιοῦται τὰ γράμματα. VI. ἀλλ’ δὲ μὲν οὐκ 1 εἰς μακρὸν αὐτόχειρ ἐαυτοῦ γεγονός ὁ στρατάρχης δίκην τίνυσιν τῆς κακοτροπίας.

'Ημῶν δ’ αὖ φυγαῖ πάλιν ἀνεκινδύντο καὶ
dιωγμοὶ χαλέποι τῶν τε κατὰ πᾶσαι εἰπαρχίαις

1 i.e. the commander of the frontier troops.
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. 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.

While this was thus being carried out, another person, a commander, whom the Romans style dux,¹ 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. 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
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...ηγομένων αδιακαθαραίως, καθότι ήμών ἐπαναστάσεις, ὡς καὶ τινάς ἄλλοις τῶν περὶ τῶν θείων λόγων ἐπιφανῶν ἀπαραίτητον τῇ ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ψήφου καταδέξασθαί.

"Ὡς τρεῖς ἐν 'Ἐμίση πόλει τῆς Φωνίκης Χριστιανοὺς σφαῖς ὀμολογήσαντες, θηρίων βορᾶ παραδίδοντας ἐπίσκοπος ἂν ἐν τούτως Σιλβανός, τῆν ἡλικίαν ὑπέργηρως, ὅπλας ἔτεσιν τεσσαράκοντα τῇ λειτουργίᾳ διηνυκώς.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ χρόνον καὶ Πέτρος τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν παροικῶν προστάς ἐπιφανέστατα, θείων ἐπισκόπων χρήμα βίου τε ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων συνασκήσεως, ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς ἄνάρπαστος γεγονὼς αἰτίας, μηδεμίας προλαβούσης προσδοκίας, άθροῶς οὕτως καὶ ἁλόγως, ὡς ἂν Μαξιμίνου προστάζων, τήν κεφαλὴν ἀποτέμνεται, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τῶν κατ' Ἀγνύπτων ἐπισκόπων ἄλλοι πλείους ταύτῶν ὑπομένουσιν.

Δουκιανός τε, ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ἀριστοὶ βίω τε ἐγκρατεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῖς μαθημασιν συγκεκριμένοι, τῆς κατὰ Ἀντιόχειαν παροικίας πρεσβύτερος, ἀχθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς Νικομηδείων πόλεως, ἐνθα την κακοῦ βάσιλεὺς διατρήσων ἐτύγχανεν, παρασκών τε ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος τήν ὑπὲρ ἦς προστάτου διδασκαλίας ἀπολογίαν, δεσμωτηρίων παραδοθεῖς κτίνυται.

Τοσοῦτα δήτα ἐν βραχεί τῷ μισοκάλῳ Μαξιμίνῳ καθ' ἠμῶν συνεσκεύαστο, ὡς τοῦ προτέρου δοκεῖν πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον τούτον ἠμῶν ἐπεγγυέρθαι διωγμόν. VII. Ἀνὰ μέσας γε τοῦ τὰς πόλεις, δὴ μηδὲ ἄλλοτε ποτε, ψηφίσματα πόλεων καθ' ἠμῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν πρὸς ταῦτα διατάξεων ἀντιγραφαὶ
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.

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.

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.

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. 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 ordin-
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στήλαις ἐντετυπωμένα χαλκαῖς ἀνωρθοῦντο, οὗ τε παίδες ἀνὰ τὰ διδασκαλεῖα Ἰησοῦν καὶ Πιλάτον καὶ τὰ ἑφ᾽ ὑβρεί πλασθέντα ὑπομνήματα διὰ στόματος κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐφερον ἡμέραν.

Ἐνταῦθα μοι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι φαίνεται αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην τὴν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθείσαν τοῦ Μαξιμίνου γραφὴν ἐντάξει, ἵνα ὁμοῦ τῆς τε τοῦ ἀνδρὸς θεομυσείας ἡ ἀλαξῶν καὶ ὑπερήφανος αὐθάδεια φανερὰ κατασταῖν καὶ τῆς παρὰ πόδας αὐτὸν μετελθούσης ἀερᾶς δίκης ἡ ἀυτνος κατὰ τῶν ἁσεβῶν μισοποιηρία, πρὸς ἣς ἔλαθες οὐκ εἰς μακρὸν τάναντια περὶ ἡμῶν ἐβουλεύσατο τε καὶ δι᾽ ἐγγράφων νόμων ἐδογμάτισεν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΝΟΥ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΘ' ΗΜΩΝ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΥΡΩΙ ΣΤΗΛΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΦΗΘΕΙΣΗΣ

"''Ἡδη ποτὲ ἡ ἀσθενῆς θρασύτης τῆς ἀνθρω-
πίνης διανοίας ἱσχυσεν πᾶσαν πλάνης ἀμαυρότητα καὶ ὁμίχλην ἀποσεισμένη καὶ ἀνασκεδάσασα, ἦτις πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ τοῦ ποσοῦ τῶν ἁσεβῶν ὅσον τῶν ἀθλίων ἀνθρώπων τᾶς αἰσθήσεως ὀλεθρίω ἁγνοίας σκότω ἐνείληθείσας ἐπολιορκεῖ, ἐπιγινώναι ὥς τῇ τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν φιλαγάθω προνοίᾳ διοικεῖται καὶ σταθεροποιεῖται. Ὅπερ πράγμα ἀπιστῶν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὅπως κεκαρισμένον ὅπως τε ἦδωτον καὶ προσφιλῆς ἡμῖν γέγονεν ὡς μέγιστον δείγμα τῆς θεοφιλοῦσιν ὑμῶν προαιρέσεως δεδωκέναι, ὅποτε καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τοῦ ὀφειλεῖ ἄγνωστον ἡποίως παρατηρήσεως καὶ θεοσθεβείας πρὸς τῶν ἀθα-

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νάτων θεῶς ἐτυγχάνετε ὄντες, οἷς οὗ ψιλῶν καὶ

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ances 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.

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.

"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. 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 pitey you were displaying towards the immortal gods, in

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υποκένων ῥημάτων πίστις, ἄλλα συνεχῆς\(^1\) καὶ παρά-
δοξος\(^2\) ἔργων ἐπισήμων γνωρίζεται. διόπερ ἐπαξίως 5
ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις θεῶν ἀθανάτων [φόβον]\(^3\) ἰδρυμά τε
καὶ οἰκητήριον ἐπικαλοῦτο. πολλοῖς γοῦν παραδείγ-
μασιν καταφαίνεται τῇ τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν αὐτὴν
ἐπίδημίαν ἄνθεων. ἵδον τοινύν ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις 6
πάντων τῶν ἰδία διαφερόντων αὐτῆς ἀμελήσασα
καὶ τὰς πρότερον τῶν ύπὲρ αὐτῆς πραγμάτων
δεήσεις παριδοῦσα, ὅτε πάλιν ἦσθετο τοὺς τῆς
ἐπαράτου ματαίοτητος γεγονότας ἐρπεῖν ἀρχέσθαι
καὶ ὠσπερ ἀμεληθεῖσαν καὶ κεκοιμημένην πυρᾶν
ἀναζωπυρουμένων τῶν πυρσῶν μεγίστας πυρκαίας
ἀναπληροῦσαν, εὐθέως πρὸς τὴν ὑμετέραν εὐσέ-
βειαν, ὠσπερ πρὸς μητρόπολιν πασῶν θεοσεβεῖων,
χωρὶς τινός μελλήσεως κατέφυγεν, ἰασών τινα καὶ
βοήθειαν ἀπαίτουσα: Ἥμνυμα διάνοιαν σωτηριώδη 7
diὰ τὴν πίστιν τῆς ὑμετέρας θεοσεβείας τοὺς
θεοὺς ὅμων ἐμβεβληκέναι δηλὸν ἔστων. ἐκεῖνος
tοιγαρούν, ἐκεῖνος ὁ ύψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεὺς,
ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ὕμων πόλεως,
ὁ τοὺς πατρίους ὑμῶν θεοὺς καὶ γυναίκας καὶ
τέκνα καὶ ἑστιάν καὶ οἴκους ἀπὸ πάσης ὀλεθρίου
φθορᾶς ρυόμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τὸ σω-
tήριον ἐνέπνευσεν βούλημα, ἐπιδεικνύς καὶ ἐμ-
φαίνων ὅπως ἐξαιρετὸν ἔστων καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ
σωτηριώδες μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος
τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ιεροθηρησκείαις τῶν ἀθανάτων
θεῶν προσεύναι. τὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἄνοιγτος ἦ νοῦν
παντὸς ἀλλότριος εὑρεθήναι δύναται, ὅσ αὐτὸν
αἴσθεται τῇ φιλαγάθῳ τῶν θεῶν σπουδῇ συμβαί-
νειν μήτε τὴν γῆν τὰ παραδιδόμενα αὐτῇ σπέρματα

\(^{1}\) mss. συνεχῆ.

\(^{2}\) mss. παράδοξα.

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whom is manifested a faith, not of bare and empty words, 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. 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. 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. 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 hus-

3 This word is evidently corrupt. Schwartz suggests ἄφθορον.
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ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν γεωργῶν ἐλπίδα κενὴ προσδοκία σφάλλουσαν, μηδ’ αὐτὸ ἄσεβοις πολέμου πρόσοψιν ἀνεπικωλύτως ἐπὶ γῆς στηρίζεσθαι καὶ φθαρεῖσθαι τῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εὐκρασίας αὐχμώντα τὰ σώματα πρὸς θάνατον κατασύρεσθαι, μηδε μὴν ἀμέτρων ἀνέμων πνεύματι τὴν θάλασσαν κυμαίνουσαν κορυφοῦσθαι, μηδε γε καταγίδας ἀπροσδοκήτους καταρρηγνυμένας ὀλέθριον χειμώνα ἐπεγείρειν, ἔτι τούν μηδέ τὴν τροφὸν ἀπάντων καὶ μητέρα γῆν ἀπὸ τῶν κατωτάτω λαγώνων ἐαυτῆς ἐν φοβερῷ τρόμῳ καταδυμομένην μηδε γε τὰ ἐπικείμενα ὅρη χασμάτων γυμνομένων καταλύσθαι, ἀπερ πάντα καὶ τούτων ἔτι πολλῶ χαλεπώτερα κατὰ πρὸ τούτο πολλάκις γεγονέναι οὐδεὶς ἄγνοει. καὶ ταῦτα 9 σύμπαιντα διὰ τὴν ὀλέθριον πλάνην τῆς ὑποκένου ματαιότητος τῶν ἄθεμίτων ἐκείνων ἀνθρώπων ἐγίνετο, ἣνικα κατὰ τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐπεπολάζεν καὶ σχεδόν εἰπεῖν τὰ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης αἰσχύναις ἐπιέζεν.”

Τούτως μεθ’ ἔτερα ἐπιλέγει: “ἐφοράτωσαν ἐν 10 τοῖς πλατέωσιν ἢδη πεδίοις ἄνθοντα τὰ λήγα καὶ τοῖς ἀστάχυσιν ἐπικυμαίνοντα καὶ τοὺς λευκῶνας δι’ εὐομβρίαν φυαῖς καὶ ἄνθεσιν λαμπρομένους καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος κατάστασιν εὐκρατοῦν τε καὶ πραο- τάτην ἀποδοθείσαν, χαρέτωσαν λοιπὸν ἀπαντεὶς 11 διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὔσεβείας ἱερουργίας τε καὶ τυμῆς τῆς τοῦ δυνατωτάτου καὶ στερροτάτου ἀέρος ἐξευμενοθείσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς εὐδοκιμα- τάτης εἰρήνης βεβαίως μεθ’ ἰσχυε τε ἀπολαύοντες ἡνυνέσθωσαν. καὶ ὅσοι τῆς τυφλῆς ἔκεινης πλάνης καὶ περισσοῦ παντάπασιν ὄφεληθέντες εἰς ὀρθὴν καὶ καλλιστην διάνοιαν ἐπανήλθον, μειζόνως μὲν 346
bandmen 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, 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."

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, 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

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1 The text of this clause is hopelessly corrupt.
οὖν χαίρετωσαν ὡς ἂν ἐκ χειμώνος ἀπροσδοκήτου ἡ νόσου βαρείας ἀποσπασθέντες καὶ ἤδειαν εἰς τοῦτον ζωῆς ἀπόλαυσιν καρπωσάμενοι· εἰ δὲ τῇ 12 ἑπαράτῳ αὐτῶν ματαιότητι ἐπιμένειν, πολλῷ πόρρωθεν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως καὶ περιχώρου, καθὼς ήξιώσατε, ἀποχωρισθέντες ἐξελαθήτωσαν, ἵνα οὕτως κατ' ἀκολούθιαν τῆς ἄξιεπαίνου ὕμων περὶ τούτο σπουδῆς παντὸς μιᾶσματος καὶ ἀ- σεβείας ἀποχωρισθεῖσα ἡ ὑμετέρα πόλις καὶ τῇ ἐμφυτον αὐτῇ πρόθεσιν μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος ταῖς τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν ἱερουργίαις ὕπακοιοι.

“Ἰνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅσων προσφιλῆς ἥμιν γέγονεν ἡ 13 περὶ τοῦτον ἄξιώσις ὕμων, καὶ χωρίς ψηφισμάτων καὶ χωρίς δεήσεως αὐθαυρετῶς βουλήσει ἡ ὑμετέρα προθυμοτάτη φιλαγαθίας ψυχή, ἐπιτρέπομεν τῇ ὑμετέρα καθοσιώσει ὁποίαν δ’ ἄν βουληθῆται μεγαλο- δωρεάν ἀντὶ ταύτης ὑμῶν τῆς φιλοθείου προθέσεως αὐτῆς. καὶ ἢδη μὲν τούτῳ ποιεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν 14 ἄξιόσατε· τεὔξεσθε γὰρ αὐτῆς χωρίς τινὸς υπερ- θέσεως· ἢτις παρασχεθεῖσα τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ πόλει εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν αἰώνα τῆς περὶ τούς ἀθανάτους θεοὺς φιλοθείου εὐσεβείας παρέξει μαρτυρίαν, τοῦ δὲ ὕμας ἄξιων ἔπαθλων τετυχηκέναι παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλαγαθίας ταύτης ὕμων ἐνεκεν τῆς τοῦ βίου προαιρέσεως νῦν τε καὶ ἐκγόνως ὑμετέροις ἐπιδειχθῆσεται.”

Ταῦτα δὴ καθ’ ἡμῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν ἑπαρχίαν 15 ἀνεστηλίτευτο, πάσης ἐλπίδος, τὸ γοῦν ἐπ’ ἀνθρώ- ποις, ἀγαθῆς τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀποκλείοντα· ὡς κατ’ αὐτὸ δὴ τὸ θεῖον ἐκεῖνο λόγιον, εἰ δυνατὸν, ἐπὶ 348
more, as if they were delivered from an unexpected hurricane or severe illness and were reaping life's sweet enjoyment for the future. 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.

"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. 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."

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
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Matt. 24, 24 τούτοις καὶ τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς αὐτοὺς σκανδαλίζεσθαι. ἡδὲ γέ τοι σχεδὸν τῆς παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀποψυχουότας, ἀθρόως, καθ’ ὅδον ἔτι τῆν πορείαν ἐν τοῖς χώραις διανυόντων τῶν τῆς προκειμένην καθ’ ἡμῶν γραφήν διακονομημένων, ὁ τῆς ἱδίαις ἐκκλησίας ὑπέρμαχος θεός μόνον ὁὐχὶ τὴν τοῦ τυράννου καθ’ ἡμῶν ἐπιστομίζων μεγαλαυχίαν, τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν οὐράνιον συμμαχίαν ἐκεῖκρυτο.

VIII. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἑθους ὅμβρου τε καὶ ἓστει 1 χειμαδίου τῆς ὠρας ὑπαρχοῦσας τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνείχον συνήθη φοράν, λιμὸς δ’ ἀδόκητος ἐπισκήττει καὶ λοιμὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τινος ἐτέρου νοσήματος—ἐλκος δὲ ἢν φερωνύμως τοῦ πυρῶδους ἐνεκεν ἄνθραξ προσαγορευόμενον—ἐπιφορά, ὁ καὶ καθ’ ὅλων μὲν ἐρπον τῶν σωμάτων σφαλεροῦ ἐνεποίη τοῖς πεπονθόσι κινδύνους, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ κατὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν διαφερόντως ἐπὶ πλεύστον γινόμενον μυρίους ὅσους ἄνδρας ἀμα γυναιξίν καὶ παισίν πηροὺς ἀπειργάζετο.

Τούτους προσεπανιστᾶται τῷ τυράννῳ ὁ πρὸς 2 Ἀρμενίους πόλεμος, ἄνδρας ἐξ ἀρχαίου φίλων τε καὶ συμμάχους Ἐρωμαίων, οὓς καὶ αὐτοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὄντας καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ θείον εὐσέβειαν διὰ σπουδῆς ποιουμένους ὁ θεομοσίας εἰδώλως θύειν καὶ δαίμοσιν ἐπαναγκάσας πεπειραμένος, ἐχθροὺς ἀντὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίους ἀντὶ συμμάχων κατεστησάτο.

Ἄθροως δὴ ταῦτα πάντα υφ’ ἐνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν 3 συρρέουσαντα καίρον, τῆς τοῦ τυράννου θρασύτητος τὴν κατὰ τοῦ θείου μεγαλαυχίαν διήλεγξεν, ὅτι

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1 Lit. "gagging."
2 ἄνθραξ, like the English word "carbuncle," means a
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even the elect themselves should be caused to stumble at these things. 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,¹ as it were, the proud boasting of the tyrant against us, displayed His heavenly aid on our behalf.

VIII. 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.² 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.

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.

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

precious stone of a dark red colour, and hence is also used of a malignant ulcer of similar appearance.

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δὴ τῆς περὶ τὰ εἰδωλα αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐνεκα πολυρκίας μὴ λιμὸν μηδὲ λοιμὸν μηδὲ μὴν πόλεμον ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ συμβήναι καιρῶν ἐθρασύνετο. ταῦτα δὲ ὁμοί καὶ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπελθόντα, καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ καταστροφῆς περιέλθηκε τὰ προοίμια. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀρ- μενίους πόλεμον ἀμα τοῖς αὐτοῦ στρατοπέδοις κατεπονεῖτο, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τῶν τὰς ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν πόλεις οἰκούντων δεινῶς ὁ λιμός τε ἁμα καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς κατετρυχέτην, ὡς ἐνὸς μέτρου πυρῶν δισχίλια καὶ πεντακοσίας Ἀττικας ἀντικατ- ἀλλάττεσθαι. μυρίοι μὲν οὖν ἐτύγχανοι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πόλεις θυμὸντες, πλεῖοι δὲ τούτων οἱ κατ᾽ ἀγροὺς τε καὶ κώμας, ὡς ὅδη καὶ τὰς πάλαι τῶν ἀγροικῶν πολυάνδρους ἀπογραφὰς μικροῦ δεῖν παν- τελῆ παθεῖν εξάλειψιν, ἀδρόως σχεδὸν ἀπαίτων ἐνδεία τροφῆς καὶ λοιμῶδει νόσῳ διεθθαρμένων. τινὲς μὲν οὖν τὰ ἐαυτῶν φίλτατα βραχυτάτης ἑρ- τροφῆς τοῖς εὐποριστέροις ἀπεμπολὰν ἦξιον, ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς κτήσεις κατὰ βραχῦ διαπεπράσκοντες εἰς ἐσχάτην ἐνδείας ἀπορίαν ἦλανον, ἦδη δὲ τινὲς σμικρὰ χόρτου διαμασούμενοι σπαράγμαται καὶ τινας ἀνέδην φθοροποιοὺς ἐσθίοντες πόσα, τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἕξω λυμανόμενοι διάλιπαντο. καὶ γυναῖκοι δὲ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις εὐγενιδῶν τινὲς εἰς ἀναίσχυντον ἀνάγκην πρὸς τῆς ἀπορίας ἐλαθεῖσαι, μετατείν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγορῶν προεληθέσαν, τῆς πάλαι ἐλευθερίων τροφῆς ὑπόδειγμα διὰ τῆς περὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αἴδους καὶ τῆς ἀμφὶ τὴν περιβολὴν κοσμίστητος ὑποφαίνουσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπεσκλη- ὁ ντες ὦσπερ εἰδωλα νεκρὰ ὁδε κάκεισε ψυχο- ραγοῦντες ἐνσειόμενοι τε καὶ περιολυθαίνοντες ὑπ᾽ 352
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, 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, 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. 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. 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. And some, wasted away like ghosts of the departed, and at the last gasp, stumbled and tottered here and there from inability
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άδυναμίας τοῦ στὴνας κατέπιπτον ἐν μέσαις τε πλατείαις πρηνεὶς ἦπλωμένοι ὅρεξαί σφίσων μικρὸν τρόφος ἄρτου κατηντιβόλουν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς ἐσχάταις ἐχοντες ἀναπνοαὶς πεινὴν ἐπεβῶν, πρὸς μόνην ταῦτην τὴν ὀδυνηροτάτην φωνὴν εὐσθενεῖς καθιστάμενοι· οἱ δὲ τὴν πλῆθυν τῶν αἰτούντων 9 καταπληττόμενοι, ὡσοὶ τῶν εὐπορωτέρων ἔδοκούν εἶναι, μετὰ τὸ μυρία παρασχεῖν εἰς ἀπηνή λουπὸν καὶ ἀτεγκτὸν ἑχόρουν διάθεσιν, τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν ὅσον οὕῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ πεῖσεθαί προσδοκῶντες, ὅστε ἦδη κατὰ μέσας ἄγορᾶς καὶ στενωποὺς νεκρὰ καὶ γυμνὰ σώματα ἐφ’ ἡμέραις πλείοσιν ἀταφὰ διερρεῖμενα θέαν τοῖς ὀρῶσιν οἰκτροτάτην παρέχειν. ἦδη γε τοι καὶ κυνῶν τινες ἐγίνοντο 1 βορά, δι’ ἢν μάλιστα αἰτίαν οἱ ξύντες ἐπὶ τὴν κυνοκτονίαν ἐτράποντο δέει τοῦ μη λυσόσαντας ἀνθρωποφαγίαν ἐργάσασθαι. οὐχ ἦκιστα δὲ καὶ ὁ λοιμὸς πάντας οἴκους ἐπεβόςκετο, μάλιστα δ’ οὐς ὁ λιμὸς διὰ τὸ εὐπορεῖν τροφῆν οὐχ οἶδος τε ἦν ἐκτρῆψαι· οἱ γοῦν ἐν περιονυσίαις, ἄρχοντες καὶ ἠγεμόνες καὶ μυρίοι τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες τῇ λοιμώδει νόσῳ πρὸς τοῦ λιμοῦ καταλειμμένοι, ὃς ἐπὶ καὶ ἰκυντάτην ύπέμενον τελευτήν. πάντα δ’ οὖν οἰμωγών ἦν ἀνάπλεα, κατὰ πάντας τε στενωποὺς ἄγορᾶς τε καὶ πλατείας οὐδ’ ἦν ἀλλο τι θεωρεῖν ἡ θρήνους μετὰ τῶν συνήθων αὐτοῖς αὐλῶν τε καὶ κτύπων. τούτων δὴ τὸν 1 τρόπον δυσὶν οἴπλοις τοῖς προδεδηλωμένους λοιμοῦ τε ὀμοῦ καὶ λιμοῦ στρατεύσας, ὀλας ὁ θάνατος ἐν ὀλίγῳ γενεᾶς ἐνεμήθη, ὥσ ὁρᾶν ἦδη δυεῖν καὶ

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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. 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. 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 battened upon every house, 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 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

1 Or "beating (of breasts)."
τριών σώματα νεκρῶν ὑπὸ μίαν ἐκφορὰν προ-
kομιζόμενα.

Τοιαύτα τῆς Μαξιμίου μεγαλαυχίας καὶ τῶν
cατὰ πόλεις καθ’ ἡμῶν ψηφισμάτων τὰ ἐπίχειρα-
ῃ, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Χριστιανῶν περὶ πάντα σπουδῆς
tε καὶ εὐσεβείας πᾶσιν ἔθνεσιν διάδηλα κατέστη-
tα τεκμήρια. μόνοι γοῦν ἐν τηλικοῖς κακῶν
περιστάσει τὸ συμπαθὲς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἔργος
ἀυτοῖς ἐπιδεικνύμενου, διὰ πάσης ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν
τῇ τῶν θυσικόντων (μυριάδες δ’ ἦσαν οἷς οὕτως
ἡ ἐπιμελησόμενοι) κηδεῖα τε καὶ ταφῇ προσ-
εκαρτέρουν, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς
τὸν λιμὸν κατατρυχομένων τὴν πληθὺν ὑπὸ μίαν
σύναξιν ἄθροίζοντες ἄρτους διένεμον τοῖς πᾶσιν,
ὡς περιβότον εἰς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καταστήμα
τὸ πράγμα θέον τε τῶν Χριστιανῶν δοξάζειν
eὐσεβεῖς τε καὶ μόνοις θεοσεβεῖς τοῦτοις ἀληθῶς
πρὸς αὐτῶν ἔλεγχεντας τῶν πραγμάτων ὁμο-
λογεῖν.

(Equal) οὐς τούτων ἐπιτελουμένους τὸν τρόπον ὁ
μέγας καὶ οὐράνιος Χριστιανῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεὸς
τὴν κατὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῶν δεδηλωμένων
ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀπειλὴν καὶ ἀγανάκτησιν ἄνθ᾽ ἄν
εἰς ἡμᾶς ὑπερβαλλόντως ἐνεδείξατο, τὴν εὐμενὴ
cαὶ φανερῶς τῆς αὐτοῦ περὶ ἡμᾶς προνοίας αὐθε
ἡμῖν αὐγὴν ἀπεδίδον, ὡς ἐν βαθεῖ σκότῳ παρα-
δοξότατα φῶς ἡμῖν ἐκ αὐτοῦ καταλάμπτων εἰρήνης
ἐκφάνες τε τοῖς πᾶσιν καθισταὶς θεοῦ αὐτὸν τῶν
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπίσκοπον διὰ παντὸς γεγονέναι πραγ-
μάτων, μαστίζοντα μὲν καὶ διὰ τῶν περιστάσεως
κατὰ καιρὸν ἐπιστρέφοντα τὸν αὐτοῦ λαὸν πάλιν
τ’ αὖ μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη παιδείαν ἔλεος καὶ εὐμενὴ
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persons carried out for burial in a single funeral train.

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. 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.

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 chastise-

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τοῖς εἰς αὐτὸν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν ἀναφαίω-

μενον.

IX. Οὕτω δήτα Κωνσταντίνου, ὁν βασιλέα ἐκ

βασιλέως εὐσεβῆ τε ἐξ εὐσεβεστάτου καὶ πάντα

σωφρονεστάτου γεγονέναι προειρήκαμεν, Δικαινίου

τε τοῦ μετ’ αὐτὸν, συνέσει καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ τετί-

μημένων, πρὸς τοῦ παμβασιλέως θεοῦ τε τῶν

ὄλων καὶ σωτῆρος κατὰ τῶν δυσσεβεστάτων

τυράννων ἀνεγγερμένου πολέμου τε νόμω παρα-

ταξαμένου, θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος σωτῆρος δύο θεο-

φιλῶν κατὰ τῶν δύο δυσσεβεστάτων τυράννων

ἀνεγγερμένων πολέμου τε νόμω παραταξαμένων,

θεοῦ συμμαχοῦντος αὐτοῖς παραδοξότατα, πίπτει

μὲν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου Μαξέντιος,

ὁ δ’ ἐπ’ ἀνατολῆς οὐ πολὺν ἐπιζήσας ἐκείνῳ χρόνῳ,

αἰσχίστω καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Δικάινου οὐπω μανέντα

tὸτε καταστρέφει βανάτω.

Πρότερος γε μὴν ὁ καὶ τιμῆ καὶ τάξει τῆς

βασιλείας πρῶτος Κωνσταντίνος τῶν ἐπὶ 'Ῥώμης

catatupanoménwv fēidówn labwv, theou tōn ouvra-

wv tōn te tou'ton lóghon, autōn de tōn pántwv

swtēra 'Iησou̇n Khrwot̄n, swmما wv di' euvwv

ēptikalessámenos, prōeiswv panstratwv, 'Rwmaiwv

ta tῆs ék progonwv élenvbepiá proμmwnwv.

Mαxwntiōn dēta màllon tais katà gosbeian

mēxanaís ἢ tῆ tōn ūpēkōwv épiparbasónvtov évnoia,

proebewv ge mēn ou'd' ósson pula' tōd ãstesos

ēpípolmántos, ópλtwv di' ánthwmos plēthei kai

stratopédwv lóchois mýríous pánta tótpo kai

χwran καὶ pólon, ósth tis ev kûklw tῆs 'Rwmaiwv

1 viii. 13. 12 f.
2 This is a translation of the text given in ATER. The
ment showing mercy and goodwill to those who fix their hopes on Him.

IX. 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.

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, 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 shorter text of Eusebius (BDMΣ) runs as follows: “Thus in truth Constantine . . . most prudent father, was stirred up by the . . . Saviour, against those most impious tyrants . . . God proved his ally. . . .”

3 Maximin. 4 This clause is a later addition.
καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀπάσης ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δεδούλωτο, φραξα-μένου, ὁ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συμμαχίας ἀνημμένος βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ πρῶτη καὶ δευτέρα καὶ τρίτη τοῦ τυράννου παρατάξει εὐ μᾶλα τε πάσας ἐλῶν, πρὸςεσθε ἐπὶ πλείστον ὦσικ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἢδη τε αὐτῆς Ὁρμής ἀγχιστα ἢν· εἴθ’ ὡς μὴ τοῦ τυράννου χάριν Ὁρ-μαίους πολεμεῖν ἀναγκάζοιτο, θεὸς αὐτῶς δεσμοῖς τισιν ἄσπερ τὸν τύραννον πορρωτάτω πυλῶν ἐξέλκει καὶ τὰ πάλαι δὴ κατὰ ἀσβεόν ὡς ἐν μῦθῳ λόγῳ παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ἀπιστούμενα, πιστὰ γε μὴν πιστοῖς ἐν ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἐστηλε-τευμένα, αὐτή ἐναργεῖα πᾶσιν ἀπλῶς εἰπείν, πιστοῖς καὶ ἀπίστοις, ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ παράδοξα παρειληφόσι, ἐπιστῶσατο. ἄσπερ γοῦν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ πάλαι θεοσεβοῦς Ἐβραῖων γένους "άρματα Φαραώ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν ἐρρυθεν εἰς θάλασσαν, ἐπιλέκτους ἀναβάτας τρι-στάτας· κατεπόθησαν ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἐρυθρᾷ, πόντος ἐκάλυψεν αὐτοὺς," κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ καὶ Μαξέντιος οντεῖ ἀμφ’ αὐτὸν ὀπλίται καὶ δορυφόροι ἐδοξοῦσι εἰς βυθὸν ὡς ἐι λίθος," ὀπηνίκα νῦντα δοὺς τῇ ἐκ θεοῦ μετὰ Κωνσταντίνου δυνάμει, τὸν πρὸ τῆς πορείας διην ποταμόν, ὁν αὐτὸς σκάβεσιν ζεύξας καὶ εὐ μᾶλα γεφυρώσας μηχανῆν ὀλέθρου καθ’ ἐαυτοῦ συνεστήσατο· ἐφ’ ὡς ἢν εἰπεῖν "λάκκον ὤρυζεν καὶ ἀνέσκαψεν αὐτόν, καὶ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς βόθρον ὅν εἰργάσατο. ἐπιστρέψει ἐπὶ πόνος αὐτοῦ εἰς κεφαλήν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῆν αὐτοῦ ἡ ἀδικία αὐτοῦ καταβῆσεται."
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IX. ix. 3-7

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, 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, 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, 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."

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;
αὐτὸς γε πρῶτος ὁ δυσσεβέστατος, εἶτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ αὐτοῦ ὑπασπισταὶ, ἢ τὰ θεῖα προαναφωνεῖ λόγια, ἐδυσαν ὡς εἰ μόλιθος ἐν ὑδατι σφοδρῷ· ὥστε εἰκότως εἰ μὴ λόγους ἔργους δ᾿ οὖν ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν μέγαν θεράποντα Μωσεία τοὺς παρὰ θεοῦ τὴν νίκην ἀραμένους αὐτὰ δὴ τὰ κατὰ τοῦ πάλαι δυσσεβοῦς τυράννου ὧδε πως ἄν ὑμνεῖν καὶ λέγειν ἃ ἀσωμεν τῷ κυρίῳ, ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόξασται. ἢππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἔρρησεν εἰς θάλασσαν· βοηθὸς καὶ σκεπαστής μου κύριος, ἐγένετο μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν” καὶ “τὸς ὁμοίος σοι ἐν θεοῖς, κύριε, τὶς ὁμοίος σοι; δεδοξασμένος ἐν ἀγίοις, θαυμαστὸς ἐν δοξαῖς, ποιῶν τέρατα.”

Ταῦτα καὶ ὅσα τούτως ἄδελφα τε καὶ ἐμφερὴ ἑις εὐαγγελία τῶν πανηγερεόν καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς ἔργους ἀνωμήσας, ἐπὶ Ρώμης μετ’ ἐπινικίων εἰσῆλθανεν, πάντων ἀθρόως αὐτῶν ἄμα κομιδή νηπίους καὶ γυναιξί τῶν τέ ἀπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλως διασημοτάτων σὺν παντὶ δήμῳ Ρωμαιῶν φαιδροῖς ὁμμασφ αὐταῖς ψυχαῖς οὐ τὸν πρώτην σωτηρία τε καὶ εὐεργετήν μετ’ εὐφημίων καὶ ἀπλήστου χαρᾶς ύποδεχομένων. ὃ δ᾿ ὠσπέρ ἐμφυτον τὴν εἰς θεοὶ εὐσέβειαν κεκτητέ—μένος, μηδ’ ὅλως ἐπὶ ταῖς βοαίς υποσαλυόμενος μηδ’ ἐπαιρόμενος τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, εὐ μᾶλα τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ συνήθημεν βοηθείας, αὐτίκα τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους ὑπὸ χείρα ἱδίας εἰκόνοις ἀνατεθήκαι προστάτευς, καὶ δὴ τὸ σωτηρίου σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπὶ Ρώμης δεδημοσιευμένω τόπῳ στήσαντας αὐτὴν δὴ ταὐτὸν προγραφὴν ἐντάξει ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαιῶν ἐγκελεύτει φωνῇ· "τούτῳ τῷ σω—
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. 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"; 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 ransomer, saviour and benefactor, with praises and insatiable joy. 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: "By this salutary sign,
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tηριώδει σημείω, τῷ ἀληθεὶ εἰλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρείας
tὴν πόλιν ὑμῶν ἀπὸ ξυγοῦ τοῦ τυράννου δια-
σωθείσαι ἡλευθέρωσα, ἓτι μὴ καὶ τὴν σύγκλησιν
cαι τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ ἐπιφανείᾳ καὶ
λαμπρότητι ἡλευθερώσασ ἀποκατέστησα."

Καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς τε Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ 12
σὺν αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Λικίνιος, οὐπώ τότε ἐφ᾽ ἧν
ὑστερον ἐκπέπτωκεν μανιάν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκτραπεῖς,
θεοῦ τὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων αὐτῶς αὐτὸς εὐμε
cısıαντες, ἀμφοὶ μᾶ θαυμῇ καὶ γνώμη νόμον
ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν τελεύτατον πληρέστατα δια-
τυπώντα, καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐκ
θεοῦ τὰ παράδοξα τὰ τε τῆς κατὰ τοῦ τυράννου
νίκης καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν Μαξιμίνῳ, τὸν ἐπ᾽
ἀνατολῆς ἐθνῶν ἑτί δυναστεύοντι φιλίαν τε πρὸς
αὐτοὺς ὕποκοριζομένων, διαπέμποντα. δὲ δὴ 13
τύραννος περιλαγής ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐγγυώ, γεγενημένοις,
ἐίτα μὴ δοκεῖν ἐτέρως εἰξει βουλόμενος μὴ δ᾽ αὔ
παρεκθέσθαι τὸ κελευσθὲν δέει τῶν προστεταχότων
wüns ἂν ἐξ ἱδίας αὐθεντίας τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἡγε
cίσων τοῦτο πρῶτον ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐπάναγκες δια-
χαράττει τὸ γράμμα, τὰ μηδέπω ποτε πρὸς αὐτοὺ
pεπραγμένα ἐπιπλάστως αὐτὸς καθ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ ψευδό-
μενος.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΤΟΤ
ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΤ

IXA. "Ἱόβιος Μαξιμίνος Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνῳ. 1
καὶ παρὰ τῇ σῇ στυβαρότητι καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις φανερὸν εἶναι πέπουλα τοὺς δεσπότας
ὑμῶν Διοκλητιανόν καὶ Μαξιμιανὸν, τοὺς ἡμε-
tέρους πατέρας, ἦνικα συνείδον σχεδὸν ἀπαντάς
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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."

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. 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

"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

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1 This clause is a later addition.
2 The so-called Edict of Milan: see x. 5. 1-14.
3 January 313.
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ανθρώπους καταλειφθείσης τής τῶν θεῶν θρησκείας τῷ έθνει τῶν Χριστιανῶν έαυτούς συμμειμιχώτας, ὀρθῶς διατεταχέναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους τούς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν θεῶν τῶν ἀθανάτων θρησκείας ἀναχωρήσαντας προδήλω κολάσει καὶ τιμωρία εἰς τήν θρησκείαν τῶν θεῶν ἀνακληθῆναι.

ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐγὼ εὐτυχώς τὸ πρῶτον εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν 2 παρεγενόμην καὶ ἐγὼν εἰς τινάς τόπους πλεῖστος τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ δημόσια ωφελεῖν δυναμένους ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν διὰ τὴν προειρημένην αὐτίαν ἔξοριζθαι, ἐκάστω τῶν δικαστῶν ἐντολὰς δέδωκα ὡς τε μηδένα τούτων τοῦ λοιποῦ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ἐπαρχιώταις ἀπηνῶς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον κολακεία καὶ προτροπαῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν αὐτοὺς ἀνακαλεῖν. τηνικαῦτα οὖν, ὅτε ἀκολούθως τῇ κε-3 λεύσει τῇ ἐμῇ ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἐφυλάττετο τά προστεταγμένα, συνέβαινε μηδένα ἐκ τῶν τῆς ἀνατολῆς μερῶν μήτε ἐξοριστὸν μήτε ἐνύβριστον γίνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ βαρέως κατ' αὐτῶν τι γίνεσθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἀνακεκλήσῃ μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, ὅτε τῷ παρελθόντι 4 ἐναυτῷ εὐτυχῶς ἐπέβην εἰς τὴν Νικομήδειαν κάκει διετέλουν, παρεγένοντο πολίται τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως πρὸς με ἀμα μετὰ τῶν ξοάνων τῶν θεῶν μειζόνως δεόμενοι ἵνα παντὶ τρόπῳ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθνος μηδαμῶς ἐπιτρέποιτο ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν πατρίδι οἰκεῖν. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐγὼν πλεῖστος τῆς αὐτῆς 5 θρησκείας ἀνδρας ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς μέρεσιν οἰκεῖν, οὕτως αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀπένεμον ὅτι τῇ μὲν αἰτήσει αὐτῶν ἀσμένως χάριν ἔσχηκα, ἀλλ' οὐ παρὰ πάντων τούτῳ αἰτήθεν κατείδου· εἰ μὲν οὖν τινες εἰς τῇ αὐτῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ διαμένοντες, 366
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, 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. 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. 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. 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
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οὕτως ἐνα ἔκαστον ἐν τῇ ἴδιᾳ προαιρέσει τὴν βούλησιν ἔχειν καὶ εἰ βούλοιτο, τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν ἐπιγνώσκειν. ὃμως καὶ τοῖς τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπόλεως Νικομηδείου καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς πόλεσιν, αἱ καὶ αὐταὶ εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν ὁμοίαν αἰτήσιν περισυποδάστως πρὸς με πεποιήκασιν, δηλονότι ἴνα μηδείς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐνοικοῖν, ἀνάγκην ἔσχον προσφιλῶς ἀποκρίνασθαι, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸ τούτο καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι αὐτοκράτορες πάντες διεφύλαξαν καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, δὴ ὅσον πάντες ἀνθρώποι καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ τῶν δημοσίων διοίκησις συνίσταται, ἦρεσιν [οὐ] ὡστε τὴν τοσαύτην αἰτήσιν, ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς θρησκείας τοῦ θείου αὐτῶν ἀναφέρουσιν, βεβαιώσαμι.

"Τοιγαροῦν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τῇ σῇ καθοσιώσει πρὸ τούτου τὸν χρόνον διὰ γραμμάτων ἐπέσταλται καὶ δὴ ἐντολῶν ὅμως κεκέλευσαν ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος διαφυλάξαι ἐπιμεληθέντων μηδὲν τραχέως, ἀλλὰ ἀνεξικάκως καὶ συμμέτρως συμπεριφέροντο αὐτοῖς, ὃμως ἵνα μὴτε ὑπὸ τῶν βενεφικαιρίων μὴτε ὑπὸ ἀλλων τῶν τυχόντων ὑβρεῖς μὴτε σεισμοὺς υπομένοιες, ἀκολούθων ἐνόμισα καὶ τούτως τοῖς γράμμασιν τὴν σῇ στιβαρότητα ὑπομνήσας ὅπως ταῖς κολακείαις καὶ ταῖς προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιμέλειαν τοὺς ἑμετέρους ἐπαρχιώτας ποιήσειας ἐπιγνώσκειν· θέν εἰ τὶς 8 τῇ αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει τὴν θρησκείαν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιγνωστέων προσλάβοι, τούτους ὑποδέχεσθαι προσήκει· εἰ δὲ τινες τῇ ἴδιᾳ θρησκείᾳ ἀκολουθεῖν βούλοιτο, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ἔξουσία καταλείποις.
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IX. ixa. 5–8

keep thus his resolve according as he personally wished; and if they so desired it, let them acknowledge the worship of the gods. 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.

"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. 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.

1 δι' οὗ: probably representing per quos in the original.
2 Omitting οὖν, as suggested by Schwartz.
3 This title was given to military officers of a high rank. In this passage it seems to mean officers in the entourage of a provincial governor.

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diōper ἡ σή καθοσίωσι τὸ ἐπιτραπέν σοι διαφυλάττειν ὑφείλει, καὶ μὴν ἐξουσία δοθῇ ὅστε τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιῶτας ὑβρεῖ καὶ σεισμοῖς ἐπιτρώσαι, ὅποτε, ὕστερ προγέγραπται, ταῖς προτροπαῖς μᾶλλον καὶ ταῖς κολακείαις πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν θρησκείαν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐπαρχιῶτας προσήκει ἀνακαλεῖν. ἵνα δὲ αὐτὴ ἡμῶν ἡ κέλευσις εἰς γνώσιν πάντων τῶν ἐπαρχιῶτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔλθῃ, διατάγματι ὑπὸ σοῦ προτεθέντι τὸ κεκελευσμένον ὑφείλεις δηλώσαι.

Ταῦθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐκβεβιασμένος, ἀλλ᾽ οὗ 10 κατὰ γνώμην τὴν αὐτοῦ διακελευσάμενος, οὐκέτ᾽ ἀληθῆς οὐδ᾽ ἀξιόπιστος παρὰ τοῖς πάσιν ἢν τῆς πρόσθεν ἦδη μετὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν συγχώρησιν παλιμβόλου καὶ διεφευσμένης αὐτοῦ γνώμης ἔνεκα. οὐκοῦν ἐτόλμα τις τῶν ἡμετέρων σύνοδον συν-11 κροτείν οὐδ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἐν φανερῷ καταστήσασθαι, ὅτι μηδὲ τούτ᾽ ἦθελεν αὐτῷ τὸ γράμμα, αὐτὸ μόνον τὸ ἀνεπηρέατον ἠμῖν ἐπιτρέπον ψυλλτεσθαι, οὐ μὴν συνόδους ἐπικελεύον ποιεῖσθαι οὐδ᾽ οὐκοὺς ἐκκλησίων οἰκοδομεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἠμῶν συνήθως διαπράττεσθαι. καίτοι γε ταῦθ᾽ οἷς12 τῆς ἐρήμης καὶ ἐυσέβειας προηγοροὶ αὐτῶ τὲ ἐπιτρέπειν ἐπεστάλκεσαν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπαίσιν διὰ προγραμμάτων καὶ νόμων συγκεκριμέναν· οὐ μὴν ὁ δυσσεβέστατος γε ταύτη ἐνδούναι προήρητο, εἰ μὴ ὅτε πρὸς τῆς θείας συνελαθεὶς δίκης ὑστατὸν γε ἀκών ἐπὶ τούτ᾽ ἡχηθῇ.

Χ. Ἐκπεριήλθεν δ᾽ αὐτὸν τοιαύτη τις αὐτία. τὸ μέγεθος τῆς οὐ κατ᾽ ἀξίαν ἐπιτραπείσης ἡγεμονίας αὐτῷ μὴ οἶδο τῇ φέρειν, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἀπερίαν σῶφρονος καὶ βασιλικοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀπειρο- 370
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, IX. ixa. 9—x. 1

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."

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. 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. 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. 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

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κάλως τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγχειρῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τε ὑπερηψανίας μεγαλαυχία τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλόγως ἀρθείς, ἣδη καὶ κατά τῶν τῆς βασιλείας κοιμῶν, τὰ πάντα αὐτοῦ προφερόντων γένει καὶ τροφῇ καὶ παΐδεια ἀξιώματι τε καὶ συνέσει καὶ τῷ γε πάντων κορυφαίοτάτῳ, σωφροσύνῃ καὶ τῇ περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεον εὐσεβεία, τολμᾶν ὕμνητο θρασύνεσθαι καὶ πρῶτον ἐαυτοῦ ταῖς τιμαῖς ἀναγορεύειν. ἐπιτείνας δὲ εἰς ἀπόνοιαν τὰ τῆς μανίας, συνθήκας ἀς πρὸς Λικίνιον πεποίητο, παρασπονδήσας, πόλεμον ἀσπονδον ἀφρετάτο, εἰτ' ἐν βραχεῖ τὰ πάντα κυκῆςα πᾶς τὰ πόλιν ἐκταράξας καὶ πᾶν στρατόπεδον, μυριάδων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνηρίθμων, συναγαγὼν, ἐξεισών εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ παραταξάμενος, δαμόνων ἐλπίσων, ἐν δὴ ὥστε θεόν, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὑπλιτῶν μυριάσων τὴν ψυχὴν ἐπημένοις.

Καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼς εἰς χείρας, ἔρημος τῆς ἑκ θεοῦ καθισταται ἐπισκοπῆς, τῆς νίκης εemachine τοῦ πάντων ἐνος καὶ μόνου θεοῦ τῷ τότε κρατοῦν πρυτανευθείας. ἀπόλλυε δὴ πρῶτον τὸ ἐφ' ὃ πεποίθη ὑπλιτικόν, τῶν τε ἀμφ' αὐτοῦ δορυφόρων γυμνῶν καὶ πάντων ἔρημον αὐτοῦ καταλευκόπτων τῷ τε κρατοῦντι προσπεφευγότων, ὕπεκοῦσον οδόνται αὐτοῦ, τῶν τοὺς ἀγροὺς καὶ τῶς κόμως μόλις τῶν πολεμίων τὰς χείρας, τὰ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν προμυνήμενος, διέξεισιν, ἐργοι αὐτοῖς εὗ μάλα πιστούς καὶ ἀληθεῖς τοὺς θείους ἀποφήνας χρησμοῖς, 'ἐν οἷς εἰρήνηται ᾧ σώζεται βασιλεὺς διά.
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, 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.

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, 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, his deeds themselves proclaiming how very trustworthy and true are the divine oracles, in which it has been said:
πολλὴν δύναμιν, καὶ γίγας οὐ σωθῆσεται ἐν πλῆθει ἴσχύος αὐτοῦ· ψευδὴς ἦπερ εἰς σωτηρίαν, ἐν δὲ πλῆθει δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ οὐ σωθῆσεται. Ἰδοὺ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν, τοὺς ἐλπίζοντας ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, ρύσασθαι ἐκ θανάτου τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν." ὅτως δὴ ἀἰσχύνη ἔμπλεψ δὲ τὺραννος ἐπὶ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἄλθων μέρη, πρῶτα μὲν ἐμμανεί θυμῷ πολλὸς ἱερεῖς καὶ προφήτας τῶν πάλαι θαυμαζομένων αὐτῷ θεῶν, ὥς ἐν τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἀναρριπθεῖσιν τὸν πόλεμον ἤρατο, ὡς ἄν γόητας καὶ ἀπατεώνας καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν προδότας τῆς αὐτοῦ γενομένους σωτηρίας ἀναρμεὶ· εἶτα δὲ δοὺς δόξαν τῷ Χριστιανῶν θεῷ νόμον τε τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν τελειῶτα καὶ πληρεστάτα διαταξάμενος, δυσθανατήσας αὐτίκα μηδεμίας αὐτῷ χρόνου δοθείης προθεσμίας τελευτά τὸν βίον.

"Ὁ δὲ καταπεμφθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νόμοις τουστὸς ἦν.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΤΥΡΑΝΝΟΥ ΤΙΠΕΡ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΩΝ ΔΙΑΣΕΧΕΩΣ ΕΚ ΡΟΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ ΜΕΤΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΗΣ

"Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Γαίος Οὐαλέριος Μαξιμῖνος, Γερμανικός, Σαρματικός, εὐσεβὴς εὐπνῆς ἀνίκητος Σεβαστὸς. κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ἡμᾶς διηνεκῶς τῶν ἑπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοῦ χρησίμου προνοεῖσθαι καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς βούλεσθαι παρέχειν, οἷς τὰ λυσιτέλη πάντων μάλιστα κατορθοῦται καὶ ὡς τῆς λυσιτελείας καὶ τῆς χρησιμότητος ἐστίν τῆς κοινῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ὅποια πρὸς τὴν δημοσίαν λυσιτελείαν ἀρμόζει καὶ ταῖς ἐκάστων 374.
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; 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.

“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
διανοίας προσφιλή τυγχάνει, ουδένα ἀγνοεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸν ἀνατρέχει ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ γινόμενον γινώσκειν τε ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δῆλον εἶναι πιστεύομεν. ὅποτε τοίνυν πρὸ 8 τούτου δῆλον γέγονεν τῇ γνώσει τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προφάσεως ἐξ ἡς κεκελευσμένον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν θειοτάτων Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ, τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων, τὰς συνόδους τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐξηρήσθαι, πολλοὺς σεισμοὺς καὶ ἀποστερήσεις ὑπὸ τῶν ὁφικιαλίων γεγενήσθαι, καὶ εἰς τούπιον δὲ τούτῳ προχωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν ἐπαρχιωτῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων, ὅπως μάλιστα πρόνοιαν τὴν προσήκουσαν γίνεσθαι σπουδάζομεν, τῶν οὕσον τῶν ἵδιων αὐτῶν καταρτιβομένων, δοθέντων γραμμάτων πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας τῷ παρελθόντι ἐναυτῷ ἐνομοθετήσαμεν ἵνα ἐὰν τὸν βούλοντο τῷ τοιούτω ἔθει τῇ ἑαυτῇ φυλακῇ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπεσθαί, τούτου ἀνεμπόδιστως ἐχεσθαι τῆς προθέσεως τῆς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ μηδένος ἐμποδίζεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύσθαι καὶ εἰναι αὐτοῖς εὐχέρειαι δίχα τῶν φόβου καὶ ὑποψίας τοῦ ὑπερ ἐκάστω ἄρεσκεί, ποιεῖν. πλὴν οὐδὲ νῦν λαθεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐδυνηθῇ ὅτι τῶν τῶν δικαστῶν παρενεθυμοῦντο τὰς ἡμετέρας κελεύσεις καὶ διστάζειν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνθρώπους περὶ τὰ προστάγματα τὰ ἡμετέρα παρεσκευάζαν καὶ ὁκνηρότερον προσέναι ταύταις ταῖς θρησκείαις αἰς ἣν ἀρεστὸν αὐτοῖς, ἐποίησαν.

"Ἰνα τούπιν εἰς τὸ ἐξής πᾶσα ὑποψία ἡ ἀμφιβολία τοῦ φόβου περιαρεθῇ, τούτῳ τὸ διάταγμα προτεθῆναι ἐνομοθετήσαμεν, ἢν πᾶσιν δήλον γένηται ἐξεῖναι τούτους οὕτως ταύτην τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ τὴν 376
whatevsoever things are advantageous and useful to their common weal, and such as are suitable to the public advantage and agreeable to every mind. 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 abolition 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, 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.

"That, therefore, for the future all suspicion 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

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θρησκείαν μετείναι βουλονται, ἐκ ταύτης τῆς δωρεᾶς τῆς ἡμετέρας, καθὼς ἐκαστος βουλεται ἡ ἡδέα αὐτῷ ἐστιν, οὕτως προσιέναι τῇ θρησκείᾳ ταύτῃ ἦν ἐξ ἐθους θρησκεύειν εἰλετο. καὶ τὰ κυριακὰ δὲ τὰ οἰκεία ὅπως κατασκευάζομεν, συγκεκριμένην. ἵνα μέντοι καὶ μείζων γέννηται ἡ ἡμετέρα δωρεά, καὶ τούτῳ νομοθετήσαι κατηχώσαι ἵνα εἰ τινὲς οἰκίαι καὶ χωρία ἄν τοῦ δικαίου τοῦ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πρὸ τοῦτου ἐτύγχανον ὁντα, ἐκ τῆς κελεύσεως τῶν γονέων τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὸ δίκαιον μετέπεσεν τοῦ φίλου ἡ ὑπὸ τινος κατελήφθη πόλεως, εἰτε διάπρασις τούτων γεγένηται εἰτε εἰς χάρισμα δέδοται των, ταῦτα πάντα εἰς τὸ ἄρχαίον δίκαιον τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀνακληθήναι ἐκελεύσαιμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς προνοίας αὐσθησιν πάντες λάβωσιν."

Αὕται τοῦ τυράννου φωναί, οὐδ’ ὅλον ἐνιαυτὸν τῶν κατὰ Χριστιανῶν ἐν στήλαις ἀνατεθειμένων αὐτῷ διαταγμάτων ὑπερήφασαι, καὶ παρ’ ὧ γε μικρῷ πρόσθεν δυσσεβεῖς ἐδοκούμεν καὶ ἄθεοι καὶ παντὸς ὀλέθρου τοῦ βίου, ὡς μὴ ὅτι γε πόλιν, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ χώραν οὐδ’ ἐρημίαν οἰκεῖν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι, παρὰ τούτῳ διατάξεις ὑπέρ Χριστιανῶν καὶ νομοθεσία συνετάγγοι, καὶ οἱ πρὸ βραχέος πυρι καὶ σιδῆρῳ ἡμεῖς τε καὶ οἰωνῶν βορᾶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτοῦ διαφθείρομενοι καὶ πᾶν εἴδος κολάσεως καὶ τιμωρίας ἀπαλαγῆς τε βίου οἰκτρότατα ὡς ἂν ἄθεοι καὶ δυσσεβεῖς ὑπομένοντες, οὕτω νῦν πρὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ θρησκείαν ὁμολογοῦνται θρησκεύειν καὶ ἐπισκευάζουν κυριακὰ ἐπιτρέπονται, καὶ δικαίων τινῶν αὐτῶν μετείναι αὐτὸς ὁ τύραννος ὁμολογεῖ. 378
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. 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.”

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!
Καὶ δὴ τοιαῦτα ἐξομολογησάμενος, ὥσπερ τινὸς τυχὼν ἐνεργείας τοῦ ὁμοιοτοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐνεκα, ἦττον ἡ παθεῖν αὐτῶν χρῆν δῆπον παθών, ἀθρόα θεοῦ πληγεῖς μάστιγι ἐν δευτέρᾳ τοῦ πολέμου συμβολὴ καταστρέφει. γίνεται δ’ αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς καταστροφῆς οὗ ὁμοίως πολεμάρχαις ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς καὶ γνωρίμων πολλάκις ἀνδριζομένοις ἐν πολέμῳ τὴν εὐκλείη τελευτὴν εὐθαρσῶς ὑπομεῖναι συνεβη, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἄτε τῆς δυσσεβῆς καὶ θεομάχος, τῆς παρατάξεως ἐτ’ αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ πεδίου συνεστώσῃς οίκοι μένων αὐτῶς καὶ κρυπταξόμενος, τῆς προσήκουσαν τιμωρίαν ὑπέχει, ἀθρόα θεοῦ πληγεῖς καθ’ ὅλου τοῦ σώματος μάστιγι, ὡς ἀληθῶς δεινὰς καὶ περισυναίμαις ἐλαυνόμενον πρηνῆ καταπεσεῖν, λιμὸς φθειρόμενον τὰς τε σάρκας ὅλας ἀθάντως καὶ θεηλάτω πυρὶ τηκόμενον, ὡς διαρρεύοντα τὸ μὲν πᾶν εἶδος τῆς παλαιᾶς μορφῆς ἀφαιρισθῆναι, ἐχθρῶν δ’ αὐτὸ μόνον ὅστε νῦν ἐν τῇ μακρᾷ χρόνῳ κατεσκελετευμένον εἰδωλων ὑπολειφθῆναι, ὡς μηδ’ ἀλλὸ τι νομίζων τοὺς παρόντας ἢ τάφουν αὐτῷ τῆς ψυχῆς γεγονέναι τὸ σῶμα, ἐν ἦτος νεκρῷ καὶ παντελῶς ἀπορρέοντά κατορωπυγμένης. σφοδρότερον δ’ ἐτ’ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον τῆς θερμῆς αὐτῶν ἐκ βάθους μυκῶν καταφλεγοῦσης, προπηδῶσιν μὲν αὐτῷ τὰ ὀμματα καὶ τῆς ἱδίας λήξεως ἀποπεσόντα πηρὸν αὐτῶν ἀφίνησι, δ’ δ’ ἐπὶ τούτως ἐτ’ ἐμπνευσάμεν ἀνδριζομοιμένος τῷ κυρίῳ θάνατον ἐπεκαλεῖτο, καὶ τὸ πανῦστατον ἐνικῶς ταῦτα τῆς κατὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ παροινίας χάριν ὁμολογήσας παθεῖν, τὴν ψυχήν ἀφίνησιν.
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, 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. And as the heat consumed him still more fiercely in the very depths of his marrow, his eyes projected, and falling from their sockets¹ 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.

¹ In later Greek λατρεία sometimes means 'place,' 'position'; Chrysostom (Hom. lvi. in Job. § 2) uses the word, as Eusebius does here, of the place occupied by the eye.
XI. Οὗτος δὴ Μαξιμίνου ἐκποδῶν γενομένου, ὁ μόνος ἐτι λείπων τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν, ἀπάντων χείριστος ἀναπέφηνεν, τὰ μὲν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως ἐκ θεμελίων χάριτι θεοῦ τοῦ παντοκράτορος ἦγείρετο ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ λόγος, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ τῶν ὅλων θεοῦ διαλάμπων, μείζονα τῆς πρόσθεν ἀπελάμβανεν παρρησίαν, τὰ δὲ τῆς δυσσεβείας τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν αἰσχύνης ἐσχάτης καὶ ἀτμίας ἐνεπίμπλατο. πρῶτος τε γὰρ Μαξιμίνος αὐτὸς κοινὸς ἀπάντων πολέμου ὑπὸ τῶν κρατοῦντων ἀναγορευθεῖς, δυσσεβέστατος καὶ δυσωνυμώτατος καὶ θεομισέστατος τύραννος διὰ προγραμμάτων δημοσίων ἀνεστηλίτευτο, γραφαί τε οἷς εἰς τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνέκειντο πόλιν, αἱ μὲν ἐξ υφοῦ εἰς ἔδαφος ῥίπτομεναι συνετρίβοντο, αἱ δὲ τὰς προσόψεις ἠχρεωθύντο σκοτεινῷ χρώματι καταμελανούμεναι, ἀνδριάντων τε ὅμως ὁπόσοι εἰς αὐτοῦ τιμὴν διανεστήκεσαν, ὡσαύτως ῥίπτομενοι συνετρίβοντο, γέλωσι καὶ παιδιὰ τοῖς ἐνυβρίζειν καὶ ἐμπαρουνεῖν ἔθελουσιν ἐκκείμενοι.

Εἶτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἔχθρῶν 3 πᾶσαι τιμαὶ περιηρόντω, ἐκτείνοντο δὲ καὶ πάντες οἱ τὰ Μαξιμίνου φρονοῦντες, ὅσοι μάλιστα τῶν ἐν ἀρχικὸς ἀξιώμασιν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τετμημένοι τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κολακεία σωβαρῶς ἐνεπαροίνησαν τῷ καθ’ ἡμᾶς λόγῳ. οίος ἢν ὁ παρὰ πάντας αὐτῶ 4 τιμιωτάτος καὶ αἰδεσιμώτατος ἑταίρων τε γνησιώτατος Πεισκείος, δίς ὑπατός καὶ τρίς ὑπατός καὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων ἐπαρχὸς πρὸς αὐτοῦ καθεσταμένος, Κουλκιανός τε ὡσαύτως διὰ πάσης ἀρχικῆς προελθῶν ἐξουσίας, ὁ καὶ αὐτὸς μυρίους τοῖς κατ’ 382
XI. 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. 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.

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, 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
EUSEBIUS

Αὐγυπτιον Χριστιανῶν ἐλλαμπρυνόμενος αἵμασιν, ἄλλοι τε ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐκ ὀλίγοι, δι' ὧν μάλιστα τὰ τῆς Μαξιμίνου τυραννίδος ἕκραται νότο τε καὶ ηὗτο.

'Εκάλει δὲ ἅρα καὶ Θεότεκνον ἡ δίκη, οὐδαμῶς τὰ κατὰ Χριστιανῶν αὐτῷ πεπραγμένα λήθη παραδιδοῦσα. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῷ κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν ἔδραθέντι πρὸς αὐτῷ ξοάνω δόξας εὐχαρεῖν, ἥδη καὶ ἡγεμονίας ἥξιωτο παρὰ Μαξιμίνου, Λυκίννιος δὲ ἐπιβάς τῆς Ἀντιοχείου πόλεως φῶραν τε γοήτων ποιησάμενος, τοὺς τοῦ νεοπαγοῦς ξοάνου προφήτας καὶ ἱερεῖς βασάνους ἡκίζετο, τίνι λόγῳ τὴν ἀπάτην καθυποκρίνουσα, πυνθανόμενος· ὥς δ' ἐπικρύπτεσθαι αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν βασάνων συνελαυνομένοις ἀδύνατον ἦν, ἔδηλουν δὲ τὸ πᾶν μυστήριον ἀπάτην τυγχάνει τέχνη τῇ Θεότεκνου μεμηχανμένη, τοῖς πάσιν τὴν ἄξιαν ἐπιθείς δίκην, πρώτον αὐτὸν Θεότεκνον, εἶτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς τῆς γοητείας κοινωνοὺς μετὰ πλείστας ὀσας αἰκίας θανάτῳ παραδίδωσιν.

Τούτους ἅπασιν προσεύθεντο καὶ οἱ Μαξιμίνου παῖδες, οὓς ἥδη καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς τιμῆς τῆς τε ἐν πίναξιν καὶ γραφαῖς ἀναθέσεως πεποίητο κοινωνούς· καὶ οἱ συγγένειαι δὲ τοῦ τυράννου τὸ πρὶν αὖχούνται καὶ πάντας ἁνθρώπους καταδυναστεύειν ἐπηρμένοι τὰ αὐτὰ τοῖς προδεδηλωμένοις μετὰ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀτμίας ἐπασχον, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἐδέξαντο παιδείαν μηδὲ ἔγνωσαν μηδὲ συνήκαν τὴν φάσκουσαν ἐν ἱεροῖς λόγοις παρακέλευσιν ἂ μὴ πεποίητε εἰ π' ἄρχοντα, ἐπὶ νίον ἁνθρώποι, οἷς οὐκ ἔστων σωτηρία· ἐξελύσεται τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποστρέψει εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ· ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ 384
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.

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 \(^1\) at Antioch, he seemed to be prospering, 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 charlatanry.

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.\(^2\) 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: "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

\(^1\) See c. 3.
\(^2\) Cf. § 2, above.
EUSEBIUS

ἀπολοῦνται πάντες οἱ διαλογισμοὶ αὐτῶν." οὖν δὴ τῶν δυσσεβῶν ἐκκαθαρθέντων, μόνοις ἐφυλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας βέβαια τε καὶ ἀνεπίφθονα Κωνσταντῖνῳ καὶ Λικυνίῳ, οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν ἅπαντων ἐκκαθάραντες τὸ βίον τὴν θεοεκθρίαν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ προτανευθέντων ἁγάθων αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένως τὸ φιλάρετον καὶ θεοφιλὲς τὸ τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς καὶ εὐχάριστον διὰ τῆς ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν ἐνεδείξαντο νομοθεσίας.¹

¹ For οὖν δὴ τὰ... νομοθεσίας ATERMS have θεῷ δὴ χάρις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τῷ παντοκράτορι καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων, πλειστῇ δὲ καὶ τῷ σωτηρί καὶ λυτρωτῇ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δι᾽ οὗ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐκ τε τῶν ἐξωθεὶν ὀχληρῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν βέβαια καὶ ἀσάλευτα φιλάττεσθαι ἡμῖν διὰ παντὸς εὐχόμεθα.

¹ The following conclusion is found in BDΣ in place of the above: “Thanks be to God, the Almighty and King of the universe, for all things; and abundant thanks be also to
earth. In that day all his thoughts shall perish."

1 Thus verily when the impious ones had been purged away, the kingdom that belonged to them was preserved stedfast 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.

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." In ATERMΣ this sentence also begins Book X. (In Σ it is found in both places.) The text as printed is probably that of the earlier editions of Eusebius (see vol. i. pp. xix ff.), and was naturally omitted in the last recension, after the Damnatio memoriae of Licinius.
Τάδε καὶ ἡ δεκάτη περιέχει βιβλιον τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας

Α Περὶ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ προτανευθείσης ἡμῶν εἰρήνης.
Β Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως.
Γ Περὶ τῶν κατὰ πάντα τόπων ἐγκαινίων.
Δ Πανηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φαιδρότητι.

[Ἐ Ἀντίγραφα βασιλικῶν νόμων περὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν προσηκοντων.
Ξ Περὶ τῆς τῶν κληρικῶν ἀλειτουργησίας.]
Ζ Περὶ τῆς Λικνινίου εἰς ύστερον κακοτροπίας καὶ τῆς καταστροφῆς αὐτοῦ.
Η Περὶ τῆς νίκης Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἐξουσίαν ὑπαρξάντων.
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.

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I. Θεῷ δὴ χάρις ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τῶν παντοκράτορι καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὁλιγῶν, πλείστη δὲ καὶ τῷ σωτῆρι καὶ λυτρωτῇ τῶν ψυχῶν ὦμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, δι' οὗ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐκ τε τῶν ἐξώθη τὸν Χριστόν καὶ τῶν κατὰ διάνοιαν βέβαια καὶ ἀσάλευτα φυλάττεσθαι ἠμῶν διὰ παντὸς εὐχόμεθα.

"Αμα δὲ εὑραίς καὶ τὸν δέκατον ἐν τούτῳ τοῖς προδιεξοδευθείσης Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιθέντες τόμου, σοὶ τούτον ἐπιγράψεις, ἐρώτατέ μου Παύλῳ, ὥσπερ ἐπισφράγισμα σε τῆς ὁλῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀναβοώμενοι, εἰκότως δ' ἐν ἀριθμῷ τελείῳ τῶν τέλειον ἐνταῦθα καὶ πανηγυρικὸν τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀνανεώσεως λόγον κατατάξομεν, θείῳ πνεύματι πειθαρχοῦντες ὡδὲ πως ἐγκελευομένων "τὸ σατε τῷ κυρίῳ ὄσμα καίνον, ὅτι θαυμαστὰ ἐποίησεν ἐσώθησεν αὐτῷ ἢ δεξιὰ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ βραχίων ὁ ἄγιος αὐτοῦ· ἔγνωρισεν κύριος τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ, ἐναντίον τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκάλυψεν τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ."

Καί δὴ τῶν λογίων προστάττοντι τὸ καινὸν ὄσμα διὰ τοῦτο ὑπὸ ἀκολούθως ἐπιφωνῶμεν ὅτι δὴ μετὰ τὰς δεινὰς καὶ σκοτεινὰς ἐκείνας ὦψεις τε καὶ διηγήσεις τοιαύτα νῦν ὑπὲρ καὶ τοιαύτα πανηγυρί-390
BOOK X

I. 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.

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,\(^1\) invoking thee as the seal of the whole work; and fitly in a perfect number we shall here place the perfect and panegyrical 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."

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

\(^1\) Bishop of Tyre, and subsequently of his native city, Antioch. Eusebius had a great admiration for him, and dedicated to him not only this book but also his Onomasticon.
EUSEBIUS

Matt. 13, 17 ζειν ἡξιώθημεν, οία τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν πολλοί τῷ ὄντι δίκαιου καὶ θεοῦ μάρτυρες ἐπεθύμησαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἱδεῖν, καὶ οὐκ εἶδον, καὶ ἀκοῦσαί, καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσαν.

Cf. Phil. 1, 23; Heb. 10, 34 ἀλλ' οὗ μὲν ἦ τάχος σπεύσαντες τῶν πολυ κρειτ-τόνων ἔτυχον ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ παραδείσω τῆς ἐνθέου τροφῆς ἀναρπασθέντες, ἥμεις δὲ καὶ τάδε μείζονα ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὑπάρχειν ὀμολογοῦντες, ὑπερεκπεπλήγμεθα μὲν τῆς τοῦ αἰτίου μεγαλο-δωρεᾶς τὴν χάριν, θαυμάζομεν δὲ εἰκότως ὁλὴς ὑψωθείσας σέβοντες καὶ ταῖς άναγράπτοις προσχέσεωι ἀλήθειαν ἐπιμαρτυροῦντες, δι' ὅν εὑρηται: "δεῦτε καὶ ἴδετε τὰ ἔργα κυρίου, ἃ ἔθετο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀντανακρῶν πολέμους μέχρι τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς' τόξον συντρίψει καὶ συγκλάσει ὅπλον, καὶ θυρεοὺς κατακαίσει ἐν πυρί". ἐφ' οἷς ἐναργῶς εἰς ἡμᾶς πεταλημένους χαίροντες, τὸν ἐφεξής συνείρωμεν λόγον.

Luke 22, 27 Ἡφάνιστο μὲν δὴ καθ' ὅν δεδήλωται τρόπων πάν τὸ τῶν θεομισῶν γένος καὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων αὐρώς οἴεως οὕτως ἔξαλληλεπτο, ὡς πάλιν ρήμα θείον τέλος ἔχειν τὸ λέγον: "εἶδον ἀσεβῆ ὑπερ-υψωμένοι καὶ ὑπεραρόμενον ὡς τὸς κέδρους τοῦ λιβάνου' καὶ παρῆλθον, καὶ ίδον οὐκ ἤν, καὶ εἴζητσα τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὐχ εὔρέθη". ἡμέρα δὲ λαιπὸν ἡδὸν φαινότα καὶ διανοῦς, μηδενὸς νέφους αὐτὴν ἐπισκιάζοντος, φωτὸς οὐρανοῦ βολαῖς ἀνὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ Χριστοῦ κατηγαζεῖν, οὔδὲ τις ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἔξωθεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς θίασον φθόνος συναπολαύειν εἰ μὴ.

Ps. 46, 8. 9 1 ix. 11.

2 θίασος, which originally meant a Bacchic revel or rout, came to signify a religious guild, or confraternity, in which
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, 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, 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.

The whole race of God's enemies had verily been removed even as we have stated,¹ 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: 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 ² grudged, if not the equal enjoy-
sense it is used here. But its application to the Christian society is remarkable.
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tῶν ἵσων, ἀπορροῆς δ' οὖν ὁμοις καὶ μετοπισίας
tῶν θεόθεν ἦμῖν πρυτανευθέντων.

II. Πάσι μὲν οὖν ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἐκ τῆς τῶν
tυράννων καταδυναστείας ἐλεύθερα ἦν, καὶ τῶν
προτέρων ἀπηλλαγμένοι κακῶν, ἄλλος ἄλλως μόνον
ἀληθῆ θεόν τὸν τῶν εὐσεβῶν ὑπέρμαχον ὁμολογεῖ.
mάλιστα δ' ἦμῖν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν Χριστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ
tάς ἐλπίδας ἀνερτημένοις ἀλεκτος παρῆν εὐφρο-
σύνη καὶ τις ἔνθεος ἀπασιν ἐπήνθει χαρὰ πάντα
tότον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσ-
σεβείας ἠριπωμένον ὦσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατι-
φόρου λῦμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις νεώς τε
ἀδίσες ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ύψος ἀπειρον ἐγειρομένους
καὶ πολὺ κρείττονα τὴν ἀγλαίαν τῶν πάλαι
πεπολυκημένων ἀπολαμβάνοντας.

Ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλεῖς οἱ ἀνωτάτω συνεχέσθη ταῖς
ὑπὲρ Χριστιανῶν νομοθεσίαις τὰ τῆς ἐκ θεοῦ
μεγαλοδωρεᾶς ἦμῖν εἰς μακρὸν ἐτὶ καὶ μεῖζον
ἐκράτυνον, ἐφοίτα δὲ καὶ εἰς προσώπου ἐπισκόποις
βασιλέως γράμματα καὶ τιμαὶ καὶ χρημάτων
dόσεις: ὅν οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου γένοιτ' ἂν κατὰ τὸν
προσήκοντα καίριον τοῦ λόγου, ὦσπερ ἐν ἱερᾷ
στῇσι, τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ τὰς φωνὰς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔλλαδα γλώσσαν μεταληθείσας ἐγ-
χαράξας, ὡς ἂν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἦμᾶς ἀπασιν φέροντο
dιὰ μνήμης.

III. Ἐπὶ δὴ τούτοις τὸ πᾶσιν εὐκταῖον ἦμῖν καὶ
ποθούμενον συνεκροτεῖτο θέαμα, ἐγκαινίων ἐορταὶ
cατὰ πόλεις καὶ τῶν ἄρτι νεοπαγῶν προσευκτηρίων
ἀφιερώσεις, ἐπισκόπων ἐπὶ ταῦτον συνηλύσεις,
tῶν πόρρωθεν εἰς ἀλλοδαπῆς συνδρομαί, λαῶν εἰς
λαοὺς φιλοφρονήσεις, τῶν Χριστοῦ σώματος μελῶν
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ment of our divinely-sent blessings, at any rate a share in their effluence and a participation thereof.

II. 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.

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. 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
EUSEBIUS

eis μίαν συνιόντων ἀρμονιαν ἔνωσις. συνήγετο 2
γοῦν ἀκολούθως προρρήσει προφητική μυστικῶς
τὸ μέλλον προσημαινούση ὀστέον πρὸς ὀστέον
καὶ ἀρμονία πρὸς ἀρμονία καὶ ὁσα θεσπίζων ὁ
λόγος δι’ αἰνιγμάτων ἀψευδῶς προανετείνατο, μία

3

τε ἦν θείου πνεύματος διὰ πάντων τῶν μελῶν
χωροῦσα δύναμις καὶ ψυχή τῶν πάντων μία καὶ
προθυμία πίστεως ἡ αὐτή καὶ εἰς εἰς ἀπάντων
θεολογίας ὑμνος, ναὶ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἤγουμένων
ἐντελεῖς θρησκείαι ιερουργίαι τε τῶν ἱερωμένων
καὶ θεοπρεπείς ἐκκλησίας θεσμοὶ, ὥστε μὲν ψαλμω-
δίαις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς τῶν θεόθεν ἦμων παρα-
δοθεισῶν φωνῶν ἀκροάσεων, ὥστε δὲ θείαις καὶ
μυστικαῖς ἐπιτελομέναις διακονίαις, σωτηρίου τε
ἡν πάθους ἀπόρρητα σύμβολα. ὅμως δὲ πάν γένος

4

ἡλικίας ἄρρενος τε καὶ θήλεος φύσεως ὅλη διανοίας
ισχύι δι’ εὐχῶν καὶ εὐχαριστίας γεγονότι νῦν καὶ
ψυχὴ τῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παραίτων θεον ἐγέραιρον.

'Εκινεί δὲ καὶ λόγους ἄπας τῶν παρόντων
ἀρχόντων πανηγυρικοῖς, ὡς ἐκάστω παρῆν δυνά-
μεως, θειάζων τὴν πανήγυριν, IV. καὶ τῆς ἐν

1

μέσω παρελθὼν τῶν μετρίως ἐπιεικῶν, λόγου
σύνταξιν πεποιημένους, ὡς ἐν ἐκκλησίας ἀθροί-
σματι, πλειστῶν ἐπιπαρόντων ποιμένων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ
καὶ κόσμῳ τὴν ἀκρόασιν παρεχομένων, ἐνὸς εἰς
πρόσωπον τὰ πάντα ἀρίστων καὶ θεοφιλοῦς ἐπι-
σκόπου, οὐ διὰ σπουδῆς ὁ μάλιστα τῶν ἄμφι τὸ
Φοινίκων ἔθνος διαπρέπων ἐν Τύρῳ νεῶς φιλοτίμως
ἐπεσκεύαστο, τοιοῦδε παρέσχε λόγον.
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, 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; 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 panegyrical orations, inspiring the assembly. IV. And a certain one of moderate parts ¹ 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:

¹ Eusebius himself.
ΠΑΝΗΓΤΡΙΚΟΣ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΟΔΟΜΗ ΠΑΤΑΙΝΩΝ ΤΥΡΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΩΙ ΠΡΟΣΠΕΦΩΝΗΜΕΝΟΣ

"Ω φίλοι θεοί καὶ ξέρεις οἱ τὸν ἁγίον ποδήρη καὶ τὸν οὐράνιον τῆς δόξης στέφανον τὸ τε χρίσμα τὸ ἔνθεον καὶ τὴν ἵερατικὴν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος στολήν περιβεβλημένοι, σὺ τε, ὦ νέον ἁγίου νεὼν θεοῦ σεμνολόγημα, γεραιρὰ μὲν φρονήσει παρὰ θεοῦ τετυμημένε, νέας δὲ καὶ ἀκμαζουσῆς ἀρετῆς ἐργὰ πολυτέλη καὶ πράξεις ἐπιδειγμένε, ὦ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκὸν αὐτὸς ὁ τὸν σύμπαντα κόσμον περιέχων θεὸς δείμασθαι καὶ ἀνανεῶν Χριστῷ τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτογενεῖ δε αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τῇ τῇ τῇ ἁγίαι τούτοι καὶ θεοπρεπεῖ νύμφῃ γέρας ἐξαίρετον δεδώρηται, εἴτε τις νέον σε Βεσελεληθ θείας ἀρχι-3 τέκτωνα σκηνῆς ἐθέλοι καλεῖν εἴτε Σολομόνα κανής καὶ πολὺ κρείττονος Ἰερουσαλήμ βασιλέα εἴτε καὶ νέον Ζοροβαβελ τὴν πολὺ κρείττονα δόξαν τῆς προτέρας τῷ νεῷ τοῦ θεοῦ περιτιθέντα, ἀλλά 4 καὶ υμείς, ὁ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἀγέλης Χριστοῦ θρέμματα, λόγων ἁγαθῶν ἔστία, σωφροσύνης παιδευτήριων καὶ θεοσεβείας σεμνόν καὶ θεοφιλές ἀκροατήριων πάλαι μὲν ἡμῖν τὰς παραδόξους θεοσημίας καὶ 5 τῶν τοῦ κυρίου θαυμάτων τὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους εὐεργεσίας διὰ θείων ἀναγνώσματων ἀκοὴ παρα-δεχομένοις ύμνοις εἰς θεοῦ καὶ ὁδὰς ἀναπέμπειν ἐξήν λέγειν παιδευομένοις ὁ θεὸς, εν τοῖς ωσιν ἡμῖν ἱκουσαμεν, οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀνήγγειλαν ἡμῖν ἐργὸν ὅ εἰργάσω ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις αὐτῶν, ἐν ἡμέραις ἀρχαίαις. ἀλλὰ νῦν γε οὐκέτ᾿ ἀκοαῖς οὔθε 6 λόγων φήμαις τῶν βραχίων τοῦ υψηλῶν τῆς τε

1 The word is used in the LXX in connexion with the 398
Panegyric on the building of the churches, addressed to Paulinus, bishop of the Tyrians:

"O friends of God and priests who are clothed with the holy robe ¹ 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, 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; 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: 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.' But now indeed no longer by hearing or by report do we learn of the stretched out arm and the heavenly right hand of priestly attire: cf. Exod. xxix. 5 τὸν χιτῶνα τὸν ποδήρη, lit. "the garment reaching to the feet."
EUSEBIUS

Ps. 48, 8
οὐράνιον δεξιὰν τοῦ παναγάθου καὶ παμβασιλέως ἡμῶν θεοῦ παραλαμβάνουσιν, ἔργοις δ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς τὰ πάλαι μνήμη παραδεδομένα πιστὰ καὶ ἀληθῆ καθορωμένους, δευτερον ἡμῶν ἐπινίκιον πάρεστιν ἀναμέλπειν ἐναργῶς τε ἀναφωνεῖν καὶ λέγειν 'καθάπερ ἦκούσαμεν, οὔτως καὶ εἴδομεν ἐν πόλει κυρίου τῶν δυνάμεων, ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν.' ποία δὲ πόλει ἢ τῇ δὲ 7

1 Tim. 3, 15
τῇ νεοπαγεῖ καὶ θεοτεύκτῳ; Ἦτις ἐστὶν ἐκκλησία θεοῦ ζῶντος, στόλος καὶ ἐδραίωμα τῆς ἁληθείας, περὶ ἵππος καὶ ἀλόο τι θεῶν λόγιον ὡδέ πως εὐαγγέλιζεται ἐδοξοσμένα ἐλαλήθη περὶ σοῦ, ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ.' Ἐφ' ἢν τοῦ παναγάθου συγκροτήσαντος ἡμᾶς θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τοῦ μονογενοῦς αὐτοῦ χάριτος, τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων ἐκατός ὡμείτω μόνον ὦχι βοῶν καὶ λέγων 'εὐφράνθη ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρηκόσων μοι Εἰς οἰκιν κυρίου πορευόμεθα,' καὶ 'κύριε, ἡγάπησα εὐπρέπειαν οἰκον σου καὶ τόπον σκηνώματος δόξης σου,' καὶ μὴ μόνον γε ὁ καθεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πάντες ἄθρως ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ γεραιροντες ἀνευθυμῶμεν, 'μέγας κύριος' ἐπιλέγοντες 'καὶ αἰνετος σφόδρα ἐν πόλει τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, ἐν ὅρει ἀγίων αὐτοῦ.' καὶ γὰρ οὖν μέγας ὡς ἄλθως, καὶ μέγας ὁ οἴκος αὐτοῦ, ὑψηλὸς καὶ ἐπιμήκης καὶ ὤραιος κάλλει παρὰ τοῦς νίους τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέγας κύριος ὁ ποιών θαυμάσια μόνος μέγας ὁ ποιών μεγάλα καὶ ἀνεξιχνίαστα ἐνδοξά τε καὶ ἔξαισια, ὡν οὐκ ἔστων ἀριθμός μέγας ὁ ἀλλοῦ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους, μεθυστῶν βασιλείς καὶ καθιστῶν, ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχῶν καὶ ἀπὸ κοπρίας ἀνιστῶν πένητα. καθείλην δυνάστας ἀπὸ θρόνων, καὶ ὑψωσεν ταπεινοὺς ἀπὸ γῆς πεινῶντας 400
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.' 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, 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 marvelous 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
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΥΣ

Job 38, 15 ένεπλησεν ἄγαθῶν, καὶ βραχίονας ὑπερηφάνων συνέτρυψεν, οὐ πιστοῖς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπίστοις τῶν παλαιῶν διηγημάτων τὴν μνήμην πιστωσάμενος, ὁ θαυματουργὸς, ὁ μεγαλουργός, ὁ τῶν ὀλίων δεσπότης, ὁ τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου δημιουργὸς, ὁ παντοκράτωρ, ὁ πανάγαθος, ὁ εἰς καὶ μόνος θεὸς, ὁ τὸ κανόνν ἄσμα μέλπωμεν προσυπακούοντες τῷ ποιοῦντι θαυμάσια μόνῳ, οτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, τῷ πατάξαντι βασιλείας μεγάλους καὶ ἀποκτείναντι βασιλείας κραταιοὺς, ὁτι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τὸ ἔλεος αὐτοῦ, οτι ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡμῶν ἐμνήσθη ἡμῶν καὶ ἐλυτρώσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἡμῶν.

"Καί τὸν μὲν τῶν ὀλίων πατέρα τούτους ἀνευφρομοῦντες μὴ ποτὲ διαλείποιμεν τὸν δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῶν δεύτερον αὐτοῦν, τὸν τῆς θεογνωσίας εἰσηγητήν, τὸν τῆς ἀληθοῦς εὑσεβείας διδάσκαλον, τὸν τῶν ἁσβῶν ὁλετήρα, τὸν τυραννοκτόνον, τὸν τοῦ βίου διορθωτήν, τὸν ἡμῶν τῶν ἀπεγνωσμένων σωτῆρα. Ἰησοῦν ἀνὰ στόμα φέροντες γεραιρομεν, οτι δὴ μόνος, οἶα παναγάθου πατρὸς μονώτατος ὑπάρχων πανάγαθος παῖς, γνώμη τῆς πατρικῆς φιλανθρωπίας τῶν ἐν φθορᾷ κατὼ ποὺ κειμένων ἡμῶν εὐ μᾶλα προθύμως ὑποδέχεται τὴν φύσιν, οἰα τὶς ἰατρῶν ἀριστος τῆς τῶν καμιόντων ἐνεκεν σωτηρίας ὁρῇ μὲν δεινὰ, θυγάνει δὲ ἀγάδων ἐπί ἀλλοτρίῳ τε ξυμφορῆσαι ἤδοις καρποὺται λύπας, οὐ νοσοῦνται αὐτὸ μόνον οὐδ' ἐλκεσθε δεινοῖς καὶ σεσηπόσιν ἱδὴ τραύμασιν πιεζομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς κειμένους ἡμᾶς ἐὰν αὐτῶν μυχῶν τοῦ θανάτου αὐτῶς ἐαυτῷ διεσώσατο, ὁτι
ground. The hungry he hath filled with good things, 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.'

"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; 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,'¹ 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

¹ Hippocrates, Ἡράκλεις 7 νασων 1.
EUSEBIUS

µηδ' ἀλλω τῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν τοσούτων παρῆν ἴσχύος, ὥσ τῇ τῶν τοσούτων ἀβλαβῶς διακονῆσαθαι σωτηρία. μόνος δ' οὖν καὶ τῆς ἡμῶν αυτῶν βαρυπαθός φθοράς ἐφαφάμενος, μόνος τοὺς ἡμιτέρους ἀνατλᾶς πόνους, μόνος τὰ πρόστιμα τῶν ἡμετέρων ἁσβημάτων περιθέμενος, οὐχ ἡμιθνήτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάμπιαν ἐν μνήμαι καὶ τάφοις μυσαροῦς ἦδη καὶ ὀδώδιστας ἀναλαβόν πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν σπούδῃ τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ παρά πάσαν τὴν οὔτως οὖν ἡμῶν τε αὐτῶν ἔλπιδα σφιξε τε καὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀγαθῶν ἁφθονίαν μεταδίδωσιν, ὁ ξωοποιός, ὁ φωταγωγός, ὁ μέγας ἡμῶν ἱατρὸς καὶ βασιλεὼς καὶ κύριος, ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ τότε μὲν ἄπαξ ἐν νυκτὶ ξοφερὰ καὶ σκότῳ βαθεὶ δαιμόνων ἁλιτρίων πλάνη καὶ θεομοιών πνευμάτων ἐνεργείας πάν τοῖς ἀνθρώπων γένος κατορθωμένων ὁρῶν αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιφανεῖς, ὡς ἂν κηροῦ διατακέντος ταῖς αὐτοῦ βολαῖς τοῦ φωτός, τὰς πολυδέτους τῶν ἁσβημάτων ἡμῶν σειρᾶς διελύσατο.

"Νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοσαύτῃ χάριτι καὶ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ μισοκάλου φθόνου καὶ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος μόνον οὐχὶ διαρρηγγυμένου καὶ πάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς θανατοποιοὺς καθ' ἡμῶν ἐπιστρατεύοντος δυνάμεις καὶ τὰ μὲν πρώτα κυνὸς δίχην λυπτῶντος τοὺς ὤδοντας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄφιεμένους κατ' αὐτοῦ λίθον προςαράπτοντος καὶ τὸν κατὰ τῶν ἁμυνομένων θυμὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἄψυχα βλήματα καθίστος, τοῖς τῶν προσευκτείρων λίθοις καὶ ταῖς τῶν ὁμοιών ἁμυνομένων ὕλαις τὴν θηριώδη μανιαν ἐπερείσαςτος ἐρημίαν τε, ὡς γε δὴ αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ωμος, τῶν ἐκκλησίων ἀπεργασσαμένου, εἶτα δὲ δεινὰ συρίγματα καὶ τὰς

Cf. Is. 53, 4. 5
John 11, 39
Cf. Ps. 58, 8 (LXX)
other in heaven possessed such strength as to minister unscathed for the salvation of so many. 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. 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.

"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

1 Supplying ὄρων, as Schwartz suggests.

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Οδώδεις αυτοῦ φωνᾶς τοτὲ μὲν ἂσεβῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς, τοτὲ δὲ βλασφήμοις δυσσεβῶν ἀρχόντων διατάξεσιν ἀφιέντος καὶ προσετὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον έξερευνομένου καὶ τοὺς ἱώδεις καὶ ψυχοφθόρους δηλητηρίους τὰς ἁλυσκομένας πρὸς αὐτοῦ ψυχὰς φαρμάκτοντος καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ νεκροῦν ταῖς τῶν νεκρῶν εἰδώλων νεκροποιοῦσιν θυσίαις πάντα τε ἀνθρωπόμορφον θῆρα καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἄγριον καθ’ ἡμῶν ὑποσαλεύοντος, αὕτης ἔξ ὑπαρχῆς δ’ τῆς 1 μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος, δ’ μέγας ἀρχιστράτηγος τοῦ θεοῦ, μετὰ τὴν αὐτάρκη διαγυμνασίαν ἢν οἱ μέγιστοι τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας στρατιῶται διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀπαντα ὑπομονῆς καὶ καρτερίας ἐνεδείξαντο, ἄθροώς οὐτως φανείς, τὰ μὲν ἔχθρα καὶ πολέμια εἰς ἄφανες καὶ τὸ μηθὲν κατεστήσατο, ὅς μηδὲ πώποτε ὄνομάσθαι δοκεῖν, τὰ δ’ αὐτῷ φίλα καὶ οἰκεία δόξης ἐπέκεινα παρὰ πᾶσιν, οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον, ἀλλ’ ἡδὴ καὶ δυνάμεσιν οὐρανίοις ἦλθ᾽ τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ ἀστροὺς καὶ τώσονται οὐρανῷ τε καὶ κόσμῳ προῆγαγεν, ὥστε ἡδὴ, δ’ μηδὲ ἀλλοτέ πω, τοὺς πάντων ἀνωτάτῳ βασιλείᾳ ἔς λελόγχασι παρ’ αὐτοῦ τιμῆς συνησθημένως νεκρῶν μὲν εἰδώλων καταπτύειν προσώποις, πατεῖν δ’ ἅθεσμα δαιμόνων θέσμια καὶ παλαιὰς ἀπάτης πατροπαραδότου καταγελᾶν, ἔνα δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνον θεόν τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων καὶ ἕαυτῶν ἐνεργήτην γνωρίζειν Χριστόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ πᾶδα παμβασιλέα τῶν ὄλων ὁμολογεῖν σωτήρα τε αὐτόν ἐν στήλαις ἄν- αγορεύειν, ἀνεξάλειπτω μνήμη τα κατορθώματα καὶ τὰς κατὰ τῶν ἂσεβῶν αὐτοῦ νῖκας μέση τῇ βασι- λευοῦσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς πόλει βασιλικοῖς χαρακτήροι προσεγγράφοντας, ὥστε μόνον τῶν ἐκ αἰῶνος Ἰησοῦν 406
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, 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; 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.
Χριστὸν τῶν ἡμῶν σωτῆρα καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνωτάτω οὐχ οἶα κοινὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων βασιλέα γενόμενον ὁμολογεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' οἶα τοῦ καθ' ὅλων θεοῦ παῖδα γνήσιον καὶ αὐτὸν θεὸν προσκυνεῖσθαι.

"Καὶ εἰκότως· τίς γὰρ τῶν πάσων βασιλέων ιτωσοῦτον ἀρετῆς ἡνέγκατο, ὡς πάντων τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀκοὴν καὶ γλώτταν ἐμπλήσαι τῆς αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας; τίς βασιλεὺς νόμοις εὐσεβεῖς οὕτω καὶ σώφρονας διαταξάμενος ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς καὶ εἰς ἄκρα τῆς ὅλης οἰκουμένης εἰς ἐπήκοον ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποις ἀναγνώσκεσθαι διαρκῶς ἐκράτυνεν; τίς ἀνημέρων ἔθνων ἔθη βάρβαρα καὶ ἀνήμερα τοὺς ἡμέρους αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτους παρέλυσε νόμοις; τίς αἰῶνων ὅλοις ὑπὸ πάντων πολέμουμενος τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπον ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξατο, ὡς ἀνθείων ὀσμηρόρι καὶ νεάξειν διὰ πάντως τοῦ βίου; τίς ἔθνος τὸ μιθήκαι ἄκουσθεν ἐξ αἰῶνος οὐκ ἐν γονία ποι γῆς λεληθός, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅλης τῆς υφ' ἦλιον ἱδρύσατο; τίς εὐσεβείας ὅπλος οὕτως ἑφράζατο τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς ἀδάμπατος τὰς ψυχάς κραταίοτέρους ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἀγῶνων διαφαίνεσθαι; τίς βασιλεύων ἐς τοὺς σωστοὺς κρατεῖ καὶ στρατηγεῖ μετὰ βάνατον καὶ τρόπαια κατ' ἐχθρῶν ἱστημι καὶ πάντα τόπον καὶ χῶραν καὶ πόλιν, Ἑλλάδα τε καὶ βάρβαρον, βασιλικῶν οἶκων αὐτοῦ πληροῖ καὶ θείων ναῶν ἀφιερώμασιν, οἷα τάδε τα τοῦτο νεώ περικαλλὴ κοσμήματα τε καὶ ἀναθήματα; καὶ αὐτὰ σεμνὰ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλα ἐκπλήξεως τε καὶ βαύματος ἀξία καὶ οἷα τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν βασιλείας ἐναργὴ δείγματα, ὅτι καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς εἶπεν καὶ ἐγενήθησαν, αὐτὸς ἐνετείλατο καὶ ἐκ-408
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.

"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? 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? 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? 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
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tίσθησαν (τί γὰρ καὶ ἐμελλεν τοῦ παμβασιλέως καὶ πανηγεμόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ θεοῦ λόγου ἐνστήσεσθαι τῷ νεῦματι;), σχολῆς τε λόγων οἰκείας εἰς ἀκριβὴ θεωρίαν ἃ καὶ ἐρμηνείαν τυγχάνει δεόμενα· οὐ μὴν οὐκ ἦν καὶ οὐ τὰ τῆς τῶν πεπονηκότων προθυμίας κέκριται παρ’ αὐτῷ τῷ θεολογομένῳ τὸν ἐμψυχον πάντων ὑμῶν καθορώντι ναὸν καὶ τὸν ἐκ ζῶντων λίθων καὶ βεβήκοτων οἰκον ἐποπτεύοντι

1 Pet. 2, 5. 7 εὐ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς ἰδρυμένον ἑπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, οὗτος ἀκρογωνιαῖον

Eph. 2, 20. 21 λίθου αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν μὲν οὐχ οἱ τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ μηκέτι οὕσης ἐκείνης μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς εἰς ἐτί νῦν τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκοδομῆς κακοί κακῶν οἴντες ἀρχιτέκτονες, δοκιμᾶσας δ’ ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας τῆς θεοῦ ἡμῶν ἐκκλησίας ἰδρύσατο. τούτον δὴ οὖν τὸν ἐς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεσκευασμένον, ξώντος θεοῦ ξώντα ναὸν, τὸ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθείᾳ λόγῳ θεοπρεπῆς ἰερείον φημι, οὐ τὰ ἐνδοτάτῳ ἀδύτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀθέωρητα καὶ οἴντως ἀγια ἡ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἁγια, τίς ἂν ἐποπτεύοσας ἐξειπεῖν τολμήσειν; τίς δὲ καὶ εἰσκύψαι περιβόλων ἱερῶν εἰς ὁ ὀνδέστος, ὅτι μὴ μόνος ὁ μέγας τῶν ὅλων ἀρχιερεύς, ὃ μόνῳ θέμις πάσης λογικῆς ψυχῆς τὰ ἀπόρρητα διερευνᾶται; τάχα δ’ καὶ ἀλλὰ δεύτερεῖν μετὰ τούτον ἐνὶ μόνῳ τῶν ἰσων ἐφικτῶν, τώδε τῷ προκαθημένῳ τῆς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἡγεμόνι, ὅν αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἀρχιερεύς δευτερείους τῶν τῇ τῆς ἱερείων τιμήσας, πομένα τῆς ὑπερέτας

1 Cor. 3, 10 Cf. 3, 10

Heb. 4, 14

Ibid. 410
commanded, and they were created: for what could resist the will of the universal King and Ruler and the Word of God Himself? 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, 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, 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
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 änθéon poímnh₉ kłh́r̃w kai krísεi toú patrós tōn ὑμετέρων lachónta laón, ὡς ἂν θεραπευτὴν kai ὑποφήτην αὐτῶς ἐαντοῦ κατετάξατο, τὸν νέον Ἀαρών ᾗ Μελχισεδεκ ἀφωμοιωμένων τῷ νῦν τοῦ θεοῦ μένοντά τε καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ τηροῦμενον εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων ἥμων εὐχαῖς, τούτῳ δὴ οὖν ἐξέστω μόνῳ μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἀρχιερέα, εἰ μὴ τὰ πρῶτα, τὰ δεύτερα γοῦν ὦμως ὅραν τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖν τῆς ἐνδοτάτω τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν θεωρίας, πείρα μὲν καὶ χρόνου μήκει ἐκαστὸν ἀκριβῶς ἐξητακότι σπουδῇ τε τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιμελεία τους πάντας ὑμᾶς ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ λόγῳ τῷ κατ' εὑσέβειαν διατεθεμένως δυνατῷ τε ὄντι μᾶλλον ἀπάντων, ὡς αὐτῶς σὺν θεία δυνάμει κατηρτίσατο, τούτων τοῖς ἑργοῖς ἐφαμίλλως ἀποδούναι τοὺς λόγους.

"Ο μὲν οὖν πρῶτος καὶ μέγας ἥμων ἀρχιερεύς 2 ὅσα βλέπει τὸν πατέρα ποιοῦντα, ταῦτα, φησιν, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ νῦὸς ποιεῖ· ὅ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὡς ἂν ἐπὶ διδάσκαλον τὸν πρῶτον καθάρος νοῦς ὄμμασιν ἄφορῶν, ὅσα βλέπει ποιοῦντα, ὡς ἂν ἀρχετύπους χρώμενος παραδείγμασιν, τούτων τὸς εἰκόνας, ὡς ἐν μάλιστα δυνατόν, εἰς τὸ ὁμοιότατον δημιουργῶν ἀπειργάσατο, οὐδὲν ἐκεῖνῳ καταληπτῶν τῷ Βεσσελῇ, ὃν αὐτῶς ὁ θεὸς πνεύματος ἐμπλήσας σοφίας καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς ἑντέχυν καὶ ἐπιστημονικῆς γνώσεως, τῆς τῶν οὐρανῶν τῶν διὰ συμβόλων ναοῦ κατασκευῆς δημιουργῶν ἀνακέκληται. ταὐτῇ δ’ οὖν καὶ ὅδε Χριστὸν ὅλον, 2 τὸν λόγον, τὴν σοφίαν, τὸ φῶς ἐν τῇ αὐτῶς αὐτοῦ ἀγαλματοφορῶν ψυχῇ, οὐδ’ ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οἷα σὺν

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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, 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 \(^1\) 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.

"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, 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,

\(^1\) These words seem to imply that Paulinus, though young, had been bishop for some time.
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μεγαλοφροσύνη πλουσίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπλήστω διανοίας
χερὶ καὶ σὺν οἷς πάντων ύμῶν φιλοτιμίᾳ, τῇ τῶν
eἰσφορῶν μεγαλοψυχίᾳ τῆς αὐτῆς αὐτῷ προθέσεως
κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολειψθῆναι φιλονεικότερον
μεγαλοφρονομένων, τὸν μεγαλοπρεπῆ τόνδε θεοῦ
tοῦ ψιστοῦ νεῶν τῷ τοῦ κρείστων παραδείγματι,
ὡς ἂν ὅρῳμενον μὴ ὅρῳμενο, τῆς φῦσιν ἐμφαρῆ
συνεστήσατο, χωρὸν μὲν τόνδε, ὁ τι καὶ ἄξιον
ἐπείν πρῶτον ἀπάντων, πάσης οὐ καθαρᾶς ὕλης
ἐχθρῶν ἐπιβουλαῖς κατακεκωμένων οὐ παρισῶν
οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν αὐτῶν παραχωρήσας κακία, ἐξὸν ἐφ'
έτερον ἐλθόντα, μυρίων ἀλλων εὐπορουμένων τῇ
πόλει, βαστώνην εὐρασθαι τοῦ πόνου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάξατο. ὁ δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ
ἔργον ἐγείρας, εἴτε δὲ τὸν σύμπαντα λαὸν προ-
θυμίᾳ βῶσας καὶ μίαν εὖ ἀπάντων μεγάλην χεῖρα
συναγαγών, πρῶτον ἄθλον ἡγωνίζετο, αὐτὴν δὴ
μάλιστα τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πεπολιορκημένην,
αὐτὴν τὴν προπονήσασαν καὶ τοὺς αὐτούς ἤμιν
καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν διωγμούς ύπομείνασαν, τὴν μητρὸς
δίκην τῶν τέκνων ἐρημωθεῖσαν ἐκκλησίαν συναπο-
λαύσας δεῖν οἰόμενος τῆς τοῦ παναγάθου μεγαλο-
δωρεᾶς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοὺς παίδας αὕτης ὁ μέγας ἡ
ποιμήν, τοὺς θήρας καὶ τοὺς λύκους καὶ πάν
ἀπηνές καὶ ἄγριον γένος ἀποσοβῆσας καὶ τὰς
μύλας τῶν λεόντων, ἢ φησιν τὰ θεία λόγια,
συντρίβας, ἐπὶ ταύτων αὕτις συνελθεῖν ἥξιωσεν,
δικαιότατα καὶ τῆς ποίμνης τὴν μάνδραν ἀνίστη
τοῦ κατασχόναι ἐχθρῶν καὶ ἐκδικητήν καὶ ὦς

Heb. 13, 20
Ps. 58, 6
Ps. 8, 2
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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—which 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, 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, 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,
ἐν ἐλεγχὸν ταῖς θεομάχοις τῶν ἁσβεὼν προαγάγοι τόλμας. καὶ νῦν οἱ μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ θεομαχεῖς, ὅτι μηδὲ ἦσαν, ἐς βραχὺ δὲ ταραξάντες καὶ ταρα-χέντες, εἴθ' ὑποσχόντες τιμωρίαν οὐ μειπτὴν τῇ δίκη, ἐαυτοὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ οὕκοις ἀρδὴν ἀνα-στάτους κατέστησαν, ὡς τὰς πάλαι στῆλας ἑραίς καταγραφείσας προρρήσεις ἔργοις πιστὰς ὁμο-λογεῖον, δι' ὃν τά τε ἄλλα τὸ θεῖο εὐπαληθεύει λόγος, ἀτὰρ καὶ τάδε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφανόμενος 'ρομφαίαν ἐσπάσαντο οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ, ἐνέτειναν τόξον αὐτῶν τοῦ καταβαλέων πτωχὸν καὶ πένητα, τοῦ σφάζει τοὺς εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδία: ἡ ρομφαία αὐτῶν εἰσ-έλθοι εἰς τὰς καρδίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν συν-τριβείη καὶ πάλιν ἀπώλετο τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν μετ' ἥχου, καὶ τὸ ὅνομα αὐτῶν ἐξήλευται εἰς τὸν αἰώνα καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰώνα τοῦ αἰῶνος, ὅτι δὴ καὶ ἐν κακοῖς γενόμενοι 'ἐκέκραζαν, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ σῶζων πρὸς κύριον, καὶ οὐκ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν 'συνεποδιόθησαν καὶ ἔπεσαν, ἥμεις δὲ ἀνέστημεν καὶ ἀνωρθώθημεν'. καὶ τὸ γ' εἰν τούτοις προαναφοροῦν 'κύριε, ἐν τῇ πόλει σου τῇν εἰκόνα αὐτῶν ἐξουδενώ-σεις' ἀληθῆς ὑπ' ὀφθαλμοῖς πάντων ἀναπέφανται.

'Αλλ' οἱ μὲν γιγαντῶν τρόπον θεομαχίαν ἐνστη-σάμενοι τοιαύτῃ εἰλήχασιν τῇν τοῦ βίου κατα-στροφῆν: τῆς δ' ἐρήμου καὶ παρ' ἄνθρωποι ἀπ- εγνωσμένης τοιαῦτα οἴα τὰ ὅρμενα τῆς κατὰ θεοῦ ὑπομονῆς τὰ τέλη, ὡς ἀναφωνεῖν αὐτῇ τῇν προ-φητείαν Χριστοῦ ταῦτα 'εὐφράνθητι, ἔρημος δυσώσα, ἀγαλλιάσθω ἔρημος καὶ ἀνθεῖτω ως κρίνον καὶ ἐξανθήσει καὶ ἀγαλλιάσται τὰ ἔρημα. ἱσχύσατε,
and openly rebuke the evil deeds of impious men fighting against God. 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, 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 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.

"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: '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
χείρες ἀνειμέναι καὶ γόνατα παραλελυμένα. παρακαλέσατε, ὀλυγόμυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἵσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε. Ἰδοὺ ὁ θεὸς ἦμων κρίων ἀνταποδίδοσιν καὶ ἀνταποδώσει, αὐτὸς ἦξει καὶ σώσει ἡμᾶς· ὅτι, φησίν, ἐρράγη ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ ὕδωρ, καὶ φάραγξ ἐν γῇ δυσώσῃ, καὶ ἡ ἀνυδρος ἔσται εἰς ἐλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν δυσώσαν γῆν πηγὴ ὕδατος ἔσται.

"Καὶ τάδε μὲν λόγους πάλαι προθεσμισθέντα βίβλοις ἱεραῖς καταβέβλητο, τά γε μὴ ἔργα οὐκέτ' ἀκοάσι, ἀλλ' ἐργοῖς ἦμων παραδέδοται. ἡ ἑρήμων ἤδε, ἡ ἀνυδρος, ἡ χίρα καὶ ἀπερίστατος, ἢς ὡς ἐν ὑγρῷ ἐξόη ζῆναις ἐξέκοψαν τὰς πύλας, ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐν πέλυκι καὶ λαξευτηρίῳ συνέτρυψαν αὐτῆς, ἢς καὶ τὰς βίβλους διαφθείραντες ἐν-επύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ ἁγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ὁνόματος αὐτοῦ, ἡν ἐτρύγησαν πάντες οἱ παραπομπομένοι τὴν ὄδου προκαθέλοντες αὐτῆς τοὺς φραγμοὺς, ἢν ἐλυμήνατο δὲ ἐκ ὑγρῶς καὶ μονὸς ἄγριος κατενεμήσατο, Χριστῷ δυνάμει παραδόξω νῦν, ὅτε θέλει αὐτός, γέγονεν ὃς κρίνων· ἐπεῖ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ νεύματι, ὡς ἂν προκηδομένου πατρός, ἐπαιδεύετο· ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾶ κύριος, παιδεύει, μαστυγοὶ δὲ πάντα νῦν ὃν παραδέχεται. μέτρῳ δὴ τα κατὰ τὸ λόγῳ ἐπι-στραφείσα, αὐθῆς ἀνωθέν ἐξ ὑπερχής ἀγαλλίαν προστάττεται ἐξανθεῖ τε ὃς κρίνων καὶ τῆς ἐνθέου εὐωδίας εἰς πάντας ἀποστεὶ ἄνθρώπους, ὅτι, φησίν, ἐρράγη ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ ὕδωρ τὸ νάμα τῆς θείας τοῦ σωτηρίου λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, καὶ νῦν γέγονεν ἡ πρὸ μικροῦ ἑρήμων εἰς ἐλη, καὶ εἰς τὴν δυσώσαν γῆν ἐβρυσεν πηγὴ ὕδατος ζώντος, ἵσχυσάν τε ὃς

Ps. 74, 5-7
Ps. 50, 12, 13
Is. 35 (see above)
Heb. 12, 6
Is. 35 (see above)
Tit. 3, 5
Is. 35 (see above)
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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.'

"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, 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
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άληθώς χείρες αἱ τὸ πρὶν ἀνεμέναι, καὶ τῆς τῶν χειρῶν ἱσχύος ἔργα τάδε τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἐναργὴ δείγματα: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάλαι σεσαθρωμένα καὶ παρειμένα γόνατα τὰς οἰκείας ἀπολαβόντα βάσεως, τὴν ὅδον τῆς θεογνωσίας εὐθυποροῦντα βαδίζει, ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ποίμνην τοῦ παναγάθου ποιμένος σπεύδοντα. εἰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων ἀπειλαῖς τὰς ψυχὰς τινὲς ἀπενάρκησαν, οὐδὲ τούτους ὁ σωτήριος ἀθεραπεύτως παρορα ὁγος, εὐ μάλα δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἵψεν ὅς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θείου παράκλησιν παρορμᾶ λέγων· 'παρακαλέσατε, οἱ ὁλιγόψυχοι τῇ διανοίᾳ, ἵσχύσατε, μὴ φοβεῖσθε.'

Τούτων δεῖν ἀπολαύσαι τὴν διὰ θεὸν γενομένην ἔρημον τοῦ λόγου προαγορεύοντος, ἐπακούσας ὃ ζεία διανοίας ἀκοῦ ὤντος ὁ νέος ἡμῶν καὶ καλὸς Ζοροβαβελ μετὰ τὴν πικρὰν ἐκείνην αἴχμαλωσίαν καὶ τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, οὐ παριδῶν τὸ πτῶμα νεκρόν, πρώτιστα πάντων παρακλῆσειν καὶ λυταῖς ἑλευ ὅ τον πατέρα μετὰ τῆς κοινῆς ὕμων ἀπάντων ομοφροσύνης καταστησάμενος καὶ τῶν μόνον νεκρῶν ἑωσφοροὶ σύμμαχον παραλαβῶν καὶ συνεργὸν, τὴν πεσοῦσαν ἔξηγε τοὺς προαποκαθάρας καὶ προθεραπεύσας τῶν κακῶν, καὶ στολὴν οὐ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχαίων παλαιὰν αὐτῆ περιτέθεικεν, ἀλλ' ὅποιαςἀθις παρὰ τῶν θείων χρησμῶν ἔξεπαι-δεύτο, σαφῶς οἴδε λεγόντων 'καὶ ἐσται ἢ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τῆς προτέραν.

"Ταὐτῇ δ' οὖν πολὺ μείζονα τῶν χῶρων ἀπαντά: περιλαβῶν, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν ὕψουσιο τοὔπορον περίβολον

1 Hag. 2. 2 ff.
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, 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, 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\(^1\) 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.'

"Thus, then, the whole area that he enclosed was much larger.\(^2\) The outer enclosure he made strong

\(^1\) I.e. Zerubbabel.  
\(^2\) I.e. than that occupied by the previous church. The description here given (§§ 37-45) is the earliest account that we possess of the structure and furniture of a Christian church.
τῷ τοῦ παντὸς περιτειχίσματι, ὡς ἂν ἀσφαλέ-
στατον εἴη τοῦ παντὸς ἔρκος· πρόπυλον δὲ μέγα
καὶ εἰς ύψος ἐπηρμένον πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀνίσχοντος
ήλιου ἀκτίνας ἀναπετάσας, ἦδη καὶ τοῖς μακρὰν
περιβόλων ἔξω ἱερῶν ἐστῶσιν τῆς τῶν ἐνδον
παρέσχεν ἀφθονίαν θέας, μόνον οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν
ἀλλοτρίων τῆς πίστευς ἔπι τᾶς πρώτας εἰσόδους
ἐπιστρέφον τὰς ὅψεις, ὡς ἂν μὴ παρατρέχοι τις
ὅτι μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν κατανυγεῖς πρὸτερον μνήμη τῆς
tε πρὶν ἐρμῆια καὶ τῆς νῦν παραδόξου θαυ-
ματουργίας, ὡς ἂν τὰ ἅμα καὶ ἐλκυσθήσεσθαι κατα-
nυγέντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴς τῆς ὅψεως ἐπὶ τὴν
eἰσόδουν προτραπήσεσθαι ἔλπεσεν. εἰςω δὲ παρ-
edόντι πυλῶν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἑφήκεν ἀνάγνως καὶ
ἀνίπτων ποσὶν τῶν ἐνδον ἐπιβαίνειν ἀγώνων, δια-
λαβὼν δὲ πλείστον ὅσον τοῦ μέταξύ τοῦ τε νεώ
καὶ τῶν πρώτων εἰσόδων, τέταρτοι μὲν πέρι
ἑγκαρσίως κατεκόσμησεν στοβάς, εἰς τετράγωνον
τι όχήμα περιφράξας τῶν τόπων, κίνοσι πανταχόθεν
ἐπαιρομέναις· ὅτι τὰ μέσα διαφράγμα ἀπὸ
ξύλου δικτυωτοὺς ἐστὶ σύμμετρον ἦκουσι μήκους
περικλείσας, μέσον αἰθρίων ἤφει εἰς τὴν τοῦ
οὐρανοῦ κάτως, λαμπρόν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ φωτὸς
ἀκτίσιν ἀνεμένον ἀέρα παρέχων. ἱερῶν δὲ ἐνταῦθα
καθαρσίων ἐτίθει σύμβολα, κρήνας ἀντικρυς εἰς
πρόσωπον ἐπισκευάζων τοῦ νεώ πολλῷ τῷ χεύματι
tοῦ νάματος τοῖς περιβόλων ἱερῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔσω
προϊόσθιν τὴν ἀπόρφυιν παρεχομένας. καὶ πρώτη
μὲν εἰσόντων αὐτῇ διατριβῇ, κόσμον ἄμοι καὶ
ἀγλάιν τῷ παντὶ τοῖς τε τῶν πρώτων εἰσαγωγών
ἐτὶ δεομένων κατάλληλον τὴν μονὴν παρεχομένην.
with the wall surrounding the whole, 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, towards the entrance. Now he hath not permitted him that passeth inside the gates to tread forthwith with unhallowed and unwashen 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. 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.
“...Αλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὴν τούτων θέαν παραμεμψάμενος, πλείοσιν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐνδοτάτω προπύλοις τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν παρόδους ἀναπεπταμένας ἔποιει, ὑπὸ μὲν ταῖς ἥλιον βολαῖς αὕθις τρεῖς πύλας ὑφ’ ἐν καταθείς πλευρῶν, ὥν πολὺ τὰς παρ᾽ ἐκάτερα μεγέθει τε καὶ πλάτει πλεονεκτείν τῇ μέσῃ χαρισάμενος παραπήγμασί τε χαλκοῦ συδηροδέτοι καὶ ποικίλμασιν ἀναγλύφοις διαφέροντως αὐτὴν φαιδρύνας, ὡς ἂν βασιλίδι ταύτῃ τοὺς δορυφόρους ὑπεξευξέν τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ ταῖς παρ᾽ ἐκάτερα τοῦ παντὸς νεῶ στοιχίς τὸν τῶν προπύλων ἀριθμὸν διατάξας, ἀνωθεν ἐπὶ ταύταις ἄλλῳ πλείον φωτὶ διαφόρους τὰς ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκὸν εἰσβολάς ἐπένεις, ταῖς ἀπὸ ἕξου ἕπτουργίαις καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὰς κόσμον καταποκύλλων.

“Τὸν δὲ βασίλειον οἰκὸν πλουσιώτερας ἥδη καὶ δαμιλέσι ταῖς ὑλαῖς ὁχύρων, ἀφθόνως ἕπιτειμίᾳ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων χρώμενος· ἐνθα μοι δοκῶ περιττόν εἶναι τοῦ δομήματος μήκη τε καὶ πλάτη καταγράφειν, τὰ φαιδρὰ ταῦτα κάλλη καὶ τὰ λόγου κρείττονα μεγέθη τῆν τε τῶν ἔργων ἀποστήλβουσαν ὑμῖν τῶ λόγῳ διεξιότην ύψη τε τὰ οὐρανομήκη καὶ τὰς τούτων ὑπερκειμένας πολυτελείας τοῦ Λιβάνου κέδρους, ὅπως τὸ θεῖον λόγιον τὴν μνήμην ἀπεσιώπησαν εὐφρανθήσεται φάσκον τὰ ἕξολα τοῦ κυρίου, καὶ αἱ κέδροι τοῦ Λιβάνου ἂσ ἐφύτευσαν.

“Τῇ μὲ δεῖνυν τῆς πανσόφου καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς διατάξεως καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῆς ἐφ’ ἐκάστοτοι μέρους ὑπερβολῆς ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι τὴν υψῆσιν, ὅτε τῆς ὑψεως τῆν διὰ τῶν ὅτων ἀποκλείει μάθησιν ἢ
"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. 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,¹ he hath builded it of abundant and still richer materials, 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.'

"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?

¹ Or, as we should say, "basilica."
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μαρτυρία; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅδε καὶ τὸν νεῶν ἐπιτελέσας θρόνοις τε τοῖς ἀνωτάτω εἰς τὴν τῶν προέδρων τιμήν καὶ προσέτι βάθροις ἐν τάξει τοῖς καθ’ ὅλου κατὰ τὸ πρέπον κοσμήσας ἐφ’ ἀπαίων τε τὸ τῶν ἀγίων ἀγιον θυσιαστήριον ἐν μέσω θείας, ἀδιδι καὶ τάδε, ἣν ἐν εἰς τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀβατα, τοῖς ἀπὸ ξύλου περιέφραττε δικτύους εἰς ἀκρον ἐντέχνου λεπτουργίας, ἐξησκημένους, ὡς θαυμάσιον τοῖς ὄρῳσιν παρέχειν τὴν θέαν.

"Ἀλλ’ οὖν τοῦδαφος ἅρα εἰς ἀμελές ἐκείτο αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν γοῦν λίθῳ μαρμάρῳ εὖ μάλα κόσμῳ παντὶ λαμπρώνας, ἤδη λοιπὸν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς τοῦ νεῶν μετήει, ἐξέδρας καὶ οίκους τοὺς παρ’ ἐκάτερα μεγίστους ἐπισκευάζων ἐντέχνως ἐπὶ ταύτων εἰς πλευρὰ τῷ βασιλείῳ συνεξεγερμένους καὶ ταῖς ἐπὶ τὸν μέσον οἰκὼν εἰσβολαῖς ἃνωμένους· ὁ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῖς ἔτι καθάρσεως καὶ περιφραντήριων τῶν διὰ ὦδατος καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐγχρησίσουσιν ὁ εἰρήνικώτατος ἡμῶν Σολομῶν ὁ τὸν νεῶν τοῦ θεοῦ δειμα-μενος ἀπειργάζετο, ὡς μηκέτι λόγον, ἄλλ’ ἔργον γεγονέναι τὴν ἀνω λεχθεῖσαν προφητείαν· γέγονεν γὰρ καὶ νῦν ὡς ἄληθῶς ἔστω τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ οἰκον τούτου ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν προτέραν.

"Ἐδει γὰρ καὶ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τοῦ ποιμένος αὐτῆς καὶ δεσπότου ἀπαξ τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τάνατον κατα-δεξαμένου καὶ μετὰ τὸ πάθος, ὁ χάρων αὐτῆς ῥυπῶν ἐνεδύσατο σῶμα ἐπὶ τὸ λαμπρῶν καὶ ἐν-δοξον μεταβεβληκότος αὐτῆν τε σάρκα τὴν λυθεί-

Cf. Phil. 3, 21; Heb. 2, 9
Cf. 1 Cor. 15, 42

1 i.e. the basilica was provided with additional rooms, for various ecclesiastical purposes, which adjoined the main building, or, as we should say, the church proper.

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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.

"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,¹ 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 ² is no longer a word only, 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 incorp-

² § 36.
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δομοίως τῶν τοῦ σωτήρος οἰκονομιῶν ἔπαιρασθαί, ὅτι δὴ καὶ τούτων πολὺ κρείττονα λαβοῦσα παρ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔπαγγελιαν, τὴν πολὺ μείζονα δόξαν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἐν ἀφθάρτου σώματος ἀναστάσει μετὰ φωτὸς ἀγγέλων χορείας εἰς τοῖς οὐρανῶν ἔπεκεινα τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείου σὺν αὐτῷ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ πανευργέτῃ καὶ σωτηρί διαρκῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑξῆς αἰῶνας ἀπολαβεῖν ποθεῖ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τέως ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος τούτους ἢ πάλαι χήρα καὶ ἔρημος θεοῦ χάριτι περιβληθείσα τοῖς ἄνθεσιν γέγονεν ἀληθῶς ὡς κρίνων, ἢ φησιν ἢ προφητεία, καὶ τὴν νυμφικὴν ἀναλαβοῦσα στολὴν τὸν τε τῆς εὐπρεπείας περιθεμένη στέφανον οὐα χορεύειν διὰ Ἰησοῦ παιδεύεται τὰ χαριστήρια τῷ βασιλεῖ θεῷ φωναῖς εὐφήμων γεραιροῦσα, αὐτῆς λεγούσης ἐπακούωμεν ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ. ἐνέδυσεν γὰρ με ἑμάριον σωτηρίον καὶ χιτώνα εὐφροσύνης περιέθηκέν μοι ὡς νυμφιός μίτραν, καὶ ὡς νύμφην κατεκόσμησέν με κόσμῳ καὶ ὡς γὴν αὔξουσαν τὸ ἀνθὸς αὐτῆς, καὶ ὡς κήπος τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῦ ἀνατελεῖ, οὕτως κύριος κύριος ἀνέτειλεν δικαιοσύνην καὶ ἀγαλλίαμα ἐνώπιον πάντων τῶν ἔθνων.

"Τούτως μὲν οὐν αὕτη χορεύει. οἶοι δὲ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος, λόγος ὁ οὐράνιος, αὐτὸς Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς αὐτὴν ἀμείβεται, ἀκούει λέγοντος κυρίου 'μὴ φοβοῦ ὅτι κατηχύνθης μηδὲ ἐντραπής ὅτι ὁνειδίσθης ὅτι αἰσχύνῃς αἰώνιον ἐπιλήσῃ καὶ οἴειδος τῆς
ruption, 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. 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: ‘Let my soul rejoice in the Lord; for he hath clothed me with the garment of salvation and the cote 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.’

‘With these words, then, she danceeth. 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
χηρείας σου ού μη μηνηθήση, ούχ ως γυναίκα ἐγκαταλελειμμένη καὶ ὀλγυόψυχον κέκληκέν σε κύριος οὔτ' ως γυναίκα ἐκ νεότητος μεμισσιμένην. ἐίπεν ὁ θεός σου· χρόνον μικρὸν ἐγκατέλυτον σε, καὶ ἐν ἐλέω μεγάλῳ ἐλεήσω σε· ἐν θυμῷ μικρῷ ἀπέστρεψα τὸ πρόσωπόν μου ἀπὸ σοῦ, καὶ ἐν ἐλέω αἰωνίω ἐλεήσω σε· ἐίπεν ὁ ῥυσάμενος σε κύριος. ἐξεγειροῦ, ἐξεγειροῦ, ἡ πιοῦσα ἐκ χειρὸς κυρίου τὸ ποτήριον τοῦ θυμοῦ αὐτοῦ· τὸ ποτήριον γὰρ τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδυ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, ἐξέπτεις καὶ ἐξεκένωσας. καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ παρακάλων σε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν τέκνων σου ὃν έτεκες, καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ ἀντιλαμβανόμενος τῆς χειρὸς σου. ἰδοὺ εἰλήφα ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς σου τὸ ποτήριον τῆς πτώσεως, τὸ κόνδυ τοῦ θυμοῦ μου, καὶ οὐ προσθήσεις ἐτί πιεῖν αὐτῷ· καὶ δόσω αὐτὸ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τῶν ἀδικησάντων σε καὶ τῶν ταπεινωσάντων σε. ἐξεγειροῦ, ἐξεγειροῦ, ἐνδύσαι τὴν ἱσχύν, ἐνδύσαι τὴν δόξαν σου· ἐκτίναξαι τὸν χοῦν καὶ ἀνάστηθι. κάθισον, ἐκλυσαι τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦ τραχήλου σου. ἄρον κύκλῳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς σου καὶ ὑδε συνηγμένα τὰ τέκνα σου· ἰδοὺ συνήθησαν καὶ ἦλθον πρὸς σε· ξῶ ἐγὼ, λέγει κύριος, ὅτι πάντας αὐτοὺς ὃς κόσμον ἐνδύσῃ καὶ περιθήσῃ αὐτοὺς ὃς κόσμον νύμφης· ὅτι τὰ ἔρημα σου καὶ τὰ διεθλαρμένα καὶ τὰ καταπετσώκότα νῦν στενοχωρήσει ἀπὸ τῶν κατοικοῦντων σε, καὶ μακρυνθήσονται ἀπὸ σοῦ οἱ καταπίνοντες σε. ἔροῦσιν γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὦτά σου οἱ νικάτοι σου οὐς ἀπολόγλεκας· στενός μοι ὁ τόπος, ποίησον μοι τόπον ἵνα κατοικήσω,' καὶ ἐρείς ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου· τὶς ἐγέννησέν μοι τούτους· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀτεκνὸς καὶ χήρα τούτους δὲ τὶς ἐξέθρεψέν

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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. 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. . . . Awake, awake, put on strength, 
. . . put on thy glory. . . . Shake off the dust and 
arise. Sit thee down . . . loose the band from thy 
nick. 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. 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
EUSEBIUS

μοι; ἐγὼ δὲ κατελείφθην μόνη, οὕτω δὲ μοι ποῦ ἦσαν;

“Ταῦτα Ἡσαίας προεθεσπίσεν, ταῦτα πρόπαλαι περὶ ἡμῶν ἐν οἰενίσσι βιβλίοις καταβέβλητο, χρὴν δὲ ποι ποὺ τοῖς τὴν ἀμεύδειαν ἥδη ποτὲ ἐργοὶ παραλαβεῖν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιάτα τοῦ νυμφίου λόγου πρὸς τὴν ἔαυτον νῦμφην τὴν οἰεν καὶ ἀγάλ ἐκκλησιαν ἐπιφωνοῦντος, εἰκὸς ὁ νυμφοστόλος ὦδε αὐτὴν, τὴν ἔρημον, τὴν πτώμα κειμένην, τὴν παρὰ ἀνθρώπους ἀνέλπιδα, ταῖς κοιναῖς ἀπάντων ἠμῶν εὐχαῖς χείρας τάς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ὀρέξεως ἐξῆγερεν καὶ ἐξάνεστησεν θεοῦ τοῦ παμβασιλέως νεύματι καὶ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δυνάμεως ἐπιφανείας τοι- αυτὴν τε ἀναστήσας κατεστήσατο, οἵαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἔαυτῶν χρησμῶν καταγραφῆς εἰδιδάσκετο.

“Θαῦμα μὲν οὐν μέγιστον τοῦτο καὶ πέρα πάσης ἐκπλήξεως, μάλιστα τοῖς ἐπὶ μόνη τῆς τῶν ἐξωθεν 

fantasia τον νοῦν προσανέχουσιν. θαυμάτων δὲ 

θαυμασιώτερα τά τε ἄρχετυπα καὶ τούτων τά πρωτό-

tυπα νοητα καὶ θεοπρεπῆ παραδείγματα, τά τῆς ἐνθέου φημὶ καὶ λογικῆς ἐν ψυχαῖς οἰκοδομῆς ἀνα-

νεώματα. ἦν αὐτὸς ὁ θεόπαις κατ' εἰκόνα τῆς 

αὐτῶν αὐτῶν δημιουργῆς πάντη τε καὶ κατά 

πάντα τοῦ θεοεἰκελον δεδωρημένος, ἀφθαρτον ψύων, 

ἀσώματον, λογικῆν, πάσης γεώδους ὑλῆς ἀλλο-

τρίαν, αὐτονοερὰν οὐσίαν, ἀπὰξ τῷ πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ 

μὴ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι συστησάμενος, νῦμφην ἀγάλ 

καὶ νεών πανίερον ἐαυτῶ τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ κατ-

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1 Paulinus is here described as the friend of the Bridegroom (Christ) who assists the Bride (the Church).
2 Eusebius means that wonderful as the restoration of the
up? I was left alone, but these, where had I them?"

"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. Moreover, since the Bridegroom, even the Word, thus addresseth His Bride, the sacred and Holy Church, fittingly did this paronymph 1 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.

"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, 2 I mean the renewal of the God-given, 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 church is, more wonderful is the restoration of the soul, inasmuch as the spiritual is the archetype or prototype of the material.

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ειργάσατο· ο καὶ σαφῶς αὐτὸς ὅμολογῶν ἐκφαίνει, λέγων 'ἐνοικήσω ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐμπεριπατήσω, καὶ ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεὸς καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔσονται μοι λαὸς.' καὶ τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ τελεία καὶ κεκαθαρμένη ψυχή, ἀρχῇθεν οὕτω γεγενημένη, οὖν τὸν οὐράνιον λόγον ἀγαλματοφορεῖν.

'Αλλὰ γὰρ φθόνῳ καὶ ξῆλω τοῦ φιλοπονήρου δαίμονος φιλοπαθῆς καὶ φιλοπόνηρος εἷς αὐτοῦ εξουσίου αἱρέσεως γενομένη, ὑπαναχωρήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ θείου ὡς ἄν ἔρημος προστάτου, εὐάλωτος καὶ εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν εὐχερῆς τοῖς ἐκ μακροῦ διαφθονουμένους ἀπελήγευκται, ταῖς τε τῶν ἀφράτων ἐχθρῶν καὶ νοητῶν πολεμίων ἐλεπόλεσι καὶ μηχαναῖς καταβληθείσα, πτῶμα ἔξαισιον καταπέπτωκεν, ὡς ὅσον οὐδὲ ἐπὶ λίθῳ λίθον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐστώτα ἐν αὐτῇ διαμείναι, ὅλην δὲ δι’ ὅλου χαμαί κείσθαι νεκράν, τῶν περὶ θεοῦ φυσικῶν ἐννοιῶν πάμπαν ἀπεστερημένην. πεπτωκυίαν δῆτα αὕτην ἐκείνην τὴν κατ’ εἰκόνα θεοῦ κατασκευασθείσαν ἐλυμήνατο ὅσον ὡς ὅσος ἐκ δρυμοῦ τοῦ παρ’ ἡμῖν ὅρατο, ἀλλὰ τις φθοροποιοῦς δαίμονα καὶ θῆρες ἀγροῦ νοητοῦ, οἴ καὶ τῶν πάθεσιν οἰά πεπρακτωμένοις τῆς σφῶν κακίας βέλεσιν αὕτην ἐξυφάσμας, ἐνεπύρασαν ἐν πυρὶ τὸ θείον ὄντως ἀγιαστήριον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὴν γῆν τε ἐβεβήλωσαν τὸ σκῆνωμα τοῦ ὄνοματος αὐτοῦ, εἶτα πολλῷ τῷ προσχώματι τὴν ἀθλίαν κατορύξαντες, εἰς ἀνελπιστον πάσης περιέτρεψαν σωτηρίας.

'Αλλ’ ὁ γε κινδεμὸν αὕτης λόγος ὁ θεοφεγγὴς καὶ σωτήριος τῆς κατ’ ἀξίαν δίκην τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὑποσχοῦσαν αὐθίς ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνελάμβανεν, πατρὸς παναγάθου φιλανθρωπία πειθόμενος. αὕτας 60

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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.

"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, 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.

"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, hearkening to the loving-kindness of an all-gracious Father.
δὴ οὖν πρώτας τὰς τῶν ἀνωτάτω βασιλευόντων ψυχὰς προελάμβανε, τῶν μὲν δυσσεβῶν καὶ ὀλεθρίων πάντων αὐτῶν τε τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θεομακρίων τυράννων τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐκαθήρατο· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς αὐτῶν γνωρίμους ἄνδρας, τοὺς πάλαι διὰ βίον ἱερωμένους αὐτῷ, κρύβθην γε μὴν ὡς ἐν κακῶν χειμῶν πρὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ σκέπης καλυπτομένους, εἰς φανερὸν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς μεγαλωδωρεῖς ἐπαξίως τιμήσας, αὕτης καὶ διὰ τούτων τὰς μικρὰς πρόσθεν ἐρρυπωμένας ψυχὰς ὑλῆς τε παντοίας καὶ χάματος ἀσβῆνων ἐπιταγμάτων συμπεφορημένας ὅρυξε καὶ δικέλλαις ταῖς πληκτικαῖς τῶν μαθημάτων διδασκαλίας ἐξεκάθηρεν τε καὶ ἀπέσηψεν, λαμπρὸν τε καὶ διανύξῃ τῆς πάντων 61 ὑμῶν διανοιάς τὸν χώρον ἀπεργασμένος, ἐνταῦθα λουτρών τῷ πανσώφῳ καὶ θεοφιλεί τῷ διαραδέδωκεν ἠγεμόνι· ὃς τά τε ἄλλα κριτικὸς καὶ ἐπιλογιστικὸς τυγχάνων τήν <τε> τῶν αὐτῶν κεκληρωμένων ψυχὴν εὖ διαγνώσκων καὶ φυλοκρινών διάνοιαν, ἐκ πρώτης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡμέρας οἰκοδομῶν οὕτω καὶ εἰς δεύτερο πέπαυται, τοτε μὲν διανύξῃ τὸν χρυσὸν, τοτε δὲ δόκυμον καὶ καθαρὸν τὸ ἀργυρίου καὶ τοὺς τιμίους καὶ πολυτελεῖς λίθους ἐν πᾶσιν ὑμῖν ἀρμόττων, ὡς ἱερὰς αὕτης καὶ μυστική ἐργοῦς τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀποπληρων προφητεῖαν, δε' ὃς εἰρήται 62 ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐτοµμάζω σοι ἄνθρακα τὸν λίθον σου καὶ τὰ θεμελία σου σάπφειρον καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις σου ἱασπίν καὶ τὰς πύλας σου λίθους κρυστάλλου καὶ τὸν περίβολον σου λίθους ἐκλεκτοὺς καὶ πάντως τοὺς νεόν σου διδακτοὺς θεοῦ καὶ ἐν πολλῇ εἰρήνῃ τά τέκνα σου· καὶ ἐν δικαίωσίνῃ οἰκοδομήθησον·

Cf. 1 Cor. 3, 12

Is. 54, 11-14

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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; 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; 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.’
EUSEBIUS

"Δικαιοσύνη δήτα οἰκοδομῶν, κατ’ αξίαν τοῦ παντός λαοῦ διήρει τὰς δυνάμεις, οἷς μὲν τὸν ἔξωθεν αὐτὸ μόνον περιφράττων περιβολοῦν, τὴν ἀπλανὴ πίστιν περιτειχίσας (πολὺς δὲ ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ μέγας λεῶς, οὐδὲν κρείττον φέρειν οἰκοδόμημα διαρκῶν), οἷς δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκών ἔπιπρέπων εἰσόδους, θυραυλεῖν καὶ ποδηγεῖν τοὺς εἰσιόντας κατατάττων, οὐκ ἄπεικότως τοῦ νεὼ πρόπυλα νεομυσίμους, ἄλλους δὲ πρῶτοι τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀμφὶ τὴν αὐλὴν ἐκ τετραγώνου κίοσιν ὑπεστήριζεν, ταῖς πρῶταις τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελίων τοῦ γράμματος προσβολαίς ἐμβιβάζων· τοὺς δὲ ἦδη ἀμφὶ τὸν βασιλείου οἰκόν ἐκατέρωσε παραξεύγυνσος, ἐτί μὲν κατηχουμένους καὶ ἐν αὐξῇ καὶ προκοπῇ καθεστῶτας, οὐ μὴν πόρρω ποὺ καὶ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν ἐνδοτάτῳ θεοπτίας τῶν πιστῶν διεξεγμένους. ἐκ δὴ τούτων τὰς ἀκηράτους ψυχὰς θεῖω θλουτρῷ χρυσῷ δίκην ἀποσμηχθείςας παραλαβὼν, κανταῦθα τοὺς μὲν κίοσιν τῶν ἔξωτάτω πολὺ κρείττοσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐνδοτάτω μυστικῶν τῆς γραφῆς δογμάτων ὑποστηρίζει, τοῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀνοίγμασιν κατανυγάζει, προπύλῳ μὲν ἐνι μεγίστω τῆς τοῦ παμβασιλείως ἐνὸς καὶ μόνου θεοῦ δοξολογίᾳ τῶν πάντα νεὼν κατακοσμῶν, Χριστοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄγιου πνεύματος παρ’ ἐκάτερα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐθεντίας τὰς δευτέρας αὐγὰς τοῦ φωτὸς παρασχόμενος· τῶν τὲ λοιπῶν διὰ τοῦ παντὸς οἰκον ἄφθονον καὶ πολὺ διάφορον τῆς καθ’ ἐκαστον ἀληθείας τὸ σαφὲς καὶ φωτεινὸν ἐνδεκεκύμενος, πάντη δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν τοὺς ζῶντας καὶ θεὸς

1 §§ 63-68 contain a comparison of the material church with the spiritual temple (those who worship in it).
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"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. 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, 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
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βηκότας καὶ εὐπαγεῖς τῶν ψυχῶν λίθους ἐγκρίνας, τὸν μέγαν καὶ βασιλικὸν εξ ἀπάντων οἴκων ἐπι- 
σκευάζεται λαμπρὸν καὶ φωτὸς ἐμπλεὼ τα τε ἐνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός, ὅτι μὴ ψυχὴ μόνον καὶ 
διάνοια, καὶ τὸ σῶμα δὲ αὐτῶς ἀγνείας καὶ 
σωφροσύνης πολυανθεῖ κόσμῳ κατηγλαίστο. 

"Ενεισιν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ θρόνου βάθρα 
τε μυρία καὶ καθιστήρια, ἐν ὅσαις ψυχαίς τα τοῦ 
θείου πνεύματος ἐφιζάνει δωρήματα, οία καὶ πάλαι 
ὡφθη τοῖς ἀμφί τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀποστόλους, οἷς 
ἐφάνησαν διαμεριζόμεναι γλώσσαι ὡς εἰ πυρὸς 
ἐκάθισέν τε ἐφ' ἐν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν. ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν 
τῶν πάντων ἀρχοντὶ ἵσως αὐτῶς ὅλος ἐγκαθηται 
Χριστός, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν δευτερεύουσιν 
ἀναλόγως, καθ' ὅσον ἐκαστὸς χωρεῖ, Χριστοῦ 
δυνάμεως καὶ πνεύματος ἁγίου μερισμοῖς. Βάθρα 
δ' ἂν εἶναι καὶ ἀγγέλων αἱ τινῶν ψυχαί τῶν εἰς 
παιδαγωγίαν καὶ φρούραν ἐκαστῳ παραδεδομένων, 
σεμνὸν δὲ καὶ μέγα καὶ μονογενῆς θυσιαστήριων 
ποῖον ἂν εἴη ἃ τῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ πάντων ἱερέως [τῆς 
ψυχῆς] το εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἁγίων ἁγιον; ὃ παρεστώς 
ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ὁ μέγας τῶν ολίων ἄρχιερεὺς αὐτὸς 
Ἰησοῦς, ὁ μονογενῆς τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸ παρὰ πάντων 
eὐώδες θυμίαμα καὶ τὰς δι' εὐχῶν ἀναίμους καὶ 
αὐλοὺς θυσίας φαινρῷ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ὑπτίας 
ὑποδεχόμενος χερσίν τῷ κατ' οὐρανὸν πατρὶ καὶ 
θεῷ τῶν ολίων παραπέμπεται, πρωτος αὐτὸς προσ-
κυνῶν καὶ μόνος τῶ πατρὶ τὸ κατ' ἄξιον ἀπονέμων

1 Omitting τῆς ψυχῆς, with Schwartz, as being a gloss: the meaning is that the sacred altar in the material church
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.

"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, 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, 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 adoreth and alone rendereth to His Father the honour that is due; after which He also beseecheth typifies the spiritual sanctuary (i.e. the soul) of Jesus Christ.
σέβας, εἶτα δὲ καὶ πάσιν ἡμῖν εὐμενὴ διαμένεων καὶ δεξιὸν εἰς ἀεὶ παραιτούμενος.

"Τοιοῦτος δ ἡ μέγας νεώς ὅν καθ ὡλὴ τῆς ὑφῆς ἡμιουργὸς λόγος συνεστήσατο, τῶν ἑπέκεινα οὐρανίων ἄμιδων πάλιν καὶ αὐτὸς νυερὰν ταύτην ἐπὶ γῆς εἰκόνα κατεργασάμενος, ὡς ἂν διὰ πάσης τῆς κτίσεως τῶν τε ἐπὶ γῆς λογικῶν ζωῶν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ τιμῶτο τε καὶ σέβοιτο. τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον χῶρον καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖσε τῶν τῆς παραδείγματα τήν τε ἀνω λεγομένην Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ τὸ Σιών ὄρος τὸ ἐπουράνιον καὶ τὴν ὑπερκόσμιον πόλιν τοῦ ζωντος θεοῦ, ἐν ἧ μυριάδες ἀγγέλων πανηγυρεῖς καὶ ἐκκλησία πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς ταῖς ἀρρήτους καὶ ἀνεπιλογίστους ἡμῶν θεολογίας τὸν σφῶν ποιητήν καὶ πανηγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων γεραιρούσων, οὕτως ὦντος οἵος τε κατ' ἄξιαν ὑμνήσαι, ὅτι δὴ ὀφθαλμὸς οὐκ εἰδὲν καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσεν καὶ ἐπὶ καρδιὰν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνέβη αὐτὰ δὴ ταύτα ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτὸν· ὅτι ἓν ἐν μέρει καταξιωθέντες, ἄνδρες ἄμα παιδιν καὶ γυναικῶν, σμικροὶ καὶ μεγάλοι, πάντες ἀθρόως ἐν ἐνὶ πνεύματι καὶ μιᾷ ψυχῇ μὴ διαλίπομεν ἐξομολογούμενοι καὶ τὸν τοσούτων ἡμῶν ἀγαθῶν παραίτων ἀνευφημοῦντες, τὸν εὐιλατεύοντα πάσας ταῖς ἀνομίαις ἡμῶν, τὸν ἵωμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους ἡμῶν, τὸν ὑποτυπῶν ἐκ φθορᾶς τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν, τὸν στεφανοῦσα ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐλέει καὶ οἰκτιρμοὺς, τὸν ἐμπιπλῶντα ἐν ἀγαθοῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡμῶν, ὅτι οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν, ὅτι καθ' ὅσον ἀπέχουσιν

Gal. 4, 26
Heb. 12, 22, 23
1 Cor. 2, 9
Ps. 103, 3-5, 10, 12, 13
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Him to remain favourable and propitious toward us all for ever.

"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, 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, 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
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ανατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν, ἐμάκρυνεν ἂφ’ ἡμῶν τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν: καθὼς ὁικτείρει πατὴρ νίους αὐτοῦ, ὠκτείρησεν κύριος τοὺς φοβουμένους αὐτόν.

"Ταῦτα καὶ νῦν καὶ εἰς τὸν ἐξής ἀπαντά χρόνον τοῖς μνήμαις ἀναζωπυροῦντες, ἀτὰρ καὶ τῆς παρούσης πανηγύρεως καὶ τῆς φαινάσασ ταύτης καὶ λαμπροτάτης ἡμέρας τὸν αἰτίον καὶ πανηγυρισάρχην νύκτωρ καὶ μεθε ἡμέραν διὰ πάσης ὥρας καὶ δι’ ὅλης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀναπνοὴς ἐν νῷ προορόμενου, στέργοντες καὶ σέβοντες ὑστικῆς ὅλη δυνάμει, καὶ νῦν ἀναστάντες μεγάλη διαθέσεως φωνῆς καθικετεύσωμεν, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ μάνδραν ἐς τέλος ἡμᾶς σκεπάζων διασώζοιτο, τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῦ βραβεύων ἄρραγη καὶ ἀσειστὸν αἰωνίαν εἰρήνην ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν, δι’ ὅτι αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς σύμπαντας αἰῶνας τῶν αἰῶνων. ἀμήν.”

V. Φέρε δή, λοιπὸν καὶ τῶν βασιλικῶν διατάξεων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Δικαινίου τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων φωνῆς μεταληφθείσας ἐρμηνείας παραθώμεθα.

ANTΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΩΝ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΝ ΕΚ ΡΟΜΑΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΤΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΛΗΦΘΕΙΣΩΝ

"Ψηθε μὲν πάλαι σκοποῦντες τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῆς θρησκείας σὺν ἁρμηνεύοντο εἰναί, ἀλλ’ ἐνὸς ἑκάστου τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ τῇ βουλής ἐξουσίαν δοτέον τοῦ τὰ θεία πράγματα τημελεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ προ-

1 This document, quoted in §§ 2-14, goes by the name of the “Edict of Milan,” although it is, properly speaking, not an edict, but a rescript, being addressed to an individual, to wit, a governor, by whose edict it was to be made known to 444
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.

"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 besitteth 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. 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.¹

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 people of his province. It is probable that at Milan, in 313 (ix. 11.9), Constantine and Licinius drew up a norm of instructions to governors which might be copied, with perhaps some variations in detail, and sent to the various provinces. One redaction of that norm was translated by Eusebius, another was transcribed by Lactantius (De Mortibus Persecutorum 48).
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αἱρέσιν ἐκαστον, κεκελεύκειμεν τοῖς τε Χριστιανοῖς
. . . τῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ τῆς θρησκείας τῆς ἐαυτῶν
τῆς πίστεως φυλάττεν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ πολλαὶ καὶ διά-
φοροι αἱρέσεις ἐν ἑκείνη τῇ ἀντιγραφῇ, ἐν ἧ τοῖς
αὐτοῖς συνεχωρήθη ἡ τοιαύτη ἔξουσία, ἐδόκουν προσ-
tεθεῖσθαι σαφῶς, τυχόν ἑσως τινὲς αὐτῶν μετ’ ὀλίγον
ἀπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης παραφυλάξεως ἀπεκρούοντο.

'Οπότε εὐτυχῶς ἐγὼ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Ἀὐγουστος
καὶ Ὁυκίνιος ὁ Ἀὐγουστος ἐν τῇ Μεσσιανίᾳ
ἐληλύθημεν καὶ πάντα οὐσα πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελές καὶ
tὸ αὐτῶν τῷ κοινῷ διέφερεν, ἐν ζητήσει ἐσχομεν,
tαῦτα μεταξὺ τῶν λοιπῶν ἄτιμα ἔδοκεν ἐν πολλοῖς
ἀπασοὶ έπωφελὴ εἶναι, μάλλον δὲ ἐν πρῶτοι
dιατάξας ἐγνωματίσαμεν, οἰς ἡ πρὸς τὸ θείον αἰῶν
τε καὶ τὸ σέβας ἐνελέχτο, τοῦτ’ ἔστω, ὅπως
dῷμεν καὶ τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἐλευθέραι
αἱρέσιν τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν τῇ θρησκείᾳ ἢ δ’ ἂν βου-
ληθῶςιν, ὅπως ὑ τι ποτὲ ἐστὶν θειότητος καὶ
ουρανίου πράγματος, ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν
ἡμετέραιν ἔξουσίαν διάγουσιν εὑμενες εἶναι δυνηθῇ.
tοιῶν ὑπὸ τὴν [ἡμετέραν] βούλησιν ὑγιεινῷ καὶ
ὁρθοτάτῳ λογισμῷ ἐγνωματίσαμεν, ὅπως μηδενὶ
pantelῶς ἔξουσία ἀρνητέα ἢ τοῦ ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ
αιρεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραφυλαξίν ἢ
θρησκείαν ἐκάστῳ τε ἔξουσία δοθεί τοῦ διδόναι
ἐαυτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐν ἑκείνῃ τῇ θρησκείᾳ, ἢν
αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ ἀρμόζειν νομίζει, ὅπως ἡμῖν δυνηθῇ
τὸ θείον ἐν πᾶσι τὴν ἔθιμον σπουδὴν καὶ καλο-
καγαθίαν παρέχειν, ἄτιμα οὕτως ἀρέσκειεν ἡμῖν
ἀντιγράφαι ἀκολουθοῦν ἦν, ἰν’ ἀφαιρεθεὶσον παν-

1 Some words have fallen out of the text.
2 aírēseis, cf. § 6, where the Latin original has conditiones.
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way that pleased him best, we had given orders that both to the Christians [and to all others liberty should be allowed]¹ to keep to the faith of their own sect and worship. But inasmuch as many and various conditions² 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.

“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,³—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. Therefore with sound and most upright reasoning we resolved on this ⁴ counsel: that authority be refused to no one whomesoever 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 Divinity⁵ . . . may in all things afford us his wonted care and generosity. It was fitting to send a rescript that this is our pleasure, in order that when those conditions had altogether been

³ Lat. pluribus hominibus; the Gk. has ἐν πολλοῖς ἄπασιν (pluribus omnibus).
⁴ Omitting ἤμετέραν, with the Latin.
⁵ The Latin adds “cuius religioni liberis mentibus obsequi-mur.”
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telwos ton airesewn, astines tois proteros hymon grammai tois pro tis thn sthn kathosiaow apo-
staleiw peri ton Khristianon eneixon to kai astina pantu skai na kai ths hmeteras praoetos allotria einai edokei, taute ufarithi kai vyn eleutherwos kai aplos ekastos autwn ton thn auton proairesen eschekoton ton fylatte ton thn ton Khristianon threskeian anew tinos xilesewso touto auton para-
fulatton. Astina th se epimeleia phrrestata deiloisi edogmatismen, opsos eideis hymas eleu-
theiran kai anpolelmewn exousian ton thmelien thn
eauton threskeian tois autois Khristianois de-
dwkeina. Oter epidei anpolelmwnsw autois ufi th
hymwnedwrothei thewreis, svvora h se kathosiosis kai
eteorei dedothei exousian tois bouloymevois ton
meterechthei thn paratirehsw kai threskeian eauton
oter akolothos th hneugia thn hmeteron kairon
ginesthai faereron estin, opsos exousian ekastos exi
tou aieresai kai thmelien opoian d an boulytai [to
theion]. Touto de ufi hymwn gegeven, opsos uymedwia
mih thereskeia tini memewosai ti ufi hymwn dokoin.

"Kai touto de pros tois loupoi eis to prosopon ton
Khristianon dogmatizomeun, ina tois topos
auton, eis ois to proteron sunerxeithai ethos h
autois, peri oin kai tois proteron dotheis pros
thn sthn kathosiaow grammaio ton tos eteros h
dromenos ton protewr xorwos, [in'] eis tines h
par ton thmeiou ton hmeteron h paraw tinos
eteron fainonton hgorakotes, toutous tois aut-
tois Khristianois anew argurio kai anew tinos

1 Reading thewreis in place of thewrei and inserting svvora, with Schwartz.
2 tumh: Lat. honori.
removed, which were contained in our former letters sent to thy Devotedness, concerning the Christians, those things also which seemed to be wholly unfortu-
nate 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, 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. And when thou perceivest that this has been granted unrestrictedly to them by us, thy Devotedness will understand¹ 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 rite² or form of worship.

"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 ordinance³ 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 com-

³ Lat. certa forma. Eusebius has τύπος ἐτερος, as if he had read cetera in the Latin.
απαιτήσεως τῆς τιμῆς, ὑπερτεθείς [δίχα] πάσης ἀμελείας καὶ ἀμφιβολίας, ἀποκαταστήσωσι, καὶ εἰ τινές κατὰ δώρον τυγχάνουσιν εἰληφότες, τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ὅπως ἡ τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς τὴν ταχιστὴν ἀποκαταστήσωσιν οὕτως ὡς ὣς ἡ ἕγορακότες τοὺς αὐτοὺς τόπους ἢ ὡς κατὰ δωρεὰν εἰληφότες αἰτῶσι τι παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκαγαθίας προσέλθωσι τῷ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπάρχων [δικαίοντι], ὅπως καὶ αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται. ἀτινα πάντα τῷ σώματι τῷ τῶν Χριστιανῶν παρ’ αὐτὰ διὰ τῆς σής ὁποιδ' ἂνευ τινὸς παρολκής παραδίδοσθαι δεῦσει.

"Καὶ ἔπειδη οἱ αὐτοὶ Χριστιανοὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκείνους εἰς οὕς συνέρχεσθαι ἔθος εἶχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρους τόπους ἐσχηκέναι γινώσκονται διαφέροντας οὐ πρὸς ἕκαστον αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον τοῦ αὐτῶν σώματος, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὁπνεοείδομεν, δίχα παντελῶς τινὸς ἀμφισβητήσεως τοῖς αὐτοῖς Χριστιανοῖς, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν τῷ σώματι [αὐτῶν] καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ [ἐκάστῳ] αὐτῶν ἀποκαταστήσαντες κελεύσεις, τοῦ προειρημένου λογισμοῦ δηλαδή φυλαχθέντος, ὅπως αὐτοὶ οὕτως τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἂνευ τιμῆς, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, ἀποκαθιστώσι, τὸ ἄζημον τὸ ἑαυτῶν παρὰ τῆς ἡμέτερας καλοκαγαθίας ἐλπίζοιειν.

"Ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν τῷ προειρημένῳ σώματι τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὴν ὁποιάν δυνατῶτατα παρασχεῖν ὁφείλεις, ὅπως τὸ ἡμετέρον κέλευσμα τὴν ταχιστὴν παραπληρωθῇ, ὅπως καὶ ἐν τούτῳ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρηστότητος πρόνοια γένηται τῆς κοινῆς καὶ δημοσίας ἡσυχίας. τοῦτω γὰρ τῷ λογισμῷ, καθὼς καὶ προειρηται, ἡ θεία ὁποιάν περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἂς ἐν 450
pensation, 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, let them approach the prefect of the district,\(^1\) 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.

"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.

"In all these things thou shouldst 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, thought may be taken for the common and public peace. For by this method, as we have also said before, the divine

\(^1\) Omitting the gloss δικαζοντι.
EUSEBIUS

πολλοῖς ἢδη πράγμασιν ἀπεπειράθημεν, διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου βεβαίως διαμείναι, ὅνα δὲ ταύτης τῆς ἡμετέρας νομοθεσίας καὶ τῆς καλοκαγαθίας ὁ ὄρος πρὸς γνώσιν πάντων ἐνεχθῆναι δυνηθῇ, προσαχθέντα τοῦ σοῦ προστάγματος ταῦτα τὰ ὑφ’ ἡμῶν γραφέντα πανταχοῦ προθεῖναι καὶ εἰς γνώσιν πάντων ἀγαγεῖν ἀκόλουθον ἔστιν, ὅπως ταύτης τῆς ἡμετέρας καλοκαγαθίας ἡ νομοθεσία μηδένα λαθεῖν δυνηθῇ.”

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΕΤΕΡΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΤΑΞΕΩΣ ΗΝ ΑΤΟΙΣ ΠΕΠΟΙΗΤΑΙ, ΜΟΝΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΚ- ΚΛΗΣΙΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΔΕΔΟΣΘΑΙ ΤΠΟΣΗΜΗ- ΝΑΜΕΝΟΣ

“Χαίρε Ἄνυλίνε, τιμωτάτε ἡμῖν. ἔστων ο τρό- πος οὗτος τῆς φιλαγαθίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ὥστε ἐκεῖνα ἀπερ δικαίω ἀλλοτρίω προσήκει, μὴ μόνον μὴ ἐνοχλεῖσθαι, ἄλλα καὶ ἀποκαθιστᾶν βουλέσθαι ἡμᾶς, Ἄνυλίνε τιμωτάτε. οθὲν βουλόμεθα ἵν’ ὡς ὁ ποταὶ τόπῳ διέφερον [καὶ] κατέχοντο χῦν ἢ υπὸ ποιτῶν ἢ υπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν, ταῦτα ἀποκατασταθῆναι παρα- χρῆμα ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ποιῆσαι, ἐπειδ’- περ προηγήμεθα ταῦτα ἀπερ αἱ αὐταὶ ἐκκλησίαι πρότερον ἐσχάκεσαν, τῶν δικαίων αὐτῶν ἀποκατα- σταθῆναι. ὡς τοῖν γνῶρι ἡ καθοσίως ἢ σῆ ταύτης ἡμῶν τῆς κελεύσεως σαφέστατον εἶναι τὸ πρόσταγμα, σπουδασοῦ, εἴτε κῆποι εἴτε οἰκίαι

1 The Latin original shows that some words are omitted here by Eusebius.

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care for us, which we have already experienced in many matters, will remain stedfast... 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."

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, 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. Since, therefore, thy Devotedness perceives that the order of this our command is most explicit, do thy diligence that

2 Eusebius (see heading) took this to mean the Catholic Church as opposed to the Donatist schismatics; but this is very improbable. The phrase refers to the Church in Africa as it was before the persecution and before the schism.

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ei' otiouvdh'pote t'q dikaiw t'wv autwv ekklh-
siowv dieferov, svmpanta autais apokatastath'navai
ws takhsta, opws tvutw hymwv t'q proostamati
epimelestatatn se peitharxhswn paraveskhke nav kata-
madoimwv. 'Erroso, 'Anuline, tvmwtate kai pothei-
nvotate hymwv.'

ANTIGRAFON BASILIKAHS EPISTOLHS DI' HSE SYNOON
EPISKOPION EPI PROIMHS KALETETI GENESEAI TISER
TIS TON EKKLHSON ENOSEOS TE KAI OMONOIAS

"Kwvostantinos Sebastos Myliadhe episkopow
'Rwmaion kai Mårkw. 'Epieidh toueutov xartai
parà 'Anulinou tov lamprrotatov anuthpatov ths
'Afrikh pro's me pleiovs apestalhshav, ev ois
epheretai Kaukiliavon ton episkopon ths Xar-
tanganhsion polews parà twnv kollhgon autow
thnw kata thn 'Afrikh kathestotwn ev pollois
pragmas wv evtheias, kai tovt to barv sfwtra
dokei to ev tautes taies eparchias, as th
kathosiose autowretos th theia pronoia enexerivn
kakeise polw plhidos laow, oikh tov fawl-
teron epimevonta evrysesthai wvs av ei
xostatouv kai meta' episkopon diaforas exewn,
edogxe mojwv autovs o Kaukiliavos met' deka
episkopon thnw autwn evtheivn dokountov kai
deka et'rwv ows autovs th'eautov diek anagkaios
upolabov, eis thn 'Rwmyh plw apoewn, iv' ekeivse
ymwv parontov, alal' hmy kai 'Retikov kai
Materon kai Marinv, thwn kollhgon ymwn, ows

1 The Donatists (so called from a bishop of theirs, Donatus) alleged that Caecilian had been consecrated by a bishop (Felix) who in the Diocletian persecution had proved himself a
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."

_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: 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 Reticius and Maternus and Marinus also, your colleagues _traditor, i.e. had surrendered up the Scriptures to the pagan authorities. Hence they held that Caecilian's consecration was invalid; and by appointing a bishop of their own in his stead began what is known as the Donatist schism._

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τούτου ἔνεκεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρώμην προσέταξα ἐπισπεύσαι, δυνηθῇ ἀκουσθῆναι, ὡς ἂν καταμάθωτε τῷ σεβασμιωτάτῳ νόμῳ ἁρμόττεν. ἤνα μέντοι καὶ περὶ πάντων αὐτῶν τούτων πληρεστάτην δυνηθῆτε ἔχειν γνῶσιν, τὰ ἀντίτυπα τῶν ἐγγράφων τῶν πρὸς με παρὰ Ἀνυλίνου ἀποσταλέντων γράμμασιν ἐμοῖς ὑποτάξας, πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους κολλήγας ὑμῶν ἐξέπεμψα· ὀίς ἐντυχόσα ἡ ὑμετέρα στερρότης δοκιμάσει ὄντων χρὴ τρόπον τὴν προειρημένην δίκην ἐπιμελέστατα διευκρινῆσαι καὶ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον τερματίσαι, ὅποτε μηδὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιμέλειαν λανθάνει τοσαύτην με αἰδώ τῇ ἐνθέσμῳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀπονέμεν, ὡς μηδὲν καθόλου σχίσμα ἡ διχοστασίαν ἐν τοῖς τόπων βουλεσθαί με ὑμᾶς καταλιπεῖν. ἡ θεοῦτης ὑμᾶς τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ διαφυλάξαι πολλοῖς ἐτεσί, τιμιώτατε."
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY, X. v. 19-21

(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."

Copy of an Imperial Letter, in which he gives orders 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

2 Gk. "Sir"; but the Lat. correctly gives the plural. The Letter, however, seems to have been addressed principally to Miltiades: nothing is known of Mark, who is associated with him in the opening sentence.
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΟΣ

μοίρας καταλήλως, ἐνστατικῶς καὶ ἐπιμόνως
dιαγωνιζομένων παρόντος τε καὶ τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης
ἐπισκόπου, τούτο ὅπερ ἐδόκει κεκινήσαθαι, δυνηθῇ
ὑπὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτῶν μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελούσ
διακρίσεως κατορθώσεως τυχεῖν. ἀλλ’ ἐπειδή, ὡς
συμβαινεῖ, ἐπιλαθόμενοι τινὲς καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
tῆς ἱδίας καὶ τοῦ σεβάσματος τοῦ ὦφειλομένου τῇ
ἀγιωτάτῃ αἱρέσει, ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὰς ἱδίας ἔχονα
παρατείνειν οὐ παύονται, μὴ βουλόμενοι τῇ ἡδί
ἐξενεχθείσῃ κρίσει συντίθεσθαι καὶ διοριζόμενοι
ὅτι δὴ ἄρα ὁλίγοι τινὲς τὰς γνώμας καὶ τὰς ἀπο-
φάσεις ἑαυτῶν ἐξήρευκαν ὡς καὶ μὴ πρότερον
ἀπάντων τῶν ὦφειλοντων ζητηθῆναι ἀκριβῶς ἐξ-
ετασθέντων πρὸς τὸ τῆς κρίσις ἐξενεγκαί πάνω
ταχέως καὶ ὁξέως ἔσπευσαν, ἐκ τὲ τούτων ἀπάν-
tων ἐκεῖνα συμβαινεῖ γενόθθαι, τὸ καὶ τούτους
αὐτοὺς ἄδελφικὴν καὶ ὀμόφονα ὦφειλοντας ἐχεῖν
ὁμοφυξίαν αὐσχρῶς, μᾶλλον δὲ μυστρῶς ἄλληλων
ἀποδείταναι καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἄλλοτρίας
ἐχουσι τὰς φυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγιωτάτης θρησκείας
ταύτης πρόφασιν χλεύης διδόναι,—ὅθεν προνοη-
tέον μοι ἐγένετο, ὅπως τούτο ὅπερ ἔχρην μετὰ
tῆς ἐξενεχθείσαν ἡδί κρίσιν αὐθαίρετα συγκατα-
thέσει πεπαῦθαι, καὶ νῦν ποτὲ δυνηθῇ πολλῶν
παρόντων τέλους τυχεῖν. ἐπειδή τοιῶν πλείστους
ἐκ διαφόρων καὶ ἀμυθήτων τότων ἐπισκόπους εἰς
tὴν Ἀρελατηρίων πόλιν εἰσὶν Καλανδῶν Ἀὐγοῦ-
στων συνελθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν, καὶ σοὶ γράφαι
ἐνομίσαμεν ἵνα λαβῶν παρὰ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
Δατρωμιανοῦ τοῦ κοινηκτόρος Σικελίας δημόσιων
ὀχήμα, συζευγίας σεαυτῷ καὶ δύο γέ τινας τῶν ἐκ

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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. 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. Inasmuch, therefore, as we have commanded that very many bishops from various and numberless places should assemble at the city of Arles by the Kalends of August, we have thought it good to write to thee also, that thou shouldst procure from the right honourable Latronianus, the "corrector"¹ of Sicily, a public vehicle, and joining to thy

¹ In the fourth century this was the title of governors of certain provinces.
EUSEBIUS

tου δευτέρου θρόνου, οὖς ἂν σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπιλέξασθαι 
κρίνῃς, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τρεῖς παίδας τοὺς δυνησο-
μένους ὑμῖν κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ὑπηρετήσασθαι παρα-
λαβὼν, εἴσω τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ 
tόπῳ ἀπάντησον, ὡς ἂν διὰ τῇς σῆς στερ-2 
ροτήτος καὶ διὰ τῆς λοιπῆς τῶν συνιόντων ὁμο-
ψύχου καὶ ὀμόφρονος συνέσεως καὶ τοῦτο ὅπερ 
ἀχρι τοῦ δεύτερο φαύλως δι᾽ αἰσχρὰς τινας ἵππο-
μαχίας παραμεμενήκεν, ἀκουσθέντων πάντων τῶν 
μελλόντων λεχθῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν νῦν ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων 
dιεστότων, οὕστερ ὁμοίως παρεῖναι ἐκελεύσαμεν, 
δυνηθῇ εἰς τὴν ὀφειλομένην θρησκείαν καὶ πιστῶν 
ἀδελφικὴν τε ὁμόνοιαν καὶ βραδεὺς ἀνακληθῆναι. 
ὑγιαίνοντα σε ὅ θεός ὁ παντοκράτωρ διαφυλάξαι 
ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἑσεσθιν.”

VI. ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΥ’ ΗΣ 
ΧΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΙΣ ΔΟΡΕΙΤΑΙ

“Κωνσταντῖνος Ἀὔγουστος Καυκολιανῷ ἐπι-
σκόπῳ Χαρταγένης. ἔπειδήπερ ἤρεσεν κατὰ πάσας 
ἐπαρχίας, τὰς τῇ Ἀφρικὰς καὶ τὰς Νουμιδίας καὶ 
tὰς Μαυριτανίας, ῥήτορις τισι τῶν ὑπηρετῶν τῆς 
ἐνθέσµου καὶ ἀγιωτάτης καθολικῆς θρησκείας εἰς 
ἀναλώματα ἐπιχορηγηθῆναι τι, ἐδωκα γράμματα 
πρὸς Οὐρσον τὸν διασηµότατον καθολικὸν τῆς 
Ἀφρικῆς καὶ ἐδήλωσα αὐτῷ ὅπως τρισχίλιους 
φόλλεις τῇ σῇ στερρότητι ἀπαριθµῆσαι φροντισθ. 
οὐ τοίνυν, ἦνικα τῇν προδηλουµένην ποσότητα τῶν 
χρηµάτων ὑποδεχῆναι ποιήσεις, ἀπασὶ τοῖς 
προειρηµένοις κατὰ τὸ βρέοιν τὸ πρὸς σὲ παρὰ

1 i.e. presbyters.

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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, 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. 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, 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.

2 The follis was originally a bag of small coins, but afterwards came to denote a coin itself, the double denarius.
EUSEBIUS

'Osion apostaleun tauta tα χρήματα διαδοθήναι kέλευσον. ei δ' āra prods to συμπληρωθήναι mou 3 tην εις τούτο περὶ ἀπαντας αυτοὺς προαιρεσιν εύδειν τι καταμάθοις, para Ἡρακλείδα τοῦ ἐπι-
πρόπου των ἡμετέρων κτημάτων ἀναμφιλέκτως ὀπερ ἀναγκαίοι εἶναι καταμάθοις, αἰτήσαι ωφείλεις,
καὶ γὰρ παρόντι αὐτῷ ἡ σή στερρότης αἰτήσῃ, ἀνευ δισταγμοῦ τινος ἀπαριθμήσαι φροντίσῃ. καὶ 4 ἐπειδὴ ἐπυθόμην τινᾶς μὴ καθεστώτης διανοίας 
τυγχάνοντας ἀνθρώπους τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀγιωτάτης καὶ καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας φαύλη τινὶ ὑπονοεῖσθε 
βουλεσθαι διαστρέφειν, γίνωσκέ με Ἀνυλίνω ἀνθυπάτω ἀλλὰ μην καὶ Πατρικίω τῷ οὐκαρίῳ 
τῶν ἐπάρχων παροῦσι τοιαύτας ἐντολὰς δεδωκέναι ἵν τὸν τοῦτος ἁμαρτίας τήν 
προσήκουσαν φροντίδα ποιήσωνται καὶ μὴ ἀνά-
σχωνται περιορῶν τοιοῦτο γινόμενον. διότι εἰ 5 
tinas τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μανίᾳ ἐπι-
μένειν κατίδοις, ἀνευ τινὸς ἀμφιβολίας τοῖς προ-
ειρημένοις δικασταῖς πρόσελθε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο 
προσανέγεικε ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι, καθάπερ αὐτοῖς 
παροῦσι ἐκέλευσα, ἐπιστρέψωσι. ἡ θειότης τοῦ 
μεγάλου θεοῦ σε διαφυλάξαι ἐπὶ πολλοῖς ἐτέσσων.'

VII. ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΔΙ' ΗΣ ΑΠΟ-
ΤΟΤΣ ΠΡΟΕΣΤΩΤΑΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΩΝ ΠΑΣΗΣ ΑΠΟ-
ΔΕΛΤΣΘΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΔΕΙΤΟΡΓΙΑΣ 
PΡΩΣΤΑΤΕΙ

"Χαίρε, Ἀνυλίνε, τιμῶτατε ἡμῖν. ἐπειδὴ ἐκ 
πλεονων πραγμάτων φαίνεται παρεξουθενθείσαν

1 In the administration of this period, the Vicar was the governor of a "diocese" or group of provinces; the Prefect 462
sent to thee by Hosius. But if, after all, 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. 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, 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. 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 had under his control a still larger administrative area. Patricius as Vicar of Africa was in the jurisdiction of the Prefect of Italy. His title vicarius praefectorum (pl.) is a relic of more ancient days, when the Prefects were regarded as associated together in office.

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tην θρησκείαν, ἐν ἣ ἡ κορυφαία τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐπουρανίου αἰώνος φυλάττεται, μεγάλους κινδύνους ἐνηνοχέλαι τοῖς δημοσίοις πράγμασιν αὐτήν τε ταύτην ἐνθέσμως ἀναληφθείσαν καὶ φυλαττομένην μεγίστην εὐτυχίαν τῷ Ῥωμαϊκῷ ὄνοματι καὶ σύμπασι τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγμασιν ἐξοιρετον εὐδαιμονίαν παρεσχηκέναι, τῶν θείων εὐεργεσίων τούτο παρεχομοῦν, ἐδοξεῖν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἄνδρας τοὺς τῇ ὀφειλομένῃ ἁγιότητί καὶ τῇ τοῦ νόμου τούτου παρεδρίᾳ τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῇ τῇ θείᾳ θρησκείᾳ θεραπείᾳ παρέχοντας τῶν καμάτων τῶν ἱδίων τὰ ἐπιθλα κομίσασθαι, Ἀνυλίνε τιμῶτατε. διότερ ἐκείνους τοὺς εἰσῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας τῆς σοι πεπιστευμένης ἐν τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἢ Κακιλιανὸς ἐφέστηκεν, τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ταύτῃ θρησκείᾳ παρέχοντας, οὕσπερ κληρικοὺς ἐπονομάζειν εἰὼθασιν, ἀπὸ πάντων ἀπαξ ἀπλῶς τῶν λειτουργῶν βουλομαι ἀλετουργήτους διαφυλαχθῆναι, ὡς μὴ διὰ τῶν πλάνης ἡ ἐξολοθρήσεως ἱεροσύλου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τῆς τῇ θεότητι ὀφειλομένης ἀφελκονται, ἄλλα μᾶλλον ἀνευ τῶν ἐνοχλήσεως τῶν ἱδίων νόμων ἐξυπηρετῶταν, ἀντι συγκατάσχεσαι τῷ θείῳ λατρείαν ποιομένων πλεῖστον ὡς συν τοὺς κοινοῦς πράγμασι συνοίσειν δοκεῖ. ἐρωσί, Ἀνυλίνε, τιμῶτατε καὶ ποθεινότατε ἡμῖν.”

VIII. Τοιαύτα μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἡ θεία καὶ οὐράνιος τῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἔπιφανείας ἐδωρεῖτο χάρις, τοσαυτῇ τε ἀπασί ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἄφθονια διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπρυτανεύετο εἰρήνης. καὶ ὡδε μὲν τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐν εὐφροσύναις καὶ πανηγύρεσιν 2 464
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. 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. 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. And thus our happy state was celebrated with rejoicings and festive assemblies. Never-
étraleitó. ouí õn de ãra tâ miokâlô phóñw tû

to fílópónhôrîv dàymiôv fòrhtôs õ tâv órwmènôn

thía, õspere ouí ouí Líkínwv pròs sófhrôva

logismôv ètûgkhanen autárrkê tâ tôs prôsthèn
dedhôlmènûs tûranûnôs súmbebhêtâ: õs eû fê-

roménhs tîs ârkhês autûw basilelwv te megalû

Kônstantînou deuterêvôs tîmês èpigambrîas te

câi súggeneiâs tîs ánôstató wèzwêmôv, mehê-

sews mê tîs tôv kalôtô âpelîmpaneto, tôs de

tôn âsebôn tûranûnôw môkthêrias èzhîv tîn kakó-

trôpian, kai õn tôu bîu tôv kátastrôphièn èpêîdev

áutois ôrôbalmois, tôutôn èpèsthai tôi ghôwmî

mâllôn ê tôi tôv krieûtonês èmêmèn fîlîa te kai

diaðèseî õrèîto. diarfrônhêis õê tôi tôv panev-

ergêthi, pôlemov dúsaghê kai deîwotaton prôs autôn

èkferêi, ou fúsewv nómov wèzwâmévôs, oux ôrkw-
mosioiv oux aîmatos ou súthêkôv mnêmên èn
dianôia lâbhôn. õ mên gár autûw ôia pânâgáthos

basilewv èwvòías parèxhôv álhouss súmbola, súng-
egeneiâs tôs prôs autôn ouí èfthènhosew gâmôn te

lâmptrôw îdeîphês metouvân ouî apêrhnásto,

allà kai tôs õk pâtêrôn èwgeîvias basilikou te

ânêkadev aîmatos kouwvôn gêneîthai õêwvên tôs

tê kâtâ pànûwô apôlauâvôw ârkhês ôia kîdêsthê kai

sûmbasilei parèîxhê tôv èwovùn, ouî õlattôn

mêros tôvôn õpo 'Roumaious èwhvôn diêpewn autûw

ekai dioukeîn kekarmêmévôs. õ d' èmpalw tôutôs

tânantîa diêpráttêto, pantoias ôsîmerai kâtâ

1 Maxentius and Maximin.
2 This perhaps refers to the treaty of December 314, when

a new partition of the Empire was made, and five of the

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theless 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 ¹ 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, 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, 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 ²: for of his bounty he gave him the ruling and administration of no inferior part of the peoples under the Roman sway. But Licinius pursued an exactly opposite line of conduct: he was daily contriving all kinds of European provinces passed from Licinius to Constantine (Gibbon, i. 432).
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tοῦ κρείττονος μηχανᾶς ἐπιτεχνώμενος πάντας τε ἐπινοῶν ἐπιβουλής τρόπους, ὡς ἂν κακοῖς τὸν εὐεργήτην ἀμείψιοτο. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρώτα πειρώ-
μενος τὴν συσκευὴν ἐπικρύπτευν, φίλος εἶναι προσ-
εποιεῖτο, δόλῳ τε καὶ ἀπάτη πλειστάκις ἐπι-
θέμενος βάστα ἃν τυχεῖν τοῦ προσδοκιμένου ἠλπίσεν· τῷ δὲ ἄρα ὁ θεὸς ἦν φίλος κηδεμῶν τε καὶ φύλαξ, ὃς αὐτῷ τὰς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ καὶ σκότει 
μηχανωμένας ἐπιβουλὰς εἰς φῶς ἀγῶν διήλεγχεν. 
tοσοῦτον ἀρετῆς τὸ μέγα τῆς θεοσεβείας ὀπλον 
πρὸς ἄμυναν μὲν ἐχθρῶν, οἰκείας δὲ φυλακῆς 
σωτηρίας ἴσχυε· ὡς δὴ πεφραγμένος ὁ θεο-
φιλέστατος ἦμων βασιλεὺς τὰς τοῦ δυσωνύμοι 
pολυπλόκους ἐπιβουλὰς διειδίδρασκεν. δὲ τὴν 
λαθραίαν συσκευὴν ὡς οὐδαμῶς ἐώρα κατὰ γνώμην 
avtŏ χωροῦσαν, τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα δόλον τε καὶ 
ῥαδιουργῶν τῶν θεοφιλῶν βασιλεῖ κατάφωρα ποι-
ούντος, οὐκὲθ' οἶδος τοῦ ὁπλ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι, προφανῆ 
pόλεμον αἰρέται. ὡμοίως δὴτα Κωνσταντῖνῳ πολε-
μεῖν διαγνοῦς, ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων, 
ὅν ἡπτίστατο σέβειν αὐτόν, παρατάττουσι δριμάτω, 
κατείπα τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῷ θεοσεβείς, μηδὲν μηδ' ἄλοις 
πόντο τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτοῦ λυπηρὸν διαθεμένους, 
ηρέμα τέως καὶ ἦσυχὴ πολιορκεῖν ἐπεβάλλειτο. 
καὶ τὸτ' ἔπραττεν, δεινῶς ἄβλεπτειν ὑπὸ τῆς 
ἐμφύτου κακίας ἰηναγκασμένος. οὔτ' οὖν τὴν μνή-
μην τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Χριστιανοὺς ἐκδιωξάντων πρὸ 
ὁθαλμῶν ἐθετο οὐδ' ὅν αὐτὸς ὄλετηρ καὶ τιμωρῶς 
δι' ἃς μετῆλθον ἀσεβείας κατέστη· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοῦ 
σώφρονος ἐκτραπεῖτο λογισμῷ, διαρρήκθην δὲ μανεὶς 
tὰς φρένας, τὸν θεὸν αὐτὸν οἶα δὴ Κωνσταντῖνου 
βοηθῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ βοηθουμένου πολέμειν ἐγνώκει. 468

Cf. Eph. 5, 11-13
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, 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. 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, 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. 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.

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Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν τῆς οἰκλας τῆς αὐτοῦ πάντα
Χριστιανὸν ἀπελαύνει, ἔρημον αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ὁ
dεῖλας τῆς τούτων καθιστάς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς
tὸν θεὸν εὐχῆς, ἃν ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι
πάρτιον μάθημα τυγχάνει· εἶτα δὲ τοὺς κατὰ
πόλιν στρατιώτας ἐκκρίνεσθαι καὶ ἀποβάλλεσθαι
τοῦ τῆς τιμῆς ἀξιώματος, εἰ μὴ τοῖς δαίμοσιν
θύειν αἰρόντο, παρακελεύεται.

Καὶ ἔτι γε ταῦτα Ἰην μικρά, τῇ τῶν μειζόνων
συγκρινόμενα παραθέσει. τί δεὶ τῶν καθ' ἐκαστὰ
καὶ κατὰ μέρος τῶ θεομοὲς πεπραγμένων μη-
μονεύειν ὡποῖς τε νόμων ἀνόμους ὁ παρανομώ-
tatos ἔξεδρε; τοὺς γε τοῖ ἐν ταῖς εἰρκταῖς
ταλαιπωρομένους ἐνομοθέτει μηδένα μεταδόσει
τροφῆς φιλανθρωπεύεσθαι μηδ' ἐλεεῖν τοὺς ἐν
dεσμοῖς λιμῷ διαφθειρόμενους μηδ' ἀπλῶς ἀγαθὸν
eῖναι μηδένα μηδ' ἀγαθὸν τῷ πράττειν τοὺς καὶ
πρὸς αὐτῆς τῆς φύσεως ἐτὶ τὸ συμπαθές τῶν
πέλας ἐλκομένους. καὶ Ἰην γε νόμων οὕτως ἀντι-
κρυς ἀναιδῆς καὶ ἀπηνεότατος, πᾶσαν ἥμερον
ὑπερεξάγων φύσιν, ἐφ' ὁ καὶ τιμωρία προσέκειτο
toὺς ἐλεούθεν τὰ ἱσα πάσχειν τοῖς ἐλεομένους
dεσμοῖς τε καὶ φυλακαῖς καθείργυσθαι, τὴν ἴσην
toῖς καταπονομένους ὑπομένοντας τιμωρίαν, τοὺς
tὰ φιλάνθρωπα διακονομένους. τουλάχιτα οἱ Δικαν-
νίοι διατάξεις. τί χρῆ τὰς περὶ γάμων καινο-
tομίας ἀπαριθμεῖσθαι ἡ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς τὸν βίον
μεταλάπτουσιν νεωτερισμοὺς αὐτοῦ, δι' ὅπως τοὺς
παλαιόν Ῥωμαίων εῦ καὶ σοφῶς κειμένους νόμους
περιγράψας τολμήσας, βαρβάρους τινὰς καὶ ἀν-

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1 Cf. Dion, Al. ad Herm. (vii. 1 above).

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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.

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. 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
ημέρους ἀντεισήγησε, νόμους ἀνόμους ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ παρανόμους, ἐπισκήψεις τε μυρίας κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρίων ἐθνῶν ἐπενοεὶ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἄργυρον παντοῖας ἐνσπάζεις ἀναμετρήσεις τε γῆς καὶ τῶν κατ’ ἄγρους μηκέτ’ ὄντων ἄνθρωπων πρόπαλαι δὲ κατοιχομένων ἐπιζήμιον κέρδος, οίους δ’ ἐφεύρεν ἐπὶ τούτους ὁ μισάνθρωπος κατὰ μηδὲν ἡδυκη-
κότων ἐξορισμοὺς, οίας εὐπατριδῶν καὶ ἀξιολόγων ἄνδρῶν ἀπαγωγάς, ὃν δὴ τὰς κουριδίας ἀπο-
ζευγνύς γαμετὰς μιαρῷς τισῶν οἰκέταις ἐφ’ ὑβρεὶ πράξεως αἰσχρᾶς παρεδίδον, ὅσας δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἐσχατογήρως γυναῖξιν ὑπάνδροις παρθένοις τε κόραις ἐμπαροῦν τὴν ἀκόλαστον τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπιλήρου—τί χρὴ ταῦτα μηκύνειν, 
τῆς τῶν ἐσχάτων αὐτοῦ πράξεων ὑπερβολῆς μικρὰ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι διελευχοῦσης;

Τὸ γοῦν τέλος αὐτοῦ τῆς μανίας ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπι-
σκόπους ἑχὼρει, ἢδη τε τούτους, ὡς ἂν τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων θεοῦ θεράποντας, ἐναντίους ὑπάρχειν οἷς ἔδρα ἡγούμενος, οὕτω μὲν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ διὰ 
τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον, λάθρα δὲ αἰθίς καὶ 
δολίως συνεσκευάζετο, ἀνήρει τε τούτων δι’ ἐπι-
βουλῆς τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς δοκιμωτάτους. καὶ ὁ τρόπος δὲ τοῦ κατ’ αὐτῶν φόνου ξένως τις ἢν καὶ 
οίος οὐδεπώποτε ἥκοισθη. τὰ γοῦν ἀμφὶ τὴν Λ'
Ἀμάσειαν καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τοῦ Πόντου πόλεις 
κατεργασθέντα πᾶσαν ὑπερβολὴν ὑμότητος ὑπερ-
ηκόντισεν· ἐνθα τῶν ἐκκλησίων τοῦ θεοῦ αἱ μὲν 
ἐξ ὑψους εἰς ἐδαφος αἰθίς κατερρίπτοντο, τὰς δὲ 
ἀπέκλειον, ὡς ἂν μὴ συνάγοιτο τις τῶν εἰσθότων 
μηδὲ τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐποφελλομένας ἄποδιδὼ λατρείας. 
συντελεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ἤγειτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰς 10
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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 revaluations of land, 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?

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. 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. For he did not think that the prayers were offered on his behalf—such was the
Ἐὐχάς, συνειδότι φαύλω τοῦτο λογιζόμενος, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως πάντα πράττειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἰλεοῦσθαι πέπειστο. ἐνθεῖν ὄρματο καθ’ ἡμῶν τὸν θυμὸν ἐπισκῆπτειν. καὶ δῆτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων οἱ κόλακες, τὰ φίλα πράττειν τῷ δυσαγεὶ πεπεισμένοι, τῶν ἐπισκόπων τοὺς μὲν συνήθως ταῖς τῶν κακούργων ἀνδρῶν περιεβάλλον τιμωρίαις, ἀπήγοντό τε καὶ ἐκολάξοντο ἀπροφασίστως τοῖς μιαφόνοις ὁμοίως οἱ μηδὲν ἡδικηκότες. ἦδη δὲ τίνες κανοτέραν ὑπέμενον τελευτήν, ἔφει τὸ σῶμα εἰς πολλὰ τιμήματα κατακρεουργούμενοι καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπήντη ταύτην καὶ φρικτοτάτην θέαν τοῖς τῆς θαλάσσης βυθοῖς ἤθυσιν εἰς βορὰν ῥυπτούμενοι. φυγαί δὴ αὖθις ἐπὶ τούτους τῶν θεοσεβῶν ἐγίνοντο ἀνδρῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἄργοι καὶ πάλιν ἐρημίαι νάπαι τε καὶ ὅρη τοὺς Χριστοῦ θεράποντας ὑπεδέχοντο. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τούτων προχώρει τῷ δυσσεβεῖ τὸν τρόπον, λοιπὸν καὶ τὸν κατὰ πάντων ἀνακυνῶν διωγμὸν ἐπὶ διάνοιαν ἔβαλε το, ἐκράτει τε γνῶμης καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμποδῶν ἣν αὐτῷ μὴ οὐχὶ ἐν ἐργῳ χωρεῖν, εἰ μὴ τάχιστά το τέλλον ἐσοθαὶ προλαβῶν ὁ τῶν οἰκείων ψυχῶν ὑπέρμαχος θεός ὅς ἐν βαθεὶ σκότῳ καὶ νυκτὶ ξοφωδεστάτη φωστήρα μέγαν ἀθρόως καὶ σωτήρα τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐξέλαμψεν, τὸν αὐτοῦ θεράποντα Κωνσταντῖνον ὑψηλῶ βραχίονι ἐπὶ τὰ τῆς ἀηδείς χειραγωγήσας. ἸΧ. τούτω μὲν οὖν ἄνωθεν ἔς οὐρανοῦ καρπὸν εὐσεβείας ἐπάξιον τὰ τρόποια τῆς κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν παρεῖχῃ νῖκης, τὸν δ’ ἄληθριον αὐτοῖς συμβούλοις ἄπασιν καὶ φίλοις ὑπὸ τοῖς Κωνσταντῖνον ποσὶν πρηνή κατέβαλεν. Ἡμεῖς γὰρ εἰς ἐσχάτα μανίας τὰ κατ’ αὐτοῦ
reckoning of an evil conscience—but had been persuaded that we did everything and supplicated God on behalf of the Emperor whom He loved. 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, 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. 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. 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.

For when Licinius had carried his madness to the
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ήλαυνεν, ουκέτ' ἀνεκτόν εἶναι λογισάμενος βασιλεύς ὁ τῷ θεῷ φίλος τὸν σώφρονα συναγαγὼν λογισμὸν καὶ τὸν στερρὸν τοῦ δικαίου τρόπον φιλανθρωπίας κερασάμενος, ἑπαμβάνει κρίνει τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων ταλαιπωρούμενοις, καὶ τὸ γε πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων γένος, βραχεῖς λυμεώνας ἐκποδών ποιησάμενος, ἀνασώσασθαι ὄρμαται. μόνη γὰρ αὐτῷ χρωμένῳ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τὸν πρὸ τοῦτον χρόνον καὶ τὸν οὓς συμπαθείας ἁξίων ἔλεον, τῷ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐγίνετο πλέον, τῆς κακίας οὐκ ἀπαλλαττομένῳ, αὐξοντι δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν κατὰ τῶν ὑποχειρών ἐθνῶν λύτταν, τοῖς δὲ κακουμένοις οὕτως ἔλειπτο σωτηρίας ἐλπίς, ὑπὸ δεινῶ θηρὶ κατατυπαμονομένοις. δι’ ὅ δέ ἡ τῷ φιλαγάθῳ μίξας τὸ μισοπόνημον ὃ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀρωγὸς πρόεσσών ἀμα παίδε Κρίσσων βασιλεῖ φιλανθρωποτάτῳ σωτήρῳ δεξιῶν ἄπασιν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ἐκτείνας· εἰθ’ οἷα παμβασιλεῖ θεῷ θεοῦ τε παίδε σωτήρ ἀπάντων ποδηγῷ καὶ συμμάχω χρώμενοι, πατὴρ ἀμα καὶ νῖός ἄμφω κύκλῳ διελόντες τὴν κατὰ τῶν θεομοσίων παράταξιν, ῥαδίαιν τὴν νῦχν ἀποφέρονται, τῶν κατὰ τὴν συμβολὴν πάντων ἐξεμπαρισθέντων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ γνώμην. ἀθρόως δὴτα καὶ λόγου θάττου ὁ μὲν χθεῖς καὶ πρὸ ἡμέρας θανάτου πιέστες καὶ ἀπειλῆς οὐκέτ’ ἤσαν, οὐδὲ μέχρις ὀνόματος μνημονεύόμενοι, γραφαῖ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τυμία τὴν ἁξίων ἀισχύνην ἀπελάμβανον, καὶ ἃ τοῖς πάλαις δυσσεβέσιν τυράννοις ἐνείδεν αὐτοῖς όφθαλμοις Λυκίννιος, ταῦτα ὀμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἑπασχεν;

Acts 9, 1

1 Licinius was defeated first at Adrianople, 3 July, and secondly, when he had fled to Byzantium and had been forced to cross the Straits, at Chrysopolis (Scutari), 476
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. 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 hope of salvation was left for them, ground down as they were by a terrible wild beast. 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;¹ for everything in the encounter was made smooth for them by God according to His purpose. 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 remem-bered; 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

September 18 or 20, 324. Shortly afterwards, Constantine had him put to death.

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Zeph. 3, 2  οτι μηδ' αυτος ἑδέξατο παιδείαν μηδ' ἐπὶ ταῖς
tῶν πέλας ἐσωφρονίσθη μάστιγιν, τὴν ὁμοῖαν δ' ἐκεῖνος 
τῆς ἀσεβείας μετελθὼν ὅδον, ἐπὶ τὸν ἵσον 
αὐτοῖς ἐνδίκως περιηγέχθη κρήμνον.

'Αλλ' οὖν μὲν ταύτη τῇ βεβλημένος ἔκειτο· ὅ 
δ' ἀρετὴ πάση θεοσεβείας ἐκπρέπου ἐνίγματος 
νικηπὸς Κωνσταντῖνος σὺν παιδὶ Κρίσπῳ, βασιλεῖ 
θεοφιλεστάτῳ καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῦ πατρὸς ὁμοίως,
tὴν οἰκείαν ἔφαν ἀπελάμβανοι καὶ μίαν ἴσωμενὴν 
tῆς 'Ῥωμαιῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν παρείχον ἁρχῆν,
tὴν ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἥλιον πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ κατὰ 
θάτερα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁρκτὸν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μεσημ-
βρίαν εἰς ἔσχατα δυνομένης ἡμέρας ὑπὸ τὴν 
αὐτῶν ἁγιοτες εἰρήνην. ἀφήρητο δ' οὖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων 
πάν δέος τῶν πρὶν αὐτοὺς πιεζοῦντων, λαμπρὰς 
δ' ἔτελον καὶ πανηγυρικὰς ἑορτὰς ἡμέρας, ἢν 
τε φωτὸς ἐμπλεα πάντα, καὶ μεθεῖσθαι προσώποις 
ὁμοαί τε φαινοῦσα οἱ πρὶν κατηφεῖς ἀλλήλους 
ἐβλέπον, χορείαν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμοίς κατὰ πόλεις 
ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄγροις τὸν παμβασιλέα θεὸν πρωτίστα 
πάντων, ὅτι δ' οὖν ἐδιδάχθησαν, καπειτά 
τὸν εὐσεβὴ βασιλέα παισιν ἢμα θεοφιλέσιν ἐγέραιον, 
κακῶς δ' ἀμηστία παλαιῶν ἴν καὶ λήθη πάσης 
δυσεβείας, παρόντων δ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσις 
καὶ προσέτει μελλόντων προσδοκίαι. ἦπιων 
κατὰ πάντα τόπον τοῦ νικητοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρω-
πίας ἐμπλεοί διατάξεις νόμοι τε μεγαλοδώρειας 
καὶ ἀληθοὺς εὐσεβείας γνωρίσματα περιέχοντες. 
οὗτος δ' οὖν τὸς πάσης τυραννίδος ἐκκαθαρθείσης, 
μόνοις ἐφιλάττετο τὰ τῆς προσηκούσης βασιλείας 
βέβαια τε καὶ ἀνεπίθρονα Κωνσταντῖνῳ καὶ τοῖς

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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.

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. 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; 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, when all tyranny had been purged away, the kingdom that belonged to them was preserved stedfast and undisputed for Constantine and his sons alone;
αυτοῦ παισίν, οἱ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀπάντων ἀποσμηξαν-
tes τοῦ βίου τὴν θεοστυγίαν, τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρυ-
tανευθέντων ἁγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ἡσθημένως τὸ φιλ-
άρετον καὶ θεοφιλές τὸ τε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβὲς
καὶ εὐχάριστον δὴ ὡν εἰς προὔπτον ἀπασω
ἀνθρώπως παρέσχον ὅρὰν, ἐπεδείξαντο
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.
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